Congressional Record.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *October 2, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come to Thee at a time that is testing the foundations of our Christian civilization to seek Thy guidance and blessing. We know that there is no unity of counsel or of action except that which is found in the moral center of mankind. We pray that these Thy servants who must direct the great currents of thought and shape and mold the policy of the Nation may do so with a conscience void of offense toward God and man, and with the assurance that Thy blessing is resting upon them from day to day. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented petitions of sundry citizens of Fort Snelling and St. Paul, Minn.; of W. H. Carey, president of the Grand Rapids Chapter of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion; and of the Chelan County, State of Washington, Council of Patriotic Service, relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. KELLOGG. I send to the desk certain petitions for reference to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The petitions were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

Petitions from sundry citizens of Duluth, Minn.; from C. E. Wallace, of Duluth, Minn.; from sundry citizens of St. Paul, Minn.; from the Otter Tail County Public Safety Association, of Fergus Falls, Minn.; from W. H. Woodbury and sundry other citizens of Duluth, Minn.; and from Henry I. Cohen, president of the Chamber of Commerce, of Brainerd, Minn.

Mr. STERLING. I send to the desk certain letters and a copy of a resolution adopted by the Aberdeen Rotary Club, of South Dakota. I move that they be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. OVERMAN presented a petition of the Caldwell County Council of Defense, of North Carolina, relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. KNOX presented a petition of sundry citizens of Coraopolis, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit polygamy, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Local Branch No. 1, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, of Pittsburgh, Pa., praying for the passage of the so-called soldiers and sailors' insurance bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry organizations in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation authorizing the drafting of aliens, except alien enemies, into the military service of the United States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

CONFEDERATE VETERANS' REUNION.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I present a copy of the proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Confederate Southern Memorial Association, and of the Twenty-second Annual Reunion of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, held in the city of Washington, D. C., June 4 to 7, 1917, which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Printing for action.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 5839) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota, and I submit a report (No. 140) thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXTENSION OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS.

Mr. ASHURST. From the Committee on the Judiciary I am authorized to report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 2916) to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State, and I submit a report (No. 139) thereon.

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill just reported.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if there is anything in the bill touching the question of the salaries of officers of courts of the United States?

Mr. CUMMINS. Oh, no. Mr. President, I can explain in a moment what the bill is, and I think I ought to do that before consent is granted.

The bill was introduced by the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. I present it in his behalf. It is intended to enable longshoremen, stevedores, and others who are engaged in maritime occupations to receive the benefit and advantage of the workmen's compensation laws of the various States.

Under the section of the Judicial Code, to which reference is made in the bill, exclusive jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to maritime relations is conferred upon the courts of the United States. There is in the Judicial Code this saving clause:

> Saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it.

In a case which arose in New York between the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. and a claimant under the workmen's compensation law the Supreme Court of the United States has held that the procedure under these compensatory laws is not a common-law procedure and does not give a common-law remedy, and that therefore the right of such compensation is not reserved in the code as it now is.

The entire change proposed is found in these words: After "saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it," then there is inserted "and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State." That is the whole change made.

The bill was submitted to the Judiciary Committee and was unanimously approved by the committee. I think no one can even suggest any reason why a stevedore or a longshoreman who suffers an accident may not properly have the benefit of the workmen's compensation law of the State in which he lives and is working.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That clause 3 of section 24 of the Judicial Code is hereby amended to read as follows:
>
> "Third. Of all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it, and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workman's compensation law of any State; of all seizures on land or waters not within admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; of all prizes brought into the United States; and of all proceedings for the condemnation of property taken as prize."
>
> SEC. 2. That clause 3 of section 256 of the Judicial Code is hereby amended to read as follows:
>
> "Third. Of all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it, and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State."

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 2943) for the relief of John Crady; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 2944) granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Stotts (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McCUMBER:

A bill (S. 2945) for the relief of the heirs of the Eastern Cherokee Indians; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 2946) granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Curtis (with acompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 2947) granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico; to the Committee on Commerce.

MANUFACTURE AND STORAGE OF EXPLOSIVES.

Mr. WALSH. I offer the following concurrent resolution and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 14) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 3932) to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes, the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to insert in line 2 of section 20 of the conference report, as agreed to, after the word "occur," the words ", or which since the commencement of the present war have occurred," and also in line 4 of said section, after "all," insert the word "other."

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on this day approved and signed the following act:

S. 2156. An act to authorize exploration for and disposition of potassium.

PROMOTION OF EXPORT TRADE.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed, and the calendar, under Rule VIII, is in order.

The bill (S. 634) to promote export trade, and for other purposes, was announced as first in order on the calendar.

Mr. CURTIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	New	Simmons
Bankhead	Harding	Newlands	Smith, Ariz.
Brady	Hardwick	Norris	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Hollis	Overman	Smoot
Calder	James	Page	Sterling
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Penrose	Stone
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Sutherland
Curtis	Kendrick	Poindexter	Swanson
Dillingham	Kenyon	Pomerene	Trammell
Fernald	King	Reed	Vardaman
Fletcher	Knox	Robinson	Wadsworth
France	La Follette	Saulsbury	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	McCumber	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Williams
Gore	McNary	Shields	Wolcott

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. HUGHES] is detained from the Senate on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. JAMES. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. BECKHAM] is detained from the Senate by reason of illness in his family. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. ROBINSON. My colleague [Mr. KIRBY] is unavoidably absent on account of illness in his family. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. McNARY. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. CURTIS. I wish to announce the absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. I will let this announcement stand for the present. He is unavoidably absent.

Mr. HARDWICK. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Georgia] is detained on account of illness in his family. This announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. GOFF] on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of illness. I will state that he is paired with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER]. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2816. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gainesville Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across Red River; and

S. 2823. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of Elgin, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Fox River at Elgin.

WAR REVENUE—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 115).

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I present the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to House bill 4280, known as the war-revenue bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator desire to have the report read?

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the report.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I ask for the reading of the report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the report.

The Secretary proceeded to read the conference report and read to the end of section 211.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the reading of the report down to section 211 includes that portion of the report which defines capital and the methods by which capital is to be ascertained. I asked for the reading of the report because I thought it would be of interest to the Senate; and as the portion of the report relating to capital is, in my view, perhaps the most important part of the report, so far as the changes that are made are concerned, and as the reading of the report does not appear to have held the attention of the Senate, many Senators having absented themselves, I will not ask to have the balance of the report read in the Senate Chamber, but will ask to have it printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is no further objection, the remainder of the report will not be read.

The conference report entire is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 3, 4, 36, 38, 43, 49, 65, 71, 77, 78, 80, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 141, 149, 151, 168, 172, 188, 190, 193, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 256, 264, 271, 273, 288, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 302, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, and 321.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 61, 66, 72, 76, 83, 84. 85. 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 124, 125, 130, 132, 134, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 148, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166, 169, 174, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 189, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 275, 283, 289, 290, and 298, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and

agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "Eight," inserted by said amendment, insert the words "Seven"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 17: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following: "and (c) the provisions of subdivision (c) of section 9 of such act, as amended by this act, requiring the normal tax of individuals on income derived from interest to be deducted and withheld at the source of the income shall not apply to the new 2 per cent normal tax prescribed in section 1 of this act until on and after January 1, 1918, and thereafter only one 2 per cent normal tax shall be deducted and withheld at the source under the provisions of such subdivision (c), and any further normal tax for which the recipient of such income is liable under this act or such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act, shall be paid by such recipient"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 35: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert on page 64 of the engrossed Senate amendments, after line 6, the following:

"(2) That section 5 of such act of September 8, 1916, is hereby amended by adding at the end of subdivision (a) a further paragraph, No. 9, to read as follows:

"'9. Contributions or gifts actually made within the year to corporations or associations organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, or to societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, to an amount not in excess of 15 per cent of the taxpayer's taxable net income as computed without the benefit of this paragraph. Such contributions or gifts shall be allowable as deductions only if verified under rules and regulations prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 37: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 37, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 200. That when used in this title—

"The term 'corporation' includes joint-stock companies or associations and insurance companies;

"The term 'domestic' means created under the law of the United States, or of any State, Territory, or District thereof, and the term 'foreign' means created under the law of any other possession of the United States or of any foreign country or Government;

"The term 'United States' means only the States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and the District of Columbia;

"The term 'taxable year' means the 12 months ending December 31, excepting in the case of a corporation or partnership which has fixed its own fiscal year, in which case it means such fiscal year. The first taxable year shall be the year ending December 31, 1917, except that in the case of a corporation or partnership which has fixed its own fiscal year, it shall be the fiscal year ending during the calendar year 1917. If a corporation or partnership, prior to March 1, 1918, makes a return covering its own fiscal year, and includes therein the income received during that part of the fiscal year falling within the calendar year 1916, the tax for such taxable year shall be that proportion of the tax computed upon the net income during such full fiscal year which the time from January 1, 1917, to the end of such fiscal year bears to the full fiscal year; and

"The term 'prewar period' means the calendar years 1911, 1912, and 1913, or, if a corporation or partnership was not in existence or an individual was not engaged in a trade or business during the whole of such period, then as many of such years during the whole of which the corporation or partnership was in existence or the individual was engaged in the trade or business.

"The terms 'trade' and 'business' include professions and occupations.

"The term 'net income' means in the case of a foreign corporation or partnership or a nonresident alien individual, the net income received from sources within the United States.

"SEC. 201. That in addition to the taxes under existing law and under this act there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid for each taxable year upon the income of every corporation, partnership, or individual, a tax (hereinafter in this title referred to as the tax) equal to the following percentages of the net income:

"Twenty per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of the deduction (determined as hereinafter provided) and not in excess of 15 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year;

"Twenty-five per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of 15 per cent and not in excess of 20 per cent of such capital;

"Thirty-five per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of 20 per cent and not in excess of 25 per cent of such capital;

"Forty-five per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of 25 per cent and not in excess of 33 per cent of such capital; and

"Sixty per cent of the amount of the net income in excess of 33 per cent of such capital.

"For the purpose of this title every corporation or partnership not exempt under the provisions of this section shall be deemed to be engaged in business, and all the trades and businesses in which it is engaged shall be treated as a single trade or business, and all its income from whatever source derived shall be deemed to be received from such trade or business.

"This title shall apply to all trades or businesses of whatever description, whether continuously carried on or not, except—

"(a) In the case of officers and employees under the United States, or any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or any local subdivision thereof, the compensation or fees received by them as such officers or employees;

"(b) Corporations exempt from tax under the provisions of section 11 of Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act, and partnerships and individuals carrying on or doing the same business, or coming within the same description; and

"(c) Incomes derived from the business of life, health, and accident insurance combined in one policy issued on the weekly premium payment plan.

"SEC. 202. That the tax shall not be imposed in the case of the trade or business of a foreign corporation or partnership or a nonresident alien individual, the net income of which trade or business during the taxable year is less than $3,000.

"SEC. 203. That for the purposes of this title the deduction shall be as follows, except as otherwise in this title provided—

"(a) In the case of a domestic corporation, the sum of (1) an amount equal to the same percentage of the invested capital for the taxable year which the average amount of the annual net income of the trade or business during the prewar period was of the invested capital for the prewar period (but not less than 7 or more than 9 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year), and (2) $3,000.

"(b) In the case of a domestic partnership or of a citizen or resident of the United States, the sum of (1) an amount equal to the same percentage of the invested capital for the taxable year which the average amount of the annual net income of the trade or business during the prewar period was of the invested capital for the prewar period (but not less than 7 or more than 9 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year), and (2) $6,000.

"(c) In the case of a foreign corporation or partnership or of a nonresident alien individual, an amount ascertained in the same manner as provided in subdivisions (a) and (b), without any exemption of $3,000 or $6,000.

"(d) If the Secretary of the Treasury is unable satisfactorily to determine the average amount of the annual net income of the trade or business during the prewar period, the deduction shall be determined in the same manner as provided in section 205.

"SEC. 204. That if a corporation or partnership was not in existence, or an individual was not engaged in the trade or business, during the whole of any one calendar year during the prewar period, the deduction shall be an amount equal to 8 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year, plus in the case of a domestic corporation $3,000, and in the case of a domestic partnership or a citizen or resident of the United States $6,000.

"A trade or business carried on by a corporation, partnership, or individual, although formally organized or reorganized on or after January 2, 1913, which is substantially a continuation of a trade or business carried on prior to that date, shall, for the purpose of this title, be deemed to have been in existence prior to that date, and the net income and invested capital of its predecessor prior to that date shall be deemed to have been its net income and invested capital.

"SEC. 205. (a) That if the Secretary of the Treasury, upon complaint finds either (1) that during the prewar period a domestic corporation or partnership, or a citizen or resident of the United States, had no net income from the trade or business, or (2) that during the prewar period the percentage, which the net income was of the invested capital, was low as compared with the percentage, which the net income during such period of representative corporations, partnerships, and individuals, engaged in a like or similar trade or business, was of their invested capital, then the deduction shall be the sum of (1) an amount equal to the same percentage of its invested capital for the taxable year which the average deduction (determined in the same manner as provided in section 203, without including the $3,000 or $6,000 therein referred to) for such year of representative corporations, partnerships, or individuals, engaged in a like or similar trade or business, is of their average invested capital for such year plus (2) in the case of a domestic corporation $3,000, and in the case of a domestic partnership or a citizen or resident of the United States $6,000.

"The percentage which the net income was of the invested capital in each trade or business shall be determined by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in accordance with regulations prescribed by him, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. In the case of a corporation or partnership which has fixed its own fiscal year, the percentage determined by the calendar year ending during such fiscal year shall be used.

"(b) The tax shall be assessed upon the basis of the deduction determined as provided in section 203, but the taxpayer claiming the benefit of this section may at the time of making the return file a claim for abatement of the amount by which the tax so assessed exceeds a tax computed upon the basis of the deduction determined as provided in this section. In such event, collection of the part of the tax covered by such claim for abatement shall not be made until the claim is decided, but if in the judgment of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the interests of the United States would be jeopardized thereby he may require the claimant to give a bond in such amount and with such sureties as the commissioner may think wise to safeguard such interests, conditioned for the payment of any tax found to be due, with the interest thereon, and if such bond, satisfactory to the commissioner, is not given within such time as he prescribes, the full amount of tax assessed shall be collected and the amount overpaid, if any, shall upon final decision of the application be refunded as a tax erroneously or illegally collected.

"SEC. 206. That for the purposes of this title the net income of a corporation shall be ascertained and returned (a) for the calendar years 1911 and 1912 upon the same basis and in the same manner as provided in section 38 of the act entitled 'An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes,' approved August 5, 1909, except that income taxes paid by it within the year imposed by the authority of the United States shall be included; (b) for the calendar year 1913 upon the same basis and in the same manner as provided in Section II of the act entitled 'An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes,' approved October 3, 1913, except that income taxes paid by it within the year imposed by the authority of the United States shall be included, and except that the amounts received by it as dividends upon the stock or from the net earnings of other corporations, joint-stock companies or associations, or insurance companies, subject to the tax imposed by Section II of such act of October 3, 1913, shall be deducted; and (c) for the taxable year upon the same basis and in the same manner as provided in Title I of the act entitled 'An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes,' approved September 8, 1916, as amended by this act, except that the amounts received by it as dividends upon the stock or from the net earnings of other corporations, joint-stock companies or associations, or insurance companies, subject to the tax imposed by Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, shall be deducted.

"The net income of a partnership or individual shall be ascertained and returned for the calendar years 1911, 1912, and 1913, and for the taxable year, upon the same basis and in the same manner as provided in Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act, except that the credit allowed by subdivision (b) of section 5 of such act shall be deducted. There shall be allowed (a) in the case of a domestic partnership the same deductions as allowed to individuals in subdivisions (a) of section 5 of such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act; and (b) in the case of a foreign partnership the same deductions as allowed to individuals in subdivision (a) of section 6 of such act as amended by this act.

"SEC. 207. That as used in this title, the term 'invested capital' for any year means the average invested capital for the year, as defined and limited in this title, averaged monthly.

"As used in this title 'invested capital' does not include stocks, bonds (other than obligations of the United States), or other assets, the income from which is not subject to the tax imposed by this title, nor money or other property borrowed, and means, subject to the above limitations:

"(a) In the case of a corporation or partnership: (1) Actual cash paid in, (2) the actual cash value of tangible property paid in other than cash, for stock or shares in such corporation or partnership, at the time of such payment (but in case such tangible property was paid in prior to January 1, 1914, the actual cash value of such property as of January 1, 1914, but in no case to exceed the par value of the original stock or shares specifically issued therefor), and (3) paid in or earned surplus and undivided profits used or employed in the business, exclusive of undivided profits earned during the taxable year: *Provided*, That (a) the actual cash value of patents and copyrights paid in for stock or shares in such corporation or partnership, at the time of such payment, shall be included as invested capital, but not to exceed the par value of such stock or shares at the time of such payment, and (b) the good will, trade-marks, trade brands, the franchise of a corporation or partnership, or other intangible property, shall be included as invested capital if the corporation or partnership made payment bona fide therefor specifically as such in cash or tangible property, the value of such good will, trade-marks, trade brand, franchise, or intangible property, not to exceed the actual cash or actual cash value of the tangible property paid therefor at the time of such payment; but good will, trade-marks, trade brands, franchise of a corporation or partnership, or other intangible property, bona fide purchased, prior to March 3, 1917, for and with interests or shares in a partnership or for and with shares in the capital stock of a corporation (issued prior to March 3, 1917), in an amount not to exceed, on March 3, 1917, 20 per cent of the total interests or shares in the partnership or of the total shares of the capital stock of the corporation, shall be included in invested capital at a value not to exceed the actual cash value at the time of such purchase, and in case of issue of stock therefor not to exceed the par value of such stock;

"(b) in the case of an individual, (1) actual cash paid into the trade or business, and (2) the actual cash value of tangible property paid into the trade or business, other than cash, at the time of such payment (but in case such tangible property was paid in prior to January 1, 1914, the actual cash value of such property as of January 1, 1914, and (3) the actual cash value of patents, copyrights, good will, trade-marks, trade brands, franchises, or other intangible property, paid into the trade or business, at the time of such payment, if payment was made therefor specifically as such in cash or tangible property, not to exceed the actual cash or actual cash value of the tangible property bona fide paid therefor at the time of such payment.

"In the case of a foreign corporation or nartnership or of a nonresident alien individual the term 'invested capital' means that proportion of the entire invested capital, as defined and limited in this title, which the net income from sources within the United States bears to the entire net income.

"SEC. 208. That in case of the reorganization, consolidation, or change of ownership of a trade or business after March 3, 1917, if an interest or control in such trade or business of 50 per cent or more remains in control of the same persons, corporations, associations, partnerships, or any of them, then in ascertaining the invested capital of the trade or business no asset transferred or received from the prior trade or business shall be allowed a greater value than would have been allowed under this title in computing the invested capital of such prior trade or business if such asset had not been so transferred or received, unless such asset was paid for specifically as such, in cash or tangible property, and then not to exceed the actual cash or actual cash value of the tangible property paid therefor at the time of such payment.

"SEC. 209. That in the case of a trade or business having no invested capital or not more than a nominal capital there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid, in addition to the taxes under existing law and under this act, in lieu of the tax imposed by section 201, a tax equivalent to 8 per cent of the net income of such trade or business in excess of the following deductions: In the case of a domestic corporation, $3,000, and in the case of a domestic partnership or a citizen or resident of the United States $6,000; in the case of all other trades or business, no deduction.

"SEC. 210. That if the Secretary of the Treasury is unable in any case satisfactorily to determine the invested capital, the amount of the deduction shall be the sum of (1) an amount

equal to the same proportion of the net income of the trade or business received during the taxable year as the proportion which the average deduction (determined in the same manner as provided in section 203, without including the $3,000 or $6,000 therein referred to) for the same calendar year of representative corporations, partnerships, and individuals, engaged in a like or similar trade or business, bears to the total net income of the trade or business received by such corporations, partnerships, and individuals, plus (2) in the case of a domestic corporation $3,000, and in the case of a domestic partnership or a citizen or resident of the United States $6,000.

"For the purpose of this section the proportion between the deduction and the net income in each trade or business shall be determined by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in accordance with regulations prescribed by him, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. In the case of a corporation or partnership which has fixed its own fiscal year, the proportion determined for the calendar year ending during such fiscal year shall be used.

"SEC. 211. That every foreign partnership having a net income of $3,000 or more for the taxable year, and every domestic partnership having a net income of $6,000 or more for the taxable year, shall render a correct return of the income of the trade or business for the taxable year, setting forth specifically the gross income for such year, and the deductions allowed in this title. Such returns shall be rendered at the same time and in the same manner as is prescribed for income-tax returns under Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act.

"SEC. 212. That all administrative, special, and general provisions of law, including the laws in relation to the assessment, remission, collection, and refund of internal-revenue taxes not heretofore specifically repealed, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this title, are hereby extended and made applicable to all the provisions of this title and to the tax herein imposed, and all provisions of Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, as amended by this act, relating to returns and payment of the tax therein imposed, including penalties, are hereby made applicable to the tax imposed by this title.

"SEC. 213. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall make all necessary regulations for carrying out the provisions of this title, and may require any corporation, partnership, or individual, subject to the provisions of this title, to furnish him with such facts, data, and information as in his judgment are necessary to collect the tax imposed by this title.

"SEC. 214. That Title II (sections 200 to 207, inclusive) of the act entitled 'An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy, and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes,' approved March 3, 1917, is hereby repealed.

"Any amount heretofore or hereafter paid on account of the tax imposed by such Title II, shall be credited toward the payment of the tax imposed by this title, and if the amount so paid exceeds the amount of such tax the excess shall be refunded as a tax erroneously or illegally collected.

"Subdivision (1) of section 301 of such act of September 8, 1916, is hereby amended so that the rate of tax for the taxable year 1917 shall be 10 per cent instead of 12½ per cent, as therein provided.

"Subdivision (2) of such section is hereby amended to read as follows:

"'(2) This section shall cease to be of effect on and after January 1, 1918.'"

And on page 83 of the engrossed Senate amendments, line 7, strike out the word "five" and insert the word "six," and on page 86 of said engrossed amendments, after line 8, insert the following as a separate paragraph:

"SEC. 32. That premiums paid on life insurance policies covering the lives of officers, employees, or those financially interested in any trade or business conducted by an individual, partnership, corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company, shall not be deducted in computing the net income of such individual, corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company, or in computing the profits of such partnership for the purposes of subdivision (e) of section 9."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 39: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 39, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "four" inserted by said amendment insert the word "three"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 40: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 40, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the word "purposes" and before the comma insert the following: "or for use in the manufacture or production of any article used or intended for use as a beverage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 1 of said amendment strike out the figures "302" and insert the figures "301"; in line 2 of said amendment strike out the word "enactment" and insert the word "passage"; in the last line of said amendment strike out the words "beverage purposes" and insert the following: "(1) beverage purposes or (2) use in the manufacture or production of any article used or intended for use as a beverage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 45: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 45, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of said amendment strike out the figures "303" and insert the figures "302"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 46: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 46, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the fifth line of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "use of the United States or for denaturation" and insert: "other than (1) beverage purposes or (2) use in the manufacture or production of any article used or intended for use as a beverage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 48: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 48, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "304" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "303"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 51: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 51, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 2 of said amendment, after the word "purposes" and before the comma, insert the following: "or for use in the manufacture or production of any article used or intended for use as a beverage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 56: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 56, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "305" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "304"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 59: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 59, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the word "enacted" in the first line of the Senate amendment and insert the word "passed"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 60: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 60, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 13, line 21 of the bill, strike out the words "less than" and in the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words and figures "$250 and not"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 62: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 62, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment change the figures "306" to the figures "305"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 63: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 63, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment change the figures "307" to the figures "306"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 64: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 64, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "308" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "307"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 67: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 67, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "309" and insert the figures "308," and in the same line of said amendment strike out the word "enactment" and insert the word "passage"; also in line 7 of said amendment strike out the words "not to exceed" and insert the words "less than"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 68: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 309. That upon all still wines, including vermuth, and upon all champagne and other sparkling wines, liqueurs, cor-

dials, artificial or imitation wines or compounds sold as wine, produced in or imported into the United States, and hereafter removed from the customhouse, place of manufacture, or from bonded premises for sale or consumption, there shall be levied and collected, in addition to the tax now imposed by law upon such articles, a tax equal to such tax, to be levied, collected, and paid under the provisions of existing law."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 69: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 69, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "311" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "310"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 70: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 70, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "ten" inserted by said amendment insert the word "nine"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 73: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 73, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "312" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "311"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 74: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 74, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the words "equal to double such tax"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 75: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 75, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "313" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "312"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 79: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 79, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figure "$1" inserted by said amendment insert the following: "20 cents"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 81: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 81, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "314" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "313"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 82: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 82, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"If so sold for not more than $1.30 per gallon, a tax of 5 cents per gallon; if so sold for more than $1.30 and not more than $2 per gallon, a tax of 8 cents per gallon; if so sold for more than $2 and not more than $3 per gallon, a tax of 10 cents per gallon; if so sold for more than $3 and not more than $4 per gallon, a tax of 15 cents per gallon; and if so sold for more than $4 per gallon, a tax of 20 cents per gallon."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 87: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 87, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "315" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "314"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 88: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "316" and insert the figures "315"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 112: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 112, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "75" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "80"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 121: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 121, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figure "4" inserted by said amendment insert the figure "5"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 122: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 122, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert:

"SEC. 402. That sections 400, 401, and 404, shall take effect 30 days after the passage of this act: *Provided*, That after the passage of this act and before the expiration of the aforesaid 30 days, cigarettes and manufactured tobacco and snuff may be put up in the packages now provided for by law or in the packages provided for in sections 400 and 401."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 144: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 144, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the second line of the matter inserted by said amendment, strike out the figures "25" and insert the figures "20"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 146: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 146, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "five" inserted by said amendment insert the word "eight"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 147: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 147, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "or by any form of mechanical motor power on a regular established line when in competition with carriers by rail or water" and a comma; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 161: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 161, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "the" inserted by said amendment insert the word "such"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 165: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 165, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "or has been so used; or (b) upon the transportation of company material transported by one carrier, which constitutes a part of a railroad system, for another carrier which is also a part of the same system"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 167: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 167, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, substituting the word "November" for the word "June," in line 11, page 25, of the bill; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 170: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 170, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"That there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid—

"(a) Upon all automobiles, automobile trucks, automobile wagons, and motorcycles, sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, a tax equivalent to 3 per cent of the price for which so sold; and."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 171: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 171, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"(b) Upon all piano players, graphophones, phonographs, talking machines, and records used in connection with any musical instrument, piano player, graphophone, phonograph, or talking machine, sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, a tax equivalent to 3 per cent of the price for which so sold; and

"(c) Upon all moving-picture films (which have not been exposed) sold by the manufacturer or importer, a tax equivalent to one-fourth of 1 cent per linear foot; and

"(d) Upon all positive moving-picture films (containing a picture ready for projection) sold or leased by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, a tax equivalent to one-half of 1 cent per linear foot; and

"(e) Upon any article commonly or commercially known as jewelry, whether real or imitation, sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer thereof, a tax equivalent to 3 per cent of the price for which so sold; and."

Also insert, on page 31 of the bill, after line 25, the following:

"SEC. 603. That on the day this act takes effect, and thereafter on July 1 in each year, and also at the time of the original purchase of a new boat by a user, if on any other date than July 1, there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid, upon the use of yachts, pleasure boats, power boats, and sailing boats, of over 5 net tons, and motor boats with fixed engines, not used exclusively for trade or national defense, or not built according to plans and specifications approved by the Navy Department, an excise tax to be based on each yacht or boat, at rates as follows: Yachts, pleasure boats, power boats, motor boats with fixed engines, and sailing boats, of over 5 net tons, length not over 50 feet, 50 cents for each foot; length over 50 feet and not over 100 feet, $1 for each foot; length over 100 feet, $2 for each foot; motor boats of not over 5 net tons with fixed engines, $5.

"In determining the length of such yachts, pleasure boats, power boats, motor boats with fixed engines, and sailing boats, the measurement of over-all length shall govern.

"In the case of a tax imposed at the time of the original purchase of a new boat on any other date than July 1, the amount to be paid shall be the same number of twelfths of the amount of the tax as the number of calendar months, including the month of sale, remaining prior to the following July 1."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 173: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 173, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the letter "a" inserted by said amendment insert the letter "f"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 177: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 177, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In lieu of the word "two" inserted by said amendment insert the word "three," and on page 29 of the bill, line 10, strike out the period and insert a semicolon and the word "and"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 178: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 178, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the letter "b" inserted by said amendment insert the letter "g"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 183: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 183, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the letter "c" inserted by said amendment insert the letter "h"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 184: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 184, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "fourteen" inserted by said amendment insert the word "thirteen"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 186: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 186, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"(i) Upon all chewing gum or substitute therefor sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, a tax equivalent to 2 per cent of the price for which so sold; and"

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 187: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 187, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"(j) Upon all cameras sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, a tax equivalent to 3 per cent of the price for which so sold."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 192: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 192, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 602. That upon all articles enumerated in subdivisions (a), (b), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), or (j) of section 600, which on the day this act is passed are held and intended for sale by any person, corporation, partnership, or association, other than (1) a retailer who is not also a wholesaler, or (2) the manufacturer, producer, or importer thereof, there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid a tax equivalent to one-half the tax imposed by each such subdivision upon the sale of the articles therein enumerated. This tax shall be paid by the person, corporation, partnership, or association so holding such articles.

"The taxes imposed by this section shall be assessed, collected, and paid in the same manner as provided in section 1002 in the case of additional taxes upon articles upon which the tax imposed by existing law has been paid.

"Nothing in this section shall be construed to impose a tax upon articles sold and delivered prior to May 9, 1917, where the title is reserved in the vendor as security for the payment of the purchase money."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 199: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 199, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "paying for such admission: *Provided*, That the tax on admission of children under 12 years of age where an admission charge for such children is made shall in every case be 1 cent" and a semicolor; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 200: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 200, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert: "and (b) in the case of persons (except bona fide employees, municipal officers on official business, and children under 12 years of age) admitted free to any place at a time when and under circumstances under which an admission charge is made to other persons of the same class, a tax of 1 cent for each 10 cents or fraction thereof of the price so charged to such other persons for the same or similar accommodations, to be paid by the person so admitted; and (c) a tax of 1 cent for each 10 cents or fraction thereof paid for admission to any public performance for profit at any cabaret or other similar entertainment to which the charge for admission is wholly or in part included in the price paid for refreshment, service, or merchandise; the amount paid for such admission to be computed under rules prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, such tax to be paid by the person paying for such refreshment, service, or merchandise"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 202: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 202, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "cents, or in the case of shows, rides, and other amusements (the maximum charge for admission to which is 10 cents), within outdoor general amusement parks, or in the case of admissions to such parks"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 203: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 203, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "none of the profits of which are distributed to stockholders or members of the association conducting the same"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 204: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 204, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 701. That from and after the 1st day of November, 1917, there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid, a tax equivalent to 10 per cent of any amount paid as dues or membership fees (including initiation fees), to any social, athletic, or sporting club or organization, where such dues or fees are in excess of $12 per year; such taxes to be paid by the person paying such dues or fees: *Provided*, That there shall be exempted from the provisions of this section all amounts paid as dues or fees to a fraternal beneficiary society, order, or association, operating under the lodge system or for the exclusive benefit of the members of a fraternity itself operating under the lodge system, and providing for the payment of life, sick, accident, or other benefits to the members of such society, order, or association or their dependents."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 212: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 212, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "November" and insert "December"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 234: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 234, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 37, line 5, of the bill strike out the word "Is" and insert the word "is"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 255: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 255, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "November" and insert "December"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 257: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 257, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert, on page 48, after line 10 of the bill, the following:

"14. Parcel-post packages: Upon every parcel or package transported from one point in the United States to another by parcel post on which the postage amounts to 25 cents or more, a tax of 1 cent for each 25 cents or fractional part thereof charged for such transportation, to be paid by the consignor.

"No such parcel or package shall be transported until a stamp or stamps representing the tax due shall have been affixed thereto."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 272: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 272, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out, on line 9, page 48, of the bill the figure "8" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "5"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 274: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 274, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: Restore all the matter stricken out by said amendment, with the following amendments:

On page 49 of the bill, in line 3, after the word "which," insert "such."

On page 49 of the bill, in line 23, strike out the figures "$11,000,000" and insert "$10,000,000; and."

On the same page of the bill, in line 25, after the word "exceeds," strike out the remainder of the line and insert "$10,000,000."

On page 50 of the bill strike out lines 1 to 10, inclusive.

On page 50 of the bill, after line 10, insert the following:

"SEC. 901. That the tax imposed by this title shall not apply to the transfer of the net estate of any decedent dying while serving in the military or naval forces of the United States, during the continuance of the war in which the United States is now engaged, or if death results from injuries received or disease contracted in such service, within one year after the termination of such war. For the purposes of this section the termination of the war shall be evidenced by the proclamation of the President."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 276: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 276, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "IX" inserted by said amendment insert the figure "X"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 277: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 277, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "900" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 278: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 278, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "901" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1001"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 279: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 279, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "902" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1002"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 280: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 280, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "enactment" inserted by said amendment insert the word "passage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 281: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 281, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the word "six," in line 3 of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the word "seven," and in the same line strike out the word "enactment" and insert the word "passage"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 282: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 282, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "903" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1003"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 284: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 284, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "904" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1004"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 285: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 285, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "905" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1005"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 286: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 286, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "906" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1006"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 287: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 287, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "907" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1007"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 297: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 297, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "908" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1008"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 299: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 299, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1009. That the Secretary of the Treasury, under rules and regulations prescribed by him, shall permit taxpayers liable to income and excess-profits taxes to make payment in advance in installments or in whole of an amount not in excess of the estimated taxes which will be due from them, and upon determination of the taxes actually due any amount paid in excess shall be refunded as taxes erroneously collected: *Provided*, That when payment is made in installments at least one-fourth of such estimated tax shall be paid before the expiration of 30 days after the close of the taxable year, at least an additional one-fourth within two months after the close of the taxable year, at least an additional one-fourth within four months after the close of the taxable year, and the remainder of the tax due on or before the time now fixed by law for such payment: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury, under rules and regulations prescribed by him, may allow credit against such taxes so paid in advance of an amount not exceeding 3 per cent per annum calculated upon the amount so paid from the date of such payment to the date now fixed by law for such payment; but no such credit shall be allowed on payments in excess of taxes determined to be due, nor on payments made after the expiration of four and one-half months after the close of the taxable year. All penalties provided by existing law for failure to pay tax when due are hereby made applicable to any failure to pay the tax at the time or times required in this section."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 300: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 300, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1010. That under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, collectors of internal revenue may receive, at par and accrued interest, certificates of indebtedness issued under section 6 of the act entitled 'An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes,' approved April 24, 1917, and any subsequent act or acts, and uncertified checks in payment of income and excess-profits taxes, during such time and under such regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall prescribe; but if a check so received is not paid by the bank on which it is drawn the person by whom such check has been tendered shall remain liable for the payment of the tax and for all legal penalties and additions the same as if such check had not been tendered."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 301: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 301, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figure "X" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "XI"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 303: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 308, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment and, on page 59, line 20, of the bill strike out the figures "1200" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "1100"; also in the matter restored by said amendment, on page 59, line 21, of the bill strike out the word "ten" and insert in lieu thereof the word "thirty." In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "Sec. 1000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 304: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 304, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1101. That on and after July 1, 1918, the rates of postage on publications entered as second-class matter (including sample copies to the extent of 10 per cent of the weight of copies mailed to subscribers during the calendar year) when sent by the publisher thereof from the post office of publication or other post office, or when sent by a news agent to actual subscribers thereto, or to other news agents for the purpose of sale:

"(a) In the case of the portion of such publication devoted to matter other than advertisements, shall be as follows: (1) On and after July 1, 1918, and until July 1, 1919, 1½ cents per pound or fraction thereof; (2) on and after July 1, 1919, 1½ cents per pound or fraction thereof.

"(b) In the case of the portion of such publication devoted to advertisements the rates per pound or fraction thereof for delivery within the several zones applicable to fourth-class matter shall be as follows (but where the space devoted to advertisements does not exceed 5 per cent of the total space, the rate of postage shall be the same as if the whole of such publication was devoted to matter other than advertisements): (1) On and after July 1, 1918, and until July 1, 1919, for the first and second zones, 1½ cents; for the third zone, 1½ cents; for the fourth zone, 2 cents; for the fifth zone, 2½ cents; for the sixth zone, 2½ cents; for the seventh zone, 3 cents; for the eighth zone, 3½ cents; (2) on and after July 1, 1919, and until July 1, 1920, for the first and second zones, 1½ cents; for the third zone, 2 cents; for the fourth zone, 3 cents; for the fifth zone, 3½ cents; for the sixth zone, 4 cents; for the seventh zone, 5 cents; for the eighth zone, 5½ cents; (3) on and after July 1, 1920, and until July 1, 1921, for the first and second zones, 1¾ cents; for the third zone, 2½ cents; for the fourth zone, 4 cents; for the fifth zone, 4¾ cents; for the sixth zone, 5½ cents; for the seventh zone, 7 cents; for the eighth zone, 7¾ cents; (4) on and after July 1, 1921, for the first and second zones, 2 cents; for the third zone, 3 cents; for the fourth zone, 5 cents; for the fifth zone, 6 cents; for the sixth zone, 7 cents; for the seventh zone, 9 cents; for the eighth zone, 10 cents.

"(c) With the first mailing of each issue of each such publication, the publisher shall file with the postmaster a copy of such issue, together with a statement containing such information as the Postmaster General may prescribe for determining the postage chargeable thereon."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 305: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 305, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, and on page 61, line 15 of the bill, strike out the figures "1202" and insert the figures "1102"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 306: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 306, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1103. That in the case of newspapers and periodicals entitled to be entered as second-class matter and maintained by and in the interest of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations or associations, not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, the second-class postage rates shall be, irrespective of the zone in which delivered (except when the same are deposited in a letter-carrier office for delivery by its carriers, in which case the rates shall be the same as now provided by law), 1½ cents a pound or fraction thereof on and after July 1, 1918, and until July 1, 1919, and on and after July 1, 1919, 1½ cents a pound or fraction thereof. The publishers of such newspapers or periodicals before being entitled to the foregoing rates shall furnish to the Postmaster General, at such times and under such conditions as he may prescribe, satisfactory evidence that none of the net income of such organization inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 307: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 307, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1104. That where the total weight of any one edition or issue of any publication mailed to any one zone does not exceed 1 pound, the rate of postage shall be 1 cent."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 308: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 308, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1105. The zone rates provided by this title shall relate to the entire bulk mailed to any one zone and not to individually addressed packages."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 309: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 309, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, and on page 63, line 1, of the bill in lieu of the figures "1206" insert the figures "1106"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 310: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 310, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, and on page 63, line 5, of the bill in lieu of the figures "1207" insert the figures "1107"; also on the same page of the bill, line 9, strike out the words "and second"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 311: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 311, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment, insert the following:

"SEC. 1108. That the salaries of postmasters at offices of the first, second, and third classes shall not be increased after July 1, 1917, during the existence of the present war. The compensation of postmasters at offices of the fourth class shall continue to be computed on the basis of the present rates of postage."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 312: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 312, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 1109. That where postmasters at offices of the third class have been since May 1, 1917, or hereafter are granted leave without pay for military purposes, the Postmaster General may allow, in addition to the maximum amounts which may now be allowed such offices for clerk hire, in accordance with law, an amount not to exceed 50 per cent of the salary of the postmaster."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 313: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numberd 313, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "1002" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "1110"; in line 9 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "proviso" and insert in lieu thereof the word "section," and in line 13 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "bona fide"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 314: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 314, and agree to the same with amendments as follows:

(1) In the first line of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "XI" and insert the figures "XII."

(2) In the second line of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the figures "1100" and insert the figures "1200."

(3) On page 61 of the engrossed Senate amendments strike out all, beginning with the colon in line 16, of the matter inserted by said amendment through the word "years," in line 17, page 62; and on page 73 of said engrossed amendments strike out all after the word "title," in line 5, through the word "years," in line 25, and in lieu of the matter thus stricken out insert the following on page 85 of said engrossed amendments after line 25:

"SEC. 31. (a) That the term 'dividends' as used in this title shall be held to mean any distribution made or ordered to be made by a corporation, joint-stock company, association, or insurance company, out of its earnings or profits accrued since March 1, 1913, and payable to its shareholders, whether in cash or in stock of the corporation, joint-stock company, association, or insurance company, which stock dividend shall be considered income, to the amount of the earnings or profits so distributed.

"(b) Any distribution made to the shareholders or members of a corporation, joint-stock company, or association, or insurance company, in the year 1917, or subsequent tax years, shall be deemed to have been made from the most recently accumulated undivided profits or surplus, and shall constitute a part of the annual income of the distributee for the year in which received, and shall be taxed to the distributee at the rates prescribed by law for the years in which such profits or surplus were accumulated by the corporation, joint-stock company, as-

sociation, or insurance company, but nothing herein shall be construed as taxing any earnings or profits accrued prior to March 1, 1913, but such earnings or profits may be distributed in stock dividends or otherwise, exempt from the tax, after the distribution of earnings and profits accrued since March 1, 1913, has been made. This subdivision shall not apply to any distribution made prior to August 6, 1917, out of earnings or profits accrued prior to March 1, 1913."

(4) On page 63 of said engrossed amendments, lines 9 and 10, strike out the words "connection with" and insert the words "the act authorizing."

(5) On page 63 of said engrossed amendments, line 19, strike out the figures "1101" and insert the figures "1201."

(6) On page 64 of said engrossed amendments, line 2, strike out the word "war" and insert the word "excess."

(7) On page 64 of said engrossed amendments strike out lines 7 and 8.

(8) On page 64 of said engrossed amendments, line 9, strike out the figures "1102" and insert "1202."

(9) On page 64 of said engrossed amendments, line 25, strike out the word "war" and insert the word "excess."

(10) On page 65 of said engrossed amendments strike out lines 6–13, inclusive.

(11) On page 65 of said engrossed amendments, line 14, strike out the figure "3" and insert the figure "2."

(12) On page 66 of said engrossed amendments, line 1, strike out the figures "1103" and insert the figures "1203."

(13) On page 67 of said engrossed amendments, line 15, strike out the figures "1104" and insert the figures "1204."

(14) On page 68 of said engrossed amendments, line 21, after the word "States," insert the following words inclosed in parentheses: "if and to the extent that it is provided in the act authorizing the issue of such obligations of the United States that they are exempt from taxation."

(15) On page 69 of said engrossed amendments, line 22, strike out the figures "1105" and insert "1205," and in the same line, after "(b)" and the comma, insert "(c)" and a comma.

(16) On page 70 of said engrossed amendments, at the end of line 15, insert the following: "make return thereof on or before March 1 of each year and, on or before the time fixed by law for the payment of the tax, shall."

(17) On page 70 of said engrossed amendments, after line 22, insert the following as a new paragraph:

"(c) The amount of the normal tax hereinbefore imposed shall also be deducted and withheld from fixed or determinable annual or periodical gains, profits and income derived from interest upon bonds and mortgages, or deeds of trust or other similar obligations of corporations, joint-stock companies, associations, and insurance companies (if such bonds, mortgages, or other obligations contain a contract or provision by which the obligor agrees to pay any portion of the tax imposed by this title upon the obligee or to reimburse the obligee for any portion of the tax or to pay the interest without deduction for any tax which the obligor may be required or permitted to pay thereon or to retain therefrom under any law of the United States), whether payable annually or at shorter or longer periods and whether such interest is payable to a nonresident alien individual or to an individual citizen or resident of the United States, subject to the provisions of the foregoing subdivision (b) of this section requiring the tax to be withheld at the source and deducted from annual income and returned and paid to the Government, unless the person entitled to receive such interest shall file with the withholding agent, on or before February 1, a signed notice in writing claiming the benefit of an exemption under section 7 of this title."

(18) On page 72 of said engrossed amendments, line 3, after the word "section," insert a comma and the following: "except subdivision (c)," and a comma.

(19) On page 72 of said engrossed amendments, line 7, strike out "(c)" and both commas.

(20) On page 72 of said engrossed amendments, line 10, strike out the figures "1106" and insert "1206."

(21) On page 74 of said engrossed amendments, line 12, strike out all after the comma through the word "twelve," in line 13, and insert the following: "but not including the amount of any income taxes paid by it within the year imposed by the authority of the United States."

(22) On page 74 of said engrossed amendments, line 17, after the word "business" insert the words "or is invested in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917."

(23) On page 74 of said engrossed amendments, line 22, strike out all after the word "thereon" through the word "final" in line 24.

(24) On page 74 of said engrossed amendments, line 25, strike out the word "rate" and insert the word "rates."

(25) On page 75 of said engrossed amendments, line 4, strike out the word "rate" and insert the word "rates."

(26) On page 75 of said engrossed amendments, line 11, strike out the figures "1107" and insert "1207."

(27) On page 77 of said engrossed amendments, line 5, strike out the word "war" and insert the word "excess."

(28) On page 78 of said engrossed amendments, line 15, strike out the word "war" and insert the word "excess."

(29) On page 78 of said engrossed amendments, strike out all after line 19 through line 3 on page 80, and on page 5 of the bill, line 20, after the matter inserted by amendment numbered 26, insert a comma and the following: "except that for the purpose of the tax imposed by this section the income embraced in a return of a corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company, shall be credited with the amount received as dividends upon the stock or from the net earnings of any other corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company, which is taxable upon its net income as provided in this title."

(30) On page 80 of said engrossed amendments, line 4, strike out "1108. (1)" and insert "1208" and a period.

(31) On page 80 of said engrossed amendments strike out all after line 20, through line 10 on page 81.

(32) On page 81 of said engrossed amendments, line 11, strike out the figures "1109" and insert "1209."

(33) On page 81 of said engrossed amendments, line 15, after the word "liable" insert the following: "to pay the tax" and a comma.

(34) On page 81 of said engrossed amendments, line 17, after the word "neglects" insert the following: "to pay such tax" and a comma.

(35) On page 82 of said engrossed amendments, line 12, strike out the figures "1110" and insert "1210."

(36) On page 83 of said engrossed amendments, line 5, strike out the figures "1111" and insert "1211."

(37) On page 85 of said engrossed amendments, line 11, before the period insert a comma and the following: "but shall not apply to the payment of interest on obligations of the United States."

(38) On page 85 of said engrossed amendments, line 14, strike out the word "war" and insert "excess."

(39) On page 85 of said engrossed amendments, line 17, strike out the word "war" and insert "excess."

(40) On page 85 of said engrossed amendments, line 25, before the period insert a comma and the following: "owned by such foreign Governments, or from interest on deposits in banks in the United States of moneys belonging to foreign Governments."

(41) On page 85 of said engrossed amendments strike out all after line 25 through line 8 on page 86.

(42) On page 86 of said engrossed amendments, line 9, strike out the figures "1112" and insert "1212."

(43) On page 86 of said engrossed amendments, line 14, after the comma, insert the following: "except in the cases covered by subdivision (c) of section 9 of such act, as amended by this act" and a comma.

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 320: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 320, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the figures "1204" inserted by said amendment insert the figures "1302"; and the Senate agrees to the same.

F. M. SIMMONS,
WM. J. STONE,
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
BOIES PENROSE,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
JOSEPH W. FORDNEY,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Managers on the part of the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the report be agreed to?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I want, if my strength holds out, to state as briefly as I can the more important changes that have been made in the pending bill in conference. In passing let me say the conferees were engaged in continuous consideration of the bill for over two weeks—sat every day generally from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Our deliberations from the beginning to the end were pleasant, and there is no justification for certain published statements with reference to personal wrangles and antagonisms in our meetings. As is always the case in dealing in measures of vast magnitude touching the financial interests of the people, there were sharp disagreements resulting in much discussion and calling for concessions and compromises, but these discussions were in good humor and the concessions were mutual.

Concerning the final result, I wish to say that, in my judgment, as a result of our deliberations and the changes and modifications we have made, the bill comes back to the Congress better than it was when it left either House.

The Senate made 320 amendments to the House bill. In conference the Senate receded from 55 of these amendments. The House agreed without amendment to 210 of them, and to the other 65 with amendments.

It was estimated that the bill as it passed the House would raise $1,862,000,000. The Senate struck out of the bill as passed by the House certain items estimated to raise $358,000,000. These items were in the main the retroactive taxes on 1916 incomes, estimated to raise $108,000,000; the 10 per cent ad valorem tariff duties on imports, both free and dutiable, estimated to raise $200,000,000; certain taxes on electric power for domestic uses, and on the amount paid for light and heat service, and telephone service to subscribers, estimated to yield thirty millions; tax on certain classes of advertising, estimated to yield seven and one-half millions of dollars; 5 per cent gross sales tax on automobile, motorcycle, and bicycle tires, estimated to yield twelve and one-half millions of dollars, to all of which the conferees agreed.

For these eliminations by the Senate from the House bill, amounting in the aggregate, as stated before, to $358,000,000, and to which the conferees agreed, there was nothing in the nature of a substitute tax imposed by the conferees.

In addition to these eliminations the Senate reduced certain rates imposed by the House, estimated to yield in round numbers seventy-two millions, and the conferees agreed to the same. These reductions were upon proprietary medicines, passenger transportation, musical instruments, moving-picture films, jewelry, and so on. They were items on which the House imposed certain gross sales taxes averaging about 5 per cent. As the result of these eliminations and reductions the estimated revenue from the House bill was reduced, in round numbers, from $1,862,000,000 to $1,433,000,000.

The total amount of revenue estimated from the bill as agreed upon in conference is $2,535,000,000, so that the increases made in the Senate and in conference amount to $1,102,000,000. Of this increase one hundred and twenty-eight millions was added in conference, and the balance, namely, nine hundred and seventy-four millions, was made by the Senate and agreed to by the conferees.

I have made this financial summary because I thought it might be helpful to lay these facts before Senators before entering upon a detailed discussion of the changes made in the bill in conference.

I think I can present to the Senate the work of the conference more satisfactorily by discussing the changes made in the different titles in the order in which they appear in the bill, beginning with tax upon incomes.

In passing, it might be well to say that the pending bill does not repeal the existing income-tax law, the rates imposed being simply additional to those imposed by the existing law. This is true both of the normal and the surtaxes imposed by the pending measure. That is to say, the taxpayer will have to pay both the normal and the surtaxes imposed in the existing law, and in addition to that, those imposed in the pending bill.

Now, as to the changes made in conference, speaking generally, virtually all the amendments made by the Senate to this title of the bill were retained in conference. The only change in the rates was, first, incomes between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars. The Senate had fixed the rate at 6 per cent, and the conferees reduced it to 5 per cent. This reduction conformed to the ratio of increases up to that point in the bill; the Senate increase did not conform to it. Second, on incomes between twenty and forty thousand dollars. The Senate had fixed the rate at 8 per cent, the House had fixed it at 6, and the conferees fixed it at 7 per cent. These changes will make practically little difference in the revenues.

The estimated increase in the revenues from incomes amounting to about $15,000,000 is not the result of these conference changes in rates, but chiefly because of a modification made by the conferees in the Senate amendment relating to dividends received from corporations. Under the present law these dividends when received by one corporation from another are not exempt from the normal income tax, as they would be if received by an individual. The Senate amendment placed individuals and corporations receiving dividends on corporate stock upon a parity and allowed both an exemption from the normal tax, that tax having been paid by the corporation declaring the dividend. The conference modified this amendment as to dividends received by a corporation so as to make it applicable only to the additional tax imposed in the pending bill. As a result of this conference amendment to the Senate amendment the estimated revenues from incomes will be increased to the extent of collections from these dividends under existing law. The amount involved is estimated at about $15,000,000.

In this connection I wish to refer briefly to another Senate income-tax amendment materially affecting the revenues from this source which in a slightly modified form was agreed to by the conferees. It relates to the undistributed surplus of corporations.

Under existing law—indeed, under every revenue law heretofore enacted taxing incomes—the normal tax upon corporations has been the same as that upon individuals, but corporations as such have not been required to pay any surtax. Of course, dividends declared by corporations have been subject to the surtax of the individual stockholder receiving them, but neither the existing law nor the House bill require corporations to distribute their earnings or impose any surtax or penalty upon such part of their earnings as remained undistributed. As a result the corporations of the country have accumulated large undivided surpluses which have escaped the income surtax as long as they remained undistributed. It is evident that in these circumstances the greater the individual surtax the greater the inducement to corporations to refrain from distributing their surpluses.

Your committee thought it expedient to devise some method of coercing distribution of these earnings when not retained for the necessary requirements of the business. With this end in view the Senate adopted an amendment proposed by the Finance Committee imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the undistributed surplus of a corporation but exempted from this tax such retained surplus as the Secretary of the Treasury should ascertain and find was reasonably required in the business and actually employed in it.

Under existing law and in the House bill the accumulated surplus of corporations when distributed, whether in cash or in stock, become subject to surtax of the stockholder receiving it unless the surplus thus distributed was accumulated prior to March 1, 1916, the date of the adoption of the income-tax amendment to the Constitution. Surplus acquired before that date is not and can not be subject to an income tax of any kind. In this condition of the law it was clearly to the interest of the corporation to distribute its surplus accumulated before 1913 instead of that more recently accumulated.

In order to be just to the corporations and at the same time to encourage them to distribute their annual earnings your committee reported to the Senate and the Senate adopted an amendment providing that the surplus when distributed shall be taxed to the distribution at the rate prescribed by law for the year in which they were earned, but also provided that any distributions of surplus made in 1917 or subsequent tax years should be deemed to have been made from the most recently accumulated undivided profits, thereby making it necessary for the corporation to distribute its surplus earned since March 1, 1913, before that earned prior to that time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire to ask the Senator from North Carolina what is the reason for that inhibition? There must be some purpose in it. Is the purpose to stimulate the business with the previously acquired surplus?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; the purpose, if the Senator will pardon me, is simply not to permit such corporate dividends to escape the tax by distributing surplus which was earned 10 or 20 years ago, and not distributed up to this time, and which really has been merged into the capital instead of distributing the more recently earned surplus which would be subject to the tax.

The conferees agreed to these amendments but added an amendment to the effect that the latter amendment—that is to say, the one requiring the distribution to be made from the most recently acquired surplus—should not apply to any distribution made prior to August 1, 1917, out of earnings accrued prior to March 1, 1913.

In this same connection the Senate adopted another income-tax amendment of very great importance in equalizing the burdens of the income-tax situation as between corporations, partnerships, and individuals. In view of the fact that under the law even as amended, as hereinbefore stated, necessarily a considerable portion—probably more than one-third—of the earnings of the corporations would never be distributed, and hence will never pay the surtax which individuals are required to pay by way of recouping this loss and bringing about parity between corporations, partnerships, and individuals in respect to the surtax the Senate imposed an additional 2 per cent income tax upon the net earnings of all corporations, thereby making what may be called the normal tax of corporations 2 per cent higher than the normal tax of the individual. It is estimated that the revenue from this amendment will amount to $180,000,000. The House conferees readily agreed to this important Senate amendment.

The Senate made another amendment materially effecting the revenues from incomes which, with slight modification, was agreed to by the conferees. I refer to the Senate amendment repealing the law requiring collection at the source except as to foreign corporations and nonresident aliens, and substituting therefor information at the source. This amendment was strongly recommended by the Treasury Department, but the repeal of "collection" at the source was strongly opposed by the holders of certain securities, chiefly the bonds of railroads, containing what is known as the "tax-free-covenant" clause. It was contended that the repeal of this law might enable the corporations issuing these securities to evade the obligations created by these covenants. The disagreement between the two Houses with respect to this matter was finally adjusted by the conferees on the part of the House agreeing to the Senate amendment with a provision retaining collection at the source as to this class of securities.

Mr. President, I think these are substantially all the changes which were made by the conferees directly affecting the income-tax section of the bill. They were changes, as I have stated before, which will but slightly affect the revenues from incomes.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the Senator has already answered the question which I desire to ask, but I did not clearly understand his answer, and I hope he will pardon me if I again ask the question, and have the answer partially repeated. The Senator stated as to the amendments affecting the income tax that they altogether resulted in an increase in the income tax.

Mr. SIMMONS. I stated that the amendments made in the Senate would result, if adopted, in an increase of that tax by about $252,000,000, as I remember. I said that the changes made in conference in the income-tax rates did not materially change the revenue.

Mr. NORRIS. I understand that; that in fact they had reduced it just a little.

Mr. SIMMONS. I should say probably by a small amount, probably about $6,000,000.

Mr. NORRIS. In one place the rate is reduced from 6 per cent to 5 per cent, and in another place it is reduced from 8 per cent to 7 per cent.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am advised that that change would result in a reduction of about $6,000,000. If the Senator will pardon me, the amendment to which I referred with reference to the dividends of corporations would raise the amount of estimated revenues from income about $15,000,000. This is not an amendment to the rates, but it affects the amount estimated from the tax.

Mr. NORRIS. That is what I wanted to get at. The effect of the amendments made by the conference committee in reference to the income tax will, in the judgment of the Senator, result in an increase of the revenue from the income tax?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; of about $9,000,000.

Mr. NORRIS. And that comes about from the amendment relating to the surplus of corporations?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; not to the surplus, but to the dividends of corporations.

Mr. NORRIS. I mean from the dividends, and not the surplus, which must be distributed under the amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. I now invite the attention of Senators to the changes recommended by the conferees with respect to the excess-profits title of the bill. Senators will remember that the Senate struck out this entire title of the House bill and substituted for it a profits tax based upon a radically different principle from that of the House bill. While the conferees have made various changes in this title as amended by the Senate, they have been largely changes in form rather than in essence. The scheme of the Senate has been retained. The exemption to which the taxpayer is entitled is based, as provided in the Senate amendment, upon his prewar earnings—that is to say, his average net earnings during the years 1911, 1912, and 1913. The maximum and minimum principle of the Senate amendment is retained, but it is changed from a maximum of 10 per cent and a minimum of 6 per cent to a maximum of 9 per cent and a minimum of 7 per cent.

The House bill also provided a flat rate amounting to 16 per cent upon the net earnings of the taxpayer. The Senate substituted for this flat rate a graduated rate, running from 12 per cent to 60 per cent, according to the percentage of increase in earnings during the taxable year over the earnings of the prewar period. The House conferees agreed to the substitution of a graduated for the flat rate, but the graduated scale agreed upon runs from 20 per cent to 60 per cent, instead of from 12 per cent to 60 per cent. The resultant revenues are estimated to be practically the same as under the graduated rate provided in the Senate amendment. The basis and method of the calculation are slightly different. Under the Senate amendment the calculation was on the basis of increase in profits over prewar earnings; the method adopted by the conferees is based upon the increase profits on invested capital over the deductions. The principle is the same and the resultant revenues are virtually the same.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, what was ever the advantage of basing the percentage to be imposed on excess profits upon the deductions, instead of upon the amount of the excess over the deductions? That was the Senate method, to fix the rate or the percentage on the deductions, instead of on the excess over the deductions.

Mr. SIMMONS. What we have been trying to do is to allow to the taxpayers as a deduction what we have regarded as their normal profit. The original Senate bill was drafted upon the principle that whatever a man made before the war was to be regarded as his peace profit, as his normal profit, a profit that was not made out of the war, and that should not be subjected to a war tax, and that the tax rate should depend upon the increase in net income over the normal income. That was the original theory of the Senate bill, and that was continued until the Senate modified that principle by limiting the deduction by introducing the maximum and minimum provision.

Now, if the Senator means to inquire of me why a maximum and minimum instead of a flat rate upon invested capital as the deduction, then I answer him——

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, not at all; the Senator evidently does not get the point I wish to raise. In imposing the income tax on individuals, we first make an exemption of a certain amount, and then we impose a surtax based upon the amount of his income above his exemption. That is the method now adopted in connection with the corporation income tax. But I never have been able to understand why the Senate committee recommended that you should first make an exemption and then figure the amount of the percentage imposed on the deduction, instead of upon the excess above the deduction. I never have been able to see the advantage of that system.

Mr. SIMMONS. The deduction, of course, was the normal profit, not an arbitrary exemption, I will say to the Senator. What we sought to do was to base the graduated tax on the percentage of increased profits over the normal or prewar profit.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. KING. Before the Senator leaves the excess-profits tax, if this is a convenient place, I should be glad to submit one question to him.

Mr. SIMMONS. Certainly.

Mr. KING. Under the bill as reported by the conferees, will the amount of revenue derived from excess profits, particularly, that derived from corporations, be as great as it would have been under the Senate bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. Not quite; about $60,000,000 less.

Mr. KING. And from what brackets—using the term so frequently used in the debate—would that $60,000,000 come?

Would it not come from the brackets under which the Steel Corporation and those corporations having great profits would pay their taxes?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; the Steel Corporation and the big corporations about which the Senator speaks are caught by the higher rates. The decrease in revenue does not result from any change of rates. The loss results from the flat exemption of $3,000 allowed to corporations in the conference report, as compared with the qualified $5,000 exemption allowed in the Senate amendment. The Senator will readily see that only a small class of corporations would have received the benefit of the $5,000 qualified exemption provided in the Senate bill, because most of them were making more than $5,000. Under the conference agreement all corporations are given the benefit of this $3,000 exemption. This causes the estimated decrease in revenue to which I called attention.

Mr. KING. Then, as I understand the Senator, under the present bill as reported there will be no substantial reduction from the amount which would have been obtained from taxes upon the large corporations under the Senate bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; except because of and on account of the exemptions I have just mentioned—practically none.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CALDER. Will the Senator from North Carolina explain the reason why, in section 203, subdivision (a), on page 34, in addition to the 7 and 9 per cent exemption, there is a $3,000 deduction, while in the next subdivision (b) for the partnership or individual there is a deduction of $6,000, in addition to the 7 or 9 per cent deduction, a corporation being allowed a deduction of $3,000 and a partnership or individual a deduction of $6,000?

Mr. SIMMONS. If the Senator will just wait a moment, I will try to explain that in connection with the reason for bringing in the individual. In the present law and in the House bill the excess-profits tax applied only to corporations and partnerships; that is the way the bill came to us from the House, and that is the way it is in the present law. The Senate committee thought there was no good reason in principle or otherwise why an individual should not be subjected to this tax and thereby be required to contribute out of his profits in trade or business to the expenses of the Government as well as a partnership or corporation. So we added individuals. That amendment was a very important one; it brought practically everybody engaged in trade and business in this country under the provisions of this title of the bill and required them to contribute their mite to the expenses of the war. We thought it was obviously the right thing to do; but there was some dissent in conference as to that. Finally, however, the conferees on the part of the House yielded their objections to the inclusion of the individual engaged in trade or business, but they objected to exempting from the tax occupations and professions with no invested capital or with merely a nominal invested capital.

The conferees on the part of the House insisted that there was no reason in principle why the professional man with no invested capital should not pay the tax as well as the man engaged in business with invested capital. When we decided to include occupations and professions the question of how to determine the deduction to be allowed greatly perplexed us. There was no invested capital, and therefore no basis upon which to make such a calculation as in the case of individuals, partnerships, or corporations engaged in trade or business requiring the investment of capital. So we decided that in the case of the business or the occupation without invested capital, or merely nominal capital, as it was impractical to apply the exemption based on capital, we would impose a flat tax, as in the case of the special tax imposed in the present law upon munition manufacturers—a flat tax of 8 per cent upon their earnings during the taxable year, less the flat exemption allowed in other cases.

It is said that this imposes a double income tax upon occupations or professions doing business with only a nominal capital, and that it works a discrimination in favor of corporations, partnerships, and individuals doing business with capital. This suggestion is based upon a misapprehension and is unwarranted.

Properly understood, the so-called excess or war taxes imposed in the title of the bill under discussion are in essence income taxes—that is to say, taxes based upon net earnings with exemptions. Where there is capital the exemption, while based upon net prewar earnings, can not in any case exceed 9 per cent of the invested capital. So that any individual, partnership, or corporation which is now making no more than before the war, or even not as much as before the war, may have to pay a heavy tax. The case of the Ford Automobile Co. is a good illustration. It is probably making no more now on its capital than it did before the war, but it will have to pay a large tax—probably a tax of about $9,000,00 for the present fiscal year. The tax is therefore, in essence, an income tax with an exemption which can not exceed 9 per cent of the invested capital plus from $3,000 to $6,000 as the case may be.

The rate of taxation applied in the case of invested capital is graduated, the minimum rate being 20 per cent and the maximum being 60 per cent.

The tax imposed upon individuals, partnerships, and corporations engaged in business without invested capital is, in essence, just as in the other case, an additional income tax, with the flat exemption of from $3,000 to $6,000 allowed as in the other case, but from necessity without the exemption based upon invested capital, because there is no capital invested as in the other case. Instead of a graduated rate of from 20 per cent to 60 per cent, a flat rate of 8 per cent is imposed. It may be that this arrangement does not accurately adjust the differences between the two cases, but it is confidently believed if there is any discrimination it is not a discrimination against business without capital. Not a discrimination against the professional man or the occupation without invested capital.

The confusion about this matter seems to grow out of the impression that the tax now levied is a war tax, a tax based upon the actual difference between the net earnings during the prewar period and the taxable year. That was true of the bill as it was originally reported back to the Senate by the Finance Committee, but that is not true of the bill as amended limiting the exemption to not less than 7 per cent or more than 9 per cent of the invested capital.

The Senator asked me why we have allowed a corporation an exemption of only $3,000 in addition to its percentage deduction, and a partnership or an individual $6,000. The Senator will recall that in the bill as it passed the Senate we gave the individual taxpayer a flat exemption of $5,000. We did not give that to the corporation. We only allowed the corporation an exemption in case its net income did not exceed $5,000. If its income exceeded $5,000, then its total net income, less the deduction, became subject to the tax. Now, the change that we have made is probably more favorable to the corporations, taken as a whole, than the bill as it passed the Senate, because we make absolute the exemption of $3,000 now accorded them, whereas before it was only qualified and uncertain. The Senator also inquires why we made this differentiation in the exemptions in favor of individuals and partnerships. We did it for the reason that the corporation has the privilege, which it always exercises, of paying its officers and managers salaries and deducting from the earnings of the corporation the amounts so paid as a part of the expense of the business. In the law as it is written the members of partnerships or individuals can not allow themselves compensation for their personal services, so that if the Senator and I were operating as a corporation we could pay ourselves a salary out of the earnings of that corporation and deduct it, giving in our income tax; but if we were operating as partners we would not be entitled under the law to pay ourselves salaries and have the amount deducted. Such a course would be inconsistent with the whole income-tax scheme with reference to partnerships, because a partnership does not have to pay any income tax, as a corporation does. Under the law all of its earnings are regarded as distributed, whether actually distributed or not. Though they may be retained in the business, the law, when it goes to impose the income tax upon the partners regards the total earnings of the year as having come into their hands, and requires them to give in those earnings for taxation. The same is true with respect to the individual. The partner stands exactly in the position of the individual. Neither is permitted to allow himself a salary and deduct it, and if he were permitted to allow a salary for personal service, and deduct it in ascertaining his excess-profits tax, he would have to give the amount so allowed in for income tax, and the thing would be as broad as it is long.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. I hope the Senator will not forget to suggest right here, also, that if an individual has an income from any other source outside of the partnership, then everything that is earned by the partnership, though not distributed at all, is added to his individual income, as it is charged to the indi-

vidual, and becomes subject to the supertax, the heavier tax, while the stockholder in a corporation does not have to pay a tax on anything that the corporation earns until it has been distributed and is in his possession.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator's statement is correct. The reasons for the differentiation in the exemptions we have allowed are, I think, quite clear and sufficient.

Mr. President, before leaving the subject of the excess-profits tax I wish to say that before agreeing to the amendment made in conference changing the maximum and minimum prewar exemption as fixed by the Senate from 6 to 10 per cent to 7 and 9 per cent, your conferees insisted, if these changes were made, there should be a liberalization of the definition of capital as contained in the bill as it passed both the House and the Senate. That definition, as you will recall, provided in substance that tangible property paid in in the place of cash for stock or shares in a corporation should be valued as at the time of payment. This part of the definition was qualified so as to provide that in case such tangible property was paid in before January 1, 1914, it should be valued at its actual cash value as of January 1, 1914, not to exceed the par value of the stock or shares specifically issued therefor.

The provision in the definition relating to good will, trademarks, and so forth, did not include good will paid for in stock or shares, but only when paid for in cash or tangible property. This provision was modified so as to provide that good will, and so forth, bona fide purchases prior to March 3, 1917, for stock or shares in an amount not to exceed 20 per cent of the total stock or shares of the corporation or partnership shall be included as invested capital at its value at the time of purchase, and in no case to exceed the par value of the stock.

It also provided that patents and copyrights shall be treated as material assets and allowances made to the extent of the actual value at the time of the purchase, not to exceed par value of stock or shares issued therefor.

In this connection attention is called to another important amendment adopted in conference at the instance of the Senate conferees to protect the revenues against frauds and evasions through reorganization and recapitalization. It provides in general terms that in case of a reorganization, consolidation, or change in ownership of a trade or business after March 3, 1917, if the interest or control of such trade or business remains practically the same the assets transferred or received from the prior trade or business shall have no greater value than in computing the invested capital of such prior trade or business if such assets had not been transferred, unless such assets were paid for specifically in cash or tangible property, and then not to exceed the actual cash or cash value of such tangible property paid therefor at the time of payment.

I now come to the title of the bill which relates to the tax upon beverages. Practically the only change made by the conferees with reference to this title relates to the rate of taxation and the elimination of the so-called material tax. This is the tax imposed in the original Senate amendment on certain materials used in the manufacture of distilled spirits and fermented liquors. The conferees struck out these material taxes because they were thought to be somewhat inconsistent with the provisions of the food-control law with respect to the same subject and because, in view of that legislation, it was thought these provisions were entirely unnecessary.

There were no changes by the conferees in the rates imposed upon distilled spirits. The House bill imposed an additional tax of $1.10 upon distilled spirits for beverage purposes, and the Senate increased this rate to $2.10 additional, making the total tax under existing law and the pending bill on distilled spirits for beverage purposes $3.20 instead of $2.20, as provided in the House bill, and the House conferees agreed to the increase.

The conferees made no change in the rate of tax fixed in the Senate amendment on fermented liquors or beers. The Senate amendment increased this rate, and the House conferees agreed to that increase. The rate under existing law and the pending bill is $3 per barrel.

The only change made by the conferees on soft drinks was to increase the rate on sirups and extracts from 3 cents to 5 cents per gallon. The House had imposed a gross-sales tax upon sirups and extracts. The Senate changed it to a tax of 3 cents per gallon, and the conferees increased it to 5 cents per gallon.

The rates upon wines and grape brandy, or grape spirits, used in the fortification of wines were changed in conference both from the rates fixed in the House bill and in the Senate amendments. The rates agreed upon are higher than the rates of the House and lower than the rates of the Senate bill. As a result of the changes thus made there will be a slight loss in revenue.

The main changes that we made in the wine and brandy schedule were to carry out a compromise that had been made of an old feud existing between the wine growers of California and the wine growers of the Eastern States. That compromise was made and written into the law here several years ago. Of course, we increased the tax both upon wines and upon brandy, but in making the increases we made them so as to conform to the principles of that compromise.

Some of these wines are fortified with distilled spirits, while others are fortified with grape spirits. The conferees made the same percentage of increase in the tax on grape spirits used in fortifying wines that is made upon distilled spirits used in fortifying wines, the difference in the rates upon these two articles used for fortifying purposes grows out of the fact that a gallon of distilled spirits will, it is claimed, fortify three or four times as much wine as a gallon of grape spirits.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Is the Senator about to go to another title?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. The Senator has passed by a place at which I should like to ask a question, on page 52. I notice that the conferees have agreed to restore the so-called munitions tax, which the Senate in its bill had repealed.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. The tax, however, is restored only for the present year, and the rate is reduced to 10 per cent.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Will the Senator inform me why that tax is sought to be retained? It impresses me as such an unjust tax that if the Senator could tell me without disclosing the confidences of the committee, I should like to know why it is retained.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senate with entire frankness with reference to this tax that personally I feel about it very much the same as the Senator from Delaware has expressed himself. That, however, was one of the questions in difference between the House and the Senate, upon which the conferees were satisfied it would be impossible for them to get together without some compromise. The House conferees were insistent upon continuing the special tax imposed in the existing law upon munitions. We finally adjusted the matter by the House accepting a proposition to reduce the rate from 12½ to 10 per cent and to confine the tax in its operations to this calendar year. Now, the Senator asks me why that was done. It is but fair that I should answer not only from my standpoint and that of the Senate conferees, but from the standpoint of the House conferees as well.

Under the present law manufacturers of munitions are required to pay an excess-profits tax, as are other manufacturers, and in addition a flat tax upon net profits of 12½ per cent. When this law was passed we were not engaged in war. These manufacturers were selling enormous quantities of munitions at high prices to certain of the European belligerents. They were making more profits out of the war than anybody else, and there was a general demand that they should be required to pay this extra tax. That situation is changed. We are now in a sense the allies of the European belligerents, to whom they are supplying these munitions. This Government has also become a purchaser of these materials, and our Government has been committed to the policy of protecting its allies against excess prices for war supplies furnished to them by us.

Under these circumstances, from my standpoint and the standpoint of the Senate conferees, as well as the Senate as expressed in its action, this tax should not be continued, but it is just to say that the House conferees did not agree with this contention. The special tax imposed in the present law for the current year has not been paid. It will not be due until next June. When it is paid it will be based upon the net earnings of the current year. The House conferees contended, and it must be admitted with some reason, that the sales for this year to the belligerents had been made with reference to this tax; that in many instances contracts had been made with the belligerents including the taxes in the price, and that some of these contracts are still in operation, and that no special injustice would be done in requiring these manufacturers to pay this tax. It was further represented to us by them that the situation in the House with reference to this tax was such as to make it difficult to secure the concurrence of that body in its elimination from the bill. Under these circumstances a com-

promise was made by which the tax was reduced, as I have before stated, to 10 per cent, with a provision that the tax should become inoperative after the first day of January, 1918.

I wish to say frankly to the Senate that this tax and what is known as the postal taxes, especially the publishers' tax, were the two things—there were others, but these were the two main things—upon which I reached the conclusion, as I think my associate conferees did, that without some compromise we would not be able to report to our respective Houses an agreement. Ordinarily a disagreement on the part of conferees is not a serious matter, but I think a disagreement of the conferees over this bill would have been a very serious thing. To have reported a disagreement upon this bill—a bill raising the revenues to defray the expenses of the war—would have been a most serious matter. It would have been misunderstood and misconstrued not only at home but abroad, especially by our enemies across the water. A disagreement under these circumstances would have been almost a public calamity. It was not to be thought of if possible to be avoided.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I quite agree with the Senator from North Carolina that when the two Houses are in an apparent deadlock a compromise is necessary, and this great measure ought not to be defeated by an inability to agree. I should like to ask the Senator a further question. If the House conferees took the position they did upon the ground suggested by the Senator, of course if the claim upon which the position is predicated is not true then the House conferees, I assume, would have receded from their position.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware will suspend while the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the hour of 2 o'clock having arrived. It will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2854) to amend the naturalization laws.

Mr. CALDER. I ask that the bill be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the bill will be temporarily laid aside. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I should like to ask the Senator from North Carolina if there was any attempt made to ascertain whether or not as a matter of fact the munition makers had placed their price to the foreign purchasers at a figure that covered this tax?

Mr. SIMMONS. I will state to the Senator that one of the conferees on the part of the Senate did make an effort in that direction and stated the result of his investigation. He contended that that statement did not apply to many of the manufacturers of munitions, but that it did apply to some. But the controversy continued. It was contended that though all the manufacturers did not have these contracts by which the tax was added to the price, those who did have them naturally became the beneficiaries of these increased prices. Moreover, as I have stated before, it was contended with much earnestness that the situation in the House with reference to this tax was such that its elimination would make it extremely uncertain whether the House could be induced to concur.

Mr. WOLCOTT. If in the case of any of those I am at all acquainted with—and I am not intimately acquainted with any of them—that tax was added to the price, it is new information to me. If they did get a price with that tax added, of course it is perfectly proper for the Government to collect the tax from them; but I am inclined to think that they did not.

Mr. SIMMONS. It was said there was an agreement that the foreign Governments would reimburse them for the tax. That would, of course, mean the inclusion of the tax in the price.

Mr. POMERENE. If the Senator does not mind an interruption——

Mr. SIMMONS. Not at all; I have no objection.

Mr. POMERENE. I realize, of course, that compromises must be made between the members of a conference committee of the two Houses where there is a difference of opinion. I can understand why when we were not engaged in this war there should be a tax upon the munition makers. But we are now engaged in a common cause with our allies against a common enemy, and if there is one thing that we need in order to win the war it is ammunition. The munition makers ought to pay their full share of taxes. That has been provided for by the income tax and by the so-called war-profits tax; but why in addition to that another tax should be placed upon these munition makers is beyond my comprehension. They have been selected out by this provision of the bill, they whose services we need, and have been subjected to a special tax.

In other words, they have been penalized. I can understand how the German Kaiser and the German Reichstag and the German Army and Navy would approve that course, but I do not understand at this time why an American Congress should approve it. The Senator has put the matter very forcibly when he makes the statement that we had to yield certain points. I can understand that, and I can understand why there should be a special tax on munition makers when we were not engaged in the war, but when we need their output, why we should penalize them I do not understand.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Will the Senator from North Carolina permit me to suggest that some of these munition makers to my knowledge put themselves in a condition of preparedness that the Government in none of its branches can equal, and yet in the vital matter of munitions for the Government an American Congress penalizes them for that efficiency.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] has stated on the floor of the Senate what I have not only stated in conference but repeated very many times. I do not intend, and I have said to my associate conferees of the House I do not intend, to justify this tax. I do not justify it. I give you the situation. I give you the reasons which the conferees on the part of the House gave for their insistence.

However, it is proper to say that this tax under the compromise rate will expire the 1st day of January. It has only about three months longer to run. Of course that does not justify it.

Mr. SAULSBURY. If the Senator from North Carolina will yield, I want to say that I am very much gratified on account of the constituency which I represent, which is very largely interested in the matter, to hear the Senator from North Carolina make the statement that he has made regarding the unjustifiable character of this tax. It was unjustifiable originally, and it was due, I think, largely to the pro-German propaganda in this country that the tax was enlarged upon and advocated and placed upon the people of the country who were preparing the country for a war that obviously was coming upon us. I am very much gratified, and I have been all through these discussions, to know what the position of the Senator from North Carolina has been upon it. I trust that when this tax does expire on the 1st of January, as it does under the terms of the bill, we may never again be so afflicted by a propaganda to aid persons with whom we are undoubtedly going to be at war.

Mr. PENROSE. Will the Senator from North Carolina permit me at this point?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. I can state that the chairman of the Finance Committee resisted the imposition of this tax or its continuation as long as possible, and I myself bitterly resented the suggestion of the tax as unjustifiable from every point of view; but it was represented to the conferees in entire good faith, I think, that it would be difficult to get the House to agree to the repeal of the munitions tax for this year. Somehow or other the impression had gotten abroad that the tax had been allowed for in the contracts already made, and, although such was not the fact, the impression proved to be impossible to eradicate.

Under all the circumstances the Senate conferees yielded, although I am satisfied there was no point in the bill which they were disposed to resist to a greater length than this special tax. No one has condemned it more severely than I from every point of view. The only redeeming feature is that the tax ceases this year, and it has been reduced to 10 per cent instead of 12½ on the theory that about 10½ months of the year will have elapsed before the law becomes effective and that will about cover the period of the year prior to the enactment of the law. It is one of the several objectionable features of this measure, but I have concluded to vote for the adoption of the report, because we know that we must pass the revenue bill, the defeat of which would be disastrous. Even if the bill is only 80 per cent good, it ought, in my opinion, to be passed ultimately.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I understood that that was the attitude of the Senate conferees and also of the Senate committee, and having made, as I tried to do in the Senate, a special fight on this tax as being most unfair to a very large number of the people whom I represent, I am very glad to know that the Senate conferees succeeded in stopping this injustice with the present year. I know that my constituents will appreciate that.

Mr. PENROSE. I wish to add further, as one of the conferees, that I think the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee acted in entire good faith and believed that with these taxes, spread as they are over the moving-picture shows and other general matters affecting the mass of the people, he could not get a conference report through the House which would provide for the absolute repeal of the munitions tax for this year.

One unfortunate occurrence is largely to blame. It appears certain munition manufacturers during the pendency of the act of 1916, when the munitions tax was proposed in Congress, safe-

guarded themselves by having in their contracts with foreign belligerents for the delivery of munitions a covenant by which the foreign Government undertook to pay any tax which might be imposed. Communications were sent quite largely to Members of the House and Senate and to the conferees urging that they be allowed a credit for that amount of the tax in relation to these additional war taxes, conveying the impression that nearly all the contracts made contained such a covenant. In the last hours of the conference it proved impossible to eradicate that notion. In the opinion of the House conferees it would have been impossible to persuade the House of Representatives that all the contracts did not contain that covenant.

Investigation proved clearly, Mr. President, that less than 10 per cent of all the munition contracts did contain such a covenant, and that those contracts were only with one Government, England, and they had only been made during the uncertainty of the origial munitions-tax proposition. But as I said in the last hours of the conference, with the bill to be hastily disposed of in the House of Representatives, as it was yesterday, it was deemed impossible to persuade the Members of the House otherwise. The situation was largely due—I do not say to intentional misrepresentation—but to representations which conveyed the impression that the purchaser of these munitions was paying the taxes and that the taxpayer would not be relieved by the repeal of the munitions tax for this year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, there was very little change made by the conferees in the title relating to tobacco and its products. The tax on cigarettes and on smoking and chewing tobacco was slightly increased over the Senate rate. The Senate had provided for an increase of 75 cents per thousand on the ordinary-sized cigarettes over the present law. The conferees increased that to 80 cents, adding 5 cents per thousand more. The Senate amendment provided for an increase of the tax on tobacco of 4 cents per pound, the present rate being 8 cents. The conferees added 5 cents per pound to that rate instead of 4. The sizes of packages as provided in the Senate amendment for tobacco, snuff, and cigarettes are the same as in the bill as passed by the Senate. The Senate amendments reducing the amount of floor stock exempted from the tax in the House bill were also retained. With the exception of these increases in the tax on cigarettes and tobacco, there is no change in the rate of tax in the Senate amendments with reference to these products.

The taxes upon public utilities have been only slightly changed by the conference. The Senate reduced the rate of the tax upon the amount paid for the transportation of persons from 10 per cent, as provided in the House bill, to 5 per cent. The conferees increased that rate to 8 per cent. The House provided for a tax upon the transportation of property by express, equivalent to 6 per cent of the amount paid, the Senate amended this so that the tax would be 1 cent for each 25 cents or fraction thereof so paid. The conferees changed this to 1 cent for each 20 cents or fraction thereof paid for such transportation. The balance of the Senate amendment with reference to rates upon transportation was retained by the conference.

The House imposed a flat tax of 5 per cent upon the amount paid for electric power for domestic use, upon light and heat, and telephone service by subscribers. It was estimated that this tax, proposed by the House, would raise $30,000,000. The Senate struck out this provision altogether, and the conferees agreed to that elimination.

This title of the bill, however, contains certain taxes upon insurance companies. The Senate struck those taxes out of the House bill. The conferees restored them without making any change in the House rates.

The Senate also struck out of the House bill the so-called inheritance or estate taxes. Some members of the conference upon the part of the Senate felt very strongly about this tax. Certain of the House conferees felt equally as strongly the other way. We came very near to a deadlock upon that question, but we finally compromised these differences, making the maximum additional rate from 15 to 10 per cent and by an amendment providing for certain exemptions, which I will presently explain.

Under the House bill the graduated rates ran up to 15 per cent additional upon the amount of the estate in excess of $15,000,000. The bracket immediately before that was 10 per cent additional on estates between $11,000,000 and $15,000,000. We struck out the last bracket and changed the $11,000,000 in the bracket immediately before it, so that the maximum tax will be an additional 10 per cent of the amount in excess of $10,000,000 instead of 15 per cent upon the amount in excess of $15,000,000.

We also struck that portion of the House bill which levied a tax of 1 per cent of the net estate not in excess of $25,000, making the exemption as to the additional tax the same as provided in the existing law—namely, $50,000.

In addition to these changes the conferees adopted an amendment that exempts entirely from this tax the estates of all persons who die while serving in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war, or who die as the result of disease contracted or wounds received during the war while engaged as a part of the military or naval forces of the Government, provided that they die within 12 months after the President's proclamation of peace.

With reference to the excise taxes the Senate struck out the House tax on automobiles, which was a manufacturers' tax of 5 per cent upon the gross sales, and substituted therefor a graduated tax upon the users of automobiles. The conferees struck out the substitute and returned to the House method. The matter was compromised by substituting a tax of 3 per cent instead of 5 per cent, as in the House bill, upon the actual price at which the machine is sold by the manufacturer.

Mr. KENYON. May I ask the Senator a question there? Take the case of a wholesaler with four of five counties as his territory—is there any tax against him on his automobiles in stock?

Mr. SIMMONS. There is a floor tax imposed on the wholesaler selling certain of the articles taxed in this title, including automobiles. There is no floor tax upon a retailer, but only upon a wholesaler, and the rate of the floor tax is one-half of the manufacturers' tax.

Mr. KENYON. The manufacturers' tax being 3 per cent, the floor tax would be 1½ per cent?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. KENYON. I understand the Senator, and I thank him.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, we also compromised the differences between the two Houses with reference to moving-picture films, reducing the tax imposed by the House one-half. We also compromised with reference to the tax on chewing gum, reducing the House rate from 5 per cent to 2 per cent. Cameras was a new subject of taxation which the Senate added to the bill. As provided in the Senate bill the tax upon cameras was raised 1 per cent. The Senate amendment as to perfumery and cosmetics which reduced the House rate from 5 per cent to 2 per cent was retained. That is true also with reference to proprietary medicines. The Senate had reduced the rate from 5 per cent to 2 per cent, and the Senate amendment was agreed to by the conference.

The conferees reduced the House rate of 5 per cent to 3 per cent upon the price for which sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer of mechanical musical instruments and records for the same. They made the same reduction in the case of articles commonly or commercially known as jewelry.

The tax upon sporting goods was fixed by the House at 5 per cent. The Senate reduced this rate to 2 per cent. The conference fixed it at 3 per cent.

I now come to the tax upon admissions and dues. The Senate had exempted from this tax moving-picture shows where the charge was less than 25 cents. That was quite a bone of contention in the conference, but we finally eliminated the exemption, leaving the flat exemption where the maximum charge for admission is not more than 5 cents, applicable to movies as to all other shows.

Mr. STONE. Five cents for each person?

Mr. SIMMONS. Five cents for each person. However, we did make an exception as to a certain class of amusements up to 10 cents. In the case of outdoor amusement parks, which are quite common in proximity to the great cities and which are quite a resort for people, especially at night and sometimes in the afternoon, we did make an exception both as to admission to the park—which we made free—and as to admission fees to shows inside of the park, making that exemption 10 cents instead of 5 cents as in the case of other amusements.

The House bill carried certain tariff taxes upon practically everything that is contained in our tariff schedules, whether upon the free list or upon the dutiable list. The House bill imposed a flat rate of 10 per cent upon all articles on the free list and an additional tax of 10 per cent ad valorem on articles on the dutiable list. The Senate eliminated that whole title of the bill and the conferees on the part of the House agreed to the elimination.

Mr. President, I do not think of anything else to which I desire to address myself at this time except the publishers' tax. I desire to say that during the weeks and months devoted to the consideration of this bill by the Finance Committee that title probably gave the committee more trouble than any other in the entire bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me?

Mr. SIMMONS. I will yield in just one moment. The committee found it exceedingly difficult to devise any scheme for taxing publications that was satisfactory to individual members of the committee or to the committee as a whole, or that was satisfactory to the publishers of the country as a whole.

When we had devised a scheme that seemed to us satisfactory, and which was satisfactory to one class of publishers, we found that it was radically unsatisfactory to another class. When we changed it and finally fell upon another scheme that seemed satisfactory to the dissenting crowd we found that the new scheme was equally unsatisfactory to still another class of publishers. When we finally brought the bill into the Senate I felt constrained, in presenting the matter, to say what I believed then and what I believe now, that the Senate committee proposition was a makeshift, which was not altogether satisfactory to anybody, either on the committee or off the committee. The Senate struck out what the committee had written into the bill and agreed to the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], as in Committee of the Whole; but when the bill got into the Senate the Senate changed its mind about that matter, and that amendment was stricken out. It suffered about the same fate as several schemes of the Finance Committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from North Carolina means that the vote was changed?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; the vote was changed, and the provision was stricken out.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will yield to the Senator as soon as I have finished the statement I am now making.

The Senate having struck out the substitute presented by the Finance Committee for the House zone system struck out the House provision, and that left the whole matter in conference. The House conferees insisted upon the retention of the zone system as presented in the House bill, and the scheme now presented in the conference report is the result of mutual concessions after much discussion and much deliberation and long disagreement. It is unsatisfactory to me, as I believe it is unsatisfactory to my colleagues on the committee, but it is the best we could do. We thought it necessary to make the concessions in order to secure an agreement—a consummation which we thought extremely desirable.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I desire to ask has the Senator from North Carolina any figures showing how much revenue will be produced by the adoption of the conference report on this subject?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; I have here figures which have been furnished me by the Postmaster General this morning. They are as follows:

Estimated revenue derivable on basis of weight for 1916, and 40 per cent advertising matter, at rates fixed in conference report—No allowance made for exceptions.

		Increase over present revenue.
July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919,	$16,292,108.12	$4,906,179.12
July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1920,	$21,200,686.27	9,814,757.27
July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921,	$24,401,734.90	13,015,805.90
July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922,	$27,602,783.54	16,216,854.54

Mr. McKELLAR. According to the statement of the Postmaster General, we shall derive about $27,000,000 from second-class postal matter, there being about $11,000,000 now derived from that source, which, added to the $16,000,000, will make about $27,000,000.

Mr. SIMMONS. No; there will be an increase during the first year of only $4,906,179.12—practically $5,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. An increase of practically $5,000,000 for the first year?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; and an increase of $9,814,757.27 the second year; an increase of $13,015,805.90 the third year; and an increase of $16,216,854.54 the fourth year.

Mr. McKELLAR. That will be the limit of what will be obtained under this bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. That would be the limit of increase under the bill, as I understand the statement of the Post Office Department.

Mr. McKELLAR. In other words, the Government would be obtaining at the end of four years about $27,000,000?

Mr. HARDWICK. Nearly $28,000,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. Nearly $28,000,000 from this source; and it costs the Government now about $100,000,000 to transport this class of mail matter.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I understood the Postmaster General this morning as saying that from his standpoint—I know the statement is controverted—even after these increases were made, the Government would be a loser in the actual expenses of transporting, delivering, and distributing this character of mail matter to the extent of $40,000,000 per year.

Mr. McKELLAR. According to some estimates, the loss is nearer $70,000,000.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SIMMONS. I should like at this point to have the Secretary read for the enlightenment of the Senate—for it is a very clear and illuminating discussion of the various questions in controversy by the Postmaster General—a letter addressed in blank, though it is an actual letter, which the Postmaster General has written, but he prefers not to give the name of the person to whom it was written.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, may I ask the chairman of the committee a question?

Mr. SIMMONS. Will not the Senator from New Jersey wait until the letter is read, and then ask his question, if that will suit his purpose just as well?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will ask that the letter be read now, but that it appear in the RECORD as an appendix to my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it is so ordered.

The Secretary read the letter.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I am about to conclude what I have to say. I wish to add only that the scheme finally agreed upon by the conferees with reference to the publishers' tax is very different from that which was insisted upon originally by the House conferees. From my standpoint, one of the essential changes that we made in the compromise plan as originally presented by the House conferees, and the adoption of which the Senate conferees insisted upon, is with reference to reading matter. The original compromise proposition of the House conferees was to increase the rate on reading matter 1 cent a pound. We settled that by making the highest rate half a cent a pound. The original compromise proposition to impose a tax on advertising matter under the one system provided for a very much higher rate than we finally agreed upon. The original proposition was that both the rates upon reading matter and the rates upon advertising matter should presently take effect—I think in 30 days after the passage of the bill; or it may have been the 1st day of January, I am not quite sure about that; but it was presently to take effect. That was changed upon the insistence of your conferees, so that none of these rates, either as to reading matter or advertising matter, will take effect until the 1st day of July, 1918, and the increases will be made annually on advertising matter through a period of four years and on reading matter through a period of two years; that is, the first increase on reading matter will be for the first year only a quarter of a cent and for the second year another quarter of a cent, making half a cent.

A provision was also inserted by the conferees, upon the insistence of the Senate conferees, that a publisher shall be permitted to mail his publication from any post office, so as to secure the zone rate of that post office; that is to say, if a magazine is published in the city of New York, it may be sent by freight or express to San Francisco and distributed from the San Francisco office at the zone rates applicable to that office. I think that is a provision which will afford in some cases very great relief against what is characterized by some of the publishers as a hardship.

Mr. President, in concluding what I have to say about the publishers' tax—and that is all I shall have to say in regard to the conference report—I want to add that, speaking for myself personally, that when this matter was before the Finance Committee I thought and declared that postal rates, whether upon letters or newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, were matters which should be dealt with as a postal measure, rather than as a revenue measure, and I favored the elimination of these provisions from the bill. I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that any tax should be imposed upon the facilities of the Post Office Department except for the purpose of defraying the expenses of that department and that service and its enlargement and expansion. It will be a long time, even if the Government shall finally make a profit from the transportation and distribution of second-class mail matter, as it is making a profit in the carriage of letters, before we will receive a sufficient revenue from the Post Office Department to make the necessary extensions and enlargements in postal facilities to which the people of this country are entitled and which the best interests of the Government

demand. I do not believe that we ought to tax these facilities for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. That has been my view all the time. Entertaining that opinion about it, I felt that the adjustment of postal rates was not a matter for the Finance Committee but was a matter for the Post Office Committee. I was glad, therefore, when in conference we were able to write into the compromise a provision now under discussion—the provision that the tax now imposed should not take effect until July, 1918. I trust, Mr. President, that before that time arrives the Post Office Committee will work this matter out in a more satisfactory way than your committee or the conferees have been able to work it out, and that, whatever additional tax it is found expedient and proper and just to impose may be imposed not for the purpose of raising money to defray the expenses of this war but for the purpose of raising more money to increase the postal facilities of the people of the United States.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee one or two questions. Referring to the section which has been added by the committee on page 7, do I understand that the allowance which is credited there is against the 4 per cent tax or the normal underlying 2 per cent tax?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the 4 per cent tax.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. That is the idea that the provision is intended to convey?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes. Under section 4 we impose an additional tax of 4 per cent upon corporations. Under the present law it is 2 per cent. The original Senate provision with reference to the exemption from the corporation tax of dividends received by one corporation from another was general and applied to the total normal tax under existing law and the pending bill. As a result of the compromise made by the conferees, this exemption from tax provided for in the original Senate amendment will extend only to this additional tax of 4 per cent imposed by this bill upon corporations, but will not extend to the 2 per cent normal tax imposed under the present law.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Then the credit is based upon the 4 per cent tax in this section?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Another question, Mr. President. Referring to the section beginning with line 18, on page 83, is it the chairman's opinion that the tax of 1 per cent on insurance premiums is based entirely upon the premiums received, or can an insurance company under that section take credit for the cancellations, the return premiums which they pay back to the policyholders for unexpired contracts?

The section says that 1 per cent is taxed on premiums charged. Now, in the practice of fire insurance, about 30 per cent of the premiums received are paid back in cancellations. From reading the section it would seem as if the 1 per cent tax was imposed on the premiums charged, with no allowance to be deducted for the cancellations. That would mean that a company receiving a million dollars income in premiums, and returning $300,000 of it to the policyholders, would be taxed upon the $300,000 which they returned and which they did not receive.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am not able to answer the Senator very definitely about that, but I am advised that this law is substantially the same as the law of 1898, and that the tax would be 1 per cent upon the premiums received.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I am not sufficiently familiar with the law of 1898 to answer that statement of the chairman.

I think, if my memory serves me, that the insurance companies were allowed a credit in their tax for the premiums which they returned, and I am more desirous of getting the opinion of the chairman as to whether these companies can take credit for the premiums they do not receive, or whether, in the opinion of the chairman, this section taxes them, which would mean that it would tax them unfairly and unjustly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will say to the Senator very frankly, that I am not able now to give him a definite answer to his question.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. It is a very grave defect in the section and the act if that construction can be placed upon it.

Mr. SIMMONS. The question raised by the Senator is one which had not occurred to me and was not raised in the committee or the conference. My impression upon first blush is that the 1 per cent would attach to the premium received, but I am informed that the ruling of the department, both under the 1898 and the 1914 laws, is that if the cancellation takes place before the policy was in effect no tax is imposed, but that if the policy has been in effect before cancellation, then no refund of the tax paid is allowed.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, just one other question, and then I will finish.

Referring to page 161, the section added by the conference committee as to tax withheld at the source, I should like to ask the chairman whether, in his opinion, the tax on the salaries of salaried employees would be withheld by the corporation under that section?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; I think not. The Senator is speaking about a domestic corporation?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think, under the section and under the amendment made by the conference committee, the withholding at the source would not apply to the case mentioned by the Senator. Collection at the source is retained only in the case of a foreign corporation or of a nonresident alien doing business in this country, and to interest upon bonds containing the tax-free covenant clause. I think the language carries out the purpose of the committee, and the purpose of the committee was to repeal absolutely the collection at the source except as it applied to this class of bonds, and, of course, as it applied to foreign corporations and nonresident aliens.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. "Periodical gains," then, would not include salaried employees?

Mr. SIMMONS. The words the Senator refers to are limited by the words in the next line—line 12—"derived from interest upon bonds." This section requires withholding only in the case of interest on bonds containing the tax-free covenant, while the paragraph beginning on page 160, line 6, requires withholding of rents, salaries, and so forth, only in the case where the recipient of the income is a nonresident alien.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from North Carolina if he has commented as yet upon section 209 of the bill, which will be found upon page 48? If not, will he be good enough to state the reasons for the insertion of that section, which to a very large extent is new matter?

Mr. SIMMONS. I have discussed that section pretty fully in reply to a question asked me by some Senator, and gave the reasons.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from New York was out of the Chamber when that happened.

Mr. SIMMONS. I shall be very glad to answer any question the Senator wants to ask me about it now, however.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think I understand what the effect of this tax would be. Perhaps this has all been discussed in my absence, and if so, I hesitate to take it up again.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will state that I did discuss that matter for some little time.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I was wondering, however, whether, in imposing such a tax, the conferees had in mind the effect upon the professional man, who under this section will also have to pay an income tax upon the amount of money that he earns in the practice of his profession?

Mr. SIMMONS. I stated to the Senate when I was discussing it that that is a tax very much of the same character as the special tax upon munitions, except that it does allow an exemption of $6,000, but otherwise it is in the nature of an additional income tax; but, as I stated this morning, in our efforts to bring the professional man under the provisions of this bill and subject his earnings to a tax, just as we had the farmer and the mechanic and the merchant and everybody else, we found ourselves hedged in by a great many limitations and difficulties. After we had discussed one or two schemes and practically fixed upon one, we finally abandoned it and adopted one to which the Senator refers and criticizes as the best means of reaching that class of earnings.

Necessarily, imposed in this way, it is in effect an additional income tax. So is this other tax—the war excess profits tax that we impose in this bill. It is, in substance and in essence, an additional income tax, with an exemption. In the case of the excess profits tax the exemption is a certain per cent upon invested capital based upon prewar earnings, and with that exemption the tax imposed is an income tax. I do not see any very great difference in the principle in these two imposts. In the one case, while the exemption is larger, the tax imposed is very much larger—several times larger—and in the other case, while the exemption is smaller, so is the tax very much smaller.

The purpose of the conferees was to subject occupations and professions having no invested capital to this war tax, just as those with invested capital were subject to it. If there had been the same basis of exemptions in the one case as in the other we would have allowed a like exemption and imposed like rates of taxation, but because of the necessity of the case this could not be done, and because there was no such basis of exemption we imposed a tax very much lighter on business conducted without invested capital—a flat rate of only 8 per cent, as against

a graduated rate upon profits over a maximum of 9 per cent of from 20 per cent to 60 per cent on ordinary business. I do not think the professional man has any right to complain.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I think I can appreciate the difficulties that the committee had confronting them when they came to solve this problem of taxation. I shall not enter strenuous objection to section 209, but I do desire to take just a moment——

Mr. SIMMONS. If the Senator will allow me, it is in a great deal better shape now than it was originally. We had some trouble in getting it into as good shape as it is.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do desire, however, to take this opportunity to say that section 209 emphasizes very clearly, I think, a grave injustice which is done by our tax laws, an injustice inflicted, comparatively speaking, upon the man who earns his income by his own efforts as compared with the man who does not earn his income at all, but merely sits at a desk and clips coupons or cashes dividend checks. The man who is so fortunate as to inherit an invested fortune, as we all know, unless he is otherwise minded, may sit in his office and clip the coupons and cash the dividend checks and live upon the proceeds without being of any particular use to the community. In fact, he may pass his whole life as a drone. He is subject to the individual income tax, and if his individual income, we will say, is $10,000, he will pay according to the rates fixed in this bill and according to the rates fixed in the statutes which are already upon the statute books.

Now we will take the professional man, such as the physician or the dentist or the lawyer, who, by his own efforts, extending over a period of years and resultant upon an education which he may have earned for himself by working his way through a medical school or a law school, manages to reach the point in his profession where he earns $10,000 a year. He pays the individual income tax on that $10,000, and then this bill comes along and assesses him 8 per cent on everything over $6,000 of his income in addition to the individual income tax he pays, so that he is penalized because he is a worker. If he had not earned the $10,000, he would only pay an individual income tax; but, having earned it by his own efforts, he pays more tax.

Of course I realize that this thing can not be straightened out in a moment, and certainly my judgment upon it would not be infallible, nor is it entirely certain that my conclusions are clear; but let me say to the Senator from North Carolina and to other Senators who have been interested in this question of taxation that sooner or later we must come to the point in the assessment of Federal taxes against individual citizens, whether they be in the form of individual income taxes or otherwise, where we shall discriminate between the earned and the unearned incomes.

Mr. SIMMONS. I agree with the Senator absolutely in that proposition.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I called attention in the Sixty-fourth Congress to the fact that in my humble judgment the most glaring defect in our imposition of the individual income tax was the fact that it made no distinction between the drone and the worker. It taxed them exactly alike. This bill makes the condition infinitely worse. It taxes the worker infinitely more heavily than it does the drone.

I know it is too late to cure the situation, and I realize the theory on which the committee has proceeded—that individuals engaged in business should pay a profits tax, whether we call it an excess profits tax or a war profit tax, just as a partnership or a corporation engaged in business is required to pay such a tax; but we still leave uncured and uncorrected the injustice done in the income tax.

Mr. SIMMONS. I want to state to the Senator that the very suggestion he is making now was made to the committee and received some consideration; but we considered that the matter had gone too far; that the time was too short for us to undertake to change the method of taxation as radically as his suggestion would have required.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I can well understand that; but I want to take this opportunity very briefly to emphasize that situation to the Senate in the hope that next year, or perhaps the year after, we will cure this situation, for it does seem to me to be a grave and a gross injustice to inflict a penalty upon industry and permit the drone, as I have used the expression before, to escape merely by the imposition of one tax.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman if there is any other case in this bill where an additional tax is levied, except the munition tax and the one now under discussion?

Mr. SIMMONS. Those are the only cases in the bill of a flat tax rate, but this tax is an additional income tax only in the sense that all these excess profit taxes are additional to the income taxes otherwise imposed.

Mr. KELLOGG. Then, as I understand the chairman of the committee, the munitions tax, which was considered to be unjust, was continued only for one year; but the conference committee put in a new tax, which is equally unjust, which neither the Senate nor House ever passed upon or discussed, and made it permanent.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I do not agree with the Senator when he says that it is equally unjust, or unjust at all. I think certainly it can not be said that when we are imposing additional profit taxes for war purposes upon the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant, it is unjust to impose an additional profit tax upon the professional man. The method may not be as good a method—I do not think it is as good a method—as the one we have adopted in the case of businesses, based on invested capital; but that the professional man ought to pay an additional profit tax upon his earnings just as we are making others pay is to my mind beyond question.

Mr. KELLOGG. But the professional man pays exactly the same tax on capital or on any business he has an interest in, whether it be farming, mining, manufacturing, or anything else, that everybody else pays under this bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; but under this bill the professional man will not pay one dollar of war tax unless we catch him with this provision, while the farmer who makes his money by the sweat of his brow, by the labor of his hands, will have to pay a war tax, and he will also have to pay an income tax, just as the professional man pays one now.

Mr. KELLOGG. The professional man pays in addition to what the others pay. Take the case of a railroad company or a manufacturing company which has a president. Of course, the corporation pays its excess profits tax. The president of the corporation pays on his salary only the tax on his income. But if a doctor happens to have that company as a client, and he owns some stock, he not only pays the excess profits tax, but he pays a tax on his ability as a physician, and he also pays an income tax on the same thing, simply because he is a professional man. While the president of the company pays only two taxes he pays three.

Now, if he is a farmer—and a good many lawyers are farmers—he pays the same tax as any other man. If the farmer is entitled to a salary, that salary will be taxed simply as his income. All the officers of corporations will pay an income tax; but under this bill if the taxpayer happens to be a professional man he will pay both the income tax and the other tax.

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not know whether the Senator has had his attention called to the provision as to definitions, making a distinction between professions and occupations.

Mr. KELLOGG. Oh, I have; but professions and occupations do not include the president of a corporation at all.

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not agree with the Senator. I think that the president of a corporation is engaged in an occupation. We must give some meaning to the word "occupation" as used in the bill. If it means no more than "trade" or "business," there would be no reason for having included it in the bill. It seems to me that the Treasury must construe the bill—and the courts will, in my opinion, sustain them—as meaning that all salaries, other than those of employees of the Government, national, State, or municipal, are liable to this tax, whether it be the salary of the president, the attorney, the doctor, or any other employee of the corporation, subject, of course, to the flat exemption of $6,000.

Without reference to the changes made in conference but for the purpose of aiding the public, and especially the taxpayer, to a better understanding of the essential provisions of the section of the bill relating to the income and excess profits tax, I ask unanimous consent, without reading, to incorporate a brief statement of the general provisions of the respective titles of the bill relating to these two subjects. The statement is a brief summary of the more important provisions of the bill as it will be if the bill is agreed to by the Senate as it has been agreed to in conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement is as follows:

In addition to the income tax payable under the act of September 8, 1916, this act imposes additional taxes, as follows:

Upon individuals:

A normal tax of 2 per cent upon the net income as defined in the act of September 8, 1916, of single persons in excess of $1,000 and married persons in excess of $2,000. The normal tax under the act of September 8, 1916, is 2 per cent upon the net income in excess of, in the case of a single person, $3,000 and a married person $4,000. In addition to this new tax, additional surtaxes are also imposed. The following table will

show the rates of the surtax under the act of September 8, 1916, under the act of October 3, 1917, and the combined total surtaxes under existing law:

Amount of income.	Rate of tax.		
	Act Sept. 8, 1916.	Act Oct. 3, 1917.	Total rate.
Amount of net income in excess of $5,000 and not of $7,500	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.* 1	*Per cent.* 1
In excess of $7,500 and not of $10,000		2	2
$10,000 and not of $12,500		3	3
$12,500 and not of $15,000		4	4
$15,000 and not of $20,000		5	5
$20,000 and not of $40,000	1	7	8
$40,000 and not of $60,000	2	10	12
$60,000 and not of $80,000	3	14	17
$80,000 and not of $100,000	4	18	22
$100,000 and not of $150,000	5	22	27
$150,000 and not of $200,000	6	25	31
$200,000 and not of $250,000	7	30	37
$250,000 and not of $300,000	8	34	42
$300,000 and not of $500,000	9	37	46
$500,000 and not of $750,000	10	40	50
$750,000 and not of $1,000,000	10	45	55
$1,000,000 and not of $1,500,000	11	50	61
$1,500,000 and not of $2,000,000	12	50	62
In excess of $2,000,000	13	50	63

Upon corporations, joint-stock companies, associations, or insurance companies:

In addition to the flat 2 per cent corporation tax imposed by the act of September 8, 1916, this act imposes another tax of 4 per cent, making the total tax upon such corporations 6 per cent. This is higher than the flat 4 per cent total normal tax upon individuals. The reason for this difference is that the individual pays surtaxes upon all his income in excess of $5,000, while the corporation is allowed to retain for use in the business any necessary amount of its net income, thus avoiding the payment of any surtaxes upon the amount so retained. This gives them the advantage over the individual of being able to use in their business as capital income that has not paid the income surtaxes, while the individual or partnership can not do so.

The only difference in computing the net income of a corporation as a basis for this additional 4 per cent tax is that dividends received by one corporation from another are not to be counted as part of the net income of the corporation receiving the same. Under the act of September 8, 1916, which imposes the 2 per cent tax, such dividends are counted as net income.

This act also changes the income-tax law with reference to "withholding at the source." No withholding of the normal tax from amounts paid to individuals is now required except in the case of income from securities that contain the so-called tax-free covenant. Many corporations, principally railroads, have issued bonds containing a clause that said corporation would pay any Federal income tax required to be withheld at the source.

The new law also prevents any corporation from making a distribution to its stockholders from earnings accrued prior to March 1, 1913, which are not liable to the income tax, until all the surplus and undivided profits accrued since that date have first been distributed. The amounts so distributed are deemed to be from the most recently acquired surplus and are taxed to the recipient at the surtax rates in force when such surplus was earned by the corporation.

The idea is not to allow distribution to be made and claim to be from funds that are not liable to surtax in the hands of the stockholders until all taxable funds have been distributed.

The law of September 8, 1916, is also amended so that in computing the net income no deduction shall be allowed from the net income for the excess profits and income taxes paid during the taxable year. In place of this the new law specifies that the amount of the excess profits tax accrued for the taxable year shall be deducted from the net income before applying the income-tax rates thereto. This is an advantage to the taxpayer, as no excess profits tax will be paid during the calendar year 1917, so there would otherwise have been no deduction from the net income of that year for this purpose. The excess profits tax accrued for the year 1917 will, under this provision, be deducted from the net income before computing the income tax.

There is no logical reason for allowing a deduction for income tax paid. The theory of the income-tax law is that after allowing all reasonable deductions there remains to the taxpayer a certain net income which is to be divided with the Government, no tax being paid on either share.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX.

This is a new tax both in this country and in the world. It originated in Sweden after the outbreak of the war in 1914 and is now in force in some form in Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Canada, and New Zealand.

The basis of the tax is the amount of profits made for the taxable year in excess of the normal profit, predicated upon the average profits made during the normal period prior to the war. In case of the tax imposed by this act the prewar period is the calendar years 1911, 1912, and 1913. As a modification of the excess of war profits over prewar profits, this act limits such prewar profits, or deduction, to an amount not less than 7 per cent or more than 9 per cent of the invested capital.

This provision necessitated an exact definition of capital, and such is found in section 207 of the act.

The tax applies to the entire net income of corporations, partnerships, and also to that of individuals derived from any trade, business, profession, or occupation, whether continuously carried on or not.

In arriving at the taxable income the taxpayer is allowed to deduct from his net income as defined in the act of September 8, 1917, all dividends received from the stock or net earnings of a corporation. He then shall deduct from his net income an amount equal to the same percentage of his invested capital for the taxable year that his average net income for the prewar period was of the average capital for the same period, but not to be less than 7 per cent or more than 9 per cent, plus in the case of a corporation $3,000, or of an individual or partnership, $6,000. In no case, however, shall this total deduction be more than 15 per cent of the invested capital.

In the case of a corporation, partnership, or individual that had no prewar status the deduction shall be a flat 8 per cent of the invested capital plus, in the case of a corporation, $3,000, or of a partnership or individual, $6,000.

Any trade or business that is formally organized or reorganized after January 2, 1913, and which is substantially a continuation of such trade or business, then the capital and income and income of such prior trade or business shall be deemed to be the capital and income of the new trade or business for the same period.

In case of a trade or business that through misfortune or accident had a subnormal income for the prewar period as compared with that of representative concerns engaged in like or similar business, upon convincing the Secretary of the Treasury of such fact, they shall be entitled as the percentage part of their deduction the same percentage of their invested capital as do representative concerns engaged in a like or similar business.

In case of a trade, business, profession, or occupation having no invested capital, or only a nominal capital, it is evident that the 7 and 9 per cent limitation of capital can not apply, nor can, with justice, the prewar basis of deduction. In order to reach this class of income the percentage deduction has been omitted, and only the $3,000 and $6,000 flat deduction is allowed. The rate is made a flat rate of 8 per cent. This is less than the rate paid by other classes of taxpayers, who pay from 20 per cent to 60 per cent on certain parts of their income.

The only exemptions from this tax are as follows:

(1) The compensation or fees received by persons as officers or employees of the United States, any State, Territory, the District of Columbia, or any local subdivision thereof.

(2) Corporations that are exempt from income tax.

(3) Incomes derived from the business of certain industrial insurance.

In case the Secretary of the Treasury is unable to satisfactorily determine the average net income for the prewar period, or the invested capital, the percentage deduction shall be that of representative concerns engaged in like or similar business.

Title II of the act of March 3, 1917, imposing an excess profits tax upon corporations and partnerships of 8 per cent upon the excess of their net incomes over 8 per cent of their invested capital is repealed by this act.

The munitions manufacturers' tax contained in Title III of the act of September 8, 1916, is repealed, to take effect January 1, 1918; the rate of that tax, 12½ per cent of the net income, is reduced for the year 1917 to 10 per cent.

APPENDIX.

BURLESON LETTER.

I have your telegram of September 25, 1917, with reference to the provision regarding rates on second-class matter included in the war-revenue bill. It is a protest against a zone system of rates on second-class mail matter, which you claim will build up sectional papers and prejudices, destroy and reduce the efficiency of trade papers, etc. You further say "the whole thing is a crime against the country, and I am really sorry you must shoulder the blame, because from Senators down they say it is your measure."

For any assistance that I have been able to render the committees of Congress and the publishers in the adjustment of this difficult matter I am perfectly willing to take the responsibility. However, as you have come to Washington from time to time during the pendency of this legislation and have been in close touch with not only the department but the committees of Congress, I am confident you will admit that the facts will far from justify your assertion. The provision in the bill when under consideration in the House was prepared by the House Committee on Ways and Means and included therein, notwithstanding the fact that the committee was advised by me that I did not favor the use of the postal system for raising war revenue. When the bill went to the Senate, I informed the chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance that I was still of the opinion that the Postal Service should not be used as a means of raising war revenue, but that it having appeared evident that it was the purpose of Congress to include in the pending measure some provision with respect to postage rates on second-class matter, I felt it my duty to suggest such a provision as would be based upon the principle so long existing in the service of continuing a low flat rate for reading matter for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, and the other purposes for which the basic act regulating the admissibility of publications to the mails as second-class matter provided. I pointed out, further, that the character of such publications has materially changed with the development of business and a new element has been introduced which was not conspicuous in the early history of the country, that this new element is the introduction of advertising matter as part of such publications, and that it is common knowledge that this matter has grown to such volume and proportion as to exceed that of the reading matter contained between the covers of many of these publications. The average for all publications is estimated at 40 per cent, and for many individual publications it equals 60 to 70, and in some instances is as high as 80, per cent.

There has been very thorough consideration of the subject in all its phases by the Congress and its committees, and the reasons for continuing a flat rate on reading matter and applying zone rates to only advertising matter have been extensively discussed not only on the floor of the Senate, but before the Senate Committee on Finance at its request. In all these matters the department has aimed to be absolutely fair to the periodicals in the presentation of statistics and suggestions. It has been evident at all times that it was the purpose of Congress to make some readjustment of rates which might include an increase in letter postage, and, if that were done, it would also necessitate an equitable settlement of the question of rates on second-class matter. The result is shown in the provisions included in the bill.

I do not think an answer to your telegram would be complete which only treats it as a separate incident, or which regards the provision in the bill as the result only of the consideration given the question at this session of Congress. Your protest against the zone sytem can not stand alone, and must be considered in the light of the continued and persistent opposition of the publishers generally to any revision whatever of the rates of postage on second-class matter. Preceding the consideration of the question by the Hughes Commission the estimate of the department was bitterly assailed by the publishers generally and its accuracy denied. The findings of that commission confirmed the

department's estimate and removed all doubt from the minds of those informed as to the fact that the Government was transporting and handling second-class mail matter at an enormous loss, such loss being ascertained by considering the out-of-pocket expense and the fair proportion of the common expenses of the services in which second-class matter participates. It was realized that the Government could not at once raise the rate sufficiently to cover that loss, which is now conservatively estimated to be at least 6 cents a pound on the average for all such matter. The Hughes Commission therefore recommended an increase from 1 cent to 2 cents a pound, or fraction thereof, flat rate, applying to all paid matter. All efforts before Congress to secure legislation along that line have been opposed at all times by the publishers. Bear in mind that this opposition has been to a flat rate and not to a zone system only. When this matter was before the committees of Congress at the present session I had frequent conferences with publishers, including yourself, and at no time was I able to suggest an increase of a flat rate which was acceptable to the publishers. If, therefore, Congress had abandoned the idea of applying the zone system to advertising matter contained in periodicals and confined itself to an increase in the flat rate applicable to all matter therein, it must be concluded that the same strenuous opposition of the publishers would have been exerted against it as has been exerted against zone rates for the advertising matter in the periodicals.

It is for Congress to decide when it will legislate upon the subject. It has deferred legislation until this time, when it is dealing with many other questions in a manner appealing to the patriotism and sense of fairness of the people. Accepting the judgment of Congress that some legislation upon the subject should be passed at this time, the merits or demerits of the provision should be considered impartially, keeping in mind the situation which it was intended to remedy.

There is far less objection to the increase in rates on second-class matter than to those on first-class matter. As to first-class matter, including letters and postal cards, it is well known and undisputed that it is transported and handled by the department at a profit of approximately $60,000,000 a year, and that this large surplus contributes to a partial payment of the enormous loss sustained in carrying and handling second-class matter, which loss is most conservatively estimated at over $72,000,000 a year on all second-class matter and $68,000,000 on paid-at-the-pound rate alone. If wise to increase the postage rate on letters for the purpose of raising revenue, which are now producing a surplus over cost, it is apparent that a great injustice would be done the people if no effort whatever were made to readjust the rates on second-class mail, which pays only a part of its cost, and the publishers should not be required to contribute a reasonable proportion of the expense for the great privilege they enjoy. The consideration which has been given by Congress to the publishers is shown in the fact that while the increase in letter postage is immediate, no increase whatever in second-class rates are effective before July 1, 1918, and the rates then operative are very slight increases. All other increases are distributed over a further period of three years, which will give the publishers ample time to readjust their business upon the basis of the new rates.

With respect to the character of the proposed legislation on second-class matter contained in the bill the following should be said in its favor:

It continues the existing policy of granting to such publications a low flat rate for that portion devoted to reading matter. Such policy has been recognized by Congress for many years past, and in my opinion is a wise one. Its continuance as to all reading matter of every kind contemplated by the basic legislation is a complete answer to the criticism that the proposed legislation will build up sectional papers and prejudices. It does not put any greater limitation upon the dissemination of information or the circulation of literature than now exists. Such matter will be free to circulate at the flat rates named in any part of the country, and the publisher who publishes in Maine can have that portion of his periodical so devoted delivered in California with the same expense to him as when delivered in his adjoining town.

But because of the radical change which the development of the publishing industry has brought about by the inclusion of large percentages of advertising matter in these periodicals and publications, the proposed legislation wisely recognizes a distinction between the reading matter and the purely advertising matter; and because such advertising matter is in all respects of the same character as if it were circulated as third-class matter outside the covers of periodicals and newspapers, it fixes a higher rate thereon, somewhat proportioned to the expense in transporting it to the several zones and for handling it in the service. These ultimate rates on advertising matter, however, are still on the average much lower than the rates which the publishers would be required to pay if they sent such matter as third class as other business men are required to do, and, furthermore, considerably lower than the cost to the department of transporting and handling it. However, where the space devoted to advertising does not exceed 5 per cent, it takes the same rate as reading matter; and newspapers and periodicals maintained in the interest of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations or associations, not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, shall be carried at flat rates, and the free-in-county privilege is retained.

The zone system on the advertising matter to which it applies is fundamentally sound and entirely fair. The advertising is a strictly business feature of the publications and it should conform to business principles where the Government is concerned. The advertisements carried the long hauls should pay more than those carried the short hauls. A zone system is based on this just principle. The bill exempts from zone rates advertising where it does not exceed 5 per cent. This is in accordance with the spirit of the original acts. It is believed that at the time the present low flat rate was given the advertising did not exceed 5 per cent on the average.

The proposed increase in the flat rate on reading matter is only one-fourth of a cent a pound for the year from July 1, 1918, to July 1, 1919, no increase whatever being provided for before that period, and from July 1, 1919, the increase is only one-half of 1 cent a pound. This is much lower than any increase that has ever been proposed by the department or by any commission. The Hughes Commission recommended an increase to begin with of 1 cent a pound on all matter. As to the proposed rates on advertising matter, their increases also are deferred until July 1, 1918, and for the first year are slight increases over the present pound rates—still far below the cost. The additional increases are distributed over the succeeding three years. Even when the ultimate rates provided in the bill are reached the rate on reading matter will still be 5½ cents less, and the average rate on advertising matter considerably less, than the average cost.

The difference between the revenue paid the department as postage by the publishers of second-class matter and the admitted cost of transporting and handling it is so great and the proof of it so conclusive that the publishers could not hope to longer defer some just and remedial legislation by Congress. After these many years of enjoyment of this subsidy the publishers claim they can not pay a higher rate of postage. It is impracticable to require them to pay the public the entire cost at once, yet they should make some appreciable contribution toward it. If, therefore, the policy of continuing reading matter at a nominal flat rate shall be retained, it is necessary that such increased rates shall be provided for that part of the periodical devoted strictly to commercial purposes as the business it fosters shall be able to pay. Hence this action was inevitable.

I think it must be conceded that the plea that legitimate business can not readily readjust itself to the normal cost of its conduct is without merit. The statement that these increases on that portion of a periodical devoted exclusively to advertising matter will result in a discontinuance of such advertising, and therefore the discontinuance of the periodical, is a statement that business is not willing to or can not pay its legitimate expenses. I do not believe this to be true, and I do not think it can be shown that it is demonstrated by experience. The department submitted to the Senate Committee on Finance tables showing the very slight increases in advertising rates which would be necessary for publishers to ask their patrons to pay in order to meet increases in postage rates.

During the fiscal year 1917 your periodical mailed 4,112,986 pounds of your issues. The most conservative estimate of the present average cost of transporting and handling second-class matter is 7 cents a pound. This applied to your mailings shows a direct and apportioned cost to the department of $287,909 for the year. The amount received in postage for your publication for the same period was $41,106.84, which leaves a loss to the Government of $246,802 for the year on your publication, computed on the basis of the general average. The case of your publication is no different than others. The loss upon all, on the average, is proportionately the same, and in the aggregate is the enormous amount hereinbefore stated. As this situation has become generally conceded, endeavors are frequently made to minimize it by the claim that credit is not allowed for the amount of first-class postage revenue which results from it. The truth is that if we allow the Government for all the third-class revenue which it loses on these advertisements because they are mailed as second class, and also the first-class postage that would result from them if sent as third class, the difference in favor of the publishers' claim, if any, would be negligible.

It could not be reasonably expected that Congress, with all the information before it and with the facts practically undisputed for a number of years, would continue to pass to others this financial obligation which belongs principally to the publishers and not expect them to readjust their business so as to make some small contribution to pay this loss in the future.

Yours, very truly,

A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I was unable to be in the Senate and engage in the discussion when the revenue bill now reported from conference was under consideration. For this reason I avail myself of the present opportunity to record my views concerning certain phases of the measure which involve policies not only vital to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war but to the welfare of the people who, as generations come and go, will make up the American Republic.

Notwithstanding my views with regard to certain parts of the bill, had I been in the Senate when the vote was taken I should have voted for it; and, notwithstanding my disapproval of certain features of the bill as reported from conference, I shall vote for the adoption of the conference report. The Government must be supplied with revenue, and I must accept the measure, however inadequate, from my standpoint, it may be.

The questions upon which I shall speak are finally settled in so far as this bill is concerned, but they will recur with every revenue bill so long as the war continues and for years thereafter. The struggle for a recognition of the just principles of taxation will go on with unabated vigor until Congress accepts the basis which is imperatively demanded not only by our elemental conceptions of right and wrong, not only by the unselfish, trained conclusions of patriots and economists, but by the highest interest of those who are now blindly resisting the most obvious truths of production, finance, and commerce.

The questions to which I intend to devote a very few minutes are:

First. What proportion of the cost of the war should be borne by current taxation; and

Second. From what sources should the revenue raised by taxation be drawn?

It is everywhere admitted that under normal conditions, and except as to certain great internal improvements enduring in their character, the expenses of government should be regulated by the salutary policy of "pay as you go," and even these exceptions should be rare under the Federal power. Without regard to the justice which ought to be observed in the distribution of the burdens of government, there is nothing more fatal to the stability, growth, and prosperity of any country than the accumulation of government interest-bearing obligations aggregating any considerable proportion of the wealth or property of the nation.

I am not submitting a treatise upon political economy, and make these suggestions simply to remark that the old saying that a Government debt is a public blessing has been so thoroughly

discredited by modern thought that it is no longer entertained by sensible men. It passed out about the same time and for the same reason that led the medical fraternity to discard the practice of bleeding every patient in order to insure a speedy recovery. Whether in peace or war, contributions through taxation should be the primary and principal source of revenue, and a wise nation will resort to the money lender only when the expenditure is for a physical improvement of long duration, and then infrequently and with caution, or when some extraordinary event like war makes it impossible to tax for the whole sum required without destroying the opportunity of the people to continue their ordinary pursuits.

Without further observations of a general nature, I come to the situation, not serious alone, but exceedingly grave, which now confronts this country. We must meet it courageously, with never a shiver of fear, but we must meet it also successfully, or the greatest disaster which ever befell the human race will quickly follow.

Mr. FITZGERALD, chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House, than whom there is no more competent or reliable authority upon the finances of the country, in Congress or out of it, in speaking on the urgent deficiency bill a few days ago, submitted a table showing in some detail the appropriations made and pending for the present year. They aggregate the stupendous sum of $18,288,643,452.33. To this amount he added $1,143,854,532 for contracts and authorizations and $1,219,207,750 for proposed and apparently imperative amendments to the deficiency bill—and I might say here that they were subsequently added, and more—making a total expenditure for this year of $20,651,700,734.33.

There is no one at all familiar with our affairs who does not know that before the 1st of next July we will probably be called on to provide for two or three billions more. Not because it is material, but because it is important that those who hear me shall know that I am not unmindful of all the facts, it ought to be stated that the tremendous sum I have named includes the $7,000,000,000 we have loaned and propose to loan this year to foreign nations, and a relatively small amount to be expended by the War and Navy Departments during the coming fiscal year. As I view the subject, our loans to the allies are war expenditures, and the hope that at some time they may be repaid does not affect in the least degree the conclusions which it is my purpose to record.

After crediting the postal revenues, it may be assumed that the normal expenses of the Government are about $1,000,000,000, so that our war expenses will be somewhere between $19,500,000,000 and $22,500,000,000.

Again, accepting Mr. FITZGERALD as my authority, I find that the first revenue bill for this year will yield $1,333,500,000, and this measure, adding the sums that have been introduced by changes in the conference, will produce $2,700,000,000, or a total of $4,033,500,000; deducting the $1,000,000,000 for the ordinary conduct of the Government, the result is that of war expenditures of from $19,500,000,000 to $22,500,000,000 we are proposing to pay $3,033,500,000 with taxes and to borrow the remainder upon long-time interest-bearing bonds. That is to say, it seems to be the approved plan to pay 13 or 14 per cent of the cost of the war by current taxation and to send 86 or 87 per cent down to future generations.

With all the emphasis I can command I protest against the plan as ruinous to the business interests of the country and as the most grievous injustice ever inflicted upon those who must stagger along for a century or more under this gigantic load of principal and interest.

The war cost next year will be not less than $25,000,000,000, and may be, probably will be, more; and so on each year thereafter. The end of the struggle is beyond human vision, but even the most sanguine observers agree that the outlook indicates two or three years of increasing conflict.

These are the conditions. It is more than unwise, it is inexcusable, to misunderstand or ignore them. It seems to me well-nigh fatal to signalize our entrance into the war by issuing anywhere from $17,000,000,000 to $20,000,000,000 of bonds in the first year of our military activity. The history of the civilized modern industrial world discloses no such blunder as we are now making. Great Britain has a better appreciation of the problem and is trying hard to keep down her debt. It is useless to cite what other belligerent countries have done, for their industrial and financial situation is not comparable with ours.

The normal annual profits—that is to say, the annual increase in wealth, not including added value in existing property, in the United States in recent times—it may be safely estimated, has been from $15,000,000,000 to $25,000,000,000, and these profits, no matter who has them, and no matter whether they are used directly or indirectly, must pay for the war; for in the final adjustment, however complicated, the people must have a living, and the excess, so far as may be necessary, will be taken either for bonds or for taxes.

It is not my purpose to describe the disaster which will follow the enormous and unnecessary inflation of the public debt. If I had any hope that the policy of this bill in that respect could be reversed, I would look upon it as my duty to gather together and again put before you the unanswerable arguments which have been presented by a long line of distinguished statesmen and economists; but I have no such hope, and to do it would be of no avail. I have brought the subject forward in order that I might intelligently and understandingly express my dissent from the views of a majority of the Senate, and my confidence that when the next revenue bill is before the Congress for consideration, wiser counsels will prevail and sounder principles be adopted.

The remaining question upon which I desire to be heard concerns the source from which the revenue we do raise by taxation should be taken. This leads me to a moment's consideration of the war in its general aspects, the immensity of the task we have assumed, and the tremendous energy we must awaken and direct in order to bring the struggle to a speedy and successful end.

I have but recently returned from a brief visit to the country, and one of its objects was to do what little I could toward making the people understand the character and scope of the undertaking upon which we have entered. The people of this country, with here and there an exception, are intensely patriotic. They have lost none of the courage of their ancestors, and they intend to see this war through to a complete victory, no matter what may be its cost in life and treasure. They do not, however, fully realize the full proportions of the duty which has so unhappily fallen upon them. They do not appreciate how large a part of their energies must be given to the Herculean and unprecedented task which their Government must perform. The sooner they do comprehend the strength in men and money that will be required, the sooner they will feel that from now henceforth the war is the chief business of this country, to which every other hope, ambition, or interest must be absolutely subordinated, and the sooner they will be prepared to go resolutely forward in the right way and with the right spirit.

If I may be allowed a personal word, permit me to say that I was not so eager to enter the war under the circumstances which then existed as were some of my associates, and as were some of the martial-minded men on the outside, but when Congress declared a state of war between the United States and Germany that chapter of the controversy was forever closed, so far as I am concerned. From that time until now, and from now until we win, there has been and will be no room in my heart for any other purpose than to employ every resource at our command to make the United States invincible in the contest of arms. Whatever may have been true at a former time, and however difficult it is to understand what safety for democracy through the world means, the truth now is, and no man can escape it, that the safety of democracy in America, the independence of the United States, the perpetuation of the free institutions in our own country, the honor and happiness of our own people, all depend upon our success in this war. That citizen of the Republic who refuses to give whatever he has which will aid his country in the critical hour through which it is passing, or who does anything or says anything that will increase the peril of the men and boys who are standing between us and the enemy, is unworthy of the Republic which is trying to protect him.

We have undertaken to do a thing which no other nation since history began has ever done and which no existing power save our own could do. We have undertaken to organize an army of two, three, four, or five millions of men, to equip it with all the instruments of war, and to transport it over 2,500 miles of submarine-infested sea to a foreign land. We have undertaken to maintain this army with all that it requires to preserve its full fighting strength. If this were all, even then the magnitude, the difficulty, of the undertaking would baffle the human mind in attempting to comprehend it; but that is not all, nor is it even the larger part. We have undertaken to supply Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, and Serbia with the credit, the food, the clothing, the arms and munitions of war, and materials of infinite variety which they must have from us or perish, and all these things must be carried in ever-increasing quantities over an ocean in whose depths float the most hellish instruments of death and destruction ever contrived by the ingenuity of man. In the barest outline these are the things which we have pledged ourselves to do. In doing them we must summon all the strength

of all our people. Every man must be ready to do all he can, no matter what the sacrifice may be, to accomplish the common object. All thought of profit during the period of the war must disappear. The boys who are to do the fighting give all they have and receive but mere subsistence. The men who are left behind must do likewise. They must give what they have and be content with just a living in return. Selfishness must be banished, and all of us, whether in the Army or out of it, should be prepared to bestow our time and strength, our minds and bodies, and the use of our capital, for the public good.

I do not accept the doctrines of state socialism in times of peace, nor would I adopt them in any ordinary war; but I am completely persuaded that this war is so terrific in its consequences and so vast in its proportions that it will require a surrender of all individual profits and the absorption by the Government of the whole surplus created by the activities of all the people. By "surplus" I mean the excess above food, fuel, clothing, and the maintenance of families, including education and other necessaries of life. The people must have food, fuel, clothing, houses, and such things in order to enable them to work. They must educate their children in order to preserve society; but that is all. The idea of growing richer or stronger must for the present be forgotten and all our energies be devoted to the saving of a national life which at this moment is in peril.

I venture to paint the picture of American citizenship as I see it.

The fighting man comes first, and he says to his country: "Here I am, sound in body, mind, and spirit; take me; feed, clothe, and shelter me and those dependent upon me. I ask no more." The man of fortune comes, and he ought to say: "Here I am with my million; take me. I can not fight, but I can work and my million can work, and I will work and my million shall work, and I ask for nothing but a living for myself and family." The workingman comes, and he ought to say: "Here I am; take me. I have not had my fair share in the past, but in these days of danger and difficulty I give you my labor, and all I want is a decent living wage." The farmer comes, and he should say: "Here I am, with my broad and fertile fields; take me. I will not remember the injustice of former days. My hands will cultivate these fields, and they shall yield their highest harvests. All I want is enough to support myself and those who depend upon me until the clouds of war have passed away."

I have wondered whether I ought to speak of the women of the country in this connection. Denied though they are their just right to participate in our public affairs, they have come with a loyalty and efficiency never surpassed and giving with grief-stricken hearts their husbands, sons, and brothers to the firing line, and all their energies in every field of charity and philanthropy are willingly employed for the amelioration of the indescribable hardships and awful suffering of war.

The picture is, of course, an ideal, and we can not hope for its perfect realization nor can we hope for a near approach unless these industrial classes are mutually unselfish. It is not to be expected that employees will be satisfied with just a living if their employers are reaping huge profits. It would be unfair to take all the profit from capital and give it to labor. It would be a grievous wrong to ask the farmer to be content with a bare subsistence and tolerate immense dividends to the manufacturer. I am only trying to portray the spirit which ought to prevail, and which in the end must prevail, if we are to win the war.

No one understands better than I do that we can not bring all this about in a direct way, and that some of it can not be brought about at all. We have a Constitution, traditions, and prejudices, none of which I now criticize, and a great part of which, in peaceful times, are invaluable, that compel us to move through cumbersome, uncertain, and indirect methods. To accomplish the purpose and do the justice I have so imperfectly described, we must resort to acts of organization and conscription for the military service, of regulation and control of commerce, of taxation, and the like; but the real object of all these war measures should be to establish a system in which each man, instead of fighting and working chiefly for himself, is fighting and working for the country of which he is a citizen.

Let us keep in mind every moment that to sustain our part in this unprecedented war, we will require substantially all the earnings of all the people in excess of a fair and reasonable living, and that is just as true whether we issue bonds and borrow money for the prosecution of the war or whether we take our revenue in the form of taxation. The industrial and commercial life of the Nation is vast and complicated, and the channels through which the principle must run are hidden and tortuous, but finally the great clearing house of human affairs will strike the balance. If either labor or capital, or any class of our population, is permitted to retain its profits, somebody will have less than enough for the merest livelihood.

We have heard much about slackers, and we have not yet reached the real definition of this odious creature; but the most objectionable and contemptible slacker is the man who spends a large part of his time boasting of his patriotism and the rest of it trying to hold on to a big income far in excess of his living necessities.

For weeks the Finance Committee, and then the Senate, labored to differentiate between war profits and other profits in business enterprises. There may be a sentimental justice in compelling those who have made fortunes out of the war to contribute more heavily than those who have made their money in some other way, but after all the matter is largely academic, for all profits above a living, and that includes, of course, enough to keep the business, if it be a necessary one, going, must be given up in some form or other. If they are collected from the people through high prices they must be turned over to the Government, but the public good will be more certainly promoted if commodities are sold at a reasonable price and no such profits are made. The Government does not want money except as a medium of exchange. It wants food, clothing, supplies, implements, munitions of war, ships, transportation, and all such things for its Army and Navy, and maintenance for its civilian officers and employees.

If it were possible to so arrange it, and I grant that it is not, that the Government would take all the property and conduct all the industries of the country during the war, with everybody at work, taking out of the common production just enough and no more than enough for support, and the Government taking the things necessary to carry on the war, perfect justice would be done.

This, I concede, is nothing more than an illustration, but it points the way for us as we attempt to equalize the burdens of war through the system under which we live, just and adequate in peace, but awkward and complex in solving the problems of war.

Not a penny of taxes should be laid upon consumption except upon those commodities which the consumer ought to let alone. In a war which will demand the whole surplus, any such tax not only defeats itself but is an intense aggravation of a situation very difficult at best. If Congress had the power to levy direct taxes without apportionment among the States some relief could be found in that direction; but it has not, and practically the Federal Government is confined to duties on imports, excise taxes, income taxes, and inheritance taxes.

In all that I have said I have not forgotten that State, county, municipal, and district governments must be maintained, and it is to be assumed without elaborating the subject that the sums paid for local purposes will be deducted in ascertaining profits or net income from the Federal standpoint. It must also be understood that the estimate of annual increase of wealth is the surplus or savings after all normal public dues are paid.

I recognize that the observations I have made, however sound in principle, are, in a measure, theoretical, and that when we take into consideration the character of the Government we have developed, the structure of industry and commerce we have built up, and the habits and disposition of the people, we will be compelled to abate the full demands of justice and make but gradual approaches to the end in view.

The fundamental error in the bill before us as proposed by the conference report, and it is an error which adheres in both the House and the Senate bill, is that it leaves altogether too large a proportion of the cost of the war to be secured through the issuance of interest-bearing bonds—that is, through borrowing instead of taxation. I can not vote against the report on this ground for we must have the money, but I can, and I do, register my protest against the plan, and in the future as, from time to time, we are required to meet the expenses of the war, I intend to do everything which lies within my power to hold back the flood of bonds which threatens the safety and prosperity of the country. This error carries with it the glaring injustice which is observed in the taxation of profits. Instead of taking a very large part of the profits of capital, it takes a very small part. Instead of taking a very large part of incomes in excess of a fair living, it takes a very small part. Instead of taking a due proportion of the big incomes, it takes so little that those who are enjoying them will scarcely be reminded that a war is in progress, so gigantic and devastating in its character that it endangers all humanity and all civilization. In saying these things, I am not conscious of any hostility toward rich men or rich incomes. I am simply facing a grave situation and telling the truth about it. I am simply recording the obvious fact that capital which consumes nothing and

therefore has no needs to sustain, must, if necessary, work for nothing until the crisis has passed. It is not within my thought that the essential industries of the country shall be in the least degree impaired, and I have no doubt that in many instances profits must be added to capital in order to increase production. If profits are put to work in order to meet the demands of the time, it is entirely within the principle for which I am contending, that they be so used, for anyone understands that the productive capacity of all our industries must not only be kept up but materially increased. My whole contention is that these profits must be in some fashion devoted to the service of the country. It has been asserted over and over again that we must allow people to grow richer through their labor or investments in order to insure production. I am not willing to admit it, for to admit it is to indelibly brand every such man as a slacker, and if I did not believe that the people were ready to make this sacrifice, I would despair of winning the war. A man who is willing to give his boy to fight for his country, but who is not willing to give the use of his property to support the boy, is, to me, an incomprehensible creature. There may be such men, but if there are, the sooner they are marked for everlasting infamy, the better.

Mr. PENROSE obtained the floor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to me for just a moment to submit a report?

Mr. PENROSE. Certainly.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. SIMMONS. On behalf of the Committee on Finance, I report back favorably with amendments House bill 5723, to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes. I do not file now a formal report, but I ask unanimous consent later to file such a report (No. 141).

Mr. SMOOT. In this connection I desire to say to the Senate that I shall not file a minority report, but I have reserved the right to offer amendments to the bill, particularly amendments to Article IV, known as the insurance title.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania kindly yield just for a statement in this same connection?

Mr. PENROSE. Certainly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I attended upon the sessions of the Finance Committee when the bill was under consideration and I think I was present at all the sessions excepting the final session when the bill was completed, there being one or two amendments for consideration at the time I found myself obliged to withdraw from the sessions of the committee in order to be in attendance upon the meeting of the Supreme Court. Therefore, I did not have an opportunity to say, as I wanted to say to the committee, that I should join in a favorable report upon the bill but that I too wanted to reserve the right to offer or to support amendments which I thought might improve the bill.

There was some division in the committee as to rates, and I may want to offer amendments myself or to support amendments offered by others increasing the rates. I would have reserved, if I had been present, the right to support any amendment offered by any Senator that in my judgment improves the bill in any respect.

I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

WAR REVENUE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I do not intend to detain the Senate more than a very few minutes. I think, however, as one of the conferees, I ought to inform the Senate that I intend to vote for the adoption of the report, and I was authorized by my minority colleague on the conference, the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], to sign his name to the report in favor of the measure.

I do not claim, Mr. President, that this bill is in any way perfect. On the contrary, there are features in this measure most objectionable to me and of a character that I can not defend in public; but I take the measure as a whole; and even if it is only 80 per cent good I know that the Government needs the revenue and that it is my duty to vote for the bill.

Reference has been made to the munitions tax. That, Mr. President, obviously is a most discriminatory tax. On these war profits heavy additional taxes are levied, and this munitions tax is still retained upon a few special industrial establishments; and yet I recognize the situation in the other House.

I think the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee represented that situation in entire good faith when he informed the conferees that it would be difficult to get the House to agree to repeal the tax for this year, owing to the impression which existed in the House as to the character of the tax and the feeling that it had been, in some way or other, provided and allowed for in the contracts already made. I therefore most reluctantly yielded with the compromise that the tax should cease after this year; yet it raises greatly the taxes on some of these munition-making concerns for the current year.

Then, the inheritance tax, Mr. President, is to me a most objectionable one, representing, as I do in part, a great State like Pennsylvania, and is a subject which, in my opinion, should be entirely without the taxing jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Nearly every State in New England has passed resolutions through its legislature, or has expressed an opinion through its governor, protesting against this tax, not because such inheritances should not be taxed, but because those great sovereign Commonwealths must have some source of revenue. The Legislature of Pennsylvania at its session last winter passed a similar resolution of protest; so did the Legislature of California and the legislatures of other States; yet, Mr. President, realizing that this bill is only for the duration of the war, and hoping that later other sources of revenue may be found so that this inheritance tax can be reduced or abolished, I yielded.

The postal rates, Mr. President, have been referred to by the chairman of the Finance Committee [Mr. SIMMONS], who has fairly expressed my own view. All along I have thought that this perplexing and complicated subject could not be safely gone into in a war-revenue measure which had to be passed quickly. I have served on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the Senate for 20 years, and I was chairman of that great committee for a number of years. I was chairman of two joint commissions of the two Houses of Congress having particularly in charge the investigation of postal rates. One of them, I may say without egotism, ranks as a monumental commission in its report. This commission had a large appropriation from Congress and brought to Washington the ablest accountants that could be found in New York, who were put into the Post Office Department, and overhauled the whole system. Many of their recommendations have been embodied in the law in the several appropriation bills which have passed Congress since that report was made; but we apparently are no nearer a conclusion as to the adjustment of postal rates on second-class mail matter than we were in 1897, when the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, of which I was then a new member, viewed with grave apprehension the future of the Post Office Department, because the appropriation was passing the $100,000,000 mark, an amount which seemed to us in those primitive days of appalling magnitude, but which now appears quite trivial.

As the chairman of the committee has stated, the postal rates as embodied in this revenue bill can, perchance, be repealed or amended next December, when the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the House of Representatives has before it the general appropriation bill for the Post Office Department, and can consider the question in a deliberate way, with a view to solving it; and I, for one, after 20 years' experience in the controversy, hope that some way can be devised to end it for the good of the Government, for the good of the periodical publishers, and the publishers of daily newspapers.

I say candidly that I should have preferred to have this part left out of the revenue bill, as the Senate left it out; but in view of the fact that the paragraph in reference to the matter does not go into effect until July, 1918, and that Congress will meet in December next, the Senate conferees yielded on that point also.

There would, however, be no particular advantage, Mr. President, in reciting all the features of this bill to which I am opposed. There are some remarkably good features in the measure. The retroactive tax, embodied in the bill as it came over from the House of Representatives, has been eliminated. That was one of those taxes which yielded considerable revenue, but which incensed taxpayers and made them feel that they were being unjustly treated.

Then the so-called double taxation as to holding and subsidiary companies has been provided for in such a way that these additional taxes are not twice imposed.

The proposition to impose a flat taxation of 10 or 15 per cent on the surplus earnings of corporations aroused the business

world from the Atlantic to the Pacific as striking at the very fundamentals of sound industrial economics; yet after a prolonged discussion in the Finance Committee, and later on in the Senate and in conference, a satisfactory adjustment of that proposition was effected, by which the surplus invested in the business or retained for the legitimate requirements of the business is exempt from the flat tax, and a still more equitable provision follows, which caused the committee endless discussion until the matter was finally adjusted. Many million dollars of stock dividends out of surplus declared prior to the declaration of war have been provided for in the bill, so that they are taxable as of the year in which the surplus accrued. Another class of cases, where the stock dividend had been specifically declared out of surplus existing prior to March 1, 1913, when no tax prevailed, have been provided for in this bill, so that they are exempt from tax. These are but illustrations, Mr. President, of the good features of the measure.

The definition of "capital" taxes the genius of the political economists to the highest degree in a complicated industrial civilization like ours. It is difficult to arrive at an equitable and wholly scientific definition of "capital." I believe the definition of "capital" in this bill is in many respects inequitable and is not sufficiently broad; I feel confident that it is going to result in hardship and inequity; but I likewise feel that the definition makes considerable progress in covering certain features of the business and industrial world, and that, while it falls short in many respects, it also contains many excellent features. I, therefore, am willing to accept this definition for the time being, with the hope that next winter in another revenue bill, which will likely be coming along, we shall be able to get some broad definition of "capital" which will be economically sound. That we are unable to do so now is only an illustration of the fact, which has often occurred to me, that this bill, carrying with it the largest sum in the history of our Government, or perhaps of any other government, and covering a continental domain and an industrial civilization more complicated than any which has ever existed in the history of the world, has been framed without almost any useful precedent to go by. Direct taxes are new in America, and certainly direct taxes of this magnitude are entirely without precedent. The House and the Senate have had to feel their way. Precedents have not existed in this country to any extent; precedents in Europe are difficult to thoroughly understand in many cases, and there is no great familiarity with them.

In my opinion the physical and industrial conditions existing in the United States, as compared with a much smaller country like any of the belligerent nations of Europe, render comparisons most dangerous to rely upon. The industrial conditions of the Old World compared with ours are stable and normal, whereas ours are growing by leaps and bounds. With the experience which American statesmanship is obtaining in the framing of this and preceding measures, we shall—and I feel confident we will—gradually advance to firmer ground and be able to frame a measure of direct taxation which will be free from many of the objectionable features contained in this bill.

I do not believe, Mr. President, that any committee, at least since the Civil War, has worked harder on a measure than has the Finance Committee of the Senate on this bill. For nearly five months the committee was literally in daily session from half past 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning until 5 or 6 in the evening, sometimes including Sunday, with a short recess in the middle of the day. Most of the committee attended. The discussions were intelligent and illuminating, and the bill is the evolution of those discussions. The other House, of course, did not have the opportunity to give the same length of time to the bill, but they gave intelligent consideration to the measure and sent over to us the nucleus upon which to work. During that time the ablest men in America were here in Washington to be heard before the Finance Committee or to see members of the committee individually, and the members of the committee were most patient with all taxpayers who came to Washington and afforded them a courteous hearing as long as they desired. I, for one, and, I think, most of the members of the committee, absorbed a vast amount of information from talking to those gentlemen, and profited by that information in framing the bill. It was not a question of asking any favors for anyone, but it was a question of framing the measure so that it would bear equitably and logically upon all who would be affected by it.

This revenue bill has to be passed, Mr. President; the Government needs the revenue, and it ought to be passed immediately; it should have been passed two months ago; and while I fully realize that many taxpayers will awaken to the fact that they must pay very burdensome taxes, and others will realize that the taxes bear most severely upon their particular cases, yet, after all, the money has to be had and the taxes have to be levied. It is almost impossible, Mr. President, to frame a revenue measure covering 100,000,000 people, with every diversity of climate, wage standards, and industry, that will not in many cases bear harshly on some as compared with others. It is a physical impossibility to hold the scales with absolute equality; but I feel that the measure is substantially good as a revenue raiser, that it can be amended hereafter, and I sincerely hope that the bill may pass to-day.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in the first place, I want to say that the bill as now reported to the Senate by the conferees, in my opinion, is anything but an improvement on the bill as it passed the Senate, and, taken as a whole, the bill is not nearly so satisfactory as it was when agreed to by the Senate. The conferees in the case of this bill have done just what the conferees do in the case of nearly every important bill that passes Congress—inserting new legislation in the bill in conference. There are new provisions in the bill as now reported that were never acted upon by either the House or the Senate.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, I am ready to amend our rules so that there can be a vote in the Senate upon any particular item in a conference report without making it necessary to vote against the report as a whole. As it is now, in order to give expression upon any one item in a conference report we are obliged to vote against the conference report entire and send it back to conference. I am not going to take the time of the Senate to call attention to the legislation which has been put in this bill by the conferees, but there are a great many items, and it is a practice that ought to cease.

The bill is not, of course, as I would have drawn it, and I do not believe that it is entirely satisfactory to any one Senator. The conference report is a compromise; but I suppose, taken as a whole, in view of the differences between the two Houses, the conferees will claim that they did the best they could. If I had been a conferee, I would not have signed the report.

Mr. President, I know that there are not enough votes in the Senate to return this report to conference. If I were convinced that there were enough votes, I would do everything in my power to see that it was returned, if for no other reason than to change the zone system as to second-class mail matter, which has been adopted by the conferees. I do not believe that the system proposed can successfully be defended, and if it were not possible before the provision affecting second-class mail matter takes effect for the Congress to repeal it, I would insist now upon a vote upon the conference report in order to see if that provision could not be changed in conference, but the provision does not take effect until July 1, 1918. In the meantime we will have a regular session of Congress, and I think during that regular session of Congress we can get an expression of Congress as to whether it approves this plan, which means absolute ruin to a large class of publications of this country.

Not only that, Mr. President, but it means a division of this country into zones. Certain sections of the country are to be restricted, on account of the charges imposed upon educational publications, from enjoying privileges granted to other parts of the United States. What right have we to impose upon the people of California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Nebraska rates for carrying publications of the above character nearly twice, and in some cases over twice, the amount that is imposed upon the people of Canada? Why should the people of those States be compelled to pay more for the carrying of magazines and publications of an educational nature than if they were sent to the farthest end of Siberia or Australasia or any other part of the world?

I received a letter from one of the publishers of a leading magazine, calling attention to what this zone system would mean to subscribers in Western States. In that letter it is said that the postage rates proposed amount to twice as much as it would cost to carry their publication to their subscribers anywhere in Canada; it will even exceed the amount paid for postage by their subscribers in Australasia, South Africa, South America, Europe, or the remotest points to be reached in Siberia. The proposed zone system is especially vicious in that it makes the Government of the United States assess a penalty against every intelligent family that is guilty of living beyond a certain radius of the great publishing centers.

Some may ask, "Well, why do they not publish these papers in the West?" I answer that it is impossible to do so, for the great population is in the East, and in order to reach subscribers in the East the magazines will have to pay under this zone system in some cases $4.60 a year more than the present rate and the people could not afford and would not pay the extra expense.

The claim is made, Mr. President, that an exception has been made in the case of the publications of religious, educational,

scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations or associations; but the exception applies only when the publication is not carried on for profit and when none of the net income derived therefrom inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual. There may be a few such in the United States, but there will be an exceedingly small number of them that will be exempt under that provision.

So, Mr. President, I might stand here and call your attention to the effect of this provision on the religious papers of this country, the most influential of which are not exempt; in fact, so few of the publications in this country will fall under the exemption that they are hardly worth considering.

I shall say no more at this time upon this subject, but I give notice that at the regular session of Congress, if I have any influence or if I can use any influence in any way to have Congress pass upon this question directly, I am going to do it. The Senate passed upon this question; they were opposed to the zone system; a majority of this body said they did not want it; and yet it comes back in the conference report in some respects even more vicious than was the original House provision.

Mr. President, it would take me too long a time to go into a discussion of some of the changes made here, which, I think, can not be defended. I think they weaken the bill. I think, Mr. President, that the object the Senate had in passing this bill was to reach with the highest percentage of taxation the largest percentage of gain caused by this war; but the basis of taxation under the excess-profits tax does not reach those extremely high percentages of profit so effectively as did the original Senate amendment. I know, however, that there are enough votes in the Senate to pass this conference report.

Of course, I know that some legislation along this line must be passed; I also know that the Senate wants to conclude its labors for this extra session. Senators are anxious to conclude their labors and go home; and if anyone should attempt at this time to discuss this report—and I am fearful if any other bill that may come up before us should be discussed at any great length—impatience would be manifested on the part of the Senate.

In a day of two we will have before us the war-risk insurance bill. That bill is of enough importance for the Senate of the United States to spend just as much time in discussing it as they spent in discussing the revenue bill. In fact, Mr. President, it is of more importance, because it does not make appropriations for a single fiscal year, but imposes legislation that will require appropriations for 50 years from now, and perhaps 75 or 100 years hence. The figures are almost staggering when you understand what they are. But I expect the bill to pass the Senate with very little discussion. It seems a waste of time for me to undertake to discuss the details of this bill, knowing as I do that no matter what I say this afternoon the bill will pass as it has been reported.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I concur quite fully in the sentiment last expressed by the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT]. The period for discussion with reference to this matter has virtually passed, and yet I feel that it would be unjust to the great masses of the people of America, it would be unjust to the Post Office Department of our Government, and it would be unjust to the conferees who have framed this measure if I permitted some of the statements made by the Senator from Utah to go unchallenged and undenied on this floor.

Mr. President, I voted for this bill with some reluctance. It had in it many things that I did not like. It failed to raise the proper amount of money from the great incomes of this country, according to my conception. Still, I believed that the Government had to have the money to wage this war, and I supported it. I shall support the conference report with a great deal of pleasure, because I believe, directly contrary to the belief of the Senator from Utah, that the conference report is a better bill than either the Senate bill or the House bill; and I believe it most of all with respect to the very proposition about which the Senator from Utah complains most—namely, second-class postal rates.

I am not going into all the figures now, but we have not done one-half of what we ought to have done, even in this conference report, with respect to that matter.

What is the situation? We are making $60,000,000 a year out of first-class postage, and yet we propose to raise something like fifty or sixty millions more out of the masses of the people by charging 3 cents for letter postage instead of 2 cents. All well and good, if the necessities of this country and of this war require it; but when we are taking that amount of money out of the masses of the people whose letter-postage bill is already running the Post Office Department, I say we would be utterly without regard for the interests of the masses of the people of the country if we did not also increase the rates that these periodicals pay, where the Government is sustaining an annual loss of $72,000,000.

What is the proposition, Senators, that excites the ire and resentment and opposition of the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT]? He does not raise his voice for one moment in protest against the proposition that letter postage be increased; but the minute we want to increase the rates that these periodical publishers pay, he seems to think that the bill is utterly wrong because it undertakes to do so in a very feeble and indifferent way.

It costs us every year $83,385,929 to handle this second-class mail matter, and we get from it how much? Eleven million three hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars; and when the proposition of the conferees is adopted, and after the four-year period of adjustment it reaches its maximum, we will only receive from this measure, as far as second-class mail-matter rates are concerned, $27,602,783.54. In other words, even when, after a four-year period of adjustment, we reach the maximum of charges on these second-class mail rates, we will still give to these publishers a bounty of $46,783,000 a year, as against their present bounty of $72,000,000 a year.

Ah, Senators, it is justice too long delayed; it is right too long delayed and too scantily measured out at last. These men are not required, under the provisions of the conference report, to give up one-half of the bounty that they have enjoyed for years; and yet the distinguished Senator from Utah says it will ruin the country, and it will ruin all the western people. Not so. Mark the prophecy: I measure my words against his. The readers of these magazines will never pay a cent of this increase. It will all come, and it must come, as it has always come, out of the advertisers; and that is a purely commercial project. If the business of advertising can not be adjusted in four years so as to meet a rate that does not represent a third of what it costs the Government to transact the business, then I say there is something wrong with the business of advertising as it exists to-day.

I am not going to weary the Senate by going over the figures or going over the arguments in detail.

The letter of the Postmaster General, read to-day by the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], in charge of this bill, is the clearest, cleanest-cut statement on this question ever issued by a Postmaster General; and in my judgment it refutes completely, absolutely, and undeniably every contention and every statement made by the distinguished Senator from Utah.

So I say that I support this conference report with a great deal of pleasure for the very opposite reason to that which makes my friend from Utah so averse to supporting it at all.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Georgia a question before he takes his seat.

Mr. HARDWICK. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. GORE. I wish to ask him as to the experience of Canada under the increased postage rate on first-class matter. I have understood that they raised the rate during the present war.

Mr. HARDWICK. They did.

Mr. GORE. And I should like to ask the Senator what effect that increase has had on the postal revenues?

Mr. HARDWICK. I can not answer the Senator with absolute accuracy about that. My impression is that the report of the department was that the increase had had some effect in reducing the volume, and possibly in reducing the total revenue from that source, but I will not say for certain that such is the absolute fact.

Mr. GORE. Is the Senator advised as to whether it has reduced the total returns?

Mr. HARDWICK. I think it did; but I will not be positive about it. Of course, I will say to the Senator that there may be some danger that an increase in letter postage in this country may reduce the volume of that business, but I do not think the danger is very great.

Mr. GORE. I think when England went to the penny post it received more revenue under the lower than under the higher rate.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is undoubtedly true.

Mr. GORE. For my own part I wish to express my regret that the conference committee agreed to the increased rate on letter postage. This is one of the most objectionable methods of increasing taxation. This is one of the most objectionable of several objectionable taxes agreed to in conference.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is the part of it that I do not like. When we are already making $60,000,000 a year clear profit out of first-class mail matter, to wit, on letters and postal cards, I see very little excuse for undertaking to put an extra charge on it, even in war times. That is really the only thing connected with this postal matter that I think the conferees ought

not to have done. But looking at that this time from the same angle that my friend from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] did, we are obliged to take the bitter and the sweet along together. I earnestly and honestly believe that the effect of the action that the conferees have taken to-day will be to guarantee universal 1-cent letter postage throughout this country as soon as normal times come again and as soon as we can adjust these second-class rates to a still higher level, where they will pay a still greater per cent of the cost of handling second-class matter, as ought to be the case.

I therefore accept and support the conference report with respect to this matter, and do so the more readily because I am confident that now that the correct principle has been applied to second-class mail rates the day when we can give the people of the country 1-cent letter postage can not be long delayed, once this war is over.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I want to say a word in answer to what the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] has said. He has very strong convictions on this subject, but I am convinced that his convictions are founded on an entire misconception of the publication business. I will put my judgment now against his judgment, and predict that if this increase in postage under the zone system is carried into effect it will not lead to an increase in advertising rates, but will rather tend to lead to a reduction in advertising rates, because it will inevitably result in a reduction of the circulation of the publications.

Advertising rates are not under the control of the publisher. Advertising rates are based upon the results which advertisers derive from the purchase of publicity, and anything done to reduce the circulation of publications is inevitably bound to result in reducing advertising rates. Advertising rates were enlarged by the increased circulation of periodicals and newspapers inaugurated 30 years ago, when the rates were placed at their present standard as a part of our educational system. No one can predict exactly the result of what is to come, but this is inevitable: Those increased postage rates can not be paid by most of the publications in this country. They can not be paid by them, because their profits at the present time are not large enough to make it possible. Either the publications must pass on those additional postage rates to the subscribers, or the publications must go out of business, in a very large number of cases.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, why can they not be passed on to the advertisers, if they are all under that obligation?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Because the publisher does not control the rate that the advertiser pays.

Mr. HARDWICK. But if you do not reduce his circulation or the number of his subscribers, and the advertisers must all have advertising, and all must pay more money, why can not that be done?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That shows how little the Senator knows about the publication business. If he were the proprietor of a great food product he would advertise in the publications and pay so much per thousand of circulation, and his books would show at the end of the year, from the results obtained, whether he could continue to pay that rate or not. He can not pay the rate simply because the publisher demands it. He can only pay the rate as the result of the sales which he makes, and he will make no more sales upon a publication paying a higher rate of postage than a publication paying a different rate of postage. The advertising rates are based upon the results that the advertiser gets. He buys publicity, and nothing but publicity. The publisher can not raise his rates unless he gives the advertiser larger returns, and he can not give him larger returns when his circulation is being restricted.

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not want to prolong the argument, and I am sure the Senator does not; but does it not seem to him that the man who is going to sell this advertising has something to say about the price at which it shall be sold?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He has very little to say. I have been in the business for 30 years, and I know that I can not raise my advertising rates unless I can give a larger return, and every publisher knows it. It is not a one-sided business. Advertisers pay for results. They buy publicity. If you reduce the publicity the advertising rates have got to come down. That is a delusion that the Senator has been laboring under all this time.

I want to say that this great bonus that is talked about as being paid to the publishers of the country is not paid to the publishers of the country. The business of advertising is the most highly competitive business in the United States, and the publisher in that highly competitive business puts his subscription rates just as low as he can put them. Increase the cost of his distribution, increase the cost of his publication, and he must inevitably increase the cost to the subscriber.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, does not the Senator think that the Saturday Evening Post has something to say about charging $7,000 for a one-page advertisement in one issue?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Why, Mr. President, it is cheaper to buy a page in the Saturday Evening Post at $6,500 than it would be to buy a page in some other publication for $1.50.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the proprietor of that periodical have something to say about fixing that amount?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Very little; very little. It is only when his representatives can go to the purchaser of advertising and show him how many hundreds of thousands of readers he is going to reach that he can charge any such rate. Cut off the number of readers and his rate has got to go down. The cheapest advertising in the country is in papers of great circulation. The delusion that a publisher can charge what he pleases for advertising is one of the most monumental delusions of those who know nothing about the business.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the increase in postage will reduce the circulation of publications, why will not the increase in the price of print paper decrease their circulation?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It has decreased it. It has tended to decrease it. Only the extraordinary demand growing out of this tremendous war has prevented a greater decrease. But publishers all over the country are raising their rates. Publishers in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, in Omaha, and in other places have raised their subscription rates.

Mr. HARDWICK. I will inquire if the Senator's own paper has not raised its rates, both on advertising and on subscriptions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We have only raised our rate on advertising as we increased our circulation.

Mr. HARDWICK. But you have raised your rate on advertising twice in the last 12 months, have you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Oh, I have done that for the last 30 years as often as I could show that I had a larger circulation; but I can not raise my rates without showing that I have a larger circulation. I have raised my subscription price on account of the increased cost of paper, and I will raise it again when the zone system and the higher postage go into effect.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is what they will all do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You will not be taxing me by increasing postal rates; every strong publication will pass on the increase to the reader; but you will kill off, meanwhile, all of the struggling publications of the country. I do not know what the percentage will be. You will make a path of wreck and ruin that will come back to plague you some day. I do not know how many, but I will venture to say that thousands of publications in this country that are not strong will die, and instead of having promoted the public interest by this course you will have injured it. You will not injure the publishers that are able to take care of themselves. You will ruin a lot of publishers that are in the struggling list—and the business is so competitive that a very large proportion of them are in the struggling list—and you will deprive a great many hundreds of thousands of readers of cheap literature that they are getting to-day.

Mr. HARDWICK. Some of it we could do without very well.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I am in favor of the adoption of the pending conference report. It contains some things for which I did not vote in the Senate, and there are many things for which I voted in the Senate that are not in it, but I believe it is the best that can be gotten out of conference. To reject the conference report would, in my opinion, cause a long delay; and what we need is action, not delay.

This bill is designed to raise money to support our brave soldiers who are fighting or will fight for us in a foreign country, and to defray our expenses in the greatest war that has ever been waged—not only the greatest in size but in the scope of its contest for human rights and liberty.

In this connection I have a short editorial clipping from the New Northwest, of Missoula, Mont., written by the editor, Dr. E. B. Craighead, a writer, educator, and scholar of note. It pays a merited and splendid tribute to the American drafted soldier, which, I think, is appropriate in connection with this subject. I send it to the desk and ask that it be printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DRAFTED!

This picture represents the noblest figure in all the world, a common soldier, standing beneath the Stars and Stripes. He asks no favors and fears only God. Clad in simple garb, he stands erect—a man,

craving neither pelf nor power, but God's best gift—health and strength to serve his fellow men and to fight for freedom's holy cause. No emperor was ever great enough to add aught to the glory that justly belongs to him and to the hundreds of thousands of American youth who seek only one distinction—that of fighting shoulder to shoulder with the friends of freedom in all lands and under all skies. To him a clear conscience and a mother's benediction are worth more than the iron cross of an emperor.

This plain private neither volunteered nor otherwise sought to have his name inscribed upon the roll of honor. The trappings, the emoluments and distrinctions of office did not appeal to him. But when the tumult and the shouting had died away, and training camps were no longer in need of men seeking to become officers, he heard his country calling for men to join the ranks, and awaited not a second summons. In that call he heard the voice of duty and the voice of God.

He heard the moan of mothers weeping for dead babies—babies not snatched away by a mysterious providence, but bayoneted by brutal soldiers. He saw little children, wandering like wild beasts through trackless forests, along steep and barren mountain sides and heard their plaintive cry for bread, and the still more plaintive moaning for their dead mothers.

(Ah, the children, the children, tens of thousands of them, terrified, lost in the thick palpable darkness of mysterious forests, freezing, starving, weeping for their dead mothers—what a picture! It is enough to arouse the wrath of God Almighty Himself. Is it any wonder that it dimmed millions of eyes unused to tears and turned upon the Prussian autocracy the curses of the mothers of the world. Heart-rending enough to move the hearts of the most pitiless of savages—yea, even the heart of a stone—this awful spectacle appealed not to the educated and refined officers of William, trained as they were in the schools of Bernhardi and Treitschke!)

This common soldier saw the wretchedness and woe, the worse than Dantean hell into which the sons and daughters of freedom had been plunged by the mad ambitions of a few colossal murderers who were and are struggling to enslave the world. He recalled the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the impudent threats of an Emperor and madman to destroy the world's commerce. He saw his own beloved America infested by German spies, creeping like treacherous, poisonous reptiles around our industrial centers, our arsenals, and munition plants—yea, lurking boldly about the Halls of Congress or sleeping serenely, as if the war had been won, under the dome of the Capitol itself.

No ordinary man is this American private. He's the bone and sinew and heart of the Republic. He has not been cowed into silence by the iron hand of Prussian despotism, or trained to obedience by the stern rod of the German schoolmaster. He has not sunk into an ignorant brute like the Russian peasant, under the brutal despotism of the Czars. He's a freeman, educated in the free schools of the greatest Republic of the world. He's a sovereign, a king crowned by the might of merit. Taught to fear God and take his own part, he can, like the eagle, look the sun in the eye. To the American private, to the common people and the common soldiers, civilization is appealing, and this appeal shall not be in vain.

Think of holding over the head of this man the threat, "Enter the Army or you'll be shot like a spy or traitor!"

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, for some 9 or 10 years I have been the publisher of a magazine. During a goodly portion of that time I have published that magazine at a loss. But, Mr. President, I voted for the McKellar amendment increasing the rates upon second-class publications. I voted for the Hardwick amendment. I supported the Hardwick amendment in the Committee on Finance, and I shall vote, so long as I have the opportunity, to increase postal rates upon second-class publications, notwithstanding the fact that it affects me adversely, until such time as my publication and others of like character are no longer carried in the mails at a loss to the Government.

But, Mr. President, I did not rise to discuss that phase of this conference report. I had expected to submit to the Senate at some length observations which I desire to make before the close of this session which could be appropriately made while this bill is pending. But in deference to the request of the chairman of the Committee on Finance, who is worn out with his labors upon this bill and in need of rest, and who as chairman of the committee has carried the burden of this legislation through the Senate Committee on Finance in the 10 weeks that the bill was before that committee and during the month or more that it was under consideration by the Senate, and also through all the stages of contest over its provisions in conference and inasmuch as he desires to be relieved of the care of this legislation after to-day, I shall defer any extended observations that I might make while the bill is before the Senate until another time.

I do want to say, however, that I voted against this measure when it was on its passage before the Senate because, as I believed, it violated every principle that should control in the establishment of a wise and just policy in financing a war.

I voted against the bill for other reasons. I do not believe it is possible, or ever will be possible, for any government to finance a war upon economically sound principles; but I do believe that it is the duty of all legislators who have to do with governmental finance, when a war is on, to approximate, in so far as may be possible, to a just principle of finance as applied to the conduct of a war.

Mr. President, there can be no question in the mind of anyone who is even superficially a student of government finance and of political economy since it has been a recognized science that war should be financed by paying for the war while the war is on. Any other policy imposes upon the mass of the people untold burdens. Any other policy makes it difficult for the Government itself to conduct the war within the compass of anything like reasonable economy. The policy of mortgaging, the policy of borrowing, is vicious and unsound on every principle of economy and government finance. There is no reputable authority upon political economy or upon finance who has put forth an untainted opinion since that science was founded who does not support my assertion that the only sound principle of conducting a war is to pay for it as you go, and to tax to pay for it as you go.

But, Mr. President, that inevitably means that you will lay very heavy taxes while the war is on and that inevitably means that you will lay great burdens upon wealth, because, sir, it is an elementary principle of taxation that the tax shall be distributed according to the ability to bear it.

That brings me back to say again that no war has ever been financed upon economically sound principles, and no war ever will be so financed. Why? Because, sir, wealth will not stand for it, and wealth in every government on earth since mankind has been at war has always been potential enough to control the financing of the war.

So it has happened that very few wars have been financed upon what might be termed proper economic basis. Great Britain has come nearer to financing her wars upon a sound economic policy than any other government in the world. For nearly 300 years she has come nearer to meeting the requirements of sound principles than any other government on earth; but only twice, sir, in that period of nearly three centuries has she financed a war upon a fifty-fifty basis, furnishing by taxation 50 per cent of the amount necessary to carry on the war and providing for the additional 50 per cent by borrowing.

It is not alone that you impose the burdens of the war upon a future generation who have no responsibility for bringing on the war, by borrowing the money on long-time bond issues to finance it, but the inevitable result is to greatly inflate the currency and enormously increase prices and increase the cost of living.

Mr. President, in the War of 1812 we blundered, and it brought us financial disaster. In the Mexican War we blundered again, but the war lasted but a short time. Its cost was comparatively small, and we escaped without serious financial embarrassment. In the Civil War we suffered for a generation of time the great swarm of evils that resulted from a wrongful financing of that war.

John Sherman was probably the ablest financier of this country after Alexander Hamilton. He severely condemned the plan pursued by our Government in financing the Civil War, yet in that war we raised relatively very much more by taxes and very much less by bonds than we propose in this war. Reviewing the wrongful financing of that war, what did he say when the refunding time came? And we are making it impossible for us to refund the bonds we are issuing to finance the present war. We are not only issuing bonds to carry on this war in much larger amounts, in proportion to the sum we propose to raise by taxation, than we did in the Civil War, but we are issuing bonds payable at remote periods, and without any option for the Government to pay them off at an earlier time or to refund the loan at a lower interest rate. The Senate voted down the amendments I offered to the last bond bill which would have given to the Government the opportunity to pay the bonds, if able, in 5, 10, or 15 years or to refund at lower rates of interest after the war is over. We are financing this war, I say, under a policy which permits of long-time loans that will carry the high interest rate that we have to pay now at the beck and nod of the money lender over into a period when their money will be worth a very much lower interest rate than it is to-day. John Sherman, reviewing the financing of the Civil War when Congress was considering the refunding measures of that time, declared that that war should have been financed upon not less than 50 per cent raised by taxes and not more than 50 per cent raised by loans, and that every war should be financed by at least as large a proportion of taxation.

Mr. President, whatever may be said about another tax bill at another session, let us not deceive ourselves, for we are now, at this session, at this very moment, preparing the way, laying the foundation, putting down the lines along which this war is to be financed.

Those in control of this legislation are seeing carefully to it now that the amount raised by taxes shall be low and that the amount raised by bonds up to the present time shall be relatively very high. At what moment of time, tell me, Senators, will the policy be adjusted upon an adequate proportion between borrowing and taxation? Now is the time that wealth

should be taxed what it ought to pay in order to properly balance between loans and taxation.

Mr. President, this conference report presents the bill to us in some respects a bit better than when it passed the Senate. In some respects it is very much worse than when it passed the Senate. It is still a bad bill in that it contains a false and wicked and wrongful definition of measuring the capital of corporations. You are taking upon yourselves at this time the responsibility of writing into law a definition of a corporation's capital that will fix upon the bended backs of the great body of the people of this country untold burdens for the generations to come—burdens in overcharges in the prices of all the necessaries of life and burdens in extortionate charges upon transportation so long as private capital shall be engaged in interstate commerce. You are writing into this bill an unjust provision with respect to the surplus that corporations will be authorized to accumulate. For the first time in the history of legislation you are giving sanction and authority for charging such rates and such prices as will warrant the accumulation of surplus through those unjust charges and unjust prices, and then that surplus furnished by the people will be converted into new capital for the corporation upon which profits are to be charged.

But, Mr. President, I pointed out these more conspicuous evils and defects in this bill at length when the measure was before the Senate. I could not summon to the support of amendments to strike out of this bill those wrongful provisions in it more than 15 or 20 votes upon this floor. I do not expect, sir, in anything I may say now to be able to change the result. We all understand that when a conference report comes back to the Senate that it can not be amended under our rules. It must be accepted or rejected without amendment.

I hope to live to see the rules of the Senate changed so that a conference report will be subject to amendment by the Senate, or may be rejected in part and be sent back again for conference as to the things that are wrong in it. What chance have you in dealing with a conference report when you must take the whole report or reject the whole report, but can not amend it? Those are our rules to-day.

I would be glad to vote for a bill financing this war based upon the right principles, just to all the people of this country, doing no injustice to wealth, but making it bear its full share of the burden.

Think of it! Thirty-one per cent tax on war profits! Look your constituents in the face and tell them you voted against raising the tax upon war profits above that figure—not the tax upon normal profits but the tax upon war profits—and see how they will receive you. The tax upon incomes and the tax upon war profits provided for in this bill are away below what Great Britain is raising to-day from those sources of taxation. And yet these selfish interests have enjoyed three years of war profits untaxed.

Do you suppose the people will be satisfied? No, Mr. President; the issue raised in the contest over this bill will be a living issue before the people until settled right. That the amount of revenue raised by this bill is too small, that the tax upon surplus incomes and war profits is grossly and wrongfully insufficient, that the bond issues authorized are wickedly excessive, will make the contest at the next session very much more difficult for those of us who are in the minority now is undoubtedly true. But this contest will go on, and at another session the struggle will be renewed to properly and justly tax surplus incomes and war profits.

Mr. STONE. I desire to state that when this measure is disposed of I shall move an executive session. I am making this statement so that Senators may not go away.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

RECESS.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 3, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 2, 1917.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

William A. Munly, of Anchorage, Alaska, to be United States attorney, District of Alaska, division No. 3, vice William N. Spence, resigned.

Herbert S. Phillips, of Jacksonville, Fla., to be United States attorney, southern district of Florida. (Reappointment.)

Edwin Lowry Humes, of Pittsburgh, Pa., to be United States attorney, western district of Pennsylvania. (Reappointment.)

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

F. R. Brenneman, of Valdez, Alaska, to be United States marshal, District of Alaska, division No. 3. (Reappointment.)

James B. Perkins, of Pensacola, Fla., to be United States marshal, northern district of Florida. (Reappointment.)

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Harold R. Jackson, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Alfred E. Larrabee, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Morris K. Barroll, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Paul L. Ferron, transferred to Field Artillery.

Second Lieut. Walter W. Warner, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Furman E. McCammon, promoted.

Second Lieut. Walter F. Vander Hyden, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. William C. Koenig, transferred to the detached officers' list.

Second Lieut. Ira A. Crump, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. George W. Easterday, transferred to the detached officers' list.

Second Lieut. Elbert L. Ford, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Richard S. Dodson, transferred to the detached officers' list.

Second Lieut. Samuel H. Bradbury, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Richard B. Paddock, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. James L. Hayden, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. Charles A. Chapman, transferred to the detached officers' list.

Second Lieut. Scott B. Ritchie, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 20, 1917, vice First Lieut. William H. Jouett, dismissed.

Second Lieut. George S. Beurket, Coast Artillery Corps, from April 26, 1917, vice First Lieut. Louis B. Bender, promoted.

(NOTE.—This is submitted for the purpose of correcting dates of rank of nominees. They were nominated August 1, 1917, and confirmed August 6, 1917.)

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 7, 1917.

Second Lieut. Edward W. Austin, Second Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William C. Young, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clyde C. Alexander, Eighteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William C. Crane, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Erwin A. Manthey, Sixteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Carlos Brewer, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Henry B. Dawson, Fourth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. David E. Cain, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John W. Kelley, Fifteenth Artillery, vice First Lieut. John E. McMahon, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harvey R. Hitchcock, jr., Fourteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Falkner Heard, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas H. Davis, Twelfth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Herbert S. Clarkson, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John P. Ratajczak, Seventeenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Louis A. Craig, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert B. Hood, Twelfth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Raymond Marsh, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Victor A. Dash, jr., Seventeenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Joseph M. Swing, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles W. Chalker, Nineteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Stanley E. Reinhart, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John L. Hamilton, Thirteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Dean Hudnutt, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Roy C. Moore, Eighteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Louis E. Hibbs, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Theodore E. T. Haley, Fourth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Jesse F. Tarpley, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John F. Hepner, Eighth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Horace L. McBride, Field Artillery, promoted.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 9, 1917.

Second Lieut. Arnold W. Shutter, Eleventh Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Hamilton E. Maguire, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leland W. Crafts, Twentieth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Ray C. Rutherford, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. A. Franklin Kibler, Second Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William R. Woodward, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leonce J. Blanchard, Fifteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Alfred K. King, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John D. Robb, Nineteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Henry C. Jones, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Winfield M. Putnam, Sixteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Clarence E. Bradburn, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. James C. Lysle, Twelfth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Ronald D. Johnson, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Francis S. Conaty, Third Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Robert S. Donaldson, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William E. Beitz, Fourteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Horace H. Fuller, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Claude T. Porter, Eighth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Charles G. Helmick, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas H. Eckfeldt, jr., Third Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Ernst Sedlacek, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Sumter D. Marks, jr., Twenty-first Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Philip L. Thurber, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gordon H. Dickson, Tenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William C. Houghton, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Reed E. Beck, Thirteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John C. Wyeth, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Waldo E. Ard, Nineteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Arthur R. Harris, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence E. Cartwright, Twentieth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John G. Burr, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph R. Walsh, Fifteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John B. Anderson, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harold Kernan, Twentieth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William E. Burr, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Innes H. Bodley, Sixteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. James A. Lester, Field Artillery, promoted.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 8, 1917.

Second Lieut. Gerald F. Delamer, Eleventh Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Herbert S. Struble, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. James H. Genung, jr., Twenty-first Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Francis J. Dunigan, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Louis J. Fortier, Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Edwin A. Zundel, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Warner M. Pomerene, Fourteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Charles M. Busbee, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Ross S. Mason, Tenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Albert W. Waldron, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin Shelby, jr., Third Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John H. Wallace, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William M. Wiener, Third Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Joseph D. Coughlan, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William J. Schieffelin, jr., Twelfth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Harry A. Harvey, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William F. Kernan, Twenty-first Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Hugh P. Avent, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. George L. B. Rivers, Eighteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Arthur A. White, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Dell H. McCoy, Fourteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Frederick J. Williams, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Wallace G. Drummond, Eighth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. James A. Pickering, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Morrill Ross, Seventeenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William Spence, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Roland L. Davis, Sixteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John W. Rafferty, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John A. Steere, Thirteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Robert B. McBride, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leslie E. Babcock, Twentieth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Paul V. Kane, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph C. Elliff, Fourth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William H. Cureton, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William T. Barker, Eleventh Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Fay B. Prickett, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Erik Achorn, Eleventh Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Roland P. Shugg, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Dorsey Richardson, Seventeenth Artillery, vice First Lieut. Craigie Krayenbuhl, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Byron H. Mehl, Twelfth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Ray W. Barker, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William C. Dunckel, Twenty-first Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Belton O'N. Kennedy, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. Burns, Thirteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Francis H. Miles, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Bernard R. Kennedy, Fourth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Herbert A. Dargue, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Rex B. Shaw, Tenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Avery J. French, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. John W. Faulconer, jr., Eighteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William C. Harrison, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard E. Taylor, Seventeenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John K. Boles, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles D. Wiman, Third Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Paul D. Carlisle, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Herbert L. Montgomery, Eighteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Casey H. Hayes, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gennad A. Greaves, Twenty-first Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Cuyler L. Clark, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Willis A. Garvey, Fifteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Joseph B. Treat, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin H. Blanchard, Fifteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Sylvester D. Downs, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Francis M. Crist, Fourth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Orlando Ward, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Haines B. Quimby, Twentieth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. John S. MacTaggart, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Gillies, Eighth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. William S. T. Halcomb, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oliver G. Brush, Nineteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Walter W. Hess, jr., Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gordon H. Michler, Sixteenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Thomas J. Brady, Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert G. Merrick, Tenth Field Artillery, vice First Lieut. Herbert R. Corbin, Field Artillery, promoted.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 7, 1917, to fill original vacancies.

Second Lieut. Fenton G. Epling.
Second Lieut. Ross G. Hoyt.
Second Lieut. William Mayer.
Second Lieut. Hubert A. McMorrow.
Second Lieut. Douglas G. Clark.
Second Lieut. Vernon G. Cox.
Second Lieut. Ralph G. Lockett.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 8, 1917, to fill original vacancies.

Second Lieut. John H. La Fitte.
Second Lieut. Leon C. Dennis.
Second Lieut. Clarence L. Stevens.
Second Lieut. Caruthers A. Coleman.
Second Lieut. William F. Lafrenz.
Second Lieut. Carson G. Jennings.
Second Lieut. Charles J. Collins.
Second Lieut. Richard G. Lyne.
Second Lieut. James B. Muir, jr.
Second Lieut. Edmund H. Stillman.
Second Lieut. Robert C. Snidow.
Second Lieut. John F. Loomis.
Second Lieut. Charles H. Keck.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 9, 1917, to fill original vacancies.

Second Lieut. Thurwood Van Ornum.
Second Lieut. Cecil R. Moore.
Second Lieut. Anthony L. Bleecker.
Second Lieut. Edward A. Williford.
Second Lieut. James E. Wallis.
Second Lieut. Granville B. Smith.
Second Lieut. Grafton S. Kennedy.
Second Lieut. Chester K. Allen.
Second Lieut. Harold C. Mabbott.
Second Lieut. James A. Blair.
Second Lieut. Harold A. Maxfield.
Second Lieut. James P. Ferrall, jr.

Second Lieut. Robert E. Lamb.
Second Lieut. Winthrop C. Swain.
Second Lieut. George A. Nelson, jr.
Second Lieut. Edward Y. Keesler.
Second Lieut. Roland H. Dufault.
Second Lieut. Gardner E. Johnson.
Second Lieut. Frank C. Howard.
Second Lieut. Paul H. Duff.
Second Lieut. Lucas E. Schoonmaker.
Second Lieut. Gordon M. Wells.
Second Lieut. Robert E. Johnston.
Second Lieut. Hermon F. Safford.
Second Lieut. Clifford D. Hindle.
Second Lieut. John R. Ramsbottom.
Second Lieut. Merton L. Haselton.
Second Lieut. John R. Wheeler.
Second Lieut. Raymond J. Farrell.
Second Lieut. John R. Haviland.
Second Lieut. Erving G. Betts.
Second Lieut. Arthur F. Benson.
Second Lieut. Joseph F. Williamson.
Second Lieut. Richard W. Logan.
Second Lieut. Thomas E. Hannah.
Second Lieut. Frank S. Krug, jr.
Second Lieut. Henry M. Blank.
Second Lieut. William H. Holmes.
Second Lieut. Arthur D. Dickson.
Second Lieut. Roswell S. Curtis.
Second Lieut. Douglas M. Griggs.
Second Lieut. Horace F. Banan.
Second Lieut. Harry W. Capper.
Second Lieut. Douglas F. Miner.
Second Lieut. Edward F. Weiskopf.
Second Lieut. Sidney S. Small.
Second Lieut. James P. Jacobs.

To be first lieutenants with rank from August 9, 1917, to fill casual vacancies.

Second. Lieut. Cornelius H. Menger, vice First Lieut. August Norton, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. Seymour, vice First Lieut. Thomas J. Cecil, promoted.

Second Lieut. Sherwood H. Taber, vice First Lieut. Clement C. Heth, promoted.

Second Lieut. Walton B. Killough, vice First Lieut. Frederic A. Price, jr., promoted.

Second Lieut. Ernest C. Bomar, vice First Lieut. Edward P. Noyes, promoted.

Second Lieut. Jarvis C. Marble, vice First Lieut. Charles E. Ide, promoted.

Second Lieut. James W. Anderson, vice First Lieut. George F. Moore, promoted.

Second Lieut. Alfred H. Crossman, vice First Lieut. Roy R. Lyon, promoted.

Second Lieut. John R. Markham, vice First Lieut. Thomas I. Steere, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles E. Atkinson, vice First Lieut. William N. Porter, promoted.

Second Lieut. George D. Kittredge, vice First Lieut. Cary R. Wilson, promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas F. Tisinger, vice First Lieut. John H. Hood, promoted.

Second Lieut. Coburn L. Berry, vice First Lieut. Philip M. Ljungstedt, promoted.

Second Lieut. John H. Babbitt, vice First Lieut. Daniel N. Swan, jr., promoted.

Second Lieut. Carroll C. Taylor, vice First Lieut. Harry W. Stovall, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph P. Gardner, vice First Lieut. Richard F. Cox, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward B. McCarthy, vice First Lieut. John P. McCaskey, jr., promoted.

Second Lieut. Herbert A. Dyer, vice First Lieut. Edward S. Harrison, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward H. Raymond, vice First Lieut. Harry T. Pillans, promoted.

Second Lieut. Eugene B. Butler, vice First Lieut. Frank Drake, promoted.

Second Lieut. Simpson R. Stribling, vice First Lieut. Thomas H. Jones, promoted.

Second Lieut. Neal E. Tourtelotte, vice First Lieut. Edward Roth, jr., promoted.

Second Lieut. Hubert E. Wellcome, vice First Lieut. Sydney S. Winslow, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lyle D. Wise, vice First Lieut. Wilmot A. Danielson, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin M. Woodward, vice First Lieut. Francis J. Torney, promoted.

Second Lieut. John W. Orcutt, vice First Lieut. Edgar B. Colladay, promoted.

Second Lieut. James A. Taylor, vice First Lieut. Frederick R. Garcin, promoted.

Second Lieut. James G. McDougall, vice First Lieut. Douglas C. Cordiner, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard Derby, vice First Lieut. Franklin Babcock, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederick R. Cox, vice First Lieut. Harvey C. Allen, promoted.

Second Lieut. James T. Campbell, vice First Lieut. John E. Sloan, promoted.

Second Lieut. Howard S. MacKirdy, vice First Lieut. William B. Hardigg, promoted.

Second Lieut. Kenyon Roper, vice First Lieut. Robert W. Clark, jr., promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas W. Hansberry, vice First Lieut. Arnold Heinrich, promoted.

Second Lieut. Albert J. Hahn, vice First Lieut. Roy T. Cunningham, promoted.

Second Lieut. Maurice E. Barker, vice First Lieut. Felix E. Gross, promoted.

Second Lieut. Philip E. Hulburd, vice First Lieut. Lawrence A. McLaughlin, promoted.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

Earle Thomas Decker, of Wisconsin, to be second lieutenant of Infantry with rank from date of appointment.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

To be brigadier generals with rank from August 5, 1917.

Col. Benjamin Alvord, adjutant general.
Col. Edgar Russell, Signal Corps.
Col. Alfred E. Bradley, Medical Corps.
Lieut. Col. Walter A. Bethel, judge advocate.
Lieut. Col. James G. Harbord, Cavalry, General Staff.
Lieut. Col. Clarence C. Williams, Ordnance Department.
Col. Harry L. Rogers, Quartermaster Corps.
W. W. Atterbury, of Pennsylvania.

TO BE BRIGADIER GENERALS, WITH RANK FROM AUGUST 5, 1917.

Adjutant General's Department.

Col. James T. Kerr, United States Army, retired.
Col. Eugene F. Ladd, United States Army, retired.

Judge Advocate General's Department.

Lieut. Col. Samuel T. Ansell, Judge Advocate.

Quartermaster Corps.

Col. Isaac W. Littell, Quartermaster Corps.
Col. Chauncey B. Baker, Quartermaster Corps.
Col. David L. Brainard, Quartermaster Corps.

Corps of Engineers.

Col. Frederic V. Abbot, Corps of Engineers.
Col. E. Eveleth Winslow, Corps of Engineers.

Ordnance Department.

Col. Edwin B. Babbitt, Ordnance Department.
Col. Charles B. Wheeler, Ordnance Department.

Medical Corps.

Col. Charles Richard, Medical Corps.
Col. William H. Arthur, Medical Corps.
Col. Henry P. Birmingham, Medical Corps.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 2, 1917.

AGENT AND CONSUL GENERAL.

Hampson Gary to be agent and consul general at Cairo, Egypt.

MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

John Franklin Fort to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Zach L. Cobb to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 24.

Thomas A. Coleman to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 23.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Commander Hillary H. Royall to be a commander in the Navy.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Isaac C. Bogart,
Julian H. Collins,
Lewis D. Causey, and
Sherwoode A. Taffinder.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:

Hugh V. McCabe, and
Jesse B. Oldendorf.

Ensign Charles T. S. Gladden to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Medical Inspector Luther L. von Wedekind to be a medical director.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors:

Henry D. Wilson,
Edgar Thompson,
Will M. Garton,
Francis M. Furlong,
Granville L. Angeney,
Henry E. Odell,
James S. Taylor, and
Joseph A. Murphy.

Passed Asst. Surg. George L. Wickes to be a surgeon.

Passed Asst. Surg. William N. McDonnell to be a surgeon.

Passed Asst. Surg. Harry L. Brown to be a surgeon.

The following-named reserve officers to be ensigns:

Francis H. McAdoo,
James A. Burbank,
Charles K. Cobb, jr.,
Almy C. Maynard,
Ralph L. Dodge,
Thomas W. Mather,
Joseph L. Day,
Raymond L. Watrous,
Winn D. Faris,
Chester L. Nichols,
John S. Brayton, jr.,
Conant Wait,
Charles R. Westbrook,
Robert M. Curtis,
George T. Jarvis, 2d,
Arthur C. Saxe,
Samuel E. Raymond,
Evans R. Dick, jr.,
Herbert M. Corse,
Arthur W. Ford,
William L. Worsham,
Schuyler Dillon,
Frederic A. Merrill,
William F. Kurfess,
Harold F. Fultz,
Edwin Cowles,
John O. Burgwin,
Walter H. Wheeler, jr.,
Folke E. Sellman,
Arthur M. Tschirgi,
Wayne F. Palmer,
Donald McClench,
Clifford D. Smith, jr.,
Robert F. Herrick, jr.,
Horton Brown,
John H. Wilcox,
Donald M. Ryerson,
Horace Butler,
Benjamin W. Cloud, 2d,
Philip C. Kauffman,
Richard H. Cobb,
Franklin King,
Conrad Chapman,
George Taylor,
William T. Kirk, 3d,
William H. May,
John E. P. Morgan,
Harlan W. How,
Henry W. D. Rudd,
William W. Grace,
Winslow H. French,
Irving R. Gale,
Howard G. Cann,
Thomas I. H. Powel,
Bryan Frere,
Thorton Emmons,
Mallery K. Aiken,
Paul A. Hourigan,
Stanford Harmon,
John D. Shular,
Clarence W. Schmidt,
Arthur C. Smith,
Howard P. Hart,
Frederick S. Conner,
James L. Sprunt, jr.,
Arthur C. Hoyt,
Marion W. Lee,
Gould T. Miner,
William E. D. Stokes, jr.,
John Upton,
George F. Talbot,
Percival Van R. Harris,
Horace B. Gardner,
Charles L. Poor, jr.,
Bulkeley L. Wells,
Walter R. O'Sullivan,
J. Harrison Keller,
Thomas M. Leovy,
John Hemphill,
Richard S. Maynard,
Ernest Gregory,
Thomas Robins, jr.,
George G. Jones,
Lyman S. King,
Miles Wambaugh,
George E. McQuesten,
DeLancey Nicoll, jr.,
Lewis G. Smith,
Paul A. Sherer,
Douglas G. Lovell,
William W. Slaymaker,
Alfred G. Gennert,
Sydney P. Clark,
Frank T. Hogg,
Junius S. Morgan,
Walter P. Shiel,
John T. Rowland,
George D. Howell, jr.,
Charles Higginson,
Hamilton Vose, jr.,
Joseph C. Storey,
William C. Bok,
Edward Lloyd, jr.,
Elmer J. Stoffel,
Selim E. Woodworth,
John S. Lionberger,
Roy D. Keyes,
Frank W. Morrell,
Francis T. Hunter,
Harold S. Simmons,
Robert W. Emmons, 3d.,
Arthur T. Leonard,
John L. Merrill,
William V. Couchman, jr.,
Thomas N. Page,
Richard M. Breed,
George R. Hann,
Andrew C. Little,
Hallowell V. Morgan,
Robert B. Noyes,
Eugene R. Sturtevant,
Henry Hale, jr.,
Chester J. La Roche,
Milton H. Bird,
John R. Litchfield,
Barron C. Watson,
Carter B. Burnett,
John T. Scully,
William J. Curtis, jr.,
Hayden Crocker,
Mathew P. Waller,
Robert R. Theobald,
Bryant H. Howard,
Ralph W. Preston,
James H. R. Cromwell,
Robert D. Bartlett,
Charles H. Bowman,
Herbert de H. Glass, and
Allan C. Brown.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons:

Harold W. Smith,

Addison B. Clifford,
Eugene A. Vickery,
Richard A. Warner,
Paul R. Stalnaker,
Ernest O. J. Eytinge,
Curtis B. Munger,
Fletcher H. Brooks,
John B. Mears,
George S. Hathaway,
Frank E. Sellers,
Edward H. H. Old,
Edward C. White,
Thurlow W. Reed, and
Edward U. Reed.

The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons:

Carroll R. Baker,
Cliff C. Wilson,
George W. Calver,
John T. Borden,
Daniel Hunt,
Claude W. Carr,
Howard Priest,
Robert L. Crawford,
John F. Riordan,
Ovid C. Foote,
Martin B. Hiden,
Arthur E. Younie,
Arthur E. Beddoe,
Louis H. Roddis,
Frank H. Haigler,
Frederick Ceres,
Horace V. Cornett,
James D. Bobbitt,
William H. Massey,
Harvey R. McAllister,
Walter C. Espach,
Howard A. Tribou,
William B. Hetfield,
Jesse B. Helm,
Walter L. Haworth, and
Thomas A. Fortescue.

The following-named assistant paymasters to be passed assistant paymasters:

Arthur H. Eddins,
John J. Gaffney,
John A. Byrne, and
Eaton C. Edwards.

The following-named civil engineers, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to be civil engineers:

Reuben E. Bakenhus,
Ernest R. Gayler, and
Archibald L. Parsons.

Surg. John T. Kennedy to be a medical inspector.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of commander, to be naval constructors, with the rank of captain:

Richard M. Watt,
John D. Beuret,
Daniel C. Nutting, jr.,
William P. Robert,
Thomas G. Roberts,
Laurence S. Adams, and
Stuart F. Smith.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to be naval constructors, with the rank of commander:

Henry M. Gleason,
William McEntee,
John A. Spilman,
Julius A. Furer,
Sidney M. Henry,
Lewis B. McBride,
John W. Woodruff,
Clayton M. Simmers,
Ross P. Schlabach,
James L. Ackerson,
Richard D. Gatewood,
Isaac I. Yates,
George C. Westervelt,
William B. Fogarty,
Charles W. Fisher, jr.,
Holden C. Richardson,
John H. Walsh,
Edward C. Hamner, jr., and
Emory S. Land.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Lesley B. Anderson,
Herbert F. Emerson,
Ronan C. Grady,
Albert S. Rees,
Hollis M. Cooley,
Aubrey W. Fitch,
Fred F. Rogers,
Robert V. Lowe,
Harold Jones,
Edwin A. Wolleson,
Robert W. Cabaniss,
Claude B. Mayo,
Herndon B. Kelly,
John B. Rhodes,
George H. Bowdey,
Fletcher C. Starr,
John S. McCain,
Matthias E. Manly,
Reuben L. Walker,
Alexander Sharp, jr.,
William C. I. Stiles,
Edward D. Washburn, jr.,
Wilfred E. Clarke,
Joe R. Morrison,
Claude A. Bonvillian,
Garrett K. Davis,
William B. Howe,
Hamilton F. Glover,
Gardner L. Caskey,
Albert C. Read,
Robert T. Theobald,
William L. Beck,
Garret L. Schuyler,
Charles F. Russell,
John A. Monroe,
Frank N. Eklund,
Willis W. Bradley, jr.,
Raymond A. Spruance,
Henry K. Hewitt,
William C. Barker, jr.,
Weyman P. Beehler,
Arthur A. Garcelon, jr.,
John W. W. Cumming,
Roy LeC. Stover,
Charles A. Dunn,
James J. Manning,
Richard R. Mann,
Charles C. Gill,
Augustin T. Beauregard,
Russell S. Crenshaw,
Herbert S. Babbitt,
Bryson Bruce,
Randall Jacobs,
Richard S. Edwards,
Clyde R. Robinson,
Ralph C. Needham,
Irving H. Mayfield,
Louis H. Maxfield,
Alfred W. Atkins,
Claud A. Jones,
George W. Kenyon,
Lucien F. Kimball,
Harold M. Bemis,
John M. Schelling,
William O. Wallace,
Bruce R. Ware, jr.,
William S. Farber,
Alfred W. Brown, jr.,
Guy E. Baker,
William F. Newton,
David A. Scott,
Miles A. Libbey.
Earle F. Johnson,
Felix X. Gygax,
Guy E. Davis,
Lemuel M. Stevens,
Joseph S. Evans,
Charles R. Clark,
Chester H. J. Keppler,
John W. Lewis,
Charles G. Davy,
Horace T. Dyer,
Rufus W. Matthewson,

Damon E. Cummings,
Warren G. Child,
William H. Lee,
William P. Williamson,
Vaughn V. Woodward,
Robert T. S. Lowell,
Richard T. Keiran,
Charles C. Slayton,
John H. Hoover,
Raymond F. Frellsen,
Philip H. Hammond,
Harry Campbell,
Allan S. Farquhar,
Harvey W. McCormack,
Ernest D. McWhorter,
Bert B. Taylor,
Frank R. King,
Carl T. Osburn, and
Archibald D. Turnbull.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):

Henry M. Mullinnix,
Ralph E. Davison,
Russell S. Berkey,
George F. Hussey, jr.,
Osborne B. Hardison,
Russell S. Hitchcock,
Willis C. Sutherland,
Arthur C. Miles,
Frank W. Wead,
Conrad A. Krez,
Tuthill Ketcham,
Harris K. Lyle,
Sidney E. Dudley,
Earl M. Major,
Paul R. Glutting,
Walter E. Borden, jr.,
Arthur C. Geisenhoff,
William F. Boyer,
Willard A. Kitts, 3d,
Carroll W. Hamill,
Clinton H. Havill,
Byron S. Dague,
Frank E. Beatty, jr.,
Woodbury E. Mackay,
Stanton F. Kalk,
Clifford H. Roper,
Augustus J. Selman,
Milton O. Carlson,
Norman P. Earle,
Don P. Moon,
Robert C. Bourne,
Thomas J. Keliher, jr.,
Hugo Schmidt,
Clinton E. Braine, jr.,
Laurance F. Safford,
William M. Fechteler,
Robert A. Awtrey,
Charles S. Baker,
Donald M. Carpenter,
Gerald F. Bogan,
Leon S. Fiske,
William F. Loventhal,
Harold M. Horne,
Arthur T. Emerson,
Grover C. Klein,
Bartley G. Furey,
Bertram J. Rodgers,
John A. Terhune,
Lew W. Bagby,
Lyman K. Swenson,
Gail Morgan,
Gilbert F. Bunnell,
Thorwald A. Solberg,
Edward P. Sauer,
John H. Carson,
Robert B. Carney,
Arthur W. Radford,
John A. Vincent,
Boyd R. Alexander,
Frederick B. Craven,
Edwin S. Earnhardt,
John E. Williams,
Webster M. Thompson,
Louis R. Vail,
Paul S. Goen,
Harry V. Baugh,
Andrew DeG. Mayer,
Charles G. Halpine,
John W. Watters, jr.,
Walter W. Webb,
Henry L. Phelps,
Archer W. Webb,
John E. Reinburg,
Charles J. Wheeler,
John A. Sternberg,
Samuel P. Ginder,
Van Hubert Ragsdale,
Robert J. Walker,
Homer L. Grosskopf,
Henry N. Fallon,
Maxwell Cole,
Henry J. White,
Gilbert W. Sumners,
Fred D. Kirtland,
Arthur D. Burhans,
Amos B. Root,
Paul W. Rutledge,
Albert M. Rhudy,
Calvin T. Durgin,
James A. Scott,
William E. Miller,
Douglas C. Woodward,
Armistead C. Rogers,
John D. Price,
James B. Ryan,
Sidney W. Kirtland,
Joseph H. Lawson,
Richard E. Webb,
Charles T. Gilliam,
Thomas V. Cooper,
Newbold T. Lawrence, jr.,
Martin B. Stonestreet,
Richard H. Jones,
Linton Herndon,
Leon F. Brown,
Herbert J. Grassie,
Isaiah Parker,
Chaplin E. Evans,
George D. Price,
Carlyle Craig,
James P. Compton,
Fred W. Connor,
Dallas Wait,
John E. Ostrander, jr.,
Houston L. Maples,
Andrew I. McKee,
Randall E. Dees,
Paul W. F. Huschke,
Clarence W. Johnson,
Frank G. Fahrion,
Norborne L. Rawlings,
Frank H. Dean,
Harold S. Klein,
Lawrence Wainwright,
Donald B. Duncan,
George F. Martin,
Bernard F. Jenkins,
Edward L. Ericsson,
Richard R. Claghorn,
John M. Bloom,
Jesse L. Kenworthy, jr.,
Albert E. Schrader,
William R. Casey,
Archibald E. Fraser,
Dennis L. Ryan,
Arnold H. Bateman,
Charles T. Joy,
Alva J. Moore,
Nelson N. Gates,
Benjamin R. Holcombe,
Charles G. Berwind,
William L. Keady,
Theodore T. Patterson,
George P. Brewster,
Henry B. Broadfoot,
John Wilkes,
Robert B. Twining,
William P. Bacon,
Wilbur W. Feineman,
Bruce P. Flood,

Oscar W. Erickson,
Henry C. Merwin,
James M. Steele,
Casper K. Blackburn,
Thomas D. Warner,
T. DeWitt Carr,
Charles P. Cecil,
Humbert W. Ziroli,
Julius W Simms,
George F. Chapline,
William J. Forrestel,
John S. Roberts,
Norman O. Wynkoop,
William W. Schott,
Walter B. Cowles,
Stanwix G. Mayfield, jr.,
Edwin F. Cochrane,
Gilbert C. Hoover,
Walter S. Carrington,
Roy K. Jones,
Heman J. Redfield,
Lowell Cooper,
Andrew C. McFall,
Herbert S. Jones,
Robert N. Kennedy,
Carl H. Hilton,
James K. Davis,
Cassin Young,
Knefler McGinnis,
George G. Robertson,
Roman J. Miller,
Frederick E. Haeberle,
Edmund E. Brady, jr.,
George W. McIver, jr.,
Henry R. Oster,
Colin Campbell,
Theodore L. Schumacher,
Douglas W. Coe,
Albert Noble,
Ingolf N. Kiland,
Edward A. Mitchell,
Alexander D. Douglas,
Homer N. Wallin,
Sydney J. Wynne,
Earle E. Muschlitz,
Julian L. Woodruff,
David C. Fox,
Simon P. Fullinwider,
William P. O. Clarke,
Jay K. Allen,
Stanton H. Wooster,
George T. Howard,
Robert L. Randolph, jr.,
Theodore M. Waldschmidt,
Adolph P. Schneider,
Robert R. Ogg,
Harold B. Sallada,
George R. Fairlamb, jr.,
John R. Cruse,
Ross F. Collins,
Paul F. Shortridge,
John J. Twomey,
Hugh St. C. C. Sease,
Carl F. Holden,
Kingsland Dunwoody,
Vincent J. Moore,
James H. Conyne,
Frederic W. Neilson,
Allen I. Price,
Byron K. Presnell,
Robert W. McReynolds, jr.,
Harrison Avery,
Leonard Doughty, jr.,
Hanson E. Ely, jr.,
Ralph U. Hyde,
Ralph Wyman,
George C. Cummings,
George M. Keller,
Edward J. Moran,
John H. Keefe,
Francis W. Benson,
Vernon F. Grant,
Francis T. Spellman,
Carl L. Hansen,
Ben H. Wyatt,
Ward P. Davis,
Volney O. Clark,
Gale A. Poindexter,
Robert W. Fleming,
William J. Morcock,
Karl Keller,
Robert E. Keating,
John N. Walton,
Evan G. Hanson,
William G. Ludlow, jr.,
Leonard B. Austin,
John H. Jenkins,
Emile Topp,
Donald R. Evans,
Frank J. Hanafee,
John G. M. Stone,
Clarence O. Ward,
Thomas D. Ross,
John V. Murphy,
Peyton H. Park,
Kenneth Floyd-Jones,
William H. Ball,
Seabury Cook,
Constantine N. Perkins,
Benjamin O. Wells,
Herbert W. Jackson,
Robert B. Dashiell,
John O'D. Richmond,
Andrew G. Shepard,
Lisle F. Small,
Edmund B. Caldwell,
Nicholas Vytlacil,
Edward B. Rogers,
Charles L. Hayden,
Robert G. Tobin,
Herbert B. Knowles,
Anson A. Bigelow,
John C. Tyler,
Benjamin Buchalter,
Joseph W. Gregory,
John T. Metcalf,
Benjamin F. Staud,
Francis C. Denebrink,
Robert B. Matthews,
Walter C. Calhoun,
Lester J. Hudson,
Samuel B. Brewer,
Frank W. Lively,
Davenport Browne,
Franklin S. Irby,
Colin DeV. Headlee,
Merrill Comstock,
Richard W. Gruelick,
Paul U. Tevis,
Wilbur V. Shown,
George K. Weber,
William F. Dietrich,
Andrew G. Reaves,
Richard H. Harper,
John B. Heffernan,
Harry C. Blodgett,
Elliott M. Senn,
Thomas R. Cooley, jr.,
George L. Harriss,
Homer W. Clark,
Edward Sparrow,
Robert L. Porter, jr.,
Guido F. Forster,
Edward H. Jones,
Earl W. Morris,
Thomas B. Hendley,
Kenneth L. Coontz,
Howard F. Councill,
Philip W. Warren,
Allan R. McCann,
Herbert W. Anderson,
Carl W. Brewington,
Chester M. Holton,
Leonard P. Wessell,
Frank L. Worden,
Frederick L. Weis,
Andrew R. Mack,
Ralph F. Skylstead,
Guy W. Clark,
James P. Conover, jr.,

Francis A. Smith,
Conrad L. Jacobsen,
William M. Reifel,
Laurence P. Sargent,
Lewis L. Gover,
Rollin Van A. Failing,
Laurence E. Kelly,
Douglas A. Spencer,
John J. Bartholdi,
Harold F. Ely,
Stephen E. Dillon,
William S. B. Claude,
Guy B. Hoover,
Charles W. Weitzel,
Isidore Lehrfeld,
John H. Forshew, jr.,
William S. Heath,
Kenneth M. Hoeffel, and
Felix B. Stump.

The following-named officers to be lieutenants for temporary service:

Earl R. Morrissey,
William G. Greenman,
Horatio J. Peirce,
Hugh C. Frazer,
James A. Crutchfield,
Charles P. Mason,
Grady B. Whitehead,
Campbell D. Edgar,
Walter S. Haas,
De Witt C. Ramsey,
Roscoe E. Schuirman,
Abraham C. Ten Eyck,
Francis E. M. Whiting,
John K. Richards, jr.,
Stanley G. Womble,
Paul S. Theiss,
John Wilbur,
Robert E. P. Elmer,
George S. Gillespie,
Hubert V. La Bombard,
Edward H. McKitterick,
Laurence R. Brown,
Leonard N. Linsley,
Henry L. Abbott,
Elmer L. Woodside,
Glenn B. Davis,
Palmer H. Dunbar, jr.,
Ray H. Wakeman,
Carl E. Hoard,
Charles N. Ingraham,
Adolph v. S. Pickhardt,
Paul A. Stevens,
George W. Wolf,
Robin B. Daughtry,
Walter Seibert,
Richard H. Knight,
Hugh L. White,
Norman C. Gillette,
Thomas Shine,
Neil H. Geisenhoff,
Lloyd R. Gray,
George D. Hull,
Solomon H. Geer,
Chapman C. Todd, jr.,
Paul Cassard,
Walter O. Henry,
Carl T. Hull,
Eric F. Zemke,
Edward J. O'Keefe,
Hamilton V. Bryan,
Wilbur J. Ruble,
John Le V. Hill,
Robert H. Grayson,
John L. Hall,
James H. Strong,
Stephan B. Robinson,
Harold H. Little,
Hamilton Harlow,
Thales S. Boyd,
Daniel E. Barbey,
John J. Brown,
Carl K. Martin,
Harry P. Curley,
John P. Bowden,
Baylis F. Poe,
Charles K. Osborne,
Ingram C. Sowell,
Charles A. Lockwood, jr.,
William H. Burtis,
Hans Ertz,
Aaron S. Merrill,
Charles S. Alden,
Charles F. Greene,
Garnet Hulings,
Charles W. McNair,
Otto M. Forster,
Louis R. Ford,
William H. P. Blandy,
James C. Jones, jr.,
Herman E. Keisker,
Bruce G. Leighton,
Roy J. Wilson,
Charlie P. McFeaters,
Harold C. Van Valzah,
Thomas M. Shock,
Stewart F. Bryant,
Kenneth R. R. Wallace,
William B. Jupp,
William I. Causey, jr.,
Frank L. Johnston,
George L. Greene, jr.,
Reginald S. H. Venable,
John A. Brownell,
Roy Dudley,
Laurence Wild,
Herbert K. Fenn,
James E. Brenner,
Paul Hendren,
Henry M. Briggs,
Joseph Y. Dreisonstok,
John M. Kates,
Thomas G. Berrien,
George M. Tisdale,
William L. Wright,
Elroy L. Vanderkloot,
John R. Palmer,
Hartwell C. Davis,
Terry B. Thompson,
Laurance T. Du Bose,
Arthur G. Robinson,
Frederic W. Dillingham,
Hardy B. Page,
George B. Junkin,
Justin McC. Miller,
Harry R. Gellerstedt,
Oliver L. Downes,
Roy Pfaff,
Earl H. Quinlan,
Lloyd H. Lewis,
Samuel N. Moore,
Stuart E. Bray,
Arthur S. Walton,
Arthur W. Dunn, jr.,
Philip C. Ransom,
Jerome A. Lee,
Henry A. Seiller,
Alfred H. Donahue,
John D. Jones,
William Masek,
Edmund S. McCawley,
Langdon D. Pickering,
Andrew L. Haas,
Franklin B. Conger, jr.,
Ligon B. Ard,
Joseph H. Hoffman,
Robert D. Kirkpatrick,
David R. Lee,
Rawson J. Valentine,
August Schulze,
Frank Gunnell Kutz,
Noel Davis,
Carl H. Jones,
Charles B. C. Carey,
Carleton F. Bryant,
Alfred P. H. Tawresey,
John H. Buchanan,
Joseph R. Redman,
Franklin G. Percival,
Theodore D. Ruddock, jr.,

Andrew H. Addoms,
James D. Black,
William H. Porter, jr.,
Sherrod H. Quarles,
William E. Malloy,
John M. Creighton,
Edmund W. Burrough,
George F. Neiley,
Byron B. Ralston,
Herbert J. Ray,
John G. Moyer,
Bert F. Clark,
Archibald N. Offley,
Richard L. Conolly,
Thomas L. Nash,
William A. Teasley,
Arthur E. Wills,
Homer L. Ingram,
Alexander R. Early,
Vincent A. Clarke, jr.,
Philip W. Yeatman,
William J. Hart, jr.,
Walter E. Doyle,
Karl E. Hintze,
William W. Meek,
Ellsworth Davis,
Charles J. Parrish,
Paulus P. Powell,
Benjamin H. Lingo,
Louis J. Roth,
Clarke Withers,
Tunis A. M. Craven,
William G. B. Hatch,
Samuel S. Thurston,
Valentine Wood,
Leo H. Thebaud,
Leman L. Babbitt,
James R. Webb,
Horace W. Pillsbury,
Walker Cochran,
Julian B. Timberlake, jr.,
Laurence W. Clarke,
Michael Hudson,
Gordon Hutchins,
Henry F. Floyd,
Raymond Asserson,
Leonard R. Agrell,
Jesse H. Smith,
Harold P. Parmelee,
Frank Hindrelet,
Ralph Martin,
Maxwell Case,
Warner W. Bayley,
Conrad D. Fry,
Henry P. Samson,
William J. Larson,
Thomas N. Vinson,
Herman A. Spanagel,
Frank L. Lowe,
Theo. D. Westfall,
Zeno W. Wicks,
Albert G. Berry, jr.,
George B. Wilson,
William K. Harrill,
Alfred H. Balsley,
Greene W. Dugger, jr.,
Charles D. Swain,
Albert H. Rooks,
Russell E. Perry,
Stanley L. Wilson,
Charles E. Rosendahl,
Robert W. Hayler,
Theodore W. Sterling,
Hervey A. Ward,
William A. Corn,
Edwin T. Short,
John B. W. Waller,
Robert L. Vaughan,
Thomas J. Doyle, jr.,
Charles F. Martin,
Kemp C. Christian,
Samuel G. Moore,
John L. Vaiden, and
Swift Riche.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

John H. Towers,
Isaac C. Kidd, and
Charles C. Hartigan.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Theodore H. Winters to be a lieutenant.

Ensign Henry P. Samson to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Machinist Patrick J. Solon to be a chief machinist.

Pharmacist Frank Fulton to be a chief pharmacist.

The following-named pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy:

Arthur G. King,
Edward H. Littlefield,
William R. Parker,
Samuel B. Caldwell,
Merritt C. Haff,
Benjamin H. White,
Eugene R. Walter,
Eugene K. Brooks, jr.,
Lester A. Dyekman,
Walter E. Morton,
William C. Colbert,
Forest G. Lackland,
Floyd J. Farber,
Orly Tagland,
George E. Lord,
Percy J. Hutchison,
Marcus E. West,
Thomas C. Edrington,
Samuel Mitchell,
Matthew A. Mackie,
Melvin E. Throneson,
Houston S. Stubbs,
Clarence B. Fuller,
Frank E. Herbert,
William R. Ryan,
Walter T. Cronin,
Nathaniel E. Disbrow,
James C. Masters,
Carl M. Johnson,
James Fellis,
Allen J. Marshall,
William E. Lund,
John Flynn,
Arthur D. Turner,
Joseph G. Stanton,
William E. Todd,
Albert S. Freedman,
Leonard A. Klauer,
Joseph O'Reilly,
Harry H. Reynolds,
William H. McKenna,
Walter A. Thomas,
Orville D. Foutch,
Ernest W. Paynter,
Beverly W. Jennings,
Herbert H. Lowry,
LeRoy Moyer,
Edward R. McKenzie,
William J. Smith,
Benjamin Berkowitz,
Palmer J. McCloskey,
Edison H. Gale,
Herman W. Johnson,
Maurice T. Scanlan,
John B. Daniels,
Michael J. Dambacher,
Harry E. Stengele,
Robert C. Vasey,
William H. Abbey,
Herbert C. Lassiter,
William C. Jahnke,
Hilton P. Tichenor,
Michael J. Kirwan,
Arthur P. M. Shock,
Jacques H. E. Everette,
Charles W. White,
John H. Theis,
Harry W. Crider,
Peter J. Penner,
Wallace D. Chace,
John E. Roberts,
Cecil H. Jernigan,
Clarence A. Miley,

Alexander Riggin,
Bernard A. Morrow, and
Walter R. Lowther.

Lieut. Col. William N. McKelvy to be a colonel in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. John H. Russell to be a colonel in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. Louis J. Magill to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel.

Maj. William G. Powell to be an assistant paymaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Maj. Logan Feland to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Maj. William Hopkins to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Maj. Dickinson P. Hall to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Maj. Charles H. Lyman to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Maj. Charles C. Carpenter to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Maj. Louis McC. Little to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Eugene P. Fortson to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Jesse F. Dyer to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. James J. Meade to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Richard B. Creecy to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Davis B. Wills to be an assistant paymaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Fred D. Kilgore to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. William P. Upshur to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Edward W. Banker to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. William M. Small to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Epaminondas L. Bigler to be a major in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Charles R. Sanderson to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Walter N. Hill to be a major in the Marine Corps.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

George A. Stowell,
Henry L. Larsen,
John C. Foster,
William H. Rupertus,
Keller E. Rockey,
Egbert T. Lloyd,
Allen H. Turnage,
George W. Hamilton,
David H. Miller,
Matthew H. Kingman,
Alphonse De Carre,
Cecil S. Baker,
John F. S. Norris,
Arthur Kingston,
Samuel L. Howard,
Lyle H. Miller,
Ralph J. Mitchell,
Robert O. B. Burwell,
Louis R. de Roode,
John A. Minnis,
De Witt Peck,
Archie F. Howard,
Raymond R. Wright,
Rupert M. Burstan,
Pedro A. del Valle,
Owen E. O'Neill,
Walter H. Sitz,
William G. Hawthorne,
Oscar R. Cauldwell,
Edward C. Fuller,
Arnold W. Jacobsen, and
Earl H. Jenkins.

First Lieut. Anderson C. Dearing to be a captain in the Marine Corps.

The following-named first lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Arthur H. Turner and
Roy C. Swink.

Col. Charles A. Doyen to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. Melville J. Shaw to be a colonel in the Marine Corps.

Capt. Russell B. Putnam to be an assistant paymaster in the Marine Corps.

Maj. Frederic M. Wise to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

James L. Underhill, and
Bryan C. Murchison.

Alton A. Gladden to be a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps:

Frederick A. Barker,
Edward B. Cole,
William T. Hoadley,
Alexander M. Watson,
Emile P. Moses,
Harold F. Wirgman,
Joseph A. Rossell,
Clayton B. Vogel,
Edward H. Conger,
Henry N. Manney, jr.,
Franklin B. Garrett,
Samuel W. Bogan,
Calvin B. Matthews,
Albert E. Randall,
Arthur Racicot,
Frederick A. Gardener,
Tom D. Barber,
Edward W. Sturdevant,
Andrew B. Drum,
Victor I. Morrison,
Maurice E. Shearer,
Harry G. Bartlett,
Charles A. Lutz,
Calhoun Ancrum,
David M. Randall,
Holland M. Smith,
John R. Henley,
Henry S. Green,
Ralph L. Shepard,
Howard W. Stone,
William W. Buckley,
William C. Wise, jr.,
William D. Smith,
Harold B. Pratt,
Randolph Coyle,
Philip H. Torrey,
Robert L. Denig,
Charles S. McReynolds,
Charles F. B. Price, and
William C. Powers, jr.

The following-named assistant quartermasters with the rank of captain to be assistant quartermasters in the Marine Corps with the rank of major:

Jeter R. Horton,
Bennet Puryear, jr., and
Russell H. Davis.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

Robert S. Hunter,
Glenn D. Miller,
Burwell H. Clarke,
Philip T. Case,
Walter G. Sheard,
Charles A. Wynn,
Thomas E. Watson,
Roger W. Peard,
Thad T. Taylor,
Herbert Rosenzweig,
Paul Brown,
Charles A. Howell,
John Denison Nevin,
Charles P. Gilchrist,
Lloyd L. Leech,
George C. Hamner,
James M. Bain,
Harold S. Fassett,
Karl I. Buse,
John R. Martin,
Gustav Karow,
Jesse H. Fugate, jr.,
Samuel A. Woods, jr.,
Raphael Griffin,
Horace C. Cooper,
Peter C. Geyer, jr.,

James E. Davis,
James T. Moore,
William C. Byrd,
George B. Reynolds,
David H. Owen,
Joseph E. Brewster,
Nimmo Old, jr.,
Benjamin T. Cripps,
Louis W. Whaley,
John M. Arthur,
James F. Jeffords,
Jacob M. Pearce, jr.,
Gordon Watt,
Thomas P. Cheatham,
Thomas E. Bourke,
William C. James,
Daniel E. Campbell,
William B. Black,
Maurice G. Holmes,
Charles C. Gill,
James E. Betts,
Norman S. Hinman,
George Faunce Adams,
Wethered Woodworth,
James W. Webb,
John M. Tildsley,
Le Roy P. Hunt,
Louis E. Woods,
Edward R. Rhodes,
Harry K. Cochran,
Donald R. Fox,
William McN. Marshall,
George H. Scott,
Alexander Galt,
Paul R. Cowley,
Allen W. Harrington, jr.,
Bailey M. Coffenberg,
Eugene F. C. Collier,
Evans O. Ames,
Stanley M. Muckleston,
William H. Davis,
Richard N. Platt,
William E. Williams,
William W. Scott, jr.,
Franklin A. Hart,
George Franklin Adams,
George W. Spotts,
Bruce J. Millner,
Emmett W. Skinner,
Jesse J. Burks,
William LaF. Crabbe,
Harlan E. Major,
Frank L. Morris,
William P. Richards,
Edward G. Hagan,
Thomas B. Gale,
Thomas F. Harris,
Charles M. Jones,
Lewis L. Gover,
Willett Elmore,
Arthur H. Turner,
Roy C. Swink,
Leon L. Dye,
Lee W. Wright,
Reuben B. Price,
George P. Doane,
John W. Mueller,
John F. McVey,
John T. Baugh,
Harold H. Rethman,
Walter J. Green,
James E. Reich,
Carl S. Schmidt,
John F. Burnes,
Charles Ubel,
Charles C. St. Clair,
John Waller,
Harry Halladay,
Eugene L. Pelletier,
Otto Salzman,
Harry V. Shurtleff,
Fred G. Patchen,
William F. Beattie,
Francis E. Pierce,
Harry W. Gamble,
Leslie G. Melville,
Edwin P. McCaulley,
Robert F. Slingluff,
Roscoe Arnett,
Francis C. Cushing,
Charles L. Eickmann,
Thomas Quigley,
Patrick W. Guilfoyle,
Frank Z. Becker,
Nathan E. Landon,
Eugene L. Mullahy,
Robert H. Shiel,
John J. Mahoney,
Albert J. Phillips,
Jacob Jacobowitz,
James McCoy,
Augustus B. Hale,
Walter E. McCaughtry,
William O. Corbin,
Thomas J. Curtis,
John P. McCann,
Maurice A. Willard,
Harry A. Ellsworth,
Charles B. Hobbs,
Warren C. Barnaby,
Maurice C. Gregory,
James T. Allen,
Gustav F. Bloedel,
John Strong,
William A. McGinley,
Thomas Dwight,
John J. Haley,
Walter Wooding,
Frank D. Creamer,
William Mills,
Robert E. Williams,
Harry E. Horner,
Robert W. Maxwell,
William F. Thalheimer,
Thomas F. Carney,
Benjamin F. Fogg,
Howell Cobb,
Charlie Dunbeck,
Thomas F. Joyce,
Charles Grimm,
William F. Brown,
James W. Lattin,
Henry A. Riekers,
Augustus T. Lewis,
Edward McEvoy, and
Charles D. Meginness.

The folowing-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Leon L. Dye,
Lee W. Wright,
Reuben B. Price,
George P. Doane,
John W. Mueller,
John F. McVey,
John T. Baugh,
Harold H. Rethman,
Walter J. Green,
James E. Reich,
Carl S. Schmidt,
John F. Burnes,
Charles Ubel,
Charles C. St. Clair,
John Waller,
Harry Halladay,
Eugene L. Pelletier,
Otto Salzman,
Harry V. Shurtleff,
Fred G. Patchen,
William F. Beattie,
Francis E. Pierce,
Harry W. Gamble,
Leslie G. Melville,
Edwin P. McCaulley,
Robert F. Slingluff,
Roscoe Arnett,
Francis C. Cushing,
Charles L. Eickmann,
Thomas Quigley,
Patrick W. Guilfoyle,
Frank Z. Becker,

Nathan E. Landon,
Eugene L. Mullahy,
Robert H. Shiel.
John J. Mahoney,
Albert J. Phillips,
Jacob Jacobowitz,
James McCoy,
Augustus B. Hale,
Walter E. McCaughtry,
William O. Corbin,
Thomas J. Curtis,
John P. McCann,
Maurice A. Willard,
Harry A. Ellsworth,
Charles B. Hobbs,
Warren C. Barnaby,
Maurice C. Gregory,
James T. Allen,
Gustav F. Bloedel,
John Strong,
William A. McGinley,
Thomas Dwight,
John J. Haley,
Walter Wooding,
Frank D. Creamer,
William Mills,
Robert E. Williams,
Harry E. Horner,
Robert W. Maxwell,
William F. Thalheimer,
Thomas F. Carney,
Benjamin F. Fogg,
Howell Cobb,
Charlie Dunbeck,
Thomas F. Joyce,
Charles Grimm,
William F. Brown,
James W. Lattin,
Henry A. Riekers,
Augustus T. Lewis,
Edward McEvoy,
Charles D. Meginness,
James Keeley,
Eugene B. Mimms,
William H. Stevens,
Henry Baptist,
Francis Fisk,
Robert W. Williams,
Peter Conachy,
Charles E. Mills,
Wilbur G. Gunn,
John Blanchfield,
Carle E. Clark,
Arthur J. Stout,
Julius T. Wright,
Andrew E. Creesy,
Arthur H. Page, jr.,
Donald Curtis,
Jesse L. Perkins,
Samuel J. Bartlett,
Clarence N. McClure,
Michael Kearney,
Edward H. W. Holt,
Bror G. Brodstrom,
Kirt Green,
Angus Wilson,
Fred Lueders,
Charlie Hansen,
Charles S. Beale,
Raymond F. Dirksen,
Walter J. Eddington, jr.,
Frank Whitehead,
James P. Smith,
Frank E. Verner,
Norman M. Shaw,
Joseph Watson,
Abel E. LeBlanc,
Oliver A. Dow.
John P. Harvis,
William Borghart,
John F. Duffy,
William R. Perry,
William J. Holloway,
Bert Pearson,
Harry H. Couvrette,
Pink H. Stone,
Harry T. Rodenhoffer,
Frank Patterson,
Charles G. Knoechel,
Charles F. Merkel,
John F. Evans,
John A. McDonald,
Ray W. Jeter,
Albert J. Grimes,
Clarence H. Medairy,
Robert Yowell,
Louie W. Putnam,
Stephen F. Drew ,
Charles F. Finger,
William S. Robinson,
Edward G. Huefe,
John Kearns,
James H. McGan,
James E. Snow,
Harry L. Jones,
Hans O. Martin,
Robert J. Woodrich,
Harry Paul,
William Workman,
Alvin J. Daigler,
John W. Hingle,
Augustus Aiken,
Austin G. Rome,
William Merrill,
Joseph Jackson,
Clate C. Snyder,
William J. Borden,
Earl C. Nicholas,
Frank F. Zissa,
Martin J. Kelleher,
Martin Canavan,
Joseph M. Swinnerton,
Leslie G. Wayt,
Charles A. Smith,
Robert W. Winter,
Edward P. Oliver,
Sidney O. Thompson,
Max Cox,
William H. Haggerty,
Walter J. White,
Edgar S. Tuttle,
Thomas L. Edwards,
Charles McL. Lott,
Joseph Reardon,
Russell A. Presley,
William L. Erdman,
Ernest L. Russell,
Frank N. Gilmore,
William J. Flanagan,
James F. Robertson,
William F. Becker,
Charles H. Martin,
Rolin A. York,
Charles F. Kienast,
Harvey B. Mims,
Earl B. Hammond,
Charles G. Haas,
Charles E. Rice,
Mark A. Smith,
Timothy J. Holland,
Vincent E. Healy,
Charles D. Sniffen,
Walter A. Powers,
William H. Abrams,
Edmund G. Chamberlain,
Clarence E. Nelson,
George H. Martin, jr.,
Benjamin DeW. Knapp,
Robert J. Archibald,
Gilder D. Jackson, jr.,
Percy D. Cornell,
Newton Best,
Angus A. Acree,
William A. Worton,
Jonas H. Platt,
James F. Rorke,
Charles McK. Krausse,
Alan V. Parker,
John F. Horn,
Ross W. Davidson,

Glenn E. Hayes,
Edmund L. Riesner,
Robert L. Duane,
Lynn B. Coovert,
Robert A. Kennedy,
John F. Talbot,
Stanley A. Beard,
John L. Garner, jr.,
John W. Thomason, jr.,
Stewart B. O'Neill,
Clarence Ball,
Kenneth E. Schwinn,
Dan E. Root,
Merritt B. Curtis,
Charles T. Brooks,
James L. Denham,
Herbert Hardy,
Richard B. Buchanan,
Benjamin R. Avent,
William H. McCormick,
David R. Kilduff,
James A. Connor,
Einar W. Jacobsen,
Hugh McFarland,
Walter D. Shelly,
Bert A. Bone,
Charles B. Maynard,
Carl F. Dietz,
Oliver P. Smith,
Hugh Shippey,
Joseph G. Ward,
Baptiste Barthe,
Sidney R. Vandenberg,
Robert C. Thaxton,
James D. McLean,
Thomas S. Whiting,
Robert Blake,
Henry D. Linscott,
John G. E. Kipp,
William T. Clement,
Ralph E. West,
Euvelle D. Howard,
Alfred H. Noble,
Keith E. Kinyon,
Harlen Pefley,
Frank D. Strong,
Lyman Passmore,
Louis W. Bartol,
Donald Kenyon,
Clifford O. Henry,
John Sellon,
Joseph T. Smith,
Hiram R. Mason,
Horatio P. Mason,
Carleton S. Wallace,
George B. Lockhart,
John D. Macklin,
Jack S. Hart,
Omar T. Pfeiffer,
Robert S. Pendleton,
Drinkard B. Milner,
Roscoe A. Parcel,
Davis A. Holladay,
Frank P. Snow,
Samuel W. Freeny,
Julius C. Cogswell,
William H. Harrison,
Campbell H. Brown,
Fred W. Clarke, jr.,
Edmund P. Norwood,
Edwin R. Brecher,
Thomas T. McEvoy,
William H. Price,
Lewie G. Merritt,
Harry C. Savage, jr.,
John Frost,
George F. Smithson,
John P. Adams,
Henry E. Chandler,
Otto E. Bartoe,
Ernest E. Eller,
Harold D. Shannon,
Robert M. Johnson,
Louis R. Jones,
Ramond J. Bartholomew,
Bruce B. MacArthur,
Claude A. Larkin,
Macon C. Overton,
Erwin Mehlinger,
William B. Croka,
Lothar R. Long,
Gilbert D. Hatfield,
Amos R. Shinkle,
Bruce Gootee, jr.,
George H. Morse, jr.,
Marc M. Ducote,
Wesley W. Walker,
Lewis B. Freeman,
Lucian W. Burnham,
William K. Snyder,
Shaler Ladd,
Robert M. Montague,
Alfred C. Cramp,
James T. Yarborough, and
John A. Willis, jr.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October 2, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou God and Father of us all, author of every best thought, of every best deed, in every age of the world's history, illumine our minds, quicken our aspirations, and strengthen every fiber of our moral being, that we may go forward day by day to greater achievements under the spiritual leadership of the great Captain of our salvation, the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the completion of the Calendar for Unanimous Consent the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] may be allowed to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Massachusetts that there are four or five applications for recognition for motion to suspend the rules immediately following the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

Mr. GILLETT. Then I make my request to take place after that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that after the disposition of the Unanimous Consent Calendar and motions to suspend the rules, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] shall be allowed to address the House not to exceed 30 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. PADGETT. Pending that, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that I have four little naval bills which we want to get through. They were reported yesterday and are upon the General Calendar, but not on the Unanimous Consent Calendar. I want to ask unanimous consent that those bills may be considered.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman to suspend the rules if they are war bills. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes at the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes after the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HEFLIN rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HEFLIN. To make a statement to the House in regard to a newspaper notice this morning pertaining to myself. The Washington Herald contains the statement——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman rise to a question of privilege?

Mr. HEFLIN. I rise to make request for unanimous consent——

Mr. GARNER. What is the request?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman from Alabama make a request for unanimous consent?

The SPEAKER. He has not yet made it.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am trying to state my reason for making the request.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman will prefer his request the Chair will put it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow, immediately after the Journal is approved, I may address the House for two hours to name and discuss Members whose conduct I have said was questionable.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that to-morrow, immediately after the reading of the Journal and the clearing up of business on the Speaker's table, not to interfere with conference reports, he may be allowed to address the House for two hours. Is there objection?

Mr. GARNER. I object.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, Mr. Speaker, I move that to-morrow, immediately after the Journal is approved, I be permitted to address the House on the subject I have stated for two hours, and I would like to have a roll call on that motion.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that that motion is not in order.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is sustained, and the Clerk will call the first bill on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent.

STATUE OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 70) authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, that is not a war bill, and I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania objects, and the bill will be stricken from the calendar.

NATURALIZATION.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 3132) to amend section 2171 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to naturalization.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I object.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman reserve his objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will reserve it to ask the gentleman from California if this is a war bill.

Mr. RAKER. It is, absolutely; and I will be able to show it to the gentleman in a few words.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will reserve the objection, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, this bill authorizes those who declared their intention to become citizens of the United States to complete their naturalization, although they are alien enemies. There are many hundred cases of men who have filed their homestead claims——

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I object on the statement already made.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill retain its place on the calendar.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California asks that the bill be passed without prejudice. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

RECLAMATION AND IRRIGATION.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 4954) to provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I object.

Mr. SINNOTT. Will not the gentleman withhold his objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will reserve the objection in order to inquire of the gentleman from Oregon if this is a war bill.

Mr. SINNOTT. It certainly is a war measure. It is designed to put in cultivation some 500,000 additional acres upon the Government reclamation project.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would it have the effect of taking farmers away from fertile lands and putting them onto semiarid lands?

Mr. SINNOTT. It will enable the present farmers on irrigation projects to obtain the benefits of the farm-loan act, and thereby to put in larger acreage than they have at the present time. It would have the effect of increasing the crop production by something like $15,000,000.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does this have the approval of the Secretary of the Interior?

Mr. SINNOTT. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. He desires to take farmers from other land and put them on semiarid land?

Mr. SINNOTT. No; that is another measure.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is there any provision in this measure limiting its operation to the period of the war, or to any particular time, or does the bill change the permanent law? As I recollect reading over the measure and the report, it makes a permanent amendment to this arid-land law—changes that law altogether.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, it does not change the land law. It is designed to provide farm loans on reclamation projects. Under the present law farmers on Government reclamation projects can not obtain the advantage of the farm-loan act, because there is a Government lien upon their land which militates against their securing money under the farm-loan act; but the passage of this bill would enable these men to obtain money under the farm-loan act and increase from year to year their crop production.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state what connection there is between permitting these men under the provisions of this bill to make application under the farm-loan act and the success of our armed forces on foreign soil?

Mr. SINNOTT. It will enable a greater crop production to be put in the coming year and the following year and the following year and increase the crop production. That has a direct connection with our success in the war and with our feeding our allies.

Mr. WALSH. If that is so, why not limit it to the period of the war? Why try to make a change in the permanent law?

Mr. SINNOTT. We want it to go in after years. We want the farmers on the reclamation projects to obtain farm loans just as the other farmers do, and not confine that advantage to the period of the war.

Mr. WALSH. Was any such proposition as this made when the farm-loan act was under consideration here by the House during the Sixty-fourth Congress?

Mr. SINNOTT. It did give some consideration to it.

Mr. WALSH. There was no amendment offered like this.

Mr. SINNOTT. There was no amendment offered at that time, but the subject was considered by the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects, and it is struck from the calendar.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it remain on the calendar without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to pass this bill over without prejudice. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to object to that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects, and it goes off the calendar.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon this bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oregon asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks upon the bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the next bill.

BRIDGE ACROSS MISSOURI RIVER, KANSAS CITY, MO.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill H. R. 4945, to extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City, Mo., authorized by an act approved June 17, 1914.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a bill for the extension of time for the erection of a bridge. Is it imperative that it should be passed at this session of Congress?

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, my understanding is that it is an urgent matter. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ALEXANDER] can tell more about it than I can.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the grant of time expire before the next session of Congress?

Mr. ADAMSON. I can not tell that from memory. I am told that it is about to expire.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is it such a matter as would not hold over until the next session?

Mr. ADAMSON. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] is absent. He introduced the bill.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill for the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River from Jackson County, in Mr. BORLAND'S district, to Clay County, in my district. The time limit within which the bridge is to be constructed is about to expire. I do not recall just when, but it is not far away. This is a wagon and railroad bridge.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has anything been done to start construction?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I do not think so.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How long since the grant to construct the bridge was made?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I think this is the second time that we have asked to have the time extended.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How much time is asked for?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Three years, I think.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman states that the time is about to expire and that it is important to have it extended, I have no objection.

Mr. ALEXANDER. That, I think, is the fact.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is to say, if any rights would be lost between now and the next session of Congress.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I think so.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the report on this bill shows that this company has had two prior authorizations for beginning the construction of this bridge, and that the time limit for the construction of the bridge expired June 17, 1917. I think it is highly objectionable to bring bills into the Congress providing for an extension of time for bridges that have no reality except in the conception of some people who are engaged in paper corporations. I would like to know something as to whether this is merely a paper corporation providing for a bridge across an important stream or if it is really contemplated to build the bridge?

The time has already expired. They have had two authorizations on prior occasions for the beginning of the construction of this bridge, and it never has been done. What is the use of taking up the time of Congress just merely perhaps to grant a franchise to some private corporation that is without capital?

Mr. ADAMSON. I can tell the gentleman, from the hearings on a great many similar cases, that in the case of a large river like the Missouri the financing is a very difficult matter. Very often when they start an enterprise and think they are going to succeed there is some slip in the game, and they fail to get the money. I am told these people are very anxious for this bridge, that it is a public necessity, and they were not able to finance it every time they thought they would be able to do so, and they are still trying.

Mr. STAFFORD. What railroad company desires to have this bridge?

Mr. ALEXANDER. It is some bridge company, not a railroad company. My interest has been all the while to see that this is not only a railroad bridge but a wagon bridge as well, and asked to have it amended in that regard, for if it is a railroad and wagon bridge, it will be of great interest to the people of Jackson and Clay Counties.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman give any information whether the prior authorization, the time for construction of which this bill seeks to extend, authorized it to be a wagon bridge as well as a railroad bridge?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, that is the one point on which I am vitally interested.

Mr. ADAMSON. I might add that that brings about cooperation and renders more probable that they will be able to finance the building of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is there any corporation that has been formed to further the building of this bridge?

Mr. ALEXANDER. It is a bridge company at Leavenworth, Kans., that constructs bridges. I want to say, however, it is some time since my attention was called to it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The more you get into the facts of this case the more you are confirmed in the belief that it is largely a paper bridge.

Mr. ALEXANDER. My only interest is to see, if this bridge is built, that it shall be both a wagon bridge as well as a railroad bridge.

Mr. STAFFORD. While I do not think much will come of this bill, I am not going to interpose an objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, I object to this bill.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I think that comes too late.

The SPEAKER. Oh, no; it does not.

BRIDGE ACROSS FLINT RIVER, GA.

The next business in order on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4232) extending the limit of time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has any effort been made to complete the work within the time allotted?

Mr. ADAMSON. I will say to the gentleman the people of the two counties which abut on the river wish to build the bridge. It takes considerable political machinery sometimes to work up all these matters. They are bona fide in their intent to build the bridge.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have no objection to the passage of these bridge bills or the extension of time if there has been a reasonable effort made to construct them.

Mr. ADAMSON. The people of these counties really want the bridge and intend to build it as soon as they can.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has any construction work been done?

Mr. ADAMSON. I can not tell the gentleman; it is the bill of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PARK], who was here a moment ago—I can not tell what progress has been made.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman know as to whether the time allotted has expired?

Mr. ADAMSON. I think it has.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. When does it expire?

Mr. ADAMSON. I think it has already expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then it is necessary to pass this bill before the next session?

Mr. ADAMSON. That is my impression.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I thought, perhaps, the gentleman was somewhat confused by the grave thought he has been giving to the new duties he is about to assume.

Mr. ADAMSON. No; I have not had time for that yet. I take things as they come. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Well, the gentleman always adorns any position he occupies.

Mr. ADAMSON. I thank the gentleman. [Applause.] The commendation of the gentleman is preferable either to the salary or the honor of the new position.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. On what date did the time limit expire?

Mr. ADAMSON. I was going to tell the gentleman before he gave that elegant and beautiful bit of persiflage about my personal service——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Which the gentleman deserves.

Mr. ADAMSON (continuing). That this original bill was passed in 1916, in April, and one year must have expired some time ago.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I thank the gentleman, and venture to suggest that he will have to be very careful about his facts and dates hereafter, because there are some pretty sharp people with whom he will shortly come in contact.

Mr. ADAMSON. No sharper than the able gentleman who interrogates me so frequently on this floor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Mitchell, or to the county of Baker, both of the State of Georgia, acting jointly or separately, and their successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Flint River, approved April 17, 1916, be amended by extending the time limit for the construction of said bridge two years from the passage of this act.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Strike out all after the enacting clause from line 3, page 1, down to and including line 10, page 1, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That the time for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved April 17, 1916, to be built across the Flint River, Ga., by Mitchell County, or by Baker County, Ga., jointly or separately, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from the date hereof.

"SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved."

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, there is a typographical error, leaving off the letter "s" from the word "time" in the first line. I ask unanimous consent to modify the committee amendment by making the word plural instead of singular.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the modification is agreed to.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia."

On the motion of Mr. ADAMSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS MISSISSIPPI RIVER, CASS COUNTY, MINN.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 2434) authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the time expired in this case?

Mr. KNUTSON. This is an original bill.

Mr. ADAMSON. I do not think it is a renewal.

Mr. KNUTSON. I will say to the gentleman that this is an original bill.

Mr. ADAMSON. That is my understanding of it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will not object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the counties of Cass and Itasca, in the State of Minnesota, be, and they are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Mississippi River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation on or near the line between townships 144 and 145 north, range 26 west, fifth principal meridian, in the State of Minnesota, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Committee amendment: Page 1, line 5, strike out the word "highway."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read a third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. ADAMSON a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS ARKANSAS RIVER, STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4427) granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, between the town of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON] if that bill has not been passed?

Mr. ADAMSON. The author of this bill [Mr. HASTINGS] called up a Senate bill from the Speaker's desk and passed it here one day, but I have not had time to refer to it and see if it was identical. If it is identical this bill ought to have gone from the Speaker's table. Mr. Speaker, I ask to pass it over temporarily.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON] asks that the bill be passed over temporarily. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

STIMULATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4431) to provide for the common defense and general welfare by increasing the production of food upon public and private lands within United States reclamation projects, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there ought to be some explanation of this bill if anyone wants to give it.

The SPEAKER. Who has this bill in charge?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR]. This is a bill he introduced and reported.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] demands an explanation on the penalty of objection.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, while the Interior Department is exceedingly anxious to pass this bill, and the Reclamation Service looks upon it as a very important war measure, at the same time there has been some objection to it. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], I understand, expressed some objection the other day. And there is a minority report, signed by one member of the committee, so I think I ought not to try to take it up at this time. The bill is of great importance, and would, if enacted into law, be of tremendous benefit in the development of the Government irrigation reclamation projects.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The bill carries an appropriation of $5,000,000?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes, sir. The bill should be thoroughly considered, and therefore I think it ought to go over and hold its place on the calendar. The Reclamation Service in the Department of the Interior has several times very urgently recommended the passage of this bill, or some measure of this kind, and I earnestly hope that I may secure early consideration of this bill in the next session of Congress. It is a departmental measure. I think it ought to go over until December, and I ask that it be passed over for this session and retain its place on this calendar.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There is a minority report here?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] asks unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SETTLEMENTS UPON RECLAMATION PROJECTS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4958) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes," approved August 9, 1912.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I inquire of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] what this has to do with the present emergency?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Strictly speaking, I doubt if this bill could be classed as a national emergency war measure, but it is an important measure. It is urgent to a good many deserving people. Settlers upon the Government reclamation projects of the West, in the protection of their homes, are urgently asking for this relief. My report on this bill is, I think, very clear and complete, and in order that there may be a full record upon this measure I will insert it, as follows:

This bill was referred to the Interior Department for report and the Secretary of the Interior reported thereon as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, July 31, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. TAYLOR: I have your letter of July 5, 1917, transmitting copy of the bill H. R. 4958, and requesting a report thereon.

The bill is as follows:

TO PROMOTE SETTLEMENT UPON RECLAMATION PROJECTS.

"A bill to amend section 3 of an act entitled 'An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes,' approved August 9, 1912.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That section 3 of the act of Congress approved August 9, 1912, entitled 'An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes,' be, and the same is hereby, amended so that any excess land acquired at any time in good faith by descent, by will, or by foreclosure of any lien may be held for four years and no longer after its acquisition, and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to apply the same rule to unpatented public lands within reclamation projects acquired in the manner herein described."

The intent of the bill is to change from two to four years the period during which land subject to reclamation charges may be held by one who acquires it in good faith by descent, by will, or by foreclosure of any lien.

In many cases, especially where loans are made by mortgage companies or other investors, a difficulty has arisen due to the fact that the mortgagee finds it impossible to dispose of the land within the two-year period. The effect of this is that water users find it difficult to make loans, and therefore the settlers are hampered in making the necessary farm improvements and buying farming equipment.

As the law is so closely limited to cases of acquisition of title by descent, will, or foreclosure, there seems to be no opportunity for speculation that would be detrimental to the interests of the project or of the Government.

I am therefore strongly in favor of the passage of such a bill.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary.

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Chairman Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands,
House of Representatives.

The section 3 of the act of August 9, 1912 (37 Stat., 625), to which this amendment applies, is as follows:

"SEC. 3. That upon full and final payment being made of all amounts due on account of the building and betterment charges to the United States or its successors in control of the project, the United States or its successors, as the case may be, shall issue upon request a certificate certifying that payment of the building and betterment charges in full has been made and that the lien upon the land has been so far satisfied and is no longer of any force or effect except the lien for annual charges for operation and maintenance: *Provided*, That no person shall at any one time or in any manner, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, acquire, own, or hold irrigable land for which entry or water-right application shall have been made under the said reclamation act of June 17, 1902, and acts supplementary thereto and amendatory thereof, before final payment in full of all installments of building and betterment charges shall have been made on account of such land in excess of one farm unit as fixed by the Secretary of the Interior as the limit of area per entry of public land or per single ownership of private land for which a water right may be purchased, respectively, nor in any case

in excess of 160 acres, nor shall water be furnished under said acts nor a water right sold or recognized for such excess; but any such excess land acquired at any time in good faith by descent, by will, or by foreclosure of any lien may be held for two years and no longer after its acquisition; and every excess holding prohibited as aforesaid shall be forfeited to the United States by proceedings instituted by the Attorney General for that purpose in any court of competent jurisdiction; and this proviso shall be recited in every patent and water-right certificate issued by the United States under the provisions of this act."

Ever since the passage of the act there have been hardships occasioned under nearly all of the reclamation projects by the two-year limitation provided in this section 3. This provision of the act, requiring everyone who acquires title to land by descent, by will, or by foreclosure of any lien to convey the land to a person qualified to hold it under the provisions of the reclamation act within two years, works a great hardship upon the mortgagor as well as the mortagee purchaser. While it is claimed that the law offers a way out to the mortagee purchaser, if a corporation, or a capitalist with sufficient means for protection against a forfeiture of the property to the Federal Government, by the investment of what may be a considerable sum in addition to that already tied up in his claim, it does not relieve the situation as regards the mortgagee purchasers of small means, who are in fact the largest holders of such mortgages.

This limitation works a hardship upon the settlers under these projects by increasing the difficulty they have in borrowing money at low rates of interest to enable them to make necessary improvements, to buy live stock, or to pay off their indebtedness to the Government. Under the rules and regulations of the Reclamation Service, where there is an equity of redemption, an owner is only given practically one year in which to find a qualified purchaser.

It is very often impossible to obtain a qualified entryman within this very short time, and it is only fair to all parties concerned, and in the interest of the development of these projects, to give the mortagee purchaser a reasonable time to find some legally qualified person who is willing to and can purchase and legally hold the land.

There is no longer any fear whatever of the acquisition for speculative purposes by corporations or others of large bodies of lands reclaimed by the Government. The great cost of the water under all of the reclamation projects has practically made impossible any speculation in such lands. In fact, the high cost of the water and the rules and regulations make any speculation an utter impossibility. Therefore the department itself and the reclamation officials have been for some time and are now thoroughly convinced that the present limitation is unnecessary and unreasonable and works an injurious hardship upon the borrowing power of the settler as well as upon the mortgage purchaser, or any purchaser; and for that reason the department has heartily joined in the recommendation of these reclamation officials to extend this limitation to a period of five years, and thus enable the settlers more readily to borrow money on the same terms as any other citizen. Many persons think the limitation ought to be entirely removed, and that no imposition, hardship, monopoly, or speculation would or could be occasioned if it were. But your committee is not disposed to go that far at this time and feels that a five-year limitation could safely and should be made in the interest of the development of all the reclamation projects, and would in no wise be subject to abuse or infringement on the rights of the Government.

The same reasoning applies exactly to excess land acquired at any time in good faith by descent or by will. In fact, the recipients of land acquired in that way might in many cases be justly entitled to ask for even a longer period of time, because often they are nonresidents, sometimes minors, and there are various other reasons why they should be given a reasonable time and ample opportunity to secure qualified entrymen. Upon the same principle the rule should also apply to unpatented public lands within the reclamation projects acquired in the manner herein described.

For the foregoing reasons your committee unanimously approves this measure and urgently requests its adoption as expeditiously as possible.

Mr. WALSH. It is not a war measure?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Not exactly a war measure.

Mr. WALSH. The time now is two years, and the committee made it five?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes. That is, the only amendment the Committee on Irrigation made was to raise or extend the time from two years to five years within which to obtain a qualified entrymen, so that they may not lose the property or their investment.

Mr. WALSH. What time is required to get a qualified entryman to go on there?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Under the present law there is often an equity of redemption, as the gentleman knows. That takes some nine months out of the two years. The members of the committee from the West thought it had better be five years. That is the sentiment of all those Representatives who represent districts where there are reclamation projects. We feel that as an emergency measure this bill ought to pass at this session of Congress, and I hope it will meet with the approval of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of the act of Congress approved August 9, 1912, entitled "An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes," be, and the same is hereby, amended so that any excess land acquired at any time in good faith by descent, by will, or by foreclosure of any lien may be held for four years and no longer after its acquisition, and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to apply the same rule to unpatented public lands within reclamation projects acquired in the manner herein described.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Amend, page 1, line 5, by striking out "four" and inserting in lieu thereof "five."

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speakers' table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 2719. An act to permit the reenlistment of Omer G. Paquet in the U. S. Army; to the Committee on Pensions.

PROPERTY LOST IN NAVAL SERVICE.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent is the bill (H. R. 5647) to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. FESS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the chairman what property is specifically referred to; whether that lost by submarines, accidentally, or what?

Mr. PADGETT. It is any loss that is due to the operations of war; all these articles that the regulations require the men to have with them. A man is on a merchant ship, and he has his clothing and his uniform, and things of that kind. The ship strikes a mine, for instance, and the ship is destroyed, and he loses his property.

Mr. FESS. The loss is therefore not due to contributory negligence?

Mr. PADGETT. No; the bill expressly provides that there shall be no contributory negligence.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I understand that this proposed bill changes in a substantial way the policy that the Government has pursued heretofore in reimbursing sailors and officers for their outfits and uniforms when lost on the high seas. As I read the law, as embodied in the letter of the Secretary of the Navy to the Speaker, no reimbursement is obtainable by any seaman or any officer of the Navy for his clothes in case that loss occurs during a war. Am I correct?

Mr. PADGETT. That is the present law; and this allows them to recover during the war.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is well versed in the theory of naval warfare. What was the theory of the Government heretofore in not making any allowance whatsoever to enlisted seamen or officers in the Navy for their clothes and outfits?

Mr. PADGETT. During war?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; during war.

Mr. PADGETT. I have been unable to find the reason upon which that was based. I do not know. It occurs to me that it is a strange provision that was inserted in the act of 1895 that allowed for the recovery of the clothing and outfit in times of peace but in times of war prohibited it.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand, in the case of enlisted men wearing apparel and outfits are furnished by the Government, whereas——

Mr. PADGETT. The enlisted man on first enlistment gets an outfit to the value of $60, but nothing after that.

Mr. STAFFORD. Whereas in the case of naval officers——

Mr. PADGETT. They furnish their own.

Mr. STAFFORD. Their own accouterments?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I notice in reading the Secretary's letter that for recovery in time of peace officers were limited to an amount not exceeding one month's compensation. Under the bill as proposed there is no limitation whatsoever on the amount which may be recovered from the Government for loss of personal outfit in case of war.

Mr. PADGETT. The limitation is provided in the bill. It is provided that "The liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by the United States Naval Regulations," and so forth.

Mr. STAFFORD. Where is the gentleman reading?

Mr. PADGETT. From page 3, beginning on line 2, the first proviso. I read:

Provided, That the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by the United States Naval Regulations and in force at the time of loss or destruction for such officers, petty officers, enlisted men, or others engaged in the public service in the line of duty.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman inform the House as to what the total value of such property is for the officers of the Navy?

Mr. PADGETT. I should guess that an outfit of an officer would be perhaps of the value of $250 or $300, and that of a petty officer would be less, and that of an enlisted man would be very decidedly less.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would the gentleman have any objection to an amendment substantially in this form, carrying out the idea of the existing law: "*Provided further*, That in the case of such loss by petty officers, seamen, and others not officers, the total reimbursement, including the allowance for such articles compensated for, shall not exceed $60"—which is the existing law in times of peace—"and in the case of such loss by others than petty officers it shall not exceed the amount of his sea pay for one month"—which is the existing law in case of loss during peace?

Mr. PADGETT. There is a recommendation that the allowance be increased during the war to $100. On account of the very great increase in the cost of outfits, $60 will not outfit an enlisted man. I would not object to limiting the enlisted men to $100 and the officers to one month's pay.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will be very glad, then, to offer that amendment when the bill is under consideration, with the support of the gentleman from Tennessee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. PADGETT. I ask unanimous consent that it may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, how much time will there be for debate on that amendment?

Mr. GARNER. It will be under the five-minute rule.

Mr. PADGETT. It will be under the five-minute rule in the House, just as in Committee of the Whole. There will be no general debate, but there will be no objection to the discussion of meritorious amendments.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Paymaster General of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to reimburse such officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States as may have suffered, or may hereafter suffer, loss or destruction of or damage to their personal property and effects in the naval service in battle with the enemy or by shipwreck or other marine disaster when such loss, destruction, or damage was without fault or negligence on the part of the claimant, or where the private property so lost, destroyed, or damaged was shipped on board an unseaworthy vessel by order of an officer authorized to give such order or direct such shipment, or where it appears that the loss, destruction, or damage of or to the private property of the claimant was in consequence of his having given his attention to the saving of the lives of others or of property belonging to the United States which was in danger at the same time and under similar circumstances. And the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, with reference to the personnel of the Navy, or the major general commandant of the Marine Corps, with reference to the personnel of that corps, in his discretion, shall decide to be reasonable, useful, and proper for such officer, enlisted man, or other person while engaged in the public service in line of duty, and the certificate of said chief of bureau or major general commandant, as the case may be, shall be sufficient voucher for and shall be final as to all matters necessry to the establishment and payment or settlement of any claim filed hereunder; and the action of the said chief of bureau or major general commandant, as the case may be, upon all claims arising under this act shall be final, and no right to prosecute a claim or action in the Court of Claims or in any other court of the United States, or before any accounting officer of the United States, or elsewhere, except as herein provided, shall accrue to any person by virtue of this act; *Provided*, That the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by the United States Naval Regulations and in force at the time of loss or destruction for such officers, petty officers, seamen, or others engaged in the public service in the line of duty: *Provided further*, That with reference to claims of persons in the Marine Corps filed under the terms of this act the paymaster of the Marine Corps shall make the reimbursement in money, and the quartermaster of the Marine Corps shall make the reimbursement in kind herein provided for: *And provided further*, That all claims now existing under this act shall be presented within two years from the passage hereof and not thereafter; and all such claims hereafter arising shall be presented within two years from the occurrence of the loss, destruction, or damage: *And provided further*, That the term "in the naval service," as herein employed, shall be held to include service performed on board any vessel, whether of the Navy or not, provided the claimant is serving on such vessel pursuant to the orders of duly constituted naval authority: *And provided further*, That all claimants under this act shall be required to submit their claims in writing and under oath to the said Chief of the Bureau of Navigation or major general commandant, as the case may be: *And provided further*, That claims arising in the manner indicated in this act and which have been settled under the terms of previously existing law shall be regarded as finally determined and no other or further right of recovery under the provisions hereof shall accrue to persons who have submitted such claims as aforesaid: *And provided further*, That sections 288, 289, and 290, Revised Statutes, and the act of March 2, 1895 (28 Stat., p. 962), are hereby repealed: *And provided further*, That reimbursement for loss, destruction, or damage sustained and determined as herein provided shall be made in kind for such articles as are customarily issued to the service and shall be made in money for other articles at the valuation thereof at the time of their loss, destruction, or damage: *And provided further*, That in cases involving persons in the Navy reimbursement in money shall be made from the appropriation "Pay of the Navy," and reimbursement in kind shall be made from the appropriation "Outfits on first enlistment," and in cases involving persons in the Marine Corps reimbursement in money shall be made from the appropriation "Pay, Marine Corps," and reimbursement in kind shall be made from the appropriation "Clothing, Marine Corps," respectively, current at the time the claim covering such loss, damage, or destruction is paid.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. HICKS: At the end of line 3, on page 5, add: "*And provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall apply to the personnel of the Coast Guard in like manner as to the personnel of the Navy, whether the Coast Guard is operating under the Treasury Department or operating as a part of the Navy, and all of the duties which under this act devolve upon the major general commandant of the Marine Corps with reference to the personnel of that corps shall devolve upon the captain commandant of the Coast Guard, and in cases involving persons in the Coast Guard reimbursement in money shall be made by a disbursing officer of the Coast Guard from the appropriation 'Coast Guard' and reimbursement in kind shall be made by the captain commandant from the appropriation 'Coast Guard.'"

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York offers his amendment. The gentleman from Wisconsin reserves his point of order, and the Chair will inquire if there is any committee amendment to the bill.

Mr. PADGETT. No.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Wisconsin on the point of order.

Mr. HICKS. I desire to make a statement if the gentleman from Wisconsin will reserve his point of order.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from New York asks me to reserve the point of order.

Mr. HICKS. I should like to say a word in regard to the proposed amendment. The Coast Guard now is a part of the Navy, having been taken over from the Treasury Department into the Navy in accordance with the act creating the Coast Guard. This amendment of mine merely extends the provisions of this act to cover a part of the service which is now a part of the Navy. It is to extend the provisions of the act to a most meritorious and efficient arm of the forces now fighting for the flag. It does not make an exception. It merely equalizes the various branches of the service in the Navy Department. This amendment, I understand, has the approval of Admiral Palmer, Admiral Benson, and the chairman of our Naval Committee [Mr. PADGETT], and I hope it may be adopted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to ask the gentleman a question: Is not this amendment already covered in the bill?

Mr. HICKS. No; it is not, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Here is the title of this bill:

To provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service.

Does not the gentleman himself state that the Coast Guard is a part of the Navy?

Mr. HICKS. Yes; but a little bit further on in the bill it provides for the payment being made by the commandant of the Marine Corps, and so forth, and my amendment provides for payment to these officers and men by the commandant of the Coast Guard, merely extending the provision for payment so that the proper authorities will be able to act.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin want to be heard?

Mr. STAFFORD. I merely reserved the point of order, and after the statement of the gentleman from New York I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. HICKS. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is withdrawn. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HICKS].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to offer an amendment, on page 1, line 8, to strike out the words "in battle with the enemy" and substitute the words "due to the operations of war," for the reason that a ship running over a mine or something of that kind might not be in battle with the enemy. To make the language clear I wish to substitute the words "due to the operations of war."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 3, line 2, after the word "act," strike out all the proviso down to line 8.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee, chairman of the committee, that this is the matter about which I spoke to him this morning, and as to which he disagreed with me, but I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that this proviso contradicts the language in lines 8 to 14, on page 2, which is as follows:

And the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, with reference to the personnel of the Navy, or the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, with reference to the personnel of that corps, in his discretion, shall decide to be reasonable, useful, and proper—

Now, if they decide that these men had articles aboard a naval vessel which they certify were reasonable, useful, and proper, the men can not be reimbursed for them unless under the terms of the proviso the Navy provide or require by regulation that the men may have these articles. So, when you say that the liability of the Government shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by the United States naval regulations in force at the time of the destruction of such property, you prevent men recovering for the loss of articles which are reasonable, useful, and proper, and which they may have been required to have under the custom or the order of the Captain Commandant of the Coast Guard or the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps.

But if not provided for in the regulations, and in order to have them provided for, the Navy Department would have to set out in detail a long list of articles of personal property which these men would be required to have. But even then, if they are limited by the terms of the proviso, injustice would follow, because they might have omitted in the list some single article of property which was reasonable and proper and useful for them to have aboard a ship. It seems to me either the proviso should be stricken from the bill or the whole matter left to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, or the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and in case of loss, permit them in their discretion to certify that the articles lost during the operations of war, shipwreck, or stress of storm were useful, reasonable, and proper, and in that case they could be reimbursed for them or have other articles of like value and quality issued to them.

I submit to the chairman of the committee that it is weakening the effect and purpose of the act by leaving the proviso in there, tying them down to things that are provided for by regulation and not permitting these men in this new departure in legislation and exhibition of generosity on the part of the Government to the men in not permitting them to recover for useful and reasonable articles of personal property. I trust that the gentleman will accept the amendment.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the amendment will not be agreed to. I do not think there is any conflict. This limits recovery to those articles that are required and provided by regulation, which is proper. Men should not carry everything aboard ship and expect the Government to compensate them for the loss of it. The Government provides certain things by regulation. Now, that is comprehensive. A man might be on a battleship and it would be proper for him to have many more things than it would be if he was on one of these submarine chasers, a small craft, and on it temporarily. The first provision says that they must certify that they were reasonable and proper, and they are limited in the total to the regulations that provide these articles. A man on a battleship might have all the articles provided by the regulations, and if they were all lost they would be paid for. But on a temporary duty, on a small craft, to unload all of his things for that small craft might not be proper and reasonable, and that is for the officer to pass upon. I hope the amendment will not be agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. If an enlisted man had all the articles which were required by the regulations and the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation refused to certify that they were reasonable and proper and useful, he could not be reimbursed for them, could he?

Mr. PADGETT. He could not if they were not proper for him to have at that particular place. For instance, if he took unnecessary things, although they might be necessary on a battleship or a cruiser—if he took unnecessary things on a small boat, took aboard everything he had, and they were lost by the destruction of the boat, it might not be proper.

Mr. WALSH. Does not the gentleman think that the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation and the commandant of the Marine Corps, the commandant of the Coast Guard, could be trusted to certify whether such articles were reasonable and useful and proper?

Mr. PADGETT. I have perfect confidence in their ability and integrity, but at the same time I think it is good legislation to prescribe limits and to define in a general way what they are to pay for.

Mr. WALSH. If the gentleman will permit me a further question, if the enlisted man has property which is not required by regulations and which the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation might certify was useful and proper for him to have, under the bill as drawn he could not be reimbursed?

Mr. PADGETT. If not provided for by regulations, it ought not to be paid for. If you adopt a different course, you subject the commandants of the Marine Corps and Coast Guard to all sorts of persevering political influence to allow this to that man and that to this man.

Mr. WALSH. Why not leave it entirely to regulation?

Mr. PADGETT. We do leave it to regulations within the scope of articles appropriate to existing conditions.

Mr. WALSH. And so you leave it open to the display of favoritism?

Mr. PADGETT. No; we leave it to the regulations.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert after the Hicks amendment the following:

"*And provided further,* That in the case of such loss by a petty officer, seaman, and others not officers, the total reimbursement, including the allowance for such articles compensated in kind, shall not exceed $100; and in case of such loss by officers other than petty officers, it shall not exceed the amount of his sea pay for one month."

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to me to make a request for unanimous consent?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business under the rule for Calendar Wednesday be dispensed with to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to dispense with Calendar Wednesday to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman if it is intended to have a session of the House to-morrow?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. What business will be taken up?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. There will be a report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

REIMBURSEMENT OF OFFICERS AND MEN IN THE NAVY FOR PROPERTY LOST.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a proposal that was called to the attention of the House when the bill was under consideration a few minutes ago. The purpose is to place the same restriction as to the amount for the recovery of personal property of enlisted seamen and of officers which is now the existing law when that property is lost in time of peace, except, at the suggestion of the chairman of the committee, the total amount that may be recovered by the enlisted seamen has been raised from $60 to $100.

The purpose is to place a further restriction upon the amount to be recovered by officers and seamen—particularly officers—in case of the loss of their personal effects. Never before in the history of the Government have we reimbursed officers or enlisted men for personal effects which they have lost in time

of war. I have known instances where private bills have been presented here for consideration providing for the reimbursement for loss of private effects in various services, when the loss occurred through no fault of the owner, and those bills have been strenuously objected to upon the ground that it was not the policy of the Government to be an insurer. This bill adopts a different policy. In this war we are proceeding under the idea that the Government should be an insurer to a large extent, and this merely places a limitation so that there can not be any recovery, particularly by officers, for effects that might not be warranted otherwise, if it were presented to the attention of the House. Certainly a month's salary of an officer should be the maximum amount that should be recovered in case he loses his personal effects. I understand the amendment has the support of the chairman of the committee.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I just want to say to the House that a moment ago when the bill was called up the House heard the gentleman ask me if I would object to the amendment, and I told him that I would not.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I understand that this amendment does not have the approval of the chairman of this committee nor of the committee. The gentleman has stated that he does not object to the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin. It seems to me this amendment should be voted down. It is certainly most stingy and parsimonious, in view of present conditions. This bill provides that the loss shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by United States naval regulations in force at the time of the loss or destruction. In other words, we require an officer or enlisted man to purchase so much of supplies or clothing or equipment as is necessary for him; but if he is on shipboard and they strike a mine and he barely escapes in his underclothes with his life, and loses his effects, then he can recover only, according to the gentleman's amendment, the sum of $100 or a month's salary, when, in fact, he may lose $250 worth of clothing and equipment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is mistaken. He is not stating the amendment properly. It is limited to one month's salary, if he is an officer.

Mr. KING. Why should he not be compensated for his entire equipment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Because I do not believe the Government should compensate an officer connected with the naval service for, say, gold hair brushes or the like.

Mr. KING. The gentleman does not believe that a man who is about to lose his life for his country——

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, it is not a question of losing his life. The gentleman can not arouse sympathy with that kind of an argument.

Mr. KING. I am simply asking for justice for the man.

Mr. STAFFORD. This simply provides adequate protection for the Government.

Mr. KING. Are gold hairbrushes required by the naval regulations?

Mr. STAFFORD. Brushes would be required; but these men wearing epaulettes might have some extravagant notions with respect to manicure sets.

Mr. KING. Does the gentleman know whether manicure sets are required by the naval regulations?

Mr. STAFFORD. I suppose the gentleman from Illinois does, and I yield to him upon that.

Mr. KING. If they are required by the naval regulations, should they not be paid for if the officer loses them?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were—ayes 16, noes 32.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee a question. Why does not this measure comprehend all other classes of service vessels which have been transferred to the Navy?

Mr. PADGETT. It does. That is what it is intended for. It reimburses the officers of merchant vessels and others. That is one of the purposes of the bill. Under existing law an officer serving on a merchant vessel who loses his effects through submarine or mine gets nothing, and under this bill he gets something.

Mr. WALSH. Does this law cover the case of the lighthouse tenders?

Mr. PADGETT. It covers everything that is in the Navy.

Mr. WALSH. Why was it necessary to adopt the Hicks amendment?

Mr. PADGETT. They are in the Navy temporarily.

Mr. WALSH. So are the lighthouse vessels there temporarily.

Mr. PADGETT. The amendment of Mr. HICKS puts the Coast Guard there permanently, not only during the war, but as they are going out on hazardous business, risking their lives all the time, it makes them permanently able to recover compensation. The others would get it only when they are operating in the Navy.

Mr. WALSH. Including the Naval Reserve and scout patrols?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; all of those.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of privileged matters, I may be allowed to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of privileged matters, he be allowed to address the House for 20 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Upon what subject?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Upon the subject of our justification for entrance into this war—free of any personalities, and I am sure I shall not say anything to offend any Member of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the gentleman will make a good speech, but we are very anxious to get up the soldiers' and sailors' civil rights bill to-morrow, and I would not want any speech to come in ahead of that.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The basis upon which I made the request was after the disposition of privileged business.

Mr. WEBB. But this is not a privileged matter, whether Calendar Wednesday is on or not on. I do not want to object to my friend making a speech——

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have taken very little of the time of the House.

Mr. WEBB. I understand; but the soldiers' and sailors' civil-rights bill is one of the most important measures to a million boys of which the gentleman could think, and is pending and ought to be passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). The Chair will suggest to the gentleman from Alabama to withhold his request for the moment and confer with the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Would the gentleman have any objection after the disposition of that measure?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I make the request after the disposition of that bill, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent——

Mr. CANNON. Would not the gentleman say if it takes all the day, then the next day?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, that bill may take more than one day. It may be the last bill under consideration, and we can not forecast what will be under consideration then. I have no objection to the gentleman taking 20 minutes to-morrow morning.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I just wanted to get the privilege before the adjournment of Congress to deliver this short address.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman go ahead to-day?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes; I would be glad to have that privilege.

Mr. STAFFORD. Two gentlemen have already obtained permission. Why does not the gentleman ask for unanimous consent to proceed after the other two gentlemen who have already obtained consent?

Mr. BANKHEAD. That, Mr. Speaker, is about the best bargain I can strike, and I desire to modify my request to that extent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that to-day, after the conclusion of the speeches unanimous consent for the delivery of which has been already granted, he may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the gentleman from Alabama concludes I may have unanimous consent to address the House for 40 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] asks unanimous consent that after the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] he may be permitted to proceed for not exceeding 40 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from North Carolina upon what subject he intends to speak?

Mr. POU. Upon practically the same subject. I want to take up the question of why America entered the war and a review of the work of this Congress.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman does not intend to speak as chairman of the Committee on Rules on any personal subject?

Mr. POU. Absolutely not.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the Washington Herald this morning contained a statement to the effect that Representative MASON, of Illinois, would take the floor to-day to denounce HEFLIN unless he corrected his statement, and so forth.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is demanded. The regular order is, Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. I want to couple with that a request, Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not objected; but I want to couple with that a request to address the House in order that I may name certain Members of Congress——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. But the gentleman from Wisconsin demands the regular order, and the regular order is, Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I do not object.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago, when I was out at lunch, I understand the gentleman who occupies the chair got permission to set aside Calendar Wednesday to-morrow. I want to state to the Speaker and the House that I tried to arrange with the Speaker, the floor leader, Mr. GILLETT, and other Members to take up the soldiers' and sailors' civil-rights bill to-morrow, and, unless there is some urgent reason for not doing so, I ask permission to set aside the order and that Calendar Wednesday may have its place to-morrow as usual.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to set aside the order——

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, later in the day that may be done, but we can not forecast conditions that may arise, and for the time being I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the order setting aside Calendar Wednesday to-morrow may be dispensed with, and the gentleman from Wisconsin for the time being objects.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS ARKANSAS RIVER, WEBBERS FALLS, OKLA.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago the bill H. R. 4427 was passed temporarily in order to ascertain the condition of a Senate bill. I find the Senate bill is still on the House Calendar, and I ask that the bill H. R. 4427 be now taken up.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ADAMSON. And, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in lieu of that bill the House consider the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to consider the Senate bill in lieu of the House bill. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the title of the bill?

Mr. ADAMSON. Report the bill, please.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 4427) granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Now, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON] asks unanimous consent to consider the Senate bill in lieu of the House bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the Senate bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2710) granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma.

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, and its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the town of Webbers Falls, in the county of Muskogee, in the State of Oklahoma, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. ADAMSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

By unanimous consent, a House bill (H. R. 4427) of similar title was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the number of registrants in Connecticut under the conscription law.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Connecticut asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the number of registrants in Connecticut under the conscription law. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the coal and car shortage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BLAND] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD upon the car-shortage question. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the next bill.

HOMESTEAD AND OTHER PUBLIC LAND AFFIDAVITS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 5082) providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That during the continuance of the present war with Germany, and until his discharge from service, any man serving in the armed forces of the United States, who is an applicant or entryman under the land laws of the United States, or who has, prior to enlistment, filed a contest, with the view of exercising preference right of entry therefor, may make any affidavit required by law or regulation of the department, affecting such application, entry, or contest, or necessary to the making of entry in the case of the successful termination of such contest awarding him preference right of entry, before his commanding officer as provided in section 2293 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, I assume that this a war bill, but there should be some explanation of it, if the author of the bill will give it.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, replying to the question as to whether or not this is a war measure, I will say that it is so regarded by the Interior Department, as there are a great many cases now pending before the department that would be affected by this, where applicants for entry under the homestead, desert-land, and other public-land laws have initiated proceedings and have been called to the front to serve in the Army or the Navy of the United States. The laws governing these entries are such that the affidavits required have to be made within the land districts affected. These boys, some of them, are now in the training camps, and a good many of them are across the water and engaged actively, and it is necessary for us to protect their rights to their entries. And there are a great many cases now pending where contests have been instituted, where squatters' rights have been made upon withdrawn public lands, and it is impossible for them to complete their entries without a provision of this kind.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. I yield.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does this law empower a commanding officer to take an affidavit in a foreign country?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Anywhere. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman have any objection to having his bill amended so that an affidavit might be taken by a commanding officer anywhere in any foreign country, affecting any matter apart from the land laws?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Well, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that that is a broader ground than my bill contemplates. This only applies to affidavits that will be required to be made within the land-office districts and before certain officers.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is the gentleman familiar with the bill——

Mr. WINGO. I will state that the proposition the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposes is already covered by law, but the proposition the gentleman from Colorado is trying to reach is not covered by law, but the law requires the affidavits to be made in the respective counties.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. In the land district?

Mr. WINGO. Yes. In the land district. Now, the proposition the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] suggests is covered by existing law.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. A bill has been introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STRONG] covering this very point. The gentleman from Pennsylvania made some inquiry as to whether existing law covered this question——

Mr. WINGO. I had occasion to look into that. The only case I was able to find where there is not any provision under existing law is the homestead case, and the provision requires the affidavits to be made at a specific place.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I do not want to interfere with what the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TIMBERLAKE] is trying to accomplish. I think it is a very proper purpose and made necessary by the exigency of war, but there are others besides land claimants whose interests will be affected when they are in the service in foreign countries, and it may be very inconvenient for them to reach the office of consuls and others, and it may be convenient for them to make affidavits before their commanding officers. If the law does not provide for that—the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] says it does—it ought to provide for the convenience of these men in the service who can not reach men qualified in foreign countries to make affidavits.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. Is the gentleman from Colorado aware that the soldiers and sailors civil-rights bill, so called, carries the identical provision that is in the bill the gentleman is now reporting?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. I will say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, I am aware of that. I appeared before the Judiciary Committee with reference to that, and that committee has incorporated primarily this provision. But I understand that this bill is not on the calendar. It is now growing late in the session, and my only object in bringing this in now is in order to get, without question, action upon it, and I understand there may be a question with reference to whether or not the other bill is enacted into law because of its vital necessity to so many of our people who are now serving in the Army.

Mr. WALSH. But does not the gentleman think that it will be better, inasmuch as the civil-rights bill has several sections—I think two or three sections—relating to rights in lands, desert lands, mining claims, and homestead entries, to have it all incorporated in one law, rather than to have a separate bill for this provision and the rest of it covered in a general bill? The bill, it is expected, will be taken up and passed by the House before this session adjourns. I am sure I have heard of no opposition to the principle which the gentleman is advocating, and I think it was incorporated into the bill unanimously after the gentleman from Colorado and the gentleman from Wyoming and one or two others called the attention of the Committee on the Judiciary to it. There is no opposition to it, and if it is already in that bill, and it is expected that that bill is to pass, my query is, Would it not be better to have it all in one law?

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts think that a general moratorium bill will become a law during this session?

Mr. WALSH. I understand that it is expected that it will. I do not know what the plans of the administration are in that respect.

Mr. MONDELL. In the event—rather improbable, it seems to me—that it does become a law, it would be entirely feasible, when that bill is finally considered, to strike from it the last paragraph or the section that deals with these matters if in the meantime this bill has become a law.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman from Wyoming think that this bill will become a law at this session?

Mr. MONDELL. I feel confident that it will, and I understand that the gentleman from Colorado has assurance that it will be promptly enacted.

Mr. WALSH. I am not objecting, understand. I was only wanting to direct the attention of the House to the fact that this was incorporated in the civil-rights bill, which it was expected would come up and be passed this week.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. I will say to the gentleman that the incorporation of that provision in this bill would be entirely satisfactory to me, but I have assurance that if this bill is enacted to-day in the House it will go through the Senate, and there are so many people in my district and in many other of the Western States affected that I would like to see it passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object—and I shall not object, because I think the bill ought to pass—when the bill is taken up I desire to offer two small amendments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, the bill being on the Union Calendar, I ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is on the House Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MONDELL: Page 1, line 5, after the word "who," strike out the word "is" and insert the words "prior to the beginning of his service was a settler."

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I have offered does two things. First, it makes it very clear—and we should make it very clear in this legislation—that the affidavits which may be made are affidavits which relate only to rights initiated prior to entry upon the service. We have had several bills before the Congress dealing with soldiers' rights, and in every case the House has been very careful to make it clear that no rights were granted to initiate an entry after the beginning of the service. Then, in addition to that——

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. How does that affect applications for 640 acres unless the claims are allowed? Of course that would not be called even an initiation, would it?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes; it is an initiation. The gentleman will recollect that in the bill which we passed, giving the settler credit for his residence and cultivation during his service, we amended by providing that the privilege should apply to those who by settlement application or entry had initiated rights prior to the beginning of the service; as the bill would read if amended, it would provide that a soldier in the armed forces of the United States "who, prior to the beginning of his service, was a settler, an applicant, or an entryman," and so forth.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I do not dispute the gentleman's position. The only question is whether the gentleman is sure himself that he is safeguarding these initiated rights. That is the only thing.

Mr. MONDELL. I am absolutely as sure of it as I was of the other case that we discussed at some length here. I think it is highly important, now that the laws authorize the making of an application without going upon the land under the 640-acre law, that we shall make it clear that those applications can not be initiated by men after they enter the service. We went over all of that some time ago.

Mr. GANDY. I want to ascertain if my understanding is correct on this. Do you intend this to read, "the settler"——

Mr. MONDELL. We are not now discussing that word "settler." We are discussing the other feature of the amendment. The amendment is intended to cover two things. One is intended to make it very clear—and of course there should be no difference of opinion in regard to that matter; we will discuss the "settler" matter later—make it very clear that those affidavits allowed to be made before a commanding officer were relative to claims initiated and established one way or another prior to the beginning of the service.

Mr. GANDY. I was trying to clear my mind on this word "settler."

Mr. MONDELL. In addition to that, the bill as drawn authorizes affidavits by those who are applicants or entrymen. But it does not cover, as the bill did which granted credit for constructive residence, the right of the man who had settled on unsurveyed land or who had settled on land which at the time was withdrawn for resurvey. If we do not include him, we exclude a considerable class of people.

Mr. GANDY. That is the point I have been trying to get the gentleman to make clear.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, at first I thought the gentleman from Wyoming was in error, and that he was proposing to amend this bill in a way that I thought perhaps he would not want to amend it; but as I now understand it, he seeks to do two things: First, to make it clear that some sort of settlement was initiated prior to the man's going into the service.

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. And then you want to add to it a provision that will cover a man who has settled on unsurveyed land, or on land withdrawn for resurvey, and who had no application pending in the land office.

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. The amendment is a very proper one.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, to come in at the end of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wyoming offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MONDELL: Page 2, line 5, after the word "State," strike out the period and insert the following: "which affidavit shall be as binding in law and with like penalties as if taken before the register of the United States Land Office."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. TIMBERLAKE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

REQUEST TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROSE] be given unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing a patriotic speech made by Theodore Roosevelt at Johnstown on Sunday, and the remarks made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROSE] in introducing him to the meeting.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROSE] be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing the matter referred to. Is there objection?

Mr. KEATING. Reserving the right to object——

Mr. MADDEN. This was at a meeting of the labor men.

Mr. KEATING. I realize that, but objection has been made uniformly here to requests of this kind.

Mr. MADDEN. Oh, no; not for that.

Mr. KEATING. Just the other day my colleague from Colorado requested the privilege of extending in the RECORD a patriotic address by Gov. Adams, of my State, welcoming the Belgian Commission to this country. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] objected to that, as he had to others.

Mr. MADDEN. This is quite a different proposition.

Mr. KEATING. It is exactly a similar proposition.

Mr. MADDEN. No; a Member of the House——

Mr. KEATING. It is to insert an address by Theodore Roosevelt.

Mr. MADDEN. And also to insert the remarks made by a Member of the House in introducing him.

Mr. KEATING. I must object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado objects. The Clerk will report the next bill on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent.

BRIDGE ACROSS MISSISSIPPI RIVER, ITASCA AND CASS COUNTIES, MINN.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 2435) authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask if this bridge is anywhere near the other bridge that was the subject of a prior bill?

Mr. KNUTSON. They are about 20 miles apart.

Mr. WALSH. It is not the same bridge?

Mr. KNUTSON. No; they are two different bridges.

Mr. WALSH. Across the same stream?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Both are highway bridges?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the counties of Itasca and Cass, in the State of Minnesota, be, and they are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Mississippi River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation in township 144 north, on or near the range line between ranges 25 and 26 west, fifth principal meridian, in the State of Minnesota, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. KNUTSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

NATURALIZATION.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to recur to No. 12 on the Unanimous Consent Calendar for the purpose of taking up H. R. 3132. I do not believe the gentleman from Illinois will object now.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to return to Unanimous Consent Calendar No. 12.

Mr. KNUTSON. Reserving the right to object——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania objects. The Clerk will report the next bill.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT DURANT, OKLA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 6094) amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I should like to know something about this bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the public buildings act, approved March 4, 1913, entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, and for other purposes" (Public, No. 432), and all other authorizations and appropriations passed in pursuance thereof for the construction of a post office at Durant, Okla., be, and the same are hereby, amended so as to authorize and appropriate the use of funds apportioned to Durant, Okla., for the construction and equipment of a United States post office and other Government offices at Durant, Okla.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this bill is so clearly not a war bill that I object.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman reserve his objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I reserve the right to object until the gentleman from Oklahoma explains the bill.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The situation is just this: The public-building act of 1913 provided for a post-office building at Durant, Okla. At that time there were no other Government activities at the city of Durant. Since that time there have been established other Government agencies there which embrace probably 12 or 15 people. Under the authorization of 1913 this money can not be used to provide for these other offices. The money that was appropriated for the construction of a post office at Durant can be used only for the construction of a post office, but not for the construction, for instance, of an Indian agency or an agricultural agency.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I ask the gentleman the necessity for passing this bill at this session of Congress?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The contract has already been made with the contractor for a one-story building in conformity with the present law. The Treasury Department holds that it can not provide for a building for these other Government activities there.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is the work being impeded?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The work is being impeded and the contractor is being held up now, after he has the excavation made and is preparing for the foundation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What is the attitude of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds toward this bill?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The bill has a unanimous favorable report from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. BURNETT. There is a unanimous favorable report from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and this does not require another dollar of appropriation. They will build it within the appropriation, but if they do not get this action they will have to pay for the rent of outside buildings.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. While it is not a war measure it relieves a situation that impedes a public work.

Mr. BURNETT. The contract was let on the 15th of June, and they have been held up ever since.

Mr. ROBBINS. I would like to ask the gentleman if this increases the appropriation?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. It does not.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States for his approval the following bills:

H. R. 5839. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota; and

H. R. 4280. An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

SIX MONTHS' GRATUITY FOR BENEFICIARIES OF RETIRED OFFICERS OR ENLISTED MEN ON ACTIVE DUTY.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6306) to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I wish to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STAFFORD. On yesterday the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asked unanimous consent that the business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent be transferred from to-day until to-morrow, and that order was agreed to by unanimous consent of the House. The parliamentary inquiry I wish to submit is whether under that order the consideration of business to-day was limited to the consideration of bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has not examined the language, but the Chair heard the request, and the Chair is of the opinion that the spirit and purpose was to make all business that would be in order yesterday in order to-day.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am not going to raise the question of order now, but I was here and listened to the request and paid particular attention to the form in which the request was made. The request as made by the gentleman from North Carolina was not that business in order to-day shall be in order to-morrow, but only as stated here and as repeated by the Speaker in submitting the request. "The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the business in order to-day on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent shall be transferred to to-morrow."

There is a further objection to considering bills reported yesterday. These bills were not on any calendar yesterday. They were merely reported by the committee, being then dropped into the basket. These bills would not have been considered yesterday even under suspension of the rules, because they were not on any calendar. This order, as submitted by the gentleman from North Carolina and submitted by the Chair and agreed to, limited it merely to bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Wisconsin that the Speaker was called from the room, and he left with the present occupant of the chair a list of gentlemen to be recognized to move to suspend the rules. The present occupant of the chair infers from that that the Speaker was of the opinion that under the order made yesterday all the business would be in order to-day, and the question rests with the House whether it will consider it. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 6306. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, may we have the bill reported?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the paragraph of the act approved August 22, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations for the Naval Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes," as amended by the act of March 3, 1915, which provides for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow or children or other previously designated dependent relative of a deceased officer or enlisted man on the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps, be, and the same is hereby, amended by inserting after the words "on the active list of the Navy or Marine Corps" a comma and the words "or of any retired officer or enlisted man serving on active duty during the continuance of the present war."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of the Secretary of the Navy be read to the committee, and I make that request for the reason that this bill was reported only yesterday, and no copies of the bill or the report could be obtained until this morning, and no Member of the House has probably had time to read it.

Mr. PADGETT. I am perfectly willing that the letter should be read. I want to say that the only effect of this bill is not to change existing law except to give the benefit of existing law to officers on the retired list who are called into active duty during the present war. In other words, if an officer on the active list is killed, his widow or beneficiary under existing law gets six months' pay. If a retired officer is called into active service and he is killed, his widow would not get anything. This simply provides that he shall have the same benefit that the officer on the active list would have under the same circumstances, and it also applies to enlisted men. It does not change the law at all, except as I have stated.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I reserve the right to object until the letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the Speaker be read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will read the letter.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
Washington, May 2, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The naval appropriation act of August 22, 1912 (37 Stat., 328), reads in part as follows:

"That hereafter immediately upon official notification of the death, from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct, of any officer or enlisted man on the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps the Paymaster General of the Navy shall cause to be paid to the widow, and if no widow, to the children, and if there be no children, to any other dependent relative of such officer or enlisted man previously designated by him, an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate received by such officer or enlisted man at the date of his death, less $75 in the case of an officer and $35 in the case of an enlisted man, to defray expenses of interment, and the residue, if any, of the amount reserved shall be paid subsequently to the designated person."

The act of March 3, 1915 (38 Stat., 938), contains the following proviso:

"That no deduction shall hereafter be made from the six months' gratuity pay allowed under the naval act of August 22, 1912, on account of expenses for preparation and transportation of the remains."

It will be noted that the laws quoted do not cover the cases of retired officers and enlisted men when on active duty. When a retired officer or enlisted man is on active duty, he is subject to orders for the performance of like duties and to exposure to the same hazards as an officer or enlisted man on the active list. The department therefore believes that their beneficiaries should be accorded the same benefits as the beneficiaries of officers and enlisted men on the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps, and it is recommended that appropriate legislation be enacted to allow them these benefits.

There is inclosed herewith a proposed draft of a bill which, if enacted into law, would accomplish the above purpose, and same is commended to your favorable consideration and to that of the committee to which you may deem it proper to refer same with a view to its enactment. A similar provision is contained in the bill (S. 1786) "To amend certain sections of the act entitled 'An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes,' approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes," now pending in the Senate.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I wish to propound to the chairman of the committee a case and inquire whether it would be within the scope of this amended act. Suppose a retired naval officer in active service should collapse, drop dead, while in the performance of his duty; would the widow under the provisions of this act, or the widow of an active naval officer, be entitled to six months' pay?

Mr. PADGETT. I am not prepared to answer definitely whether either one of them would. I am under the impression that if an officer dies while in the line of active duty, regardless of the cause of the death, his widow gets six months' pay.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the six months' pay extend to the enlisted man?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; and it does now.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why is it the purpose to extend the provision of the amendment so as to include enlisted men now on active duty during the continuance of the present war?

Mr. PADGETT. In introducing the bill I added the words "during the continuance of the present war." That was not in the draft as sent down by the Secretary. I do not think there ought to be an indefinite extension. They have the right to call retired officers and assign them to active duty, and those officers get full pay when so assigned. It might be interpreted that if they died after the war from any cause, that would give that six months' insurance or gratuity, so I limited it to the continuance of the war. It places them upon the same basis identically with the men upon the active list.

Mr. STAFFORD. I direct the gentleman's attention to the words "enlisted men." If under existing law the beneficiaries of an enlisted man are entitled to six months' pay, what is the necessity for inserting a provision here?

Mr. PADGETT. Enlisted men retire, and under the law passed three or four years ago all enlisted men who retire after that, receiving retired pay, are subject to be called into active duty, the same as officers. Before that time when an enlisted man retired he was not subject to be called back into active service. When called back into active service he has to perform the same duties as a man upon the active list.

Mr. STAFFORD. And when he is called back he does not reenlist?

Mr. PADGETT. No; he is called back as a retired man.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, this is on the Union Calendar, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be considered in the House and in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the House bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

OFFICERS ON NAVAL COURTS.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6363) to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That when actively serving under the Navy Department in time of war or during the existence of an emergency, pursuant to law, as a part of the naval forces of the United States, commissioned officers of the Naval Reserve Force, Marine Corps Reserve, National Naval Volunteers, Naval Militia, Coast Guard, Lighthouse Service, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service are hereby empowered to serve on naval courts-martial and deck courts under such regulations necessary for the proper administration of justice and in the interests of the services involved, as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy: *Provided,* That so much of the act approved August 29, 1916 (39 Stats., p. 556), as reads as follows is hereby repealed, viz:

"That when serving under the call of the President, officers of said Volunteers may serve on courts-martial for the trial of officers and men of the United States Naval or Naval Militia service, or of said Volunteers, but in the cases of courts-martial convened for the trial of officers or enlisted men of the United States Navy or Marine Corps the majority of the members shall be officers of the Regular Naval service, and officers and enlisted men of the said Volunteers may be tried by courts-martial, the members of which are members of the Regular Naval service or of said Volunteers, or any or all of the same."

Provided further, That so much of the Naval Militia act of February 16, 1914 (38 Stats., p. 283), as reads as follows is hereby repealed:

"That when in the service of the United States officers of the Naval Militia may serve on courts-martial for the trial of officers and men of the Regular or Naval Militia service, but in the cases of courts-martial convened for the trial of officers of the Regular service the majority of the members shall be officers of the Regular service; and officers and men of the Naval Militia may be tried by courts-martial the members of which are officers of the Regular or Naval Militia service, or both."

And provided further, That any act or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 5, after the word "follows," strike out the words "is hereby repealed, viz."

Page 2, line 17, after the words "all of the same," insert the words "is hereby repealed."

Page 2, line 21, strike out, after the word "follows," the words "is hereby repealed."

Page 3, line 5, after the words "or both," insert the words "is hereby repealed."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, as I understand this bill, it seeks to provide for certain officers from various branches of the naval service for the trial by court-martial of certain offending seamen and subordinates.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. And it is pressingly recommended by the Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; and by the Judge Advocate General. I had a personal letter from him, saying that the exigency of the service called for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman have any objection to inserting in the RECORD the letter of the Secretary of the Navy approving of this bill?

Mr. PADGETT. I shall be glad to have that done, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be done.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the letter of the Secretary be inserted in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, August 1, 1917.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am transmitting herewith a proposed draft of a bill, which I desire to commend to your favorable consideration and to that of the committee to which you may deem it proper to refer same.

The purpose of this bill is to render it lawful for officers of the Naval Reserve Force and other kindred auxiliary forces, now serving with the Navy under the Navy Department in conformity with law, to act as members of courts-martial or as deck court officers. Cases arise frequently in which the crews of vessels engaged in patrol service are of the regular Navy, whereas the only officers attached to the vessel are from the Naval Reserve Force or National Naval Volunteers. These officers may not, under existing law, sit as members of a naval court for the trial of members of the regular service unless a majority of the members of the court belong to the latter service. Deck courts can not be held on such men until the vessel on which they are serving falls in with the senior officers present afloat. This involves delay and impedes the normal and proper administration of justice. It would appear that both reason and efficiency require that all officers placed in command afloat, of whatever service, whether regular or reserve, should be afforded equal opportunities for enforcing discipline in their respective commands; and officers of these auxiliary services should be authorized to sit on courts under the same conditions that prevail with regard to regular officers.

At present cases are frequently arising in which, by reason of the present restrictive legislation, the discipline of the various branches of the Naval Establishment is being seriously impaired. I always have in mind regulations that will suitably protect the interests of the several services involved, while at the same time giving the necessary latitude to permit of that prompt administration of justice which is such a strikingly necessary feature to naval efficiency. I therefore hope that this proposed legislation will be considered as urgently and immediately necessary for the welfare of the Navy, and that it may be practicable to have the measure enacted at an early date. It is equally important with those matters which this department recently brought to the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives by special letter.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy.

The committee amendments were severally read, severally considered, and severally agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EFFICIENCY OF THE NAVY.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6362) to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in construing the provisions of sections 12 and 13 of the selective-draft act, approved May 18, 1917, the word "Army" shall extend to and include "Navy"; the word "military" shall include "naval"; "Article of War" shall include "Articles for the Government of the Navy"; the words "camps, station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officers' or enlisted men's club," in section 12, and "camp, station, fort, post, cantonment, training, or mobilization place," in section 13, shall include such places under naval jurisdiction as the President may prescribe, and the powers therein conferred upon the Secretary of War with regard to the military service are hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy with regard to the naval service.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I ask unanimous consent that sections 12 and 13 of the selective-draft act, referred to in the bill and which are contained in the report, may be read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the sections referred to by him may be read. Is there objection?

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I join in the request, and, pending that, I desire to make this statement: The only effect of this bill is to make clear that the provisions of the Army bill apply to the Navy. It does not change existing law at all. It merely puts the Navy and the Army upon identically the same status with respect to the selective-draft act.

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman will permit, the gentleman would hardly think that it did not change existing law. If a law now applying only to the Army is made to apply to the Navy, that would be some change of existing law?

Mr. PADGETT. I am speaking of changing existing law in substance. It just embraces the Navy as well as the Army. The Attorney General delivered an opinion in which he said that under the law the Navy was embraced in it, but there is some doubt about that and it is in order that the two services may be identically alike. This simply puts the Navy under the provisions of the law with reference to the Army.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand from a hurried reading of sections 12 and 13, they are the provisions that sought to throw the protecting arm of the Government over the enlisted men of the Army so that intoxicating liquors would not be sold to them, and also authorized the establishment of a nonvice zone in the neighborhood of Army posts.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, from the explanation that has been made by the gentleman from Tennessee, I withdraw the request to have sections 12 and 13 read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman withdraws his request for the reading of the section. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. ROSE extend his remarks on the subject matter referred to a few moments ago. The gentleman who made the objection has withdrawn it, I understand.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania may have permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject indicated a few moments ago. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

AIR-STATION SITE, UNITED STATES NAVY.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2437.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

To provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized to acquire, by purchase or condemnation, including all easements, riparian and other rights appurtenant thereto, for use for naval purposes, the tract of land situate at Cape May, N. J., lying between Princeton and Kansas Avenues and the water front and Cape May Avenue, comprising, exclusive of Pennsylvania Avenue, which intersects the tract and is to remain a public thoroughfare, approximately 57.73 acres, or such enlarged area for which he may be able to contract within the appropriation, and there is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the acquisition of said property and of all easements, riparian and other rights appurtenant thereto, the sum of $150,000: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Navy shall authorize the payment of no part of this sum, except for perfecting the title and dredging Cold Spring Harbor and the entrance thereto, in order to make it more available for naval purposes: *And provided further,* That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, empowered, in his discretion, to acquire, if possible, additional acreage without increased cost, and to exact guaranties for the maintenance of the electric railway now running through the above-described land; and power is hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy to condemn the land for naval, aviation, and kindred purposes on the New Jersey coast adjacent to Cold Spring Harbor; and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby directed, in conducting his negotiations with the Cape May Real Estate Co., to maintain intact the obligation existing between the United States and the Cape May Real Estate Co., executed by the said company June 25, 1907; and that this contract shall not be regarded as a waiver of either the obligation of the company or the rights of the United States.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 2, line 16, after the word "condemn," insert the words "the said tract of."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I believe this bill should be amended. If the gentleman proposes to move to suspend the rules, it would probably save time——

Mr. PADGETT. Under unanimous consent, the bill will be open for consideration for amendment, and if there are any proper amendments I will be glad to have them.

Mr. MADDEN. Who is supposed to decide what is a proper amendment?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to state what the proposition is——

Mr. PADGETT. The House would decide as to the propriety of amendment.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to have an opportunity to ask the gentleman from Tennessee a question or two.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would ask the gentleman from Tennessee to make a statement. I do not want to delay the passage of the bill, but I believe the bill ought to be amended, and I do not think it can be amended under unanimous consent.

Mr. PADGETT. Under unanimous consent it is open for amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If there is no objection, I will proceed now.

Mr. PADGETT. Just ask unanimous consent.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pending the request of the gentleman from Tennessee for unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill, the gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes upon the bill. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. That will be with the understanding that the right to object is reserved?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this bill proposes to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire, by purchase or condemnation, a tract of land 57.73 acres in extent in the vicinity of Cold Spring Harbor, Cape May, N. J., for the purposes of an aviation station. I believe the location is an entirely proper one and approve of its selection. The price that has been fixed in this bill for the purchase of this 57.73 acres is $150,000, which is nearly $3,000 an acre. It is proposed that this $150,000 shall be used to perfect title to and to dredge Cold Spring Harbor and entrance thereto in order to make it more available for naval purposes. Now, I have no objection to the use of the money provided if the Government gets full title for this land. Nor do I object to the use of this money for dredging purposes. But I understand the bill to mean that the owner of the property gets nothing except indirect benefits that would come from the dredging of Cold Spring Harbor, which would incidentally enhance the value of other property in the neighborhood.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania know that the Secretary of War has already expended $100,000 on this property before he had any authority from anybody to expend it?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The report sets that out.

Mr. PADGETT. That has been expended, as it has been in numbers and numbers of other places, under the general authority of the President in the expenditure of lump-sum appropriations for war purposes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Well, my recollection is that it was proposed in the beginning that the lump sum of $150,000 should be paid without reference to dredging this 57 acres——

Mr. PADGETT. One hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then it was much more than $3,000 an acre.

And now it is proposed to reserve to the Government the use of the money, the owners to get nothing except the incidental benefits to be derived from the dredging of Cold Spring Harbor.

Mr. PADGETT. The $150,000 is to be expended in the dredging and improvement of the harbor so that it can be used for submarines, torpedo-boat destroyers, and hydroplanes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; and I approve of that heartily. But I would like to ask why, having said in the first part of the bill that the Secretary of the Navy "is hereby authorized to acquire, by purchase or condemnation, including all ease-

ments," and all that sort of thing, it is proposed in a proviso that additional land is to be acquired without increased cost; that is to say, without increased cost, which apparently is fixed in this bill at less than $3,000 per acre?

Mr. PADGETT. It is without any additional cost. If you want to change the word "increased" and put it "additional"——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman consent to strike out the words "without increased cost" and insert the words "within the appropriation," as applied to any additional lands to be acquired?

Mr. PADGETT. I would have no objection if you can not make it more clear by other language.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield? What is the proposed amendment?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I propose to amend line 13, page 2, by striking out the words "without increased cost" and inserting "within the appropriation."

I would also ask the gentleman why, general power to condemn having been conferred in the first page, this proviso is inserted on line 15, page 2, "and power is hereby conferred on the Secretary of the Navy to condemn"—I am leaving the committee amendment out now—"to condemn land for naval, aviation, and kindred purposes on the New Jersey coast adjacent to Cold Spring Harbor"? Does that mean a new condemnation, or is it the condemnation mentioned in the first paragraph?

Mr. PADGETT. It means here the condemnation provided in the first paragraph of the bill. You notice the committee reports the amendment limiting the condemnation to the said tract of land, inserting those words. There seemed to the committee to be a general power in the bill as it came from the Senate. The Naval Affairs Committee did not want to confer unlimited power, and for that reason we inserted the amendment limiting the powers of condemnation to the said tract of land authorized to be purchased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I desire to ask the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] a question or two. I do not understand here why, when provision is made in the opening of the bill for the power to condemn easements, riparian and other rights appurtenant thereto, and the land itself, that it then should have been inserted in the bill in a subsequent paragraph "that power is hereby conferred on the Secretary of the Navy to condemn land for naval, aviation, and kindred purposes on the New Jersey coast adjacent thereto," and so forth.

Mr. PADGETT. That is not in a different paragraph. It is in the same paragraph and is just an express authority to exercise the power of condemnation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Let us have it clear, if the gentleman pleases, because I have been informed that a gentleman who owns 400 acres of land in the vicinity of this tract has tendered it to the Government for this purpose, for a nominal consideration, which makes this a rather important transaction of the Government. Is it the purpose of this bill to confine the expenditure to $150,000, and is that $150,000 to cover all that is to be spent for the acquisition of land for this particular purpose?

Mr. PADGETT. That was stated over and over again by Admiral Benson, who appeared before the committee, and it is shown in the hearings, and also by Capt. Irvin, who has charge of aviation work. We asked them specifically if there was contemplated the purchase of any other land, or the acquirement of any other land, or the condemnation of any other land, and they said "No." And in order to make it specific, so that there would be good authority, and that authority would be limited to the acquisition of this land, it says here:

And power is hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy to condemn—

And the committee inserted:

the said tract of.

Which is the only tract that is mentioned in the same paragraph.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman object to striking out the words?—

And power is hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy to condemn the said tract of land for naval, aviation, and kindred purposes on the New Jersey coast adjacent to Cold Spring Harbor.

Mr. PADGETT. I think he ought to have explicit power.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But agrees that whatever additional land is to be acquired it is to be acquired within the appropriation of $150,000?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And the gentleman does not object to the inclusion of the words "within the appropriation" on line 13? I think it had better come in after "without increased cost." If the gentleman will accept that amendment——

Mr. PADGETT. I will join with the gentleman in asking for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask a question about this. Is it the object of this bill to spend this $150,000, if necessary, for dredging Cold Spring Harbor and perfecting the title?

Mr. PADGETT. It is for the dredging? The perfecting of the title is an incidental part of it there. If there is anything to be perfected in making the title good, the Government would see that it was done and paid out of this money. But the purpose of it is to have this $150,000 expended for the benefit of the Government in dredging this harbor, which is a harbor of refuge, and on which the Government has heretofore expended large sums of money, and to make it available for the use of submarines, torpedo-boat destroyers, and hydroplanes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Well, am I right in supposing that under the language of this bill no part of this $150,000 can be expended for the acquisition of new land?

Mr. PADGETT. You are right, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Now, the right of condemnation presupposes payment of compensation, does it not?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes. But under this bill the condemnation will be paid, and the parties have given an option or made a contract in which they state that this money will be expended for that purpose, and unless it is expended in that way it can not be expended at all.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. The question in my mind is, If the power of condemnation is given some one, will you not necessarily have to pay something for the land condemned? In other words, the starting of the condemnation proceedings presupposes that they are going to pay for it.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; and you have to under the Constitution. But the parties owning the land have made a contract with the Government, stipulating that among themselves——

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. And there is a stipulation that you are cognizant of that will cover that proposition?

Mr. PADGETT. Exactly so.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to state for the benefit of the two gentlemen who have spoken that there is no doubt about the title to this land at all. This land was sold at receiver's sale, and when the title came from the receiver of the State of New Jersey the title was perfectly good.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, as I take it from the chairman of the committee, this is really a harbor-improvement proposition, so far as the $150,000 appropriation is concerned?

Mr. PADGETT. This $150,000, which is the purchase price of the land under stipulation, is to be expended for the benefit of the Government in the improvement of this harbor. The Government is getting the benefit of that $150,000 in the improvement of one of the important harbors upon the coast.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Cold Spring Harbor project is not new to this House.

Mr. PADGETT. No. We have spent a good deal of money up there under the administration of Mr. Burton, when he was chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Mr. STAFFORD. When Mr. Burton was chairman the item was first brought up in this House, and it involved a serious controversy. At that time a great number questioned whether the appropriation was anything more than a land-project scheme, rather than a harbor scheme. I recall distinctly the acrimonious debate that was participated in when that appropriation was under consideration.

I wish to inquire what agreement has been entered into between the Secretary of the Navy and this real estate company toward the improvement or development of this site?

Mr. PADGETT. There is no agreement, except the stipulation, as I understand it, that this $150,000 is to be used in the dredging of the harbor. The harbor has 30 feet and above, except that there are certain spots that are shallow, and this is to dredge out these shallow spots, so that the whole harbor will have the 30 feet or more—have a minimum of 30 feet.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has there been any estimate as to the total appropriations that will be needed for dredging these spots so as to have the available depth for naval purposes?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. You see, if the Government purchases this property the money is the property of the vendors

of the property, and they are allowing their money to be expended for the benefit of the Government, and this act provides that all of it shall be expended in dredging and improvement of the harbor, so that the Government gets the whole $150,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Well, as I understood the gentleman, there has been no estimate made as to the total appropriation that will be needed to put this land in condition for naval purposes?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes. There was one made, about $203,000, for the improvement of the land for naval purposes. This $150,000 is for the dredging of the harbor, and that would be the other man's money; but the Government has already expended something like $100,000 in putting up war improvements on the land which they have under lease, with the right to take them off. They are going to spend about $203,000, as is estimated. Now, then, the question is between the purchasing of the land and owning it, where we say we must have it, and it is intended not only for war purposes but, after the war, for peace purposes, and owning the land and saving our $203,000, or, when the war is over, taking off our $203,000 worth of improvements that would be thrown into the heap.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand the War Department has expended the $203,000, or the Navy Department?

Mr. PADGETT. The Navy Department has expended about $100,000, and is going to spend about $100,000 more.

Mr. STAFFORD. What has that money that has been expended up to this time been used for?

Mr. PADGETT. For hangars and barracks and other improvements; provisions for taking care of the men and handling the airplanes and minor repairs of airplanes in use at the station; things along that line.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, the consideration of this bill brings up the question as to the policy of the Navy Department in renting land or owning land for these respective aviation sites. I wish to inquire of the gentleman what is its policy, if he is not disclosing any secrets that should not be given to the public?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. Some of the places the Government has leased and others of them it is trying to purchase. This is one of them that is regarded as of such prime importance that the Army board and the Navy board, acting together, inspected the circumstances of the case and recommended very strongly the acquisition of a site for the protection of Delaware Bay at the mouth of Delaware River, and this is the site that has been selected under that recommendation of the Army board and the Navy board acting jointly. Admiral Benson stated before the committee, as you will find in the printed hearings, that not only for the purposes of the war, but after the war, it is one of the sites that the Government must have on account of its geographical position and its proximity to insure the protection of Delaware Bay and the Delaware River. It is about 10 or 12 miles, I think, from that location, and it is needed for a submarine harbor, a harbor for torpedo-boat destroyers, and a safe place for our airplanes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I notice in the report submitted with this bill that there is no letter of the Secretary of the Navy approving it, although the report refers to its approval at a hearing by Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, and Admiral Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; the Secretary does approve it very strongly and recommends it very urgently. I do not remember whether I have his letter or not. However, I saw the Secretary personally. I invited him to come before the committee when we had the hearing, but he was out of the city and could not come, and sent Admiral Benson, Admiral Taylor, and Capt. Irvin, who appeared before the committee with reference to the matter and submitted all of the facts.

Mr. FESS. I would like to ask the chairman how near the famous million-dollar hotel there at Cape May this land is located?

Mr. BROWNING. Adjoining it.

Mr. FESS. It does not include that property?

Mr. BROWNING. No; it adjoins it, on what we used to call Sewells Point.

Mr. STAFFORD. I should like to have a positive statement, if gentlemen can give it, as to the amount of money that will be required to place this harbor in condition for naval purposes.

Mr. PADGETT. There is an itemized statement in the report, and I think it is $203,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, that has nothing to do with the harbor at all. That is merely for the improvement of the land.

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know a thing in the world about the improvement of the harbor. I do not know whether the Committee on Rivers and Harbors are going to report a dollar. However, this $150,000 will put it in condition for better use than it is now. It can be used now.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does not the gentleman think that the House is entitled to some positive information as to the total cost that will be required to put this harbor in condition before we launch permanently on this scheme?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know anything about the work of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Mr. STAFFORD. You are providing in this bill for the improvement of the harbor.

Mr. PADGETT. No; I am not. I am simply asking that these men shall be permitted to use their private money.

Mr. STAFFORD. To a certain amount, and burden the Government to the extent of $150,000, and if we launch upon this scheme it may involve us in an appropriation of $1,000,000 or $2,000,000 for aught we know.

Mr. BROWNING. I should like to say for the benefit of the gentleman that the harbor is in good condition now. There are some shoals in the harbor. At the present time there are some submarines in the harbor. This $150,000 is merely for the purpose of dredging the harbor so that they will have a little deeper water where these shoals are.

Mr. STAFFORD. How much money will be required, I will ask of the gentleman who formerly represented this district and who may represent it now?

Mr. BROWNING. No; it is not in my district.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BACHARACH] represents it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The late Mr. Loudenslager represented it at the time this appropriation was originally procured for the improvement of Cold Spring Harbor.

Mr. BROWNING. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I should like to know as to the amount of appropriation that will be required to put this harbor in condition for naval purposes.

Mr. BROWNING. The harbor is already in condition, excepting a few shoals, and this $150,000 will dredge it out and leave it in absolutely good condition. I do not know what will come in there afterwards. The submarines are already in the harbor.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, yes; I do not question that they are there, but I should like to have some definite statement from some Member as to how much money will be required to put this harbor in condition when we once undertake to use this property as a permanent naval base.

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know that anyone knows.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The report indicates that $203,000 has already been spent.

Mr. STAFFORD. It does not say that amount has already been spent. That is for the future.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then that answers the gentleman's question.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; I am seeking for information which the gentleman from Pennsylvania ought to be able to give to the House, because he is a river and harbor expert, particularly on the Delaware River and Delaware Bay, as to how much will be required for the improvement of this naval base at Cold Spring Harbor.

Mr. PADGETT. There is no way in the world of answering the gentleman's question, because there is no project now submitted, and we do not know whether in the future they would want 30 feet of water, or 35 feet, or 40 feet, for the accommodation of ships of a greater or less depth.

Mr. MONDELL. What depth of water do they now have?

Mr. PADGETT. They have 30 feet and above in all of the harbor except a few points that jut up, and this $150,000 is to be used in dredging out those jutting points.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I see here the gentleman who represents this district [Mr. BACHARACH], who has been listening very attentively, and perhaps he may be able to furnish the information which I have been seeking for the last few minutes.

Mr. BACHARACH. What is it the gentleman from Wisconson wishes to know about?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is all in the report. Apparently the gentleman from Wisconsin has not read it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman certainly has not read the report. Otherwise he would not make that flippant remark, which I will not take from the gentleman.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; the gentleman will take it from me, because I love him so much.

Mr. STAFFORD. I love the gentleman personally.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts demands the regular order.

Mr. STAFFORD. If I can not get the information I desire, I will object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is, Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT]?

Mr. STAFFORD. I desire to get certain information.

Mr. ROBBINS. I will object unless I can get some information.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. But the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] demands the regular order, and the regular order is, Is there objection?

Mr. ROBBINS. Then I object, if I can not get the information.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill S. 2437.

Mr. ROBBINS. I withdraw my objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will object unless I can get the information I desire.

Mr. PADGETT. There is no way of getting the information the gentleman desires.

Mr. STAFFORD. I want to inquire about another matter.

Mr. PADGETT. Go ahead, then.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is demanded.

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman will withdraw the demand for the regular order for a moment, I am sure.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is for the gentleman to say. The regular order is demanded. The regular order is——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I will temporarily withdraw my demand for the regular order, but I shall renew it if we are going into river and harbor and other matters which have no relation to the bill.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, I will state that the first time this bill was before the committee an appropriation of $175,000 was considered. It was then thought necessary to dredge the harbor and expend some additional money on a bulkhead. Since then the department has agreed that $150,000 would make it of sufficient depth to allow submarines and torpedo-boat destroyers to get into the harbor. The amount of money to be spent would depend entirely on the depth that they propose to make it. I will say for the benefit of the Members of the House that there is plenty of water inside the harbor; the difficulty is, as the chairman of the committee has stated, that there are a few bar sections that require some dredging. In the last river and harbor bill was an appropriation to make the channel 20 feet in depth, and I think about $15,000 was thought necessary for the inlet of Cold Spring Harbor itself, the whole appropriation being $45,000 for that and Absecom Inlet, of which $15,000 was estimated as being sufficient for the Cold Spring Inlet.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, there is another inquiry I wish to make. The phraseology found on page 2, lines 15 to 18:

> And power is hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy to condemn land for naval aviation and kindred purposes on the New Jersey coast adjacent to Cold Spring Harbor.

There is no limit whatever as to the extent of the land which the Secretary of the Navy may condemn for this purpose.

Mr. PADGETT. The committee reported an amendment which the gentleman will see in italics, on page 2, line 16, where the words "the said tract of" is inserted. So the power of condemnation is limited absolutely to the condemnation of the tract of land mentioned in this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. And that is 57 acres.

Mr. PADGETT. Fifty-seven acres and such as may be necessary in addition to it.

Two years ago we had a bill authorizing the acquiring of 88 acres of land, and when it was measured out it was found to consist of 102 acres. We had to come in and get an amendment to the bill authorizing the acquiring of that tract of land because it embraced more than 88 acres. This is simply to allow them to acquire the 57 acres and seventy-three one-hundredths, and such additional land without additional cost. The gentleman from Pennsylvania wanted to know if there was any objection to adding the words "within the appropriation," and I said to him that I would favor it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. "Within the appropriation herein authorized."

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I direct the gentleman's attention that the language which he seeks to amend does not limit the authority of the Secretary as to the extent of the land that he may condemn. I think there ought to be some limit as to extent of the power of the Secretary of the Navy as to the amount of land he may condemn.

Mr. PADGETT. Does it not make it as plain as the gentleman wants when it says it is limited to the said tract of land?

Mr. STAFFORD. Where is the amendment that the gentleman states? I have a copy of the bill as reported.

Mr. PADGETT. The committee has reported an amendment which will be found on page 2, line 16.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Wisconsin has the wrong print of the bill.

Mr. ROBBINS. I would like to ask the gentleman what is the contract referred to in lines 23 and 24 as executed by the Cape May Real Estate Co., June 25, 1907?

Mr. PADGETT. That is a contract with reference to a line of railway that runs through there and is to be maintained.

Mr. ROBBINS. The company went into a receivership, as I understood.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I want to further call the attention to the contradiction in the legislation. The bill authorizes the Secretary to condemn a certain tract of land, assumed to be 57 acres and a little over, near Cold Spring Harbor, although that is not very clear. The bill also appropriates $150,000 for the acquisition of said property. It also provides that no part of this $150,000 shall be spent except to perfect the title, which the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BROWNING] says is perfect, and for the dredging of Cold Spring Harbor. So that if this very important provision of the bill—it occurs twice—is utilized, if the Government should condemn this property referred to in the bill, no part of the appropriation could be used.

Mr. PADGETT. That is correct under condemnation.

Mr. MONDELL. Is it true that the double provision for condemnation is to be used as a club over the Cape May Real Estate Co. to compel them to stand by an agreement which has been entered into?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know as I should put it in that way but I can not say that the gentleman is very far afield.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was again reported.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 13, after the word "cost," insert the words "and within the appropriation herein authorized."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to ask if there is any disposition to make this more than an aviation station.

Mr. PADGETT. And in connection with it a harbor for submarines, torpedo boats, and small craft that may be operating up there. It is largely a place of refuge for them.

Mr. FOSS. All the land that the department contemplates purchasing is this 57 acres?

Mr. PADGETT. Fifty-seven acres, and it might measure a little more.

Mr. FOSS. There is no disposition to purchase a larger tract?

Mr. PADGETT. No; Admiral Benson and Capt. Irwin stated time and again in the hearings that this was all that they expected or contemplated purchasing.

Mr. FOSS. I notice in the report that there has been an Army and Navy board which made an inspection along the coast for other aviation fields. Is that true?

Mr. PADGETT. They took in the whole coast, and this one they recommended especially. It is the one that the department has asked for immediately.

Mr. FOSS. And they have in contemplation aviation stations at other points.

Mr. PADGETT. I should say so, yes; but they have not been submitted, and I could not give the gentleman any detailed information.

Mr. FOSS. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that I believe this an excellent site for an aviation station; but I do not want to see navy yards or naval stations, in a general sense, built up on the Atlantic coast any more than we have at present.

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman is no more averse to that than I.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last two words. I would like to ask the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] to what contract he refers when he calls attention to the necessity of the Secretary of the Navy maintaining the contract existing between the Government and the real

estate company at Cape May, made in 1907. Is that the contract under which the Government of the United States appropriated $1,000,000 for the improvement of Cape May, to create a lot of city lots, on which a great many people who like to attend summer resorts built their homes and furnished facilities for the railroad company and its terminals, and all that?

Mr. PADGETT. I am not familiar with the details of the legislation or with the contract in 1907. That was under the administration of Mr. Burton, when he was chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and was entered into by the Government under authority granted. What the details are I do not know.

Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me that in presenting a bill some one on the floor of the House ought to know what the contract is that we are legislating about.

Mr. PADGETT. This simply provides that the contract shall remain intact, and not be abrogated or changed, so that it was unnecessary to go into the details of it.

Mr. MADDEN. Who knows what it is?

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman can get the information from the department.

Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me, now, there are Members on the floor of the House who were not here in 1907, who are entitled to know what the contract is, and when the gentleman comes here with a bill proposing to ratify a contract made in 1907——

Mr. PADGETT. We do not ratify it. This simply says that it will not be changed, and leaves it in statu quo.

Mr. MADDEN. Even so, it ought to be explained to the Members of the House who do not understand about it.

Mr. PADGETT. I confess to the gentleman frankly that I can not give him the details of it, because I did not think it important to go into it, when it was to be left unchanged and in statu quo.

Mr. MADDEN. We are asked to legislate about something that the chairman himself does not know anything about.

Mr. PADGETT. I do not think we are asked to legislate about that. You are asked to legislate about this land. The other is an incidental statement that a contract existing between the Government and that company is not in any way altered, modified, or affected.

Mr. MADDEN. Then there ought not to be anything in the bill about it, if it does not make any difference.

Mr. PADGETT. I think I can safely say that we leave it as it is.

Mr. MADDEN. There is one thing I do know about, and that is that we appropriated $1,000,000 to create a lot of city lots down there that were advertised at the time the money was appropriated and afterwards expended, and whether the United States Government is going to get any advantage——

Mr. PADGETT. And the Cape May company at the same time under that contract agreed to expend a certain amount of money in addition to and in cooperation with the Government expenditure.

Mr. MADDEN. The question is, Have they expended that money?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois has the floor.

Mr. BROWNING. They have expended that amount of money and a great deal more. They have the largest dredge that was ever built in the United States.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Is not this the fact, that while not legislating about that contract, there is simply a reservation that it shall remain in statu quo?

Mr. MADDEN. Why should we have anything in the bill about something that is already settled? Nobody seems to know why it is in the bill or what it pertains to, and it seems to me it is asking a good deal of the Congress to vote on a question about which even the chairman of the committee who presents the bill says he does not know anything.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. I want to know whether we confine the aviation activities in the Navy wholly to hydroaeroplanes?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; the Navy uses only hydroaeroplanes; it does not use land planes.

Mr. FESS. Will this be one of the training stations?

Mr. PADGETT. I would not say it would be a regular training station. It will be one of the smaller stations, largely used as an operating base.

Mr. FESS. A hydroaeroplane station would not take any great amount of territory.

Mr. PADGETT. No. They have their hangars alongside the water, where they have their inclined planes running into the water, and off them they get into the water.

Mr. FESS. My first impression was that the 57 acres would not be a very large station, since the average aviation field contains 2,500 acres.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; that is for Army planes—land planes.

Mr. FESS. For hydroplanes, of course.

Mr. PADGETT. For hydroplanes. The hydroplane has its field out on the water.

Mr. FESS. Well, I have been on this coast, and I think it is one of the most beautiful locations for a station of this sort on the Atlantic coast.

Mr. PADGETT. It is one of the most desirable also. Mr. Speaker, I will ask for a vote.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

STATUS OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS IN FOREIGN MILITARY SERVICES.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2623.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2623) defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the bill be read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That no person who while a citizen of the United States and during the existing war in Europe entered the military or naval service of any country at war with a country with which the United States is now at war shall be deemed to have lost his citizenship by reason of any oath or obligation taken by him for the purpose of entering such service.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That any person formerly an American citizen who may be deemed to have expatriated himself under the provisions of the first paragraph of section 2 of the act approved March 2, 1907, entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," by taking, since August 1, 1914, an oath of allegiance to any foreign State engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war and who took such oath in order to be enabled to enlist in the armed forces of such foreign State and who actually enlisted in such armed forces and who has been or may be duly and honorably discharged from such armed forces, may upon complying with the provisions of this act reassume and acquire the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States: *Provided, however,* That no obligation in the way of pensions or other grants because of service in the army or navy of any other country, or disabilities incident thereto, shall accrue to the United States.

Any such person who desires so to reacquire and reassume the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States shall, if abroad, present himself before a consular officer of the United States, or, if in the United States, before any court authorized by law to confer American citizenship upon aliens, shall offer satisfactory evidence that he comes within the terms of this act and shall take an oath declaring his allegiance to the United States and agreeing to support the Constitution thereof and abjuring and disclaiming allegiance to such foreign State and to every foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty. The consular officer or court officer having jurisdiction shall thereupon issue in triplicate a certificate of American citizenship, giving one copy to the applicant, retaining one copy for his files, and forwarding one copy to the Secretary of Labor. Thereafter such person shall in all respects be deemed to have acquired the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Labor shall jointly issue regulations for the proper administration of this act.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I do not intend to object, because I am in hearty sympathy with the purpose of the bill—I take it that the purpose of the bill is to grant repatriation to the American boys who enlisted in the allied armies, large numbers of whom went across the border and enlisted in the American Legion and other companies of Canadian battalions.

Mr. GORDON. That is correct.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish just simply to make the inquiry as to the purpose of the last paragraph where this repatriation is authorized of those domiciled abroad.

Mr. GORDON. The last paragraph of the amendment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; I assume the House will adopt the amendment.

Mr. GORDON. Well, the purpose, of course, is to accomplish the purpose sought. The real truth is the bill as passed by the Senate is wholly ineffective to accomplish the purpose.

Mr. STAFFORD. I quite agree with the gentleman, and I am directing this inquiry as to why it is desirable to have this power vested in American officials living outside the country. I thought these American boys would apply for repatriation when they return to this country.

Mr. GORDON. They might want to join our forces over there, and they can not do it until they are made American citizens.

Mr. STAFFORD. I had that surmise and thought that might be the purpose. Also that it might be for their readmission to this country to avoid the requirements of the immigration law.

Mr. GORDON. Unquestionably that is also one of the purposes.

Mr. FESS. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Has my colleague any information as to the number of American citizens who have taken service abroad?

Mr. GORDON. I will say to the gentleman there is no definite information upon that subject. I think the estimate is 15,000 or 20,000, although I have heard it estimated higher; but there is no reliable data as to the exact number.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have seen it stated before we entered the war that there were at least 50,000 Americans who had entered the foreign service.

Mr. GORDON. That statement has been made, but Capt. Benson, of the British service, was before our committee at the hearing on the draft law, and he was interrogated upon that subject. He was asked if there were as many as 50,000, and he said there were not; that his best judgment was that there were between 15,000 and 20,000 American citizens in the British armies.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. And it is discretionary with the former American citizen as to whether he avails himself of this act?

Mr. GORDON. Oh, absolutely. You can not make a man a citizen without his consent, as the Senate bill seeks to do.

Mr. CANNON. Of course, if he does avail himself of this act, he would forfeit the pension that is granted by Canada, for instance, or any other country?

Mr. GORDON. That would depend upon the terms of the act granting the pension. I am not so sure. If they confine their pensions wholly to British subjects he would forfeit it, but our laws do not confine pensions to citizens of the United States.

Mr. CANNON. Anyway, it is up to him?

Mr. GORDON. Exactly; he has the option.

Mr. IGOE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GORDON. I will.

Mr. IGOE. Does this take care of only those who have enlisted in these foreign armies prior to the passage of this act, or, also, does it take care of those who may subsequently join these foreign armies for some reason or other?

Mr. GORDON. Well, it is intended to take care of those who have already joined, because they are the only ones interested.

Mr. IGOE. There are a great many young men who joined, for instance, the flying corps of Canada, they having been rejected here for some reason. I was just wondering if the bill was that broad.

Mr. GORDON. Undoubtedly it would include those.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. There is another provision of the immigration laws to the effect that a man can not lose his American citizenship while the United States is at war. So that, I think, would probably dispose of what was in the gentleman's mind.

Mr. RAKER. I would like to ask the gentleman having charge of the bill whether or not this matter was submitted to the Department of Labor?

Mr. GORDON. It was submitted to the Department of State, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. RAKER. It is purely a matter in the jurisdiction of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Mr. GORDON. Well, no; not quite. It is perhaps a matter that would come within the purview of that committee ordinarily, but this is a question purely for the State Department—a question of citizenship. Now, the Senate bill simply provides that although a man may have forsworn his allegiance to the United States and become a foreign subject, he shall not be deemed to have done so. We concluded, and the State Department so advised, that if a man had renounced his allegiance he had renounced it, and the only way he could become a citizen again would be by complying with the provisions of the statutes for naturalization of foreigners; hence the reason for this bill.

Mr. RAKER. You have no report from the Secretary of State that you have printed?

Mr. GORDON. We have a report——

Mr. RAKER. Have you a letter from the Secretary of State to this committee that has been printed or can be presented to the House?

Mr. GORDON. No; I do not know that we have.

Mr. RAKER. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that all the departments, if I recollect correctly, reported adversely on this legislation. The Committee on Immigration had this matter under investigation for some three or four weeks, and had hearings, and had a report from the Department of Labor, and they seemed to be all adverse, as my recollection is. It is purely a matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, because it relates to the naturalization of the man who has expatriated himself by his own act. Now, the gentleman does not intend to tell the House that this man can not become a citizen by his own act under the law as it now stands, does he?

Mr. GORDON. No. I do not claim that. What I intended to say was that under the Senate bill it undertook to make him a citizen without his own act. What we seek to do by this legislation is to facilitate his repatriation.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask the gentleman, does he know of any cases that are concrete—that have applied for repatriation or naturalization?

Mr. GORDON. Do I know of any?

Mr. RAKER. Any cases; yes.

Mr. GORDON. Oh, a great many.

Mr. RAKER. From what department did they come? Now, I want to tell the gentleman that this matter has had a good deal of investigation by the committee——

Mr. GORDON. We have investigated it, too. We are entirely satisfied with this bill. This is a unanimous report; and I think we know as much about it as your committee does.

Mr. RAKER. That does not spell anything here; it does not bring any results. Let us get down to the facts.

Mr. GORDON. All right.

Mr. RAKER. Does the gentleman know to what nationalities this will apply?

Mr. GORDON. It will apply to all nationalities who come within the terms of the bill.

Mr. RAKER. What ones are they?

Mr. GORDON. British subjects is one. There may be others. There is no reason why a man who joins the French forces or the Italian forces, for example, should be discriminated against. This applies to all of them.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask the gentleman this question——

Mr. GORDON. Of course, he must come within the terms of the act. He must have been a citizen of the United States, and must have been required to renounce his allegiance in order to get into the military forces of the allied nation.

Mr. RAKER. Just what would a man do if he were an American citizen who joined the English Army?

Mr. GORDON. He would have to comply with our naturalization law, like any other foreigner.

Mr. RAKER. You do not quite understand me. He joined the English Army; what did he do?

Mr. GORDON. He had to take an oath of allegiance to the King and renounce his American citizenship.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask the gentleman this question: Did this man take the oath of allegiance to the English King when we were neutral and at peace with all the world?

Mr. GORDON. I suppose he did. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. He could not get in the army without.

Mr. GORDON. An American citizen has a perfect right to abandon his own country and become a citizen of another country.

Mr. RAKER. You think it right and proper, when the President of the United States sent out a message that we should be neutral; that this man, notwithstanding that, renounced his allegiance to his own country, forswore his right to be a citizen, and went to a foreign country to fight?

Mr. GORDON. Certainly. That was right. He renounced his allegiance so that he would not violate our neutrality. Just as soon as he became a British subject he was no longer under any obligations to the United States. [Applause.] Certainly that is a very proper thing to do. If I were going to fight in a foreign army, that is exactly what I would do.

Mr. RAKER. What you would do would not affect the bill.

Mr. GORDON. You asked me my opinion about it, and I was trying to give it to you.

Mr. RAKER. The gentleman is doing it nicely and in a very clear way. I appreciate it very much. [Laughter.] Was there any law that this man would violate by thus leaving——

Mr. GORDON. Oh, no. There was a statute passed in 1907 by Congress defining the duties of an American citizen, and this statute is referred to in the committee's report on this bill in the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. RAKER. What was the offense?

Mr. GORDON. It was an act defining the duties of citizens of the United States. There is no law that prevents a man from abandoning his country and becoming a citizen of another country.

Mr. RAKER. If that is the case, when we were neutral, when it became absolutely necessary to remain neutral to keep this country out of trouble with other countries that were belligerent, will you state now to the House the necessity why this act should be passed immediately to repatriate these men?

Mr. GORDON. It is to be passed simply for the purpose of affording them an opportunity expeditiously to become American citizens. Many of them want to join our Army in this war, and they can not do it in Europe. They want to fight for the United States. The United States was not at war when they expatriated themselves, and the United States had no special reason then for their services.

Mr. RAKER. Have they withdrawn from the English Army?

Mr. GORDON. No. They will obtain their discharge from the English Army. They will have to do that, because if they take the oath of allegiance to the United States their English allegiance will be abandoned. The English are allies of the United States in this war.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, no; they are fighting——

Mr. GORDON. The gentleman must suppose that they are.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, we are all interested in this colloquy. Let the gentleman from California speak up.

Mr. WALSH. The regular order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. MADDEN. You can not object when the regular order is demanded.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I can.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I move you that the rules be suspended and that the bill S. 2623 be passed with an amendment as reported.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio moves to suspend the rules and pass Senate bill 2623 as amended. Is a second demanded?

Mr. STAFFORD and Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania demanded a second.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the question is, the gentleman from Ohio is entitled to 20 minutes and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] to 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. No one seemed to want to debate, and the Chair is not cultivating oratory here. [Laughter and applause.] If anybody wants time, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] has 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] has 20 minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think the Chair is not cultivating any unfairness to Members of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 20 minutes if he wants it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The practice is for the Chair to state——

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows what the practice is as well as the gentleman does. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. GORDON. If I do not use the floor now, can I take any of that 20 minutes later?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can reserve his time.

Mr. GORDON. Then I reserve it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I like to see bills passed in legislative form, and it seems to me proper, when a suggestion is made to amend a bill time should be allowed to consider it. On page 2, lines 13 to 16, there is a proviso that might be subject to change if the House should see fit to accept it. It might be accepted under a unanimous-consent arrangement; but as it was not accepted, I bring it up in this way, so that the House may have the advantage of the suggestion for what it is worth.

The proviso referred to is:

Provided, however, That no obligation in the way of pensions or other grants because of the service in the army or navy of any other country, or disabilities incident thereto, shall accrue to the United States.

That is not good legislative language.

Mr. GORDON. What is your objection to it?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. My objection to it is that the phrase "in the way of pensions" is not very elegant language in a bill of this kind.

Mr. GORDON. Is that your only objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And the word "accrue" means accretion. It means "an addition to." I question whether "accrue" is the proper word there.

Mr. GORDON. What would you use? Would you use the word "result"?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would suggest the words "devolve upon."

Mr. GORDON. I do not know but that that would be all right.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. "Or incurred by the United States." That is not sarcasm, I will say to the gentleman, but it is one of the things that arise in the course of a discussion of this kind to which the attention of the House should be called.

Mr. GORDON. Do I understand you to say that this bill is not open to amendment?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No.

Mr. GORDON. Certainly it is.

The SPEAKER. You can not amend a bill under suspension of the rules.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I could not get the right to amend without unanimous consent; but I will make a request now, Mr. Speaker, that the words "by way of" be stricken out and the words "with respect to" inserted, and that the words "to accrue" shall be stricken out and that the words "shall not be imposed upon the United States" be inserted in lieu thereof.

Mr. GORDON. I think they all mean the same thing. The new language may be a little more elegant, but I do not think your suggestion would change it. I do not believe it is material.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania can ask unanimous consent to modify it. That is the only way it can be done.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that those substitutions may be made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will please repeat them, so that the Clerk can get them.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I suggest that the words "in the way of" be stricken out in line 14, page 2, and that the words "in respect to" be inserted; that the words "accrue to," in line 16, page 2, be stricken out and that in lieu thereof there be inserted the words "incurred by."

Mr. GORDON. "Devolves upon" would be better. Of course, the United States does not incur an obligation for a pension.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent for the modification of this bill in the respect which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Page 2, line 14, strike out the words "in the way of" and insert in lieu thereof the words "with respect to"; and in line 16, page 2, strike out the words "accrue to" and insert in lieu thereof the words "devolve upon."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GORDON. I have no objection.

Mr. WINGO. Reserving the right to object, as I gather, the gentleman proposes a change of meaning of the bill with respect to pensions.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. You do not want to assume any pension obligations of any foreign country, as I understand it. The word "accrue" might mean that you wanted to add to——

Mr. GORDON. It might, but it does not.

Mr. WINGO. In line 14, page 3, you propose to strike out the words "in the way of" and to substitute "with respect to."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. The way the language reads now it is—

No obligation in the way of pensions.

You propose to make it read—

No obligation with respect to pensions.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. There is a clear distinction in law between the two expressions. The words used by the committee express

exactly what they propose to do. Your expression is a restrictive term. The committee expression is much broader. For that reason I object.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Very well, Mr. Speaker; if the committee does not care to accept the amendment, the objection settles it.

Mr. GORDON. We can not accept it as long as there is objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. I objected, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas objects.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How much time have I left?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 15 minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This is a very important bill, which ought to be discussed if anyone wants to discuss it, and I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON].

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of this bill, and I want to give the House, and particularly the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER], who was speaking a moment ago, a concrete instance that will show the importance of passing this bill. I refer to the case of Lieut. Lester Elliott, a young man, just 27 years old, who formerly lived in my own district in Illinois, and who before the war went down to Australia on a matter of business and was living at Sydney, Australia, when the war broke out in Europe. He wanted to get into the war on the side of the allies, and so he enlisted in the Australian Army and was sent to the Dardanelles and was in the first landing forces at the Dardanelles when every commissioned officer in the landing party was killed. He landed, although twice wounded. He served during the campaign in the Dardanelles and was afterwards sent back to Australia on account of disability. He then returned to France and served 10 months in the trenches, fighting with the Australian forces. Of course, he had to take the oath of allegiance in Australia, and by so doing he, in a sense, expatriated himself as a citizen of this country. He served 10 months in the trenches in France, received a lieutenant's commission, and became an expert in bombing. He was a leader of a bombing squad at the battle of the Somme, made a good record, and was finally invalided back to Australia on account of what they call "trench" feet. His feet were swollen from standing in the mud and dampness so long. He became disabled in that way and had to go back, but he subsequently recovered and spent some time in Australia training recruits and getting them ready for service in the war. I mention these facts to show that he is a very competent man; he proved his ability to fight and to train others to fight, and became an expert in scout work, in bombing in the trenches, and in other present-day methods of trench warfare.

When the United States entered the war Lieut. Elliott naturally wanted to come home and join the United States forces; so at his own request he was discharged from the Australian Army and came all the way from Sydney, Australia, to Washington at his own expense for the purpose of going into the American Army as a commissioned officer and helping to drill or train our new army, and with the hope of going back to France and fighting there again with the soldiers of his own country. After he came here it was held that he could not get a commission in the National Guard because of his having taken the oath of allegiance to Australia. It was also held that he could not get a commission in the Regular Army for the same reason. The Judge Advocate General gave an opinion the he was disqualified from holding a commission either in the National Guard or in the Regular Army, although he has been offered a commission in the National Guard of at least two States.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENISON. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Is there any law which would prevent the enlistment of such a man after he made his first application for citizenship?

Mr. DENISON. He can enlist but can not become a commissioned officer.

Mr. MONDELL. Had he not been discharged from service in the Australian Army?

Mr. DENISON. Yes; but he wanted a commission in our Army.

Mr. MONDELL. He could have entered our service as an enlisted man.

Mr. DENISON. Yes; but having served for three years in the war in Europe, having become a commissioned officer in the Australian Army, and having become an expert along certain lines of trench warfare, he thought he was competent to receive a commission in our own Army and to help drill our troops for service in France, where he wants to go as soon as possible with the soldiers of his own country.

Mr. RAKER. As soon as he landed he could have declared his intention to become an American citizen, and 10 minutes afterwards he could have entered either the Army or Navy.

Mr. DENISON. Not as a commissioned officer.

Mr. RAKER. I am not saying he could as a commissioned officer. That is not what I am talking about.

Mr. DENISON. I am.

Mr. RAKER. He could have entered the Army 10 minutes after he declared his intention to become an American citizen.

Mr. DENISON. He could have entered the Army as a private, of course. But, Mr. Speaker, I think that loyal Americans, who, like Lieut. Elliott, have proven what is in them, who have been on the firing line, and who are trained in actual warfare are entitled to a commission. We are to-day taking men from civil life, who have never had a gun in their hands, and giving them commissions after three months' training in the training camps. Why should we not have the benefit of the services of men who have had three years' training in actual war? Lieut. Elliott was examined by officers of our War College, and found well qualified for a commission. His application was indorsed by several Members of the Senate and of this House, as well as by military men with whom he had talked and who had become convinced of his loyalty and the valuable service he could render in helping to train our new army.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, how much time is there remaining?

The SPEAKER. Ten minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield three minutes more to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DENISON. Now, I was going to say the Judge Advocate General held that the only way he could get a commission to serve in our Army was to have the commission given him in the new National Army by the Secretary of War. The Secretary of War, through The Adjutant General, insisted upon his furnishing a statement or recommendation from his superior officers in the Australian Army, which it would require several months to obtain. So this is a case where if it was not for his expatriation he could be given a commission in the National Guard of Illnois or some other State, or could have entered the service as a commissioned officer in the Regular Army. I think this bill ought to pass so that men such as Lieut. Elliott—patriotic, brave, competent men who have served in foreign armies and who want to serve in our Army—can obtain a commission to help train our troops for the service upon which they are to enter on the other side. Mr. Speaker, I confess my admiration for those Americans who felt the call to espouse the cause of our allies so strongly that they were willing to enter the military service of the countries that were fighting Germany before our own country was drawn into the struggle. I admire even more those who, when we entered the war, came home to serve their own country. Lieut. Elliott traveled all the way from Australia to join the forces of his own country. He was deeply disappointed to find that by a technicality he was disqualified for a commission. I am sure there are many other cases similar to his, and I hope this bill may become a law at once without opposition, so that we may have the benefit of their service now when we need them.

Mr. RAKER. I wish the gentleman from Pennsylvania would yield me five minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have promised to yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska, and if there is any further time left I will yield to the gentleman from California. Mr. Speaker, I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN].

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret that the gentleman in charge of the bill [Mr. GORDON] did not agree to accept the second amendment suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Without stopping to discuss the first amendment, as I probably would not have the time, I want to call the attention to the purpose of the last sentence in that paragraph:

Provided, however, That no obligation in the way of pensions or other grants because of service in the army or navy of any other country, or disabilities incident thereto, shall accrue to the United States.

That last clause should read "shall be incurred by the United States." The word "accrue," of course, does not relate to a burden; it relates to an addition; it has relation to benefits or valuable attachments, while "incur" relates to taking on of burdens or responsibilities. This will relate to pensions or grants, and if it says shall not be incurred by the United States, it disavows the purpose of the legislators to allow any burden by the way of pensions or grants to be incurred or taken on by the Government of the United States.

With your permission I shall read a definition of the word "accrue":

Accrue: To come as a natural result or increment, as by growth, business, etc.; come into existence, as a right or the like; arise, as an addition, accession, or advantage; accumulate, as six months' interest has accrued.

The word "incur" means—

To bring upon oneself indirectly by some act, as to incur a liability as distinguished from a debt by contract; to render liable for something.

The purpose is to prevent this liability coming against the Government, which might be incident to the passage of this bill. So it seems to me that all gentlemen should agree that the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania—that is, the second one, at least—should be adopted in the interest of good language, precision of diction, and wholesome legislation.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. The definition that the gentleman read of the word "accrue," as I understood, brings it squarely and fairly within the language the committee has used, and that it was the right word to use.

Mr. SLOAN. That is what I have been arguing, that it does nothing of the kind, and if these definitions do not make it clear, then Mr. Webster wrote and I have spoken in vain.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am not opposed to the bill; I am in favor of it. I am in favor of discussion on bills of this importance, and do not like to see anyone cut off because some one gets tired. Many of us get tired sitting here listening to debate, but we have to endure it, and when great bills come along gentlemen should not get restless. I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER].

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, how much time is there remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has two and a half minutes.

Mr. RAKER. I would like five minutes.

Mr. GORDON. I will yield two and a half minutes to the gentleman from California.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, it is easy to rush a bill through and give it but little consideration. Mr. MEEKER, a member of the committee, for instance, spent at least two months investigating this matter and gathering data from all countries of the world. It is all right now, because this country is joined with England and France, but gentlemen, you forget that when these men joined the belligerent armies the President of the United States and all public officials enjoined on our people to be neutral. It was an offense to participate in many of the things that were done by some of these men according to the testimony which we had before us when the country was neutral.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman recall the men who came over and helped us in our war for independence?

Mr. RAKER. We are dealing with another thing. Sentiment I know will appeal because our boys have joined the Army, but you forget that this country was neutral, that the man owed allegiance to the United States and that he left his country, forswore it, and took the oath to support the King of England and all her laws and all her powers as against the United States. Now, no one knew at the time what the result would be. Two years had to elapse before we knew, and now without any restrictions, without any safeguards that any man who entered these foreign armies as named in the bill, becomes a citizen of the United States. Wounded, the Government they fought for does not provide for them, but they come as citizens without making any application, without being heard, without even coming to this country, something that has never been permitted in any other piece of legislation that has ever been enacted.

They go before a consul or some other officer in a foreign country and make affidavit, and he issues a certificate in triplicate. The applicant then gains all his rights of American citizenship that he was willing to forego and set aside when he swore allegiance to a foreign country. It is war time, and because of a few statements of men who have come back, the House seems to have forgotten just the exact effects of this bill. While the statement of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON] that one man came back is all right, yet, after investigation by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, it was found that there was not one case which anyone was able to present where the man could not comply with the law and become a citizen of the United States. Within 10 minutes after he landed on our shores he could have taken the oath of allegiance and could have entered the Army or the Navy and obtained all of the other rights pertaining to those who file their first papers. But the only suggestion made is that he might desire a commission that would give him a higher rank and more salary. I feel impressed with the feature that once the country needed the men again when we should have any further trouble, he can forswear his own country, leave his own home, and neglect all of the rights and duties that he had to maintain, and go to some other country and swear allegiance to some foreign prince, king, or potentate and become a subject of that country, and then the moment that trouble starts here it is said that we should repatriate him.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I will take the leave granted me by the House, and on a later date make a statement of my position on this bill.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I yield three and one-half minutes to the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. FESS.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, if the membership of the House will indulge me for just a moment, I would like to call attention to a specific case that is of interest in this discussion. Soon after the war broke in Europe, one of the brilliant young physicians of Ohio went into one of the convalescent camps of Canada to assist in taking care of the wounded. After being there for a while he learned that he did not have very much discipline over the returning wounded soldiers because he did not have the military position of a soldier. He was a mere civilian, wearing civilian clothing, and was not considered with authority of an officer. He was advised by those in charge that it would be better for him to apply for a commission and therefore secure the needed discipline on the part of these convalescents. The young doctor took up the matter through me. I took it up with the State Department, and asked the Secretary whether if the physician should take a commission he would have to renounce his allegiance to our own country. The Secretary said that he would, and he advised that it would be unwise to do so, as it might lead to complications and result in some inconvenience and probably embarrassing conditions for the physician if he desired to remain a citizen of this country although resident of Canada.

The physician acted upon my recommendation that he remain a civilian and not renounce his allegiance. He has written me several times that the position he occupies is rather nil, that he can not do what otherwise he might do. If this bill or something like it had been on the statute books, there would have been no embarrassment whatever. He could go on with his work and take a commission, and if he had wanted to return when war broke upon us he could very easily have relieved the situation by making application of this law. It seems to me that the law can do no harm, and it surely can do a great deal of good. I mention this one specific case because it shows what the law will be in its effect. Not only that, but it will make a better community of interest between us and our allies, and will be proper treatment of the patriot who responded to the call of patriotism in the hour when he thought his ideals were in jeopardy.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, there does not seem to be anyone opposed to this bill except the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER], and I shall not detain the House more than a few minutes in making some observations in reference to objections. Of course, there is the matter of pride, it seems, for the Committee on Naturalization had this bill under consideration and smothered it. That ought not to weigh one way or the other. This bill is a good bill and ought to pass. If the Committee on Naturalization overlooked its merits, that is its fault and not ours. The objection which he makes to the bill is, first, that it would apply to those who had violated the neutrality laws of the United States. It does not apply to those at all; it applies to those who did not violate the neutrality laws of the United States, but who joined the forces of these nations when it was necessary for them to renounce their allegiance to the United States in order to do it. They did not violate any neutrality law of the United States. They took an oath of allegiance, we will say, to Great Britain, for the purpose of going into her Army. They did it solely to fight in this war. Now, we are in the war and they want to come back. The gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER] says they could make application to become a citizen within 10 minutes. Of course they could make application, but they could not become a citizen for two years under our present law.

Mr. ROGERS. Five years.

Mr. GORDON. Yes; five years. The committee considered this question very fully in all of its details. We considered all of the objections that the gentleman from California has made to it, and we concluded that they were unsubstantial, and I think anyone who inquires closely into the question will come to the same conclusion. I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Yes; for what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker, I raise the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman raises the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Ninety-three gentlemen are present, not a quorum.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. ROGERS and Mr. SABATH) there were—ayes 34, noes 52.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will lock the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ROGERS. Is this an automatic roll call on the passage of the bill?

The SPEAKER. Why, we have got one anyway, so there is no use determining that.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, is this call of the House vote on the question of suspending the rules?

The SPEAKER. Yes; the House was dividing when the point of order was made.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 232, nays 4, answered "present" 5, not voting 190, as follows:

YEAS—232.

Adamson	Eagan	Key, Ohio	Sabath
Alexander	Eagle	Kincheloe	Sanders, Ind.
Almon	Elliott	King	Sanders, N. Y.
Aswell	Ellsworth	Kinkaid	Sanford
Austin	Esch	Krauss	Scott, Iowa
Ayres	Evans	Larsen	Scott, Mich.
Bacharach	Fairchild, B. L.	Lesher	Shackleford
Bacon	Farr	Little	Shallenberger
Bankhead	Fess	Littlepage	Siegel
Barnhart	Fisher	London	Sims
Bathrick	Focht	Lonergan	Sinnott
Black	Fordney	Lunn	Sloan
Bland	Foss	McAndrews	Small
Blanton	Foster	McArthur	Smith, Mich.
Booher	Frear	McClintic	Smith, C. B.
Bowers	Gallagher	McKeown	Snook
Brand	Gallivan	McKinley	Stafford
Britten	Garland	McLaughlin, Mich.	Steagall
Brodbeck	Garner	Madden	Stedman
Browning	Garrett, Tenn.	Mapes	Sterling, Ill.
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tex.	Martin, La.	Stiness
Burroughs	Glass	Mason	Strong
Byrnes, S. C.	Gordon	Mays	Sumners
Byrns, Tenn.	Graham, Ill.	Miller, Wash.	Sweet
Campbell, Kans.	Green, Iowa	Mondell	Tague
Campbell, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Moon	Taylor, Ark.
Candler, Miss.	Gregg	Moore, Pa.	Taylor, Colo.
Cannon	Griest	Moores, Ind.	Temple
Cantrill	Hadley	Morgan	Thomas
Caraway	Hamilton, N. Y.	Nicholls, S. C.	Thompson
Carlin	Hamlin	Nichols, Mich.	Tillman
Carter, Mass.	Hardy	Nolan	Timberlake
Carter, Okla.	Haugen	Norton	Treadway
Chandler, N. Y.	Hawley	Oldfield	Van Dyke
Clark, Fla.	Hayden	Oliver, Ala.	Vestal
Claypool	Heflin	Oliver, N. Y.	Vinson
Collier	Helm	Osborne	Volstead
Connally, Tex.	Helvering	Overmyer	Walker
Cooper, Ohio	Hensley	Overstreet	Walsh
Cooper, W. Va.	Hersey	Padgett	Walton
Cooper, Wis.	Hilliard	Paige	Wason
Cox	Holland	Park	Watkins
Crisp	Hood	Parker, N. Y.	Watson, Pa.
Crosser	Hulbert	Peters	Weaver
Dale, Vt.	Hull, Iowa	Platt	Webb
Dallinger	Humphreys	Pou	Wheeler
Darrow	Igoe	Quin	White, Me.
Davidson	Ireland	Ramseyer	White, Ohio
Davis	Jacoway	Rayburn	Williams
Decker	Johnson, Ky.	Reed	Wilson, Ill.
Denison	Johnson, Wash.	Robbins	Wilson, La.
Denton	Jones, Tex.	Roberts	Wilson, Tex.
Dixon	Jones, Va.	Robinson	Wingo
Dominick	Kearns	Rogers	Wise
Doremus	Keating	Romjue	Wood, Ind.
Doughton	Kehoe	Rose	Woodyard
Drane	Kelly, Pa.	Rowe	Young, N. Dak.
Dunn	Kettner	Rubey	Zihlman

NAYS—4.

Lundeen	Raker	Sisson	Welty

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—5.

Butler	La Follette	Sears	Stephens, Miss.
Gandy			

NOT VOTING—190.

Anderson	Ferris	Kitchin	Reavis
Anthony	Fields	Knutson	Riordan
Ashbrook	Fitzgerald	Kreider	Rodenberg
Baer	Flood	LaGuardia	Rouse
Barkley	Flynn	Langley	Rowland
Bell	Francis	Lazaro	Rucker
Blackmon	Freeman	Lea, Cal.	Russell
Borland	French	Lee, Ga.	Sanders, La.
Browne	Fuller, Ill.	Lehlbach	Saunders, Va.
Bruckner	Fuller, Mass.	Lenroot	Schall
Buchanan	Gard	Lever	Scott, Pa.
Burnett	Gillett	Linthicum	Scully
Caldwell	Glynn	Lobeck	Sells
Capstick	Godwin, N. C.	Longworth	Sherley
Carew	Good	McCormick	Sherwood
Cary	Goodall	McCulloch	Shouse
Chandler, Okla.	Goodwin, Ark.	McFadden	Slayden
Church	Gould	McKenzie	Slemp
Clark, Pa.	Graham, Pa.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Idaho
Classon	Gray, Ala.	McLemore	Smith, T. F.
Coady	Gray, N. J.	Magee	Snell
Connelly, Kans.	Greene, Vt.	Maher	Snyder
Copley	Griffin	Mann	Steele
Costello	Hamill	Mansfield	Steenerson
Crago	Hamilton, Mich.	Martin, Ill.	Stephens, Nebr.
Cramton	Harrison, Miss.	Meeker	Sterling, Pa.
Currie, Mich.	Harrison, Va.	Miller, Minn.	Stevenson
Curry, Cal.	Haskell	Montague	Sullivan
Dale, N. Y.	Hastings	Morin	Swift
Dempsey	Hayes	Mott	Switzer
Dent	Heaton	Mudd	Talbott
Dewalt	Heintz	Neely	Templeton
Dickinson	Hicks	Nelson	Tilson
Dies	Hollingsworth	Olney	Tinkham
Dill	Houston	O'Shaunessy	Towner
Dillon	Howard	Parker, N. J.	Vare
Dooling	Huddleston	Phelan	Venable
Doolittle	Hull, Tenn.	Polk	Voigt
Dowell	Husted	Porter	Waldow
Drukker	Hutchinson	Powers	Ward
Dupré	James	Pratt	Watson, Va.
Dyer	Johnson, S. Dak.	Price	Welling
Edmonds	Juul	Purnell	Whaley
Elston	Kahn	Ragsdale	Winslow
Emerson	Kelley, Mich.	Rainey	Woods, Iowa
Estopinal	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramsey	Young, Tex.
Fairchild, G. W.	Kennedy, R. I.	Randall	
Fairfield	Kiess, Pa.	Rankin	

So (two-thirds voting in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

For the session:

Mr. SNELL with Mr. CALDWELL.

Mr. HASTINGS with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota with Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi.

Mr. STEELE with Mr. BUTLER.

From August 2 until the end of session:

Mr. LEA of California with Mr. EMERSON.

Until further notice:

Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. ANTHONY.

Mr. LEVER with Mr. ANDERSON.

Mr. ROUSE with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. STERLING of Pennsylvania with Mr. MUDD.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas with Mr. WINSLOW.

Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. VARE.

Mr. VENABLE with Mr. VOIGT.

Mr. WATSON of Virginia with Mr. WALDOW.

Mr. WELLING with Mr. WOODS of Iowa.

Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana with Mr. RODENBERG.

Mr. RUSSELL with Mr. ROWLAND.

Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania.

Mr. RAINEY with Mr. SELLS.

Mr. RAKER with Mr. REAVIS.

Mr. RAGSDALE with Mr. SLEMP.

Mr. PRICE with Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. POLK with Mr. SWIFT.

Mr. WHALEY with Mr. SWITZER.

Mr. PHELAN with Mr. TEMPLETON.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. TILSON.

Mr. OLNEY with Mr. TOWNER.

Mr. NEELY with Mr. CRAGO.

Mr. MONTAGUE with Mr. CRAMTON.

Mr. MANSFIELD with Mr. CURRIE of Michigan.

Mr. MARTIN of Illinois with Mr. CURRY of California.

Mr. MAHER with Mr. DEMPSEY.

Mr. MCLEMORE with Mr. DILLON.

Mr. LOBECK with Mr. DOWELL.

Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. DRUKKER.

Mr. LAZARO with Mr. DYER.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee with Mr. EDMONDS.

Mr. HOWARD with Mr. ELSTON.
Mr. HOUSTON with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.
Mr. STEVENSON with Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan.
Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. HAYES.
Mr. STEAGALL with Mr. HEATON.
Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. HUSTED.
Mr. SHOUSE with Mr. HUTCHINSON.
Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. JAMES.
Mr. SCULLY with Mr. KELLEY of Michigan.
Mr. SCHALL with Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa.
Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia with Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia with Mr. FRANCIS.
Mr. HAMILL with Mr. FRENCH.
Mr. GRIFFIN with Mr. FULLER of Illinois.
Mr. GRAY of Alabama with Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts.
Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas with Mr. GLYNN.
Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. GOULD.
Mr. GARD with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.
Mr. FLYNN with Mr. GRAY of New Jersey.
Mr. FLOOD with Mr. GREENE of Vermont.
Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. LANGLEY.
Mr. FIELDS with Mr. LEHLBACH.
Mr. FERRIS with Mr. MCCULLOCH.
Mr. DUPRÉ with Mr. MCFADDEN.
Mr. DOOLITTLE with Mr. MCKENZIE.
Mr. DOOLING with Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Pennsylvania.
Mr. DILL with Mr. MAGEE.
Mr. DIES with Mr. MEEKER.
Mr. DICKINSON with Mr. MORIN.
Mr. DEWALT with Mr. MOTT.
Mr. DENT with Mr. PARKER of New Jersey.
Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. PORTER.
Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas with Mr. POWERS.
Mr. COADY with Mr. PRATT.
Mr. CAREW with Mr. PURNELL.
Mr. BURNETT with Mr. RAMSEY.
Mr. HASTINGS with Mr. FREEMAN.
Mr. BUCHANAN with Mr. FAIRFIELD.
Mr. BRUCKNER with Mr. BROWNE.
Mr. BORLAND with Mr. CARY.
Mr. BELL with Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania.
Mr. BARKLEY with Mr. CLASSON.
Mr. BAER with Mr. COPLEY.
Mr. ASHBROOK with Mr. COSTELLO.
Mr. FITZGERALD with Mr. LONGWORTH.
Mr. SHERLEY with Mr. GILLETT.
Mr. KITCHIN with Mr. MANN.
Mr. ESTOPINAL with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mr. GANDY with Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota.
Mr. CHURCH with Mr. RANDALL.
Mr. SEARS with Mr. DOWELL.
Mr. BLACKMON with Mr. KAHN.
Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. STEENERSON.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, I have a pair with my colleague, Mr. TALBOTT. I think if he were present he would vote "aye," the same as I have, and therefore I shall let my vote stand.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I have a pair with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. DOWELL, and therefore I answer "present."

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to keep my session pair with my colleague, Mr. STEELE, by withdrawing my vote of "aye" and answering "present."

The name of Mr. BUTLER was called and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

So (two-thirds having voted in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House insist on its amendments, and that the Speaker be authorized to appoint conferees on behalf of the House.

The SPEAKER. Before we do that, we want to get rid of the call.

Mr. GORDON. I move that the House dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will open the doors. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] asks unanimous consent that the House insist on its amendments to the Senate bill and asks for conferees. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Clerk will announce the conferees.

The Clerk announced the following conferees: Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, and Mr. GREENE of Vermont.

BRIDGE ACROSS MAHONING RIVER, OHIO.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House consider the bill H. R. 6310 at this time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6310) granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, complete, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BRITTEN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, before this bill is considered I would like to make a unanimous-consent request. I have just returned from the Congressional Library——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. To reserve the right to object to this unanimous-consent request. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he proposes to speak on a personal matter?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir. I want to try to get some time on a personal matter for to-morrow after I have explained to the House the reason for my unanimous-consent request. I have just come from the Congressional Library on a little matter, and I think the House ought to hear me for a minute or two.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I ask the gentleman whether this has any reference to any pending personal controversy?

Mr. BRITTEN. Not so far as I am concerned.

Mr. GARLAND. I move that the gentleman be permitted to proceed.

Mr. BRITTEN. I have not made my request yet.

Mr. HEFLIN. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] objects.

Mr. BRITTEN. I have not made my request yet.

The SPEAKER. I know; but he seems to know what it is to be.

Mr. BRITTEN. I am sure if the gentleman knew he would not object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama, whether he knew or not, objected. It is not debatable.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BRITTEN. Can I not make a request for a unanimous consent, and can a Member object to that before he knows what the request is?

The SPEAKER. Well, he did object, whether he knew or not. The Chair is not a mind reader.

Mr. POU. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] can not object before the House knows what the request is.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman did object.

Mr. POU. I mean as a parliamentary proposition.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I wish, if I may have a moment, to submit this suggestion to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]: It does not seem to me it is good practice where a request is made for the consideration of a bill for gentlemen to reserve the right to object to the consideration of that bill in order to present a request for consent to make a speech. Now, I am not making any suggestion as to any objection to the gentleman from Illinois speaking. It does seem to me, however, that perhaps we are falling into a rather bad practice in the House about that. Now, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. COOPER] has asked unanimous consent for the consideration of a bill. That is business. I submit for the consideration of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] that he ought to make that request at some other time, and get it acted upon, and then, at the proper time, obtain the floor.

Mr. BRITTEN. I think the suggestion of the gentleman from Tennessee is perfectly proper. It is not my intention to make a speech. My intention only is to make a unanimous-consent request. I will be glad to defer it until this bill is passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Trumbull Steel Co. and its successors and assigns to construct, complete, maintain, and operate, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, near the city of Warren, in the county of Trumbull, in the State of Ohio, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Amend, page 1, line 5, by striking out the word "complete."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. COOPER of Ohio, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the title will be changed so as to conform to the text.

There was no objection; and the title was changed so as to read, "A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio."

REQUEST FOR UNANIMOUS CONSENT.

Mr. BRITTEN rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. BRITTEN. I desire to make a unanimous-consent request. I have just returned from the Congressional Library, and I have looked over several newspapers coming from all parts of the United States. Some of those papers have me generally linked with gentlemen on this side and on the other side of the Capitol who are opposing certain legislation for which I voted and for which I talked on the floor of the House. I wanted to have my own position in the House defined clearly for the benefit of myself and for the benefit of the country at large. If there is any suspicion held against me by Mr. HEFLIN, I want it pointed out in a perfectly friendly way. There is nothing personal about this with me. I want to be taken away from any company that is opposed to legislation for which I voted and for which I talked on the floor of the House.

My unanimous-consent request is this: That to-morrow, after the Speaker's table has been cleared of its usual business, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] be given 5 or 6 or 7 or 10 or 15 minutes—as many as he desires—to single me out and not talk about anybody else on the floor of the House, and say wherein my actions have been suspicious to him. He says he has no proof of anything; but let him give his own opinion as to my actions. It will then be my pleasure to reply to him direct on his assumption.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman has gone far enough to justify me in saying I will not give my consent to any such arrangement. I demand the regular order; I object.

Mr. BRITTEN. Will you not reserve your objection for a moment?

Mr. GARNER. I will not reserve it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas objects.

COMMISSIONS IN RESERVE CORPS AND NATIONAL ARMY.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER rose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill (H. R. 6350) to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of staff corps, and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6350) to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of staff corps, and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Nebraska to explain just what this does.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, the law at present does not authorize the appointment of officers in The Adjutant General's Department under the rank of major, or in the Quartermaster's Department under the rank of captain, or in the Signal Corps under the rank of first lieutenant in the Reserve Corps or the Regular Army.

This bill proposes to allow the appointment of men to the rank of first lieutenant and second lieutenant and captain in these respective departments. Also, the Signal Corps has a provision that when a man becomes an aviator, a first lieutenant immediately commences to rank as captain and to draw the pay of captain. We are taking a great many aviators into the Signal Corps now because of the development of aviation, and the Chief of the Signal Corps, Gen. George O. Squier, has stated in a letter contained in this report that he has about 150 candidates who have completed satisfactorily the prescribed aviation course and are awaiting commissions to become aviators, and that this number will be increased to about 700 in six weeks, and further increased to about 2,000 in three months. The Adjutant General has ruled that a man can not be commissioned as an aviator under the rank of first lieutenant, and under the present law as soon as he is commissioned as first lieutenant he takes the rank and pay of captain. These men coming in at present and the thousands to follow would have to take the rank of captain.

This bill enables them to take the rank of second lieutenant. Gen. Squires says that in his department it will result in a saving of at least $1,500,000 a year and will permit the appointment of lieutenants and captains into offices where the law now requires higher rank. It is for the economy of the service that this bill should pass, and it will promote efficiency also.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the existing emergency the President is authorized, in addition to the grades now authorized, to appoint in the Officers' Reserve Corps and the National Army in the grades of second and first lieutenant in the Quartermaster Corps; second lieutenant in the Ordnance Corps and Signal Corps; second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain in The Adjutant General's Department, such citizens as shall be found physically, mentally, and morally qualified for appointment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SHALLENBERGER, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ISSUE OF NOTES OF SMALL DENOMINATIONS.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill H. R. 6180, having reference to an increase in the issue of notes of one and two dollar denominations.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill (H. R. 6180) to amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks, and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I expect to support this bill, but it involves one or two questions that I think the chairman of the committee ought to explain. I have not had a chance to read the bill, but one of the questions that I have in mind relates to the charge which, I understand, this bill may make against the banks for the printing of the notes.

Mr. GLASS. It is proposed to make the usual charge against the banks for printing the notes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Let the bill be read, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of June 3, 1864 (Rev. Stats., sec. 5175), which prohibits national banks from being furnished with notes of less denomination than $5, be, and it is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 2. That that part of the act of March 14, 1900, which provides "that no national banking association shall, after the passage of this act, be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency, or to issue or reissue, or place in circulation more than one-third in amount of its circulating notes of the denomination of $5, be, and it is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 3. That from and after the passage of this act any national banking association, upon compliance with the provisions of law applicable thereto, shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency, or to issue or reissue, or place in circulation notes in denominations of $1, $2, $5, $10, $20, $50, and $100 in such proportion as to each of said denominations as the bank may elect: *Provided, however*, That no bank shall receive or have in circulation at any one time more than $25,000 in notes of the denominations of $1 and $2.

SEC. 4. That all acts or parts of acts which are inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I know there is an urgent demand for more $1 and $2 notes, of which there has been a great scarcity in recent times, probably due to war necessities and war business. But can the gentleman explain whether the repeal of the act of March 14, 1900, involves the question of a charge for the printing of the notes?

Mr. GLASS. This does not at all alter the law or the practice in the matter of the charge for printing the notes. It simply gives to the national banks the right that they have not heretofore had of issuing their notes in denominations of $1 and $2 in order to facilitate the business of pay rolls throughout the country. There has been a very universal demand from the banks of the country for this legislation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is true; but does the act of March 14, 1900, which I have not had time to produce here, provide that the banks shall pay for the printing of $5 notes?

Mr. GLASS. The charge of one-half of 1 per cent, the tax on circulation, covers the charge for printing.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That now applies only to $5 notes?

Mr. GLASS. Yes. They are the lowest denomination that national banks can now issue.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And the effect of the enactment of this bill would be to apply that charge to the issuance of $1 and $2 notes?

Mr. GLASS. Precisely so.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It would simply be carrying over to the one and two dollar notes the charge that now applies to the $5 notes.

Mr. GLASS. That is the situation. Under existing law there is a limitation upon national banks in the issuance of $5 notes. No national bank can issue more than one-third of its entire circulation in $5 notes. The Treasury Department is engaged in the conversion of $5 Treasury notes into denominations of $1 and $2, and in order to supply the amount of $5 notes the limitation on national banks as to $5 notes is removed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I ask the gentleman why the issue of $1 and $2 notes is limited to $25,000 for each bank?

Mr. GLASS. It is thought that only the smaller banks will care to issue these notes at all. The gentleman understands that the national banks have no such privilege now and never have had the privilege of issuing ones and twos. With the 8,000 national banks in the country, it was thought that the limitation of $25,000 ought to be made.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the $25,000 limit be for the $1 and $2 notes separately or for both?

Mr. GLASS. Both the ones and twos.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It would not mean $50,000 of both?

Mr. GLASS. No; $25,000 for each bank.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The $25,000 covers both ones and twos?

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is this bill unanimously reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency?

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I know there is a very urgent demand on the part of the banks and business men of the country for the issuance of notes of the smaller denominations.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

Mr. DENISON. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the chairman of the committee if he happens to know the reason why national banks have been forbidden heretofore to issue ones and twos?

Mr. GLASS. No; I do not.

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman will allow me, I think the object was to force the silver dollar into circulation; but, as I understand it, the silver dollar is now represented substantially by the silver certificates, is it not?

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I take it there is no reason to prevent the Government from printing $1 and $2 silver certificates.

Mr. GLASS. Not at all. There are $277,000,000 silver certificates in ones and twos now.

Mr. CANNON. Yes; and the silver bullion and silver dollars in the Treasury now are represented almost entirely by silver notes, are they not?

Mr. GLASS. Yes; almost entirely.

Mr. CANNON. And it is supposed that the banks will pay the one-half of 1 per cent for the privilege of issuing $1 and $2 notes?

Mr. GLASS. It is thought that they will, in order to facilitate the transaction of local business.

Mr. DENISON. Will not this have a tendency to do away with the silver dollar in circulation?

Mr. GLASS. Oh, I think not. The committee did not think so.

Mr. STAFFORD. Every one who is at all acquainted with the silver agitation knows that no matter how earnestly the Treasury Department tried to have the silver dollars put into circulation, they always came back, because the commercial world would utilize only so many coined silver dollars.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. FESS. Reserving the right to object, there is a general stringency of smaller notes. I have many communications on the subject, which I have referred to the Secretary of the Treasury. As I understand it, the silver certificates are the only paper money that we have in the denominations of $1 and $2.

Mr. GLASS. No; the Secretary of the Treasury recently, under authority of the law of 1907, has been converting Treasury bills of the denomination of $5 into $1s and $2s.

Mr. FESS. I was not aware of that fact. That would increase the number of them.

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. But this is to add to the general circulation of national-bank notes in the denominations of $1 and $2.

Mr. GLASS. That is true.

Mr. FESS. Do I understand that we have never had any national-bank notes of less than $5 denomination?

Mr. GLASS. Yes; we give the national banks a right they never possessed before, to issue one and two dollar notes, supplementing the orders of the Treasury Department to increase the issue of one and two dollar Treasury notes and silver certificates.

Mr. FESS. Has the chairman any opinion as to why there seems to be such a demand for bills of small denominations?

Mr. GLASS. I think it is obviously because of the tremendous increase in pay rolls throughout the country.

Mr. FESS. I should judge that it is not because of the advanced price of silver bullion.

Mr. GLASS. Oh, no; I think it has no relation to that subject.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the gentleman will allow me, a great many notes are issued by the Federal reserve bank. Is it intended that they will issue any denominations in small amounts?

Mr. GLASS. Not in one and two dollar notes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it intended to be compulsory on the banks to issue a certain amount of their circulation in one and two dollar notes?

Mr. GLASS. No; it is altogether optional with the banks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute the Senate bill for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent to substitute the Senate bill for the House bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2922) to amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of June 3, 1864, Revised Statutes, section 5175, which prohibits national banks from being furnished with notes of less denomination than $5, be, and it is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 2. That that part of the act of March 14, 1900, which provides "that no national banking association shall, after the passage of this act, be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency, or to issue or reissue, or place in circulation more than one-third in amount of its circulating notes of the denomination of $5," be, and it is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 3. That from and after the passage of this act any national banking association, upon compliance with the provisions of law applicable thereto, shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency, or to issue or reissue, or place in circulation notes in denominations of $1, $2, $5, $10, $20, $50, and $100 in such proportion as to each of said denominations as the bank may elect: *Provided, however,* That no bank shall receive or have in circulation at any one time more than $25,000 in notes of the denominations of $1 and $2.

SEC. 4. That all acts or parts of acts which are inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. GLASS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The House bill of a similar tenor was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 2776) providing for the classification of lands under the stock-grazing homestead act in certain States, and for other purposes, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

The message also announced that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolution of the following titles:

On September 19, 1917:

S. J. Res. 93. Joint resolution for improving Willapa Harbor and River, Wash.; and

S. 2785. An act to authorize and empower the Southwest Louisiana Waterways Association, of the State of Louisiana, to

construct a lock and dam in Mermentau River, in the State of Louisiana.

On September 25, 1917:

S. 2830. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, Ark.

On September 27, 1917:

S. 2477. An act to authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department.

On October 1, 1917:

S. 2705. An act to create the Aircraft Board and provide for its maintenance; and

H. R. 5431. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across the Saline River, at or near Suttons Ferry, Ark.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Senate concurrent resolution 14.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 3932) to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes, the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to insert in line 2 of section 20 of the conference report as agreed to, after the word "occur," the words "or which since the commencement of the present war have occurred," and also, in line 4 of said section, after "all," insert the word "other."

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 5839) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota.

EXPLOSIVES.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate concurrent resolution No. 14.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Let it be reported.

The Clerk read the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. I object.

CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMY.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2917) to amend section 15 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," as amended by the act approved May 12, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, I would like to have the gentleman make a statement.

Mr. STAFFORD. Let the bill be reported.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 15 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," as amended by the act approved May 12, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes," be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 15. Chaplains: The President is authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, chaplains in the Army at the rate of not to exceed, including chaplains now in the service, one for each 1,200 officers and men in all branches of the Military Establishment, with rank, pay, and allowances as now authorized by law: *Provided*, That there shall be assigned at least one chaplain for each regiment of Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Engineers."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I think this bill should have been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The SPEAKER. The invariable practice of the Chair is, if a gentleman asks for a bill to remain on the Sepaker's table for a reasonable time, for the Speaker to hold it. But ordinarily, if no request is made, the Chair refers it at once. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Nebraska if the committee has taken any action on the Senate bill or a House bill involving the same subject matter?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. No; it has not. I will say for the information of the House that the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee stated that the committee had finished its work and did not expect to have any further hearings. The bill came over to the Speaker's table to-day and I asked to have it considered.

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe the Military Affairs Committee of the House met as late as yesterday and reported numerous bills. Is there any reason why they should not meet during the remainder of the session and consider the bills that come over from the Senate?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. No; I do not know of any reason.

Mr. STAFFORD. The bill has not been considered by the Military Committee, and I object.

CONVEYING CERTAIN LANDS IN PORT ANGELES, WASH.

Mr. HADLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the committee on the Public Lands from further consideration of the bill (S. 309) authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands, and for present consideration of the same.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 309, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent to discharge the committee from further consideration of this bill and for its present consideration. Is there objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is this the tract of land that was conveyed or deeded to the State with a limitation upon the right of the State to convey?

Mr. HADLEY. That is correct. The limitation consisted in the words of the grant from the Government "for county purposes," and the county now desires to convey a portion of the tract to the city of Port Angeles, in which the tract is situated, in order that they can coordinate and centralize the activities of the two municipalities. The temporary purpose is for a library.

Mr. MONDELL. And the public purposes contemplated by the original grant will be carried out by the legislation now before us?

Mr. HADLEY. Exactly. The question of a cloud on the title has been raised by reason of the words of limitation in the grant from the Government. The report from the department is favorable. The only reason the Committee on the Public Lands has not acted upon the bill is that I did not insist against their wishes that matters not purely of a military character should not be reported.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HADLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I will say that the Committee on the Public Lands has no objection to this request. This is certainly a very meritorious proposition, and it is an urgent measure, but it was really not a war measure, and therefore the committee did not take it up.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and the Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, through its proper officials duly authorized to convey real estate for the county, is hereby authorized to convey to the city of Port Angeles, in said county and State, in fee simple, any part of that parcel of land situated in said city, county, and State described in the act of Congress of January 12, 1903, as a parcel of land 220 feet in width off the east side of suburban block No. 26, as shown on official plats of the town site of Port Angeles, in said county, and as subsequently conveyed in the patent of the United States of America to the said county of Clallam, dated March 21, 1903.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HADLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

DRAFTING SUBJECTS OF ALLIED COUNTRIES.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 115, requesting the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with certain governments with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States permitting the inclusion in the armed forces of the United States of such citizens of the countries of such governments as are within the United States, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I suggest that the gentleman ask that just that part of the resolution be reported that is not stricken through.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the preamble which was stricken out by the Committee on Foreign Affairs before the resolution was reported to the House be omitted in the reading by the Clerk, and that he simply read the substance of the resolution.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Of course, Mr. Speaker, I am reserving the right to object, but I would like to have the resolution reported.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to have the preamble omitted and that simply the resolution itself be read. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, requested to open diplomatic negotiations with the Governments of the several countries at war with a country with which the United States is at war with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States looking to the imposition upon such citizens of those countries as are within the United States of the liability to and performance of military service in the armed forces of the United States during the continuance of the present war between the United States and Germany, and to report to the Congress of the United States as soon as practicable the result of such negotiations.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, if I may have the attention of the House for a moment, I understand that this resolution was favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs unanimously, and I further understand that the State Department interposes no objection to its passage. That I learned in the Committee on Rules this morning when the committee had under consideration a resolution to provide for its consideration. But, Mr. Speaker, the fact remains that it is really and entirely a useless resolution. It will accomplish nothing. It requests the Secretary of State to do that which he is now doing. It has a paragraph at the conclusion, the exact wording of which I do not recall, which I think makes it mandatory upon the Secretary of State to report the results of his efforts to the Congress. I do not know whether the State Department in not interposing objection gave consideration to that paragraph or not, but to my mind that might lead to some difficulties and embarrassment, and, in view of the fact that the resolution is entirely needless, in view of the fact that the State Department is now doing, according to the statement made by the Secretary of State before the Committee on Military Affairs, precisely what this resolution requests him to do, I feel constrained to object.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman reserve his objection for just one moment?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the gentleman's attention to the letter sent to Mr. FLOOD, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, by the Hon. Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, which reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 28, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. FLOOD: Referring to your letter of July 16, in regard to H. J. Res. 115, introduced in the House by Mr. Rogers, and to the department's telephone communication to your clerk of July 25 to the effect that this resolution, together with other bills on the same subject, had been laid before the President for his consideration, I beg now to advise you that the President informs me that of the bills before the Congress relating to the enlistment or drafting of alien residents in the United States H. J. Res. 115 (or S. J. Res. 83, which appears to be identical) seems to him most appropriate in the circumstances, as, in his opinion, the matter is properly a subject for negotiation with the countries concerned.

Very sincerely, yours, FRANK L. POLK.

Hon. HENRY D. FLOOD,
House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee has stated with sufficient accuracy the substantive facts involved. But I can not agree with him in his conclusion that the passage of this resolution would accomplish nothing. The section of the country which I represent is greatly exercised over the alien-slacker situation. We are getting letters, we are reading in the newspapers, we are receiving personal calls—all deploring the fact that the House is doing nothing to meet the difficulty. The Senate passed the Chamberlain bill. At the request of the Secretary of State the House Committee on Military Affairs has decided to do nothing at this time. Very likely it was entirely wise in reaching that decision. But, Mr. Speaker, I want the House of Representatives in some affirmative, definite way to show its interest in this most important problem and its determination to grapple with it, and, so far as may be, to solve it. Here we have a resolution which has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which has received the express sanction in writing of the President of the United States and of the Secretary of State. I hope that under the circumstances the gentleman will be constrained to withdraw his objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee objects, and the Chair will recognize the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. HOOD].

BRIDGE ACROSS WACCAMAW RIVER, N. C.

Mr. HOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 2878) granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2878) granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Whiteville Lumber Co. and its successors and assigns to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across Waccamaw River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at or near Pireway Ferry, in the counties of Columbus and Brunswick, in the State of North Carolina, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HOOD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PERMISSIONS TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

The SPEAKER. Four gentlemen have received permission of the House to make speeches, Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois, for 30 minutes; Mr. GALLIVAN for 10 minutes; Mr. BANKHEAD for 20 minutes; and Mr. POU for 40 minutes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Colorado rise?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. To submit a unanimous-consent request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 40 minutes to-morrow after the Journal is approved, not to interfere with any privileged matter.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to address the House to-morrow after the business on the Speaker's table is cleared up, not to interfere with any privileged matter. Is there objection?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. What became of my unanimous-consent request, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. It was granted. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU]. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I make a similar unanimous-consent request, to follow the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] for not more than 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. HULBERT] asks unanimous consent for not more than 15 minutes, to follow the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, will the gentleman state on what subject he wishes to speak?

Mr. HULBERT. Yes. I want to speak on the subject of American patriotic loyalty, not, however, connected with any controversy that has heretofore arisen in this House.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did not the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] give notice that he would call up the civil-rights bill in the morning immediately after the reading of the Journal?

The SPEAKER. I think he did. But the House can do anything it chooses by unanimous consent. Mr. Speaker CANNON once said that you could pass an elephant through the House by unanimous consent.

Mr. MONDELL. If these requests for opportunity to address the House are granted, they will come after the consideration of the bill that has just been referred to, will they not?

The SPEAKER. They undoubtedly will.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I give notice in the interest of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] that I will object to these requests after the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HULBERT] has been put.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill (S. 2623) defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] had the first privilege of the floor for 30 minutes, and I was to come second, but we have changed places.

The SPEAKER. Very well. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized.

THE "ALIEN-SLACKER" SITUATION.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to discuss in the time allotted to me the very question that came up a few moments ago on the request of my colleague [Mr. ROGERS], that a joint resolution requesting the State Department to take action on the "alien-slacker" situation be considered.

It is all very well for a Member of this House to say that the State Department is now doing that very thing, and it is all very well for the members of the Committee on Military Affairs, as I understand they have done, to defer action on the so-called Chamberlain bill, a Senate measure which provides for the conscription of aliens, but what this House wants and what the people of this country want is action.

And I desire the attention of the House for a few moments to the condition that now confronts the young men of this country.

Mr. Speaker, on June 5 of the current year, in accordance with an act of Congress, 10,000,000 men between the ages of 21 and 31 were registered for the purpose of selecting from their number a national army that might carry out the purposes of our Government, as these purposes were announced by the President of the United States when he thundered to Prussia, and through Prussia to the world, that the world must be made safe for democracy.

The response to this call of the Government was prompt, vigorous, and eager. Almost 10,000,000 men were registered, and from these 10,000,000 the first draft of 687,000 has already been made; the American youth has taken his place in the various cantonments scattered throughout the country to prepare himself to do such work that, as soon as may be, peace may again be exercising her sweet influence upon earth.

The departure of these young men from their homes has been attended in large measure with heartbreakings. The mothers of the Nation, brave and patriotic though they are, have had a natural reluctance to being separated from their sons, for whom they have lived and from whom they have had during the years of childhood and early manhood so much of comfort in the struggle for existence.

But there has been, unfortunately, accompanying this eager speeding of the boys on their way, a feeling in some places that a great injustice has been done these young men, citizens of the United States by choice or birth. They have been taken from their various occupations to perform this great duty of patriotism, and they find their places occupied by others who have enjoyed the same beneficent institutions that they have enjoyed, who have rejoiced in the protection of the Government of the United States, and the various Commonwealths comprehended therein, and who yet at the same time feel no such thrill of patriotism as these other young men who have been selected; but, on the contrary, have been quite content to fill in the places left vacant by the citizens and still enjoy the protection of our Government without making one single effort by way of return.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that the National Army has already been recruited to the number of 687,000 by a process of selection. Does it occur to you that this number represents pretty nearly half the population of the colonies when the first shot was fired in the American Revolution, and Crispus Attucks, and the rest of them went down to a glorious death in the Boston massacre?

Figures are hard to get together, but I am credibly informed that there are in the United States to-day about a million and a quarter of men who are not under obligation to serve under the Stars and Stripes, and who, because they are on American soil and protected by the laws of the United States, can not be forced to join the armies of the various countries to which they severally owe allegiance. Of this number fully one-half are of the so-called draft age. When these immigrants came here we received them with open arms, and were glad to welcome them to the protection of our free institutions, and we taught them that so long as the Stars and Stripes waved on high their souls, yes, and in America, their bodies, were free. What are we asking of them in return? We are asking them simply to be grateful. We are surely grateful to them for the spiritual and material wealth that they have contributed to our beloved country, but we are obliged to remind them that unless the soul of the manhood of the country is free; unless the principle which animates human action be the principle of justice; unless a man translate a large part of his activity and his aspiration into patriotism or love of country, then that man's service is in vain, for it is not by what we receive that we are blessed, but rather by what we give.

To the stranger from the land of Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso we have said "Come," for we would add to the already choice possessions coming to us from immigration the warm, sunny hearts of the descendants of Imperial Rome. We have told the Pole to come, for we had not forgotten Sobieski, Pulaski, and the later Louis Kossuth. Mindful of the charming literature and the scientific achievements of the French, and not forgetful of the duty contracted in the American Revolution, when Lafayette and the French clergy came to our aid, in the dark days of the American Revolution, we have with all the warmth of our American hearts welcomed to our shores the citizens of La Belle France. I need not enumerate further, for when we extended this welcome to these foreign peoples we did not mean that they should simply tarry with us for a while. We felt that we could show them the greatest democracy upon which the sun ever shone, and we welcomed them to a participation in its citizenship so that they might stand before the world an example of the same wealth in Government institutions as ourselves.

So we ask them now, in the light of their need and the need of their native country much more than ours, that as they are enjoying the fruits of democracy, so they may, in a most substantial way, contribute their share of these fruits, and in return for what they have received from us make at this time the only kind of a return that will or can be accepted as proof positive that they are not ungrateful to us for the privileges which they have enjoyed under the Government of the United States. [Applause.]

Time and again, Mr. Speaker, in the history of our country it would seem as if the principles upon which this Government was founded trembled in the balance. In the War of the Revolution these principles became our fixed standard. By adherence to them we have made progress beyond the power of man to conceive or dream. Our material progress makes puny the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, and these flattering results have been due in no small measure to the fact that the immigrant, from whatever country he came, no matter how downtrodden he had been hitherto, the very moment he stepped foot on the American shore and began to take in the atmosphere of American institutions, felt himself transformed and almost transfigured by the change. In the mother countries he was, or at least had felt himself, a slave. Now he felt he was free; that he was a free man. As he compared his second state with his first, and asked himself for a reason for the change, he was fain to admit, with Emerson, that "America" was only another word for "opportunity." He forswore his allegiance to the mother country, sometimes regretfully, for who can forget the mother that bore him, and then took an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.

When the War of Rebellion was on, when the boys in gray fought according to their lights, with as much conscience as did the boys in blue, when it seemed as if this great country of ours must be torn asunder, Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a Massachusetts man, said in an address which he made in my own Boston that "We are the latest, and if we fail the last experiment of self-government by the people fails," and he further declared that there could be no neutrals in that war, only patriots and traitors. How true this is of this war. Mr. Speaker, if there be in this House—and I believe there is not—a single Member who doubts the justice which inspires the Chamberlain bill, if there be one here who is so little mindful of all that our Government is and has been to him, if there be one who can see a shred of justice in sending more than a million men, citizens of the United States, to the western front while the alien who has not yet declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States takes his position in the counting room or the factory and in smug complacency says to himself that he will enjoy all the benefits to be derived from the registration and conscription, but will suffer none of the burdens, if such a man is a Member of this House I ask him on what principle of justice he relies to sustain his contention? Frankly, I can see none. We are in a world war. The alien

has as much interest in the outcome as the citizen, and if this be so why does he not take the position that if the result is to be a victory of the United States of America he will swear under heaven to contribute to this victory, if he is entitled to share in its fruits?

Again, Mr. Speaker, what does the alien, reluctant to enter into the service, expect as the result of his attitude? Will he, as he looks into the future, have the assurance to profit by the victory? Does not the very fact that he left his own country to improve his condition prove that he is a select and superior being? Did he come to America for the purpose of acquiring wealth only, like a miser, to sit down and gloat over it, or did he come here that his soul might be free, and that he might exercise like a free man those faculties in man that make him like unto the Divine? These men enjoy material comforts the like of which they had never dreamed of. I say, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through nor steal." This is the counsel of the Eternal Wisdom itself. That is the advice, more than any other, that America now needs. The demand is for a more simple life, a life rather of aspiration than of perspiration, a life that does not forget that the greatest thing in the world is man, and the greatest thing in man is mind; a life which, if lived rightly, will guarantee the perpetuity of our institutions, a pledge and promise of happiness here and eternal well-being in the hereafter.

It was with great trepidation and with more than ordinary apprehension that this Government declared a state of war existed between this Government and Germany. We had been lulled to sleep by protestations of friendship masking treachery, intrigue, and murder. The people were engaged in their peaceful pursuits, little knowing of the storm which was to burst. The Government maintained a neutrality under most trying circumstances for fear lest the war that was the suicide of Europe might become the suicide of the world. International law and laws seemed to have been suspended. Peoples that had been leaders in philosophy seemed to feel that destiny pointed either to world power on the one hand, or ruin on the other, and finding that ruin seemed to be the goal, vowed that in this ruin would come the ruin of the entire world; that governments would pass away from the earth; that conscience should no more have place as a guiding principle in the conduct of man; that human beings would go back to savagery; that everything would be in a condition of primeval chaos.

No wonder, Mr. Speaker, that you and I hesitated as we stood upon the brink of war; no wonder that we viewed with scepticism the departure from the volunteer system to that of registration and the selective draft; no wonder that we feared that the people who had been asleep for so long, not understanding that the enormity of the struggle which was being waged on the other side of the water was really close to us, showed signs of reluctance and resentment when the suggestion of a draft army for a free people was first made. We all shared in this reluctance. We knew the patriotism of the American youth. We had tried it when it was coming into being in the War of the Revolution. We had experienced it again in 1812, in 1846 to 1848; in 1861 to 1865, I care not under what color of his military garb the soldier fought, for both sides in that conflict thought they were right. We saw it again in 1898, when proof was given, though proof was not necessary, that we had become a united country and that the wounds of '61 to '65 had been healed, and that not a trace of them was to be seen; and we shall see this patriotism exemplified again in this greatest war that has ever convulsed the world; this war that has made men, unfortunately, wonder whether there is a great overruling Providence, but at the same time has done more than any other event in the world's history that I know of to bring man's mind back to religion.

Do I need to say that this is not an ordinary war? Nation after nation has ranged herself on the side of justice against a Government that has vowed that it will make the world safe for hypocrisy. The evidence of the last few days, the revelations coming from the office of the Secretary of State, are all we need to convince us that the extraordinary method for the selection of men for the great Army was under the circumstances an absolute necessity. Any other system would have been too slow. Any other system would have given heart and comfort to the enemy, not of the United States, but of the world; any other method of recruiting would have convinced the megalomaniac, the swaggering butcher of Europe, the blasphemer who takes the Almighty into junior partnership with him, and when the contest is going against him shakes his fist into the face of the Eternal and cries out, "Where have you been?" Any other system, I say, would have convinced this autocrat, whom to call a "Hun" is to do a wrong to Attila, that the American people were not behind the Government; that we were a soft people; that we were interested only in the accumulation of wealth; and that we adored only the golden calf.

And so the selective draft became necessary, and the result is that Prussia has at last become convinced that it is a mistake to stir the anger of a patient people. And in view of the many suggestions of peace coming from the central powers, it has made up his mind that doom is written for the throne of the Hohenzollerns and that the great empire built by Bismarck, Moltke, and Von Roon, founded not upon love, but hate, is ready for dismemberment because it has gone after false gods and has forgotten that word which was in the beginning, and that word was God.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether upon the return of this Congress in December we shall find that the State Department has effected its negotiations with our allies and the foreign powers, but I sincerely hope that the men in Congress, as well as the men and women of the country, who believe that something must be done speedily and before the second call of the draft comes——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I ask for five minutes more, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I sincerely hope that all this attempted dodging, that the postponement and delays, will at last have come to some end, and that by a rearrangement of treaties, or by some legislation before the second draft comes, we will have the alien who has been here a reasonable time, and who is of the draft age, doing his bit for his adopted country. [Applause.]

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLIVAN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman used one expression there that I think probably he did not intend to use, and that is "this attempted dodging." Will the gentleman state what he refers to about dodging, in Congress or otherwise?

Mr. GALLIVAN. Not in the Congress.

Mr. GARNER. Do you know of any in any executive or administrative branch of the Government?

Mr. GALLIVAN. I have heard of it.

Mr. GARNER. Where they dodged the question?

Mr. GALLIVAN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman ought to give the House the benefit of it.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I have heard of it.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman ought to give the House and the country the benefit of that information.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I have heard of it, and I think several other Members have heard of it. It has been printed in the newspapers, and I do not think there is any doubt but what somebody has attempted to dodge the whole situation.

Mr. QUIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLIVAN. No; I will not. I have only a few minutes left, and I want to say a great deal in that time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the object of the legislation I advocate is simply to bring into the service of the Government in a selective way the entire man power of the country within the ages defined. Why should your boy or mine serve in the Army or in the Navy, on a destroyer or the mine sweeper, in the air or in the trenches, except to preserve for the purposes for which they were established these glorious institutions in which we rejoice? Why should my neighbor's son be selected for service and mine, equally strong physically and mentally, be allowed to stay at home to enjoy his own sweet will and fancy unless by staying at home he makes some contribution to that wealth of the country most necessary at this hour, ready to join the Army if it be necessary?

But more than all this, Mr. Speaker, what about him who acknowledges allegiance to a foreign State, which foreign State is willing to suspend all treaties, the man who can not, for obvious reasons, return to his country now? Has he not for the time being at least preferred this country to his own? Does he not get aid and comfort from it? And is this aid and is this comfort to be guaranteed to him for the future because of the sacrifice of the American citizen or his son, who by this sacrifice assures the alien that his condition of comfort shall endure?

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, is simply a corrective of what would otherwise be a gross injustice. As many men are at the

cantonments to-day as the result of the first draft as there are aliens within the scope of this bill. When we get the action on this proposition we hope for then the mothers of these young men will know that there is no discrimination—that rich and poor, high and low, citizen and noncitizen, ready volunteer and slacker are within the power of the Government, which is simply exercising a right to require service for service already rendered. The Nation will then truly stand as a symbol of inviolable justice. Then shall we know that the foundations of the Government structure are sound and deep, and we shall become more convinced than ever that as the ages pass and the historian takes his pen in hand he will never choose for his subject "The decline and fall of the United States of America." [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] is recognized for 20 minutes.

WHY WE ARE AT WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, we are approaching the closing days of the most momentous and epoch-making session ever held by the Congress of the United States. In a few days we shall return to our people at home, to meet them eye to eye and heart to heart, to give an account of our stewardship here as their Represenatives during the ever memorable days of this historic session.

They have a right to ask, and it shall be our solemn duty to tell them of the reasons, why our country is at war, and to tell them of the facts upon which our participation in this war is justified. We should not deceive ourselves as to the state of mind back home. This war in its various effects has reached, or will yet reach, every hearthstone and threshold in America. The ordinary man, the man who toils, the farmer, the miner, the artisan, the clerk, the heads of families, the fathers of sons of military age, the bread earners, the providers of small incomes—in short, the average man in our districts is asking himself, and especially is asking you and me, what are the facts, the reasons, which justified our Government in taking up the gage of battle thrown down to us by Germany?

It is a fair question. The interrogation imputes no disloyalty. He has the right to ask it, because he is the type of citizen who is called, or whose son is called, to service in the Army; he is called upon to pay his tithe of the heavy tax levies provided for and yet to be provided to finance this great conflict; he is one of the burden bearers of the Republic who must make his sacrifice and endure his pain.

War is abhorrent to all of us. It is the most abnormal and most indefensible of all human institutions, judged by ethical and humanitarian standards, but, unhappily, its cruel arbitriment is still the last resort of nations. So that to appeal to that resort in this case our President and this Congress must have had very unbearable, very intolerable provocation. The undisputed facts show that such was the case. If they did not show it, then no Member of Congress who voted for the declaration of war could hope for or expect the indorsement of his people on such a vote.

This war, deliberately entered upon by us, is solely and entirely a war of self-defense, and one for the protection of the lives of our citizens and their property; the security of our national sovereignty on land and sea, and for the protection of our people and our land from invasion and destruction by the most arrogant and brutal temporal Government that ever profaned God's universe. [Applause.] I did not vote for the resolution primarily to make the world safe for democracy, but as a Representative of a part of my country, and, in a sense, as a Representative of all its people, I voted to make the United States of America safe for its own conception of democracy [applause] and to make its citizens safe from murder and piracy on every inch of the sailed seas while engaged in legitimate business under the protecting stars and stripes of our national flag. [Applause.]

I did not vote for the declaration of war because we had no grievance of our own, as some men seek to falsely represent the statement of the President on a certain occasion; but I voted for it, and you voted for it, because we not only had a grievance, not only because we had a special grievance, but a long series of accumulated grievances of the most specific and brutal nature. These other considerations of world democracy and the rights of small nations were to me of very grave and compelling nature, incidental to our entering the contest, but not its justification; and the sooner those in authority make it unmistakably plain that we are fighting our own fight primarily to protect our own people and to avenge the death of our own fellow citizens, and to perpetuate our own institutions, the better will it be for the solidarity of our national spirit and for the strengthening of our arms on land and sea.

Now, what are the facts, or at least the controlling facts and circumstances, somewhat in logical sequence, which directly led to war, and upon which we must justify our conduct before our people, before posterity, and before God, whose vengeance I verily believe will not be always withheld from that people who engage in war without just cause? [Applause.]

In July, 1914, we little imagined that this country was standing upon the threshhold of such an imminent and wholesale tragedy. We were little concerned with the politics of Europe or the machinations and intrigues of its diplomats. Happy in the presumed security of our geographical isolation, and counseled by the admonition of the fathers of the country to hold ourselves aloof from intermeddling in or becoming parties to entangling alliances with foreign powers, we busied ourselves with our own domestic problems in the evolution of national progress and economic and social growth. And then suddenly and without expectation the hour of destiny struck, the blow fell which was to embroil practically the whole world in the most stupendous Saturnalia of misery and destruction ever wished by the fury of Diabolus.

But in the origin and first effects it was not our war. It did not touch our people nor our territory nor our vested national rights or prerogatives. It is true that we deplored its existence; we condemned the brutal and lustful methods with which it was conducted; we held up to shame and execration the rape of Belgium, with all the sordid and unmentionable atrocities inflicted by the German invaders upon that helpless and unoffending little nation and its people, whose only crime was that it lay between the lair of the national wolf and the sunny hills of heroic France, which were first on the program for desolation and conquest. But still it was not our war, for we had not yet a national grievance.

You recall the very strict and impartial proclamation of neutrality which President Wilson issued and enjoined upon the American people.

He demanded of all Government officials, and urged earnestly that all private citizens refrain from public expressions of sympathy or allegiance to either the central or entente powers. We were exercising our traditional policy of noninterference and no intermeddling, but we were not called upon either by the law of nations or by the dictates of expediency, reasonably interpreted, to waive any of our well-established and immemorial national rights.

But in the light of subsequent developments we now know with what supreme and arrogant contempt and disregard the honest efforts of our President to preserve a strict neutrality between all belligerents was treated by the German Government, acting through and under the specific direction of the accredited representatives of that Government to our country. The revelatons, now proven without doubt, show, as President Wilson said in his address to Congress on April 2, that—

> One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of Government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact, proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues, which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country, have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

While professing friendship for our Government, while enjoying the hospitality of its National Capital, and while being credited by us with the observance of friendly relations and honest purposes, the German Government, through its highest official of state, entered into a deliberate and cold-blooded conspiracy to engage Mexico and Japan against us in war, and promised Mexico as her reward the sovereign territory of New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. The official proposal was as follows:

> BERLIN, *January 19, 1917.*
>
> On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement. You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan, suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan. Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace within a few months.
>
> (Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

And bear in mind that was many weeks before we declared a state of war to exist.

Not only this, but it has been proven in the courts of our country that the officials of the German Government have

through hired agents inspired and set afoot the destruction of industrial plants, the dynamiting of bridges and canals, the burning of millions of dollars' worth of private property, and even the murder of innocent citizens. And yet there are those who say that we had no grievance and that Germany had done us no harm!

Within the last few days it has been disclosed that on January 22, 1917, Count von Bernstorff, the then German ambassador to the United States, sent to his Government the following communication:

I request authority to pay out up to $50,000 in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organizations you know of, which can perhaps prevent war. I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly. In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable in order to gain the support of Irish influence here.

Thus Germany's highest diplomatic agent in our country was seeking corruptly and covertly to influence the Congress of the United States by the use of money and thereby attack the integrity of our Government at its very heart. And still there are those claiming to be loyal citizens of this Republic who assume to say that Germany is as blameless as a "sucking dove."

But the things before mentioned did not form the basis of our declaration of war. They are only sidelights to the real issues.

As the war in Europe progressed the submarine question from time to time assumed very serious and portentous aspects to us and to our interests.

The submarine as an agent of destruction was a new thing in naval warfare. The status of this new weapon, as it affected belligerents and noncombatants, had not been determined by the maritime precedents nor international law at the beginning of this war. But surely the submarine, because of its deadly and diabolical destructiveness, could not claim immunity from the human edicts of the law of the seas built up through the centuries. Since the beginning of time the high seas have been recognized as the legitimate highways of all commerce between nations, and the principle that during a war naval operations should be so conducted that injury and death should be spared to noncombatants and the citizens of neutral countries is as old as civilization.

At this point in my address I desire to incorporate, by his permission, a part of the admirable address delivered by Hon. HENRY D. FLOOD, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives on April 5, 1917, on the occasion when Mr. FLOOD, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs presented the declaration of war for the consideration of the House. I take this liberty because said address presents in chronological order the developments of the submarine controversy up to the time of the declaration of war:

Germany gave notice on the 4th day of February, 1915, of her purpose to sink merchant vessels on the high seas without safeguarding the lives of noncombatants and the crews and passenger lists. Our Government on February 10 sent, through our Secretary of State, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, a note of protest to the German Government, taking positive and splendid issue with it upon its proposed ruthless submarine warfare; and I will say, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Bryan never produced a finer document than the note to Germany on that occasion. It protested against the German proposed disregard of the precepts of international law and the instincts of humanity. This splendid document seemed to be effective, for on the 16th day of February the Imperial German Government replied to it in a friendly and satisfactory manner, conceding the propriety, the legality, and the right of the position taken by our Government.

That Government declared on the 16th of February that—

"It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property."

That was promise No. 1, made by the German Government to this Government, to respect the lives of neutrals and neutral properties. Their reply goes on to say:

"The commanders of the German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American ships when they are recognizable as such"—

A distinct promise on the part of the German Government to respect the rights of American ships when they are recognized as such. And yet within the past three weeks, Mr. Chairman, they have sent to the bottom of the ocean seven American merchant ships which they recognized as such, and which they torpedoed and sunk without warning and without notice and without the slightest opportunity for the passengers and crew to have their lives saved.

That is war. That is the war that the German Government is making upon this country to-day.

Our Government had every right to believe that this promise of February 16, 1915, could be relied upon, and our Government did rely upon that promise. Nevertheless the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare as if that promise had never been made, and it torpedoed on March 27, just a little over a month after that promise was made, the British passenger ship *Falaba*, with Americans on board, on which occasion one American lost his life. On April 28, less than two months and a half after this first promise was made, the American steamer *Cushing* was attacked by airships, and on May 1 the American tank steamer *Gulflight* was attacked by submarines; and on May 7, less than three months after the promise was made, the British passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk, when 114 American lives were lost; and later on in that month, the American steamer *Nebraskan* was attacked by submarines and sunk; in all of which ships there were 125 citizens of the United States murdered and hundreds of noncombatants, including men, women, and children of other nations, lost their lives, and a number of American citizens had their lives put in jeopardy. Later on, on June 28, the British mule boat *Armenian* was torpedoed, and 20 Americans lost their lives.

The American Government vigorously protested against these outrages, expressing its condemnation of Germany's violation of the laws of nations, the instincts of humanity, and her agreements with this country in murdering innocent American citizens and noncombatants of other nations. The German Government replied to these protests, making one excuse after another, and impressing our Government with its intention in the future to observe the rules of the sea, the laws of nations, and the principles of humanity.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare, and particularly of the submarine commander in the *Lusitania* case, the German Government stated—and here is promise No. 2; listen to what the German Government said to the United States on that occasion:

"The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

"In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance."

This promise was unequivocal—there was no string to it—but notwithstanding that fact seven American ships have been sunk in violation of it in the last few weeks.

This was a promise to safeguard American ships and American passengers upon neutral ships. But notwithstanding this, subsequent to the 8th of July, 1915, a number of vessels—namely, the *Orduna* and *Leo*, July 9; *Leelanaw*, July 25; *Arabic* and *Nicosum*, August 19; and the *Hesperian*, September 4—carrying American citizens were attacked and sunk by submarines and 25 American lives were lost in such ships.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on December 1, 1915, gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States. This is promise No. 3. Here is what the German Government promised upon this occasion:

"Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

That promise seems clear and very distinct.

On September 9, in reply to the submarine attack on the *Orduna*, the German Government gave assurance No. 4, in the following language:

"The first attack on the *Orduna* of a torpedo was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew."

The German Government, Mr. Chairman, could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On November 29 the German Government stated in connection with the case of the American vessel *William P. Frye*—and this is pledge No. 5, given by the German Government to our Government not to conduct a ruthless submarine warfare. It said:

"The German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband when the three conditions provided by the declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crews and passengers of the vessels to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into a lifeboat except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coast—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port."

Mr. Chairman, there could hardly be a more positive and definite agreement made by the German Government with this Government not to sink passenger liners until they had been warned, and not only until the passengers and crew had been afforded an opportunity to escape with their lives, but the commanders of the German submarines were to take into consideration the conditions surrounding the liner—the condition of the weather, the condition of the sea, and its proximity to a port—and they should not be ordered into boats unless those conditions gave absolute certainty that they could reach land in safety.

Following this accumulated series of assurances though, which were brought about by the strong protest of our Government against the violation of their previous promises and their illegal submarine warfare, there does not seem to have been the slightest abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon an American steamer on December 3, upon another American steamer on December 5, a Japanese steamer on December 21 of that year, and the passenger liner *Persia* on December 30. In the sinking of the *Persia*, out of a total of 500 human beings on board only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American consul traveling to his post.

On January 7, eight days after the sinking of the *Persia*, after a protest had been sent by us to the German Government, that Government again notified our Government through its ambassador in Washington that it would no longer pursue this character of submarine warfare, saying:

"First, German submarines in the Mediterranean had from the beginning orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principle of international law, and in particular the measures of reprisal as applied to the war zone around the British Isles were to be excluded."

But yet we have never heard of the punishment of the submarine commanders and crews who destroyed these vessels and murdered these people in the Mediterranean in violation of that instruction of their Government.

"Second. German submarines are, therefore, permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—that is, passenger as well as freight ships—as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance, only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety."

That is all that our Government demanded of them. That is all that the United States required of the German Government in the conduct of its submarine warfare. We demanded that they should not murder unoffending noncombatants—men, women, and children—upon the high seas, but that when they determined to sink a merchant vessel they could do so only after they had given warning to that vessel and provided for the safety of the people on board. And here is the sixth distinct, positive, clear, and unequivocal promise that the German Government made to the Government of the United States to observe these rules of submarine warfare. Clearly, Mr. Chairman, the assurances of

that Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed, except upon the passengers and crews being accorded safety, were by these promises declared to be the official position of the Imperial German Government.

On February 16, 1916, the German ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania* and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note the seventh promise is made to this Government to conduct a decent submarine warfare. It said:

"Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects."

But notwithstanding this assurance, on March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer *Patria*, carrying a number of American citizens, was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark *Silius* was torpedoed by an unseen submarine and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia* was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer *Berwindale* was torpedoed without warning, with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer *Englishman* was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine *U–19*, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning and several of the 24 American passengers were injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner *Manchester Engineer* was sunk by an explosion without prior warning, with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer *Eagle Point* was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

These lawless acts upon merchant vessels and the lives of American citizens and the repeated violation of promises made by the German Government to our Government, and also the violations of the treaty obligations brought us to the point where it seems there was nothing for our Government to do but to break off diplomatic relations with the German Government and take whatever steps a breach of diplomatic relations might lead to.

In a communication of April 8, 1916, the American Government said:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should not immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law," and again assured our Government that under these rules no American citizens' lives would be taken and no merchant vessel would be sunk without warning and without an opportunity for the people, passengers, and crew aboard the ships to escape with their lives.

Under this assurance the country breathed easier. The breach of diplomatic relations was avoided and war seemed to have been averted. I believed, and many other people in this country believed, that President Wilson had accomplished the greatest diplomatic triumph of the century. Germany had given this promise to abandon and not resume ruthless submarine warfare, and we credited her with sincerity. She had promised that in the future this warfare would be conducted according to the principles of visit and search, that passenger vessels would not be sunk, that due warning would be given the vessels, and that submarines might seek to destroy only when resistance was offered or escape attempted.

This method of submarine warfare which Germany promised to conduct was substantially lived up to from the 4th of May, 1916, to the 1st day of February of the present year. But on January 31, 1917, the German Government served this notice upon our Government:

"Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met with in that zone will be sunk."

That notice was not only opposed to every principle of international law but to every dictate of humanity, and it was in direct contravention of these eight promises that the German Government had during the preceding two years made to our Government. It is in contravention of the treaty between this country and Prussia entered into in 1828, and to which Germany has appealed recently in some of her controversies with our country.

In view of these facts and of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the pledge of the Imperial German Government of May 4 of the same year, it could not have been expected by the German Government that this Government would permit it to fence off the high seas at its pleasure, to deny American ships and American citizens the right to go upon these seas in safety, where every nation, including Germany, conceded they had a perfect right to go, so that Government's notice of January 31 was little short of a declaration of war against this country.

On the 3d of February, 1917, our Government sent the following declaration to the Imperial German Government through its ambassador, Count von Bernstorff:

"In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

"The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your excellency your passports"—

Thus breaking off diplomatic relations, recalled our ambassador in Germany, and gave the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, his passports. On February 3, 1917, following the breaking off of diplomatic relations one American ship was sunk, and since that date seven ships flying the American flag and bearing American registry have been torpedoed. One of these vessels was an armed merchant vessel. The loss of life on these ships has been between 25 and 30 American souls. Twenty-five or 30 American citizens traveling on American ships under the American flag, expecting its protection, as they had a right to expect, have been ruthlessly murdered by the German Government. In addition to that, many foreign vessels of both belligerents and neutrals have been sunk since February 1, 1917, and a number of American lives destroyed and many more put in jeopardy.

Mr. Chairman, this is war; it is nothing but war—war waged by the German Government upon the people and the flag of the United States.

The note from the German Government dated January 31, 1917, addressed to our Secretary of State, contained the following conditions and stipulations under which they would allow American vessels, under the American flag, manned by American sailors, carrying American passengers and commerce, to sail the high seas to their destination:

Sailing of regular American passenger steamers may continue undisturbed after February 1, 1917, if—

(a) The port of destination is Falmouth.

(b) Sailing to or coming from that port, course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50° north, 20° west.

(c) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ships' hull and superstructure three vertical stripes 1 meter wide each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red, and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

(d) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

(e) The United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers.

This order from the German Government covered a zone 1,200 miles long and 1,000 miles wide along the western coast of Europe and deliberately warned us, a neutral Nation, that any ship entering that part of the high seas would be torpedoed and sunk without warning and without any opportunity for the passengers and crews to escape death in the waters of the ocean. Through that zone it was estimated that last year three-fifths of our export foreign trade passed. Through it passed last year two-thirds of our export of wheat, five-sixths of our hog products, and six-sevenths of our cotton products. In other words, the German Government said to the cotton farmer of my section of the country, that this product of his farm, which was his chief money crop and the price of which was absolutely fixed by the amount of foreign consumption, should not be sent through the legimitate channels of commerce in American vessels to cotton consumers in Europe. Those same cotton farmers well remember what happened to them in 1914 at the outbreak of the war when the foreign trade in cotton was shut off and the price immediately dropped to 5 and 6 cents per pound. The German Government said to us that our people should not exercise the right in a legitimate way to use the high seas created by God Almighty for the honest purposes of men, to be used as highways of communication; and that if we attempted to exercise that right our vessels and our commerce and our people would be sent to the bottom of the sea. Before the declaration of war, in the course of her submarine operations, Germany deliberately and in cold blood and in wanton violation of all the laws of God and man sent to their tombs in the shifting sands of the sea 235 American citizens—men, women, and little children.

The Secretary of State had prepared at my request a list of names of said victims, the vessel upon which they were murdered, and the date of their death, which list, for the information of the House and country, I shall insert in the RECORD as an appendix to my remarks.

Do not forget, gentlemen, that all of these were American citizens, claiming the protection of the American flag. Suppose all of the 235 had been resident citizens of my district or yours—our neighbors and our friends—what would have been our indignation and resentment over their assassination? Because they came from scattered sections of the country is no reason to diminish our righteous protests against their unlawful and savage slaughter. [Applause.]

If a great Nation like ours, claiming to be the greatest Republic on the face of the earth, to whose flag and whose institution we devote our loyalty and allegiance, would not take up arms to resent and to prevent such outrages as these, then I am constrained to confess that we have forgotten the heritage of our fathers and are no longer worthy to claim a place either in the respect or admiration of the world. [Applause.]

Let me suggest a homely comparison of the principle invoked by us. Running east and west through the little city in which I live is a fine county and part of a national highway. For generations it has been a public road over which the farmers have brought their cotton and farm products to market. It is a highway of trade, the only one available to many of my people. Suppose some farmer living along the road should get into a

dispute with his neighbor and serve notice on him that if he attempted to travel that road to take his cotton to market he would stand behind a tree and kill him on sight in day or night time; and moreover, served notice on all his neighbors living on that road, with whom he had no quarrel, that they nor their families should pass that way to market under pain of assassination? And to make the illustration more complete he carried his threat into execution; he waylaid a peaceable and unsuspecting citizen traveling that highway and shot from ambush without any sort of warning and killed the man's mules and also the man, and his wife and his infant child, who were in the wagon with him. What standing would such a desperado have in a court of justice or what mercy could he expect? And that was exactly what the German Government was doing to American ships and American citizens on the highway of the seas where they had every legal right to be to carry American commerce to legitimate markets of the world; and although we protested and almost upon our supplicating knees begged them to stop this outrageous action, the Imperial German Government said, "No; we know no law save that of power and necessity and we propose to keep on sinking your ships and murdering your citizens as long as we please and as many as we please." There was nothing for us to do as a Nation except either to crawl and whine and cringe before the behest of our masters—the Hohenzollerns—or to fight. And we chose to fight. [Applause.] As President Wilson said in his memorable address to this body:

There is one choice we can not make—we are incapable of making—we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored or violated.

We are fighting a war of self-defense, because there can be no question of doubt that it was the dream, the philosophy, the teaching, the inexorable purpose of the Prussian dynasty to subjugate by force and to rule the world.

Hear the words of Frederick II, one of the greatest of his house, whose policy of statecraft has been followed and enlarged in viciousness by the present Kaiser:

If possible, the powers of Europe should be made envious against one another in order to give occasion for a coup when the opportunity arises.

If a ruler is obliged to sacrifice his own person for the welfare of his subjects, he is all the more obliged to sacrifice treaty engagements the continuance of which would be harmful to his country. Is it better that a nation should perish or that a sovereign should break his treaty?

Statesmanship can be reduced to three principles: First, to maintain your power, and, according to circumstances, to extend it; second, to form an alliance only for your own advantage; third, to command fear and respect even in the most disastrous times.

Do not be ashamed of making interested alliances from which you yourself can derive the whole advantage. Do not make the foolish mistake of not breaking them when you believe your interests require it.

Above all, uphold the following maxim: To despoil your neighbors is to deprive them of the means of injuring you.

When he is about to conclude a treaty with some foreign power, if a sovereign remembers he is a Christian he is lost.

The following is an extract from a book written a few years ago by Freiherr von Edelsheim, a member of the German general staff in 1901:

It is questionable whether there is anything to be gained in occupying for any length of time so large a territory as the United States. The fact that one or two of her provinces were occupied by invaders would not alone move the Americans to sue for peace. To accomplish this end the invaders would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country through the successful seizure of many of the Atlantic seaports in which the threads of the entire wealth of the nation meet.

It should be so managed that a line of land operations would be in close juncture with the fleet, through which we would be in a position to seize within a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all government affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and, lastly, to impose heavy indemnities. For enterprises of this sort small land forces would answer our purpose, for it would be unwise for the American garrisons to attempt an attack.

Their excellently developed railways will enable them to concentrate their troops in a relatively short time at the various recognized landing places on the coast. But there are many other splendid landings, and it appears feasible for the invading corps to conduct its operations on these points with the cooperation of the fleet. The land corps can either advance aggressively against the concentrated opposing forces or through embarking evade an attack and land at a new place.

As a matter of fact, Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States.

I also quote from the utterances of a few of the leading German soldiers, statesmen, and philosophers:

As the German bird, the eagle, hovers high over all the creatures of the earth, so also should the German feel that he is raised high above all other nations who surround him, and whom he sees in the limitless depth beneath him. (Prof. W. Sobart, H. U. H., p. 143.)

A war fought and lost would destroy our laboriously gained political importance * * * would shake the influence of German thought in the civilized world, and thus check the general progress of mankind in its healthy development, for which a flourishing Germany is the essential condition. Our next war will be fought for the highest interest of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. "World power or downfall!" will be our rallying cry. (Gen. v. Bernhardi, G. N. W., p. 154.)

We have become a nation of wrath; we think only of the war. * * * We execute God's Almighty will, and the edicts of His justice we will fulfill, imbued with holy rage, in vengeance upon the ungodly. God calls us to murderous battles, even if worlds should thereby fall to ruins. * * * We are woven together like the chastening lash of war; we flame aloft like the lightning; like the gardens of roses our wounds blossom at the gates of Heaven. (F. Philippi, quoted in H. A. H., p. 52.)

We are beginning slowly, humbly, and yet with a deep gladness, to divine God's intentions. It may sound proud, my friends, but we are conscious that it is also in humbleness that we say it; the German soul is God's soul; it shall and will rule over mankind. ("On the German God," by Pastor W. Lehmann, quoted in H. A. H., p. 83.)

Verily the Bible is our book. * * * It was given and assigned to us, and we read in it the original text of our destiny, which proclaim to mankind salvation or disaster—according as we will it. ("War Devotions," by Pastor J. Rump, quoted in H. A. H., p. 134.)

We want to become a world people. Let us remind ourselves that the belief in our mission as a world people has arisen from our originally purely spiritual impulse to absorb the world into ourselves. (Prof. F. Meinecke, D. D. E., p. 37.)

Our frontiers are too narrow. We must become land hungry, must acquire new regions for settlement, otherwise we will be a sinking people, a stunted race. True love for our people and its children commands us to think of their future, however much they may accuse us of quarrelsomeness and lust of war. If the Germanic people shrank from war it would be as good as dead. (Baron v. Vietinghoff-Scheel, at meeting of Pan-German League, Erfurt, Sept. 1912. Nippold, D. C., p. 72.)

Every great people needs new territory; it must expand over foreign soil; it must expel the foreigners by the power of the sword. (K. Wagner, K., p. 80.)

If we do not soon acquire new territory a frightful catastrophe is inevitable. It signifies little whether it be in Brazil, in Siberia, in Anatolia, or in South Africa. * * * To-day, as 2,000 years ago, when the Cimbriand the Teutons beat at the gates of Rome, a cry arises ever louder and louder, "Give us land, give us new land!" (A. Wirth, V. U. W., p. 227.)

Such was the damnable doctrine of force, reprisal, treachery, and conquest with which Prussian dominion was to ultimately rule the world, the calm and submissive United States of America included.

But, sir, they forgot the fiber, the temper, the traditions, the soul of America. They forgot that we yet remember for what Washington fought, for what Jefferson and Hamilton dreamed and builded; for what Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott led their conquering legions. They forgot that in America there yet runs in the veins of her people the same kind of blood which pulsed in the heart of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee. [Applause.] They do not seem to remember the booming of Dewey's guns at Manila nor of Schley's at Santiago Bay. [Applause.]

They forget that as a people we propose to perpetuate our gratitude for the sacrifices of our sires at Valley Forge and Lexington and Kings Mountain, and that the long struggles of our people through the years of our history in peace and war to build up and sustain here in the Western World a Republic of freedom and security for men, in which to work out their destiny of peace and a better civilization, shall not be dissipated and destroyed to satisfy the brutal ambition of a Prussian King. [Applause.]

The President is sending our armies abroad to help our allies fight back the invader because it is better for our men to fight on foreign soil than on our own. When you have an enemy to destroy and want to do it as quickly as possible, you must go where that enemy is. We sought our enemy in Mexico, in Cuba, and in the Philippines, and in the Mediterranean with the Barbary pirates.

If Germany is not defeated in Europe, as sure as fate, they will invade our shores. Do the men of America want to take any chances on having their glorious womanhood suffer the unspeakable shame of the 10,000 Serbian girls taken behind the German lines; or to have our children and old men desecrated as were those in Belgium and northern France? Shall we hazard for a minute the chance of having set up in our midst a code of moral conduct referred to in the editorial I read? God forbid!

IN LEAGUE WITH HELL.

Germany has lost thousands and hundreds of thousands of her men in the effort of the war lord to dominate the earth. It is being published in England and America that the German Government, seeking to replace these men, has practically commanded the girls and widows of the nation to bear children and that these fatherless children will be called "legitimate" and that the Government will support them. A cannibal chief would hardly stoop to such a course to repopulate the jungles in which he reigns. A government, claiming to be civilized, that would thus encourage and even command prostitution on the part of its women deserves death. Surely it is in the interest of the Germans themselves that the world is resisting such monstrous power. The government that makes war on women and children, drops its bombs on sleeping towns, and sinks ships of neutrals, and forces its own women to play the part of harlots should be utterly annihilated. Its promoters are in league with hell, and Satan doubtless as soon as possible will share his kingdom with them.—Alabama Christian Advocate.

If this Nation, with its creed of freedom and its Constitution of justice, was worth the sacrifices of our fathers to establish, surely it has not degenerated into such miserable station that it is unworthy for the present generation to defend.

Unwillingly forced into a contest for the preservation of our right to live under the humane law of nations and the benign dictates of a quickened national conscience, we will not now sheathe the sword until this modern "scourge of God" shall have been swept from his throne of barbaric power and the world made safe for eternal peace and against all future war

by having it written above the ruins of the now glittering palace of the Hohenzollerns at Potsdam at least the spirit of Poe's Ode to the Coliseum of the Cæsars:

Here, where a hero fell, a column falls!
Here, where the mimic eagle glared in gold,
A midnight vigil holds the swarthy bat!
Here, where the dames of Rome their gilded hair
Waved to the wind, now wave the reed and thistle!
Here, where on golden throne the monarch lolled,
Glides, specterlike, unto his marble home,
Lit by the wan light of the horned moon,
The swift and silent lizard of the stones!

[Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Names of United States citizens who lost their lives through the sinking of vessels by submarines or mines prior to April 4, 1917.

Name.	Vessel.	Date of sinking.
Adams, Arthur H	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Adeholde, Carl	Vigilancia (American)	Mar. 16, 1917
Baker, Miss Margaret A., New York City.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Baldwin, Harry B., New York City	do	Do.
Baldwin, Mrs. Harry B., New York City.	do	Do.
Bancroft, William B., New York City	do	Do.
Barker, Miss Winifred, Trenton, N. J.	do	Do.
Bates, jr., Lindon W., New York City	do	Do.
Batiansilo, B. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Bilicke, Albert C., Los Angeles, Cal.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Bazzell, Wm	Carib (American)	Feb. 22, 1915
Bloomfield, Thomas, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Borjesson, B	Azrec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Bretherton, Elizabeth (infant), Los Angeles, Cal.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Broderick, Carlton, T., Boston, Mass	do	Do.
Brooks, R. H. (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Brown, ——	do	Do.
Brown, Joshua R. C	Mariana (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Brown, Mrs. Mary C., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Brown, P. D	Marina (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Brown, Vance (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Brugiere, Josephine Sather	Arabic (British)	Aug. 19, 1915
Buckey, P	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Buie, W	Mariana (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Bullock, Joe (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Burchett, W. (Negro)	do	Do.
Byrd, L. (Negro)	do	Do.
Callon, Patrick, Chicago, Ill	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Campbell, Matt (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Candlish, Arthur, Pawtucket, R. I	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Cannon, Peter M. (doubt as to citizenship).	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Carroll, J	Iberian (British)	July 31, 1915
Catherwood, John, Philadelphia, Pa	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Catherwood, Mrs. Maria, Philadelphia, Pa.	do	Do.
Chandler, ——, second mate, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Cloete, W. Broderick, San Antonio, Tex.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Colbert, Mrs. Helena, New York City	do	Do.
Colbert, William, New York City	do	Do.
Collier, J. (Negro)	Crispin (British)	Apr. 2, 1917
Condon, Mrs. Terence (Della), New York City.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Conception, S. (Filipino)	Vedamore(British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Cooper, E. (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Crichton, Mrs. Wm., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Cruz, F. de la (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Cupo, Joseph	Ancona (Italian)	Nov. 9, 1915
Davis, Mrs. or Miss Annie	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Davis, John	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Denyer, Ronald, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Di Mascio, Guido	Ancona (Italian)	Dec. 7, 1916
Di Mascio, Joseph	do	Do.
Donegug, T. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Donnkeman (doubt as to citizenship)	Enveston (British)	Feb. 5, 1917
Donovan, James (doubt as to citizenship)	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Driscoll, Timothy, Boston, Mass	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Entillon, M. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Eopolucci, John I., Washington, D. C	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Erickson, Chas	do	Do.
Faccinolo, Maria F	Ancona (Italian)	Nov. 7, 1915
Faccinolo, Teresa V	do	Do.
Ferguson, Edward (infant), Newark, N. J.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Ferguson, John, New York City	do	Do.
Ferguson, Mrs. Mary, Newark, N. J	do	Do.
Foley, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Foley, Arthur R., Trenton, N. J	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Forman, Justin Miles, New York City	do	Do.
Freeman, jr., Richard R., Boston, Mass	do	Do.
Friedman, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y	do	Do.
Friend, Edwin W., Farmington, Conn	do	Do.
Frohman, Charles, New York City	do	Do.
Garrity, J., Mauch Chunk, Pa	Cabotia (British)	Oct. 20, 1916
Garry, Christ., Cleveland, Ohio	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Gibbons, Michael, Chicago, Ill	do	Do.
Gilsenan, Hugh, Long Island City, N. Y.	do	Do.
Gomez, V. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Gordan, Ralph (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Granberry, B. M	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Gray, Master Stewart, Los Angeles, Cal.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Gray, Mrs. Terence, Los Angeles, Cal	do	Do.
Greenwood, Master Ronald, Lawrence, Mass. (11 years).	do	Do.
Groves, George, New York City	do	Do.
Gunter, Alfred	Guilflight (American)	May 1, 1915
Gurnsey, W	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916

Names of United States citizens who lost their lives through the sinking of vessels by submarines or mines prior to April 4, 1917—Continued.

Name.	Vessel.	Date of sinking.
Haden, Robert Allen	Athos (French)	Feb. 17, 1917
Hahn, C. (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Harvey, Wm., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Healy, George, San Francisco, Cal	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Henry, Julius (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Hickson, Miss C. Kathryn, New York City.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Hodges, Master Dean W., Philadelphia, Pa.	do	Do.
Hodges, William S., Philadelphia, Pa	do	Do.
Hodges, Mrs. William S., Philadelphia, Pa.	do	Do.
Hodges, Master W. S., jr., Philadelphia, Pa.	do	Do.
Hopkins, Albert L., New York City	do	Do.
House, G. M	Marina (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Hoy, Mrs. Mary E	Laconia (British)	Feb. 26, 1917
Hoy, Miss Elizabeth	do	Do.
Hubbard, Elbert, East Aurora, N. Y	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Hubbard, Mrs. Elbert, East Aurora, N. Y.	do	Do.
Hume, Mrs. Mary A., Harrison, N. J	do	Do.
Hurley, Charles E., Boston, Mass	do	Do.
Jackson, — (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Jackson, William	Galgorm Castle (British)	Feb. 27, 1917
Johnson, James (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Johnson, Jack (Negro)	do	Do.
Johnson, W. C	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Jones, Evan, Chicago, Ill	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Kaohi, Ekele	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Kellet, Francis C., Tuckahoe, N. Y	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Kelly, Charles	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Kelly, Miss Margaret S., Pittsburgh, Pa.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Kennedy, Mrs. C. Hickson, New York City.	do	Do.
Keser, Harry J., Philadelphia, Pa	do	Do.
Keser, Mrs. Harry J., Philadelphia, Pa	do	Do.
King, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
King, Thomas B., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Knight, C. Harwood, Baltimore, Md	do	Do.
Knight, Miss Elaine H., Baltimore, Md	do	Do.
Larkin, G. C	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Larkin, Harry	do	Do.
Las brovata, Antonio	Ancona (Italian)	Nov. 9, 1915
Lee, Chester L	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Leroy, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Leverich, Miss Rosina Philipa, New York City.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Leverich, Mrs. Rosina Thos	do	Do.
Lines, Alice, New York City	do	Do.
Linton, James (doubt as to citizenship)	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Little, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Logan, Robert (infant), New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Loney, Allen D., New York City	do	Do.
Loney, Mrs. Allen D., New York City	do	Do.
Long, Henry L	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Luck, Mrs. A. C., Worcester, Mass	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Luck, Master Eldridge C., Worcester, Mass.	do	Do.
Luck, Master Kenneth T., Worcester, Mass.	do	Do.
Lund, Charles, New York City	do	Do.
Macdona, Mrs. Henry D., New York City	do	Do.
McGovern, Miss Mazie, Bloomfield, N. J.	do	Do.
MacHardy, Mrs. P. K. (Annie), New York City.	do	Do.
McKenzie, James. (Doubt as to citizenship.)	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
McKenzie, Mrs. Mary A., New Bedford, Mass.	Lusitania (British	May 7, 1915
McNelly, R. Ney, Monroe, N. C	Persia (British)	Dec. 30, 1915
McPartlin, Myles, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Macomber, Julian R	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Mahoney, William A	Anglo-Californian (British)	July 4, 1915
Martin, Richard	do	Do.
Martini, Luigi	Batavier V. (Dutch)	May 16, 1916
Medbury, Maurice B., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Miller, Capt. James B., Washington, D. C.	do	Do.
Mills, Charles, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Monroe, J. M	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Morabito, Maria Concerta	Ancona (Italian)	Nov. 9, 1915
Mounsey, William, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Myers, Herman A., New York City	do	Do.
Naisch, Theodore, Kansas City, Mo	do	Do.
North, Neils	Vigilancia (American)	Mar. 16, 1917
Oakes, Walter	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Page, John Harvey, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Paradis, M. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Pearl, Miss Amy W. (2½ years), New York City.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Pearl, Miss Susan W. (1½ years), New York City.	do	Do.
Pineoppu, Chas	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Plamondon, Charles A., Chicago, Ill	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Plamondon, Mrs. Charles A., Chicago, Ill.	do	Do.
Rice, H. K	Aztec (American)	Apr. 1, 1917
Rickert, — (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Rix, Austin	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Robinson, Emily	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Salisbury, Rev. Homer R	Persia (British)	Dec. 30, 1915
Salt, Henry J., Boston, Mass	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Samoilescu, David, New York City	do	Do.
Schwabacher, Leo M., Baltimore, Md	do	Do.
Schwarcz, Max M., New York City	do	Do.
Scott, David (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916

Names of United States citizens who lost their lives through the sinking of vessels by submarines or mines prior to April 4, 1917—Continued.

Name.	Vessel.	Date of sinking.
Scott, Jack (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Sedbury, George F	Marian (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Shepherd, Edward (Negro)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Sheridan, Martin (had taken out first naturalization papers).	Iberian (British)	July 31, 1915
Shields, Victor E., Cincinnati, Ohio	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Shields, Mrs. Victor E., Cincinnati, Ohio.	do	Do.
Shineman, James, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1916
Shineman, Mrs. Margaret, New York City	do	Do.
Short, Chas. Conrad	Gulflight (American)	May 1, 1915
Shymer, Mrs. R. D., New York City	Rusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Silva, Thomas J., Temple, Tex	do	Do.
Sludgins, ——, third mate, New York	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Small, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Smith, Charles	Sjostad (Norwegian)	Mar. 2, 1917
Smith, J. (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Smith, S. W., Chicago, Ill	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Sonneborn, Henry B., Baltimore, Md	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Speed, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Stainton, William, New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Steiner, John, Pittsburgh, Pa	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Stevens, Charles H., Atlantic City, N. J	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Stone, Harry	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1917
Stone, Herbert S., New York City	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Sullivan, James (doubt as to citizenship)	Englishman (British)	Mar. 27, 1916
Sutton, S. R	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Taylor, Mrs. Annie, Boston, Mass	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Taylor, E. (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Tesson, Frank B., Philadelphia, Pa	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Tesson, Mrs. Frank B., Philadelphia, Pa.	do	Do.
Thomas, Daniel P. (or Thorpe)	Marina (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Thompson, E. Blish, Seymour, Ind	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Thorpe, Daniel P. (or Thomas)	Marina (British)	Oct. 28, 1916
Thresher, Leon M	Falaba (British)	Mar. 28, 1915
Topas, T. S. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Trumbull, Isaac B., Bridgeport, Conn	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Tucker, Otis, South Richmond, Va	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Vance, John	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Vanderbilt, Alfred G., New York City	do	Do.
Veaux, Emery Lee, Michigan	Healdton (American)	Mar. 21, 1917
Viso, Dr. J. S	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Walker, David, Stannardsville or Seville, Greene County, Va.	Galgo R M Castle (British)	Feb. 27, 1917
Wall, —— (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Wallace, Richard (Negro)	E. Aveston (British)	Feb. 5, 1917
Waters, L. S. (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Ward, Michael, Pittsburgh, Pa	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Wiley, B. C. (Filipino)	Vedamore (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Willey, Mrs. Cather E., Lake Forest, Ill	do	May 7, 1915
Williamson, Charles F., New York City	do	Do.
Williamson, E	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Wilson, Joe (Negro)	Russian (British)	Dec. 14, 1916
Witherbee, Alfred S., jr., New York City (4 years).	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Withington, Lothrop, Boston, Mass	do	Do.
Wolf, F. J., New Haven, Conn	Hesperian (British)	Sept. 4, 1915
Wolfenden, John C., Pawtucket, R. I	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Woods, Dr. Edmund F	Arabic (British)	Aug. 19, 1915
Worden, Mrs. Charles (Jane), Lowell, Mass.	Lusitania (British)	May 7, 1915
Washington, George (doubt as to citizenship).	Turino (British)	Feb. 7, 1917
Wyn, L	Iberian (British)	July 31, 1915
Young, Wm. (Negro)	Armenian (British)	June 28, 1915
Four United States citizens (names not given).	Vigilancia (American)	Mar. 16, 1917

CHILDREN LOST ON "LUSITANIA" BORN ON AMERICAN SOIL OF FOREIGN PARENTS AND REPORTED TO BE UNITED STATES CITIZENS.

Cooper, Joseph E.
Coughlan, Margaret.
Frankum, Fred.
Frankum, Winifred (infant).
Goodall, Jack (infant).
Lambert, Robert.
Lockwood, Lily.
Williams, David (infant).

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address the House in reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN].

The SPEAKER. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. QUIN. I should like about seven minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, at this late hour in the afternoon, in the absence of the gentleman from Massachusetts, I think the gentleman's request is not opportune, and I think I will raise the question of no quorum.

Mr. QUIN. Then I should like to have that opportunity to-morrow, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will have to proffer his request to-morrow, when the Chair will put it to the House.

SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 2719. An act to permit the reenlistment of Omer G. Paquet in the United States Army; to the Committee on Pensions.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. GARNER. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 3, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. WEBB, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6361) to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 181), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CRISP: A bill (H. R. 6410) to provide for the entrance into the civil service of veterans of the war with Germany; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: A bill (H. R. 6411) to provide for family allowances and allotment of pay in the Army and Navy during the present war; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 6412) granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GLYNN: Resolution (H. Res. 158) to pay Charles S. Greenwood, clerk of the late Ebenezer J. Hill, a Representative in Congress, $166.66; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. EDMONDS: Resolution (H. Res. 159) providing for investigation by Expenditure Committees of the various departments; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WEBB: Resolution (H. Res. 160) providing for the consideration of H. R. 6361; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CROSSER: Resolution (H. Res. 161) providing for the consideration of House joint resolution 116; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 6413) granting a pension to Catherine Hartly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6414) granting a pension to Malissa Sands; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRODBECK: A bill (H. R. 6415) granting an increase of pension to Henry Blum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 6416) granting a pension to J. E. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 6417) granting a pension to George P. Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 6418) granting a pension to Delia D. Knight; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 6419) granting an increase of pension to Charles Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEELE: A bill (H. R. 6420) for the relief of Bertrand W. Heim; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BRODBECK: Papers pertaining to House bill 6415, granting an increase of pension to Henry Blum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, favoring increase of number of chaplains in the Army, and placing them on a par with the Medical Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *October 3, 1917.*

(Legislative day of Tuesday, October 2, 1917.)

The Senate reassembled at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Myers	Sheppard
Brady	Hollis	New	Simmons
Brandegee	Husting	Norris	Smith, Ariz.
Calder	James	Overman	Smith, Ga.
Curtis	Jones, N. Mex.	Page	Smoot
Dillingham	Jones, Wash.	Penrose	Sutherland
Fernald	Kenyon	Pittman	Vardaman
Fletcher	King	Poindexter	Warren
Hale	Knox	Robinson	Williams
Harding	La Follette	Saulsbury	Wolcott
Hardwick	McNary	Shafroth	

Mr. McNARY. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. JAMES. I announce that my colleague [Mr. BECKHAM] is detained from the Senate on account of illness. I will allow this announcement to stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. POMERENE, Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WALSH answered to their names when called.

Mr. GERRY, Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. FALL, Mr. KELLOGG, and Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. HUGHES] is unavoidably absent owing to illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. REED and Mr. McCUMBER entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-six Senators having answered to the roll call, there is a quorum present.

AMENDMENT OF THE NATURALIZATION LAWS.

Mr. CALDER. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business, the bill (S. 2854) to amend the naturalization laws, be temporarily laid aside.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 5723, commonly known as the war-risk insurance bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance with amendments.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Finance Committee, I referred this bill to a subcommittee, of which the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] was chairman. When that subcommittee reported I was still unable, by reason of my other duties, to attend the meetings of the committee while the bill was being considered. The Senator from Mississippi has had absolute charge of the matter both in the subcommittee and in the full committee, and I have asked him, and he has very graciously consented to my request, to take charge of the bill and manage it upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the bill be read for action on the committee amendments.

Mr. SMOOT. Let me suggest to the Senator that the bill is not very long, and while we have a number of Senators here, it might be well to have the bill read through. The bill with the amendments has just been placed upon our desks this morning, and as many Senators have not read the bill it seems to me it would be wise to read the bill through now.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I withdraw the request under those circumstances, although it seems to me that Senators could read the bill as we go along just as well.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, we can not hear a word on this side on account of the confusion in the Chamber.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have withdrawn the request to dispense with the formal reading of the bill in consequence of what was said by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. President, before the Secretary proceeds with the reading, I want to express the hope that we may get the bill with the amendments through by to-morrow before we adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first section of the act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"ARTICLE I.

"SECTION 1. That there is established in the Treasury Department a bureau to be known as the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, the director of which shall receive a salary at the rate of $5,000 per annum.

"That there be in such bureau a Division of Marine and Seamen's Insurance and a Division of Military and Naval Insurance in charge of a commissioner of Marine and Seamen's Insurance and a commissioner of Military and Naval Insurance, respectively, each of whom shall receive a salary of $4,000 per annum."

SEC. 2. That such act of September 2, 1914, as amended, is hereby amended by adding new sections, as follows:

"SEC. 12. That sections 2 to 9, inclusive, shall be construed to refer only to the Division of Marine and Seamen's Insurance.

"SEC. 13. That the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall administer, execute, and enforce the provisions of this act, and for that purpose have full power and authority to make rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, necessary or appropriate to carry out its purposes, and shall decide all questions arising under the act, except as otherwise provided in sections 5 and 405. Wherever under any provision or provisions of the act regulations are directed or authorized to be made, such regulations, unless the context otherwise requires, shall or may be made by the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The director shall adopt reasonable and proper rules to govern the procedure of the divisions, to regulate the matter of the compensation, if any, to be paid to claim agents and attorneys for services in connection with any of the matter provided for in articles 2, 3, and 4, and to regulate and provide for the nature and extent of the proofs and evidence and the method of taking and furnishing the same in order to establish the right to benefits of allowance, allotment, compensation, or insurance provided for in this act, the forms of application of those claiming to be entitled to such benefits, the method of making investigations and medical examinations, and the manner and form of adjudications and awards.

"SEC. 14. That the bureau and its divisions shall have such deputies, assistants, actuaries, clerks, and other employees as may be from time to time provided by Congress. The bureau shall, so far as practicable, by arrangement with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, make use of the services of surgeons in the Army and Navy. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish an advisory board consisting of three members skilled in the practice of insurance against death or disability for the purpose of assisting the Division of Military and Naval Insurance in fixing premium rates and in the adjustment of claims for losses under the contracts of insurance provided for in article 4 and in adjusting claims for compensation under article 3; compensation for the persons so appointed to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not to exceed $20 a day each while actually employed.

"SEC. 15. That for the purposes of this act the director, commissioners, and deputy commissioners shall have power to issue subpœnas for and compel the attendance of witnesses within a radius of 100 miles, to require the production of books, papers, documents, and other evidence, to administer oaths and to examine witnesses upon any matter within the jurisdiction of the bureau. The director may obtain such information and such reports from officials and employees of the departments of the Government of the United States and of the States as may be agreed upon by the heads of the respective departments. In case of disobedience to a subpœna, the bureau may invoke the aid of any district court of the United States in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence, and such court, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on, may, in case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpœna issued to any officer, agent, or employee of any corporation or other person, issue an order requiring such corporation or other person to appear before the bureau, or to give evidence touching the matter in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof. Any person so required to attend as a witness shall be allowed and paid the same fees and mileage as are paid witnesses in the district courts of the United States.

"SEC. 16. That the director shall submit annually to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates of the appropriations necessary for the work of the bureau.

"SEC. 17. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $100,000, for the payment of all expenses incident to the work authorized under this act, including salaries of the director and commissioners and of such deputies, assistants, accountants, experts, clerks, and other employees in the District of Columbia or elsewhere, as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary, traveling expenses, rent and equipment of offices, typewriters and exchange of same, purchase of law books and books of reference, printing and binding to be done at the Government Printing Office, and all other necessary expenses. With the exception of the director, the commissioners, and such special experts as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time find necessary for the conduct

of the work of the bureau, all employees of the bureau shall be appointed from lists of eligibles to be supplied by the Civil Service Commission and in accordance with the civil-service law.

"SEC. 18. That there is hereby appropriated from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $141,000,000, to be known as the military and naval family allowance appropriation, for the payment of the family allowances provided by Article II. Payments out of this appropriation shall be made upon and in accordance with awards by the commissioner of the division of military and naval insurance.

"SEC. 19. That there is hereby appropriated, from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $12,150,000, to be known as the military and naval compensation appropriation, for the payment of the compensation, funeral expenses, services, and supplies provided by Article III. Payments out of this appropriation shall be made upon and in accordance with awards by the director.

"SEC. 20. That there is hereby appropriated, from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $23,000,000, to be known as the military and naval insurance appropriation. All premiums that may be collected for the insurance provided by the provisions of Article IV shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury to the credit of this appropriation.

"Such sum, including all premium payments, is hereby made available for the payment of the liabilities of the United States incurred under contracts of insurance made under the provisions of Article IV. Payments from this appropriation shall be made upon and in accordance with awards by the director.

"SEC. 21. That there shall be set aside as a separate fund in the Treasury, to be known as the military and naval pay deposit fund, all sums held out of pay as provided by section 203 of this act. Such fund, including all additions, is hereby made available for the payment of the sums so held and deposited, with interest, as provided in section 203, and the amount necessary to pay interest is hereby appropriated.

"SEC. 22. That for the purpose of this act marriage shall be conclusively presumed, in the absence of proof, that there is a legal spouse living, if the man and woman have lived together in the openly acknowledged relation of husband and wife during the two years immediately preceding the date of the declaration of war, or the date of enlistment or of entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States if subsequent to such declaration, or during the two years immediately preceding the man's death or the beginning of the disability.

In Articles II, III, and IV of this act, unless the context otherwise requires—

"(1) The term 'child' includes—

"(a) A legitimate child.

"(b) A child legally adopted more than six months before the approval of this act or enlistment or entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, whichever of these dates is the later.

"(c) A stepchild, if a member of the man's household.

"(d) An illegitimate child, but, as to the father, only if acknowledged by him, or if he has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute to such child's support.

"(2) The term 'grandchild' means a child as above defined of a child as above defined.

"(3) Except as used in the last sentence of subdivision (g) of section 301 and in section 401 and in section 402, the terms 'child' and 'grandchild' are limited to unmarried persons either (a) under 18 years of age, or (b) of any age, if incapable because of mental or physical infirmity of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation.

"(4) The term 'parent' includes a father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, stepfather, and stepmother, either of the person in the service or of the spouse.

"(5) The terms 'brother' and 'sister' include brothers and sisters of the half blood as well as those of the whole blood, stepbrothers and stepsisters, and brothers and sisters through adoption.

"(6) The term 'commissioned officer' includes a warrant officer, an Army field clerk, and a field clerk, Quartermaster Corps, but includes only an officer in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States.

"(7) The terms 'man' and 'enlisted man' mean a person, whether male or female, and whether enlisted, enrolled, or drafted into active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, and include noncommissioned and petty officers.

"(8) The term 'enlistment' includes voluntary enlistment, draft, and enrollment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States.

"(9) The term 'commissioner' means the commissioner of military and naval insurance.

"(10) The term 'injury' includes disease.

"(11) The term 'pay' means the pay for service in the United States according to grade and length of service, excluding all allowances.

"(12) The term 'military or naval forces' means the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Naval Reserves, the National Naval Volunteers, and any other branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Army or the Navy.

"SEC. 23. That when, by the terms of this act, any payment is to be made to a person mentally incompetent or a minor, such payment shall be made to some suitable person, corporation, or association, as may be prescribed by regulations for the benefit of the person entitled thereto.

"SEC. 24. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, so far as practicable, shall furnish information to and act for persons in the military or naval service with respect to any contracts of insurance, whether with the Government or otherwise, as may be prescribed by regulations. Said bureau shall procure from and keep a record of the amount and kind of insurance held by every commissioned and appointive officer and of every enlisted man in the military or naval service of the United States, including the name and principal place of business of the company, society, or organization in which such insurance is held, the date of the policy, amount of premium, name and relationship of the beneficiary, and such other data as may be deemed of service in protecting the interests of the insured and beneficiaries.

"SEC. 25. That whoever in any claim for family allowance, compensation, or insurance or in any document required by this act or by regulation made under this act, makes any statement of a material fact knowing it to be false, shall be guilty of perjury and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

"SEC. 26. That if any person entitled to payment of family allowance or compensation under this act, whose right to such payment under this act ceases upon the happening of any contingency, thereafter fraudulently accepts any such payment, he shall be punished by a fine of not more than $2,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both."

ARTICLE II.

ALLOTMENTS AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES.

SEC. 200. That the provisions of this article shall apply to all enlisted men in the military or naval forces of the United States.

SEC. 201. That allotment of pay shall, subject to the conditions, limitations, and exceptions hereinafter specified, be compulsory as to wife, a former wife divorced who has not remarried, and a child, and voluntary as to any other person; but on the written consent of the wife or former wife divorced, supported by evidence satisfactory to the bureau of her ability to support herself and the children in her custody, the allotment for her and for such children may be waived; and on the enlisted man's application or otherwise for good cause shown, exemption from the allotment may be granted upon such conditions as may be prescribed by regulations.

The monthly compulsory allotment shall be in an amount equal to the family allowance hereinafter specified except that it shall not be more than one-half the pay, or less than $15; but for a wife living separate and apart under court order or written agreement or for a former wife divorced, it shall not exceed the amount specified in the court order or agreement to be paid to her.

If there be an allotment for a wife or child, a former wife divorced and who has not remarried shall be entitled to a compulsory allotment only out of the difference, if any, between the allotment for the wife or child or both and one-half of the pay.

SEC. 202. That the enlisted man may allot any proportion or proportions or any fixed amount or amounts of his monthly pay or of the proportion thereof remaining after the compulsory allotment, for such purposes and for the benefit of such person or persons as he may direct, subject, however, to such conditions and limitations as may be prescribed under regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively.

SEC. 203. That in case one-half of an enlisted man's monthly pay is not allotted, regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, may require, under such circumstances and conditions as may be prescribed in such regulations, that any proportion of such one-half pay as is not allotted shall be deposited to his credit, to be held during such period of his service as may be prescribed. Such deposits shall bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, with semiannual rests and, when payable, shall be paid principal and interest to the enlisted man, if living, otherwise to any beneficiary or beneficiaries he may have designated, or if there be no such beneficiary, then to his next of kin.

SEC. 204. That a family allowance of not exceeding $50 per month shall be granted and paid by the United States upon written application to the bureau by such enlisted man or by or on behalf of any prospective beneficiary, in accordance with and subject to the conditions, limitations, and exceptions hereinafter specified.

The family allowance shall be paid from the time of enlistment to death in or one month after discharge from the service, but not for more than one month after the termination of the present war emergency. No family allowance shall be made for any period preceding declaration of war. The payment shall be subject to such regulations as may be prescribed relative to cases of desertion and imprisonment and of missing men.

Subject to the conditions, limitations, and exceptions hereinabove and hereinafter specified, the family allowance payable per month shall be as follows:

Class A. In the case of a man, to his wife (including a former wife divorced and to his child or children:

(a) If there be a wife, but no child, $15.

(b) If there be a wife and one child, $25.

(c) If there be a wife and two children, $32.50, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.

(d) If there be no wife, but one child, $5.

(e) If there be no wife, but two children, $12.50.

(f) If there be no wife, but three children, $20.

(g) If there be no wife, but four children, $30, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.

Class B. In the case of a man or woman, to a grandchild, a parent, brother, or sister:

(a) If there be one parent, $10.

(b) If there be two parents, $20.

(c) For each grandchild, brother, sister, and additional parent, $5.

In the case of a woman, to a child or children:

(d) If there be one child, $5.

(e) If there be two children, $12.50.

(f) If there be three children, $20.

(g) If there be four children, $30, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.

SEC. 205. That family allowances for members of class A shall be paid only if and while a compulsory allotment is made to a member or members of such class. The monthly family allowance to a former wife divorced shall be payable only out of the difference, if any, between the monthly family allowance to the other members of class A and the sum of $50. For a wife living separate and apart under court order or written agreement or to a former wife divorced the monthly allowance, together with the allotment, if any, shall not exceed the amount specified in the court order or agreement to be paid to her.

SEC. 206. That family allowances to members of class B shall be granted only if and while the member is dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man, and then only if and while the enlisted man makes a monthly allotment of his pay for such member or members equal to the amount of the monthly family allowance as hereinabove specified, except that—

(a) The maximum monthly allotment so required to be made to members of class B shall be one-half of his pay.

(b) If he is making no allotment to a member of class A, the minimum monthly allotment so designated to be made to members of class B shall be $15 per month.

(c) If he is making the compulsory allotment to a member of class A, the minimum monthly allotment so designated to be made to members of class B shall be one-seventh of his pay, but not less than $5 per month.

On the enlisted man's application, or otherwise for good cause shown, exemption from the allotment as a condition to the allowance may be granted upon such conditions as may be prescribed by regulations.

SEC. 207. That the amount of the family allowance to members of class B shall be subject to each of the following limitations:

(a) If an allowance is paid to one or more beneficiaries of class A, the total allowance to be paid to the beneficiaries of class B shall not

exceed the difference between the allowance paid to the beneficiaries of class A and the sum of $50.

(b) The total monthly allowance to beneficiaries of class B added to the enlisted man's monthly allotment to them shall not exceed the average sum habitually contributed by him to their support monthly during the period of dependency but not exceeding a year immediately preceding his enlistment or the enactment of this amendment.

SEC. 208. That as between a wife, including a former wife divorced, and the children not in her custody, and as between children, the amount of the allotment and family allowance shall be apportioned as may be prescribed by regulations.

SEC. 209. That allotments and family allowances shall be paid to or for the beneficiaries, as may be provided by regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively.

SEC. 210. That upon receipt of any application for family allowance the commissioner shall make all proper investigations and shall make an award, which award shall be certified to the War Department or Navy Department, as may be proper. Whenever the commissioner shall have reason to believe that an allowance has been improperly made or that the conditions have changed, he shall investigate or reinvestigate and may modify the award. The amount of each monthly allotment and allowance shall be determined according to the conditions then existing.

ARTICLE III.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR DISABILITY.

SEC. 300. That for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the course of the service in the line of duty, by any commissioned officer or enlisted man or by any member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) or of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in the active service under the War Department or Navy Department, the United States shall pay compensation as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 301. That if death results from injury—

If from a marriage contracted before or within 10 years after the injury the deceased leaves a widow or child, or if he leaves a widowed mother substantially dependent upon him for support, the monthly compensation shall be the following percentages of his pay:

(a) For a widow alone, $35.

(b) For a widow and one child, $45.

(c) For a widow and two children, $52.50, with $5 for each additional child up to two.

(d) If there be no widow, then for one child, $20.

(e) For two children, $35.

(f) For three children, $45, with $10 for each additional child up to two.

(g) For a widowed mother, $30. The amount payable under this subdivision shall not be greater than a sum which, when added to the total amount payable to the widow and children, does not exceed $75. This compensation shall be payable for the death of but one child, and no compensation for the death of a child shall be payable if such widowed mother is in receipt of compensation under the provisions of this article for the death of her husband. Such compensation shall be payable whether her widowhood arises before or after the death of the person and whenever her condition is such that if the person were living the widowed mother would have been substantially dependent upon him for support.

If the death occurs after discharge or resignation from service, the United States shall pay burial expenses not to exceed $100, as may be fixed by regulations.

The payment of compensation to a widow or widowed mother shall continue until her death or remarriage.

The payment of compensation to or for a child shall continue until such child reaches the age of 18 years or marries, or if such child be incapable, because of mental or physical infirmity, of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation, then until marriage or death or until such incapacity ceases.

Whenever the compensation payable to or for the benefit of any person under the provisions of this section is terminated by the happening of the contingency upon which it is limited, the compensation thereafter for the remaining beneficiary or beneficiaries, if any, shall be the amount which would have been payable to them if they had been the sole original beneficiaries.

As between the widow and the children not in her custody, and as between children, the amount of the compensation shall be apportioned as may be prescribed by regulations.

SEC. 302. That if disability results from the injury—

(1) If and while the disability is total so as to make it impracticable for the injured person to pursue any gainful occupation, the monthly compensation shall be the following amounts:

(a) If he has neither wife nor child living, $40.

(b) If he has a wife but no child living, $55.

(c) If he has a wife and one child living, $65.

(d) If he has a wife and two or more children living, $75.

(e) If he has no wife but one child living, $50, with $10 for each additional child up to two.

(f) If he has a widowed mother substantially dependent on him for support, then, in addition to the above, $10.

To an injured person who is totally disabled and in addition so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant, such additional sum shall be paid, but not exceeding $20 per month, as the director may deem reasonable: *Provided, however,* That for the loss of both feet or both hands or both eyes, or for becoming totally blind from causes occurring in the service of the United States, the rate of compensation shall be $100 per month: *Provided further,* That no allowance shall be made for nurse or attendant.

(2) If and while the disability is partial, the monthly compensation shall be a percentage of the compensation that would be payable for his total disability, equal to the degree of the reduction in earning capacity resulting from the disability, but no compensation shall be payable for a reduction in earning capacity rated at less than 10 per cent.

A schedule of ratings of reductions in earning capacity from specific injuries or combinations of injuries of a permanent nature shall be adopted and applied by the bureau. Ratings may be as high as 100 per cent. The ratings shall be based, as far as practicable, upon the average impairments of earning capacity resulting from such injuries in civil occupations and not upon the impairment in earning capacity in each individual case, so that there shall be no reduction in the rate of compensation for individual success in overcoming the handicap of a permanent injury. The bureau shall from time to time readjust this schedule of ratings in accordance with actual experience.

(3) In addition to the compensation above provided, the injured person shall be furnished by the United States such reasonable medical, surgical, and hospital services and supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the director may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary.

(4) The amount of each monthly payment shall be determined according to the family conditions then existing.

SEC. 303. That every person applying for or in receipt of compensation for disability under the provisions of this article shall, as frequently and at such times and places as may be reasonably required, submit himself to examination by a medical officer of the United States or by a duly qualified physician designated or approved by the director. He may have a duly qualified physician designated and paid by him present to participate in such examination. For all examinations he shall, in the discretion of the director, be paid his reasonable traveling and other expenses and also loss of wages incurred in order to submit to such examination. If he refuses to submit himself for, or in any way obstructs, any examination, his right to claim compensation under this article shall be suspended until such refusal or obstruction ceases. No compensation shall be payable while such refusal or obstruction continues, and no compensation shall be payable for the intervening period.

Every person in receipt of compensation for disability shall submit to any reasonable medical or surgical treatment furnished by the bureau whenever requested by the bureau; and the consequences of unreasonable refusal to submit to any such treatment shall not be deemed to result from the injury compensated for.

SEC. 304. That if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any, future compensation payments for disability may be commuted in whole or in part for a lump sum equal to the present value of such payments or the proportion thereof to be computed, and such lump sum paid to the injured person in lieu of all further compensation or of the proportion so commuted of all future payments of compensatin: *Provided, however,* That in case of partial disability rated at 30 per cent or more of total disability, or in case of total disability, not more than 50 per cent of the compensation payments as for a man without a wife or child shall be so commutable. The basis for determining present values of future payments of compensation shall be prescribed from time to time by regulation.

SEC. 305. That in cases of dismemberment, of injuries to sight or hearing, and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability, the injured person shall follow such course or courses of rehabilitation, reeducation, and vocational training as the United States may provide or procure to be provided. Should such course prevent the injured person from following a substantially gainful occupation while taking same, a form of enlistment may be required which shall bring the injured person into the military or naval service. Such enlistment shall entitle the person to full pay as during the last month of his active service, and his family to family allowances and allotments as hereinbefore provided, in lieu of all other compensation for the time being.

In case of his willful failure properly to follow such course or so to enlist, payment of compensation shall be suspended until such willful failure ceases and no compensation shall be payable for the intervening period.

SEC. 306. That upon its own motion or upon application the bureau may at any time review an award, and, in accordance with the facts found upon such review, may end, diminish, or increase the compensation previously awarded, or, if compensation has been refused or discontinued, may award compensation.

SEC. 307. That in this article the term "pay" means the monthly pay at the time of the injury, or in case of disability resulting from disease, at the time of the beginning of such disability, unless at such time he is not in the service of the United States, in which case it shall be taken to refer to the monthly pay at the time of his leaving such service.

SEC. 308. That no compensation shall be payable for death or disability which does not occur prior to or within one year after discharge or resignation from the service, except that where, after a medical examination made pursuant to regulations, at the time of discharge or resignation from the service, or within such reasonable time thereafter, not exceeding one year, as may be allowed by regulations, a certificate has been obtained from the director to the effect that the injured person at the time of his discharge or resignation was suffering from injury likely to result in death or disability, compensation shall be payable for death or disability, whenever occurring, proximately resulting from such injury.

SEC. 309. That compensation shall not be payable for death in the course of the service until the death be officially recorded in the department under which he may be serving. No compensation shall be payable for a period during which the man has been reported "missing" and a family allowance has been paid for him under the provisions of Article II.

SEC. 310. That no compensation shall be payable for death inflicted as a lawful punishment for a crime or military offense except when inflicted by the enemy. A dismissal or dishonorable or bad conduct discharge from the service shall bar and terminate all right to any compensation under the provisions of this article.

SEC. 311. That no compensation shall be payable unless a claim therefor be filed, in case of disability, within 10 years after discharge or resignation from the service, or, in case of death in the course of service, within 10 years after such death is officially recorded in the department under which he may be serving: *Provided, however,* That where compensation is payable for death or disability occurring after discharge or resignation from the service, claim must be made within 10 years after such death or the beginning of such disability.

The time herein provided may be extended by the director not to exceed one year for good cause shown. If at the time that any right accrues to any person under the provisions of this article, such person is a minor, or is of unsound mind or physically unable to make a claim, the time herein provided shall not begin to run until such disability ceases.

SEC. 312. That no compensation shall be payable for any period more than two years prior to the date of claim therefor, nor shall increased compensation be awarded to revert back more than one year prior to the date of claim therefor.

SEC. 313. That compensation under this article shall not be assignable, and shall be exempt from attachment and execution and from all taxation.

SEC. 314. That compensation under this article shall not be paid while the person is in receipt of service or retirement pay. Existing pension laws and laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service shall not be applicable after the enactment of

this amendment to persons now in or hereafter entering the military or naval service, except in so far as rights under any such law shall have heretofore accrued.

Compensation because of disability or death of members of the Army Nurse Corps (female) or of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) shall be in lieu of any compensation for such disability or death under the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916.

SEC. 315. That if an injury or death for which compensation is payable under this act is caused under circumstances creating a legal liability upon some person other than the United States or the enemy to pay damages therefor, the director, as a condition to payment of compensation by the United States, shall require the beneficiary to assign to the United States any right of action he may have to enforce such liability of such other person or any right which he may have to share in any money or other property received in satisfaction of such liability of such other person. The cause of action so assigned to the United States may be prosecuted or compromised by the director and any money realized thereon shall be placed to the credit of the compensation fund.

ARTICLE IV.

INSURANCE.

SEC. 400. That in order to give to every commissioned officer and enlisted man and to every member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in active service under the War Department or Navy Department greater protection for themselves and their dependents than is provided in Article III, the United States, upon application to the bureau and without medical examination, shall grant insurance against the death or total disability of any such person in any multiple of $500, and not less than $1,000 or more than $10,000, upon the payment of the premiums as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 401. That such insurance must be applied for within 120 days after enlistment or after entrance into or employment in the active service and before discharge or resignation, except that those persons who are in the active war service at the time of the publication of the terms and conditions of such contract of insurance may apply at any time within 120 days thereafter and while in such service. Any person in the active service on or after the 6th day of April, 1917, who, while in such service and before the expiration of 120 days from and after such publication, becomes or has become totally disabled or dies, or has died, without having applied for insurance, shall be deemed to have applied for and to have been granted insurance, payable to such person during his life in monthly installments of $25 each. If he shall die either before he shall have received any of such monthly installments or before he shall have received 240 of such monthly installments, then $25 per month shall be paid to his wife, child, or widowed mother if and while they survive him: *Provided, however*, That not more than 240 of such monthly installments, including those received by such person during his total disability, shall be so paid; and in that event the amount of the monthly installments shall be apportioned between them as may be provided by regulations.

SEC. 402. That the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall promptly determine upon and publish the full and exact terms and conditions of such contract of insurance. The insurance shall not be assignable and shall not be subject to the claims of creditors of the insured or of the beneficiary. It shall be payable only to a spouse, child, grandchild, parent, brother, or sister, and also during total disability to the injured person, or to any or all of them, and to such other persons as may be provided from time to time by regulations. The insurance shall be payable only in installments. Provisions for maturity at certain ages, for continuous installments during the life of the insured or beneficiaries, or both, for cash, loan, paid-up and extended values, and such other provisions for the protection and advantage of and for alternative benefits to the insured and the beneficiaries as may be found to be reasonable and practicable, may be provided for in the contract of insurance. Subject to regulations, the insured shall at all times have the right to change the beneficiary or beneficiaries of such insurance without the consent of such beneficiary or beneficiaries, but only within the classes herein or as in the regulations provided. If no beneficiary within the permitted class be designated by the insured, either in his lifetime or by his last will and testament, or if the designated beneficiary does not survive the insured, the insurance shall be payable to such person or persons, within the permitted class of beneficiaries as would under the laws of the State of the residence of the insured be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy. If no such persons survive the insured, then there shall be paid to the estate of the insured an amount equal to the reserve value of the insurance at the time of his death, calculated on the basis of the American experience table of mortality and 3½ per cent interest in full of all obligations under the policy.

SEC. 403. That the United States shall bear the expenses of administration and the excess mortality and disability cost resulting from the hazards of war. The premium rates shall be the net rates based upon the American experience table of mortality and interest at 3½ per cent per annum.

SEC. 404. That during the period of war the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each, convertible after war, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance and with such provisions for premium payments as may be prescribed by regulations. Payments of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election.

SEC. 405. That in the event of disagreement as to a claim under the contract of insurance between the bureau and any beneficiary or beneficiaries thereunder an action on the claim may be brought against the United States in the district court of the United States in and for the district in which such beneficiaries or any one of them resides. The court, as part of its judgment, shall determine and allow such reasonable attorney's fees, not to exceed 10 per cent of the amount recovered, to be paid by the claimant on behalf of whom such proceedings are instituted to his attorney; and it shall be unlawful for the attorney or for any other person, acting as claim agent or otherwise, to ask for, contract for, or receive any other compensation because of such action: *And provided further*. That no other compensation or fee shall be charged or received by any person except such as may be authorized by the commissioner in regulations to be promulgated by him. Any person violating this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

During the reading of the bill,

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I am compelled to leave the Chamber to attend a meeting of the conference committee on the urgent deficiency appropriation bill. Before leaving I desire to submit three amendments to this bill. I ask that they be printed and lie upon the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendments will be received, printed, and lie upon the table.

Mr. SMOOT. I also desire to give notice that I may tomorrow offer an amendment as a substitute for Article IV, which is the insurance title of the bill. I have not yet quite perfected it, or I would offer it at this time; but I will have it ready by to-morrow morning and will then offer it.

After the reading of the bill was concluded,

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, I have just read a very fine digest of this bill which appears in the October number of the Review of Reviews, by Mr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, with an editorial comment on it. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I should like to ask if it is very long?

Mr. SHIELDS. It is not very long, and will be very instructive reading.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Review of Reviews, October, 1917.]

The plan of applying the principles of life insurance and accident insurance in the case of a soldier going to war involves a profound change of policy on the part of the United States Government. It is now certain that this plan will be adopted. It originated in the Treasury Department under Mr. McAdoo's direction, and—with some amendments favorable to the soldiers—this immensely important bill was adopted in the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote on September 13. The Senate Finance Committee in turn favored the measure, and the only question remaining was whether the bill would become a law before the adjournment of Congress early in October, or would await the December session. Present Wilson asked for its immediate passage. Dr. Lindsay's article is an authoritative explanation of the measure.—THE EDITOR.

SOLDIERS' INSURANCE VERSUS PENSIONS.

(By Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor of social legislation, Columbia University.)

The principles of social insurance, applied to all sorts of risks and hazards in which the community has a stake or shares a responsibility, have been gaining in favor the world over in recent years. On the contrary, the principles of pension legislation in all countries have been found wanting and experience everywhere is leading to its abandonment.

Thirty-five years ago Germany began to apply scientific business management to the relations of government and the problems of social welfare in dealing with the public relief of distress, sickness, industrial accidents, invalidity, old age, and unemployment among wage earners. Under the masterful leadership of Bismarck, in harmony with a new national spirit and a modern sense of social responsibility and solidarity, a strongly centralized and comprehensive system of state insurance was started. Within 25 years this system not only became the characteristic and dominant feature of a powerful national government, but also became incorporated in its essential principles by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, and practically every country of Europe into a new development of democracy, a new function of government, a new attitude of peoples in their conception of the possibilities of social organization.

THE UNITED STATES A LAGGARD.

The United States alone has lagged behind and relied upon the older individualism of the poor law, administered by the smallest units of local government, upon the personal initiative of the injured person or his representatives to secure redress under the common law or the law of torts, upon employers' liability statutes, and upon equity procedure to remedy evils and achieve social justice. Of course, such methods long ago proved themselves inadequate in the face of the wonderful development of highly centralized organization, not only national but international, in scope, which has characterized American industry during the past 50 years. The day of reckoning between the people and their governments, between effective business organization of common interests and political methods which are the last resort of privateering, has been postponed by the exceptional development of private philanthropy and its extension to fields and to tasks for which it is only just now proving itself also inadequate.

THE PATCHWORK OF PENSIONS DISCREDITED.

In one great department, however, where government has had to meet a national responsibility, namely, in the relief of soldiers and sailors and their dependents, the patchwork of pensions in the United States since the Civil War, based on the principle of gratuities and political favor rather than on a sense of social justice and mutual obligation, is universally recognized as a failure. Pensions have developed in hundreds of thousands of citizens precisely the attitude of mind toward government which real democracy seeks to dispel. If the collective wealth and power of the community becomes a prize which the individual seeks to control for his own benefit, no real democracy is possible. Only as we can cultivate the feeling on the part of every individual citizen that he can be stronger, freer, and happier in proportion as every other individual in the community is made stronger, more secure, and given larger opportunities for happiness will the foundations of democracy itself be safe.

DEMOCRATIC REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENTS.

We are just starting upon a world enterprise which has for its ultimate goal the democratic reorganization of the world. In the preparation of the Nation for the war there is no more striking and significant proposal that goes to the roots of our own unpreparedness, and there is no more timely and important war measure which may well test our national spirit than the proposal to provide a scientific system of social insurance instead of pensions to carry as many as possible of the risks of military service.

With the national purpose to participate in this world struggle for democracy defined and determined by the people themselves expressing their will in accordance with democratic principles, the conscription of men for military service on a scientific and impartial plan designed to secure those best able to render such service has been the most heartening evidence of real democracy in this country and its greatest gain in a century.

LIGHTENING BURDENS OF DRAFTED MEN.

The response of the people to the draft law has abundantly vindicated American patriotism and the virility of the Nation. It could have been made much easier, aroused greater enthusiasm, and contributed to the building up of an even stronger national spirit had Congress at the time it passed the draft law also enacted the war-insurance bill that was under consideration last month.

Every removable fear that may naturally enter into the mind of the man called upon to give his life in defense of his country should certainly be removed. The sacrifice of comfort and economic security can not be compensated for by any wage which the Government may pay its soldiers. The degrees of sacrifice are too varied and its economic value too great for that. The anxiety, however, which the man who goes to the front naturally feels lest those who are dependent upon him for support are left unprovided for, can be removed. Provision can be made not only for as strong economic protection for the comfort and welfare of the soldier's family as his own earning power gave them before he went to war, but his personal economic status, to whatever extent his earning power may be impaired if not destroyed by his military service may also be assured.

The cost of insurance will be great, and the challenge to business ability in the management of a highly complicated and stupendous business undertaking will be even greater. If the conscription of wealth is likewise necessary to make effective the conscription of men it will have no greater justification in any expenditure that Congress is called upon to make than in supplying the huge sums needed for the compensation and insurance of the unavoidable risks which those who fight must take and which the man at home can in this way and will cheerfully share.

WHAT THE WAR-INSURANCE BILL PROPOSES.

The bill to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department proposes to add to the existing bureau which insures ships and seamen in the merchant marine against war risks a new division of military and naval insurance to provide for three things:

(1) Governmental family allowances, and compulsory allotment of pay for support of dependents and for savings to safeguard the morale of the Army and Navy.

(2) Compensation for death or disability due to injury or disease incurred in the service.

(3) Ability to get additional insurance at low cost.

THE ENLISTED MAN MUST HELP HIMSELF.

Every enlisted man in the military or naval forces of the United States must allot for the benefit of a wife or child an amount equal to the Government's family allowance, with a maximum, however, of half his pay and a minimum of $15 per month. If he has no wife or child and makes no voluntary allotments for other dependents, or for other purposes, the Secretary of War or Navy may require him to deposit with the Government at 4 per cent compound interest half his pay, or so much of half his pay as he does not allot either for his dependents or for other purposes.

This puts the man with dependents more nearly on a democratic footing of equality with one who has none and the better-paid American soldier with the poorer-paid European with whom he is fighting.

The family allowances are based on a graduated scale, depending on the number of dependents, and are conditioned on allotments of equal amounts up to half pay. In no case, however, does the allowance exceed $50 for one family. An ordinary enlisted man, receiving $33 per month in foreign service, if his family is large enough, may be required to allot $16.50 per month, and secure thereby for his family a total income of $66.50 per month.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR DISABILITY.

Compensation for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the course of the service by any commissioned officer or enlisted man or by any member of the Army or Navy Nurse Corps, composed of women. This compensation is graded, like the compensation now provided for wage earners under workmen's compensation laws in 35 States, and under the Federal Government of the United States according to pay, and is made payable in monthly installments. It is not assignable and is exempt from taxation, attachments, and execution. It takes the place of any rights or expectations under pension laws, and is expressly granted in lieu of pension. It is not operative for persons receiving service or retirement pay. The scale is a fairly liberal one, and Congress, of course, may at any time make it more liberal; but, presumably, would do so only under general legislation for the entire service, thus precluding the inequalities and injustices of special pension legislation. Congress can not constitutionally bind future Congresses and prevent special pension legislation, but it can and in this law it seeks to create so fair, liberal, and satisfactory a system of meeting every just claim impersonally and as a matter of right that it will be practically impossible for any future Congress to consider a private pension bill and highly improbable that any soldier or his dependents would seek any other remedy than that provided for under this war compensation act.

INSURANCE OF INSURABILITY.

This is a novel, constructive, and at the same time perhaps the most contentious part of the new proposal. It is a departure from the accepted principles of industrial compensation legislation and from the practice of other countries in dealing with compensation for war risks, family allowances, and pensions. It is, however, vital and essential to a fair test of the proposal to which the Secretary of the Treasury and the President have given their unqualified indorsement, and without which that plan can not be fairly tested. It is the feature which specially marks this measure as a forward-looking experiment in social legislation. It is far-reaching and constructive and is a war measure in a real sense.

ADVANTAGES OF INSURANCE.

Americans are not laggards in their appreciation and use of the advantages of mutual insurance. A man fit for military service is physically the best insurable risk, and can purchase insurance at the lowest commercial rate. The minute he shoulders a gun he either can not purchase insurance at all or only in a limited way at a very high and practically prohibitive rate. This bill proposes to stimulate and encourage every enlisted man to use his own resources and to make use of the facilities of insurance to protect and safeguard his interests to the limit of his resources. To do this it offers him ordinary term insurance, renewable from year to year during the war and convertible at the end of the war, without physical examination, in amounts of $500 and multiples of $500, but not to exceed $10,000, at rates which he can afford to pay and approximately what he would pay for such insurance in times of peace. This means that $10,000 insurance would cost a young man about $7 per month. No additional charge is made to the man because of the fact that the mortality through the war will be heavier than in times of peace. This is the risk which the Government has created and which it alone should bear. He is given 120 days after enlistment in which to take out such amount of additional insurance as he may elect, and if he fails to exercise this privilege and dies or becomes totally disabled within this period he will be considered as insured and the benefit paid.

The insurance is payable only in monthly installments to the beneficiary during life. The maximum amount of $10,000 is estimated to yield about $50 per month, which for the enlisted man, when added to his compensation for death or disability, as based on his rate of pay, is none too liberal to maintain a decent standard of living for his family, deprived of its breadwinner.

The insurance companies do not favor State insurance nor like the idea of the Government going into the insurance business. They appreciate, however, the advertising value for the insurance business in general of this feature of the war-insurance bill.

Compensation plus insurance provides a just measure, which is based on democratic principles of independence, self-help, and individual foresight. Insurance and compensation should be inseparable.

WHAT IT COSTS THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INSURED.

Without compulsion and without the importunities of insurance agents, would the average man who needs it most take out this added insurance to any considerable extent? Could he afford to do so? Probably not more than $2,500 per man on the average would be written. In perfecting the details of the bill Congress may decide to limit the privilege of such subsidized insurance for officers and men whose rates of pay or private resources make the Government aid unnecessary. It may also decide to pay the full cost for certain amounts of such added insurance for those who can afford to take only small policies. The principle of the Government subsidy is, however, right and just. There is no discrimination at the expense of the insured taxpayer who pays the full commercial rate in favor of a class to whom we do not owe a greater debt than any subsidized insurance can possibly pay.

The cost to the Government, however great and however difficult to estimate exactly in advance, is sure to be less than that of any system of pensions and much fairer, because proportionate to what the insured person has done for himself. The soldier who does nothing for himself must be content with what his compensation yields or depend on private charity. After rejecting or neglecting so liberal an opportunity as this provision for the insurance of his insurability offers he can not with good grace appeal to the Government for a pension.

A NEW CHANCE FOR THE INJURED.

An extremely interesting and valuable provision is made for injured persons who may through a process of reeducation, rehabilitation, and vocational training which the Government will provide have their earning power restored. In cases of dismemberment or of injuries to sight or hearing and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability persons may be required in lieu of compensation for the time being to enlist in a training branch of military and naval service entitling them to full pay, as during the last month of their active service, and to family allowance and allotments, as in the regular service, if while taking training for rehabilitation they are prevented from following any substantially gainful occupation. Anyone failing so to enlist for training forfeits his right to compensation until he does so.

A MEASURE DEVISED BY EXPERTS.

Congress has had able assistance in framing its war-insurance act. The plan is in a new and important sense an administration measure. The Secretary of the Treasury very properly considered it a financial measure of the greatest importance and has given it disinterested and able leadership. He called to his assistance not only experts in insurance and the representatives of all the leading insurance companies in this country, whose patriotic cooperation he has secured, but he has also had the active help and support of influential labor leaders, like Mr. Samuel Gompers and Mr. J. W. Sullivan; of socially minded economists, lawyers, and persons expert in dealing with the problems of dependency, like Judge Julian W. Mack, who has given his time freely as chairman of a committee that drafted the bill and worked out the details of the plan; of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Capt. S. H. Wolfe, a well-known accountant and actuary; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau; Mr. V. Everit Macy, president of the National Civic Federation; Profs. Henry R. Seager and Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia University; and the staff of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia.

Our laws dealing with problems of dependency in soldiers' families in time of war lack many modern provisions and tendencies. It is time that they were modernized.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I never knew the first reading of a bill to inform anybody much about its contents. We generally find that there are about six men out of the membership of this body who are following the bill and the balance are not. I think, therefore, that it is incumbent upon me, despite the first reading, to make a brief analysis of the bill, so that Senators may understand its scope and meaning in a better way than they have been enabled to understand it, because, with the exception of members of the committee, they have been generally preoccupied with other things.

This bill amends the act of September 2, 1914, which organized in the Treasury Department a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance. It divides that bureau into two divisions, and at the head of each is a chief of division. The first division takes care of present war risks with regard to ships and all that. The second division will take charge of what is involved in the provisions of this bill.

Under the bill the director of the bureau receives a salary of $5,000 per annum. Each of the chiefs of division receives $4,000. Provision is made in this article for "deputies, assistants, actuaries, clerks, and other employees, such as may be from time to time provided by Congress." The bureau is required by the bill to make arrangements with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to avail itself of the services of the surgeons in the Army and the Navy in executing the provisions of the bill. The Secretary of the Treasury is, furthermore, authorized to constitute an advisory board, consisting of three members, expert and skilled in the work and practice of insurance. These are to be paid for the actual work which they do at a rate not to exceed $20 per day for the time during which they are actually employed.

It is hoped that they will not be actually employed very long. They will be organizing this thing and getting it on a proper footing and drawing up the notices as to what sort of policies can be used after the war to convert this particular policy into an insurance bracket; and then they have to have a good deal of skill in addition, as experts in compensation work, such as men who are acquainted with the workmen's compensation laws have.

Power is given under the first article to issue subpœnas and compel witnesses, and also power is given to require information from other departments of the Government and from the State governments which may be useful to the board in carrying on its work.

The director is required to make annual estimates of the appropriations to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Then Article I goes further and gives a definition of the terms used in the bill, "wife," "child," "enlisted man," "commissioned officer," and so on, and outlines the method of payment to the beneficiary. Briefly, the War and Navy Departments collect the allotments from the soldiers and sailors and turn them over to the Treasury and the Treasury pays the money to the beneficiaries.

Article II deals with the subject of "allotments" and "allowances." It deals exclusively with that, and it applies only to the enlisted men and the noncommissioned officers. It does not apply to the commissioned officers.

There are two classes of allotments to be made by the soldier or sailor. Class A is compulsory. He must allot out of his pay at least $15 per month and may allot one-half of his pay. The members of class A, where the allotment is compulsory, are, briefly, wife and child or children.

Then there is another class—class B— which, briefly described, is constituted of parents, grandchildren, dependent brothers, or dependent sisters. The allotment in that case is not compulsory but is voluntary on the part of the soldier.

The Government makes an allowance to meet the compulsory allotment. The various allowances you will find in the bill. It also makes an allowance to meet the voluntary allotment in class B as long as the soldier's allotment continues. That allotment under class B may, of course, be stopped at any time by the soldier because it is voluntary, and the Government immediately stops the allowance whenever the allotment is stopped. But the allotment to the immediate family, the wife and children, is compulsory, and the allowance thereunder is continuous. The Government runs no risk about the allotment, because it takes it out of the soldier's pay.

Then there is a further provision for such soldiers and sailors as have no families at all under the compulsory allotment class and who do not make any allotment under voluntary allotment class B or who have nobody kin to them under class B to whom they can make an allotment. It is provided in their cases that the Government shall deduct from their pay $15 per month and shall put it to their credit in the Treasury of the United States to bear interest at 4 per cent, with semiannual rests. In other words, it is compounded at the end of each six months.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wait one moment. That is for the purpose of enabling this class of soldiers when they return from the service to have a "nest egg" with which to meet the responsibilities of life. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. As the pay of the soldiers is already provided for there are no items of appropriation in the bill to cover the allotments.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. All these items of appropriation are for something else.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They are for something else.

Mr. President, the pay of the United States soldier in France is $33 per month. If $15 be deducted from that as an allotment, $18 are left, and when he has $18 to spend he has about three times as much as the private soldier in the French Army draws per month in toto.

There is an economical reason for this allotment scheme. It is to aid the soldier's family and to aid the soldier himself after the war. Then there is a disciplinary reason for it, which is that the soldiers ought not to have too much money to spend recklessly or freely, which would be demoralizing to the discipline in our own Army and would have a very demoralizing effect upon the soldiers of the French Army with whom they are serving. The whole allotment and allowance idea is with the view of guiding the way for the soldier to increase his own welfare and to increase his economic capacity as a citizen of the United States after the war is over.

The bill provides that the total allowances by the Government shall not exceed $50 per month, no matter how many dependents the soldier may have. It starts by allowing to the wife what the soldier allots. It must be at least $15. Then it increases the governmental allowance in proportion to the number of children.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I want to get it clearly. This allowance is in addition to the soldier's pay? It is in addition to what is allotted out of his pay?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You can call it that. It amounts to that in substance, but what it is intended to be is provision for the family of the soldier while he is in the service.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Of course those appropriations are necessary in the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; those appropriations are made; but the Senator asked me a moment ago about appropriations for allotments.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I wanted to get the distinction.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Allotments and allowances are two different things. One is the soldier's provision, and the other is the Government's provision for the family of the enlisted man.

Mr. KENYON. Before the Senator leaves that point, I should like to ask him in regard to this case to get a clear idea of subdivisions A and B. Suppose a private soldier has a wife and two children, and then suppose he has two dependent parents. What would the Government pay to the private soldier?

Mr. WILLIAMS. If he has a wife and two children, the Government pays $32.50. Then if there are two dependent parents, it pays $20. That would make $52.50, but the provision of the bill says that the entire sum total shall not exceed $50. If the soldier does not make this allotment, of course it all goes to class A; and if he makes it to both, the allotment, as between classes, must be apportioned by the bureau.

Mr. KENYON. Would there be any provision whereby any percentage of what he might have left would go under subdivision B for compensation to dependent parents?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is compelled to allot $15 under class A. He may allot more.

Mr. KENYON. Then the Government is not limited to $50 a month?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is limited to $50, as far as the Government is concerned. The family may receive more, but it receives the allotment of the soldier in addition to the Government's allowance.

Mr. KENYON. The soldier can allot any amount?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; to either or both classes. If there be no wife but one child, the child gets from the Government $5, but it gets from the soldier $15, so that the child receives in toto $20. If there be no wife, but two children, the two children get from the Government $12.50, but they get from the soldier $15, which would make $27.50; and so on through the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Suppose a soldier enlisting in the present war sees active service and comes home without being wounded and later discovers that through his exposure and service his health has been seriously impaired.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That does not come under this article at all. That comes under the compensation article, which I will reach in a moment.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator thinks that kind of a case is covered by the bill?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is absolutely covered by the bill in a way that I had better indicate now while we are on it. He can at any time in his life afterwards receive compensation for injuries or disease incurred in the line of service. He is examined when he leaves the Army and he must make a claim for the compensation within the time fixed in the bill. I think it is a year. But if he is given at the time of examination and discharge a certificate to the effect that he has received a wound or

that he is suffering from some trouble which proximately was caused by the war, then the fact that he has received that certificate enables him at any time in the future to make a claim for compensation if in consequence of the wound or of the disease, whichever it was, he shall become later disabled.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Of course, the Senator knows that a man's health may be seriously impaired by Army service. I think the experience of the Senator from Mississippi and my own with innumerable cases indicates that fact. This impairment may not become known until after the war closes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If it is due to anything that occurred in the war, if the man has wounds, for example, that will be known at the time of discharge and examination.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But if not wounded?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, if it is due to anything that occurred during the war, from any cause, the certificate will show that he was then suffering from it, and that it might result in death or disability, and if that develops later into death or disability, then the claim may be made. But I have not yet reached the article which deals with compensation for injuries or death. I am still dealing with soldiers' allotments and governmental allowances.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator will allow me, because I think this is quite important and might be so construed as to bar a deserving soldier from relief to which he was entitled——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not think so.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Let me illustrate the case to my friend. I had a nephew who went into the Spanish-American War as a private soldier, a young man 21 years of age. He never got to Cuba; he got as far as Florida. There he became ill, and through exposure a serious cold attacked him, and that cold never became better. He was discharged from the service without wounds at the close of the war and in apparent health, but he lived for only three years after the war.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In that case, under the provisions of this bill the surgeon would have certified that at the time of his discharge he was suffering with a very severe cold. Then, if after that that cold had developed into tuberculosis or into pneumonia or into something else which killed or disabled him——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Which was the case.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If it had developed into tuberculosis, probably, then he could have proved that it was owing to the condition which the surgeon had mentioned in his certificate.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the Senator state whether or not this bill has been so framed as to take care of the noncomplaining soldier, of the man who bears his own affliction without complaining?

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is no compensation for any man who does not claim compensation. There is no compensation given to any man for any condition in which he may be which was not due "proximately" to a cause arising from his service, if that is what the Senator means. This compensation article in the bill is framed upon the usual workmen's compensation law principle. It is not a pension, the Senator understands.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Does it take the place of a pension?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It takes the place of a pension unless Congress runs over it later on and gives a pension.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it intended to supersede the pension law?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is in so far as taking care of the family in war by allotments and allowances are concerned, and in so far as taking care of the families in case of death or total disability, and in so far as taking care of the soldiers themselves in case of total disability, and in so far as taking care of the soldier himself in case of partial disability are concerned.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. He has got to speak up in time, and perhaps before he may know of his disability.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He would have to do that under any system. He has to do it under the pension law, unless it is a service pension.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We have laws to care for that kind of a case.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; you have not, though Congress, by private or special pensions, does. He is examined, and if the doctor discovers anything at time of discharge, he puts it in the certificate under this bill, whether the soldier claims the existence of the injury or not. This scheme of providing for the soldier's family by allotments and allowances is a new thing in legislation in this country. Nearly all the countries that are waging war now have similar laws, including even Canada and Australia, Great Britain and France and Germany; and although it is new with all of them and with us, it is a good precedent to set. Under our old system we allowed a soldier to serve during the war, and if during the war his family suffered because of his absence from his home, they were maintained by institutions or charities or by their relatives or in some other way, and then after the war was over—take the Mexican War, for example, long years after it was over—somebody got up a pension bill. During the very period when the soldier ought to have helped his family—when his family ought to have been helped, because he was out in the service—they were neglected; and during the period after he came home, they were finally taken care of; but in case he had no wounds nor hurts, he was taken care of because he had served 30 days in the war, though the very war discipline, if he had had any, perhaps made him a better man and better able to contend with fate.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will yield in one moment. What I want to impress upon the attention of the Senate now is, first, this is not a pension, but is built up upon the principles of the workmen's compensation laws. The bureau is required in case of partial disability to ascertain the degree of impairment of the ability of the claimant "by the same rule which prevails with civilians" in cases of this description, and then it does not allow anything where the percentage of impairment is less than 10 per cent.

Next the Government will in no event pay more than $75 per month, no matter what the disability is nor what may be the character or number of the family of the soldier. There is one exception, where the soldier has lost both arms or both legs or both eyes or is hopelessly bedridden he may receive as much as $100. Now, I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Before the Senator passes from the question of family allowances I should like to ask him whether the committee had any figures to show the proportion of the men who would require those family allowances?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That would be impossible.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I notice that the appropriation is only $141,000,000, whereas if it was applied to 2,000,000 soldiers it would require some $600,000,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not admit the Senator's figures, but the department made what is called "an estimate," but all of you can see at once that the so-called "estimate" must be a "guess." In the first place, we do not know as yet how many of the volunteer or drafted soldiers have wives and children. We do not know how many of them have no wife and no child and still have dependent parents. We do not know how many of them there are who, having neither, still have dependents upon them, and how many have none dependent upon them. The allowance will be determined by dependence. As the bill came from the House the immediate family in class A was not required to be dependent upon a soldier. Class B was quite outside of the immediate family; it comprised the parents, brothers, and sisters. In that case they were required by the House bill to be dependents. But the Finance Committee in considering the bill amended it and required that the beneficiaries in either class A or class B must be dependent upon the soldier in whole or in part. Of course, it is a mere guess to say how many men there are so situated of either class. It is further a guess to say whether our Army and Navy surgeons are going to manage affairs so well that we shall not have over the percentage of loss from disease that the Japanese had in the war with Russia, let us say, or are going to manage so badly that we may have the percentage of loss that the Russians had in the same war or the Civil War soldiers had, or somewhere between the two extremes. The War Department took the matter up and made an estimate, and they say they think that is all they will need. Of course, we did not exceed the estimate. We appropriate in this bill all they think and say they will need.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I should like to ask two questions about Article II. I mean beginning with section 200.

Mr. WILLIAMS. About allotments and allowances?

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask now simply about allotments out of pay. They are compulsory so far as the widow and child are concerned and are voluntary so far as other dependents are concerned. Why should they not be made compulsory so far as all the people who are given allowances under section 204 and the following sections are concerned?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will answer the Senator, that under almost every law in the world a man is compelled to support his wife and children, but there are no laws, or few, which compel a man to support a brother or a sister or a grandfather or a grandmother.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But the law of nature.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So we followed the usual legal analogy, and we thought that we would compel a man to do what the law requires him to do; that is, to make some allotment for his wife

and children, and that we would not compel him, but leave it voluntary with him to do what no law of any State would require him to do, however much you and I think that by the "law of nature" he ought to do it.

Mr. CUMMINS. But the Government gives to these people an allowance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It does not give to those in the second class, class B, any allowance at all, except during the time that the soldier is paying the allotment.

Mr. CUMMINS. One further question: The allotment relates only to enlisted men?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Altogether.

Mr. CUMMINS. Why not to officers as well?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We did not feel that in the case of an officer, getting the salary that he does, the Government ought to make any allowance for his family. It was thought he ought to be able out of his salary to take care of his family.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am speaking now of the allotment, not of the allowance. Why should not the Government reserve from the pay of officers enough to do something for their families, if they fail to take care of them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We thought that in cases where we made no allowance we ought not to compel an allotment.

Mr. CUMMINS. Suppose an enlisted man is promoted to a commission; he is then immediately removed from——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no; not for anything that has happened prior to that time.

Mr. CUMMINS. But thereafter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, prior to that he has enjoyed in the meanwhile, and his family have enjoyed, his allotment and allowance; they have already had it. Then if he is promoted, of course he goes into a different class, and his wife and children and dependents get the benefit of his increased salary, many times more advantageous than allotment even plus allowance.

Mr. CUMMINS. I call the attention of the Senator to the language beginning in line 12, on page 15. I think it is not quite as it was intended to be. I do not quite understand it, at any rate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It reads:

> The family allowance shall be paid from the time of enlistment to death *in*, or one month after discharge *from*, the service, but not for more than one month after the termination of the present war emergency.

Mr. CUMMINS. But what does "in" mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The clause means "death in the service" or "one month after discharge from the service." It says, "Death *in*, or one month after discharge *from*, the service."

Mr. CUMMINS. I did not catch the meaning.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I hope it is clear now.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, as I understand, in a case where an enlisted man has no dependents of any kind, the Government reserves a part of his pay, to be turned over to him at the end of his service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It gives him 4 per cent upon it, compounded semiannually meanwhile.

Mr. WEEKS. Does it do that in the case of a man who has no parents or brothers and sisters to whom he makes no allotment?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; it does that in the case of any soldier who has made no allotment, because those who make no allotment are supposed to have no dependents. It makes that allotment compulsory so far as the wife and child or children are concerned, and voluntary so far as the other dependents are concerned. That soldier can allot under class B, if he have no class A, a part of his pay either to his parents or to his sisters or brothers, or he may let the $15 go to the Treasury, where it is substantially allotted to himself, with interest.

Mr. WEEKS. Then, every man will make an allotment of some kind either for himself or for some dependent?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; but there is no "allowance" made by the Government to a man who has no dependents—who merely allots to himself. We did not think we ought to make an allowance to a fellow who merely allotted to himself.

By the way, Mr. President, in further reply to the question which was propounded by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], there is another consideration which suggests itself, and that is that the officers when they are retired get retirement pay, so that their families are taken care of in that way. Of course, the officers are taken care of under the compensation act just as are the privates.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, that would not apply to officers other than officers of the Regular Establishment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is true.

Mr. WEEKS. Others will not be retired.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; they will not be retired unless there is another provision of the bill hereafter that may apply to them. I will come to that.

One more thing about the allowance. The War and Navy Departments pay over to the Treasury Department these allotments, and then the Treasury Department pays to the beneficiaries the allotment plus the allowance. If any question should arise where a man undertook to allot more than was coming to him, as in the case propounded by the junior Senator from Iowa, then the department by regulation will control the proportioning of that allotment to the beneficiaries.

Article III of the bill deals with the compensation for death or disability, and it applies to both private soldiers and sailors and to commissioned officers——

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, before the Senator from Mississippi leaves the question, I want to have that matter clearly in my mind. The allowance is not charged against anything that is due to the soldier or which he is entitled to receive?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no.

Mr. KNOX. But it is a compensation over and above his pay?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is a family provision for his benefit during the war and for one month after, provided he makes an allotment and does his part.

Mr. ROBINSON. But the amount of it will depend upon the amount which he allots within certain limitations.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it will not, under class A; but it will under class B.

Mr. ROBINSON. Under no circumstances?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Government makes these fixed sums of allowance under class A, where at least a $15 allotment is compulsory, regardless of what the man allots; but he must allot $15. Then under class B allowances depend on allotments which are voluntary. One can imagine the case where a man will allot more than $15 and the Government will take care of the allotment for him, but he will get because of it no greater family allowance. Of course, his family will get more money because he himself out of his pay has allotted more.

That leaves the soldier now having allotted $15 per month taken out of his pay with $18 a month. I have heard it stated, and it has been reported, that some of our officers in France have complained that the manner in which our soldiers were throwing money around is very demoralizing, not only to our service, but to the French service; that it is setting an example which dissatisfies the private soldiers of our allies.

Now I come to Article III, which is compensation for death and disability and applies both to privates and commissioned officers.

As I said a moment ago, the principle underlying it is the same as that underlying the workmen's compensation and employers' liability laws. The maximum amount to which the Government is to be held under the compensation article is $75 per month; it can not go over that, except in the case, as I stated a moment ago, where the soldier has lost both eyes or both legs, and so forth.

A feature in the bill, which shows how far it is from a mere pension bill and how very analogous it is to the workmen's compensation law, is the provision for burial expenses and bringing the body home. It is provided that the United States shall pay for the soldier's burial expenses and for returning his body to his home, a sum, if necessary, not exceeding $100.

The bureau is left to adopt and to apply a schedule of reductions and to make ratings in the cases of partial disability, and they are required to do that as "nearly as may be upon the average impairment of earning capacity resulting from injuries in civil occupations." So that there again it follows the same analogy.

This bill then goes further than that, and provides for the Government giving the soldier reasonable medical, surgical, and hospital treatment, and for supplying him with artificial limbs, trusses, and appliances of that sort. It does not compensate somebody else for giving him the medical attention; the Government, through its Army and Navy Medical Corps, does it itself, adding service in the Government hospitals. The bill as it came from the House needed amendment to make that plain, and the Finance Committee amended it so as to make it plain.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an inquiry?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In a moment. Then your committee has inserted provisions retaining military control over the injured soldier until he shall have been discharged from the military or naval service. It further provides for medical reexamination as often as needed, and when he is called upon to submit

to reexamination, if he does not do it, his compensation, which is all paid upon the monthly installment plan, is suspended during the period for his refusal.

Now I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I want to ask the Senator from Mississippi why the committee reduced the compensation awarded under section 301? It appears that in almost every instance the allowances inserted by the House have been reduced, and I desire to know whether there is any reason for that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The committee thought that those amounts, in comparison with what had hitherto been granted under the pension system for wholly or partially disabled soldiers, were too large. Some of the members of the committee wanted to reduce them still more. Then, there was another theory entering into our minds; we thought if we made the amounts that high, in the next Congress some Member would perhaps introduce a pension bill to make the payments to all the others—widows, children, disabled soldiers of the Mexican, Spanish-American, and Civil Wars—up to this limit. We simply thought, in other words, that the House figures are too much. That is about the best answer that I can give.

Then, under Article III a commutation of the compensation payments is permitted, so that a man may receive a lump sum, instead of installments, where he makes application and makes the proper showing; yet we allow him to commute only 50 per cent of the compensation. The reason for that is this: Very frequently a soldier coming back partially disabled will say, perhaps, "I can keep a little store; I can buy a little farm and superintend it; I can go into something that will give me more money, and if I could commute this amount," say of $20 a month, "to a lump sum, I could go into some form of occupation, and I think take care of myself better than the Government can take care of me on the installment plan." Yet this provision has its danger, and the danger is that a man without foresight and without business capacity is perhaps the most apt of all to want to commute, and very frequently he will want to commute, and will then throw the money away. Then he is left dependent and will be coming for help or pension to Congress sometime, on some later day, saying, "No matter what my faults; no matter how foolish I have been as a business man, I and my family are suffering." So we thought they should not be allowed to commute over 50 per cent.

Mr. ROBINSON. The same thing might happen to him as a result of misfortune in the conduct of his business.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; it might result to him from misfortune. A man for whom he stood surety might go wrong.

Now, I want to call the attention of the Senate to one feature of this bill which I think is very admirable.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, has the Senator finished with the compensation provision?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I have not finished with that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I desire to ask whether these payments are cumulative; that is, whether a payment of $25 a month may be made to a widow and at the same time a payment of $20 a month to a widowed mother? The bill is not clear on that subject.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is, in case where death results from an injury?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There are various cases supposed. If the man had "a widow alone," she gets this amount. If he has a widow and one child, they two get another amount; if he have a widow and two children, they three get another amount; if there be no widow at all, and if he has one child, the child gets so much. Each case stands upon its own footing. Then there is added to that for a widowed mother $20, but in no event can the compensation for all be over $75 a month.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then, it may be distributed between the widow and the children and the widowed mother?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The department will make regulations as to how it shall be paid to the beneficiaries and in what proportions. You will notice that in each of these instances we suppose a case. We suppose a man has a family of a certain character and size, and then we pay them so much upon that supposition. If, for example, he leave "no widow but three children"—let us take that case—they would get $40. If he left four children, that additional child would get $5, making $45, and then his widowed mother would not get $20.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. She would have subtracted that much?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It would be apportioned amongst them.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is not stated exactly what would be done in that case.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Bureau regulations must control much. Now, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a provision in this bill in this same article that is new, and is the highest compliment, I think, to the sound statesmanship and the humanitarianism of the American Congress. I refer to the provision in section 305 for "rehabilitation, reeducation, and vocational training," so that the crippled and maimed may be put into a condition where they may be useful to themselves and to society. In order to encourage the soldier to go through the process of reeducation and rehabilitation his compensation is not taken away from him when he has partially rehabilitated himself. Here might be a man with two hands gone, and we could teach him to use his feet; but if he thought, "I will lose my compensation, and I do not think that I can make as much money with my feet as the Government is paying me as compensation," he might make no effort to help himself. So we say, "That is perhaps very true, and we will not do that; but we will so provide that you will be getting your compensation, and in addition to that, you will be rendering some service to humanity first and yourself in profit and happiness second by the performance of some sort of work." It is wonderful how far they have carried this rehabilitation and reeducation business in Europe. They have taken men with both eyes gone; they have taken men with both legs gone and men with both arms gone, men in every sort of conceivable fix, and they have taught them to do something. What little they do is just that much added to the general accumulation of the world's welfare and to the amount of money that is doing some good in industry or in comfort or in the education of children or the maintenance of the cripple's self-respect, or in something else.

Section 313 of the bill, Article I—mark this, now, because something has been said about it—makes the compensation inapplicable to persons "in receipt of service or retirement pay," so that stops demagogic talk about that much of it. It also prevents those receiving compensation from receiving gratuities or pensions, so that if a man ever, in spite of the theory of this bill, comes to Congress and procures a pension from it, then he and his family lose his or their compensation allowances as fixed in this bill. That is about the only way that can be arranged. Of course we can not put a veto upon future Congresses; we could not say here that this should be substituted for the pension system, because Congress can go ahead and do what it pleases later; but we fix the soldier so that if he takes advantage of it his compensation under this bill ceases.

Women in the "Army Nurse Corps" and the "Navy Nurse Corps" are defined as enlisted men, so that all references to soldiers, whether in regard to allotments or allowances or compensation or insurance, apply to the women who are in the service.

Now, I come to the insurance feature; and that is the feature of the bill that is going to give you the most trouble. In drawing up this bill a great many experts representing various classes of people were invited to consider the provisions of the bill—the labor unions, the manufacturers and employers, the insurance men, and a great many people.

Article IV, which relates to insurance, applies to officers and men alike, and it provides that they can receive what is called a term policy from year to year, renewable at the end of each year. Upon that sort of policy the premium varies with the age of the insured. At 29 years of age, which is the average age of our boys under the draft to-day, or a little above it, the premium under this scheme would be $8 per thousand. Above that it would be somewhat more. Below that it would be somewhat less. In doing that we charge the "net premium," according to the American average experience of mortality, and 3½ per cent, which is computed as a part of that sort of policy, but we take from it the overhead charges, because under this bill the Government stands them. The ordinary insurance company would charge just what we are charging, but they would "load" the insurance, as they call it, with whatever their overhead expense was.

The consequence of that is this: The soldier has sent $15, which he has allotted. He has $18 left. Every enlisted man may, if he chooses, take out the maximum insurance allowed in this bill, which is $7,500. If he be 29 years of age, he would pay for it $60 a year, which is just $5 a month, and he would still have, after deducting $5 a month, $13 a month left for tobacco and the other things for which he wants to spend his money. He is clothed, quartered, fed, and armed by the Government.

At the end of the war he would have a policy of $7,500, which would be paid to his family if he should be killed or if he died or suffered total disability, reduced to its installment value.

The House put in the bill a provision that they should have a maximum insurance of $10,000. We amended it to $7,500, because if you pay the policy to the beneficiaries on the installment plan in 240 monthly payments, extending over 20

years, which is the plan of this bill, the family will have received, adding all the installments together in toto, $10,200 in money, so that he gets the amount of money expected by the House. Of course, if the family received it the day he died, they would get only $7,500, but that can not be the case under the bill.

The reason that guided us was this: The man is summoned to the colors by his country. The drafted man goes because he must go. The Government creates the war, not the soldier. The war hazard, therefore, is the creation of the Government. Of course, the volunteer ought not to be put upon any lower ground than the drafted man. Now, we thought the Government ought to bear that part of the insurance risk which the Government created, and we thought we ought to make the soldier bear that part which in ordinary peace times he would have had to bear if he had taken out insurance. We therefore charge him just that net premium, which is $8 in the case I have mentioned. Then the Government bears the war risk and it also bears the overhead charge. It is fair that the Government, having deprived a man of his insurability, should put him at least in statu quo ante bellum with regard to insurability, and that is what this bill does.

When all these people, summoned here to be consulted and to advise in the drafting of this bill, gathered around they expressed themselves as highly delighted with the bill, except that the insurance men kicked about the insurance part of it. They did not want the Government to "go into the insurance business," as they expressed it. But the Government is not going into the insurance business in that or any general sense. It is not going into the general insurance business at all. In the first place, it is confining its activities simply to the soldiers and the sailors in the service. In the second place, it confines the beneficiaries to the soldiers' and sailors' dependent families. It does not let a soldier go out and insure his life for the benefit of the Senator from Massachusetts, just because he is a friend or because the Senator has lent him money. It does not let me come in, if the Senator from Massachusetts were a soldier, and insure his life for my benefit. The Government confines itself simply to doing the Government's business of putting the man back in statu quo, as far as the Government has destroyed the statu quo of ante bellum insurability.

It was suggested that the Government should give to each soldier outright, one suggestion was, a paid-up policy of $2,000; another suggestion was a paid-up policy of $1,000. Your committee did not see, and the House did not see, why the soldier should be given an insurance gratuity. We did see why so much of the increased price of the premium of insurance as was necessitated by the act of the Government in declaring a state of war and was not caused by his act should be paid by the Government; but we did not think that exempted him from the duty of paying his part, just what he would have paid in peace times if he had chosen to take out insurance.

He must equally choose here; insurance under this bill is voluntary, not compulsory.

Now, let me go a step further and show you financially where we have now got our soldier. We have got him to where he has an insurance policy of $7,500, where by his own allotment and by the Government's allowance his family is being taken care of during the war and for a month afterwards, and where he still has $13 a month left to spend in any way that he chooses.

Another thing: Every enlisted man can take this maximum amount of $7,500 if he wishes, so this knocks in the head the argument that has been made that the insurance feature was "put in as an increase of officers' pay." It is not put in here as an increase of anybody's pay, but as an additional family provision; but if it be an increase of the officer's pay, then it is also an equal increase of the private's pay.

Under the compensation features of this bill we went pretty far in setting a new precedent. As the bill was originally drawn, the compensation was based upon a percentage of the salary or pay of the injured person, officer or private, thus making or retaining an old distinction. We have put the officers' wives and children and the privates' wives and children upon exactly the same footing as far as compensation is concerned—have made it a stated amount for both, not a percentage for each. It is true that an officer ought to be paid more than a private soldier, because he does a very much more responsible work, requiring very much greater ability, and rank is right in the Army and ought to be maintained; but if I be a colonel in the Army and leave a widow and you be a private in the Army and leave a widow, my wife is not a colonel and your wife is not a private. They are just simply our widows, and that is all. So we stood by that provision in the House bill.

Everything that has been urged against this bill in a demagogic way falls to the ground. There is no just criticism of it from that standpoint. We have done equal and exact justice as well as we know how. We have made these policies nonassignable with the purpose and with the undoubted result of preventing speculation on the part of people who might want to take out policies on lives of soldiers or sailors for speculative purposes. We have made them exempt from the claims of the creditors either of the insured or of the beneficiary, somewhat like a widow's and orphan's policy in the New York Life Insurance Co. under the laws of New York.

First, then, we have limited the beneficiaries; second, we have limited the amount; third, we have limited the insured to the service; fourth, we have made the policy nonassignable; and, fifth, we have exempted it from debts and execution. To these limited extents we have gone into the insurance business, but no further; and, as far as we have gone, we have simply done that which every government from the beginning of the earth ought to have been doing. The Government has a right to every dollar of mine, if it is necessary; it has a right to my body, if it is necessary; but it ought, as far as it can, as far as it is able, not to make a hazard which *it has created* too hard upon my wife and children.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to call the Senator's attention to section 404, on page 34, which provides for the close of the war. I understand that during the war each man or officer may take out one-year term insurance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That is the only sort he can take.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes; but if he takes any insurance, he must take term insurance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Now, at the close of the war, what happens?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will come to that in just a second, if the Senator will permit me. I will make a note of that. In the first place, though, I want to say why we insisted upon this particular form of insurance. It was because it was, during the war, the very best possible form for the soldier. This form of insurance, however, has in ordinary times its disadvantages. The premium increases with the age of the insured, so that when you reach the age, say, of 65 or 70 years, the premium becomes prohibitive. So that we had to provide, after the war—now I come to the Senator's question—for the convertibility of this form of policy to some other form; and we provided that the bureau may, in the contract of insurance, indicate the forms and all that. When peace comes and the war is over, this is not the best form of policy for the soldier, and it is not the best thing for the Government to continue it any longer than the Government is forced to continue it, and therefore it is well enough for both sides and best for the soldier that it should be turned into period insurance, if you may so call it—10 years, 15 years, 20 years—and also that paid-up policies may be given, and also that participating policies may be given. Now, that conversion must occur within five years after the war.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is, after the war closes the Government is going into all kinds of insurance with the men who have survived the war?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; the Government is not going into any new insurance nor with anybody except its employee soldiers and sailors nor with any beneficiaries save their dependent relatives or the immediate family. It is simply going to carry out the contracts which it has already made.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is going to drop the term insurance and go into investment insurance, so called, with the men who survive the war?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Now, remember, that is a paying business.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I suppose so. Now, I want to ask what happens between the close of the war and this five-year period?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The man is not obliged to wait until the end of the five years to convert. He must convert within five years. If he chooses not to convert until the last period of the five years, then, of course, his premium which he must pay monthly in advance on this sort of policy increases from year to year.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It does not state here, though, that he can continue his term insurance during that period.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It does, by stating that within five years he must convert, and therefore during five years he may or may not convert.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It says here that during the period of the war the insurance shall be term insurance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But it does not provide what shall occur during this five-year period, when he has an option.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is given an option. The very first day after he comes out of the war he may, if he choose, convert it, as soon as he can go through the proper forms; or he may wait until the period is about to come to an end, and then he may convert it; but during the time that he does not convert it, of course it continues just as it is.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. This is without any medical examination?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course, because every man who goes into the Army is already examined.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OVERMAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just one second. One other thing: We also provide here that the insured must make this application for insurance within 120 days, and we provide that those who do not do it, who are already in the service, are supposed to carry $5,000; is not that the sum? I will ask the senior Senator from Utah if that is not true with regard to the man who has not made an application?

Mr. SMOOT. If he has not made an application he is granted monthly compensation of $25, which, figured into insurance, amounts to about $6,000 of money finally paid.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; well, a policy, then, of $5,000. Anyhow, that is to keep the men who are already in on a footing with the others. Now I yield to the junior Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. As I understand the plan which this bill has provided, it contemplates that the Government shall continue in the insurance business after the war with reference to soldiers and sailors who may be alive and who will continue the payment of their premiums.

Mr. WILLIAMS. With whom it has existing contracts of insurance; and it will also apply for future time to soldiers and officers of the standing Army and the Regular Navy.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. As long as the Government is in the business of term insurance the situation is very simple, but when it goes into endowment insurance and investment insurance, then it goes into the banking business and the investment business. What is the Government going to do with the money that it receives in that way?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Turn it over into the treasury of the War-Risk Bureau, and finally into the general fund of the Treasury.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But insurance companies that receive money in that way invest it, and it is from the investments that the insurers are paid.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, we can invest our money mighty easily by paying a part of these billions of 4 per cent bonds.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Is that the plan?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; it was not put in the bill here because we thought that was looking too far ahead. Congress can take care of that by future legislation.

Mr. McCUMBER. I think the suggestion made by the Senator from Nebraska is well taken in reference to section 404, and that is the time elapsing after the expiration of the war and during the five years in which the claimant is entitled to convert his insurance protection. I think we should add after "war," in line 18, the following:

And until converted within five years thereafter.

So it will read:

That during the period of war, and until converted within five years thereafter, the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each.

Then the balance of the section provides that—

No later than five years after the war the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination—

And so forth. I think that ought to be in there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There may be some ambiguity there that needs clearing up. If so, we will come to it later. There is one other thing now, and that is this. If the beneficiary does not survive the insured, in that event the person entitled under the laws of the State where the insured lives inherits his personal property in case he dies intestate gets the amount.

There is one other thing. The next section provides for settling disputes between the Government, which is the insurer, and the soldier who is the insured. I recommend Senators to read carefully sections 402 and 403 and 404 of Article IV, which will give them nearly all the information they may desire, especially about the convertibility business.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Has the committee any information which shows about how much it will cost the Government to carry the war risk upon the insured?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Nothing except estimates which, of course, are guesses upon the part of the department, and which fix the amounts of appropriations made in the bill.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I do not mean the lump sum necessary to pay, but how much per thousand will the Government have to pay on this insurance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That depends on what it costs to carry it on. In this connection I wish to say we will have this advantage of the insurance companies in administering this law. Of course, as a rule, private enterprise of any sort is administered more economically than Government undertakings of like character, but there are cases where the Government has such immense advantages that it can excel them in economy of administration. This is one of those cases. The Government will have no insurance agents traveling around over the country soliciting policies and receiving commissions, sometimes as high as 50 and 60 per cent for the first one, and then 5 per cent for the renewals. The Government will have no rent to pay. The Government will have no taxes to pay. The Government will be doing the business of about four of the largest insurance companies of the world, and will be doing it with a force not much over one-fourth the force which the four companies must maintain. The Government, moreover, will not be paying men $40,000 and $50,000 a year salaries, as the insurance companies are paying.

So in answer to the question of the Senator from Delaware my reply is that no one can make an exact estimate, but the overhead charges and cost of administration will be very much less than has been urged, and, in the second place, the Government will not pay as much out for mortality and total disabilities a people generally think. It is generally thought that this is the bloodiest war in its percentage of disabilities and deaths which the world has ever seen. That simply is not the fact. While the regiment in the trenches suffers more, there are held out three to four more regiments to relieve them at times, because you can not keep these men in the trenches too long with this nerve-wearing modern warfare, and those who are outside are suffering no mortalities at all at that particular time. There were many battles and campaigns during the Civil War, where take the time and the number of men engaged, the percentages of total forces probably were greater than during any equal time of fighting during this war.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wait one minute. That meant taking the entire Army. For example, the battle of Chickamauga was fought when the entire armies on both sides were in the fight. This trench warfare going on is not the German Army that is making counter charges and the British Army that is standing counter charges. It is about one-fourth of each. Now I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. I have seen the statement made, based on estimates that I presumed were as carefully made as could be, that there would be 75 men out of a thousand killed in one year.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Killed or permanently disabled.

Mr. WEEKS. Assuming that that is true, that would mean——

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is an estimate. That estimate was given in the hearings before the committee.

Mr. WEEKS. If that is true, in an army of a million men there would be a loss of 75,000 men, which based on this insurance would be $750,000,000, and the Government would receive $80,000,000 in premiums from the insured.

Mr. WILLIAMS. From those insured who suffered. The Senator says a million men. That million men would pay $80,000,000 in premiums.

Mr. WEEKS. Eighty million dollars premiums. So the Treasury would lose the difference between $750,000,000 and $80,000,000, or $670,000,000. Are there any other estimates what it will cost from year to year as the insurance goes on?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Senator, frankly, if any estimates were made I would not call them by that name. You will see yourself from the very nature of the case that it is impossible to make any reliable estimate. They have guessed at it. They have made what they call estimates, in consequence of which they have asked us to give an appropriation for the several sums that are appropriated here.

Mr. WEEKS. I wish to say to the Senator the reason why I asked that question is because, in the first place, I naturally

feel like wanting to know what something is going to cost before undertaking it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So do I.

Mr. WEEKS. I approve of the parts of the bill which relate to allowances, and so forth, and I approve of the insurance up to the end of the war, but I am not in approval of continuing an insurance department. I do not believe it is necessary. This is all being done because it is incident to the war. As far as the insurance is concerned, everything that follows it is something that is entirely distinct from the war which we are fighting. For that reason I think we ought to have carefully revised figures, if it is possible to obtain them, about what the future burden is going to be.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator would ask me how many men were going to be killed, how many were going to die of disease, how many were going to be totally disabled, how many were going to be partially disabled of the American forces in France or elsewhere during this war, I would frankly confess that I could no more answer it than I could fly.

Yet to know those things would be absolutely necessary in order that I might make any reliable estimate of what it would cost. I can not tell, neither can the Senator. I do know this: That whatever it shall cost, I do not care whether it be millions, hundreds of millions, or billions of dollars, whatever this war, in its different phases on this and the other side of it shall cost, it is infinitely better to pay it if we can, or to go bankrupt if we can not, than it is to let Prussian autocracy dominate the earth. The sole thing I have considered about this bill was this: I have not even attempted to find out what it would cost, because I could not do it and I knew I could not. The department made an estimate and told us the amount of money they think they can get along with, and we have appropriated it. It may be that they have underestimated immensely. The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] evidently thinks so by the manner in which he is scornfully smiling.

Mr. SMOOT. I know it; I do not think so.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator always knows. I may think so, but whether they have or not underestimated, the sole thing I have considered is this: Is it right and just to the soldiers and the families of soldiers that we should pass this legislation? If it is, I want to pass it. If anybody can convince me in any respect that it is not right and just, that it is more generous than it should be, or that it is unnecessary, then I certainly would not want to pass it.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I should like to have the Senator from Mississippi indicate to the Senate his reasons for thinking that this insurance should be continued after the war.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I can not see how a government that enters into a contract can discontinue its contract. Here is a man who has taken out a policy. The man is partially disabled; he comes back and his insurability has been totally lost because of the injury received in the war, and he can not get any insurance from private companies. The Government made a contract with him. The Government ought to carry that out. If he afterwards dies from his disability, then the Government ought to carry out the contract with his family.

So far as carrying it on for the Regular Army and Navy after the reduction of forces is concerned, that is a different proposition. I have my doubts very seriously about whether that ought to be done, but the reason for putting it in was this: Every soldier and every sailor, even in peace times, has an extra hazard, and that extra hazard is owing to the fact that he may at any moment be called into service and into dangerous service, too. I hope—I think I almost know—that after this war is over we are going to have a very small Army, and the balance of the world very much smaller armies than they have ever had, and we not a very much larger one that we have ever had.

The nations are going to have very much smaller armies because one of the things this war is going to do if we win it is to put an end to this everlasting standing up of an armed and panoplied population waiting for another army to attack it and watching its chance to attack. I can see very well why you should shut off the Government from taking on any more of these contracts after the war is over, even with the Regular Army and the Regular Navy, but I do not see for the life of me how the Government is going to get rid of contracts after it has made them unless the other party to the contract agrees to get rid of it. I do think in very many of these cases the other party to the contract will want to get rid of it, and I will tell you why. I think the different forms of policies which the Government takes up are so limited in character and beneficiaries that the man will find out in very many cases if he comes back physically unimpaired that he can get far better insurance or insurance that will suit his condition better from private companies.

I will tell you why for another reason. I think he will want insurance with different beneficiaries. If the man comes back from the war unimpaired he will want insurance probably to meet a debt payable to his administrator and not to his wife and children. He will want insurance to insure his obligations in his business. So he will want different beneficiaries there.

You must remember the very narrow character of these policies. I have no doubt that a great many of them will be given up voluntarily by the soldiers after they return for a great many very good reasons.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Certainly.

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator from Mississippi in giving his reasons why this insurance should continue after the war suggests that a man might be injured so that he could not obtain insurance. Of course, we are providing compensation for that man in this bill. A policy can be written which will continue during the war and stop there. It is a very common form of insurance to insure for a year or for some definite risks or for some definite term of insurance. That is in many respects the cheapest insurance that can be issued. Why should not these policies be issued on that basis to continue during the war and then cease?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I can not give any better reason than I have sought to give. The Government enters into a contract and it ought to carry it out.

Mr. WEEKS. But it enters into a contract for a definite period.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course, but if you enter into a contract for a definite period, 1 year or 10 years, the premiums increase very much.

Mr. WEEKS. Not materially.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; very materially—about $157 on $6,000, against $48, if he take the form of a policy I have. We were seeking to get the lowest possible premium and we have got it. This is not worth a cent as an investment, but it is worth more than any other policy in the world as a hazard-meeting proposition.

Mr. KING. I should like to ask the Senator a question. If a soldier or sailor is carrying a policy of insurance when he enters the war, is he permitted to take out an additional one, so that he carries two policies?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. The Senator must remember that most of the policies have what are called war-risk clauses, and they are canceled when a man goes abroad into the Army or Navy. Some have not. Those that have not will have to meet their contracts; they will have to carry them out with the soldier, and the soldier is better fixed with that policy than he would be with the one we give him, because he has already partly paid it and it has partially matured, and he could carry it to complete maturity quicker. In cases like that the man generally would be able to provide for it.

There is another clause in here where he can provide for that in a way. If he wants to allot more than he is compelled to allot to his family, $15, he may allot it to the payment on a house and payment upon an insurance policy, and then he may be excused from the usual allotment by the regulation of the bureau if he can give good reason why it should be done. For example, suppose a man has a wife and children and they probably can get along very well, but he had bought a home on the installment plan, then he could, upon a written waiver from his wife, allot his allotment, or part of it, to the building and loan association and continue paying for the home.

Mr. KING. Will the soldier, after the war is over, have any greater benefits under this insurance policy than he would have if he had an insurance policy of a private corporation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think not. Perhaps the contrary. Probably if he had had an insurance policy with a private corporation it would have been an insurance policy maturing in a limited term and it would have already partially matured, and he would be drawing and crediting dividends. Of course, this form of policy in this bill never matures unless the man dies or is totally disabled.

Mr. KING. The Senator spoke some time ago about the terms of convertibility.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is left to the regulation of the bureau.

Mr. KING. Would he receive more in those terms of convertibility than he would from an insurance company——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no; I think not.

Mr. KING. For a like policy, with the same amount of premium?

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the war lasts for four years he might receive more from this policy if he took it out now than he

would have received from the same sort of policy if taken out four years later at the increase of premium, of course.

Mr. KING. That is obvious.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course.

Mr. BRADY. I should like to ask the Senator a question relative to section 404, on page 34. Assume that a soldier has taken out an insurance policy for $5,000 and has kept up the payment during the term of the war. Let us assume that the war lasted three years. After he is discharged, what becomes of that policy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That goes on for five years, but not later than five years, when it must be converted into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by the regulations.

Mr. BRADY. But the soldier would have to go on paying his premium according to the contract he had made with the Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. BRADY. Let us assume that he did not pay his premium; that he let the policy lapse.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then it would lapse like any other policy.

Mr. BRADY. Should there not be provision here that he could have paid-up insurance?

Mr. SMOOT. There is no paid-up insurance provided for.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; it is term insurance. They can convert it into paid-up policies after conversion.

Mr. BRADY. Then, at the end of the war, if the premium is paid up, they can at such time take up a paid-up policy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Here is the clause, which I will read to the Senator:

> Regulations shall provide for the right to convert into ordinary life, 20-payment life, endowment maturing at age 62, and into other usual forms of insurance, and shall prescribe the time and method of payment of the premiums thereon.

Mr. BRADY. I read that very carefully, but it seems to me that it requires the insured to keep on paying the premium.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It does.

Mr. BRADY. Under the ordinary life policy, if a man has paid for a certain number of years, he can at that time take out a paid-up policy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not under this form of policy. If he does later by conversion take one of those forms, then of course he does not continue to pay longer than that form requires. He surrenders this policy under the bill, and continues it—a 20-payment life, we will say. Then, of course, his payments stop at the end of 20 years.

Mr. BRADY. But does not the Senator feel that the soldier should have the privilege of taking a paid-up policy, the same as would be given under ordinary insurance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No paid-up policy is possible; and if he has a policy renewable at the end of each year, there is no estimated paid-up value for that sort of insurance, because the premium continues to advance from year to year in that peculiar sort of policy.

Mr. SMOOT. I think I can express it to the Senator in this way so that he will understand it. Where a soldier takes a term policy he does it for one year. At the end of the year if he is not dead he loses the premium paid, just the same as he does in an ordinary term policy of any insurance company. If he pays it for two years, or any other length of time, and stops, he loses it. The bill provides that he can not carry term insurance longer than five years; that is, he can not take a term policy any longer than five years and must take one of the ordinary life insurance policies similar to those issued by the insurance companies of the United States if he continues his insurance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before I yield the floor I ask unanimous consent to put in the RECORD as a part of my explanation of the bill about two pages and a third drawn upon by Judge Mack, the main author of the House bill, explaining some of the features of the bill that I have not been able to go over. Judge Mack, selected to represent labor by Mr. Gompers, has in connection with this legislation shown a master hand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

"The men who have been drafted or have enlisted for military service can not in these war times obtain life insurance in many companies and in others only at a prohibitive rate. The Government should make good this loss of insurability to a reasonable amount. Whatever insurance it offers to the men should be offered them at such rate as the Government would charge in peace times. The expected excess mortality on account of which private companies now charge large additional premiums is a risk which the whole Nation and not the individual men in the service should bear.

"The Government, moreover, has only one of many items of expense that private companies have, viz, the administration. It has no agents' commissions, medical examination fees, advertising, investment costs, or taxation. As the contemplated insurance is confined strictly to the military and naval forces, the administrative expense should not be borne by these men who are risking their lives in defense of the whole country, but by the Nation at large. Therefore the rates fixed in section 403 are the net peace-time rates without loading. Calculations are based upon the 3½ per cent interest rate, and the American experience table of mortality. The actual mortality of the best American insurance companies is less than two-thirds of the mortality expected according to this table, and but for the war risk the rates based upon this table would yield a profit.

"The bill provides that during the war only term insurance, renewable yearly, shall be issued. Within five years after the war, however, this insurance must be converted into one of the more usual forms.

"Yearly renewable term insurance is extremely cheap for a young man, about $8 a year at age of 29, but as the premiums increase annually it becomes very high at the advanced ages. It is the most desirable kind of insurance during the temporary period of a great risk. It is not, however, desirable for the Government to encourage men to continue it after the great risk is over. It is better for the men to pay more in their youth and less or nothing at all in their old age than to pay the natural premium of each year's insurance.

"This committee has therefore retained the provision for term insurance during the war, but has amended the House bill so as to make it, not optionally but compulsorily, convertible within five years after the war into one of the usual forms of insurance.

"The House bill has been further amended by providing specifically, instead of leaving it to the regulations, that when a policy matures it shall be paid not merely in installments, but in 240 monthly installments, retaining the provision, however, under which continuous monthly installments may be provided for by regulation.

"Inasmuch as the Government bears the war risk under these policies, your committee believes that the class of beneficiaries should be restricted within narrow limits, and not be left to regulations. The class includes the spouse, children, grandchildren, and parents, but the House bill has been amended by limiting brothers and sisters as beneficiaries to those who are dependent and by eliminating the provision under which, by regulations, the bureau was empowered to extend the class of beneficiaries.

"Inasmuch as by these amendments it is now specifically provided that on the maturity of a policy, payments shall be stretched over a period of 20 years in monthly installments, it was deemed best by the committee to reduce the maximum amount that could be applied for from $10,000 to $7,500. Seven thousand five hundred dollars paid out in 240 monthly installments, on a 3½ per cent basis, will yield approximately $42 per month, or a total of approximately $10,200. The essential difference, therefore, in the maximum amount of insurance provided for in the House bill and that provided for by your committee's amendment is that the former provides for installments whose commuted value is $10,000, whereas the latter provides for a total of installments extended over 20 years aggregating slightly over $10,000.

"JULIAN N. MACK."

Mr. BRADY. Before the Senator from Mississippi takes his seat I should like to ask him another question about how the policies or the allowances are commuted.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You mean compensation?

Mr. BRADY. No; where they have the money refunded to them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is nothing commuted here except under the head of compensation in Article III.

Mr. BRADY. Section 304 reads:

> That if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any, future compensation payments for disability may be commuted in whole or in part for a lump sum equal to the present value of such payments or the proportion thereof to be commuted, and such lump sum paid to the injured person in lieu of all further compensation or of the proportion so commuted of all future payments of compensation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is under the compensation article.

Mr. BRADY. Does not the Senator feel that that is a very dangerous clause to put in there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That does not relate to insurance at all. It relates to compensation in case of disability.

Mr. BRADY. I hope the Senator will understand that I am very heartily in favor of the insurance along those lines as suggested in the bill, but I am afraid if we permit the insurance companies to commute——

Mr. WILLIAMS. This does not relate to the insured.

Mr. SMOOT. It relates to the compensation, and the Senator from Idaho is undertaking to state that it would be very unwise to even allow him to commute his compensation.

Mr. BRADY. He can commute his compensation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He can only commute one-half of it.

Mr. BRADY. He can commute one-half of it. Is it right for us to allow him to do that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it is very questionable myself, but I will tell the Senator the reasons given to the committee in behalf of the provision. Here is a man who is receiving, let us say, $50 a month. What the cash value of half of that as commuted would be I do not know, but whatever that sum would be, he says to himself, "I can take that lump sum and go down here and buy this little stock of merchandise, and although I have not any legs, or but one leg, or but one arm, or only one eye, or whatever it is, I can still attend to that." So he thinks it is better for him to do that. One of the dangers to which the Senator refers is the danger that he will throw it away and become a public charity upon the Pension Bureau or upon the State institutions. So we thought of compromising it on one half and denied him the right to commute the other half.

Mr. BRADY. I am very much afraid of that part of the section, for I feel quite sure that the soldier would not average up in business any better than the average man engaged in business, and that shows that about 95 per cent of us fail in business. If that be true—and I think the statistics will show that it is—we take a chance of 95 per cent that that man is either going to be in want or we must grant him and his family a pension later on. He might have a misfortune, and from no fault of his own lose the money. If he should come here under those conditions, although we had commuted his compensation, the generous Senator from Mississippi, like myself, would vote to help him and his family.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is very largely true; and the danger to which the Senator from Idaho calls our attention is an actual and a real one. That is the reason we did not allow the soldier to commute it all. In the case that I have instanced, where a man was getting $50 and has commuted $25, he still would have enough left to keep him from becoming a public charge.

Then the Senator from Idaho must also remember that this entire thing is to take place under regulations to be made by the board. They take charge, and they will not let a man with a very small monthly payment commute half of it, because the other half left would not keep him from starving and would make him a public charge.

Mr. BRADY. My only wish in the premises is to protect the soldier himself and his family.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand that, and I repeat that the danger to which the Senator has called our attention is a very real one. That is the reason why I did not want the soldier to commute it all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the first committee amendment to the bill.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, before we pass to a consideration of the committee amendments, I desire to say that it has occurred to me that the question addressed to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] might be regarded by some as developing a fatal weakness, or, at least, a deplorable weakness in the bill. The Senator from Michigan instanced the case of a soldier who came home from the war with no apparent wounds, and who subsequently developed a disability, or died, and the disability ensuing or the death resulting was easily attributable to his service. I inquire of the Senator from Mississippi if the condition suggested by the Senator from Michigan is not taken care of by the provision of the bill found at the top of page 29, which reads——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I must beg pardon of the Senator from Montana. I was not listening to him, because I thought he was addressing his question to the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], who was standing. I had yielded the floor. Therefore the Senator will have to explain the matter to me again.

Mr. WALSH. I inquire of the Senator from Mississippi whether the condition referred to by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is not taken care of by the provision of the bill at the top of page 29 to the effect—

That where compensation is payable for death or disability occurring after discharge or resignation from the service, claim must be made within two years after such death or the beginning of such disability.

A soldier comes home from the war with no apparent wounds, lives for 10 years thereafter, and then dies. It is then established that his death resulted from the accidents of the service. Is it not provided by the bill that his dependents would have then two years more after his death in which to establish the relationship between his death and his service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator will please read section 307, on page 27 of the bill, which is as follows:

SEC. 307. That no compensation shall be payable for death or disability which does not occur prior to or within one year after discharge or resignation from the service, except that where, after a medical examination made pursuant to regulations, at the time of discharge or resignation from the service, or within such reasonable time thereafter, not exceeding one year, as may be allowed by regulations, a certificate has been obtained from the director to the effect that the injured person at the time of his discharge or resignation was suffering from injury likely to result in death or disability, compensation shall be payable for death or disability, whenever occurring, proximately resulting from such injury.

As the Senator will see, that language limits what otherwise would be the meaning of what he has read.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I had intended at this time to submit some remarks to the Senate on the pending bill, but I have to attend a meeting of the conference committee on the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, of which I am a member. It seems to me that it is of as much importance to agree upon that bill and have it acted on by the House and the Senate as it would be to take up the time of the Senate this afternoon in discussing the bill which is now before us. I understand, however, that the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER] desires to address the Senate upon the bill. He will be here in a few moments. Therefore, I suggest the absence of a quorum, in order that the Senator from North Dakota may have time to reach the Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUSTING in the chair). The Senator from Utah suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brady	Hollis	Martin	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Smoot
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Sutherland
Culberson	Kellogg	Overman	Trammell
Cummins	Kenyon	Page	Underwood
Curtis	King	Phelan	Vardaman
Dillingham	Knox	Pittman	Walsh
France	La Follette	Pomerene	Warren
Gerry	Lewis	Robinson	Weeks
Hale	McCumber	Shafroth	Williams
Harding	McKellar	Sheppard	Wolcott
Husting	McNary	Shields	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Forty-seven Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of absent Senators; and Mr. SIMMONS and Mr. STERLING answered to their names when called.

Mr. POINDEXTER, Mr. FERNALD, Mr. KENDRICK, Mr. REED, Mr. HITCHCOCK, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. FALL, Mr. OWEN, and Mr. FLETCHER entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire the RECORD to show that my colleague [Mr. TOWNSEND] is absent on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. LEWIS. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] because of illness. He is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], who is likewise absent because of illness. I ask that this announcement may remain for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair desires to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON], and also the absence of the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] on account of illness in his family.

Mr. ROBINSON. My colleague, the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY], is unavoidably absent, and will be prevented from attending the sessions of the Senate for some time on account of illness in his family. I ask that this announcement may stand until further notice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-eight Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present. The amendments reported by the Committee on Finance will be stated.

Mr. WILLIAMS. On page 2, line 12, immediately prior to the words "SEC. 2," I move to strike out the quotation marks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

The first amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Article I," on page 2, line 15, before the word "inclusive," to strike out "9" and insert "7"; and in line 16,

before the word "shall," to insert "and section 9," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 12. That sections 2 to 7, inclusive, and section 9, shall be construed to refer only to the division of marine and seamen's insurance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 8, after the word "compensation," to insert "if any, but in no case to exceed 10 per cent"; and in the same line, after the words "per cent," to strike out "if any," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 13. That the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall administer, execute, and enforce the provisions of this act, and for that purpose have full power and authority to make rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, necessary or appropriate to carry out its purposes, and shall decide all questions arising under the act, except as otherwise provided in sections 5 and 405. Wherever under any provision or provisions of the act regulations are directed or authorized to be made, such regulations, unless the context otherwise requires, shall or may be made by the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The director shall adopt reasonable and proper rules to govern the procedure of the divisions, to regulate the matter of the compensation, if any, but in no case to exceed 10 per cent, to be paid to claim agents and attorneys for services in connection with any of the matters provided for in articles 2, 3, and 4, and to regulate and provide for the nature and extent of the proofs and evidence and the method of taking and furnishing the same in order to establish the right to benefits of allowance, allotment, compensation, or insurance provided for in this act, the forms of application of those claiming to be entitled to such benefits, the method of making investigations and medical examinations, and the manner and form of adjudications and awards.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 22, after the word "shall," to strike out "so far as practicable," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 14. That the bureau and its divisions shall have such deputies, assistants, actuaries, clerks, and other employees as may be from time to time provided by Congress. The bureau shall, by arrangement with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, make use of the services of surgeons in the Army and Navy. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish an advisory board consisting of three members skilled in the practice of insurance against death or disability for the purpose of assisting the Division of Military and Naval Insurance in fixing premium rates and in the adjustment of claims for losses under the contracts of insurance provided for in Article IV and in adjusting claims for compensation under Article III; compensation for the persons so appointed to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not to exceed $20 a day each while actually employed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 7, after the words "civil-service law," to insert "Such fees, allowances, and salaries shall be the same as are paid for similar services in other departments of the Government," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 17. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $100,000, for the payment of all expenses incident to the work authorized under this act, including salaries of the director and commissioners and of such deputies, assistants, accountants, experts, clerks, and other employees in the District of Columbia or elsewhere, as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary, traveling expenses, rent and equipment of offices, typewriters and exchange of same, purchase of law books and books of reference, printing and binding to be done at the Government Printing Office, and all other necessary expenses. With the exception of the director, the commissioners, and such special experts as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time find necessary for the conduct of the work of the bureau, all employees of the bureau shall be appointed from lists of eligibles to be supplied by the Civil Service Commission and in accordance with the civil-service law. Such fees, allowances, and salaries shall be the same as are paid for similar services in other departments of the Government.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 22, after the words "SEC. 22," to strike out:

That for the purpose of this act marriage shall be conclusively presumed, in the absence of proof, that there is a legal spouse living, if the man and woman have lived together in the openly acknowledged relation of husband and wife during the two years immediately preceding the date of the declaration of war, or the date of enlistment or of entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States if subsequent to such declaration, or during the two years immediately preceding the man's death or the beginning of the disability.

And insert:

That for the purpose of this amendatory act the marriage of the claimant to the person on account of whom the claim is made shall be shown—

"(1) By a duly verified copy of a public or church record; or

"(2) By the affidavit of the clergyman or magistrate who officiated; or

"(3) By the testimony of two or more eyewitnesses to the ceremony; or

"(4) By a duly verified copy of the church record of baptism of the children; or

"(5) By the testimony of two or more witnesses who know that the parties lived together as husband and wife, and were recognized as such, and who shall state how long, within their knowledge, such relation continued: *Provided*, That marriages, except such as are mentioned in section 4705 of the Revised Statutes, shall be proven in compensation or insurance cases to be legal marriages according to the law of the place where the parties resided at the time of marriage or at the time when the right to compensation or insurance accrued; and the open and notorious illicit cohabitation of a widow who is a claimant shall operate to terminate her right to compensation or insurance from the commencement of such cohabitation."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, line 11, after the words "before the," to strike out "approval" and insert "enactment"; in the same line, after the word "this," to strike out "act" and insert "amendatory act"; and in line 12, before the word "enlistment," to insert "before," so as to make the subsection read:

(b) A child legally adopted more than six months before the enactment of this amendatory act or before enlistment or entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, whichever of these dates is the later.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, line 16, after the word "father," to strike out "only" and insert "only" with a comma; in line 17, after the words "acknowledged by," to insert "instrument in writing signed by"; and in line 19, after the word "support," to insert "and if such child, if born after December 31, 1917, shall have been born in the United States," so as to make the subsection read:

(d) An illegitimate child, but, as to the father, only if acknowledged by instrument in writing signed by him, or if he has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute to such child's support, and if such child, if born after December 31, 1917, shall have been born in the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, after line 21, to insert:

(e) The term "wife divorced" means a wife divorced without her fault as the ground or cause of such divorce.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 1, after the word "used," to strike out "in the last sentence of subdivision (g) of section 301 and"; in line 5, before the word "years," to strike out "18" and insert "16"; and in the same line, after the word "if," to strike out "incapable because of mental or physical infirmity of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation" and insert "insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless," so as to make the clause read:

(3) Except as used in section 401 and in section 402 the terms "child" and "grandchild" are limited to unmarried persons either (a) under 16 years of age, or (b) of any age if insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 17, after the word "officer," to strike out "an Army field clerk, and a field clerk, Quartermaster Corps," so as to make the clause read:

(6) The term "commissioned officer" includes a warrant officer, but includes only an officer in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 24, after the word "officers," to insert "and members of training camps authorized by law," so as to make the clause read:

(7) The terms "man" and "enlisted man" mean a person, whether male or female, and whether enlisted, enrolled, or drafted into active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, and include noncommissioned and petty officers, and members of training camps authorized by law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, line 14, after the word "this," to insert "amendatory"; in line 15, after the words "made to," to strike out "a person mentally incompetent or"; in line 16, after the word "minor," to insert "other than a person in the military or naval forces of the United States, or to a person mentally incompetent"; and in line 18, after the words "made to," to strike out "some suitable person, corporation, or association, as may be prescribed by regulations for the benefit of the person entitled thereto" and insert "the person who is constituted guardian or curator by the laws of the State or residence of claimant, or is otherwise legally vested with responsibility or care of the claimant," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 23. That when, by the terms of this amendatory act, any payment is to be made to a minor, other than a person in the military or naval forces of the United States, or to a person mentally incompetent, such payment shall be made to the person who is constituted guardian or curator by the laws of the State or residence of claimant, or is otherwise legally vested with responsibility or care of the claimant.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, after line 23, to strike out:

SEC. 24. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, so far as practicable, shall furnish information to and act for persons in the military or naval service with respect to any contracts of insurance, whether with the Government or otherwise, as may be prescribed by regulations. Said bureau shall procure from and keep a record of the amount and kind of insurance held by every commissioned and appointive officer and of every enlisted man in the military or naval service of the United States, including the name and principal place of business of the company, society, or organization in which such insurance is held, the date

of the policy, amount of premium, name and relationship of the beneficiary, and such other data as may be deemed of service in protecting the interests of the insured and beneficiaries.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 12, line 13, to change the number of the section from "25" to "24."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 12, line 20, to change the number of the section from "26" to "25."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Article II," subhead "Allotments and family allowances," on page 13, line 9, after the word "remarried," to insert "and to whom alimony has been decreed," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 201. That allotment of pay shall, subject to the conditions, limitations, and exceptions hereinafter specified, be compulsory as to wife, a former wife divorced who has not remarried and to whom alimony has been decreed, and a child, and voluntary as to any other person; but on the written consent of the wife or former wife divorced, supported by evidence satisfactory to the bureau of her ability to support herself and the children in her custody, the allotment for her and for such children may be waived; and on the enlisted man's application, or otherwise for good cause shown, exemption from the allotment may be granted upon such conditions as may be prescribed by regulations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 13, line 24, after the word "order," to insert "decree"; in the same line, before the word "agreement," to insert "written"; and in the same line, after the word "her," to insert: "For an illegitimate child, to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, it shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree," so as to make the clause read:

The monthly compulsory allotment shall be in an amount equal to the family allowance hereinafter specified except that it shall not be more than one-half the pay, or less than $15; but for a wife living separate and apart under court order or written agreement or for a former wife divorced, it shall not exceed the amount specified in the court order, decree, or written agreement to be paid to her. For an illegitimate child, to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, it shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 15, line 3, after the words "then to," to strike out "his next of kin" and insert "the person or persons who would under the laws of the State of his residence be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 203. That in case one-half of an enlisted man's monthly pay is not allotted, regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, may require, under such circumstances and conditions as may be prescribed in such regulations, that any proportion of such one-half pay as is not allotted shall be deposited to his credit, to be held during such period of his service as may be prescribed. Such deposits shall bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum with semiannual rests, and, when payable, shall be paid principal and interest to the enlisted man, if living, otherwise to any beneficiary or beneficiaries he may have designated, or if there be no such beneficiary, then to the person or persons who would under the laws of the State of his residence be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 15, line 16, after the word "preceding," to strike out "declaration of war" and insert "November 1, 1917," so as to make the clause read:

The family allowance shall be paid from the time of enlistment to death in or one month after discharge from the service, but not for more than one month after the termination of the present war emergency. No family allowance shall be made for any period preceding November 1, 1917. The payment shall be subject to such regulations as may be prescribed relative to cases of desertion and imprisonment and of missing men.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, line 22, after the word "paid," to insert "only if and while the member is dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man, and"; on page 17, line 3, after "$50," to insert "and only then if alimony shall have been decreed to her"; in line 7, after the word "order," to insert the word "decree"; in line 8, before the word "agreement," to insert "written"; and, in the same line, after the word "her," to insert "for an illegitimate child, to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, it shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 205. That family allowances for members of class A shall be paid only if and while the member is dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man, and only if and while a compulsory allotment is made to a member or members of such class. The monthly family allowance to a former wife divorced shall be payable only out of the difference, if any, between the monthly family allowance to the other members of class A and the sum of $50, and only then if alimony shall have been decreed to her. For a wife living separate and apart under court order or written agreement or to a former wife divorced the monthly allowance, together with the allotment, if any, shall not exceed the amount specified in the court order, decree, or written agreement to be paid to her. For an illegitimate child, to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, it shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 18, line 4, after the word "from," to strike out "the allotment" and insert "this additional allotment under class B," so as to make the clause read:

On the enlisted man's application, or otherwise for good cause shown, exemption from this additional allotment under class B as a condition to the allowance may be granted, upon such conditions as may be prescribed by regulations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 18, line 20, after the word "this," to strike out "amendment" and insert "amendatory act," so as to make the clause read:

(b) The total monthly allowance to beneficiaries of class B added to the enlisted man's monthly allotment to them shall not exceed the average sum habitually contributed by him to their support monthly during the period of dependency, but not exceeding a year immediately preceding his enlistment or the enactment of this amendatory act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 18, line 22, after the word "between," to strike out "a wife, including a former wife divorced, and the children not in her custody, and as between children," and insert "the members of class A and as between the members of class B," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 208. That as between the members of class A and as between the members of class B, the amount of the allotment and family allowance shall be apportioned as may be prescribed by regulations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 19, line 4, after "Sec. 209," to strike out "that allotments and family allowances shall be paid to or for the beneficiaries, as may be provided by regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively," and insert "the War and Navy Departments, respectively, shall pay over to the Treasury Department monthly the entire amount of such allotments for distribution to the beneficiaries, and the allotments and family allowances shall be paid by the bureau to or for the beneficiaries."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 19, line 15, after the word "award," to insert "on the basis of"; and, in line 16, after the word "award," to insert the "amount of the allotments to be made by the man," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 210. That upon receipt of any application for family allowance the commissioner shall make all proper investigations and shall make an award, on the basis of which award the amount of the allotments to be made by the man shall be certified to the War Department or Navy Department, as may be proper. Whenever the commissioner shall have reason to believe that an allowance has been improperly made or that the conditions have changed, he shall investigate or reinvestigate and may modify the award. The amount of each monthly allotment and allowance shall be determined according to the conditions then existing.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Article III," subhead "Compensation for death or disability," on page 20, line 4, after the word "contracted," to strike out "in the course of the service," and in line 10, after the word "provided," to insert "but no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by his own willful misconduct," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 300. That for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty, by any commissioned officer or enlisted man or by any member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) or of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in the active service under the War Department or Navy Department, the United States shall pay compensation as hereinafter provided; but no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by his own willful misconduct.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 14, after the word "If," to strike out "from a marriage contracted before or within 10 years after the injury"; in line 16, before the word "dependent," to strike out "substantially"; and in line 18, after the word "following," to strike out "percentages of his pay" and insert "amounts," so as to make the clause read:

If the deceased leaves a widow or child, or if he leaves a widowed mother dependent upon him for support, the monthly compensation shall be the following amounts.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 19, after the word "alone," to strike out "$35" and insert "$25," so as to make the clause read:

(a) For a widow alone, $25.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 20, after the word "child," to strike out "$45" and insert "$35," so as to make the clause read:

(b) For a widow and one child, $35.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 21, after the word "children," to strike out "$52.50" and insert "$47.50," so as to make the clause read:

(c) For a widow and two children, $47.50, with $5 for each additional child up to two.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 24, after the word "children," to strike out "$35" and insert "$30," so as to make the clause read:

(e) For two children, $30.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 1, after the word "children," to strike out "$45" and insert "$40"; and in the same line, after the word "with," to strike out "$10" and insert "$5," so as to make the clause read:

(f) For three children, $40, with $5 for each additional child up to two.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 3, after the word "mother," to strike out "$30" and insert "$20"; and in line 14, after the word "been," to strike out "substantially," so as to make the clause read:

(g) For a widowed mother, $20. The amount payable under this subdivision shall not be greater than a sum which, when added to the total amount payable to the widow and children, does not exceed $75. This compensation shall be payable for the death of but one child, and no compensation for the death of a child shall be payable if such widowed mother is in receipt of compensation under the provisions of this article for the death of her husband. Such compensation shall be payable whether her widowhood arises before or after the death of the person and whenever her condition is such that if the person were living the widowed mother would have been dependent upon him for support.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 16, after the word "death," to insert "occur before"; in the same line, after the word "before," to strike out "after"; in line 17, before the word "burial," to insert "for"; and in the same line, after the word "expenses," to insert "and the return of body to his home a sum," so as to make the clause read:

If the death occur before discharge or resignation from service, the United States shall pay for burial expenses and the return of body to his home a sum not to exceed $100, as may be fixed by regulations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, line 23, before the word "years," to strike out "18," and insert "16," and in line 24, after the words "because of" to strike out "mental or physical infirmity, of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation, then until marriage or death or until such incapacity ceases" and insert "insanity, idiocy, or being otherwise permanently helpless, then during such incapacity," so as to make the clause read:

The payment of compensation to or for a child shall continue until such child reaches the age of 16 years or marries, or if such child be incapable, because of insanity, idiocy, or being otherwise permanently helpless, then during such incapacity.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 13, after the word "regulations," to insert:

The word "widow" as used in this section shall include only one who shall have married the deceased within 10 years after the time of injury.

So as to make the clause read:

As between the widow and the children not in her custody, and as between children, the amount of the compensation shall be apportioned as may be prescribed by regulations. The word "widow" as used in this section shall include only one who shall have married the deceased within 10 years after the time of injury.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 18, after the word "total," to strike out "so as to make it impracticable for the injured person to pursue any gainful occupation," so as to make the clause read:

(1) If and while the disability is total, the monthly compensation shall be the following amounts.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 22, after the word "living," to strike out "$40" and insert "$30," so as to make the clause read:

(a) If he has neither wife nor child living, $30.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 23, after the word "living," to strike out "$55" and insert "$45," so as to make the clause read:

(b) If he has a wife but no child living, $45.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 24, after the word "living," to strike out "$65" and insert "$55," so as to make the clause read:

(c) If he has a wife and one child living, $55.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, after line 24, to insert:

(d) If he has a wife and two children living, $65.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, line 1, before the word "If," to change the letter in the parentheses from "d," to "e," and in the same line, after the word "and," to strike out "two" and insert "three," so as to make the clause read:

(e) If he has a wife and three or more children living, $75.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, line 3, before the word "If," to change the letter in the parentheses from "e" to "f," and in the same line, after the word "living," to strike out "$50" and insert "$40," so as to make the clause read:

(f) If he has no wife but one child living, $40, with $10 for each additional child up to two.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, line 5, before the word "If," to change the letter in the parentheses from "f" to "g," in the same line, after the word "mother," to strike out "substantially," and in the same line, after the word "above," to insert "amounts," so as to make the clause read:

(g) If he has a widowed mother dependent on him for support, then, in addition to the above amounts, $10.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, line 13, after the word "blind," to insert "or helplessly and permanently bedridden," and in line 14, after the word "occurring," to insert "in the line of duty," so as to make the clause read:

To an injured person who is totally disabled and in addition so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant, such additional sum shall be paid, but not exceeding $20 per month, as the director may deem reasonable: *Provided, however,* That for the loss of both feet or both hands or both eyes, or for becoming totally blind or helplessly and permanently bedridden from causes occurring in the line of duty in the service of the United States, the rate of compensation shall be $100 per month: *Provided further,* That no allowance shall be made for nurse or attendant.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 24, line 15, before the word "medical," to insert "governmental," in line 16, before the word "supplies," to insert "with such," and in line 18, after the word "necessary," to insert:

Provided, That nothing in this act shall be construed to affect the necessary military control over any member of the Military or Naval Establishments before he shall have been discharged from the military or naval service.

So as to make the clause read:

(3) In addition to the compensation above provided, the injured person shall be furnished by the United States such reasonable governmental medical, surgical, and hospital services and with such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the director may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary: *Provided,* That nothing in this act shall be construed to affect the necessary military control over any member of the Military or Naval Establishments before he shall have been discharged from the military or naval service.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 27, after line 14, to strike out:

SEC. 307. That in this article the term "pay" means the monthly pay at the time of the injury, or in case of disability resulting from disease, at the time of the beginning of such disability, unless at such time he is not in the service of the United States, in which case it shall be taken to refer to the monthly pay at the time of his leaving such service.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 27, line 21, to change the number of the section from 308 to 307.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 28, line 9, to change the number of the section from 309 to 308.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 28, line 15, to change the number of the section from 310 to 309.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 28, line 21, to change the number of the section from 311 to 310; in line 22, after the word "within," to strike out "ten" and insert "two"; in line 24, after the word "death," to strike out "in the course of" and insert "during the"; in line 25, before the word "years," to strike out "ten" and insert "two," and on page 29, line 4, before the word "years," to strike out "ten" and insert "two"; so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 310. That no compensation shall be payable unless a claim therefor be filed, in case of disability, within two years after discharge or resignation from the service, or, in case of death during the service, within two years after such death is officially recorded in the department under which he may be serving: *Provided, however,* That where compensation is payable for death or disability occurring after discharge or resignation from the service, claim must be made within two years after such death or the beginning of such disability.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, line 11, after the word "such," to insert "minority or," so as to make the clause read:

The time herein provided may be extended by the director not to exceed one year for good cause shown. If at the time that any right accrues to any person under the provisions of this article, such person is a minor, or is of unsound mind or physically unable to make a claim, the time herein provided shall not begin to run until such minority or disability ceases.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, line 13, to change the number of the section from 312 to 311.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, line 18, to change the number of the section from 313 to 312.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, line 21, to change the number of the section from 314 to 313, and in line 23, after the word "pay," to strike out "Existing pension laws and laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service" and insert "The laws providing for gratuities or payments in the event of death in the service and existing pension laws"; and, on page 30, line 3, after the words "naval service," to insert "or to their widows, children, or their dependents," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 313. That compensation under this article shall not be paid while the person is in receipt of service or retirement pay. The laws providing for gratuities or payments in the event of death in the service and existing pension laws shall not be applicable after the enactment of this amendment to persons now in or hereafter entering the military or naval service, or to their widows, children, or their dependents, except in so far as rights under any such law shall have heretofore accrued.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 30, line 15, to change the number of the section from 315 to 314; and in line 16, before the word "act," to insert "amendatory," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 314. That if an injury or death for which compensation is payable under this amendatory act is caused under circumstances creating a legal liability upon some person other than the United States or the enemy to pay damages therefor, the director, as a condition to payment of compensation by the United States, shall require the beneficiary to assign to the United States any right of action he may have to enforce such liability of such other person or any right which he may have to share in any money or other property received in satisfaction of such liability of such other person. The cause of action so assigned to the United States may be prosecuted or compromised by the director and any money realized thereon shall be placed to the credit of the compensation fund.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Article IV," subhead "Insurance," on page 31, line 14, before the word "disability," to insert "permanent," so as to read:

SEC. 400. That in order to give to every commissioned officer and enlisted man and to every member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in active service under the War Department or Navy Department greater protection for themselves and their dependents than is provided in Article III, the United States, upon application to the bureau and without medical examination, shall grant insurance against the death or total permanent disability of any such person, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 31, line 15, after the word "than," to strike out "$10,000" and insert "$7,500," so as to make the clause read:

Shall grant insurance against the death or total permanent disability of any such person in any multiple of $500, and not less than $1,000 or more than $7,500, upon the payment of the premiums as hereinafter provided.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator in charge of the bill if he desires to insist upon this amendment? I want the Senate to have a vote upon the amendment, in line 15, reducing the total amount authorized from $10,000 to $7,500.

Mr. VARDAMAN. What page is that on?

Mr. SMOOT. Page 31.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I have no right to waive insisting upon the amendment on behalf of the committee. The committee discussed it very thoroughly and adopted it; and, representing the committee, I must insist upon it.

Mr. ROBINSON. Then I am going to ask that the amendment be passed over for the present; and if the bill is not disposed of to-day I shall ask that this amendment be passed over until to-morrow, in order that I may present the matter to the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask unanimous consent that that request be complied with, and I also ask unanimous consent that we may later recur to the $5,000 on line 5, page 2, and the $4,000 on line 11, page 2, because the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] has asked that they be passed over, so that he may later, perhaps, offer an amendment; and I neglected to call the attention of the Senate to it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that there is no necessity for that. The Senator from North Carolina can offer his amendment to those amounts at any time after the committee amendments are agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. At all events, I make the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas asks unanimous consent to pass over the amendment on page 31, line 15. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment was, on page 32, line 4, before the word "disabled," to insert "and permanently"; in line 11, after the word "wife," to insert "from the time of his death and during her widowhood, or to his"; and in line 16, before the word "disability," to insert "and permanent," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 401. That such insurance must be applied for within 120 days after enlistment or after entrance into or employment in the active service and before discharge or resignation, except that those persons who are in the active war service at the time of the publication of the terms and conditions of such contract of insurance may apply at any time within 120 days thereafter and while in such service. Any person in the active service on or after the 6th day of April, 1917, who, while in such service and before the expiration of 120 days from and after such publication, becomes or has become totally and permanently disabled or dies, or has died, without having applied for insurance, shall be deemed to have applied for and to have been granted insurance, payable to such person during his life in monthly installments of $25 each. If he shall die either before he shall have received any of such monthly installments or before he shall have received 240 of such monthly installments, then $25 per month shall be paid to his wife from the time of his death and during her widowhood, or to his child or widowed mother if and while they survive him: *Provided, however,* That not more than 240 of such monthly installments, including those received by such person during his total and permanent disability, shall be so paid; and in that event the amount of the monthly installments shall be apportioned between them as may be provided by regulations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 32, line 25, after the word "parent," to insert "dependent"; on page 33, line 1, before the word "sister," to insert "dependent"; in line 2, before the word "disability," to insert "and permanent"; in the same line, after the word "them," to strike out "and to such other persons as may be provided from time to time by regulation"; in line 4, after the word "payable," to strike out "only"; in line 5, before the word "installment," to insert "204 equal monthly"; in line 8, after the word "values," to insert "dividends from gain and savings"; in line 12, after the word "insurance," to insert "or from time to time by regulations. All calculations shall be based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at 3½ per cent per annum, except that no deduction shall be made for continuous installments during the life of the insured in case his total and permanent disability continues more than 240 months"; in line 23, before the word "provided," to strike out "or as in the regulations"; on page 34, line 7, after the word "value," to insert "if any"; and in line 10, after the words "under the," to strike out "policy" and insert "contract of insurance," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 402. That the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall promptly determine upon and publish the full and exact terms and conditions of such contract of insurance. The insurance shall not be assignable, and shall not be subject to the claims of creditors of the insured or of the beneficiary. It shall be payable only to a spouse, child, grandchild, parent, dependent brother or dependent sister, and also during total and permanent disability to the injured person, or to any or all of them. The insurance shall be payable in 240 equal monthly installments. Provisions for maturity at certain ages, for continuous installments during the life of the insured or beneficiaries, or both, for cash, loan, paid-up and extended values, dividends from gains and savings, and such other provisions for the protection and advantage of and for alternative benefits to the insured and the beneficiaries as may be found to be reasonable and practicable, may be provided for in the contract of insurance, or from time to time by regulations. All calculations shall be based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at 3½ per cent per annum, except that no deduction shall be made for continuous installments during the life of the insured in case his total and permanent disability continues more than 240 months. Subject to regulations, the insured shall at all times have the right to change the beneficiary or beneficiaries of such insurance without the consent of such beneficiary or beneficiaries, but only within the classes herein provided. If no beneficiary within the permitted class be designated by the insured, either in his lifetime or by his last will and testament, or if the designated beneficiary does not survive the insured, the insurance shall be payable to such person or persons, within the permitted class of beneficiaries as would under the laws of the State of the residence of the insured be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy. If no such person survive the insured, then there shall be paid to the estate of the insured an amount equal to the reserve value, if any, of the insurance at the time of his

death, calculated on the basis of the American Experience Table of Mortality and 3½ per cent interest in full of all obligations under the contract of insurance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 34, line 20, after the word "each," to strike out "convertible after war, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance, and with such provisions for premium payments as may be prescribed by regulations. Payments" and insert "No later than five years after the war the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request. Regulations shall provide for the right to convert into ordinary life, 20-payment life, endowment maturing at age 62, and into other usual forms of insurance and shall prescribe the time and method of payment of the premiums thereon, but payments," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 404. That during the period of war the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each. No later than five years after the war the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request. Regulations shall provide for the right to convert into ordinary life, 20 payment life, endowment maturing at age 62, and into other usual forms of insurance and shall prescribe the time and method of payment of the premiums thereon, but payments of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have no objection to this amendment to section 404 if the plan of insurance under Article V is agreed to; but I want to give notice that I have already submitted for printing, and it is lying upon the table, an amendment to this section, and I shall offer it as a substitute to-morrow.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I suggest to the Senator having the bill in charge that the word "no," on line 23, it seems to me, should be "not," so that it will read "not later than five years."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that is evidently the better word.

Mr. McCUMBER. I ask that it be amended in that way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the committee amendment, on page 34, line 23, it is proposed to strike out the word "no" and insert the word "not."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, inasmuch as this section leaves a hiatus between the period of the war and the period of five years, in which it is uncertain as to what the rights will be, I ask that there be inserted, after the word "war," on line 18, the words "and until converted within five years thereafter."

Mr. SMOOT. That amendment would compel everybody to wait until five years after the war before making the conversion.

Mr. McCUMBER. Oh, no. The beginning of the section reads:

That during the period of war the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. McCUMBER. Now we say "That during the period of war and until converted." It does not say "five years, and until converted within five years thereafter." That will then apply to the provision that—

Not later than five years after the war the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination—

And so forth.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I will say to the Senator that all that is necessary is to use the words "and until converted," so that it would read:

That during the period of war, and until converted, the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each. Not later than five years—

And so forth. Then it becomes compulsory.

Mr. McCUMBER. That might do, but the language I suggested would make it more clear that it meant until converted within that period, because that is the period in which the conversion is allowed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; but if you used the word "period" and kept the word "shall" in there, then you would force them to keep the term insurance during the five years. If you should just say, "That during the period of war and thereafter until converted," that would cover it.

Mr. McCUMBER. I am willing to have that language inserted, although I think it would be more clear the other way.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I move, then, that after the word "war" the words "and thereafter until converted" be inserted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 34, line 18, after the words "period of war," it is proposed to insert "and thereafter until converted."

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment was, on page 35, line 22, after the word "action," to strike out "*And provided further*, That no" and insert a period and the word "No"; and on page 36, line 1, after the word "violating," to strike out "this act" and insert "the provisions of this section," so as to make the clause read:

SEC. 405. That in the event of disagreement as to a claim under the contract of insurance between the bureau and any beneficiary or beneficiaries thereunder, an action on the claim may be brought against the United States in the district court of the United States in and for the district in which such beneficiaries or any one of them resides. The court, as part of its judgment, shall determine and allow such reasonable attorney's fees, not to exceed 10 per cent of the amount recovered, to be paid by the claimant on behalf of whom such proceedings are instituted to his attorney; and it shall be unlawful for the attorney or for any other person acting as claim agent or otherwise to ask for, contract for, or receive any other compensation because of such action. No other compensation or fee shall be charged or received by any person except such as may be authorized by the commissioner in regulations to be promulgated by him. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall for each and every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That completes the reading of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, that completes the committee amendments. Now, I ask the Senator from Mississippi, having the bill in charge, to lay the bill aside until to-morrow morning, unless there is some other Senator who desires to speak to-day.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not see why we should waste any time. We are all anxious to get away from here. We can go on this evening considering amendments, and we will take up the other amendment to-morrow if the Senator wants to.

Mr. SMOOT. That is what I am asking.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is no use adjourning to-day, however.

Mr, SMOOT. As far as I am personally concerned, I must attend the conference, as I stated before to the Senate; and I want to submit what remarks I have upon the bill to-morrow morning.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But that does not prevent our going on and considering other amendments this evening.

Mr. SMOOT. No, if there are other amendments; but before I leave the Chamber I should like to have it understood that——

Mr. WILLIAMS. We will not take snap judgment upon the Senator, and we will take a recess this afternoon until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, and his amendment shall not be voted on until that time.

Mr. SMOOT. That is all I wish.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If we get through with everything else in connection with the bill, and if there are no other amendments except the Senator's, then, of course, I will ask to take up the bill again in the morning. There is no use in recessing the Senate even then, however.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any further committee amendments?

Mr. SMOOT. I want it understood that the bill will not go out of the Committee of the Whole to-day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator make a motion to that effect?

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, no; just so that there is an understanding about it.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, if it is in order at this time, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is in order. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend Article II by adding, at the end of the article, on page 19, after line 24, the following:

SEC. 211. That in lieu of the family allowances otherwise granted in this article every commissioned officer of the military or naval forces of the United States while on active duty, with or without troops, who has a wife, child, or parent wholly dependent on him for support, shall be furnished at the place where he maintains such dependent the number of rooms now prescribed by the act of March 2, 1907 (34th Stats., p. 1168), as the allowance of quarters for his grade, or be paid commutation therefor at the rate now authorized by law."

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will ask the Senator from Indiana what is the object of this amendment?

Mr. NEW. The object of the amendment is to provide for the payment to officers now in the field abroad and who have left their families on this side the same commutation of quarters that they would receive if they were here at Army posts, that being now denied them under the operation of the pending bill and the present law. The pending bill would not affect the pending law so as to permit this without this amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is there in the present law that forbids their having these quarters? I do not know of anything.

Mr. NEW. It is not permissible under the present law. It would require this amendment. I am assured of that by the Judge Advocate General's Department.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It seems to me, Mr. President, that this is a provision that ought to go upon the military appropriation bill. This is a matter that is not germane or relevant to the bill that we are now considering. I do not know but that, if we are to have an allowance of quarters for officers according to their grade, it ought to be provided by an amendment to the present law upon that subject; but I do not like this bill to be mixed up with a matter that neither the committee nor any member of the committee has had time to look into, and concerning the nature of which we are in a good deal of ignorance.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, I think this amendment, while not perhaps strictly germane, is not out of place here; and it is true that unless it is provided for in this bill it apparently can not be provided for at all. There are no other bills in which it can be inserted.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. NEW. I do.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I desire to ask the Senator from Indiana if his amendment refers only to officers serving across the water?

Mr. NEW. Yes; as I understand it.

Mr. VARDAMAN. It does not have reference to officers that are serving with troops at the cantonments in the United States?

Mr. NEW. Yes; it does refer to officers serving with troops.

Mr. McCUMBER. It should.

Mr. NEW. And it should; yes. I have a copy of it here.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the senior Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. NEW. Just one moment in answer to the question of the junior Senator from Mississippi, if the senior Senator from Mississippi will kindly permit me to answer that. It includes "every commissioned officer of the military or naval forces of the United States while on active duty, with or without troops, who has a wife, child, or parent wholly dependent on him for support."

Mr. VARDAMAN. What is the law with reference to where the officers are serving with troops in the United States?

Mr. NEW. If at a military post or here, they are provided either with houses or with a sum of money by way of commutation of quarters.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I understand that; but they are not given that when they are serving with troops in the field?

Mr. NEW. Oh, I think not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I am not willing to see this amendment go on this bill. In the first place, it says:

That in lieu of the family allowances otherwise granted in this article every commissioned officer shall receive—

And so forth.

The commissioned officers do not receive any allowances under this bill. Therefore they are not entitled under this bill to receive anything in lieu of allowances. The allowances were purposely confined to the enlisted men, and the reason why they were confined to the enlisted men was because the officers' salaries were thought to be sufficient to enable their families to get along without any extra help from the Government. Therefore this amendment ought to be defeated.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, this amendment was originally prepared as an amendment to another bill, and the language to which the Senator from Mississippi has just referred really should be stricken out. I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to perfect my amendment by striking out the words "granted in this article" in line 2 of the amendment, and substituting for them the words "as provided by law."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). The Senator from Indiana has the right to perfect the amendment as he desires.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So that it would read how?

Mr. NEW (reading)—

That in lieu of the family allowances otherwise provided by law every commissioned officer—

And so forth.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This is, then, in addition to the quarters allowances which officers are now receiving?

Mr. NEW. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. NEW. I do.

Mr. CURTIS. It is not in addition, as I understand it. It is simply giving those officers who have heretofore had quarters at the forts who have been ordered to the front, and whose families have been ordered out of those quarters and are now living in towns and paying rent, an allowance in lieu of quarters.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In other words, we are to give the advantages of free quarters, which soldiers at the posts have, to soldiers who are not at the posts.

Mr. NEW. That is it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And the soldiers in the United States who do not go to France will also get the benefit of free quarters as if they were at posts.

Mr. CURTIS. The soldiers stationed in Washington now are allowed a certain amount each month for quarters, while families of officers now serving in France who were occupying quarters at certain posts have been compelled to give up their quarters and remove all their effects, and are now paying rent in Washington and other cities, and their husbands are receiving no allowance whatever for quarters. This amendment, as I understand it—I have not read it; I have only heard it read—gives those officers what they were receiving before they left the post for service in France.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It not only gives it to those that have gone to France, but it gives it to officers in the United States who are not at posts. It changes the entire allowance feature of the military law; and instead of merely allowing free quarters to those who are at posts because the quarters belong to the United States Government, it goes out and rents quarters for them if they are elsewhere and away from the post.

If it were confined simply to those who were in action in France, it might be less objectionable, although I think it would be objectionable even then; but this, as it is worded here, would apply to any officer who is in any city or anywhere else not at a post. He has not hitherto had this allowance for quarters, and there is no reason why he should have it now.

Mr. NEW. He has had it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He has had it when he was at a post, not when he was serving anywhere else in the United States not at a post; and you are going to give it to him serving anywhere else in the United States not at a post.

Mr. CURTIS. All the officers now serving in Washington in the departments are allowed quarters, or allowed commutation in lieu of quarters.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. As soon as the war began, as far as we are concerned, and we were compelled to call in the officers all over the country it became immediately apparent that there was not, of course, enough room at the several posts for the families of the officers who were called here. It was intended that all officers, whether at distant posts or other places, should either have quarters or have allowance for quarters.

Now, there are no quarters to be obtained at the posts. You are allowing, however, under the present rules those who are performing service down here in the departments an allowance. They may be taken out of the post quarters and given work in the departments at Washington, and as they have not post quarters any longer they are given an allowance. But as they are being sent out all over the country from here and elsewhere to France, especially in this country, to give instruction and to drill men, no allowances whatever are allowed for their quarters. So not only must the officer pay board away from home and obtain rooms, if he is not out in a tent, but he must also hire another home for his family at either the one place or the other.

This is simply to equalize the provision so that all officers who are scattered over the country and are performing their duty where they can not obtain through the Government a place for their families shall have an allowance for hiring places elsewhere the same as those who are here in the departments. Why should it not be granted?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know why it should not have been granted originally. If that is the law now, it seems to me it is very absurd. But I do not want this bill to be used as a vehicle to change the military law of the country. It ought to go to the Committee on Military Affairs and be considered there and bring in a separate bill here, and it should be dealt with in a wise way. The Committee on Finance knows nothing in the world about the question of military allotments and allowances;

it has not studied the question; and I do not feel that this ought to be pushed upon the pending bill at this time.

If it be true that no officer is allowed commutation for quarters in the United States away from his post, except those sitting around desks here in Washington, that is a very absurd law. How long it has been on the statute books I do not know, but it is new to me; it is a law that ought to be amended by the proper committee and in the proper way. I will ask the Senator if the Military Affairs Committee have considered this matter?

Mr. NEW. It has never been considered by the Military Affairs Committee, but the system of allowances for quarters, or commutation of quarters, is a matter of regulation and not of law, as I understand it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It says here "allowance of quarters for his grade or be paid commutation therefor at the rate now authorized by law." So it can not be a matter of regulation, or else the amendment is wrong.

Mr. NEW. Yes; I suppose it is provided by law, but the conditions have entirely changed. The Senator from Mississippi objects to the consideration of this proposition in connection with the pending bill, and offers as an objection to it that it is a matter which should be considered by some other committee and brought up as a separate bill. The fact is that there is no time for that at this session of Congress, as every Senator here very well knows. If it is not considered here an actual hardship is going to be imposed upon the families of a great many officers who are now at the front, because the Government has sent them there and whose families are—I would not hold them up as objects of charity or anything of that kind, but whose families are very poorly provided for here now. I know of more than one instance here in Washington right now where the wives of Army officers who are serving at the front are seeking employment for themselves in the departments or wherever they can legitimately get it because the pay of their husbands at their present rank does not suitably provide—and by suitably I mean adequately—I mean decently provide for the living of those families here in Washington and in other places in the United States where they may be while their husbands are at the front. It is to meet conditions of that kind that this amendment is proposed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to ask the Senator before he takes his seat whether legislation like this was enacted during the Spanish-American War, or the Mexican War, or at any other time, for trained officers who made a profession of arms and had to go abroad. Was any legislation of this sort enacted to give them an extra allowance for quarters?

Mr. NEW. I have no information whatever on that point. I could not say that either it was or was not done.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I want to be as nice about this matter as I can.

Mr. NEW. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will not make any objection to its being adopted with the distinct understanding that after it goes to conference I reserve the right, after looking into it further, if I find that we ought not to stand by it, not to stand by it.

Mr. NEW. That is all right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

MAHONING RIVER BRIDGE, OHIO.

Mr. HARDING. I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to have the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] submit a report from the Committee on Commerce on a bridge bill, and I shall ask for its consideration. It relates to the construction of a steel plant that is very necessary.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have no objection, unless it takes up too much time. I will yield with the understanding that it shall not take over 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio asks unanimous consent that the Senator from Texas may submit a report from the Committee on Commerce. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6310) granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River in the State of Ohio.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have no objection to the consideration of the bill, but I do think the amendment of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] ought to be acted upon first. If it is understood that that has been agreed to, I have no objection to the unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize the Senator from Indiana to present his amendment when this matter is disposed of.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The amendment of the Senator from Indiana is pending and is next in order.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. All right.

Mr. FLETCHER. Before that is disposed of, I am inclined to think it is a very risky amendment to adopt at this time. I think it is a subject that ought to be considered very carefully.

Mr. HARDING. I ask the Senator to wait until the bridge bill is through.

Mr. FLETCHER. I thought the amendment of the Senator from Indiana was to be disposed of first.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has stated that he will recognize the Senator from Indiana to present his amendment upon the conclusion of this bill. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill reported by the Senator from Texas?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senator from Mississippi, I ask that the question on the adoption of my amendment may be put.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana.

The SECRETARY. On page 19, after section 210, insert:

SEC. 211. That in lieu of the family allowances otherwise provided by law every commissioned officer of the military or naval forces of the United States while on active duty, with or without troops, who has a wife, child, or parent wholly dependent upon him for support, shall be furnished at the place where he maintains such dependent the number of rooms now prescribed by the act of March 2, 1907 (34 Stats., p. 1168), as the allowance of quarters for his grade, or be paid commutation therefor at the rate now authorized by law.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, it is difficult to figure just where that is going to lead and to what extent it is going. It applies not only to the Regular Army, but to all new officers. It is general, and it seems to me we ought to have some expression of the department upon it. The only way we can get that would be, of course, to have the Military Affairs Committee consider it. It is a very far-reaching proposition. It seems to be offered to a bill that it does not really relate to. We are dealing here with the question of insurance, with provision for the families of dependent soldiers, and now to raise this question about rooms for families of officers, no matter where they may be stationed, no matter what it costs, it seems to me is going a good ways and we are leaping in the dark. I have not information enough myself on the subject to vote upon it intelligently. It is a matter that ought to have been laid before the department and we should have had a report upon it, and it should have been considered by a committee.

I think myself in some cases it seems entirely fair and proper; I agree to some extent with what the Senator from Indiana has said in discussing it; but I am impressed that it is too far-reaching, and, as I said, leading in a direction which we have not considered at all and have no information upon. We can not see what is going to be the effect on the regular laws with reference to the Military Establishment. I think it is a mistake to offer it to this bill.

Mr. McCUMBER. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. FLETCHER. Certainly.

Mr. McCUMBER. If either under the present regulations or under the law—and I do not pretend to know what either of them may be—an officer is allowed for the necessary four rooms, or whatever the allowance may be when working here in the departments and his family resides here, and then he is sent out to take charge of a cantonment or to give instructions in Texas or elsewhere, immediately his right to have the allowance is taken away from him, does the Senator think that that is just and wise?

Mr. FLETCHER. I can see where there are arguments in favor of some change of that system, but as I said we ought to have full information on the subject, and we have not got that information. How far is it going to extend? I do not know that it would be the proper thing in every instance to provide rules for the families of officers wherever they may be sent.

Mr. McCUMBER. Certainly the Senator must agree that if an officer is sent away from the place of his residence to perform services, his expenses are naturally increased that much, and the Government ought not to deprive him of an allowance that has come to him heretofore for quarters. Yet that is what is being done to-day, as I am informed.

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator from North Dakota if it has not been the law for many years that when an officer was ordered from Washington to go to the West, for instance, he is not provided any commutation of quarters?

Mr. McCUMBER. I do not know whether it has been the law or not. I simply know that it should not be the law.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is now proposed to change the law of the country, and we are doing it under conditions and circumstances the result of which we can not foretell. It has been the law in the past.

Mr. VARDAMAN. In the Spanish-American War when an officer was serving in the field, he had no commutation of quarters. When he was detailed for service in the city, he was given so many rooms or commutation of quarters. If the Senator from Indiana would amend his amendment so as to give this special pay to the men who are serving at the front, I would be very glad to support it.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think myself that it might perhaps go that far. Even that is an unjustifiable thing in the military law of the country to be placed in this bill, with which it has not anything to do. I think it is foreign to the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to say to the Senator from Mississippi that a soldier is in the service of the Government when he is at a cantonment training other men as much as though he were in the field in France. To say that an officer at a cantonment or elsewhere by order of his Government is not entitled to be housed by the Government respectably upon that reservation or otherwise is to me a very great hardship and unwise economy.

Mr. VARDAMAN. If the Senator will permit me, that has not been the law for the last 40 years.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes; I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. VARDAMAN. When the officer is with his command in the field he lives in a tent, and there is not any commutation of quarters.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; Mr. President, I think the Senator is in error.

Under the old regulations an officer in the Army was entitled to quarters, heat, light, and so forth.

Mr. VARDAMAN. That is true, when at the Army post.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, under the old regulations an officer of the Army was entitled to quarters, heat, light, and so forth. In lieu of quarters, he received compensation therefor as follows: Second lieutenant, two rooms, at $12 per room per month; first lieutenant, three rooms; captain, four rooms; major, five rooms; lieutenant colonel, six rooms; and colonel, seven rooms. When an officer was ordered to the field his family were permitted to retain quarters in his permanent post.

To-day, however, when an officer is ordered to, say, Camp Custer, he is considered on permanent duty. No quarters are provided for his family and he is not even allowed to store his furniture on the Government reservation. As you can see, this works a double hardship. He is compelled to store his furniture or to lease quarters at a very decided expense near the cantonment to which he is assigned. The rentals near these cantonments immediately become exorbitant. This was equally true on the Mexican border and will continue to be the case until the Government takes steps to provide housing facilities wherever large bodies of troops are concentrated.

The unfairness of this situation bears with peculiar weight upon the Regular Army officer, as he very seldom has a permanent home to which he can send his family. To a greater or less degree, it bears on the new officer coming from civil life into the National Army, although he more frequently has still in existence his old home provisions.

Eliminating all question of personal justice and looking on the matter purely from the viewpoint of efficiency, it seems to me a mistake for the Government to pursue this course. Inevitably the strain of debt and financial worry, which I feel certain will result, will distract the officer from his real work. You know how heavy and how immediate that real work is to-day.

He has no home, he is in the Regular Army, and for the Government of the United States to divorce from his family every man who enters the Regular Army and becomes an officer is perfectly absurd. We have not reached that pass yet.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator seems to think the scope of this amendment is confined to officers of the Regular Army. It is not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I understand that. I was replying to the suggestion made by the junior Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. VARDAMAN. If the Senator from Michigan will permit me, I know that during the Spanish-American War as long as I was with my command there were no quarters provided. The last 30 days I was in the Spanish-American War I was detailed as chairman of the Army court of claims in the city of Santiago, and there I received commutation of quarters as a major.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But the Senator was a volunteer officer, was he not?

Mr. VARDAMAN. Certainly, I was; and under the law the volunteer officers had the same pay that the Regular Army officers had, less that which is added on account of length of service. There was no commutation of quarters to a man who was serving with his command in the field.

Mr. NEW and Mr. BRADY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Has the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] yielded the floor?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have not yielded the floor, and I propose to emphasize this inequality. It is perfectly absurd to say that an officer of the Army on duty shall go to a given place and act either as a commander of men in the field against our enemy or in the field training men, or in the executive Army management, which is an equally responsible function, shall not be provided with the ordinary accompaniments of orderly living. The old regulations take cognizance of this necessity, and for one I desire to protest against any impairment of the custom and urge its reasonable expansion. The hazards of a soldier's life are many at best, and under the most favorable conditions they should always be housed and clothed and fed as befits their occupation. Whenever possible, they should be protected from unnecessary hardship, standing, as they do, between the country and danger. I hope the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana will be adopted.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, with respect to what the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] says about a modification of this amendment, so as to make it apply only to officers at the front, I should like to add to the point made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] by asking just what constitutes service at the front. An Army officer is at the front when he is following orders in some respects, and so far as it applies to the matter touched upon by this amendment it would affect the families of the officers stationed here in Washington in exactly the same degree and in exactly the same way that it would affect the officers who are stationed in France.

Also I agree with the Senator from Florida in what he says about this being a far-reaching proposition. It is a far-reaching proposition and it is a far-reaching war. We are called on here to make provision on all sorts of subjects, that were unheard of before and that seem staggering in their size. That is true. We have enacted into law a great many things here which call for the appropriation of a great deal of money.

Since this amendment was offered and since I have been on my feet I understand that the War Department, when asked for some sort of a calculation as to the amount of money that this would cost, replied with an estimate to the effect that it would run up somewhere in the neighborhood of $20,000,000. That seems like a great deal of money, to be sure, but I do not care if it does cost $20,000,000; I think if we are going to send men into the Army the way we are doing—with which I most cordially agree—Congress ought to make suitable provision for the keeping of their families in an ordinary degree of comfort, anyhow, even if it does cost a large sum of money. We must not stop short at least of making suitable provision for the care, and comfortable care, of the families of these men. I think it would be found to be true, probably, that it will cost somewhere in the neighborhood of $20,000,000, and I base that upon what has been said to me since I have been here on the floor. As the Senator from North Dakota remarked to me aside, above all it should not be granted to one half of them and be denied to the other half.

Mr. CALDER. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. NEW. I yield.

Mr. CALDER. I wish to ask the Senator from Indiana if the reserve officers in the different branches of the War Department and if the reserve officers at the arsenals and munition factories throughout the country are not receiving commutation of quarters if they have no quarters.

Mr. NEW. Yes; I think they are.

Mr. CALDER. I think they are, too. The Senator's amendment would provide commutation of quarters for families of

officers going abroad. They would be in exactly the same position as officers who are stationed at home.

Mr. NEW. Exactly.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I do not rise to oppose the consideration of this measure, but I think there should be a better understanding of it. There is nothing in existing law which requires any provision to be made for any Army officer's family, but there are certain allowances made to officers in the nature of commutation of quarters, light, heat, and so forth, which I think the Senator from Michigan has read, as to the number of rooms, calculating $10 a month for each room, and so forth. You go into a post where there are several married men and several bachelors, and the senior ranking officer may be a bachelor. He takes the choice of quarters and outranks anyone who is junior to him; it may be an officer with wife and seven or eight children. He says, "I want these quarters; move." And they have to move.

This commutation for quarters is paid when the officer is ordered on some detached service or city service like here in Washington, but when they are at the front with the Army or at Regular Army posts they take such quarters, either on the front or otherwise, as the United States provides for them. The duty of the United States under the law is to provide quarters for its officers and enlisted men only.

The commutation of quarters to enlisted men and to officers is always calculated without the officer's family. In fact, all the legislation respecting the Army has been made along the line that they officially had no family, and if they did that they should share the commutation, and so forth, that officers alone get, regardless of whether married or not.

So whatever we do in this matter of legislation about families is absolutely new. There is nothing of record, so far as I know, that alludes to the plan at all except to make the allowances I have mentioned; for instance, in the transportation of household goods an officer who is a bachelor can take just as many pounds of such baggage as a man who has a family. So the whole subject is new as far as providing for families is concerned.

On the other hand, I should say, though, that it has been a matter not of legislation, but a matter of general orders or knowledge that at Regular Army posts while officers are at the front these quarters can be occupied by the families of officers. There are certain allowances of fuel and certain allowances of light. There is no difference between volunteer officers and Regular Army officers. They all get the same pay and the same allowances. If there are quarters provided at some post for a volunteer officer, he can undoubtedly, upon application, have his family remain there while he is at the front.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, there is no disagreement whatever between the Senator from Wyoming and myself regarding the regulations which have hitherto been effective; but I rose more particularly to protest against any neglect to appropriately house these officers at the various cantonments. The same rule ought to apply in Washington. I want these officers to be provided for at the encampments. For instance, take the situation at Camp Custer, and what is true of that camp I suppose is true of other camps throughout the country. It is almost impossible to get a house in the vicinity of Camp Custer, and if one is obtained it is obtained at an exorbitant price. You should not take away these allowances.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the whole Army plan is for men at war or men in training not to be attached or to have their families in close proximity unless it may be an occasion-happen so. I do not know of instances anywhere where we have provided such quarters in temporary cantonments, or where the families of officers have followed the Army and been allowed quarters. I think we would have to provide for them at some other place.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. On the theory of the Senator from Wyoming, the war ought to be fought by bachelors entirely or by keeping married men away from their families even during camp work.

Mr. WARREN. I am not stating a theory; I am stating what the law is.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I hope there will be reasonable liberality, both under the law and under the regulations, to care for the families of soldiers, officers and men, at their place of service if that is practicable and feasible, as it is in many cases; and I should like very much to see the old rule of making allowances applied to the present situation.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I am in the same boat, I think, with most of the Senators, so far as an accurate realization of exactly what would be accomplished by this amendment in addition to what can be accomplished under existing law is concerned; but inasmuch as the scope of this amendment is limited to officers who have either a parent or a child or a wife wholly dependent upon them for support, and a great many of our officers are abroad, where the means of communication with those persons who are wholly dependent upon them is very much interrupted, I should like to adhere, and I hope that the Senate will rather adhere, to practically what it had decided upon before the Senator from Florida commenced to doubt the wisdom of adopting this amendment; that is, under the suggestion of the Senator from Mississippi, in order to give the department a chance to express its views as to the wisdom of some legislation along this line, either this or some amended project, let it go to the committee of conference with the understanding that, if the conferees on further investigation think it unwise, they shall not be compelled to stand for it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In other words, that the Senate conferees shall not be held by the action of the Senate on this subject?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That this action shall not be considered as the final judgment of the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will suggest to the Senator that conferees never are held; they always disregard the Senate's injunction.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I would not vote for it myself, I will say to the Senator from Michigan, with the idea of directing the conferees to stand for something as to the finality about which I have such an indifferent judgment as I have at present; but I do think that there is some merit in the proposition. It appeals to me to the extent, at least, of having the matter investigated and getting the opinion of the department on the matter. I think if the War Department should advocate this, or some substitute for it, the conference committee would be in a sufficiently judicial frame of mind to accept it.

Mr. WARREN. If the Senator will excuse me, this amendment has gone to the War Department, as all such propositions do, though I am inclined to think that we have had no official report on it yet. I agree with the Senator from Connecticut that if this subject is to go to conference—and I am not objecting to it—we must, of course, expect to refer the whole matter to the War Department and to hear from it because, if favorably considered, it might want to be enlarged, reduced, or changed in some manner; and I think the department ought to be consulted regarding it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Moreover, the conferees would want to know how much it is going to cost and how far it would operate.

Mr. PHELAN. The Senator from Indiana said that the cost would be about $20,000,000; but I do not know whether the department has made such an estimate.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. They have made an estimate; but I do not know whether or not they have given any opinion as to the wisdom of the proposition. They have, however, made an estimate as to the probable cost.

Mr. PHELAN. May I ask the Senator from Indiana whether the War Department has submitted any data on the subject?

Mr. NEW. I have never had a communication from the War Department on the subject.

Mr. PHELAN. To whom has the information been given by the War Department as to the estimated cost?

Mr. NEW. I stated a while ago, I will say in reply to the Senator from California, that I understood, since I have introduced this amendment this afternoon, that the matter had been submitted to the War Department or that there had been some consultation with the War Department about it; but I have never had the reply of the War Department, if one was formally made. However, it was my understanding that they had made and submitted an estimate of the probable cost of this proposition, and that it would be somewhere in the neighborhood of $20,000,000. Whether that information is absolutely accurate I can not say; but it is so far as I know.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will suggest to the Senator from Indiana that if he is going to try to get this provision upon this bill it ought to carry its own appropriation, because if we spend $20,000,000 for this purpose we have got to take that $20,000,000 out of the amount which is appropriated for the execution of the provisions of the bill. So the Senator had better add to his amendment the words "and $20,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, are hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section." I can tell the Senator now that we have not made the appropriations in this bill too large for what there is before us in this measure, and the amendment would have a better chance in conference if it carried its own appropriation.

Mr. NEW. I will accept the suggestion of the Senator from Mississippi, and ask the Secretary to insert at the end of the amendment the words:

For carrying out the provisions of this section the sum of $25,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I should dislike to think that the hasty estimate of the sum appropriated should be so large as to influence unfavorably the action of the conferees on this bill. It seems to me that the sum proposed is very largely in excess of the amount of money that will be required.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The conferees can cut it down.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, whatever sum is necessary to do the work, it ought in candor to be stated in connection with the provision.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And if the largeness of the sum would influence the conferees unfavorably, it is still due to them that that fact should come to them as a part of the proposition.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; but if the cost should not approximate the amount given in the amendment, we ought to know that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We can learn from the War Department about that while the matter is in conference.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is the Secretary ready to state the suggestion the Senator from Indiana accepted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment as now modified by the Senator from Indiana.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the amendment offered by Mr. NEW it is proposed to add the following:

For carrying out the provisions of this section the sum of $25,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. KING. I am opposed to the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW]. Mr. President, it seems to me the position of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] is the correct one. I regard this method of legislation as unwise and dangerous. The Military Affairs Committee have had under consideration during this special session and during the preceding session of Congress important matters relating to the organization of the Army and connected with the war upon which we have entered, and no one who was familiar with the legislation emanating from that committee can deny that the utmost liberality has characterized the conduct of the committee and the action of the Congress. Whatever has been deemed necessary for the welfare of the Army and regarded as essential to the defense of our country has been done by this Congress. Now we are concluding the work of this session and considering an insurance and compensation bill which further cares for our military and naval forces. An amendment is offered by the Senator from Indiana which is not germane to the bill under consideration and pertaining to a matter which, confessedly, no Senator is entirely familiar with. To adopt this amendment under such circumstances would be, in my opinion, the height of unwisdom, and I was about to say the height of folly. It certainly is imprudent and improvident to attempt legislation of the character suggested by the distinguished Senator from Indiana when we possess so little information bearing upon the subject. Moreover, no committee has suggested legislation covering the subject referred to in the proposed amendment and no representative of the War Department has recommended its enactment.

If this legislation is necessary and important the subject should be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. That committee is in almost daily session and will promptly consider it. If the measure is meritorious and can not be passed before we adjourn, it will be remembered that we will be back again in December. There will be ample opportunity then to address ourselves to this important question, if it is an important one, and there is no doubt but what between now and then many important questions will arise requiring additional legislation relating to military and naval affairs and the questions growing out of the war. To make an appropriation now of $25,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, without an estimate, without the slightest comprehension of what it means, without any recommendation from the department as to the necessity for it, without dealing in a broad and general way with the subject is, in my opinion, the height of unwisdom. Such a course of procedure, dealing with little or big matters, would not commend itself to a State legislature, to say nothing of a great body such as this. I feel that it would be a mistake to ingraft this provision upon the pending bill, and therefore hope the amendment will not prevail.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Indiana as modified.

Mr. KENYON. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], which I transfer to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], who is unavoidably detained from the Senate on account of illness. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "nay."

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], which I transfer to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "nay."

Mr. WOLCOTT (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] and vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. MCCUMBER. I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] to the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and vote "yea."

Mr. WEEKS. I inquire if the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. WEEKS. I transfer my pair with that Senator to the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] and vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING. I inquire if the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. STERLING. I have a pair with that Senator and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS (after having voted in the negative). I have ascertained that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], with whom I have a general pair, has not voted. I therefore transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. CALDER (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] with the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN];

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN];

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD]; and

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON].

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—19.

Brady	France	New	Sutherland
Brandegee	Harding	Page	Trammell
Calder	Husting	Poindexter	Underwood
Curtis	McCumber	Sheppard	Weeks
Dillingham	McNary	Smith, Mich.	

NAYS—31.

Cummins	Lewis	Pittman	Smith, Md.
Fletcher	McKellar	Pomerene	Smoot
Gore	Martin	Reed	Stone
Hardwick	Myers	Robinson	Vardaman
Jones, Wash.	Norris	Shafroth	Walsh
Kenyon	Overman	Shields	Williams
King	Owen	Simmons	Wolcott
La Follette	Phelan	Smith, Ariz.	

NOT VOTING—46.

Ashurst	Gerry	Kendrick	Smith, S. C.
Bankhead	Goff	Kirby	Sterling
Beckham	Gronna	Knox	Swanson
Borah	Hale	Lodge	Thomas
Broussard	Hitchcock	McLean	Thompson
Chamberlain	Hollis	Nelson	Tillman
Colt	Hughes	Newlands	Townsend
Culberson	James	Penrose	Wadsworth
Fall	Johnson, Cal.	Ransdell	Warren
Fernald	Johnson, S. Dak.	Saulsbury	Watson
Frelinghuysen	Jones, N. Mex.	Sherman	
Gallinger	Kellogg	Smith, Ga.	

So Mr. NEW's amendment was rejected.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I wish to ask unanimous consent now that at not later than 5 o'clock to-morrow the Senate may proceed to vote upon the bill and all pending amendments and all amendments offered at that time.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator to make it at or before 5 o'clock.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I asked that at not later than 5 o'clock the Senate proceed to vote upon the bill and all amendments pending or offered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without further debate?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To the final disposition of the measure.

Mr. SIMMONS. Without further debate?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Without further debate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection from Members of the Senate present? [A pause.] The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brady	Husting	Norris	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Kellogg	Owen	Smoot
Culberson	Kendrick	Page	Sterling
Cummins	Kenyon	Phelan	Stone
Curtis	King	Pittman	Sutherland
Dillingham	La Follette	Poindexter	Swanson
Fall	Lewis	Pomerene	Trammell
Fernald	McCumber	Robinson	Underwood
Fletcher	McKellar	Shafroth	Vardaman
France	McNary	Sheppard	Walsh
Gore	Martin	Shields	Warren
Harding	Myers	Simmons	
Hardwick	New	Smith, Ariz.	

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I announce the absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], on account of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-four Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Senator from Mississippi presents a proposed unanimous-consent agreement, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that at not later than 5 o'clock p. m. on the calendar day of Thursday, October 4, 1917, the Senate will proceed to vote without further debate upon any amendment that may be pending, any amendment that may be offered, and upon the bill H. R. 5723, a bill to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, through the regular parliamentary stages to its final disposition.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and the agreement is entered into.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I move to strike out section 304 of the bill, commencing on line 24, page 25, and ending on line 15, page 26.

I am very heartily in favor of the passage of this bill, but I believe that this section will be very injurious to the men and their dependents that we are trying to assist. I can not understand how anyone could listen to the splendid presentation and analysis of the bill this morning by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] without realizing that it is one of the very best measures of this character that we have considered during the session and is for the benefit of the citizens of this country. We have provided for the soldier's family while he is at the battle front; we have provided for the disabled soldier, and we have made this provision in a businesslike way; but at the same time, after making this provision, we leave a loophole that will cause the loss to many families of the amounts that we are endeavoring to give them.

I read the section:

SEC. 304. That if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any, future compensation payments for disability may be commuted in whole or in part for a lump sum equal to the present value of such payments or the proportion thereof to be commuted, and such lump sum paid to the injured person in lieu of all further compensation or of the proportion so commuted of all future payments of compensation.

That has been modified by the following proviso:

Provided, however, That in case of partial disability rated at 30 per cent or more of total disability, or in case of total disability, not more than 50 per cent of the compensation payments as for a man without a wife or child shall be so commutable. The basis for determining present values of future payments of compensation shall be prescribed from time to time by regulation.

If this section is not eliminated, these men, after they have returned from the war and have a reasonable amount coming to them, may find an opportunity for investment that they think will be advantageous to them, and they will ask for their commutation, secure the money, and make the investment. That is their best judgment; it affects them individually; but in addition to that it affects their dependents. If they receive the money and lose it and then pass away, their families will be in want; and every Senator on this floor knows that in a case of that character, when they would come here and ask for a pension, this body would grant it. We would not permit the wives and sons and daughters of our soldiers to be in want.

We never have done it in years gone by, and we would not do it now. By protecting them in this way we not only do justice to the Government but we do justice to the man himself and his dependents.

I am perfectly willing and exceedingly anxious that these men, who have been in the war and have been maimed or disabled or crippled for life, shall be taken care of in a proper way just as long as they live. I do not want even the most remote opportunity for them to be placed in a position where this insurance is going to be taken away from them. Every business man in this country knows that from 90 to 95 per cent of normal business men fail. Then how can we expect the average citizen, who has not had a large business experience, to care for his estate in a manner that will absolutely insure his protection through life? More than that, after he is gone, how many women are capable of administering his little estate?

I want to protect our boys who fight for their country. They have fought for their country and their country's cause, and it is our duty to place safeguards around them to-day that will make it impossible for them to lose the money that we have provided for them.

I have before me here a letter written by one of the best and most expert life-insurance men in this country. The letter is not addressed to me, and I have not had an opportunity to secure from the gentleman to whom it was addressed permission to use his name. For that reason I shall simply ask the Secretary to read the body of the letter, which explains this situation much better than I can explain it, and after it has been read I am willing to leave to the judgment of the Senate the question whether this section should be left in or stricken out.

I ask that the Secretary read the letter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Your letter of the 14th of this month reached me at Colville, and while it is rather difficult to cover the question of annuity, or lump-sum settlement in regard to insurance in a letter, I will endeavor to make myself as plain and brief as possible.

I believe that there is absolutely no question as to the difference regarding the two settlements. As I understand the matter, the purpose of the bill is to replace with modern insurance methods the rather clumsy pension bill that has been in use for a number of years. In other words, I suppose the object is to get away from the old style of pension, and, of course, if this is the case, it is very important that a beneficiary be protected by the Government for a number of years; and judging from the experience tables that all insurance men have at their command, it would seem that the most awkward thing, perhaps, that the Government could do would be to allow a lump-sum settlement to the beneficiary, inasmuch as statistics show that 92 out of every 100 women that are left large estates lose everything or nearly so within a period of seven years.

There are also many other striking examples of the loss of fortunes by even our most careful and shrewdest business men, and consequently we can hardly expect inexperienced women or children, as the case may be, to be able to invest any material amount of money without taking extremely long chances of losing the entire amount within a short period of years at least.

The statistics that have been compiled by insurance companies over a long period of years, and also the facts that have been obtained by the American Banking Association regarding the remarkable loss of capital through the regular channels of what we term "legitimate business," are hardly believable. For instance, in the surrogate court of New York the records show that out of 27,000 men whose business careers have come under the observation of this court that there are only 1.3 per cent that left an estate of over $25,000, and 3.5 per cent left an estate between $10,000 and $25,000, and also 3.5 per cent left an estate of between $1,000 and $10,000, which leaves an average of approximately 92 per cent that died without sufficient funds to take care of their last expenses.

From the records of the American Banking Association we find that out of 100 young men starting at the age of 25 with nothing except their earning power and good health, that at the age of 65 1 will be rich, 4 will have incomes, 5 will still have a little earning power but not enough to support them, however; 54 will be entirely dependent and 36 dead, leaving only 5 out of the 100 that are self-supporting at the age of 65, and 85 chances out of the 100 that 4 out of these 5

will be dependent before death. With all of these facts as a guide it hardly seems possible that any sane man could recommend the settlement of a soldier's insurance which is intended as a pension to be settled in one lump sum.

We all know that in case a soldier is killed, leaving a dependent wife and children, and his insurance is paid in a lump sum, that these dependents, who are probably not experienced in business, it would be safe to estimate that 95 per cent of those in this condition would lose all within a very short time; and also that we as patriotic citizens would not permit them to suffer thereafter, therefore it would be necessary for the Government to make provision for them, and the insurance which was intended for their protection would probably go to the benefit of some unscrupulous grafter. It seems to me that one if not the most important part of the bill is the safeguarding of this fund so that it will accrue to their benefit over a long period of years.

I heartily join with you in your contention that the lump-sum settlement is a dangerous one to have embodied in the bill, and I trust that you will be able to bring such pressure to bear that this feature can be stricken out and thereby give to the American soldiers and dependents protection which it would be hard for them to secure in any other way, and at the same time deal a deadly blow to the common grafter, who is always watching for an opportunity to prey upon the innocent.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, with these facts before us it seems to me that it is our duty to protect the soldiers that we are sending to the front to fight for our country and our country's flag. I have not time to analyze the real condition that would exist if this section is permitted to remain in the bill; but if past experience demonstrates that 90 per cent of the average citizens or their dependents come to want, how can we expect more from our soldier boys, who come from the best families of this land, whose years have not permitted them to have a large business experience?

I ask the Senator in charge of the bill if he can not conscientiously support this amendment and at least permit this matter to be more fully discussed in conference? This bill will be far-reaching in its effect, and it is essential that every safeguard be thrown around its beneficiaries. I do not want it understood from my asking for the adoption of this amendment that I am in any way opposing the bill. I believe, as I said before, that it is one of the best measures we shall have enacted into law at this session. It is my wish that it be enacted into law at the earliest possible date; and that it shall throw every safeguard around those who make such great sacrifices in defending our country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, the argument made by the Senator from Idaho is well worthy of all consideration. The argument made in the letter which has just been read is almost invincible.

Section 304 gave to me and to other members of the subcommittee and of the committee a good deal of trouble. I have come to the conclusion that even if it were to stay in the bill it ought to be modified somewhat, so that those receiving small commutations should be prohibited, at any rate, from commuting even half, because the other half would be too little to keep them from being a burden upon the public. Therefore, I shall not oppose the motion of the Senator from Idaho, so that the entire matter can be gotten into conference, and, if possible, reconstructed somewhat.

Mr. BRADY. I will add that if it is found impossible to protect all of them, it is well, as the Senator from Mississippi wisely says, that we should protect those that we can. They are sacrificing their lives for us. Let us do all we can for them and their dependents. I sincerely hope the amendment will be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STERLING in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Idaho, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Senator from Idaho proposes to strike out all of section 304, beginning at line 24 on page 25.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, Mr. President, unless some Senator is ready with an amendment, or some Senator wants to be heard, I shall lay aside this bill for the balance of to-day, and call it up again to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, when the Senate meets.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator means that he asks unanimous consent that it be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I make that request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the bill be temporarily laid aside, to be called up to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 309. An act authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands;

S. 2435. An act authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties;

S. 2710. An act granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma;

S. 2878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River; and

S. 2922. An act to amend the laws relating to the denomination of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2434) authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2437) to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2623) defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe, with an amendment, asks a conference with the Senate on the bill and amendment, and had appointed Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, and Mr. GREENE of Vermont managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 4958. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes," approved August 9, 1912;

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States;

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.;

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio;

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers;

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy; and

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2813. An act to authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakely Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.;

H. R. 4280. An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 5839. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota.

PAY OF EMPLOYEES.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk a joint resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 102) authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, authorized and instructed to pay to the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, including the Capitol police and pages, borne upon the annual and session rolls, their respective salaries and per diem for the month of October, 1917, on the day of adjournment; and the Clerk of the House is authorized to pay on said day to Members, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners their allowances for clerk hire for said month of October: *Provided*, That the session employees of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be paid hereunder for the entire month of October, and a sufficient sum is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for that purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2434) authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties, which was, on page 1, line 5, to strike out the word "highway."

Mr. SHEPPARD. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

FOREIGN SERVICE.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2623) defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That any person formerly an American citizen who may be deemed to have expatriated himself under the provisions of the first paragraph of section 2 of the act approved March 2, 1907, entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," by taking, since August 1, 1914, an oath of allegiance to any foreign State engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war, and who took such oath in order to be enabled to enlist in the armed forces of such foreign State, and who actually enlisted in such armed forces, and who has been or may be duly and honorably discharged from such armed forces, may, upon complying with the provisions of this act, reassume and acquire the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States: *Provided, however*, That no obligation in the way of pensions or other grants because of service in the army or navy of any other country, or disabilities incident thereto, shall accrue to the United States.

Any such person who desires so to reacquire and reassume the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States shall, if abroad, present himself before a consular officer of the United States, or, if in the United States, before any court authorized by law to confer American citizenship upon aliens, shall offer satisfactory evidence that he comes within the terms of this act, and shall take an oath declaring his allegiance to the United States and agreeing to support the Constitution thereof and abjuring and disclaiming allegiance to such foreign State and to every foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty. The consular officer or court officer having jurisdiction shall thereupon issue in triplicate a certificate of American citizenship, giving one copy to the applicant, retaining one copy for his files, and forwarding one copy to the Secretary of Labor. Thereafter such person shall in all respects be deemed to have acquired the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Labor shall jointly issue regulations for the proper administration of this act.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I do not understand that it is necessary to disagree to the amendment of the House. I think we should concur in the amendment to the bill as it passed the House, and therefore there will be no necessity for a conference. I move to concur in the House amendment.

The amendment was concurred in.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia; and

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Public Lands:

H. R. 4958. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes," approved August 9, 1912; and

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy; and

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty; and

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps, and to remove the fixed-age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers.

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc., was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

BRIDGE ACROSS LITTLE RIVER, ARK.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent to report back favorably from the Committee on Commerce the bill S. 2938, for which I ask immediate consideration, and I submit a report (No. 143) thereon. It is a bridge bill in which the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] is interested, and which he wishes to have passed immediately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the title of the bill.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2938) to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT MOULTRIE, GA.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to report back favorably from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds Senate bill 2852, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration. I submit a report (No. 144) to accompany the bill. The consideration of the bill will take but a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the title of the bill.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2852) to increase the limit of cost of the Federal building and site therefor at Moultrie, Ga.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds with amendments, in line 7, after the words "United States post office," to strike out "courts, and other governmental offices"; in line 11, after the words "for the," to strike out "completion of said building within an increased limit of cost" and insert "construction of a building for the use and accommodation of the United States post office and other Government offices at Moultrie, Ga., within the limit of cost," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats., p. 874), authorizing the purchase of a site and the construction of a building thereon for the use and accommodation of the United States post office, in the city of Moultrie, State of Georgia, at a limit of cost of $65,000, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into a contract for the construction of a building for the use and accommodation of the United States post office and other Government offices at Moultrie, Ga., within the limit of cost of $70,000.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, the Secretary did not read the amount.

Mr. HARDWICK. Because that was not amended. The amount is $70,000.

Mr. PHELAN. I ask that the amount be stated.

The SECRETARY. The cost complete is not to exceed $70,000, in the House bill.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, what bill is this?

Mr. HARDWICK. I will state to the Senator from Iowa that it is a bill to increase by $5,000 the limit of cost of a public building at Moultrie, Ga., because of additional space that is required for Government offices down there.

Mr. KENYON. Only $5,000?

Mr. HARDWICK. Only $5,000. The Senator certainly will not object to that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DEMOCRACY V. AUTOCRACY.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should like to have printed in the RECORD a copy of a resolution adopted at the twenty-fifth annual conference of the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., August 31, 1917.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection. If there be no objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION.

Since the birth of human law, and from the very earliest of the groupings of peoples under governmental control, the principles of democracy have been contending against the principles of autocracy. In the main the conflict has been limited to a warfare of ideas and theories, but now, in an unprecedented world struggle, the two forms of government are engaged in mortal strife. No longer is the combat carried on by reason, argument, and the comparison of results, it is now physical force grappling with brute power, and the stake is the survival of the fittest.

It is the parting of the international ways. Every nation and every individual of every nation must take his stand on the one side or the other.

There can be no compromise. There can never be any compromise between right and wrong.

We, here in national conference assembled, the representatives of the sovereign States, constituting the greatest Republic on earth, do not hesitate in taking our stand.

We do here and now highly resolve that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth, and thereto we pledge our and each of our powers, abilities, efforts, and our lives, our property, and our sacred honor; and to the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States our firm and unswerving support to the end that permanent peace may be established throughout the world.

RECLAMATION CAMPS.

Mr. POMERENE. On August 10 I introduced a bill, S. 2773, having for its purpose the organization and maintenance of reclamation camps for the treatment of those drafted men who were rejected because of slight physical disease or slight physical defects. The bill is now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs. I have received to-day a telegram sent by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce indorsing the bill. I ask that it be incorporated in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *October 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C:

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, by formal action of its board of directors, has given its earnest indorsement to your bill making provision to reclaim the physically unfit for the Army, not only in its military but also in its civil significence; we regard this bill as a constructive measure of the highest importance. If we can be of service with reference to this measure it will give us the greatest pleasure to render such service.

CHARLES A. OTIS, *President.*
MUNSON HAVENS, *Secretary.*

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4897) to amend section 10 of the national-defense act, approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, that is a matter to which there will be an important amendment. I do not have the papers here with me, as I did not expect the bill to be called up to-day. I ask that it may go over. I shall not object to its being taken up at some other opportune time.

Mr. FLETCHER. Under those circumstances I will not press the motion.

Mr. POMERENE. If the Senator desires to call it up to-morrow or some other time I shall be very glad to have him do so.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, with a view of returning to legislative business as soon as the short executive session is over.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 53 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

JOSEPH S. M'COY.

Mr. SMOOT. Out of order, I introduce a joint resolution and ask its reference to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 103) to pay Joseph S. McCoy for extra services rendered the Senate Committee on Finance was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

URGENT DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I submit the conference report on the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5949) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 2, 4, 7, 21, 22, 28, 50, 53, 54, 73, 76, 77, 78, 81, 84, 87, 96, 99, and 102.

That the House recede from its disagreements to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 43, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 80, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, and 111; and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert as a separate paragraph the following:

"In any State the legislature of which met in 1917 and failed for any reason to accept the provisions of the vocational education act, as provided in section 5 of said act, if the governor of that State, so far as he is authorized to do so, shall accept the provisions of said act and designate or create a State board of not less than three members to act in cooperation with the Federal Board for Vocational Education and shall designate the State treasurer as custodian for all moneys allotted to that State under said act, the Federal board shall, if such legislature took no adverse action on the acceptance of said act in 1917, recognize such State board for the purposes of said act until the legislature of that State meets in regular session in due course and has been in session 60 days."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

"For two additional Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who are authorized at the rate of $5,000 per annum each from the date of this act to the close of the present war and six months thereafter, $7,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Washington, D. C., Treasury Department buildings: For repairs, alterations, and extensions of such of the buildings and their equipment belonging to the United States, on squares numbered 226 and 228 in the city of Washington, D. C., as the Secretary of the Treasury may designate, to fit them for temporary use by the Treasury Department, $100,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "September" and insert in lieu thereof the word "October"; and in lines 23, 24, 25, and 26 of the matter inserted by said amendment omit the following: ", including payment of additional compensation to the following: Increase compensation of two deputy commissioners from $4,000 to $4,500 each, and increase compensation of one deputy

commissioner from $3,600 to $4,500"; and in line 41 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "September" and insert in lieu thereof the word "October"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit all of the matter inserted by said amendment after line 23; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the last line of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "States," insert the following: "*Provided further*, That section 355 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not apply to the expenditures authorized hereunder"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$2,180,200"; and the Senate agreed to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 30, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$40,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "in time of war or when war is imminent" and insert in lieu thereof the following ", during the present emergency," and in line 10 of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "terms," insert the following: ", at not less than cost"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$10,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 33, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$250,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$6,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$12,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 36, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$25,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 37, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$6,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 38, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$10,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 39, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$5,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 40, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$23,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 41, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$4,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 42, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$18,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$250,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 45, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$125,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 46, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$9,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 47, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$375,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 48, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "expenses," insert the words "of travel"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 49, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Land-grant railroads organized under the act of July 28, 1866, chapter 300, shall receive the same compensation for transportation during the existing war emergency of property and troops of the United States as may be paid to land-grant railroads, organized under the land-grant act of March 3, 1863, and the act of July 27, 1866, chapter 278, for such transportation during said emergency: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not be construed as changing in any other way or for any other period of time the rights and duties of the land-grant railroads first above mentioned."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 52, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$40,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 59, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$69,750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 61, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Manufacture of Arms: For manufacturing, repairing, procuring, and issuing arms, $16,690,000: *Provided*, That the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purposes above mentioned not to exceed $16,000,000 in addition to the appropriations herein and heretofore made."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 65, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "Hereafter" and insert in lieu thereof the words "During the present emergency"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 66, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows: In line 15, strike out the words "may be" and insert in lieu thereof the word "is"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 67, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"For temporary office buildings, including heating and lighting, for the use of the War and Navy Departments, to contain approximately 1,055,000 square feet, to be erected under the direction of the Secretary of War in Henry Park, reservation No. 4, Sixth and B Streets, $2,000,000. Space in said building shall be alloted by the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds upon the joint order of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy: *Provided*, That within two years after the conclusion of the existing war, the land above referred to shall again be reserved for the erection of the George Washington Memorial Hall."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "; including not to exceed $315,000 for the acquisition of land by purchase or condemnation"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 74, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Hospital construction: For temporary hospital construction and repairs, as may be necessary, at points not provided with suitable hospital facilities, and for buildings for naval medical supplies, $2,000,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 79, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 82, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$18,900"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 83, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows: In line 8, after the word "empowered," insert the following: ", within the amount hereinbefore authorized,"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

"DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR.

"To enable the Secretary of Labor, during the present emergency, in addition to existing facilities, to furnish such information and to render such assistance in the employment of wage earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding $4, traveling expenses, and rental of quarters outside of the District of Columbia, $250,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 103, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$50,488.72"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 104, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$61,424.31"; and the Senate agree to the same.

THOMAS S. MARTIN,
JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
O. W. UNDERWOOD,
F. E. WARREN,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
SWAGAR SHERLEY,
FREDERICK H. GILLETT,
Managers on the part of the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator in charge of the conference report what disposition was made of the amendment providing an appropriation of $500,000 for the Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the conference committee found it necessary to reduce that appropriation to $250,000. It was a very unsatisfactory solution of the matter, but it was inevitable under the conditions that confronted us. That is the conclusion we reached.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask unanimous consent to have the provision as agreed upon inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

"DISTIBUTION OF LABOR.

"To enable the Secretary of Labor, during the present emergency, in addition to existing facilities, to furnish such information and to render such assistance in the employment of wage earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war, including personal services, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding $4, traveling expenses, and rental of quarters outside of the District of Columbia, $250,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Mr. ROBINSON. I desire to take just a moment to say that I regret that the conferees were compelled to yield this point and to accept the sum of $250,000 in lieu of $500,000 as voted by the Senate after full discussion. The importance of this bill and of its speedy passage will prevent me from undertaking to delay the further consideration of the conference report. It may wisely be feared whether the amount as agreed upon in conference will not prove wholly inadequate, but Congress can hereafter remedy that by making further appropriations. The language of the amendment has been modified so as to broaden the discretion of the Secretary of Labor in applying the fund in some particulars, and his authority is narrowed in others. However, I shall content myself for the present with this brief statement and accept the assurance of the chairman that the language as finally agreed upon represents the best that could be done under the circumstances.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

JOSEPH S. M'COY.

Mr. SMOOT. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably Senate joint resolution 103, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 103) was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Joseph S. McCoy for extra services as expert actuary and statistician rendered to the Senate Committee on Finance during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, $1,600.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PETITIONS.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the California Fruit Exchange, of Sacramento, Cal., urging the recognition of the farmers' indispensability, and the consequent advisability of exemption from military service as a class; also expressing the loyalty of the farmers as citizens, and urging agricultural co-operation, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Court of Knaresborough, Ancient Order of Foresters, of Oakland, Cal., urging an investigation of the East St. Louis riots, which was ordered to lie on the table.

PUBLIC-LAND ENTRIES.

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 2918) providing that the forfeiture provisions of the land laws shall not apply in case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 142) *thereon*.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 2948) granting an increase of pension to Wesley Dye (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 2949) granting an increase of pension to William H. Woodward; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 2950) amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. PHELAN. I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill. It is another form of a bill on the same subject which I introduced August 15. I introduce it in this form for the convenience of the committee, and ask that it be referred to the Committee in Immigration.

The bill (S. 2951) for the relief of Clara Elizabeth Huntington Hatzfeldt was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

AMENDMENTS TO WAR-RISK INSURANCE BILL.

Mr. SMOOT submitted four amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," and for other purposes, approved September 2, 1914, which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

RECESS.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning. There is a demand for some morning business. The committee in charge of the insurance bill were anxious for a recess, and yet I have been surrounded by Senators who wanted some morning business transacted.

Mr. SHAFROTH. There are some bills that it is very important to pass that will take no time.

Mr. SMOOT. We have a unanimous-consent agreement to vote upon the bill before 5 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Consequently, it makes no difference whether we adjourn or take a recess.

Mr. SMOOT. It may make quite a difference in acting upon amendments and speaking upon the bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I suggest this as a way out of the difficulty: Let us have an understanding that we will take a recess to-day, and that to-morrow, when the session terminates, it shall be by an adjournment instead of a recess.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But if the Congress adjourns by Saturday night, there will not be time enough to get these bills through. They are important bills, and are really war bills.

Mr. MARTIN. We can not pass any important bills now.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I have one that it is imperative to pass.

Mr. MARTIN. The Senate, of course, will do what it pleases. It is not a matter in which I feel any interest except for the dispatch of business. To facilitate final adjournment, I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, October 3, 1917) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Thursday, October 4, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 3 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Frederick C. Fisher, of the Philippine Islands.
Francisco Ortigas, of the Philippine Islands.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 3 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

SHIPPING BOARD.

Charles R. Page to be a member of the United States Shipping Board.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE.

Paz Valverde to be register of the land office at Clayton, N. Mex.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Thomas E. Owen to be receiver of public moneys at Clayton, N. Mex.

Charles A. Mansfield to be receiver of public moneys at Williston, N. Dak.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

George R. A. Kantzler to be aid in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

COAST GUARD.

Cadet George Walton McKean, to be third lieutenant in the Coast Guard.

Cadet Andrew Clement Mandeville, to be third lieutenant in the Coast Guard.

Cadet John Trebes, jr., to be third lieutenant in the Coast Guard.

POSTMASTERS.

GEORGIA.

J. D. Howard, Milledgeville.

IDAHO.

D. Rolla Harris, Sugar.

OKLAHOMA.

I. E. Strickland, Allen.
David M. Watson, Francis.
Charles J. Townsend, Idabel.
Galen B. Townsend, Mangum.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Eugene L. Aldrich, New Milford.
Julia C. Gleason, Villanova.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

W. Clarence Clinkscales, Belton.
Arthur G. King, Easley.
John T. Lawrence, Seneca.

WISCONSIN.

Nina M. Frankland, Montfort.

REJECTION.

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate October 3 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

POSTMASTER.

George M. Collins to be postmaster at Due West, S. C.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *October 3, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, imbue us, we beseech Thee, with the spirit of reasonableness, justice, mercy, and truth, that in all the transactions of this day we may satisfy the demands of our conscience, and thus fulfill the law and the prophets. In the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

QUESTION OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE.

Mr. MASON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MASON. I rise to address the House upon a question of the highest personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his question of personal privilege.

Mr. MASON. A Member of this House, during my absence, charged me with being guilty of treason. He stated that I was absent, and he said, "Let them come and defend themselves," referring to my colleague, Mr. BRITTEN, and myself. Having named us, he said, "I think they are out stirring up opposition to the war, to the selective draft, and to getting Germans to hold meetings, and asking that they be exempt from service."

He charges in the statement published in the RECORD substantially the same thing. It is a charge against my personal loyalty to my Government.

The SPEAKER. Before the gentleman begins——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that this does not present a question of personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to make a statement. Gentlemen rising to a question of privilege—and the Chair has always been very liberal about it, but in the condition of affairs here, a man has got to have a good question of privilege to begin with, or the Chair will not recognize him. In the second place, if he starts, he has got to stick to the text and must not wander into the bypaths or the highways of history, either recent or ancient. [Laughter.] It is the business of the Speaker to maintain as much order as he can, and he is going to do it without any regard whatever to persons. Does the gentleman from Tennessee wish to argue his point of order?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The language that the gentleman from Illinois complains of was stricken from the RECORD by a vote of the House.

Mr. MASON. A part of it was.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And the part that remains in the RECORD of which the gentleman complains does not in any sense raise a question of personal privilege under the rulings that have been heretofore made.

Mr. MASON. The statement was made by a Member of the House and was printed in all the newspapers.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will read the part that was left in the RECORD of which he complains.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kansas rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. For the purpose of making an inquiry touching the nature of the statement made upon the floor—not the statement that remains in the RECORD——

The SPEAKER. The Chair is trying to find out the two things or two sections that the gentleman complains of.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I do not understand the Chair to hold——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has not held anything.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas (continuing). That the statement made on the floor but not contained in the RECORD would not constitute a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. No; the Chair asked the gentleman to read the part in the RECORD of which he complains first.

Mr. MASON. I complain first that the Member from Alabama stated on Friday, August 3, 1917, as follows:

> And in this House a Member from Illinois [Mr. MASON] introduced a bill, which is now pending, asking that the selective-draft law be repealed, and the German spy system is urging that petitions be sent to Members to vote to repeal the law—the law under which we are forming an Army to save the life of this Nation from the dangers which threaten it.

I complain of this statement:

> Shades of Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President, whose memory we all love and honor, I call upon the State of Illinois to repudiate this action of the gentleman from Illinois. The remains of Lincoln sleep in the soil of that State. My God, how restless he must be in his grave when a man from Illinois introduces a bill that would prevent the raising of an Army to defend the Nation in this time of war.

I charge that in that language he charges me with aiding the German Army in time of war, which is treason.

I will not read what he said about my colleague, but he goes on:

> Why, the Kaiser would say to Germany, "The people of the United States are not with the President."

Then he mentions the other gentleman from Illinois, Mr. BRITTEN, and says:

> The other Member from Illinois, Mr. MASON, desires to undo the selective draft and leave us without an army.

It is not only false, but he charges me constructively with treason.

The SPEAKER. Did the gentleman from Illinois introduce a bill to repeal the draft law?

Mr. MASON. I did not.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. HEFLIN. The gentleman from Illinois states that he did not introduce a bill to repeal the draft law. He did introduce a bill——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama can not interrupt the gentleman addressing the House on a question of privilege.

Mr. HEFLIN. The House ought to have the facts.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois—is the gentleman from Illinois through with his statement?

Mr. MASON. I am through with only that part as far as I was interrogated by the Speaker. There is a further statement.

The SPEAKER. Out of the RECORD?

Mr. MASON. No, sir; what I have read is in the RECORD, and what I will read is in the RECORD.

> It is true that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] in his position here does not speak the views of the people of that State, and it is true that the gentleman from Illinois—

Mentioning another man—

> does not speak the views. * * * His bill is a reflection upon all of them. There are a few anarchists and a few traitors.

That sentence followed the use of my name. Then the following:

> Emma Goldman has been arrested and Berkman has been arrested. If I was President, I would point out some others who belong in the class with them.

I charge that there again in the printed record he charges me and classes me with Emma Goldman and people who are anarchists.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] rises to a question of personal privilege and submits as a basis of that question of personal privilege remarks made by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] criticizing his course as a legislator in a way, but the language which the gentleman has read, and which he has made the basis of his question, does not by fair construction criticize the motives of the gentleman from Illinois. I do not know what was in the mind of the gentleman from Alabama, and the House must consider the language as it is before it, and the Speaker must construe the language in its fair interpretation. Let me give the Speaker an illustration.

I remember some years ago there was intense criticism of a gentleman from Ohio because of the introduction by him of a certain resolution with reference to the presentation by the State of Mississippi to the battleship named in its honor of a service that had upon it a picture of Jefferson Davis. The gentleman from Ohio introduced a resolution concerning that, and it brought down upon him a storm of criticism, so he stated on the floor, from newspapers all over the country. He rose here and for half an hour read the criticisms that were made of him, and not one of them questioned his motives in terms or in language. The Speaker very rightfully held it was not privileged. In order that a question of personal privilege may be presented, I respectfully submit that the language must in its term carry criticism of the motives of the person who is charged.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The question of personal privilege ought to be liberally construed, but it ought not to be abused. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TOWNER. Would the proposition stated by the gentleman have any application in a case in which an allegation was made on the floor of the House charging a Member with introducing a resolution or a bill which he did not introduce?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It would not.

Mr. TOWNER. And that, I understand, is the case as presented by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the gentleman just wants to say that he did not introduce any such bill, of course that would be in order. The RECORD, of course, tells what was done.

Mr. TOWNER. Of course it would be for the Speaker to determine the nature and character of the explanation that he may be allowed to make.

The SPEAKER. One question has been raised inferentially by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and the reason the Chair asked the gentleman from Illinois to state first what was in the RECORD is because of decisions in similar cases. If it had not been for the decision which the Chair will cite, the Chair would have permitted the gentleman from Illinois to have stated not only what was in the RECORD but what was struck out. The Chair quotes from Hinds' Precedents, section 7023, Volume V:

> Offensive words having already been stricken from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a question of privilege may not arise therefrom.—On July 28, 1892, Mr. Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, submitted as a question of privilege that on yesterday Mr. Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, in the course of his remarks, had used this language:
>
> "On page 7367 the gentleman from Alabama (meaning Mr. Wheeler) says this:
>
> "'On passage of the bill (the reapportionment bill favorable to the Republicans) 113 Democrats voted against, and 114 rascally Republicans voted for, and 13 leprous Greenbackers voted with the Republicans.'"
>
> He denied that he had used the language, "rascally Republicans" and "leprous Greenbackers," and claimed the right to the floor to refute said charge.
>
> Mr. Nelson Dingley, of Maine, made the point of order that no question of privilege was presented by Mr. Wheeler.
>
> The Speaker, sustaining the point of order, held that the matter presented did not present a question of privilege under the rule.
>
> It appears from the record of debate that Mr. Watson had already corrected his remarks, saying that he had no intention of attributing the portions complained of to Mr. Wheeler and did not, in fact, do so, although the RECORD made it appear that he did. This fact was stated by the Speaker in his ruling.

It seems to the Chair from that that if the words are struck out by action of the House, they can not be complained of. On a question of privilege the Chair thinks that the gentleman from Illinois has a fair question of privilege on the part that was printed in the RECORD, because by fair inference from those remarks the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] has yoked up the gentleman with Emma Goldman, Berkman, and other anarchists, and by inference charges the gentleman with treason.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, would it be in order to prefer a request at this time?

The SPEAKER. That would depend upon what the request is.

Mr. HEFLIN. I think the gentleman from Illinois ought to be heard. He is one of the men that I have in mind, and I would like him to be heard, and also that I may have a chance to be heard to show wherein I question his motives.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will have to get at that by unanimous consent, after the gentleman from Illinois is through. The Chair will entertain the request of the gentleman from Alabama after the gentleman from Illinois has concluded, and, of course, Members may do as they please with respect to that request. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I understand the Chair's ruling and I shall endeavor to the best of my ability to confine my remarks to the rules and limitations which the Chair has suggested, and I shall expect the Chair to correct me if I trespass.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will proceed. The Speaker will undoubtedly do that.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I have risen to a question of personal privilege and I have delayed it for a long time hoping that the author of this slanderous and uncalled for statement would have the chivalry and the

kindness to correct his statement. We are in great trouble and the people are not interested in our personal differences. Neither Mr. HEFLIN nor Mr. MASON are in the minds of the people of this country. We are at war, and, therefore, I feel like apologizing to the House for taking the time in reply to the statement of treason that he has made against me, and I say to you frankly that if the man who made it was as well known in my State as he is in Congress I should not waste any time in answering it. [Applause.] He has assailed me, he has attempted to tell the people of my State what to do with me in the next political campaign, and in order to avoid personalities I asked him through personal and mutual friends and by a letter simply to correct his statement in accordance with the facts. The record is shown here. The letter which I wrote him was courteous. I told him that the bills which I introduced and which I sent to him did not repeal the conscription act. The first amendment does provide, in accordance with the wishes of the people I represent, that conscripted men be not compelled to serve in foreign service unless they volunteer to do it. It does not repeal any item in the military law, but in my opinion strengthens it. The other amendment provides by adding simply two words. Gentlemen will remember that the President was "authorized" to take drafted men. He was "authorized" to take vounteers, and my other amendment simply inserts the words "and directed" after the word "authorized," so that it would read that the President was hereby "authorized and directed" to take these 100,000 men who stood ready to go as volunteers and fight our battles in the Old World. This House voted for that law giving the President the same power to take these volunteers and used the same diplomatic and legislative language that it always used—he is "hereby authorized" to take drafted men; he is "hereby authorized" to take volunteers. This House first turned it down. While it was pending in the Senate the people had a chance and this House concurred in the Senate amendment which authorized the President to take 100,000 volunteers by the vote of this House and the Senate and by the signature of the President of the United States, and in as respectful language as a legislator could use, I simply proposed an amendment that he be "directed" to take them. The people thought he would take them; the people demanded that he give them a chance to go, and Congress in obedience to that acted. When he says that I am trying to keep or prevent raising an army in defense of this country he states what he knows is not true. [Mr. MASON here made a remark which he subsequently withdrew.] This is the letter which I sent as a peace offering——

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the letter which the gentleman proposes to read, which he wrote to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], is not pertinent, within the rule.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not tell whether it is pertinent or not.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that any correspondence between Mr. HEFLIN and the gentleman from Illinois upon that subject does not come within the rule. He has been permitted to deny the charges made against him by Mr. HEFLIN in the RECORD, and any subsequent correspondence between the gentleman and Mr. HEFLIN, I make the point of order, does not come within the rule.

The SPEAKER. Does not come within what rule?

Mr. ALMON. As a limitation upon what he is permitted to say upon the question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not see it makes a bit of difference whether it is a letter or any other communication.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make the point of order that the gentleman himself has just now made a statement that would call for a personal privilege on the other side.

The SPEAKER. Now, the remedy of the gentleman from Texas is to have the words taken down.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask to have the words taken down.

The SPEAKER. The words will be taken down and submitted to the Chair.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to say that I make this point in the interest of order, that a Member may not transgress the rules?

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the words that were taken down.

The Clerk read the words.

The SPEAKER. What action does the House wish to take about these words, if any?

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that those words be stricken from the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the words be stricken from the RECORD.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I call for a division.

The House divided, and there were—yeas 71, noes 81.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I desire again in the interest of peace and in the interest of transaction of business to withdraw my last statement. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois withdraws the last part of that statement.

Mr. HARDY. Then I withdraw my request to have that taken down, if that is the proper thing to do.

The SPEAKER. The last part of the statement will be stricken from the RECORD. Does the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ALMON] withdraw his request for the yeas and nays?

Mr. ALMON. I do.

The SPEAKER. The House has voted not to strike the other part from the RECORD. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] himself settles the last part. The gentleman will proceed in order.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, simply as an explanation of why I am taking the floor, I intend to put in the RECORD, and, if necessary, will read the request which I made, which was as follows:

SEPTEMBER 29, 1917.

Hon. J. T. HEFLIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In these distressing times the people are not interested in personal differences and as I wish to avoid further personal disputes on the floor of the House I suggest, in the interest of everyone, that you do yourself and me the justice of correcting your statement in regard to my proposed amendments to the conscript law. When I read your statement I felt sure that you had not read the proposed amendments and that you had been misled by some newspaper report. You said in your statement that I had "introduced a bill which is now pending, asking that the selective-draft law be repealed."

This is not true, and I feel sure that you will be willing to read the bill and correct your statement. I have offered two amendments. One of them provides that the conscripts be exempted from foreign service unless they volunteer. It does not, therefore, repeal any part of the present law as there is nothing in the law upon that subject. The other amendment instead of repealing that law "directs" the President to take the 100,000 volunteers, known as the Roosevelt division. You will see that the law itself authorizes him to take the volunteers and my bill simply directs him to take the volunteers which he is already authorized to do; so that I am not trying to repeal the law but to enforce it.

A simple statement by you on Monday morning as to the mistake which you honestly made as to those amendments will prevent further personal discussions, which I believe will be in the interest of our country.

We have much to do besides quarreling with each other. My son, the only one left in the family circle, enlisted when the war was declared, with my consent—

[Applause.]

and we have much to do to see that he and his fellow soldiers at Camp Logan and other cantonments are provided with food, shelter, ammunition, and training. We have much to do to see that the money we appropriated goes to the benefit of these boys is not subject to graft between the Treasury Department and the camp. We have much to do to help sell our bonds and maintain the credit of the country in supporting our extravagant appropriations, to conserve our food products for our own people, to build up the Red Cross, to prosecute those conspirators who are the real traitors, planning to destroy our factories and farms. All these things we can do better if we can be patient and truthful with each other; and if you will do justice to your own sense of chivalry and fair play on next Monday morning correct statements in accordance with the facts, you will be rendering a service to the country, to both of us, and as far as I am concerned, the incident will be closed.

Since dictating the above my attention has been called to a press statement that you made before the committee "that you wish to ask MASON where he got the money." I can not believe that you made this statement, and I ask you in the same spirit of justice and fair play to disavow this statement.

Yours, truly,

WM. E. MASON.

[Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, seeking the advice of mutual friends, I have tried to avoid this matter, because at the close of a session, when we have all got to go home and go to work in the most trying time of our country, I did not want to delay any of the public business. And I was informed on yesterday by our mutual friend that he would not answer my letter and would not correct the statement in regard to the real facts as to the legislation which I had introduced.

Now, let us just briefly see what the facts are in my defense against this charge. It is true I voted against the declaration of war. It is true that I voted against conscription; and I have no apologies to make here or elsewhere for those votes. When I voted against war I said in this forum that if a majority of the people of this country, represented here, declared war that I would, under God, give every power I had to main-

tain the Army and the Navy and the integrity of my country. And I have kept my word. [Applause.] And any man or newspaper or any individual who says that I have ever advised, directly or indirectly, remotely or contingently, anyone to disobey the conscription law states a malicious falsehood and the truth is not in him.

I spoke at one meeting before this statement was made by the Member from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], where there were 5,000 unhappy people, and I told them that they must be, as we were, a law-abiding people. If gentlemen wish it, they can find my speech in the Department of Justice, that kindly sent a reporter to know and hear just what I said. And instead of complaint from that department I have had, unofficially, compliments upon the fact that I stood before a dissatisfied and unhappy people and told them whether we like the draft law or not it was the law of our country and we must obey the law, and that any man who advised them to disobey the law was a traitor to his country. [Applause.] That is the advice I gave them there.

And yet, following that very meeting, I am charged with going out and getting Germans to hold meetings when we are at war with Germany. That is the only meeting that I had attended up to that time. And at no time or place, in private conversation or public discussion, have I raised the question of the righteousness of this war. I said, when I spoke against the declaration of war, that if my country demanded war it was my war. And I think, colleagues, we make a mistake in talking about the righteousness of the war. We are in the war and the time has come to apply the doctrine of, in time of war, "My country, right or wrong." We must maintain ourselves in a great conflict [applause] which may absolutely involve the life of our Nation. But simply because the cheap politicians, who want to play politics and have the help of that army——

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] is not confining himself to the issue according to the ruling of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The point is well taken. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] will please confine himself to the question of privilege.

Mr. MASON. I am charged, Mr. Speaker, with holding German meetings. I can only answer it by saying that it is not true. That is all there is to it. I have spoken at the meeting which he has mentioned in one part of his speech and made the speech which I practically made in Congress, that whenever we oppose conscription, whether we did or not, the law was passed. But while I told the people that we must obey the law, I also told them that they had a right to meet and petition Congress to amend or repeal or change any law, and that is a constitutional right. And if to tell the people of the rights granted them by the Constitution is treason, you will have to make the most of it, so far as I am concerned.

They have that right. They have a right to petition Congress, and instead of the people of my State being against the amendments which I offered, I have received, in answer to 5,000 letters, over 3,000—they are subject to the committees, or subject to the House—and every one of over 3,000 letters except four answered in opposition to conscription for foreign service. That in answer to his proposition that I am not representing my people here.

Every gentleman hates to speak of himself. I think as we get older we learn how uninteresting our personal reminiscences are to those about us, and when you learn that you are uninteresting you are liable to stop; and certainly no gentleman likes to speak of his ancestors or his conduct, and I would not do it now except that I am driven to it by this personal assault upon the integrity of myself and my family.

Mr. ALMON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. ALMON. To make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ALMON. I remember, when my colleague [Mr. HEFLIN] was addressing the House a few days ago on a question of personal privilege, that at some points the objection was made that his remarks were not pertinent, and the Chair ruled that he would use his best efforts to confine him to pertinent remarks, and frequently interrupted him. And I wish to know whether it is expected that Members of the House shall make the point now when the gentleman transgresses or goes out of the issue, or whether we can depend upon the Speaker to confine him to the legitimate issue? I make the point, Mr. Speaker, that any question of the gentleman's ancestry is not pertinent to the issue before the House.

The SPEAKER. That part of the point of order is sustained. Of course it is exceedingly difficult for the Chair or anybody else——

Mr. MASON. I think if the Speaker would hear it he would say it is not out of order. I am charged with holding German meetings in German wards.

The SPEAKER. I know. So far as that is concerned, the Chair will allow the gentleman to contradict it in any way he chooses so long as he confines himself, as he will do, to parliamentary language. But the extraneous matters of ancestry or anything of that sort have nothing to do with this question of personal privilege. It is extremely difficult for the Chair to hold any man rising to a question of personal privilege entirely to the track that he ought to travel. The Chair will do the best he can, and treat them all precisely alike. [Applause.] And if a point of order is raised the Chair will pass upon it as fairly as he can, and if anyone rising to a question of personal privilege makes a gross departure from it, he will hold him to it so far as he can. I stated in the beginning that I did not want any gentleman rising to a question of personal privilege now to get out into the highways and byways of personal history. We might be here until Christmas in that case.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GORDON. Is it not a fact that on this question of personal privilege any testimony of the person accused that would tend to establish the falsity of the charge is admissible and proper?

The SPEAKER. It is if it is pertinent. The gentleman from Illinois will proceed in order.

Mr. MASON. I want to say to the Speaker that if I did not think it was pertinent to the charge against me I would not make it.

The SPEAKER. I know; but the trouble is——

Mr. MASON. I was about to state, if the Speaker pleases, when charged with holding meetings for Germans I was about to state that fact——

The SPEAKER. What fact?

Mr. MASON. That I am of English blood, and that that statement could not be true, when charged with being German and pro-German; and I think I have a right to state what my past has been and what my antecedents are.

The SPEAKER. The trouble about that statement is that the gentleman may think it is pertinent, and the Chair in the discretion he has may not think it is pertinent, and the opinion of the Chair in the matter overrules the opinion of the gentleman.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. I might think your ancestry has nothing to do with it. I might stand up here for an hour and tell about mine and it would not throw light upon anything. The gentleman will proceed in order. The gentleman has already stated it.

Mr. MASON. I had not at the time I was interrupted. I am charged with the most serious thing that can be charged against an American citizen. Treason is punishable with death, and the man who is guilty of it ought to be subject to that penalty. And I stand here charged with being pro-German, and say that my ancestors have fought in every war, from the Revolution down to the Civil War, in defense of the integrity of the United States. [Applause.]

That is a pertinent fact, and tends to disprove all of these lying and insinuating statements that I am pro-German and against my own country in time of war with Germany. I hate German autocracy or any other sort of autocracy as much as any man on the floor of this House, but I propose in this war to exercise, and to defend the plain people of my State when they exercise, constitutional rights and ask the poor privilege of petitioning the Congress or petitioning the President to help them in their condition. Of course, if it is treason to ask our allies to do as much fighting as our boys do, to share their fate, and to call attention to the statements of these men like Pinchot, who shows what the war lords are doing to the Treasury Department of your Government and mine—if that is treason I shall undoubtedly be guilty of it again and again. But I will have this country know that we have some traitors at home that are not in Congress, and when I purpose to call attention to that fact it is not treason to ask that the money which comes out of the people to pay the burden of this war shall go for the aid and comfort of our boys who are carrying the flag of our country. [Applause.] Treason! From the time I was 11 years old until I was 15 I stood guard nights along the river, when I was too young to be enlisted. Ragged, I suffered as your boys did in the South; patched trousers, shirts made of flour sacks. I nursed the sick and stood guard at night with old men and boys in the home guard. Tears were shed when my oldest brother gave his life at Gettysburg for the flag, but there was a feeling of sorrowful pride on the making of so great a sacrifice. And when you declared war here and I was defeated

in my vote I was disappointed, but within 24 hours the only son I have at home wired me asking me as to his duty. If I had been pro-German, if I had been guilty of treason, if I had not been willing to surrender my individual opinion to the majority, the result would have been different, and before the sun set on the day war was declared my son had the permission and the consent and the blessing of his mother and his father. [Applause.] And when you talk about sacrifice—that boy was the only one left at home—it took more sacrifice and more patriotism to say "Go" than the man ever had or ever will have who raises the question as to my loyalty and my love of my country. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have much more that I intended to say; but without making any personal assault upon anyone, having withdrawn the sentence that was objected to, I can only say that I can leave this question with the people with whom I have associated here and with the people who sent me as their Congressman from the State of Illinois.

If money was used in the circulation of my speeches, it was well spent. If anyone opposed to my Government circulated those speeches, on the honor of a gentleman I did not know it. Money has never been attractive to me. Sometimes when I see things that I want and things I would like to do, I wish for it; but when they talk about money in connection with this legislation, it is cruel, it is wicked, it is not kind, it lacks the stamp of a Christian community. There is not a man in this House who would be influenced in a matter of that kind—not a man—to desert the honor of his flag for a money consideration—not one. [Applause.] Not one of you gentlemen could come here from your districts if your neighbors did not know that you were good Americans—I do not care whether you disagree with me or not—and this wild talk about money is cruel and unjust. It is unfair. I never had it. I am like the distinguished leader on the Democratic side. With nine children, how could you expect to have any money.

I have risen simply to correct this statement. I am going to leave out many unkind things that I had in my heart to say, because I believe as a parliamentarian the Speaker would wisely rule them out; but I beg you gentlemen on both sides let us not accuse one another of being interested, except that interest which is to do our duty to our country. [Applause.] I intend to do it. I do not intend to be afraid either of the slanders of newspapers or the gossip of idle men. Money, Brother WILLIAMS, in a case of this kind! When our boys are preparing to go "over the top"! Gentlemen, in 40 years—I call upon my colleagues upon this side of the Chamber as well as upon that side to say that most of that time I have been in public life—no gentleman has ever yet raised the question of my personal integrity in the discharge of a public duty. I have nothing to leave to my children except a good name, and I intend to leave that good name, and I shall assail as a poltroon and a coward any man who tries to deprive my children of that inheritance. [Applause.]

Mr. HEFLIN and Mr. POU rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. HEFLIN. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HEFLIN. In order that Members may have an opportunity to go on record as to whether or not they want this matter discussed before the Congress and the country, would it be in order for me to make a motion that I may be heard, and to name the men I have in mind, and to give my reasons, reading letters, some from their own districts, documents, and newspaper articles touching the things that they have done and said, bills introduced, and so forth? Would it be in order to make a motion of that kind?

The SPEAKER. No.

Mr. HEFLIN. It would not be in order?

The SPEAKER. It is in order for the gentleman, if he wants to make any remarks, to ask unanimous consent.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, if I should do that, Mr. Speaker, any one Member could prevent me from saying what I want to say. I realize that.

The SPEAKER. That is the rule of the House.

Mr. HEFLIN. I realize that this is a serious charge, but I have stated that the conduct of certain gentlemen was questionable, and I am ready to name them, and to give my reasons for my opinion of their conduct.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The gentleman is out of order.

The SPEAKER. Of course, he is.

Mr. HEFLIN. I was satisfied that some gentleman over there would raise that point.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Alabama——

Mr. HEFLIN. I will make the request.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Alabama has any request to make, the Chair will hear him.

Mr. HEFLIN. I make the request, then, Mr. Speaker, and I trust that no Member over here will object.

The SPEAKER. What is the request?

Mr. HEFLIN. The request is that on to-morrow, immediately after the House meets and the Journal is approved, I may have an hour and a half in which to name these gentlemen and to give my reasons for saying that their conduct has been suspicious and causing me to question their loyalty.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman to make his request for unanimous consent.

The gentleman from Alabama, as far as the Chair can ascertain, asks that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, he shall have an hour and a half in which to name the men that he has talked about, first and last, and others, maybe, and give his reasons for naming them. Is there objection?

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I desire to say that neither the gentleman from Alabama nor any other gentleman in the House, so long as I remain here on the floor of the House, can have unanimous consent for the purpose of discussing this particular question.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas object?

Mr. GARNER. I do object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 40 minutes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman permit me to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the merchant marine and our shipbuilding policy?

Mr. POU. I will.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the merchant marine. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE ALIEN-DRAFT BILL.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes, explaining the alien-draft bill, at the close of the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. What is the gentleman's request?

Mr. QUIN. There is an important bill which has passed the Senate called the alien-draft bill, which has come over to the committee of which I am a member, and the Secretary of State has submitted certain evidence to the committee, but we can not report the bill, and I desire to discuss it, because it was misrepresented on the floor of the House yesterday.

The SPEAKER. When does the gentleman wish to discuss it?

Mr. QUIN. As soon as the gentleman from North Carolina has finished.

The SPEAKER. When the gentleman from North Carolina gets through the gentleman from New York [Mr. HULBERT] has 15 minutes, and the gentleman from Mississippi will have to follow him.

Mr. QUIN. I ask unanimous consent to follow the gentleman from New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I understood from the statement of the gentleman from Mississippi at the close of yesterday's proceedings that he wanted to reply to certain remarks made on the floor of the House by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN]. I do not think we ought in any way to accentuate these personal controversies, and, if that is the purpose of the gentleman from Mississippi, I object.

Mr. QUIN. That is not my purpose. I want simply to explain the bill. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN] had a false impression about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman does not intend to occasion any personal controversy, as was indicated yesterday, I shall not object.

Mr. QUIN. No; I do not.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] will proceed.

OUR WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, the special session of Congress, assembled under the call of the President on the 2d day of April,

now about to end its labors, is, and probably always will be, regarded as the most memorable in the history of the Nation. Since we met in response to the call of the President by our legislative act this country has become involved in the greatest of all wars in the history of the world. We have made 10,000,000 of America's young men liable to military duty. We have provided for the immediate raising and training of an army of more than 2,000,000, and if a greater army is needed we have passed a bill by which the Government may call to the colors every man between 21 and 31 years of age. We have provided for the building of a greater Navy than anyone would have dreamed could ever be necessary four years ago. By bills carrying more than $700,000,000 we have provided for building ships to control the air. We have provided for military, naval, and aerial establishments so great as to stagger the imagination.

We have levied taxes greater than any ever levied by any former Congress, and we have already made the bonded debt of the Nation ten times greater than it was when we organized for business.

Mr. Speaker, I have tried in a few sentences to sum up most of what we have done. I hope I have done so with blunt accuracy, for it is no time to use mincing or apologetic words. It is no time for evasion. We have done these things, and the responsibility is upon us as well as upon the President, who asked for the legislation we have sent to him for his signature. Before I attempt a brief discussion of two or three questions I have in mind I shall ask one question which embraces all, Why have we done this? In my own mind springs instantly the answer: Because it was necessary to do these things to save free America from certain attack and possible destruction.

For my part I would not shift from my own shoulders the responsibility which is mine if I had the power to do so. As long as I live I shall feel a pride in the small part I have taken in the things which have been done. And, Mr. Speaker, I would not want to represent a constituency which would not support me in the votes I have cast since we assembled in extra session, for these votes have not been partisan votes. It was not my party which was demanding my support. For the time being party lines have disappeared. The hour came when men on this floor must vote for America or against America. The hour came when men must stand for America or with America's enemies. The hour came when there could be no middle course. Men who are not for America are against her. This is no play on words; it is God's everlasting truth. I am proud to say I have the support of the people I represent, regardless of party, in the votes I have mentioned.

WHY WE ARE AT WAR WITH GERMANY.

The people of America had no more desire to go to war with Germany than they had to go to war with France. They wished to remain at peace with all the world—peace was both pleasant and profitable. Our people had no lust for war, but almost a passion for peace. To maintain peace with us Germany had only to conform to the elementary principles of international law. She had the right under the laws of nations to stop and search our vessels on the high seas, to ascertain if they were carrying contraband of war to her enemies. She had the right—if she could make it effective—to blockade all the ports of her enemies. These were her rights under the laws of nations. Had she exercised these rights we would have submitted, as we did when England and France exercised them, for they would have been strictly in accord with international law and usage. But Germany did not choose, or perhaps I had best say, did not have the power to exercise these lawful privileges of war. She soon lost control of the seas. She had no armed ships which could be used to search neutral ships on the high seas. She could not establish a blockade of either English or French coasts. She could not keep her own coasts clear. Before January 1, 1915, she had lost all control of the seas—did not even have a scout ship or cruiser on any of the seven oceans, and her own ports were sealed tight by the Anglo-French blockade. Germany had tried for the mastery of the sea; but her wanton attack on Belgium brought both the English and the Japanese Navies into action against her, and instead of driving her enemies, France and Russia, from the seas, and blockading their every port, she was excluded from the seas by the fair fortunes of war, and every one of her ports was closed by an effective and lawful blockade. She was cut off from all her colonies, and she could communicate with the world only through neutrals. This condition was at variance with all Teutonic plans and arrangements. If it continued, Germany could not possibly win the war. If she lost the war, a revolution at home would cost the Teutonic rulers, Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, Wittelsbach, and so forth, their crowns and thrones. In the last hundred years kings who force war must win or their own people dethrone them. The intoxication of victory alone causes people to submit to autocratic power. A defeated autocrat almost immediately becomes a dethroned autocrat. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs saw this situation at the beginning of 1915.

And they coolly decided to violate all international law and reestablish piracy on the high seas. They notified the world that they would, after a day named, sink without search, notice, or opportunity to save life all ships going to enemy countries. They admitted the unlawfulness of their cause, and in extenuation pleaded their necessity, which was of their own creation. As a further defense they admitted the effectiveness of the Anglo-French blockade, and thereby proved its legality.

The world could not believe that the Teutonic threat would be put into effect. We had not then learned that the Teuton war lord never jests or bluffs. No matter how savage and unbelievable his threats may be, his performances have surpassed them all. Soon the German submarines began to sink unarmed ships without giving passengers or crew an opportunity for life. We hoped against hope that no American ship would be thus sunk, and that no American traveling on a neutral or on an unarmed passenger boat would be drowned. On May 1, 1915, the German Government had its ambassador, Count Bernstorff, publish officially in American newspapers a direct warning to American citizens not to take passage on English or French passenger boats regularly engaged in commerce between ports of the United States and English and French ports, none of which did Germany even claim were blockaded. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine sank the *Lusitania* and drowned more than a hundred American citizens. No warning was given so that lifeboats might be launched, and at least the women and children saved, and no effort was made to save a single person struggling in the water. No regrets were expressed: no disavowal of the act was made. On the contrary, the outrage was celebrated over Germany, and the captain of the submarine was decorated for his valiant and heroic act.

We still hoped against hope that war could be avoided, for we did not desire to become involved. For a while it seemed that Germany would not repeat the *Lusitania* outrage. Her activities assumed a different form. She arranged on our own shores a despicable war upon us and our industries. Professing the warmest friendship, she organized in our Capital, and in every great city, in every port, and in every manufacturing center arson syndicates, whose duty it was to burn and destroy ships, bridges, terminals, munition plants. Bombs were placed in cargoes of ships and in boilers of manufacturing plants. Bridges were destroyed and the lives of innocent working people sacrificed. This savage warfare was traced home to the German and Austrian Governments. Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Dumba were sent home; they were proven guilty of the vilest crimes, but being the accredited diplomatic representatives of foreign Governments, they could not under our treaties with those countries be tried in this country for their crimes; they were ordered by our indignant President to leave our shores. This secret ghastly warfare lasted until early this year, when Germany discarded all disguise. She curtly ordered us to stay off the high seas, and notified us that if we failed to obey her commands she would sink our ships without notice or warning, and that no effort would be made to save life. Before sending this note she invited Mexico to join in war upon us, offering her territorial rewards. And she asked Mexico to arrange with Japan to join in the attack upon America. Soon she put into effect the threat contained in her notification and began to sink American ships, though wholly unarmed and capable of making no resistance. She allowed the crews to drown. Germany did not make an open declaration of war, because she had been secretly making war upon us for two years.

We recognized that fact, and at last reluctantly declared that a state of war existed between the German Empire and peace-loving America.

This is our fourth foreign war. The causes of our going to war in 1812 with England, with Mexico in 1846, and with Spain in 1898 all combined would constitute but a trifle compared with the monstrous wrongs, insults, indignities, and threats of Germany. We did not recognize the actual existence of war as long as it was possible to overlook, extenuate, or excuse the situation. We then realized the fact that Germany was making war upon us, and that if we did not accept that fact and join the entente, we would probably have to fight Germany alone. Justice, self-respect, and consideration of self-defense all demanded that we join the forces of righteousness, civilization, and humanity. We are in the war because the war came to us. We did our best to remain outside, but Germany compelled us to either fight or to abase ourselves in the dust. Having entered the contest, we will not withdraw until Germany be decisively

beaten. We will accept no compromise peace. This war must never be repeated. It will have to be fought again if we do not completely win this time. We will fight to a decisive issue, to the end that there shall never be another war. Such a result will be worth fighting for. If the peace be a compromise peace, all the blood spilt and treasure spent will have been wasted, and we will have to prepare for a renewal of the war as soon as Germany can prepare.

TWO WAYS TO FIGHT THIS WAR.

We can economize in money and be lavish of life or we can be lavish of money and economize in men; which shall it be? If we be penurious with money our war machine will not be efficient, and we must supplement its weakness with dense masses of soldiers thrown at the German lines in the hope that sheer weight of numbers will prevail. This method the Russians tried the first year of the war with appalling losses. If we adopt this plan we will knowingly send thousands of the flower of our land to certain butchery. The American Government will never commit so colossal a crime.

We have adopted the reverse of this method. We are using money as money was never used by any other country in either peace or war. We are constructing the greatest military and naval forces ever conceived by the mind of man. Next spring our preparation will disclose a power never before seen on this planet. We will have the finest equipped army that ever went on a field of battle; and as brave an army as ever marched. We will have guns to outrange the enemy, and in number and munitions far beyond what the enemy can have. We will have aeroplanes, tanks, torpedo boats, ships of all kinds; and we will have the accursed gas invention of the enemy in greater quantity and of more deadly quality. In brief, we will fight Germany with machinery; and we will not send out soldiers when or where machines can do the work. Our equipment will enable us to destroy the enemy while our soldiers remain miles in the rear, but it has and is taking both time and money to build this machine. It will be ready and in action next spring. The American people will then see that the delay this year was both wise and necessary; and they will see that the huge sums of money called for by our Government have been wisely expended. We are, as far as possible, arranging to make the machine do the work, instead of having the soldier do it. We are spending money like water, but we are saving the lives of American soldiers. Our people will remember that high taxes means small casualty list. Low taxes will mean—if we were unwise enough to adopt that system—heavy losses of American lives on the battle lines next year.

MONEY ADVANCED TO OUR ALLIES.

Our allies were face to face with the enemy; and we could not send enough soldiers to render them any material assistance for a year; but we could give them the greatest and most effective assistance by lending them money. We could help them to be strong and aggressive, while we were building our war machine and creating our armies. Help in money, given to our allies, was instantly translated into power on the field of battle. What our allies could accomplish was just so much of our work done. The loans we are making to our allies are to be used in the great cause of humanity; and they are not lost even if they should never be repaid. But they will all be repaid both in money and gratitude. We have already helped our allies wisely, and we will help again and again.

Up to this time we have agreed to advance to our allies $7,000,000,000. Our Government did this voluntarily. It was considered the quickest and most effective way to help. This money, as I have said, will be returned with interest, also with the gratitude and good will of every nation we have helped.

TAXES—HOW THE MONEY IS RAISED.

War is costly and this is the most costly of all wars. But in raising the huge sums which must be spent, we have tried to tax only those best able to pay. The laborer, the mechanic, the man who works for a daily wage, and the farmer bear very little of the burden. The money will be raised almost entirely by taxes from large incomes, liquor, and excess profits—particularly from profits made possible by this war itself.

The new revenue bill will raise about $2,750,000,000—probably a few million over that amount—but more than two-thirds of this two and three-quarter billions will come from incomes and excess profits—mostly war profits.

From incomes we will derive eight hundred and forty millions. The married man will be allowed an exemption of $2,000 and the single man $1,000 before either pays any tax at all. The rate begins at 1 per cent on small incomes and increases until it takes nearly half of the incomes of the very rich. The man with an income of one million will pay annually a tax of $408,630 on his income alone. The man with an income of ten million will pay a tax of $4,893,630—very nearly half.

From war profits we derive	$1,060,000,000
From liquors, wines, beer, and soft drinks	218,000,000
From automobiles taxed according to price paid	40,000,000
From playing cards	32,000,000
From perfumes and cosmetics	1,900,000
From cigars, cigarettes, and tobaccoes	56,600,000
From incomes (mentioned above)	840,000,000
Total from above sources	2,248,500,000

Of course there are other sources of taxation, such as transportation, tea, coffee, mail matter, and so forth. The levying of taxes is never a pleasant task, but I have tried to show that the burden of taxes in the bill which has been passed will be borne by those best able to pay. So anyone can see what nonsense it is to talk about this being a bondholder's war or a rich man's war. If there ever was a people's war, it is the one in which we are now engaged. [Applause.]

Of course everybody in one way or another will pay something. No frank or candid man would attempt to deny that. But, on the other hand, there are compensations. Farm products are abnormally high, and probably will remain high for some time after the war ends. The cost of living is also high, but the margin of profit is largely in favor of the farmer. Wages also have greatly increased. Men who receive big prices for what they raise and men who are receiving increased wages must expect to pay correspondingly high prices for the necessaries of everyday living. Of course the farmer, of all men, has the long end of the rope, so to speak, if he will as nearly as possible raise all the food products he uses.

OUR SOLDIERS.

Mr. Speaker, it is only possible to mention the basic features of the great bill for the protection of our soldiers and sailors and their families which will soon become a law. It is the most progressive and liberal measure ever passed by any Congress to show the gratitude of a Republic to the men who risk their lives for the Republic. I say the bill is liberal, but I mean only by way of comparison. It is just, but it does not do too much. Let no man make that criticism. It is hard to do too much for the young men who are risking their lives for America. First of all, it must be remembered that the American soldier is the highest paid soldier in the world. I think I am not mistaken.

The insurance bill automatically insures the life of every man in the service, whether he makes application or not for insurance, for 120 days in the sum of $5,000, payable in installments; that is to say, any person in the active service on or after April 6, 1917, who is totally disabled or dies before the expiration of 120 days is deemed insured in the sum of $25 per month for life, and if he dies before receiving 240 such payments balance is payable monthly to widow, child, or widowed mother, if they or any one of them survive him.

During the 120 days mentioned the soldier or sailor must decide whether he wishes insurance in the sum of $1,000 up to $10,000, at the rate of $7.50 to $8 per thousand per year, according to age. His insurance expires at the end of 120 days unless he takes action.

There is no medical examination, of course. That took place when he entered the service.

Every man who fights for his country in this war need have no anxiety for the future. If he be killed and leave dependents, the Government looks after them. If he comes home wounded so badly that he can not support himself or his family, if he has a family, the Government undertakes the burden. During the war he must allot as much as $15 per month for the support of those dependent on him. He must do this in any event, but if that is not sufficient to maintain them, the Government steps in and adds to this $15 per month sums, increasing the amount up to $50 per month. Under the terms of the bill it is impossible that the wife or children of the soldier can suffer for want of the necessaries of life.

This splendid measure combines all necessary features of insurance.

1. It insures life.
2. It insures against injury.
3. It provides for dependents during war.

Verily our soldiers and sailors offer their all. The Government says to these men, "I will take your place in caring for your loved ones if you lose your lives or are disabled." More than this, the enlisted man, the private soldier, is given opportunity for education and is encouraged in the Navy and Army to equip himself to become an officer.

IF WE HAD KEPT OUT.

Yes; suppose we had obeyed Germany's command to keep off the seas, what would be our situation to-day?

First of all, we would have lost our own self-respect. Can you imagine any human being who would be proud of America if we had said to Germany, "Yes; we will obey; we will keep off the seas." Any nation whose people are without national pride does not deserve to survive.

In the second place, we would not have had a friend among all the nations of the earth; we would now have the contempt of all, and the nation which would have had the greatest contempt for us is Germany.

You have seen these missions come and go—the English, French, Russian, Italian, Japanese, the Belgian, and others. We know now how they feel, how they must feel toward great, powerful, generous, noble America. Oh, what a splendid thing it is for a nation to do an unselfish act!

But what would have happened to our shipping interests? They would be to-day absolutely dead. Only fools would have taken the risk after their own Government had warned them to stay at home, with no insurance protection as now provided.

And if all our ships had been kept at home, what would have happened to the cotton crop of the South and the wheat crop of the West? The cotton crop would be in warehouses—much of it, anyway—with nobody to even make a bid for it. And wheat might have brought a dollar per bushel, but certainly not $2.20. The reason products of the farm are high is because America stood up for her rights.

You, who do me the honor to read this speech, stop one minute and picture this situation in your own mind and then say whether from a purely material or money standpoint America could have afforded to stay out.

And what else would we have seen if Germany had won? We would see her, dripping in blood, with an eye on America, saying, "You next. This war must be paid for." We not only would be without a friend among the nations of the earth, we would now have their positive ill will, for they know it was our duty to enter the war. Is there living to-day any American who really would wish to see his country in this situation? And suppose Germany had attacked us and had won a naval victory, which would have exposed New York or Boston to possible destruction, how small an indemnity do you suppose Germany would have been willing to accept? It is said this Nation is worth $250,000,000,000. Do you suppose Germany would agree to quit in those circumstances with any sum short of the cost of the war to her? Probably not. It is said by those who ought to know that the war has already increased the debt of the German Empire to approximately $25,000,000,000, equal to about one-third or more of Germany's entire wealth.

This is not idle speculation. It is exactly what Germany will attempt if she is not defeated. The question was whether we should fight with our allies or fight alone. Let no man delude himself with the belief that the German rulers would have any scruples at all about attacking us no matter how humble our conduct, if they thought they stood a chance to wring from us a big indemnity. And if we had permitted Germany to continue her outrages without fighting the Nation would probably have been willing to buy immunity from attack. For a nation so mean that it will not fight when its sovereignty is attacked is just the nation to pay indemnity in almost any sum to keep from fighting. It is too sickening to contemplate.

What a glorious reflection! We are doing our duty, not selfishly, either! We have won the friendship of five great nations and several smaller ones in doing our duty. We have made war with our allies forever impossible, for our treaties with them have now been sealed with the blood of all spilt in the cause of righteousness!

The burden of debt we have assumed is small, indeed, when compared with that of every European nation. It must not be forgotten that posterity will pay the major part of the debt, anyway. For every dollar we pay posterity will pay two dollars, and 50 years hence the bonded debt we are making will probably appear more insignificant than the bonded debt of $3,000,000,000 rendered necessary by the Civil War appears now, for, as Secretary McAdoo has pointed out, at the outbreak of the war the combined resources of our banks were a billion and a half, yet a bonded debt of $3,000,000,000 was floated. Our combined banking resources are now thirty-seven billions, and by the same process of reasoning we should be able to float seventy-four billions of bonds, if necessary. Of course, no one at this time believes that even half of that vast amount will be necessary.

AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY.

Mr. Speaker, men can give aid and comfort to the enemy by what they say as well as what they do. It is a lamentable fact that at this time some of America's most effective enemies are men who call themselves Americans. I impugn the motives of no man, but I say this: The man who now attacks the constitutionality of the selective draft and, above all, the man who slanders the President and Congress by declaring now that we went to war without cause or grievance against Germany, whether he intends to do so or not, that man is serving the cause of the Kaiser and stabbing his country in the back. [Applause.] The man who says we went to war without sufficient grievance against Germany in effect charges his own Government with the crime of murder. Men who bring that charge now not only serve the cause of the Kaiser, but they slander every man in uniform who willingly risks his life for this Republic. [Applause.] Men who feel that we have no grievance against Germany, after all the crimes she has committed against us, might at least keep silent. Their talk does harm only, even if they are sincere. Freedom of speech does not carry with it the right to slander or to commit the crime of libel. Men who bring such a charge now, and print it, I respectfully submit are guilty of both crimes. They can not hide their disloyalty to America by claiming unlawful suppression of free speech. No line in the Constitution, no line in any law, gives to any man the right to commit libel or to utter slander. If one were in Germany listening to a speech of Dr. Michaelis, the German chancellor, he might expect to hear the charge that America had entered the war without sufficient grievance against Germany. He might expect to hear the charge that we are fighting for a technical violation of international law. Such speeches now should be expected from Germans only, but the charge is so unfounded, so amazingly preposterous, that Germans do not advance it themselves. They boldly, almost proudly, confess their crimes, but say they were necessary for military and strategic reasons. They admit they violated the accepted law of nations in attacking Belgium, but they say the crime was necessary—regretting they had to commit it—necessary for military and strategic reasons.

And the same is true with respect to their submarine attacks. They do not deny the age-old law of warning before attack, of opportunity of escape for passengers and crew, but they say in the very nature of things they can not longer observe the requirements of international law. They confess their guilt with respect to these crimes, but advance the plea of military necessity by way of avoidance.

Of their crimes in America—blowing up factories, bridges, and so forth, now proven beyond all doubt—they simply enter a lying denial. Of their attempt to embroil this country in a war with Mexico and Japan they do not pretend even to deny.

It should be with the blush of shame that we are forced to admit that nowhere on earth is the charge advanced seriously that America went to war without cause or grievance against Germany except in America itself. The charge is not brought by Germans even in Germany.

WILL THE GERMAN PEOPLE SPEAK?

However great may be our indignation and resentment because of the outrages against us, however hot our blood because of the murder of noncombatants, women, children, and wounded soldiers in hospitals, I do not even now believe such things would have occurred if the German people could have been heard. I do not believe the German peasant or farmer, the average workingman, the business man—I do not believe these people at heart are murderers, and the day will come in the Providence of God when the great mass of the German people will realize that a military autocracy will lead any people to their ruin. Germany can not conquer the world. Germany can not survive with four-fifths of the world against her. Her enemies increase in numbers as the perfidy, treachery, and lying duplicity of Germany's rulers is uncovered. As the days go by the nations which are still neutral are learning how they have been humbugged, deceived, and their friendly neutrality abused by German spies and, one by one, they are and will continue abandoning neutrality to take their place with the nations waging war for righteousness and human liberty. Unless the German people speak, the Western Hemisphere will be practically solid in war against them before the end of one year from this day. [Applause.]

"Sink every Argentine ship without leaving a trace" cabled the Argentine ambassador from Germany, and forthwith upon the publication of the message the people of that great South American Republic rose up and threw off neutrality. So it will be with other nations when they, too, as they surely must, come to realize that liberty is safe nowhere on earth so long as Germany under her present rulers is undefeated. Before the end of a year nine-tenths of all civilized peoples will have resolved to fight Germany forever unless the German people speak. [Applause.]

When will the war end? The German people alone can end the war, and they will have to speak, if they do not wish the remainder of the world to wage war against them until they are crushed. What is it we ask of them? Indemnity? No. Dismemberment of their empire? No. Abdication of their Em-

peror? No. We ask that they do unto the small unoffending nations they have crushed as they would have such nations do unto them, and that they give us their pledge as a people, not the word of their present Kaiser, that henceforth they will keep the peace and obey the laws which civilized men of all nations, their own included, have agreed for more than 300 years ought to be obeyed. No intelligent German should wonder that this Nation refuses to accept the word of an Emperor and his ministers who planned the attack on Belgium, who treat a solemn treaty covenant as a mere scrap of paper, who promised America not to repeat the *Lusitania* horror, purely to gain time to prepare for more and more horrors of the same kind, and who tried to form an alliance of nations to wage war against America while we were still hoping and striving to remain neutral. The German people by reasonable, sensible, righteous action can stop actual hostilities before Christmas. How can good men remain passive or silent in Germany even when they read this declaration:

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people. * * * Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

It is given to few men to speak words so great in themselves as to silence all praise, all encomium, lest an attempt to praise might obscure the grandeur of the words spoken. This is true of the words just quoted from President Wilson's reply to Pope Benedict. [Applause.]

A NEW PARTY?

Recently, Mr. Speaker, we have heard from certain sources threats to form a new party. Every great Republican leader and every great Democratic leader and almost every leader of any other existing political party is loyally supporting the Government in prosecuting this war until complete victory is won. There is no place in the Republican or Democratic Party for the peace-at-any-price voter. Where will he go? The answer is the threat to form their peace-at-any-price party, and I will tell you what will happen.

Loyal Americans will forget they are Democrats or Republicans. They will raise the American flag and adopt as their platform "no peace at any price" until Germany is defeated or until she makes full amends for the intolerable wrongs and crimes of which she is guilty. [Applause.] Let German sympathizers form their new party and loyal Americans will unite in solid phalanx against them. Can any man doubt the result of a contest between two such parties?

Here and now I predict there will not be elected to the Sixty-sixth Congress in the campaign next year a single Senator or Representative about whose devotion to America there is any doubt at all.

NONPARTISAN LEGISLATION.

Mr. Speaker, it has been a splendid thing to see the almost unanimous support all these measures have received. There are times in which parties play no part. This is not a Democratic war or a Republican war. There were just 56 votes against the declaration of war out of 531 votes in the House and Senate. The responsibility is now accepted by both political parties. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft stand squarely with the President, and right now Mr. Bryan, in urging a vigorous prosecution of the war, is standing squarely with President Wilson, Col. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Hughes. And I pause right here to say that in my own State two among the most prominent men supporting the President are Judge J. C. Pritchard, former Republican United States Senator, and Hon. E. C. Duncan, former Republican national committeeman. Judge Pritchard's speeches will not be soon forgotten. They are an inspiration to every American.

Standing with these men of national repute are the leaders of organized labor. The splendid work of Samuel Gompers will endear that noble old veteran in labor's cause to patriotic Americans everywhere.

I have mentioned these names, Mr. Speaker, for just this purpose—to prove a united America. A united America means an unconquerable America. [Applause.]

And now, Mr. Speaker, if there be in our hearts malice or hate for any people, let us pray God to help us cast it out. Let us all pray that the German people will speak before the whole earth is enveloped in the flames of war, and let us all every hour—yes, every minute—unworthy though some of us are, pray our Heavely Father to watch over, guide, and save the boys who make up the armies of America. For, O God of our fathers, they go forth to fight Thy battles, that Thy kingdom may come to Thy children on earth. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia). The gentleman from New York [Mr. HULBERT], under the previous order of the House, is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, a week or more ago it might have been considered a gross impropriety to occupy the time of this House to discuss the subject to which I shall confine my remarks, but the events which have transpired in the meantime make it imperative for me to do so now.

Last Wednesday primaries were held in New York City for the purpose of nominating candidates for city and county officers, to be voted for on the 6th of next November. The present mayor sought a renomination as a candidate of the Republican Party upon the platform that he had given the city the best administration it had ever had in its history. The people demonstrated that this slogan was an intellectual opiate, intended to lull them to sleep until the present administration had fastened its talons upon New York City for another four years. About 75,000 enrolled Republicans participated in this primary, and while they constituted a minority of the total enrolled party voters, the votes exceeded that cast (in New York City) in the contest a year ago between former Secretary of State Robert Bacon and the junior Senator from New York, Mr. CALDER, for the office to which the latter was elected last fall. Upon the face of the returns the mayor was renominated, but the discovery of "errors" reduced his apparent majority to such a narrow and uncomfortable margin that upon a recount it was promptly established that he had been "counted in," and a court order has been entered substituting the name of ex-Senator William M. Bennett on the ballot as the regular Republican nominee. The unsuccessful and none the less audacious attempt upon the part of Mayor Mitchel's secret sponsors to steal the New York Republican nomination for him not only developed——

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Is it the gentleman's idea, or is it an established fact, that the discrepancy there found, with respect to those votes, was the result of fraud, in an effort to stuff the ballot box, or the result of errors?

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt in my mind—and I yield to the gentleman for the purpose of answering his question—that they present unmistakable evidence of fraud, because under the system in our State it is necessary to put an × in front of the name of each candidate for whom the voter desires to vote; and there was evidence in case after case indicating a systematic policy throughout the city of erasing the × before the name of Mr. Bennett and marking in an × in front of the name of the mayor.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HULBERT. Yes.

Mr. FOCHT. Is it true or not that you have voting machines in New York City?

Mr. HULBERT. Not at the primary. To continue: The election not only developed the most outrageous primary frauds that have disgraced an American community but it exposed the desperate plight of the clique who have fattened upon the people of New York for the last four years.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULBERT. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I am interested in the politics of the village of New York. Is Mayor Mitchel a Republican?

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I shall give the gentleman the estimate of the New York World, an anti-Tammany newspaper which supported the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson in 1916, and which in an editorial printed in yesterday's edition said:

REWARDING THE MAYOR.

Mayor Mitchel refused to participate in the national campaign last year, although it was the most important presidential contest since 1860. Mr. Mitchel is a Democrat, but he took the ground that as he had been elected as a fusionist, it was his duty to hold aloof from partisan politics.

No such considerations affected his administration as a whole, and a large part of it was actively engaged in the Hughes campaign. As a reward for the mayor's delicacy of sentiment the Republican organization stabbed him in the back at the primaries, but Comptroller Prendergast, who was an active worker for Mr. Hughes, had no trouble in obtaining a renomination.

We do not pretend to draw a moral from this little anecdote, but anybody who wishes to draw a moral has our privilege to compare the Mitchel vote with the Prendergast vote in the Republican primary.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. HULBERT. I can not yield to more than one gentleman at a time.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me for a suggestion?

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman for a brief suggestion.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And I ask that it be not taken out of the gentleman's time if he does not agree with what I am

about to suggest. It seems to me that the gentleman perhaps is making a mistake in making this address on the floor of the House.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit me to proceed, I think the gentleman will realize his mistake. While I have sat in only three sessions of the House of Representatives, they have been the three most important sessions since the Civil War, and I point with pride to the fact that there has not been a single measure introduced in this House upon which I have not given whole-hearted and loyal support to the President of the United States, and yet the charge has been made by the present mayor of New York City, it has been made by the man whom every loyal Democrat supported in 1904 for the greatest office in this country, it is being urged by every backer of Mayor Mitchel in this campaign, that any man who votes against Mr. Mitchel in this election is a traitor to his country, and that if the city of New York shall repudiate Mayor Mitchel upon the 6th of November, as the members of the party to whom he appealed for a renomination repudiated him upon primary day, that New York will go down in history as a traitor city. And in view of my activities as a Member of this House, in view of my adherence to the administration of Woodrow Wilson, which I have supported from first to last, I do not propose to permit a statement of that character to go unchallenged. I do not propose to permit those who are associated with Mr. Mitchel, including those who tried to steal the primary, having failed in that endeavor, to wrap him in the protecting folds of the American flag and parade him as the greatest American in New York City and to charge those with being disloyal who undertake to exercise their right of franchise and cast their vote for the man whom I believe is the best candidate for mayor, and who is not Mr. John Purroy Mitchel.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I decline to yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the gentleman will permit——

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I decline to yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee (continuing). In view of the suggestion made to the gentleman a moment ago, of course I do not wish to do the gentleman from New York any injustice. I know nothing about the issues involved in this mayoralty campaign——

Mr. HULBERT. That is just exactly it. People who do not live in New York are trying to tell those of us who do how to run our affairs——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee (continuing). And what was in my mind was this, that this is bringing a local issue into a discussion upon the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States. There may be those who want to answer that, and if we take up the time of the House in discussing local contests for mayor, even though it be in the great city of New York, the gentleman can see what time it would involve. That is my suggestion.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I introduced my remarks with the statement, which perhaps the gentleman from Tennessee did not hear, that a week or more ago it might have been considered a gross impropriety to occupy the time of the House to discuss this subject, but in view of the fact that an attempt is now being made to nominate Mr. Mitchel as an independent candidate for mayor and an appeal is to be made to the voters of the city of New York that the election or defeat of Mitchel involves a ratification or repudiation of the administration of Wilson, I feel called upon as a Member of this House, representing a district in the city of New York, to declare here and now that any such issue is an imposture and that no man can be permitted to claim a monopoly of patriotism and loyalty to American institutions.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULBERT. I can not yield just now.

Exclusive of those who have been humbugged, Mayor Mitchel's partisans of to-day may be put in two classes: Those who are making money out of his personal and official friendship and those who hate to admit that they have been trumpeters for the cleverest hypocrite of modern times. With that cleverness which has characterized the ingenuity of the mayor's personal friends throughout his administration, a meeting was arranged for and advertised to be held in the City Hall Plaza at noon on Monday, where any street fakir could attract a crowd of substantial numbers at the lunch hour.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I raise a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia). The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WALSH. Yesterday the gentleman from New York asked permission for unanimous consent for not more than 15 minutes, to follow the gentleman from North Carolina to-morrow, and upon being asked by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] upon what subject he desired to address the House, he stated:

I want to speak on the subject of American patriotic loyalty, not, however, connected with any controversy that has heretofore arisen in this House.

My point of order is that the gentleman is discussing a local municipal campaign and attacking candidates in that campaign and issues that have been raised in that municipal contest. He is not confining his remarks to the subject upon which he asked consent to address the House, namely, American patriotic loyalty. [Applause.]

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, the issue in the New York City campaign is now being made by Mr. Mitchel and those associated with him upon the subject of American patriotic loyalty, and it is charged by the mayor and those advocating his cause that any person who votes against Mayor Mitchel's reelection is disloyal, that he is a Hun or associated with Kaiserism, and if New York City does repudiate Mitchel in the election it becomes a traitorous city. Now, I think I have the right to show that this attempt on the part of the mayor and his friends to raise this issue is prompted by the fact that when he attempted to go into the primary of the gentleman's party to secure renomination upon the facts I am herein referring to he was repudiated and the only issue upon which he could have gone before the people was taken from him, and that it is necessary for him to conjure up an issue and that he has chosen to make that issue American patriotic loyalty; and I propose, representing loyal Democratic voters in my district who, I feel sure, will not vote for Mitchel, to resent it——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order the gentleman is not discussing——

Mr. HULBERT (continuing). And say that no challenge can be made of American patriotic loyalty because——

Mr. WALSH (continuing). But the gentleman is discussing the issues of a local municipal campaign for mayor——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Just a moment. The Chair, referring to the point stated by the gentleman from Massachusetts that the gentleman from New York is not to discuss any question connected with any controversy that has heretofore arisen in this House, does not understand from what the gentleman has said that this is any controversy that has heretofore arisen in this House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, my point was this, that the gentleman is not discussing nor is he speaking to the question for which permission was granted yesterday, but is proceeding to discuss issues, questions, and candidates in a local municipal campaign, and is giving no enlightenment upon the question of American patriotic loyalty. He is attempting to give some enlightenment upon a municipal campaign and upon Democratic or other loyalty, the loyalty of certain candidates and issues there, and the inference is, of course, plain that this address is not for the purpose of enlightening the House, but possibly to be used for enlightening the people in connection with that campaign, and this I submit does not come within the terms of the permission granted, and I therefore make the point of order that the topic to which the gentleman is now addressing himself is not American patriotic loyalty.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair was proceeding to say that the gentleman by the order of yesterday was not to discuss anything that related to controversies that have heretofore arisen in the House, and the Chair stated he did not understand that what the gentleman had stated was in connection with any controversy that has heretofore arisen in the House.

He was allowed to speak upon the general subject, as stated at the time, of American patriotic loyalty. That is a pretty broad subject, and a hundred men might treat it in a hundred different ways, with a thousand different illustrations. The Chair does not think that, fairly speaking, the gentleman is outside of the broad limits that were given to him by the unanimous consent of yesterday.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, with Col. Roosevelt and former Justice Hughes, a blare of brass and beating of drums as an added attraction, 10,000 people, we are informed in press reports, many of whom, probably like the mayor's committee, without a vote in New York, tendered him the popular nomination upon a platform dedicated to "a strong and active standing with America and against Germany."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HULBERT. Do I understand the time taken by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] in asserting his point of order was taken out of my time?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. No; the Chair did not take that out. The gentleman is entitled, as the Chair understands the order, to 15 minutes. He has been speaking about 20 minutes.

Mr. HULBERT. Was the time occupied by the gentleman from Tennessee taken out of my time?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It was not intended to be taken out. If there is any question about that, the Chair will allow the gentleman to proceed for two minutes, and he is recognized for that length of time.

Mr. HULBERT. Thank you.

While the mayor charged that stupidity, neglect, treachery, or perhaps all three, contributed to the failure to bring out a substantial Republican vote on primary day, he refers disdainfully to the infinitesimal influence of 75,000 enrolled Republican voters, but accepts the "nomination" by acclamation of a miscellaneous audience of 10,000 people as an expression of the will of the 6,000,000 residents of the city of New York. Realizing that his repudiation at the primaries would be ratified at the general election upon the issues arising out of his administration of the office to which he seeks reelection, he has wrapped about him the protecting folds of the American flag, and seeks to force the administration into what he hopes will prove to be an uncompromising position that it must accept and indorse his candidacy or stand repudiated in the event of his defeat. He apparently believes that he can establish an exclusive patent as a patriot and a martyr to duty, and consign everyone in disagreement with him into the mire of disloyalty.

Mr. Speaker, the fact that I want to emphasize is this: If petitions are filed placing John Purroy Mitchel in the field as an independent candidate after his repudiation in the primary, there will be four major candidates in the field, the fourth one being Morris Hilquit, the Socialist candidate. If Mr. Hilquit should poll 30 per cent of the total vote cast, he may be elected. The persistent determination of Mr. Mitchel to become a candidate will divide all of the ballots that will be cast against Hilquit into three parts, and it seems to me as if it is selfishness rather than patriotism which the mayor typifies under the circumstances, and as a candidate would be beneficiary of a stolen primary election, posing as a patriotic martyr in a last desperate attempt to make political capital for himself, is a spectacle that affronts the intelligence and insults the ideals of every high-thinking American citizen.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask that I may have five minutes of the time of the House in which to speak.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. About this?

Mr. ROWE. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I shall have to object to that at this time. If I had known that the gentleman from New York was going to make that speech I would have objected yesterday. I have some business here.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

"GARABED" INVENTION.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I present a report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. ALEXANDER]. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution No. 161 (H. Rept. 184).

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration under the general rules of the House, of H. J. Res. 116 (House Calendar No. 23), entitled "Joint resolution for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the 'Garabed,' claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy."

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not see the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] present.

Mr. STAFFORD. How much time is the gentleman willing to have allowed for the discussion of the rule?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I would like to get along with as little discussion as possible. How much would the gentleman suggest?

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, he recognizes that this resolution will likely be severely contested, because there are a number of us who do not believe in the idea at all.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman be satisfied with the usual time?

Mr. STAFFORD. I think there would be demand, maybe, for half an hour. I have had no idea as to time, because I am leaving that entirely to the gentleman from Kansas, who is outside of the Chamber, but I suppose he will return presently.

Mr. Speaker, in order to have a larger attendance for the consideration of this rule, I make the point there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman makes the point of no quorum.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Let me move the previous question and let the vote come on it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I make the point of no quorum, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will agree to anything you suggest, almost, in order to prevent the roll call.

Mr. STAFFORD. Let us have the membership here.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (after counting). Sixty-two Members are present, not a quorum.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anderson	Emerson	Lee, Ga.	Roberts
Anthony	Estopinal	Lehlbach	Rodenberg
Ashbrook	Evans	Lenroot	Rouse
Bacharach	Fairfield	Lobeck	Rowland
Bathrick	Flood	Lonergan	Rucker
Bland	Flynn	Longworth	Russell
Borland	Foss	Lunn	Sanders, La.
Bowers	Francis	McAndrews	Schall
Bruckner	Freeman	McCormick	Scott, Iowa
Burroughs	Fuller, Ill.	McCulloch	Scott, Mich.
Caldwell	Fuller, Mass.	McFadden	Scott, Pa.
Cantrill	Gard	McKenzie	Scully
Capstick	Goodall	McKeown	Sells
Carew	Graham, Pa.	McKinley	Sherwood
Carlin	Gray, Ala.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Shouse
Cary	Gray, N. J.	Madden	Siegel
Chandler, Okla.	Griest	Maher	Slayden
Church	Griffin	Mann	Slemp
Clark, Fla.	Hamill	Mansfield	Smith, T. F.
Clark, Pa.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mapes	Snyder
Classon	Harrison, Miss.	Martin, Ill.	Stedman
Connelly, Kans.	Harrison, Va.	Martin, La.	Steenerson
Cooper, Ohio	Haskell	Mason	Stephens, Nebr.
Copley	Hastings	Miller, Minn.	Sterling, Pa.
Costello	Hayes	Montague	Sullivan
Cox	Heaton	Morin	Sumners
Crago	Heintz	Mott	Swift
Cramton	Hollingsworth	Mudd	Talbott
Crisp	Houston	Neely	Taylor, Colo.
Currie, Mich.	Howard	Nelson	Thompson
Curry, Cal.	Hull, Iowa	Oldfield	Tilson
Dale, N. Y.	Humphreys	Olney	Tinkham
Davis	Husted	Osborne	Treadway
Dempsey	Hutchinson	O'Shaunessy	Vare
Dickinson	James	Park	Vestal
Dies	Juul	Parker, N. Y.	Voigt
Dill	Kahn	Peters	Waldow
Dillon	Kelley, Mich.	Polk	Ward
Dooling	Kennedy, R. I.	Porter	Watson, Va.
Drane	Key, Ohio	Powers	Wheeler
Drukker	Kiess, Pa.	Price	Young, Tex.
Dyer	Kreider	Ragsdale	Zihlman
Eagan	LaGuardia	Ramsey	
Edmonds	Lazaro	Randall	
Elston	Lea, Cal.	Reavis	

The SPEAKER pro tempore. On the roll call 254 Members have answered "present"—a quorum.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Doorkeeper will open the doors.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 5839. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota; and

H. R. 4280. An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 309. An act authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Los Angeles, certain lands;

S. 2878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River;

S. J. Res. 78. Joint resolution to suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the years 1917 and 1918;

S. 2710. An act granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma; and

S. 2435. An act authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. 2917. An act to amend section 15 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," as amended by the act approved May 12, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2932. An act to guard the military and naval forces from the physical and moral injuries of commercialized prostitution; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"GARABED" INVENTION.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Can the gentleman from Kansas and myself agree upon a time for the discussion of the rule?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman from Tennessee that we might get on with one hour of debate on the rule, 30 minutes to be controlled by him and 30 minutes by myself; and if that is done, I shall yield half of the time to those who may oppose the rule on this side.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the debate on the rule may be limited to one hour, 30 minutes to be controlled by myself and 30 minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and that at the end of that time the previous question may be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the debate on this rule be limited to one hour, one-half of the time to be controlled by himself and the other half to be controlled by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and that at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this is a resolution from the Committee on Rules to make in order for immediate consideration House joint resolution No. 116, a resolution unanimously reported from the Committee on Patents, touching an invention by Mr. Garabed T. K. Giragossian.

The matter was presented to the Committee on Rules by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER], the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS], and others, and the committee was impressed with the fact that it was of sufficient importance to justify the taking of the short time that will be required for the consideration of the resolution.

I yield now five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the resolution which is to be considered under the terms of this rule relates to a discovery claimed to have been made by a gentleman named Giragossian, of the city of Boston, a citizen of Massachusetts. He has resided there for some 25 or 30 years.

Mr. Giragossian claims to have discovered a new source of energy. He says very emphatically that it is no perpetual-motion scheme or anything of that kind, but a simple proposition which can be demonstrated to a man of average intelligence in a very short time. He says it is really a discovery of a new source of energy, just as I presume the discovery of electricity was regarded as the discovery of a new source of energy. He told the committee that he had studied the question for about 20 years, and had worked on it to perfect his control of it for 17 years constantly, and that about 5 years ago he had demonstrated to his entire satisfaction the soundness of his proposition, and thereafter continued for two or three years longer in merely perfecting his work.

Now he says that he can demonstrate beyond any cavil, beyond any doubt whatever, the soundness of the claim he makes. He says he has at his quarters in Boston an apparatus that he has operated and that can be put in operation and be run indefinitely for any length of time without the use of any kind of fuel whatever.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Has he submitted his plan to create this wonderful machine to any department of the Government?

Mr. CROSSER. I do not think so; no.

Mr. MADDEN. Would it not be wise——

Mr. CROSSER. If the gentleman will just permit me, I am coming to that, because he has some very definite notions on that subject. Mr. Giragossian, in answer to my suggestion that he might go before the Patent Office or before some department of the Government and show this, said, "No; I have become too well acquainted with the experience of other inventors; I know the hard trials and tribulations through which other men with things of much less consequence have had to go; I know that too well to pursue that method; and rather than do that, in view of the fact that I am willing to be so fair with the Government, I would prefer to die with my secret. I do not want to have any question raised as to my title as discoverer."

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman think that the Bureau of Standards, for instance, would take any rights of this man away if he submitted the utility of it to its inspection and investigation? And would it not be wiser for us, before we start to legislate on an unknown thing, to have somebody whose scientific knowledge is recognized the world over, connected with the Government, to approve of the plan suggested?

Mr. CROSSER. It is not for me to pass judgment on any public official one way or another. I was just about to discuss that feature of the matter. But, gentlemen, what this man proposes seems to me eminently fair, eminently reasonable, namely, to agree with the Secretary of the Interior upon five eminent scientists, before whom he will demonstrate his proposition. If those men shall find that he has what he claims he has, then he shall be guaranteed protection for his invention or discovery and will give to the Government absolutely free the use of it for its ships, buildings, aeroplanes, and other instrumentalities requiring power without any cost to the Government.

Any man who stops to think about it and realizes to what enormous expense the Government and every individual is now subjected in the purchase of fuel and the generation of power knows that if this man by any chance has what he claims to have it will save the Government not only billions of dollars but will make it absolutely certain that this Government can terminate the war with little effort and in a very short time. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER.]

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman who has just had the floor give me his attention?

Mr. CROSSER. Certainly.

Mr. TOWNER. I have two minutes in which to ask the gentleman a question. Does the gentleman think, from his investigation, and do the committee think, that the discovery of a new form of energy would be patentable at all?

Mr. CROSSER. I am inclined to think that under our patent laws he would have very serious difficulty in getting the protection of a patent. A man could not patent electricity, for instance.

Mr. TOWNER. Or radio energy, or anything of that kind.

Mr. CROSSER. No.

Mr. TOWNER. There can be no patent on the discovery of a new form of energy.

Mr. CROSSER. No.

Mr. TOWNER. Therefore the only patent that the gentleman could ask for, or the only exclusive right he would have, would be to some application of this new form of energy, which I understand from the gentleman's statement has been made. Is not that a fact?

Mr. CROSSER. Of course——

Mr. DENISON. This is an instrument which is a generator of this form of energy.

Mr. TOWNER. That does not make any difference. If it is merely a means for the utilization of energy, whether it is an old form of energy or a new form of energy, it is within the patent laws, and certainly would be subject to every protection that the Patent Office could give him. So what benefit would there be in the Government giving him this?

Mr. CROSSER. If the gentleman will bear with me for a moment——

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. CROSSER. Without going into the question as to whether or not this is simply a means of harnessing energy, or some other form of energy, does not the gentleman think that if this man has devised a means whereby he can produce energy in unlimited quantities, even if this man were peculiar in his notions as to the form of protection he wanted, in view of the great gift he is willing to give to the Government, we should not haggle around here on a little technicality like that, especially in view of the fact that in the early history of this country it was a common thing for the Congress of the United States to grant special patents to individuals, rather than under the general law.

Mr. TOWNER. Does the gentleman think special patents ought to be granted now?

Mr. CROSSER. I would be willing to grant it on a thing of this kind; yes. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield seven minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD].

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Members of this body will not prejudge this proposition. We are not now to determine whether or not this should be enacted into law. We are to determine whether or not a chance shall be had for this measure to be presented. If this rule is defeated, the measure can not be presented. If the rule is adopted, this measure may be presented upon its merits or demerits.

I will admit that when I first had this called to my attention I was a doubter, as many here are doubters and will be perhaps to the end. I had the good fortune—I consider it the good fortune—to talk with this inventor. I believe that any man talking with him for 15 minutes will come to the conclusion that the man is a scientific gentleman who has something of real worth to the country. Any gentleman talking with him will be impressed with his patriotic purpose and with the fact that if he has what he thinks he has, he is the greatest benefactor that the world has ever produced up to this time.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman says he has studied this question and has been convinced. Will he try to tell the House what scientific information he has upon this subject that will convince the House? We would like to have an explanation of it.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. The gentleman from Illinois is misapprehending what I said. I said that in talking with the gentleman I was convinced of his honesty of purpose and his intelligent ideas, and that I believe he has something of merit, and that it is worth while. Now, in answer to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER], with reference to whether he might not be protected, and receive all the protection he is entitled to under the patent laws, I will say that it is a matter generally known that the great inventors of this country, almost without a single exception, have been deprived of their ideas. Mr. Edison has repeatedly said that he would be a loser to-day if he had had to depend upon the revenues he derived from his patents; that he has expended in litigation more money than he has ever received in trying to protect them. And it is notorious throughout this country that the man who invented the telephone was deprived of the honor and benefit of his discovery. A blacksmith over in the State of Pennsylvania had a talking machine 25 years before Alexander Bell was ever heard of, and in the litigation over the question of who was the real inventor and the prime originator of the idea of telephoning, it was shown that it was not Alexander Bell, even though he did get the court's decision by a mere majority.

As I say, we should not prejudice this thing. Because of prejudgment the Morse telegraph was denied to the people of this country for more than 20 years. Gov. Wallace, of the State of Indiana, was a Member of this House, and was instrumental in bringing about the passage of a bill that authorized the expenditure of money for the first trial of the Morse telegraph between this city and the city of Baltimore.

When the news came back to the State of Indiana—it took a long while for it to travel in those days—public indignation meetings were held throughout the State of Indiana, and if there had been a law of recall at that time, Gov. Wallace would have been recalled. He was defeated at the next election upon that proposition and that alone, that any man who had no more sense than to vote public money out of the Treasury of the United States to pay to a crank of that character was not a fit subject for the Congress of the United States, but rather was a fit subject for the lunatic asylum.

In this age of marvelous science and development the doubter had better reserve his doubts until he gives his reason a chance to be convinced. So I think the Congress of the United States will be lax in its duty if this rule is not adopted, and if this law is not enacted, for the reason that the Government of the United States is taking no chance.

It is to be the entire gainer, and can lose nothing. If, as is suggested, this man has what he thinks he has, the world ought to have the benefit of it, and we should not be a stumbling block in the way of a great invention. I do not know what it is, but if I was to make a guess I would guess that he has taken a step further than any other scientist, and has extracted from the air nitrogen in the form that will propel a machine. That is along lines investigated by scientists for years. Ten or fifteen years ago one great scientist said that before another quarter of a century had passed we would be propelling great engines in this country, not by electricity, not by steam, but by energy gathered from the air. Now it may be that he has found how it can be done and has the machinery. He is not, as has been said here, a man professing that he has discovered perpetual motion. He has a machine that will do this work subject to all the uses of machinery, subject to all the wear and tear and decay of machinery, and which will have to be replaced. So I say that we should give the man an opportunity. An opportunity for what? Not to reach his hand in the Treasury of the United States and take out money, but for the purpose of giving to the United States and to the world an invention, the value of which can not be counted in dollars and cents. It costs the United States nothing. It is the mere right to try, the mere right to have appointed from the scientific gentlemen of this country five men, approved if you please, by the Secretary of the Interior, and if by their pronouncement this thing is a success, then the United States will have reason to rejoice because of this instrumentality which is given to the world. We have been slow in times past. Had there not been doubters of the submarine, that invention would have been ours and we would not have the submarine war that we have to-day. Had we not been doubters the Knight machine would have been ours, and many other useful instrumentalities that were ridiculed when first proposed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TAGUE].

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I believe I was the first one to bring this matter before the House of Representatives. When I first became a Member of this body three years ago this gentleman, coming from my city, came to me in relation to this invention. Like all Members and men who had met him, I doubted that he had what he professed to have. At the close of the last session, after a hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs on this subject, which reported adversely, I tried to put an amendment on the appropriation bill, as some of you will remember, while the bill was under discussion in the House. It was defeated, and Members ridiculed the thought that this man had invented this great process of generating energy.

What does he claim? First of all, he claims that by his appliance he can save the Government the $20,000,000 which we have already appropriated for the establishment of a nitrogen plant. If he can do that alone, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is well worth the consideration of this House. But he claims more than that. He claims that he can save the country millions of money if given a chance. Members have asked why he has not put the matter in the hands of leading scientists. Mr. Speaker, this man is an inventor, and he claims that he has something greater than anything else that has been produced in the last few years. He, like other inventors, is doubtful of the result in going to the Patent Office, and feels his only protection is in presenting his case before this Congress. We know already that there are many who would question his right to such a patent, and if one was granted would attempt to take it from him. He has invented other things in the past and has lost them because he is without means to protect himself or his invention.

He comes to this House and to this Congress as a poor man, without a dollar in the world. Friends in Boston, men with

limited means, are paying his way here that he may have his case put before the Congress of the United States. He comes here ready to give the Government all that he has, and all he asks in return is protection after he has proven his case. I do not know anything fairer than that. I do not believe there is anything that has come before this session of Congress that means more in the prosecution of this war or that can help the country in its present situation as this man can meet it at the present time if we grant him an opportunity.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAGUE. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman says he asks nothing but protection. In section 4 it says that the Government shall not issue to anyone else any patent for any kind of free energy generator, regardless of its form or shape or device, and he asks for several other things, including the prevention of construction, importation, and so forth.

Mr. TAGUE. That is what I say; all he is asking for is protection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I am certainly surprised that the Committee on Rules brings in a unanimous report to consider the most fantastic bill ever presented for the consideration of the House during my 14 years of service, especially now in the closing days of Congress and when there is waiting for consideration a far more important bill for the welfare of all the enlisted men who are going to do service to the country, namely, the civil-rights bill.

I do not recall, in the latter years, of Congress ever having granted by act, as this bill purposes to do, a special patent. It purposes to do more, it first provides that this presumed inventor of something shall appoint his own committee to pass upon its practicability. This is not the first time my attention has been called to a man who has claimed that he has invented perpetual motion, and I take it from the hearings given before the Committee on Patents that he has the same idea, for he says, on page 4 of the hearings:

I never took seriously the expression that energy could not be produced without any expense.

He declines to submit this apparatus that he claims to have perfected to any committee of Congress to even see it operate. Three citizens of Boston have written letters of testimony to the committee as stated in the report. One of them is the director of music of the Boston public schools. The other, Mr. Kenny, is president of the board of trustees of the public library, and the third is Mr. J. Robert Hennessy. It is not stated in the report what his profession is, but in the hearings it is disclosed that he is an artist by profession who has been furnishing money to this inventor to try to devise something to produce perpetual motion or to create energy without energy. What does the bill provide? It provides that he, not the Government or any representative of the Government, but he shall appoint a committee of five eminent scientists who are to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. He may appoint any scientists, and if they are scientists I suppose the Secretary of the Interior will have to visé their appointment.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not now. I desire to make my argument without being distracted at this time. These five eminent scientists of his selection are to pass upon the practicability, not the originality, of the patent—not whether he is the original inventor, but merely upon the practicability of the invention. There may have been hundreds of others who may have invented some scheme of extracting nitrogen from the air. They may have had their patents issued in the Patent Office; but if these eminent scientists, selected by this man, shall determine the practicability of the invention, not the originality, then a certificate under section 3 of the bill must be awarded to him as the inventor, and the Government of the United States must thereupon protect him under the terms of the bill in that invention. Further, if there are any improvements upon this device, he will not have to suffer the same course that other inventors do when improvements are made upon their patented devices—oh, no! The Government of the United States is compulsorily obliged to compensate the inventor of the improvement and purchase that improvement for its and his use. Furthermore, under this bill no other person who may have been granted a patent heretofore will be privileged to use his patent of any kindred character whatsoever, for under section 4 of the bill we find the following provision:

That the United States Government shall not issue to anyone else any patent for any kind of free-energy generator, regardless of its form or shape, or for any device, improvement, process, equipment, or apparatus based upon the system or correlative principle of the said discovery.

If an improvement has been made, he gets the benefit of it, if he thinks that it is worth while.

Mr. Speaker, this is an unheard-of proceeding, which plays entirely on the side of this man, who claims to have been working on this invention for 20 years and who completed it in the spring of 1915. I can not see any reason why he should be granted any preferential rights. I can see many reasons why we should not pass this resolution that will give him a preferred right. If the House to-day should pass this resolution, even without any consideration being given by the Senate, he would be able, as other inventors have been able in times past, without ever having obtained letters patent, to promote a corporation involving millions of dollars and pass off his green-goods invention, if it is such—and I claim to have the right to call it a green-goods invention when he absolutely declines to let any representative of the Government see the operation of his apparatus—he could promote a corporation of millions of dollars and sell the stock to the gullible public—as gullible, perhaps, as the Committee on Rules—and make a tremendous amount of money by saying that the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States had passed a resolution granting him a patent, and that it will only be a matter of a short time until the Senate passes it. He could foist on the gullible public who buys the stock that they will be the recipients under the terms of the bill of the rights to a patent for a rare device that will generate perpetual motion; that will provide energy without the consumption of energy whatever—except gas. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield to the gentleman, as I believe he is one of the subjects who reported favorably this bill from the Committee on Patents.

Mr. DENISON. Yes; I am one of those. I was going to ask the gentleman from Milwaukee—from Wisconsin——

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman need not withdraw the designation. I consider it a high honor to represent Milwaukee.

Mr. DENISON. If he had noticed the clause in the resolution which gives the Government the right to take over absolutely all this man's rights?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; but the Government may not have anything to take over. Some prior inventor may have invented his very devices, and yet we are foreclosing all of the rights of these prior inventors in giving this man an absolute patent upon the finding of his own committee merely as to its practicability. I assume the gentleman is acquainted with the patent laws of the country.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. In just a moment. The only argument that has been made here in favor of this resolution, particularly by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], is the weakness of our patent laws. It is true that our patent laws do not give any protection, to speak of, to the inventor. Unlike the patent laws of some foreign countries, when a patent is granted the Government does not throw its protecting arm around the inventor in securing him the rights to his invention. If our patent laws are weak—and everyone who knows anything about them know they are—then the remedy should be not to bring in a special bill giving a preferred position on a pedestal of distinction to some man who has been working with the aid of an artist for these 20 years, for a device to control the always charming and elusive invention of perpetual motion, but to reform the patent laws of the country——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will ask the gentleman to yield me two minutes more.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I will yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin two minutes more.

Mr. STAFFORD (continuing). To revise the patent laws so as to give adequate protection to every inventor—and there are many deserving inventors in this country, poor and of the middle class, who deserve protection. The supporters of this bill should not use the weakness of the patent laws as a justification of this ridiculous and fantastic proposal.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield first to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

Mr. MADDEN. I simply want to call attention to the fact that if the Government takes this over the bill provides, in line 14, page 4, that this man shall be remunerated to the extent commensurate with the value of his discovery or invention.

Mr. STAFFORD. In fairness to the bill, let me say here that that relates only to the Government taking over the invention

for the use of the entire public. I studied the bill quite carefully before it was presented, and that only provides that if the Government believes that this invention should be taken over for the free use of the public, then the Government should pay for it as determined upon by a committee of three to be appointed by him and three to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GORDON. If this man has an invention for the free and unlimited coinage of energy, does not the gentleman believe we would be justified in passing this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; I think the gentleman should be given a certificate to come into this Chamber. [Laughter.] I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL].

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, this discovery was first called to my attention by Mr. Ferguson, president of the Newport News Shipbuilding Co., a gentleman who is a graduate of the Naval Academy and recognized as one of the distinguished naval and ship constructors of the country. He evidently had been sufficiently impressed to believe that it was the duty of Congress to pass this resolution and thereby give an opportunity for the use of this discovery to the Government of the United States and to the people of the country. The object of this resolution which this rule makes in order is not to enable Members of this House to pass upon the merits of this discovery, because, as I understand, the discovery up to this time rests in the breast of this gentleman who claims to be the discoverer. Now, the only ground upon which we can determine the merits of this resolution rests upon another rather than our knowledge of the details of the discovery, and that is the reputation and character of the man who comes before us and states that he has made this wonderful discovery. Confidence is the very basis of life; it is the basis of financial credit; it is the basis of dealings between man and man, and it is the motive which induces us to act day after day upon trivial as well as upon important matters. This gentleman came to us with commendations of his character, of his capacity as a student, of his prolonged study of this subject, of confidence in his truthfulness, and they say that the statements have impressed them as worthy of serious consideration, and therefore it is a fair conclusion to state that they are worthy of the consideration of the House. Gentlemen have said, Why not refer this to the Patent Office? Even the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] admits that our patent laws are defective and do not protect the inventor. And in the report which accompanies this bill is quoted the language of Mr. Thomas A. Edison, as follows:

> Unhappily, there is absolute certainty that under our present patent laws the poor devil of an inventor would never receive any reward for it.

Now the last sentence—

> I suppose I invent as much as ever, but the pathway to the Patent Office is not so hot with my footsteps as it used to be.

Then he says that all the money he has made has been out of manufacturing rather than the protection which he received from inventions granted by the Patent Office. Therefore I say the point for the consideration of the House is, Do you upon the evidence submitted have confidence in the integrity, the truthfulness, and capacity of this man who claims to have made this discovery? There is not the slightest question about its value. If he has made the discovery which enables us to utilize free energies without the use of fuel, a discovery even greater than the discovery of steam, it will rank with the discovery of electricity as a producer of energy—I say, if he has made any such discovery as that and comes to us with the recommendation of reputable, intelligent men whose faith in him has been aroused by their association with him, we can afford to take their statements and the expression of their judgment and yield to this man that boon which he seeks, an opportunity to make his discovery known to the world, a blessing to the Government of the United States and the people of our country. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire about the time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has consumed 13 minutes of his time, and the gentleman from Kansas 21 minutes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield eight minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS].

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have been somewhat surprised at the attitude of some of the Members of this body toward the pending resolution. There is nothing fantastic about this situation, unless perhaps it is the criticisms of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD]. [Laughter.] I listened to his far-fetched suggestion that the passage of this resolution would afford the opportunity for deluding a misguided public into the purchase of worthless stock, and wondered in that connection why the gentleman from Wisconsin had not read the resolution itself. If he would only look to section 6 of this measure he would find that the Government is given the option to purchase the device from the inventor. The five scientists, who are to pass on the merits of this alleged discovery must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Should they upon investigation pronounce that the inventor's machine is wholly without merit, and the Government of the United States should thereupon decline to exercise its option of purchase, I wonder what opportunity would be thereafter afforded to anyone to sell stock in this enterprise. An adverse report from the committee will be destructive of any scheme of stock selling if one is in contemplation. On the other hand should this report be favorable, the Government should exercise its option at once. There are only two things we ought to consider in this connection, First: the nature of the alleged discovery, second; the proposition submitted by the inventor.

Now, what is the alleged discovery? It is simply this: This investigator—and I do not know whether he can make good or not; on this point I am no better informed than any other Member on this floor—claims that he has discovered the secret of using the mighty cosmic forces to drive machinery, that in other words he has learned how to utilize for motive purposes the infinite streams of energy that ceaselessly flow through the vast spaces of the universe. Many scientists have maintained that in time this would be done.

I do not suppose that Lord Kelvin would be denominated by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] as a fantastic dreamer, and yet Lord Kelvin predicted that in time some man greater than his fellows would discover this mighty secret of harnessing for the various purposes of man's use some portion of the infinite energy which holds the stars in their appointed courses, and maintains the orderly movements of the whirling suns.

This man claims that he has arrived at this secret through long years of patient study.

His is no perpetual-motion machine. He connects his machine or mechanical device, with the infinite forces of the cosmos, as I understand his contention, and deriving its power from this infinite source, his machine will continue to run until in time it will wear out and must be replaced, just as the mighty turbines driven by the falling waters of Niagara must be replaced, though humanly speaking the power that drives them will go on forever. It is a vast claim that he makes. I do not know that it is true, but the man Giragossian asks only that we afford him the opportunity to make good this contention without money, and without price on our part.

Now, what is the proposition submitted to the United States? It is very simple. The claimant asks that five scientists be appointed to pass judgment on the merits of his discovery. The Secretary of the Interior is to approve each and every one of these scientists before he will be allowed to sit in judgment on this board. Do you suppose for a moment that the Secretary of the Interior will not insist that the five scientists so selected shall be the brightest luminaries in our world of science? Will not such a board be competent to protect our interests, and fairly determine the merits of this alleged discovery?

The Government pays nothing, and is asked to pay nothing. It can not be exploited in any way. The inventor does not ask for the means to construct a machine. He agrees to submit one in perfected form, and actually running.

Mr. KING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. I am sorry to say I can not yield in this connection.

Hence the interests of the United States are completely and absolutely protected. Should the committee of scientistis report that the inventor has sustained his contention, then the Government is given the option to purchase the rights of the inventor in his discovery, but it is not compellable to make this purchase.

The criticism directed against this man Giragossian is most unjust and unfounded in so far as it undertakes to laugh him out of court. I do not know that he has made the discovery claimed, but he may have made it, and if so it is the greatest discovery of all the ages. We may be pursuing a bubble, but we will not purchase a bubble. Before we enter upon any contract of purchase, we will be fully advised as to the nature and merits of the thing proposed to be obtained.

Further the inventor asks that if he makes good before the board, the Government shall give him for a period of 17 years

a greater measure of protection against suits and encroachments than he conceives that he can secure under a patent, and the operation of the patent laws. Are you not willing to do this? I am, for one. As I have said, if this man has made the discovery that he alleges that he has made, then there is nothing too great for us to give him in the way of protection against encroachments and infringements. In addition the resolution provides that if the board makes a favorable report, then the Government is to have free of cost, as many of the Giragossian machines, as it may care to use for governmental purposes.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. I have but little time, but I am disposed to yield to the gentleman. I will yield to him.

Mr. FESS. I would like to know how the inventor impressed the gentleman and the other members of the committee.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. I am glad the gentleman has asked the question. So far as I am aware all the members who have come into acquaintance with Mr. Giragossian have been favorably impressed, but he has not revealed his secret to any of them. He is reserving his demonstration for the scientists. In further answer to the gentleman I wish to say that the two committees who have dealt with this matter, namely the Committee on Patents which reported the resolution, and the Committee on Rules, which has reported this rule, have been unanimous in action, as the record will show. Do you think that the members of these committees are frivolous and empty-headed figureheads who would ask you to expend your time in the consideration of a matter that they deemed trivial and fantastic? Nay rather the members of these committees are able and high-minded Members of this House, who would not submit this proposition for consideration if they were not assured in their own minds that it was worthy at this time of the serious consideration of every patriotic citizen. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. One other question. Would what you are giving in the bill prevent anyone outside making improvements by later discovery?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yes. But the whole matter will be in the hands of the Government, all of it. Mark you, the inventor will not hold a whip hand over the Government. The whip and the control will be in our hands.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield? I want to make a correction for the gentleman. It does not prevent ourselves from making an improvement, but it provides that if we do so the Government shall pay him for it, because the Government is the most interested party.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. The Government is to take it over and pay for it. He will be unable to put an improvement on the market.

Mr. FESS. My idea was that nearly every invention in its incipiency is very imperfect, and that later improvements add wonderfully to them.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. If we buy an imperfect, but meritorious invention it will be to our interest to perfect it.

Mr. FESS. I will say to my friend that I am in sympathy with it.

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman will allow me, it will be free after 17 years?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Absolutely.

Mr. CANNON. I think that ought to satisfy the gentleman.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, this man claims to have made an amazing discovery, but merely on that score it will not do to undertake to whistle him down the winds. It was not many years ago that Prof. Langley went to his grave with his last hours embittered by the venomous attacks upon his work and researches related to the great subject of aerial flight. Many people regarded him as actually crazy upon this subject. He was ridiculed beyond measure in the newspapers and magazines.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute more to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for one minute more.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yet within the last few months that machine, Prof. Langley's machine, was resurrected, and with but few changes made a successful flight when equipped with a modern motor, thereby demonstrating that his basic idea was right, and that he was the true father of modern aerial flight. [Applause.]

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. HULBERT Is not the same true with respect to the invention of the telephone and telegraph and almost every other discovery?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yes. I well remember, and other gentlemen will remember, the learned scientific articles, of 10 or 15 years ago, that demonstrated with all the precision of a mathematical demonstration that aerial flight by a machine heavier than the air was a mechanical impossibility. I recall these articles with much amusement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has again expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman another minute.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Copernicus, in his day, was regarded as a lunatic, and if the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] had lived at that time and passed on his case, he would undoubtedly have sent him to a lunatic asylum. [Laughter.]

Why do I say this? Because Copernicus undertook to demonstrate that the planets revolve around the sun, when every gentleman of that time who resembled the gentleman from Wisconsin in his present attitude knew perfectly well as a matter of daily observation that the sun revolved about the earth. He saw it with his own eyes rise in the east, and set in the west, revolving about the earth according to the good old Ptolemaic theory. [Laughter.] Gallileo in his day was not only regarded as a lunatic, but actually as a blasphemer as a result of his upsetting theories.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. In a moment. Gallileo, I say, was not only regarded as a lunatic, but as a blasphemer, and under the pressure of the Inquisition, had to make an open recantation of his heresies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has again expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman one minute more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for one minute more.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. A few days ago I saw that before a meeting of American scientists an American professor undertook to demonstrate that to a limited extent he was able to destroy the force of gravitation. Prof. Ramsay of London is at the very threshhold of the transmutation of metals. We are living in an age of amazing discoveries.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. I do not want to seem to be discourteous, and will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did any of these eminent scientists that the gentleman refers to decline to divulge his secret to the world as this gentleman does?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. No. They divulged them, and were regarded by the doubters of that day as lunatics. I have no doubt that if this gentleman, Mr. Giragossian, would divulge his discovery to the gentleman from Wisconsin he would still regard him as a lunatic, or an impostor. Just one word more. Suppose Mr. Marconi had anticipated by a hundred years his world-shaking discovery of wireless communication, and had gone before the Congress of that day and said, "Mr. Speaker, if you will give me opportunity, I will enable you and other gentlemen, to talk in your natural voice with England, or Hawaii, or the Philippine Islands, or with any of the other remote corners of the earth, using as a vehicle for that purpose a substance that no one has ever seen, weighed, or measured, a thing which is a mere working scientific hypothesis, used to explain certain observed phenomena, what would the answer have been to such a proposition? To the lunatic asylum with this fellow, would have been the instant response of the Speaker, adding that public officials were not safe, when men maintaining such vagaries were allowed to be at large. The gentleman from Wisconsin is a present exemplar of this ancient attitude which waves aside the men who are ahead of the general knowledge of their age and time. [Applause and laughter.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has again expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, in three minutes I can not say a great deal, but I can indorse all that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] has said. [Applause.]

There is one thing certain: If this man does have this secret, and does not divulge it, we will not have it. That is perfectly certain. [Laughter.] It does not cost us anything to find out, and the fact that he has convinced every member of the Com-

mittee on Patents and every member of the Committee on Rules that he has something that ought to be investigated, ought, it seems to me, to foreclose all opposition. [Applause.]

"Oh, but it might hurt somebody in the future that might make improvements. Maybe some other fellow has investigated it." Oh, we do not know about it.

I want to say a word about the flying machine. Prof. Langley died—I believe he was ridiculed to death about his flying machine. He appeared before the Committee on Appropriations that I had the honor to preside over, and he said, "I want five or ten thousand dollars"—whichever it was—"to experiment." "What is it," I said, "Professor?" "Oh," said he, "I want to perfect a flying machine." Said I, "My God!" [Laughter.] He said, "Now, Mr. CANNON, do not birds fly, and are they not heavier than air?" I came down, as Davy Crockett's coon offered to do when Davy Crockett was out with his gun. I reported it, and we had a lively contest in the House to pass it, and they passed it in the Senate; they made fun of it, and the newspapers made fun of it. And yet he had a flying machine; he developed the machinery, you see. He had the idea. His engine was imperfect, but it was good enough to make it fly for a minute, and it made all things follow. And now we have the flying machine. [Applause.]

Now, I recollect that Indiana incident that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] referred to. I heard a joint discussion between William J. Brown and David Wallace, the father of Lew Wallace, the author of Ben Hur, elected in 1840 from the Indianapolis district, which took in about one-third of the State. I was a boy 6 years old. I tagged. They had a general discussion in the grove near Annapolis, in Parke County, Ind. He voted for a $30,000 appropriation to construct a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore. William J. Brown, his Democratic opponent in the campaign of 1842, said this and that and the other about the Whigs, and finally said, "My fellow citizens, think of it! This man, my opponent, voted for an appropriation of $30,000 to send news by lightning—by lightning—by lightning!" [Laughter.]

Why, William J. Brown beat him at the election two to one.

Now, I am going to vote for this bill. That is all I want to say. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the House is in a kind of mesmeric trance, and that after these delightful speeches about Copernicus and various other discoverers and inventors from the beginning, down to the present time, it may be futile to say a word about the practices that prevail with regard to patents. It seems to me that the House is in rather an extreme frame of mind when it proposes by a rule to give an exclusive privilege to an individual who does not divulge his plans, and when it goes further and proposes to enter into a contract with him for whatever he possesses, about which the Government at the present time knows absolutely nothing. The Patent Office is open to this gentleman, certified to, as he is, by several gentlemen from Massachusetts. He can go, as other inventors and patentees go, to obtain protection under the laws of the United States. But apparently he prefers not to do that and has convinced the members of the Rules Committee that he should not. Every Congressman's office now is in receipt of correspondence coming from inventors of devices by which it is proposed to save the Government and stop the war. You have not brought in, in favor of these gentlemen, a bill proposing to give them exclusive privileges. None of them can obtain it.

I say nothing with regard to this mysterious invention or discovery, or whatever this thing is. It may be all that the inventor claims for it, and all that the highly susceptible members of the Committee on Patents and the Committee on Rules believe. But still this is not the ordinary practice. It is extreme and extraordinary, and it seems to smack of favoritism toward one man who does not divulge his plans, as against thousands of other inventors, who would gladly come to Congress for similar privilege, if Congress saw fit to grant it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I call for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the rule.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 116) for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy, was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept, as trustee for the United States Government, from Garabed T. K. Giragossian, an assignment of the right to utilize for the Government's own use a discovery or invention to be known as the "Garabed."

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to perform any and all acts, and to make such rules and regulations, and enter into such contracts as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect: *Provided, however,* That the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian shall demonstrate the practicability of his discovery or invention to a commission of five eminent scientists, who shall be appointed by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian and be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The United States Government shall be under no expense in connection with the demonstration of the "Garabed."

SEC. 3. That if such demonstration shall, in the opinion of the said scientists, prove the practicability of said discovery or invention, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian shall be recognized by the United States Government as the original discoverer, inventor, and legal owner of the invention or discovery and of any improvements pertaining thereto that may be made by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian. The certificate of said commission of scientists, to the effect that said discovery or invention is practicable shall constitute the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian the legal owner of, and entitle him to all the rights and benefits of said discovery or invention for a period of 17 years. The right is reserved to the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, his heirs, and assigns to take out patents for his aforesaid discovery, invention, or for any improvement or device pertaining thereto.

SEC. 4. That the United States Government shall not issue to anyone else any patent for any kind of free-energy generator, regardless of its form or shape, or for any device, improvement, process, equipment, or apparatus based upon the system or correlative principle of the said discovery or invention, or for any improvement or change developed in the use of the said "Garabed," and shall prevent the construction, importation, use, or exploitation thereof, in whole or in part, in the United States, and shall protect the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, his heirs, and assigns in the rights and interests in the "Garabed" in the above respect for a period of 17 years in the United States and in foreign countries where such protection is afforded by treaty obligation, international law, or diplomatic representation.

SEC. 5. That any essential improvement or contrivance by any person or persons other than Garabed T. K. Giragossian relating to the "Garabed," or its principle, which shall prove valuable and essential thereto in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior during the period of the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian's special protection shall be bought by the United States Government for its own use in conjunction with its use of the said "Garabed," with adequate compensation to the inventor or contriver thereof. If, however, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian wishes to utilize any such invention or contrivance so acquired by the United States Government, he or his assigns, and no other person or corporation, shall be entitled thereto upon the payment of a fair, just, and reasonable royalty therefor. In consideration of this right the United States Government shall have, without expense, the right to use for its own purpose any new improvement or device made by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian.

SEC. 6. That after the successful demonstration of the "Garabed," if the United States Government wishes to purchase the right and title for the exclusive use of said discoverey or invention within the boundaries of the United States, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian will comply with the request of the United States Government: *Provided,* That he shall be remunerated to the extent commensurate with the value of his discovery or invention, which shall be appraised and determined by a joint committee selected by the Secretary of the Interior and by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian.

If the United States Congress in session at the time of the demonstration, or, at the latest during the following session, does not decide to avail itself of this privilege, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian's legal rights and powers shall continue unimpaired as prescribed and set forth in this resolution.

SEC. 7. That any sale, or attempted sale, by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, or by his representatives or assigns, of any interest in or any title to said discovery or invention, or any part thereof, prior to the approval of the same by said commission of scientists, shall be illegal, invalid, and void.

SEC. 8. That the United States Government will have the right to exercise the aforesaid right to utilize said discovery or invention for its own use simultaneously with the beginning of the public and general use of the said "Garabed" system.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is on the House Calendar, and I assume that amendments are in order to any section.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is correct.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have an amendment which I desire to offer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is to strike out, on page 2, in lines 5 and 6, the words "by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian and be approved."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Page 2, lines 5 and 6, strike out the words "by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian and be approved."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, no matter how the House may regard the invention, if there be one, of this Mr. Giragossian, I think in all seriousness that the House ought not to undertake to grant to him all these rights, as this bill purports to do, without the protection of this committee of scientists being appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. Certainly you do not wish to surrender all control of the decision as to whether this man has a practical and useful invention to five

scientists who may be named by him. True, as the bill has been reported, it provides that these five scientists named by him are to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior; but if the Government is going to be protected—and the Government certainly will have rights not only in the use of this invention, if invention it be, for its own purposes—and other users, and other persons who have improvements on that device should be protected, then this committee of five scientists who are to determine whether this device is practicable should be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. Whom would the Secretary of the Interior be likely to name? There is at the head of the Bureau of Standards one of the most eminent scientists of the country, performing service for the Government at a salary much lower than he could command in industrial life, who would very likely head that committee. There would be men also connected with that Bureau of Standards who are versed in this special subject about which this man claims to have an original device and idea. Certainly he, being directly interested, should not claim the privilege of naming these five men.

Now, there is another provision in this bill which I shall seek to have eliminated for the protection of the Government, and that is section 5. While I have the floor I wish to direct the attention of the committee to it, and I say this in all seriousness: If he has this device, certainly, gentlemen, you should not provide, as section 5 provides, that any improvement upon it shall be bought by the United States Government.

You should not give him any greater right to improvements on the device than are granted to other inventors. He bases his claim for withholding knowledge of this device from any representative of the Government or any representative of Congress on the fact that if he discloses it it may be appropriated by some one else. But this section 5 goes further. He may have something that has been discovered long ago. In the discussion of the nitrate proposition upon this floor it was disclosed that there are inventions for extracting nitrogen from the air, and that those inventions might be utilized for the development of energy. Are you going to say that the men who have developed those ideas are to be debarred from improvement of their devices? I think we are going very far afield indeed when we seek to pass this bill without any adequate protection to the Government. We are granting to this man unlimited privileges, compelling the Government to give him an exclusive privilege when he may not be the original inventor. I ask any gentleman who has reported this bill from the Committee on Patents, What is the evidence that this man is the original inventor and what rights should be granted if he has merely got some device that is practicable though he is not the original inventor? Is he to be given an exclusive patent as against prior inventors? And yet the phraseology of this joint resolution would grant him that and compel the Government to waive its protection to inventors of improvements. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, I believe the House ought to adopt the amendment if we are going to proceed in this way, and that this committee of five scientists should be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

This is not the last bill of this kind that will come into this House. If you pass this bill you will be beset by every inventor to take up his scheme on the ground that he has an invention that can be utilized by the Army and the Navy or by some other Government agency and that he has no capital to promote the device. That is the Pandora's box we are opening when we pass this bill.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I want to reply to the gentleman from Wisconsin. This amendment is very objectionable not only to the inventor but to the committee. If this man has what he claims to have, no reasonable man, no man who is not self-centered and more concerned about having a reputation for objecting to everything, more concerned about little technicalities, than he is about the great things that may be accomplished for the country, will object to the inventor's having a voice in the appointment of this commission. [Applause.] I have sat here with some impatience listening to two or three gentlemen who want to ridicule this thing out of court.

If any man has the slightest notion that Mr. Giragossian has what he claims to have, he is acting against the best interests of his country and the people of the world in trying to oppose it on such a petty basis as has been stated by them. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, let us not be small in dealing with this question. This man came before the Committee on Patents and we had a full hearing. We had the testimony of those who have lived in the same city with Mr. Giragossian for many years, men who knew him and who say that he was a man of high character and intelligence. But we were not controlled entirely by what those gentlemen say. Many members of the committee have spent hours in talking with Mr. Giragossian. Not one of us but who felt convinced that he was a man not only of the highest character but of the greatest intelligence.

Mr. FOCHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. FOCHT. What did this man tell you he was going to accomplish? I want to be for this bill, and I am for it. I believe he has something; but what is it?

Mr. CROSSER. I will come to that in a minute. We feel that this man is an unusual man. We know from what he said that he has given the most intense application for years to the study of this question. He has said to me a great many times, "Mr. CROSSER, I know what it means if this resolution passes and I should fail to make good. I know that it means disgrace and the loss of the esteem of those who know me. Do you think I want such a thing to happen? It may be that some morning we will rise and find the sun setting on the wrong side and men walking heads down. In that case the laws of nature would be reversed and I might fail, but," he said, "I tell you positively there is no such thing as failure in regard to this matter."

I say, he has convinced every member of the Patents Committee of his honesty and intelligence. I did not press him to know the details of his alleged discovery. I did not feel that it was the part of propriety on my part to do so.

I know something about legal procedure and parliamentary procedure, but when I see a thing of the magnitude of this proposition coming before the American Congress I am not going to stand upon technicalities. We are not justified in trying to ridicule the proposition simply because it seems so stupendous as to be beyond the ken of man. I think we are performing a patriotic duty to the people of this country in giving this man a chance to demonstrate what he has. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has the gentleman been approached at any time since he came to Washington by any other inventor of a device——

Mr. CROSSER. The Patent Committee has had numerous men coming before them, wanting to present their propositions. We have considered some of them and have generally found that they have had little merit.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I do not want to deprive this man of any opportunity or to get advantage of his invention, if he has an invention. I ask the gentleman if it is not true that men come to Congressmen, to their offices, with devices for guns, ships, and for various things which they say will help settle the war, and who get no such help as is proposed by this bill?

Mr. CROSSER. If a thousand men were to come before the Patent Committee with inventions for guns, ships, and so forth, all of them put together could not mean as much to the human race as this man's invention, if he has what he claims to have. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman tell us what it is, because all the information we have comes from the gentleman himself and those who have talked with this man.

Mr. CROSSER. If the man had disclosed his patent to us, he would not be here asking for a demonstration.

Mr. HEFLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. HEFLIN. I suggest to my friend that it is not wise and best for anybody to know exactly what this patent is.

Mr. CROSSER. Exactly. If the man were willing to come before the committee and disclose his patent, we would not want to make it public at this time. If he has what he says he has, it will save thousands of lives and millions of dollars to the American people.

Think of just what it costs for fuel for the Government itself in one year. Millions would not begin to measure it. It goes beyond the billion mark. When you consider what it would mean to the individual citizen of the United States, the advantage is beyond comprehension. We do not say that we know this man has what he claims he has. We say to you that we have listened to his testimony, and we feel absolutely convinced of the man's high intelligence and his honesty and patriotism. He says he wants to give this to the Government for the good it will do the American people, and I think it is small business on our part to quibble about the terms upon which we shall grant him protection when he offers the Government the free use of his invention for all its purposes.

I do not know the nature of his discovery, but I hope that I am not so bigoted as those who say that a thing is impossible merely because they themselves have never seen or heard of its being done. No man who has studied history or philosophy will assume such an attitude.

Lord Kelvin and other great scientists predicted that a discovery of some such character would be made which would revolutionize the world.

But some gentlemen object to the protection proposed, assuming that Mr. Giragossian has made the discovery in question. How they can justify such an attitude is hard to understand, for if Mr. Giragossian's claims are well founded he has made the supreme discovery of the ages, one which would be a blessing to every human being. Anyone with the least power of imagination can not but understand the tremendous results such a discovery would make possible.

Why, then, quibble about the method by which this man is granted protection? He asks no money. He asks only an opportunity to demonstrate his proposition before a competent tribunal. Shall we be so narrow-minded as to refuse him an opportunity? Surely not.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendment to final passage.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question on the bill and amendment to final passage.

The question was taken.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present. There is another amendment that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KING] desires to offer. We do not care to delay the bill at all.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count.

Mr. STAFFORD (interrupting the count). Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order, but there is no desire to postpone the consideration of the resolution. I had an hour, but I used only a small part of the hour.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD), there were—ayes 29, noes 79.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and fifty-one Members present, not a quorum. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 234, nays 14, answered "present" 5, not voting 178, as follows:

YEAS—234.

Adamson	Cooper, Wis.	Garner	Jones, Va.
Alexander	Cox	Garrett, Tenn.	Kearns
Almon	Crago	Garrett, Tex.	Keating
Aswell	Crisp	Gillett	Kehoe
Austin	Crosser	Glass	Kelly, Pa.
Ayres	Dale, Vt.	Glynn	Kennedy, Iowa
Bacon	Dallinger	Godwin, N. C.	Kettner
Bankhead	Darrow	Good	Kincheloe
Barkley	Decker	Goodwin, Ark.	Kinkaid
Barnhart	Denison	Gordon	Kitchin
Black	Denton	Graham, Ill.	Knutson
Blackmon	Dewalt	Greene, Mass.	Kraus
Bland	Dill	Gregg	La Follette
Blanton	Dixon	Hadley	Langley
Booher	Dominick	Hamlin	Lesher
Brand	Doolittle	Hardy	Linthicum
Browne	Dougton	Haugen	Little
Brumbaugh	Dunn	Hawley	Littlepage
Buchanan	Dupré	Heflin	London
Burnett	Eagle	Helm	Lundeen
Burroughs	Elliott	Helvering	McAndrews
Byrnes, S. C.	Ellsworth	Hensley	McArthur
Byrns, Tenn.	Esch	Hersey	McClintic
Campbell, Kans.	Farr	Hicks	McKeown
Campbell, Pa.	Ferris	Hilliard	McLaughlin, Mich.
Candler, Miss.	Fess	Holland	McLemore
Cannon	Fields	Hood	Madden
Cantrill	Fisher	Hulbert	Magee
Caraway	Focht	Hull, Iowa	Mays
Carter, Mass.	Fordney	Hull, Tenn.	Miller, Wash.
Chandler, N. Y.	Foss	Igoe	Mondell
Claypool	French	Ireland	Moon
Coady	Gallagher	Jacoway	Moores, Ind.
Collier	Gallivan	Johnson, Ky.	Morgan
Connally, Tex.	Gandy	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nicholls, S. C.
Cooper, W. Va.	Garland	Jones, Tex.	Nichols, Mich.
Nolan	Riordan	Smith, C. B.	Walton
Norton	Robbins	Snook	Wason
Oliver, Ala.	Robinson	Steagall	Watkins
Oliver, N. Y.	Rodenberg	Stedman	Stephens, Miss.
Osborne	Rogers	Sterling, Ill.	Watson, Pa.
Overmyer	Romjue	Stevenson	Weaver
Overstreet	Rose	Stiness	Webb
Padgett	Rowe	Strong	Welling
Paige	Rubey	Sumners	Welty
Park	Sabath	Sweet	Whaley
Peters	Sanders, Ind.	Switzer	White, Me.
Phelan	Sanders, N. Y.	Tague	White, Ohio
Platt	Sanford	Taylor, Ark.	Williams
Porter	Saunders, Va.	Taylor, Colo.	Wilson, La.
Pou	Shackleford	Thomas	Wilson, Tex.
Pratt	Shallenberger	Tillman	Wingo
Purnell	Sherley	Timberlake	Wise
Quin	Sims	Venable	Wood, Ind.
Ragsdale	Sinnott	Vestal	Woods, Iowa
Raker	Sloan	Vinson	Woodyard
Rankin	Small	Volstead	Young, N. Dak.
Rayburn	Smith, Idaho	Walker	
Reed	Smith, Mich.	Walsh	

NAYS—14.

Dent	Green, Iowa	Moore, Pa.	Towner
Fairchild, B. L.	Greene, Vt.	Parker, N. J.	Wilson, Ill.
Frear	Harrison, Va.	Ramseyer	
Gould	King	Stafford	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—5.

Browning	Steele	Temple	Van Dyke
Huddleston			

NOT VOTING—178.

Anderson	Edmonds	Kiess, Pa.	Reavis
Anthony	Elston	Kreider	Roberts
Ashbrook	Emerson	LaGuardia	Rouse
Bacharach	Estopinal	Larsen	Rowland
Baer	Evans	Lazaro	Rucker
Bathrick	Fairchild, G. W.	Lea, Cal.	Russell
Bell	Fairfield	Lee, Ga.	Sanders, La.
Borland	Fitzgerald	Lehlbach	Schall
Bowers	Flood	Lenroot	Scott, Iowa
Britten	Flynn	Lever	Scott, Mich.
Brodbeck	Foster	Lobeck	Scott, Pa.
Bruckner	Francis	Lonergan	Scully
Butler	Freeman	Longworth	Sears
Caldwell	Fuller, Ill.	Lunn	Sells
Capstick	Fuller, Mass.	McCormick	Sherwood
Carew	Gard	McCulloch	Shouse
Carlin	Goodall	McFadden	Siegel
Carter, Okla.	Graham, Pa.	McKenzie	Sisson
Cary	Gray, Ala.	McKinley	Slayden
Chandler, Okla.	Gray, N. J.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Slemp
Church	Griest	Maher	Smith, T. F.
Clark, Fla.	Griffin	Mann	Snell
Clark, Pa.	Hamill	Mansfield	Snyder
Classon	Hamilton, Mich.	Mapes	Steenerson
Connelly, Kans.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Martin, Ill.	Stephens, Nebr.
Cooper, Ohio	Harrison, Miss.	Martin, La.	Sterling, Pa.
Copley	Haskell	Mason	Sullivan
Costello	Hastings	Meeker	Swift
Cramton	Hayden	Miller, Minn.	Talbott
Currie, Mich.	Hayes	Montague	Templeton
Curry, Cal.	Heaton	Morin	Thompson
Dale, N. Y.	Heintz	Mott	Tilson
Davidson	Hollingsworth	Mudd	Tinkham
Davis	Houston	Neely	Treadway
Dempsey	Howard	Nelson	Vare
Dickinson	Humphreys	Oldfield	Voigt
Dies	Husted	Olney	Waldow
Dillon	Hutchinson	O'Shaunessy	Ward
Dooling	James	Parker, N. Y.	Watson, Va.
Doremus	Johnson, Wash.	Polk	Wheeler
Dowell	Juul	Powers	Winslow
Drane	Kahn	Price	Young, Tex.
Drukker	Kelley, Mich.	Rainey	Zihlman
Dyer	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramsey	
Eagan	Key, Ohio	Randall	

So the joint resolution was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

For the session:

Mr. SNELL with Mr. CALDWELL.

Mr. HASTINGS with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota with Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi.

Mr. STEELE with Mr. BUTLER.

From August 2 for balance of session:

Mr. LEA of California with Mr. EMERSON.

Until further notice:

Mr. LEVER with Mr. ANDERSON.

Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. ANTHONY.

Mr. ROUSE with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. RAINEY with Mr. CARY.

Mr. RUSSELL with Mr. SIEGEL.

Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana with Mr. SELLS.

Mr. GRAY of Alabama with Mr. BACHARACH.

Mr. GARD with Mr. BOWERS.

Mr. FOSTER with Mr. BRITTEN.

Mr. FLOOD with Mr. COSTELLO.

Mr. EVANS with Mr. CRAMTON.

Mr. EGAN with Mr. CURRY of California.

Mr. DRANE with Mr. DAVIDSON.

Mr. DOOLING with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. DIES with Mr. DEMPSEY.

Mr. DICKINSON with Mr. DYER.
Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. EDMONDS.
Mr. CONNALLY of Texas with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.
Mr. CLARK of Florida with Mr. FAIRFIELD.
Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma with Mr. FRANCIS.
Mr. CARLIN with Mr. FREEMAN.
Mr. GRIFFIN with Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts.
Mr. HAMILL with Mr. GOODALL.
Mr. HAYDEN with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.
Mr. HOUSTON with Mr. GRIEST.
Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. HAMILTON of New York.
Mr. KEY of Ohio with Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan.
Mr. LARSEN with Mr. HEATON.
Mr. LAZARO with Mr. HUSTED.
Mr. LOBECK with Mr. HUTCHINSON.
Mr. LONERGAN with Mr. KAHN.
Mr. LUNN with Mr. KELLEY of Michigan.
Mr. MAHER with Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania.
Mr. MANSFIELD with Mr. KREIDER.
Mr. MARTIN of Illinois with Mr. LEHLBACH.
Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana with Mr. LONGWORTH.
Mr. MONTAGUE with Mr. SLEMP.
Mr. NEELY with Mr. SNYDER.
Mr. OLDFIELD with Mr. SWIFT.
Mr. OLNEY with Mr. TEMPLETON.
Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. TILSON.
Mr. POLK with Mr. WALDOW.
Mr. PRICE with Mr. WINSLOW.
Mr. FITZGERALD with Mr. WARD.
Mr. CAREW with Mr. MCCULLOCH.
Mr. BRODBECK with Mr. MCFADDEN.
Mr. BORLAND with Mr. MCKENZIE.
Mr. BATHRICK with Mr. MCKINLEY.
Mr. BAER with Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Pennsylvania.
Mr. ASHBROOK with Mr. MAPES.
Mr. BRUCKNER with Mr. ZIHLMAN.
Mr. YOUNG of Texas with Mr. MASON.
Mr. WATSON of Virginia with Mr. MEEKER.
Mr. THOMPSON with Mr. MORIN.
Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. MOTT.
Mr. STERLING with Mr. MUDD.
Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. PARKER of New York.
Mr. SISSON with Mr. POWERS.
Mr. SHOUSE with Mr. ROBERTS.
Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. ROWLAND.
Mr. SEARS with Mr. SCOTT of Iowa.
Mr. SCULLY with Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania.
Mr. SCHALL with Mr. SCOTT of Michigan.
Mr. HOWARD with Mr. ELSTON.
Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. HAYES.
Mr. FLYNN with Mr. GRAY of New Jersey.
Mr. BELL with Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania.
Mr. ESTOPINAL with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mr. CHURCH with Mr. RANDALL.
Mr. SEARS with Mr. DOWELL.
Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. STEENERSON.
Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. BROWNING.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. BUTLER. Did he vote?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is not recorded.

Mr. STEELE. I desire to withdraw my vote of "aye" and answer "present."

The name of Mr. STEELE was called, and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present; the Doorkeeper will unlock the doors.

On motion of Mr. CROSSER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution, from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 160 (H. Rept. No. 185).

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration under the general rules of the House of H. R. 6361, entitled "A bill to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war," and it shall be considered from day to day until disposed of, subject to consideration of conference reports.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, this provides for the consideration of one of the most important measures, so far as the soldiers and sailors are concerned, that has been considered by the Congress during this memorable session. I believe that every Member of the House is acquainted in a general way certainly with the provisions of the act which is called by some a soldiers' and sailors' civil-rights bill and by others the soldiers' and sailors' stay bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I suppose the proper term would be a moratorium bill.

Mr. POU. I think that it would probably—well, I do not know about that. No; a moratorium bill would hardly be a correct description of it.

Mr. MADDEN. It is to stay the payment of obligations until after the war.

Mr. POU. The bill does that under certain circumstances, but the circumstances are to be determined by the court, and I do not think the name moratorium would be entirely accurate. If I am mistaken——

Mr. MADDEN. Well, I think it is a good bill and ought to be considered.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to detain the House with any debate on the bill. I believe the House wants to do itself the credit of passing this bill before it agrees to any resolution of adjournment. If another body, if the Senate decides to put this matter over until the regular session in December, the responsibility, of course, is not with the House of Representatives. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6361) to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.

Be it enacted, etc.—

ARTICLE I.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

SEC. 100. That for the purpose of enabling the United States the more successfully to prosecute and carry on the war in which it is at present engaged, protection is hereby extended to persons in the military service of the United States in order to prevent prejudice or injury to their civil rights during their term of service and to enable them to devote their entire energy to the military needs of the Nation, and to this end the following provisions are made for the temporary suspension of legal proceedings and transactions which may prejudice the civil rights of persons in such service during the continuance of the present war.

SEC. 101. (1) That the term "persons in military service" as used in this act shall include the following persons, and no others: All officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, the Regular Army Reserve, the Officers' Reserve Corps, and the Enlisted Reserve Corps; all officers and enlisted men of the National Guard and National Guard Reserve recognized by the Militia Bureau of the War Department; all forces raised under the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917; all officers and enlisted men of the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard; all officers and enlisted men of the Naval Militia, Naval Reserve force, Marine Corps Reserve, and National Naval Volunteers recognized by the Navy Department; all officers of the Public Health Service detailed by the Secretary of the Treasury for duty either with the Army or the Navy; any of the personnel of the Lighthouse Service and of the Coast and Geodetic Survey transferred by the President to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department or of the Navy Department; members of the Nurse Corps; field clerks who have taken the oath as members of the military forces of the United States; and members of any other body who have heretofore or may hereafter become a part of the military or naval forces of the United States. The term "military service" as used in this definition shall signify active service in any branch of service heretofore mentioned or referred to, but reserves and persons on the retired list shall not be included in the term "persons in military service" until ordered to active service. The term "active service" shall include the period during which a person in military service is absent from duty on account of sickness, wounds, leave, or other lawful cause.

(2) The term "period of military service" as used in this act shall include the time between the following dates: For persons in active service at the date of the approval of this act it shall begin with the date of approval of this act; for persons entering active service after the date of this act, with the date of entering active service. It shall terminate with the date of discharge from active service or death while in active service, but in no case later than the date when this act ceases to be in force.

(3) The term "person," as used in this act, with reference to the holder of any right alleged to exist against a person in military service, shall include individuals, partnerships, corporations, and any other forms of business association.

(4) The term "court" as used in this act shall include any court of competent jurisdiction of the United States or of any State, whether or not a court of record.

(5) The term "termination of the war" as used in this act shall mean the termination of the present war by the treaty of peace as proclaimed by the President.

SEC. 102. (1) That the provisions of this act shall apply to the United States, the several States and Territories, the District of Columbia, and all territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and to proceedings commenced in any court therein, and shall be enforced through the usual forms of procedure obtaining in such courts or under such regulations as may be by them prescribed.

(2) When under this act any application is required to be made to a court in which no proceeding has already been commenced with respect to the matter, such application may be made to any court of competent jurisdiction, Federal, State, or local.

ARTICLE II.

GENERAL RELIEF.

SEC. 200. That in any action or proceeding commenced in any court if there shall be a default of an appearance by the defendant the plaintiff before entering judgment shall file in the court an affidavit setting forth facts showing that the defendant is not in military service. If unable to file such affidavit plaintiff shall in lieu thereof file an affidavit setting forth either that the defendant is in the military service or that plaintiff is not able to determine whether or not defendant is in such service. If an affidavit is not filed showing that the defendant is not in the military service, no judgment shall be entered without first securing an order of court directing such entry, and no such order shall be made if the defendant is in such service until after the court shall have appointed an attorney to represent defendant and protect his interest and the court shall on application make such appointment. Unless it appears that the defendant is not in such service the court may require as a condition before judgment is entered that the plaintiff file a bond approved by the court conditioned to indemnify the defendant, if in military service, against any loss or damage that he may suffer by reason of any judgment should the judgment be thereafter set aside in whole or in part. And the court may make such other and further order or enter such judgment as in its opinion may be necessary to protect the rights of the defendant under this act.

(2) Any person who shall make or use an affidavit required under this section knowing it to be false shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punishable by imprisonment not to exceed one year or by fine not to exceed $1,000, or both.

(3) In any action or proceeding in which a person in military service is a party if such party does not personally appear therein or is not represented by an authorized attorney, the court may appoint an attorney to represent him; and in such case a like bond may be required and an order made to protect the rights of such person. But no attorney appointed under this act to protect a person in military service shall have power to waive any right of the person for whom he is appointed or bind him by his acts.

(4) If any judgment shall be rendered in any action or proceeding governed by this section against any person in military service during the period of such service or within 30 days thereafter, and it appears that such person was prejudiced by reason of his military service in making his defense thereto, such judgment may, upon application, made by such person or his legal representative, not later than 90 days after the termination of such service, be opened by the court rendering the same and such defendant or his legal representative let in to defend; provided it is made to appear that the defendant has a meritorious or legal defense to the action or some part thereof. Vacating, setting aside, or reversing any judgment because of any of the provisions of this act shall not impair any right or title acquired by any bona fide purchaser for value under such judgment.

SEC. 201. That at any stage thereof any action or proceeding commenced in any court against a person in military service during the period of such service or within 60 days thereafter may, in the discretion of the court in which it is pending, on its own motion, and shall, on application to it by such person or some person on his behalf, be stayed as provided in this act, unless, in the opinion of the court, the ability of the defendant to comply with the judgment or order sought is not materially affected by reason of his military service.

SEC. 202. That when an action for compliance with the terms of any contract is stayed pursuant to this act no fine or penalty shall accrue by reason of failure to comply with the terms of such contract during the period of such stay, and in any case where a person fails to perform any obligation and a fine or penalty for such nonperformance is incurred a court may, on such terms as may be just, relieve against the enforcement of such fine or penalty if it shall appear that the person who would suffer by such fine or penalty was in the military service when the penalty was incurred and that by reason of such service the ability of such person to pay was thereby materially impaired.

SEC. 203. That in any action or proceeding commenced in any court against a person in military service, before or during the period of such service, or within 60 days thereafter, the court may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and on application to it by such person or some person on his behalf shall, unless in the opinion of the court the ability of the defendant to comply with the judgment or order entered or sought is not materially affected by reason of his military service:

(1) Stay the execution of any judgment or order entered against such person, as provided in this act, and

(2) Vacate or stay any attachment or garnishment of property, money, or debts in the hands of another, whether before or after judgment, as provided in this act.

SEC. 204. That any stay of any action, proceeding, attachment, or execution, ordered by any court under the provisions of this act may, except as otherwise provided, be ordered for the period of military service and three months thereafter or any part of such period, and subject to such terms as may be just, whether as to payment in installments of such amounts and at such times as the court may fix or otherwise. Where the person in military service is a codefendant with others the plaintiff may nevertheless by leave of court proceed against the others.

SEC. 205. That the period of military service shall not be included in computing any period now or hereafter to be limited by any law for the bringing of any action by or against any person in military service or by or against his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, whether such cause of action shall have accrued prior to or during the period of such service.

ARTICLE III.

RENT, INSTALLMENT CONTRACTS, MORTGAGES.

SEC. 300. (1) That no eviction or distress shall be made during the period of military service in respect of any premises for which the agreed rent does not exceed $50 per month, occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of a person in military service, except upon leave of court granted upon application therefor or granted in an action affecting the right of possession.

(2) On any such application or in any such action the court may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and shall, on application, unless in the opinion of the court the ability of the tenant to pay the agreed rent is not materially affected by reason of such military service, stay the proceedings for not longer than three months, as provided in this act, or it may make such other order as may be just.

(3) Any person who shall take part in any eviction or distress otherwise than as provided in subsection (1) hereof shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by imprisonment not to exceed one year or by fine not to exceed $1,000, or both.

(4) The Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, is hereby empowered, subject to such regulations as he may prescribe, to order an allotment of the pay of a person in military service in reasonable proportion to discharge the rent of premises occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of such person.

SEC. 301. (1) That no person who has received, or whose assignor has received, under a contract for the purchase of real or personal property, or of lease or bailment with a view to purchase of such property, a deposit or installment of the purchase price from a person or from the assignor of a person who, after the date of payment of such deposit or installment, has entered military service, shall exercise any right or option under such contract to rescind or terminate the contract or resume possession of the property for nonpayment of any installment falling due during the period of such military service, except by action in any court.

(2) Upon the hearing of such action the court may order the repayment of prior installments or deposits or any part thereof, as a condition of terminating the contract and resuming possession of the property, or may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and shall, on application to it by such person in military service or some person on his behalf, under a stay of proceedings as provided in this act unless, in the opinion of the court, the ability of the defendant to comply with the terms of the contract is not materially affected by reason of such service; or it may make such other disposition of the case as may be equitable to conserve the interests of all parties.

SEC. 302. (1) That the provisions of this section shall apply only to obligations originating prior to the date of approval of this act and secured by mortgage, trust deed, or other security in the nature of a mortgage upon real or personal property owned by a person in military service at the commencement of the period of the military service and still so owned by him.

(2) In any proceeding commenced in any court during the period of military service to enforce such obligation arising out of nonpayment of any sum thereunder due or out of any other breach of the terms thereof occurring prior to or during the period of such service, the court may, after hearing, in its discretion, on its own motion, and shall, on application to it by such person in military service or some person on his behalf, unless in the opinion of the court the ability of the defendant to comply with the terms of the obligation is not materially affected by reason of his military service—

(a) Stay the proceedings as provided in this act; or

(b) Make such other disposition of the case as may be equitable to conserve the interests of all parties.

(3) No sale under a power of sale or under a judgment entered upon warrant of attorney to confess judgment contained in any such obligation shall be valid if made during the period of military service or within three months thereafter, unless upon an order of sale previously granted by the court and a return thereto made and approved by the court.

ARTICLE IV.

INSURANCE.

SEC. 400. That in this article the term "policy" shall include any contract of life insurance on the level premium or legal reserve plan. It shall also include any benefit in the nature of life insurance arising out of membership in any fraternal or beneficial association; the term "premium" shall include membership dues or assessments in such association, and the date of issuance of policy as herein limited shall refer to the date of admission to membership in such association; the term "insured" shall include any person who is the holder of a policy as defined in this article; the term "insurer" shall include any corporation, partnership, or other form of association which secures or provides insurance under any policy as defined in this article.

SEC. 401. That the benefits of this article shall apply to any person in military service who is the holder of a policy of life insurance, when such holder shall apply for such benefits on a form prepared in accordance with regulations, which shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and in all cases where under the terms of the contract of insurance any person other than the insured has a vested interest therein the consent of such other person shall be included in such application. Such form shall set forth particularly that the application therein made is a consent to such modification of the terms of the original contract of insurance as are made necessary by the provisions of this act, and by receiving and filing the same the insurer shall be deemed to have assented thereto to the extent, if any, to which the policy on which the application is made is within the provisions of this article. The original or such application shall be sent by the insured to the insurer and a copy thereof to the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance.

Second. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance shall send to every person in the military service a notice explaining in simple language the provisions of this article and inclosing forms for the making of applications for its benefits.

SEC. 402. That the benefits of this act shall be available to any person in military service in respect of contracts of insurance in force under their terms up to but not exceeding a face value of $5,000, irrespective of the number of policies held by such person, whether in one or more companies, when such contracts were made and a premium was paid thereon before September 1, 1917; but in no event shall the provisions of this article apply to any policy on which premiums are due and unpaid for a period of more than one year at the time when application for the benefits of this article is made.

SEC. 403. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance shall, subject to regulations, which shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, compile and maintain a list of such persons in military service as have made application for the benefits of this article, and shall (1) reject any applications for such benefits made by persons who are not persons in military service; (2) reject any applications for such benefits in excess of the amount permitted by section 402; and (3) reject any applications in respect of contracts of insurance otherwise not entitled to the benefits of this article. Said bureau shall immediately notify the insurer and the insured in writing of every rejection or approval.

SEC. 404. That when one or more applications are made under this article by any one person in military service in respect of insurance exceeding a total face value of $5,000, whether on one or more policies or in one or more companies, the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance shall, in its discretion, select which of such applications shall be rejected, and where necessary for bringing the total benefits conferred within the face value of $5,000 shall direct the insurer to divide any policy into two separate policies. The said bureau shall immediately notify the insurer and the insured in writing of such selection.

SEC. 405. That no policy of insurance which has not lapsed for the nonpayment of premium before the commencement of the period of military service of the insured, and to which the benefits of this article

have been extended, shall lapse or be forfeited for the nonpayment of premium during the period of such service or during one year after the expiration of such period: *Provided*, That in no case shall this prohibition extend for more than one year after the termination of the war.

SEC. 406. That within the first 15 days of each calendar month after the date of approval of this act until the expiration of one year after the termination of the war every insurance corporation or association to which application has been made, as herein provided, for the benefits of this article shall render to the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance a report, duly verified, setting forth the following facts:

First. The names of the persons who have applied for such benefits, and the face value of the policies in respect of which such benefits have been applied for by such persons, during the preceding calendar month:

Second. A list, as far as practicable, of the premiums in respect of policies entitled to the benefits of this article which remain unpaid on the last day of the preceding calendar month, which day is at least 31 days after the due date of the premiums, provided such premiums have not previously been so reported as in default.

Third. A list of premiums which, having been previously reported as in default, have been paid by the policyholder or some one on his behalf, in whole or in part, during the preceding calendar month.

Fourth. A computation of the difference between the total amount of defaulted premiums therein reported and the total amount of premiums paid as therein reported, after having been previously reported as in default. From this sum shall be deducted the total sum of any premiums previously reported as in default, upon policies in respect of which the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance has, since the date of such report, rejected an application for the benefits of this article. The final sum so arrived at shall be denominated the monthly difference.

SEC. 407. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance shall verify the computation of monthly difference reported by each insurer, and shall certify it, as corrected, to the Secretary of the Treasury and the insurer.

SEC. 408. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, within 10 days thereafter, deliver each month to the proper officer of each insurer bonds of the United States in the nearest amount of round figures to the monthly difference certified in respect of each insurer. Such bonds shall be registered in the names of the respective insurers, who shall be entitled to receive the interest accruing thereon, and such bonds shall not be transferred or again registered except upon the approval of the Director of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, and shall remain in the possession of the insurer until settlement is made in accordance with this article: *Provided*, That whenever the fact of insolvency shall be ascertained by the Director of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance all obligation on the part of the United States, under this article, for future premiums on policies of such insurer shall thereupon terminate.

SEC. 409. That the bonds so delivered shall be held by the respective insurers as security for the payment of the defaulted premiums with interest. To indemnify it against loss the United States shall have a first lien upon the value of any policy receiving the benefits of this article, and no loan or settlement shall be made by the insurer on such policy which may prejudice the security of such lien.

SEC. 410. That in the event that the military service of any person being the holder of a policy receiving the benefits of this article shall be terminated by death, the amount of any unpaid premiums, with interest at the rate provided for in the policy for policy loans, shall be deducted from the proceeds of the policy and shall be included in the next monthly report of the insurer as premiums paid.

SEC. 411. That if the insured does not within one year after the termination of his period of military service pay to the insurer all past-due premiums, with interest thereon from their several due dates at the rate provided in the policy for policy loans, the policy shall at the end of such year immediately lapse and become void, and the insurer shall thereupon become liable to pay the cash surrender value thereof, if any: *Provided*, That if the insured is in the military service at the termination of the war such lapse shall occur and surrender value be payable at the expiration of one year after the termination of the war.

SEC. 412. That at the expiration of one year after the termination of the war there shall be an account stated between each insurer and the United States, in which the following items shall be credited to the insurer:

(1) The total amount of the monthly differences reported under this article;

(2) The difference between the total interest received by the insurer upon the bonds held by it as security and the total interest upon such monthly differences at the rate of 5 per cent per annum; and in which there shall be credited to the United States the amount of the cash surrender value of each policy lapsed or forfeited as provided in section 411, but not in any case a greater amount on any policy than the total of the unpaid premiums with interest thereon at the rate provided for in the policy for policy loans.

SEC. 413. That the balance in favor of the insurer shall, in each case, be paid to it by the United States upon the surrender by the insurer of the bonds delivered to it from time to time by the Secretary of the Treasury under the provisions of this article.

SEC. 414. That this article shall not apply to any policy which is void or which may at the option of the insurer be voidable, if the insured is in military service, either in this country or abroad, nor to any policy which as a result of being in military service, either in this country or abroad, provides for the payment of any sum less than the face thereof or for the payment of an additional amount as premium.

SEC. 415. That this article shall apply only to insurance companies or associations which are required by the law under which they are organized or doing business to maintain a reserve, or which, if not so required, have made or shall make provision for the collection from all those insured in such insurer of a premium to cover the special war risk of those insured persons who are in military service.

ARTICLE V.

TAXES AND PUBLIC LANDS.

SEC. 500. (1) That the provisions of this section shall apply when any taxes or assessments, whether general or special, falling due during the period of military service in respect of real property owned and occupied for dwelling or business purposes by a person in military service or his dependents at the commencement of his period of military service and still so occupied by his dependents or employees, are not paid.

(2) When any person in military service, or any person in his behalf, shall file with the collector of taxes, or other officer whose duty it is to enforce the collection of taxes or assessments, an affidavit showing (a) that a tax or assessment has been assessed upon property which is the subject of this section, (b) that such tax or assessment is unpaid, and (c) that by reason of such military service the ability of such person to pay such tax or assessment is materially affected, no sale of such property shall be made to enforce the collection of such tax or assessment, or any proceeding or action for such purpose commenced, except upon leave of court granted upon an application made therefor by such collector or other officer. The court thereupon may stay such proceedings or such sale, as provided in this act, for a period extending not more than six months after the termination of the war.

(3) When by law such property may be sold or forfeited to enforce the collection of such tax or assessment, such person in military service shall have the right to redeem or commence an action to redeem such property, at any time not later than six months after the termination of such service, but in no case later than six months after the termination of the war; but this shall not be taken to shorten any period now or hereafter provided by the laws of any State or Territory for such redemption.

(4) Whenever any tax or assessment shall not be paid when due, such tax or assessment due and unpaid shall bear interest until paid at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, and no other penalty or interest shall be incurred by reason of such nonpayment. Any lien for such unpaid taxes or assessment shall also include such interest thereon.

SEC. 501. That no right to any public lands initiated or acquired prior to entering military service by any person under the homestead laws, the desert-land laws, the mining-land laws, or any other laws of the United States, shall be forfeited or prejudiced by reason of his absence from such land, or of his failure to perform any work or make any improvements thereon, or to do any other act required by any such law during the period of such service. Nothing in this section contained shall be construed to deprive a person in military service or his heirs or devisees of any benefits to which he or they may be entitled under the act entitled "An act for the relief of homestead entrymen or settlers who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war," approved July 28, 1917; the act entitled "An act for the protection of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war," approved August 7, 1917; the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," approved August 10, 1917; the joint resolution "To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the military or naval service of the United States as officers or enlisted men from performing assessment work during the term of such service," approved July 17, 1917; or any other act or resolution of Congress: *Provided*, That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to limit or affect the right of a person in the military service to take any action during his term of service that may be authorized by law, or the regulations of the Interior Department thereunder, for the perfection, defense, or further assertion of rights initiated prior to the date of entering military service, and it shall be lawful for any person while in military service, to make any affidavit or submit any proof that may be required by law, or the practice of the General Land Office in connection with the entry, perfection, defense, or further assertion of any rights initiated prior to entering military service, before the officer commanding in the branch of the service in which the party is engaged, which affidavits shall be as binding in law and with like penalties as if taken before the Register of the United States Land Office.

ARTICLE VI.

ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES.

SEC. 600. That where in any proceeding to enforce a civil right in any court it is made to appear to the satisfaction of the court that any interest, property, or contract has since the date of the approval of this act been transferred or acquired with intent to delay the just enforcement of such right by taking advantage of this act, the court shall enter such judgment or make such order as might lawfully be entered or made irrespective of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 601. (1) That in any proceeding under this act a certificate signed by The Adjutant General of the Army as to persons in the Army or in any branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Army, signed by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department as to persons in the Navy or in any other branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Navy, and signed by the Major General Commandant, United States Marine Corps, as to persons in the Marine Corps, or in any other branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Marine Corps, or signed by an officer designated by any of them, respectively, for the purpose, shall when produced be prima facie evidence as to any of the following facts stated in such certificate:

That a person named has not been, or is, or has been in military service; the time when and the place where such person entered military service, his residence at that time, and the rank, branch, and unit of such service that he entered, the dates within which he was in military service, the monthly pay received by such person at the date of issuing the certificate, the time when and place where such person died in or was discharged from such service.

It shall be the duty of the foregoing officers to furnish such certificate on application, and any such certificate when purporting to be signed by any one of such officers or by any person appearing upon the face of the certificate to have been so authorized shall be prima facie evidence of its contents and of the authority of the signer to issue the same.

(2) Where a person in military service has been reported missing he shall be presumed to continue in the service until accounted for, and no period herein limited which begins or ends with the death of such person shall begin or end until the death of such person is in fact reported to or found by the Department of War or Navy, or any court or board thereof, or until such death is found by a court of competent jurisdiction: *Provided*, That no period herein limited which begins or ends with the death of such person shall be extended hereby beyond a period of six months after the termination of the war.

SEC. 602. That any interlocutory order made by any court under the provisions of this act may, upon the court's own motion or otherwise, be revoked, modified, or extended by it upon such notice to the parties affected as it may require.

SEC. 603. That this act shall remain in force until the termination of the war, and for six months thereafter.

SEC. 604 That this act may be cited as the soldiers' and sailors' civil rights act

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate on this bill may be limited to one hour, 30 minutes of that time to be controlled by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] and 30 minutes by myself. And, of course, as

my friend from Wisconsin suggests, the debate shall be confined to the bill itself and not general.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent——

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to ask the gentleman from North Carolina whether it is the intention to go on with the consideration of the bill to-night under the five-minute rule?

Mr. WEBB. No, sir; it is not.

Mr. MADDEN. And whether they intend to finish general debate to-night?

Mr. WEBB. The gentleman will understand there will be no five-minute debate under the rule under which we are considering this bill.

Mr. MADDEN. But it will be open for amendment.

Mr. WEBB. Of course. I will state to my friend that I thought we might get some debate in to-night and finish the bill to-morrow.

Mr. MADDEN. How long does the gentleman intend to run?

Mr. WEBB. My friend from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] suggests that we might adjourn now. I would like to know the temper of the House about it.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman in charge of this bill whether an opportunity will be given to amend it or not?

Mr. WEBB. Absolutely.

Mr. ROBBINS. There are several sections that I think ought to be amended slightly.

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend that the chairman of the committee and the committee itself would be glad to have any gentlemen offer any amendment that they have to offer to this bill.

Mr. ROBBINS. Those that I will propose will strengthen the bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I hope the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] will find it consistent and convenient to rise at this time. To-morrow we have not anything of consequence, and we can finish the bill then.

Mr. WEBB. If we can agree on one hour for general debate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] asks unanimous consent that general debate on this bill continue for one hour, half of the time to be controlled by himself and half by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD], and that the debate shall be confined to the bill. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. CANNON. There are many paragraphs in this bill amending various sections. As one Member of the House, I have not read the bill and the report thoroughly. I tried to listen to it, but was interrupted while it was being read. It seems to me if the gentleman will modify his motion or his request to let the bill be considered under the five-minute rule, paragraph by paragraph, as it would be considered in the Committee of the Whole, it seems to me with that agreement it can be completed to-morrow. And it is so important a bill that while I have no doubt he is outside of it himself, being the chairman of the committee that has reported it, yet I believe Members generally would like to have a little time for a short debate.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to considering it section by section under the five-minute rule, provided we can have some agreement as to when we will vote on the bill to-morrow afternoon. I am willing to agree to that if we can vote on the bill at 4.30 or 5 o'clock p. m.

Mr. GILLETT. I do not think the gentleman ought to limit the time. I think there is no disposition to delay it. On a bill like this there is usually debate and amendment.

Mr. WEBB. My only wish in getting the bill through early is to aid early adjournment. I think if we can get it through we will adjourn at 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoon.

Mr. GILLETT. I understand the Senate will not pass it this session.

Mr. WEBB. It is for us to get through with it, and let them consider it in December. I would not want to hold it over here Friday and Saturday. We have got conference reports to come in.

Mr. CANNON. I do not think there is any disposition to delay it, not on my part, anyway, and yet it is so important a bill that I think it ought to be considered under the five-minute rule, paragraph by paragraph.

Mr. WEBB. I hope the gentleman will not insist on that, because we are going to adjourn now, and to-morrow every Member can offer amendments. It will kill a lot of time if we go over it section by section.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is not a Union Calendar bill. It makes a charge on the Treasury.

Mr. WEBB. I do not think it makes any charge on the Treasury.

Mr. STAFFORD. It makes a charge in the way of bonds, and the like. But there is no desire to delay the consideration of this bill.

Mr. GILLETT. If the gentleman does not agree to take it up by paragraph under the five-minute rule, anyone who gets the floor will have an hour, and they can debate it as long as you please, if amendments are offered. It seems to me it would expedite the consideration of the bill to take it up by paragraphs.

Mr. WEBB. I would like to get unanimous consent for general debate to-night, and then we can agree about the five-minute rule to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. GILLETT. What does the gentleman mean by general debate? Does he mean by general debate that after general debate is completed, if a man offers an amendment he will have an hour?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. And you do not mean to cut that off?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; I would——

Mr. GILLETT. What do you mean by it, then? Technically, there is not any such thing as general debate, as I understand it, on such a bill.

Mr. WEBB. I understand this, that everybody wants to get the bill passed, and nobody wants to speak an hour on an amendment. In good faith I do not think he will. I think if a gentleman has an amendment he will cover it in 5 or 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Why not accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]? That is the easiest way.

Mr. WEBB. I did not understand the gentleman suggested cutting out general debate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman suggested, as the Chair understood it, that after this general debate the bill was to be taken up and read section by section, and adopted under the five-minute rule, as in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. CANNON. Debate it or amend it; yes. I do not care whether you have general debate or not.

Mr. GILLETT. You ought to have general debate to explain it.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I feel like my brethren on this side that some members of the committee ought to have time to explain the bill, and there should be some time allowed on the other side in general debate. But I have no objection to taking the bill up under the five-minute rule immediately after we have consumed an hour in general debate.

The SPEAKER. The whole request is that the general debate shall not exceed an hour, one half to be controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] and the other half by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD], and be confined to the bill; and after that the bill shall be taken up and read by sections and debated under the five-minute rule as it exists in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

URGENT DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to file at any time before midnight the conference report on the urgent deficiency bill, H. R. 5949, and that that report and accompanying statement be printed in the RECORD and also in report form.

Mr. MADDEN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, are there any additions to the bill as it left the House, since it went into conference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. This is only the formal presentation for printing under the rule, but the statement can not be completed before the House is likely to adjourn.

Mr. MADDEN. What I want to find out is whether anything has been added to the bill since it went into conference.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, no; and no rights will be prejudiced, because the Members will have the same rights as if I presented the conference report now.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it a complete report?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is a complete report, and on matters on which some discussion was had I have conferred with Members.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, asks unanimous consent that he be permitted to file the conference report on the bill H. R. 5949, the urgent deficiency bill, at any

time between now and midnight, and that the report and statement be printed in the RECORD——

Mr. FITZGERALD. And in report form——

The SPEAKER. And also in report form. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair directs whoever has charge of that printing to attend to it.

COPIES OF THE WAR-REVENUE ACT.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that 44,000 copies of the new revenue law, H. R. 4280, as approved, be printed for the use of the House, 6,480 copies to go to the document room, 35,520 copies to the folding room, and 2,000 copies to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would like to know how far that apportionment will meet the demands of each Member of the House.

Mr. BARNHART. Eighty copies will go to each Member.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It will be a uniform distribution, will it? Each Member will be entitled to 80 copies?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes. The 6,480 copies will go to the document room. There are already large demands on the document room by correspondents for copies of the law. I understand from members of the Committee on Ways and Means that there is also a large number of demands pending before that committee. I will state to the House that we ought to have more copies; but we are now near the end of the session, and I do not know whether it will be possible to get a quorum of the Committee on Printing and put through a concurrent resolution and get it through the Senate, but under this action we can get some copies for our own use.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will say to the gentleman that I know it has been expected that a request would be made for 50,000 copies. It was felt during the conference that that number of copies would be required to meet the urgent demands of the Members. Why could not 10,000 copies be added to the 44,000?

Mr. BARNHART. Because the House is authorized to print only $500 worth of documents without the concurrence of the Senate. If we should go above that amount, we would have to get the concurrence of the Senate.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has the gentleman any reason to believe he could not get the concurrence of the Senate? I believe he could.

Mr. BARNHART. It is a risk. I think the Members of the House would prefer to have 80 copies at this time rather than none.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, may I make this inquiry: Is there anything to prevent our passing this House resolution, and the gentleman also introducing a concurrent resolution providing for additional copies?

Mr. BARNHART. No; there would not be anything to prevent that.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman realizes that there will be a tremendous demand upon Members for copies of this act?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; there will be.

Mr. STAFFORD. I approve of the gentleman's desire to get as many copies as possible under the rules of the House.

Mr. BARNHART. I apprehend every Member of this House will have requests for at least a thousand copies.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is not the gentleman willing to pass this resolution, getting as many as can be obtained under the authority of the House, and then introduce a concurrent resolution providing for an additional number?

Mr. BARNHART. I think that would be entirely proper.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In support of the suggestion for an additional number I wish to say that the collector of internal revenue at Philadelphia has announced publicly that he can not be expected to furnish blanks, and that business men and others interested in this revenue law must take notice from the newspapers and from the passage of the law itself and be ready to comply with it. That is only one of hundreds of cities that will be similarly affected. In consequence of that sort of a notice, coming officially from a representative of the Government in a great city, business men will be compelled to send to Members of Congress for copies of this law in order to know how to make their returns. Forty-four thousand copies will be a mere drop in the bucket to the demand that is coming. I imagine there will be 44,000 business men in my city alone who will want copies of this law within the next month. Of course, it may be separately printed, and some copies may be printed at private expense; but the Members of Congress ought to be able to supply at least a reasonable demand for a law of such far-reaching consequences as this.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] asks unanimous consent to have printed 44,000 copies of the revenue bill, 6,480 to go to the document room, 35,520 to the folding room, and 2,000 to the Committee on Ways and Means. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, even if we print a less number of copies, can not the gentleman have it printed in large type?

Mr. BARNHART. That would increase the size of the document and decrease the number of copies.

Mr. CANNON. I know it would; but if it is printed in the ordinary document type, can it not be double leaded? It is almost impossible for the nonprofessional man to read this fine print.

Mr. BARNHART. I appreciate that, but it is proposed to print it in bill form, consisting of 48 pages, and that is the type in which it will be printed.

Mr. CANNON. That is satisfactory to me.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was under the impression that the gentleman was going to have it printed in document form.

Mr. BARNHART. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means suggests that we have it printed in this form.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BARNHART. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. When will this document be ready for distribution?

Mr. BARNHART. They have the forms on the press now, and it can be rushed out, but I could not say just how soon.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Does the gentleman think it will be before the adjournment of this session?

Mr. CANNON. I should think so.

Mr. BARNHART. I apprehend so, although there is now tremendously heavy demand on the Government Printing Office for rush orders.

Mr. STAFFORD. How many more copies could be printed if they were printed in document form?

Mr. BARNHART. In the form of a pamphlet?

Mr. STAFFORD. In the regular document form. For instance, suppose we send to the document room now for a copy of the last income-tax law, the act of September 8, 1916, we get it in document form. How many copies would be available to Members if printed in that form?

Mr. BARNHART. It would be impossible to say without an estimate from the Printer. There would be a decrease in the number of pages and in the size of the type, but the reduction in size of the page would have to be reckoned in estimating. I could not tell what it would be or cost without an estimate from the Printer.

Mr. MADDEN. The bill size makes it much easier to find out what its provisions are.

Mr. BARNHART. The gentleman from Illinois prefers the bill type?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. BARNHART. I think it more convenient.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that 110,000 copies of the bill H. R. 5723, known, I believe, as the war-risk insurance bill, be printed for the use of the House and distributed through the folding room. That, Mr. Speaker, will give to each Member 240 copies.

Mr. GILLETT. But that bill has not passed.

Mr. BARNHART. No; neither has the revenue bill been signed, but I ask to print it after it is perfected.

Mr. STAFFORD. The revenue bill is not a law yet.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to print 110,000 copies of the bill known as the soldiers' life insurance bill, which shall go to the folding room.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman one question. I have received several requests for copies of the revenue bill, and may I ask the gentleman when they will be ready?

Mr. BARNHART. I can not tell, except that I had a conversation with the Public Printer a few minutes ago, and he said that they had the forms all ready and could get them out at a very early date, whatever that may mean.

Mr. FARR. They expect to have the laws in the document room on Saturday.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, do I understand the gentleman to request the printing of the war-insurance bill in the form that it passed the House?

Mr. BARNHART. No; in the form that it will be when enacted.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana that 110,000 copies of the soldiers' life insurance bill in the form when signed by the President be printed and go to the folding room?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech delivered by our distinguished fellow Member, Dr. FESS, of Ohio, on September 27 last, on the Wilbur Wright Field at Dayton, Ohio, on the occasion of the dedication of the clubhouse, on the subject of the part that aviation is expected to play in this war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing an address by Dr. FESS on aviation. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on common sense and war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 4, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for examination and classification of lands for homesteads required by the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 375), was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. KITCHIN, from the Committee on Ways and Means, to which was referred the bill (S. 2203) for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry and delivery for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 182), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. RAINEY, from the Committee on Ways and Means, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 99) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within three years from the date of entry into the United States, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 183), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 6421) to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIORDAN: A bill (H. R. 6422) to provide in the existing emergency for naval protection of the country's chief commercial port and signally increase the exigently needed national revenue through development of traffic and transportation in the most populous industrial section of the Republic by the soonest achievable completion, at the least feasible cost, of improvement of East River, Hell Gate, Little Hell Gate, Harlem Kills, and Upper Bay in the harbor of New York, and improvement of the harbor of Buffalo; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HOWARD: Resolution (H. Res. 162) directing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to deliver certain documents relating to contracts for curbing; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND: A bill (H. R. 6423) granting a pension to Katie Edds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6424) granting an increase of pension to Felix Gremore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6425) granting a pension to William Alligee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6426) granting a pension to Virgil O. Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6427) granting a pension to W. N. Bridges; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6428) granting an increase of pension to Elijah Edington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6429) granting an increase of pension to Pleasant Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6430) granting a pension to Marion F. Halbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6431) granting an increase of pension to Jehu P. Kinman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6432) granting an increase of pension to James M. Kirk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6433) granting an increase of pension to John R. Lane; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6434) granting an increase of pension to John Mallett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6435 granting an increase of pension to James A. Padgett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6436) granting an increase of pension to George Wegner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6437) granting an increase of pension to Cad W. Savage; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6438) granting an increase of pension to David M. Bedwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6439) granting a pension to John W. Ramsen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 6440) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Page; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: A bill (H. R. 6441) granting an increase of pension to John F. Whipple; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 6442) granting a pension to Martha A. Curtis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TEMPLETON: A bill (H. R. 6443) for the relief of John Bray; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Commercial Credit Co., of Baltimore, Md., favoring House bill 6110; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of the Lilley Council No. 16, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Hartford, Conn., and General Mansfield Council, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, of Middletown, Conn., in support of House bills 4852 and 5369; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McKEOWN: Resolutions of the Oklahoma Federation of Labor, indorsing the declaration of the recent action of affiliated and international unions, favoring the perpetuity of democratic institutions in all nations; to the Committee on Labor.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 4, 1917.*

(Legislative day of Tuesday, October 2, 1917.)

The Senate reassembled at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

JOSEPH S. M'COY.

Mr. SMOOT. Out of order, I submit a Senate resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 140) was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Joseph S. McCoy, for extra services as expert actuary and statistician rendered to the Senate Committee on Finance during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, $1,600.

STOCK-RAISING HOMESTEADS.

Mr. KENDRICK, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 2493) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report (No. 146) thereon.

WITHDRAWAL OF COMMUNICATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On Monday the Chair inadvertently laid before the Senate a communication from W. E. D. Stokes, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The Chair had no intention of laying that communication before the Senate. It is one that the Chair believes the Chair ought not to have laid before the Senate. The Chair now asks unanimous consent to withdraw the communication and have it considered as never having been referred. Is there any objection? [After a pause.] The Chair withdraws it.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brady	James	Norris	Simmons
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Page	Smoot
Curtis	Kendrick	Pittman	Swanson
Fernald	McNary	Poindexter	Warren
Hale	Martin	Robinson	Williams
Hardwick	Myers	Shafroth	
Hollis	New	Sheppard	

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. I will let this announcement stand for the present.

Mr. JAMES. I wish to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] by reason of illness in his family. I ask that this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of illness, and to state that he is paired with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER]. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Twenty-six Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. DILLINGHAM, Mr. JONES of New Mexico, Mr. KENYON, Mr. MCCUMBER, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, Mr. STONE, Mr. SUTHERLAND, and Mr. VARDAMAN answered to their names when called.

Mr. MCKELLAR, Mr. GERRY, Mr. HARDING, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FRANCE, Mr. STERLING, and Mr. COLT entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. PITTMAN. I desire to announce that the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] are detained on official business.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. HUGHES] is absent by reason of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, Mr. KELLOGG, Mr. WOLCOTT, Mr. KING, Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. KNOX, Mr. FALL, Mr. CULBERSON, and Mr. OVERMAN entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. KING. I wish to announce that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] is detained on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-one Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. House bill 5723 is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment.

Mr. ROBINSON. I suggest to the Senator from Mississippi, in charge of the bill, that the committee amendment on page 31, line 15, which was passed over yesterday until to-day by consent be now taken up for consideration. [After a pause.] I am apprised that the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] desires to address the Senate, and I will withhold the suggestion for the present.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suggest that we take up this amendment and get rid of it, and then the Senator from Utah can proceed.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Senator from Utah desires to proceed now, I understand.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well.

JOSEPH S. M'COY.

Mr. SMOOT. Before beginning my remarks upon the pending bill, out of order I ask unanimous consent to submit a favorable report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate on a Senate resolution, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 140) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed, to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Joseph S. McCoy for extra services as expert actuary and statistician rendered to the Senate Committee on Finance during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, $1,600.

Mr. SMOOT. Last evening I introduced Senate joint resolution 103 for the same purpose. Since introducing that joint resolution, which was passed yesterday, the auditor has informed me that the amount of $1,600 can be paid from the fund for contingent expenses of the Senate without a joint resolution notwithstanding the provision in the law, section 1736 of the Revised Statutes. Therefore, the Senate having passed the Senate resolution, I move to reconsider the votes by which the Senate joint resolution 103 was ordered to a third reading and passed last evening.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I move that the joint resolution be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

PRINTING OF WAR-REVENUE ACT.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which I report from the Committee on Printing to print additional copies of the war-revenue law. I do this at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Finance.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 141) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed 41,000 additional copies of Public Act, No. —, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses," for the use of the Senate Folding Room.

PUBLIC-LAND ENTRIES.

Mr. SHAFROTH. In behalf of the Committee on Public Lands I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 5082) providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States, and I submit a report (No. 145) thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill. I will state that the bill simply provides that a soldier can make an affidavit before the commanding officer instead of having to go to the land district, which the law now requires.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am informed that it will not take any time of the Senate, but I give notice if it takes over 10 minutes I shall call for the regular order.

Mr. SHAFROTH. It will not take any time, I think.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the continuance of the present war with Germany, and until his discharge from service, any man serving in the armed forces of the United States, who, prior, to the beginning of his services was a settler, an applicant, or entryman under the land laws of the United States, or who has, prior to enlistment, filed a contest, with the view of exercising preference right of entry therefor, may make any affidavit required by law or regulation of the department, af-

fecting such application, entry or contest, or necessary to the making of entry in the case of the successful termination of such contest awarding him preference right of entry before his commanding officer as provided in section 2293 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which affidavits shall be as binding in law and with like penalties as if taken before the Register of the United States Land Office.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in discussing the pending bill, I wish to state that, as to Article II and Article III of the bill, Article II being the provision for family allowances and Article III for compensation or, in other words, a pension for certain soldiers and sailors in the Army and Navy of the United States, I most heartily approve of the principle. I think that legislation of this kind should have been enacted many years ago, but I also think, Mr. President, that there should be something said at this time in relation to the cost to the Government that the passage of this bill will entail, particularly so if Article IV of the bill is agreed to as reported to the Senate. I will say, so far as I am concerned, that if the compensation provided in Article III is not sufficient, or if the Senate shall deem it too small an allowance, I should very much prefer to increase the family allowance or compensation to voting for Article IV, which is known as the insurance provision.

There is a new bureau proposed to be created in the Treasury Department, to be known as the division of marine and seamen's insurance and a division of military and naval insurance in charge of a commissioner of marine and seamen's insurance and a commissioner of military and naval insurance, respectively.

In section 14 of the bill authority is given to employ an unlimited number of experts, as well as other employees, and yet there is only provision made for the payment of the expenses of this bureau for the coming fiscal year to the amount of $100,000. No one will doubt for a moment that that amount is insufficient. We have established the Federal Trade Commission and other commissions within the last few years; we have established bureaus in the various departments; and in the initial appropriations which have been made for those commissions and bureaus there is scarcely one of the commissions which has not cost two, three, four, or five times the amount appropriated in the bill creating them. When the Senate stops and thinks of the immense amount of work which will be entailed upon this bureau, if Article IV is put into effect, every one will at once realize that the amount of $100,000 is a mere bagatelle.

In section 18 there is provided an appropriation of $141,000,000. That sum is to be known as the military and naval family allowance appropriation, and is to be for the payment of the family allowances provided in Article II of this bill.

Mr. President, I ask Senators to turn to Article II, and observe the rate therein provided in class A and in class B. This clause is found near the bottom of page 15, and is as follows:

Subject to the conditions, limitations, and exceptions hereinabove and hereinafter specified, the family allowance payable per month shall be as follows:
Class A—

And it is compulsory on the part of the soldier to pay at least $15 of his monthly compensation in order that this family allowance shall be given to those who are named in class A—

Class A. In the case of a man, to his wife (including a former wife divorced) and to his child or children:
(a) If there be a wife, but no child, $15.
(b) If there be a wife and one child, $25.
(c) If there be a wife and two children, $32.50, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.
(d) If there be no wife, but one child, $5.
(e) If there be no wife, but two children, $12.50.
(f) If there be no wife, but three children, $20.
(g) If there be no wife, but four children, $30, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.

Then, in class B, under which it is voluntary on the part of the soldier to have the half of his pay retained in order that the beneficiaries under class B may receive the amount of allowance named, the provision is as follows:

Class B. In the case of a man or woman, to a grandchild, a parent, brother, or sister:
(a) If there be one parent, $10.
(b) If there be two parents, $20.
(c) For each grandchild, brother, sister, and additional parent, $5.
In the case of a woman, to a child or children:
(d) If there be one child, $5.
(e) If there be two children, $12.50.
(f) If there be three children, $20.
(g) If there be four children, $30, with $5 per month additional for each additional child.

Mr. President, it is provided that in no case shall there be a month allowance to the dependents in class B or to the relatives named in class A of more than $50 per month. I want Senators to understand that each soldier, if $15 of his salary is retained toward the support of the persons named in classes A and B, can not only name the wife as the beneficiary, who would get $25 per month and from five to ten dollars additional for each child, according to number, but if he has a brother or a sister or a parent or a grandchild, each one can be added to the allowance to the wife; and so if there be one, two, three, or whatever number of children he may have, but in the combination there could be only $50 paid by the Government of the United States per month in any case.

I think it is fair to assume that the average monthly compensation or the family allowance under Article II will amount at least to $35 per month; in many cases the combination will be such that it will amount to $50; and I think in no case would the combination be less than $25. The sum of $35 per month means $420 per annum. We all know that provision has already been made, and that the next draft will fill our Army, so that there will be in the United States Army 2,033,000 soldiers and some 300,000 officers. So I think it is fair to state that at least a million of our soldiers will apply for assistance in the way of family allowances; and if that be the case, Mr. President, it will take $420,000,000 per annum to meet the family allowances provided in Article II of this bill. We have provided an appropriation of $141,000,000. That may be sufficient until the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for the reason that the Army is not filled to its maximum number as yet, and for the further reason that three months of the fiscal year have passed, and the bill provides that payments shall not begin until November 1, 1917.

Section 19, on page 6, of the bill provides an appropriation "of $12,150,000, to be known as the military and naval compensation appropriation for the payment of the compensation, funeral expenses, services, and supplies, as provided by Article III."

No one, Mr. President, can state what the actual expense to the Government will be; but it does seem to me, after reading the monthly and weekly reports of casualties amongst the English and the French soldiers and after listening to reports of officers who have returned from the western front in Europe and who have given accounts of some of the great battles which have been fought in France, we can come near estimating, at least, what may be expected if our soldiers become involved in actual conflict in this terrible war, and no Senator doubts that they will become so involved.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, I will state that I saw an article in a publication some days ago in which it was stated that the number of deaths growing out of the fighting in the European war up to that date, which was only a short time ago, had been only 11 in 1,000, and that the total number of wounded and deaths had been 56 in each thousand. According to that estimate, if it were to apply to our troops, what would be the amount of expenditure we would have to make?

Mr. SMOOT. Whatever paper made that statement made a statement that was absolutely contrary to the figures contained in the weekly and monthly reports made by England and France as to the casualties among their soldiers. Let me call attention to the latest reports of losses on the western front. Take the British loss alone for September. I read from a telegraphic report:

LONDON, *September 29.*

British casualties reported during the month of September total 104,598, divided as follows:
Officers killed or died of wounds, 636; men, 18,302.
Officers wounded or missing, 2,151; men, 83,509.

This is for the month of September.

The severity of the fighting——

Mr. WILLIAMS. And there are some 5,000,000 British troops under arms.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think there are 2,000,000 British troops in the trenches; and there is where the fighting takes place and the losses occur.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the statement——

Mr. SMOOT. I trust the Senator will wait until I finish this. I desire to read the weekly report, and then I will yield to the Senator.

The severity of the fighting in which the British have been engaged during September is indicated not only by the total casualties of more than 104,000, but by comparison with the August figures, which were 59,811. Casualties in some of the late August fighting in Flanders are naturally included in the September total, but this may well be offset by late September casualties not reported in time to be covered in the figures announced to-day.

I will now read the weekly report, which is dated October 2:

The British casualties reported for the week ending to-day numbered 21,179, divided as follows:
Killed or died of wounds, officers, 151; men, 3,773.
Wounded or missing, officers, 571; men, 16,724.

Mr. President, if the reports which have come to me from Canadian officers and also from French officers are true, many of the men reported missing have been killed. So, Mr. President, it seems to me——

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I should like to state with reference to the statement to which I have referred that it included only the killed and wounded. As the Senator will observe, in the statement which he has read the missing are included, and they aggregate always, I think, a larger number than either the killed or the wounded; and the fact is commented upon that while the number given was apparently a small percentage, yet it was greater than the casualties which had occurred in any other war in the history of the world. So it seems to me that our losses are not going to be so great as we anticipate.

Mr. SMOOT. I think, Mr. President, that our losses are going to be greater than we anticipate.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator pardon an interruption?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I will yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to say that the number of casualties which the Senator has read includes not only the desperately wounded, the severely wounded, but the slightly wounded.

Mr. SMOOT. Why, nobody has doubts that but even the slightly wounded come under the provisions of this bill. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But if the Senator will pardon me and let me finish the statement, if he yields to me at all——

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In this war a larger proportion of men slightly wounded have been completely rehabilitated than in any war at all prior to this time. The only war that even resembled it was the Russian and the Japanese War. Most of the men who are slightly wounded, with the improved surgical science now, go back to the colors within a few months, perfectly all right.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I would to God that all the predictions made by the two Senators would result as they think they will; but we must understand that when we enter the war with our allies we will find our soldiers on the offensive. We will have to assist in driving the German Army from the positions it occupies to-day; and every army attacking loses more men in proportion than if it were on the defensive.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. If we are going to win this war other than by starving Germany into submission, which some people think can be done, we have got to put in the trenches in Europe not 500,000 or 1,000,000 men but at least 2,000,000 men.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. I wanted simply to correct some of the errors with respect to losses. These late losses on the British front are very much less than the average losses during all of the fighting period of the summer months. They range, commencing with April, during the summer months, all the way from 135,000 to 145,000 on all of the British fronts alone, without reference to the French or any other front.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I heard a Canadian officer make the statement that in driving the German forces 4 miles during the Battle of the Somme there were 975,000 men put out of commission—500,000 and a little over of British men and four hundred and some odd thousand of French men. He told me that he was in the battle from the day it started until the drive of the 4 miles was completed. We have no child's play before us in defeating Germany, and I am not discussing the question as to the percentage of our soldiers that will be killed. All that I am doing is to call attention to the fact that in passing this legislation we want to do it with our eyes open. As far as Articles II and III are concerned, I am ready to support the allowances and compensations provided in them, and, if necessary, provide even greater amounts, because no Senator believes more strongly than I do that the Government of the United States ought to take care of its soldiers and their families.

Now, Mr. President, suppose it does cost billions of dollars—and the passage of this bill will cost the Government billions of dollars—we ought to see that the provisions of the bill are such that there will be no discriminations between soldiers and officers, rich and poor, and the money appropriated used to the best advantage. All ought to stand upon the same footing. If the compensation to the families or relatives provided in this bill in case of death is paid to but 200,000 families, and the average monthly compensation in case of death be $50 per month, we can understand what this part of the bill will cost. The bill provides a maximum compensation of $75, but I take it for granted that there will be an average compensation for death of a soldier of $50 per month; and that would amount to $600 each per year, or a total of $120,000,000 per annum. If there are 300,000 soldiers wounded during the whole of the war, their average compensation under the bill no doubt will be $55 per month. The Senators will notice that there is $5 difference between the compensation for death and the compensation for disability. That would be $660 per annum. For 300,000 soldiers the amount would be $318,000,000, or a total under the compensation article of $438,000,000 per annum.

Now, these are not all of the allowances. I think the additional allowances granted in the bill are just as important, and I could defend them even with greater pleasure than I could the allowance of compensation and family allowances.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I will yield to the Senator just as soon as I finish this particular matter.

On page 23 of the bill you will find that, notwithstanding the maximum allowance is $75 in case of disability, there is also a provision made that where the soldier is so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant, an additional sum shall be paid, not exceeding $20 per month. Then, again, on page 24, it is provided:

In addition to the compensation above provided, the injured person shall be furnished by the United States such reasonable governmental medical, surgical, and hospital services and with such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the director may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary.

Again, on page 26, in section 305, it is provided:

That in cases of dismemberment, of injuries to sight or hearing, and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability, the injured person shall follow such course or courses of rehabilitation, reeducation, and vocational training as the United States may provide or procure to be provided. Should such course prevent the injured person from following a substantially gainful occupation while taking same, a form of enlistment may be required which shall bring the injured person into the military or naval service.

A splendid provision; and, Mr. President, after this bill passes, with the above provision in it, I expect to see additional legislation by Congress providing for the erection and maintenance in different parts of the country of institutions for the rehabilitation, the reeducation, and the vocational training of all such soldiers as are named in this section.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, does not the Senator approve of that?

Mr. SMOOT. Why, certainly. As I said before, I commend it. I think it is a splendid provision.

Mr. VARDAMAN. What is the purpose of the Senator's opposition, then?

Mr. SMOOT. I have no opposition to it. The purpose for which I am speaking now is to call the attention of the Senate to the amount that must be hereafter appropriated to meet the provisions of this bill.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Does not the Senator think there is a sufficiently large appropriation provided in the bill to carry out its purpose until the Congress meets again in December?

Mr. SMOOT. I doubt it, Mr. President. But what I want to call the attention of the Senate to is this: Under Title II and under Title III of this bill, providing the amounts for family allowance and compensation, I believe ought to be considered in connection with Title IV of the bill, known as the insurance provision. As I said before, if Title II and Title III do not grant sufficient relief to our soldiers and sailors I am willing to increase it rather than to force the Government into the insurance business as we are doing, and particularly when nobody can tell what the result will be.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit an interruption I want to say just at this point that this bill appeals to me—to my sense of justice and squares absolutely with my idea of the eternal fitness of things. In truth I find it difficult to command language with which to express my unconditional and absolute approval of its purposes. One of the most horrible and disturbing facts connected with this war is the suffering of the dependent fathers, mothers, wives, and children, who would feel so keenly the chilling and harrowing deprivations incident thereto. I have letters by the thousand calling my attention to this fact—letters from wives, pleading for their little ones, aged mothers and fathers asking for the support and protecting care of their sons who have been called to the colors. It is the one act of Congress in all the

great mass of war legislation which recognized the human being, the immortal soul, the anguish, and human suffering, as being of more concern and more importance to the Congress and the people of the country than mere dollars and cents. We know that it is going to be costly. But who cares for the cost when hungry children are crying, when the aged parents, the loving wives are suffering for the necessaries of life? The American people can afford to pay it. They will cheerfully bear any expense that may be necessary in order to keep the wolf of want from the doors of the families of the men who are commanded to give their lives in defense of the Nation's flag upon the blood-soaked soil of France. The man who is fighting his country's battles will make a better soldier if he knows that the Government for which he is fighting is providing the loved ones at home with the essential things of life. Not only will it strengthen the strong arm and nerve the heart of the soldier but it will make a better citizen, a better man, a better woman of the children who are to receive this munificent protection at the hands of their Government.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator has only stated what I have already stated, but in a better way than I did. I approve of all that he says.

I am in sympathy with the provisions of this bill as far as Articles II and III—family allowances and compensation—are concerned; and I think there is where the provision ought to be made for whatever assistance we intend to extend to the soldier or the beneficiaries of the soldier who is disabled or loses his life in the war.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. SMOOT. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to ask the Senator whether this legislation is intended to supersede and take the place of the general pension legislation to which the Government has been committed for many years?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it does not interfere with any of the present pension laws; but the supposed object of the legislation is to prevent any future pensions being granted to soldiers and sailors of the Army and the Navy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And the way in which we do that is to deprive the soldier who resorts to pensions from the compensation and other benefits of this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Right on that point I want the Senator's judgment. A soldier must be wounded in battle before he can get any relief under this law, must he not?

Mr. POMERENE. No.

Mr. SMOOT. Before he can get any compensation under the law. He can get a family allowance under the law whether he is wounded or not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And for the first time in the history of the country that is true under this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Now, suppose a soldier enters the service. Presumably he must be sound in health and bodily vigor or he could not get in. As the result of his exposure he contracts a slow and yet an insidious disease. As a result of exposure he may have pneumonia. He may gradually become afflicted with tuberculosis. Where will that soldier get relief?

Mr. SMOOT. Under the bill if he dies within five years he falls within the provisions of the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not talking about him. If he dies, he is beyond relief. You can not reach him. I want to know where the relief can be found for those that were dependent upon that soldier and gave him to the Union.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that I have no doubt whatever that if this bill passes just as it has been reported to the Senate, without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i," we are going to have pensions granted to the soldiers and sailors of the present war.

Mr. KING. On top of this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Then the whole matter will be taken up by Congress, as it has the power to do, and justice will be done to the deserving men who have given their lives to the country and to their dependent relatives. I suppose, of course, that is our power and will be our privilege and our duty.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will not lose sight of this fact, however: Even if Congress should, in spite of this legislation, resort again to the old pension system, the man who permits Congress to give him a gratuity will receive none of these benefits. The bill provides for that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is, the soldier for whom Congress passes a private pension bill will be deprived of these benefits?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Absolutely.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not concerned about that. I just want to emphasize one phase of it.

During my long service in both Houses of Congress I have had thousands of soldiers in dire distress come to me for relief. I have had soldiers come to me who formed a compact on the field of battle that they never would burden their Government by asking for a pension or any other form of relief; and yet, through the vicissitudes of life, they have become dependent, and with their hearts breaking they have lived up to the agreement they made with their associates. Now, I say that I do not care a rap about any legislation here that will make complainers out of soldiers. I do not want to reward the constant complainer, but I do want the liberty and the privilege of caring for the brave man who not only bears the burdens of his country but bears his own physical distresses with courage and with fortitude. Any legislation that in any way compromises that right I disapprove, and any attempt to build up a stone wall here by which men shall be deprived of the right to apply for pensions in the future, if their necessities require it, does not meet with my approval.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to say to the Senator that Article III of the bill is designated compensation. It is nothing more nor less than a pension, but our Democratic friends shied at the word "pension."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Why? It is an honorable term.

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly; but they substituted for it the word "compensation." I feel just as sure as I live that there will be special pension legislation for the soldiers and widows of the present war notwithstanding the rate of family allowance or compensation provided for in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator will permit me to say a word, I do not like the word "compensation." When a man receives that, he is practically debarred from asking for anything else, no matter what his necessities and his condition may be. When he receives a pension from the Government he may still, if the necessities require, ask for more, and he should have it. I do all honor to Senators on the other side of the Chamber, many of them Confederates in the War of the Rebellion, who sat with me upon the Committee on Pensions and who upheld our hands in every endeavor to recognize appropriately the soldiers of the Union. I do not like this idea, surreptitiously or otherwise, of taking out of the legislation of our country the word "pension." It is an honorable word, and the roll is a roll of honor.

Mr. SMOOT. Now, Mr. President, I will proceed.

Mr. POMERENE rose.

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator from Ohio—I should have done it before.

Mr. POMERENE. I simply want in partial answer to what the Senator from Michigan stated to say that I do not imagine this Congress is going to tie any succeeding Congress down, and if the situation is such in future that it is necessary to give additional relief it will be given from time to time.

But what I rose a moment ago to ask the Senator from Utah is this: He has given some figures here which are startling in their character as to amount that this is going to cost the Government. I desire to say preliminarily that I think we are all anxious to do the right thing here, no matter what that cost is, but as I understood the Senator his amounts were based upon an assumption that in the case of all the deaths there would be many dependents within the definition of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. They are all allowed a family allowance, providing the soldier so designates.

Mr. POMERENE. They are, provided there are dependents.

Mr. SMOOT. In class A they do not have to be dependents at all. In class B they must be dependents.

Mr. POMERENE. But the point I wish to make is that many of the men who are now in the service or will go into the service hereafter will probably not have many dependents within the provisions of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. He would have a dependent if he had a brother or sister or widowed mother. I do not see how many can escape having dependents.

Mr. POMERENE. That is, if they are dependents within the meaning of this act.

Mr. SMOOT. If they are dependents within the meaning of the act, as far as class B is concerned, that is true; but I want to say to the Senator that past experience has shown that there have been very few of them who do not have dependents. Particularly that is the case when the cost of living is so high as it is to-day.

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. GERRY. I should like to ask the Senator from Utah if he means that under class A the soldier's family does not have to be dependent?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly it does have to be dependent.

Mr. GERRY. That was my understanding of the bill.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask the Senator a question? Has he any data showing the number of enlisted men who have dependents as defined here?

Mr. SMOOT. No. That information is in the possession of no one to-day. Of course, that will develop hereafter, and I suppose it is developing each day in the department as new men enter the Army.

Referring to section 7, on page 20 of the bill, there is an appropriation made of $23,000,000 to be known as a military and naval insurance appropriation. Upon the same basis of deaths as stated by me respecting the question of compensation, namely, 200,000 during the whole period of the war, and there is an average insurance of $5,000—not what is the limit of the bill as reported to the Senate, namely, $7,500—but if the average is $5,000—and there is going to be an endeavor on the part of the Senate to increase that $7,500 to $10,000—with $5,000 only, it would mean a payment by the Government of the United States for deaths alone of $1,000,000,000. Not only that, if there are only a million men carrying insurance of $5,000 each, there in an insurance obligation on the part of the Government of the United States of $5,000,000,000. If the amount is $10,000 and half of them take the amount without any of the others taking any part of insurance whatever, it will be $10,000,000,000.

The insurance article is the undefendable part of the bill. Assistance can be rendered in a much more satisfactory way. Therefore, Mr. President, I have prepared amendments that I intend to offer to the bill to obviate at least a part of the unsatisfactory conditions which will arise if Article IV, as reported to the Senate, is adopted.

Do Senators know that $5,000,000,000 of insurance liability is greater than is carried by the three greatest insurance companies in the world? As far as I am concerned, I would much prefer, if the allowances and compensation are not sufficient, to give each soldier a paid-up insurance policy of a couple of thousand dollars. Then we would know approximately what it is going to cost. There could be some justification for such action, particularly if it were acknowledged that the allowances and compensation provided for in the bill are not sufficient.

Mr. President, there is no need for me to call attention to the amount of the allotment either as family allowance or for compensation, because I take it for granted every Senator is familiar with that part of the bill. So I shall hasten on.

I shall now, because I may not have time later in the day, discuss some of the amendments that I intend to offer to the bill. I want to tell the Senate just what they will cost the Government of the United States, as they refer to the veterans of the Civil and Spanish Wars, their widows and dependent children. We have the record of all in the Pension Office and we know just how many of them there are. We know just what the increases will amount to under my amendments, and we can tell exactly what all the amendments that I propose to offer will cost in dollars and cents.

I can not think that the Senate of the United States is going to say to the widows of the Civil War that we shall provide for the widows of the present war to an amount two or three times greater than we are now granting them. I can not believe that the Senate is going to say to a veteran of the Civil War, helplessly bedridden, requiring constant attention, directly due to his wounds or disease in the line of service, that he shall not have the same as the soldier of the present war will receive.

I will offer an amendment as follows:

SEC. 315. That all soldiers, sailors, and marines who are, or who may hereafter become, so totally and permanently helpless from wounds or injuries received or disease contracted in the service and line of duty as to require the regular personal aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to receive a pension at the rate of $100 per month from the date of the passage of this act or of the certificate of the examining surgeon or board of surgeons showing such degree of disability made subsequent to the passage of this act.

It is the same class of soldiers that is provided for in this bill. For the same disability under the existing law they receive $72 and we are providing $100 in the pending bill.

I know that many of the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber are going to claim now is not the time to pass such legislation and that it should not be placed in the pending bill. They will say, "Bring in a bill at the next session of Congress, offer these proposed amendments to existing pension laws, and we will vote for them." I want Senators to know that I am not offering amendments to increase a pension one cent unless the soldier has received wounds and disabilities in line of duty.

I did have an idea of offering an amendment increasing the pension of soldiers and sailors of the Spanish War and of the Civil War to $30 per month in all cases where a small amount was at present being received, but I am not going to do so. However, I am going to have Congress act on legislation of this character at the next session of Congress. There may be some excuse then for saying that that kind of legislation is not germane to this bill.

Mr. KING. Will my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. KING. In view of the enormous expenses which this gigantic conflict imposes upon the country and the great burdens that we are called upon to meet in order to properly prosecute the war, why did not the committee in framing the bill try to adjust the compensation allowed to sailors and soldiers to the same lines as those which prevail with respect to soldiers and sailors of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars? In other words, why did they not adopt the same schedules so nearly as they might that were applicable in the legislation governing the cases just referred to?

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to my colleague that that was discussed in the committee for a number of days. The reason given was that to-day the cost of living is a hundred and sometimes two hundred per cent more than at the time of the passage of the legislation that granted pensions to the Civil War veterans and their widows.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator will pardon me, there is another reason. These men who get these allowances pay something themselves in the shape of allotments. The pensions that exist now are purely gratuities.

Mr. SMOOT. From the Senator's statement there would be certainly a misunderstanding in the mind of Senators. The family allowances and compensations are in addition to the $15 that the Government retains from the pay of the soldier. The Government does not give that $15; the Government takes it from the pay of the soldier. All the family allowances and all the compensation provided in Article II and Article III of the bill are in addition to what is taken from the pay of the soldier. The compensation, as I said before, is nothing more nor less than a pension.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then the Senator must admit the fact that the man is helping himself is a reason for being more generous with him than if he was not helping himself.

Mr. SMOOT. I deny the statement to be a fact. There is not a widow of the Civil War or the Spanish War in the United States to-day who is not doing all that her strength will allow to earn enough to keep her body and soul together and clothe and feed her children. The only difference is that when she earns it the Government does not retain a part of it, but she spends it for herself and for her children all the same. Now, the Government says to the soldier, "We will deduct monthly from your pay $15; we will then hand it to your family."

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HITCHCOCK in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. As the Senator from Mississippi has suggested, the soldier himself pays $15, or a certain amount of this sum; but when comparison is made with what was done for the soldiers of the Civil War, the Senator ought to remember that the Government is now paying the soldier $23 a month more than the soldier of the Civil War received, and is simply taking a proportion of the additional payment that is made to the soldier and turning it over to his dependents.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is true, except as to the Senator's figures. The compensation is $20 more instead of $23 more. We paid them then $13, and we pay them now $33.

Mr. McCUMBER. It is $33 while in France.

Mr. SMOOT. The compensation is $33 while performing foreign service.

Mr. President, we know that the amendment which I have just read would cost the Government of the United States $132,665.04 per annum. There are 397 soldiers who are totally and permanently helpless from wounds and injuries received or disease contracted in the service and in the line of duty who are on the pension rolls to-day. An increase from $72 to $100 means an increase of $28 per month, and makes a total of $132,665.04.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will my colleague yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to his colleague?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. KING. That is, assuming that the same number who are now helpless will so continue, and that there will be no increase?

Mr. SMOOT. There can not be any increase, Mr. President, of which I can conceive.

Mr. KING. I would assume that the diseases from which some of them suffer might in a progressive form bring about total incapacity, whereas now they are only partially incapacitated.

Mr. SMOOT. My colleague must understand that it is now over 50 years since the Civil War, and it is a difficult proposition to prove service origin in the case of any kind of a disease alleged to have originated during the Civil War. That is why there are so many special pension acts passed by Congress.

Mr. KING. I had in mind the Spanish-American War, as well as the Civil War.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, there are some increases, but I will say to the Senator that there will be more deaths than there will be increases.

Mr. President, in the next amendment which I shall propose, Senators will notice, if they have the amendment on their desks, that I have made a change in the amounts provided. The amendment will read as follows:

SEC. 316. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for widows, minor children under the age of 16 years, and helpless minors as defined by existing laws, of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or Philippine insurrection, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll because of the death of the husband or father as the result of wound or injury received or disease contracted in the service and line of duty, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be as follows:

(a) For widow alone, $25.
(b) For a widow and one child, $35.
(c) For a widow and two children, $47.50, with $5 for each additional child up to two.
(d) If there be no widow, then for one child, $20.
(e) For two children, $35.
(f) For three children, $40, and $5 for each additional child up to two.

Mr. NORRIS. Why does the Senator limit the number of children to two?

Mr. SMOOT. The provision is $5 for each additional child up to two.

Mr. NORRIS. But suppose the soldier had three children?

Mr. SMOOT. Then it would be $45, and if he had four children it would be $50.

Mr. NORRIS. The language says, "each additional child up to two."

Mr. SMOOT. The amendment limits it to five children. I am following exactly the wording of the pending bill, so as to put them precisely on the same parallel.

Mr. NORRIS. I know the Senator is doing so; but I have wondered why such a limitation should be placed in any law.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that one reason why it was done was that if there be a widow and five children they will get $50 a month, and under the provision $50 is the total sum allowed. I continue the reading of my amendment:

And the rate of pension for a dependent mother of a soldier, sailor, or marine who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or Philippine insurrection now on the roll, or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $20 per month: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

That is in the exact language of the section which I previously read. I desire the administration of both sections to be under the Commissioner of Pensions, rather than in the new bureau proposed to be created by this bill in the Treasury Department.

Mr. President, this is the result as to the cost to the Government of the provisions of the amendment: The number of Civil War widows, including dependent minor children, is 48,544; the annual cost will be $7,260,828. The number of Spanish-American War widows, including minor children and dependents, is 4,141; the annual cost will be $871,176. The number of dependent mothers is 3,945; the annual cost will be $378,720; or a total under this amendment of $8,510,724. This is proposed in order that all of the widows of the Civil War and of the Spanish-American War shall be put upon the same basis as a widow alone is placed as a result of the present war.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. NORRIS. Before the Senator leaves the amendment on which he is speaking, which applies only to widows who became widows on account of the death of their husbands, the cause of death having originated in some way in the service——

Mr. SMOOT. In the line of service.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes. It does not apply to those widows,

Mr. SMOOT. It does not apply to all widows of soldiers of the Civil War who are now drawing pensions of $20 a month and widows of soldiers of the Spanish-American War who are now drawing pensions of $12 a month.

Mr. NORRIS. As I understand from the figures which the Senator has given as to the number of widows, those are widows who became such on account of the death of their husbands having been caused by service origin.

Mr. SMOOT. Because of their having resulted from service origin.

My next amendment goes further than the one which I have previously read. It provides:

SEC. 316. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or Philippine insurrection, now on the pension roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $25 per month——

Mr. NORRIS. That applies to all of them?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes. The amendment continues:

and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the additional allowance provided by existing pension laws on account of a helpless child or child under 16 years of age: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

Mr. President, under that provision the cost to the United States will be $3,558,636; or, in other words, the number of Civil War widows is 48,544, with a $5 increase, from $20 to $25 per month, which is $60 per annum, or for the widows of the Civil War $2,912,640. The number of Spanish-American War widows is 4,141, and with an increase of $156 each per annum the total increase would be $645,996.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. I want to ask a question in order to make a suggestion to the Senator, and if it is not convenient for him to answer it or discuss it now he can do so at some other time. His amendments bring the idea prominently before anyone considering this subject. The pending bill—which, as the Senator has said, in reality provides a system of pensioning—proposes to create a new bureau in the Treasury Department. The amendments of the Senator from Utah provide that certain increases shall be made in existing pensions, and that the provisions of the amendments shall be administered by the Pension Bureau. Did the committee take into consideration the question of having all this business handled by one bureau? If we have a bureau in the Treasury Department that is to administer this business, would it not be economy to abolish the Pension Bureau? And did the committee consider the advisability, instead of creating a new bureau, of putting it all under the Bureau of Pensions, which is already in operation?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator, I will state that the committee did discuss the question as to whether it was feasible to have the Pension Bureau administer the provisions of this bill. The committee decided that that was not the best thing to do. The question came up as to the advisability of having two bureaus for the purpose of administering pension laws. I will say to the Senator that, in my opinion, Congress at some time in the future will see to it that only one bureau shall be authorized to take care of this character of business. After the war closes, the family allowance part of the bill will be entirely eliminated. The compensation part of the bill, which is the pension part of the bill, can be handled just as well, and better handled, by the present Pension Bureau than by any new bureau of the Government. The bureau which will be built up under the provisions of this bill will be a much larger one than is the Pension Bureau to-day.

Mr. NORRIS. I concede that. Now, let me suggest to the Senator that, if we pass this bill, we shall have two bureaus of the Government doing the same line of work, and that will be so, even though we should provide that that part of the bill which the Senator says will cease to be operative when the war is over, shall be administered by the new bureau in the Treasury Department. Would it not be economy to have the other part of it administered now by the Pension Bureau, which is, as I understand, fully equipped to meet the situation? If we have in the future two bureaus doing the same character of business, one of them looking after pension matters growing out of one war and the other looking after pension matters growing out of different wars, will there not be a likelihood, in addition to the enormous extra expense of having two systems, of one bureau running along one line and another one along another line, so that they will not be performing their functions in the

same way, and perhaps not granting pensions or allowances even in the same degree under the same condition of circumstances.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, if I were running the Government and running it upon business principles, I would have the payment of the compensation provided for in this bill and the family-allowance provision administered by the War Department and by the Navy Department, as has been done under the compensation law of 1916. No complaint has ever been offered as to the administration of that law; no one has ever said that it was not administered fairly and thoroughly. The officials of the War Department know the soldiers, where they are, and the work they are doing, and in many cases in close touch with their families; the officials of the Navy Department know where the sailors are, and what they are doing; they have all the officers under their command and charge, and this whole matter could have been administered by the War Department and the Navy Department by the employment of not one-third of the number of employees who will be required in the new bureau.

Mr. NORRIS. Has the Senator ever estimated how many new employees there will be?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it is absolutely impossible to do that. If the insurance provisions of the bill are retained in it, with payments to be made weekly or monthly, how many employees we are going to have it is impossible to say. I will tell the Senator now, however, that it will be one of the largest bureaus in Washington and will have more employees than have many of the departments of the Government to-day.

Mr. NORRIS. I agree with the Senator; I think he is right.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to his colleague?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. KING. Representative RICHARD WAYNE PARKER, in the other House, in filing the minority views, reviews this bill with a great deal of learning and, to my mind, in a very fair and just manner. He suggests that the establishment of a new bureau is unnecessary and unwise, and indulges in some of the criticisms which, I understand, my colleague has submitted, and, I think, in justice, too, to the Senate. Is it too late, permit me to inquire of the Senator, to frame this bill so as to meet the suggestions just made or to meet the criticisms offered by Mr. PARKER? Were those criticisms considered in the House, and were they considered by the committee of the Senate which has had this bill under consideration?

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to my colleague that it is not too late, but we have not enough votes to do it; and, not only that, but we can not get Senators to listen to the discussion of this bill so that they will understand why such changes ought to be made. I do not expect, Mr. President, that we shall be able to make very many changes in this bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I heard the question propounded by the Senator's colleague [Mr. KING]; I also heard the question propounded by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. Both seem to be laboring under the impression that this bill creates a new bureau. This bill does not do that; this bill amends an act which has already created the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance. We had our choice as to whether the work to be done under this bill should be done by the Bureau of Pensions or by the existing Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, and we thought that the existing Bureau of War-Risk Insurance could do it better. Therefore, we made two divisions in that bureau, one division to take care of the work which they are now doing and the other division to take care of the new work.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, if my colleague will yield, and the Senator from Mississippi will permit me, the War Risk Insurance Bureau, to which the Senator has just referred, has jurisdiction of marine insurance, rather than of insuring the lives and protecting the dependents of soldiers.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand that, but, nevertheless, that bureau is in existence and the Pension Bureau is in existence, and we could have made a new division in either bureau. We thought, however, that, taking it all in all, this business was more nearly cognate to insurance business than it was to pension business. The only part of this measure that is cognate to the pension business is the compensation part. The Senators must remember that when the war closes the allowance and allotment business all stops. Then, what will we have left? The compensation and insurance features. Which one of the two will require the most work? Undoubtedly, the insurance feature will. Perhaps after the war is over the compensation feature of this bill may be turned over to the Pension Bureau; but we did not want to turn over part of this work now to one bureau and part to another.

There was another reason for it: We wanted to keep, so far as we could, in the hands of the Army and the Navy, or the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, this work, because they collect the allotments, and to a very great extent that is done under this bill.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me to proceed——

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator just permit me to make a suggestion to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. While it is true that we do not create a new bureau, we create new divisions in the bureau, and of course we expand the bureau away beyond imagination.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You would have had to do that with the present Pension Bureau if you had created there a new division of insurance.

Mr. NORRIS. Somewhat; but the head would have been the same, the outline would have been the same. But what I rose to suggest was that while this bureau that we are enlarging is already in existence, the law creating it provides that it shall cease operation and go out of business at the close of the war.

Mr. SMOOT. Not only that, Mr. President, but it was only for marine insurance. It amounts to very little. All the compensation that was paid to our soldiers' families when our Army was on the Mexican border was handled through the War Department without any additional cost. We did not furnish the War Department extra clerks of every class, experts, actuaries, and employees not otherwise specified, to make the distribution of such allowances.

I have two other amendments. In the first place, I am going to offer as a substitute for Article IV the following:

SEC. 400. That in order to give to every commissioned officer and enlisted man and to every member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in active service under the War Department or Navy Department greater protection for themselves and their dependents than is provided in Article III the United States shall grant without medical examination to all such persons fully paid up indemnity in the amount of $2,000, payable in the event of death or total and permanent disability occurring during the period of the war, or within two years thereafter. All such persons shall forfeit such indemnity in the event of dishonorable discharge.

SEC. 401. Any person in the active service on or after the 6th day of April, 1917, who, while in such service and before the enactment of this amendment, becomes or has become totally and permanently disabled or dies, or has died, shall be entitled to the benefits of this indemnity.

SEC. 402. This indemnity shall be payable to such person or persons as the insured may elect from among the beneficiaries designated in Article III, section 301, of this act.

SEC. 403. To provide further insurance for persons mentioned in section 400, who at the expiration of the period of two years after the war, by reason of physical defects resulting from their war service, are not able to secure insurance from private life insurance corporations at normal rates, the bureau may continue such indemnity for life upon payment of normal premiums by the insured, and to that end may conclude contracts with existing life insurance companies to assume such contracts of indemnity on the following basis: The premium rates shall not exceed the net premium rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and 3½ per cent per annum, but the United States shall reimburse such companies for any excess mortality experienced under such policies.

SEC. 404. That in the event of disagreement as to a claim under the contract of insurance between the bureau and any beneficiary or beneficiaries thereunder, an action on the claim may be brought against the United States in the district court of the United States in and for the district in which such beneficiaries or any one of them resides. The court, as part of its judgment, shall determine and allow such reasonable attorney's fees, not to exceed 10 per cent of the amount recovered, to be paid by the claimant on behalf of whom such proceedings are instituted to his attorney; and it shall be unlawful for the attorney or for any other person acting as claim agent or otherwise to ask for, or receive, any other compensation because of such action.

And provided further, That no other compensation or fee shall be charged or received by any person except such as may be authorized by the commissioner in regulations to be promulgated by him. Any person violating this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every such offense be fined not exceeding $500, or be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Article IV—and I should like the Senators present to follow what I have to say in relation to it—puts the National Government into the life insurance business not merely for the war but permanently. The provisions of the bill are so drawn that the great bureau of life insurance contemplated in it becomes necessarily self-perpetuating.

It is proposed to give every commissioned officer and enlisted man, and every member of the Nurse Corps, insurance against death and permanent total disability in any sum not less than $1,000 and not more than $7,500, and there will be an endeavor to increase that limitation to $10,000. However, these sums are not granted to all alike, but are dependent upon the payment of a premium averaging $8 per thousand per year for ages between

21 and 31, and at higher rates for older men. In other words, we have older men in the Regular Army and if they take insurance and are 45 years of age they will be compelled to pay the 45-year rate.

It is also provided that this insurance must be taken within 120 days after the passage of the bill. The premium rate is to be the net rate usually paid in peace times for term insurance for successive terms of one year each.

The country, by means of the unusual publicity facilities open to the administration, has been made to believe that the Government will furnish life insurance to its soldiers and sailors in time of war at an average rate of $8 per thousand. The fact that the form of insurance is one commonly known as "term insurance," which increases with the age of the insured, and that there are no surrender values, extended insurance, paid-up insurance, or nonforfeiture features, is discreetly withheld from the public.

The bill provides also, in section 402, as follows:

> Provisions for maturity at certain ages, for continuous installments during the life of the insured or beneficiaries, or both, for cash, loan, paid-up and extended values, dividends from gains and savings, and such other provisions for the protection and advantage of and for alternative benefits to the insured and the beneficiaries as may be found to be reasonable and practicable, may be provided for in the contract of insurance, or from time to time by regulations.

The language quoted above from the bill is merely another way of saying that the Government proposes to exchange these term policies for policies of well-known standard forms as now issued by existing life insurance companies.

In section 404 there is a provision for converting these term policies, "without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request."

In passing, it might be well to call attention to the fact that these various forms of policies are to be paid for in installments, and that the policyholders are not to be required to pay premiums in advance for more than one month each. This puts the Government to an enormous expense, because it practically converts its insurance policies into industrial policies, which may be payable, according to the terms of this section, by the day, week, or month, or not less frequently than monthly.

In section 403 the bill states that "the United States shall bear the expenses of administration and the excess mortality and disability cost resulting from the hazards of war." No one can say what will be the cost to the United States Government of this experiment. It is conceded at the outset that there will be an excess mortality and an excess disability beyond any experience hitherto compiled in mortality tables.

The policy of insurance in question is open to the following serious objections:

First. It is an experiment, pure and simple. The Government is proposing to engage in the most highly specialized and technical form of business known to the American people.

Second. It is offering a gratuity to the few, to which all in the same service should be entitled, if any are entitled to it.

Third. It is miscalled "insurance," and should be "indemnity" or "additional indemnity"; for it is conceded that the Government proposes to pay this excess mortality cost and the overhead expense as additional indemnity to the soldiers or sailors or their beneficiaries because the compensation or pension privileges provided in section 3 are not adequate. No such generous provision has ever been offered the soldiers of any nation as is contained in Articles II and III of this bill, and I am in favor of the provisions of Articles II and III.

It is the opinion of many thoughtful men that when the Government provides for the widow of a soldier or sailor who has no children the equivalent of about $7,200 of life insurance the Government has been just and generous. It is, therefore, a question whether the Government is justified in taxing the people of the country for an additional indemnity, the cost of which no one can foretell.

Fourth. The article provides for discrimination, which is exceedingly unfortunate and unfair. The private soldier, whose large or small family at home requires every dollar of the separation allowance and all that the soldier can possibly spare from the remaining portion of his wages, will be left dependent upon the same pension as any other family in the event of his death. I might add at this point, Mr. President, that there are hundreds of thousands of the boys that have gone to war that are at the present time carrying insurance policies, many of them without the war-insurance clause. They have got to meet those payments as well as to meet the payments provided for in Article IV of this bill. The private soldier to whom I have referred will not be able to supplement that pension with this life insurance. The officer, with a good salary or with well-to-do relatives, or perhaps a wife with an independent income, and the private soldier who has no dependents, or who is forehanded, will take the limit of the $7,500 or $10,000. Hence, it comes to pass that the Government will be paying $7,500 or $10,000, as the case may be, for the support of the dependents of the well-to-do and rich man, and not the dependents of the poor man.

Fifth. It is discriminatory also in that it compels the soldier, whether he be in the trenches or elsewhere, to make application for his insurance within 120 days after enlistment. If for any reason he shall fail to make application for the insurance, he is deprived of the privilege.

Sixth. Of necessity, when the Government embarks in the life insurance business, it must conduct a great life insurance company. The proponents of this article contemplate exactly this thing. They are forcing the Government into the life insurance business, and in no way leaving the Government the opportunity to withdraw, if it shall later find the experiment to be an enormously expensive failure. If the bill is to be of any real value to the Army and Navy, at least one-half of all the soldiers and sailors should take the limit of $5,000, which would mean a total volume of business of $5,000,000,000. This, as I have already said, is a larger volume than the total of all the policies of the three greatest ordinary life insurance companies in the world, to wit, the New York Life, the Mutual Life, and the Equitable Life Insurance Companies, all of the City of New York.

Seventh. There is absolutely no necessity whatever for the creation of a department to handle monthly payments on five billions of insurance. By giving to every soldier and sailor a policy or contract to pay at the time he is totally disabled, or to his beneficiaries at his death, provided it occurs within two years after the termination of the war, the Government will incur no large expense for managing a life insurance bureau and will at the same time be treating all its soldiers and sailors and their dependents with equal and exact justice. This would be tremendously expensive, but it would be a direct recognition of the obligation of the Government to the soldiers and their dependents. If the benefits provided for in Article III are inadequate, this is the way for the Government to provide the additional indemnity.

What the Government does for an army taken as our Army has been taken from all walks of life should be done for all alike, whether officers or enlisted men. There can be no justification for distinctions either in the amount of so-called compensation or in the death and disability benefits. It would be just as fair to pay the rich man's son a disability benefit of twice the amount paid the poor man's son as to pay the citizen officer twice the sum paid the citizen soldier. The same illustration applies to insurance policies, and reinforces the suggestion already made by me that whatever is done for the man in the ranks, whether officer or enlisted man, should be done without discrimination.

Mr. President, I know there is very little use of discussing these questions in detail any further. I wish we had days or weeks to discuss this bill. This bill does not simply make an appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918. Every Senator upon the floor of this Chamber will be dead years before the necessity of appropriations to meet the provisions of this bill will have passed.

I wish, Mr. President, that Article I, Article II, and Article III of the bill constituted the whole of the bill. In fact, I may add that in the case of Article I if I had my way I would have provided for the administration in an entirely different way.

Mr. KING. That is, by the War and the Navy Departments?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; by the War and the Navy Departments. All of the distribution of the allotments, all of the distribution of the compensation, no matter what they are, I would have made by those two great departments of the Government.

Mr. President, when the proper time arrives I shall offer these amendments, and I shall ask the Senate to vote upon them; and I feel confident that if the amendments I will offer are adopted by the Senate, first, they will make the bill a better bill; second, Mr. President, the bill will do justice to the widows and the helpless dependent children of the veterans of our Civil and our Spanish-American War, and it is not going to cost very much money.

If I should do what I think ought to be done, but what I have concluded is best to be done by separate legislation, then it would have cost many millions of dollars. In fact, I had better call attention to what it would have cost. To increase to $30 per month pensions to the survivors of the Civil War on the roll at less rates than $30 would cost the Government of the United States $24,419,583 per annum. To increase the pensions of all Civil War widows and their dependents to $30 per month would cost the Government per annum $46,782,612. That, of course, is

understood to be all the widows, whether they are widows of soldiers who were disabled in the line of service or not. If all of the widows of the Civil War and Spanish War and all of the veterans of the Civil War and Spanish War were put upon the same basis—I will not say the same basis, because it is not the same—at the rates we are providing for in this bill, that is the amount it would cost the Government.

Mr. KING. Before my colleague takes his seat, I should like to ask him a question.

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. KING. Certain figures have been submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President of the United States in support of this bill. I do not have them before me; I thought I did. I will ask the Senator whether or not the figures which were given by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, as to the probable cost for the first and second years were based upon the assumption that there would be 1,000,000 soldiers and sailors or was it based upon the assumption that there would be 2,000,000? That letter and those figures are very indefinite.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say that I have read that report and really I can not tell what the Secretary of the Treasury had in mind when he submitted it. In fact, I have no doubt in my mind but that the death rate and disability rate will be greater than the Secretary of the Treasury suggests.

Mr. KING. I will say to my colleague I did a little figuring last evening. It seems to me if there were 1,000,000 soldiers, to say nothing of the sailors, instead of the cost being as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury it would be infinitely greater, and progressively greater perhaps for 10 or 15 years; the tide would increase and perhaps the crest of the tide would be reached in 15 or 16 years, as the crest of the tide in the Civil War was not reached until 15 or 20 years after the termination of the war.

Mr. SMOOT. The crest of the payment of pensions of the Civil War did not arrive until nearly 46 years afterwards.

Mr. KING. I mean for certain disabilities. Has the Senator figured the cost that would arise under the bill, under all features of the bill, assuming that we have 3,000,000 soldiers and sailors?

Mr. SMOOT. If we have 3,000,000 soldiers and sailors in service in this war, and——

Mr. KING. Probably more.

Mr. SMOOT. I can not tell the Senator how many. I have not figured it even on the basis of a million.

Mr. KING. Then, as I understand my colleague, if we should get into the war and do our part and the war should last several years and we should have two or three or four or five million soldiers, this measure would impose upon the Government perhaps from five to ten billion dollars.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no question about that.

Mr. KING. And possibly more.

Mr. ROBINSON. I suggest now that we proceed to the consideration of the committee amendment which was passed over yesterday.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Will the Senator yield just a second? The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] wants to put in some figures in reply to what has been stated by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield to the Senator for that purpose.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, in the current number of the North American Review there is a very interesting discussion of the question of losses from death and total disability during the present war. It is very pertinent to the discussion by the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] and of the colloquy that arose during that discussion.

I think it is important from two or three standpoints. First, from the standpoint of allaying some of the apprehension and dread which arises from the fact that we are sending our soldiers abroad to fight in a foreign field. It is pertinent again from the standpoint of the liability of the Government under two features of the bill, the compensation and the insurance features. I think it would be well to have this short discussion in the North American Review read from the desk. There are two pages and a little more of it. I send it to the desk with the request that it may be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

We advert now to a matter of the utmost importance to American families, respecting which wholly unwarranted and most unfortunate misapprehension has arisen, namely, that of casualties in the war as now waged. As a consequence of ignorance of the facts and unceasing mouthings of traitors and pacifists, "trench fighting" has come to be regarded as virtually synonymous with "slaughter," and the impression has been strengthened materially by personal tales of minor engagements made vivid by ghastly pictures. The truth is that the death toll exacted by modern warfare is immeasurably smaller than ever before in history, and has decreased steadily since the fighting began.

Innumerable comparisons might be cited from the days of Alexander in substantiation of this assertion, but a few will suffice. In the charge of the Light Brigade 113 were killed and 134 wounded out of 673, or 36.7 per cent. In our Civil War, the Ninth Illinois lost at Shiloh 63.3 per cent, the First Minnesota at Gettysburg 82 per cent, and the Sixty-ninth New York 1,000 out of 1,200 in 20 minutes. Even the Prussians sacrificed of the Third Westphalian Regiment at Mars la Tour, in 1871, 1,484 men out of 3,000, or 49.4 per cent.

Similar losses were experienced, especially by the inefficiently officered British, in the early engagements of the present war, but in open fighting, not in trenches. Later, too, as we noted last month, the splendid Canadians left 600 out of 800 on the field, in consequence of an unrescinded order. By way of contrast we are indebted to Sir Charles Ross for a statement of the casualties at the recent Battle of Messines, as follows:

"Total number of men engaged, 280,000.
"Total casualties less than 9 per cent.
"Total fatalities less than 1 in 7 of total casualties."

Reported from the same authoritative source of another recent battle: "Engaged: First line, 250,000; second line, 250,000. Casualties: Walking, 6,000; stretcher, 2,600; killed and wholly disabled, 1,400."

These, of course, were single engagements, and can be regarded only as illustrative. But take the percentage of casualties in the entire French Army in proportion to mobilized strength, with this result:

Battles of Charleroi and of the Marne	5.41
First six months of 1915	2.39
Second six months of 1915	1.68
First six months of 1916	1.47
Second six months of 1916	1.28

These figures, taken when the casualties were greatest in proportion to mobilized strength and combined with the highest proportion of deaths, show losses due to deaths from wounds and killed in action to be approximately 11 in every 1,000 of mobilized strength. According to the figures presented by the French high commissioner in his letter to the Secretary of War, the high-water mark of casualties in the French Army was reached early in the war—at the Battles of Charleroi and the Marne. The casualties in that period were 5.41 per cent of the mobilized strength, or 541 men in every 10,000 with the colors. Military experts in this country agree that the killed in action and died of wounds have never at any time in this war exceeded 20 per cent of the total casualties. This gives a figure of 108.2 fatalities from these causes in every 10,000 mobilized strength; or practically 11 men killed in action or died of wounds for every 1,000 with the colors, a ratio of 1.1 per cent.

To say, as we used to say of crossing the Atlantic, that fighting in France as now conducted is safer than crossing Broadway, would seem absurd; and yet the concrete fact is that if the percentage of American fatalities, in an army of 500,000, in 1918, should not exceed that of the French last year, more Americans will perish from intentional and accidental use of firearms in the United States than in Europe. Nor is there apparent reason to doubt that this will be the case. The heavy sacrifices of the bewildered French and the untrained British in the first year of the war and of the German boys cynically used for "cannon fodder" throughout, conformably to system, signify nothing. American fighting is to be done on the "precise and scientific" lines wisely decreed by the President in preference to the happy-go-lucky methods of Rough Riders; our men have no superiors in intelligence or in initiative, and will be trained to a nicety before being sent into action; and if there live more capable officers than the professional soldiers graduated from West Point, the fact is yet to be demonstrated.

We would not think of minimizing the dangers which confront the young Americans who go to fight their country's battles; war is war and the Huns are Huns; but we do insist, upon the records, that the too common assumption that they are going to "certain death" or to certain anything except honor for themselves and glory for their country is as unwarranted in fact as it surely is harmful in promulgation and altogether foolish.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, following up the statement in the article just read and in partial reply to the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], of course he has overestimated the losses that will come from the insurance side of this proposition. In the first place, all the men will not be insured. In the second place, all the men who are insured will neither suffer death nor total disability. In the third place, all the men who will draw allowances have not got dependents. I have two boys in the Army. The Senator has one. Neither one of them could get an allowance on the ground of having any dependent relatives. That just occurred to me on the spur of the moment.

Now, as to the insurance. While we can not estimate what it would be, we can suppose a case. Suppose that we had 1,000,000 men, and suppose that the war lasted one year after we got to Europe, and suppose that the casualties are 75 per 1,000. I mean the deaths and total disabilities. That is the highest figure that I have heard given. I therefore take that first. Suppose that each man of the million took out a policy of $7,000, which, of course, he is not going to do, because people generally carry policies of very much less than that. But I am supposing the maximum now in each case. Then the United States will receive upon those million policies, each for $7,000, $56,000,000 for the year, and if 75 out of each 1,000 die, which would be 75,000 dead or disabled, and there would be that many losses upon the policies, the Government would pay out $525,000,000. It had received $56,000,000, and the net loss would be $469,000,000.

Now, suppose the figures in that magazine article are correct, and that the loss is 11 per 1,000, and undoubtedly they seem to be correct from what the writer said, then the United States would receive $56,000,000 and would pay out $77,000,000, and the net loss would be $21,000,000. But in neither event upon

the maximum nor upon the minimum does it run into billions, as the Senator supposes.

The junior Senator from Utah says, suppose we have 2,000,000 men there we would have to pay some $5,000,000,000. As far as that is concerned, if we had 2,000,000 men there it would cost $1,000 plus 40 per cent for each man to pay them under the old schedule of $15. Now it costs $33 per month, and the pay of the soldier would run up pretty close to the figures the Senator is talking about, without taking into consideration any of these other matters.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I hope this amendment will not be agreed to. As the measure passed the House of Representatives the maximum amount of insurance authorized under the bill is $10,000. That would make $56 per month for a period of 240 months payable to the soldier's dependents in case of the death or the total disability of the soldier.

Mr. WOLCOTT. May I inquire what amendment the Senator is discussing?

Mr. ROBINSON. The amendment of the committee at page 31, line 15, striking out $10,000 and inserting $7,500 in lieu of it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. As the maximum.

Mr. ROBINSON. As the maximum amount of insurance that may be obtained under the provisions of the bill.

If the committee provision is adopted and $10,000 is taken out and $7,500 agreed to, the monthly payment will be approximately $42 instead of $56 a month in case of the death or total disability of the soldier.

It should be remembered that compensation relates only to the wife, child or children, or widowed mother of the soldier, and if he is to make adequate provision for any other relative or dependent it must be by means of insurance. Under the draft law a great many of the men who are now entering the service are giving up profitable businesses and large incomes. Many of them are now insured. They lose their insurable status. and they are compelled to rely for insurance upon whatever provision Congress places in this bill.

I submit to the Senate that $56 a month as a maximum is not an unreasonable provision for cases where soldiers are now receiving large sums of money from their private business and are giving up that business and that income in order to serve in the Army.

But in addition to that Senators throughout this debate have treated the insurance feature of the bill largely as a gratuity to the soldiers. It should be borne in mind, Senators, that the soldier pays for his insurance. If the bill is passed, the soldier will pay for his insurance on the same basis that he would pay if he were a civilian. The only thing that the Government carries is the war risk. The Government is drafting into its service for the necessary defense of the Nation thousands of the best men in the country, and it is bad policy to be parsimonious concerning a provision of this character. It is bad policy while depriving the soldier of his insurability, depriving him of his income, compelling him to risk his life on the battle field, to say to him: "You can make some provision in the way of insurance for your dependents or your relatives, but that provision shall be parsimonious."

The Secretary of the Treasury thinks it is vitally important that the $10,000 maximum should be retained. In a letter to the chairman of the committee reporting this bill, dated September 29, 1917, Secretary McAdoo uses this language:

> I believe that the maximum insurance should be raised to $10,000. Under the scheme of this bill compensation is limited to wife, child, and widowed mother; only through insurance can a man take care of his other dependents.
>
> Again, many thousands of men in this drafted army are giving up large incomes and brilliant futures. If they become totally disabled or die, families which would have been in a prosperous condition, with all the comforts of life, had the man not gone to war, will be left in bad shape. Ten thousand dollars insurance will give them only about $56 a month.

It should also be remembered, Mr. President, that the only officers who receive retirement pay are those in the Regular Army.

It does seem to me that in view of these facts and these arguments that the committee amendment ought to be rejected and the original item, as passed by the House of Representatives, ought to be approved. It appears that $10,000 is low enough when you consider the fact that the soldier is paying for his insurance, and that the Government is only carrying the war risk. It is fair for the Government to carry the war risk, because the undertaking of a soldier is an extremely hazardous one. If it is fair for the Government to carry the war risk, then it ought to carry it in a sufficient amount to accomplish the purposes for which the insurance is taken out.

Undoubtedly it is true, as stated by the Senator in charge of the bill, that many soldiers who enter the service will not avail themselves of the privilege of carrying insurance under the provisions of the bill, and it is also true that many who obtain policies will not avail themselves of the maximum amount. Perhaps comparatively few will desire to take out a policy in the amount of $10,000.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator is discussing one of the most important matters that has come before the Senate in connection with this measure, and I really think we ought to have a fuller attendance. I make the point of no quorum, if the Senator from Arkansas does not object.

Mr. ROBINSON. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PITTMAN in the chair). The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brady	Hitchcock	New	Simmons
Calder	James	Norris	Smith, Ariz.
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Smith, Md.
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Page	Smoot
Curtis	Kellogg	Pittman	Sterling
Dillingham	Kenyon	Poindexter	Stone
Fall	King	Pomerene	Sutherland
Fletcher	La Follette	Reed	Vardaman
France	Lewis	Robinson	Warren
Frelinghuysen	McCumber	Saulsbury	Williams
Gerry	McKellar	Shafroth	Wolcott
Hale	McNary	Sheppard	
Harding	Martin	Shields	

Mr. LEWIS. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] because of illness, and to announce that he is paired with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], who is also ill. I ask to have this announcement stand for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, when the absence of a quorum was suggested I was discussing a very important committee amendment to the pending bill. The committee has reported an amendment striking out "$10,000" and inserting "$7,500" as the maximum amount of insurance obtainable under the provisions of this bill. I am opposing the adoption of that amendment; and before Senators came into the Chamber, to a select company of the Senators who were present at that time, I had made some statements which I will take the liberty of reviewing for the benefit of those who are now here. I promise, if Senators will listen for 10 minutes, that I shall conclude within that time unless I am interrupted.

In the first place, in the drafted army there will be a large number of men who will be compelled to give up profitable occupations and large incomes when they enter the military service of the Government. If they take out insurance under this bill, they will pay for the insurance just as the civilian now pays for his insurance; but the war risk, and that only, will be carried by the Government. Under the provisions of this bill compensation is available only for a certain class of dependents, and a very narrow class at that—a wife and child, or the widowed mother. No adequate provision can be made by the soldier for his dependents or relatives, except through the insurance feature of this bill.

This is one of the most important and beneficial measures that has come to Congress in the enactment of the war program. It is fair and just, if a portion of the population of this country are compelled to abandon their peaceful pursuits and to take up arms for the defense of the Nation, that those of us who stay at home and enjoy the increased profits which may come to our toil and to our activities, and the security and comfort of our hopes, should not be parsimonious, but that we should be liberal in making provision for the men who are thus compelled to make this great sacrifice.

There are thousands of men entering the National Army now whose families have been accustomed to the enjoyment of every comfort and luxury known to life; there are thousands of men who are receiving enormous incomes. If you take the view of the matter which I take, and keep the sum of $10,000 in the bill, and vote to reject the committee amendment, it will then be possible under this feature of the bill for a dependent or dependents of the soldier who dies in the service or is totally disabled to receive $56 per month for the period of 240 months; but if you adopt the committee view, you will reduce that maximum amount to $42 per month.

I have heard it whispered about me here by some Senators that the retention of this item as the House of Representatives passed it will bankrupt the Government. I now repeat the

statement which I made previous to the call for a quorum, and that is that only a comparatively few soldiers will avail themselves of the maximum amount of insurance. I wish to God that every man who enters the military service of the United States would be able to, and would, in fact, avail himself of this provision. I shall never contribute for any purpose more cheerfully than I shall to provide the funds made necessary by the passage of this bill.

I think it is a bad policy, I think it is wrong in spirit and in purpose to be parsimonious in making a provision of this character. It is not a gratuity, but it is a duty which the Government owes to the men who are taking this great risk. They pay for their own insurance, and the Government assumes merely the war risk. Why not be liberal? Why be parsimonious?

Officers in the Regular Army enjoy retirement pay, but the man who enters the National Army, if he falls upholding the American flag on the French battle front, or if he is totally disabled, can receive no retirement pay. If he dies, his widow, his child, or his widowed mother, if he have such relatives, may receive compensation under other features of this bill; but if he has a decrepit father or a dependent sister or other relative dependent upon him, no substantial provision is made for them. Insurance is the only feature of the bill which contemplates enabling the soldier to care for other dependents than the wife, the child, or the widowed mother.

It would of course be impossible, Mr. President, to say just exactly what would be the additional cost of making the maximum insurance $10,000, instead of $7,500. We do not know how many soldiers are going to fall; we do not know how many are going to be totally disabled; neither can we tell how many are going to avail themselves of the maximum; but, to me, that is an immaterial consideration. If a great number must be sacrificed, that is a reason which impels me to make more liberal provision, rather than to justify a parsimonious provision.

I have looked upon the progress of this war with confidence, and yet with amazement. We all recognize it as the most gigantic and most stupendous conflict that the human race has ever engaged in. Some have said that we ought not to send our soldiers to France; that we ought to keep them here at home and let them fight on American soil. To those who make that statement I point to bleeding Belgium and to prostrate Poland. I can not recite the deeds of barbarism and cruelty that have been imposed upon the noncombatant populations of those two nations. For my part, if we have to fight, I would rather have our soldiers fight on foreign soil than to have the enemy invade this country and subject our population to the miseries and desolation of conflict. But in sending our soldiers abroad I am willing to pledge the faith and the resources of this Government not only to the fair treatment of our soldiers but to the liberal treatment of their dependents. In doing that we shall nerve the soldier's heart with courage and inspire him to victory. If we take away from the American soldier whom we are sending abroad to fight the battles of this country the thought and the fear that his dependents may suffer during his absence, we shall do much toward encouraging him and strengthening his arm in this conflict.

What is the difference between $7,500 and $10,000? It is the difference of the Senate of the United States showing itself more parsimonious than the House at the other end of the Capitol. The item passed through that great body without question; it ought to pass this body likewise. The Senate ought to show itself liberal in this particular.

I express the hope that this committee amendment will be voted down. The Secretary of the Treasury, as I said, some time ago sent a letter to the chairman of the committee urging that this item of $10,000 be restored. I sincerely hope that the Senate will take that action.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, if the statement contained in the article which has been read from the North American Review be true, the safest place on earth to which we can send our boys is to the trenches of France. I am told the article claims that soldiers in the trenches are safer there than if they were on Broadway; that they are safer in war than they are in the general vocations of life. Of course, Mr. President, I do not believe any such rot as that, nor do any of the insurance companies in the world believe it. I understand that there is but one insurance company in the United States which will now take an insurance risk on the officers and soldiers entering the European war, and it adds what the insurance companies of Canada have added, $50 per thousand to the peace-time premium; and instead of $8, it is $58 per thousand. When anyone tries to demonstrate that there are not as many deaths occurring on the firing line on the battle fields of Europe as in ordinary walks of life, when such a conflict is going on as is going on there to-day, and that our soldiers will be safer in the trenches than in any other place on earth, I think he is undertaking a task which no man can accomplish, or is making a statement which very few will even believe.

The House provided a maximum rate of insurance of $10,000. The House provided that upon the death of a soldier the $10,000 should be paid to his beneficiary or beneficiaries, as the case might be. Experience has taught, as has been demonstrated by the statistics of all the insurance companies of the world, that when a lump sum of $5,000 or $10,000, or even of $2,000 or $4,000, is left to a widow through insurance or in any other way, she never having had experience in the handling of large sums of money before, in 95 per cent of the cases the money is dissipated in a very few years. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. BRADY] had placed in the RECORD yesterday a letter which I think was prepared by Dr. Kerr, was it not?

Mr. BRADY. It was.

Mr. SMOOT. I suppose we all know who Dr. Kerr is. I had a copy of that letter, and I want to say that if the House provision is retained in the bill, instead of the beneficiaries of a soldier being taken care of for 20 years after the death of the soldier, the money in many cases will be dissipated, and not only dissipated, but in many cases it will be worse than dissipated.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, does not the Senator think the argument he is making is an argument against all insurance in favor of a man's wife?

Mr. SMOOT. No; I do not, Mr. President, for I think when the Government is to pay for it that the Government ought to dictate the terms upon which the money shall be received. Experience has taught that the statement I have just made is correct; and if the insurance companies were allowed to put in their policies a provision similar to the one the committee recommends in this instance, I think it would be better for all beneficiaries receiving money from life insurance.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. SMOOT. I will yield in just a moment. I notice that Congress of late years, in providing for the payment of claims of those who have been injured or in the case of death, stipulate that the payments shall be made in monthly installments, and I will say, without a question of doubt, that in the great majority of cases that is better for the beneficiary than to have the amount paid out in a lump sum and turned over to him.

Mr. SIMMONS. Does not that apply with reference to the $7,500 amount as recommended by the committee, as well as to the amount of $10,000 recommended by the House?

Mr. SMOOT. It would apply if we had allowed the provision to remain as it passed the House; but we have not left it in that way. The Senate has amended the House provision so that the $7,500 shall not be paid out at once to the beneficiary, but shall be paid in 240 monthly installments.

Mr. SIMMONS. Would not that same provision apply if the maximum is increased to $10,000?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, as a matter of fact, according to the ordinary methods of computation, the beneficiary would receive less under such a provision than he would if he received the entire amount at once, because he would be entitled to obtain interest upon it in the theory of law.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Arkansas did not hear what I said, or else I did not make myself clear, or I was interrupted before I concluded what I had to say. The $7,500, which is the maximum allowed under the Senate committee's provision, will draw 3½ per cent interest on the deferred payments. Those payments are to be made in 240 monthly installments. The interest on $7,500 at 3½ per cent when paid in 240 monthly installments will amount to $2,700; or, in other words, the beneficiaries will receive not $7,500, but they will receive $10,200 in 240 monthly payments, or extending over a period of 20 years.

Mr. President, with the $7,500 maximum, as recommended by the committee, and under the method of payment I have indicated, the beneficiaries will receive, as I have said, $10,200. That amounts to $42 a month. Is that all that we will pay the wife of a soldier or the children of a soldier? No. We provide further in this bill for a compensation up to the amount of $75 per month. With the $42 per month and an average compensation of $50 per month, the wife and her children will receive from the Government a monthly income of $92.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SHIELDS. I desire to ask the Senator from Utah a question while he is on the subject of the objections to the higher maximum of insurance. As has been very well said, the objection that the money might be dissipated by the wife or family of the insured might very well go to any amount; but the Senator seems to be entirely familiar with insurance statistics, and I should like to ask him what proportion of the 43,000,000 policies that are in force in the United States and in Canada, carrying some $23,756,000,000 of insurance, are now drawn in favor of the widows and children of the insured, and whether or not the practice of making the policies in favor of the widows and children has not been followed for many years and has not been approved by the experience of the generation in which the insurance business has been more highly and extensively developed than during any other period in the history of the world?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I said, in answer to the question of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], that the insurance companies to-day pay the insurance in case of death just as the insured directs and to whom he directs. The company has nothing to say as to whom it shall be paid; the man who takes out the insurance decides that.

Mr. SHIELDS. That is true; but is it not a fact that 90 per cent of these policies are payable to the families of the insured, and that that practice has now been approved by the whole world?

Mr. SMOOT. I think, Mr. President, that the Senator is correct as to that.

Mr. SHIELDS. Then, why should we not follow that practice in the case of soldiers?

Mr. SMOOT. I have already stated why I think it should not be done. Mr. President, when we take into consideration that the average amount of insurance carried in the United States is only $1,800; that is, taking insurance policies on the life of one individual running into hundreds of thousands of dollars and all other insurance issued in the United States, the average insurance policy is only $1,800, and that is in peace times——

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, that embraces, of course, a large amount of industrial insurance and insurance to cover funeral expenses and contingencies of that sort, which can not be made a basis of comparison with the character of insurance provided for in this bill.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator is mistaken in that statement.

Mr. ROBINSON. Will the Senator, then, inform me what class of insurance he has included in his estimate?

Mr. SMOOT. I have included all the regular lines of life insurance and insurance written by the old-line insurance companies. I do not have reference to accident insurance and that kind of insurance; I refer to the old-line insurance.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Senator embraces in his estimate nothing but old-line insurance?

Mr. SIMMONS. Does not the Senator embrace mutual insurance in that statement?

Mr. BRADY. There is nothing compulsory in this provision. The soldier may take neither $7,500 nor $10,000. If the applicant so desires, he can take out $1,800 or $2,000 or $3,000, or whatever amount he desires.

Mr. SMOOT. Or he need not take out any.

Mr. BRADY. He need not take out any.

Mr. SMOOT. No.

Mr. BRADY. It is entirely optional with the one who desires to be insured.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If he takes out any, he must take it out in multiples of $500.

Mr. SMOOT. But if he does not take out any there can be no multiple.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But he could not take out $1,800 worth of insurance, for instance, because that is not a multiple of $500.

Mr. BRADY. The point I wish to make is that there is no need of making the comparison as to the average amount of insurance in the United States being $1,800, for the reason that the insurance taken out under this provision may only average $1,800 after years of operation.

Mr. ROBINSON. It may average much less than that.

Mr. SMOOT. I referred to the average amount of insurance taken out in answer to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] in connection with my reference to the amount of money that was being dissipated and in connection with my statement as to the general policy of the insurance companies to-day. That general policy is, of course, that the amount of the insurance shall go to the family or the immediate relatives of the deceased in a lump sum.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON. The old-line insurance companies sometimes issue policies to the amount of half a million or a million dollars, do they not, on the life of a single individual?

Mr. SMOOT. There are probably a few that run as high as that, but I think I could count them on my fingers.

Mr. ROBINSON. I want the Senator to point out to me how he thinks the average of the policies issued by the old-line insurance companies is material to this proposition, in view of the fact that their maximum is unlimited and their minimum is practically unlimited?

Mr. SMOOT. Why, Mr. President, as I said to the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BRADY], I referred to the average of insurance in answer to a statement made by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS]. I never would have referred to the average amount of insurance if it had not been for the question which the Senator from Tennessee asked me.

Mr. ROBINSON. If the Senator will pardon me there, I do not see its application to any statement made by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SMOOT. Then, I can not assist the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BRADY. The Senator from Utah was simply using it as an illustration, in answer to a question asked him by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SMOOT. That is all.

Now, Mr. President, there are two sides to this question. I have no doubt that the officers will take the limit of insurance provided for in this bill. If the limit is $10,000, they will take out $10,000. I have noticed, Mr. President, that when many of the wives of officers of the Army and the Navy have special pension bills introduced for their relief, and when reports are made to the Pensions Committee of the Senate as to the value of their possessions or what property they own, the wife of nearly every general and the wife of nearly every admiral has received in insurance about $15,000 or $16,000.

Most of the officers of the Army and the Navy to-day are carrying insurance, and as I stated, as far as the generals and the admirals are concerned, it appears the amount that has been carried in the past is about $15,000.

Under this provision, Mr. President, with a $50 compensation, and if we increase the maximum to $10,000 of insurance and made it payable monthly, it would amount to $56 per month, and that would be an income to the widow of $106 per month.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not to the wife alone.

Mr. SMOOT. I mean to the wife and children or beneficiaries.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, the Senator has just made a statement about the large amount of insurance carried by officers in the Army and the Navy. Can the Senator state what premiums they pay, relatively?

Mr. SMOOT. That would all depend upon the age at which they took out the policy. I could not say as to that.

Mr. ROBINSON. If the Senator has investigated that question and makes the statement that Army and Navy officers are very heavily insured, I would accept his statement, because I know his powers of research; but I have some information which has been recently communicated to me from sources that I have relied on implicitly up to this time that leads me to think that the Senator from Utah has made, unintentionally, an exaggerated statement in that particular.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish the chairman of the Pensions Committee were present. I think the former chairman, the Senator North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER], will bear me out in the statement I made.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that I referred to generals and to admirals. I know, as a member of the Pensions Committee, from the investigations that have been made, that the widow reports quite often as having received $15,000 of insurance from the estate of her husband. I do not say that every one of them carries that amount of insurance. I am only saying that that seems to be the amount, as a general thing, as demonstrated by investigations made in the past.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think upon investigation it will be found to be true that, while officers in the Army and Navy do carry insurance, they pay a larger premium than most other people, because they take policies without the war-risk clause.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You or I, as a rule, do not care about that, or we have not in the past cared for it, rather; because when the company wanted to put in the policy a stipulation that if you went into war the policy should lapse, or that you should pay an increased premium, we did not care. We thought we probably would not go. But with the Army officer there is always a war clause, so that his premium during war times is very much increased. I have no figures about it, but I have understood that from conversations with some of them.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the premium in war times is not increased, but it may be that the premium that they pay in peace times is more than it would be without the war clause.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is what I mean.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. They pay a higher rate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I meant that their premiums were increased by the fact that they were subject all the time to be called into war.

Mr. SMOOT. As to that I can not say, Mr. President, because I do not know what rate they pay; but I do know that as a rule they are carrying insurance. That is, I mean that when their widows apply for pensions we very seldom find one but that has received insurance from the estate of her husband.

Mr. President, there may be a good reason why the Government of the United States should pay $106 a month to a soldier's family, and do so as long as they live, unless the widow gets married again; but it seems to me that if a family had $106 a month coming to them, and they had been used to living upon, perhaps, three-fourths of that amount, instead of being a blessing to the family or the children I rather think it would be the opposite. In time of war we ought to require every able-bodied man and woman to do his or her share in producing enough of the commodities of life for the people of the United States to live upon and assist in producing enough commodities and merchandise to meet the demands of the people.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator has spoken about the amount that the Government would have to pay to the families of deceased soldiers in case they took out the maximum amount of insurance. I will ask the Senator if he does not think that the number of soldiers who would take out the maximum amount, as compared with the number who would take out a less amount, would be quite small? Is not that a natural conclusion, in view of the fact that we know that in common experience people are not apt to take out insurance for their brothers and sisters, and that as a rule insurance is taken out for the benefit of a man's immediate family or for the benefit of his dependents?

While the soldier who has a wife and children would likely take out as much as he feels able to take out, probably in many instances as much as the law will permit him to take out, that large class of soldiers who have no wife and no children would likely do just as the man in civil life who has neither wife nor children, take out but little if any insurance; and therefore those who would take out insurance to the maximum, whether it be $7,500 or $10,000, would be that small class of soldiers who have left behind them dependent families or parents. Does not the Senator think that would limit the number who would take out the larger amount?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I can not say what percentage of the soldiers would take out the full amount, nor can any one say; but I see no reason why every soldier should not take out every dollar of this insurance that he can, for this reason: As I said before, there is only one insurance company in the United States that will issue a policy to our soldiers without the war-risk clause, and that company charges $50 per thousand more than the peace rate. Now, any soldier that takes out insurance under this plan can take it out at $8 a thousand, so he is making $50 per thousand on his life insurance; and why should he not take every dollar that he can? I will agree with the Senator that it will be utterly impossible for all of them to do it. There are many soldiers now that must not only furnish the $15 required before the family allowance is granted, but they will have to send every cent of their money for the further assistance of their immediate family.

Mr. McCUMBER and Mr. WEEKS addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. I will ask the Senator if this would not be an appropriate time for him to yield long enough for me to ask for unanimous consent that after half past 2 o'clock to-day all debate shall be limited to not exceeding 15 minutes? There are three or four Senators upon their feet at the present time to question and cross-question and then make arguments on what has been said over and over again on a single item of this bill; and the time will soon be up, so that when we get to 5 o'clock those of us who have amendments to propose will not have any time in which to explain them. Now, I do not want to ask that, but it seems to me that Senators ought in their own time present their amendments and the answers to the arguments in regard to them.

Mr. SMOOT. Just one other point, Mr. President, and I shall be through. In fact, I would have been through before if I had not been interrupted.

Mr. McCUMBER. I am not criticizing the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no question but that the experience of Canada has shown that even a rate of $50 per thousand above peace rates on the insurance of their soldiers is not sufficient to cover the risk. Now, $50 per thousand, if there is $10,000 of insurance, means $500 per annum to the officer or the enlisted man who carries the full amount. If there are even 100,000 deaths during this war, it would mean a loss of $50,000,000.

Mr. President, it seems to me that the Senate provision is altogether better than the House provision, and under it the beneficiaries will actually receive $10,200.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I call his attention to the fact that my amendment does not affect the method of payment and does not contemplate anything of the kind that he has just mentioned. My amendment simply makes the maximum amount of insurance obtainable $10,000; and it is not my purpose to change or seek to change the other provision to which he has referred.

Mr. SMOOT. No, Mr. President, I did not refer to the Senator's amendment. I referred to the House provision.

Mr. ROBINSON. Of course that is true; but I desire to call the attention of the Senator now to the fact that I am not attacking that feature of it.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I want to say just one word in answer to the argument of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON]. The gist of his argument is based upon the assumption that the insurance provision is the only provision in this bill that takes care of the soldier. I say it is based upon that assumption, although I admit that the Senate understands the bill well enough to know that there are other provisions which fully care for the soldier and his dependents; but the point I want to make is that in this bill there are practically two provisions for insurance. One of them you call compensation; the other one you call insurance. Whatever you may call them, under whatever name you may designate them, they are in reality an insurance to the soldier and to the members and dependents in his family; and I want that to be made absolutely clear before we vote to increase the provisions of Article IV, the insurance article, which are gratuities in every respect.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON. If the Senator heard my statement concerning this matter, I pointed out the fact that compensation under the terms of the bill is available only for a very narrow class of dependents and relatives. Within the class who may avail themselves of the benefits of compensation are included only a wife, a child, or a widowed mother. No other class can be benefited by the compensation feature of the bill; and if a soldier desires or has the duty of taking care of or making provision for other dependents or relatives, he must take out insurance.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Say a father or a dependent sister.

Mr. ROBINSON. A father, or a father and mother, because the mother can only avail herself of the compensation if she is a widow; and if the soldier's load is doubly increased by having decrepit or infirm or dependent parents, both of whom are living, neither of them can avail themselves of the compensation feature; and it is therefore the more important that the insurance feature be liberal.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I think it takes care of all of those that the soldier would be in duty bound to care for.

Mr. ROBINSON. Well——

Mr. McCUMBER. Just a moment. The Senator has made his address, and we all understand clearly what he means.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I have no disposition to interrupt the Senator if he does not desire it.

Mr. McCUMBER. It is clear from the bill itself that the soldier is insured under Article III. What is he insured for? In case of death resulting from an injury, without one penny of payment upon his part, the wife, while his widow, will receive $25 a month. Why, we only gave the widows of the soldiers of the Civil War $8 a month until within a few years ago. Here we in the very beginning of this war start with $25 per

month. If there is one child, the widow will receive $35 per month. The soldier of the Civil War, if he died, would by his services to his country have insured his widow and child only in the sum of $10 per month. If there are three children, they are insured under this bill to the extent of $47.50 per month. If there be no widow, but one child, it will receive $20 per month. If there be two children, the insurance will be $30 per month; if three children, $40 per month; if a widowed mother, $20 per month.

That is insurance pure and simple, call it by whatever name you see fit. In addition to this, there has been granted what is called regular insurance. It is most liberal in its provisions. I am not objecting to it; but when you are assuming that the country not only owes to the soldier the duty of insuring him under Article III, but also owes the additional duty of insuring him under Article IV, and carrying a double insurance, you are making a statement that is not wholly justified. That he should be insured, every one of us will agree. That his wife and children should be cared for in case of his death or disability, all will agree; but the claim that we should then, in addition to that insurance, provide another insurance that may run to any limit, I think is untenable.

Nevertheless I shall vote for the provision that the Government may carry all of this double insurance—this additional insurance—if it stops there; but I am opposed to our raising this from what now amounts to $10,200, payable in 20 years, or 240 monthly installments, to what would practically amount to $13,500, payable in the same number of installments, provided you change the $7,500 to $10,000. It is most liberal as it is at the present time, and we ought not to increase it.

Mr. President, Senators do not realize what this measure is going to mean to this country before we get through with the payments which will be made under it. We all want to do what is right; but back of the soldier in the trenches we want the civilian to do his part in this great war, and we do not want any laggards. We want every man, woman, and child to perform his or her duty in lines of productivity; we want to tax every dollar to its limit to make the war a success; but we ought not, by any kind of legislation, to create a class of people who will be supported irrespective of their dependence to such an extent that they will not be required to exercise mind or muscle for the purpose of carrying this war to a successful issue. That is just exactly what this bill, in some of its provisions, tends to do.

Mr. President, I do not know whether I ought to vote for this bill for the splendid provisions that are in it, or whether I ought to vote against it because of some of the objectionable provisions that are in it. Certainly we can heartily support that provision of the bill which requires every soldier, whether he be upon American soil or whether he be in the trenches of France, to take the surplus of his earnings—more than he needs to expend and more than he should expend for his own welfare and the welfare of his country and the Army—and have it laid aside for him, the Government paying him 4 per cent semi-annually compounded, which will amount to about 5 per cent, and holding it for him until the end of the war, so that when he comes out of the battle line he will have a snug little nest egg to his credit with which to start in business, or, at least, to support him for a while.

We all heartily agree with that provision; and, Mr. President, so we might heartily support the provision which provides for what is generally known as the laborers' compensation and apply it to our soldiers wherever they may be located. It is most liberal; it is most beneficial; and of itself it is an ample insurance, liberal far beyond anything that has ever been dreamed of by this Government or any other government upon the face of the earth. So we may well justify that. As the duties of the soldier, in my opinion at least, notwithstanding some of the articles that have been read here, are a hundredfold more hazardous in war than in ordinary employments, so we should meet that extra hazard with a spirit of liberality and generosity; but we ought not to allow that most commendable spirit to carry us beyond the line of good judgment and national safety, and I fear we are crossing that line by our more than liberality in this bill. No one can accuse me, Mr. President, of not being as stanch a friend of the soldier as anyone, whether of those who have fought our past battles or those who will fight our future ones. Every syllable of the three general pension laws preceding the very recent one placed upon the statute books has been penned by me, and I think the country has been well satisfied with the results. But there is such a thing as allowing the noblest of our impulses to carry us beyond the limits of full and exact justice.

Few, I say, realize what the cost of this measure will be to the American people. I do not know how many boys will take advantage of the $10,000 insurance or the $7,500 insurance, but I know that every soldier who does not take advantage of it shows by his failure, in a great degree, a lack of good judgment, because he will never again have such an opportunity in his life. He can get the lowest possible rate of insurance with the heavier part carried by the Government during the war, and then he can transfer this into an insurance that will be paid to him in a 20-year endowment or any other form of insurance that he may desire at the end of the war. Every one of them ought to take advantage of it, whether they will do so or not.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator whether he has any statistics showing what percentage of the adult male population of the United States now takes out any insurance at all?

Mr. McCUMBER. Oh, no, Mr. President; but there would be a very large percentage, I anticipate, if the Government would carry more than half of the premiums; the number would be increased enormously if the Government would pay each male citizen a sum that would enable him to take care of such premiums. I think it then would include 90 per cent of all the male population of the United States.

Mr. President, it has been shown here, I think, that this bill alone will cost the Government of the United States not less than $500,000,000 for every 1,000,000 men enlisted. My own candid judgment is that it will reach far beyond that sum. Any man who believes that we will win this war with such a victory that will enable us to dictate terms of peace that will prevent such a damnable outrage ever again being perpetrated on the civilized world with less than 4,000,000 men in the trenches will have a rude awakening to a realization of the full meaning of this war before we ever get through with it. If it takes 4,000,000 men, that would be an annual average of $2,000,000,000 under the provisions of the bill from now for half a century yet to come. Now, that is what it is going to mean, and we ought not to add greatly to it.

If it meant no more than the mere matter of costs in dollars, I do not know that I would have any serious objection to it, but it does mean far more than this. It means far more than the loss of dollars to the Nation.

Mr. President and Senators, during the seven long years our forefathers fought for the independence of this country, during those long, struggling winters and summers, every American man, woman, and child was a participant in that war. There were no slackers. Our grandmothers sat at their wheels and at their looms into the long hours of the night. Their children with tiny hands performed their labors in adding to the output of commodities that was necessary to support the American Army. So during the great Civil War we know, because some of us well remember, our mothers sat with their knitting needles until the old clock on the mantel passed the hour of 12 and 1 and sometimes 2 o'clock in the morning. We know that every child who was old enough to do any kind of work was performing his or her duty. There were no slackers. There were none in those days who were asking that the Government should take care of them while they could fold their hands in idleness, and it would not have been well for the country if we had done so or attempted to do so.

Mr. President, we need to-day just as much as we ever needed in any war the active energy of every man, woman, and child in this country, that that energy may be coined into products for the support of the American people and of the Army and the Navy. We can not afford to lose any of the potential energy of the great American people if we are going to win this war, as we should win it.

Is there anything in this bill that of itself diminishes the sum total, the quantity of that human energy which is required at home as well as in the trenches? Let us see. We can divide the people of the world into about two classes. The one class will be made up of those people who labor, even though it is not necessary for them to do so in order to secure a competence. We have another class—I will not venture to say which is the larger—which will never perform any more labor than is necessary to secure a plain living. Now, what is the result of this bill upon those two classes of the people?

Probably most of us will remember that the moment we passed the conscription law the number of marriages in the United States was greatly increased, and that is as it should be. The young man before going to the front took his sweetheart for a wife. Most of these young men were of that age where they had accumulated nothing in the world. They had nothing to support themselves except that innate energy of all our American people. They were laboring for their own support, and all those who got married as a rule married girls who in this age were also performing their duties in the world and

were producing either by their hands or minds for the general benefit of the people of the United States.

Now, what happens? Under the provisions of this bill the moment a soldier enlists his wife gets $30 a month. You may say that $15 of it belongs to the soldier. That is true, but it first comes out of the pocket of the taxpayer to the Government and into the hands of the soldier, and it is taken only out of what you all concede to be the surplus above what is necessary for the soldier's expenses while in the Army.

Now, what will this wife do? Suppose he marries a good school-teacher here in the city, and she is earning and will continue to earn $100 a month. Notwithstanding the fact that she is earning a good living, the Government will nevertheless hand her over $30 per month, not that she needs it, but that the law so provides. Probably there are few soldiers who can not say that they have an old parent more or less dependent upon them, and again the law says, "There is $20 more for each one of those parents, provided the whole does not exceed $50 per month."

Do you understand that in a great many of these cases you are by the action of this law diminishing the active energies of individuals that otherwise would be utilized in some line of endeavor for the benefit of the country; that you are shelving that much that ought to be kept in action?

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit me a word?

Mr. McCUMBER. Certainly.

Mr. KING. As the bill came here from the House, I understand the contention of the Senator to be absolutely correct. It has been suggested that the bill has been so amended that, in the concrete case which is suggested by the Senator, where the wife is earning $100 per month and is therefore not dependent upon the husband, she would not be the recipient of the provisions contained in the bill. That is the construction of the bill that has been placed upon it, I understand, by other Senators.

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senators who have placed that construction upon the bill are in error.

Mr. KING. I think so, too.

Mr. McCUMBER. The matter was brought before the committee, and it was discussed. I stated to the committee that I doubted very much if the word "dependent" could be given that construction under our pension laws, and that I would therefore look into the matter a little more thoroughly, and if I became convinced that it was not given that construction I would offer an amendment. It has not been given that construction, and I shall offer an amendment after I have explained it a little further.

Now, that is not all, Mr. President. In most cases, so far as the white population of the United States are concerned, when a man marries he takes care of his wife. I would record the exception only in the executive departments of the United States Government at Washington, where the wife still continues to be the breadwinner for her—what do I call him?—effeminate husband.

Mr. KING. Parasite.

Mr. McCUMBER. Yes; male parasite. A husband who is lacking in that manly pride which demands that he shall be a supporter and protector of his family. But that is not true, as a rule, of the colored population of the United States. I think a very large proportion of the female domestic servants who are colored and who are laboring here in the city of Washington are married. The wife is cook or waitress; the husband is barber or butler or chauffeur. Under the conscription law the moment a butler or chauffeur becomes a soldier $30 is paid over to his wife, who heretofore has been doing something for herself, and thereby for the common good.

Now, let me ask the Senators coming from the Southern States, who know more about this than I do, is she going to do anything further? In most cases will she continue to labor when the Government is paying her $30 a month? I think in a great many cases she will remain at home with folded hands, and the old term "Nellie am a lady" will apply to her case, and there will be so much unexercised human energy that ought to be utilized that the Government and the people will be deprived of.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PITTMAN in the chair). Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I ask the Senator if it is his purpose to make any discrimination as between the colored cooks and waitresses who are engaged in those occupations and those wives who were not so engaged before the war?

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senator knows that I would make no discrimination. I am giving this as an argument to show that the result of the bill will in many cases diminish the sum total of American efforts, every ounce of which is needed during this war, and in many instances, when it does not lessen the amount of productive labor, the individual regarded as a dependent will continue in remunerative employment and receive salaries or wages far in excess of many of those who will be called upon by the revenue bill to pay out of their own pockets to make up the amount which will have to be paid to this allottee.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then I will ask the Senator if it is his purpose to make such limited provision for the widows of our soldiers as will require all of them to go into some kind of employment after the war is over or during the war.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, the question requires a little explanation in the answer. We have conducted all our wars heretofore without making provision for the support of those who had to perform the labor at home during the time the soldier was engaged in the war. I think it would have been well during the Civil War if we could have partially, at least, assisted them. I do not think it would have been well, even though we had been able to take care of and would have taken care of able-bodied men and women, to have done so, and thereby deprived the country of their services as laborers or otherwise. What I would do is this: I would define what is meant by a dependent, and I would not say that anyone was a dependent who was fully capable of earning a livelihood—one who, having no other one requiring personal attention, had to his credit youth, health, and capability.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Was it not the purpose of the committee to make the law so as to support the dependent members of the family who are not able to support themselves?

Mr. McCUMBER. It might have been their intention; but if so, they came far from realizing their intention by the mere addition of the word "dependent."

Mr. VARDAMAN. I thought the Senator stated a moment ago that he was going to look up that matter and introduce an amendment.

Mr. McCUMBER. I did look it up, Mr. President. I shall submit the amendment, and I will explain it.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I really think that ought to be done. I agree with the Senator that it is not right to lay taxes on the American people to support an able-bodied man whose sons happen to be serving at the front, or to support a wife and child who are amply able to care for themselves; but I do think where there are dependent mothers or fathers or a dependent wife or children they ought to be supported. I think it will make a better soldier, and I think it makes a better citizen at home of the children to do that.

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senator and I agree entirely upon that.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I shall be glad to support a measure of that kind.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, let me not be misunderstood. I am in favor of assisting all of those who need assistance. I am in favor of caring for those whose support is taken from them by the action of the Government wherever such support is necessary. But I am not in favor of a proposition that will overindulge those who are able and who in this extremity of our Government ought to labor every day—do their bit every day.

This ought not to be a case in which the soldiers alone must sacrifice. It should be a case in which every individual should do his part. The people at home as well as those at the front should fight this battle. The soldier in the trenches is entitled to be backed not only by a patriotic people but by a people whose patriotism shall be expressed in active service in every line of industry in the United States.

Mr. President, I stated that I had looked up the matter of the meaning of the word "dependent." Heretofore no provision has ever been made for a wife or other dependent during the period of the soldier's service. Provision is made for payment of one-half of soldier's pension to the wife if he has deserted her and she is in necessitous circumstances. "Necessitous circumstances" is defined to mean that she has nothing, or practically nothing, for her support aside from her own individual earnings.

I wish the Senator from Mississippi had remained to get this definition.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I shall be glad to listen to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. The act of June 27, 1890, provided a pension for a widow who should be without other means of support than her daily labor,

That is without reference to whether she is able to perform remunerative labor. The construction placed upon this was that if she had means independent of anything she might earn in excess of the amount of pension, which was $8 per month, she would not be regarded as dependent. Under the pension laws dealing with dependent parents it has been held that if the mother is a widow and has but small means, yielding practically an income of but two or three hundred dollars a year, she would be, under the rules of the Pension Bureau, regarded as dependent. The same would be the rule if she had a husband who was physically incapable of supporting her.

In none of the pension laws is any consideration given to her ability to support herself by her own labor. If she has nothing but what she can individually earn, no matter whether that be much or little, she would have a status for pension.

In other words, taking the case of the school-teacher whom I have mentioned. If she had no income outside of her $1,200 or $1,400 a year that she earned by her own labor, then she would be regarded as a dependent and would be entitled under the provisions of this bill to the extra $30 a month. So the mere use of the word "dependent" in this measure would not prohibit the payment of any of these allowances under subdivision (A), because the allottee is perfectly able to earn his or her own support. That is the reason why I have provided an amendment, which I think ought to go in; but before I offer that I have prepared a statement showing the provisions of the present pension laws and the rules of the Pension Bureau concerning dependency, and that it may at least guide us in the future I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, such will be the order.

The matter referred to is as follows:

PROVISIONS OF PRESENT PENSION LAWS AND RULES OF THE PENSION BUREAU CONCERNING DEPENDENCY.

"The pension laws make no provisions for a wife during the period of her soldier husband's service. In two cases only is a wife provided for in the pension laws after the soldier's discharge, and those only where the soldier is a pensioner: First, if the soldier is insane and he has no guardian or if he is confined in a penitentiary for crime, then the wife may be paid his pension if she is in necessitous circumstances and a woman of good moral character; second, if the soldier is a pensioner, has deserted his wife for six months, she may be paid one-half the pension if she is in necessitous circumstances and a woman of good moral character. Necessitous circumstances is defined to mean that she has nothing or practically nothing for her support aside from her own individual earnings.

"The pension laws now provide pension for widows of soldiers, and there is no limitation at present in respect to property holdings or worth of any kind. Where the soldier's death was due to some cause arising out of service in line of duty there never was any limitation in respect to her means or ability to earn a support to entitle her to a pension.

"When the act of June 27, 1890, was passed it was provided that a widow, to entitle her to pension—and this was a service pension—should be without other means of support than her daily labor. The construction placed on this was that if she had means, independent of anything she might earn, in excess of the amount of pension provided, which was $8 per month, she would not be regarded as dependent.

"On May 9, 1900, this was amended by the act of Congress of that date providing that if the widow did not have an income from property or other holdings in excess of $250 a year she would be entitled to pension.

"In April, 1908, all limitations in respect to property holdings and worth were removed, and at present a widow can get a pension, if otherwise entitled, without regard to her worth, whether it be a dollar or a million dollars.

"In respect to dependent parents, no pension is granted unless the soldier's death was due to military service in line of duty. The order of succession is, first, mother, then father, and finally brothers and sisters under 16 years of age. The dependency of a mother is, of course, connected with what property or other means she may have, and also the ability of her husband, the soldier's father, to support her. If she is a widow and has but small means, yielding practically an income of but two or three hundred dollars a year, she would be, under the rules of the Pension Bureau, regarded as a dependent. The same conclusion would be reached if she had a husband who was physically incapable of supporting her or who had deserted her and refused to support her.

"In none of the pension laws regarding the dependence of either widow or dependent mother is any consideration given to her ability to support herself by her own labor. If she has nothing but what she can individually earn, no matter whether that be much or little, she would have status for pension if all the other conditions of the law were satisfied.

"In regard to the dependence of a mother, another point has always been considered, and that is her relation in life, both before and after the soldier's death, and in what respect the death of the latter worked a material change in her situation. It is an element, of course, always considered in regard to determining whether the mother was wholly or in part dependent upon her son for support.

"There have been, of course, instances in the adjudication of claims in the Pension Bureau where it has been found that a widow, or perhaps a dependent mother, having no property or income or other means aside from her labor, has been receiving a salary in some clerical capacity. But in the absence of any provision in the law that the amount she herself might be able to earn should be considered, pension of course has been granted in accordance with the provisions of the law.

"Appended hereto is a brief statement prepared in the Pension Bureau, showing the proof that is necessary to submit in case of a dependent mother or father, in respect to their financial condition, in order to entitle them to a pension. But as before stated, in respect to the widow of a soldier, either of the Civil or any subsequent war, there now exists no limitation whatever in regard to her property holdings or her ability to support herself by her own labor.

PENSIONS TO DEPENDENT RELATIVES.

"470. Section 4707, Revised Statutes.—To obtain title to pension under this statute, it must be shown that the soldier or sailor died of a disability contracted in the service and in line of duty.

"471. Dependent mothers.—In a mother's claim, her relationship to the soldier or sailor, the date and cause of the son's death, whether he left a widow or minor children surviving, and her dependence on him for support at the time of his death must be shown.

"472. In proof of dependence, it must be shown that previous to the date of the said son's decease her husband had died, or that he had permanently abandoned her, or that on account of disability from injury or disease, he was unable to support her.

"473. If the husband is dead, the date of his death must be proved. If he abandoned the support of his family, the date of the abandonment and all the facts of the case, showing whether he ever returned or ever afterwards contributed to the support of the claimant, must be fully set forth. If any person who is legally bound to contribute to the support of the mother claimant neglect or fail to do so, and the State or local laws afford a remedy, it should be shown whether the claimant has invoked the aid of such laws to compel support. If the father was disabled, the nature and cause of the disability, when, and to what extent it rendered him unable to support the claimant, must be shown by the testimony of his physician. The extent of his disability during the period from the son's death to the present time should also be shown.

"474. The value of the property of the claimant and her husband, the income derived therefrom, and the other means of support possessed by her while she was receiving the contributions of the son on account of whose service and death pension is claimed, and from that time to the present, should be shown by the testimony of credible and disinterested witnesses, who must state how they know the facts. The value of property assessed for taxation may be shown by the testimony of the officer having custody of the records relative thereto, who should also state the ratio of the assessed to the actual or cash value of such property.

"475. It must be shown to what extent, for what period, and in what manner her said son contributed to her support, by the testimony of persons for whom the son labored, to whom he paid rent, of whom he purchased groceries, fuel, clothing, or other necessary articles for the mother's use, or of those who otherwise had a knowledge of the contributions of the son, and who must state how they obtained such knowledge. Any letter from the son, bearing upon the question of support, should be filed. If the son, in any other manner than by actual contributions, acknowledged his obligation to support his mother, or was by law bound to such support, the facts should be shown.

"476. Dependent fathers: In a father's claim for pension on account of the death of a legitimate son upon whom he was dependent for support, there must be proven—

"(1) The cause of his son's death.

"That said son left no widow or minor child surviving.

"The cause and extent of claimant's disability during the period in which the son contributed to his support, and from that time to the present.

"The amount of his property, and all other means of support possessed by him during that period, and the extent of his dependence upon his son for support.

"The facts of the case, in each respect, should be shown by such testimony as is required in the claim of a mother.

"(2) The date of the claimant's marriage to the mother of the soldier or sailor, the date of birth of the son, and the date of the death of said mother must be proved."

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President——

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask the Senator if it is not true that in the administration of the pension laws much depends upon the attitude taken by the Commissioner of Pensions or the Secretary of the Interior? For instance, at one time in 1894 or 1895 the officers of the Pension Bureau held for a few months that if a woman had an income of $21 a year she was not dependent and would not be given a pension. Later on they held that if her income was more than $8 a month she would not be entitled to a pension. The ruling was changed so often that Congress fixed the amount of the income, so that if the widow had an income of less than $250 a year she was pensionable.

Mr. McCUMBER. That was in 1890.

Mr. CURTIS. It was under the act of 1890, but the law fixing that amount was passed May 9, 1900.

Mr. McCUMBER. What I want to make clear to the Senate is that at no time have we ever held that because a person was able or capable of earning a living, either by mental or physical labor, that that took him out of the definition of dependency, and that is the real point. If we are going outside of what we have ever gone before and are going into new fields whereby we are to give an allowance to everyone who is dependent in view of the past rulings on dependency, then we ought to define that word so that a dependent will mean one who has not the property or income to care for himself or herself or who is incapable of earning a living.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield.

Mr. KING. I was called out of the Chamber, much to my regret, during the discussion of the Senator, and I was wondering whether or not the amendment which he proposes to tender was suggested by him to the committee.

Mr. McCUMBER. It was suggested as I stated, but I did not want to offer it if our Pension Bureau had ever given the word "dependent" a definition that would exclude those who were entirely capable of earning their own support. I found upon examination that that was not true, and it was understood at least that I would have the privilege of presenting an amendment if I so ascertained.

Mr. KING. Then, as I understand the Senator, without the amendment which he proposes to tender, the wives of soldiers and sailors who are now receiving large incomes from their own services or otherwise would be denominated or considered dependents and would be permitted to draw the compensation or allowances provided for in this bill.

Mr. McCUMBER. If a woman is worth a million dollars, or if she has an income of a million dollars, she would still receive the $30 a month under the provisions of the bill.

Mr. KING. And the amendment which the Senator proposes he thinks will effectually prevent such an injustice and absurdity as that.

Mr. McCUMBER. It would, Mr. President. This is the way the amendment reads. I now offer the amendment. It is to add, after line 13, on page 11, the following under the head of "Definitions":

13. The term "dependent" means (a) any child under 16 years of age; (b) a person who by reason of the care of minor children or other members of his or her immediate family or by reason of physical or mental infirmity is incapacitated from earning a support. Any person who has an income or property from which an income can be derived sufficient for his or her support shall not be regarded as a dependent under the provisions of this act.

I offer that amendment, Mr. President.

Mr. BRADY. I wish to ask the Senator from North Dakota a question relative to his amendment which I have heard read.

Would it not answer the purpose if we were simply to adopt the last clause of the amendment, "any person who has an income or property from which an income can be derived sufficient for his or her support shall not be regarded as a dependent under the provisions of this act." By offering that particular amendment and not interfering with the bill in any other way, it seems to me the Senator would accomplish his purpose and at the same time I think it would stand a great deal better chance of being adopted. It would be, in my judgment, very beneficial if it were adopted. On the other hand, if we attempt to destroy by a special definition other parts of the bill it might be that those who would be glad to support this clause and would be glad to help as much as they can to carry out the purpose of the amendment would still feel constrained to vote against it.

Mr. McCUMBER. I wish to say to the Senator that it would simply partially answer the argument I have made by partially defining a dependent—that one who is able and capable of earning a living physically or mentally shall not be regarded as a dependent. I want a child under 16 years old always to be regarded as a dependent; I want one who is by physical infirmity or mental infirmity incapable of earning a living always to be regarded as a dependent, but I do not want any American citizen during this war who has to his credit youth and strength and vigor and capability for earning a livelihood to say to the Government, "I am a dependent, and therefore I wish to be supported during this war."

Mr. BRADY. My only thought in making the suggestion to the Senator was, if possible, to secure the adoption of the last paragraph of his amendment, which I think is very good.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] has evidently given this bill very careful thought, and I want to ask him a question with reference to the provision of the bill where the soldier is compelled to make an allotment to his wife. I understand the allotment to the wife by the Government is made only upon condition that the soldier allots a certain amount.

Mr. McCUMBER. Yes.

Mr. VARDAMAN. If the soldier commits some little misdemeanor, as soldiers sometimes do, and a court-martial should find him guilty, fine him a month's salary, and commit him to quarters for, say, 30 days, or something of that kind, could his salary be diverted from the support of his family in that way?

Mr. McCUMBER. It could not under the terms of the bill.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I wished that this matter be made clear, because I wanted to provide for the support of the family.

Mr. McCUMBER. The bill is absolute in that respect.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I think that is the best provision in the bill.

Mr. McCUMBER. No court-martial can set aside a law of Congress.

Mr. VARDAMAN. No; I know that.

Mr. McCUMBER. And this is the law of Congress—that these payments shall be absolutely made every month.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I am glad to know that there is no doubt on that point.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays upon the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Secretary kindly state the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 31, line 15, the committee proposes to strike out "$10,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "$7,500."

Mr. ROBINSON. Those who favor retaining the $10,000 in the bill will vote "nay." I suppose all Senators understand that.

Mr. SMOOT. And those in favor of the Senate committee amendment will vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I am informed that there is a misunderstanding as to the question at issue. I make a parliamentary inquiry. Those who desire that the maximum amount of insurance be $10,000 will vote "nay," and those who desire that it shall be $7,500 will vote "yea." Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

The Secretary resumed the calling of the roll.

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND], but I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "nay."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] to the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan (when Mr. TOWNSEND'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. TOWNSEND] is unavoidably absent from the Senate on account of illness in his family. I desire the RECORD to disclose that fact.

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Has the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have a pair with that Senator, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WOLCOTT (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN. I transfer the general pair I have with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] to the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] and vote "nay."

Mr. JAMES. My colleague [Mr. BECKHAM] is detained from the Senate by reason of illness in his family.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], which I transfer to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] and vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING. I have a general pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. FERNALD. I have a pair with the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HARDING (after having voted in the affirmative). I note the absence of the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], with whom I have a general pair. Because of his absence I will transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] and will let my vote stand.

Mr. MYERS. I have a general pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], who is necessarily absent on account of illness. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] and vote "nay."

Mr. HOLLIS (after having voted in the negative). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], who is absent. I will therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], on account of illness. He has a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] and vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the pair of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON].

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 40, as follows:

YEAS—16.

Calder	France	Harding	Norris
Cummins	Frelinghuysen	King	Smoot
Curtis	Gore	McCumber	Stone
Dillingham	Hale	New	Weeks

NAYS—40.

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Simmons
Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	Page	Smith, Ariz.
Brady	Kenyon	Pittman	Smith, Md.
Chamberlain	Knox	Poindexter	Smith, Mich.
Fletcher	La Follette	Reed	Sutherland
Gerry	Lewis	Robinson	Swanson
Hardwick	McKellar	Saulsbury	Trammell
Hitchcock	McNary	Shafroth	Vardaman
Husting	Martin	Sheppard	Walsh
James	Myers	Shields	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—40.

Beckham	Gronna	Nelson	Sterling
Borah	Hollis	Newlands	Thomas
Brandegee	Hughes	Owen	Thompson
Broussard	Johnson, Cal.	Penrose	Tillman
Colt	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Townsend
Culberson	Kellogg	Pomerene	Underwood
Fall	Kendrick	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Fernald	Kirby	Sherman	Warren
Gallinger	Lodge	Smith, Ga.	Watson
Goff	McLean	Smith, S. C.	Williams

So the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add a new section to the bill, as follows:

SEC. 315. That all soldiers, sailors, and marines who are, or who may hereafter become, so totally and permanently helpless from wounds or injuries received or disease contracted in the service and line of duty as to require the regular personal aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to receive a pension at the rate of $100 per month from the date of the passage of this act or of the certificate of the examining surgeon or board of surgeons showing such degree of disability made subsequent to the passage of this act.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, just a word. There are at present on the pension rolls 397 soldiers, sailors, and marines who are suffering total and permanent disabilities from wounds or injuries received or disease contracted in the service or in the line of duty. This amendment simply proposes to put them upon the same basis as the present bill provides for those who may be wounded or injured in the present war. The increase from the present rate of $72 a month is $28 per month; the annual increased cost to the Government, if the amendment should be adopted, would be $132,665.04. I sincerely hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I sincerely hope that this amendment will not be adopted and that there will be no attempt made at this time to make a vehicle of this bill for the purpose of increasing pensions to soldiers who served in previous wars through which the country has been. I do not intend to argue the merits of this particular proposition. When it is presented in its own light and upon its own strength and its own merits, at the proper time and on the proper bill I am not sure that I would not vote for it; but this is not the time, this is not the proper bill for it, and I do not think that this bill ought to be made an excuse for raising pensions of the Civil War, the Mexican War, and the Spanish-American War. I sincerely hope that the amendment will be voted down.

If the Senator from Utah desires that this sort of legislation shall be enacted he ought to introduce a bill for that purpose, let it go to the Pensions Committee, and let it come in in the proper way. This amendment does not involve a war-emergency matter in any way in the world, nor is it connected with it. When we come back here in December Congress can consider such a proposition upon its merits, together with such other amendments of existing pension laws as some Senators may think would be justified because of the action we are proposing to take in this bill. I hope the amendment will not be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BANKHEAD (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "nay."

Mr. FERNALD (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] and therefore withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HOLLIS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] to the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. MCCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Announcing my pair as before, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Transferring my pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MYERS. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] and vote "nay."

Mr. FLETCHER. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] to the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] and vote "nay."

Mr. HARDING. Transferring my pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE], I vote "yea."

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] and to state that, if present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have a pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who is absent. I will therefore refrain from voting, not being able to obtain a transfer of that pair.

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—26.

Brady	Frelinghuysen	King	Shafroth
Calder	Gore	La Follette	Smith, Mich.
Colt	Hale	McCumber	Smoot
Cummins	Harding	McNary	Sutherland
Curtis	James	New	Weeks
Dillingham	Jones, Wash.	Norris	
France	Kenyon	Page	

NAYS—32.

Ashurst	Husting	Overman	Simmons
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Smith, Ariz.
Chamberlain	Knox	Pomerene	Smith, Md.
Fletcher	Lewis	Reed	Swanson
Gerry	McKellar	Robinson	Trammell
Hardwick	Martin	Saulsbury	Vardaman
Hitchcock	Myers	Sheppard	Williams
Hollis	Newlands	Shields	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—38.

Beckham	Hughes	Penrose	Thompson
Borah	Johnson, Cal.	Phelan	Tillman
Brandegee	Johnson, S. Dak.	Poindexter	Townsend
Broussard	Kellogg	Ransdell	Underwood
Culberson	Kendrick	Sherman	Wadsworth
Fall	Kirby	Smith, Ga.	Walsh
Fernald	Lodge	Smith, S. C.	Warren
Gallinger	McLean	Sterling	Watson
Goff	Nelson	Stone	
Gronna	Owen	Thomas	

So Mr. SMOOT's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SIMMONS and Mr. SMOOT addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SIMMONS. I move to strike out "$5,000" in Article I, line 5, page 2, and insert "$6,000."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 5, it is proposed to strike out "$5,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$6,000"; so that it will read, "shall receive a salary at the rate of $6,000 per annum."

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I will state that I shall later offer an amendment to strike out in line 11, on the same page, "$4,000" and insert "$5,000," the amendments relating to the salary fixed in the bill for the Director of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, which is made $5,000, and secondly to the salaries of the commissioners provided for in the bill. The bill provides that the bureau shall be divided into two parts, one of the divisions to be known as the division of marine and seamen's insurance, and the other division that of military and naval insurance. The salary for these two commissioners was fixed in the bill at $4,000.

Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for only a minute or two. The bureau we are about to create will be an exceedingly important one in the scope and the variety of its work; and in a very large sense the work will be of a pioneer character. It covers family allowances and allotments, compensation for injuries, and insurance upon lives. The amount of insurance that is likely to be taken out in itself will exceed probably that issued by several of the largest insurance companies of the country combined.

I want to say now that I was not so fortunate as to be with the committee during its deliberations; I was only able to be present for any length of time at the last meeting of the committee; but the committee, in refusing to raise these salaries were controlled, I think, entirely, or almost entirely, by an idea that seems to have gained currency in the committee that the salaries of like officials of the Government were only $5,000; that the salaries of many of the heads of the larger commissions of the Government are supposed to be only $5,000. I have taken the trouble since the action of the committee to look into that matter, and I am entirely satisfied that the committee acted upon false information with reference to that matter.

I find that a number of officials under the Treasury Department, whose work certainly is not more important than that of these officials will be, receive salaries even higher than $6,000 a year.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue receives a salary of $6,000 a year.

The Surgeon General receives a salary of $6,000 a year.

A number of collectors of customs receive salaries of $6,000 a year, and even above that.

The Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing receives a salary of $6,000.

The Comptroller of the Treasury receives a salary of $6,000.

The Chief Bank Examiner receives a salary of $6,000.

The following officials in other departments receive higher salaries:

The Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation receives a salary of $7,500.

The Director of the Geological Survey receives a salary of $6,000.

The Director of the Bureau of Mines receives a salary of $6,000.

The Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds receives a salary of $6,000.

The Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey receives a salary of $6,000.

The Director of the Census receives a salary of $6,000.

It is clear, I think, Mr. President, that the duties of the director of the great bureau we are about to create, duties that will take him into an untried field, duties of great complication and variety as well as scope, require very much more skill, technical knowledge, and I might say even ability, than are required in the discharge of the duties of some of the positions in the Government for which we pay salaries of $6,000.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. SHIELDS. I should like to ask the Senator a question in regard to the officers that he has read that receive salaries of five or six thousand dollars and more.

Mr. SIMMONS. None less than $6,000 that I read.

Mr. SHIELDS. None less than $6,000. Is it not more a question that those salaries should be reduced than that the salary provided in this bill should be raised?

Mr. SIMMONS. Well, that is as the Senator may look at the matter.

Mr. SHIELDS. I will ask the Senator if it is not a fact that within his own State—I know it is in my State—a hundred men can be found that are able to discharge the duties of these offices as ably and efficiently as anybody, and that will be glad to take them for the salaries here stated? I will ask the Senator if he can not find men in North Carolina that will do it?

Mr. SIMMONS. I can find 5,000 men in North Carolina who would be willing to take the position of Senator of the United States for one-half of the salary that the Government pays us.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator has not answered my question. I asked him whether he could not find 100 men in his State who could discharge these duties ably and efficiently who would take the positions for the salaries here fixed?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not know. I can not answer that question. I am satisfied there are some men in North Carolina, as I am satisfied there are some men in Tennessee and in every other State in the Union, who could fill this office creditably, and probably would be willing to take it for $6,000, or even less than $6,000; but that is no criterion by which to fix a salary. The question whether there are not many men or many hundreds or many thousands of men who would be willing to take a position at a certain salary is not a question that the Senate of the United States should regard as controlling in the matter of salaries.

I want to say to the Senator from Tennessee that, in my judgment, whatever might have been said about the salaries that the United States Government has been paying during past years, when conditions were different from what they are now, I do not believe that the United States Government is paying to its officials to-day any higher salaries than it ought to pay. On the contrary, I believe that in many instances the United States Government ought to increase the salaries that it is paying. I believe further, Mr. President, that with reference to many of the great offices of this Government, offices requiring high technical skill, offices requiring special training and education, the fact that the United States Government is paying such small salaries is interfering with its getting good and efficient and competent men. All three of these places require men of ability to fill them.

Mr. President, I do not want to get into any argument; but I really do believe that $6,000 for the head of this great department and $5,000 each for the two men who are to administer the affairs of these two positions is little enough.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I desire to read a telegram that I have received from Chicago, dated October 2, from the Secretary of the Treasury to myself, in which he says:

Senator SIMMONS,
Washington, D. C.:

I urge most earnestly that salaries of the director and two commissioners under insurance bill be placed at six and five thousand dollars, respectively. It is a great mistake to put the salaries of the commissioners, particularly, at $4,000, as it will make it impossible to command the kind of ability we shall need for these important positions.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senate that the amount of $5,000, as fixed in the House bill, is only carrying out a policy that has obtained in Congress for many, many years. It is true that during the last three years we have created in the Government a number of commissions, and I suppose the word "commission" has had some unknown in-

fluence on the minds of Congressmen that was sufficient for them to vote for salaries of the members of those commissions that can not be justified when compared with the salaries of other men working in other departments of this Government; and I think now that it would be an injustice to many of the most devoted public servants receiving but $5,000 to-day if we should increase the salary of the director from $5,000 to $6,000.

We ought to stop and think that every Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, of the State Department, and of every other department of our Government, is receiving but $5,000 per annum.

The Auditor for the Treasury Department is receiving $4,000.

The Auditor for the Navy Department is receiving $4,000.

The Auditor for the Interior Department is receiving $4,000.

The Auditor for the Post Office Department is receiving $5,000.

The Assistant Treasurer is receiving only $3,600 per year.

The register of the Treasury is receiving only $4,000 a year.

The Comptroller of the Currency is receiving $5,000 a year.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Ten thousand dollars.

Mr. SMOOT. No; the salary, as provided in the legislative appropriation bill, of the Comptroller of the Currency is $5,000 a year. That has been the salary of the Comptroller of the Currency for years.

Mr. SHAFROTH. It is $12,000 now.

Mr. SMOOT. That is only because the Comptroller of the Currency now acts upon the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But he does that now, and therefore he gets the salary.

Mr. SMOOT. Not as a salary for the Comptroller of the Currency. The appropriations that are now made and that have been made for the Comptroller of the Currency for years and years and years past have been at the rate of $5,000.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But it is more now.

Mr. SMOOT. The Director of the Mint receives $5,000.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs receives $5,000.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office, with this great, vast domain of country under his control, receives $5,000.

And so, Mr. President, I could go through all of the bureaus of this Government. I say now that if we increase this salary to $6,000 the salaries of all of these other heads of bureaus ought to be increased to $6,000.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, I know the Senator from North Carolina will say, perhaps, that they ought to be; but I want to say that there has been no effort upon the part of Congress to change the amount that has been paid these officials, and we all know that the men that hold these positions not only under this administration but under all former administrations are men that are worth more than $5,000. An important consideration is the honor that is attached to the positions, just the same as we may say with reference to position of a Senator of the United States. There is hardly a Senator but what could make more than $7,500 in private life; but there is the honor attached to the position, and so it will be with this position.

Mr. President, I know it has been said that it requires a man of exceedingly great ability and of special education to discharge these duties. I do not think there is going to be any change in the personnel of the present head of this War-Risk Insurance Bureau.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, does not the Senator know that that man is now getting $5,000, and does he not think that when we pay him $5,000 for discharging the duties connected with the present War-Risk Insurance Bureau, which involves only insurance to the amount of $75,000,000, when we add to his duties all the requirements of this legislation he ought to have an increase in his present salary?

Mr. SMOOT. In answer to the Senator I will say that the director will do no more work, in my opinion, than he is doing now, but he will have—I can not tell how many—employees under him to do it. The number of employees are unlimited in this bill. He can have actuaries to any number; he can have experts to any number; he can have other employees of any sort in any number, and the only limit is in certain cases, and then only to $20 per day.

So, Mr. President, I can not see now why we are going to undertake to increase the salary from $5,000 to $6,000 for the director of a bureau which is not yet in working condition and at the same time appropriate only $5,000 for the heads of the great bureaus of this Government, and the Assistant Secretaries of State and of the Treasury and all of the departments of our Government. I do not believe it can be justified, and I shall vote against the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I am going to vote for the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina because I think it is right. The responsibility of this office will be very great. The head and director of this office will carry the responsibility for marine insurance business. He will carry the responsibility for the compensation statutes that we have enacted. He will carry the responsibility for a great life insurance business that we have created. Why, Senators, there is not a man anywhere in the United States who will be carrying such business responsibilities that does not receive a salary vastly larger than this.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] and I have agreed in resisting a number of extreme increases and high salaries, and, generally speaking, I am with him on that proposition. I was with him in fighting carrying the compensation of these board members above $7,500, and I still agree with him about it. I do not think there is a member of one of these boards who has as responsible a position as the director of this marine and life insurance business that we intend to conduct, and this compensation business that we intend to conduct. It is a new field of work. It requires a high order of administrative capacity.

I am aware of the fact that there are a number of assistant secretaries who fill their offices just as we fill ours in the Senate, are glad to have them, are careless about the compensation, and would be perfectly willing to serve if there were not any compensation at all; but they are serving temporarily. They do not contemplate making this a life work. The man who takes charge of this business ought to take it to stay with it, organize it, and to continue to handle it. He occupies an entirely different position from an Assistant Secretary of State or an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Few men take the position of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury except with the purpose of acquiring the acquaintance, having the broadened experience, having the honor, and returning to their own work at the end of a few years. This, however, is an entirely different thing.

Mr. President, under the supervision of this officer we are to pay out millions and millions of dollars. I am almost jarred at the thought of what we may pay. This man is to select, largely, the force that is to help him administer these responsible duties. Are we to higgle over a thousand dollars in his salary when the proposed salary, suggested originally by the Secretary of the Treasury in the bill, and now urged by the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, is only $6,000?

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. SHIELDS. I should like to ask the Senator what salary the Commissioner of Pensions receives now?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think $5,000; but I do not think the responsibility of his position compares with the responsibility of this one.

Mr. SHIELDS. Under his management, how much is paid out now, annually?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Under his management there is paid out $150,000,000 a year.

Mr. SHIELDS. In view of the former legislation that we are amending, the salary of this director is now fixed at $5,000, is it not?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Well, the salary of the Director of the Marine Insurance Bureau is $5,000.

Mr. SHIELDS. That is the officer whose salary we are proposing to raise. Under the present law that we are now proposing to amend by this bill there is no such bureau as provided in this section, called a division of marine and seaman's insurance and a division of military and naval insurance, in charge of a commissioner of marine and seaman's insurance and a commissioner of military and naval insurance, for which salaries of $4,000 each are provided. They are new officers entirely.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SHIELDS. The present director performs all the duties now.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not at all.

Mr. SHIELDS. And these two men are brought in to assist him in the additional duties put upon him.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not at all. None of the duties indicated by these officers exist now.

Mr. SHIELDS. That is exactly what I said. At present he is discharging all the duties under the present law.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. At present he is discharging all the duties of his present office, but not the duties that are to be discharged by the men whom the Senator names.

Mr. SHIELDS. Certainly not, because there is no law imposing them at this time.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Precisely.

Mr. SHIELDS. And that was not implied in the question; but he is discharging all the duties of marine insurance now without any assistance.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SHIELDS. This law imposes new duties upon him, and it gives him two assistants, where he had none before, with salaries of $4,000 each. Is not that a fact?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. SHIELDS. Is it not a fact that this law gives him those two assistants to aid him in discharging these new duties?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But he had assistance before, and very substantial assistance.

Mr. SHIELDS. Still, that is no answer to my question.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will ask the Senator to finish his question, then.

Mr. SHIELDS. Is he not given two new assistants to assist him in discharging the new duties?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Wait a moment. He is given two assistants to assist him in discharging the duties that will be placed upon him. He now has assistants in discharging the duties at present placed upon him. His present duties are vastly less. In my judgment, they do not amount to one-tenth of the duties incident to this new responsibility that will attach to and be administered in the Treasury Department.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I now yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think he has a force now of some 25 or 30 persons.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. And I think one of his assistants now gets a salary of $4,000.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. They are not assistants. They are just clerks.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Well, one of his clerks gets $4,000, and is his assistant. He has handled with wonderful success the marine insurance business, but that marine insurance business is not comparable in size to the life insurance business we are putting on here, and the life insurance business is even more a new line of business, to be built up and created under the supervision of whoever has charge of this bureau. I do not know who is to have it. I do not know that this representative of the Government at the head of the marine insurance is to have it at all. I have never heard suggested the name of the person who was to have the place. I am dealing with it solely from the standpoint and from the view that a man who fills such a place is receiving a very small salary when you fix it at $6,000.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] asked the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] if he could not name a number of men from his State who would take the position for $5,000. I could not name a man from my State who could fill it, and who is prepared to fill it, who would take it for $5,000. I do not know a really successful life-insurance man in Georgia who would take it for $5,000. The heads of the successful life-insurance organizations in the State make several times that, and the same is also true with reference to fire insurance. I do think that the man who takes that place and comes here to carry these vast responsibilities ought to have enough to nearly pay his expenses, and $500 a month will not give him any liberal living in Washington—not any extravagant living. I just feel that for us to decline to allow these very reasonable salaries asked by the Secretary of the Treasury is to economize in a little sum which may lessen the efficiency of an enormous undertaking.

Mr. SIMMONS. And it only adds $3,000 to the entire expense of the administration.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It only adds $3,000 to the entire expense of administration of a bill that will distribute millions and millions and millions.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I do not want the Senate to remain under the impression that it possibly might remain under in consequence of what was said by the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] a moment ago.

As the bill reads, the bureau and its divisions are to have "such deputies, assistants, actuaries, clerks, and other employees as may be from time to time provided by Congress." Then, later on, this language occurs after one more intervening sentence:

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish an advisory board consisting of *three members* skilled in the practice of insurance against death or disability for the purpose of assisting—

And so forth.

Compensation *for the persons so appointed* to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not to exceed $20 a day each while actually employed.

So that there is not "an unlimited number of people" to be appointed. In the first place, they are limited by the $20,000 appropriation. They are limited further by the language of the bill. The people who get not to exceed $20 a day are the specially skilled men mentioned in the last sentence of that section—only three, not an unlimited number.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that that is exactly what I said. The three members are limited to $20 a day each.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was what the Senator undoubtedly intended to say; but I think the impression left upon the mind of the Senate, that I wish to dissipate, is that they thought the bureau might select any number of people whose salaries would not exceed $20 a day each. It is only three.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, well, Mr. President, under the language of the bill, as to the actuaries and the assistants and the deputies, there is no limit at all placed upon them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Except $20,000 with which to pay them.

Mr. SMOOT. There is not any $20,000 limitation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And he could not select many at $20 a day without spending the $20,000.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no $20,000 appropriation for that purpose.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is $20,000 appropriated for the expenses of administration.

Mr. SMOOT. Not at all.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, Mr. President, I want to say a few other things about the matter.

As a member of the subcommittee I voted for this raise in salary, raising five thousand to six, and four thousand to five.

The matter was pretty fully discussed in the subcommittee and in the committee. The majority of the committee disagreed with the report of the subcommittee. The subcommittee itself reported in favor of $6,000 and $5,000. The committee reduce it to $5,000 and $4,000. I thought then, and I think now, that the salaries of $6,000 and $5,000 are more nearly commensurate with the duties of these two places.

As to who shall fill the place I do not know, but undoubtedly if the present head of marine insurance is kept there as the head of that division his salary will be reduced from what it is now, $5,000, to $4,000, unless this amendment prevails. If they appoint a new man as the director and keep the present head of marine insurance in the first position, he is now getting $5,000 and he will then receive $4,000, and that will be a reduction of his salary. If he is made head of the entire business and made director, he will get what he is getting now, and then each of the chiefs of these two divisions will get $4,000. That is what the chief clerk is getting now, and they would not get a cent more than the chief clerk, who is the assistant now to the Director of Marine Insurance—an anomaly and a thing inadvisable.

It was agreed in committee that upon this question each member was to vote as he chose. I shall vote the opinion which I have entertained all the time, because of that fact; but as to other matters, being in charge of the bill I consider myself as being in honor bound to vote to sustain the committee. However, where we agreed to disagree on the floor of the Senate, as in this case, I am at liberty to vote my own original opinion.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I should like to say just a word upon this amendment. I feel that the man who occupies this position ought to have a salary of more than $5,000, but there are many other officials of the Government who are occupying positions just as responsible who are not getting over $5,000 a year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the Senator permit me? Is it not also true that there are a number of officials occupying positions of no higher dignity or greater responsibility who are getting $6,000?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. That is quite true; and some of those officials, heads of bureaus, who are getting $6,000 a year are under the supervision of assistant secretaries who are getting only $5,000 a year.

When the salaries of the various assistant secretaries was fixed at $5,000 a year Members of Congress were getting only $5,000 a year, but the salaries of Members of Congress have been raised to $7,500, and the salaries of these officials have not been put upon the same basis. As far as their pay is concerned they have not had their salaries increased.

I do not propose to vote to put the salary of an official of an important bureau beyond $5,000 a year until we can raise these other salaries. I say, the salary of the official who occupies this position ought to be greater than $5,000 a year; I doubt if $6,000 is enough for the position; but with all the assistant secretaries of the various departments getting only $5,000 a year, I do not believe in singling out a position of this kind and giving a salary beyond $5,000 a year. Not only the assistant secretaries but the Commissioner of Pensions, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and various other heads of responsible and important bureaus are not getting over $5,000 a year.

I want to say now that I am going to vote against putting this salary beyond $5,000, and at the next session of Congress I am going to do all I can to raise the salary of this official to $6,000 as well as the salary of a lot of others. The salaries of assistant secretaries ought to be $7,500 a year. The Assistant Attorneys General of the Government have had their salaries increased to $7,500, and there is no reason why the assistant secretaries of the other departments should not receive $7,500 a year. I will join with the Senator from North Carolina next winter to raise the salary of this director along with the salaries of some of the others to the sum they ought to be. But until we can do that I am opposed to putting this salary beyond $5,000.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, the position to be occupied by the director to be named under this act is one of very great importance, and in order to have the law administered properly it will be necessary that we shall receive the services of the very best man possible for us to procure.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

Mr. BRADY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to ask the Senator to point out in the bill what duties will be imposed upon this director which are beyond the ordinary administrative duties of the various departments?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is to organize a brand new branch of service.

Mr. BRADY. I will be very glad to point out the duties of the director, but before doing so may I state that my position in this matter is just the reverse of that of the Senator from New Mexico? I fully concur with him in his statement that the salaries of the assistant secretaries are not sufficient and that they should be raised, and on every occasion when the subject has been presented to this body I have voted for increasing their salaries. I remember an instance where we brought in a recommendation from the committee to increase the salary of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture from $5,000 to $6,000. It was voted down. We lost that assistant secretary, and when we did so we lost a $10,000 man simply because we would not give him the reasonable increase of $1,000 a year.

The Senator from New Mexico asks me why is this a more important position than that of an assistant secretary. I answer because it is a business position. This man will have the same duties to perform, the same responsibilities, that the manager of one of the great life insurance companies has if he performs his duties properly and is capable of properly performing them.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

Mr. BRADY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to suggest a few things in which the responsibility of the position will not be so great as that of the president of an insurance company.

Mr. BRADY. I should be very glad to have the Senator do so.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Take a great life insurance company like the New York Life or the Equitable. They have some four or five hundred million dollars of assets to invest from year to year. This director will have no such investment to make. The president of one of those life insurance companies also has to keep track of the mortality of men, to know where they are going to provide the money with which to pay the policies when they become due. They must have charge of the reserves, to estimate from year to year the amount of reserves which must be kept. All those things are fixed in this bill. The amount of insurance which will be carried upon the risk of any life is to be governed by the judgment of the president of the life insurance company, but in the bill everything which the director has got to do is specifically pointed out, and it is nothing but an administrative position, and a position which any man of administrative ability can fill. There is no reason on earth why he should have any knowledge of life insurance.

Mr. BRADY. I can not agree with the Senator in that statement at all. I believe if we put a man at the head of this bureau who does not understand life insurance, who does not understand business methods, who does not understand the making of computations and things of that character, he may lose more in a single day than his salary will amount to in a year. What are the duties this man will have to perform? The president of a life insurance company has by his side the chairman of the board to assist him, and back of that 12 to 15 directors, the very best business men in America. Those men name a general manager of the life insurance company and pay him from $25,000 to $100,000 a year. If this bureau is properly administered it will require the same splendid talent that is required in the case of a life insurance company. The Senator from New Mexico asks me what are the duties to be performed under this act. They are very great, indeed. It says in section 13:

> That the director, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall administer, execute, and enforce the provisions of this act, and for that purpose have full power and authority to make all rules and regulations—

He will have charge of the whole system of insurance of these millions and millions of dollars we have been speaking of to-day. As the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] has said, it is liable to amount to $400,000,000 or $500,000,000 a year, and is not a man making those rules and regulations and administering this important law entitled to the paltry sum of $6,000 a year? Further than that, he is to make all rules and regulations—

> not inconsistent with the provisions of this law, necessary or appropriate to carry out its purposes, and shall decide all questions arising under the act.

This is a great responsibility and will require the services of a competent and high-class man. Before the war is ended he will deal with 2,000,000 claimants, making every rule and regulation and deciding all questions. Do you not believe that it is worth $6,000? The Senator from New Mexico believes it, but he will not vote for it because others will not vote as he wants them to vote on another question and as I want them to vote on that other question.

I have had some experience in business, and have watched the course of business men, and through the pathway of life you will see the man who has to hire the chiefs of a department, the heads of a bureau, will pay them sufficient salaries to properly support themselves and their families. They are the business men who succeed. Just so it is with governmental affairs. If we pay these men salaries that are commensurate to the work then you will get men worth while.

It is my wish to see this bill a success. I want to see these soldiers and their widows protected. We have made amendments to the bill which make it one of the best measures, as I said yesterday, that shall have been passed by this Congress.

We have taken the right away from the man himself to say that he shall receive his insurance in a lump sum and we have said that it shall be paid to his dependents in installments, under rules and regulations of the director, and that it shall be paid to his children and his dependent wife in certain stated amounts. This director will decide those questions. We want them decided right, and they are not going to be decided right by merely a good man, no matter how good, or by merely an economical man or a well-trained man, no matter how good his intentions are, unless he has the ability to perform his duties properly.

Let us reason for a moment relative to the position of the Senator from New Mexico, for whom I have the highest regard. He says that the director is entitled to a salary of $6,000 a year, that his position is worth $6,000 a year, but that he will not vote for giving him $6,000 a year until we pass a law raising the salaries of the Assistant Secretaries of the different departments to $6,000 a year.

On the other hand, my position is that I believe that the services of this director is worth $6,000 a year, and I am going to vote to give him $6,000 a year, and at the same time I am ready and willing to vote with the Senator from New Mexico to raise the salaries of the assistant secretaries to the point where we can get good men who are capable of serving the Government efficiently.

For that reason, Mr. President, I believe that we are doing ourselves an injustice and an injustice to the men who are going to handle the affairs to be administered by this director if we do not place a man in this position who is worth while and competent, and I do not believe that that can be done for less than $6,000 a year.

This is more than the assistant secretaries of a department receive, but they have certain allotted duties to perform. The Commissioner of Pensions has routine work to do. Many of the other men are in the same position. But here is an actual business transaction. The director will handle at least from three hundred to five hundred million dollars a year with the fate and happiness and comfort of the wives and children of our soldiers depending upon his good judgment and manage-

ment. Let us be fair and liberal with him as we wish him to be to our soldiers and dependents.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. SMOOT. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], which I transfer to the Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] and vote "nay."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I announce the same pair and transfer of my pair as on the last vote and vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. The junior Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] is paired with the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON]. We have transferred our pairs so that each has the privilege of voting. I vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Announcing my pair as before, I withhold my vote.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Announcing my pair as before and the transfer of my pair, I vote "yea."

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Transferring my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] to the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], I want to be recorded as voting "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Making the same transfer of my pair as on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. FERNALD. By reason of the transfer of pairs announced by the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] I am privileged to vote, and I vote "nay."

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. I now see that he is not in his seat, so I withdraw my vote.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH], and to state that, if present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS. I desire to announce that my colleague, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], is detained on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—26.

Ashurst	Lewis	Pomerene	Sutherland
Bankhead	McKellar	Robinson	Swanson
Brady	Myers	Sheppard	Trammell
Fletcher	Overman	Simmons	Weeks
Hitchcock	Page	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
James	Pittman	Smith, Ga.	
La Follette	Poindexter	Smith, Md.	

NAYS—31.

Calder	Gore	Kellogg	Norris
Chamberlain	Hale	Kenyon	Shafroth
Cummins	Harding	King	Smoot
Curtis	Hardwick	Knox	Vardaman
Dillingham	Hollis	McCumber	Warren
Fernald	Husting	McNary	Watson
France	Jones, N. Mex.	Martin	Wolcott
Gerry	Jones, Wash.	New	

NOT VOTING—39.

Beckham	Gronna	Owen	Sterling
Borah	Hughes	Penrose	Stone
Brandegee	Johnson, Cal.	Phelan	Thomas
Broussard	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Thompson
Colt	Kendrick	Reed	Tillman
Culberson	Kirby	Saulsbury	Townsend
Fall	Lodge	Sherman	Underwood
Frelinghuysen	McLean	Shields	Wadsworth
Gallinger	Nelson	Smith, Mich.	Walsh
Goff	Newlands	Smith, S. C.	

So the amendment of Mr. SIMMONS was rejected.

Mr. ROBINSON. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] to a committee amendment, which was agreed to yesterday, on page 20. This language was inserted in the bill by that amendment:

But no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by his own willful misconduct.

I want to ask the Senator from Mississippi if he would object to an amendment as follows: On line 11, page 20, before the word "willful," to insert the word "serious," so that it will read:

But no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by his own serious willful misconduct.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I can not accept that amendment. That language is in the House bill, and the subcommittee of the Finance Committee took it out. The committee discussed the matter very fully, and they thought it ought to be left out, because there is no definite meaning of the word "serious." "Willful misconduct" in matters of military discipline is pretty well understood, and we thought it was better to leave it as it is.

Mr. ROBINSON. Then, Mr. President, I offer the following amendment: On page 20, line 5, I move to strike out the words "in the line of duty"; and I want to be heard on the amendment for just a moment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 20, line 5, it is proposed to strike out the words "in the line of duty"; so that, if amended, it will read:

That for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted by any commissioned officer—

And so forth.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, in line 7, on page 20, it is provided "when employed in the active service under the War Department or Navy Department," and so forth.

In line 10 is the provision which I read a moment ago, when I asked the Senator from Mississippi to consent to the insertion of the word "serious." Three or four different departments of the Government have construed differently the words "in the line of duty," and it will impose the duty of making investigations; it will deprive the dependents of a soldier who may be injured or killed while on a furlough or on a leave of absence of the right of compensation if the construction is placed upon this language which has been placed upon it by some of the departments.

I realize, Mr. President, that the time for debate has almost expired, and that, under the unanimous-consent agreement entered into on yesterday, we shall proceed in a few minutes to vote upon the bill and all amendments pending and that may be offered without further debate; and I know that there are some Senators who have amendments pending that have not been even considered by the committee, which they want to discuss.

In connection with this amendment I want also to point out one or two other objections to amendments which were agreed to yesterday without debate and without specific consideration by the Senate; and I desire to express the hope that these mistakes may be rectified in the committee of conference. Under the parliamentary situation it will not be practicable to secure a reconsideration of these several amendments.

On page 32, line 25, and on page 33, line 1, the Senate committee inserted the word "dependent" before the word "brother" and before the word "sister." I maintain, Mr. President, that that language is very ambiguous, and that this amendment will needlessly embarrass administration. It will be impossible for the persons who are charged with the duty of construing and applying this language to determine when the state of dependency must exist in order to entitle the soldier's dependents to the relief provided in the bill. It is very confusing.

The language of the bill does not say whether the brother or sister must be dependent at the time the insurance is taken out, or whether he or she must be dependent at the time of the payment of the policy or during the course of the maturity of the policy.

In addition to that, it will impose upon the department enforcing this provision an enormous amount of work, and will probably involve many of the soldiers or their dependents in litigation in the courts. I think that the Senator from Mississippi ought to consent to the elimination of that amendment, or that the conferees should reject it.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator from Arkansas is speaking of a number of amendments which were adopted without debate; and I should like to inquire of him if he has considered the amendment of the committee on page 22, line 14, where it says that—

The word "widow" as used in this section shall include only one who shall have married the deceased within 10 years after the time of injury.

I should like to call the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill to that amendment. It may be that there is sufficient reason for that limitation of the meaning of the word "widow," but I do not understand it. Where you provide for the payment of compensation to the widow of a soldier who is killed or who dies from the result of his injuries, you have in the bill a provision that it can not be paid to anybody except a woman who married him after the injury, which would be after his death, if he is killed, as I understand.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; the Senator, I think, is under a misapprehension, and when we reach that I will try to explain it.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, in reply to the inquiry of the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], I did not have in mind the amendment to which he has referred, but I stated that there were several amendments which I thought ought to be modified or eliminated from this bill. I have offered an amendment to strike out the words "in the line of duty," and I have given some of the reasons why I think they should be stricken out.

I desire now to refer to the amendment which denies the field clerks the benefits of this bill. Field clerks, under the pension laws, are construed to be entitled to relief, and I am utterly unable to comprehend why the committee seeks to deny them the benefits of the bill.

I ask the Senator from Mississippi concerning the amendment now pending, striking out the words "in the line of duty," if he does not feel that the insertion of the committee amendment which was referred to awhile ago, providing that no compensation shall be paid if the injury or death results from the willful misconduct of the soldier, is a sufficient limitation and that the words "in the line of duty" might appropriately be eliminated?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, in reply to the question I answer that I think not. The phrase "in the line of duty" is well known; it has been frequently construed, and is used in the pension laws of the country. There might be cases where a soldier was injured or killed and the injury or death be not at all connected with his service as a soldier, and yet the death not brought on by his own willful misconduct. I will say to the Senator frankly that our main reason for putting the words in was the fact that they had been used in soldiers' bills almost from time immemorial, and we thought they had been construed and had their proper meaning, and that it was well to carry the phrase here.

Mr. ROBINSON. I will state to the Senator——

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator will notice that the House put in the words "in the course of the service in the line of duty." We thought that narrowed it too much, and that perhaps a question might arise as to whether or not a man on a furlough was in the course of his service. So we struck that out and left in the phrase "in the line of duty."

Mr. ROBINSON. I will state to the Senator from Mississippi that it is true that the words "in the line of duty" have been construed, but that is the difficulty about putting the words in this bill, for they have been construed differently by four different branches of the Government—by the Judge Advocate General's office, by the Pension Bureau, by the Attorney General, and by the courts—and the constructions placed upon the meaning of those words are not in any sense harmonious, but are conflicting.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, Judge Mack, who drew up this bill, presented the very arguments that my friend from Arkansas is now presenting. He was very persistent about it. The subcommittee and the committee considered them thoroughly, and I do not feel that I am at liberty to strike out the words; in fact, I disagreed with him then, and I disagree with him now.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I desire to say to the Senator that if those words are stricken out, then an officer or an enlisted man might go anywhere, get into trouble, and be injured in any way—he might even get drunk and go off and engage in a brawl——

Mr. ROBINSON. No.

Mr. SMOOT. Or he might commit some other improper act outside of "the line of duty," and yet receive the benefits of this act. What the United States wants is to compensate the soldier for any injuries he may receive on account of being a soldier. The words "in the line of duty," Mr. President, are used in pension acts; they are well understood; they have been construed by the Pension Department now for nearly three or four years, and no question has arisen as to what they really mean.

I will say further to the Senator, that that is why so many private pension bills come to Congress seeking special pensions, where the injury was occasioned outside of the line of duty. If time permitted I might call the attention of the Senator to many such cases that have been acted upon by the Senate itself. I repeat that if those words go out I think we shall have more trouble, more contention, and more wrong done in the way of paying unjust compensation or claims than could possibly come from any construction that might be put upon the words by the Auditor of the Treasury Department.

Mr. ROBINSON. Now, Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senator from Utah, I am satisfied that I can convince him that his argument is erroneous in this particular: He assumes the case of a soldier who becomes drunk, provokes a brawl, and is injured, and the Senator said that if the words "in the line of duty" went out of the bill such soldier, under those conditions, could recover compensation. That is not the case, Mr. President, because that would be willful misconduct, which would bar the soldier from recovering under the amendment that has already been agreed to. If the words "in the line of duty" go out of the bill, it will simply say that while a soldier is in the service of the Army of the United States, whether he is at the battle front or on furlough or on leave of absence, so long as he is conducting himself properly, if he suffers disability or is killed, then his dependents are entitled to compensation.

The language which has already been agreed to narrows it so that no soldier and no dependent of a soldier who is guilty of willful misconduct which brings about his death or injury can receive any of the benefits of this bill; and to strike out the words "in the line of duty" will simply obviate the necessity for placing a construction upon that language which, as I have said, has already been construed in different ways by various departments of the Government. I am unable to tell how this new bureau will construe it. The elimination of the words will prevent confusion and will tend toward simplicity; such action will give any man who wears the uniform of the United States in the service of his country the right to compensation so long as he is not guilty of willful misconduct.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I should like the attention of the chairman of the committee. I desire to offer the amendment which I send to the desk as a new section of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add, at the end of the bill, a new section, as follows:

SEC. 406. That section 8 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, shall be held and construed to authorize the President, in accordance with the provisions of said act, and for the period of the existing emergency only, to appoint as generals the Chief of Staff and the commander of the United States forces in France, and as lieutenant general each commander of an Army or Army corps organized as authorized by existing law: *Provided*, That the pay of the grades of general and lieutenant general shall be $10,000 and $9,000 a year, respectively, with allowances appropriate to said grades, as determined by the Secretary of War: *And provided*, That brigadier generals of the Army shall hereafter rank relatively with rear admirals of the lower half of the grade; and hereafter the chief of any existing staff corps, department, bureau, except as is otherwise provided for the Chief of Staff, shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of major general.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to say to the chairman of the committee that this amendment has been drafted by the Secretary of War in the form of a bill as his recommendation to the Committee on Military Affairs. The Secretary appeared before the committee and made the following recommendations, to which the committee has unanimously agreed:

In the first place, Gen. Pershing, now in command in France, is outranked by field marshals, by generals, and by lieutenant generals; and a situation has arisen which involves considerable embarrassment in having the commander of the United States forces so outranked.

In the second place, the Secretary said it was inadvisable to have the Chief of Staff in Washington issuing orders to a general unless he had the same rank; so he recommends that the Chief of Staff here, with large responsibilities, who issues orders under the instructions of the Secretary of War, but in his own name, should also have that rank.

Then he calls attention to the fact that the commanders of divisions of the American Army in France should have the rank of lieutenant general in order to correspond with the rank of commanders of corps in the French army.

Then he calls attention to the fact that in the War Department the staff corps, as at present organized, consists of three major generals—that is, the Quartermaster General, the Surgeon General, and the Chief of Coast Artillery. All the other heads of bureaus having equally important duties are brigadier generals, including, for instance, the Chief of Ordnance, The Adjutant General, the Judge Advocate General—who has just finished such a tremendous work in superintending the carrying into effect of the law under which our Army has been organized—the Inspector General, the Chief of Engineers, the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and the Chief of the Signal Corps.

The Secretary therefore has recommended to the committee, and the committee has unanimously incorporated in this bill, a provision that the President shall be empowered to raise these other chiefs of bureaus to the same rank as those already held.

I ask the chairman of the committee whether the provisions of this bill can be accepted as an amendment, as otherwise it will be impossible to act upon this measure at this session.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, believing that this does fall naturally within the class of war-emergency measures, and knowing the condition at the other end of the Capitol, rendering it impossible to get the measure through as separate legislation at this session of Congress, I am perfectly willing to make no opposition to its going in the bill as the last section of it.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator in charge of the bill whether the lack of mere social precedence that is designed to be met by this amendment in any way interferes with the authority of Gen. Pershing, or his effectiveness in carrying out the duties which are imposed upon him under the laws of war?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if I thought this involved nothing but social duties or the embarrassments of social life, of course I should not stand for it three minutes by the watch, or three seconds, either, for that matter; but it involves a question of rank as between nations. Now, here are the men. They are at the front. Here is our chief commander, inferior in every way to their commander. The embarrassment will be a military embarrassment, a disciplinary embarrassment. I do not think it is obnoxious to the objection made by the Senator. If it were, of course I would not consent to vote for it.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I think it may be said that in the eyes of every true American Gen. Pershing ranks considerably ahead of the Kaiser, and ought to be so ranked; but at the same time I do not think we ought to be legislating in this bill in order to secure certain social rankings between American officers and any aristocratic rule of precedence that may be adopted by foreign countries. As long as Gen. Pershing and our American soldiers and officers are over there for the one and single purpose of achieving victory in this war, I think we might well stop there, and deal with this matter of social precedence in other legislation.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I think it is proper to reply to the Senator's question, because it is practically the same question that I put to the Secretary of War myself. I asked whether this was a mere matter of social precedence, or whether it had a military value. He replied emphatically that it had a military value; that when Gen. Pershing was seated about the council table with these other officers he would be compelled, under the international practice, to take the lowest rank. I want to call the Senator's attention, furthermore, to the fact that these provisions are to last only during the war; that the bill is drawn in such a way that these promotions last only during the war.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, does the Senator mean to tell the Senate that Gen. Pershing at any table can not express the views and sentiments of the American people and this administration in the conduct of this war?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any desire to discuss the question.

Mr. McCUMBER. I ask the Senator as a fair question to be answered whether or not, by reason of the lack of this precedence, which is purely social, Gen. Pershing can not at any and all times present the demands and the requirements and the position of this country?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any doubt but that Gen. Pershing will be able to take care of himself, Mr. President; and I, for one, would not stand here supporting anything that had for its basis a mere social precedence. But I believe it is of substantial importance that this country should endow its commanding general on the other side with sufficient rank to put him on a level with those with whom he comes in contact.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Nebraska a question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. VARDAMAN. The Secretary of War asks that this be done, as I understand. Is that the case?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is. He makes a very urgent recommendation to that effect.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I do not see, then, how there can be any hesitancy about complying with his request.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do.

Mr. NEW. If the Senator from Nebraska will permit me, by way of further answer to that question, is it not true that the advice and recommendation of a lieutenant general carries with it more weight, and would have greater consideration at a council made up of generals of all the nations, than the recommendations of a mere major general, as Pershing is now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In answer to the Senator from Indiana I will say that I think none of us are free from the impression which comes with rank, particularly when it is given to a man in a great emergency by a great country.

Mr. NEW. Furthermore, it might be said that this is not intended for Gen. Pershing as an individual. It is for the general in command of the American Army in France, whoever that general may be.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I stated when the last amendment was voted down, as to the Director of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, that I would offer an amendment to increase the salaries of the two commissioners. Those salaries are fixed in the bill at $4,000. These are not old offices; they are new offices; so that some of the objections made to the increase in the salary of the director would not obtain as to the amount of salary allowed to these new officials.

I do not wish to argue the question, but I shall be glad if Senators will give me their attention while I read again and call their attention to the part of the Secretary's telegram in which he emphasizes this phase of the matter. He says:

> I urge most earnestly that salaries of the director and two commissioners under insurance bill be placed at six and five thousand dollars, respectively. It is a great mistake to put the salaries of the commissioners, particularly, at $4,000, as it will make it impossible to command the kind of ability we shall need for these important positions.

Evidently the Secretary thinks it is very much more important that the salaries of these two commissioners shall be fixed at more than $4,000 than that the salary of the director shall be raised to $6,000. I am not going to move that the salaries of the commissioners be fixed as high as the salary of the director, but I do intend to move that the salaries of the two commissioners be fixed at $4,500 each. I am not going to discuss the matter, but I should like to have a vote of the Senate upon it.

I move, Mr. President, to strike out "$4,000," in line 11, page 2, and to insert in lieu thereof "$4,500."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 11, before the words "per annum," it is proposed to strike out "$4,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "$4,500."

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I do not want to take any of the time of the Senate to make an argument upon this question. The same principle is involved in this amendment that was involved in the amendment dealing with the salary of the director, only it could be emphasized to a greater degree in this case than it could be emphasized in the case of the director.

I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, in reply to the Senator from Utah I desire to say that I do not think the same principle is involved. We are creating new offices to administer a great service under the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Treasury tells us that he can not secure competent men for these positions at $4,000 a year.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina. [Putting the question.] By the sound, the "noes" seem to have it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BANKHEAD (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair and its transfer as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement as before as to the transfer of my pair, I vote "nay."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I make the same announcement as on the last vote, as to the transfer of my pair, and vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before as to the exchange of pair between the Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] and myself, I vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Announcing my pair as on the last roll call, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as before, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN (after having voted in the affirmative). Noticing that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] has entered the Chamber, I transfer my pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], and will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (after having voted in the negative). I withdraw my vote, observing that my pair, the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], is not present.

Mr. HARDING (after having voted in the negative). On account of the presence of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE], I desire to withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—30.

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Smith, Ga.
Bankhead	La Follette	Pomerene	Stone
Beckham	Lewis	Reed	Sutherland
Brady	McKellar	Robinson	Swanson
Fletcher	Myers	Sheppard	Trammell
Hollis	Newlands	Shields	Williams
Husting	Overman	Simmons	
James	Phelan	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—32.

Brandegee	Gerry	Knox	Poindexter
Calder	Gore	McCumber	Shafroth
Colt	Hale	McNary	Smoot
Cummins	Hardwick	Martin	Vardaman
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	New	Walsh
Fernald	Kellogg	Norris	Watson
France	Kenyon	Page	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	King	Penrose	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—34.

Borah	Harding	Nelson	Thomas
Broussard	Hitchcock	Owen	Thompson
Chamberlain	Hughes	Ransdell	Tillman
Culberson	Johnson, Cal.	Saulsbury	Townsend
Dillingham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Sherman	Underwood
Fall	Kendrick	Smith, Md.	Wadsworth
Gallinger	Kirby	Smith, Mich.	Warren
Goff	Lodge	Smith, S. C.	
Gronna	McLean	Sterling	

So Mr. SIMMONS's amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT (at 5 o'clock p. m.). All discussion has now ceased under the unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. WILLIAMS. On page 22, line 14, after the word "shall" and before the word "include," I move to insert the word "not"; and in line 15, after the word "include," to strike out "only"; and in the same line, after the word "deceased," to strike out "within" and insert "later than," so that as amended it will read:

The word "widow," as used in this section, shall not include one who shall have married the deceased later than 10 years after the time of injury.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee has already been agreed to.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I move a reconsideration of the amendment of the committee.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment so as to read:

The word "widow," as used in this section, shall not include one who shall have married the deceased later than 10 years after the time of injury.

Mr. SMOOT. That is very much better wording.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I offer the following amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert the following:

SEC. 316. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine insurrection, now on the pension roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $25 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the additional allowance provided by existing pension laws on account of a helpless child or child under 16 years of age: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

Mr. SMOOT. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. STONE. Is the amendment open to debate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not. Under the unanimous-consent agreement no further debate is allowed.

Mr. STONE. I wanted to say something about it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been requested.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I make the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as before, and vote "nay."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] and vote "yea."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). Announcing my pair and transfer as on the previous vote, I vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Announcing my pair as heretofore with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], I transfer that pair to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA] and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as before, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MYERS. I make the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as on the last vote and vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and to state that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (after having voted in the negative). I ask if the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. OVERMAN. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and let my vote stand.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to withdraw my vote. I observe that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], with whom I have a pair, has not voted.

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—35.

Brady	Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Shafroth
Brandegee	Hale	McCumber	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Harding	McNary	Smoot
Colt	Husting	New	Sterling
Cummins	James	Norris	Stone
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Page	Sutherland
Fall	Kellogg	Penrose	Watson
Fernald	Kenyon	Poindexter	Weeks
France	Knox	Reed	

NAYS—32.

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Smith, Ariz.
Bankhead	King	Pittman	Smith, Ga.
Chamberlain	Lewis	Pomerene	Swanson
Fletcher	McKellar	Robinson	Trammell
Gerry	Martin	Saulsbury	Vardaman
Hardwick	Myers	Sheppard	Walsh
Hitchcock	Newlands	Shields	Williams
Hollis	Overman	Simmons	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—29.

Beckham	Gronna	Nelson	Tillman
Borah	Hughes	Owen	Townsend
Broussard	Johnson, Cal.	Ransdell	Underwood
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Sherman	Wadsworth
Dillingham	Kendrick	Smith, Md.	Warren
Gallinger	Kirby	Smith, S. C.	
Goff	Lodge	Thomas	
Gore	McLean	Thompson	

So Mr. SMOOT's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I offer the following amendment to be a new section.

The SECRETARY. Insert in the bill a new section, as follows:

SEC. —. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for widows, minor children under the age of 16 years, and helpless minors as defined by existing laws, of an officer or enlisted

man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States, who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or Philippine Insurrection, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll because of the death of the husband or father as the result of wound or injury received or disease contracted in the service and line of duty and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided shall be as follows:

(a) For widow alone, $25.
(b) For a widow and one child, $35.
(c) For a widow and two children, $47.50, with $5 for each additional child up to two.
(d) If there be no widow, then for one child, $20.
(e) For two children, $30.
(f) For three children, $40, and $5 for each additional child up to two.

And the rate of pension for a dependent mother of a soldier, sailor, or marine who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or Philippine Insurrection, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $20 per month: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT].

Mr. JONES of Washington. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], and for that reason I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I make the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as on the former vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS (when Mr. GALLINGER's name was called). I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement of my pair and its transfer as before, I feel at liberty to vote and will vote "yea."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I wish to make the announcement of the transfer of my pair as on the last vote, and I vote "nay."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). Announcing my pair and its transfer as on the last vote, I vote "nay."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia (when his name was called). I desire to transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and by reason of the transfer as announced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] to remain for the balance of the day, I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as heretofore, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Upon this amendment I have been relieved from my pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], and I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 33, nays 35, as follows:

YEAS—33.

Brady	Frelinghuysen	McNary	Smoot
Brandegee	Hale	New	Sterling
Calder	Harding	Norris	Sutherland
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Page	Warren
Cummins	Kellogg	Penrose	Watson
Curtis	Kenyon	Poindexter	Weeks
Dillingham	Knox	Pomerene	
Fernald	La Follette	Reed	
France	McCumber	Smith, Mich.	

NAYS—35.

Ashurst	James	Phelan	Smith, Ga.
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Stone
Chamberlain	King	Robinson	Swanson
Fletcher	Lewis	Saulsbury	Trammell
Gerry	McKellar	Shafroth	Vardaman
Hardwick	Martin	Sheppard	Walsh
Hitchcock	Myers	Shields	Williams
Hollis	Newlands	Simmons	Wolcott
Husting	Overman	Smith, Ariz.	

NOT VOTING—28.

Beckham	Gore	Lodge	Smith, S. C.
Borah	Gronna	McLean	Thomas
Broussard	Hughes	Nelson	Thompson
Culberson	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Tillman
Fall	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Townsend
Gallinger	Kendrick	Sherman	Underwood
Goff	Kirby	Smith, Md.	Wadsworth

So Mr. SMOOT's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In lieu of Article IV, as amended, it is proposed to insert the following:

ARTICLE IV.

ADDITIONAL INDEMNITY.

SEC. 400. That in order to give to every commissioned officer and enlisted man and to every member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) when employed in active service under the War Department or Navy Department greater protection for themselves and their dependents than is provided in Article III, the United States shall grant, without medical examination, to all such persons fully paid up indemnity in the amount of $2,000, payable in the event of death or total and permanent disability occurring during the period of the war or within two years thereafter. All such persons shall forfeit such indemnity in the event of dishonorable discharge.

SEC. 401. Any person in the active service on or after the 6th day of April, 1917, who, while in such service and before the enactment of this amendment, becomes or has become totally and permanently disabled or dies, or has died, shall be entitled to the benefits of this indemnity.

SEC. 402. This indemnity shall be payable to such person or persons as the insured may elect from among the beneficiaries designated in Article III, section 301, of this act.

SEC. 403. To provide further insurance for persons mentioned in section 400 who at the expiration of the period of two years after the war, by reason of physical defects resulting from their war service are not able to secure insurance from private life insurance corporations at normal rates, the bureau may continue such indemnity for life upon payment of normal premiums by the insured, and to that end may conclude contracts with existing life insurance companies to assume such contracts of indemnity on the following basis: The premium rates shall not exceed the net premium rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and 3½ per cent per annum, but the United States shall reimburse such companies for any excess mortality experienced under such policies.

SEC. 404. That in the event of disagreement as to a claim under the contract of insurance between the bureau and any beneficiary or beneficiaries thereunder, an action on the claim may be brought against the United States in the district court of the United States in and for the district in which such beneficiaries or any one of them resides. The court, as part of its judgment, shall determine and allow such reasonable attorney's fees, not to exceed 10 per cent of the amount recovered, to be paid by the claimant on behalf of whom such proceedings are instituted to his attorney; and it shall be unlawful for the attorney or for any other person, acting as claim agent or otherwise, to ask for or receive any other compensation because of such action: *And provided further,* That no other compensation or fee shall be charged or received by any person except such as may be authorized by the commissioner in regulations to be promulgated by him. Any person violating this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500 or be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 29, amend section 402 by erasing the sentence beginning, on line 18, with the word "provisions" and ending, on line 25, with the word "insurance."

Amend section 404 to read as follows:

During the period of the war with the German Empire the insurance shall be term insurance for successive terms of one year each. After the war the bureau shall conclude contracts with existing life insurance companies to assume such contracts as have not matured where soldiers or sailors wish to convert them into standard forms of policies. The premium rates shall not exceed the net premium rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality, and 3½ per cent per annum, but the United States shall reimburse such companies for the excess mortality experience under such policies. Payments of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each during the war and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made, at his election. After the war, premium payments shall be made annually, semiannually, quarterly, or monthly, as may be stipulated in the forms of contract issued.

Mr. SMOOT. On that amendment I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH]. On this amendment I am released from the obligation of that pair and will therefore vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair and its transfer as heretofore, I vote "nay."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). Being unable to secure a transfer of my pair, I will withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WEEKS (when Mr. LODGE's name was called). I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. LODGE] is unavoidably absent. If he were present, he would vote for this amendment and for the amendments which have recently been considered, offered by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as heretofore, I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair and its transfer as on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). Announcing my pair and its transfer as on preceding votes, I vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as on the preceding votes, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the absence of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. Were he present he would vote "yea."

Mr. CALDER. I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. WADSWORTH]. If present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 40, as follows:

YEAS—28.

Brady	France	McNary	Smoot
Brandegee	Frelinghuysen	Myers	Sterling
Calder	Hale	New	Sutherland
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Page	Warren
Curtis	Kellogg	Penrose	Watson
Dillingham	Knox	Poindexter	Weeks
Fernald	McCumber	Smith, Mich.	Wolcott

NAYS—40.

Ashurst	Husting	Overman	Simmons
Bankhead	James	Phelan	Smith, Ariz.
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Smith, Ga.
Cummins	King	Pomerene	Smith, Md.
Fletcher	La Follette	Reed	Stone
Gerry	Lewis	Robinson	Swanson
Gore	McKellar	Saulsbury	Trammell
Hardwick	Martin	Shafroth	Vardaman
Hitchcock	Newlands	Sheppard	Walsh
Hollis	Norris	Shields	Williams

NOT VOTING—28.

Beckham	Gronna	Kirby	Smith, S. C.
Borah	Harding	Lodge	Thomas
Broussard	Hughes	McLean	Thompson
Culberson	Johnson, Cal.	Nelson	Tillman
Fall	Johnson, S. Dak.	Owen	Townsend
Gallinger	Kendrick	Ransdell	Underwood
Goff	Kenyon	Sherman	Wadsworth.

So Mr. SMOOT's amendment was rejected.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, when the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah was agreed to a while ago I neglected to preserve the right to ask for a separate vote on that amendment in the Senate. I make that reservation now.

Mr. McCUMBER. On page 11, after line 13, under the head of "Definitions," I offer the amendment which I sent to the desk concerning the definition of "dependency."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 11, after line 13, it is proposed to insert the following:

(13) The term "dependent" means (a) any child under 16 years of age; (b) a person who, by reason of the care of minor children or other members of his or her immediate family, or by reason of physical or mental infirmity, is incapacitated from earning a support.

Any person who has an income, or property from which an income can be derived, sufficient for his or her support shall not be regarded as a dependent under the provisions of this act.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have no objection to that amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from North Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I reserve the right to call for a separate vote in the Senate on the amendment in line 17, on page 10, where the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, struck out the words "an Army field clerk, and a field clerk, Quartermaster Corps."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is still before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole, and open to further amendment. If there be no further amendments, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Two amendments have been reserved for a separate vote in the Senate.

Mr. SIMMONS. I desired to reserve an amendment myself, but, of course, if the bill is in the Senate it is too late.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendments that have not been reserved.

The amendments not reserved were concurred in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment reserved on the request of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES].

The SECRETARY. On page 10, lines 17 and 18, the Committee on Finance proposes an amendment, which was agreed to by the Senate as in Committee of the Whole, to strike out the words "an Army field clerk, and a field clerk, Quartermaster Corps."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendment.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The amendment was concurred in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the remaining amendment reserved. The Chair thinks it is well known to the Senate what it is. It is the amendment of the Senator from Utah placing soldiers and sailors of the Civil War——

Mr. JAMES. That is not the amendment, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is not that the amendment?

Mr. JAMES. It is the amendment relating to the widows of soldiers and sailors, as I understand. The other amendment was defeated.

Mr. SMOOT. It is the amendment offered by me to come in on page 31, after line 3, and to read as follows:

SEC. 316. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine Insurrection now on the pension roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $25 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the additional allowance provided by existing pension laws on account of a helpless child or child under 16 years of age: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendment just read by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Upon that I should like to have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I transfer my pair as before and vote "nay."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). Transferring my pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], I vote "yea."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Again transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as on the last roll call, I vote "nay."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as on the last roll call, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my vote as on the preceding roll call, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENYON. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. BANKHEAD. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "nay."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA]. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—37.

Brady	Hale	McCumber	Smith, Mich.
Brandegee	Harding	McNary	Smoot
Calder	Husting	New	Sterling
Colt	James	Norris	Sutherland
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Page	Warren
Curtis	Kellogg	Penrose	Watson
Dillingham	Kenyon	Poindexter	Weeks
Fernald	Knox	Pomerene	
France	La Follette	Reed	
Frelinghuysen	Lewis	Shafroth	

NAYS—33.

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	Robinson	Swanson
Bankhead	King	Saulsbury	Trammell
Chamberlain	McKellar	Sheppard	Vardaman
Fletcher	Martin	Shields	Walsh
Gerry	Myers	Simmons	Williams
Gore	Newlands	Smith, Ariz.	Wolcott
Hardwick	Overman	Smith, Ga.	
Hitchcock	Phelan	Smith, Md.	
Hollis	Pittman	Stone	

NOT VOTING—26.

Beckham	Gronna	McLean	Thompson
Borah	Hughes	Nelson	Tillman
Broussard	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Townsend
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Underwood
Fall	Kendrick	Sherman	Wadsworth
Gallinger	Kirby	Smith, S. C.	
Goff	Lodge	Thomas	

So the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole was concurred in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the bill a new section, to read as follows:

SEC. —. That the President of the United States, in his discretion, be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Harry Graham, formerly a captain of Infantry, a captain of Infantry, to take rank at the foot of the list of captains of Infantry; and that no back pay or allowances shall accrue as a result of the passage of this act, and there shall be no increase in the total number of captains of Infantry now authorized by law by reason of the passage of this act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, in line 11, page 2, I move to strike out "$4,000" and to insert "$4,600."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 11, it is proposed to strike out "$4,000" and insert "$4,600."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in the Senate and open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is, Shall the amendments be engrossed and the bill be read a third time?

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. WILLIAMS. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BANKHEAD (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I make the same announcement as before as to my pair and its transfer and vote "yea."

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). Again transferring my pair to the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] I vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when Mr. KIRBY's name was called). The junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] is absent on account of illness. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). Transferring my pair as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I make the same announcement as on the last roll call as to the transfer of my pair and vote "yea."

Mr. ROBINSON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] and vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair as on the last roll call, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as on the preceding roll calls, I vote "yea."

Mr. BANKHEAD (when Mr. UNDERWOOD's name was called). My colleague [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is unavoidably absent. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HUSTING. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON] is paired with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN]. If present, the senior Senator from Kansas would vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I announce the absence of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], who is paired with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF]; and may I say that were the senior Senator from South Carolina present, he would vote "yea." They are both absent on account of illness.

Mr. JAMES. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. BECKHAM] is absent by reason of illness in his family, and is paired.

Mr. KELLOGG. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA], and to say that if he were present he would vote "yea" upon the passage of this bill.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. WEEKS. I wish to repeat the announcement I made relative to the absence of my colleague [Mr. LODGE] and to say that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to announce that the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] is necessarily absent on account of illness in his family. If he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS. Before the announcement of the result is made, I should like, in justice to my colleague [Mr. SHERMAN], without regard to the differences we have upon a great many questions, to say that I feel that were he present he would vote "yea" upon the passage of the bill. I should like to announce that fact.

The result was announced—yeas 71, as follows:

YEAS—71.

Ashurst	Harding	Myers	Smith, Ariz.
Bankhead	Hardwick	New	Smith, Ga.
Brady	Hitchcock	Newlands	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Hollis	Norris	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Husting	Overman	Smoot
Chamberlain	James	Page	Sterling
Colt	Jones, N. Mex.	Penrose	Stone
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Phelan	Sutherland
Curtis	Kellogg	Pittman	Swanson
Dillingham	Kenyon	Poindexter	Trammell
Fall	King	Pomerene	Vardaman
Fernald	Knox	Reed	Walsh
Fletcher	La Follette	Robinson	Warren
France	Lewis	Saulsbury	Watson
Frelinghuysen	McCumber	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Williams
Gore	McNary	Shields	Wolcott
Hale	Martin	Simmons	

NOT VOTING—25.

Beckham	Hughes	Nelson	Tillman
Borah	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Townsend
Broussard	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Underwood
Culberson	Kendrick	Sherman	Wadsworth
Gallinger	Kirby	Smith, S. C.	
Goff	Lodge	Thomas	
Gronna	McLean	Thompson	

So the bill was passed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I move that the Senate request a conference with the House of Representatives upon the bill and amendments, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, and Mr. SMOOT conferees on the part of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 2774. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River; and

S. 2883. An act making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 116) for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 309. An act authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles, certain lands;

S. 2434. An act authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties;

S. 2435. An act authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties;

S. 2623. An act defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe;

S. 2710. An act granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma;

S. 2878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River;

S. 2922. An act to amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 78. Joint resolution to suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the years 1917 and 1918.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

H. J. Res. 116, for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy, was read by title and referred to the Committee on Patents.

THE "GARABED" INVENTION.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, from the Committee on Patents I report back favorably, with an amendment, the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 116) for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy. I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. Let it be stated first.

Mr. JAMES. The amendment is to strike out the words "within the boundaries of the United States." I have it marked.

Mr. PENROSE. Let the joint resolution be read.

Mr. JAMES. I have no objection. Certainly I want it read.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 116) was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept, as trustee for the United States Government, from Garabed T. K. Giragossian, an assignment of the right to utilize for the Government's own use a discovery or invention to be known as the "Garabed."

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to perform any and all acts, and to make such rules and regulations, and enter into such contracts as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect: *Provided, however*, That the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian shall demonstrate the practicability of his discovery or invention to a commission of five eminent scientists, who shall be appointed by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian and be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The United States Government shall be under no expense in connection with the demonstration of the "Garabed."

SEC. 3. That if such demonstration shall in the opinion of the said scientists prove the practicability of said discovery or invention, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian shall be recognized by the United States Government as the original discoverer, inventor, and legal owner of the invention or discovery and of any improvements pertaining thereto that may be made by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian. The certificate of said commission of scientists to the effect that said discovery or invention is practicable shall constitute the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian the legal owner of and entitle him to all the rights and benefits of said discovery or invention for a period of 17 years. The right is reserved to the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, his heirs, and assigns to take out patents for his aforesaid discovery, invention, or for any improvement or device pertaining thereto.

SEC. 4. That the United States Government shall not issue to anyone else any patent for any kind of free-energy generator, regardless of its form or shape, or for any device, improvement, process, equipment, or apparatus based upon the system or correlative principle of the said discovery or invention, or for any improvement or change developed in the use of the said "Garabed," and shall prevent the construction, importation, use, or exploitation thereof, in whole or in part, in the United States, and shall protect the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, his heirs and assigns, in the rights and interests in the "Garabed" in the above respect for a period of 17 years in the United States and in foreign countries where such protection is afforded by treaty obligation, international law, or diplomatic representation.

SEC. 5. That any essential improvement or contrivance by any person or persons other than Garabed T. K. Giragossian relating to the "Garabed," or its principle, which shall prove valuable and essential thereto in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior during the period of the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian's special protection shall be bought by the United States Government for its own use in conjunction with its use of the said "Garabed," with adequate compensation to the inventor or contriver thereof. If, however, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian wishes to utilize any such invention or contrivance so acquired by the United States Government, he or his assigns, and no other person or corporation, shall be entitled thereto upon the payment of a fair, just, and reasonable royalty therefor. In consideration of this right the United States Government shall have, without expense, the right to use for its own purpose any new improvement or device made by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian.

SEC. 6. That after the successful demonstration of the "Garabed," if the United States Government wishes to purchase the right and title for the exclusive use of said discovery or invention within the boundaries of the United States, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian will comply with the request of the United States Government: *Provided*, That he shall be remunerated to the extent commensurate with the value of his discovery or invention, which shall be appraised and determined by a joint committee selected by the Secretary of the Interior and by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian.

If the United States Congress in session at the time of the demonstration, or at the latest during the following session, does not decide to avail itself of this privilege, the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian's legal rights and powers shall continue unimpaired as prescribed and set forth in this resolution.

SEC. 7. That any sale, or attempted sale, by the said Garabed T. K. Giragossian, or by his representatives or assigns, of any interest in or any title to said discovery or invention, or any part thereof, prior to the approval of the same by said commission of scientists, shall be illegal, invalid, and void.

SEC. 8. That the United States Government will have the right to exercise the aforesaid right to utilize said discovery or invention for its own use simultaneously with the beginning of the public and general use of the said "Garabed" system.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I wish to state that the Committee on Patents of the House of Representatives gave very thorough consideration to this joint resolution and unanimously reported it. The Rules Committee of the House unanimously provided a rule to take this matter up and consider it in the House. It was passed through the House by a vote of 243 to 14.

Mr. Giragossian claims that he has discovered some energy producer that will not need the use of fuel of any sort, that will transport ships and aeroplanes and will virtually end the war. I do not know whether there is any merit in it or not, but the other branch of Congress thinks there is. Many Senators here think so.

The amendment reported by the committee is to give to the United States Government the right, in case the experts or scientists to whom Mr. Giragossian is to submit this discovery conclude that it is worthy and that it is a real, genuine invention of great value. The Government of the United States, under the joint resolution as passed by the House, would have the right to take it over only for use in the United States. Our committee struck out the words "within the boundaries of the United States," so that if we take it over we can use it anywhere throughout the whole world.

Mr. PENROSE. How does the inventor get compensated?

Mr. JAMES. He is to be compensated. The scientists to whom he is to submit the invention or discovery are to pass on it, and if they say it is genuine then a commission to be named, three by Mr. Giragossian and three by the Secretary of the Interior, are to agree upon the compensation, and that is submitted to Congress and Congress appropriates for it if they think it is worthy. The Government does not pay out a cent, unless, after thorough investigation and upon recommendation of the scientists, they find it is valuable.

This man comes, like other discoverers who have come, and says, "I have a great invention." Of course people laugh at it. They laughed at all the other inventors of the world in the past. They laughed at Langley, but the aeroplane flies unhindered through the sky. They laughed at Marconi, but the wireless links the world in instant communication, and so they have laughed at all the world's great inventors and discoverers. This man may have something worthy or he may have something that really may end the war, as he believes and as many people believe. So we are just giving him a chance to make good. It does not cost anybody anything if he does not make good, and if he does make good he has done a wonderful service. I think it worthy of a trial.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to ask the Senator if the decision of these scientists is to be final?

Mr. JAMES. No; of course the Senator from Nebraska knows that the decision as to the payment of money could only rest with Congress.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. As I heard the joint resolution read it sounded to me as though this inventor was to select the scientists.

Mr. JAMES. No; he selects the scientists subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That I do not think is a wise provision.

Mr. JAMES. I do not see any objection to it. That same fight was made in the House. Certainly if the scientists he selects are not worthy and not the most eminent men in the

United States the Secretary of the Interior of course would not approve his selection.

Then there is this further thought. Suppose he did select unworthy men. Suppose he selected men who were not expert and they concluded it was a real genuine invention of great value, he would not get anything from Congress by it. He is interested in having the most eminent men and capable men in the United States act as this commission, men of course who will treat this invention as confidential and that is his reason for bringing it here.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Why should not the Secretary of the Interior make the selection?

Mr. JAMES. I see no objection even to the Secretary of the Interior making it, but that question was fought out in the House and it was concluded that if he suggested them and the Secretary of the Interior had to approve them it virtually was the Secretary of the Interior making the selection.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The question who is a scientist is such a vague matter, I think it a very dangerous thing to permit this unknown man to select men whom he designates as scientists to make the success of an invention binding upon the Government.

Mr. JAMES. The Secretary of the Interior, of course, could veto any selection.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

Mr. JAMES. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. Being a member of the Committee on Patents, I am interested in the answer to the question of the Senator from Nebraska. The reason why the inventor insisted that he should name the scientists, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, was this: This is a secret and, as he regards it, a most important invention. He does not care to impart his secret to anyone else's choice except himself, because we may not take this invention, we may not avail ourselves of the privilege under the joint resolution, and therefore the secret is only lodged in the breast of the men whom he trusts, the Government being protected by the Secretary having the right to approve them. Of course, it is unthinkable in a matter of this sort that may amount to nothing and may amount to a great deal that the Secretary of the Interior would approve scientists who were not well known and were not worthy of the great trust that would be imposed on them by such a measure.

Mr. JAMES. Certainly. That is the reason, I suppose, of Mr. Giragossian.

Mr. SIMMONS. I should like to ask the Senator from Kentucky a question.

Mr. JAMES. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SIMMONS. Who appoints the scientists who are to assess the value?

Mr. JAMES. Three are to be appointed by Mr. Giragossian and three are to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Kentucky to this provision. I suppose the importance of the invention is the only thing that induced the committee to accept this part of the joint resolution. It provides that the Government of the United States "shall prevent the construction, importation, use, or exploitation thereof, in whole or in part, in the United States, and shall protect the said Giragossian, his heirs and assigns, in the rights and interests in the 'Garabed' in the above respect for a period of 17 years in the United States and in foreign countries where such protection is afforded by treaty obligation, international law, or diplomatic representation."

Mr. JAMES. Certainly; that is usual as to all patents. When a man gets a patent in this country, that patent is protected in all foreign countries, as far as the Government of the United States can do so. We are only guaranteeing to give to him the same right that is given to everybody else, as far as that is concerned.

Mr. SMOOT. The Government of the United States does not guarantee a patent taken out in a foreign country.

Mr. JAMES. But the question as to whether or not this discovery is patentable is a very doubtful one, and whether you can patent a process by which to draw power from the air has never been decided. I doubt seriously whether or not this is patentable, because, of course, it is a mixture of both a discovery and an invention.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President——

Mr. JAMES. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. NEW. I dislike to take up a moment's time, but I should like to say that three or four weeks ago two men whom I never saw before and I have never seen since, one named Casey and the other Perigord or Perigaud, came from Kansas City and showed in a hotel here in Washington a device of their creation which covered exactly the same ground that is described here by that of Mr. Giragossian. The claim that they made was exactly the claim that is made for this invention.

Mr. JAMES. I will say to the Senator, if he will permit me in regard to that, that Mr. Giragossian probably two years ago, in company with Senator GORE, came to the Committee on Patents and had this same thing in mind and suggested it. He states that he has been working on it for 20 years. He has perfected it in the last two years. So Mr. Giragossian's claim, to my certain knowledge, relates back two years.

Mr. NEW. This man proceeded to tell me how an accident to his automobile several years ago resulted in his discovering in a most accidental way the principle of the invention which he claims. He asked me to request of Congress the same privilege that is now asked for Mr. Giragossian. I afterwards talked on the street one day with Gen. Squier, Chief of the Signal Corps, and he expressed a desire to see the invention. I wrote out to Kansas City to Mr. Casey, telling him what Gen. Squier said. I have heard nothing from him since, beyond a mere acknowledgment of the letter and a statement that he would be here in Washington within a short time and would press his own claim. I do not know him. I do not know anything about it, except just what I have stated here.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

Mr. JAMES. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. I desire to ask the Senator from Indiana if I correctly understand him that persons have called upon him, claiming that they are the original inventors of the very matter here it is proposed that we shall investigate?

Mr. NEW. The invention is of exactly the same character, and they gave me a demonstration of what their device would do. There was a little electric light and a little motor with it.

Mr. JAMES. This invention has no connection with electric lights or motors of any sort. This invention is without the use of any sort of fuel.

Mr. NEW. I understand the power generated by this man's device was what produced the electric light and run the motor. He was simply showing what it was good for. He said he could drive an airplane 150 miles an hour easily enough with a machine that would weigh 60 pounds, or something like that. He said that with one of very little more weight he could drive the biggest locomotive that pulled a train into the city of Washington. He made all sorts of claims of that kind for it. That is all I know. I am not interested in it in any manner.

Mr. KNOX. If the Senator from Kentucky will permit me, because this was in reply to a question I asked, I do not think, in view of the fact that the joint resolution has not been printed and laid on the desks of Senators and none of us except those who are members of the Committee on Patents have had an opportunity to look at it, that the Senate ought to pass it without attention being called to this fact, and this is why I asked the Senator from Indiana if there were any other claimants. The third section of the joint resolution distinctly provides "that if such demonstration shall, in the opinion of the said scientists, prove the practicability of said discovery or invention," then the discoverer "shall be recognized by the United States Government as the original discoverer, inventor, and legal owner of the invention." It is very unusual legislation we are enacting without any regard to the right or claims of anybody else, that this invention by this man shall be regarded in law as the true and original inventor, and then a subsequent provision of the joint resolution prohibits the granting of a patent to anybody else covering the same thing. So we ought to be well satisfied, I think, that this inventor has entered an absolutely new field, and that there are no other rights that we might be legislating out of existence.

I feel that I would not acquit myself of my full responsibility to the Senate if I did not call attention to that provision of the joint resolution.

Mr. JAMES. That same point was made in the House. It was argued there.

Mr. KNOX. That is the reason why I make it here, so that we can discuss it.

Mr. JAMES. The same question was brought up for consideration in the House and before the Committee on Patents and the Rules Committee, but they thought that this was so important, this man having been for years urging this matter, he should be given an opportunity to present it. I take it if Congress were to pass the joint resolution and it should become a law and the invention was really a wonderful one, and it should be afterwards discovered that he had secured it from some one or that some other one had invented it before he did and he got this information from some other source, Congress would not pay him anything for it, and therefore certainly he would not profit by it.

As to the statement of my friend the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] that some gentleman told him that he had some sort of invention and that he has heard no more about it. This is a very important thing; a great many people in the country believe that it will go a long way toward ending the war. Of course, I know nothing about it. The other branch of Congress believed that and they acted, and I think we ought to act.

Mr. NEW. If the Senator will permit me, I did not say that Mr. Casey told me he had invented it. I said he showed me what he had in the way of an invention and gave me a demonstration of some things that it would do.

Mr. JAMES. I understand. I have talked with several about various inventions, but this man has been pressing this matter with great confidence and earnestness for a long time, and I feel he should be given a chance. Mr. President, I ask for a vote on the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In section 6, page 4, line 11, strike out the words "within the boundaries of the United States."

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the joint resolution to be read a third time.

The joint resolution was read the third time and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT DURANT, OKLA.

Mr. SWANSON. From the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 6094) amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, and so forth. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the public buildings act, approved March 4, 1913, entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, and for other purposes" (Public No. 432), and all other authorizations and appropriations passed in pursuance thereof for the construction of a post office at Durant, Okla., be, and the same are hereby, amended so as to authorize and appropriate the use of funds apportioned to Durant, Okla., for the construction and equipment of a United States post office and other Government offices at Durant, Okla.

Mr. SWANSON. I will say that authorization has been granted for the construction of a building for a post office at this place. The Government desires additional rooms in the building for the accommodation of other governmental activities, but under the law that can not be done unless authority is given. It involves no increase of appropriation, but merely authorizes the Supervising Architect, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to construct a building for other purposes in addition to post-office purposes.

Mr. SMOOT. Does the bill refer to the building for the Treasury?

Mr. SWANSON. No. I will repeat that there has been an authorization for a building in Durant, Okla. The law merely provided for the construction of a post office. The Government now desires in the same building rooms for other governmental activities. Under the law that can not be done unless authorization is given and the law changed. This bill simply authorizes the construction of a building for post-office and other Federal purposes. As I have said, it involves no increase in the appropriation. The bill, of course, has passed the House.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I ask unanimous consent to present, as in executive session, a report from the Committee on Interstate Commerce regarding the appointments on the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will say to the Senator that we are about to have an executive session.

Mr. NEWLANDS. It is possible that that may not be ordered, and I ask unanimous consent to present the report at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. NEWLANDS. The report has been sent to the desk for action.

ARKANSAS RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (S. 2937) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, and I submit a report (No. 149) thereon. I call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] to the bill.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, for the reason that it is an emergency measure. I will state the reason why it is so regarded if any Senator desires.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted for the county of Pulaski, in the State of Arkansas, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River at the city of Little Rock on the site now occupied by the free highway bridge constructed by said county in the years 1896 and 1897, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain correspondence between the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], the chairman of the War Board on Transportation, and others, with reference to the adequacy of the transportation facilities of the country.

Mr. SMOOT. Correspondence with whom?

Mr. NEWLANDS. With the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], which correspondence was communicated to the president of the War Board on Transportation, and to which he replied. It is of great public interest and I should like to have it inserted in the RECORD without reading. I ask unanimous consent that that may be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1917.*

Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
Chairman Committee on Interstate Commerce,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR NEWLANDS: I am inclosing herein letter received from Ardis & Co. (Ltd.), and Foster & Glassell Co. (Ltd.), two of the largest wholesale houses in Shreveport, La., in regard to having the Government construct railroad equipment, and hope that you will give their views very careful consideration.

Thanking you, with kindest regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely, yours,

JOS. E. RANSDELL.

—

SHREVEPORT, LA., *August 13, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH E. RANSDELL,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RANSDELL: We note the interest the Government is taking in ocean transportation, and we appreciate the importance of it. However, we have not seen any reports where the improvements are suggested for the railroad transportation.

You know railroad transportation is absolutely necessary to supply ocean transportation and the heavy demand on the railroads this season will require more equipment and better equipment.

We would like to know if you can't do something that would bring about improvement in the railroad equipment.

Yours, truly,

FOSTER & GLASSELL CO. (LTD.),
By W. E. GLASSELL, *President.*

—

SHREVEPORT, LA., *August 13, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH E. RANSDELL,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The Government seems to be making extraordinary efforts in the matter of shipbuilding and ocean transportation, all of which we fully appreciate and realize the grave necessity of, but in our opinion the matter of the railroad transportation should receive the same due attention.

It appears to us that some quick and vigorous legislation should be done in regard to the railroad facilities of the United States, and unless something is done commercial and industrial enterprises are going to suffer to the extent of being almost stifled or stagnated.

We think that the Government is going to need its own railroad cars just as badly as it will its own ships. We think that the Government ought to own and build immediately no less than twenty-five to thirty thousand freight cars, both boxes and refrigerators. We think that the Government should see that all motive power of all railroads is immediately put in proper condition to render prompt and effective service.

We sincerely hope that our representatives in the Senate and the House from Louisiana will exercise their most vigorous efforts and influence in the direction of having the proper legislation quickly started to get the railroad facilities in condition to prevent the blockading and stagnating of the commerce of the country.

Hoping you will view this matter in the light that we do, we remain,

Very truly, yours,

ARDIS & CO. (LTD.),
W. C. MARSHALL,
Vice President.

AUGUST, 27, 1917.

Hon. JOSEPH E. RANSDELL,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your letter of August 24, with inclosures with reference to increase of railway equipment. I am sending your letter and the inclosures to the chairman of the railway war board, Mr. Fairfax Harrison, and making inquiry with reference to the adequacy of the railroad equipment.

As you know, there are two proposals regarding this matter. One, the suggestion of Senator SMITH of Georgia, that $100,000,000 should be expended by the General Government in the purchase of cars. Another is the effort being made now by the railway war board to meet the shortage in railway equipment by diminishing delays in the repair shops, increasing the load of each car, and by speeding up the time.

An estimate has been made that by these methods the existing equipment will be able to do between one-third and one-fourth more work than has hitherto been accomplished.

I shall, however, make your communication the basis of securing from the war board full information upon this subject.

Very sincerely, yours,

FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

AUGUST 27, 1917.

FAIRFAX HARRISON, Esq.,
Chairman Special Committee on National Defense,
American Railway Association,
719 Thirteenth Street, Washington.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose you herewith letter from Senator RANSDELL, of Louisiana, with inclosures.

I will be very glad if you will return them with information regarding the adequacy of the present equipment, the measures that are being taken to increase its efficiency, and the measures that are being taken to increase the number of cars.

In this connection I would like to know definitely whether in the various traffic districts the increase in the volume of transportation has been sufficient to relieve the apprehension of the railroads that the considerable increase in operating expenses would hamper them in the maintenance and development of the necessary facilities for the service of the public.

Very sincerely, yours, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY ASSOCIATION,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., September 13, 1917.

Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
Chairman Committee on Interstate Commerce,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of August 27 transmitting letter from the Hon. JOSEPH E. RANSDELL, with letters from Ardis & Co. (Ltd.) and Foster & Glassell Co. (Ltd.), of Shreveport, La., attached, all of which I return herewith as requested. I have delayed reply until our definite and statistical reports of operations and financial results for June, 1917, were available.

Replying on behalf of this committee to your specific inquiries:

Data collected by direction of this committee indicates that on April 1 there were approximately 102,000 new freight cars under order for American railroads. Recently, in response to inquiries, it was ascertained that there were approximately 3,015 new locomotives under order. Some progress has been made in completing and delivering these cars and engines to the railroads, but progress has been slow, and will doubtless continue so, while few new orders will be placed by the railroads under the existing pressure for raw materials and the delay in securing steel and other manufactured parts. Thus the capacity of all the plate mills in the United States is 1,850,000 tons. We are advised that the Government's program for the coming year will require about 1,600,000 tons of such plates. The needs of the railroads in plates merely for repairs to locomotives and cars during the coming year will be 275,000 tons. Orders for new locomotives, rail, and other railroad equipment for use abroad by the United States and the allies, which have been given preference to the needs of our railroads at home, are also delaying our deliveries. This presents one of our most serious problems in the outlook for the next 12 months.

Through the efforts of this committee and the active cooperation of the railroads of the country, and, in large measure, of regulating authority, National and State, as well as the shipping interests of the country, much has been accomplished to increase the efficiency of the existing equipment.

This committee publishes monthly efficiency statistics showing the performance of the American railroads, and I inclose herewith statement for the month of June, 1917, as compared to June, 1916, which, while not complete as to all important lines, is sufficiently comprehensive to indicate the general improvement in transportation output and efficiency throughout the country. In June, 1917, the railroads handled 23.2 per cent more revenue-ton miles than the same month a year ago, with but 10 per cent increase in freight-train miles. There was an increase of 491 freight locomotives, or 1.8 per cent, and of 64,502 freight cars, or 3.2 per cent, in service. The number of freight locomotives in shop awaiting repairs decreased by an average of 430, or 10.2 per cent; freight cars awaiting repairs or in shop decreased by 8,919, or 6.8 per cent.

Increased efficiency is further shown by the average increase in tons per train-mile from 642 in June, 1916, to 715 in June, 1917, or 11.4 per cent; also in an increase in average carload from 25.2 tons to 27.9 tons, or 10.7 per cent.

Early in the life of this committee a new set of car-distribution rules was established, under which the box-car equipment of the country is practically pooled under the direction of the Commission on Car Service, subordinate to this committee. By virtue of this method the Commission on Car Service has been and is moving empty cars from one portion of the country to another to relieve strain upon transportation facilities, and I am persuaded, as evidenced by reports reaching us, that the business of the country has been moved without substantial delay. Between May 1 and September 8, 117,027 empty freight cars have been transferred from one part of the country to another under this plan of meeting the traffic needs of the country.

It is impossible to make definite reply to your inquiry as to the adequacy of the present equipment, for the reason that we are without definite information as to the volume of additional transportation which the requirements of the Government and our allies may still add to the commercial traffic of the country. We have viewed with much concern the reduction in available coastwise tonnage, which formerly handled large amounts of traffic by water from one part of the country to another. As a result the volume of rail transportation has in certain districts of the country been unusually increased, and if more coastwise ocean tonnage is taken by the Government an acute condition may result, particularly in the movement of coal and cotton to New England.

The continued increase of the efficiency of the railroads depends largely upon the delivery of the cars and locomotives now on order to replace those worn out or destroyed from time to time and the regular receipt of rail and steel products for repair purposes.

These conditions are vital to the continued upkeep and necessary expansion of the carriers, and without adequate attention to them it is inevitable that the railroad machine of the country will in time halt and in some degree fail to meet the requirements imposed upon it. This committee has from time to time since its formation given expression to its concern on this subject, and, in view of your inquiries, I do not hesitate to direct your attention to the necessities of the railroads in these particulars.

I have not mentioned other important activities of the railroads which have resulted in increased efficiency, such as cooperation with shippers of bituminous and anthracite coal, whereby lake and tidewater coal has been largely pooled. This has resulted in a substantial decrease in the delay to cars, and, in that manner, increase of available equipment for handling coal. We have several subcommittees of railroad officers, the chief of which is the commission on car service, before mentioned, all of which committees have under our direction been actively cooperating with different departments of the Government and representatives of the allies in the expedition of the movement of troops and supplies, materials for the building of cantonments, etc., and foodstuffs for export for foreign use. The results so obtained have, in like manner, been accomplished through more intensive and effective use by the railroads and shippers alike of the existing transportation plant.

You further inquire whether "the increase in volume of transportation has been sufficient to relieve the apprehension of the railroads that the considerable increase in operating expenses would hamper them in the maintenance and development of the necessary facilities for the service of the public." It is difficult within the reasonable limits of a letter adequately to reply to this inquiry, but public reports of results of operation show that the tendency of heavy and continuing increase in operating expenses on many important lines is exceeding the increase in gross revenues through increased traffic.

Preliminary returns from 175 railroads, covering the United States as a whole, for June, 1917, show net revenue of $110,321,241, as compared with $99,901,760 in June, 1916. For the six months ended June, 1917, net revenues from railway operations were $528,233,173, as compared with $530,362,415 for the corresponding period in 1916. For the eastern district net revenues from railway operations for the six months ended June, 1917, were $197,630,024, as compared with $230,731,415 for the same period in 1916. In the southern and western districts the six months' figures, as well as those for the month of June, 1917, still show increases in net revenues, but reports of later operations in July and August on some important lines in the West indicate a decline in net revenues.

This constitutes no present bar to the efficient operations of the railroads, but if the prospects are, as railroad managers believe them to be, that this tendency may increase, then, to the extent that it does, it will increasingly limit the ability of the railroads out of income to maintain and develop their facilities for transportation service. This current tendency to establish expenses on a higher level than ever before is what gives railroad managers their gravest concern at the moment. The present large volume of revenues may not always obtain; when it drops the ability to curtail expenses proportionately is limited by conditions over which the railroad manager has no longer any vestige of economic control. Furthermore, these special conditions, taken in connection with the general conditions affecting the money markets of the country, with which you are familiar, have made it to-day difficult, if not impossible, for even the most favored railroads to raise new capital; the sale of long-term bonds is apparently out of the question excepting at heavier discount than prudence will permit, and the issue of new stock upon any reasonable terms is not within the power of any company. Short-term financing is apparently the only recourse for new capital; under present conditions this method requires the payment of high rates of interest and involves early refinancing, which under the present outlook is an unsatisfactory and, in some respects, a dangerous method of supplying the capital needs of the railroads.

If I have not fully covered your inquiries, I shall be glad to write you again upon advice from you as to any further points upon which you would like information.

Faithfully, yours, FAIRFAX HARRISON.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 102) authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5949) to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to close the present session of Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on Saturday, the 6th day of October, 1917, at 3 o'clock p. m., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITION.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland presented a petition of the faculty and students of the Gilman School, of Roland Park, Md., relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. On yesterday the bill (H. R. 6306) to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty was received from the House of Representatives, and it was inadvertently referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. I move that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2973) to authorize the temporary appointment of generals and lieutenant generals in the Army of the United States, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry, and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency, such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate (Rept. No. 147); and

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers (Rept. No. 148).

Mr. SWANSON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment:

A bill (H. R. 6306) to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent or relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

A bill (H. R. 6362) to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

A bill (H. R. 6363) to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts;

A bill (H. R. 5648) to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes; and

A bill (H. R. 5646) to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

Mr. SWANSON. I give notice that I shall call up these bills for consideration to-morrow morning.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills will be placed on the calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BRANDEGEE:

A bill (S. 2952) granting an increase of pension to Richard B. Daniels (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2953) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Day (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2954) granting a pension to Emily A. Netson (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2955) granting a pension to Esther Shields (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2956) granting an increase of pension to Ella J. Slate (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2957) granting an increase of pension to Nettie P. Slate (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2958) granting an increase of pension to Sarah P. Southworth (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2959) granting an increase of pension to Emma Stillman (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2960) granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Wells (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2961) granting an increase of pension to Jared Wheeler (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 2962) for the relief of Stephen A. Winchell; to the Committee on Military Affairs;

A bill (S. 2963) granting an increase of pension to George B. Gilbert;

A bill (S. 2964) granting an increase of pension to George Blake;

A bill (S. 2965) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie B. Crandlemire (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2966) granting an increase of pension to John H. Annas (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 2967) granting a pension to Thomas E. Eagan (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2968) granting a pension to Margaret Casey (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2969) granting a pension to Charlotte A. Thomas (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2970) granting a pension to B. F. Shields (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2971) granting a pension to Martha A. Tucker (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2972) granting a pension to Daniel J. Begley (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HITCHCOCK:

A bill (S. 2973) to authorize the temporary appointment of generals and lieutenant generals in the Army of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ASHURST:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 104) authorizing the assistant to the Secretary of the Interior to sign official papers and documents (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Lands.

AVIATION STATION, CAPE MAY, N. J.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2437) to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy, which were, on page 2, line 13, after the word "cost," to insert "and within the appropriation herein authorized"; and, on page 2, line 16, after the word "condemn," insert "the said tract of."

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m., Thursday, October 4, 1917) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 5, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 4 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

CHIEF OF BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Burwell S. Cutler, of New York, to be Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce, vice Edward Ewing Pratt, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Emmet R. Jordan, of Nome, Alaska, to be United States marshal, District of Alaska, division No. 2. (Reappointment.)

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Ramon Avancena, of the Philippine Islands.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 4 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Ramon Avancena, to be associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

ASSISTANT TREASURER.

William J. McGee, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at San Francisco, Cal.

MEMBERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

The following-named persons to be members of the Interstate Commerce Commission:

Robert W. Woolley.
Clyde B. Aitchison.
George W. Anderson.

EXAMINER IN CHIEF IN THE PATENT OFFICE.

Edwin S. Henry to be an examiner in chief in the Patent Office.

PUBLIC-HEALTH SERVICE.

Asst. Surg. Walter L. Treadway to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Harry M. Thometz to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Tully J. Liddell, to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. James B. Laughlin to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Robert C. Derivaux to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Harry C. Cody to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Joseph Bolten to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Daniel S. Baughman to be passed assistant surgeon.
Dr. Lynne Araunah Fullerton to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Walter Charles Allen to be assistant surgeon.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAINS.

To be chaplains with rank of first lieutenant.

Rev. George Foreman Rixey.
Rev. Humfrey Vere Darley.
Rev. Joseph L. Tierney.
Rev. John T. Kendall.
Rev. John W. Daily.
Rev. James A. Manley.
Rev. Edward T. Reilly.
Rev. Emil William Weber.

DENTAL CORPS.

To be dental surgeons.

Walter Davis Vail.
Richard Knight Thompson.
Leslie Solon Harlan.
Neil Jerome McCollum.
Clement John Gaynor.
Walter Andrew Rose.
Melvin Roman Eiche.
George Krakow.
Eugene Alonzo Smith.
Jerome Louis Fritsche.
Clarence John Wright.
Milton Addison Price.
William Henry Hoblitzell.
Francis Murrie Tench.
Alvin Ellsworth Anthony.
William James R. Akeroyd.
Fletcher D. Rhodes.
William Burns Caldwell.
Lewis Walter Maly.
Arthur T. Burchill.
Glover Johns.
Raymond Homer Fisher.
Frederick William Herms.
Harold Justus Parker.
Leslie Dean Baskin.
Curtis Warren Hallam.
James Etter Dean.
Henry Leon Hogan.
John Clarence Campbell.
Leland Stewart Wilson.
Benjamin H. Dean.
Dell S. Gray.
William B. Stewart.
Julius Link Bischof.
Charles Harrison Brammell.
John Albert Rowe.
William Thomas Williams.
Hooker Oliver Lindsey.
Alvin David Dannheiser.
James Russell Conner.
Robert Louis Strickland.
Roy R. Newman.
Boyd Lee Smith.
Avery Giles Holmes.
George Robert Kennebeck.
Alexander Malcom Smith, jr.
Horace Ray Finley.
Cecil Roger Hays.
Roy Carl Starr.
Harold Stiles Embree.
Charles L. Andrews.
Bryam Sandford Purviance.
Joseph Lyon Boyd.
Joseph Lee Rahm.
Clarence Raymond Jacobson.
Norman Mobbs Mackenzie.
Richard Foster Thompson.
Henry Hales Collins.
William A. Moore.
Adrian Carso Ragan.

MEDICAL CORPS.

First Lieut. Nicholson F. Curtis to be first lieutenant in the Medical Corps.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Simon Medine to be second lieutenant.

CAVALRY ARM.

John R. Evans to be second lieutenant.

INFANTRY ARM.

Uel Stephens to be second lieutenant.
Matthew White Paxton to be second lieutenant.
Earle Thomas Decker to be second lieutenant.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be captains.

First Lieut. Marion D. H. Kolyn.
First Lieut. Walter P. Burn.
First Lieut. David L. Neuman.
First Lieut. Lenox R. Lohr.
First Lieut. Truman M. Curry, jr.
First Lieut. Frank M. S. Johnson.
First Lieut. Simes T. Hoyt.
First Lieut. Clarence M. Fuller.
First Lieut. Harry A. Skerry.
First Lieut. John F. McSweeney.
First Lieut. Giovanni B. LaGuardia.
First Lieut. Fred C. Albert.
First Lieut. Don R. Cather.
First Lieut. Sylvester E. Nortner.
First Lieut. John R. Donaldson.
First Lieut. Julian G. Guiteras.
First Lieut. Gilbert D. Fish.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Edward W. Austin.
Second Lieut. Clyde C. Alexander.
Second Lieut. Erwin A. Manthey.
Second Lieut. Henry B. Dawson.
Second Lieut. John W. Kelley.
Second Lieut. Harvey R. Hitchcock, jr.
Second Lieut. Thomas H. Davis.
Second Lieut. John P. Ratajczak.
Second Lieut. Claude T. Porter.
Second Lieut. Thomas H. Eckfeldt, jr.
Second Lieut. Sumter D. Marks, jr.
Second Lieut. Gordon H. Dickson.
Second Lieut. Reed E. Beck.
Second Lieut. Waldo E. Ard.
Second Lieut. Clarence E. Cartwright.
Second Lieut. Joseph R. Walsh.
Second Lieut. Harold Kernan.
Second Lieut. Innes H. Bodley.
Second Lieut. Gerald F. Delamer.
Second Lieut. James H. Genung, jr.
Second Lieut. Louis J. Fortier.
Second Lieut. Warner M. Pomerene.
Second Lieut. Ross S. Mason.
Second Lieut. Edwin Shelby, jr.
Second Lieut. Robert B. Hood.
Second Lieut. Victor A. Dash, jr.
Second Lieut. Charles W. Chalker.
Second Lieut. John L. Hamilton.
Second Lieut. Roy C. Moore.
Second Lieut. Theodore E. T. Haley.
Second Lieut. John F. Hepner.
Second Lieut. Arnold W. Shutter.
Second Lieut. Leland W. Cratfs.
Second Lieut. A. Franklin Kibler.
Second Lieut. Leonce J. Blanchard.
Second Lieut. John D. Robb.
Second Lieut. Winfield M. Putnam.
Second Lieut. James C. Lysle.
Second Lieut. Francis S. Conaty.
Second Lieut. William E. Beitz.
Second Lieut. William C. Dunckel.
Second Lieut. William H. Burns.
Second Lieut. Bernard R. Kennedy.

Second Lieut. Rex B. Shaw.
Second Lieut. John W. Faulconer, jr.
Second Lieut. Richard E. Taylor.
Second Lieut. Charles D. Wiman.
Second Lieut. Herbert L. Montgomery.
Second Lieut. Gennad A. Greaves.
Second Lieut. Willis A. Garvey.
Second Lieut. Edwin H. Blanchard.
Second Lieut. Francis M. Crist.
Second Lieut. Haines B. Quimby.
Second Lieut. Robert C. Gillies.
Second Lieut. Oliver G. Brush.
Second Lieut. Gordon H. Michler.
Second Lieut. Robert G. Merrick.
Second Lieut. William M. Wiener.
Second Lieut. William J. Schieffelin, jr.
Second Lieut. William F. Kernan.
Second Lieut. George L. B. Rivers.
Second Lieut. Dell H. McCoy.
Second Lieut. Wallace G. Drummond.
Second Lieut. Morrill Ross.
Second Lieut. Roland L. Davis.
Second Lieut. John A. Steere.
Second Lieut. Leslie E. Babcock.
Second Lieut. Joseph C. Elliff.
Second Lieut. William T. Barker.
Second Lieut. Erik Achorn.
Second Lieut. Dorsey Richardson.
Second Lieut. Byron H. Mehl.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Fenton G. Epling.
Second Lieut. Ross G. Hoyt.
Second Lieut. William Mayer.
Second Lieut. Hubert A. McMorrow.
Second Lieut. Douglas G. Clark.
Second Lieut. Vernon G. Cox.
Second Lieut. Ralph G. Lockett.
Second Lieut. John H. La Fitte.
Second Lieut. Leon C. Dennis.
Second Lieut. Clarence L. Stevens.
Second Lieut. Caruthers A. Coleman.
Second Lieut. William F. Lafrenz.
Second Lieut. Carson G. Jennings.
Second Lieut. Charles J. Collins.
Second Lieut. Richard G. Lyne.
Second Lieut. James B. Muir, jr.
Second Lieut. Edmund H. Stillman.
Second Lieut. Robert C. Snidow.
Second Lieut. John F. Loomis.
Second Lieut. Charles H. Keck.
Second Lieut. Thurwood Van Ornum.
Second Lieut. Cecil R. Moore.
Second Lieut. Anthony L. Bleecker.
Second Lieut. Edward A. Williford.
Second Lieut. James E. Wallis.
Second Lieut. Granville B. Smith.
Second Lieut. Grafton S. Kennedy.
Second Lieut. Chester K. Allen.
Second Lieut. Harold C. Mabbott.
Second Lieut. James A. Blair.
Second Lieut. Harold A. Maxfield.
Second Lieut. James P. Ferrall, jr.
Second Lieut. Robert E. Lamb.
Second Lieut. Winthrop C. Swain.
Second Lieut. George A. Nelson, jr.
Second Lieut. Edward Y. Keesler.
Second Lieut. Roland H. Dufault.
Second Lieut. Gardner E. Johnson.
Second Lieut. Frank C. Howard.
Second Lieut. Paul H. Duff.
Second Lieut. Lucas E. Schoonmaker.
Second Lieut. Gordon M. Wells.
Second Lieut. Robert E. Johnston.
Second Lieut. Hermon F. Safford.
Second Lieut. Clifford D. Hindle.
Second Lieut. John R. Ramsbottom.
Second Lieut. Merton L. Haselton.
Second Lieut. John R. Wheeler.
Second Lieut. Raymond J. Farrell.
Second Lieut. John R. Haviland.
Second Lieut. Erving G. Betts.
Second Lieut. Arthur F. Benson.
Second Lieut. Joseph F. Williamson.
Second Lieut. Richard W. Logan.
Second Lieut. Thomas E. Hannah.
Second Lieut. Frank S. Krug, jr.
Second Lieut. Henry M. Blank.
Second Lieut. William H. Holmes.
Second Lieut. Arthur D. Dickson.
Second Lieut. Roswell S. Curtis.
Second Lieut. Douglas M. Griggs.
Second Lieut. Horace F. Banan.
Second Lieut. Harry W. Capper.
Second Lieut. Douglas F. Miner.
Second Lieut. Edward F. Weiskopf.
Second Lieut. Sidney S. Small.
Second Lieut. James P. Jacobs.
Second Lieut. Cornelius H. Menger.
Second Lieut. William H. Seymour.
Second Lieut. Sherwood H. Taber.
Second Lieut. Walton B. Killough.
Second Lieut. Ernest C. Bomar.
Second Lieut. Jarvis C. Marble.
Second Lieut. James W. Anderson.
Second Lieut. Alfred H. Crossman.
Second Lieut. John R. Markham.
Second Lieut. Charles E. Atkinson.
Second Lieut. George D. Kittredge.
Second Lieut. Thomas F. Tisinger.
Second Lieut. Coburn L. Berry.
Second Lieut. John H. Babbitt.
Second Lieut. Carroll C. Taylor.
Second Lieut. Joseph P. Gardner.
Second Lieut. Edward B. McCarthy.
Second Lieut. Herbert A. Dyer.
Second Lieut. Edward H. Raymond.
Second Lieut. Eugene B. Butler.
Second Lieut. Simpson R. Stribling.
Second Lieut. Neal E. Tourtelotte.
Second Lieut. Hubert E. Wellcome.
Second Lieut. Lyle D. Wise.
Second Lieut. Edwin M. Woodward.
Second Lieut. John W. Orcutt.
Second Lieut. James A. Taylor.
Second Lieut. James G. McDougall.
Second Lieut. Richard Derby.
Second Lieut. Frederick R. Cox.
Second Lieut. James T. Campbell.
Second Lieut. Howard S. MacKirby.
Second Lieut. Kenyon Roper.
Second Lieut. Thomas W. Hansberry.
Second Lieut. Albert J. Hahn.
Second Lieut. Maurice E. Barker.
Second Lieut. Philip E. Hulburd.

CAVALRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Jay Drake Billings Lattin, to be first lieutenant.

INFANTRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Nicholas Szilagyi, Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE ARMY.

CAVALRY ARM.

First Lieut. John Garth Goodlett, Infantry, to be first lieutenant of Cavalry.

INFANTRY ARM.

First Lieut. Milton A. Lowenberg, Cavalry, to be first lieutenant of Infantry.

First Lieut. Robert N. Getty, jr., Field Artillery, to be first lieutenant of Infantry.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

First Lieut. Samuel Marshall, Infantry, to be first lieutenant of Field Artillery.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Herbert M. Lord to be colonel.
Maj. Theodore B. Hacker to be lieutenant colonel.

MEDICAL CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Henry S. Greenleaf to be colonel.
Maj. Ernest G. Bingham to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. James D. Heysinger to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. Lloyd L. Smith to be lieutenant colonel.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Capt. George R. Goethals to be major.
Capt. John W. N. Schulz to be major.

CAVALRY ARM.

Capt. Joseph A. Baer to be major.
Capt. Charles F. Martin to be major.
Capt. Willis V. Morris to be major.
First Lieut. Joseph M. Tully to be captain.
First Lieut. Pettus H. Hemphill to be captain.
First Lieut. Hugh Mitchell to be captain.
First Lieut. Robert Le G. Walsh to be captain.
Second Lieut. Vernon M. Shell to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Emmons L. Abeles to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. James C. Longino to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Woodbury F. Pride to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Eugene P. H. Gempel to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Charles B. Sweatt to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. John M. Sanderson to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Charles W. Walton to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. James V. McConville to be first lieutenant.

INFANTRY ARM.

Lieut. Col. Robert Alexander to be colonel.
Maj. Amos H. Martin to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. Charles F. Crain to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Frank H. Burton to be major.
Capt. George B. Sharon to be major.
Capt. A. La Rue Christie to be major.
Capt. George H. White to be major.
Capt. Harris Pendleton, jr., to be major.
Capt. William G. Fleischhauer to be major.
Capt. Howard G. Davids to be major.
Capt. Ernest Van D. Murphy to be major.
Capt. Hilden Olin to be major.
Capt. Frederick Goedecke to be major.
Capt. Albert W. Foreman to be major.
Capt. William S. Mapes to be major.
Capt. Samuel A. Price to be major.
Capt. Fred E. Smith to be major.
Capt. Perrin L. Smith to be major.
Capt. Harry L. Cooper to be major.
Capt. William S. Sinclair to be major.
Capt. Richmond Smith to be major.
Capt. Charles L. Willard to be major.
Capt. Robert H. Sillman to be major.
Capt. Rufus B. Clark to be major.
Capt. Arthur P. Watts to be major.
Capt. Thaddeus B. Seigle to be major.
Capt. William A. Carleton to be major.
Capt. Lochlin W. Caffry to be major.
Capt. William S. Faulkner to be major.
Capt. Ernest H. Agnew to be major.
Capt. Robert O. Ragsdale to be major.
Capt. Austin A. Parker to be major.
Capt. Charles M. Gordon, jr., to be major.
Capt. Fred Van S. Chamberlin to be major.
Capt. William N. Hughes, jr., to be major.
Capt. Sylvester Bonnaffon to be major.
Capt. Robert C. Humber to be major.
Capt. Joseph C. Brady to be major.
Capt. John H. Page, jr., to be major.
Capt. Parker Hitt to be major.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Samuel A. Kephart to be colonel.
Maj. Marcellus G. Spinks to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. Jacob C. Johnson to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. Robert E. Wyllie to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. William Forse to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. George T. Perkins to be major.
Capt. John B. Murphy to be major.
Capt. Jairus A. Moore to be major.
Capt. Frank B. Edwards to be major.
Capt. Henry C. Merriam to be major.
Capt. Harry W. McCauley to be major.
Capt. Robert W. Collins to be major.
Capt. William A. Covington to be major.
Capt Elisha G. Abbott to be major.
Capt. Samuel M. English to be major.
Capt. Alfred Hasbrouck to be major.
Capt. John M. Dunn to be major.
Capt. Theodore H. Koch to be major.
Capt. James L. Long to be major.
Capt. Ralph M. Mitchell to be major.
Capt. Frederick L. Dengler to be major.
First Lieut. William C. Foote to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles L. Kilburn to be captain.
First Lieut Robert D. Brown to be captain.
First Lieut. Edward O. Halbert to be captain.
First Lieut. Harry L. King to be captain.
First Lieut. Augustin M. Prentiss to be captain.
First Lieut. Russell A. Osmun to be captain.
First Lieut. Lester E. Moreton to be captain.
First Lieut. La Rhett L. Stuart to be captain.
First Lieut. John A. Brooks, jr., to be captain.
First Lieut. Albion R. Rockwood to be captain.
First Lieut. Frank L. Hoskins to be captain.
First Lieut. John H. Jouett to be captain.
First Lieut. Joseph D. McCain to be captain.
First Lieut. Eugene Villaret to be captain.
First Lieut. Reiff H. Hannum to be captain.
First Lieut. Harold F. Loomis to be captain.
First Lieut. Leland H. Stanford to be captain.
First Lieut. James C. Waddell to be captain.
First Lieut. Richard B. Paddock to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles C. Griffith to be captain.
First Lieut. James B. Haskell to be captain.
First Lieut. James P. Hogan to be captain.
First Lieut. Gooding Packard to be captain.
First Lieut. Glenn P. Anderson to be captain.
First Lieut. Adam E. Potts to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry S. Aurand to be captain.
First Lieut. Harold E. Small to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry B. Sayler to be captain.
First Lieut. Albert H. Warren to be captain.
First Lieut. John F. Kahle to be captain.
First Lieut. Reinold Melberg to be captain.
First Lieut. Clarence B. Lindner to be captain.
First Lieut. John H. Cochran to be captain.
First Lieut. Logan W. Serles to be captain.
First Lieut. John K. Meneely to be captain.
First Lieut. Joseph J. Teter to be captain.

Second lieutenants to be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Harold R. Jackson.
Second Lieut. Morris K. Barroll, jr.
Second Lieut. Walter W. Warner.
Second Lieut. Walter F. Vander Hyden.
Second Lieut. Ira A. Crump.
Second Lieut. Elbert L. Ford, jr.
Second Lieut. Samuel H. Bradbury, jr.
Second Lieut. James L. Hayden.
Second Lieut. Scott B. Ritchie.
Second Lieut. George S. Beurket.

TEMPORARY PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Maj. George B. Pillsbury to be lieutenant colonel.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

To be brigadier generals.

Col. Benjamin Alvord.
Col. Edgar Russel.
Col. Alfred E Bradley.
Lieut. Col. Walter A. Bethel.
Lieut. Col. James G. Harbord.
Lieut. Col. Clarence C. Williams.
Col. Harry L. Rogers.
W. W. Atterbury.
Brig. Gen. Randolph A. Richards.
Col. James T. Kerr.
Col. Eugene F. Ladd.
Lieut. Col. Samuel T. Ansell.
Col. Isaac W. Littell.
Col. Chauncey B. Baker.
Col. David L. Brainard.
Col. Frederic V. Abbot.
Col. E. Eveleth Winslow.
Col. Edwin B. Babbitt.
Col. Charles B. Wheeler.
Col. Charles Richard.
Col. William H. Arthur.
Col. Henry P. Birmingham.

POSTMASTERS.

ARKANSAS.

G. G. Dandridge, Paris.

TENNESSEE.

Isaac R. Roberts, Erwin.
Lawrence E. Stroup, Grand Junction.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn October 4 (legislative day of October 2), 1917.

Francisco Ortigas to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October 4, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we thank Thee for all the blessings Thou hast bestowed upon us as a Nation, and most fervently pray that Thou wilt continue to bless, guide, and protect us in all that makes for righteousness, that we may continue the furtherance of Thy kingdom in all the earth. Let Thy spirit come mightily upon us and unite us as a people, that we may stand behind our soldiers and sailors who are going forth to struggle with an insidious foe who would check the wheels of progress and turn back the tide of civilization, that they may be equipped and encouraged to do their work bravely and nobly, that a world-wide peace may be established for the good of humanity, to the glory and honor of Thy holy name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the following titles:

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River in the State of Ohio; and

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 102. Joint resolution authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session;

S. 2938. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east; and

S. 2852. An act to increase the limit of cost of the Federal building and site therefor at Moultrie, Ga.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2434) authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5949) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2623) defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills of the following titles:

On October 1, 1917:

H. R. 5431. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across the Saline River, at or near Suttons Ferry, Ark.

On October 3, 1917:

H. R. 4280. An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 2623. An act defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe;

S. 2434. An act authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties; and

S. 2774. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River.

MYRA COLLINS.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged resolution from the Committee on Accounts, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 153 (H. Rept. No. 188).

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the House, to Myra Collins, daughter of Lewis Lepreux, late a policeman on the roll of the House of Representatives, a sum equal to six months of his compensation as such policeman and an additional amount, not exceeding $250, to defray funeral expenses of said Lewis Lepreux.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. PARK, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting therein a telegram which I have received from the local exemption board at Laredo, Tex., replying to the charge of the Mexican consul general at New York that Mexicans have been illegally conscripted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by making some observations in reply to some parts of an address delivered by ex-Justice Hughes before the American Bar Association.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does the gentleman intend to confine his remarks to constitutional questions?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the revenue bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ALLOTMENT OF ARMY PAY.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 2883) making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 16 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1899, entitled "An act for increasing the efficiency of the Army of the United States, and for other purposes," as amended by the act of March 2, 1901, be, and the same is hereby, amended as follows:

"The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to permit, under such regulations as he may prescribe, any officer or enlisted man on the active list of the Army, any retired officer or enlisted man of the Army on active duty, and any permanent civilian employee under the jurisdiction of the War Department on duty outside of the continental limits of the United States, to make allotments of his pay for the support of his wife, children, or dependent relatives, or for such other purposes as the Secretary of War may deem proper. All allotments of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees that have been or shall be paid to designated allottees previous to the receipt by disbursing officer of notice of discontinuance of the same from the officer required by regulations to furnish such notice shall pass to the credit of the disbursing officer who has made or shall make such payments; and, if erroneous payment is made because of the failure of an officer to report, in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of War, the death of the grantor, or any fact which renders the allotment not payable, then the amount of such erroneous payment shall be collected by the Quartermaster General from the officer who fails to make such report, if such collection is practicable. Nothing herein shall be construed to invalidate allotments now in force."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I believe this bill extends the present practice by authorizing the War Department to allot portions of the pay before the salary of the officer or the enlisted man is due and payable.

Mr. DENT. No; the gentleman is mistaken about that. Under the present law the allotment can not be made until 30 days after the pay of the enlisted man has accrued. In other words, the Government has 30 days of grace, and this repeals those 30 days of grace.

Mr. STAFFORD. And allows the allotment to be made when his pay is due?

Mr. DENT. As soon as it is earned.

Mr. STAFFORD. Wherein does this supplement the allotments in the soldiers' insurance bill?

Mr. DENT. It does not supplement them at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the soldiers' insurance bill we provide for allotments of pay of the enlisted men but not of officers. This bill provides for the allotments of pay of officers and enlisted men?

Mr. DENT. I confess to the gentleman that I have not compared the difference, but here is the whole proposition involved. I do not know whether the soldiers' bill is going to be passed or not, but under the present law an enlisted man serving in France can allot a portion of his pay to his wife and children now. An officer can not do that, nor can a civilian employee. This bill extends the privilege to the officer and the civilian employee. If there is anything in the soldiers' insurance bill upon the same subject, it certainly can not do any harm to pass this bill.

Mr. MADDEN. There is not anything in the soldiers' insurance bill that authorizes an officer to allot his pay.

Mr. DENT. No; and this bill extends the privilege of allotment to the officers and to permanent civilian employees outside of continental United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask a question. Does this provide that anything in addition to what is allotted from the officers' or civilians' salary shall be paid to the family of the officer or civilian?

Mr. DENT. Not at all. It does not increase the pay of anyone. It simply enables the officer to let the Quartermaster's Department here pay the wife and children without buying exchange over there and going through the uncertainty of their getting it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To make a unanimous-consent request, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask unanimous consent that on to-morrow, after such matters as may be before the House have been disposed of, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] asks unanimous consent that to-morrow, after cleaning up the business on the Speaker's table, he shall have not to exceed 30 minutes to address the House, of course barring conference reports and things of that sort—privileged matters. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, on what subject does the gentleman desire to address the House?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the subject of my remarks will be the support given by the Republicans to the administration in the conduct of the war.

Mr. ADAMSON. We admit that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I would ask unanimous consent to follow the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] for not exceeding 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Idaho asks unanimous consent to follow the gentleman from Illinois——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I shall object for the present, until we see what the condition of public business will be to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE LITTLE KANAWHA RIVER.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2774, Senator SUTHERLAND'S bill, and it will only take a minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, let the bill be reported.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2774) granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, who is to build this bridge?

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, some enterprising gentlemen in the development of West Virginia's resources desire to construct a bridge and I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will not object. It is desirable that these gentlemen go ahead with their development.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But the gentleman from West Virginia knows that if this is not a navigable stream the United States has nothing to do with it.

Mr. ADAMSON. I would say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that Senator SUTHERLAND is deeply interested in the bill and he says it is all right and we believe him. It is a stream over which the War Department has jurisdiction.

Mr. REED. But it is not at present navigable except in a limited way. It is in my district and I would like very much to get the bill passed.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. There seems to be a conflict of testimony. The gentleman from West Virginia says that it is not navigable and the gentleman from Georgia says that Congress has jurisdiction over it.

The SPEAKER. Half the navigable streams in the United States are not navigable. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. REED. This stream is in that class, especially that part of it near its source where this bridge is to be located.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the navigability of a good many navigable streams has been destroyed by the bridges that have been built across them. That is what is the matter with some of the navigable streams in my State, bridges across them being so low that boats can not pass under.

Mr. ADAMSON. We will guarantee any boat that wants to pass under this shall go under it.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, this stream is improved by locks and dams for several miles from the point where it joins the Ohio, but this location is near its source, where it becomes rather a small stream which practically takes it out of the navigable class.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I arose, Mr. Speaker, because of the fact that when a private corporation asks Congress to permit it to build a bridge over a stream the presumption is that the stream is navigable. If the stream be not navigable the corporation need not ask Congress for permission to build the bridge.

Mr. ADAMSON. They have jurisdiction over it, I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin, and we hope to have commerce running up, down, and across, and both ways.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman if this bill provides that the bridge shall be built at a point suitable to the interests of navigation?

Mr. ADAMSON. I think it does; but I will read it again. We always put it in if it is not in.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not know. I remember on several occasions when it was necessary to have that amendment inserted on the floor here, when they seemed to have forgotten it.

Mr. ADAMSON. It is in, "at a point suitable to the interest of navigation."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I ask to have the whole bill read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Glimer-Pittsburgh Coal Co., or its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Little Kanawha River at a point suitable to the interest of navigation, at or near Gilmer Station on the Coal & Coke Railway, in the county of Gilmer, in the State of West Virginia, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. ADAMSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

URGENT DEFICIENCIES.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 5949, the urgent deficiency bill, and I

ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The statement was read.

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 186).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5949) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 2, 4, 7, 21, 22, 28, 50, 53, 54, 73, 76, 77, 78, 81, 84, 87, 96, 99, and 102.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 43, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 80, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, and 111; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert as a separate paragraph the following:

"In any State the legislature of which met in 1917 and failed for any reason to accept the provisions of the vocational education act, as provided in section 5 of said act, if the governor of that State, so far as he is authorized to do so, shall accept the provisions of said act and designate or create a State board of not less than three members to act in cooperation with the Federal Board for Vocational Education and shall designate the State treasurer as custodian for all moneys allotted to that State under said act, the Federal board shall, if such legislature took no adverse action on the acceptance of said act in 1917, recognize such State board for the purposes of said act until the legislature of that State meets in regular session in due course and has been in session 60 days."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 6: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

"For two additional Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who are authorized at the rate of $5,000 per annum each from the date of this act to the close of the present war and six months thereafter, $7,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Washington, D. C., Treasury Department buildings: For repairs, alterations, and extensions of such of the buildings and their equipment belonging to the United States, on squares Nos. 226 and 228 in the city of Washington, D. C., as the Secretary of the Treasury may designate, to fit them for temporary use by the Treasury Department, $100,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "September" and insert in lieu thereof the word "October"; and in lines 23, 24, 25, and 26 of the matter inserted by said amendment omit the following: ", including payment of additional compensation to the following: Increase compensation of two deputy commissioners from $4,000 to $4,500 each, and increase compensation of one deputy commissioner from $3,600 to $4,500"; and in line 41 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "September" and insert in lieu thereof the word "October"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit all of the matter inserted by said amendment after line 23; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 17: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the last line of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "States," insert the following: ": *Provided further*, That section 355 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not apply to the expenditures authorized hereunder"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 20: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$2,180,200"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 30: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 30, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$40,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 31: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "in time of war or when war is imminent" and insert in lieu thereof the following: ", during the present emergency,"; and in line 10 of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "terms," insert the following: ", at not less than cost,"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 32: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$10,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 33: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 33, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$250,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 34: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$6,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 35: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$12,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 36: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 36, and agree to the same with an amendent as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$25,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 37: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 37, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$6,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 38: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 38, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$10,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 39: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 39, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$5,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 40: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 40, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$23,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 41: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 41, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$4,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 42: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 42, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the

sum proposed insert "$18,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$250,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 45: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 45, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$125,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 46: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 46, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$9,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 47: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 47, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$375,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 48: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 48, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 5, of the matter inserted by said amendment, after the word "expenses" insert the words "of travel"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 49: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 49, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Land-grant railroads organized under the act of July 28, 1866, chapter 300, shall receive the same compensation for transportation during the existing war emergency of property and troops of the United States as may be paid to land-grant railroads organized under the land-grant act of March 3, 1863, and the act of July 27, 1866, chapter 278, for such transportation during said emergency: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not be construed as changing in any other way or for any other period of time the rights and duties of the land-grant railroads first above mentioned."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 52: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 52, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$40,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 59: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 59, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$69,750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 61: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 61, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Manufacture of arms: For manufacturing, repairing, procuring, and issuing arms, $16,690,000: *Provided*, That the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purposes above mentioned not to exceed $16,000,000 in addition to the appropriations herein and heretofore made."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 65: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 65, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 1 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "hereafter" and insert in lieu thereof the words "during the present emergency"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 66: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 66, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows: In line 15, strike out the words "may be" and insert in lieu thereof the word "is"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 67: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 67, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"For temporary office buildings, including heating and lighting, for the use of the War and Navy Departments, to contain approximately 1,055,000 square feet, to be erected under the direction of the Secretary of War in Henry Park, reservation No. 4, Sixth and B Streets, $2,000,000. Space in said building shall be allotted by the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds upon the joint order of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy: *Provided*, That within two years after the conclusion of the existing war, the land above referred to shall again be reserved for the erection of the George Washington Memorial Hall."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 68: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 68, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "; including not to exceed $315,000 for the acquisition of land by purchase or condemnation"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 74: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 74, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Hospital construction: For temporary hospital construction and repairs, as may be necessary, at points not provided with suitable hospital facilities, and for buildings for naval medical supplies, $2,000,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 79: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 79, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 82: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 82, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert: "$18,900"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 83: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 83, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows: In line 8, after the word "empowered" insert the following: ", within the amount hereinbefore authorized,"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 88: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert:

"DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR.

"To enable the Secretary of Labor, during the present emergency, in addition to existing facilities to furnish such information and to render such assistance in the employment of wage earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding $4, traveling expenses, and rental of quarters outside of the District of Columbia, $250,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 103: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 103, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$50,488.72"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 104: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 104, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$61,424.31"; and the Senate agree to the same.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
SWAGAR SHERLEY,
FRED'K H. GILLETT,
Managers on the part of the House.

THOMAS S. MARTIN,
JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
O. W. UNDERWOOD,
F. E. WARREN,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5949) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompany-

ing conference report as to each of the said amendments, namely:

On No. 1: Makes a verbal correction in the text of an appropriation under the emergency shipping fund.

On Nos. 2 and 3, relating to the Federal Board for Vocational Education: Strikes out that portion of the Senate amendment authorizing rental of quarters, traveling expenses for attendance on meetings, and expenses for investigations in regard to the vocational training of disabled soldiers and sailors, and in regard to the vocational training of mechanics and technicians for war service, and inserts that portion of the Senate amendment authorizing the Federal board to extend the provisions of the act to certain States in which the legislature met in 1917 and failed to accept the provisions of the act.

On Nos. 4 and 5, relating to the State Department: Strikes out the limitation, proposed by the Senate, upon the employment of two persons at a rate of compensation exceeding $1,800 per annum, and inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, removing the limitation of 50 cents per day for keeping and feeding prisoners in China.

On No. 6: Authorizes two additional Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury at the rate of $5,000 each per annum during the present war and for six months thereafter and appropriates their pay for the rest of the fiscal year 1918.

On No. 7: Strikes out the appropriation of $900 for an additional clerk in the section of surety bonds in the Treasury Department.

On Nos. 8 and 9: Appropriates $1,500 and $3,000, respectively, as proposed by the Senate, for additional rent of quarters at Charlotte, N. C., and Muskegon, Mich.

On No. 10: Appropriates $100,000, as proposed by the Senate, for repairs to buildings on squares 226 and 228, in Washington, to fit them for the temporary use of the Treasury Department.

On No. 11: Appropriates $4,583,000, as proposed by the Senate, for expenses of collections under the new revenue act, modified so as to eliminate therefrom the increase in compensation of three Deputy Commissioners of Internal Revenue.

On No. 12: Inserts the language, proposed by the Senate, relative to the printing of bonds, notes, and checks or other printed papers by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, modified so as to eliminate therefrom the paragraph authorizing the use of money specifically appropriated for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for work to be executed outside of the bureau.

On No. 13: Modifies the limitation, proposed by the House, upon the sum for pay of employees in the War Department, so as to provide that not more than 30 persons may be employed in excess of $1,800 per annum and not more than $2,400 per annum each.

On Nos. 14, 15, and 16, relating to the Frankford Arsenal: Appropriates $65,000 as proposed by the Senate, instead of $36,000 as proposed by the House, for additional dry houses, and appropriates $205,000 as proposed by the Senate, instead of $125,000 as proposed by the House, for facilities for the manufacture of small-arms ammunition.

On No. 17: Appropriates $7,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, for a new proving ground, modified so as to provide that section 355 of the Revised Statutes shall not apply to the expenditure of that sum.

On Nos. 18, 19, and 20, relating to the Rock Island Arsenal: Appropriates $1,295,200, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $795,260, as proposed by the House, for facilities for the manufacture of field artillery matériel; appropriates $300,000, instead of $360,000, as proposed by the Senate, for facilities for woodworking and manufacturing of equipment; and strikes out the appropriation of $60,000, proposed by the House, for an extension of the carpenter shop.

On Nos. 21 and 22, relating to San Antonio Arsenal: Strikes out the appropriation of $12,000 for an addition to the office building.

On No. 23: Appropriates $500,000, as proposed by the Senate, for repairs of arsenals.

On Nos. 24, 25, 26, and 27, relating to military posts: Appropriates $300,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $150,000, as proposed by the House, for storage buildings at the quartermaster's depot at St. Louis, Mo.; appropriates $15,000 additional, as proposed by the Senate, for a bridge across the Republican River near Fort Riley, Kans.; appropriates $3,462,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $2,000,000, as proposed by the House, for barracks and quarters at seacoast posts; and appropriates $89,962.60, as proposed by the Senate, for repairs to buildings, wharves, roads, etc., at certain Gulf forts.

On No. 28: Appropriates $4,000,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $6,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, for expenses of registration and selection of persons for military service, and strikes out the limitation, proposed by the Senate, upon the number of men to be examined and selected.

On No. 29: Appropriates $489,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the expenses of the Military Information Section of the Office of the Chief of Staff.

On No. 30: Appropriates $40,000,000, instead of $3,000,000, as proposed by the House, and $40,164,060.51, as proposed by the Senate, for expenses of the Signal Service of the Army.

On No. 31: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the President to sell war materials used in the construction of aeroplanes, modified so as to confine the operation of the paragraph to the present emergency and to provide that such material shall not be sold at less than cost.

Nos. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42, relating to the pay of the Army: Appropriates $10,000,000 instead of $18,822,403 as proposed by the Senate and $5,410,377 as proposed by the House, for officers of the line; $250,000,000 instead of $262,218,261 as proposed by the Senate and $244,370,622 as proposed by the House for enlisted men of the line; $6,000,000 instead of $7,249,169 as proposed by the Senate and $4,825,350 as proposed by the House for enlisted men of the Ordnance Department; $12,000,000 instead of $16,246,618 as proposed by the Senate and $8,104,700 as proposed by the House for enlisted men of the Quartermaster Corps; $25,000,000 instead of $28,460,927 as proposed by the Senate and $21,179,025 as proposed by the House for enlisted men of the Medical Department; $6,500,000 instead of $7,806,492 as proposed by the Senate and $5,493,492 as proposed by the House for officers of the Engineer Corps; $10,000,000 instead of $11,652,825 as proposed by the Senate and $8,877,225 as proposed by the House for officers of the Ordnance Department; $5,000,000 instead of $6,939,000 as proposed by the Senate and $3,469,500 as proposed by the House for officers of the Quartermaster Corps; $23,000,000 instead of $29,206,716.50 as proposed by the Senate and $19,243,398 as proposed by the House for officers of the Medical Department; $4,500,000 instead of $6,000,000 as proposed by the Senate, and $3,000,000 as proposed by the House for additional pay to officers on foreign service; and $18,000,000 instead of $25,000,000 as proposed by the Senate, and $10,000,000 as proposed by the House for increased pay to enlisted men on foreign service.

On Nos. 43 and 44, relating to the subsistence of the Army: Appropriates $250,000,000, instead of $321,985,357 as proposed by the Senate, and $175,000,000 as proposed by the House, and inserts the language proposed by the Senate providing for commutation of rations without a limitation, instead of under the limitations proposed by the House.

On No. 45: Appropriates $125,000,000, instead of $163,917,925 as proposed by the Senate, and $100,000,000 as proposed by the House, for regular supplies of the Quartermaster Corps.

On No. 46: Appropriates $9,000,000, instead of $10,023,271.50 as proposed by the Senate, and $8,000,000 as proposed by the House, for incidental expenses of the Quartermaster Corps.

On Nos. 47, 48, and 49, relating to transportation of the Army: Appropriates $575,000,000, instead of $413,567,777.92 as proposed by the Senate, and $350,000,000 as proposed by the House; inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the Secretary of War to defray the expenses of officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States during the present emergency, modified so as to confine such expenses to "Expenses of travel"; and inserts the paragraph proposed by the Senate, relative to compensation to land-grant railroads for transportation of property and troops of the United States, modified so as to limit the operation of the paragraph to the existing war emergency, and to provide that it shall not alter or change in any other way or for any other period of time the rights and duties of the land-grant railroads first mentioned in the paragraph.

On No. 50: Strikes out the increase of $7,506,097.85, proposed by the Senate, in the appropriation for clothing, camp and garrison equipage for the Army.

On Nos. 51 and 52, relating to horses for Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers: Appropriates $40,000,000, instead of $48,591,220 as proposed by the Senate, and $30,000,000 as proposed by the House, and inserts the words, proposed by the Senate, providing for their purchase at "not exceeding" a maximum price to be fixed by the Secretary of War.

On Nos. 53, 54, and 55, relating to the civilian military training camps: Strikes out the changes, proposed by the Senate, making the appropriations available for quarters of officers and barracks for men, and appropriates $1,240,000 as proposed by the Senate, instead of $440,000 as proposed by the House.

On Nos. 56 and 57, relating to the Engineer Department of the Army: Appropriates $12,100,000 as proposed by the Senate, instead of $4,300,000 as proposed by the House, for engineer equip-

ment of troops; and $186,000,000 as proposed by the Senate, instead of $100,000,000 as proposed by the House, for engineer operations in the field.

On Nos. 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, and 65, relating to the Ordnance Department of the Army: Appropriates $11,825,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $1,825,000, as proposed by the House, for current expenses of the Ordnance Department; appropriates $69,750,000 instead of $73,270,000, as proposed by the Senate, and $36,000,000, as proposed by the House, for the manufacture of small-arms ammunition; appropriates $89,676,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $13,000,000, as proposed by the House, for small-arms target practice; appropriates $16,690,000, and authorizes a contract obligation of $16,000,000 for the manufacture of arms, and modifies the paragraph so as to permit their manufacture at places other than national armories; appropriates $113,520,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $73,520,000, as proposed by the House, for equipment of soldiers to be furnished by the Ordnance Department; increases the appropriation by $20,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, and the contract authorization by $70,550,000, for armored motor cars; and inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing officers of the Ordnance Department accountable for public money to intrust it to other officers, modified so as to limit the authority to the present emergency.

On No. 66: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, enlarging the class of persons who may be admitted to the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to include officers, soldiers, and sailors engaged in the present war.

On No. 67: Provides for temporary office buildings for the War and Navy Departments in Washington, D. C., in the language proposed by the House, modified so as to permit of the erection of more than one building, and to require the construction to be performed under the direction of the Secretary of War; and inserts the provision proposed by the Senate, requiring that within two years after the conclusion of the war the site shall again be reserved for the George Washington Memorial Hall.

On Nos. 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, and 83, relating to the Naval Establishment: Appropriates $45,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $35,000,000, as proposed by the House, for aviation, and inserts authority for the purchase or condemnation of land to cost not exceeding $315,000; inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, making the current appropriation for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics available for the completion of a research laboratory and for the construction of additional buildings in connection with it; appropriates $75,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $25,000, as proposed by the House, for the expenses of the civilian naval consulting board; appropriates $25,000, as proposed by the Senate, for an investigation and acquisition of options to mineral rights on lands adjacent to the armor plant; appropriates $1,000,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $1,750,000, as proposed by the Senate, for contingent expenses of the Bureau of Yards and Docks; appropriates $2,000,000, instead of $1,000,000, as proposed by the House, and $3,575,000, as proposed by the Senate, for hospital construction, and eliminates the authority for the purchase of land; appropriates $90,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the acquisition of additional land at the New London, Conn., submarine base; appropriates $6,000,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $12,600,000, as proposed by the Senate, for construction and equipment of training camps; appropriates $2,250,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $3,592,500, as proposed by the Senate, for improvements at ordnance stations; strikes out the appropriation of $500,000, proposed by the Senate, for repairs and preservation at navy yards and stations; appropriates $300,000, instead of $650,000, as proposed by the Senate, for a cold-storage plant at Hampton Roads, Va.; appropriates $1,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, for temporary storage; strikes out the appropriations of $100,000 and $360,000, respectively, for the purchase of land near Newport, R. I., and Philadelphia, Pa., for the stowage of explosives; appropriates $18,900, instead of $18,000, as proposed by the House, and $25,000, as proposed by the Senate, for pay of instructors at the Naval Academy; and provides for the construction of additional torpedo-boat destroyers in the language proposed by the Senate, instead of that proposed by the House, modified so as to require the authority granted to be exercised within the limits of the amount authorized.

On No. 84: Strikes out the paragraph, inserted by the Senate, appropriating $85,000 for repairs and improvements to the Maltby Building and other buildings on the extension of the Capitol Grounds and requiring all space in the public buildings owned or leased by the Government in the District of Columbia to be apportioned by the Public Buildings Commission.

On No. 85: Appropriates $29,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the care and custody of Alaskan insane.

On No. 86: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, extending the rental of the Post Office Department Annex in the District of Columbia until such time during the fiscal year 1918 as the new equipment shops building is ready for occupancy.

On No. 87: Restores the language, stricken out by the Senate, authorizing mail matter relating to naturalization to be transmitted free of postage.

On No. 88: Appropriates $250,000 to enable the Secretary of Labor to furnish information and to render assistance in the employment of wage earners in connection with the prosecution of the war and strikes out the appropriation of $500,000, inserted by the Senate, for the United States employment service.

On Nos. 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, and 98, relating to the Senate: Appropriates $7,500 to pay the widow of the late Senator Lane, of Oregon; inserts the authority authorizing the payment from an existing appropriation of a messenger to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce; appropriates $15,000 for miscellaneous expenses of the Senate; appropriates $2,000 for the maintenance and operation of the Senate Office Building; inserts the authority, proposed by the Senate, to pay $250 for services rendered to the joint committee in charge of inaugural ceremonies; appropriates $2,500 for repairs and improvements to the Senate kitchens and restaurants; strikes out the appropriation of $1,600, inserted by the Senate, for payment to J. S. McCoy for expert services rendered to the Senate Committee on Finance; appropriates $3,905.82 to reimburse the official reporters of the Senate for money actually expended by them; and inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, continuing the joint subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce.

On Nos. 99 and 100, relating to the Government Printing Office: Strikes out the appropriation to pay $700 to Charles C. Allen and appropriates $374,500, as proposed by the Senate, for printing and binding for the War Department.

On Nos. 101, 102, 103, and 104, relating to judgments of the Court of Claims: Appropriates for the payment of judgments certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House and strikes out the appropriation, proposed by the Senate, to pay the judgment in favor of the State of Massachusetts.

On No. 105: Appropriates, as proposed by the Senate, for the payment of claims allowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury and which were certified to Congress since the bill passed the House.

On Nos. 106, 107, 108, 109, and 110: Corrects the section numbers of the bill.

On No. 111: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing teachers of the public schools of the District of Columbia who are also teachers of night schools and vacation schools to receive compensation for such services notwithstanding the act prohibiting combined compensation in excess of $2,000.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
SWAGAR SHERLEY,
FRED'K H. GILLETT,
Managers on the part of the House.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the food and fuel situation.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LUNDEEN] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the food and fuel situation. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

URGENT DEFICIENCIES.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, this is a complete report on the urgent deficiency bill. As it passed the House the appropriations aggregated $4,827,293,113.79; as it passed the Senate, $5,607,416,827.89. The Senate added $780,123,714.10 in cash. The Senate receded from $250,758,310.96 and the House from $529,365,403.14. So that the bill as agreed upon carries $5,356,666,016.93. A very considerable portion of the additions made by the Senate were of items that had been informally presented to the House, but as the formal estimates had not been transmitted to Congress, action was deferred until the estimates were transmitted. They did not reach the Congress until after the bill had passed the House, but were considered in the Senate and added there.

As it passed the House the bill also authorized the various executive departments to obligate the Government in the sum

of $2,314,908,393.50. Practically all these authorizations were for material and supplies required to be contracted for at this time for the armed forces the country is now raising. The Senate added $70,550,000 of contract obligations. The total contract obligations authorized is $2,401,458,393.50. The total of the bill, including contract obligations and cash appropriations, is $7,758,124,410.43.

The deficiency act of June 15, 1917, aggregates in cash and undischarged contract obligations the sum of $3,297,644,541.60. Therefore the total of these two deficiency appropriation bills is $11,055,768,952.03.

Mr. Speaker, numerous inquiries are made from time to time as to the sums appropriated by Congress on account of the war. In presenting the deficiency bill to the House, I résuméd in a somewhat comprehensive manner what had been done and placed a table in the RECORD showing the various sums appropriated and then pending in the various acts. At that time, as this bill had not been acted upon in its final stages in either House, some of the figures were approximations. I have prepared a table which I shall insert in the RECORD so that the figures will be available to Members from time to time as they may need them.

Statement of Appropriations and Contract Authorizations for the Fiscal Year 1918, and Deficiency Appropriations for the Fiscal Year 1917, Made During the Second Session of the Sixty-fourth Congress and the First Session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Sixty-fourth Congress, second session (including the Army, Military Academy, sundry civil, river and harbor, and general deficiency acts, which failed of passage at the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, and were passed during the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.)

Agriculture appropriation act		$25,929,113.00	
Army appropriation act		273,046,322.50	
Diplomatic and Consular appropriation act		5,082,746.66	
District of Columbia appropriation act		14,172,997.85	
Fortifications appropriation act		51,395,593.00	
Indian appropriation act		11,589,736.67	
Legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act		39,894,592.42	
Military Academy appropriation act		1,344,896.18	
Naval appropriation act		517,273,802.08	
Pension appropriation act		160,060,000.00	
Post Office appropriation act		331,851,170.00	
River and harbor appropriation act		27,826,150.00	
Sundry civil appropriation act		147,363,928.77	
Total		1,605,832,049.13	
General deficiency appropriation act (including $100,000,000 for the national defense)		163,841,400.52	
Urgent deficiency appropriation act		4,578,250.00	
Miscellaneous public acts, including $25,100,000 for Danish West Indies, $10,000,000[1] for war-risk insurance, $2,060,000 for vocational education, etc	$37,731,000.00		
Miscellaneous public resolutions, including $3,000,000 for Alaska railroad, etc	3,227,000.00		
Miscellaneous private acts, including claims, etc	135,670.08		
		41,093,670.08	
Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations		145,864,830.32	
Total		1,962,210,200.05	
Increased compensation of 5 and 10 per cent to certain employees (estimated)		15,000,000.00	
Total, regular appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session			$1,977,210,200.05

Sixty-fifth Congress, first session (excluding Army, Military Academy, sundry civil, river and harbor, and general deficiency acts.

Expenses of Congress incident to the first session, Sixty-fifth Congress	68,020.00	
Expenses of preparation and issuance of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under the act of Apr. 24, 1917	7,063,945.46	
Loans to allies under the act of Apr. 24, 1917	[2]3,000,000,000.00	
Expenses of preparation and issuance of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under the act of Sept. 24, 1917	21,377,890.92	
Loans to allies under the act of Sept. 24, 1917	[2]4,000,000,000.00	
Bureau of War Risk Insurance, insurance of masters, officers, and crews of merchant vessels and of vessels and their cargoes	45,150,000.00	
Increase of the Signal Corps of the Army and development of aviation	640,000,000.00	
Expenses under the act to stimulate agriculture and to facilitate the distribution of food and fuel (food control)	162,500,000.00	
Expenses under the act to encourage the production, conserve the supply, and control the distribution of food products (food survey)	11,346,400.00	
Expenses under the act to prevent trading with the enemy	450,000.00	
Expenses under the act to insure soldiers and sailors and to provide for family allowances	178,259,000.00	
Interest on bonds and certificates of indebtedness (estimated)	200,000,000.00	
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 15, 1917, including $2,351,217,522.39 for the Military Establishment, $514,805,033.87 for the Naval Establishment, $405,000,000 for the Shipping Board, and $10,071,983.34 for other services	3,281,094,541.60	
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of Oct. —, 1917, including $4,110,237,796 for the Military Establishment, $561,436,023.50 for the Naval Establishment, $635,000,000 for the Shipping Board, $32,096,694.60 for the War Department, and $17,865,502.83 for other services	5,353,663,016.93	
Total cash appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session		16,901,966,814.91
Total cash appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, and Sixty-fifth Congress, first session		18,879,177,014.96

CONTRACTS AND AUTHORIZATIONS IN ADDITION TO APPROPRIATIONS FOR WHICH APPROPRIATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN MADE.

Sixty-fourth Congress, second session.

Fortification appropriation act	5,250,000.00	
Naval appropriation act	86,145,532.00	
Sundry civil appropriation act	900,000.00	
	92,295,532.00	

Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.

Urgent deficiency act of June 15, 1917	16,550,000.00	
Urgent deficiency act, October, 1917	2,401,458,393.50	
Act to authorize an additional building for use of the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00	
	2,419,258,393.50	
Grand total of contracts in addition to appropriations		2,511,553,925.50
Grand total, cash appropriations and contract authorizations		21,390,730,940.46

[1] This sum includes an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, which has been repealed by subsequent legislation.
[2] The sums of $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000 to meet loans to the allies are reimbursable by the foreign governments to whom the advances are made.

Amounts of above appropriations segregated to show sums for the Army, Navy, Shipping Board, etc., for the fiscal year 1918.

	Sixty-fourth Congress, second session.	Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.	Total.
APPROPRIATIONS.			
Military Establishment and War Department, including sums in the Army, Military Academy, deficiency, fortification, and other acts	$389,144,428.40	$7,133,582,012.99	$7,522,726,441.39
Naval Establishment and Navy Department, including sums in the naval, deficiency, and other acts	528,599,633.06	1,076,241,057.37	1,604,840,690.43
Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation	517,500.00	1,040,000,000.00	1,040,517,500.00
National defense fund placed at the disposal of the President	100,000,000.00		100,000,000.00
Loans to the allies		7,000,000,000.00	7,000,000,000.00
Control of foods and fuels and stimulation of agricultural production		173,846,400.00	173,846,400.00
Soldiers' and sailors' insurance and family allowances		176,250,000.00	176,250,000.00
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated)		200,000,000.00	200,000,000.00
All other expenses and services, including insurance of merchant vessels and their crews		102,047,344.55	102,047,344.55
Expenses of conducting the civil establishment of the Government, including pensions, etc	958,948,638.59		958,948,638.59
Total appropriations	1,977,210,200.05	16,901,966,814.91	18,879,177,014.96

Amounts of above appropriations segregated to show sums for the Army, Navy, Shipping Board, etc., for the fiscal year 1918—Continued.

	Sixty-fourth Congress, second session.	Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.	Total.
CONTRACTS OR AUTHORIZATIONS IN ADDITION TO APPROPRIATIONS.			
Military Establishment, including sums in the fortification, deficiency, and sundry civil acts	$6,150,000.00	$1,383,302,750.00	$1,389,452,750.00
Naval Establishment, including sums in the naval and deficiency appropriation acts	86,145,532.00	185,705,643.50	271,851,175.50
Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation		849,000,000.00	849,000,000.00
New building for the Treasury Department		1,250,000.00	1,250,000.00
Total contracts or authorizations	92,295,532.00	2,419,258,393.50	2,511,553,925.50
Grand total appropriations and authorizations	2,069,505,732.05	19,321,225,208.41	21,390,730,940.46

I might say, Mr. Speaker, that the largest appropriations made in any fiscal year of the Government were for the fiscal year which ended June 30 last, when the appropriations totaled $1,625,484,995.53. In the brief time since Congress convened in April, it has placed at the disposal of the administration, to enable the country to properly conduct the operations resulting in the acknowledgement of the state of war which existed between Germany and the United States, including the $7,000,000,000 to be loaned to our allies, the very extraordinary sum of $17,001,966,814.91, and in addition to this amount has authorized contracts to be entered into or obligations to be incurred subject to future appropriations aggregating $2,419,258,393.50, making a total of appropriations and authorizations of $19,421,225,208.41. And then from time to time complaints have been made by thoughtless people, those who do not give any consideration whatever to the problems involved, to the supposed carelessness, or neglect, or indifference, or delay by Congress in the work connected with this war. It has been apparent to everyone who is at all familiar with the situation that the Congress of the United States, in a patriotic and effective manner, has done as extraordinary an amount of work as it was possible for men to do in the very brief time in which the work has been done. It was not possible, Mr. Speaker, without considerable time, care, industry, and patience to make the necessary inquiries and investigations and to have the intelligent discussion that is essential in a representative government, to agree upon the legislation necessary and to arrive at a conclusion as to the funds that should be supplied to the administration at that time. And speaking from a very intimate knowledge of what has been accomplished, I know that Congress deserves the commendation of the country for the very effective manner in which it has performed its part in the great task now before the country.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Would the gentleman be prepared to state or make an estimate of the probable appropriations in the next session of Congress for war expenditures?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I can not do that, because I have not yet had the privilege of examining the estimates that are yet to be prepared by the various departments of the Government, and until the various departments, after study of the needs, submit their recommendations to the Congress it is practically impossible for anyone in the Congress to express any opinion. It will depend to a very considerable extent upon the number of men in the military forces of the United States. The expenses that necessarily will be incurred will increase proportionately with the number of men called to the colors. It would be a rash man who would undertake at this time to forecast whether it will be necessary to call an additional 500,000 or a million or 2,000,000 men, or whether the number of men already called will be sufficient. All that can be said is that in the appropriations carried in this bill and the act of June 15, 1917, provision has been made to anticipate the possible necessity of additional men being called. And the various governmental departments charged with the responsibility of equipping troops that may be called into the service and to furnish equipment of a character that will take considerable time to obtain have been provided with the authority and the money to obtain such equipment and supplies in advance of the authority to call the men who would utilize such supplies. To some extent the needs of the future have been anticipated here. I do not believe that anyone can at all even estimate what our expenditures next year will be.

A very large problem will be the policy of our Government toward the further financing of our allies.

If such advances are to be limited to the $7,000,000,000 already authorized, it will make a very considerable difference as to the amount the Government will be compelled to expend. If, as the war continues, it will be necessary for the United States to continue proportionate advances to the allies, then our expenditures correspondingly will be increased.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I did not intend in my question to the gentleman to include advances to the allies as war expenses.

The only reason I asked the question was that I understand that a definite prediction was made in another body by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations as to the amount that might be necessary to appropriate in the next session for war purposes, and I did not know whether the gentleman had formed any opinion as to whether that amount was overestimated or not.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have not seen the statement. I did not know what it was. But I do not believe that anyone possesses the basic information at this time upon which it is possible to predicate a judgment. For instance, when the Congress last June, in response to the recommendations of our military advisers, placed at the disposal of the administration authority and money aggregating more than $3,200,000,000, no one then contemplated or had even suggested that in three months Congress would be providing an additional $5,356,000,000, and what may be the situation between now and December, when the Congress will convene for the regular session, so as to necessitate probable additional sums for the present or current year, nobody can anticipate. This much is known: That the studies which are being made by our forces which have already gone abroad and the requests that they have submitted as the result of the information obtained by them have completely revolutionized the plans originally adopted and have resulted in very extraordinary increases in the sums desired.

Mr. NORTON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from North Dakota rise?

Mr. NORTON. I would like to make an inquiry regarding Senate amendment No. 72. Is it the purpose of this appropriation to do a little wild-catting or exploring for oil on some private land?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not sufficiently expert in oil explorations to be familiar with the character of explorations that would properly be characterized as "wild-cat" explorations, so that I am unable to give the gentleman the information he seeks.

Mr. NORTON. Is it the purpose to have that appropriation used for sinking test wells where oil is not known to be?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I can state to the gentleman the purpose. It is——

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from New York will permit me, I would state to him that wildcatters would not get very far with $25,000.

Mr. NORTON. It would help a lot, though.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The Government armor plant has been located at Charleston, W. Va.

Mr. NORTON. I so understand.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In the vicinity of the proposed location of the plant there are 26,000 acres of natural-gas lands, about 14 miles from the plant. These lands were offered to the Government for $1,200,000. It was estimated that about $200,000 more would be required to pipe the land. It was believed by the Navy Department that this was a very exceptional opportunity to acquire the necessary fuel supply for the armor plant, and the Navy Department requested that $1,500,000 be appropriated to permit the acquisition of these lands if, after investigation by the Geological Survey, it was shown that they possessed the estimated supply of gas and oil.

Mr. NORTON. Then the purpose of this appropriation is to use it to test out these unknown oil fields?

Mr. FITZGERALD. This particular tract. The object is to have the Geological Survey make the necessary investigation,

and if the report of the Geological Survey is of such character as to justify the purchase an option is to be obtained upon the lands at a nominal figure so as to reserve them until the Congress can act.

Mr. NORTON. May I ask the gentleman if the Geological Survey has other available funds than this appropriation which it may use in sinking wells on this land to make the investigation authorized here?

Mr. FITZGERALD. They may have funds that could have been used for this purpose, but I never knew the Geological Survey willingly to undertake an investigation of a character like this and utilize the force and funds that it has rather than do the work that it has itself determined upon.

Now, it is stated by the Secretary of the Navy, from the information that the Navy Department had acquired, that if oil and gas can be obtained at this place the gas could be delivered at the plant at 6 cents per thousand cubic feet, which would be equivalent to coal at 50 cents a ton, and it was estimated that the supply of gas on these lands would supply the plant for a period of 20 years; and as it is essential to provide some method of supplying fuel to an armor plant——

Mr. NORTON. Has gas been found on these lands?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I understand so.

Mr. NORTON. The gentleman does not know so that he can inform the House accurately.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No. This is to investigate it.

Mr. WOODYARD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. WOODYARD. I would say to the gentleman that this is in the heart of a great oil and gas field over there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. There are several considerable wells now on this property.

Mr. NORTON. Are they producing gas, or are they dry holes?

Mr. FITZGERALD. They are producing such quantities as to prompt the belief that the property will produce enough gas for 20 years to run this plant. But before the department decides to purchase it, it desires the Geological Survey to make such a survey as may be proper in order to check up that estimate.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman know whether it is the intention of the department to get an option on this land before they make the investigation, or to discover the gas first and then get an option later?

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the department has any sense, if there is any intelligence possessed by those in charge of it, they will certainly get the option before the investigation, because the information would be useless unless an option was had on the property.

Mr. NORTON. I hope the Navy Department authorities are not trying to establish the precedent of going over the country wildcatting.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not proposed to do anything of the kind. If the gentleman knows of any other place where the Government of the United States proposes to establish an armor plant and where it is desired to procure fuel of this character, he might perhaps with propriety call this "wildcatting," but inasmuch as this is the only armor plant that the Government has, on which it proposes to spend $11,000,000, it would not be the most businesslike method of conducting affairs to establish the plant first and then begin to seek a fuel supply. The proper plan is to find out if there is an available fuel supply in the vicinity before the plant is constructed. If the fuel can not be had at economical rates, the location of the plant should be changed.

Mr. NORTON. I understand the plant is already located there.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman and I may not agree as to what is meant by "location." I understand it has been determined to put the plant there. There is no plant there yet, and I do not know whether the work has actually been commenced.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman now give the House the information that the plant is not already established there?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not established there, if the gentleman means a complete plant.

Mr. NORTON. Located.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is located in the sense that it has been determined to place it there.

Mr. NORTON. That is making the examination for this oil and gas in a way the gentleman said it should not be made—after the plant has been located.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; I said it would be ridiculous for the Government——

Mr. NORTON. It seems to me——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let me finish this. It would be ridiculous for the Government to have the Geological Survey make an investigation and ascertain that there was this supply, from the character of the investigation it could make, and then commence to negotiate for the option. It ought to take this option first and then make its investigation; and I do not think there is anything very extraordinary in proposing to expend $25,000 for the options and investigations to secure a fuel supply for a plant that will cost more than $11,000,000.

Mr. NORTON. Of course, $25,000 is not a great deal. What I wanted to know was whether there was more available.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Certainly.

Mr. MONDELL. From a reading of the paragraph it does not seem to me that the department would be justified in doing any drilling or "wildcatting," as the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON] suggests, with this appropriation. It is evidently only for an investigation, such investigation, for instance, as the Geological Survey would make in order to determine the wisdom of securing options. The necessity for appropriations for the drilling would come later if the options were secured.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is my understanding that it is the intention to secure the options and then make the investigations. The department wanted the money to purchase, and we gave them the money to obtain the options and make the investigation. Then upon the report the Congress itself will be in a position to determine whether an appropriation to purchase should be made.

Mr. MONDELL. Another question. This is for the purpose of providing a fuel supply for a Government armor plant. If we can not get gas, I suppose we shall have to use coal. Ought not the Government to provide a coal supply for this armor plant also? If it is wise to provide for one kind of fuel, why not provide for other kinds of fuel?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It may be desirable eventually for the Government to acquire a coal mine, but we are not facing that proposition now.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield for one or two questions?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. KING. I want to direct the gentleman's attention to page 30, to the provision in regard to the Military Establishment, registration and selection, and to the amendment of the Senate thereto.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That amendment was eliminated.

Mr. KING. Yes; I understand it was eliminated. I wanted to get a little information from the gentleman. Did it develop in the committee that there is any truth in the statement made twice in the newspapers by a distinguished gentleman recently that men are drilling with broomsticks in these camps and without sufficient clothing, and without blankets?

Mr. FITZGERALD. How can I tell whether there is any justification for the statements made by more or less distinguished or obscure gentlemen who are perambulating about the country?

Mr. KING. Was there anything developed in the committee to throw any light on that subject?

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the gentleman will take the hearings before the Committee on Appropriations on this bill, which passed the House some weeks ago, he will find a very careful and accurate statement of the number of rifles now in the possession of the Government, the contracts that have been made for the obtaining of rifles, the capacity of the Government plant, when rifles are to be delivered and in what quantities, and complete information about the ability of the Government to supply and equip men along every line. Now, I do not think it is necessary for me at this time to go over all the matters that were discussed when the bill was under consideration.

Mr. KING. I will waive that question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the gentleman has any doubt, or if there be any perambulating orator who he thinks lacks information, I suggest that the gentleman send him a copy of the hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, and that he read them before he makes any further speeches.

Mr. KING. Is it the purpose of the military department, as indicated by the hearings before your committee, to call out the 7,000,000 men who were not called out for examination? That is the information I should like.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The law fixes the number of men who can be called. Now, the gentleman is as familiar with the act to raise the Army as I am, and he can draw his own conclusions as to what the authority is. I am not enough of a military expert nor am I sufficiently familiar with the intentions of the War Department to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. KING. I thank the gentleman for his information. [Laughter.]

Mr. NORTON. I wish to ask if the House conferees agreed to amendment 66, under the head of "National homes for disabled soldiers"?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It did, with a very slight amendment. That is, it excluded future wars and made it apply to past wars or this present war, but modified it so that it would not apply to some other war of which we do not at present know.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I should like five minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT].

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I may wish to print in the RECORD a statement of the expenditures and legislation enacted during this Congress. I am not sure whether I shall do so, but I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, a conference is generally a contest between the Senate conferees and the House conferees, and I suppose the Members of the House generally judge of the success of their conferees by the statement of the results of the conference.

By that ordinary test the House conferees have certainly suffered a signal defeat, because we have agreed to more than $500,000,000 which the Senate added to our bill. But, as suggested by the chairman of the committee, that amount was largely based on the estimates which were sent to the Senate after the House had reported the bill.

That simply illustrates the condition which the Appropriations Committee has been in during the whole formation of this enormous bill. Five hundred million dollars which the Senate has added, and which we have agreed to, is more than any whole deficiency bill ever amounted to before this Congress, and yet that was sent in by the departments after the House finished the bill, and all the while that the House committee was framing this bill, from July until we reported it, there were constantly, daily, coming in from departments estimates of millions and hundreds of millions.

We reported the bill, not because we had before us all that the departments wanted, but because the departments were so constantly overburdened by new demands that they had to send them in to us.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. I yield.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Who made the new demands on the departments?

Mr. GILLETT. I was speaking of the demands of the departments of the committee, but these demands were mostly by the War Department.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What information had the War Department that led them to make these estimates?

Mr. GILLETT. They kept finding that they needed a hundred million dollars more here and there, perhaps for field ammunition, or for field artillery, or similar purposes. The officers of the department were constantly finding that the war was making greater demands than they had anticipated. I am not criticizing them at all; I do not think they are at all blamable that they could not at the beginning of the war foresee what the needs would be at the end of the summer. I do not criticize the War Department, I do not criticize the Senate, but it simply illustrates how the expenses of the war have constantly been far beyond what anybody anticipated.

Mr. FOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. I will.

Mr. FOSS. How much more have we appropriated at this session than we have provided to take care of in the revenue bill?

Mr. GILLETT. The revenue bill provided for about four billions, and we must have appropriated at this session over seven billions alone. I do not carry it accurately in my head without figuring a little.

Mr. FOSS. I understood the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] to say the other day that in the present bill we would have appropriated something like $2,600,000,000 more than we have provided for in the revenue bill.

Mr. GILLETT. That would be about what I should place it.

Mr. FOSS. The gentleman from Massachusetts practically agrees with the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILLETT. I would think that that was about right.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. I will.

Mr. PLATT. What is the necessity of the two additional Secretaries of the Treasury, and what have they charge of?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, that raises a question which I do not know whether it is wise for me to discuss or not, but, inasmuch as the gentleman has brought it up, I believe I will. I have refrained, and this whole side has refrained, from criticizing legislation and administration which we thought unwise. I have endeavored, and I know that almost everyone here has endeavored, not to criticize, because we do not wish to weaken the administration, and even when we thought partisanship was shown by the administration or by the majority here we were disposed to let it go unnoticed.

I will say that personally I was opposed to the addition of the two Secretaries. I am not without suspicion that it was largely to make a couple of pieces of handsome patronage. The Secretary of the Treasury is the political manager of this administration. Of course, the Treasury Department has grown tremendously, as we all recognize, but they already have three Assistant Secretaries. Most of the Departments have only one Assistant Secretary. The Treasury, besides its three Assistant Secretaries, has already a great number of highly-paid officials, and I did not think and I do not think it was necessary that these two Assistant Secretaries should be given. But the Senate put it on and the House conferees acquiesced. The Senate demanded more for the Treasury Department. The Senate demanded in the department of Mr. Roper, now Commissioner of Internal Revenue, that his salary should be increased and that the salaries of a number of his subordinates should be increased. We all remember Mr. Roper when he was clerk of the Ways and Means Committee, a very clever, efficient, able, agreeable man. You remember that he went into the Post Office Department to administer the nonpartisan appointment of postmasters. He resigned that to be manager of the political campaign in New York during the last campaign. Having finished that, and thereby doubtless added to his nonpartisanship, he was made a member of the nonpartisan tariff commission. Now, when the internal revenue is going to be elaborated, and when they are going to have this whole army of new appointments, largely outside of the civil service, by Democratic legislation, he is going to have the organization of this magnificent army of patronage, and so is taken out of the nonpartisan tariff commission.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That does not mean that the employees named in the bill are taken out of the classified service.

Mr. GILLETT. Every deputy collector is outside of the classified service.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No deputy collectors are provided here of any account.

Mr. GILLETT. These two secretaries of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury are outside of the civil service.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The deputy clerks and all other employees are in the classified service.

Mr. GILLETT. The deputy collectors are not in the classified service.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They have always been out.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman is mistaken about that. You passed a law four years ago taking them out. The request was made that the salary of the Internal Revenue Commissioner be increased, and also that some of the salaries of his employees should be increased, to more efficiently carry on this nonpartisan service.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from New York to yield me two minutes more.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, as I say, the House conferees did not yield, I am happy to say, on this.

Mr. PLATT. I would like to ask the gentleman if the Treasury Department indicated what the particular duties of these gentlemen would be. For instance, we have one Assistant Secretary who has charge of public buildings, and another who has charge of customs, and so on.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes; the Secretary told the Senate committee what their duties were to be, although I do not now remember what they are. Of course, I recognize that the work of the Treasury Department has enormously increased, but then so has the work of the War Department, very much more proportionately than the Treasury Department, and yet there is only one Assistant Secretary there. Therefore, I did not think this was a justifiable increase; but, as I say, I did not intend to discuss this.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman please give the facts of the increase, how great it is? What is the exact increase?

Mr. GILLETT. What the gentleman asked about was two new Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury at $5,000 each.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I thought the gentleman spoke of an increase in the salary of Mr. Roper.

Mr. GILLETT. That was asked, and the Senate gave that, and they asked that it be increased from $6,500 to $7,500. The House conferees resisted that and the Senate yielded.

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, there was no request to increase that salary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. There was no request to increase his salary.

Mr. GILLETT. I thought there was.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; they asked for a $3,000 man under him.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They asked to increase the pay of three deputy collectors, two from $4,000 to $4,500 and three from $3,600 to $4,500. They were not agreed to. There was no request to increase Mr. Roper's salary. Mr. Roper asked that the chief clerk of the Internal-Revenue Bureau be increased to $3,000, but that was not passed. That is the only request he made.

Mr. GILLETT. I may be mistaken on that. I thought there was a request made by the Secretary of the Treasury that Mr. Roper's salary be increased.

Mr. FITZGERALD. There was none that came to my knowledge.

Mr. GILLETT. I may be mistaken about that.

Mr. SHERLEY. As a matter of fact, he is getting less salary now than he did in the office he resigned.

Mr. GILLETT. Exactly; and, as I say, I thought the increase was asked to make it the same. I may be mistaken about that. As I say, Mr. Speaker, I have abstained during this Congress from making any partisan criticisms, and yet I do not think it is unfair to point out that the patronage is being tremendously increased with these vast sums of money that we are appropriating, and I do not believe that any nonpartisanship has been exhibited at any time by the administration in appointing this large force of employees.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, Daniel C. Roper was a clerk in the Census Office under a Republican administration—an expert statistician, if I recall correctly. When the Democrats obtained control of the House, although from the State of South Carolina, he was taken by Mr. UNDERWOOD and made chief clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means because of his very well-known qualifications. After the election of President Wilson, Mr. Burleson, who was made Postmaster General, and who as Members of the House had learned to know of the very great equipment of Mr. Roper, made him an Assistant Postmaster General. He is a Democrat, and he was interested in the election of President Wilson. He resigned as Assistant Postmaster General after the last Democratic national convention to assist in the Democratic campaign. There were illustrious precedents in previous Republican administrations for such action, the most notable being that of Mr. George B. Cortelyou, who was taken from one very important position and made chairman of the Republican national committee and subsequently promoted to different places until he became Secretary of the Treasury. After the campaign was ended, Mr. Roper, because of his admitted qualifications, was appointed on the Tariff Commission. No one questioned his fitness for that position. When it became necessary to make a change in the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue, at the request of officials of this Democratic administration, he resigned a $7,500 position in order to take the head of that office at $6,500 a year. I do not believe that a man with that record deserves to be condemned or held up for any reason to ridicule.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I have not a word of criticism to make of Mr. Roper. I expressed myself as admiring him; I thought that he was extremely energetic and competent.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Who can be criticized?

Mr. GILLETT. I was suggesting the nonpartisanship being shown in appointments of the administration.

Mr. FITZGERALD. As to that, I can demonstrate that there is no justification for Republicans to complain. I requested the Secretary of War a short time ago to appoint a man in the Judge Advocate General's office. He informed me that there were over 3,000 applicants, and about 50 appointments to be made, and if in any way I could suggest a scheme by which the most competent men could be selected, and by which he could satisfy the country that he was selecting men because of their merit, he would be glad to consider the recommendation.

I said, "Appoint the man I have suggested and you may create an impression in some few quarters that perhaps the appointments in your office are made in a nonpartisan manner. This man is a Democrat, his father is a distinguished Democrat, his grandfather was a very distinguished Democrat, and his great-grandfather was a very well-known Democrat." [Applause.] I said, "The appointment of such a man with such a political lineage will create the impression that your appointments are nonpartisan. So far there have been appointed 20 men in the Judge Advocate General's office, and so far as I have been able to ascertain, every one of them is a Republican who opposed the election of Woodrow Wilson." [Applause on the Democratic side.] A short time ago a gentleman asked me to help him obtain a position in the War Department. He said, "You are very well acquainted with the man who is in charge of this work, and I know if you would speak a word to him he would be glad to help out." I asked, "Who is he?" He said, "Maj. Herbert Parsons, who is in the War College and has charge of this matter." Maj. Herbert Parsons is a former Member of this House and a former chairman of the Republican county committee in the State of New York, a gentleman for whom I entertain the kindest feelings, but from whom I should not be compelled to seek help to accomplish anything under a Democratic administration. I undertake to say that 90 per cent of the men called to the assistance of this Democratic administration to aid in the conduct of this war, both by appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps and by designation or selection, either in the advisory commission or its subsidiary committees are Republicans who tried their utmost to defeat Woodrow Wilson in the last election. It ill becomes any man on the Republican side of this House to criticize this administration as acting in a partisan manner when the President has shown his broadness and patriotism in taking men so vicious in denunciation in the campaign because when convinced they could be of some service. I believe that President Woodrow Wilson in his administration has shown a patriotism, an unselfishness, and disinterestedness that perhaps if I were in his place I could not do. Only men of loftiest ideals and most intense devotion to duty would have selected such vicious partisan opponents, most of whom were associated in the campaign in criticisms of the administration which were unfounded and were based upon idle imaginings, and put them in positions of power and trust and permit them to serve the country after the people had said they should not conduct their affairs.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentlemen of the advisory commission to whom the gentleman refers serve for a dollar a year, do they not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Some of them do.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Most of them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. But many such men serve in important positions where compensation is paid them. But it is not compensation which men seek chiefly. It is power. These men desire the power to conduct and control the country's affairs. We have intrusted them with this power after they had demonstrated by their talk and by their conduct their offensive partisanship. But the President had more confidence in the patriotism and integrity of the American people, regardless of politics, when the country's affairs are at stake, than I believe it would be possible for any Republican to have shown under similar circumstances. I have been 18 years in this House, and most of that time under Republican administrations. I undertake to say that if Woodrow Wilson had not succeeded in the last campaign and his distinguished opponent had, that the most powerful telescope or microscope that had ever been built would not have disclosed a single Democrat that he would have intrusted with the most negligible or insignificant portion of the affairs of the Government in this great crisis. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Republicans, instead of finding fault and criticizing and pretending that this administration has been conducting its affairs in a partisan manner, with a view of aiding the Democratic Party, ought to be big enough and broad enough and strong enough and honest enough to give to the President the full credit to which he is entitled by reason of his patriotic, unselfish, and disinterested conduct of the public service. I hope it will not be necessary to repeat this speech again. [Applause.]

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield me five minutes?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I ask that the time be extended.

The SPEAKER. How much?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Fifteen minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] has called our attention to the fact that a certain distinguished Democrat was appointed under a Republican administration to a high civil office, found in that office by the Democrats and advanced, and very properly. I am thinking that when the happy day comes when the Republican Party shall again return to power and seek to find some good, straight Republican in the public service to advance they will have to get a very fine toothed comb to find such a one appointed under this administration to a civil office. I should like to have the gentleman from New York, who has just given us such an eloquent statement relative to the nonpartisan appointments of this administration, place in the RECORD a list of the Republicans, real Republicans, who have been appointed to civil office under the administration.

Mr. SHERLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. He will not take up very much of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with that list. Yes; I yield.

Mr. SHERLEY. Will the gentleman define, so that we can understand, just that type of Republican? There seems to be some difference on that side.

Mr. MONDELL. A Republican is one who believes in Republican policies and has voted for a Republican candidate to carry them out.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman say a man must vote for the Republican nominee in the direct primary, or after participating in the primary, can he vote for a man who has been unsuccessful, because that is the situation I have to face at home at present? It is very difficult to say whether a man, a Republican, who participated in a primary and is nominated in the primary and the public repudiates, the head of the ticket in the primary, is a good Republican or not. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MONDELL. One who has never had anything to do with the peculiarities of New York politics is——

Mr. FITZGERALD. New York is Republican in politics.

Mr. MONDELL (continuing). Not in a position to instruct anyone from that city.

Now, I again suggest to my friend—in fact, I invite him to put in the RECORD a list of the Republicans who proved themselves to be Republicans by voting for the last Republican nominee for the Presidency—a list of such men appointed to responsible office under this administration.

Of course, when it came to fighting men, when it came to men who were willing to offer their services for a dollar a year—services absolutely essential to the conduct of the war—why, the administration could not help calling in and accepting the services of Republicans. [Applause on the Republican side.] And so among the fighting men we find many Republicans, and among the men who are really directing affairs to-day in a patriotic, helpful, and splendid way, to the neglect of their own affairs—on a stipend of a dollar a year—it is true, there are many Republicans. But as far as the fellows that are feeding at the crib in civil positions and at a juicy salary, are concerned, there are no Republicans that I have heard of. If there are, I am anxious to have the gentleman put their names in the RECORD.

But I did not rise to discuss that particular matter. I rose to emphasize this fact: I think it important that it should be emphasized that in passing a great appropriation bill like this we can not possibly know—we do not know—as to the necessity for many of the items contained in this bill. We take the estimates very largely on faith.

In my opinion the estimates must of necessity be to a considerable extent a mere guess, for the men who are responsible for the success of our cause, carrying on the Government and its operations in these times, do not want to fall into the error of making their estimates too low. Neither can the Congress take the responsibility of refusing any sums that are asked, no matter how great they may be, backed with a declaration on the part of those who are responsible that, in their opinion, the sums will be needed. We are properly resolving all the doubts we have, in favor of arming the administration with all of the money that may be needed for any and every purpose. And I will conclude by expressing the hope that in these conditions under which it is not always possible to spend money economically—expend vast sums with the same assurance and certainty of economy that lesser sums could be expended in times of peace, when such vast sums are given under conditions rendering the expenditure of them difficult in an economical way—the administration will at least exercise great care in their expenditure. I am hopeful that when we shall make up the record of the expenditure of these great sums it can not be truthfully said that a large portion of the money has been recklessly or extravagantly spent. We are doing our duty in giving the administration all the money it asks for for any and all purposes, and I cherish the hope that the administration will endeavor to be wise, careful, and economical in the expenditure of these vast sums.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of the time to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the chairman has already stated, there will have been appropriated about $13,000,000,000 for the prosecution of this war and the expenses of the fiscal year 1918, when this bill now receiving its final action at the hands of the legislative branch shall have been signed by the President and become a law.

In placing that amount of money at the disposal of the administration, Congress has done all that it could do in a money way to make this war a successful one. The conduct of the war in the next year will largely be judged by the wisdom and the speed with which this money is expended and converted into those things that are necessary for the Army and the Navy. This country confronted a peculiar situation when the war broke out, a situation that, looking back now, with the wisdom that comes from experience, seems to many to have been unwarranted; and yet a situation which can not be shouldered upon any class, political or otherwise.

The American people for many years have been unwilling to make that provision for war that those whose business it was to understand and practice the art of war declared was necessary. And it did not matter what party was in power, it did not matter who was President, it did not matter how large a majority was in Congress, the broad, general purpose of the American people not to expend large sums upon the Navy, and particularly upon the Army, was followed and observed by those servants of the people. And the legislative history of America, without regard to administrations, will bear out the accuracy of that statement. That we have erred in the sense that we are now in a very much less condition of preparedness than we would like the country to be in is unquestioned. As to whether that policy, balanced with the good and evil that flowed from it, has been one of error, men will differ, and the future alone can tell. But to-day we are faced with a situation that no man, no matter what his vision, believed possible three or four years ago, and it is up to America and all of America to meet it with all the energy, and all the power, and all the resources of the country. Congress has met that situation by voting moneys undreamed of before. Never, in all the history of time, has a legislative body in one bill appropriated a sum even approximating that which is carried in this bill now.

I repeat that in the months to follow it will devolve upon the administrative officers of the Government to show by their action that this money is wisely and efficiently and speedily expended, because time is of the essence of all things that we do to-day.

Now I want very briefly to reply to an inquiry made by my friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH]. He asked whether anyone could prophesy as to the expense of the war for the following years, and what Congress might be called upon to appropriate. Manifestly no one can, and yet there are certain broad basic things that ought to be stated which I think have a bearing upon what the expense will be in the future. The moneys that we are expending—a total of thirteen and odd billions—make provision for several large items that ought not to occur again, to the extent at least that they exist now. For instance, $2,000,000,000 represents the shipping program, either in the way of cash appropriations or of authorizations that have been counted in these totals. Considerably more than $2,000,000,000 represents moneys that have been appropriated for the purpose of equipping with field artillery and the ammunition therefor an army of 2,000,000 men; not only equipping 2,000,000 men, but equipping them with a 25 per cent reserve at the bases abroad and a 25 per cent reserve here in America, so that we are practically providing for 150 per cent of supplies in field artillery for 2,000,000 men.

And so in regard to cantonment expenditures and in regard to many expenditures in connection with the building program of the Navy, there is no reason to anticipate that the next year will make demands anything like as extensive as these demands that have been made this year. Manifestly other things will come that are not now thought of, because none of us are wise enough to see the tremendous magnitude of the war. Every day men are compelled to readjust their view and practically to start with a fresh mind in grappling with the problems that have arisen over night, and, manifestly, when our troops are actually in large numbers in the field abroad, there will be many expenses connected with them that are not now being borne. But the provision that we have made here is a provision very much more extensive than would be indicated by saying

that we were providing merely for expenditures for the fiscal year 1917–18. In other words, we started with an Army under 100,000 men, and not only an Army of that size in men, but an Army pretty nearly of that size in equipment. There were some things wherein the equipment was larger than that, but in most of the things we simply had equipment for that number. The expansion of the Army to 2,000,000, with supplies for them in regard to such expensive items as field artillery, means much more than provision for a year of the war. It means provision for an expansion very much greater than any that will be made in any subsequent year of the war, even if it should last for several years afterwards.

So that I do not think that this country is going to be called upon to make appropriations, as has been suggested in a passing statement in the Senate, of $50,000,000,000. What our responsibility may be, what requirements may be imposed upon this country touching the financing of our allies, none of us are able to prophesy. How long the war may last is a matter about which men have many opinions. But this we have done, and this I believe the American people propose to do: We have started out with preparation for a war of length, and we propose to continue to supply men and money, no matter at what cost, until that war is ended in honor and in justice to the United States and the permanent peace of the world. [Loud applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired. All time has expired.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

OCTOBER SALARIES, SENATE AND HOUSE EMPLOYEES.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 102.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House Senate joint resolution 102, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 102) authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, authorized and instructed to pay to the officers and employees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, including the Capitol police and pages, borne upon the annual and session rolls, their respective salaries and per diem for the month of October, 1917, on the day of adjournment; and the Clerk of the House is authorized to pay on said day to Members, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners their allowances for clerk hire for said month of October: *Provided*, That the session employees of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be paid hereunder for the entire month of October, and a sufficient sum is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, if I am not mistaken, is not this resolution one which invariably originates in the House of Representatives?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That has been the practice. I think the Senate originated a similar resolution once before.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course, I do not wish to object to the passage of this resolution, and yet I would like to call attention to the fact, as it seems to me it might well be done, that this is a resolution which invariably comes from the House. By long precedent and practice it really has become a House resolution, just as appropriations and revenue bills originate in the House. I do not like to be fussy or seem to be unreasonably jealous of the prerogatives and power of the House, and yet I have occasionally experienced in the other House feelings and actions of that kind. For instance, in the meeting of conferences, whenever a conferee on the part of the House suggests that a conference committee should meet at the House side of the Capitol, as has been done occasionally for special reasons, the idea of the Senate conferees breaking precedent and coming over to the House side has horrified the Senate conferees.

I do not object, and I think nobody will object, to this resolution, but it seems to me it ought to be pointed out that by long practice and precedent the House has the duty of originating resolutions of this kind. Undoubtedly the House in due time would have originated it now, and I think it would conduce to friendly and pleasant relations between the two bodies if the Senate would follow the customs and precedents of the past and assume that the House would do its duty and allow us in due time to undertake it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, this is the second time this has happened and caused this criticism. If it happens again, I shall not call it up unless it is a House resolution. I hope the Senate will take notice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the Senate joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

EXPLOSIVES.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following resolution of the Senate.

The resolution was read, as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
October 1, 1917.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (H. R. 3932) "to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," with accompanying conference papers.

Attest:

JAMES M. BAKER, *Secretary.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, as I observed the reading of the resolution, it seems to me that is an unusual form of resolution coming from the Senate.

The conference report on this bill was agreed to by the Senate on September 28. The House agreed to it on September 29. A motion was made to reconsider, and to lay that motion on the table, which was agreed to in the House, and the Clerk of the House reported to the Senate that the House had agreed to the conference report, when it was supposed that that was the end of the matter, and that the bill would be enrolled and presented to the President. The orderly proceeding between the House and the Senate, it seems to me, ought to be such that when a conference report has been agreed to, where no mistake has been made, except such as was remedied by a concurrent resolution here, that ought to be the end of it.

Such a question has never before been presented to the House or to the Congress of the United States to my knowledge in this way, except where a mistake has been made. It requires unanimous consent to set aside the proceedings of the House, in order that this bill may go back to the Senate and be sent over here as originally agreed to by the Senate with amendments, as this bill has. I do not believe that under those circumstances it is any discourtesy to the Senate that the House should not return these papers, and I think that for the future the Senate ought not to expect the House to return the papers in a case like this.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman recall a case where a request of this kind has been made heretofore?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not. I recall a case where there were some mistakes made and this procedure was taken.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Before the report was acted on.

Mr. FOSTER. There was one case where it was unanimously agreed to between the House and the Senate, where it was found that the bill could not be enrolled with the intelligence that it ought to be, and where it was agreed by unanimous consent that the action should be set aside; but I understand there is no case on record like this, where the conference report has been agreed to by both bodies, and then they have asked that the report be returned to the other body.

Mr. GILLETT. What is the real, vital trouble here? Or does not the gentleman care to state?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not mind stating it to the gentleman from Massachusetts. There was a concurrent resolution sent over here asking that the House should agree, in the enrollment of the bill, to restore to a Senate amendment certain language that was stricken out in conference. I am not opposed to that amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. Was not that stricken out by the House committee?

Mr. FOSTER. No; the gentleman is wrong. This was a bill that originated in the House. It went to the Senate and there certain amendments were made, several of them, and this particular language was in the Senate amendment; and the House conferees and Senate conferees agreed to strike out certain lan-

guage, and it was done. The conference report was agreed to first in the Senate and then came to the House and was agreed to here, and the concurrent resolution was to restore certain language to a Senate amendment, which language was stricken out in conference; that is, the conferees agreed to the Senate amendment with an amendment striking out this language.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. The two Houses proceeded in the usual and orderly way, did they not?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly.

Mr. MONDELL. The matter was disposed of in the usual and orderly way?

Mr. FOSTER. It was.

Mr. MONDELL. And then a Senator, as I understand, asked to have these changes made.

Mr. FOSTER. There was a concurrent resolution which came over, asking that this language might be restored to the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. That was sent over at the instance of a Member of the other body.

Mr. FOSTER. At the request of a Senator who introduced it, the resolution went through the Senate unanimously, I think, practically without debate.

Mr. GARNER. Was that concurrent resolution agreed to by the House?

Mr. FOSTER. It was not. It was objected to, and, of course, it required unanimous consent to consider it, and I would like to have the House consider it.

Mr. GARNER. Then the controversy, as I understand, is to have this language restored to the bill?

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. GARNER. And if the House does not care to restore this language, it need not pass the resolution agreeing to return the papers.

The SPEAKER. What action does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] suggest?

Mr. FOSTER. I think the matter ought to remain as it is at this time, and that the papers ought not to be returned, and I think the resolution of the Senate ought to lie on the table for the present. I think this action should be taken without any discourtesy to the Senator who introdueed it or to the Senate.

Mr. WINGO. Have we before us a request of the Senate, or is it not simply a request of the Secretary?

Mr. FOSTER. The resolution asks that the Secretary of the Senate make the request.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I move that the resolution lie on the table.

Mr. WINGO. The Senate has not requested it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the Senate wish to make a request of the House, they ought to do so, and not direct their Secretary to do so.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York, that the resolution lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the highest privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. I desire to offer a resolution in regard to some statements that have been made that, in my judgment, reflect on the honor, dignity, and integrity of Members of this body and of the House itself. It is my purpose, if I am permitted to do so, to offer a resolution——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will send up his resolution, so that the Chair can see whether it presents a question of privilege.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. I offer the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

Mr. GARNER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARNER. I desire to call the Speaker's attention to the special rule passed yesterday, to be found on page 8448, providing for the consideration of the soldiers' and sailors' civil rights bill, which reads:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration under the general rules of the House of H. R. 6361, entitled "A bill to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war," and it shall be considered from day to day until disposed of, subject to consideration of conference reports.

I would like for the Speaker to construe that rule as to what other business is in order except conference reports.

The SPEAKER. The Speaker is not under the necessity of construing that rule, because a question of privilege can take anybody off the floor and even stop the reading of the Journal. Nothing comes ahead of a question of privilege, except the motion to adjourn. Since this squabble began several days ago the Chair has investigated the whole subject, and it has been so settled by long practice. The Clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 165.

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint a select committee of five Members of the House who shall make inquiry into the allegations and charges made by J. THOMAS HEFLIN, a Member of Congress from the fifth district of Alabama, on the floor of the House on September 21, 1917, which is in part as follows:

"I do not know what Members of Congress, if any, have been influenced by this mysterious German organization. If I were permitted to express my opinion, I could name 13 or 14 men in the two bodies who, in my judgment, have acted in a suspicious manner. If Members have acted in a suspicious manner by the introduction of resolutions or bills or by speeches in the Congress or out of it that leads to the conviction that they are not loyal to this Government in the hour of its peril, they ought to be investigated, and if found guilty, they ought to be expelled from the House and the Senate of the United States."

Also into allegations and charges made in an interview or statement alleged to have been furnished by the said J. THOMAS HEFLIN and printed in the Washington Post of September 27, 1917, as follows:

"I have heard a story that there is a gambling room in Washington where pro-German and peace-at-any-price Members of Congress get their pay by being extraordinarily lucky at cards. I demand that this matter be investigated and that the guilty Members be expelled from Congress in disgrace. I believe that some of this money has reached some Members of Congress; I know I could name 13 or 14 Members of the House and Senate who have acted in a very suspicious manner."

Said committee shall report to the House before the adjournment of this session of Congress the result of its inquiry and its recommendation as to the action which should be taken by the House touching any person or persons involved in or affected by or making these statements and charges.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, these are very serious charges. They have been discussed at some length in the House. I feel that the time has come for action by the House. I do not feel that the matter should be discussed any more at this time, and therefore I move the previous question.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a statement to the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do it after the previous question has been demanded. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, is it in order for me to rise to a question of privilege and make a statement?

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman has a question of privilege, let him state it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Is it in order for me to ask for the appointment of more than five Members of the House?

The SPEAKER. It is not.

Mr. HEFLIN. I would like to have more members on the committee. I would like to have a larger committee, if it is going into the matter.

The SPEAKER. The previous question has been ordered and the resolution has been agreed to, and that ends it.

The SPEAKER appointed as the committee the following Members: Mr. WEBB, Mr. HULL of Tennessee, Mr. BARNHART, Mr. CANNON and Mr. GILLETT.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to say a word?

The SPEAKER. Not a single word.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask to be relieved from serving on that committee. This bill will probably take to-day and perhaps to-morrow. This resolution requires a report before we adjourn. I can not, of course, serve in two capacities.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks to be excused from the committee, and the Chair appoints Mr. VENABLE, of Mississippi.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I suppose it is my duty to be here on the floor of the House for the last two days of the session, at any rate, and I should like to be excused.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks to be excused, and the Chair appoints the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. LONGWORTH.

Mr. HEFLIN. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Am I to be denied the privilege of summoning witnesses to appear before that committee?

The SPEAKER. No.

Mr. HEFLIN. I desire to summon a great many of them.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can summon as many as he chooses; it is a matter for the committee to dispose of.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, private matters will probably require my departure from the city in a few hours, and I am a

little bit indisposed, and I will ask to be excused from serving on the committee.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks to be excused, and the Chair will appoint the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. REAVIS.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the fact that the gentleman from Nebraska is out of the city.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will, then, appoint the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WALSH.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to ask to be excused from serving upon this special committee for the reason that I have some engagements that I do not see how I can possibly abandon. The matter has come up unexpectedly, and I feel that I shall have to be excused from service on that account.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks to be excused from serving on the investigating committee, and the Chair appoints the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT]. The Clerk will report the committee as now finally constituted.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BARNHART, Mr. VENABLE, Mr. DEWALT, Mr. LONGWORTH, and Mr. WALSH.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] to-morrow, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks that to-morrow after the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS], he may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

Mr. GARNER. On what subject?

Mr. ROGERS. On the proposed gift of a statue of Abraham Lincoln to Great Britain.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I presume the gentleman from Massachusetts was not in the Hall this morning when a Member had his request refused because the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] said that he preferred to wait until to-morrow and see what the condition of the public business would be.

Mr. ROGERS. I am frank to say that if there is the slightest objection at the time on the part of any Member of this House, I shall be glad to give up the special order.

Mr. WINGO. I know that there is a disposition on the part of some gentlemen here to wait until to-morrow before these requests are granted.

Mr. ROGERS. If any man asks me, even privately, to give up the special order, I shall be happy to do so.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the work of the extra session of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection.

There was no objection.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I call up now the bill (H. R. 6361), to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina calls up the soldiers' and sailors' civil-rights bill, and under the agreement entered into, general debate is to continue for one hour, 30 minutes of that time to be controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], and 30 minutes by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD].

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, before making the few remarks I propose to submit, I want to say that I am very anxious, and I think the House is anxious, to have this bill passed this afternoon. If that is done, I am authorized by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] to say to the House that immediately thereafter a resolution will be offered that the Congress adjourn either to-morrow afternoon, late, or early Saturday morning. I hope, notwithstanding the fact that an investigation committee has just been appointed, that that program may still be carried out. [Applause.]

I desire to say further that the Senate is not expected to pass this bill at this session. We have the bill reported. We have gone over it carefully, and it is our duty, in my opinion, to pass the bill now, so that the Senate may take it up among the first things that it considers early next December. That, as I understand it, is the agreement in the Senate with reference to this bill. We all agree that a bill of this sort is absolutely necessary, either as a national measure or as a measure passed by each of the 48 States and by the Territories and possessions of the United States. We realize, further, that many of the legislatures of the various States will not be in session, some of them for two years, some for three, and some even for four years. Therefore it would be impossible to have anything like a general stay law passed by the legislatures which have heretofore undertaken this sort of legislation. This bill is a departure from other stay laws in two material respects. First, it is a national law, proposed to be passed by the Congress of the United States. Heretofore during wars the various States have undertaken to pass the private stay laws for the benefit of the soldiers who are in the service of their country. If you will read the various laws of this kind which the committee has set out in its report, you will see what contrariety of such laws have been passed during recent years and during the various wars. The next material difference between this law and the various State laws is this, and in this I think you will find the chief excellence of the bill which we propose: Instead of the bill we are now considering being arbitrary, inelastic, inflexible, the discretion as to dealing out even-handed justice between the creditor and the soldier, taking into consideration the fact that the soldier has been called to his country's cause, rests largely, and in some cases entirely, in the breast of the judge who tries the case.

Manifestly, if this Congress should undertake to pass an arbitrary stay law providing that no creditor should ever sue or bring proceedings against any soldier while in the military service of his country, that would upset business very largely in many parts of the country. In the next place, it would be unfair to the creditor as well as to the soldier. It would disturb the soldier's credit probably in many cases and would deny the right of the creditor to his just debts from a person who was amply able to pay and whose military service did not in the least impair his ability to meet the obligation. I say again that you gentlemen who have been interested enough to read the bill and the report will find that the chief excellence of the bill is in those things that I have enumerated.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield for a question, as I have only 10 minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is the gentleman going to permit any discussion under the five-minute rule?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Some things should be drawn to the gentleman's attention when we reach that point; but while the gentleman is on this subject, will he explain why a court not of record is included among the courts that shall have jurisdiction?

Mr. WEBB. We have not disturbed the respective jurisdictions of the several courts, from a justice of the peace to a United States Federal court. City courts and magistrates' courts are usually not courts of record, but they have jurisdiction against individuals sometimes up to $200 or $500.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There may be stays in certain matters affecting liens, matters of superior importance, over which the ordinary magistrate's court would not have jurisdiction.

Mr. WEBB. It does not confer any jurisdiction on the magistrate. The jurisdiction is taken by the court which has jurisdiction under the State laws over the subject matter.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Exactly; but the term "court," page 4, is defined as meaning a "court of competent jurisdiction of the United States or of any State, whether or not a court of record."

Mr. WEBB. Of course, if it is a matter of $10, the magistrate's court would have jurisdiction, and in using the word "court" we would designate a magistrate's court as being bound by this law.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I now desire to ask this question: Does the passage of this law, defining "court" as it is on page 4, in any way increase the power of a justice of the peace or magistrate of the various States?

Mr. WEBB. Not at all. All these actions can be brought in the respective jurisdictions in the various States and United States courts, and it does not undertake to change any jurisdiction at all.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield in that connection?

Mr. WEBB. I do.

Mr. TOWNER. Some of the courts that are not of record have jurisdiction up to $500, and proceedings for dispossession and forcible entry and detainer are in the first instance not in a court of record, the very thing where the soldier needs the greatest protection.

Mr. WEBB. We are bound to include that, of course——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield, I understand him to say this does not give increased power to a court of competent jurisdiction?

Mr. WEBB. Not at all. Mr. Speaker, I shall not go into the details of this bill, because those who have read the report, which I had the honor to present to the House from the Committee on the Judiciary, will find a very detailed explanation, as we understand it, of each section of the bill, and I will not weary and burden the House by going over it again, but will ask permission to insert part of that report in the RECORD in order that it may be explained to the country as the committee understands it.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. FESS. I can imagine where a creditor might be a soldier as well as a debtor might be a soldier.

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Is there any provision in the bill to take care of a situation like that?

Mr. WEBB. Nothing, except the statute of limitations will not run against him, neither the creditor nor the debtor. We suspend entirely during his service.

Mr. SIEGEL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will, for a question.

Mr. SIEGEL. Section 200 says the plaintiff shall file a bond for appearance in the court, but it does not state the amount.

Mr. WEBB. The amount has to be approved by the court.

Mr. SIEGEL. But no approval of the bond itself.

Mr. WEBB. I do not suppose the court would approve a dollar bond when $500 worth of property is involved.

Mr. SIEGEL. It seems to me that a certain amount should be specified.

Mr. WEBB. No; we leave that to the discretion of the court. Now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. SIEGEL. I would like to call the gentleman's attention to the language there.

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend that the court will have power to require such a bond as in his judgment he thinks ought to be provided.

Mr. SIEGEL. The language here says "that the plaintiff file a bond approved by the court conditioned to indemnify the defendant," and so forth.

Mr. WEBB. Exactly; the court would approve the amount, when it is payable, when default should be made, and all that.

Mr. SIEGEL. I want to say under the statutes of the State of New York where a bond is required it is required that the amount be fixed and I think it should be fixed here.

Mr. WEBB. I suspect, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen could raise certain technical objections to the bill ad infinitum, but I know they will not do that.

Mr. SIEGEL. That is not technical.

Mr. WEBB. I believe the gentleman has offered his suggestion in good faith and if any amendments are offered in good faith which this House ought to accept, it will accept them. We had associated with us Maj. John H. Wigmore, the distinguished author of a work on evidence, the most excellent lawyer, Mansfield Ferry, another splendid lawyer, Mr. Rosenbaum, and another, Maj. Brinton, and others as well, and we sat around the table of the Committee on the Judiciary in full committee for nine days from 10 o'clock in the morning until 5 and 6 in the afternoon considering this bill. We have given it most careful and patient consideration. We do not contend it is a perfect measure, but we do believe it is about as good a stay law or a semimoratorium provision as has ever been presented to either Congress or any State, and we believe the unanimous vote which this House will give it will show that situation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield for one more question?

Mr. WEBB. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It has been reported in opposition to this bill, and I think the gentleman can clear it up in a minute, that the owner of a small house occupied by a soldier might be put to very great disadvantage by the terms of this law, in that the soldier or his family could remain there indefinitely without paying rent?

Mr. WEBB. That is a mistaken idea. If it has been published in the newspapers it is untrue. The provision of the bill is this: Wherever a soldier leaves a wife and dependents or children in a little home where the rent does not exceed $50 per month, then before his dependents can be ousted from that home, action must be brought in a court of competent jurisdiction. Then the court takes into consideration the relative financial conditions of both the owner of the home and the occupants of the home, and he may issue a stay if, in his judgment, the military service of the soldier has materially lessened his ability to pay the rent. Ouster proceedings may be stayed for three months. He may stay it for a week or two weeks or two months and in the meantime the court has power to order an application of a portion of the soldier's salary, or wages, to be applied to the rent.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The stay is limited to three months?

Mr. WEBB. Absolutely.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The limit of possible loss to the landlord is the three months?

Mr. WEBB. The absolute limit. It only applies to a soldier whose rent does not exceed $50 a month.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is there a possibility of recovery through the court for that three months during which the soldier's family may remain on the premises?

Mr. WEBB. Not at all. If the court finds the soldier is not able to pay it by reason of his service in the Army——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then it is lost?

Mr. WEBB. Then it is lost; yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Not beyond three months?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In other words, the owner has remedy in court at the expiration of three months.

Mr. WEBB. He has remedy before that. I can imagine a circumstance where a woman who is absolutely dependent on the rent of a little home and who might be facing starvation unless she got the rent, and where the court would say, "We will take it out of the soldier's salary." I wanted to point out that provision and the other excellent provisions of the bill, which leave it to the court, who knows the plaintiff and the defendant, to do justice between the two.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And they will have the right to go to court any time?

Mr. WEBB. Absolutely.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And have counsel assigned them if they are too poor to pay?

Mr. WEBB. My friend has the idea exactly.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to speak for an hour on this bill, but in deference to my colleagues on the committee, who have been so patient and efficient in preparing this bill, I want to give them some time for general debate. Therefore I will yield to my friend from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] to use some of his time.

The report referred to above is as follows:

The present bill is the result of the continued session of the committee for 10 days in discussing H. R. 6110, a bill with a similar purpose, introduced by Mr. WEBB on September 18, 1917, at the urgent request of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, as a measure strongly indorsed by the administration for an early enactment by Congress.

That bill (H. R. 6110) had been drafted by the office of the Judge Advocate General under the immediate supervision of Maj. John H. Wigmore, well known as the author of the authoritative work on evidence, who is a member of that office. The preparation of the original bill occupied Maj. Wigmore and his assistants for several weeks. This bill the Committee on the Judiciary considered section by section and line by line, without interruption, during both morning and afternoon sessions. As a result of these 10 days' close scrutiny and searching debate, in which all members of the committee took part, it was found desirable to make so many changes, some in substance but many more in form, that an entirely new bill was prepared which is the subject of the present report. This bill is not the work of one man but is the product of the suggestive criticism of almost every member of the Judiciary Committee. Throughout its meetings the committee has also had the benefit of the presence of the draftsmen of the original bill, and they have cooperated with the committee in every way. Many others have been heard by the committee, particularly representatives of both the old line and fraternal life insurance companies. To all who have appeared before us we believe the bill in its present form is satisfactory.

The committee has felt keenly its duty and responsibility, not only to the soldiers and sailors but to the commerce of the country, which in many ways already bears heavy war burdens. It has not failed to appreciate that a large view of the exigencies of the war requires that any relief that is given to a soldier shall not be at the expense of industry. The committee fully realizes the truth of the statement that the war is being fought in this country as well as on the battle fields of France, and that any drastic measure which even tended to cripple manufacturing and trade would be prejudicial to the country's best interest. For this reason we have been particularly fortunate in having the bill under the fire of the representatives of numerous business activities which are affected by this bill.

We can not point out too soon, or too emphatically, that the bill is not an inflexible stay of all claims against persons in military service. On the contrary, the bill nowhere prevents a creditor from enforcing the normal collection of any claim which should be paid by a soldier. Not the slightest hindrance is placed upon the service of summons or other process.

Instead of a rigid suspension of all actions against a soldier, a restriction upon suits is placed only where a court is satisfied that the absence of the defendant in military service has materially impaired his ability to meet that particular obligation. Most of the actions sought to be brought against soldiers will be for small amounts and will thus be in a local court where the judge, if he does not already know, will be in a favorable position to learn whether or not the defendant who seeks the benefit of the statute has really been prejudiced by his military service. Though not in military service, he may have

property from which the income continues to come in irrespective of his presence; perhaps he may be some ne'er-do-well who only seeks to hide under the brown of his khaki; or the action may be for necessaries bought by his family since the departure of the soldier. In such cases the court would grant no stay of any kind. But if on the other hand the court is shown and finds in the words of the statute "that the ability of the defendant to comply with the terms of the obligation has been materially impaired by reason of his military service," the court will, at any stage of the action, grant a stay of proceedings. This stay, except in the case of such proceedings as eviction (where three months is the limit of stay) is limited to a maximum of six months after the end of the war. If the soldier is discharged before that time the stay is automatically shortened. In the committee's judgment the general provisions, as well as those which apply to the particular contracts, such as rent, installment contracts, and insurance, are all free from legitimate objection. The provisions in regard to life insurance, perhaps the most important of the special contracts treated, have been approved both by the fraternal and old-line insurance company.

The lesson of the stay laws of the Civil War teaches that an arbitrary and rigid protection against suits is as much a mistaken kindness to the soldier as it is unnecessary. A total suspension for the period of the war of all rights against a soldier defeats its own purpose. In time of war credit is of even more importance than in time of peace, and if there were a total prohibition upon enforcing obligations against one in military service, the credit of a soldier and his family would be utterly cut off. No one could be found who would extend them credit.

But in any case a rigid stay of all actions against the soldier is too broad. There are many men now in the Army who can and should pay their obligations in full.

On the other hand, there are already tens of thousands of men in military service who will be utterly ruined and their families made destitute if creditors are allowed unrestrictedly to push their claims; and yet these same soldiers, if given time and opportunity, can, in most cases, meet their obligations dollar for dollar. The country is asking 2,000,000 of its young men to risk their lives and, if need be, to give up their lives for their country. Before long even more will be asked to make the same sacrifice. Is it more than naked justice to give to the savings of these same men such just measure of protection as is possible?

The Shylock, to whom his pound of flesh is dearer than patriotism, is not the only man against whom the soldier must be given relief. Much more numerous are the cases where, between the soldier and his creditor, there is an honest difference of opinion as to the proper division of the burden which the war brings to all in a greater or less degree. The letters which have come to the committee (a few of which are appended hereto in Appendix D) show that this is a real menace and can not be left to care for itself. The need for this protection is urgent. It is immediate. Already tens of thousands of men are abroad and hundreds of thousands are in cantonments. More are soon to be called. These men should know now what is to be done for them. It needs no argument to show that freedom from harassing debts will make them better and more effective, more eager soldiers, than if their loyalty and zeal is tempered with the knowledge that their country, which demands the supreme sacrifice from them, grudges a small measure of protection to their families and their homes.

We do not need to look to France and to England in this war to learn the necessity for some sort of a suspended right of action. In our own Civil War almost every State, both North and South, passed some law to give protection against suit to men in military service. Even now in the present war States have passed stay laws of one kind or another. State statutes granting exemption to men in the National Guard are almost universal. The variety of these laws now and in the Civil War is as wide as the laws are numerous. Such laws should be uniform throughout the Nation. The country asks the same service and should give the same protection to a soldier, whether he comes from Massachusetts or California, from Maine or Louisiana. The law should be a general Federal law.

In the Civil War the States were driven from pillar to post until their invention was exhausted in trying to find a law that would pass the constitutional muster.

The power to impair the obligation of contracts was the obstacle in the way of the States; as this prohibition does not apply to Congress, the road is open to the Federal Government.

But in addition the Federal Government has a plenary power that is denied to the States. In the war power it has been given a power upon which, in the words of the Supreme Court of the United States in Miller *v.* United States (reported in 11 Wall., 268) "no restrictions are imposed. The power to declare war involves the power to prosecute by all means and in any manner in which war may be legitimately prosecuted by the law of nations." It was admitted by counsel for both sides in arguing the case, and both by the majority and minority of a divided court, that this power is supreme, and that the fifth amendment, which in time of peace prohibits the depriving a person of property without due process of law, has no application in time of war to acts of the Federal Government germane to the war. With this decision before us it is not surprising that we should find similar expressions from such an eminent jurist as Mr. Justice Hughes and from such an authority as Eugene Wambaugh, professor of constitutional law in the Harvard Law School, and now major on the staff of the Judge Advocate General of the Army.

A full discussion of the wide scope and plenary application of the war powers will be found in Appendix A. Here we shall add only that the appropriateness of stay laws to times of war is shown by the examples of England and France and our own States. Since the benefits of the bill extend only to those whose ability to pay has been impaired by reason of their military service in the forces of the United States, it is clearly within the scope of the war power. Can it be denied that, as Secretary Baker has said:

"The Army in France will be a more spirited and happy body of men, they will be healthier, they will be more effective as soldiers, they will be better citizens in every way if when they are thus forcibly separated from their homes Congress says that no additional disadvantage shall come to them by reason of any oppressive action on the part of creditors."

It would be an unworthy reflection upon our Constitution that under it the Federal Government may send a man perhaps to his death in the trenches, but under that same Constitution is without power to hold his savings intact for him until his return.

Let us consider some of the provisions of the bill.

SYNOPSIS OF BILL.

The first section has been carefully drawn and includes all forces now in the military or naval services; any possible omissions and any future additions are cared for by the blanket provisions on page 3, lines 3 to 5. Field clerks are of two classes: Those in military service and those who are not in military service. As the bill is intended to apply only to persons in military service, its benefits have been restricted to field clerks of this kind.

In subsection 2 provision has been made so that the advantages of the act shall not perchance run indefinitely in favor of a soldier who remains in the Regular Army after the termination of the war. The definition "military service" avoids the mistake of making a definition inconsistent with the fact.

Section 102 avoids discriminating against any persons from Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other similar possessions who may be in military service.

Section 200: The spirit of moderation which runs through the bill is clearly shown by this section. It does not cast a cloud on all default judgments, as any law would do which declared all judgments void against a person in military service or gave some similar arbitrary provision.

It has been estimated that in only about 15 per cent of all actions commenced are judgments entered by default of appearance. Absences on military service probably will increase the defaults in appearance to some extent. Since no one appears for the defendant, the first necessity of the case is to learn whether or not he happens to be a person in military service, so that, if not, judgment may be entered without delay. This is simply accomplished by requiring the plaintiff, if he wants judgment entered forthwith, to file an affidavit stating definite facts showing that the defendant is not in military service. If the plaintiff can not do this, he must apply to the court to have an attorney appointed to protect the defendant.

The same policy of moderation and flexibility is carried out in allowing the defendant to reopen the judgment only if his military service has prejudiced his defense.

To prevent this remedy from being made entirely empty the court, by subsection (3), is given power to require a bond from the plaintiff in addition to the affidavit he has already filed. This will avoid injury to a defendant who is entitled to reopen the judgment which might otherwise be accomplished by an assignment of the creditor's right of action to an irresponsible plaintiff.

Since the attorney appointed by the court is not of defendant's own choosing and since, even if accomplished, communication between attorney and client may be uncertain and unsatisfactory, the acts of the attorney appointed by the court should not bind the defendant; the attorney's services nevertheless obviously may be of great value to the defendant. The court, whose officer he is, may well be relied upon to see that any such attorney gets proper remuneration.

Section 201 illustrates how the committee has avoided an arbitrary, a rigid bill. The clause "unless, in the opinion of the court, the ability of the defendant to comply with the judgment or order sought is not materially affected by reason of his military service," is the key to the whole scheme of the bill. This mere fact of being in military service is not enough; military service must be the reason for the defendant not meeting his obligations. If any real help is to be given, the period of stay must go enough beyond the period of military service. When he gets back from the war the soldier must be given some time to get his head above water.

Section 202: In some cases, particularly in the case of building and loan associations, by special act of the legislature a heavy fine or penalty is levied when a payment is not made on time. This fine may be so large as after several delayed payments to eat up all the soldier's equity. As in certain cases we have extended the period within which such payments may be made, logically in like cases we can do no less than relieve him against any penalty from such deferred payment.

Section 202. Again avoiding a rule of thumb, the court can stay an execution against a soldier, or vacate an attachment against a soldier, when it is his military service which is responsible for his plight.

Section 203 makes it perfectly clear to the court that, once having found the case meritorious, its discretion is again called upon to decide the terms of the stay. Payment of a judgment by installments has long been practiced in England, and something of the same nature is familiar in this country, where a continuing execution is allowed against a salary or other income.

Section 204 provides the usual stay of the statute of limitation.

Section 300 is the first of a series of sections which deal with particular obligations. Attention should first be directed to the fact that, even in a worthy case, evictions can be stayed at the most for only three months, and that there is nothing anywhere in the whole bill which compels a landlord to allow the dependents of a soldier to remain in possession for longer than that period. If the case is not one where the trouble comes from military service, eviction takes place as usual.

Next, it is important to note that the landlord may secure an allotment of the soldier's pay, which may be in addition to, or carved out of, the allotment proposed in the war-risk insurance bill.

This section applies only to dwelling houses occupied by a soldier's family, where the rent is not more than $50 per month. This limit has been selected to make sure of covering the high rentals of large cities and the period of three months because it is estimated that in this class of dwelling the rent for that period in most cases represents the profit of the landlord. Thus its deferred payment will not interfere with the landlord's ability in his turn to meet his taxes, insurance, and interest.

In some bills such as the war-risk insurance bill it is necessary to define the word "dependents" because money is to be paid out in amounts that vary with the degree of consanguinity. That is not the case here, and experience has shown the danger of defining such a word.

Section 301: Many of those drafted have bought houses or furniture on the installment plan, under a contract which makes it unnecessary for their creditors, who wish to foreclose, to go to court. Under the contract the creditor may take back the property whenever a payment is not made and consider all previous payments as rent. The purpose of this section is to force such a creditor into court, where the court will give him such relief as is equitable in view of the military service of the defendant. This relief, the bill suggests, may include a return of the property to the seller. As the property in all probability is in the possession of the soldier's family, they will at once have notice of anything the creditor tries to do, and they can apply to the court for relief.

Section 302. Again we see the discretion of the court, if the dependent's military service has put him in trouble. If he is an investor, his military service doubtless will not have interfered with his ability to pay his mortgage interest and the mortgage will be foreclosed. The section will principally protect mortgaged homes. It should be noted that the language shuts out property which has been transferred by or to a soldier since the date of approval of the act. The section does not place the slightest hindrance or delay on a sale, even of a soldier's property, except in a meritorious case.

Some mortgages by their terms give a summary power of sale. These are put upon the same basis, and like the contracts for the purchase of property with an analogous clause, the creditor, if he wants to foreclose must first go to court.

Section 400: This and the following sections provide a scheme for the Government to carry the premiums on not more than $5,000 of life insurance of a man in military service who is unable to pay this premium.

It applies to both fraternal and old-line companies, and is acceptable to both of them.

The premiums are to be met by a monthly deposit of Government bonds, to be held as security by the respective companies and kept in their possession, until the final settlement between the Government and the insurer, which is made at the end of the war. Any premiums so secured by Government bonds are paid as a loan on the policy. The Government to secure reimbursement is given a first lien on the value of the policy or its proceeds.

The insurance provisions of this bill cover an entirely separate field from the insurance provisions of the war-risk insurance bill. That bill gives new insurance to soldiers and sailors as a boon from the Government; this section protects rights in insurance previously bought by the soldier or sailor with his own money and already in force.

This change in the original contract of insurance is agreed to by requiring the soldier who wishes to take advantage of the bill to make an application, signed by the beneficiary when legally necessary. When the application is filed by the company, it also accepts the change in the contract.

To insure the benefit of this provision of the bill not being taken advantage of by persons not in military service, the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, to which duplicate applications are sent by the applicant, is given the duty of certifying to the insurer that the applicant is within the terms of the act both as to his identity and the amount of insurance for which he asks. This latter provision makes it impossible for a soldier with policies in several companies to obtain the Government guaranty upon an aggregate of more than $5,000 of insurance. If such an attempt is made the bureau rejects all but $5,000 of the application and notifies the insurer of this rejection.

The advantages of this part of the bill are given only to persons who took out insurance or joined fraternal benefit orders before September 1, 1917, and had paid at least one premium on their policy. Any soldier who wishes to take out new insurance is sufficiently protected by the comprehensive provisions of the war-risk insurance bill, under which he may take out as much as $10,000 of term insurance at the very trifling expense of about $8 a year for the period of the war, the balance of the cost of the insurance being borne by the Government. After the war and without physical examination, this can be converted into the usual form of life insurance.

The necessary account between the insurer and the United States is provided by sections 406 and 412; the first providing for the monthly account on which is based the amount of bonds to be delivered by the Government, and the last providing for the final settlement a year after the end of the war, a period which gives full opportunity to get information as to the fate of the soldiers reported missing or prisoners.

The guaranty continues as to all premiums on accepted policies until a year after the war, when, unless the insured reimburses the Government for the premium it has paid, the policy lapses; it is convenient to have this date coincide with the date of final settlement.

Since the benefits of the bill are for men in military service, its advantages do not extend to insurance policies under which the entrance of the holder into military service affects either the amount of recovery or the amount of premium to be paid. In such a case, also, it will be better for the insured to get the surrender value of his policy, if it is an old one, or let it go entirely if it is a new one, rather than to continue paying a premium which does not protect him against the very risk of war where he needs protection most.

If the soldier comes out of the war unharmed he can then secure new insurance and can afford to pay the higher rate of his increased age out of the proceeds of his old policy. The war-risk insurance bill grants him protection during the war, and if he wishes it, afterwards as well.

Since the fraternal benefit associations have no legal reserve but depend upon their yearly dues to pay the death losses of each year, it is palpable that the increased deaths due to the war will make it difficult for them to meet their losses unless they adopt a plan for the collection of additional dues from all their members and not merely from those who are in military service. Policies or memberships in the benefit associations which have done this are included in the bill; policies in others are not, for to include them would be to no purpose.

The committee has learned from insurance men that $2,000 is the average size of an insurance policy. The average rate of premiums for men in the draft age is about $30 per thousand. Thus a limit of $5,000 to the insurance covered by this bill is in accordance with its scheme to limit its benefits to persons not in the class of investors, and obligations not in the nature of investments.

It is felt that a person carrying a larger policy will have some independent source of income from which to meet his premiums and that a higher limit would unjustifiably increase the financial burden placed upon the Government.

Just what the Government's financial burden will be can be little more than a guess, but it is plain that it will not be large.

In the first place the Government only guarantees the payment of the premiums. If the soldier dies the insurance company will get its premiums out of the policy and the Government's guaranty will not be called upon. If the soldier comes back from the war he will repay the premiums if he continues the policy, and if he lets the policy lapse the Government will be subrogated to his rights.

In how many policies will the Government ultimately have to pay and how much will this right of subrogation be worth?

Of the 10,000,000 men within the draft age all are not insured; the present draft patently takes only about 14 per cent of those between the ages of 21 and 31. But it is common knowledge that married men are more apt to carry insurance than single men, and conversely married men as a rule, on account of their dependent families, are less liable to be taken in the draft. There are also large reductions to be made from the number of policies outstanding on the lives of men in the draft age. On account of their age a large proportion of those insured have probably taken out their policies in the last few years. Policies written since the beginning of the European war in 1914 contain almost without exception the "war clause," and thus do not come within the provision of this bill. (Sec. 414.) To this class should be added practically all fraternal organizations, since they do not as a rule insure against war risk, and in many cases are prohibited by law from so doing. Consider also that in all probability, according to insurance actuaries, a policy in the old-line companies which is more than four years old will carry a reserve behind it sufficiently large to be security for the premiums during the period of war. After taking all these factors into consideration we find that the Government's ultimate liability will be only on policies which are between three and four years old, and that only a small proportion of the outstanding aggregate of even these policies comes within the provisions of this bill. In the nature of things it is impossible to say what the amount of this liability will be. But it is plain that it will be very small, especially when we remember that the guaranty does not apply to more than $5,000 of insurance on any one life.

Section 500 provides simple machinery for the family of a person in military service to secure a postponement of payment of taxes. On filing a notice with the collector of taxes any sale of property for taxes is held up and the matter is brought into court, which then, as in other cases, passes upon whether the soldier's delinquency is due to his being in military service; if it is, the sale may be stayed until six months after the war.

But to provide for the many cases where property of a soldier, who is entitled to relief, may nevertheless be sold, a right to redeem is also given. This does not expire until six months after the war.

Section 501 serves as a guidepost to statutes, which have already been passed by this Congress, relating to the rights of homestead and desert and mining entrymen, who have gone into military service. As this bill is otherwise comprehensive, it seems convenient to include reference to these statutes.

Section 600 makes it useless for ingenious debtors to seek to obtain the benefits of this bill by colorable assignment or transfers to persons in military service.

Section 601 suggests a practicable way to secure information as to a man's military service and as to certain facts necessary to establish his identity. The various officers named already have at hand in the form of a card catalogue the information required in the certificate, and the provision making the certificate prima facie evidence does away with the often troublesome legal requirement of proof of authority.

Subsection (2) is similar to a provision in the English law. It is necessary to protect the rights of a soldier who is reported missing, and who, later on turning up alive, might find that all his rights under this bill had been foreclosed.

Section 602 thus recognizes the fact that a soldier's ability to meet his obligations may change during his military service.

In concluding this synopsis it should be added that a number of subjects were considered for inclusion in this bill, but were rejected for various reasons. In the cases of partnership and bankruptcy it was at first thought desirable to prohibit proceedings adverse to the soldier or sailor looking to dissolution or bankruptcy; it was, however, decided to be unwise to make any absolute prohibitions on legal proceedings. The discretion granted in the act to stay proceedings was considered sufficiently broad to cover all special cases.

The subjects of probate proceedings and trusts were likewise omitted. Those bodies of law can hardly be dealt with for soldiers and sailors without interfering with the adjustment of rights of all decedents' estates whatsoever.

Personal service and delivery contracts were omitted, as no relief could be given in respect to them without assistance from the Treasury, and it would be impracticable to require reinstatement in statu quo after the war.

Civilian relief, such as has been enacted in England to meet difficulties directly attributable to war conditions, was considered to be beyond the scope of this bill.

Because of the most careful consideration the bill has received at our hands both as to its form and purpose, we unanimously report this bill not only with the recommendation that the bill do pass but that it receive the early attention of the House. It is the most important measure now before Congress for the benefit of soldiers and sailors.

CONSTITUTIONALITY.

At the outset it is well to state that this committee believes that the authority for all legislation, whether or not in the nature of war emergency legislation, must be found within the powers granted by the Constitution to Congress. In the words of the Supreme Court in the much discussed case of Ex parte Milligan (4 Wall., 2), "the Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances."

The committee, however, is satisfied that "the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence."

These views were expressed by the highest tribunal of our land in 1857. A striking expression 50 years later of the same doctrine is found in the words of a distinguished and living member of the same tribunal, ex-Justice Hughes, in his recent address to the American Bar Association on the subject of the war powers.

"While we are at war, we are not in revolution. We are making war as a Nation organized under the Constitution, from which the established national authorities derive all their powers either in war or in peace. The Constitution is as effective to-day as it ever was, and the oath to support it is just as binding. But the framers of the Constitution did not contrive an imposing spectacle of impotency. Self-preservation is the first law of national life, and the Constitution itself provides the necessary powers in order to defend and preserve the United States."

In the judgment of the committee the provisions of this bill are well within these "necessary powers."

The scope of this report forbids elaborate discussion. The committee will be content with submitting a brief summary of the reasoning and of the authorities which has guided it to the conclusion that the bill as now drafted will meet the constitutional test. The subject may be summarized under the four headings: (1) General definition of war powers; (2) Application of powers to facts of this bill; (3) suggested constitutional limitations; (4) Federal authority under war power.

1. GENERAL DEFINITION OF WAR POWERS.

Constitutional support for this bill is to be found in the granting to Congress of power "to declare war, to raise and support armies; to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

Turning first to the words of the framers of the Constitution, we find the necessity for this broad power thus expressed by its most powerful spokesman, Alexander Hamilton:

"The authorities essential to the common defense are these: To raise armies; to build and equip fleets; to prescribe rules for the government of both; to direct their operations; to provide for their support.

These powers ought to exist without limitation, because it is impossible to foresee or define the extent and variety of national exigencies, or the correspondent extent and variety of the means which may be necessary to satisfy them. The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite, and for this reason no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed. This power ought to be coextensive with all the possible combinations of such circumstances, and ought to be under the direction of the same councils which are appointed to preside over the common defense."

This power must be interpreted, like all other powers under the Constitution, in the light of the classical principle of construction laid down in the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall (McCullough *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheat., 416) that Congress is to be allowed that discretion in relation to the powers conferred upon it which will enable it to perform its duties "in the manner most beneficial to the people." and that the end being legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution, "all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibited but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution are constitutional."

Without burdening this report with citations, a single quotation from a well-considered decision of the Supreme Court in Stewart *v.* Kahn (11 Wall., 493, 1870) is of value not only as of general application, but as bearing directly upon the provisions of this bill.

In that case there was presented to the Supreme Court the question of the constitutionality of the Civil War limitation act of 1864, which provided that whenever, after an action should have accrued, the defendant could not, by reason of the interruption of the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, be arrested or served with process, "the time during which such persons shall be beyond the reach of legal process shall not be deemed or taken as any part of the time limited by law for the commencement of such action." The language of the Supreme Court in rejecting this contention is a direct application to the problem before us.

"Congress is authorized to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the granted powers. The measures to be taken in carrying on war and to suppress insurrection are not defined. The decision of all such questions rests wholly in the discretion of those to whom the substantial powers involved are confided by the Constitution.

"In the latter case the power is not limited to victories in the field and the dispersion of the insurgent forces. It carries with it inherently the power to guard against the immediate renewal of the conflict and to remedy the evils which have arisen from its rise and progress. This act falls within the latter category. The power to pass it is necessarily implied from the powers to make war and suppress insurrections. It is a beneficent exercise of this authority. It only applies coercively the principle of law of nations, which ought to work the same results in the courts of all the rebellious States without the intervention of this enactment. It promotes justice and honesty, and has nothing penal or in the nature of confiscation in its character."

This law, it is to be noted, was held to apply not only to the Federal but to the State courts. As thus construed the decision was affirmed in 1884, in Mayfield *v.* Richards (115 U. S., 137, p. 142), where the court said:

"The question thus raised was expressly decided by this court in the case of Stewart *v.* Kahn (11 Wall., 493), where it was held that the act applied to cases in the courts of the State as well as those of the United States, and that thus construed the act was constitutional. We are satisfied with the judgment of the court in that case and are unwilling to question or reexamine it."

The question before us, therefore, is, Is the proposed act "appropriate" or "plainly adapted" to the great end of the conduct of war and the support of an army? Does it or does it not present a direct effort "to remedy the evils which have arisen" and will continue to arise from its progress? If so, and no prohibition of the act can be found, it must be sustained. The question, therefore, very largely lies in a consideration of the purpose and scope of the law itself.

2. WAR POWER AS APPLIED TO THIS ACT.

As has already been stated, the scope of the act is to protect the members of the military forces of the United States during the period of the war by providing a general system not of exemption from suit or judgment, but of conferring discretion upon the courts to grant stays of actions or of execution in just cases, and generally, by providing that the rights of the soldier absent in the service of his country shall be represented and protected in the courts.

For the purpose of the present inquiry it is a significant fact that this act presents no new and unfamiliar field of war legislation. On the contrary, the subject is one which has been a fertile subject for legislative action in times of war both in this country and abroad.

During the War of 1812 Louisiana, on December 18, 1814, passed an act "suspending all proceedings in civil cases until the 1st of May" following.

During the Civil War "stay laws" were prevalent among the States. Many of the States suspended the running of the statutes of limitations, at least in so far as they affected soldiers and sailors. A considerable number of States went further and attempted, either by an exemption from process, a stay of proceedings, a stay of or an exemption from levy and execution, or a suspension of the courts themselves, effectively to bar the road against any creditor who desired to push his remedy against a defendant in military service. Other States provided for a reopening of the judgment.

There is an irreconcilable conflict of the decisions of the State courts upon the constitutionality of these various statutes. In some cases they were held to be void as in violation of the contract clause of the Federal Constitution, which forbids to the States alone the passage of laws impairing the obligation of contracts. In other cases, as in Pennsylvania, it was held that the Constitution was not violated if the suspension was reasonable and for a definite term. (Breitenbach *v.* Bush, 44 Pa., 313 (1863); Clark *v.* Martin, 3 Grant (Pa.), 393 (1863).)

As stated, however, we are not concerned with the question of the constitutionality of these various measures, arising, as it did, under a prohibition upon the States which is inapplicable to the proposed law, but rather with the fact that the passage of such laws was considered necessary and proper by a large number of States in the national emergency of war. As Appendix A to this report, there are herewith submitted extracts from the various State laws of the civil law exhibiting the extent and variety of these statutes.

An analogous field of legislation is exhibited in the laws of the various States granting certain exemptions to members of the State National Guard in the matter of civil processes, a summary of which is also appended as Appendix C of this report.

A still more vital expression of the belief that such legislation is imperative for the protection of our military forces is found in the acts which patriotic States have already undertaken on their own behalf during the present war. These acts have also been collected and are presented in Appendix B hereof. The wide variety of their provisions, giving varying degrees of protection to soldiers bearing the same burden in the same war, as well as the large number of States not included in the list, is a sufficiently eloquent argument for the necessity of that uniformity and completeness of protection, which can be secured only by Federal legislation. When we add to this the fact that the States are admittedly without war powers, and that their legislation, as shown by the varying vicissitudes of the Civil War stay laws, is subject to very severe and frequently fatal limitation under the prohibition of the Federal Constitution against the impairment of contracts, we find in the history of our own legislation not merely a demonstration that legislation of this chartcter is adapted, and has been considered necessary, to the conduct of a war, but that if an adequate remedy is to be secured for the soldier in the service of his country it must be by the Federal Congress under whose direction he has been called to arms.

The experience of Great Britain in the present war furnishes a last and equally persuasive argument that legislation of this character is "plainly adapted" to the support of the war. One of the earliest acts passed by the British Parliament at the opening of the present war was the courts (emergency powers) act, 1914, enacted August 31, 1914, and under which the broadest discretion was conferred upon the courts to defer executions in all cases where the court was of opinion that the person liable to make payment, whether in the military service or not, was "by reason of circumstances attributable, directly or indirectly, to the present war" unable to make such payment.

As already noted, the method of this English statute has been departed from in the bill now presented, as it seemed wiser to your committee to avoid so far as possible a scheme which might tend to throw doubt and uncertainty upon the validity of all judgments. The principle, however, underlying all of the acts to which we have had reference, including the English statute, is identical.

In the light of the practical experience above summarized, it is believed that it is unnecessary to proceed further along this line to demonstrate that legislation of this character has been considered, and is both appropriate and necessary to the maintenance of an army suddenly drawn from civil life—and as such is within the power to raise and support an army. It remains only to consider how far, if at all, this bill, in whole or in any part, may be subject to attack as doing violence to some express constitutional prohibition.

3. CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS.

Three constitutional limitations have been suggested in connection with this measure, as follows:

1. Article I, section 10. "No State shall * * * pass any * * * law impairing the obligation of contracts";

2. (Amendments, Article V.) "Nor shall any person * * * be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law";

3. (Amendments, Article V.) "Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

The committee is unable to escape the conclusions that under the plain reading of the language of these sections, as they have been interpreted by the courts of our land, the only clause which might have application to the subject matter of this bill is the first of the three prohibitions above given. This clause, as it is unnecessary to remind Congress, is expressly limited to the States. (Sinking Fund cases (99 U. S., 718).) It has no effect whatever upon the powers of the Federal Government which the framers of the Constitution saw fit to hold free from any such limitations.

As we have already indicated, the stay laws of the several States passed during the Civil War were almost without exception attacked as involving an impairment of the obligation of contracts. A score of cases arose, turning upon this single clause, with results differing widely in the various States. It is the one clause in the Constitution which, without a hopeless straining of the English language, can be called into question in connection with the provisions of such a bill as here presented, dealing with the carrying out of private obligations and in various ways suspending proceedings for their enforcement. While the fifth amendment to the Constitution was not adopted until after the Civil War, the constitutions of most of the States contain provisions substantially similar to it, but in no decision has the suggestion been made that the stay laws in question were invalid under these provisions of the State constitutions. In every case the statute has been attacked under the contract clause of the Federal Constitution.

The complete freedom of Congress from the limitations of this clause were well stated in the Legal Tender cases (12 Wall., 457, p. 549), holding the legal tender acts to be constitutional both as to contracts made before their passage and as to those made thereafter. The language of the court upon this point is conclusive of the question:

"Nor can it be truly asserted that Congress may not, by its action, indirectly impair the obligation of contracts, if by the expression be meant rendering contracts fruitless, or partially fruitless. Directly it may, confessedly, by passing a bankrupt act, embracing past as well as future transactions. This is obliterating contracts entirely. So it may relieve parties from their apparent obligations indirectly in a multitude of ways. It may declare war, or even in peace, pass nonintercourse acts, or direct an embargo. All such measures may, and must, operate seriously upon existing contracts, and may not merely hinder but relieve the parties to such contracts entirely from performance. It is, then, clear that the powers of Congress may be exerted, though the effect of such exertion may be in one case to annul and in other cases to impair the obligation of contracts. And it is no sufficient answer to this to say it is true only when the powers exerted were expressly granted. There is no ground for any such distinction. It has no warrant in the Constitution or in any of the decisions of this court. We are accustomed to speak for mere convenience of the express and implied powers conferred upon Congress. But in fact the auxiliary powers, those necessary and appropriate to the execution of other powers singly described are as expressly given as is the power to declare war, or to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy."

In the judgment of the committee, in so far, if at all, as any of the provisions of this act may be assailed as an impairment of the obligation of private contract, their enactment is a matter solely in the discretion and wisdom of Congress, guided by the necessities of the case. So tested, the committee has no hesitation in submitting that the slight burden hereby placed upon those who have contracted with soldiers, in the way of suspending remedies or rendering their enforcement subject to equitable limitations is, to say the most, a reasonable and just distribution of the general burden of the war.

As to the remaining clauses, to wit, due process and compensation, the committee submits that under the cases neither of these Constitutional limitations can possibly be held to apply to any of the situa-

tions contemplated in this bill. As is evident from the language of the same leading authority just cited, each of these clauses relates to a direct taking or deprivation of private property, and has no reference to an indirect injury resulting from the exercise of a lawful congressional power. In no case throughout the present act is there provision for any such taking of private property. At the most the remedy for the securing of property which has already been transferred is temporarily suspended, and a slight variance in the terms of the original contract is exacted, but in no instance is any change in the possession of the property brought about, nor is a taking of private property permitted by process other than that known to the law of the land. The creditor's hand is temporarily stayed against the soldier whose body has been taken, but the property remains the creditor's, and his remedy is but postponed.

The langauge of the court in the legal tender cases appears to the committee to be a conclusive answer to the objection thus urged:

"Closely allied to the objection we have just been considering is the argument pressed upon us that the legal tender acts were prohibited by the spirit of the fifth amendment, which forbids taking private property for public use without just compensation or due process of law. That provision has always been understood as referring only to a direct appropriation, and not to consequential injuries resulting from the exercise of lawful power. It has never been supposed to have any bearing upon or to inhibit laws that indirectly work harm and loss to individuals. A new tariff, an embargo, a draft, or a war may inevitably bring upon individuals great losses; may, indeed, render valuable property almost valueless. They may destroy the worth of contracts. But whoever supposed that, because of this, a tariff could not be changed or a nonintercourse act, or an embargo be enacted, or a war be declared?"

It is unnecessary to remind Congress of the many cases in which this doctrine has been followed and in which the rights of private contracts have invariably been held subordinate to the right of the Government to destroy the value of those contracts in the pursuance of its other legitimate powers. Familiar instances of this power will be found summarized in the case of Louisville Railroad Co. *v.* Mottley (219 U. S., 467).

4. FEDERAL AUTHORITY UNDER WAR POWERS.

In the foregoing the committee has proceeded upon the assumption that the provisions of the fifth amendment are of equal application in war and peace.

In Miller *v.* United States (11 Wall., 268), a case decided in 1870, involving the constitutionality of the Federal confiscation acts as applied to enemy property found in a loyal State, the court, in answer to the suggestion that the power was unconstitutional, used the following language:

"But if the assumption of the plaintiff in error is not well made, if the statutes were not enacted under the municipal power of Congress to legislate for the punishment of crimes against the sovereignty of the United States, if, on the contrary, they are in exercise of the war powers of the Government, it is clear they are not affected by the restrictions imposed by the fifth and sixth amendments. This we understand to have been conceded in the argument. The question, therefore, is, whether the action of Congress was a legitimate exercise of the war power. The Constitution confers upon Congress expressly power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules respecting captures on land and water. Upon the exercise of these powers no restrictions are imposed. Of course, the power to declare war involves the power to prosecute it by all means and in any manner in which war may be legitimately prosecuted. (11 Wall., 304.)"

So far both majority and minority agreed.

This thought is reflected in the address of ex-Justice Hughes, already referred to:

"Clearly these amendments, normally and perfectly adapted to conditions of peace, do not have the same complete and universal application in time of war. Thus the fifth amendment normally gives its protection to 'any person.' But in war this must yield to the undoubted national power to capture and confiscate the property of enemies."

The committee, however, does not find it necessary to rely upon the language of the court above cited as to the application of these amendments to the war power, for, as stated, neither of the clauses by their terms or by their construction, either in letter or in spirit, cover the case of the various measures of relief embodied in this bill.

Finally, the committee beg to remind the Congress that the due-process clause has never been held to deprive the State of the power of protecting the welfare of its citizens, even at the expense of restricting and destroying life, liberty, and property. A hundred instances will readily suggest themselves. And it has been well said:

"If a State may thus, notwithstanding a due-process limitation, interfere with life, liberty, and property for the sake of health, morals, quiet, and the like, it follows, a fortiori, that notwithstanding a due-process restriction the United States may interfere with life, liberty, and property for the sake of protecting the very existence of the Government itself."

If this may be done by the State without impairment of the constitutional prohibition, surely the Federal Congress, in the prosecution of the war, may not only conscript the life of the citizen but may, under the guarded discretion of the judges of the land as proposed in this measure, interfere with the property of the individual to the extent that such interference has been countenanced in this act for a purpose directly relating to the conduct of the war and the preservation of the morale and the self-respect and the peace of mind of the citizen-soldier whose body has been conscripted and taken from the peaceful walks of business life.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FERRIS). The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] is entitled to 30 minutes.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to express my appreciation to the ranking Republican member of the committee [Mr. VOLSTEAD] for granting me five minutes to speak at this time, before he has presented his views. As the chairman of the committee has stated, the Judiciary Committee has given very careful and extended consideration to the provisions of this bill.

The nations of the world during the past three years have advanced materially, not only in the methods of conducting warfare on the battlefields but in supplying their armies and in providing for the men who enter the armies and navies that do the fighting. This Congress, indeed, has taken action which is greatly in advance of anything heretofore undertaken in matters relating to our sailors' and soldiers' welfare. We have passed through this body what is known as the soldiers' and sailor's insurance measure, which had many provisions in it for the welfare not only of the soldiers and sailors but of their families and dependents. And in this measure we are indicating not only to the people who constitute our Army and Navy but to those of their dependents, their families, their friends, and to the people of the United States—yes, even to the world—that we intend to be wholly just and generous.

In this measure there are some provisions which may give rise to some doubt as to whether or not we stretch the Constitution to a point hitherto unknown, but if there has been error in that respect it has been in granting to the beneficiaries under the bill the benefit of any doubt and being lenient and not withholding any benefits or privileges from them because of a doubt as to possible uconstitutionality. The members of the committee and those who were instrumental in drafting the legislation felt that such doubt ought not to constitute an obstacle to the passage of this measure. The manner in which these rights have been preserved through stay and court procedure has been brought about in what may be termed a unique way. We have made them elastic, so to speak, and we have not absolutely wiped out the jurisdiction of any judicial tribunal. The man who leaves his home or his dependents is to have his rights safeguarded through judicial process, and no advantage can be taken by reason of his absence in any case, because the court has the authority to appoint an attorney to look out for his interests.

If perchance the enlisted man is carrying some insurance, provision is made in this bill up to the amount of $5,000; whether it be in a single policy, in a single company, or in more than one policy or in more than one company, that insurance will be taken care of by the Government. Also, no property of the soldier or sailor, used as a dwelling or for business purposes, can be sold, or taken, or levied upon for taxes. That is taken care of by providing, as I recall it, that the tax bill, the charge for taxes, shall continue for a period not exceeding three months after his military service, or the termination of the war, and that the charge or assessment shall carry interest not exceeding 6 per cent. Those men who go into the service and who may have interest in public lands, or homesteads, or mining claims, or any other matters, have their rights also protected. I trust the bill may have the support of the membership of the House. It will be a happy message to send forth to our country's fighting men and their families and dependents.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, this bill (H. R. 6361) is known as the soldiers' and sailors' civil-rights bill. I am glad to advocate its passage, and I shall vote for it with genuine pleasure. I claim the credit of being the first Member of either House of Congress to introduce a bill to protect the civil rights of our soldiers and sailors. On the 7th of August, 1917, I introduced in the House H. R. 5715, which in principle and in purpose is the same as the bill now before us. The bill we now have before us, prepared under the direction of the War and Navy Departments, was introduced in the Senate September 11 and in the House September 18. Upon my own initiative, and acting upon my own responsibility, I came to the conclusion that the Federal Government, so far as possible, should protect the property interests and civil rights of its soldiers and seamen. The bill which I introduced (H. R. 5715) comprises but one section, contains but one paragraph, and is expressed in a single sentence. With all that, it is comprehensive. It provides that no person in the military service "shall be sued in any court of the United States or in the court of any State or served with any summons or other civil process issuing out of any of said courts." Its provisions do not cover insurance or taxes. Otherwise it would give far greater protection to those engaged in military service than will the provisions of the bill now under consideration. For myself, I would go much further than the committee bill goes in preventing suits from being filed against persons in military service. I would prohibit suits from being filed against them. I would prohibit judgments from being rendered against them. By national enactment I would throw around their property, their financial affairs, and their business interests every possible safeguard.

H. R. 5715.

The bill which I introduced, H. R. 5715, in full is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the passage of this act, and during the existing war with Germany, no private soldier or officer in the Army of the United States, and no seaman, marine, or officer in the Navy or Marine Corps of the United States, and no person who has been selected as a soldier in the Army of the United States under the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, shall be sued in any court of the United States, or in the court of any State, or served with any summons or other civil process issuing out of any of said courts.

INDORSEMENTS OF H. R. 5715.

I have received a number of communications indorsing the principle of my bill. By permission of the House, as a part of my remarks, I print the following letters referring to H. R. 5715, introduced by me August 7, 1917:

ST. LOUIS, *September 17, 1917.*

Congressman MORGAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We desire to indorse the recommendation of the Retail Credit Men's National Association, amending House bill No. 5715, entitled "A bill to prohibit soldiers in the Army and Navy of the United States, seamen and marine, from being sued."

Respectfully,

KLINE APPAREL CO.,
H. LAMONT, *Credit Manager.*

ST. LOUIS, *September 19, 1917.*

Mr. MORGAN, Author House bill No. 5715,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We take this means of informing you that we indorse the recommendation of the Retail Credit Men's National Association in reference to House bill No. 5715.

Respectfully,

SONNENFELD MILLINERY CO.,
Per J. E. ERNST.

ST. LOUIS, *September 17, 1917.*

Mr. MORGAN, Author of House bill 5715,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Our attention has recently been called to House bill 5715, entitled "A bill to prohibit soldiers in the Army or Navy of the United States, seamen, and marines from being sued."

While we are heartily in favor of the general principles of the bill, we strongly urge that an amendment be added so that debts of men in the service may be collected after the debtor has been mustered out or relieved from duty, and therefore the time such debtor spends in the service should not apply to the time known as the statute of limitation, thus preventing the account from being outlawed during the service of the debtor.

Yours, truly,

THE BOYD-RICHARDSON CO.,
By I. F. BOYD, *President.*

ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 18, 1917.*

Hon. DICK MORGAN, M. C., *United States Congress,*
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Permit us to recommend amendment of what is known as the Morgan bill so that debts of men in the service may be collected after the debtor has been mustered out or relieved from duty, so that the time spent in the service will not apply to the time known as the statute of limitation, thereby preventing the account from being outlawed during the service of the debtor.

We thank you in advance for the attention we maintain this matter should and will receive.

Very truly, yours,

CADILLAC AUTOMOBILE CO. OF ST. LOUIS,
H. H. WALKER, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, N. Y., *September 1, 1917.*

Mr. MORGAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would herewith respectfully call your attention to the recommendation of our nationl legislative committee, whose views were indorsed by the Retail Credit Men's National Association at their fifth annual convention, which just closed at Cleveland, Ohio:

"Your legislation committee has a matter brought to their attention, being House bill 5715, entitled 'A bill to prohibit soldiers in the Army and Navy of the United States, seamen, and marines from being sued.'

"After considering this bill carefully we are of the opinion that the purpose of the bill is not to enable unscrupulous persons to avoid paying their just debts, but to prevent the service of the Army and Navy from being hampered by the summoning of the men into courts, and for that reason it is no doubt a necessity.

"We, however, believe that this bill should be amended so that debts of men in the service may be collected after the debtor has been mustered out or relieved from duty, and therefore the time such debtor spends in the service should not apply to the time known as the statute of limitation, thus preventing the account from being outlawed during the service of the debtor, and we suggest these views be communicated to Mr. Morgan, the author of the bill.

"Respectfully,

"D. J. WOODLOCK, *of St. Louis.*
"W. G. SCHMUS, *of Cleveland.*
"E. W. NELSON, *of Lincoln, Nebr.*"

The Retail Credit Men's National Association most earnestly recommends the most careful consideration of the recommendation just made, as we believe it will be a means of counteracting the impression that with the passage of the bill without amendment, it would be impossible to recover by due process of law. Furthermore, the adoption of the amendment will aid materially in stimulating business.

Respectfully, yours,

RETAIL CREDIT MEN'S NATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
A. J. KRUSE, *Secretary.*
W. H. J. TAYLOR, *President.*

COMMITTEE BILL.

But the bill reported by the committee and now under consideration is, in my judgment, an admirable one. It was carefully prepared by the Judge Advocate General, assisted by a number of highly competent persons who gave the subject careful and conscientious consideration. The authors of the bill were friends of all those in the military service. They were in full sympathy with the men in our land and naval forces, and desired to give them every reasonable protection. Few bills in recent years have been given such careful consideration by the Judiciary Committee as has this one. The original bill submitted by the War and Navy Departments was changed in many important particulars and reintroduced by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE BILL.

In the mind of almost everyone the question arises, Is this bill constitutional? For myself, I answer this question in the affirmative.

Congress has the power "to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

It has the power "to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a Navy, to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection and repel invasion, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

Furthermore, the Constitution provides that "the President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy."

I shall not enter into any lengthy discussion of the constitutional question involved. In my opinion Congress has the power to enact this legislation. The power expressly given to Congress to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a Navy, to make rules for the government and regulation of its armed forces, and to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers granted, clearly gives Congress the power to enact any law which in its opinion will contribute to the success of the armed forces it has called into being, and which it maintains and supports. The general-welfare clause of the Constitution gives ample authority for this legislation. If, in the judgment of Congress, in this hour of peril and danger, when all the forces and all the resources of the Nation must be utilized to insure a speedy and successful termination of the existing war—I say, in this hour—it is for Congress to decide what is necessary and proper to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the people of the United States. The conclusion of Congress upon this question, in my judgment, is final, and the courts will hold legislation along this line constitutional.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. CANNON. I have not read the report on this bill, but I did devote last night to the reading of the bill; I just hopped, skipped, and jumped it. [Laughter.] In the bill I found a provision touching the collection of taxes by State authorities. The gentleman from Oklahoma thinks it is constitutional. I think there is a very serious question about that. I am not antagonizing the interests of our soldiers, by any means, or the proper care of them, but I recollect very well that during the war for the Union various taxes were levied, and one was a tax upon a summons, when you instituted it in court, and so on and so on; and, so far as I recollect, it has been universally held that the Federal Government can not tax one of the sovereigns in one of its necessary functions, which is the levying of taxes, because that would mean that as a so-called war measure you could broaden it. That is just as to the constitutionality of it.

Mr. MORGAN. I will say to the gentleman that this does not take away the taxes due the State or the county or the municipality. It simply defers their payment. It simply provides temporarily that you can not sell a man's property, if he is a soldier, only under certain conditions; only when the court shall make that order. So that it does not take the taxes away, not one cent of taxes, but simply postpones the remedy.

Mr. CANNON. The greater includes the lesser.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. SLOAN. These moratoriums are for the purpose of deferring the remedy instead of interfering with the contract, are they not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SLOAN. Now, calling your attention to what the ex-Speaker has just mentioned, do we not, on page 21, where it refers to taxes, seek to limit the interest which may be borne,

which is less than that provided by a great many States, and therefore attempt to nullify a contract between a State and a taxpaying citizen? I understand that the proposition is—and it is held to be constitutional—that we have a right to delay all these remedies, but when it comes to changing contracts or doing that which amounts to confiscation of values the courts have universally so held. I want to say, of course, that I am in favor of this bill.

Mr. MORGAN. The penalties for nonpayment of taxes is not a part of the taxes. They are simply a means used to encourage the payment of taxes. When nonpayment is due to military service the Government, which demands and secures that service, should shield the soldier from this penalty.

THE BILL H. R. 6110.

Broadly speaking, the object of this bill, H. R. 6110, is to enable the Government to conduct the war more successfully.

To enable us to win this war, our soldiers and sailors should be as efficient as possible. We select the most fit. The young and vigorous manhood of the country is called. We take the best—the strongest physically, intellectually, and morally. We give them the best equipment obtainable. We train them for the severe task before them. We seek to make them, man for man, superior to the soldiers and seamen of the enemy. We send them forth to battle. Upon their efficiency, their courage, their fortitude, their bravery, and their heroism depends the fate of the Nation. And not the fate of this Republic alone; for the deeds of our soldiers and sailors will determine the destiny of the nations of the world. So far as possible these men should be relieved of any encumbrance at home. They should be protected from annoyance, anxiety, and embarrassment about all private affairs. Their financial affairs, their business interests, the welfare of their wives, children, and other dependents should not be a burden upon them, to detract from their efficiency as soldiers and seamen. So as one means of aiding us to win the war we propose to protect these men in their civil rights while they are engaged in military service.

JUSTICE TO THE SOLDIERS.

This bill should be passed as a matter of justice to the soldiers and sailors and their families.

Including the first call of 500,000 of the National Army, we now have nearly 1,500,000 men in military service. About 1,000,000 of these are volunteers. Five hundred thousand have been called under the selective-draft law. If the war goes on, we will soon have 2,000,000 men in our Army and Navy. But the whole Nation is at war. Every citizen is under obligation to do his part. The burdens, so far as possible, should be equitably divided. But the men who leave their business, who leave their homes and those nearest to them, the men who endure the hardships, face the dangers, and make the sacrifices which this war will require, give far beyond anything that will be contributed by those who remain at home. To equalize the burden of the war we should do everything in our power to protect the property, interests, and all the civil rights of our soldiers who are at the front. We can not in the payment of taxes, however high they may be, or in contributions to the Red Cross or other charitable and patriotic purposes, however liberal our contributions may be, or in any other work in civil life, perform a service which calls for the self-denial and sacrifice which military service requires. Then there is something very important in the influence which this measure will have upon the soldiers and marines. The soldier should feel that he is fighting for a Government that appreciates his services.

He should feel that the people at home, for whose rights and liberties he is fighting, recognize the great service he is rendering and are grateful therefor. He can not have this feeling if in his absence we permit him to be annoyed and harassed with lawsuits, allow his property to be sacrificed, and see his wife and children or other dependents suffer while he goes forth to battle for his country. We can not do too much for those who constitute our land and naval forces. They deserve more than we can do. We can not adequately compensate them. After we have done our utmost, we will still owe these men a debt of gratitude we can never repay.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, legislation at the present session has been confined to subjects connected with the war in which we are now engaged. Since the adoption on April 6 last of the resolution declaring that a state of war existed between our Government and that of Germany we have seen in a number of instances a new exercise of war powers under the Constitution. We have passed a conscription act, a food-control act, a trading-with-the-enemy act, a soldiers' and sailors' insurance act, and now we have an act intended to preserve the civil rights of soldiers and sailors while in military service. Each one of these acts was enacted under the so-called war powers of Congress conferred by the Constitution, for whether we are at peace or at war we still exercise our power under the Constitution.

Immediately upon the declaration of a state of war these war powers became effective, and every act done to carry on the war to a successful conclusion is an act done by virtue of the Constitution, which specifically authorizes Congress to declare war.

The Federal Constitution confers upon Congress the power "to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" and "to declare war, * * * to raise and support armies, * * * to provide and maintain a navy, * * * to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, * * * to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." Full and plenary power was thus given Congress to declare and carry on war without any limitations upon the due exercise of the specific grant.

Hamilton, upon this subject, says:

> The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite, and for this reason no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed. This power ought to be coextensive with all the possible combinations of such circumstances and ought to be under the direction of the same councils which are appointed to preside over the common defense.

The Constitution being a written instrument its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted it means now. Being a grant of powers to government, its language is general, and as changes come in social and political life it embraces within its grasp all new conditions which are within the scope of the powers in terms conferred. Justice Story declared this view in Martin against Hunter, First Wheaton, page 304, as follows:

> The instrument was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a long lapse of ages, the events of which were locked up in the inscrutable purposes of Providence. It could not be foreseen what new changes and modifications of power might be necessary to effectuate the general objects of the charter, and restrictions and specifications which at the present seem salutory might in the end prove the overthrow of the system itself. Hence its powers are expressed in general terms, leaving to the Legislature from time to time to adopt its own means to effectuate legitimate objects, and to mold and model the exercise of its powers as its own wisdom and the public interest should require.

Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch against Maryland, Fourth Wheaton, page 316, gives expression to the same views, as follows:

> The subject is the execution of those great powers on which the welfare of the Nation essentially depends. It must have been the intention of those who gave these powers to insure as far as human prudence could insure their beneficial execution. This could not be done by confining the choice of means to such narrow limits as not to leave it in the power of Congress to adopt any which might be appropriate, and which were conducive to the end. This provision is made in a Constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs. To have prescribed the means by which government shall for all future time execute its powers would have been to change entirely the character of the instrument and give it the properties of a legal code. It would have been an unwise attempt to provide by immutable rules for exigencies which, if foreseen at all, must have been seen dimly, and which can be best provided for as they occur. To have declared that the best means should not be used, but those alone without which the power given would be nugatory, would have been to deprive the Legislature of the capacity to avail itself of experience to exercise its reason, and to accommodate its legislation to circumstances. If we apply this principle of construction to any of the powers of the Government, we shall find it so pernicious in its operation that we shall be compelled to discard it.

Again, an application of this principle to modern conditions will be found in In re Debs, One hundred and fifty-eighth United States, page 564, where the court said:

> Constitutional provisions do not change, but their operation extends to new matters as the modes of life and habits of the people vary with each succeeding generation. The law of the common carrier is the same to-day as when transportation by land was by coach and wagon, and on water by canal boat and sailing vessel, yet in its actual operation it touches and regulates transportation by means then unknown. Just so is it with the grant to the National Government of power over interstate commerce. The Constitution has not changed; the power is the same. But it operates to-day upon modes of interstate commerce then unknown to the fathers, and it will operate with equal force upon any new modes of such commerce which the future may develop.

In pursuance of these principles, the Supreme Court of the United States has from the very beginning declared that the

words "necessary and proper," contained in the constitutional grant of power to carry into effect the express powers granted, were not to be interpreted as endowing the General Government simply with those powers indispensably necessary for the exercise of its express powers, but as equipping it with any and every authority the exercise of which may in any way assist it in effecting any of the purposes the attainment of which is within its constitutional sphere. On this subject Chief Justice Marshall, in McCulloch against Maryland, supra, said:

We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the Government are limited, and that its limits are not to be transcended. But we think the sound construction of the Constitution must allow the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are consitutional.

In reviewing the effect of this decision, Prof. Willoughby, in his work on the Constitution, says:

It need not be said, of course, that the question as to whether or not the particular means selected is the best possible means that might have been adopted is one for Congress to answer. All that the courts have to consider in passing upon its constitutionality is as to whether it is calculated in any appreciable degree to advance the constitutional end involved.

What, therefore, we have to consider in connection with the proposed legislation now under consideration is as to whether or not it is calculated in any appreciable degree to promote the common defense or to carry on the war to a successful conclusion.

The purpose of this bill, as expressed in its title, is "to extend protection to the civil rights of the members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war," and in the first section it is further declared to be its purpose as to such members "to enable them to devote their entire energy to the military needs of the Nation, and to this end the following provisions are made for the temporary suspension of legal proceedings and transactions which may prejudice the civil rights of persons in such service during the continuance of the present war."

It is not my purpose to discuss the act in detail, for the main thought running through all its provisions is that its sole purpose is to suspend proceedings and transactions during the absence of the soldier or sailor, so that he may have an opportunity when he returns to be heard and to take measures to protect his interests. In effect, therefore, it is what is commonly known as a "stay law." It does not provide for an absolute stay in all cases, but leaves it to the discretion of the court, as a question of fact, to determine whether or not the rights of the defendant will be materially affected by reason of his absence in military service.

In considering these provisions it must not be forgotten that since the passage of the conscription act men are forced to leave their ordinary pursuits of life and to serve their country at a distance of 3,000 miles, where it will be impossible for them to keep in touch with their private affairs. Is the purpose of this bill, therefore, under these circumstances and as declared in the act itself, calculated in any appreciable degree to advance the military ends of the Nation?

During the Civil War stay laws were passed in many of the States, and much conflict of opinion arose as to their validity. In those States where such statutes were declared void it was upon the ground that they impaired the obligation of contracts. But the provision prohibiting the impairment of the obligation of contracts applies only to the States, and there is no specific inhibition laid upon the Federal Government. That Government is forbidden by the fifth amendment, however, to deprive persons of property without due process of law or to take private property for public use without just compensation. In so far as contract rights may be treated as property, they are protected from direct impairment by Federal action. This was definitely declared in the first legal-tender decision of Hepburn against Griswold. However, contracts are not protected from an indirect impairment of their obligation when this incidentally results from the exercise by Congress of a legislative power constitutionally given to it. Thus, in Knox *v.* Lee (12 Wall., 47), in which, reversing the opinion in Hepburn against Griswold, it was held that, under its power to carry on war and to maintain its own existence, the Federal Government might authorize the issuance of legal-tender notes valid in payment of debts previously contracted, the court deny that the obligation of contracts is thereby impaired; but they go on to say that even if it be held that the obligation of contracts is thereby impaired, there is no constitutional objection.

Nor can it be truly asserted—

The opinion declares—

that Congress may not by its action indirectly impair the obligation of contracts if by the expression be meant rendering contracts fruitless or partially fruitless. Directly it may confessedly pass a bankrupt act embracing past as well as future transactions. * * * So it may relieve parties from their apparent obligations, indirectly, in a multitude of ways. It may declare war or even in peace pass non-intercourse acts or direct an embargo.

With reference to the "due process of law" requirement of the fifth amendment, the courts say:

That provision has always been understood as referring only to a direct appropriation and not to consequential injuries resulting from the exercise of a lawful power. It has not been supposed to have any bearing upon or to inhibit laws that indirectly work harm and loss to individuals. A new tariff, an embargo, a draft, or a war may imperatively bring upon individuals great losses—may, indeed, render valuable property almost valueless. They may destroy the work of contracts.

Such laws, however, have never been regarded as void. In one of the earlier State decisions upholding the constitutionality of a State law—Brightenbach *v.* Bush (34 Pa., 313)—Justice Woodward said:

We have often said that stay laws, exemption laws, and limitation laws are ordinarily constitutional, though applied to existing and prior contracts, and we have followed the distinction which prevails in the Supreme Court of the United States between the obligation of a contract and the remedies furnished by law for enforcing the obligation. We understand the rule to be that while the legislature may not impair the obligation it may modify the remedy. * * * The time and manner in which stay laws shall operate are very properly legislative questions and will generally depend * * * on the sound discretion of the legislature according to the nature of the duties, the situation of the country, and the emergency which needs to be enacted. Cases may occur where the provisions of the law may seem so unreasonable as to amount to a denial of right and call for the interposition of the court.

The question seems to be set at rest, so far as the Federal power is concerned, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Stewart *v.* Kahn (11 Wall., 493). In that case it appeared that a resident of New York brought suit against a resident of Louisiana after the expiration of the limitation for bringing such actions provided by the laws of the State of Louisiana. However, the act of Congress approved June 11, 1864, extended such limitation for the period of the war, and the question before the court was whether or not such extended limitation was constitutional. The court held that it was, Mr. Justice Swayne saying:

The Constitution gives to Congress the power to declare war, to grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to make laws concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion. * * * Congress is authorized to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the granted powers. The measures to be taken for carrying on war and to suppress insurrections are not defined. The decision of all such questions rests wholly in the discretion of those to whom the substantial powers involved are confided by the laws. In the latter case the power is not limited to victories in the field and the dispersion of the insurgent forces. It carries with it inherently the power to guard against the immediate renewal of the conflict and to remedy the evils which have arisen from its rise and progress. This act falls within the latter category. The power to pass it is necessarily implied from the power to make war and suppress insurrection. It is a beneficent exercise of this authority. It only applies coercively the principle of the law of nations, which ought to work the same results in the courts of all the rebellious States without the intervention of this document. * * * The act is within the canons of construction laid down by Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch *v.* Maryland.

I have stated above that this Congress has largely extended the exercise of war powers. In the food-control act, for the purpose of conserving the food supply of the country, to meet the demands of our Army on foreign soil, every home in the country has been affected. Every article of food was thus impressed into the public service. When the Federal Government conscripts the lives of its citizens for the common defense, are not the property and civil rights of such citizens during the period of their military service impressed into the public service to enable the Government to protect such property and rights during the period of such service? May not Congress, therefore, maintain the status quo of such property and rights during the period for which such citizens have been conscripted? Is not such property "affected with the public interest"?

In German Alliance Insurance Co. *v.* Kansas (223 U. S., 411), the Supreme Court of the United States, after reviewing the decisions upon this subject, said:

They demonstrate that a business, by circumstances and its nature, may rise from a private to be a public concern and be subject in consequence to governmental regulation. And they demonstrate * * * that the attempt made to place the right of public regulation in the cases where it has been exerted, and of which we have given examples, upon the ground of special privilege conferred by the public on those affected, can not be supported. The underlying principle is that business of certain kinds holds such a peculiar relation to the public interest that there is superinduced upon it the right of public regulation.

In the very notable address delivered by former Justice Hughes before the American Bar Association, after referring to this case, he said:

The extraordinary circumstances of war may bring particular business and intercourse clearly into the category of those which are affected with the public interest and which demand immediate and thoroughgoing public regulation. The production and distribution of foodstuffs, articles of prime necessity, those which have direct relation to military efficiency, those which are absolutely required for the support of the people during the stress of conflict, are plainly of this sort. Reasonable regulations to safeguard the resources upon which we depend for military success may be regarded as being within the powers confided to Congress to enable it to prosecute a successful war. In the words of the Supreme Court, "It is well settled that the Constitution is not self-destructive; in other words, that the power which it confers on the one hand it does not immediately take away on the other." (Billings v. U. S., 282 U. S., 232.) This was said in relation to the taxing power. Having been granted in express terms, the court held it had not been taken away by the due-process laws of the fifth amendment. As the Supreme Court put it in another case, "The Constitution does not conflict with itself by conferring upon the one hand a taxing power and on the other taking it away by the due-process clause." (240 U. S., 24.) Similarly it may be said that the power has been expressly given to Congress to prosecute war and to pass all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying that power into execution. That power, explicitly conferred, and absolutely essential to the Nation, is not destroyed or impaired by any later provision of the Constitution or any of the amendments. These must all be construed so as to avoid making the Constitution self-destructive, so as to preserve the rights of the citizen from unwarranted attack while insuring beyond all hazards the common defense and the perpetuity of our liberties. These rest upon the preservation of the Nation.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. May I be pardoned for making this suggestion to the gentleman, who is not only an able legislator but a first-class lawyer, that when the Constitution says that the Congress shall have the power to raise and support an army, that includes just as much relieving them from penalties and obligations as paying them salaries or giving them subsistence in the field.

Mr. STEELE. Absolutely so.

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly that would be as much support as giving immediate and direct subsistence.

Mr. STEELE. Absolutely so. In that same connection there is another thought to which I wish to give expression at this time. That is this: These men are engaged in the service of the country. They have been conscripted to perform that service. They have been taken by the Government, whether they willed it or not, to perform that service. The property which they have, therefore, is connected with them in the performance of that service, and to that extent is impressed with a public service or public duty. The Supreme Court of the United States have, on various occasions, said that private property may be raised from its privacy to a public character, depending entirely upon the character of the service proposed to be rendered. The provisions of this bill can best be exercised by Congress rather than by State legislative authority. It grows out of the war power and the declaration of war thereunder, both of which are Federal powers, and the bill has the additional merit of providing a universal remedy throughout the Union. In my opinion the bill is clearly constitutional, and will do much to promote the efficiency and peace of mind of the citizen soldier, who has been conscripted and forced from the peaceful walks of life to serve his country in time of stress. [Applause.]

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MAGEE].

Mr. MAGEE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the committee I attended many meetings when this bill was under discussion. It has been given very careful preparation by the Judiciary Committee. I am in favor of the bill. It was reported unanimously by the committee. It is not, in my opinion, a drastic bill. The main purpose, as I view it, of the bill is to give power to the courts to protect the interests of the soldiers while they are at the front; that is, to protect their property rights. If an action is brought against a soldier, the court has the power and in its discretion can grant a stay or do what in the judgment of the court will be best for the interests of all parties concerned.

Now, so far as the constitutional question is concerned, it does not seem to me, from a study of the provisions of this bill, that any valid constitutional objection can be raised thereto. Of course, many States have passed acts, as suggested by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, in relation to the collection of taxes, providing penalties, and so forth, but I am not willing to concede that the exercise of the sovereign power of the Nation is an impairment of a contract authorized by a State, for the reason that if the sovereign power of the Nation has the constitutional right to enact a law, that right can not be taken away from the Federal Government by any action of a State. The State can pass its laws, which can be enforced until such time as the Federal Government may act. But if the Federal Government has never parted with the power, when the Federal Government does act then the Federal statute stands supreme; and, if I read correctly the later interpretations of the courts, especially of the highest courts of the several States and of the United States Supreme Court, an action of that sort on the part of the sovereign power is not regarded as an impairment of a contract.

It seems to me that this bill is a very wise one, and I can not see why anyone should raise any material objection thereto. As stated here, our boys are going abroad under the selective-draft act, and certainly anything we can do in their interest and protection it is our duty to do. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY].

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RAINEY). The gentleman from Arkansas is recognized for six minutes.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, I shall be brief. The bill in its general provisions has been discussed on both sides of the House. Its terms are simple and easy to be understood. It does not undertake to prevent the collection of debts which may be owed by soldiers and sailors engaged in the military service of their country during the pending war. It merely seeks to delay the hand that would strike the absent soldier's property during the continuation of the war, or such part of that time as the court may see fit. It does not do this if it appears that the soldier or sailor has sufficient property to pay his debts without embarrassing himself or family. This right to stay the creditor's suit applies to a private citizen and the State alike. It says to the State, "You shall not sell for taxes the home roof of a soldier or a sailor serving his country in this hour of peril. Nor shall you overwhelm him with penalties for the nonpayment of these taxes." It delays the collection of them until a better day shall come.

A second provision in the bill will prevent the forfeiture of insurance policies for nonpayment of premiums to the extent of $5,000 policies. It likewise undertakes to preserve whatever rights one may have who has initiated the acquiring of a homestead. In other words, broadly stated, we contract with those men whom we have called to fight our battles that in their absence their rights and their effects shall not be prejudiced nor destroyed.

Since the beginning of the extraordinary session of Congress I have supported two measures that leave with me no regrets. The first is commonly called the soldiers' and sailors' compensation and insurance bill. It says to the soldier and sailor, "In your absence the Government will pay a sufficient sum to keep from want your wife and children and other dependents whose sole support you are." It says more, "that if the soldier is wounded or incapacitated by sickness that it will care for him, and will, so far as money can, compensate him for his sacrifice and suffering." It also provides an insurance policy for him up to $10,000.

This bill is a complement of that. It undertakes to preserve his civil rights, and so far as law can it will put him in the same position at the end of his service as he was at its beginning. It prevents creditors from destroying his estate, from turning his family out of doors, and likewise restrains the State from doing so.

It is far-reaching in its provisions. It will effect the trial of causes in every court in this country. No judgments can be obtained by default in any court of any State until the provisions of this bill shall have been complied with. It makes the courts the guardian of the soldier and gives to them the power to protect his every right. The court may appoint an attorney to defend for the absent soldier, and yet this bill does not empower that attorney to waive any right the soldier may have had. It likewise is liberal in its provisions for setting aside judgments or decrees against the soldier, had in his absence. It will as nearly as possible preserve his rights as they were when his country called him into its service, and during his service it seeks to retain a home roof above the heads of his dependents.

Some have questioned its constitutionality. I do not. It affects no property rights; it merely acts on the remedy. The courts have universally held that no one can acquire a vested right in a remedy or procedure. Therefore the Congress may stay the hand of the law so far as the soldiers and sailors are concerned during their actual military service. No honest man, no patriotic man, no man with the love of his country and of his fellow man in his heart can object to its provisions. If there be others, they should be restrained. This bill will do that.

The bill also prevents the accumulation of penalties against a soldier or sailor for nonpayment of taxes, building and loan

dues, or of contracts of partial payments where penalties are provided for nonpayment. It also prevents the retaking of property sold on partial payments, except under such terms and conditions as the court may prescribe, even though the terms are that payments before made shall be returned to the purchaser. There is a provision also to prevent the lapsing of insurance policies now held by men who may go into the service of our country as soldiers or sailors. The Government undertakes to pay premiums on policies in the aggregate not in excess of $5,000 during the continuation of the war. These premiums paid by the Government are charged against the policy. If the insured should lose his life, the Government will be repaid from the policy. If the insured should survive the war, he will be required to pay the premiums advanced for his benefit by the Government.

Another provision will preserve all of the rights of one who has commenced to perfect a homestead on Government lands and provides means by which he may go forward and complete his homestead while he is serving his country in the Army or Navy at the front.

Thus it will be seen that all of these provisions seek only to preserve rights that might otherwise be impaired by reason of calling men from their several walks of life to defend their Nation's honor on the field of battle. My judgment is there will not be cast against this bill a single vote. There should not be. We are requiring men—young men—to abandon homes, give up cherished ambitions and maybe life on their country's, our country's, altar; and they are doing it willingly, and we who make the laws should, so far as we can, protect them, their dependents and loved ones, and their rights. And, God helping us, we will do all that within us lies to discharge this our duty.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is generally agreed that Congress under its war power has authority to suspend the remedies for the collection of debts. That, as I understand it, is an old remedy that has been in use among civilized people whenever there has been a war. I am going to address myself to one feature of this bill in regard to which I have some doubt as to its constitutionality. I realize that it is not popular to express any doubt, but it is only fair to the House, if I speak at all, to give my actual views. I want to say, however, before I proceed, that I am going to support the bill, because whatever doubts I have, I have resolved in favor of its passage. I believe the bill is a good one and ought to pass.

There are two classes of claims in this bill upon which we suspend the remedies. One class is the claims for payment of debts. There is authority for suspending the remedies for their collection a reasonable length of time, but there is another class affected by this bill in a manner which I think comes dangerously near to a violation of the Constitution of the United States. There are two items to which I wish to direct your attention.

One is the provision in regard to leases, which authorizes courts to suspend for three months the right of a landlord to take possession of leased premises, though held under a contract which terminates the lease on failure to pay. The other is the provision which gives the like power to stay the right to terminate a contract of sale upon failure to perform, though the contract expressly declares that it becomes void for such failure and that the vendor is entitled to the possession of the property. Those two classes are entirely distinct from the class where you simply suspend the time for collecting a debt past due. In the case of a debt, the creditor has usually agreed to the amount of credit given. He has fixed the limit and selected his debtor. Postponing payment does not increase the debt or take from the creditor anything to which he has not consented. But what is the offset of the provisions of this bill as to leases or contracts of sale? Take, for instance, leases that provide that upon failure to pay an installment of rent falling due the landlord shall immediately be entitled to regain possession. If this right to possession is suspended, what does it do? In effect it extends the lease and creates a new claim, a new and additional indebtedness, contrary to express terms of the contract and against the consent of the landlord. The use of his property is taken for the benefit of a person that can not pay, and he is deprived of his remedy to collect his claim, as the fear of ejectment is often his best remedy. Take the other proposition—the sale of land where there is a provision in the contract that upon a failure to pay the purchase price the contract shall become void, and the vendor is thereupon entitled to recover the possession of the property. You have very much the same situation; the contract is violated; the vendor is deprived of the property and its rental value, as well as his remedy for forcing pay by a threat of cancellation. It has been urged that Congress may pass laws that offset or modify contracts. It is true that the provision in the Constitution against impairing the obligation of a contract is only an inhibition on the States, but there is another provision that does limit the power of Congress. The fifth amendment forbids the National Government from depriving anyone of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Supreme Court, as I read its decisions, has said that is practically the equivalent of the other.

I do not have the time to go into this question fully, but I want to refer anyone interested to the case of Hurtado *v.* California (110 U. S.), which discusses quite fully the question of how far Congress can go in depriving a person of life, liberty, or property. It is apparent from this case that a statute that singles out a person or a group of persons and forfeits or confiscates their property is not valid, because in violation of this amendment. Does not this proposed law practically take the property of one individual and give it to another? It has generally been conceded in the consideration of this bill that it takes away contract rights. A contract right is a property right, and whenever you confiscate a contract right you have confiscated property.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I must beg to be excused. I have not the time. There is another provision in the Constitution that I think we might consider in connection with these same provisions. The Government is forbidden to take private property for public use. That applies to the National Government. On first blush you would say, of course, this bill contains no provision that will take anything for public use; but stop and think. What are we taking this property for, if it is not for public use? Is the fact that we turn the property over to somebody else conclusive on this question? Suppose we had it turned over direct to the soldier as a part of his pay. Would anybody for a moment say that was not taking private property for public use? It seems to me that as against both of those constitutional prohibitions there is serious question. But there is another phase of the matter to which I wish to direct attention, and that is this: The Supreme Court in the case from 11 Wallace, cited in the report in explaining what are some of the war powers, takes occasion to say that we have a right to protect against the injuries that result from war.

It will be readily conceded that that is the object of this bill. Congress does not only have the power to do anything that may be necessary to carry on the war, but it may in a comprehensive fashion deal with the various evils that grow out if it. It is under this power that Congress may have authority to pass the provisions to which I have referred. It may be urged, though there is authority to the contrary, that the distinction that I have pointed out between suspending the remedy for collecting a debt and the remedy for retaking a person's property is not sound; that in either case the remedy is the only thing affected; that the fact that the loss to the creditor may be less than the loss to the owner of property is not a sufficient reason for making any distinction; and it may even be urged that though there is a substantial difference and property is in effect taken without due process of law, Congress still has the power to pass this bill as a proper method of relieving the suffering caused by the war. It may be said that in view of all the circumstances Congress in passing it determines that this is an appropriate and necessary means of affording this relief. This would not concede that in war the Constitution is suspended. The Supreme Court in the Milligan case, 4 Wallace, put at rest that nefarious doctrine. While I want to do everything I can to help win this war, I want to be sure that when the war comes to an end the rights of our citizens under the Constitution has not been impaired. I realize that our views of what is and what is not unconstitutional has in the months past undergone radical changes. If this bill had been presented some months ago as a measure to be in force in the event of war, I doubt very much that it would have received any serious consideration. It would no doubt have been pronounced as plainly unconstitutional, but we need it now and look at it from a different angle.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc.—

ARTICLE I.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

SEC. 100. That for the purpose of enabling the United States the more successfully to prosecute and carry on the war in which it is at present engaged, protection is hereby extended to persons in the military service of the United States in order to prevent prejudice or injury to their civil rights during their term of service and to enable them to devote their entire energy to the military needs of the Nation,

and to this end the following provisions are made for the temporary suspension of legal proceedings and transactions which may prejudice the civil rights of persons in such service during the continuance of the present war.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Speaker, I make this formal motion first for the purpose of complimenting the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and its membership on proposing to this Congress the most generous, the most humanitarian, bill that has ever been proposed in any legislature in the world of like character [applause], more generous in its scope, more far-reaching, more valuable for the purpose of the support of our armies and navies in this war than any bill of like character that has ever been proposed in any parliament or legislature, and I hope it will pass. It is true, Mr. Speaker—and there is no use in disguising the fact—that it does interfere with the validity of contracts; that it interferes with the operations of courts, with the enforcement of the statute of limitation, with the foreclosure of liens and mortgages, and with the enforcement of judgments. It is true that it interferes with all these; but gentlemen should remember that every one of these proceedings, that every one of these provisions, is a creation of government. We have made them, and under certain conditions we have the right to suspend or set them to one side. Gentlemen here have some hesitancy, some of our good lawyers have some hesitancy, in determining whether or not this is within the war powers of the Constitution. I have no hesitancy, so far as my own conclusion is concerned, in believing that it is entirely within the war powers of the Constitution. Gentlemen should understand that when the Constitution gives Congress power to raise and support armies in the field that it is not limited in the nature and character of the action which it may take to accomplish that result. It may not only raise armies, but it may support them in any way that its judgment shall determine to be wise.

It certainly occurs to me, Mr. Speaker, that it is just as much a support of the Army in the field to relieve its members in service by the suspension of the operations of government in the enforcement of debt or in the enforcement of contracts or in relieving them from the operation of penalties on taxation laws as it would be directly to give them money for their pay or to furnish food and clothing for their support.

Gentlemen should remember that it has already been determined by the Supreme Court that in war times we may suspend some of the constitutional prerogatives that are secured to the individual. We may take from them their liberty. We may take from them their property without due process of law. There is no limit to the things that may be done in time of war for the purpose of supporting the war operations of the Government. Just as soon as we get that idea into our heads we will not be troubled with these legal quibbles that are raised in regard to other provisions of the Constitution. It should be understood that preeminent above all powers is the power to preserve this Nation of ours, because without it we do not have the Constitution, without it we do not have Government, without it we do not have laws or citizenship or property rights. So supreme over all these is the power of preservation, and the war powers of the Constitution, in my judgment, are ample for the purpose of the protection and preservation of the Nation. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONGRESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I am going to ask the gentleman from North Carolina to suspend for just one moment, until I can introduce——

Mr. WEBB. I will be happy to do so.

Mr. KITCHIN (continuing). To introduce a really nonpartisan resolution. [Laughter and applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 25.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session of the Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on Saturday, the 6th day of October, 1917, at 3 o'clock post meridian.

[Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. I move the adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' CIVIL RIGHTS.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, the pending measure is additional evidence of the determination on the part of Congress to promote and safeguard the interest of our patriotic constituents whose names will be carried on the imperishable military and naval rolls of the Republic in the great war to establish a lasting peace, to extend the blessings of liberty, to uphold international law, to firmly establish world-wide humanity and democracy, and to maintain and vindicate for all time the rights of American citizens throughout the world.

No higher honor could fall to the lot of a Member of this House at this trying time than by speech and vote to stand for the honor, glory, and defense of our country, and to leave nothing undone in the way of just and generous legislation for the brave men who will fight on land and sea beneath our starry flag. We are justly proud of the American soldier and sailor. We need no assurance that he will do his full duty on the other side. He will be true to the best traditions of those whose courage and valor fill the brightest and most enduring pages in the history of the Republic. We are determined that our soldier and sailor boys shall have the best this great, rich, prosperous country can afford, that they shall want for nothing which the love, labor, and money of more than 100,000,000 loyal and grateful American men, women, and children can give.

Every Member of this House voted to double the pay of the soldiers and sailors. A unanimous vote was cast for the bill to insure the lives of our heroes, and to provide for their dependents, and to make just provision for those who may be injured in battle.

This last measure—the bill we are now considering—to protect the civil rights of those in the military and naval service of the United States, I predict will receive the undivided support of the membership of this House.

All hail to the brave men who will constitute our great Navy and our new Grand Army of the Republic.

We are honoring ourselves in passing this just, wise, and patriotic legislation in their interest. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

(2) When under this act any application is required to be made to a court in which no proceeding has already been commenced with respect to the matter, such application may be made to any court of competent jurisdiction—Federal, State, or local.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, in line 19, page 4, I move to strike out after the word "court" the remainder of that line and the remainder of line 20. I will say that was inserted before we placed in the bill the definition of the word "court," and therefore it should go out as being surplusage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WEBB: Page 4, lines 19 and 20, after the word "court," strike out the following: "of competent jurisdiction, Federal, State, or local."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

ARTICLE II.

GENERAL RELIEF.

SEC. 200. That in any action or proceeding commenced in any court if there shall be a default of an appearance by the defendant the plaintiff before entering judgment shall file in the court an affidavit setting forth facts showing that the defendant is not in military service. If unable to file such affidavit plaintiff shall in lieu thereof file an affidavit setting forth either that the defendant is in the military service or that plaintiff is not able to determine whether or not defendant is in such service. If an affidavit is not filed showing that the defendant is not in the military service, no judgment shall be entered without first securing an order of court directing such entry, and no such order shall be made if the defendant is in such service until after the court shall have appointed an attorney to represent defendant and protect his interest and the court shall on application make such appointment. Unless it appears that the defendant is not in such service the court may require as a condition before judgment is entered that the plaintiff file a bond approved by the court conditioned to indemnify the defendant, if in military service, against any loss or damage that he may suffer by reason of any judgment should the judgment be thereafter set aside in whole or in part. And the court may make such other and further order or enter such judgment as in its opinion may be necessary to protect the rights of the defendant under this act.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I make the pro forma amendment for the purpose of asking a question. Under section 200 and the provision just read, page 5, I will ask the gentleman in charge of the bill where there are a number of defendants and service is not had, as it need not be had in many cases, must there be an affidavit filed in such cases. It would seem so.

Mr. WEBB. Where there are a number of defendants and one is a soldier, you can proceed against the defendants who are not soldiers, but before you can have a default judgment against anybody, in order to protect absolutely the soldier against a default judgment, you are required to file an affidavit that the defendant is not a soldier in the service of his country. Now, we discussed that very carefully around the table, as it looked like a hardship. But I doubt whether there is a man in the United States who has a claim against another who does not know now or will not know hereafter whether he is or is not a soldier, but in order to protect a soldier when he is away serving

his country we thought it was better to require it than to take the chances of letting the dependents of soldiers be sold out of their house and home during their absence.

Mr. CANNON. You know two-thirds of our people, at least half if not two-thirds, live in cities where people do not know each other as they do in my district and the gentleman's district?

Mr. WEBB. They rarely have personal transactions with people that they do not know. And I will say to my friend again, if there is any doubt about it, later on in the bill we provide that the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, or some one designated by either, shall answer the question of whether or not the person named is a soldier or sailor, his pay, time of enlistment, and all those things. So a mere letter from the person interested in the suit will bring those things and shall be considered as prima facie evidence.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. On page 5, in line 9, it says:

And no such order shall be made if the defendant is in such service until after the court shall have appointed an attorney to represent defendant and protect his interests.

Now, the question is, Is there any provision made for the appointment of the attorney that is to be appointed by the court?

Mr. WEBB. No, sir; there is not.

Mr. MADDEN. Is he to act without pay?

Mr. WEBB. In most cases, I take it, he will.

Mr. MADDEN. He probably would.

Mr. WEBB. But he is an officer of the court, in the first place, and if the case is such that a lawyer does much substantial work, I think the court could suggest a fee that would be in accordance with the importance of the case, and there would be no trouble about paying it. We feared the idea of putting in the bill that an attorney should be paid fees.

Mr. MADDEN. I was going to suggest that the court ought to have the authority to do it, but it should be left discretionary with the court whether he does it or not. Is there any provision for the payment if the court should decide to pay it?

Mr. WEBB. You are right, and that is just one of those difficulties that we are up against. If we put in here that an attorney shall be paid, the lawyer might tie up the estate of a soldier while he is away.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not think any first-class lawyer would do it, but there might be some injustice if the litigation was a long one.

Mr. WEBB. Under those circumstances the court would suggest a fee that would be satisfactory to both sides.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. I would suggest to the chairman that the almost universal practice now in most of the State courts is that the court is given the power and discretion to fix the fee of attorneys ad litem, and he can make it nominal or otherwise. And it is usually added to the costs in the case.

Mr. MADDEN. Who pays in a case like this? That is the question.

Mr. WEBB. That is the question. I realize the situation.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Recurring to the question asked by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], I want to direct the gentleman's attention to the fact that under the section that applies to evictions for failure to pay rent, the benefit is given to a soldier's dependents. How is a landlord to know when he makes a contract with certain parties whether they are dependents of a soldier, and how is he to ascertain when they are on the premises and he wants to take action to collect his rent? How is he to know they are in the scope of that protection? I would call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the dependents may be parents, or may be persons who are not residing with him. The parents may make the contract for rental of premises without any knowledge on the landlord's part that they have a soldier that they may be depending upon.

Mr. WEBB. My friend readily sees that we do not define dependents as we did in the insurance bill. It is almost impossible in this bill to define a dependent, and so we all thought it would be better to leave it in the power of the court, who understands what a dependent means, to say whether or not in this particular case or that a person about to be evicted was a dependent or not.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. How would the landlord know he was proceeding against a person who was a soldier's dependent? It is made a crime under the provisions of the bill to evict him, and if this dependent should even fail to make a defense it seems likely the landlord would be guilty of an offense.

Mr. WEBB. It is a crime in most of the States to evict any person by force. I do not think we have added anything new to this, except we want to bring the matter into court so that a wise judge can do justice between the parties.

The Clerk read as follows:

(4) If any judgment shall be rendered in any action or proceeding governed by this section against any person in military service during the period of such service or within 30 days thereafter, and it appears that such person was prejudiced by reason of his military service in making his defense thereto, such judgment may, upon application, made by such person or his legal representative, not later than 90 days after the termination of such service, be opened by the court rendering the same and such defendant or his legal representative let in to defend, provided it is made to appear that the defendant has a meritorious or legal defense to the action or some part thereof. Vacating, setting aside, or reversing any judgment because of any of the provisons of this act shall not impair any right or title acquired by any bona fide purchaser for value under such judgment.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a pro forma amendment. On page 5, line 23, there is a typographical error. The word "is" ought to be "it." And I move to strike out "is" and insert "it."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WEBB: Page 5, line 23, after the word "knowing," strike out the word "is" and insert in lieu thereof the word "it."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STEVENSON: Page 6, line 24, after the word "judgment," strike out the period and add the following: "but the owner who has been in the military service shall have the right to redeem the property sold not later than six months after the termination of the war by paying the purchase price paid by such purchaser and interest thereon at the legal rate of the State where located."

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, the reason for offering that amendment is this: There is a provision here for very carefully scanning the granting of all judgments. No judgment will be opened unless a clear case of fraud upon the soldier is shown, evidently because safeguards are thrown around the granting of this judgment.

Now, the provision with which the paragraph closes—that is, "Vacating, setting aside, or reversing any judgment because of any of the provisions of this act shall not impair any right or title acquired by any bona fide purchaser for value under such judgment"—simply renders nugatory the right to have the judgment opened. In other words, he can go to work and will have to show a clear case of fraud before they open the judgment. A man who has committed a fraud on him perhaps has had the property sold for perhaps 25 cents on the dollar on its value. That is the way it happens most frequently in that kind of a case. A man who has done that has the money in his pocket. The innocent purchaser has bought the property at a great sacrifice. The defendant comes in and gets the judgment opened, and when he gets it opened the man who has got his money has gone, or he is not worth anything, and he gets no relief there. The man who has got his property for 25 cents on the dollar is immune, because this proposition says you can not go over his title. It is like one of these successful surgical operations in which the patient dies. That is exactly the situation he is in. Therefore I propose to amend this paragraph so that he can have the same right to redeem that he would have when the State sells his property for taxes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Would not the gentleman, then, proceed on the same theory of redemption as is provided by the States in the case of property sold for taxes?

Mr. STEVENSON. I would have no objection to that, but you will note that in Article V, subdivision 3, the time for redemption of land after it is sold for taxes is fixed at six months after the termination of the war, and I was fixing it so as to make all the provisions conform. Certainly this provision ought to be in here.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Sales for taxes or sales under foreclosure or trustee are different. Now, as to the period for redemption for sale of property under foreclosure proceedings, in many of the States it is 6 months, and in some States it is a year, and in some States it is 18 months.

Mr. STEVENSON. In some States they are not entitled to redeem at all; in fact, in most of the States they are not, and therefore it seems to me that in order to make the whole thing harmonious a man should be allowed to come up and redeem in the same period after the judicial sale as after the tax sale.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBBINS. Is there not a radical difference between a tax sale and a judicial sale? In this case it is a sale of personal property, and if you put a notice on it, legal or otherwise, that this property shall be redeemable in six months, if the soldier redeems it, you do not get any remedy at all, whereas in the tax case——

Mr. STEVENSON. There is no distinction here between the sale of personal property and the sale of real estate, and under the laws of most of the States real estate is sold the same as personal property, and property is sold for taxes just the same. The two are on a parity, except that there is much more likelihood of imposition in this case than in the case of a tax sale. In the case of a tax sale it is the State that has the execution; it is the State that is making the sale. In this case it can be redeemed only after opening judgment, and this bill provides that only when the judgment has been fraudulently obtained can it be opened, and in this case there should be a greater remedy when it is redeemed against a fraud than in a case where the property is sold by reason of a tax sale.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I believe the gentleman from South Carolina has carefully read the provision of this section; otherwise he would not have made the statement that if the judgment is set aside, the man against whom the judgment is rendered would have no redress for a sale under the judgment. He overlooked the provision requiring the giving of a bond sufficient to pay any damages that may be done the defendant by rendering a judgment against him, or any process that may be issued on that judgment. As the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE] suggested, this is a general provision. All property that may be seized or sold under a judgment, personal or real, is provided for under the provisions of this section. It would therefore be useless to have a judgment and undertake to sell personal property under it if it was tagged with the notice that if the defendant should appear and the judgment should be set aside the purchaser must restore the property. The amendment, if adopted, would destroy the soldier's credit. It would cause the sacrifice of his property, because nobody would buy it. In the next place, I think the gentleman's position is unfair to the soldier in this respect; that it provides that the judgment may be set aside only for fraud. The committee went beyond that. The committee thought that if the substantial rights of the defendant had been sacrificed by reason of his service in the Army, he ought to be given the right to reopen the judgment. For instance——

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Does the gentleman understand by the amendment that the soldier shall have the right to redeem only when it is set aside for fraud? I understand from the terms of the act that it would have to be practically a fraud before it could be done.

Mr. CARAWAY. The gentleman is in error. It was thought by the committee that if a man were in the Army some collector of a bad debt—and I think he is the most active individual in the world—might get up a lot of sale accounts, barred by the statute of limitations, and proceed to judgment against the absent defendant.

Well, in a case of that kind the committee thought if he should come home and show the court that he had any defense, meritorious or legal, no harm would be done to put him just where he was when the action was commenced against him. Let him make any defense that he could have made had he been present in person when the suit was tried. In view of the liberal provision for setting aside judgments, it was thought by the committee that the other provision which required, if the court should so decide—and I take it for granted that it would—that the judgment creditor before he can obtain a judgment must execute a bond conditioned that he will pay all damages——

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield once more?

Mr. CARAWAY. With pleasure.

Mr. STEVENSON. The gentleman will notice that that is the provision where the creditor fails to prove that the defendant is not in such service. It is not where he has to prove that the defendant is in such service and has no application at all to the case I have in mind. The case is this: Unless it appears that the defendant is not in such service the court may require, as a condition before judgment is entered, that the plaintiff file a bond approved by the court, conditioned to indemnify the defendant if in military service; that is, when it is not made to appear affirmatively that he is not in such service.

Mr. CARAWAY. On page 6, in subsection 3, commencing in line 4, is the provision—the gentleman did not read it all—

And in such case—

That is, where it does appear that the man is in military service and an attorney has been appointed to defend him—

a like bond may be required and an order made to protect the rights of such person in military service.

So the rights of the defendant, I think, are cared for, and the committee hopes that the amendment will not be agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment to the amendment, in the nature of a substitute, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by Mr. JONES of Texas: Page 6, line 21, beginning with the word "vacating," in line 21, strike out the remaining portion of line 21 and all of lines 22, 23, and 24.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had the same idea in mind that the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON] had in offering his amendment, but I think my amendment will accomplish the same end more effectively.

Mr. STEVENSON. That suits me. I had rather have it that way.

Mr. JONES of Texas. I can see no reason in the world for having that provision in the bill, because the bill itself in terms expressly provides that this act shall not apply to the man who is not a soldier. If that is true, it should protect the rights of a man who is a soldier; and in order to protect those rights you can not give to an innocent purchaser the privilege of coming in and depriving him of those rights.

Under the terms of this bill there can hardly be an innocent purchaser in the real sense of the word, because the intending purchaser can examine the judgment roll and see whether the records show that the defendant is not a soldier. If they show that, then the purchaser is perfectly safe in going ahead and making the purchase; but if the judgment rolls show that the defendant is a soldier, or that it is not known whether or not he is a soldier, then in order to protect the rights of the soldier you can not permit an innocent purchaser to come in and deprive him of those rights by purchasing the judgment or the property under the judgment. Now, section 200 provides that a bond may be executed, but it does not require the bond to be executed, and, besides, the bond will not protect the soldier, because he is compelled not only to sue to set aside the judgment, but he is then compelled to sue on the bond after he has set the judgment aside. And why can not the purchaser be protected by a bond as well as the soldier? Instead of having a bond to protect the soldier, let the seller protect the purchaser by a bond.

Then, in addition, if an innocent purchaser has intervened, of course the soldier can not recover the property back under the terms of this bill, and in my State there is no redemption of property sold under a judgment. Besides being put in the attitude of having to move twice, in order to obtain his rights, he would be put in the attitude, if the bond was not perfectly good, of perhaps not attaining those rights at all.

I am heartily in favor of this bill, and I want the soldier to have the full benefit of it. If he risks his life for the protection of this country, including all property rights, most certainly the door should not be left open for some smooth shylock to destroy his property rights by assuming the rôle of an innocent purchaser. Under this bill, as drafted, any grasping creditor could by a system of transfers place the property beyond the reach of the very rights which this bill is intended to confer upon him.

The paragraph which the amendment would strike out does not confer any rights, but it provides a loophole for depriving the soldier of his rights. By striking it out you will leave the soldier all of the rights and remedies which are stipulated, and at the same time you will strike down the opportunity of designing ones to nullify those rights and remedies.

Mr. CARAWAY. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. JONES of Texas. You may.

Mr. CARAWAY. If you strike out these lines, do you not leave your defendant absolutely without any remedy at all?

Mr. JONES of Texas. I do not think so. I think you leave him with his remedy. This bill provides the remedy, while the part I seek to strike out would deprive him of his remedy, by letting an innocent purchaser intervene.

Mr. CARAWAY. You simply say he may set the judgment aside, and then you do not say what may happen to it. You leave him without any remedy.

Mr. JONES of Texas. If the judgment is set aside, he can recover his property by paying the debt.

Mr. CARAWAY. You say in your State there is no right of redemption at all after sale under a judgment?

Mr. JONES of Texas. After sale there is not. But this bill provides one.

Mr. CARAWAY. Would not the law of your State, then, govern, and would not the defendant be stripped of any right at all? You simply leave him with the naked right to set the judgment aside, which would do him no good.

Mr. JONES of Texas. After the judgment is set aside, of course a man can pay his debt and take his property.

Mr. CARAWAY. I thought you said he had no right of redemption.

Mr. JONES of Texas. If he can set the judgment aside, he can redeem. This bill gives him the right to set the judgment aside, and having done so, of course he can redeem by paying his debt.

As far as property selling for less than it is worth is concerned, property always sells for less than it is worth under a forced sale, sometimes for 25 cents on a dollar; and if through the guise of an innocent purchaser you permit a fraud to be perpetrated upon him, that perhaps he can not prove is a fraud, and therefore can not set the judgment aside, you practically deprive him of all his rights.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a statement prepared by Secretary Lane concerning the activities of the several bureaus of his department—the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Reclamation Service, and so forth.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, let me call the attention of the gentleman from Texas to what would be the effect of his proposed amendment. In my State the right of redemption from a judgment sale of real estate is permitted. As a consequence the property hardly ever sells for much of anything except to the judgment creditor. If your amendment is adopted you will sacrifice the property and deprive the soldier from having a fair amount bid at the judgment sale.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Does not the gentleman admit that the only protection to the soldier would be in the right to have a stay in the rendition of the judgment?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. This bill provides for such stay. It gives ample power to stay the judgment. We ought not to sell a soldier's property under such conditions that it is sacrificed. If we adopt your amendment it seems to me that is what you are going to do.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Does not the gentleman think there would be more harm by people selling him out when he is not there and then having a sale to an innocent purchaser?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. It is a question of what is the practical thing to do. Will the soldier suffer more by the method proposed by the gentleman or by the one that is in the bill? I believe, in all fairness, it is much better for the soldier and for the person who is dealing with him to accept the provision in the bill. After you have stricken out by your amendment this provision in the bill, suppose you set aside the judgment, in what condition would you be? Would not the purchaser still be in a position to insist that he had purchased it in good faith and secured good title? He would, I believe, in my State. It seems to me that we ought to make the rule uniform in all the States by leaving the bill as it is drawn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FERRIS). The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Texas by the way of substitute.

The question was taken, and the amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I want to pursue the question raised by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] in regard to attorney's fees. I had intended to offer an amendment, on page 6, line 9, but will defer to the judgment of the chairman of the committee in regard to it after he hears my statement.

Pension attorneys are now allowed a statutory fee, I think, of $10. Probably it is a wise provision of law to fix a limitation on the fee. Whether it will be a wise thing to do in this case I do not know, but since jurisdiction over many of the matters that will arise under this bill will be had before justices of the peace and magistrates who may appoint attorneys, it seems that there ought to be some limitation.

I had prepared an amendment to be submitted, on page 6, line 9, to read like this:

Nor shall he receive any compensation for his services in excess of $10 in any case unless authorized by a court of competent jurisdiction.

That might be modified by striking out the amount so that it would read:

Nor shall he receive any compensation for his services in any case unless authorized by a court of competent jurisdiction.

Mr. SUMNERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield.

Mr. SUMNERS. No attorney's fees could be taxed up against a defendant unless by order of the court.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The court appoints the attorney to take care of the interests of the defendant.

Mr. SUMNERS. Yes; but the attorney's fees are not taxed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Suppose it happens to be a justice of the peace in some congested community where individuals are striving for their rights, or where there is little sympathy for those in adversity, and a favorite attorney of the court or of the justice of the peace or the magistrate is appointed and all matters are turned over into the hands of one attorney. Does it not seem to the gentleman that there ought to be some limitation upon the power of a minor court to appoint attorneys where folks in distress do not know their rights under the law or may never know that this law existed?

Mr. SUMNERS. I will say, if the inquiry is addressed to me, that the legislatures of the several States, of course, will undertake to take care of these conditions which obtain within the State. These soldiers who will be brought before the court will have their friends there, and the court is charged with the responsibility to protect them. The committee felt in drafting this bill that it was going as far as it could afford to go in controlling the discretion of the local tribunal. We felt that the soldier would have the protection and the local sympathy and local interests of the courts.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That may be. The question of sympathy and patriotism is all right, provided the patriotism does not make money out of patriotism, and provided that those that have sympathy for the unfortunate do not attempt to turn it to their own profit and advantage. There are lawyers in some communities who specialize; they organize to capture certain lines of business, and some of them have the reputation of being very close behind the ambulance when the victim of an accident is taken to the hospital. I know this is not good practice, but we often hear of it.

It seems to me that the question of fees ought to be determined by some court, and I will ask the gentleman if he will consider either one of the amendments suggested.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will not urge his amendment. I stated before why the committee did not go into the question of lawyers' fees, and I fear if we should adopt the amendment suggested by the gentleman that in every case where a poor soldier has a little matter in court the judge will allow some lawyer a $10 fee. I think it would almost amount to a command to allow a lawyer $10 for something he could do perhaps in a few minutes. I do not think we ought to adopt it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman accept an amendment, if I should offer it, in this form:

Nor shall he (the attorney) receive any compensation for his services in any case unless authorized by a court of competent jurisdiction?

Mr. WEBB. That is what the law is now. It leaves it to the discretion of the court. That is the law in every State.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Why not give notice now that we do not propose to tolerate ambulance chasers in this soldiers' relief business?

Mr. WEBB. I think we have left that to the discretion of the wise judge, and I do not think he will permit it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I question whether you have done that in the bill specifically.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is the law and practice in every jurisdiction. Fees would not be allowed except by order of the court.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted to do so in the gentleman's time, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Page 6, line 9, after the word "acts," strike out the period, insert a comma and the following: "nor shall he receive any compensation for his services in any case unless authorized by a court of competent jurisdiction."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I hope that that amendment will be voted down. I think it would authorize every court to give the lawyer $10.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIEGEL: Page 5, line 15, after the word "bond," insert the following: "in such a sum as the court shall fix, and to be."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I can not consent to that, because the next language covers it, for it provides that it is in the approval of the court. The court fixes the amount of the bond and the conditions. I do not think it is necessary to insert this provision.

Mr. SIEGEL. With all due respect to the gentleman who framed the bill, it simply says now that he shall file a bond approved by the court. It does not say who shall fix the amount, and every statute that I have seen always states that the amount of the bond shall be fixed by the court.

Mr. WEBB. Does the gentleman think that the court would approve a bond of a dollar when $500 of property is involved?

Mr. SIEGEL. I want to say to my friends that when one of our colleagues was serving on the bench, and I refer to Mr. Bennet, he had that very question before him in section 191 of our municipal court act, and the act had to be thrown out in our State, because it did not provide that the sum should be fixed by the court. I can not see any objection to it. I ask the gentleman to accept the amendment in order to make it more definite.

Mr. WEBB. As suggested by one of my colleagues on the committee, if we go into that, then we ought to say how many sureties we should have and all that. I suggest that we leave that to the court.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the war-revenue bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the war-revenue bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 202. That when an action for compliance with the terms of any contract is stayed pursuant to this act no fine or penalty shall accrue by reason of failure to comply with the terms of such contract during the period of such stay, and in any case where a person fails to perform any obligation and a fine or penalty for such nonperformance is incurred a court may, on such terms as may be just, relieve against the enforcement of such fine or penalty if it shall appear that the person who would suffer by such fine or penalty was in the military service when the penalty was incurred and that by reason of such service the ability of such person to pay was thereby materially impaired.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend by inserting after the word "pay," in line 21, page 7, the words "or perform."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, we have no objection to that amendment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 203. That in any action or proceeding commenced in any court against a person in military service, before or during the period of such service, or within 60 days thereafter, the court may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and on application to it by such person or some person on his behalf shall, unless in the opinion of the court the ability of the defendant to comply with the judgment or order entered or sought is not materially affected by reason of his military service.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the period should be stricken out in line 6, on page 8, after the word "service," and a colon inserted in lieu thereof.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the correction will be made.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

ARTICLE III.

RENT, INSTALLMENT CONTRACTS, MORTGAGES.

SEC. 300. (1) That no eviction or distress shall be made during the period of military service in respect of any premises for which the agreed rent does not exceed $50 per month, occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of a person in military service, except upon leave of court granted upon application therefor or granted in an action affecting the right of possession.

(2) On any such application or in any such action the court may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and shall, on application, unless in the opinion of the court the ability of the tenant to pay the agreed rent is not materially affected by reason of such military service, stay the proceedings for not longer than three months, as provided in this act, or it may make such other order as may be just.

(3) Any person who shall take part in any eviction or distress otherwise than as provided in subsection (1) hereof shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by imprisonment not to exceed one year or by fine not to exceed $1,000, or both.

(4) The Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, is hereby empowered, subject to such regulations as he may prescribe, to order an allotment of the pay of a person in military service in reasonable proportion to discharge the rent of premises occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of such person.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 9, line 20, after the word "shall," insert the word "knowingly."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, we have no objection to that.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, in the time I am allowed in offering this amendment I desire to state that I am in favor of the bill and indorse its provisions, and I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD showing my position in favor of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 301. (1) That no person who has received, or whose assignor has received, under a contract for the purchase of real or personal property, or of lease or bailment with a view to purchase of such property, a deposit or installment of the purchase price from a person or from the assignor of a person who, after the date of payment of such deposit or installment, has entered military service, shall exercise any right or option under such contract to rescind or terminate the contract or resume possession of the property for nonpayment of any installment falling due during the period of such military service, except by action in any court.

(2) Upon the hearing of such action the court may order the repayment of prior installments or deposits, or any part thereof, as a condition of terminating the contract and resuming possession of the property, or may, in its discretion, on its own motion, and shall, on application to it by such person in military service or some person on his behalf, under a stay of proceedings as provided in this act unless, in the opinion of the court, the ability of the defendant to comply with the terms of the contract is not materially affected by reason of such service; or it may make such other disposition of the case as may be equitable to conserve the interests of all parties.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. VOLSTEAD: Page 10, line 20, strike out lines 20 and 21 and all of line 22 except the words "in its discretion."

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I just want to call attention to the fact that that language is entirely unnecessary, that the last part of the section gives the court the right to do anything that it legally can do. This language attempts to confer a power that I am very doubtful we can constitutionally confer. It is one feature of this bill about which I have more doubt than any other. It does not seem to me the amendment takes from the court any power that it needs or that we can legally confer upon it. The general power conferred in the last part of this section is as broad as the Constitution. If I thought this amendment would weaken the bill, I should not offer it, but I do not think it does. It leaves it intact for all practical purposes and removes one serious question as to its constitutionality.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I regret to differ with by good friend on the committee, and I think we should make a mistake to strike out the language which he proposes to strike out. I believe it will be regrettable both for the soldier and for the installment man or the man who sells on installments. We ought to keep the language in the bill because, unless we do authorize it, the court of the local forum may not have the authority to order repayment. Now, there is an organization in New York City represented by able, acute lawyers and when they saw this section in the newspapers they sent their representatives down here. They understood they were not going to be permitted to retake any property at all. They had scanned this section over and over and when they came to the committee room, and we explained what we were providing, they had no objection because we only take away from them the right to go summarily into a soldier's home, when nobody is there but his wife and little child, probably, and take the piano or the bedstead. As it is, he has to go to court to do it, where a judicial officer can supervise the proceeding. When he gets into the court, if the judge finds that by the seller paying back a certain amount and taking the property it would put him, the defendant, in status quo, if I may use the word; let the court do so. I think it would be unfortunate to strike out the provision, as I said, both for the man who sells the property, the buyer, and the soldier. The poor people especially buy on installments, and very often a judge can make a very equitable and just arrange-

ment requiring that the man who sold the property on the installment plan pay back to the person buying a little of the amount paid and take the property over.

Mr. ROBBINS. Or forfeit the installment.

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will yield.

Mr. TOWNER. The first paragraph of section 301 is for the benefit of the soldier or sailor because it says that no forfeiture shall be declared except by the court. Now, the provision that the gentleman from Minnesota asks to strike out is really the provision by which an equitable settlement may be made between the parties. If you take that away then the court would perhaps have no jurisdiction or authority to do that which is proposed by this section to be done—to say that upon repaying a part of the payments that have been made they might then obtain possession of the property.

Mr. WEBB. I think my friend has the idea exactly, and I should dislike very much to see this language go out.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, before the Clerk reads I would like to move to strike out the word "any," in line 18, page 10, and insert in lieu thereof "a"; after the word "court" strike out the period and insert "of competent jurisdiction." That language is a little too indefinite, so that it will read "by action in a court of competent jurisdiction."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WEBB: Page 10, line 18, after the word "action," strike out the word "any" and insert in lieu thereof the word "a"; and after the word "court" strike out the period and insert "of competent jurisdiction."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEBB. Now, Mr. Speaker, in line 25, the first word, "under," is manifestly a typographical error, and it ought to be "order."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 10, line 25, strike out the word "under" and insert in lieu thereof the word "order."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEBB. Now, I offer an amendment which I would like to have reported.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. WEBB: Page 10, under section 301, after subsection (1), add a new paragraph, as follows:

"(a) Any person who shall knowingly resume possession of property which is the subject of this section otherwise than as provided in subsection (1) hereof shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by imprisonment not to exceed one year or by fine not to exceed $1,000, or both."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, this same provision we have in reference to unlawful eviction of soldier dependents. Now, in those cases where property is bought on the installment plan we propose to require the man who sells it—because he usually makes a big profit—before taking the property from the woman whose husband is absent at the front, that he shall take it under this provision, and if he does not he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield to my friend from Ohio.

Mr. FESS. Would it not be better, instead of making that a subsection of this subsection, to renumber the subsection and make that "2" and this "3"?

Mr. WEBB. That can be done. There will be no objection to that.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to this language, if I caught it correctly—"anyone who shall resume possession." How? He may get it peaceably; he may get it when it is abandoned, when there is no one who cares for it. Now, you would not punish a man by a court fine and imprisonment for that. It seems to me you ought to have something in that besides simply "resuming possession."

Mr. WEBB. So far as I am concerned, I am in favor of making it apply to any man, no matter how he gets hold of it, if he does not take it under the provisions of this section.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. There may be some property that may have been abandoned before the soldier entered the service.

Mr. WEBB. It is easy to talk about abandonment. I believe that there are sharks——

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I did not yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WEBB. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. It is not fair to call a man a shark under these circumstances. Suppose this property had been abandoned before the soldier enters the service, and he simply takes possession of it peaceably, as he has a perfect right to do? You punish him if he does not bring a suit in court for the purpose of getting possession of it. It seems to me you ought to put in some provision there to show that he is taking advantage in violation of somebody's rights.

Mr. WEBB. Did not my friend agree to the section about eviction from the premises?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Eviction is a different proposition in most cases. You are putting somebody out. You are not putting anybody out by this. I am perfectly willing to put in the provision you have got if you will put in language there so as to put the man in the wrong. But it seems to me your language is entirely too broad.

Mr. WEBB. I can imagine that a soldier's wife may go to the front to visit him and leave his property at home, and the installment agent would go and "peaceably" take it. I would believe in punishing him for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 409. That the bonds so delivered shall be held by the respective insurers as security for the payment of the defaulted premiums with interest. To indemnify it against loss the United States shall have a first lien upon the value of any policy receiving the benefits of this article, and no loan or settlement shall be made by the insurer on such policy which may prejudice the security of such lien.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, we are going so fast that I sort of slipped there. I want to ask a question of the chairman of the committee as to section 409. I want to ask him whether he does not think there ought to be a provision there that would also protect the Government against a first lien and also on judgments? Did you think of that feature of it?

Mr. WEBB. I think under this language the United States has the first lien. I could see how the insurance company may have loaned some money on the policy and probably claim a prior lien. But when an attachment is levied against a policy taken care of under this act the Government of the United States would have a prior lien under this language.

Mr. ROBBINS. That is what I think it ought to be. The Government ought to have a prior lien on it, and the amount should be limited on which it had a prior lien also.

Mr. WEBB. No attachment will hold against this policy after the insurance is taken care of by the Government, because, eo instanti, the lien takes place and no subsequent attachment would have priority over the Government's lien.

Mr. ROBBINS. I wanted to know whether that had been considered by the committee or not.

Mr. WEBB. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBBINS. It ought to be carefully guarded.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 414. That this article shall not apply to and policy which is void or which may at the option of the insurer be voidable, if the insured is in military service, either in this country or abroad, nor to any policy which as a result of being in military service, either in this country or abroad, provides for the payment of any sum less than the face thereof or for the payment of an additional amount as premium.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I observe another typographical error, at the end of line 10, on page 19. The word printed "and," at the end of line 10, should be changed to "any."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, page 19, line 10, by striking out the word "and" and inserting the word "any."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, for the purpose of asking a question on the insurance section generally.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. ROBBINS. What does the committee figure this will cost the Government to carry on and maintain this section of the bill?

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend from Pennsylvania that we tried to get the most expert insurance men we could get before our committee, and we have had the very best. There is no way to figure it, except to say that it is going to be unusually small. Practically every insurance policy that will be carried by the Government under this provision will be 3 years old or over, and all those policies will have some reserve.

Mr. ROBBINS. Accumulated reserve value or cash surrender value?

Mr. WEBB. Cash surrender value, which will protect the Government for two or three years, and by that time I hope the war will be over. We have figured it very carefully, and I think that as it is finally worked out the country will be surprised to find that an unusually low amount will be required. Only in few cases will the soldier permit a policy to lapse that has the Government back of it. If he does, the Government will pay off the policy if it lapses, and that winds up the business. I am glad my friend asked that question.

Mr. ROBBINS. I am glad to learn that that is the fact, because it has not been made apparent what the cost will be, and that is one of the features of the bill. I can see that if the policy has not run any considerable time, has not any paid-up value at the time of settlement, the Government might be compelled to pay considerable.

Mr. WEBB. My friend is right about that. But every policy that has been issued in the last three years, either by the fraternal organizations or by the old-line insurance companies, has in it a war-risk provision, providing that if the policyholder goes to war the policy becomes void. We provide that no premiums on such policy shall be paid or carried by the Government, because in these cases the soldier should wind up that kind of a policy and take out insurance from the War-Risk Bureau.

Mr. ROBBINS. That is the increased premium caused by the extra hazard?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; on account of the increased premium due to the extra hazard. We do not believe those policies should be continued or carried by the Government. We think it wise for that reason.

Mr. ROBBINS. The soldier can take out insurance under the other act?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. He can convert that after the war into other insurance?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Certainly.

Mr. FESS. There is no provision in the bill authorizing the expenditure of money, is there?

Mr. WEBB. Yes. We authorize the deposit of bonds with insurance companies, and after the policy is finally wound up, after the war is over, we authorize a settlement, which may require the payment of money by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. FESS. This bill, then, provides for a certain obligation on the part of the Government?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; contingently. If the soldier, when he comes back, refuses to pay up the premiums which the Government has advanced, then the Government is subrogated to the rights of the soldier, and if there is anything remaining due, the Secretary of the Treasury will have to pay it.

Mr. FESS. How is it that we are in the House as in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. WEBB. Simply because there is only an indirect or contingent charge on the Government carried in the bill. There is no direct certain charge, although possibly in some cases there will be, though there may never be.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 415. That this article shall apply only to insurance companies or associations which are required by the law under which they are organized or doing business to maintain a reserve, or, which if not so required, have made or shall make provision for the collection from all those insured in such insurer of a premium to cover the special war risk of those insured persons who are in military service.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman a question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Why did the committee limit the real estate to real property occupied by dwelling or for business purposes?

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend why we did it. We thought if the Government took care of the soldier's home and the business from which he fed the inmates of his home we were going far enough. We thought that we should not go so far as to reach out and affect his investments. We thought that in all probability his military service would not affect those investments, and therefore we thought it best to leave that out.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Let me put this case to the gentleman: Supposing one of these men had bought a lot, on which he had intended to build a house for his own personal use. That would not be included?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That would be sacrificed?

Mr. WEBB. I do not know that it would be sacrificed.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It might be sacrificed. At least it might be sold.

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And he would have to redeem it later.

Mr. WEBB. But under the general provisions of the bill, if it appeared that his military service made him less able to pay, why, he would probably be protected.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And would not that provision also prevent the abuse of this privilege by men who had a large amount of vacant land for investment purposes? Does not the gentleman think that is a pretty narrow provision?

Mr. WEBB. No; I think not. We went over it very carefully, and we felt that the Government ought not to go out into the business of protecting rich men who are in the Army, who have got tens of thousands of dollars invested for profit. But we wanted to protect the man who needs protection, the man who has got nothing but a home and a business. But beyond that, when it goes into his investments, his military service is not going to affect that.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does not the next paragraph absolutely demand that a man's military service shall render him less able to pay?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And would not that prevent any man from taking any undue advantage of such a provision?

Mr. WEBB. Undue advantage?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. WEBB. I do not know that I catch the gentleman's point.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Suppose a fairly rich man wanted to be exempt from his taxes. He would have to make affidavit to the fact that his military service rendered it impossible or impracticable for him to pay.

Mr. WEBB. No; that his ability to meet his obligation had been materially affected by reason of his military service.

Mr. LONGWORTH. No rich man could take advantage of that.

Mr. WEBB. He ought not to take advantage of it.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Of course not.

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. LONGWORTH. But it seems to me that a poor man who had bought a lot on which he intended to build a home ought to be protected.

Mr. WEBB. He can be, but not from taxes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Not under this provision.

Mr. WEBB. He can be protected by a stay, if his ability to meet his obligation has been affected by his military service.

Mr. LONGWORTH. No, because it applies only to land that is used for his own dwelling or for business purposes. It would not apply to a vacant lot in that case.

Mr. WEBB. It is not his home or his business, and that is as far as the committee thought they ought to go.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think it is a little too narrow.

Mr. WEBB. It may be. I am not contentious about it. But you will see, if you go beyond a man's home and business, what a wide field you begin to wander in. You can see other things that might be covered, and the committee thought we ought to stop there.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 501. That no right to any public lands initiated or acquired prior to entering military service by any person under the homestead laws, the desert-land laws, the mining-land laws, or any other laws of the United States, shall be forfeited or prejudiced by reason of his absence from such land, or of his failure to perform any work or make any improvements thereon, or to do any other act required by any such law during the period of such service. Nothing in this section contained shall be construed to deprive a person in military service or his heirs or devisees of any benefits to which he or they may be entitled under the act entitled "An act for the relief of homestead entrymen or settlers who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war," approved July 28, 1917; the act entitled "An act for the protection of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war," approved August 7, 1917; the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," approved August 10, 1917; the joint resolution "To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the military or naval service of the United States as officers or enlisted men from performing assessment work during the term of such service," approved July 17, 1917; or any other act or resolution of Congress: *Provided*, That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to limit or affect the right of a person in the military service to take any action during his term of service that may be authorized by law, or the regulations of the Interior Department thereunder, for the perfection, defense, or further assertion of rights initiated prior to the date of entering military service, and it shall be lawful for any person while in military service to make any affidavit or submit any proof that may be required by law or the practice of the General Land

Office in connection with the entry, perfection, defense, or further assertion of any rights initiated prior to entering military service, before the officer commanding in the branch of the service in which the party is engaged, which affidavits shall be as binding in law and with like penalties as if taken before the register of the United States Land Office.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, in order to ask the gentleman a question. How are you going to enforce a provision that requires an affidavit to be made, as provided in line 7, page 23, before the commanding officer of the branch of the service in which the party is engaged? If the man was in the military service, the commanding officer might be stationed at some distance. If he was in the naval service, he might be stationed at a very great distance. Why ought not the provision to say "the officer in immediate command holding a commission"? It could be taken before a lieutenant, a captain, or a major, as the case may be.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. This is a copy of the present statute and we have applied it to the present conditions. I do not think it will work badly. It has been on the statute book for a great many years.

Mr. ROBBINS. I am looking at it from a practical standpoint, that it might be impossible to take the oath before an officer of that branch of the service. If he was serving with a division in France, the commanding officer of that division might be stationed 50 miles from where he was; he might be stationed for the time being in England or Italy. If he was serving in the Navy or the Marine Corps or the Coast Guard Service, the commanding officer would not be on the boat where he was except on rare occasions. It does not seem to me to be a practical provision. It ought to be an officer in the immediate command holding a commission.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. I will yield.

Mr. TOWNER. I think the suggestion is a proper one, and I see no reason why it should not be accepted by the committee. The reasons have not existed in the past that now exist, because we have never had any such foreign service. The conditions now are such that the commanding officer will be at a great distance all the time from the soldiers in the field.

Mr. ROBBINS. I have had some knowledge of military service myself, and conditions are changed in this far-flung battle line that we are entering upon. I think the act ought to be made as practical and simple as possible as far as the soldier is concerned.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, this was added to the bill after we practically had agreed on the other sections, at the request or suggestion of gentlemen from the West—I think the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] and the gentleman from Oklahoma now in the chair. They said that was what they wanted and the way the committee wanted it. As far as I am concerned, I am willing to accept any amendment in that particular. Does not my friend think it means an officer immediately in command?

Mr. ROBBINS. It does not say that. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend by adding, on page 23, line 7, after the word "officer," the words "in immediate command holding a commission."

Mr. Speaker, this act, which is to be known hereafter as the "soldiers' and sailors' civil rights act," is enacted for the protection of the soldiers and sailors during the war.

The present Congress has made every honest and faithful effort within its knowledge and power to properly care for our soldiers and sailors entering into this war for the defense of our flag and our country.

After passing the selective-draft act and compelling the soldiers to enter the military service, it is right and proper that everything should be done for their comfort and protection and care during the war and after it is over.

We first enacted the bill doubling the pay of the private soldier.

We then passed a bill providing for insurance and payment of annuities to the soldier during service, and also for the payment of annuities and money should anything happen to him or after his return from the service. This bill is intended to take the place of pensions and is a more liberal bill and more suited to the times in which we live.

Now, we are enacting a civil-rights bill, the purpose of which is, among others, to grant a sort of a moratorium or stay of all legal proceedings that may be entered against the soldier in the courts, or on any contracts that he may have made, during his absence in the service of his country. This bill provides that no soldier while in the military service shall be sold out for debt, or upon a lease, if thereby his property would be sacrificed or those dependent upon him placed in distress or want. Neither on a simple debt, nor on a lease, nor on a mortgage, is his property to be taken away from him. This act is notice to the world, so far as the United States soldiers are concerned, that the Government is protecting them and those dependent on them while they are in the military service and for three months thereafter.

It also protects their insurance contracts and stays the hand of the insurance companies, whose contracts are binding and forfeitable until the soldier returns, and then he can decide whether he wishes to resume payments or take some other course provided in his contract of insurance. More than this, Mr. Speaker, this bill proposes to stay even the collection of taxes. In fact, the General Government becomes the next friend and guardian of those who are in the military service of their country while they serve and for three months thereafter.

The law also protects the soldier in many other particulars, but the details of this bill I will not pause now to discuss.

A mere reflection upon the circumstances will indicate how just this bill is. Our soldiers are taken for foreign service. Those in the Navy will be scattered along our vast coast line, or in the hostile waters surrounding Europe, and it may be for great periods of time they will be outside of the usual routes of communication. Our soldiers will be fighting no one can safely predict where; probably in France or Belgium, probably in Austria or Turkey, maybe in far-away Russia; they will be, Mr. Speaker, wherever duty calls them and wherever the flag leads them.

These young men, all between the ages of 21 and 31, are starting in life. Thousands of them have bought homes that are yet unpaid for. Great multitudes have little homes, with furniture, in some instances bought on the installment plan. Others may be living in leased premises, holding fine positions, drawing good salaries, meeting their financial obligations regularly. In the twinkle of an eye this is changed. The strong arm of the Government takes them, and willingly and patriotically they go. Their salaries are cut down; their incomes are diminished. The means of meeting their financial obligations are taken away. It would be, indeed, a cruel government that would not step in and take care of them and their families and their financial obligations while they are fulfilling the patriotic call of their country.

This, Mr. Speaker, the United States proposes to do.

Heretofore the States passed bills limiting the running of the statute of limitations, but, Mr. Speaker, how far short of a complete remedy such enactment would be at this time.

The United States with 100,000,000 people and with its vast wealth can not afford, and will not afford, to send its soldiers forth unless everything is done to aid, comfort, and sustain them while fighting for their country and preserving our institutions and our wealth.

It is no time to argue constitutional questions in the face of such great emergency as this. Under the general war-making power contained in the Constitution Congress has the right to do anything that would contribute to the common defense, and to the comfort, security, and safety of the Nation's soldiers. The Constitution expressly confers upon Congress the power to declare war, and the power to declare war our Supreme Court has held involved the power to prosecute it by all means, and in any manner in which war may be legitimately prosecuted, and in providing for the general defense nothing could be more potential than to provide for the contentment, happiness, and care of our soldiers and their dependents, and that this bill proposes to do to the fullest extent.

Mr. Speaker, may each American soldier go forth feeling and knowing that all his contracts and obligations at home are stayed. That no avaricious creditor can levy execution and sell him out by sheriff's sale or other compulsory legal process, and that all of his contracts and obligations will be kept in force, and that his wife and children will be undisturbed in the possession of his home, be it humble or be it great, and that standing by him as a father and friend is the great Government of the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 23, line 7, after the word "officer" insert the words "in immediate command holding a commission."

Mr. ROBBINS. And strike out the word "commanding," which is superfluous.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to speak on the amendment. I direct the attention of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as well as the chairman of the committee, to the fact that yesterday the House passed a bill introduced by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TIMBERLAKE], which makes provision for the protection of the rights of these men in substantially the same language as is included within the last five lines of this section, page 23.

Mr. WEBB. If my friend will permit an interruption, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TIMBERLAKE] consulted me, and I told him I had no objection if the House wanted to pass it, but that we had included it in the bill.

Mr. WALSH. I thought, in view of that action, the committee might want to strike this out.

Mr. WEBB. The gentleman from Colorado said that he felt that he could get his bill through the Senate, and if he could not he would take his chances along our bill.

Mr. WALSH. It seems to me unwise to have two bills on the same subject.

Mr. WEBB. If the bill of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TIMBERLAKE] passes the Senate, the Senate, of course, will strike this provision out of this bill.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, if we do not fix this law in some way it will be very confusing, because if you are going to file a claim required by law it ought to be modified by making the provision so that the soldier could comply with the terms of it.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, we have no objection to the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 600. That where in any proceeding to enforce a civil right in any court it is made to appear to the satisfaction of the court that any interest, property, or contract has since the date of the approval of this act been transferred or acquired with intent to delay the just enforcement of such right by taking advantage of this act, the court shall enter such judgment or make such order as might lawfully be entered or made irrespective of the provisions of this act.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman a question. I take it that the provisions of the last two lines are inserted in order that the court may make such an order in that class of cases as it would make if this measure were not enacted. It seems to me, however, that it is not very well worded. It says "irrespective of the provisions of this act." I think a simple provision to the effect that the party in such cases would not be entitled to the benefits of this act would be better.

Mr. SLOAN. I suggest "the provisions of this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I think that would be better.

Mr. WEBB. I think it is a choice of language. We have no pride about the language. If the gentleman desires to offer such an amendment I shall offer no objection to it.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend by striking out after the word "made," in line 20, page 23, the word "irrespective of the provisions of this act," and insert in lieu thereof the word "the provisions of ths act to the contrary notwithstanding."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 23, line 20, after the word "made," strike out the words "irrespective of the provisions of this act" and insert "the provisions of this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 601. (1) That in any proceeding under this act a certificate signed by The Adjutant General of the Army as to persons in the Army or in any branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Army, signed by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department as to persons in the Navy or in any other branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Navy, and signed by the Major General, Commandant, United States Marine Corps, as to persons in the Marine Corps, or in any other branch of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Marine Corps, or signed by an officer designated by any of them, respectively, for the purpose, shall when produced be prima facie evidence as to any of the following facts stated in such certificate:

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the word "facie" be correctly spelled in line 8, page 24.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

It shall be the duty of the foregoing officers to furnish such certificate on application, and any such certificate when purporting to be signed by any one of such officers or by any person appearing upon the face of the certificate to have been so authorized shall be prima facie evidence of its contents and of the authority of the signer to issue the same.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend by striking out in line 21, page 24, the word "appearing" and inserting the word "purporting."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, we have no objection to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill as amended to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. WEBB, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS LITTLE RIVER, ARK.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 2938) to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east, and for its present consideration, which bill I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Poinsett County, Ark., is hereby authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across Little River, a tributary to St. Francis River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east, fifth principal meridian, in Poinsett County, in the State of Arkansas, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CARAWAY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A similar House bill, H. R. 6045, was ordered to lie on the table.

PORT OF ENTRY AT NORTHGATE, N. DAK.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to consider the bill S. 2203, a bill to establish a port of entry at Northgate, N. Dak.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2203) for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry and delivery for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the gentleman if this bill has been reported by a committee?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. It was reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on yesterday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the privileges of the first section of the act approved June 10, 1880, governing the immediate transportation of dutiable merchandise without appraisement be, and are hereby, extended to the port of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise."

On motion of Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PRINTING OF THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' INSURANCE BILL.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Wisconsin rise?

Mr. ESCH. To make request for unanimous consent in regard to the soldiers' insurance bill. In the absence of the chairman of the committee, I ask unanimous consent that the printing clerk secure a copy of the soldiers' insurance bill, H. R. 5723, and have it printed with Senate amendments numbered, so that the bill may be available when it is sent to conference in the morning.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the soldiers' insurance bill be printed with

Senate amendments numbered. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

DAY OF PRAYER FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up Senate concurrent resolution 12 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate concurrent resolution 12, providing for the setting aside of a day of prayer for the success of the American armies in the pending war.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the people and the Government of the United States are now engaged in the greatest war of history, which in its determination is fraught with great results for good or evil, not only to the people of this country but to the people of the whole world, and which is the greatest undertaking upon which this country has ever embarked; and

Whereas this country is about to engage in preparing for war and will soon be sending abroad to the theater of war great numbers of our young men, there to take part in the sanguinary conflict and offer their lives in defense of their country's rights; and

Whereas it is in accordance with the customs and traditions of this country as a Christian Nation, and has heretofore been the practice of this country upon engaging in war to set aside a day, by official proclamation, for prayer for the aid of the Almighty: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is, requested by Congress to issue a proclamation designating a day of prayer and calling upon the people of this country on such day to assemble in their various places of worship and there offer prayer to Almighty God for the success of our armies and victory for our cause in this great conflict.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the concurrent resolution.

The question was taken, and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

CHAPLAINS AT LARGE, UNITED STATES ARMY.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I offer this resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which he sends to the Clerk's desk. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 167.

Resolution requesting the Senate to return to the House of Representatives H. R. 5271, being an act authorizing the appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

Resolved, That the Senate be, and hereby is, requested to return to the House of Representatives H. R. 5271, being an act authorizing the appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

CHAPLAINS AT LARGE FOR THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2527, providing for chaplains at large for the United States Army.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent for the further consideration of the bill S. 2527, the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2527) authorizing the appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire what is the necessity, after the other bill, of undertaking to pass a bill that has not been considered by the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. SIEGEL. The Committee on Military Affairs has considered the bill and has reported the bill back with an amendment, striking out everything after the enacting clause and inserting in lieu thereof the language of my bill, which we passed here on September 11 last. The reason the resolution is offered was to overcome some objection which one gentleman seems to have fearing that the two bills would pass.

Mr. WINGO. This House has passed two bills already.

Mr. SIEGEL. Oh, no. I want to say to the gentleman we passed only one bill.

Mr. WINGO. We passed one bill, and we had the Senate bill up the other day.

Mr. SIEGEL. Which was objected to.

Mr. WINGO. Which the gentleman said was the same thing.

Mr. SIEGEL. Which was objected to, and which we did not pass.

Mr. WINGO. And you have just secured the consent of the House to recall the one we passed, and now you propose to pass the one the Senate has passed. Is this the one that calls for 20 chaplains?

Mr. SIEGEL. Twenty chaplains.

Mr. WINGO. Why has not the Senate taken up our bill and passed it?

Mr. SIEGEL. The situation is as follows: One of our friends here in the House seemed to think this resolution ought to pass first, and that we ought then to take up the Senate bill, because the Senate bill as amended by our Committee on Military Affairs contains the same language as my bill. I have been over to the Senate, and after consulting several of the members of the Military Committee I was advised to take the procedure which I am taking here now.

Mr. WINGO. Why do they not pass the House bill and stop the controversy?

Mr. SIEGEL. The row arises from the fact that they can not get the full Military Committee together over there and Senator CHAMBERLAIN is away on account of sickness.

Mr. WINGO. Let the bill be reported.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2527) authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

Be it enacted, etc., That the President alone may appoint for the period of the existing emergency not exceeding 20 chaplains at large for the United States Army, 12 as representing religious sects not recognized in the apportionment of chaplains now provided by law, and 8 for service in base hospitals, and such number of chaplains as he may determine to be necessary for service at training camps, cantonments, recruit depots, and in the National Army, selected from prominent clergy and ministers who have served at the front with the allied armies, but who have passed the age limit prescribed by law for appointment in the Regular Army.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Strike out all of the matter just read, after the enacting clause, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the President may appoint for service during the present emergency not exceeding 20 chaplains at large for the United States Army representing religious sects not recognized in the apportionment of chaplains now recognized by law."

Mr. WINGO. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman this: As I understood it, the Senate proposed an amendment?

Mr. SIEGEL. Oh, no. This is as offered by our Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WINGO. This will make language identical with the House bill already passed?

Mr. SIEGEL. Word for word.

Mr. WINGO. Now, if you pass this bill, it will have to go back to the Senate and the Senate will have to consider the same thing?

Mr. SIEGEL. The Senate, from what I have been told by the Members over there on the Military Committee, will concur in our bill.

Mr. WINGO. There is no restriction restricting the President to appointment of citizens of the United States?

Mr. SIEGEL. The rules and regulations of The Adjutant General's office provide for it, and in addition provide that they shall be ordained ministers.

Mr. WINGO. Those rules and regulations can be changed overnight, as they have been heretofore.

Mr. SIEGEL. I want to say to the gentleman that, so far as I know, such names as will be submitted will be names of citizens of the United States.

Mr. WINGO. If the bill is now to be considered, will the gentleman object to an amendment limiting the appointment to citizens of the United States?

Mr. SIEGEL. Let me say to the gentleman this, that in the regular chaplaincy bill providing for chaplains there is no such provision.

Mr. WINGO. That is not the question.

Mr. SIEGEL. Personally, I have no objection to it, except I do think this, that if we add that language now we are going to have difficulty in the passage of the bill.

Mr. WINGO. I do not think any Senator will openly take the position that we should appoint a man chaplain in the United States Army who is not a citizen of the United States.

Mr. SIEGEL. I have no objection to it. That is the law now.

Mr. WINGO. The law as to chaplains is a separate law from that covering the other commissions, I am advised. I think we ought to have no question about it. I think the law as to chaplains ought to be the same as that as to Artillery officers or any other officers in the United States Army. They ought to be restricted to citizens of the United States. I have no objection to the bill. I am in sympathy with it.

Mr. SIEGEL. I have no objection to such an amendment, I believe they should be citizens.

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman will agree to that, I shall have no objection to the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. SIEGEL. I do.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. That is the law now. There is no question about that proposition.

Mr. SIEGEL. That is true; but there is no objection to adding the proposed amendment.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. I looked it up, and I am satisfied that that is the law. No appointments of chaplains are made of aliens; none but citizens of the United States. I see no reason for inserting here something that is already in the law.

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman opposes such amendment, I will object to the consideration of the bill. I want that understood.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] going to offer an amendment?

Mr. WINGO. When we come to the consideration of the committee amendment, I will offer an amendment to the committee amendment. That will be the simpler procedure.

The SPEAKER. That is what we are doing now.

Mr. WINGO. Then I offer this amendment, Mr. Speaker. I suppose the best way would be to add it to the end of the committee amendment as a proviso: "*Provided*, That no person shall be eligible to such appointment unless he be at the time of his appointment a citizen of the United States."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. WINGO. That is satisfactory to the gentleman?

Mr. SIEGEL. It is thoroughly satisfactory to me.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, while the Clerk is writing it down I want to ask the gentleman a question. I do not understand how you are any better off in sending over to the Senate a Senate bill with a House amendment when they already have before them an amendment to the House bill.

Mr. SIEGEL. I am told that if this bill goes over to the Senate now, the amendment will be concurred in immediately.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. I may be able to enlighten the gentlemen. The House bill was sent over to the other body, but the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has had no meeting to consider that bill. The Senate committee, however, has reported this bill and acted upon it, and the Committee on Military Affairs of the House has acted upon it by reporting the amendment, and when it goes over to the other body they will either accept the amendment or ask for a conference——

Mr. MONDELL. Or agree to a conference.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; ask for a conference.

Mr. GILLETT. In other words, the Senate preferred to pass their own bill instead of the House bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; and not only to pass their own bill, but to pass it after the House bill had been passed by the House and messaged over to the Senate two or three days before the Senate bill was presented for consideration. That is the reason why I objected originally to the Senate bill being considered while the House bill was before the Senate.

Mr. MONDELL. That is a very common practice on the part of the other body.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. In a short time the gentleman from Wyoming will understand why that is done. [Laughter.]

Mr. MONDELL. Well, I hope the Senate will be enlightened on that subject. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. It is not debatable. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WINGO to the committee amendment: Page 2, line 7, after the word "law," insert the words "*Provided*, That no person shall be eligible to such appointment unless he be at the time of his appointment a citizen of the United States."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment as amended.

The committee amendment as amended was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIEGEL, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the Senate bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. SIEGEL. I also move, Mr. Speaker, that we ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. Agree to it, or ask for it?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a Senate bill. It comes over to the House and is referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The Committee on Military Affairs of the House reports it with an amendment. The Senate has had no opportunity whatever to act upon the House amendment. There is plenty of opportunity to ask for a conference after the Senate has had opportunity either to accept or disagree to the House amendment.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, in order to please the gentleman from Wisconsin, I will withdraw my request.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman has just said in his statement that the Senate is going to accept it.

The SPEAKER. The matter is not debatable.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a few appropriate remarks concerning the death of a former Member of this House, Hon. David Kemper Watson, who died at his home recently in Columbus, Ohio.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to print in the RECORD some remarks concerning one of his predecessors, Judge Watson. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD a brief table showing the amount of taxes which will be paid by certain corporations under the new revenue law.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing a table concerning taxes to be paid under the revenue law, and so forth. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the Sheppard resolution.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is that a resolution relating to prohibition?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; the resolution which has passed the Senate already.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection.

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House to-morrow for 15 minutes on the subject of "Fair play in war time."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] asks unanimous consent to address the House not to exceed 15 minutes to-morrow, after the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] concludes his remarks. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the gentleman already has permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD upon the topic "Common sense and war." Is this to take the place of that extension, or is this in addition to it?

Mr. LONDON. I want to talk to living men. I do not want to talk to the printer.

Mr. MADDEN. Regular order!

Mr. LONDON. It is the same thing.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 5, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, transmitting a copy of the Laws and the Journal of the house of representatives for the ninth regular session of the legislature, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on the Territories.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. DECKER, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6386) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 187), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FOSTER, from the Committee on Mines and Mining, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 23) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an investigation and report upon the advisability of establishing and maintaining Government fuel yard or yards in the District of Columbia, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 189), which said joint resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. RAYBURN, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6412) granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River, within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 190), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 6444) to provide for the purchase of Monticello, former home of Thomas Jefferson, in Albemarle County, in the State of Virginia, and the lands surrounding the same; to provide the purchase price therefor; to authorize the Secretary of War to establish upon the same a convalescent hospital for the soldiers and sailors of the existing war; and to further provide that the same shall be utilized as a national park, to be known as Monticello, after the termination of the existing emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRUCKNER: A bill (H. R. 6445) to establish a national conservatory of music and art for the education of advanced pupils in music in all its branches, vocal and instrumental, as well as painting, drawing, and etching; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. GREGG: A bill (H. R. 6446) to authorize and empower Old River irrigation district of Chambers County, of the State of Texas, to construct a lock and dam in Old River, in the State of Texas, and make improvements enabling the passage of fresh water from a portion of Trinity River above the mouth of Old River into Old River above such lock and dam; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 6447) to provide and award honor medals and other tokens for valor and for distinguished service to the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 6448) to amend an act providing for the withdrawal from public entry of lands needed for town sites in connection with irrigation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. DENTON: Resolution (H. Res. 163) to pay W. Ray Loomis $1,200 for extra services; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. DAVILA: Resolution (H. Res. 164) authorizing the development of the aquatic resources and fisheries by the Food Commission of Porto Rico; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BRITTEN: Resolution (H. Res. 166) directing the Rules Committee to investigate charges made by Hon. THOMAS J. HEFLIN; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AYRES: A bill (H. R. 6449) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6450) granting an increase of pension to Edward R. Chapin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 6451) for the relief of Martin Goldsmith; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRUCKNER: A bill (H. R. 6452) granting an increase of pension to Richard Gurney, jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6453) granting an increase of pension to William A. Buckley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DIXON: A bill (H. R. 6454) granting a pension to Jesse H. Beaty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6455) granting a pension to F. Hickman Hawkey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6456) granting a pension to William C. T. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6457) granting a pension to Elijah Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6458) granting a pension to Adolphus C. Kennard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6459) granting a pension to Samuel Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6460) granting a pension to Mary Bruce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6461) granting a pension to Daniel Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6462) granting a pension to Anna E. Luker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6463) granting a pension to Rebecca Roszell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6464) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Eppelsheimer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6465) granting an increase of pension to James Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6466) granting an increase of pension to James Schultheiss; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6467) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Higgins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6468) granting an increase of pension to Charles Apel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6469) granting an increase of pension to Greenberry Giltner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6470) granting an increase of pension to James F. Pickett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6471) granting an increase of pension to Robert McGill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ELSTON: A bill (H. R. 6472) granting a pension to Emma Rosendale; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 6473) for the relief of George W. Gilmore; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6474) granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Middleton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6475) granting an increase of pension to George H. Houts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6476) granting a pension to Samuel C. Highsmith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6477) granting an increase of pension to Chanie A. Dailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS: A bill (H. R. 6478) granting an increase of pension to Perry S. Latham; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 6479) granting a pension to Leatha Chambers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6480) granting a pension to Julius Scheuer; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Resolution by the National Trail Association of the States of Missouri and Illinois, urging upon the Congress of the United States the necessity of building national highways; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLAND: Evidence in the case of William Alligee to accompany House bill 6425; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Jehu P. Kinman to accompany House bill 6431; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Felix Gremore, to accompany House bill 6424; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Katie Edds, to accompany House bill 6423; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of James M. Kirk, to accompany House bill 6432; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Marion F. Halbert, to accompany House bill 6430; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Pleasant Evans, to accompany House bill 6429; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Elija Edington, to accompany House bill 6428; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of W. N. Bridges, to accompany House bill 6427; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of David M. Bedwell, to accompany House bill 6438; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of John R. Lane, to accompany House bill 6433; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of John Mallett, to accompany House bill 6434; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of James A. Padgett, to accompany House bill 6435; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of John W. Ramsen, to accompany House bill 6439; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Virgil O. Adams, to accompany House bill 6426; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of Cad W. Savage, to accompany House bill 6437; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, evidence in the case of George Wegner, to accompany House bill 6436; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CARY: Protest against automobile tax in House bill 6110; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest against the increase in second-class postal rates through zone system; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HILLIARD: Petition of Charles O. Thibodeau, William T. Child, and 85 others, praying for the establishment of nation-wide prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Petition of the Laymen's Association, Puget Sound (Wash.) Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, opposing a "premature peace"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Protest of John A. O'Connell, secretary Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal., against constitutional prohibition as means of promoting temperance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolution adopted by the National Association of Master Bakers, indorsing the standard-price bills; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, resolution by district board, division 1, Southern California, urging legislation to procure a moratorium on all indebtedness of soldiers and sailors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAGUE: Resolutions from five delegates, representing 32 Irish county organizations of Greater Boston, appealing for justice for their race; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *October 5, 1917.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come to Thee in the midst of the bewilderment of our times, not knowing what a day may bring forth. We can not clearly read Thy way in human history. We can not see the end from the experience we have had of Thy touch and word upon human life. But we are sure in the center of our own lives of the pureness of our purpose and way, and our faith bridges the chasm of uncertainty that lies before us and anticipates the prize—the prize of the calling of God in this great Nation. Grant us Thy continual blessing and presence and guidance. We ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Tuesday, October 2, 1917, when, on request of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

PETITION OF HANNIS TAYLOR.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a petition to the Senate and House of Representatives prepared by Hannis Taylor touching certain constitutional questions with reference to the National Army. The Chair is in doubt as to where it ought to be referred, whether to the Committee on Military Affairs or to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I suggest that it go to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so referred, then.

PETITIONS AND PAPERS SENT TO VICE PRESIDENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to make an observation and would like to have the advice of the Committee on Rules by the first day of the next session.

There has grown up a practice of sending to the Chair communications and copies of communications that are also sent to Senators of the United States. The Chair has no desire to avoid any responsibility nor to prevent any citizen of the United States from petitioning the Congress of the United States. That is the inherent right of an American citizen. But the present occupant has very serious doubts as to whether it is the business of the Chair to be made the medium of presenting to the Senate of the United States all sorts of petitions that citizens desire to send. Each State in this Republic is represented here by two Senators, and the Chair is slowly gravitating toward the opinion that the citizens of the several States should present their petitions to the Senate of the United States through the Senators from those States rather than impose the duty and responsibility on the Chair of doing those things.

I do not know what the right is or the duty is. I wish before the next session of Congress that the Committee on Rules would formulate some rule on the subject of the presentation of petitions. My mail is loaded with all sorts of things that I do not get either the time or the opportunity to examine, and that I do not think I ought to examine.

The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2938) to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to Senate concurrent resolution No. 12 providing for the setting aside of a day of prayer for the success of the American Armies in the pending war.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2203) for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2527) authorizing the appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further requested the return to the House of Representatives of the bill (H. R. 5271) authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 6361) to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS.

Mr. HUSTING presented resolutions adopted by the Wood County Bar Association, of Grand Rapids, Wis.; of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities, of Racine, Wis.; of the Winnebago County Veterans' Association, of Menasha-Neenah, Wis.; and of sundry citizens of Kewannee, Wis., relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. LA FOLLETTE; which were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. WATSON presented resolutions adopted by the Council of Defense of Knox County, Ind.; of B. J. Crosswait Post 150, Grand Army of the Republic, of Angola, Ind.; and of sundry citizens of Connersville, Ind., relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. LA FOLLETTE; which were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. KING. From the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin, I report it adversely, and I submit a report (No. 165) thereon.

Mr. SHIELDS. I desire a few days in which to present the views of the minority.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will go to the calendar and that consent will be given.

Mr. ASHURST, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 385) to authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations (Rept. No. 166); and

A bill (S. 387) for the relief of John Flanigan (Rept. No. 167).

Mr. ASHURST, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 388) for the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 168) thereon.

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 44) granting additional rights to settlers on reclamation projects (Rept. No. 154);

A bill (S. 389) to extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz. (Rept. No. 155);

A bill (S. 932) to provide for stock-watering privileges on certain unallotted lands on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont. (Rept. No. 156);

A bill (S. 730) granting certain coal lands to the town of Kaycee, Wyo. (Rept. No. 171);

A bill (S. 934) authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation in said State (Rept. No. 157);

A bill (S. 936) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes (Rept. No. 158);

A bill (S. 937) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend sections 2291 and 2297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to homesteads" (Rept. No. 159);

A bill (S. 939) relating to the duties of registers of United States land offices and the publication in newspaper of official land-office notices (Rept. No. 160);

A bill (S. 950) to provide for the nonmineral entry of lands withdrawn, classified, or reported as containing coal, phosphate, nitrate, potash, oil, gas, or asphaltic minerals in Alaska (Rept. No. 161);

A bill (S. 955) providing for noncontiguous homestead entries within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., of land of the character described in the enlarged homestead act of February 19, 1909 (Rept. No. 162); and

A bill (S. 2865) for the suspension of payments on public lands by entrymen in the military or naval service of the United States (Rept. No. 163).

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 24) to permit of the disposition of certain lands in Montana ceded by the Crow Indians, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 164) thereon.

Mr. PITTMAN, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted a report thereon:

A bill (S. 23) granting to the State of Nevada 7,000,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the public schools of Nevada and the State university of the State of Nevada (Rept. No. 152); and

A bill (S. 26) authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another (Rept. No. 153).

Mr. SHAFROTH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 1555) to repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved January 26, 1915, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 169) thereon.

RIO GRANDE RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 2947) granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico, and I submit a report (No. 151) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the city of El Paso, in the State of Texas, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Rio Grande River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, such construction to be made only with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico, and such bridge to be free of any toll.

SEC. 2. That this act shall be null and void unless the construction of said bridge is commenced within one year and completed within five years from the date of approval hereof.

SEC. 3. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FLINT RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 4232) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia, and I submit a report (No. 150) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT L. OWEN (S. DOC. NO. 118).

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following resolution (S. Res. 142), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the manuscript submitted by the Senator from Texas, Mr. SHEPPARD, on September 20, 1917, entitled "The Mobilizing of America," an address delivered by Hon. ROBERT L. OWEN, United States Senator from Oklahoma, at the Park View Community Celebration, Washington, D. C., July 4, 1917, to be printed as a Senate document.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. On behalf of the Committee on Printing, I ask the indulgence of the Senate while I may have a few matters disposed of which I desire to report from that committee. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

CONFEDERATE VETERANS REUNION (S. DOC. NO. 117).

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following resolution (S. Res. 144), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the manuscript submitted by the Senator from Alabama, Mr. BANKHEAD, on October 2, 1917, entitled "Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Confederate Southern Memorial Association, and the Twenty-second Annual Reunion of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, held in Washington, D. C., June 4 to 7, 1917," be printed as a Senate document.

FOOD CONTROL AND DEMOCRACY (S. DOC. NO. 120).

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following resolution (S. Res. 143), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the article submitted by the Senator from Florida, Mr. FLETCHER, on September 29, 1917, entitled "Food Control and Democracy," by David Lubin, be printed as a Senate document.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE ACT.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following resolution (S. Res. 145), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That there be printed 100,000 additional copies of Public Act No. —, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "War-Risk Insurance," for the use of the Senate folding room.

THE COASTWISE TRADE.

Mr. FLETCHER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment House bill 6175, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the title of the bill.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 6175) giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I desire to know if this bill is unanimously reported?

Mr. FLETCHER. It is unanimously reported from the Committee on Commerce. It passed the House unanimously.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the Senator make a brief statement as to the purpose or object of the bill?

Mr. FLETCHER. The purpose of the bill is to admit vessels of foreign registry to engage in the coastwise trade and to admit foreign-built vessels to engage in the coastwise trade during the war and for not exceeding 120 days thereafter.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that expressed in the bill?

Mr. FLETCHER. That is expressed in the bill.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I will state that I am not in favor of opening our coastwise trade to foreign-built ships under ordinary conditions; but I think, upon the showing made as to the necessities, that this measure is fully justified now, and that the interests of our coastwise shipping are amply protected by the limitations in the bill. It is limited to this war and 120 days thereafter, and ships can not come in except upon permits from the Shipping Board, specifying the limits within which they shall operate, and so forth.

I do not like to see legislation of this kind, but under the circumstances I think this legislation, as it is, is amply justified. I should like to see a provision inserted in it with reference to the employment of American officers in ships wherever they are available; but I recognize that to attempt to amend the bill now would defeat it, so I am not going to do that.

As I say, I think the bill is fully justified under the present circumstances and is properly guarded.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator that as a general proposition we would not think of entering upon this policy, but under present conditions it seems to me that it is almost necessary for us to do this.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes that during the present war with Germany and for a period of 120 days thereafter the United States Shipping Board may, if in its judgment the interests of the United States require, suspend the present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry, and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade of the United States, provided that no such vessel shall engage in the coastwise trade except upon a permit issued by the United States Shipping Board, which permit shall limit or define the scope of the trade and the time of such employment, and provided further that in issuing permits the board shall give preference to vessels of foreign registry owned, leased, or chartered by citizens of the United States or corporations thereof, and provided further that the provisions of this act shall not apply to the coastwise trade with Alaska or between Alaskan ports.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LOST OR DESTROYED PROPERTY.

Mr. SWANSON. From the Committee on Naval Affairs I report favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 5647) to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Paymaster General of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to reimburse such officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States as may have suffered, or may hereafter suffer, loss or destruction of or damage to their personal property and effects in the naval service due to the operations of war or by shipwreck or other marine disaster when such loss, destruction, or damage was without fault or negligence on the part of the claimant, or where the private property so lost, destroyed, or damaged was shipped on board an unseaworthy vessel by order of an officer authorized to give such order or direct such shipment, or where it appears that the loss, destruction, or damage of or to the private property of the claimant was in consequence of his having given his attention to the saving of the lives of others or of property belonging to the United States which was in danger at the same time and under similar circumstances. And the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, with reference to the personnel of the Navy, or the major general commandant of the Marine Corps, with reference to the personnel of that corps, in his discretion, shall decide to be reasonable, useful, and proper for such officer, enlisted man, or other person while engaged in the public service in line of duty, and the certificate of said chief of bureau or major general commandant, as the case may be, shall be sufficient voucher for and shall be final as to all matters necessary to the establishment and payment or settlement of any claim filed hereunder; and the action of the said chief of bureau or major general commandant, as the case may be, upon all claims arising under this act shall be final, and no right to prosecute a claim or action in the Court of Claims or in any other court of the United States, or before any accounting officer of the United States, or elsewhere, except as herein provided, shall accrue to any person by virtue of this act: *Provided*, That the liability of the Government under this act shall be limited to such articles of personal property as are required by the United States Naval Regulations and in force at the time of loss or destruction for such officers, petty officers, seamen, or others engaged in the public service in the line of duty: *Provided further*, That with reference to claims of persons in the Marine Corps filed under the terms of this act the paymaster of the Marine Corps shall make the reimbursement in money, and the quartermaster of the Marine Corps shall make the reimbursement in kind herein provided for: *And provided further*, That all claims now existing under this act shall be presented within two years from the passage hereof and not thereafter; and all such claims hereafter arising shall be presented within two years from the occurrence of the loss, destruction, or damage: *And provided further*, That the term "in the naval service" as herein employed shall be held to include service performed on board any vessel, whether of the Navy or not, provided the claimant is serving on such vessel pursuant to the orders of duly constituted naval authority: *And provided further*, That all claimants under this act shall be required to submit their claims in writing and under oath to the said Chief of the Bureau of Navigation or major general commandant, as the case may be: *And provided further*, That claims arising in the manner indicated in this act and which have been settled under the terms of previously existing law shall be regarded as finally determined and no other or further right of recovery under the provisions hereof shall accrue to persons who have submitted such claims as aforesaid: *And provided further*, That sections 288, 289, and 290, Revised Statutes, and the act of March 2, 1895 (28 Stat., p. 962), are hereby repealed: *And provided further*, That reimbursement for loss, destruction, or damage sustained and determined as herein provided shall be made in kind for such articles as are customarily issued to the service and shall be made in money for other articles at the valuation thereof at the time of their loss, destruction, or damage: *And provided further*, That in cases involving persons in the Navy reimbursement in money shall be made from the appropriation "Pay of the Navy," and reimbursement in kind shall be made from the appropriation "Outfits on first enlistment," and in cases involving persons in the Marine Corps reimbursement in money shall be made from the appropriation "Pay, Marine Corps," and reimbursement in kind shall be made from the appropriation "Clothing, Marine Corps," respectively, current at the time the claim covering such loss, damage, or destruction is paid: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall apply to the personnel of the Coast Guard in like manner as to the personnel of the Navy, whether the Coast Guard is operating under the Treasury Department or operating as a part of the Navy, and all of the duties which, under this act, devolve upon the major general commandant of the Marine Corps with reference to the personnel of that corps shall devolve upon the captain commandant of the Coast Guard, and in cases involving persons in the Coast Guard reimbursement in money shall be made by a disbursing officer of the Coast Guard from the appropriation "Coast Guard" and reimbursement in kind shall be made by the captain commandant from the appropriation "Coast Guard."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LANDS IN NEVADA.

Mr. PITTMAN. From the Committee on Public Lands, I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 27) to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 170) thereon and ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. I will state that the bill has passed the Senate twice and gone to the House, and I should like to send it there again.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read first.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to grant to any citizen of the United States, or to any association of such citizens, a permit, which shall give the exclusive right, for a period not exceeding two years, to drill or otherwise explore for water beneath the surface of not exceeding 2,560 acres of unreserved, unappropriated, nonmineral, nontimbered public lands of the United States in the State of Nevada not susceptible of successful irrigation at a reasonable cost from any known available source of surface water supply: *Provided, however*, That not more than one such permit shall be issued to the same citizen or the same association of citizens within an area 40 miles square: *And provided further*, That said land shall not be fenced or otherwise exclusively used by the permittee except as herein provided: *And provided further*, That said land shall theretofore have been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as subject to disposal under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, on application or otherwise, to designate the lands subject to disposal under the provisions of this act: *Provided, however*, That where any person or association qualified to receive a permit under the provisions of this act shall make application for such permit upon land which has not been designated as subject to disposal under the provisions of this act (provided said application is accompanied and supported by properly corroborated affidavit of the applicant, in duplicate, showing prima facie that the land applied for is of the character contemplated by this act), such application, together with the regular fees and commissions, shall be received by the register and receiver of the land district in which said land is located and suspended until it shall have been determined by the Secretary of the Interior whether said land is actually of that character. That during such suspension the land described in the application shall not be disposed of; and if the land shall be designated under this act, then such application shall be allowed; otherwise it shall be rejected, subject to appeal.

SEC. 3. That any qualified applicant for a permit under section 1 of this act shall file with the register or receiver of the land district in which said land is located the application for such permit and shall make and subscribe before the proper officer and file with said register or receiver an affidavit that such application is honestly and in good faith made for the purpose of reclamation and cultivation and not for the benefit of any other person or corporation, and that the applicant is not acting as agent for any person, corporation, or syndicate in making such application, nor in collusion with any person, corporation, or syndicate to give them the benefit of the land applied for or any part thereof, and that the applicant will faithfully and honestly endeavor to comply with all of the requirements of this act and shall pay to said register and receiver a filing fee of 1 cent per acre for each acre of land embraced in said application, and such applicant shall then be entitled to receive such permit after the lands embraced therein are designated as provided in section 2 of this act.

SEC. 4. That such a permit shall be upon condition that the permittee shall begin operations for the development of underground waters within six months from the date of the permit and continue such operations with reasonable diligence until water has been discovered in the quantity hereinafter described, or until the date of the expiration of the permit. Upon the presentation at any time of proof

satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior that any permittee is not conducting such operations in good faith and with reasonable diligence, or has violated any of the terms of the permit, the Secretary shall forthwith cancel such permit, and such permittee shall not again be granted a permit under this act.

SEC. 5. That on establishing at any time within two years from the date of the permit to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Interior that underground waters in sufficient quantity to produce at a profit agricultural crops other than native grasses upon not less than 20 acres of land has been discovered and developed and rendered available for such use within the limits of the land embraced in any permit the said permittee shall be entitled to a patent for one-fourth of the land embraced in the permit, such area to be selected by the permittee in compact form according to the legal subdivisions of the public-land surveys if the land be surveyed, or to be surveyed at his expense under rules and regulations established by the Secretary of the Interior if located on unsurveyed land.

SEC. 6. That the remaining area within the limits of the land embraced in any such permit shall thereafter be reserved from other disposition and may, within the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be sold at public auction to citizens of the United States under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe and in such farm units not less than 40 acres in area as he may prescribe to the highest bidder for cash or for amounts payable in annual installments not exceeding five.

SEC. 7. That the receipts obtained from the sale of lands under the provisions of section 6 hereof shall be paid into, reserved, and appropriated as a part of the reclamation fund created by the act of Congress approved June 17, 1902, known as the reclamation act.

SEC. 8. That all entries made and patents issued under the provisions of this act shall be subject to and contain a reservation to the United States of all the coal and other valuable minerals in the lands so entered and patented, together with the right to prospect for, mine, and remove the same. The coal and other valuable mineral deposits in such lands shall be subject to disposal by the United States in accordance with the provisions of the coal and mineral land laws in force at the time of such disposal. Any person qualified to locate and enter the coal or other mineral deposits, or having the right to mine and remove the same under the laws of the United States, shall have the right at all times to enter upon the lands entered or patented, as provided by this act, for the purpose of prospecting for coal or other mineral therein, provided he shall not injure, damage, or destroy the permanent improvements of the entryman or patentee, and shall be liable to and shall compensate the entryman or patentee for all damages to the crops on such lands by reason of such prospecting. Any person who has acquired from the United States the coal or other mineral deposits in any such land, or the right to mine or remove the same, may reenter and occupy so much of the surface thereof as may be required for all purposes reasonably incident to the mining or removal of the coal or other minerals, first, upon securing the written consent or waiver of the homestead entryman or patentee; second, upon payment of the damages to crops or other tangible improvements to the owner thereof, where agreement may be had as to the amount thereof; or, third, in lieu of either of the foregoing provisions, upon the execution of a good and sufficient bond or undertaking to the United States for the use and benefit of the entryman or owner of the land, to secure the payment of such damages to the crops or tangible improvements of the entryman or owner, as may be determined and fixed in an action brought upon the bond or undertaking in a court of competent jurisdiction against the principal and sureties thereon, such bond or undertaking to be in form and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and to be filed with and approved by the register and receiver of the local land office of the district wherein the land is situate, subject to appeal to the Commissioner of the General Land Office: *Provided*, That all patents issued for the coal or other mineral deposits herein reserved shall contain appropriate notations declaring them to be subject to the provisions of this act with reference to the disposition, occupancy, and use of the surface of the land.

SEC. 9. That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to prescribe the necessary and proper rules and regulations and to do any and all things necessary to carry out and accomplish the purposes of this act.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Nevada if this bill was referred to the Interior Department, and whether or not there has been a report in regard to it?

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes, sir. This bill was passed first, I think, in the Sixty-second Congress. It went to the House and died with the Congress. It was again introduced and reported on favorably by the Department of the Interior and passed during the Sixty-fourth Congress. It passed the Senate after debate and amendment in this body.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I desire to know if the bill in its present shape is as recommended by the department? In other words, were the amendments recommended by the department agreed to by the committee?

Mr. PITTMAN. Every one of them. Not only that, but I will state further to the Senator from Kansas that the bill in its present shape is also in the form in which additional amendments were placed on it by the Public Lands Committee of the House. I incorporated all of those amendments in the bill, so that there would be no conflict of any kind.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I assume that this applies locally to the State of Nevada?

Mr. PITTMAN. Purely; it applies to no other State. It is simply to encourage artesian development on such lands as the Secretary of the Interior may designate as being of that character. The minerals are all reserved and are not allowed to be fenced or utilized at all. The bill simply authorizes prospecting for artesian water.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MYERS:

A bill (S. 2974) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 2975) for the relief of Katherine Macdonald; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 2976) granting an increase of pension to Delos Neer (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 2977) granting an increase of pension to William F. Mullin;

A bill (S. 2978) granting an increase of pension to William I. Jones; and

A bill (S. 2979) granting an increase of pension to William A. Hacker; to the Committee on Pensions.

FARM-LOAN BOARD.

Mr. HOLLIS. I ask unanimous consent that Senate bill 2921, Order of Business No. 128, reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], be recommitted to the committee. This is done with the full understanding and agreement of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE]. The bill involves a very important principle and has not been considered by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PUBLIC LAND ENTRIES AND MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. KING. Out of order, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2918, Order of Business No. 130.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I do not know what it is. I should like to have it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be read by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2918) providing that the forfeiture provisons of the land laws shall not apply in case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, this bill was introduced at the request of persons who made an investigation as to whether or not persons in the military service who were squatters upon the public domain and who were entrymen upon certain public lands would lose their right by being absent from the lands during the period that they were in the war.

Mr. CURTIS. I understand it is simply to protect them while they are away.

Mr. KING. While they are in the war and for six months after the war is over.

Mr. CURTIS. They will not be compelled to make payment in case of their absence in the service.

Mr. KING. Not at all.

Mr. WARREN. I shall probably have no objection, but may we have the bill read?

Mr. KING. It is unanimously reported by the Committee on Public Lands.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That no right to hold, occupy, or enter any public land initiated or acquired under any public-land law of the United States by any person in the military or naval service of the United States during the existing war prior to the commencement of his military or naval service shall be lost or forfeited by reason of his absence from the land or of his failure to perform work or make improvements thereon, or do any other act required by the law under which initiated during his service in the present war and until six months thereafter: *Provided*, That each such claimant shall, within six months after the passage of this act, or within six months after he is mustered into the service, file in the local land office of the district wherein his claim is situated, a description of his claim, a notice of his muster into the service of the United States, and of his desire to hold his said claim or claims under this act: *Provided further*, That during the present war and until his discharge from the service, any person serving in the armed forces of the United States who is a claimant, applicant, or entryman under any of the land laws of the United States, or who has prior to enlistment filed a contest with a view to exercising preference right or entry thereunder, may make any affidavit required by law or regulation of the department affecting such claim before his commanding officer, as provided by section 2293 of the Revised Statutes of the United States: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall be construed to deprive a person in the military or naval service or his heirs or devisees of any rights or benefits to which he or they may be entitled under the public acts of the United States, Sixty-fifth Congress, No. 32, approved July 28, 1917; No. 36, approved August 7, 1917; No.

40, approved August 10, 1917; public resolution, Sixty-fifth Congress, No. 10, approved July 17, 1917, or any other act or resolution of Congress; nor shall anything herein be construed as abating any contest filed against the claim of any such person prior to his entrance into the military or naval service of the United States for failure to comply with the law prior to such entrance, or as validating or reviving any claim, application, or entry upon or in connection with which such person failed to comply with the applicable law or laws to his entrance into the military or naval service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. KING. I desire that the title be amended to conform with the suggestion made by the Interior Department, and that the title as amended read as follows:

A bill providing that the forfeiture provisions of the land laws shall not apply in case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The title will be so amended.

PRODUCTION OF GRAINS AND CEREALS.

Mr. MYERS. Order of Business 122 is a resolution which was introduced by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON]. The Senator from South Dakota has gone home, and he wrote me a letter asking me to call up this resolution and ask for the consideration of it. It was reported out favorably by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. It merely calls on the Secretary of the Interior to furnish some information. It does not enact any legislation whatever; it merely wants the departmental information. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be read, it is brief, and then I will ask consideration for it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Senate resolution 129 directing the Secretary of the Interior to make inquiry relative to the use of public lands for the production of grains and cereals during the war.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution?

Mr. OVERMAN. I should like to hear it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That for the purpose of increasing the production of grains and cereals within the United States during the period of the present war with Germany the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to make an inquiry into the feasibility and practicability of the Government of the United States putting in a state of cultivation such parts of the uncultivated areas of the public domain and unpatented Indian lands situated therein as he may deem most suitable for growing food crops and to report thereon to Congress on the first day of the next regular session thereof.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move to amend by striking out the word "directed" and inserting the word "requested."

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

COAL LANDS IN WYOMING.

Mr. WARREN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 730) granting certain coal lands to the town of Kaycee, Wyo. It is a bill which has once before passed the Senate, but failed to pass the other House. It has just been reported from the Committee on Public Lands by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS]. It is purely a local bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill named by the Senator from Wyoming?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following-described coal lands, or so much thereof as the town of Kaycee, Wyo., may apply for within six months after the approval of this act, is hereby granted to said town as a source of coal supply for the use of said town and for the use therein of the inhabitants and industries thereof, to wit:

In section 26, the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter, in township 44 north, range 81 east, of the sixth principal meridian, containing 160 acres, more or less, upon the following conditions, that is to say: That said town shall, within two years from the approval of this act, open a workable vein of coal upon said land and shall continuously thereafter develop and operate a practical coal mine thereon for the purpose aforesaid; shall not assign or transfer said land or any interest therein; shall comply with such rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the United States Bureau of Mines and approved by the Secretary of the Interior for safeguarding the health and safety of the employees engaged in mining or handling coal therein; for the prevention of waste of the mineral resources thereof; for securing full reports from the town of the Secretary of the Interior as to the mining and disposal of coal mined in said lands, including construction, maintenance, and operation costs, amounts used for municipal purposes, amounts sold, purchases, and amounts of receipts from sales: *Provided*, That if the said town shall at any time neglect or fail to perform any of the conditions aforesaid or any part thereof, and shall continue such neglect or failure after reasonable notice by the Secretary of the Interior, the said land hereby granted shall revert free and clear of all incumbrances to the Government of the United States.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, is this a Senate bill or a House bill?

Mr. WARREN. It is a Senate bill which, as I have stated, has previously passed the Senate, but failed to pass the other House. I am hoping to have it passed at this time.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Has the bill been previously passed by the other House?

Mr. WARREN. The bill has heretofore passed the Senate, but failed to reach the other House in time for consideration.

Mr. POINDEXTER. This particular bill, as I understand, has not passed Congress, but it is confined to lands in Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. It is confined to one piece of land for one particular town, far away from the railroad, which it is proposed shall get its own supply of coal from the public domain under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COL. L. MERVIN MAUS.

Mr. JAMES. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 1766) to authorize the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list. The bill was called up on the calendar in my absence, and passed over on the objection of the Senator from Utah. I have talked to the Senator, however, in regard to the matter, and I think he now has no objection to the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It authorizes the President to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.

Mr. OVERMAN. Is there a report of the Committee on Military Affairs on the bill?

Mr. JAMES. The bill was unanimously ordered to be reported favorably by the Committee on Military Affairs, as I understand, at this session.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the RECORD immediately following the passage of the bill the report of the Committee on Military Affairs on the bill giving the facts in regard to the case.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The report referred to is as follows:

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Military Affairs, having fully considered the bill to authorize the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army, and place him on the retired list, report the same to the Senate with the recommendation that it pass without amendment.

Col. Maus was appointed assistant surgeon November 10, 1874; was promoted to be captain, assistant surgeon, on November 10, 1879; to be major and surgeon, December 4, 1892; lieutenant colonel, Deputy Surgeon General, April 7, 1902; and colonel, Medical Corps, May 10, 1907. He was retired on May 8, 1915, by reason of having reached the age of 64. He served as lieutenant colonel, chief surgeon of Volunteers, from May 9, 1898, to April 21, 1899.

These facts are all set out in a letter from the War Department, filed herewith, dated February 23, 1916, and sent to the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. This letter of the department withheld its approval of S. 4570 on two grounds, viz:

1. His use of political influence to secure advancement was the subject of rebuke by the Secretary of War under date of February 5, 1914.

2. Nothing is apparent in Col. Maus's record which would justify his advancement to the grade of brigadier general on the retired list over scores of other colonels on the list equally deserving.

From that adverse report Col. Maus appealed to the Committee on Military Affairs for a hearing on the ground that it subjected him to injustice, hardship, and wrong. This hearing was granted and the testimony printed and filed herewith.

The committee is of opinion that the rebuke set out in the letter of the War Department was unjustified; that while the rebuke was administered as reported, the answer of Col. Maus was not reported. In that answer Col. Maus denies the use of social or political influence to secure advancement, and that if such influence was used it was entirely without his knowledge or consent. The friends of a man certainly have the right to ask advancement for him, without subjecting him to the charge of using social or political influence to secure advancement. In this case the facts show that whatever was done was done by Col. Maus's friends, and without his knowledge or consent.

The committee is further of opinion that Col. Maus is entitled to the promotion set out in the bill, for the following reasons:

His service in the Army numbered 41 years, and in 1907 had reached the rank of colonel, in line for promotion as Surgeon General with the rank of brigadier general, which he had every reason to expect by

reason of his seniority in rank and length of service. In January, 1909, January, 1913, and in January, 1914, appointments were made to the office of Surgeon General of men whose length of service was less than that of Col. Maus.

He was recommended for a medal of honor by Gen. William P. Carlin, and honorably mentioned in orders by the War Department for meritorious service during an Indian campaign November 5, 1877, on which occasion he saved his command from massacre.

During the Spanish-American War he was given by President McKinley a volunteer commission as chief surgeon of the Seventh Army Corps under the command of Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, and with this corps served in Florida, and was the first regular medical officer to reach Cuba, and was largely responsible for the first thorough cleaning of Habana under American occupancy. Through his initiative Spanish barracks, castles, prisons, hospitals, and public buildings were thoroughly disinfected against yellow fever and other contagious diseases, thus contributing to the health and safety of Government troops that occupied them subsequently.

In 1899 he was ordered to the Philippines and served on the staff of Gens. MacArthur, Wheaton, Bates, Wade, Wood, Weston, and Mills, as chief surgeon. He served in active field work in northern Luzon during the Aguinaldo campaign. Following this duty in the field he was called on to do most important sanitary work among the natives of northern Luzon, vaccinating between 300,000 and 400,000 of the natives.

When the first civil government was organized in the islands in 1901, Gov. William H. Taft appointed him commissioner of public health of the Philippine Islands; in pursuance of this appointment he organized a health bureau, which dealt with the well-being and health of more than 7,000,000 natives, including the domestic animals; he eradicated the bubonic plague from the city of Manila; wrote the principal health laws for the Philippines; wrote the law for compulsory vaccination and put it into operation; made a most successful fight against Asiatic cholera, widely prevalent at that time; took a census of the lepers and selected an island for their segregation—over 4,000 in all; organized hundreds of municipal and provincial health boards throughout the Philippines, besides performing other sanitary work which greatly reduced the mortality of the natives and saved thousands of lives, both among the natives and foreign population.

For this splendid work Col. Maus was commended by all of his military commanders; Maj. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, who was the last governor general of the islands, in 1901, afterwards stated officially:

"The exemplary, vigorous, and efficient manner in which you conducted the affairs of your office impressed me from the beginning and relieved me of all anxiety on account of medical matters, and I have no hesitation in declaring now that the work you accomplished was a model of field medical administration."

Other recommendations of the highest nature were given by Maj. Gen. Lloyd Wheaton, Brig. Gen. J. M. Lee, Brig. Gen. Wm. S. McCaskey, and Maj. Gen. C. L. Hodges.

Acting Gov. Luke E. Wright, afterwards Secretary of War, makes this statement:

"During the period of his connection with the civil government as commissioner of public health he has rendered exceedingly zealous and efficient services. Aside from the ordinary duties of his position, which involved the organization of the entire health department, he has been compelled to combat bubonic plague and an epidemic of cholera. His executive ability and devotion to duty have been most commendable and have been productive of excellent results."

Dean C. Worcester, secretary of the interior for the Philippines, has called attention to the unusual energy and singleness of purpose which Col. Maus brought to his work, bringing about numerous radical reforms, his fight against the bubonic plague, for the census of the lepers of the islands, and for the establishment of a leper colony.

The evidence sets out in full the petition of the members of the Philippine Assembly to the President of the United States requesting that Col. Maus be appointed Surgeon General of the Army for services rendered as commissioner of public health for the Philippine Islands.

Twenty of the leading physicians of Manila attest these services in strong language, as do 46 resident Americans, the principal business men of the city of Manila.

The Chamber of Commerce of Manila, July 21, 1902, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas Lieut. Col. L. M. Maus, Deputy Surgeon General, United States Army, has been relieved from duty with the civil governor and in the Division of the Philippines as commissioner of public health, which office he has held during the past year; and

"Whereas during his incumbency of the office he has distinguished himself by his splendid services in the eradication of bubonic plague, with which the city was infected until recently; in the suppression of a malignant epidemic of Asiatic cholera; by his intelligent work in cleaning up the city and placing it in a sanitary condition; and in securing the passage of the city health ordinances:

"*Resolved*, That the American Chamber of Commerce extends its thanks for the work done under his administration and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted, through official channels, to the Secretary of War, and that it be also spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

"(Signed) A. P. TONTELLI,
"Secretary and Treasurer, the American Chamber of Commerce."

For these reasons, and the further reason that Col. Maus has never received a single advanced promotion for his services in the Spanish-American War, the Philippine insurrection, or Indian wars in which he served, the committee respectfully recommends the passage of the bill without amendment.

DEPENDENTS OF NAVAL OFFICERS AND MEN.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H. R. 6306) to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the paragraph of the act approved August 22, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes," as amended by the act of March 3, 1915, which provides for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow or children or other previously designated dependent relative of a deceased officer or enlisted man on the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps, be, and the same is hereby, amended by inserting after the words "on the active list of the Navy or Marine Corps" a comma and the words "or of any retired officer or enlisted man serving on active duty during the continuance of the present war."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. I inquire of the Senator from Virginia if the bill was reported unanimously by the committee?

Mr. SWANSON. The bill was reported unanimously. I will say that it simply gives to the widow, children, or designated dependents of retired officers or enlisted men in the Navy who are serving on active duty during this war six months' pay as a gratuity. The same amount is given to the dependents of officers who have not been retired.

Mr. CURTIS. It makes the same provision for the dependents of deceased retired officers and enlisted men in active service during the present war as for the dependents of deceased officers and enlisted men who have not been retired?

Mr. SWANSON. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. The gratuity is only given in case of death.

Mr. SWANSON. Only in case of death, in which event six months' pay is given as a gratuity to the widow or children or dependents designated.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PROHIBITION IN THE NAVY.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6362) to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in construing the provisions of sections 12 and 13 of the selective-draft act approved May 18, 1917, the word "Army" shall extend to and include "Navy"; the word "military" shall include "naval"; "Article of War" shall include "Articles for the Government of the Navy"; the words "camps, station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officers' or enlisted men's club," in section 12, and "camp, station, fort, post cantonment, training, or mobilization place," in section 13, shall include such places under naval jurisdiction as the President may prescribe, and the powers therein conferred upon the Secretary of War with regard to the military service are hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy with regard to the naval service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Virginia to explain what this bill seeks to accomplish, and whether or not it has been unanimously reported by the committee?

Mr. SWANSON. The bill has been unanimously reported by the committee. A portion of the provisions of the selective-draft act of the present session regarding the sale of intoxicants to men in the military service covers the Navy and a portion is ambiguous as to whether it covers the Navy. The Attorney General thinks that the language is broad enough to cover the Navy as part of the military forces; but in order that there may be no doubt about the same rule applying both to the Army and to the Navy this bill simply provides that in that act, which purported to cover both branches of the service, wherever the word "Army" is used it shall be construed to include the Navy also.

Mr. WARREN. It makes no difference in application, except that it includes both services.

Mr. SWANSON. It makes no difference between the two branches of the service, but puts both on the same basis.

Mr. WARREN. That is what I understood.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NAVAL COURTS-MARTIAL AND DECK COURTS.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6363) to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. I ask that the bill be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That when actively serving under the Navy Department in time of war or during the existence of an emergency, pursuant to law, as a part of the naval forces of the United States, com-

missioned officers of the Naval Reserve Force, Marine Corps Reserve, National Naval Volunteers, Naval Militia, Coast Guard, Lighthouse Service, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service are hereby empowered to serve on naval courts-martial and deck courts under such regulations necessary for the proper administration of justice and in the interests of the services involved, as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy: *Provided*, That so much of the act approved August 29, 1916 (39 Stats., 556), as reads as follows:

"That when serving under the call of the President officers of said Volunteers may serve on courts-martial for the trial of officers and men of the United States Naval or Naval Militia or of said Volunteers, but in the cases of courts-martial convened for the trial of officers or enlisted men of the United States Navy or Marine Corps the majority of the members shall be officers of the regular naval service, and officers and enlisted men of the said Volunteers may be tried by courts-martial, the members of which are members of the regular naval service or of said Volunteers, or any or all of the same," is hereby repealed.

Provided further, That so much of the Naval Militia act of February 16, 1914 (38 Stats., 283), as reads as follows:

"That when in the service of the United States officers of the Naval Militia may serve on courts-martial for the trial of officers and men of the Regular or Naval Militia service, but in the cases of courts-martial convened for the trial of officers of the Regular service the majority of the members shall be officers of the Regular service; and officers and men of the Naval Militia may be tried by courts-martial the members of which are officers of the Regular or Naval Militia service, or both," is hereby repealed.

And provided further, That any act or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COMMUTATION PRICE OF NAVY RATION.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent to take up for consideration the bill (H. R. 5646) to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read, Mr. President.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and it is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 1585. Forty cents shall in all cases be deemed the commutation price of the Navy ration: *Provided, however*, That after January 1, 1918, the commutation price shall not exceed the average cost of the ration during the preceding six months, not to exceed 40 cents."

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I inquire of the Senator from Virginia if the bill has been unanimously reported by the committee?

Mr. SWANSON. It has been unanimously reported by the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RATINGS IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 5648) to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the ratings of engineman, first class, engineman, second class; blacksmith, first class, blacksmith, second class, coppersmith, first class, coppersmith, second class; pattern maker, first class, pattern maker, second class; molder, first class, molder, second class; chief special mechanic and special mechanic, first class, be, and they are hereby, established in the artificer branch of the Navy with the following rates of base pay per month: Engineman, first class, $45; engineman, second class, $40; blacksmith, first class, $65; blacksmith, second class, $50; coppersmith, first class, $65; coppersmith, second class, $50; pattern maker, first class, $65; pattern maker, second class, $50; molder, first class, $65; molder, second class, $50; chief special mechanic, $127; special mechanic, first class, $80: *Provided*, That the base pay of machinists' mates, second class, and water tenders be, and it is hereby, increased from $40 to $45 per month: *Provided further*, That all the aforesaid rates of pay shall be subject to such increases of pay and allowances as are, or may hereafter be, authorized by law for enlisted men of the Navy: *And provided further*, That appointments or enlistments in the said ratings may be made from enlisted men in the Navy or from civil life, respectively, and the qualifications of candidates for any of said ratings shall be determined in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. CURTIS. I judge from the reading of the bill that it is to equalize pay. Is that its purpose?

Mr. SWANSON. The bill creates certain new classifications of petty officers; in other words, it divides existing classifications. For instance, in the case of blacksmiths there has only been one class heretofore. This bill proposes to create two classes, a first class and a second class. The same is true in the case of carpenters of the Navy. The effect of this bill will be, according to the statement of the Paymaster General of the Navy, to increase the pay of petty officers in the Navy about $240,000 or $250,000 a year.

Mr. CURTIS. It applies to enlisted men?

Mr. SWANSON. It applies to enlisted men, to petty officers. In addition to the commissioned officers and warrant officers of the Navy, there is a third class, called petty officers. We have heretofore enacted legislation affecting the commissioned officers and warrant officers. This bill applies to petty officers, to carpenters and blacksmiths, and the aggregate increase, as I have said, of pay to that class will be about $250,000 per annum.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

Mr. WARREN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 6350) to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read, Mr. President.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, That during the existing emergency the President is authorized, in addition to the grades now authorized, to appoint in the Officers' Reserve Corps and the National Army in the grades of second and first lieutenant in the Quartermaster Corps; second lieutenant in the Ordnance Corps and Signal Corps; second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain in The Adjutant General's Department, such citizens as shall be found physically, mentally, and morally qualified for appointment.

During the existing emergency no member of the Officers' Reserve Corps shall be discharged by reason of reaching the age limits provided in section 37 of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I will state that this is a bill that is highly recommended by the department, and is in the line of efficiency in the conduct of the war.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PROVISIONAL REGIMENTS OF FIELD ARTILLERY OR INFANTRY.

Mr. WARREN. I also ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 5918) to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes that during the present emergency the President be authorized to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate, provided that immediately after the termination of the existing emergency such regiments shall be reorganized as Cavalry regiments in accordance with the prescribed organization of such regiments.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator if this applies only to the present war?

Mr. WARREN. It applies only to the present war. Not needing so much Cavalry in a foreign force, they are to operate as Field Artillery and go back to Cavalry at the end of the present war and then retain their formation as Cavalry.

Mr. CURTIS. Will this bill, if passed, have any effect on the standing or grade or rank of officers?

Mr. WARREN. None whatever.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

STOCK-RAISING HOMESTEADS.

Mr. KENDRICK. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill 2493, to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of the act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916, be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That any qualified homestead entryman may make entry under the homestead laws of lands so designated by the Secretary of the Interior, according to legal subdivisions, in areas not exceeding 640 acres, and in compact form so far as may be, subject to the provisions of this act, and secure title thereto by compliance with the terms of the homestead laws: *Provided*, That a former homestead entry of land of the character described in section 2 hereof shall not be a bar to the entry of a tract within a radius of 20 miles from such former entry under the provisions of this act, which, together with the former entry, shall not exceed 640 acres, subject to the requirements of law as to residence and improvements, except that no residence shall be required on such additional entry if the entryman owns and is residing on his former entry: *Provided further*, That the entryman shall be required to enter all contiguous areas of the character herein described open to entry prior to the entry of any noncontiguous land: *And provided further*, That instead of cultivation as required by the homestead laws the entryman shall be required to make permanent improvements upon the land entered before final proof is submitted tending to increase the value of the same for stock-raising purposes of the value of not less than $1.25 per acre, and at least one-half of such improvements shall be placed upon the land within three years after the date of entry thereof."

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I should like to have the Senator from Wyoming state, if he will, just in what particular this bill amends the 640-acre homestead law. This is the first time my attention has been called to this particular bill.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I will say for the information of the Senator that this bill is intended to correct what was clearly an oversight in the language of the original stock-raising homestead act. The Senator will recall that it was the intention when that law was framed to permit a homesteader who under one of the former laws had taken up land of the arid character described in the stock-raising act to make such an additional entry of the same kind of land as to give him a total of 640 acres. It was provided that such an additional entry must be made within a radius of 20 miles of the original homestead, but the language of the act was such that if the homesteader could secure for his additional only land not contiguous to his original, he would be obliged to establish a new residence on the additional. On the other hand, if his additional land were contiguous the homesteader would not be obliged to build a new home. Under the law as it is now worded, the Department of the Interior has no choice but to adopt the interpretation that the homesteader who takes up an additional entry of noncontiguous land must not only build and maintain his home on the original, but must begin all over again and establish a residence on the additional as well. It was clearly not the intention of the law that this should be necessary, and the present measure is designed to correct that defect.

Mr. STERLING. This bill dispenses with the necessity of establishing a residence on the additional entry?

Mr. KENDRICK. Exactly—when the entryman owns and resides on his original entry.

Mr. STERLING. It being land coming within the provisions of the 640-acre homestead law?

Mr. KENDRICK. That is the meaning of the bill; and it has the entire approval of the officials of the Interior Department, because, as I have stated, they find it impossible to interpret the law in any other way, as it now reads.

Mr. STERLING. This bill was considered and reported favorably by the Committee on Public Lands?

Mr. KENDRICK. And reported without amendment.

Mr. HUSTING. Mr. President, I want the RECORD to show that I, as a member of the Senate committee, dissented from the majority in regard to this bill, and I object to its passage for the same reason that I objected the other day to the passage of the 640-acre homestead bill. In view of the vote at that time, I do not think it would serve any useful purpose for me to reiterate my objections; but I want it to appear in the RECORD that I object to this bill as vigorously as I objected to the other bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PRESENTATION OF PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate resolution No. 77, providing for the printing of petitions and memorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, That only a brief statement of the contents, as provided for in Rule VII, paragraph 5, of such communications as are presented under the order of business "Presentation of petitions and memorials" shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and that no other portion of such communications shall be inserted in the RECORD unless specifically so ordered by vote of the Senate, as provided for in Rule XXIX, paragraph 1; except that communications from the legislatures or conventions, lawfully called, of the respective States, Territories, and insular possessions shall be printed in full in the RECORD whenever presented, and the original copies of such communications shall be retained in the files of the Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The resolution is unanimously reported from the Committee on Printing. I ask for its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

Mr. POMERENE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 146), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee or any subcommittee thereof may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate.

Mr. THOMPSON subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following resolution, S. Res. 147, which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That the manuscript entitled "The official report of the second inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States and Thomas R. Marshall as Vice President of the United States, on March 5, 1917," be printed as a Senate document, with accompanying illustrations.

TUG RIVER BRIDGE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2663) granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the words proposed to be stricken out by the House amendment, insert the following: "which bridge is hereby declared to have been constructed in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906," and the House agree to the same.

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
JOHN K. SHIELDS,
WILLIAM M. CALDER,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,
THETUS W. SIMS,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I present two statements, which I think will be of interest to the Senate and to the country. The first is a statement of the achievements of the most important session of the American Congress, and the second is a statement of appropriations and contract authorizations for the fiscal year 1918. I ask that the statements be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SESSION OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS—SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

The present extraordinary session of Congress has been marked by a greater volume of legislation and the enactment of measures of more momentous import than have ever been considered in any similar period in the parliamentary history of the country.

Any criticism, therefore, that has been leveled at the Senate and House growing out of the impatience to place the country upon a war basis at the earliest possible moment, in my judgment, is unfair, and indicates a lack of appreciation or knowl-

edge of the enormous amount of work which the two Houses of Congress have performed.

Responsibilities of long duration and momentous in character have been knowingly, carefully, and, I honestly believe, intelligently assumed by the membership of this Congress. The searchlight of industry and wisdom has characterized their work on each measure, be it large or small.

Congress was convened in special session by proclamation of the President April 2, and has been in session, including tomorrow, 188 days, which includes Sundays and holidays.

Its membership has scarcely taken time to eat or sleep because of the responsibilities which the war has imposed upon them.

It must be remembered that it was a new Congress that met in response to the call of the President, and that at the very outset it was confronted with the necessity of organization, a process ordinarily requiring time and involving many contests. In the present instance, however, the committees of both Houses were named on April 3, the work of selecting them having been done during the vacation period.

At the special session of the Senate, immediately preceding the extra session of Congress, there was passed a modified cloture rule under which public business might be expedited. The adoption of such a rule was accomplished within a few days after its introduction, a result that could not have been attained in any other period of our history short of months of debate, if at all.

I beg to call attention briefly to the most important measures enacted into law at this session of Congress, as follows:

1. Public resolution No. 1, declaring a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same. On April 2 the German war resolution was introduced in the House, and on April 6, or four days after the assembling of Congress, the President attached his signature to that measure. No delay was involved in the passage of this resolution, perhaps the most important ever offered, either in this or any other Congress.

2. Public act No. 1, appropriating $68,020 for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

3. Public act No. 2, general deficiency appropriation act, appropriating $163,841,400.52, of which $100,000,000 was for the national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected with the war.

4. Public act No. 3, authorizing an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act appropriates $3,007,063,945.46 for establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation and issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes the issue of bonds amounting to $5,063,945,460, of which $3,000,000,000 is for meeting the loans authorized to foreign governments, $2,000,000,000 to meet domestic expenditures, and $63,945,460 to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918, maturing August 1, 1918; and also authorizes $2,000,000,000 of one-year certificates of indebtedness temporarily to provide revenue.

5. Public act No. 7, authorizing one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress.

6. Public act No. 11, appropriating $273,046,322.50 for the support of the Army for the fiscal year 1918.

7. Public act No. 12, authorizing the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States. This act authorized a selective draft of 1,000,000 men and contains other important legislative features pertaining to the Army.

8. Public resolution No. 2, authorizing the President to take over for the United States any vessel owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war.

9. Public resolution No. 3, authorizing the American Red Cross to erect certain temporary buildings in Washington, D. C.

10. Public act No. 17, to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps from 87,000 to 150,000 men, in the first instance, and from 17,400 to 30,000 in the second.

11. Public act No. 18, appropriating $1,344,896.18 for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year 1918, and for other purposes.

12. Public act No. 19, amending an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.

13. Public act No. 20, amending the war-risk insurance act and appropriating $45,150,000 to insure vessels and their cargoes and expenses connected therewith.

14. Public act No. 21, appropriating $147,363,928.77 for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1918.

15. Public act No. 22, authorizing the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards.

16. Public act No. 23, appropriating $3,281,094,541.60 for the Military and Naval Establishments on account of war expenses. Up to this time this is the largest appropriation act known to this or any other country. Among other things, it appropriates $405,000,000 for an emergency shipping fund with which to begin construction of the greatest merchant fleet the world has ever known.

17. Public act No. 24, to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

18. Public act No. 25, amending the Federal reserve act.

19. Public act No. 26, authorizing condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.

20. Public act No. 29, appropriating $640,000,000 to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships.

21. Public act No. 31, authorizing the United States to take possession of a site for use for permanent aviation stations of the Army and Navy for school purposes.

22. Public act No. 37, appropriating $27,826,150 for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors.

23. Public acts Nos. 38 and 39, enlarging the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission and amending the act to regulate commerce, by authorizing priority shipments by any common carrier, etc.

24. Public act No. 40, appropriating $11,346,400 to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.

25. Public act No. 41, appropriating $162,500,000 to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

26. Public act No. 43, to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act makes an additional appropriation of $4,021,377,890.92 to extend credit in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation of an issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes an additional issue of $4,000,000,000 of bonds to meet loans to foreign governments; authorizes an additional issue of one-year certificates of indebtedness amounting to $2,000,000,000 and an issue of five-year war-saving certificates amounting to $2,000,000,000.

27. Public act No. 45, authorizing the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C., at a total cost not exceeding $1,250,000.

28. Public act appropriating $5,356,666,016.93 to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and authorizes contract obligations to be met by future Congresses amounting to $2,401,458,393.50. This is the largest appropriation act passed by this or any other country. This act makes further appropriations for the emergency shipping fund of $635,000,000 and raises the limit of cost to carry out the purposes of the shipping act to $1,734,000,000.

29. Public act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes, and appropriates $450,000 to enforce the provisions thereof.

30. Public act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes. This measure provides approximately $2,500,000,000 of revenue with which to pay the expenses of the Government.

31. Public act to provide a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families, and makes an appropriation therefor of $176,250,000.

This record of achievement speaks for itself.

APPROPRIATIONS AND CONTRACT AUTHORIZATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1918.

Statement showing by acts the appropriations for the fiscal year 1918 made during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session (including appropriations made by the Army, Military Academy, rivers and harbors, sundry civil, and general deficiency acts passed during the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session):

Agriculture	$25,929,113.00	
Army	273,046,322.50	
Diplomatic and Consular	5,082,746.66	
District of Columbia	14,172,997.85	
Fortification	51,396,593.00	
Indian	11,589,736.67	
Legislative, executive, and judicial	39,894,592.42	
Military Academy	1,344,896.18	
Naval	517,273,802.08	
Pension	160,060,000.00	
Post Office	331,851,170.00	
River and harbor	27,826,150.00	
Sundry civil	147,363,928.77	
Total	1,606,832,049.13	
General deficiency	163,841,400.52	
Urgent deficiency	4,578,250.00	
Miscellaneous	[1] 41,093,670.08	
Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations	145,864,830.32	
Total		$1,962,210,200.05
Increased compensation of 5 and 10 per cent to certain employees (estimated)		15,000,000.00
Total regular appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session		1,977,210,200.05

Appropriations for the fiscal year 1918, made during the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session (exclusive of Army, Military Academy, river and harbor, sundry civil, and general deficiency acts):

Expenses incident to the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	68,020.00	
Loans to the allies under act of Apr. 24, 1917	[2] 3,000,000,000.00	
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under act of Apr. 24, 1917	7,063,945.46	
Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, cost of insuring vessels and their cargoes, etc.	45,150,000.00	
Urgent deficiency act for the Military and Naval Establishments	3,281,094,541.60	
Increase of Signal Corps of the Army, including purchase, operation, etc., of airships	640,000,000.00	
Expenses under act to encourage production, conserve the supply, and control distribution of food products and fuel	162,500,000.00	
Expenses under the act to stimulate agriculture and facilitate the distribution of agricultural products	11,346,400.00	
Additional loans to the allies under act of Sept. 24, 1917	[2] 4,000,000,000.00	
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and war-saving certificates	21,377,890.92	
Expenses under the act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy	450,000.00	
Expenses under the act establishing a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families	176,250,000.00	
Urgent deficiency act for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years on account of war expenses	5,356,666,016.93	
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated)	200,000,000.00	
Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session		16,901,966,814.91
Total appropriations for the fiscal year 1918		18,879,177,014.96

Contract authorizations, by acts in addition to appropriations heretofore made, to be met by future appropriations by Congress, authorized during the fiscal year 1918:

Fortification	5,250,000.00	
Naval	86,145,532.00	
Sundry civil	900,000.00	
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 24, 1917	16,550,000.00	
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of Oct. —, 1917	2,401,458,393.50	
Act to authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00	
Total contract authorizations		2,511,553,925.50
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918		$21,390,730,940.46

Recapitulation:

Total appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session	1,977,210,200.05
Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	16,901,966,814.91
Total contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	2,511,553,925.50
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	21,390,730,940.46
Total appropriations, fiscal year 1918, exclusive of $7,000,000,000 for loans to the allies	11,879,177,014.96
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, exclusive of $7,000,000,000 for loans to the allies	14,390,730,940.46

[1] This sum includes an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, which has been repealed by subsequent legislation.
[2] The $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000, making in all $7,000,000,000, to meet loans to the allies, is reimbursable by the foreign Governments to whom the advances are made.

ADDRESS BY CAPT. R. P. HOBSON.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have here a copy of an address delivered December 10, 1916, in the auditorium of Columbus, Ohio, by a former Member of Congress. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Washington?

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY CAPT. R. P. HOBSON, FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ALABAMA, DELIVERED AT THE AUDITORIUM, COLUMBUS, OHIO, DECEMBER 10, 1916.

DESTROYING THE GREAT DESTROYER.

Capt. Hobson spoke in part as follows:

"I wish to thank the chairman for his kind words that I know spring from the promptings of a generous heart, and to thank you, my fellow citizens, for your gracious greeting. I deem it a privilege to be able to confer with so many earnest citizens concerning the greatest moral struggle in history—a world-wide struggle brought to a head by the European war.

BECOME SOBER OR PERISH.

"Destiny seemed to be waiting upon this opportunity. The boom of the first hostile shot had scarcely signaled the presence of the foe without when the voice of modern science startled all the nations by pointing to a deadlier foe within, proclaiming in tones of full authority, 'Become sober or perish.' Instantly every nation worthy to be called civilized turned with grim determination to the task of becoming sober.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA.

"Russia promptly adopted and enforced the policy of national prohibition. This policy has now been in force over two years. The result has amazed the world.

"Insurance experts estimate that by being dry Russia is saving more lives than are being sacrificed in the great war.

"With millions of men taken away from productive pursuits, amounting in some localities to more than a third of the working force, nevertheless there is a larger area under cultivation than before the war and a larger yield per acre, a larger output of the industries and a better quality of product. The minister of finance has announced that the producing power of the nation has gone up fully 50 per cent in spite of the war; that instead of aggravating the problem of revenues for the vast expenditures, prohibition has really solved that problem. Certain it is the bank deposits have been growing steadily in spite of the huge drain upon them and savings institutions have flourished as never before, springing up among the peasantry, where they were formerly unknown. Family life, communal life, have been transformed with a new happiness. As the Czar goes through the Provinces the peasant women line the road and kneel as he passes to thank him for banishing drink. A new patriotism has given a forecast of military power and endurance never before realized and of future industrial and commercial prosperity and greatness that have not entered the dreams of the nation and its neighbors.

A COMPLETE VINDICATION.

"The experiences of Russia have been a full demonstration of the wisdom and effectiveness of national prohibition in practical operation.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY.

"In England restrictive measures are now in force that are soon to be drastic, and a monster petition has been presented to Parliament, the biggest petition in the history of the Empire, to establish prohibition in the United Kingdom. The nationalization of the liquor trade is under consideration with this end in view.

"In France advance steps have been taken against distilled liquor, and the movement is in full swing for national prohibition.

"Advance measures have been taken in Germany, consumption of liquors have been reduced more than half, while the educational measures taken by the Government are the most advanced of all nations. The German Emperor was the first sovereign to adopt total abstinence for the royal household and to proclaim that the leadership of the future in war and peace alike will rest with the nation which first abolishes beverage alcohol.

"Here in America the prohibition battle front extends from ocean to ocean. The liquor foe has been driven into citadels of the great cities. There are fewer saloons left in 40 States combined than there are in the city of New York. Even these citadels are taking notice. Detroit, of more than three-quarters of a million population, and Kansas City, Mo., have practically voted dry. Now the city of Chicago, the second city of America, one of the great cities of the world, is under seige. We have the period of trench warfare and are fast passing into the last stage of the war.

THE LEADERSHIP.

"The direction and leadership of the operation have fallen upon the Anti-Saloon League of America, conceived and developed in the purpose of harmonizing and uniting all the forces opposed to the legalized saloon, irrespective of any other differences that may exist between them. It does not ask your faith or creed, whether you are Jew or Gentile, Protestant, Catholic, or Mormon; but simply are you against the saloon. It does not ask your politics, whether you are a Democrat or a Republican, a third party Prohibitionist, a Progressive, a Socialist, but simply are you against the saloon; it asks nothing else of you, but are you antisaloon, and if so, then join us in a united warfare for destruction of this common foe of all humanity.

THE ORGANIZED FORCES.

"Under this leadership our forces are now cooperating everywhere. The temperance and prohibition organizations are in harmony as never before. With the recent action of the Protestant Episcopal Church in its quadrennial convention at St. Louis, practically all the Protestant organizations are now in line with the large and rapidly-growing organization within the Roman Catholic Church. To the temperance and uplift forces is being joined the scientific world, the world for advancing the public health and public morals, the legal and judicial world, the transportation world, the world of industry, the labor world, the world for safety and efficiency, the business world, the governments in Army and Navy and civil service.

"When the Anti-Saloon League came upon the scene only two decades ago, less than one-quarter of our people lived in dry territory and only three States had State-wide prohibition. Our temperance organizations and leaders were discouraged.

LOOK AT THE MAP.

"The wet and dry map of January 1, 1893, looks black indeed. The map of January 1, 1908, shows the dawn of a new day of hope. To-day look at the map of December 1, 1916. It is almost white. In the last two years States with over 12,000,000 population have voted State-wide prohibition. In the election just passed State-wide fights were fought in 12 States. In 6 wet States and 6 dry States, for constitutional prohibition, we won 10 victories—Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, and South Dakota going dry; Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, and Arkansas remaining dry; all with unprecedented majorities. In the two States that failed to go dry, Missouri and California, we cut liquor's former majorities almost in half and shattered the lines, both States giving good majorities dry except for the cities of St. Louis and San Francisco.

"In four States—Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Florida—the fight was over the legislatures. We won all four.

THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"Out of our 48 Commonwealths, 23 are now in the dry column and 4 more will soon follow through legislative enactment. It can be said with general accuracy that of our 2,953 counties more than 2,400 have voted dry; that about two-thirds of our population and nearly nine-tenths of our territory have voted dry.

"It is futile as it is un-American to contend that this majority of two to one should not determine the national policy when two-thirds of our electors are on record and in reality a majority of more than five to one of all our adults. No intelligent observer can longer doubt that it is the imperious will of the American people that the legalized liquor traffic shall be abolished through national prohibition. I am convinced that a direct vote on national constitutional prohibition at this time would poll 80 per cent of the qualified votes for prohibition.

SANE AND PRACTICAL METHODS THROUGH ORGANIZATION.

"The Anti-Saloon League is thoroughly organized with more than 700 trained experienced men, 150 well-equipped officers, located in all the important cities of the Nation. Its methods are sane, practical, and effective. It does not affiliate with any political party as such nor promote the fortunes of any citizens, but it calls on all parties and all good citizens to cooperate to destroy the common enemy, the liquor traffic. It realizes that effects are the results of foundation upon the education of the individual citizen on the truth about alcohol, and builds on this foundation already laid by the great Woman's Christian Temperance Union and other organizations, by the public schools, Sunday schools, and pulpits.

"From its headquarters at Westerville, Ohio, it sends out tons of prohibition literature every day, the circulation of its periodicals exceeding 3,000,000 copies per month. It is preparing to print its temperance literature in 18 foreign languages, to reach those citizens in our midst who can not speak our tongue.

It keeps a score of speakers in the field, and is constantly increasing the number to reach every city, town, and hamlet with the spoken word. It maintains a legislative bureau in Washington, and is organizing every doubtful congressional district in the country.

ALL EMBRACING OPERATIONS.

"The Anti-Saloon League is federating all the moral forces, licking them into fighting organizations, and engaging the enemy on every front. In prohibition territory it is demanding respect for the law and enforcement by officers of the law, and is demanding men and money to help in the fight in wet territory. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Nevada, the only States where the citizens are not allowed to vote on this question, it is demanding, with the growing power of public opinion, the American right of self-government. When local option is limited to cities and townships, it is conducting fights in these units and demanding the enlargement of the unit. Where the county is the unit, it is fighting for counties and demanding State-wide prohibition through constitutional amendment when practicable.

"I am not here for the purpose of making an authoritative announcement, but I make a forecast.

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF THE MIDDLE WEST.

"Inside of 12 months Ohio will be dry and Indiana and Illinois will follow in quick succession. This will mark the beginning of the end.

THE BATTLE OF THE WORLD.

"At the last national convention of the Anti-Saloon League in Indianapolis in June by unanimous vote of the convention the national executive committee of the Anti-Saloon League was instructed to bring about a world convention at the same time and place as the conference that will end the European war. At this world convention the temperance and moral forces of all lands will assemble, representing the brotherhood of man, and as the nations cease fighting each other they will be reconciled and brought into a new comradeship, turning against the common foe of all. Harmonious action will be taken in all lands bringing on the great battle of the world that is destined to emancipate humanity.

THE FIGHT FOR AMERICA.

"The primary object of this meeting is to confer with you, my fellow citizens, upon our national fight, and to enlist your cooperation, individual and collective.

POLICY AND GRAND STRATEGY.

"Our national fight is being conducted according to the principles of scientific warfare that insure victory.

"The objective toward which we are pressing from all sides is a prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We do not seek a prohibition statute passed by Congress for the good reason that this would result in a prolonged shifting policy. What one Congress does another can undo. Continual fighting and changing back and forth from wet to dry would not afford an opportunity for the young to grow up sober.

"The disease is deep, organic, and the remedy must be organic, with a stable policy permitting a growth process, the manner in which nature effects the cure of an organic disease. We therefore invoke the Constitution, the stable organic law. Evidently the generation that puts prohibition in the Constitution will stand on it and keep it there so the young generation will have a chance to grow up sober.

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION.

"Control over the Constitution is lodged by that instrument itself in the hands of the sisterhood of States, an amendment requiring for its ratification the affirmative action of the legislatures of three-quarters of all the States, making 36. There are two methods provided by the Constitution for the submission of an amendment to the States, one by action of Congress through a two-thirds majority of both Houses, the other by the action of constitutional convention called by the affirmative action (a constitutional convention called) of the legislatures of two-thirds of all the States, making 32.

"Seventeen amendments have been made to the Constitution, in all of which the initiative was taken by Congress. Following these precedents, we are naturally first seeking action by Congress.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.

"When is it the duty of Congress to submit an amendment? When public opinion makes the demand. Has public opinion demanded this amendment?

THE GREATEST PETITION OF ALL HISTORY.

"More than 8,000,000 petitioners have petitioned Congress to submit this amendment, the biggest petition in the history of the world. More citizens have petitioned Congress for this measure than have petitioned Congress for all other measures combined since the foundation of the Government.

"A Member of Congress might oppose ratification by the States, but if he believes in the Constitution he has taken oath to uphold, if he believed in our American system, established by our forefathers, if he believes that we can trust that three-quarters of all the States would not ratify what is wrong or unwise, if he believes that the people of America are capable of self-government and have a right whether directly or through legislatures chosen by them to pass upon vital organic questions which they believe affect their welfare, then he can not justify voting in the face of this monster petition against submitting the Hobson amendment to the States for their action.

STATE RIGHTS.

"The most fundamental of all the rights of the States is the right to amend the Constitution of the United States. The States might reject or they might ratify this amendment, but they now have the right which all true Americans should respect, the right to pass upon it.

POLITICAL PATRIOTISM.

"Since we are not asking Congress to make America dry but only to accord to the American people their rights, and since this question is now at our door demanding to be settled in America as in all other lands, we call on all patriotic citizens to make this issue paramount in choosing Members of Congress and United States Senators, whether in primaries or in general elections. I mean really paramount over any other issue, or over all other issues. I was born and brought up a Democrat. Some of you may have been born and brought up in another party, but all legitimate political parties exist mainly for the purpose of promoting the highest welfare of the Nation. The best way to be a good Democrat and the best way to be a good Republican is to be a good American first. In this crisis let us have a new baptism of patriotism of politics; let us place country above party; let us place humanity above individual or party success.

THE HOBSON AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

"The strength of our position before Congress in asking only for a referendum is shown in the result of the vote on the Hobson resolution in December, 1914, although the administration was antagonistic through and through, although the leaders of both parties in Congress were antagonistic, yet we never lost an encounter in the whole parliamentary battle, and in the final vote received 197 votes to 189 against the resolution, a majority of 8. The result electrified the country and sent fear to the heart of the enemy forces, but it was not the necessary two-thirds majority.

THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

"The Sixty-fourth Congress, now beginning its second session, will shortly be called on to vote. I do not claim that we shall receive two-thirds majority. My eight years' experience in Congress has taught me how hard it is to get a two-thirds majority on any question when there is an organized opposition. But I do claim that we are going to get a larger majority, and a very much larger majority and its equivalent in the Senate if the resolution reaches a vote in that body, and I do proclaim that with the rising tide of public opinion and the general realization that the question is simply one of referendum, the Members or Senators who violate their obligations to their country and its institutions by voting against the amended resolution will have a harder time in explaining and squaring themselves with their constituencies in this.

OUR FORCES ARE DETERMINED.

"If the Sixty-fourth Congress fails to submit the prohibition amendment, the Sixty-fifth Congress will be called on for an early vote, and if it fails we will make that question paramount in electing the Sixty-sixth Congress, and call for an early vote by that Congress. If the amendment has not been submitted by 1920 we will repeat the process for the Sixty-seventh Congress and will appeal to the national conventions for a special resolution setting forth on behalf of both major parties the duty of Congress to submit the amendment to the States. If the amendment has already been submitted when the convention convenes, but is still unratified, we will call for a resolution in both conventions urging upon the legislatures of the States speedy ratification. As a matter of fact, more than two-thirds of the voters in each of the great parties are in favor of national prohibition, and the control of the two conventions for this purpose is a foregone conclusion. A majority vote in the two conventions will instruct two-thirds majority in Congress.

THE FINAL OUTCOME IS A CERTAINTY.

"If submission by Congress is unduly delayed, we will have recourse to the alternative method by action of State legislatures in calling a constitutional convention. The vote on the Hobson amendment resolution, in the Sixty-third Congress,

showed 30 States whose delegations gave us an even split or a majority.

"The 90 per cent of our territory that has voted dry is an index of the attitude of the States. There are 40 States in which we can win the legislatures for this purpose. Thirty-two can call and control the convention, and 36 can ratify its action, and if politicans do not wish to see a constitutional convention called they will do well to hasten the action of Congress. Political manipulation may delay us for a short time, but no power on earth can long prevent the Hobson amendment from becoming a part of the Constitution of the United States. With vigorous enforcement and wise and just reconstruction, America will not only inaugurate a new period in our history but will take the leadership for international action and open up a new era in the life history of the human race.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

"As our policy and grand strategy are wise, sound, and sure, so our strategy and tactics are scientific and irresistible.

THE WORDING AND EFFECT OF THE HOBSON AMENDMENT.

"The Hobson amendment does not prohibit a citizen from drinking liquor; it does not prohibit a citizen from possessing liquor for private purposes. No fight by law is made upon the user of liquor; no infringement is made upon a citizen's individual liberty; no invasion of the sanctity of the home. There is nothing sumptuary in this amendment; no attempts made to prescribe to citizens by law what they shall drink any more than what they shall eat or wear. The language of the amendment is plain and clear, the effect is manifest—it prohibits the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, everything that relates to the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and for these purposes only, without interfering with wine for sacramental purposes, with alcohol used in arts, in therapy, etc. It should be added that alcohol can no longer be regarded in America as a legitimate medicine. The grand committee of the American Medical Association have excluded it and its compounds from the American Pharmacopœia. Many citizens may feel that they have an inherent right to drink if they wish to, but no intelligent citizen can cling to the idea that he has an inherent right to sell liquor. This question has been laid at rest by 12 decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that declare that 'No citizen has an inherent right to sell intoxicating liquor.' Upon reflection this must appear evident, for three hundred and ninety-nine out of four hundred citizens of the United States are not allowed to sell liquor to-day.

CUTS LIQUOR'S LINE OF COMMUNICATION.

"In opposing the Hobson amendment liquor can no longer pretend to be the protector of 'individual liberty,' the defender of the 'sanctity of the home.' His forces are cut off from all alliances with moral forces and must stand out from under cover in the open and fight out the battle alone on commercial and mercenary ground. The wording of the amendment gives us the choice of the battle ground and reduces the question at issue to its simplest form.

A SIMPLE QUESTION.

"All the complexity and confusion are stripped away and the issue stands out simply, Shall the liquor business, conducted solely for profit, be suppressed by usual process of law? Process of law has suppressed the lottery business, the business in dealing in impure foods, the white-slave traffic, on the simple principle that the business is harmful to society; manifestly it is against public policy to allow citizens to carry on business that injures the public. A few citizens should not be allowed to profit at the expense of society.

THE REAL ISSUE.

"If the liquor traffic does not harm society, we will join to protect it; if it does harm society, it is your duty as a patriotic citizen, competent and worthy of self-government, to join us to suppress it. The question becomes one solely of fact, not a question of judgment. The citizen is a juror for a finding of facts. Does the liquor traffic harm society or does it not? His verdict determines his duty.

HOBSON AMENDMENT WILL PROVE EFFECTIVE.

"Some friends of prohibition were in doubt at first as to whether this amendment, reduced to such simple form, would be effective. The enemy naturally sought to take advantage of this attitude of doubt and attempted turning these citizens against their own side. There has been a vein of humor in the enemy's pretending to desire a different kind of prohibition, one 'really effective.' It was laughable to see the leaders of the liquor forces so anxious to 'perfect' the Hobson amendment by striking out the words 'for sale' to make it 'real prohibition.'

NO COERCION.

"The Hobson amendment does not coerce the individual citizen; it does not attempt by law to make men good or even to change the habits of a lifetime; but it does bring to bear the natural scientific remedy for organic disease in the body, social by removing the cause of the renewal of the disease, its spreading to the young, and then providing nature with the chance to 'grow' cured, the method by which mother nature cures organic diseases in the body physical.

BOYS AND CHILD RACES.

"A very small per cent of drinkers begin drinking after they are grown. More than two-thirds of the drunkards have their habits contracted before they are 21, nearly one-third before they are 16, a considerable per cent before they are 12.

"What is the agency that causes boys to begin drinking? Not old drinkers, because they have no motive in doing so, but rather have a repugnance. The agency is the organized liquor traffic, operating through saloons and bars and through speak-easies, blind tigers, bootleggers, that get all their supplies from organized dealers, saloons, or wholesalers. These agencies create a veritable atmosphere in which the lives of the young are molded unconsciously. If Indians or other native child races were in the saloon atmosphere, of course, they would learn to drink. The boys and youths are in the same stage of development, similarly subject to the allurement and enslaving properties of this drug. It is estimated that in this way fully four out of five of all American boys learn to drink in some form before maturity.

"Deny the liquor traffic nationally the channels of trade, dry up all the sources of commercial supply, and this business or any other business similarly situated could no longer return profits, the object and only object of its existence. Under these adverse conditions the liquor traffic, like the lottery business, would disintegrate, and the underlying cause of the debauching of the young would end. Many drinkers, with this change of environment, removal of temptation, and support from public opinion, would stop drinking, but no doubt many old drinkers would continue to drink until they die. It is not reasonable to expect prohibition suddenly to stop all drinking.

THE CURE.

"But as the old drinkers die off there will be no recruits, no new drinkers to take their places. The young generation will grow up sober. This is nature's cure for the organic disease.

NO ABUSE—AN APPEAL TO GOOD MEN.

"My attitude on this great question has always been and it remains purely scientific. I have never permitted bitterness to invade my heart, but have maintained a judicial frame of mind toward the men who, in the regular course of events with the drink institution coming down upon us from the past, have become accustomed to drink, who have become engaged in the liquor business to make a living or who have invested in securities of distilleries, breweries, hotels, saloons, etc. No one has been able to take just offense at anything in any of my addresses. I assume that every man in the sound of my voice is a good man and a good citizen. I make my appeal to your own candor and honesty with yourself. You may be interested in the liquor business, you may be a drinking man yourself, but if you are a good man, you do not want your boy to grow up drinking, nor your neighbor's boy. You would love to see the young grow up sober. This is all we ask, to remove the real cause of the drinking by the young. To accomplish this just and wise result, we only ask due process of law, nor do we invoke any vague or visionary rule of law, but the principle underlying the attitude of all civilized government toward business for profit, if it harms society it ought to be denied the channels of trade and suppressed.

"In arriving at a finding of fact we do not ask you to draw upon your own knowledge of the operation of the liquor traffic from your own observation, nor do we present the scathing indictments of saloons found inside of the liquor trade in their own periodicals and literature. We do not ask you to take our opinion nor the opinion or judgment of any man or group of men—we simply present you the truth about alcohol, one of the hydrocarbon compounds as established in the laboratories of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, London, and New York without any relationship to the bearing upon prohibition. The conclusions of modern science about alcohol as about many of the other compounds of the same family and group are final, just as firmly established as the law of gravity or the shape of the earth.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALCOHOL.

"Every intelligent person who keeps at all informed upon the world's progress should know the three simple findings of science as to what alcohol really is.

FIRST. ALCOHOL IS A PROTOPLASM POISON.

"Alcohol is one of the few substances that poison the elemental protoplasm out of which all living things are built—plants, animals, men. Upon coming in contact with protoplasm,

alcohol sucks up its water and proceeds to harden and coagulate the proteins, comprising the major part of its substance. Pour alcohol on a raw egg and this coagulation will quickly set in as if in hard boiling. This hardening in the little living cells of the body interferes with their live processes of nutrition, breathing and excretion.

TOXICOLOGY OF ALCOHOL.

"Toxicology, the science of poison and poisoning, has assembled the fact as established about most of the poisons.

"Ethel alcohol is one of a family of fluid poisons, the second brother of the alcohol family, one of the series of hydrocarbon derivatives. The first brother is methyl alcohol, derived from the gas, methone, CH_4, a dangerous, poisonous gas known among miners as fire damp. Take away one atom of hydrogen and substitute hydroxide in its place gives CH_3OH. This is methyl alcohol, popularly called wood alcohol, whose poisonous properties are well known. The other members of the family are built up by adding the link CH_2 one atom of carbon, two atoms of hydrogen.

"The next brother, CH_3CH_2OH, is ethyl alcohol, the one used in liquor.

"Adding another link gives $CH_3CH_2CH_2OH$, which is propyl alcohol, adding a third link gives $CH_3CH_2CH_2CH_2OH$, which is butyl alcohol. Adding a fourth link gives $CH_3CH_2CH_2CH_2CH_2OH$, which is amyl alcohol, which, with its usual impurities, is called fusel oil whose poisonous properties are well known and so the whole family is built. All the members of this family are poisonous.

"The formula for ethyl alcohol may be written C_2H_5OH. The formula for carbolic acid is C_6H_5OH.

"To illustrate how closely akin ethyl alcohol is to other well-known poisons just extract a little water with sulphuric acid and the result is ether. One molecule of ether $—2(C_2H_5OH)H_2C_2H_5OC_2H_5$.

ALCOHOL KING OF THE POISON TRIBE.

"Just mix bleaching powder with alcohol, the result is chloroform, HC, CL_3.

"Instead of combining chlorine with hydrocarbons, combine nitrogen with a low hydrocarbon, HC; nitrogen produces HCN, hydrocyanic acid, known as Prussic acid; with high oxide derivations it produces $C_{17}H_{19}O_3N$ (morphine), and $C_{17}H_{21}O_4N$ (cocaine), and $C_{21}H_{22}O_2N_2$ (strychnine).

"The science of poisons has thus established a veritable tribe of poison, and ethyl alcohol is the kind of the poison tribe.

"In the light of this scientific knowledge it seems strange that any well-informed, educated, human being could look upon alcohol as good for drink.

ALCOHOL IN THE BLOOD A DEADLY POISON.

"The prime purpose of drink is to supply water to the tissues and the blood. Over three-quarters of the body and about 97 per cent of the blood are water. Can alcohol take the place of water in the blood, 97 per cent? A person with 1 per cent of alcohol in the blood would fall dead. Seven parts of alcohol in a thousand parts of blood is fatal. In fact, no creature has ever been known to survive six parts of alcohol in a thousand parts of blood. One-half of 1 per cent is sufficient to kill.

"The most robust of men drinking a short tumbler of alcohol, 5 ounces, would be dead inside of 10 hours. A man survived who took 8 ounces ether, another survived who took 22.5 ounces of chloroform.

POISONING THE NATION FOR PROFIT.

"The findings of science means that the brewers, distillers, wholesalers, and retailers of America are manufacturing and distributing 2,500,000,000 gallons of beverage that is poisonous. These citizens, for their own enrichment, are systematically poisoning 80,000,000 American citizens. It is bad enough to poison one individual for profit; think of poisoning the Nation for private gain. The thought is abhorrent. This finding of science calls for the verdict. The liquor traffic is poisoning society; therefore society should suppress it.

ALCOHOL IS AN INSIDIOUS HABIT-FORMING DRUG.

"Alcohol, like its double first cousin, ether, and its kinsman, chloroform, is an anæsthetic, making its severest attack upon the central nervous system, penetrating ever the sheathing that protects the nerve fibers. It numbs the nerves before the pain of the poisoning can set in, while the order of the anæsthesia prepares the way for deceiving the victim into thinking he has been stimulated.

"The quickest effect is felt in the upper brain, the latest in human evolution, and consequently the most complex, delicate, and sensitive. The power of inhibition or control residing in this part is quickly suspended before the effect reaches the lower brain, which man possesses in common with the brute, where the more elemental instincts and brutal feelings preside. These being quickly loosened from their usual control, the victim feels that he has been stimulated. He is more of a brute, it is true, but in reality that very feeling is a sign that his brain has been partially paralyzed. The higher faculties of judgment, proportion, and reason being quickly suspended, while the lower subconscious egotism is loosened, the drinker rapidly goes up in his own estimation, his self-assurance may become colossal, while he soon forgets his debts and drowns his sorrows, and feels relief from the cares and monotony of everyday life. This effect makes ethyl alcohol the most alluring of all the habit-forming drugs.

"When the tissues come out from under the anæsthetic they begin to feel the results of the poison's effect, especially in the top part of the head. They begin to crave relief, to call to be put back under the delightful anæsthetic. It now takes more of the drug to produce the same feeling. The reaction and depression are consequently greater, followed by a stronger craving. Thus the craving grows with the drinking.

CRAVING VERSUS SELF-CONTROL.

"As the protoplasm poison continues its attack upon the life cells of the body their vital processes of nutrition, oxidation, excretion are all impaired, lowering the vitality of the whole organism. The drop in strength and vitality is greatest in the nervous system, reaching its maximum in the upper brain, where the tender neurons and their delicate network of branches and fibers are gradually hardened and worn away. These brain centers generate the nerve energy for will power, manhood, self-control. It must be said that every dose of this poison weakens the power of these brain centers, and the drinker is just a little less of a man every time he takes a drink. Thus the will power and self-control rapidly decline with the drinking, while the craving of the tissues steadily grows. It can only be a question of time, if the drinking is persisted in, when the growing craving overmatches the declining manhood and enslaves the will. The drinker is in the grip of the habit. To him the world is no longer natural. With the wasting of the higher brain centers the world of reason and judgment, of man, of nature, of God steadily contracts; the very memory of high and noble things fades; the words love, duty, self-sacrifice have no meaning; the drinker no longer lives for his family, for his country; he is oblivious even to his own self-interest and deaf to the dictates of self-preservation. The central thought of his life, day and night, is to procure this drug.

"The liquor traffic has a monopoly of the supply. The victim is a slave and the liquor traffic owns him. That is why ethyl alcohol has been chosen through the generations rather than other poisons to enslave humanity.

THE BONDAGE OF HUMANITY—THE SERFDOM OF THE WORLD.

"Not all drinkers become full-fledged slaves. It is estimated that there are 5,000,000 heavy drinkers and drunkards in the United States who are full-fledged slaves, more abject than ever were black men. African slaves in America hardly counted half that number at any one time. It is estimated that there are temperate regular drinkers numbering in all 20,000,000. These can be graded into one-eighth slaves, one-fourth slaves, three-eighths slaves, one-half slaves, five-eighths slaves, three-fourths slaves, seven-eighths slaves, and so forth, where every kind of a drinker has a place. King alcohol holds humanity in bondage in the serfdom of the world.

LEVYING TRIBUTE.

"When pay day comes even the one-eighth slave thinks first of the saloon, afterwards of his family. Throughout their whole realm of liquor serfdom the first money goes to the king. No monarch since the world began ever levied even a considerable fraction of the tribute levied by king alcohol. In America the cash collections yearly exceed two and one-half billion dollars—two-thirds of all the money in circulation. It is not the producer, the farmer, miner, manufacturer, nor the distributor, the railroad, the merchant, the banker, nor yet the educator, the minister, nor even the Government, but it is the liquor traffic that skims the cream of the cash money of the Nation; nor does the burden stop with the cash taken. Every drinker parts with a part of his efficiency as a producer, part of his value to his employer, part of his value as a customer, as well as a part of his health, a part of his character, a part of his life, a part of his soul.

THE BIGGEST BUSINESS FOR BIG BUSINESS.

"The biggest business for big business is to swing the full power of its organization and its resources behind nation-wide and world-wide prohibition. The experience of Russia demonstrates in practice the conclusions of scientific research, that by ending the liquor traffic the producing power of a nation will rise by leaps and bounds. The purchasing power and consuming power will rise accordingly. Putting an end to the wholesale poisoning of humanity will practically double the

business of the world. Herein lies the biggest field for big business. The business world would be the chief financial beneficiary of this enormous business expansion. The biggest, soundest business policy of modern times, of all history, would be the full financing by business men of the war upon drink, to reduce to a minimum the delay in bringing about a sober, total-abstaining world.

LIQUOR AND LABOR.

"It is sometimes advanced in extenuation that the capital invested in the liquor business gives employment to many men. The same capital invested in other channels would give employment to from five to ten times as many men. Why should any part of the capital and working force of society be diverted to harmful pursuits? As a matter of fact, liquor is the meanest employer of all, paying its employees the lowest wage of the wage scale. No part of society is so preyed upon by liquor as the labor world. Not only the efficiency and earning power of labor, and therefore its purchasing power and standard of living, are cut down and a large part of what it does earn is taken away, but in return for its substance liquor lowers the standards of intelligence, of self-reliance, of courage, of character, of labor, so it becomes an easy victim of avaricious employers, an easy victim of the demagogue and ward politician, of the agitator and anarchist. This degrading influence upon labor is illustrated in the slums of big cities, which not only menace the standard of wages for all labor, but menace the continuance of honest government, the perpetuity of free institutions.

LIQUOR AND TAXES.

"The liquor traffic is given to boasting about the revenues it pays to the Government. As a matter of fact, all these revenues would not pay the bill that citizens must meet by taxation for the public charges of crime, pauperism, and insanity produced by liquor, to say nothing of the immorality, the disease, and premature death.

"Liquor is prone to conjure up the specter of deficits in the Public Treasury, of grave problems of financing the Government if their revenues are withdrawn. The minister of finance of Russia reports that the problem of financing the war, the greatest problem in governmental financing ever confronting the Government, has been solved by the increase in wealth-producing power of the people resulting from national prohibition, bearing out what the late Mr. Gladstone replied to the deputation of brewers who presented the same argument to him, 'Give me a sober people who do not squander their substance on drink and I will find ready means of raising the revenue required by the Government.'

LIQUOR THE SLAVE DRIVER.

"There can be no justification for perpetuating a business conducted for private gain which lays such a staggering burden upon the shoulders of society.

"The very existence of such institution can only be accounted for by the fact that men have not known any better heretofore, that the purveyors of this subtle, habit-forming drug have been able to slip upon them as boys and gradually enslave them without their knowledge or realization. The folly, the tragedy, of this slavery is now coming home to men. To think, the millions of heavy drinkers and drunkards only live three years on the average; even the temperate, regular drinkers have their lives so seriously shortened that insurance companies are more and more refusing them insurance. The liquor traffic cashes in the lifeblood of its slaves. When a full realization of the lesser wrong of African slavery came home to our people, men rose and wiped it out in blood. We do not ask any violence now, but we do call on every patriot here to join us and take an honorable part in wiping out this most hideous form of slave driving in the history of humanity.

ALCOHOL THE SPECIFIC FOR DEGENERACY.

"Finding No. 2, that alcohol is a dangerous habit-forming drug, and the consequence of same, like finding No. 1, that alcohol is a protoplasm poison, call for the verdict of the citizen jurors that the liquor traffic harms society and therefore should be suppressed. But it remained for finding No. 3 to startle the world and cause the civilized nations to tremble with the realization that they must become sober or perish. The finding that alcohol causes degeneracy in all living things is in reality the specific for degeneracy, the process that entails extinction.

"All life is founded on the advancing or building principle, and upon compliance with this principle rests not only the normal prolongation of the individual life but its reproduction and renewal.

"Modern scientific research has made the startling discovery that whether in the vegetable kingdom, the kingdom of the animals, the kingdom of men, when ethyl alcohol is applied internally, whether to the single elemental life cell or to the complete organism, the evolutionary building process is arrested and finally reversed. This backward course of degeneracy, reversing the process of evolution, is the deadly sin in the eyes of nature. When degeneracy sets in, it is certain that a deadly blow has been struck at the fundamental processes of life, nutrition, oxidation, excretion, and at the germ or other source of reproduction, so the life itself will be shortened and the offspring blighted in proportion to the degree of the degeneracy.

MAN TO INHERIT THE EARTH MUST GROW IN THE GRACE OF HIS MAKER.

"The human species is not evolving in the physical but in the mental and spiritual, the part that distinguishes man from the brute, located in the upper brain, manifesting itself in self-control, in recognizing right and wrong in conscience, in consciousness of God, of duty, in love, in self-sacrifice. A man stops growing physically at about 21; he can continue to grow in grace all the days of his life. That is what you live for.

LIQUOR REVERSES THE PURPOSE OF CREATION.

"Did you ever ask yourself the searching question, 'What is it all for?' Nature gives the answer. That each human being who comes into the world may develop into the noblest character possible, and that each generation of humanity may rise on the average to a degree higher and nobler than the previous generation, developing mankind more and more in the image of God; the maximum advance of humanity in the line of its evolution. This is the purpose of creation, the will of God in the world.

"This supplies the final standard by which to measure values, the value of your conduct, the value of your life, the value of a policy, of a law, of an institution, of a civilization, namely, what does it actually contribute to the general good, to the real uplift of humanity?

"The liquor traffic distributes a commodity that exactly reverses this evolutionary uplift process of society, reverses the purpose of creation, the will of God. By every principle and precept of life it ought to be suppressed.

LIQUOR AND THE YOUNG MAN.

"I will amplify this finding, especially for the young. My young friend, you are one living organism of the universe and are subject to all the great laws of nature. Proceed to drink and you will begin to degenerate. You might possibly develop the brute in you some further, though even your physical strength will soon decline, but you can not possibly develop further in your higher, nobler nature, the line of your evolution. Nothing living could. Take the vegetable kingdom. If a young flower is evolving a wonderful new color and it is watered once a day with water united with alcohol, half and half, about the equivalent of a very temperate drinker, the new color will stop developing and gradually fade away. In the animal kingdom bring up a puppy as an alcoholic. When grown he will prowl around and howl like a wolf, from which his ancestors evolved. If Indians get liquor regularly they go on the warpath, degenerated back to savagery. Negroes become cannibals; a highly civilized young white man gradually becomes semicivilized, then semisavage, then savage, and may descend so far below the brute that he will kill his own wife, his own children. Go to Bellevue Hospital, in New York, to the ward for alcoholics, and watch the surgeons perform an autopsy on a victim of acute alcoholism. With a magnifying glass examine the upper brain as it is dissected. The most wonderful part of the delicate gray matter is gone, wiped out, and in its place you find white, inert, low-class scar tissue. The result of all the patient evolutionary processes of the ages is wiped out, what distinguished the man from a brute is gone, and men are getting rich in bringing this upon their fellow men.

THE CURSE OF NATURE.

"Proceed to drink, young man, and you will begin to degenerate. Begin to degenerate and nature's curse will descend upon you. Starting at the age of 20, if you never drink, the average of records of insurance companies shows you will live to be 61 years old. If you live as an average "temperate" drinker you will die at 51. Live as a heavy drinker and you will die at 35. These are the averages. Between the ages of 25 and 35 the mortality of total abstainers is only half that of the average. The average mortality for young men is twice what it ought to be. Twice as many young men die as ought to die. It is especially sad for a young man to die. Liquor cashes in the lives of half the young men who die. We can save these lives by destroying the liquor traffic.

"Between the ages of 35 and 45 the mortality for total abstainers is only one-third of the average. The average mortality for men in their prime is three times what it ought to be. Three times as many men die in their prime as ought to die. Few animals die in their prime. Liquor cashes in the lives of

two out of three of all men who die in their prime. We can save these lives by destroying the liquor traffic.

THE HARVEST OF DEATH.

"There would be few premature deaths in a sober world. Liquor is the primary cause of most of the deaths by violence, manslaughter, and murder, of most of the deaths by accident in automobiles, in cars, in machine shops, factories, and mines. Records of French national hospitals show that over half the cases of consumption are due to drink, and the mortality of consumptive drinkers is twice that of total abstainers. The mortality in pneumonia is nearly trebled, and so on with other diseases of bacilli and germs. This is inevitable. The alcohol poison lowers the general vitality and incapacitates the phagocites, the soldiers of the blood, that kill off invading germs and microbes.

"The deaths in America are about 1,000 deaths per year for each 61,000 of population—the figures of the registrar general of England. This means about 1,700,000 deaths per year. If there were no liquor in the land so the mortality could drop to that of total abstainers, as found from the average of the records of insurance companies, there would be only about 1,000,000 deaths. The difference, 700,000 on the ghostly, bloody toll of precious human life taken by liquor, 2,000 premature deaths every day of the year, more than the average killed on all the battle fronts of Europe combined. Mr. Soabsby, one of the leading authorities of Europe, has recently announced that liquor is the cause of over 200,000 deaths yearly in England alone, more than are killed in the field in all the armies. In civilized lands, to think that some men get rich from this harvest of death of fellow men.

LIQUOR AND THE UNBORN.

"Degeneracy can not inherit the earth. Life must rise to be renewed down the generations. The carrier of heredity, the chromatin of the germ cell, is the most sensitive to degenerating agencies. This is inevitable, since nature provides to carry the lines of evolution strongest to the offspring, this line being the special object of attack by the specific for degeneracy. It is a dangerous thing for prospective parents to drink even occasionally. Investigation shows that drinking that may not appear to have produced visible injury to the drinkers will injure the offspring and in the third generation may lead to sterility.

DRINKING IN THE HOME.

"If both parents drink but once a day, at one meal, wine or beer, this temperate drinking will quadruple the chance of miscarriage of the mother, increasing proportionately the dangers and sufferings of maternity, helping to keep the burden on the motherhood of our species not laid by nature on any other species. This temperate drinking will increase manyfold the number of children born dead, this amounting where beer gardens prevail to as much as 300 born dead out of every 1,000 born. This temperate drinking will nearly double the number of children who die the first year.

SLAUGHTERING THE INNOCENTS.

"Including those born dead, about half the human race die before the age of 5. The young animals on the farms do not die off like this. Why should the big graveyards be so full of little graves? Because these Herod's agents swarm into our homes and with their poison shafts strike the little ones in their cradles, strike them in their mothers' wombs.

"If both parents are alcoholics, one child in five becomes insane, one child in seven is born deformed, one child in three is backward, with a likelihood of becoming epileptic or feebleminded; only one child in six will be normal, and even this one may transmit a taint to its offspring. Five out of six of the children are blighted in some form; the family breeds degenerates, to become a burden on society, and goes to extinction.

THE DOWNFALL OF NATIONS.

"A nation is composed of families. When liquor runs its course until a nation becomes generally dissipated and debauched, the nation breeds degenerates; great national policies, even if self-defense, become impossible; institutions and liberties are undermined; the nation must perish.

"The nations of history that are gone did not perish in war nor famine nor by fire, flood, volcano, or earthquake. No great nation ever even began to decline until it became dissipated, and no nation, however great, even to ruling the world, ever escaped destruction when it degenerated.

"Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Greece, Rome did not perish in the order of nature. They should be living and flourishing to-day.

MAKE MANKIND A THOROUGHBRED RACE.

"If both parents are total abstainers, without the taint of degeneracy, 9 out of 10 of their children are normal, and brought up in a moral atmosphere will tend to rise to one degree higher and nobler in character than the average of their parents. Their children will rise yet higher. So a sober family and a sober nation not only tends indefinitely to reproduce with natural increase but to rise rapidly and produce a thoroughbred race of men. We have produced thoroughbred corn, we have produced thoroughbred horses, thoroughbred dogs. Don't you think it is high time to begin to produce a thoroughbred race of men? This can not be done while men get rich through poisoning the human race with the specific for degeneracy. Flocks, herds, go on, reproduce, rise along their lines indefinitely, but a nation only rises to fall, is only born to die.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE UNIVERSE.

"The human species, the crowning part of God's creation, for which God created the earth and gave dominion over it, whose rising in the line of its evolution is the very purpose of creation—the human race is being kept under the curse of nature, groaning with disease, premature death, disintegration, the crumbling of individual character, of great families, of cities and empires, with the millstone of degeneracy hung about its neck. For what purpose? That private citizens may enrich themselves and ultimately perish with the rest. Universal suicide, the tragedy of creation.

THE GREAT ISSUE.

"I do not underestimate the importance of other issues. I appreciate the importance of preparedness. For 15 years, in Congress and out, I have pleaded for reasonable preparedness, without waiting for the question to become popular. But preparedness did not save Rome from destruction—the best-prepared nation of history. I appreciate the importance of education. For years in Congress I have striven to have the Federal Government cooperate with the States and counties to establish a high, uniform system of education everywhere and insure that every boy and girl born under the American flag shall have the equipment and training of a standard, scientific education. But education did not save Greece from destruction, the best educated nation of history.

"The great issue of our age—the greatest issue of all ages—is to cut the millstone of degeneracy from the neck of humanity. Upon this issue will hinge the destiny of the race. Throwing off the drag of degeneracy, nature will take its evolutionary course. The baser elemental passions of men will be subordinated rapidly to the higher, nobler faculties. The thoughts of men will be lifted from the base of the brain, where they are now held, while humanity is soused in liquor. With the plane of self-preservation largely dominating men, the feelings of distrust and the fear of others breeds injustice and cruelty between nations and men, and war and interdestruction between the nations. With the higher, nobler faculties left free to become dominant, justice would flourish, service would become the watchword between men, good will between nations, an ever-widening policy of cooperation for the common good spread over the earth, and embrace all races, all religions; a new heaven and a new earth would appear, a veritable new era in the life history of our race.

"On the other hand, leave the millstone of degeneracy about the neck of humanity, do nothing and let liquor run its course, then as surely as the laws of nature persist America and the great nations of to-day will go down as did the nations of the past, and our wonderful human race, with its spark of immortality, will become extinct upon the earth.

THE HOUR OF DESTINY IS STRIKING.

"The great war has brought men and nations into the presence of the realities of life and death and has opened their hearts and minds to the truth as perhaps these have never been opened in the world's history. Under Providence, modern science stood waiting with the truth about alcohol. Under the necessities of war the governments of the world have been able to take drastic measures against the liquor traffic and have been able to teach their people the truth about alcohol as no government would have dared in ordinary times, with the traffic so entrenched and so powerful in the business, social, and political life of the world. It is wonderful how God advances his great purposes, even out of the wrath of men. The war has advanced this great reform by decades, perhaps by generations, until it is now knocking at the doors of our generation. The hour of destiny is striking.

THE CALL TO DUTY.

"The call is sounding throughout the world, a call to duty such as men have never received since the morning stars sang

together. I do not underestimate the other obligations that rest upon us individually, but the paramount duty that we owe to ourselves, to our children, to our country, to nature, and to nature's God is that each one of us, in his own sphere, shall do his legitimate part, an honorable part, a man's part, in this struggle on all fronts for State-wide, Nation-wide, world-wide prohibition. Each one should bring himself into the fight with all his talent and gifts, with his brain power and organizing power, with his resources and money power, with his spirituality and prayer power.

RALLY TO THE COLORS.

"I do not underestimate the enemy's strength in men and money. At the ballot box he controls millions of degenerates and human derelicts of his own creation and has hundreds of millions of blood money at his command. Politicians of all parties have been accustomed to tremble in its presence and bow the knee. Political parties do homage. I realize that through long generations the drink god has been rooted in the social and business institutions of the nations. But admitting that obstacles rise high in the path; that political and other dangers may appear, I ask you what are you going to do about this call to duty? I know your answer. You are going to do your duty regardless of consequences. The word "duty" transforms a man. I know you, the average good man, undegenerate; you are naturally brave and true. You would now hold up your head and with a smile proudly march down the path of duty, though you saw it leading into the valley of the shadow.

"The great battle is now raging around the world. Upon its outcome hinges the fate of the race. Here in America we are in the last stage, in the midst of the trench warfare, and are preparing for the great drive. We are calling men and women to the colors. More than a million have responded, signing our enlistment cards and contributing of their resources in the levy of the sinews of war. We want five million; we call on every earnest man and woman here to join our army. If you can not go with us into the trenches at the front, then manufacture ammunition in the rear.

"As one great State after another swings into the dry column, as America follows Russia with national prohibition and leads the whole world as it becomes sober, you will rejoice and thank God that the privilege came to you to join our hosts."

ARMY CHAPLAINS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the request of the House of Representatives for the return of the bill (H. R. 5271) authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army; and there being no objection, the request was complied with.

PORT OF ENTRY, NORTHGATE, N. DAK.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2203) for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry and delivery for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise, which was to amend the title so as to read: "An act for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise."

Mr. McCUMBER. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMY.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2527) authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the President may appoint for service during the present emergency not exceeding 20 chaplains at large for the United States Army representing religious sects not recognized in the apportionment of chaplains now recognized by law: *Provided*, That no person shall be eligible to such appointment unless he be at the time of his appointment a citizen of the United States.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 6361. An act to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war, was read twice by its title, and, on motion of Mr. OVERMAN, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on October 5, approved and signed the following acts:

S. 2813. An act to authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakely Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.;

S. 2816. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gainesville Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across Red River; and

S. 2823. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of Elgin, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Fox River at Elgin.

WAR WITH GERMANY AND LEGISLATION OF THE SESSION.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, some people seem to have the impression that the revenue bill which we have just enacted is a victory for the conservative element in Congress, that the progressive or radical wing has been turned down, and that the old stand-pat element in both parties is in control. In other words, that a victory has been won by the great business interests at the expense of the people. This idea was generated by some of the speeches that have been made here recently, while the bill was before the Senate, and is so utterly unfair and shows such an utter incomprehension of the facts and of the whole national situation that I can not forbear saying a few words about it here on the floor of the Senate. It is not that I have been criticized myself or that criticisms which I have heard were hostile to the action taken by the Senate. They were not. The general impression seems to be that we have done well. But it is this idea that we are split into radical and conservative camps and are sparring for petty political advantages for this or that faction at this most critical time in the life of our Nation that surprises me. Some time ago I attended a gathering where there were many public men present. Some one took it upon himself to question a dozen or more of these men as to their reasons for our being in the war. There were nearly as many different replies as there were men questioned. That was several months ago. I believe that there is now a much more uniform sentiment about our reasons for fighting than there was then, but even yet I do not feel that the country at large, in spite of its fine response to the call to arms, has fully grasped the meaning of the great war.

We have been told that we are in this war to bring democracy to the world. We have not been sufficiently told that our own democracy is at stake and that it is not so much for the rest of the world as for our own selves that we are making the great sacrifices we are called upon to make. The President's address to the Congress, his reply to the Pope, were great world messages and their effect on the world at large has been far-reaching, but the mother who sees her son go across the sea to fight, perhaps never to return, wants a more immediate reason to justify his sacrifice than the insuring of democracy to the nations of Europe.

At the commencement of the great war we find a Germany thoroughly prepared, after more than 40 years of intensive military training, to put to a decisive test the results of her system of Government. The two great ideals of the Government were military and commercial supremacy. Individualism, except in so far as it aided the State, had no chance in Germany. The ideals of the State were established by the Government and everything was made subordinate to those ideals. The German military establishment, as has since been proved, was far and away more powerful and better organized than that of any other country in the world. Her commercial power was increasing by leaps and bounds. Had she not declared war it is not too much to say that within 10 or 20 years she would have controlled the business of the world. But along with this commercial ascendancy went an overweening confidence in her military supremacy and her power to accomplish by a short cut what years of waiting would inevitably bring about. Against this powerful material combination most of the nations of Europe found themselves pitted in the summer of 1914. For one reason or another England, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, and the other allies entered the war, not for conquest but for self-preservation, and finally we ourselves have been drawn in.

Much has been said about our fight for democracy. We are fighting for democracy because our Government is a democratic form of Government and because we are fighting for the right to live under that form of Government. The autocratic German Government is by far a more efficient form of government, if material ascendancy is all that is required, and if the rights

of the individual are to be ignored, but I thank God that that is not the form of government which our forefathers established and which we are proud to live under in this free country. When it comes, however, to a commercial competition of the nations, the stronger and more efficient nation must win out, especially if backed by a military power that will disregard and override the rights of other people. This war is a combination of the freer governments of the world against the iron autocracy of Germany. It is an assertion by them of their rights to live under the form of government that they choose, whether democratic, monarchial, or semimonarchial, and a protest against being forced, in order to live, to adopt the same ideals, the same inhuman soul-killing efficiency, military and commercial, that Germany would force on the world. I say force on the world. As a matter of fact, nothing would please Germany more than to have the rest of the world not adopt these ideals, not adopt her system of militarism. The result would be her undisputed supremacy and the world would be at her mercy.

Some talk there has been of peace. Any peace that comes before the German military machine is shattered and brought to its knees will be simply a putting off of the evil day. As long as Germany or any other country in the world is allowed to dominate the world and to set a military criterion that other nations must live up to in order to exist, there can be no promise of continued peace in the world. It is our duty, now that we are in this war, to see it through to the end. To meet the armed depredator of the world we must arm ourselves. To cope with the amazing efficiency of an autocratic Government we must arm our Government for the period of the war with autocratic power. Already we are doing so. We are giving our President powers that in time of peace we would never dream of giving him, that a democratic Government never would and never should allow but for an extreme emergency. For the purpose of coping with the powerful autocratic German machine we are building up a powerful autocratic American machine. Do I like it? Do you like it? A thousand times, "No." And yet this is the sort of government we shall need, not alone during the war, but after the war, if Germany is allowed to come out of this war unbeaten. For unless she is brought to the most condign punishment for the wrongs she has committed, you may be sure that she will not give up the great military establishment that has enabled her, practically alone, to cope with and almost to triumph over the whole world in arms. Her need for territorial expansion, for colonies, will be as great as when the war began. Her military prestige will be such that no country will care or dare to enter into conflict with her unless with the backing of the rest of the world, which would mean another dreary world war; and rather than have this the rest of the world will give in to her more and more.

She must inevitably clash with us in South America and Mexico, and if such a clash comes she will not be content until she has overrun us as she has overrun Belgium and Poland and Serbia, and as she tried to overrun France. She will be a constant menace to us as she will be to her neighbors in Europe, and we and they will have to adopt her methods to withstand her. We can do it. Our natural resources are greater than hers. Our people can be made just as effective in war. But what, then, will become of our peaceful democracy? We shall be one great armed camp, just as she is, and the harsh measures that we have adopted for the period of the war will have to be adopted for good and all if we are to survive. So, while we are fitting ourselves for the rôle of savior of democracy, through methods the very reverse of democratic, Russia is taking just the opposite course. She, in this time of peril, swings away from the extreme autocracy under which she has so long suffered, and attempts an experiment in democracy. And the immediate effect is that her usefulness as an ally, great nation as she is, has become practically nil. Our sympathy is all with her. May she win out and enjoy in the end the blessings of a free Government as we do ourselves; but to do so she will have to lay aside, as we have had to lay aside for the period of the war, much of her democracy. And so I say that this is no time for the much-needed internal reforms which lead to the perfection of the democratic form of government which we all desire to live under. These matters can and should be laid aside until the soil in which they flourish shall have been prepared for the harvest, and that will be when we and our allies shall have won the war, and shall have established the right to govern ourselves as we see fit.

After the war, with a citizenship chastened and purified by the suffering and sacrifice which we must inevitably undergo, and inspired by the new spirit of patriotism which the war has awakened, these reforms will come of their own accord.

I was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican with progressive tendencies. There are many things for which in ordinary times I would stand, which I do not stand for now and shall not stand for during the continuance of the war. I am proud to say that during my short service in the Senate I have seen little sign of party politics. No man should continue to be a Member of this Senate who is not inspired by the wish to do what is best for our country. There can be no question in the mind of anyone but that the best thing we can now do for our country is to make her all-efficient in the carrying on of this war. Any man who in any way threatens this all-necessary efficiency in order to help his party or any wing of his party or himself or anything else other than his country, is not acting for the best interests of his country. And so I say, let the people of this country find fault if they will because we have not legislated wisely for the war; but let no one in the country find fault with any of us because we have not acted with this or that particular group or faction of legislators.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN WAR CONGRESS AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS—THE MEANING TO AMERICA AND THE WORLD OF THE DEVOTION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC SERVICE.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, if any Senator desires to take the floor for any measure in which he is now interested, I would yield to him, as I am very desirous of not embarrassing any bill that some Senator might feel urgent. There are some things I arise to say this morning which occur to my mind as would be appropriate. These are not addressed to any particular bill which is now pending.

Before I enter upon it I wish to congratulate the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], who has just closed his address, for having made a very clear exposition, and a very just one, as to the elements that really contributed to the construction of the revenue bill; I congratulate the junior Senator—though young in the service, clearly experienced in judgment, I delight to say that he has in a very fair manner and in a very just and discriminating analysis set forth before the country the necessities which enforced the passage of the war-revenue bill, for which the Senate extends him its appreciation.

The eminent ex-President of the United States, Col. Roosevelt, in a speech, as well as in an article from his fecund pen, presented to the Kansas City Star a very able editorial. He makes the statement that this country was without preparation for national war defense. Using the expression that was catchy, Col. Roosevelt said we had but a "broomstick preparation."

Sir, there may be something to be said in justification of the accusation and for the fact that we were not prepared for war to the extent that such a soldier and statesman as Col. Roosevelt felt we should have been.

Mr. President, however, I wish to take the expression of the eminent soldier and statesman, Col. Roosevelt, and apply it. Col. Roosevelt says we have but a broomstick preparation. I trust it was not his intention to leave the world to understand that the country was not now prepared. Such would be such encouragement to our opponents that that could never have been the intent of Col. Roosevelt. It would never have been his object to inform our opponents that we were in a state where we invited assault upon our soldiers and country, for that we are unprepared to meet it.

If there was preliminary to entering into this conflict what Col. Roosevelt would designate as a broomstick preparedness, I would like to say to my eminent friend and once my commander that we now can accept his designation, even for the present. Notwithstanding all we have done, the wondrous achievements in national defense we have accomplished, we still will apply the designation that we have now thoroughly a broomstick preparedness. Indeed, sir, both broomstick and broom—one, sir, that will sweep everything before it.

Mr. President, then, with this condition that confronted this Nation when we entered into the war, I now, sir, wish to pay what I feel a deserved tribute to my country. I call the attention of America, indeed, sir, from this forum, the world, to what America has done.

I am permitted, I may say directed, by the Senate to express from this Chamber the meaning of this hour in which this unparalleled, unrivaled, and immortal Congress adjourns. From a Nation dedicated and vowed to peace, with three exceptions in a century, we had with the fidelity of a religion clung to our standards of harmony within and peace without, and this to all worlds and all men. From this state of peace we were shocked into war by the cruelty of Imperial Prussia, by murdering of our children and the destroying of our property. In a flash of light we were transformed from a people of determined peace to a people of sworn vengeance. Let the world know with what quickness and with what unity America as a Nation responded to this call of her country and to this response to duty. Within three months this Nation equipped

armies and put them in the field and launched navies upon the waters, both in efficiency equaling the results of warring nations in Europe attained in three years; we have levied taxes, put them forward for collection, put out securities to be realized upon—all in numbers and in power, in quantity and in quality equaling the accomplishment on similar purposes of any of the warring nations of Europe achieved in three years. The Congress, a united body, without partisanship, without personal pride, setting personal opinion behind them and putting personal welfare beyond them—Congress gave everything for country, took nothing for self. It is at this point I can not fail to call to my country's attention that in all this undertaking of prodigious achievement there has been no scandals in the conduct of the affairs of the Government, no charge of crime on the part of any official, no suggestion of disloyalty of service or desertion of trust by any officer named by the President or of one put into authority to execute the power to carry on the great conflict we were called to bear against the German imperial military power. Let it be recalled that while in other Governments engaged in this world war not three months elapsed without some change in cabinet, some charge of misfeasance, and some displacement of men upon charges of disloyal course or unpatriotic conduct, to America the certificate from the world must come that there has not been one removal of any officer once trusted to place in all the United States for any reason reflecting upon his capacity, his honesty, or his loyalty. There has been not a change in any member of the Cabinet, nor a substitution in any of the officers or places to which was intrusted the conduct of the war. With unity of purpose, nobility of nature, and patriotism of life, America and her sons have stood as one. With the salute to the Commander in Chief—their President—and hats off to their flag, they have placed their all at the service of their Nation and put the lives of their children to the sacrifice of the battlefield. Sir, business men—big business men of big business—with interests of millions upon millions of dollars and financial and commercial welfare that meant all they had, were all put at the service of the Nation. These business men, from the highest station of life, forsook their counting houses, their commercial rooms, their business places, their manufacturing establishments, and every interest which required their personal presence and placed these at the demand of the Government without shirk, without hesitation.

Then, too, sir, all riches placed their wealth at the demands of the Government without complaint and heard the call of their country and obeyed; felt the levy of its tax, and without murmur against the order of their Government, responded with freedom, gave with liberality, and contributed all with the patriotism that knew no limit or complaint.

There, too, came with these of wealth, the toilers—those who worked with their hands—from factory to shop, from shop to the earth. They came in legion, in phalanx they came to their country's call. There was no work, however menial, no task, however severe, no sacrifice, however great, that these laborers, these toilers, these workmen did not give. The farmer forsaking the profit of his fields and the opportunity of riches for the hour, reaped but to tender his reapings to his country and gave the blessing of the sun and the yield of the rain in the harvest of his land to his Nation.

The women—women who can not be justly described in only words—women dismissed any consideration of the difference of station, social or financial. In their millions they gathered together in organization—the rich society princess, the working girl of labor—all in assemblage joining each other as sister to a common cause—their country. These women gave their money, their time, their days and hours, administering to the needs in the camps, or to the sick in the hospitals, or in the sacred ministrations of the grave. These women, with one accord, as the womanhood of America, in all ranks, in all classes, presented themselves, the daughters of the flag, the mothers of their Nation.

These represent, sir, the women of America; they represent the spirit that makes the womanhood of this country; they are those who tender at night their prayers to God and in the day their blessings upon their countrymen. These women, sir, are ours. They, sir, are those for whom we men, who carrying within us the throbs and vitality of men—it is to such as these that we tender every sacrifice and give every fiber of existence to their good, to their elevation, and to their preservation as long as life shall endure in their sacred bosoms.

Children with their pennies and their dollars from their penny banks fluttered the flag with one hand and dropped their little contributions for the liberty bonds with the other, and in their skips of childhood joy, delighted that they were doing this for the soldiers and for father's country.

This legion of loyal Americans—men, women, children, and countrymen, of all color, of every sect, all creeds and all faiths—in one sublime united cause stand before the world a pledge of protection to the soldier and sailor and the security of our country. Thus our sons, our daughters—all—with their property, their lives, and their sacred honor prepare to beat back the invader from the shores of their home and beat down the enemy of American rights in foreign lands wherever such stands. They have banded together—one and all—to vanquish the assailant of the Republic of the United States wherever he strikes.

To these men, women, and children and to our country all, this Congress of the United States, presenting them before the world as meriting the applause of nations, greets them as the preservers of liberty, the security of freedom, and the glory of this Republic. With Virgil we announce:

Here stands a people whose realm fights for her sphere.

Sir, it was such as these—the official and citizen, with his face lighted with patriotism, lifts itself in joy to the stars, and receives the blessing of the sun as an honest man and a loyal official.

All men may not have agreed as to all the methods adopted to obtain the result. Men may have differed from these. Issue may have been taken as to details in which they have achieved their results or proceeded to their undertakings; but to this, our America, no man need offer apology; no man is called on to make excuses; none in all the world need to offer defense. Men may have differed, sir, with the views of Members of Congress in the utterances they have given, and taken issue—strong and virile, but before the world let is be noted that not in this Government has any one of these legislators had the charge laid to his door of venality, of crime of that which could taint the honor of the office.

Sir, may I be pardoned if I indulge in a comparison to disclose that in one of the governments of our friendly nations since it began the war, six cabinets have fallen. Three were dismembered; five of their military and naval officers were placed upon trial on charges and were dethroned from position. In another three cabinets have surrendered; three others have taken their places; two dismemberments in distractions and five of its officials brought to the bar of public opinion under accusation. In the last country of my reference, four organizations called cabinets have split asunder and gone their way before the world. The names of some of their members never to be again mentioned upon human lips unless with a hiss and a curse. In one of these lands reel the charge of the treasury being looted, the charge of dishonor laid, while against others treason branded them at their doorway.

Sir, as to those nations which are our enemies, we are forced to note every accusation which could demean a government, dishonor a people, and disgrace an official has been proven by proof or confession. For many of these the offenders died before the shot of the avenging firing squad.

Shall I be regarded in behalf of this body that honors me with this seat as vaunting of pride when I point to this, my country, inexperienced in these conflicts, but when called on, goes to our countrymen in a pure light, wearing unsullied robes, a noble career, and a blessed and approved life.

Mr. President, if there be those in the world who ever doubted that a democracy could be maintained in the hour of exigency, if there were those who taunted this Republic that it could not survive under the extremes of severe and trying hours, let them behold this which has just been our endurance and know and see how we return to our masters, the people, our sovereign lords, public opinion, giving account of our stewardship clear of offense. More than that, sir, before the world all stand clear of that by which any man on earth can lift his finger to a spot in all official America tainted with a personal or official dishonor. Sir, if there shall ever again, as there have oftentimes, come from the mouths of men the doubt whether we in America could rise to the full command of this supreme situation and equal these sublime contests, I summon them to view this record that I bring to you in my message and join with our whole Nation crying out to her stewards, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

Sir, these are America, and if there be those who ever had doubt as to what this, our America, represented in an hour that would test it, let them behold this panorama and regard this picture of greatness of soul and cry out "That is America!"

Mr. President, when we see, therefore, what this all means to us, we turn then to the last reflection—what, sir, does it mean to the others? There have been, sir, differences expressed on this floor; there have been differences expressed on the floor of the other House on the part of able and conscientious men preceding this war as to what course this country should take; but, sir, when there came the decree from the people decreeing

the necessity of this conflict for the preservation of the institutions for which America had lived and for which her sons had died, there was but one voice, there is to-day but one movement, there is but one course between heaven and earth—it is toward their country, behind their flag.

Goethe, Mr. President, speaking for what he believed would be an ultimate united Germany, said: "My one prayer is that Germany shall know but one love, her country, and but one foe, the foreigner." Sir, America responds as against the Prussian princes in the words of the great philosopher and poet, Goethe, and we say: "This is America which personifies the prayer of the German poet. We stand before the world with but one love, our country, one foe, and we one against the foe, and that Prussia, and that which she brings to bear this day against America."

Sir, let these foes, wherever they are, behold us for what we stand and the thing which this day before the world we promise. Let them now see with awakened gaze this united land—the sacrifice of her men, the glory of her women, and the ardor of her people—and seeing this in all its strength and in all it threatens and in its unvanquished power, behold it advancing upon those who are our assailants; and, sir, trembling, as they shall see this great aroused America, from their soul filled with terror, exclaim before the earth, "Alas, against us we have aroused America!"

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 2858. An act to defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States;

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State; and

S. 2937. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the amendments of the Senate numbered 80 and 100 to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes; disagrees to the remainder of the amendments of the Senate to the bill; agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the bill and amendments and had appointed Mr. SIMS, Mr. RAYBURN, and Mr. ESCH managers of the conference on the part of the House.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2437. An act to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy;

S. 2774. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River;

S. 2883. An act making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States;

H. R. 5949. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio; and

S. J. Res. 102. Joint resolution authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session.

MEDICAL AND DENTAL SURGEONS.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4897) to amend section 10 of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, to this House bill I have no objection whatever if it is to be passed in the form in which it came from the House or as amended slightly in Senate committee. I would not like to see it encumbered with anything else not yet considered by the Military Committee of the Senate.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is reported with amendments, to strike out—

Section 10 of the act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes, approved June 3, 1916, is hereby amended by adding the following proviso:
"Provided."

And by inserting the word "first" after the word "emergency," so that it reads:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the existing emergency first lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Regular Army and of the National Guard shall be eligible to promotion as captain upon such examination as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. WARREN. I agree perfectly with those amendments; I have no objection to the bill whatever in that form; but as I have said, if it is to be opened for other amendments, matters that have not been considered by the committee, I would object to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not know what might come up, of course.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think I would not be quite fair to the Senate if I did not state that if the bill is brought up I shall expect to offer as an amendment thereto the amendment which was introduced by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] on the 28th of June, 1917, slightly modified. I present it for this reason——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Will the Senator from Ohio suspend for one moment? The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2854) to amend the naturalization laws.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, this bill was discussed for a little while the other day and met with some opposition. I anticipated preparing an amendment to the bill that would enable it to pass the Senate without much delay, but after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Naturalization of the House I find there is no chance of the bill passing at this session of Congress. For that reason I withdraw the bill from further consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. And the bill will be returned to the calendar?

Mr. CALDER. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from New York will be granted. The bill will be withdrawn from further consideration and returned to the calendar. The Senator from Ohio will proceed.

Mr. POMERENE. The bill as reported from the committee provides for certain relief for medical officers. I have no objection to that relief being granted. I think it ought to be granted. I think it is due to the medical profession.

The amendment offered by the senior Senator from Massachusetts, which I shall present as an amendment to the bill, affects the dental officers of the Army. It has seemed to me since I have been in the Senate that there has been a disposition, in some quarters at least, to discriminate against the dental profession, but if there ever was a time in the history of this country when the dental profession should be cared for it is now, because of the method of trench warfare which is in vogue in Europe to-day. Many of the injuries sustained by soldiers are to the face and the mouth, and the work which is done by the dental profession has commended itself to the admiration of the world.

I do not like to look upon dental surgeons as if they were a separate and distinct profession. It seems to me they are specialists in one branch of surgery, and if we are going to do what is just to the medical profession—and I am glad the committee is seeking to do that—I shall ask at the same time that there be a modicum of justice extended to the dental profession. For that reason I shall offer this amendment if the Senate takes up the bill for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, if I may discuss the bill for a moment, reserving the privilege of objecting, I wish the Senator from Ohio would let that matter be considered separately and for the interest of the very matter, because with that amendment, if I am rightly informed, the bill can not become a law at this session, whereas without it it undoubtedly could become a law. The Lodge amendment, to which the Senator from Ohio refers, was not intended for this bill, but for the national-defense law already enacted. The bill now under consideration is for a particular purpose and refers particularly to certain volunteer services of medical officers

who find themselves under the law which is applicable in peace times laboring under some embarrassment. It is for the one distinct item, while the purpose of the amendment proposed is to reorganize and change the whole dental service.

The Senator can not impute to me, and I presume he does not, any opposition to the Dental Corps, because its members were I think, recognized and made a part of the commissioned force of the Army Medical Department while I was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and I had pleasure in doing what I could for them. There are other matters that are still unsettled; the professions are entirely different. The bill deals with the old-established Medical Corps as to this one particular only. I ask the Senator to let the bill go through as it is, because the bill in that way can become a law, while I am satisfied, from information I have, that if this amendment prevails the bill will simply lie dead until we meet again. The medical service as to these captains who have volunteered their services is embarrassed now in gathering our troops and providing for their embarkation to foreign countries.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I do not question the statement of the Senator from Wyoming to the effect that he has been friendly to the dental profession, but it has happened often that bills come in here for the relief of the medical profession and no relief is provided for the Dental Corps. This is not a new matter. It has been before the departments and it has been before the committee. The dental profession is very, very much interested in it. I do not see why we may not take up the bill and add this amendment if in the wisdom of the Senate it should be added.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming objects to this amendment. If it is adopted it is only six weeks until we meet again. There is no reason why the bill should not be passed now with this amendment. I hope the Senator from Wyoming will not object. Why should not these two branches of the service be provided for at the same time?

I wish to say that I was on the committee when the Senator from Wyoming was the able chairman of the Military Committee, and he and I both did what we could for the recognition of the dentists of the country. It was through him and myself and others on the committee that we succeeded for the first time while he was chairman of that committee in having dentists recognized by the Government and giving them a status in the Army and Navy.

It is not very important that the bill should pass this week. Suppose the amendments of the Senate are not agreed to by the House at this session, we can put this amendment on, and then in six weeks it will go to conference and the bill will be passed. The bill has already passed the House, and it can pass this body with the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio. I do not see the point the Senator from Wyoming makes. I do not see any reason why the amendment should not be adopted now.

Mr. WARREN. Regardless of the fact that the Senator may not see my point in what I have said, it is like this: In the first place, this was not an amendment offered to this bill in its introduction. It was to amend the national-defense act, which is a long act, as to rank and pay and everything else connected with the entire Medical Department. This amendment offered is really a new piece of legislation, whereas the bill to which it is proposed to offer it provides for one particular thing. It is to provide that these educated and experienced and able medical men volunteering their services during the war can have the rank of captain, regardless of the old law, which required five years' service as a first lieutenant before a captaincy could be attained. It provides that they may be captains earlier, provided they pass the examination prescribed by the Secretary of War. That is all there is to this bill. It consists of a very few lines, and I will read it:

That during the existing emergency first lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Regular Army and of the National Guard shall be eligible to promotion as captain upon such examination as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think it is necessary legislation; I am in favor of it; but the Senator will remember the efforts of the Senator from Ohio and other Senators. I remember the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] offered an amendment to the National Defense Council act providing for the Dental Corps. So they are provided for in that law. This amendment simply applies to that law.

Mr. WARREN. The proviso proposed by the Senator from Ohio starts in as follows:

Provided, That hereafter the Dental Corps of the Army shall consist of commissioned officers of the same grades and proportionally distributed among such grades as are now or may be hereafter provided by law for the Medical Corps, who shall have the rank, pay, promotion, and allowances of officers of corresponding grades in the Medical Corps, etc.

It goes on through, applying to the entire law. I say it ought not to go on here. It is a general law which I do not object to, but I do object to putting it on here when this bill simply provides for a few captains whose services are very necessary and will not be obtainable without it.

I am not going to object to the consideration of the bill, because I am very anxious to see it pass, but I hope the amendment of the Senator from Ohio will not be added, because I do not want to have the bill fail.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of Washington in the chair). The Senator from Florida asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with amendments, in line 3, after the word "That," to strike out:

Section 10 of the act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes, approved June 3, 1916, is hereby amended by adding the following proviso:
Provided:

And in line 7, after the word "emergency," to insert the word "first," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the existing emergency first lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Regular Army and of the National Guard shall be eligible to promotion as captain upon such examination as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

The amendments were agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a further committee amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In lines 7 and 11 strike out the quotation marks.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is in Committee of the Whole and open to further amendment.

Mr. POMERENE. I send to the desk the following amendment which I offer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "War" and before the period, in line 11, insert the following proviso:

Provided, That hereafter the Dental Corps of the Army shall consist of commissioned officers of the same grades and proportionally distributed among such grades as are now or may be hereafter provided by law for the Medical Corps, who shall have the rank, pay, promotion, and allowances of officers of corresponding grades in the Medical Corps, including the right to retirement as in the case of other officers, and there shall be one dental officer for every thousand of the total strength of the Regular Army authorized from time to time by law: *Provided further*, That dental examining and review boards shall consist of one officer of the Medical Corps and two officers of the Dental Corps: *And provided further*, That immediately following the approval of this act all dental surgeons then in active service shall be recommissioned in the Dental Corps in the grades herein authorized in the order of their seniority and without loss of pay or allowances or of relative rank in the Army.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have an amendment to offer to the amendment which I think the Senator from Ohio will accept. It is to add the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That no dental surgeon shall be recommissioned who has not been confirmed by the Senate.

I understand the Senator from Ohio will accept it.

Mr. POMERENE. I have no objection to the amendment to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment to the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. I suggest to the Senator from Ohio that he eliminate from his amendment the opening words "*Provided*, That," because the amendment was evidently prepared to the bill as it came from the House, and now it is not in the shape of a proviso; it is really affirmative legislation.

Mr. POMERENE. I think the suggestion of the Senator from Florida is well made, and I accept that suggestion.

Mr. FLETCHER. It will simply come in as a new paragraph, and then, of course, the title will have to be amended so as to cover both propositions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The modification will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the first line of the amendment strike out the words "*Provided*, That" and change the letter beginning the word "hereafter" to upper case.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so modified. Without objection, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Ohio as amended is agreed to.

Mr. OVERMAN. I offer the following amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Add to the amendment just agreed to the following:

All regulations concerning the enlistment of medical students in the Enlisted Reserve Corps and their continuance in their college course while subject to call to active service shall apply similarly to dental students.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

The committee reported to amend the title so as to read: "An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and."

Mr. FLETCHER. That should be added.

On motion of Mr. POMERENE, the title was amended so as to read: "An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain, and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students," and for other purposes.

NEUTRAL SHIPS SUNK BY GERMANY.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the record of Germany since the beginning of the war in 1914 conclusively demonstrates that it has been her purpose to destroy the shipping of the world. In violation of international law she sowed deadly mines upon the high seas for the purpose of destroying commerce, and followed this with an indefensible policy of submarine warfare aimed not only against the ships of belligerents, but against the ships of neutral nations. It seems obvious that her purpose was, if she should be successful in the world contest, to take the few remaining ships of belligerent nations as prizes of war, and with the ships of the world destroyed she would be left the sole mistress of the carrying trade, limited though it might be, of the world. However that may be, Germany ruthlessly engaged in the wicked and wanton destruction of the vessels that bore the commerce of the world. Treaty obligations and the accepted principles of international law, as well as the claims of humanity, were violated and cynically denied. And in the destruction of the commerce and of the ships of the world engaged in peaceful missions Germany deliberately assassinated noncombatants—men, women, and children alike. When our Nation was at peace with Germany and the obligations of century-old treaties existed, she wantonly attacked American ships and the American flag and sent American citizens to watery graves.

I have here a list of neutral ships sunk by Germany from the beginning of the war up to April 26, 1917. I have made some investigation and believe that it does not include the names of all neutral ships that were destroyed, but I am confident that it is accurate as to the names given. I do not have the number nor the names of vessels of neutral nations destroyed by Germany since April 26, 1917; but every person familiar with the progress of the war knows that a large number of vessels have been destroyed by German submarines and German mines since that date. The ruthless campaign has been carried on by Germany with increased vigor as the weeks and months have gone by, and the number destroyed has been limited only by the ability of Germany to destroy. There has been no abatement of her efforts, but, upon the contrary, Germany has been more active and more aggressive and more determined to continue her ruthless warfare than ever before. She rests her purpose of winning the war upon the success of the submarine policy.

The helpless and weak nations, nations that have materially aided her in the war, have been alike the victims of her atrocities and indefensible warfare. The Scandinavian nations and Holland have been victims and have suffered more than more powerful nations. Norway appears to have been the special object of Germany's wrath and destructive policy. While I may not speak accurately, my recollection is that 19 Norwegian vessels were destroyed by Germany in the month of September. I should add, in passing, that many vessels have been reported as lost which doubtless have been destroyed by German submarines. It is known that German newspapers not only advocated the destruction of the ships of neutral nations but also suggested that all on board should be murdered, so that no trace of the crime would be left. In harmony with this inhuman, cowardly, criminal, and wicked policy the German minister in Argentina wired his Government to sink the ships of Argentina "without leaving a trace." The words "spurlos versenkt" have taken on a frightful meaning and show the depravity and cold-blooded inhumanity of German diplomatists, as well as Prussian militarists.

I desire to have printed in the RECORD the compilation referred to, and which was prepared, as I am informed, by Prof. Macnale Dixon, of Glasgow University, giving a list of neutral ships sunk by Germany between the dates before stated. This compilation gives the names, gross tonnage, and dates of destruction. I have stated that these vessels were either mined or torpedoed. I again repeat that, in my opinion, it does not include all neutral ships destroyed by German submarines. As the days go by, evidence will accumulate of other vessels destroyed and of wholesale murders and cowardly assassinations of sailors and noncombatants traveling in neutral ships and under neutral flags. This compilation shows that between the dates mentioned, 849 neutral vessels were sunk by Germany, and that the total tonnage was 1,653,654. Of these vessels, 20 were American. I regret that I do not have a list of the neutral ships destroyed by German submarines since April 26, 1917, and I also regret that I do not have the names and the number of American vessels that have been destroyed by Germany since this Nation entered this world conflict.

I ask unanimous consent that the pamphlet containing the compilation referred to, and which I send to the desk, may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LIST OF NEUTRAL SHIPS SUNK BY THE GERMANS FROM AUGUST 8, 1914, TO APRIL 26, 1917.

Germany's deliberate campaign against neutral shipping is here set forth in a passionless catalogue. The facts themselves are eloquent, and there seems to be no need for rhetorical embroidery. The magnitude of the injustice paralyzes the judgment. For these acts do not fall within any of the familiar formulæ by which we explain to ourselves the aberrations of human conduct. War is intelligible, but these are not, be it remembered, acts of war, as Germany defines war, but of peace. The ships and lives destroyed are the ships and lives of friends, of nations with whom she professes to have no quarrel, some of whom have assisted, and assisted valiantly, in alleviating her distress. Engaged in peaceful commerce, guilty of no belligerent act, protected by international law, they were none the less destroyed. Behind these melancholy official columns lie the tragedies. The imagination, and that only in dim and distant fashion, can paint the full picture of this modern slaughter of the innocents, the death and suffering and misery of which this colorless record is the merest index. A brief analysis reveals that the policy is calculated and varies in inverse proportion to the strength of the people attacked. America and Spain suffer least. Norway is treated with merciless severity. Countries from which Germany draws needful supplies receive some consideration. These are the limitations, dictated solely by self-interest, which Germany has observed. To reduce the world's shipping, to damage her opponents by weakening all neutrals, and to secure in case of defeat that the conclusion of hostilities may not find her alone impoverished—this seems to be the triple-edged design which humanity will find it difficult to forgive and history to forget.

Summary of the losses.

	Mined.	Torpedoed.	Total ships sunk.	Total ascertained tonnage.
Dutch	41	35	76	148,921
Swedish	30	71	101	99,623
Norwegian	54	382	436	987,816
Danish	20	94	114	123,385
Spanish	2	33	35	75,769
American	4	16	20	59,256
Brazilian		2	2	6,719
Greek	1	59	60	147,923
Argentine		1	1	281
Peruvian		1	1	1,419
Uruguayan		1	1	2,537
Total	152	697	849	1,653,654

DUTCH SHIPS.

[Ships mined are marked (M).]

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Houtdijk (M)	2,336	Aug. 22, 1914
Alice H. (M)	3,052	Do.
Maria	3,804	Sept. 21, 1914
Maria Christina (M)		Oct. 28, 1914
Stemna (M)		Nov. 9, 1914
Poolster (M)		Do.
Leersum (M)	1,455	Dec. 16, 1914
Medea	1,235	Mar. 25, 1915
Amstel (M)	853	Mar. 29, 1915
Katwijk	2,040	Apr. 15, 1915
Olanada (M)	2,138	Apr. 18, 1915
Rijndam (M)		June 8, 1915
Letty (M)	191	June 10, 1915
Breskens 19 (M)		June 17, 1915
Ceres (M)	1,749	June 25, 1915
Amsterdam (M)	151	Aug. 21, 1915
Arie (M)		Sept. 5, 1915
Koningin Emma (M)	9,181	Sept. 22, 1915
Eemdijk (M)	6,180	Sept. 23, 1915
Texelstroom (M)	1,601	Oct. 7, 1915
S. C. H. (M)	181	Oct. 16, 1915
Jonge Albert (M)		Nov. 11, 1915
Erin (M)	159	Dec. 28, 1915
Ellewoutsdijk (M)	2,229	Dec. 30, 1915
Leto (M)	3,225	Jan. 4, 1916
Apollo (M)	799	Jan. 21, 1915
Delfyn (M)	86	Do.
La Flandre (M)	2,018	Feb. 21, 1915
Mecklenburg (M)	2,883	Feb. 27, 1915
Tubantia	13,911	Mar. 16, 1916
Duiveland (M)	1,297	Mar. 25, 1916
Lodewijk van Nassau (M)	3,359	Apr. 20, 1916
Berkelstroom	736	Apr. 24, 1915

DUTCH SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Noordzee (M)	298	Apr. 26, 1916
Batavier V. (M)	1,569	May 16, 1916
Otis Tarda (M)	759	June 21, 1916
Waalstroom (M)	1,441	June 27, 1916
Geertruida		July 5, 1916
Dina	165	July 15, 1916
Maas (M)	1,234	July 25, 1916
Koningin Wilhelmina (M)	1,964	July 31, 1916
Zeeland	1,293	Aug. 1, 1916
Zeearend	462	Sept. 1, 1916
Adriana Jacoba (M)		Sept. 2, 1916
Noordster (M)		Do.
W. C. Brown (M)		Sept. 12, 1916
Antwerpen	7,955	Do.
Nieuwland (M)	927	Oct. 3, 1916
Blommersdijk	4,850	Oct. 8, 1916
Egberdina (M)	167	Oct. 9, 1916
Fortuna	1,254	Oct. 22, 1916
Dolfijn	140	Nov. 16, 1916
Helena (M)	1,798	Nov. 21, 1916
Kediri	3,781	Nov. 30, 1916
Zeta	3,053	Jan. 22, 1917
Salland	3,657	Jan. 23, 1917
Epsilon (M)	3,211	Feb. 1, 1917
Gamma	2,115	Do.
Marianne		Feb. 9, 1917
Driebergen	1,884	Feb. 17, 1917
Ootmarsum	2,313	Do.
Trompenberg	1,608	Feb. 18, 1917
Gaasterland	3,917	Feb. 22, 1917
Jacatra	5,373	Do.
Noorderdijk	7,166	Do.
Zaandijk	4,189	Do.
Eemland	3,770	Do.
Maria Adriana	88	Feb. 25, 1917
Alberdina	134	Feb. 26, 1917
Ares	3,783	Mar. 8, 1917
La Campine	2,557	Mar. 13, 1917
Hestia	958	Mar. 23, 1917
Amstelstroom	1,413	Do.
Neptunis	166	Apr. 12, 1917
Dina Henderika	200	Do.
Voorwaarts	147	Do.

41 mined, 35 torpedoed; total, 76. 148,921 tons. 12 ships' tonnage not given.

SWEDISH SHIPS.

St. Paul (M)	2,534	Sept. 2, 1914
Alice (M)	1,461	Oct. 22, 1914
Ornen (M)	191	Oct. 27, 1914
Atle (M)	1,183	Nov. 8, 1914
Andrea (M)	1,412	Nov. 16, 1914
Norra Sverige (M)	723	Dec. 6, 1914
Luna (M)	1,005	Do.
Everilda (M)	1,366	Do.
Anna Greta (M)	1,739	Jan. 11, 1915
Drott (M)	1,286	Jan. 21, 1915
Hanna	1,598	Mar. 13, 1915
Falke (M)	1,352	Apr. 14, 1915
Ruth	867	Apr. 21, 1915
Centric (M)	1,612	Apr. 27, 1915
Elsa	121	May 1, 1915
Elida	1,693	May 2, 1915
Elsa	329	May 4, 1915
Harald	275	May 5, 1915
Hernodia (M)	2,100	May 23, 1915
M. Roosval	309	May 26, 1915
Lappland	2,238	June 3, 1915
Otago	1,410	June 11, 1915
Verdandi	950	June 15, 1915
Daisy (M)	440	July 13, 1915
Capella	442	July 19, 1915
Fortuna	203	July 25, 1915
Emma	665	Do.
Madonna		Do.
Maj	913	Aug. 6, 1915
Malmland	3,676	Aug. 8, 1915
Disa	738	Aug. 25, 1915
Forsvik (M)	1,107	Sept. 19, 1915
Rumina (M)	1,418	Oct. 24, 1915
Sabrina	327	Nov. 23, 1915
Norrik (M)	1,633	Dec. 2, 1915
Nerens (M)	1,233	Dec. 25, 1915
Torborg	1,266	Feb. 24, 1916
Birgit (M)	1,117	Feb. 26, 1916
Knippla (M)	498	Feb. 28, 1916
Hollandia	1,115	Mar. 31, 1916
Niola	726	Apr. 29, 1916
Rosalind (M)	861	May 21, 1916
Para (M)	1,834	June 10, 1916
Emmy (M)	496	June 11, 1916
Ida	150	July 22, 1916
Preference	222	Do.
Pror Oscar	368	Aug. 1, 1916
Vermland	203	Do.
Per Brake	186	Do.
Hudiksvall	1,189	Aug. 2, 1916
Commerce	651	Aug. 4, 1916
Vera	312	Aug. 5, 1916
Anna	180	Aug. 10, 1916
Pepita	261	Aug. 12, 1916
Baltia (M)	819	Aug. 25, 1916
Gamen	2,595	Sept. 8, 1916
Johan Tillberg (M)	401	Sept. 14, 1916

SWEDISH SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Vera	2,308	Oct. 5, 1916
Tuva	2,270	Oct. 6, 1916
Greta	1,374	Oct. 18, 1916
Normandie	1,307	Do.
Mercur	711	Oct. 20, 1916
Wilhelm	696	Do.
Lekna	204	Do.
Vanda	1,646	Do.
Svartvik	322	Do.
August	346	Oct. 21, 1916
Emilie	100	Oct. 23, 1916
Antoinette	912	Do.
Elly	103	Do.
Jenny Lind	100	Oct. 25, 1916
Frans	50	Nov. 2, 1916
Runhild (M)	1,170	Nov. 3, 1916
Jonkoping	193	Do.
Bertha	592	Do.
Agir	428	Do.
Astrid	250	Nov. 15, 1916
Arthur	1,435	Nov. 24, 1916
Douglas	1,177	Dec. 1, 1916
Ulta	200	Dec. 4, 1916
Harry	240	Dec. 8, 1916
August	431	Dec. 10, 1916
Palander	311	Dec. 11, 1916
Vala (M)	2,129	Dec. 16, 1916
Niord	144	Dec. 17, 1916
Mereddio	1,372	Dec. 20, 1916
Frigga (M)	379	Dec. 23, 1916
Ida (M)	070	Dec. 29, 1916
Goosebridge	1,886	Jan. 1, 1917
Kamma (M)	1,516	Jan. 22, 1917
O. A. Brodin	1,798	Jan. 27, 1917
Edda	526	Jan. 29, 1917
Varing	2,107	Feb. 7, 1917
Bravalia	1,519	Do.
Adolf	835	Feb. 12, 1917
Hugo Hamilton	2,584	Do.
Skogland	2,903	Feb. 18, 1917
Manningham	1,988	Feb. 21, 1917
Dag	250	Mar. 13, 1917
Victoria	1,271	Mar. 18, 1917
Norma	1,443	Mar. 26, 1917

30 mined, 71 torpedoed; total, 101. 99,628 tons. 1 ship's tonnage not given.

NORWEGIAN SHIPS.

Tysla (M)	4,676	Aug. 8, 1914
Gottfried (M)	426	Aug. 27, 1914
Hesvik (M)	1,234	Sept. 23, 1914
Trom (M)	694	Oct. 3, 1914
Pluton (M)	1,507	Nov. 9, 1914
Vasren (M)	1,090	Dec. 17, 1914
Boston (M)	1,168	Dec. 22, 1914
Eli (M)	1,107	Dec. 25, 1914
Castor (M)	1,313	Jan. 1, 1915
Bjerka (M)	620	Feb. 20, 1915
Regin (M)	1,844	Feb. 23, 1915
Semanthe	2,280	Feb. 3, 1915
Nor	544	Mar. 31, 1915
Eva	312	Apr. 22, 1915
Oscar	766	Do.
Caprivi (M)	2,932	Apr. 24, 1915
Laila	753	Apr. 30, 1915
Balduin	1,059	May 1, 1915
America	3,706	Do.
Oscar	107	May 3, 1915
Minerva	3,736	May 22, 1915
Cubano	4,337	June 2, 1915
Trudvang	1,040	June 7, 1915
Glitterkind	717	Do.
Superb	1,515	Do.
Svein Jarl	1,135	June 9, 1915
Davanger	2,280	June 14, 1915
Granit	662	June 16, 1915
Truma	1,557	June 23, 1915
Gjes (M)	1,094	June 29, 1915
Thistlebank	2,248	June 30, 1915
Cambuskenneth	1,295	Do.
Fiery Cross	1,148	July 4, 1915
Pelk	1,168	July 5, 1915
Lysaker (M)	2,013	July 6, 1915
Nordass	1,110	July 8, 1915
Rym	1,073	July 14, 1915
Fimtreite	3,819	July 23, 1915
Harboe	388	July 25, 1917
G. P. Harbitz	673	Do.
Sognedalen	644	Do.
Trondhjemsfjord	4,248	July 28, 1917
Vanadis	483	Aug. 7, 1915
Norman	1,060	Do.
Geiranger	1,081	Do.
Aura	396	Aug. 11, 1915
Morna	1,511	Aug. 13, 1915
Mineral	649	Aug. 17, 1915
Romulus	819	Aug. 16, 1915
Bras	1,851	Aug. 19, 1915
Magda	1,063	Do.
Tello	1,218	Do.
Sverresborg	1,144	Aug. 18, 1915
Helga (M)	949	Aug. 31, 1915
Glimt	955	Sept. 4, 1915
Storesand	1,638	Sept. 7, 1915
Bien	120	Sept. 12, 1915

NORWEGIAN SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Norte	216	Sept. 11, 1915
Presto	206	Sept. 10, 1915
Wansbeck	402	Sept. 11, 1915
Actie	562	Sept. 29, 1915
Flora	184	Do.
Florida	558	Sept. 30, 1915
Laura	171	Do.
Salerno (M)	2,431	Oct. 18, 1915
Selma (M)	1,654	Oct. 25, 1915
Eidsiva (M)	1,092	Oct. 31, 1915
Wacousta	3,521	Nov. 8, 1915
Ulrikken (M)	2,379	Nov. 17, 1915
San Miguel (M)	1,659	Nov. 18, 1915
Klar (M)	518	Nov. 27, 1915
Ingstad (M)	780	Dec. 10, 1915
Nereus (M)	742	Do.
Nico (M)	712	Dec. 18, 1915
Rigi (M)	1,912	Dec. 24, 1915
Frithjof Nansen (M)	3,275	Jan. 5, 1916
Bonheur (M)	1,158	Jan. 8, 1916
Alabama (M)	891	Feb. 10, 1916
Sirius	1,551	Mar. 9, 1916
Lindfield	2,276	Mar. 17, 1916
Langeli	1,565	Mar. 20, 1916
Kannik	2,397	Mar. 23, 1916
Norne	1,185	Mar. 26, 1916
Bell	3,765	Mar. 30, 1916
Peter Hamre	1,080	Mar. 31, 1916
Hans Gude	1,110	Do.
Memento (M)	1,076	Do.
Arena	1,019	Apr. 2, 1916
Ino (M)	702	Apr. 3, 1916
Baus	1,287	Apr. 5, 1916
Sjolyst	997	Apr. 9, 1916
Glendoon	1,917	Apr. 16, 1916
Tusnastabb (M)	859	Apr. 15, 1916
Papelera	1,591	Apr. 16, 1916
Terje Viken (M)	3,579	Do.
Stromsnaes (M)	230	Apr. 24, 1916
Carmanian	1,840	Apr. 25, 1916
Mod	664	Apr. 30, 1916
Olga	200	Apr. 22, 1916
Momento	653	May 2, 1916
Mars	.....	Do.
Rio Branco	2,258	Do.
Tjomo	1,453	May 21, 1916
Rauma	3,047	May 30, 1916
Excellenz Mehnert (M)	646	June 1, 1916
Prosper III (M)	4,297	June 6, 1916
Orkedal	4,351	June 9, 1916
Bure	1,151	Do.
Aguila	2,191	June 18, 1916
Subra	379	July 22, 1916
Juno	355	July 23, 1916
Mars	106	July 21, 1916
Mary	511	Do.
Kentegern	796	July 26, 1916
Agenda	226	July 27, 1916
Erling	122	July 31, 1916
Einar	135	Do.
John Wilson	797	Aug. 2, 1916
Thore Hafte (M)	353	Aug. 8, 1916
Credo	728	Aug. 10, 1916
Sora	1,052	Do.
Inverdruie	613	Aug. 11, 1916
Fremad	104	Aug. 13, 1916
Respit	473	Do.
Velox	312	Aug. 23, 1916
Isdalen	2,275	Aug. 24, 1916
Renteria (M)	1,602	Aug. 26, 1916
Dronning Maud (M)	1,102	Sept. 1, 1916
Gotthard	1,462	Sept. 3, 1916
Rilda (M)	313	Sept. 6, 1916
Hiso	1,562	Sept. 7, 1916
Elizabeth IV	7,395	Sept. 8, 1916
Lodsen	1,247	Sept. 9, 1916
Pronto	1,411	Sept. 10, 1916
Furu	2,029	Do.
Polynesia	4,064	Do.
Lindborg	400	Do.
Kong Ring	1,611	Sept. 11, 1916
Fredavore	1,576	Do.
Tolosa	1,833	Sept. 13, 1916
Ethel	1,122	Do.
Busjord	2,284	Sept. 24, 1916
Laila	807	Do.
Dania	862	Sept. 26, 1916
Knut Hilde	1,631	Do.
Vindeggen	2,610	Sept. 27, 1916
Rolf Jarl	1,265	Sept. 28, 1916
Emmanuel	246	Do.
Sinsen	1,925	Sept. 29, 1916
Nornen	215	Do.
Ravn	1,260	Do.
Knut Jarl	1,070	Do.
Fancy	1,613	Do.
Flora	184	Do.
Hekla	950	Oct. 1, 1916
Hafnia	962	Do.
Tyr	.....	Oct. 19, 1916
Nesjar	1,609	Oct. 1, 1916
Mallin	479	Do.
Ada	1,111	Oct. 3, 1916
Brink	1,391	Oct. 4, 1016
Rutil	706	Do.
Viking	1,896	Oct. 5, 1916

NORWEGIAN SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Dederic	1,128	Oct. 5, 1916
Vera	2,308	Do.
Rosenvold	758	Do.
Risholm	2,650	Do.
Chr. Knudsen	4,224	Oct. 8, 1916
Birk	715	Oct. 11, 1916
Kong Alf (M)	801	Oct. 14, 1916
Sten	1,045	Oct. 17, 1916
Athene	1,846	Oct. 18, 1916
Dido	332	Oct. 19, 1916
Guldass	635	Do.
Cottica	320	Do.
Randi	467	Oct. 20, 1916
Raftsund	987	Do.
Ull	1,138	Oct. 21, 1916
Fulvio	305	Do.
Rabbi	878	Do.
Fart III	230	Do.
Ronnhaug	1,331	Do.
Risoy	1,129	Oct. 22, 1916
Dram	774	Oct. 21, 1916
Secundo	1,512	Oct. 20, 1916
Theodor	233	Oct. 21, 1916
Snestad	2,350	Do.
Thor	373	Oct. 22, 1916
Gunn	483	Do.
Caerloch	658	Do.
Alix	1,584	Do.
Ravn	997	Do.
Venus II	.....	Oct. 23, 1916
Rensfell	781	Do.
Regina	824	Do.
Sola	3,057	Oct. 24, 1916
Anna Gurine	1,147	Do.
Edam	2,381	(1)
Gronhaug	667	Oct. 25, 1916
Dag	963	Do.
Pan	795	Oct. 26, 1916
Lysland	1,745	Do.
Stemshest	798	Oct. 27, 1916
Bygdo (M)	2,345	Do.
Torsdal	3,620	Oct. 28, 1916
Falkefjell	1,131	Oct. 29, 1916
Delte	3,193	Oct. 31, 1916
Saturn	1,108	Do.
Ivanhoe	1,136	Nov. 4, 1916
Reime	1,913	Nov. 7, 1916
Thuhaug	948	Do.
Furnland	1,817	Do.
Fordalen	2,835	Nov. 9, 1916
Tripel	4,633	Nov. 10, 1916
Camma	794	Do.
Balto	3,538	Do.
Lokken	1,954	Nov. 11, 1916
Seirstad	995	Do.
Daphne	1,388	Do.
Ullvang	639	Nov. 14, 1916
Torridal	688	Nov. 15, 1916
Vega	1,203	Nov. 16, 1916
Joachim Brinck Lund	1,603	Do.
Parnass	646	Nov. 19, 1916
Finn	3,806	Do.
Trym	1,801	Nov. 22, 1916
City of Mexico	1,511	Do.
Dansted	1,492	Nov. 23, 1916
Oifjeld	1,998	Nov. 24, 1916
Skog (M)	1,124	Nov. 26, 1916
Perra	1,088	Do.
Romance	.....	Do.
Boro	819	Nov. 27, 1916
Visborg	1,311	Do.
Belle Ile	1,883	Do.
And	1,102	Nov. 30, 1916
Njaal	718	Do.
Draupner	1,126	Do.
Erich Lindoe	1,087	Dec. 1, 1916
Harald	1,083	Do.
Bossi	1,462	Do.
Skjoldulf	501	Dec. 2, 1916
Hitterog	1,985	Do.
Hallbjorg	2,586	Dec. 4, 1916
Nervion	1,920	Do.
Ella	878	Dec. 5, 1916
Stettin	412	Do.
Amicitia	1,111	Dec. 6, 1916
Meteor	4,211	Dec. 7, 1916
Brask	1,466	Dec. 8, 1916
Rakiura	3,569	Do.
Saga	433	Do.
Agder	304	Dec. 10, 1916
Modum	2,937	Dec. 11, 1916
Falk	1,397	Do.
Bjor	1,090	Do.
Kaupanger	3,354	Dec. 13, 1916
Sjofna	527	Dec. 15, 1916
Rogn	1,028	Do.
Brask	1,466	Dec. 16, 1916
Sjofna	527	Dec. 17, 1916
Prima	1,233	Do.
Hero	1,106	Dec. 18, 1916
Sno	1,823	Dec. 19, 1916
Nystrand	1,347	Do.
Falk	948	Do.
Ansgar	926	Dec. 20, 1916
Ida	1,300	Dec. 27, 1916
Union	563	Dec. 28, 1916

[1] Previous to Oct. 25, 1916.

NORWEGIAN SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Thyra	749	Dec. 29, 1916
Flora	1,032	Dec. 31, 1916
Eva	1,080	Do.
Edda	1,138	Jan. 1, 1917
Britannic	2,289	Do.
Laupar	1,407	Do.
Bestik	2,188	Jan. 2, 1917
Ellik	602	Do.
Odda	1,101	Do.
Older	2,256	Do.
Fama	2,417	Jan. 3, 1917
Helgoy	1,806	Do.
Borre	741	Jan. 5, 1917
Markland	1,627	Jan. 7, 1917
Borgholm	1,715	Do.
Hansi	1,143	Do.
Astor	561	(1)
Tuborg	2,956	Jan. 10, 1917
Bergenhus	3,606	Do.
Tholma	1,896	Do.
Ole Bull (M)	1,835	Jan. 11, 1917
Vestfold	1,883	Jan. 12, 1917
Solvang	2,970	Jan. 13, 1917
Esperanca	4,428	Jan. 15, 1917
Graafjeld	728	Do.
Otto	401	Jan. 16, 1917
City of Tampico	1,513	Do.
Gaea	1,002	Jan. 18, 1917
Asp	1,759	Do.
Anna	1,237	Jan. 19, 1917
Marietta di Giorgio	988	Do.
Yrsa	844	Jan. 23, 1917
Sardinia	1,500	Do.
Remmga	1,147	Jan. 24, 1917
Myrdal	.....	Jan. 26, 1917
Argo (M)	1,261	Jan. 28, 1917
Dicax	923	Do.
Theresdal	1,762	Do.
Sumniva	589	Do.
Heimland (M)	505	Do.
Danstad	698	Jan. 29, 1917
Fulton	1,034	Do.
Hekla	524	Jan. 31, 1917
Rigel	1,172	Do.
Modiva	1,276	Do.
Bjerko	.....	.....
Portia (M)	1,127	Feb. 1, 1917
Jery (M)	1,112	Do.
Odin	1,045	Feb. 2, 1917
Songelv	2,063	Feb. 3, 1917
Tamara	453	Do.
Solbakken	2,616	Feb. 4, 1917
Thor II	2,144	Do.
Songdal	2,089	Feb. 5, 1917
Wasdale	1,856	Do.
Rigel	2,761	Do.
Havgard	1,279	Feb. 6, 1917
Eliavore	2,732	Do.
Storskog	2,191	Feb. 7, 1917
Hans Knick	2,667	Do.
Ida	1,172	Feb. 8, 1917
Ballax	1,107	Feb. 9, 1917
Dalmata	1,865	Feb. 11, 1917
Dernes	738	Do.
West	350	Feb. 12, 1917
Nordcap	322	Do.
Stralsund	510	Feb. 15, 1917
Progreso	1,620	Feb. 16, 1917
Cabo	1,254	Feb. 17, 1917
Dalbeattie	1,327	Do.
Thorgny	734	Feb. 18, 1917
Ootmarsum	2,313	Do.
Juno	2,416	Do.
Rutenjell (M)	1,844	Feb. 19, 1917
Falls of Afton	1,965	Feb. 20, 1917
Dukat	1,408	Feb. 21, 1917
Alice	727	Do.
Blenheim	1,143	Feb. 22, 1917
Skrim	727	Do.
Doravore	2,700	Feb. 23, 1917
Normanna	2,900	Feb. 24, 1917
Aiax	1,408	Do.
Vigda	1,851	Feb. 25, 1917
Nyland	1,824	Feb. 26, 1917
Sjostad (M)	1,155	Feb. 28, 1917
Mabella	1,637	Mar. 1, 1917
Storenes	1,870	Do.
Gurre	1,733	Do.
Norma	850	Do.
Ring	998	Mar. 3, 1917
Adalands	1,577	Mar. 8, 1917
Storstad	6,028	Do.
Silas	750	Do.
Dana	753	Mar. 9, 1917
Spartan	2,287	Do.
Lars Fostenes	2,118	Do.
Asbjorn	3,459	Mar. 10, 1917
Thode Fagelund	4,352	Mar. 11, 1917
Einar Jarl	1,849	Mar. 12, 1917
Skerien	415	Do.
Marna	914	Do.
Collingwood	1,042	Do.
Girda	1,824	Mar. 13, 1917
Blaamanden	954	Mar. 14, 1917
Aquila	1,092	Do.
Storaas	3,107	Do.

[1] Previous to Jan. 9, 1917.

NORWEGIAN SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Davanger	5,960	Mor. 14, 1917
Wilfred	1,121	Mar. 15, 1917
Solferino	1,155	Do.
Ronald	3,021	Mar. 16, 1917
Gudbrand	1,860	Do.
Expedit	680	Mar. 17, 1917
Pollux	1,196	Mar. 19, 1917
Avra (M)	2,370	Do.
Krong Inge	867	Do.
Brode	2,363	Do.
Frisk	1,038	Mar. 20, 1917
Malmanger	5,400	Mar. 22, 1917
Andenae	812	Do.
Susanna	442	Do.
Attika	2,303	Do.
Bloomvaag	695	Mar. 23, 1917
Bellatrix	2,538	Do.
Grenmar	1,438	Mar. 24, 1917
Korsnaes	732	Do.
Marshall	1,123	Mar. 25, 1917
Nova	1,031	Mar. 27, 1917
Sandvik	591	Do.
Astra	800	Do.
Grib	1,474	Do.
Hugin	1,305	(1)
Tizona	1,021	Mar. 28, 1917
Urania (M)	1,688	Do.
Dagali	742	Do.
Os	637	Mar. 29, 1917
Morild I	1,354	Do.
Britta	2,061	Mar. 30, 1917
Farmand	1,387	Mar. 31, 1917
Camilla	2,273	Do.
Lisbeth	1,661	Do.
Snespurven	1,432	Apr. 1, 1917
Consul Person	1,835	Do.
Anna Fostenes (M)	2,577	Apr. 2, 1917
Vilja	1,149	Apr. 4, 1917
Feistein	2,991	Apr. 5, 1917
Dicto	2,363	Do.
Kongshaug	380	Apr. 6, 1917
Thelma	1,350	Do.
Marion	1,587	Do.
Fiskaa	1,700	Apr. 7, 1917
Valhall	750	Apr. 9, 1917
Sylfiden	796	Apr. 11, 1917
Fjeldli	954	Apr. 13, 1917
Bokn	336	Do.
Gama	107	Do.
Venus (M)	1,095	Apr. 14, 1917
Mohlenpris	637	Apr. 15, 1917
Polykarp	509	Apr. 16, 1917
Bergensgut	2,029	Apr. 18, 1917
Troldfos	1,459	Do.
West Lothian	1,887	Do.
Ellida	1,124	Apr. 19, 1917
Ringholm	705	Apr. 20, 1917
Peik	701	Apr. 21, 1917
Skyold	1,592	Do.
Gerda	979	Do.
Vestelv	1,729	Apr. 22, 1917

[1] Previous to Mar. 28, 1917.

54 mined, 382 torpedoed; total 436. 987,816 tons. 6 ships' tonnage not given.

DANISH SHIPS.

Maryland (M)	5,136	Aug. 21, 1914
Chr. Braberg (M)	1,225	Aug. 22, 1914
Skuli Fogetl (M)	272	Aug. 28, 1914
Gaea (M)	235	Aug. 27, 1914
Kamma (M)	1,270	Sept. 2, 1914
Mary (M)	580	Nov. 30, 1914
M. C. Holm (M)	2,458	Dec. 31, 1914
Ingolf (M)	908	Jan. 6, 1915
Cathay	4,076	May 5, 1915
Lilian Drost (M)	1,961	May 8, 1915
Martha	1,182	May 15, 1915
Betty	2,109	May 26, 1915
Ely (M)	1,747	May 27, 1915
Soborg	2,108	May 30, 1915
Salvador	141	June 2, 1915
Cyrus	1,669	June 3, 1915
Cocas	85	June 12, 1915
Ellen	197	July 8, 1915
Marie	173	July 25, 1915
Neptunus	112	Do.
Elna	78	Do.
Nogill	214	Do.
Hans Emil	106	Aug. 5, 1915
Jason	189	Aug. 8, 1915
Marie	158	Aug. 15, 1915
Frode	1,875	Sept. 3, 1915
Thorwaldsen	1,220	Sept. 20, 1915
Ellen Benson	143	Sept. 26, 1915
Veset (M)	82	Sept. 28, 1915
Shodsborg	1,697	Mar. 20, 1916
Christianssund (M)	1,917	Mar. 24, 1916
Harriet (M)	1,372	Mar. 27, 1916
Asger Rvg	1,134	Apr. 6, 1916
Sterneborg	1,592	Do.
Caledonia	1,815	Apr. 9, 1916
Dorothea (M)	841	Apr. 10, 1916
Proven	276	Apr. 12, 1916
Johanne (M)	791	Apr. 27, 1916

DANISH SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Karla (M)	787	May 22, 1916
Katholm	1,324	July 30, 1916
Jaegersborg	1,797	Aug. 4, 1916
Danevang	1,247	Aug. 9, 1916
Ivar	2,139	Aug. 13, 1916
Farmatyr (M)	1,426	Sept. 2, 1916
Jeanne	1,198	Sept. 5, 1916
Hans Jensen	1,825	Sept. 13, 1916
J. N. Modwig	1,762	Do.
Frits Emil	194	Oct. 19, 1916
Guldborg	1,575	Oct. 20, 1916
Libra	174	Do.
Hebe	775	Oct. 21, 1916
London	184	Oct. 22, 1916
Helga	1,182	Oct. 24, 1916
Alf	196	Do.
Valborg	207	Oct. 26, 1916
Sif	377	Oct. 27, 1916
Freja	2,168	Nov. 10, 1916
Ragnar	2,123	Nov. 11, 1916
Therese	1,333	Nov. 12, 1916
Villah	200	Nov. 15, 1916
Fenja	433	Nov. 16, 1916
Danstad	1,492	Nov. 23, 1916
Sigurd	2,119	Nov. 28, 1916
Egholm	1,348	Nov. 30, 1916
Yrsa	844	Dec. 3, 1916
Nexos	1,013	Dec. 5, 1916
Dout	247	Do.
Robert	353	Dec. 6, 1916
Halfden	1,307	Do.
Marie	325	Do.
Rollo	2,290	Dec. 8, 1916
Kirstine Jensen	168	(1)
Gerda	288	Dec. 10, 1916
Nora (M)	772	Do.
Inger	786	Dec. 11, 1916
Solan	137	Dec. 13, 1916
Chassie Maersk	1,307	Dec. 16, 1916
Michail Outchaukoff (M)		Dec. 17, 1916
Gerda	775	Dec. 19, 1916
Dansborg	2,242	Dec. 22, 1916
Hroptatyn	1,300	Do.
Johan	828	Dec. 26, 1916
Danmark	1,875	Dec. 30, 1916
Viking	761	Dec. 31, 1916
Naesborg	1,547	Jan. 4, 1917
Danevirke	1,431	Do.
Ebro	1,028	Jan. 5, 1917
Norma	1,997	Jan. 14, 1917
Omsk	1,574	Jan. 15, 1917
Dagmar (M)	768	Jan. 18, 1917
Standard	217	Jan. 20, 1917
Klampenborg	1,785	Do.
Vega	195	Jan. 24, 1917
Dan	1,860	Do.
O. B. Suhr	1,482	Jan. 25, 1917
Daisy	1,209	Jan. 28, 1917
Lars Kruse	1,460	Feb. 3, 1917
Rasberg	1,878	Mar. 3, 1917
Laurits	183	Mar. 9, 1917
Russia	1,617	Mar. 17, 1917
Ester	1,210	Apr. 1, 1917
Bergenhus	1,017	Apr. 2, 1917
Helga	1,182	Apr. 4, 1917
Vladimir Reitz	2,128	Do.
Ebenezer	181	Apr. 5 1917
Bris	101	Do.
N. J. Fjord	1,425	Apr. 6, 1917
Nancy	1,311	Apr. 9, 1917
Saxo	711	Do.
Ansgar	301	Apr. 11, 1917
Union	152	Apr. 12, 1917
Bretagne	1,110	Apr. 17, 1917
Robert	1,445	Do.
Louisiana	3,015	Apr. 18, 1917

[1] About Dec. 8, 1916.

20 mined, 94 torpedoed; total, 114. 123,385 tons. 1 ship's tonnage not given.

SPANISH SHIPS.

Isidoro	2,044	Aug. 17, 1915
Pena Castillo	1,718	Aug. 19, 1915
Bayo (M)	2,776	Jan. 13, 1916
Belgica (M)	2,068	Jan. 16, 1916
Vigo	1,137	Mar. 31, 1916
Santanderino	3,346	Apr. 8, 1916
Vinifreda	1,441	Apr. 30, 1916
Aurrera	2,845	May 24, 1916
Mendibil Mendi	4,501	June 18, 1916
Ganekogorta Mendi	3,061	Aug. 9, 1916
Pagasarri	3,287	Aug. 16, 1916
Mayo	1 880	Sept. 8, 1916
Olazarri	2,586	Do.
Luis Vives	2,160	Sept. 11, 1916
Oiz Mendi	2,104	Nov. 11, 1916
Lucienne	1,054	Nov. 28, 1916
Uribitarte	1,756	Dec. 1, 1916
Julian Benito	1,075	Dec. 4, 1916
Gerona	1,285	Dec. 6, 1916
Bravo	1,214	Dec. 7, 1916
Ason	2,084	Dec. 17, 1916
Marques de Urguijo	2,530	Dec. 23, 1916
San Lenadro	1,616	Jan. 2, 1917

SPANISH SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Manuel	2,419	Jan. 16, 1917
Valle	2,365	Jan. 17, 1917
Nueva Montana	2,039	Jan. 28, 1917
Algorta	2,117	Jan. 29, 1917
Punta Teno	1,042	Do.
Butron	2,434	Feb. 1, 1917
Mar Adriatico	2,410	Feb. 16, 1917
Gracia	3,219	Mar. 11, 1917
Vivina	3,034	Mar. 13, 1917
San Fulgencio	1,558	Apr. 5, 1917
Tom	2,413	Apr. 14, 1917
Ipparraguire	1,161	Apr. 18, 1917

2 mined, 33 torpedoed. Total 35. 75,769 tons.

AMERICAN SHIPS.

William P. Frye		Jan. 28, 1915
Evelyn (M)	1,963	Feb. 19, 1915
Carib (M)	2,087	Feb. 23, 1915
Greenbrier (M)	3,331	Apr. 2, 1915
Leelanaw	1,924	July 25, 1915
Vincent (M)	1,904	Sept. 27, 1915
Lanao	692	Oct. 28, 1916
Columbian	8,580	Nov. 8, 1916
Chemung	2,615	Nov. 26, 1916
Housatonic	3,143	Feb. 3, 1917
Lyman M. Law	1,300	Feb. 12, 1917
Algonquin	2,833	Mar. 12, 1917
Vigilancia	4,115	Mar. 16, 1917
City of Memphis	5,252	Mar. 17, 1917
Illinois	5,225	Mar. 18, 1917
Healdton	4,489	Mar. 21, 1917
Aztec	3,727	Apr. 1, 1917
Marguerite	1,553	Apr. 5, 1917
Edwin R. Hunt	1,133	Apr. 7, 1917
Seward	3,390	Do.

4 mined, 16 torpedoed; total 20. 59,256 tons. 1 ship's tonnage not given.

BRAZILIAN SHIPS.

Rio Branco	2,258	May 1, 1916
Parana	4,461	Apr. 4, 1917

Total 2. 6,719 tons.

GREEK SHIPS.

Ellispontos	2,989	Apr. 17, 1915
Dimitrios	2,508	Oct. 6, 1915
Zarifis	2,904	Nov. 29, 1915
L. G. Goulandris	2,123	Dec. 6, 1915
Anthipi (M)	1,166	Dec. 30, 1915
Adamantias Korais	2,947	May 18, 1916
Istros	1,891	May 22, 1916
Tricoupis	2,387	Aug. 5, 1916
Achileus	843	Do.
Vassilios	300	Aug. 15, 1916
Leandros	1,658	Aug. 25, 1916
Spetzai	1,904	Sept. 7, 1916
Elli	631	Sept. 10, 1916
Assimacos	2,898	Sept. 11, 1916
Panaghia Akathiston	600	Sept. 12, 1916
Samos	1,186	Oct. 6, 1916
George M. Embiricos	3,636	Oct. 21, 1916
Aris	1,000	Oct. 24, 1916
Germaine	2,573	Oct. 28, 1916
Massalia	2,186	Oct. 29, 1916
Angeliki	677	Oct. 30, 1916
Kiki Issais	2,993	Oct. 31, 1916
Barbara	2,831	Nov. 11, 1916
Styliani Belus	3,603	Nov. 16, 1916
Ioannis	3,828	Do.
Spetzai	788	Nov. 21, 1916
Michael	2,410	Nov. 26, 1916
Margarita	1,112	Do.
Christoforos	3,674	Nov. 27, 1916
Demetrios Inglessis	2,088	Dec. 2, 1916
Fofo	2,615	Dec. 4, 1916
Spyros	3,357	Dec. 8, 1916
Grigorios Anghelatos	3,635	Dec. 12, 1916
Salamis	3,638	Dec. 15, 1916
Sappho	2,087	Jan. 1, 1917
Tsiropinas	3,016	———, 1917
Dimitrios Goulandris	3,744	Jan. 2, 1917
Arustotelis C. Ioannou	2,868	—— 12, 1917
Evangelos	3,773	Jan. 7, 1917
Elikon	1,166	Feb. 4, 1917
Vasilissa Olga	1,400	Feb. 11, 1917
Aghios Spyridon	1,618	Feb. 12, 1917
Laertis	3,914	Feb. 22, 1917
Miaoulis	2,918	Feb. 24, 1917
Victoria	1,388	Feb. 26, 1917
Prikonisos	3,537	Feb. 28, 1917
Nicolaos	1,215	Mar. 1, 1917
Theodoros Pangalos	2,838	Mar. 3, 1917
Poseidon	2,589	Mar. 25, 1917
Katina	2,464	Mar. 28, 1917
Livatho	2,922	Apr. 8, 1917
Nestos	4,060	Do.
Themistoclis	1,895	Apr. 9, 1917
India	2,933	Apr. 12, 1917
Niritos	3,756	Do.

GREEK SHIPS—continued.

Name.	Gross tonnage.	Date of loss.
Odysseus	3,463	Apr. 13, 1917
Panaghis Drakatos	2,734	Apr. 15, 1917
Crios	4,116	Apr. 16, 1917
Ziovia	2,976	Do.
Georgios	3,124	Apr. 20, 1917

1 mine, 59 torpedoed; total 60. 6,719 tons, 147,923 tons.

ARGENTINE SHIP.

Monte Protegido	281	Apr. 4, 1917

PERUVIAN SHIP.

Lorton	1,419	Feb. 4, 1917

URUGUAYAN SHIP.

Parahyba	2,537	Jan. 19, 1917

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 4 hours and 35 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS (S. REPT. NO. 172).

Mr. WALSH. The Committee on Privileges and Elections have had under consideration certain matters referred to it, and have authorized me to submit the following report to the Senate and ask for its adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read.

The report is as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., October 5, 1917.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections having had under consideration certain matters referred to it by the Senate on the 1st day of October, 1917, this day adopted the following resolution:

"Action having been requested by Senator STONE on certain communications in which he was assailed, it being charged therein that he has obstructed the enactment of measures for the prosecution of the war, the committee finds that they make mention of no facts warranting action by it. The record discloses that though Senator STONE opposed the declaration of war, he has since it was adopted voted for all such measures considered by the Senate on which a record vote was taken."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the report.

The report was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 2920. An act authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon, with carriage; and

S. 2947. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2663) granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 116) for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy.

The message further announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 99) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within three years from the date of entry into the United States, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2203. An act for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise;

S. 2938. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east;

H. R. 3932. An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the sale, manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 6094. An act amending an act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.;

H. R. 6175. An act giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska;

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widows, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers;

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts; and

H. J. Res. 116. Joint resolution for the purpose of promoting efficiency for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. WILLIAMS submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 13, 15, 19, 25, 26, 33, 60, 92, 105, and 106.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, and 119, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 120, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the first line of the amendment proposed by the Senate strike out "406" and insert the figure "3"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 91, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 90, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the word "cohabitation," at the end of the amendment proposed by the Senate, insert the following:

"*Provided further*, That for the purpose of the administration of Article II of this act marriage shall be conclusively presumed, in the absence of proof, that there is a legal spouse living, if the man and woman have lived together in the openly acknowledged relation of husband and wife during the two years immediately preceding the date of the declaration of war, or the date of enlistment or of entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States if subsequent to such declaration."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 117, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"Not later than five years after the date of the termination of the war as declared by proclamation of the President of the United States, the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request. Regulations shall provide for the right to convert into ordinary life, 20-payment life, endowment maturing at age 62, and into other usual forms of insurance and shall prescribe the time and method of payment of the premiums thereon, but payments of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 24. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, so far as practicable, shall upon request furnish information to and act for persons in the military or naval service, with respect to any contracts of insurance, whether with the Government or otherwise, as may be prescribed by regulations. Said bureau may, upon request, procure from and keep a record of the amount and kind of insurance held by every commissioned and appointive officer and of every enlisted man in the military or naval service of the United States, including the name and principal place of business of the company, society, or organization in which such insurance is held, the date of the policy, amount of premium, name and relationship of the beneficiary, and such other data as may be deemed of service in protecting the interests of the insured and beneficiaries."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert the following: ", and if such child, if born after December 31, 1917, shall have been born in the United States, or in its insular possessions"; and the Senate agree to the same.

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
HOKE SMITH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
T. W. SIMS,
SAM RAYBURN,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask that the statement accompanying the conference report be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement is as follows:

The managers on the part of the Senate at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the conference report:

On amendment No. 1: Changes the reference to the number of the section.

On amendment No. 2: Limits the construction of section 9 as referring only to the Division of Marine and Seaman's Insurance.

On amendment No. 3: Limits the amount of compensation paid to claim agents and attorneys for services to 10 per cent.

On amendment No. 4: Strike out the words "so far as practicable," to which the House conferees agreed.

On amendment No. 5: This amendment makes the fees allowed and salaries to be the same as in other departments of the Government for similar services.

On amendment No. 6: The House conferees accepted the Senate amendment in its entirety, but also added in addition thereto the House text, which relates to proof of marriages for the purpose of the administration of article 2.

On amendment No. 7: Changes the word "approval" to "enactment."

On amendment No. 8: Changes the word "act" to "amendatory act."

On amendment No. 9: This amendment provides that the child must be legally adopted before enlistment.

On amendment No. 10: This amendment simply adds a comma after the word "only."

On amendment No. 11: This amendment proposes to insert "instrument in writing signed by."

On amendment No. 12: This amendment fixes the date of birth of child, and requires birth in the United States or in its insular possessions.

On amendment No. 13: The Senate conferees receded from this amendment, which defines the term of "wife divorced" as being wife divorced without her fault as the ground or cause of such divorce.

On amendment No. 14: This amendment is simply a correction.

On amendment No. 15: This amendment restores the House text which defines the age limit of a child.

On amendment No. 16: This amendment changes the language as to "disability."

On amendment No. 17: This amendment eliminates an Army clerk and a field clerk, Quartermaster Corps, from the definition of the term "commissioned officer."

On amendment No. 18: This amendment includes in the definition of the terms "man and enlisted man" members of training camps authorized by law.

On amendment No. 19: This amendment defines the term "dependent," and the Senate receded.

On amendment No. 20: Simply inserts the word "amendatory" before the word "act."

On amendment No. 21: The House recedes on amendment No. 21, striking out the words "a person mentally incompetent," because it is covered in amendment No. 22, disagreement to which the House also recedes.

On amendment No. 23: The House recedes on this amendment, as the language substituted by the Senate more clearly defines the party to whom payment shall be made.

On amendment No. 24: The Senate recedes from its amendment striking out section 24, and agrees thereto with an amendment inserting the words "on request" after the word "shall," in line 10, and also with amendment striking out the word "shall," in line 14 of the same section, and inserting the words "may on request."

On amendments Nos. 25 and 26: The Senate recedes from its amendments 25 and 26, which are only corrections.

On amendment No. 27: This amendment, which provides that allotment shall be made only to former wife divorced to whom alimony has been decreed; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 28: Adds the word "decree" after the court order.

On amendment No. 29: Inserts the word "written" before the word "agreement"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 30: This amendment defines what illegitimate child the father must contribute to, and further provides that where it has been judicially ordered that it shall not be beyond the amount decreed by the court; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 31: This amendment strikes out the words "his next of kin" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "the person or persons who would under the laws of the State of his residence be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 32: Strikes out the words "declaration of war" and inserts in lieu thereof "November 1, 1917"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 33: This amendment limits the payment of family allowances for members of Class A and to those dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 34: This amendment relates to alimony when decreed to the wife; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 35: This amendment inserts the word "decree"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 36: This amendment inserts the word "written" after the word "agreement"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 37: This amendment relates to an illegitimate child to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, and the amount of the allotment shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 38: This amendment relates to the allotment under Class B; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 39: This amendment simply changes the word "amendment" to "amendatory act"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 40: This amendment proposes to strike out "a wife, including a former wife divorced, and the children not in her custody, and as between children," and inserts "the members of Class A and as between the members of Class B"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 41: This amendment simply changes the language relating to the regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury with reference to the distribution of allotments, and clarifies the language; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 42: This amendment simply inserts the words "on the basis of"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 43: This amendment relates to certifications to the War and Navy Departments with reference to the amount of the allotment to be made by the man; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 44: This amendment strikes out the words "in the course of the service"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 45: This amendment provides that no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by the willful misconduct of the man; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 46: This amendment strikes out the words "from a marriage contracted before or within 10 years after the injury," and is covered in another section of the bill; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 47: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 48: This amendment strikes out the words "percentages of his pay," and inserts the word "amounts." This is necessary because the percentage provisions of the bill were stricken out in the House, and the word "amounts" inserted in lieu thereof; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 49 to 55, inclusive: These amendments all reduce the rates of compensation as passed by the House; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 56: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent"; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 57, 58, and 59: These amendments relate to the payment of burial expenses and return of bodies to homes of men who died before discharge or resignation from the service. The House provision provided for the payment of $100 for burial expenses for men who died after discharge or resignation; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 60: This amendment strikes out "18" and inserts "16"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 61: This amendment strikes out the words "mental or physical infirmity, of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation, then until the marriage or death or until such incapacity ceases," and inserts the words "insane, idiotic, or otherwise being permanently helpless, then during such incapacity"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No 62: This amendment simply defines the word "widow" as used in section 301; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 63: This amendment strikes out "so as to make it impracticable for the injured person to pursue any gainful occupation," for the reason that if the injury is total a person could not pursue a gainful occupation; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 64 to 71, inclusive: These amendments reduce the rates for disability resulting from injury and change the lettering of the paragraphs; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 72: This amendment simply changes the lettering of the paragraphs; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 73: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 74: This amendment inserts the word "amounts," which is necessary; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 75: This amendment adds to the classification of those permanently disabled the words "those helplessly and permanently bedridden"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 76: This amendment provides that those helplessly and permanently bedridden must be from causes occurring "in the line of duty"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 77: This amendment inserts the word "governmental" before the word "medical"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 78: This amendment inserts the words "with such" before the word "supplies"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No 79: This amendment inserts a proviso that nothing in this act shall be construed to effect the necessary military control over any member of the Military or Naval Establishments before he shall have been discharged from the military or naval service, which is admitted to be necessary to avoid any conflict of authority; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 80: The House concurred in this amendment.

On amendments Nos. 81 and 82: This amendment simply renumbers the sections.

On amendment No. 83: This amendment strikes out section 307, which relates to the definition of the term "pay"; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 84, 85, 86, and 87: These amendments simply renumbers the sections; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 88: The House recedes with an amendment changing the time for the occurrence of the disability to 5 years instead of 10 years, as inserted by the House, and the 2 years as inserted by the Senate.

On amendment No. 89: This amendment strikes out "in the course of," before the word "service," and inserts "during the"; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 90 and 91: On these amendments the House recedes with an amendment changing the time for the occurrence of the disability to 5 years instead of 10 years, as inserted by the House, and 2 years, as inserted by the Senate.

On amendment No. 92: This amendment adds after the word "such," the words "minority or"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendments Nos. 93, 94, and 95: These amendments simply change the numbers of the sections; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 96: This amendment strikes out the words "existing pension laws and laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service," and inserts the words "the laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service and existing pension laws"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 97: This amendment inserts the words "or their widows, children, or their dependents"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 98: This amendment renumbers the section only.

On amendment No. 99: This amendment inserts the word "amendatory" before the word "act"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 100: The House concurred in the amendment.

On amendment 101: This amendment simply inserts the word "permanent" before the word "disability." House recedes.

On amendment 102: Insert the words "and permanently" before the word "disabled."

On amendment 103: Insert after the word "wife" the words "from the time of his death and during her widowhood, or to his." House recedes.

On amendment 104: Insert the words "and permanent" before the word "disability." House recedes.

On amendment 105: Insert the word "dependent" before the word "both"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment 106: Insert the word "dependent" before the word "sister"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment 107: Insert the words "and permanent" before the word "disability."

On amendment 108: Strike out the words "and to such other person as may be provided for from time to time by regulations"; and the House recedes.

On amendment 109: Simply strike out the word "only"; and the House recedes.

On amendment 110: Insert before the word "installments" the words "two hundred and forty equal monthly," for the reason that it was desired that these payments should run for a period of 20 years; and the House recedes.

On amendment 111: Adds the words "dividends from gains and savings," as it is believed the beneficiaries should have the full value of the policy at the time of the death; and the House recedes.

On amendment 112: Makes the basis of calculation the American experience of mortality, with interest at 3½ per cent per annum, and provides further that no deduction shall be made from continuous installments during the life of the insured in case of total and permanent disability continues more than 240 months. House recedes.

On amendment 113: Strike out the words "or as in the regulations." House recedes.

On amendment 114: Adds after the words "reserve value" the words "if any"; and the House recedes.

On amendment 115: Strikes out the word "policy" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "contracts of insurance"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 116: Inserts after the word "war" the words "and thereafter until converted."

On amendment No. 117: Provides that not later than five years after the close of this war that term insurance shall be converted into other lines of insurance without medical examination, which supersedes the House provision that it could be converted after the war. The House agrees to the Senate amendment with the following amendments: After the word "after" insert the words "the date of the termination of," and after the word "war" in the same line "as declared by proclamation of the President of the United States."

On amendment No. 118: This amendment simply strikes out the words "*And provided further*, That no," and inserts before the word "or" the word "no." House recedes.

On amendment No. 119: Strikes out the words "this act" and inserts the words "the provision of this section." House recedes.

On amendment No. 120: Adds a new section to the bill—section No. 3—which provides for the revival of the term "general" in the United States Army, and provides for the appointment of the commander of the United States forces now in France to this rank, and provides that the salary of the general shall be $10,000 and the lieutenant generals $9,000.

RECESS.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate take a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Saturday, October 6, 1917, at 10 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 5, 1917.

JUDGE OF DISTRICT COURT.

William A. Holzheimer, of Ketchikan, Alaska, to be judge of the district court for the district of Alaska, division No. 2, vice John Randolph Tucker, whose term will expire October 31, 1917.

TRANSFER TO ACTIVE LIST OF THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

First Lieut. Roy W. Ashbrook, United States Army, retired, to the grade of captain in the Infantry Arm with rank from July 1, 1916.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAIN.

To be chaplain with rank of first lieutenant from October 8, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Rev. Samuel Arthur Devan, of Pennsylvania.

To be chaplains with rank of first lieutenant from October 1, 1917, to fill original vacancies.

Rev. Walter B. Zimmerman, of Iowa.
Rev. Stanley Hall Roberts, of South Dakota.
Rev. John Oscar Lindquist, of Iowa.
Rev. Patrick John Lydon, of Massachusetts.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander James F. Carter to be a captain in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917.

Lieut. Commander Wilbur G. Briggs to be a commander in the Navy from the 24th day of August, 1916.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917:

William B. Wells,
Daniel P. Mannix,
Wilbert Smith,
Edwin H. Dodd, and
Louis J. Connelly.

Lieut. Hiram L. Irwin to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 29th day of February, 1917.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917:

Frank J. Fletcher,
Milo F. Draemel,
Thomas Withers, jr.,
Isaac C. Shute,
Walter F. Jacobs,
Harry L. Pence,
Ferdinand L. Reichmuth,
Harvey Delano,
Wolcott E. Hall,
Robert A. White,
Andrew S. Hickey,
Stephen Doherty,
Francis M. Robinson,
Randolph P. Scudder,
George A. Alexander, and
Roland M. Brainard.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) William C. Faus to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1917.

Ensign Lewis J. Stecher to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 6th day of June, 1917.

Midshipman Peyton Harrison to be an ensign in the Navy from the 29th day of June, 1917.

Medical Inspector Edward S. Bogert to be a medical director in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917.

Surg. Edward G. Parker to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917.

The following-named civil engineers with rank of lieutenant commander to be civil engineers in the Navy with rank of commander from the 1st day of July, 1917:

George A. McKay,
Ernest H. Brownell, and
Paul L. Reed.

Civil Engineer Luther E. Gregory with rank of commander to be a civil engineer in the Navy with rank of captain from the 1st day of July, 1917.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1917:

Arthur L. Bristol, jr.,
Carroll S. Graves,
Fred M. Perkins, and
Frank H. Roberts.

The following-named pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1917:

George W. Armstrong,
Edward S. Barney,
George G. Schweizer,
John H. Seifert,
Alexander C. Kozlowski,
Maurice S. Hirshorn, and
Thomas J. Bolan.

The following-named carpenters to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 5th day of October, 1917:

Frederick B. Britt,
Charles N. Liqued,
Frank Welch,
Louis T. Herrmann,
Robert B. Pick,
Raymond E. Corson,
William F. Twitchell,
James S. Jones,
John H. Jack, jr.,
William H. Hewett,
Clarence W. Chaddock, and
James A. Cook.

Pay clerk Charles E. Swithenbank to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, from the 20th day of June, 1917.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 5, 1917.

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Burwell S. Cutler to be Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

COMMISSIONER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

W. Gwynn Gardiner to be a Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Frederick C. Fisher to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

Ramon Avancena to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

JUDGE OF DISTRICT COURT.

William A. Holzheimer to be judge of the district court for the District of Alaska, division No. 2.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Edwin Lowry Humes to be United States attorney, western district of Pennsylvania.

Herbert S. Phillips to be United States attorney, southern district of Florida.

William A. Munly to be United States attorney, District of Alaska, division No. 3.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

James B. Perkins to be United States marshal, northern district of Florida.

SURVEYOR GENERAL.

Charles L. Decker to be surveyor general of Wyoming.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAINS.

Samuel Arthur Devan.
Walter B. Zimmerman.
Stanley Hall Roberts.
John Oscar Lindquist.
Patrick John Lydon.

INFANTRY ARM.

First Lieut. Roy W. Ashbrook, retired, to be captain.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander James F. Carter to be a captain.

Lieut. Commander Wilbur G. Briggs to be a commander.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:

William B. Wells,
Daniel P. Mannix,
Wilbert Smith,
Edwin H. Dodd, and
Louis J. Connelly.

Lieut. Hiram L. Irwin to be a lieutenant commander.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Frank J. Fletcher,
Milo F. Draemel,
Thomas Withers, jr.,
Isaac C. Shute,
Walter F. Jacobs,
Harry L. Pence,
Ferdinand L. Reichmuth,
Harvey Delano,
Wolcott E. Hall,
Robert A. White,
Andrew S. Hickey,
Stephen Doherty,
Francis M. Robinson,
Randolph P. Scudder,
George A. Alexander, and
Roland M. Brainard.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) William C. Faus to be a lieutenant.

Ensign Lewis J. Stecher to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Midshipman Peyton Harrison to be an ensign.

Medical Inspector Edward S. Bogert to be a medical director.

Surg. Edward G. Parker to be a medical inspector.

The following-named civil engineers with rank of lieutenant commander to be civil engineers with rank of commander:

George A. McKay,
Ernest H. Brownell, and
Paul L. Reed.

Civil Engineer Luther E. Gregory with rank of commander to be a civil engineer with rank of captain.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Arthur L. Bristol, jr.,
Carroll S. Graves,
Fred M. Perkins, and
Frank H. Roberts.

The following-named pay clerks to be assistant paymasters for temporary service:

George W. Armstrong,
Edward S. Barney,
George G. Schweizer,
John H. Seifert,
Alexander C. Kozlowski,
Maurice S. Hirshorn, and
Thomas J. Bolan.

The following-named carpenters to be assistant naval constructors for temporary service:

Frederick B. Britt,
Charles N. Liquod,
Frank Welch,
Louis T. Herrmann,
Robert B. Pick,
Raymond E. Corson,
William F. Twitchell,
James S. Jones,
John H. Jack, jr.,
William H. Hewitt,
Clarence W. Chaddock, and
James A. Cook.

Pay Clerk Charles E. Swithenbank to be an assistant paymaster.

POSTMASTERS.

DELAWARE.

E. Pierce Ellis, Laurel. (Reappointment.)
William Brockson, Middletown. (Reappointment.)
Elijah E. Carey, Millsboro. (Reappointment.)
William H. Robinson, Milford. (Reappointment.)
John B. Mustard, Milton. (Reappointment.)
John P. Murphy, New Castle. (Reappointment.)
Orlando W. Short, Seaford. (Reappointment.)

ILLINOIS.

Henry L. Reinoehl, Flat Rock. (Reappointment.)
F. W. Burley, Winslow.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October 5, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we thank Thee for our Republic, with its vast domain, its rich and varied resources, its sacred institutions and high ideals. Increase our patriotism, our intellectual, moral and spiritual life, that we may continue the exemplar in government of the people, by the people, for the people. Hasten the day when wars and rumors of wars shall cease to be, when all the world shall live together in peace and harmony, and we will ascribe all praise to Thee, our God and one Father.

O the sun and the rain, and the rain and the sun!
There'll be sunshine again when the tempest is done;
And the storm will beat back when the shining is past,
But in some happy harbor we'll anchor at last.

O the rain and the sun, and the sun and the rain!
When the tempest is done, the sunshine again!
And in rapture we'll ride through the stormiest gales,
For God's hand's on the helm, and His breath in the sails.

Then murmur no more in lull or in roar,
But smile and be brave till the voyage is o'er.

Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House disagree to the Senate amendment on the bill H. R. 5723, the war-risk insurance bill, and agree to the conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent that the House disagree to the Senate amendment to the war-risk insurance bill and agree to the conference asked for. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Has that been printed?

Mr. ADAMSON. Not in the RECORD.

Mr. GILLETT. I understand there is an amendment which puts the Civil War veterans and the Spanish War veterans on the same footing as the present war.

Mr. ADAMSON. No; I can tell the gentleman the language. It is that the widows of the veterans of the Civil War and the widows of the veterans of the Spanish-American War be paid $25 a month, and that it be administered by the Pension Bureau.

Mr. GILLETT. Is there any objection on the part of the gentleman from Georgia to that amendment?

Mr. ADAMSON. Speaking personally, I do not want to convert the war-insurance bill into a pension bill.

Mr. GILLETT. I would like to move to concur in that amendment.

Mr. ADAMSON. I hope the gentleman from Massachusetts will not do that. I am not announcing any opinion of the conferees.

Mr. GILLETT. Unless we have some assurance that that amendment will be agreed to or that the House will have an opportunity to vote upon it, I shall not consent.

Mr. ADAMSON. I will give the gentleman my own opinion, which is that we have two committees on pensions, and I would not like to invade the jurisdiction of those committees. What the conferees will do I do not know. I do not intend to be a conferee.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman says he does not want to invade the jurisdiction of the committees; this bill is virtually providing pensions.

Mr. ADAMSON. There is where the gentleman from Massachusetts and I differ. It is not a pension bill; it is an insurance bill. We have two committees on pensions and we do not want to invade their jurisdiction.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I move to concur in the Senate amendment.

Mr. ADAMSON. I hope that will not be done.

Mr. GILLETT. We ought to have some assurance that it will be agreed to, or some assurance that the House will have an opportunity to vote upon it.

Mr. ADAMSON. The gentleman ought not to require such an assurance; we ought to go to a full and free conference.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I make that motion.

Mr. ADAMSON. But I am asking for unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent but he does not seem to be getting it. [Laughter.]

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman will not get unanimous consent without some assurance that the amendment will be agreed to or that the House will have an opportunity to vote upon it.

Mr. ADAMSON. I can not give any such assurance.

Mr. GILLETT. Then I will object unless some assurance is given, either that we have an opportunity to vote upon it or that it will be agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, had insisted upon its amendments, had requested a conference with the House of Representatives upon the bill and amendments, and had appointed Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, and Mr. SMOOT as conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2437) to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 2937. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the following titles:

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 5646. An act to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

H. R. 5648. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate;

H. R. 6175. An act giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska;

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps, and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers;

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts; and

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 5949. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States; and

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 2883. An act making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes;

S. J. Res. 102. Joint resolution authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session; and

S. 2437. An act to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy.

GREETINGS TO THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House resolution 80.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House resolution 80, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 80.

Whereas a message was transmitted on the 11th of April, 1917, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, through the legation of Cuba at Washington, D. C., to the effect that in declaring that a state of war existed between the Republic of Cuba and the German Empire, it was resolved by a rising vote to address a message of confraternity to the House of Representatives of the United States of America, expressing the pride felt by the people of Cuba in thus joining the flag of their Republic with that of the United States in the present war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives sends its greetings to the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, and through the agency of that high body to the people of Cuba, expressing the deep satisfaction of the American people that the flags of the two nations again wave in brotherly union in defense of the common cause of liberty and justice; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution, duly engrossed and signed, be transmitted by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, through the legation of Cuba at Washington, D. C., to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I am in entire sympathy with the resolution, and I was more in sympathy with it when it was reported on May 28 of this year. It has

been on the calendar four months. I would like to inquire of the gentleman whether there was any reason why the action should be deferred until the closing days of Congress.

Mr. FLOOD. None whatever, except that on two or three occasions when I attempted to call it up it was urged that there was something else of pressing importance in connection with the war that should occupy the time of the House, and then it was overlooked, for which I apologize to our friends of the Cuban House of Representatives.

Mr. STAFFORD. It should have been considered shortly after it was introduced.

Mr. FLOOD. I agree with the gentleman and regret that it was not.

The promptness with which the heroic Republic of Cuba joined its fortunes with ours in the European war must be gratifying to every true American.

Fully realizing her obligation to this country for its decisive and unselfish intervention in behalf of the Cuban patriots in their struggle to cast off the yoke of Spain, our sister Republic did not hesitate to sustain the policy of the United States.

Without hesitation and without waiting to count the cost, Cuba came to the support of the United States and declared war upon the German Empire for its repeated and intolerable acts against civilization and against the rights and honor of the United States within one week after we declared a state of war to exist between this country and the Imperial German Government.

That young Republic made excellent use of the very first opportunity presented to it to demonstrate its gratitude for the splendid benefits it had received from this country. It was a fine exhibition of gratitude and patriotism. For its unselfish position, all honor to the Republic of Cuba.

The resolution is in response to the following communication, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

LEGACION DE CUBA,
Washington, D. C., April 9, 1917.

The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, in declaring that a state of war exists between this nation and the German Empire, resolved—all members rising to their feet and amidst the greatest enthusiasm—to address a message of confraternity to that body announcing the pride felt by the people of Cuba in uniting their modest efforts to those of the great Nation contending for the triumph of right and respect for the liberty of small nationalities.

The house also resolved to express the special gratification of the Cuban people in uniting their flag side by side to that of the glorious Nation which, in days of undying memory, sacrificed the blood of her sons to help the people of Cuba to conquer their liberty and independence.

MIGUEL COYULA,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

PUBLIC LANDS.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a digest of the various acts passed during this session affecting public lands.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by publishing a digest of bills passed during this session affecting public lands. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 2947. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico; and

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916.

CONTESTED ELECTION CASE—BEAKES AGAINST BACON (H. REPT. NO. 194).

Mr. WATSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Election Committee No. 3, I desire to make a report in the contested election case of Beakes against Bacon, second district of the State of Michigan. I send the report to the Clerk's desk and ask that it lie over and be printed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia presents the report in the contested election case of Beakes against Bacon, and asks that it lie over and be printed. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I presume the gentleman does not propose to take action at this session.

Mr. WATSON of Virginia. Not at this session.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

REEXPORTATION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 99, authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within three years from the date of entry into the United States, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and the Clerk will report the resolution.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. To make inquiry about the resolution, reserving the right to object.

The SPEAKER. It is too late to do that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then I ask the privilege of interrogating the gentleman from Illinois. Was this resolution before the Committee on Ways and Means?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes; this was before the Committee on Ways and Means, and was reported out unanimously. This affects liquor reaching the United States. On the 9th of September the food-control act went into effect. It passed the House on the tenth day of August, and by its terms shipments of distilled liquors from other countries into the United States are prohibited. After the 9th day of September a number of shipments were on their way when this bill was passed, notably a shipment of considerable size in the *Eastgate*, which left a French port during the month of June. The ship was rammed by a torpedo-boat destroyer, and she put into an English port for extensive repairs. She sailed again after repairs were made and was torpedoed by a submarine, and again put back into an English port, and is still there being repaired.

This shipment will reach the United States very soon, and this bill provides that the Secretary of the Treasury may retain control of liquors arriving in this country under these circumstances and permit exportation at any time within one year from their arrival to some other country. It does not interfere with the operations of the food bill at all. It is much needed legislation, and under the law the shipments must be returned to the country of origin, and we need the room in ships for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This does not waive any of the customs laws?

Mr. RAINEY. Not at all.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD in regard to the resolution of congratulation to the Republic of Cuba.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the Senate joint resolution No. 99.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to permit the entry of distilled spirits shipped from any foreign country to the United States prior to September 1, 1917, into bonded warehouses in the United States, under bond to be given by the importer of such distilled spirits, conditioned for the export of such goods to some foreign country within the period of one year from and after the entry thereof into the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question. Is it contemplated that such distilled spirits described in the resolution shall go to a customs bonded warehouse or to some internal-revenue bonded warehouse?

Mr. RAINEY. I presume they will go to a customs bonded warehouse.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States."

RIGHTS AND REMEDIES UNDER WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on the Judiciary from further consideration of the bill (S. 2916) to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State, and that the same be considered now.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, for the purpose of making an inquiry——

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. While a bill is being read, can a gentleman interrupt the reading to ask a question?

Mr. MADDEN. The bill was not being read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not think he can.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I ask that the bill be read into the RECORD, so that we may know what it is.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I understood the bill was ordered only to be reported, not to be read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair always orders these things reported by title, and sometimes it is so clear to some gentleman that he does not propose to have it considered that he objects on the ground of the information he obtains from the reading of the title. Sometimes he desires the whole bill read.

Mr. MADDEN. I know that the Chair ordered this bill reported.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman as soon as the bill is read.

Mr. MADDEN. I am not making any objection about not being recognized. I simply want to have the record clear as to what was done. It was ordered to be reported, not to be read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair directed the Clerk to report the bill by title. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That clause 3 of section 24 of the Judicial Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Third. Of all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it, and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workman's compensation law of any State; of all seizures on land or waters not within admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; of all prizes brought into the United States; and of all proceedings for the condemnation of property taken as prize."

SEC. 2. That clause 3 of section 256 of the Judicial Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Third. Of all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it, and to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to ask the gentleman from North Carolina in what respect this changes the law as it exists to-day?

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend that the bill as read sounds a little long, but the only new language added to the present law is this:

And to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State.

That is all the new language that is used as an amendment to the Judicial Code, and if the gentleman desires I will state the reason why we desire that amendment.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like very much to have it stated.

Mr. WEBB. Under the compensation laws of New York and all the other States where they administer compensation laws, heretofore stevedores and longshoremen have received the benefits of the State compensation laws. Last fall, I believe it was, a man by the name of Jensen was killed while loading a ship in New York. The Southern Pacific Railroad, which owned the ship, after the compensation laws of New York had applied and allowed $5.87 weekly for his wife, appealed, and the highest court of New York held that the State compensation law applied to the case like other laborers in the harbor of New York, and the Southern Pacific Co. appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and Mr. Justice McReynolds decided—and I think as the law stands decided properly—that the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts applied to stevedores and longshoremen under the Judicial Code which gave jurisdiction to the admiralty court, and that is this language we now seek to amend. I read section 24 of the Judicial Code:

Of all civil causes of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, saving to suitors in all cases the right of a common-law remedy where the common law is competent to give it.

Now, the Supreme Court said that the compensation law of New York was not a common-law remedy, but statutory, and, consequently, as the law was written these stevedores and longshoremen must finally be compelled to go into the admiralty courts where no compensation law applied. Now, all that we do is to put longshoremen and stevedores on a parity or equality with other laborers. I do not think anybody can object to it. I think it is absolutely fair and is very important to the labor of the country in view of the unrest that exists among a great many longshoremen and stevedores on account of the present discrimination against them in the application of State compensation laws.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 1766. An act to authorize the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list; and

S. 2918. An act providing that the forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.

EXPENSES OF FOREIGN OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill S. 2858.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina calls up the bill which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2858) to defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like the gentleman to make some explanation of this bill. I understand the purpose of it to be to pay foreign officers who have been invited to come to the United States to aid in the training of our troops such expenses as they may incur in the United States and to pay them such expenses as have already been incurred. I take it that means hotel expenses, traveling expenses, and so forth. It may be entirely proper and hospitable to do it, but there is no limitation as to the amount of expenses that shall be allowed, except that it shall be in the discretion of the Secretary of War. Have I stated it correctly?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. The gentleman has stated it correctly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman object to an amendment limiting the allowance of expenses for these foreign officers in the United States to such expenses as are allowed under like conditions to officers and enlisted men of the United States?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Speaker, that I would have absolutely no objection to it, except for this fact: This bill came to our committee from the War Department. I have a letter from the Secretary of War to Senator WADSWORTH stating the purpose, and if the gentleman will pardon me, I will read it to the House:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 7, 1917.

The CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR MR. SENATOR: For very necessary purposes of instruction in trench warfare, aviation, and other training for our Army, it has been deemed advisable to request from the French and English Governments that certain of their officers be sent to the United States to assist us in the latest methods found most practicable on the firing line.

Some of these foreign officers have already reported for duty in this connection and the arrival of others is anticipated.

Under existing legislation there is no provision for furnishing foreign officers with travel pay and expense allowance in the performance of their duties, and as their pay, less than that paid to our officers of the same grade, is inadequate to meet the high cost of living and travel in this country their present status here is an embarrassing one.

It is urgently requested that Congress provide legislation to meet this emergency substantially as follows:

"That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, under such regulations, and in such manner as he may prescribe, to employ such portion of the appropriations made for the transportation of the Army and its supplies, as in his judgment may be necessary to defray the expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States during the present emergency, and that those officers and enlisted men, who may have been performing duties in this connection, be reimbursed from this appropriation for the expenditures they have already been obliged to make."

Respectfully,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The Secretary approves of this proposition?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Yes. If the gentleman will pardon me, Mr. Speaker, here is the situation as I understand it. The officers of foreign armies do not receive anything like as much compensation as our officers do. The private in the French Army receives only, I think, 4 cents a day. Our Government has requested those countries to send over their men to help train our troops, and you can readily see how impossible it would be for a man to live on 4 cents a day.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I can not hear the gentleman in view of the confusion in the House just now. Did I understand the gentleman to say the enlisted men of France now serving in the United States in our training camps are paid only 4 cents a day?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Four or 5 cents, I am not positive, but not more than that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Four or 5 cents a day?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Can the gentleman tell us what the officers receive from their Government?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. My recollection is that a lieutenant in the French Army receives $60 a month, and the gentleman knows the difference, of course, between that pay and a first lieutenant in our Army. A first lieutenant in our Army, for instance, receives $2,000 a year.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. These men are obliged to live at American hotels?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. The object of this bill is to put them on the same basis as ours.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is that the main purpose?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. That is the main purpose of it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And it has the indorsement of the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. The unanimous indorsement.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If it will embarrass the gentleman and the Military Affairs Committee I will not insist on an amendment.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I think the Secretary of War will look after that. It is in his discretion.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Certainly.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I have heard that these officers and other foreign officers, civil and military, that have come over here have been charged by our Immigration Department with a head tax when they landed. Is this bill broad enough to cover that? I think it would under "expenses of travel," but I am not sure.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I think so.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I hope it will, because it is really a shame that it has been done.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. This bill is on the Union Calendar. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2858) to defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, under such regulations and in such manner as he may prescribe, to employ such portion of the appropriations made for transportation of the Army and its supplies as in his judgment may be necessary to defray the expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States during the present emergency, and that those officers and enlisted men, who may have been performing duties in this connection, be reimbursed from this appropriation for the expenditures they have already been obliged to make.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A House bill, of similar tenor, was ordered laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to return to the House of Representatives in compliance with its request the bill (H. R. 5271) authorizing the appointment of chaplains at large of the United States Army.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 2663) granting the consent of Congress to Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2203) for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2527) authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the joint resolution from the House of Representatives (H. J. Res. 116) for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy, do pass with the following amendment:

Page 4, lines 11 and 12, strike out "within the boundaries of the United States."

FEDERAL BUILDING AND SITE AT MOULTRIE, GA.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2852.

The SPEAKER. The bill does not have to have unanimous consent. The Chair lays before the House the bill S. 2852, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2852) to increase the limit of cost of the Federal building and site therefor at Moultrie, Ga.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 U. S. Stats., p. 874), authorizing the purchase of a site and the construction of a building thereon for the use and accommodation of the United States post office, in the city of Moultrie, State of Georgia, at a limit of cost of $65,000 be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into a contract for the construction of a building for the use and accommodation of the United States post office and other Government offices at Moultrie, Ga., within the limit of cost of $70,000.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, is this on the Speaker's table a corresponding House bill having been reported?

The SPEAKER. That is the Speaker's understanding; yes.

Mr. GILLETT. Does the gentleman from Georgia think that is the fact? Is this identical with the bill that has been reported from the House committee?

Mr. PARK. No, sir.

The SPEAKER. It has to have unanimous consent.

Mr. GILLETT. I understood the Speaker said it did not.

The SPEAKER. The Chair was so informed and so stated to the gentleman. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PARK] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill just reported.

Mr. GILLETT. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I understand there are a number of such bills pending before the House committee, and I would like the gentleman to state what exceptional reason there is for this bill to be passed.

Mr. PARK. This building is under the course of construction. The Secretary of the Treasury at first cut down about one-third of the appropriation, and they decided to build a one-story building. Afterwards a big packing house in Chicago brought a little packing house down there, and it increases it a third. They need 12 meat inspectors and they need a farm demonstrator, and the department asks that they be permitted to put on another story while they are building this. The bid asked for more money than they had on hand.

Mr. GILLETT. How large a place is it?

Mr. PARK. It has about 6,000 people. They want only $5,000, or such part of it as they may need.

Mr. GILLETT. Only $5,000 for a town of 6,000 people?

Mr. PARK. There is lots of business down there.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Georgia if the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds has reported this bill?

Mr. PARK. I saw the chairman. They did not have time to do it.

Mr. DENISON. Then there has been no favorable report from the House committee?

Mr. PARK. No; but they would do it if I could get it to them.

Mr. DENISON. I do not think the House ought to pass a bill of this kind without consideration first being given to it by the committee, and therefore I object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. DENISON. I objected, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON] objects.

BRIDGE ACROSS ARKANSAS RIVER BETWEEN LITTLE ROCK AND ARGENTA.

Mr. JACOWAY and Mr. DENT arose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. JACOWAY] is recognized.

Mr. JACOWAY. I ask that the Speaker lay before the House the bill (S. 2937) authorizing the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta.

The SPEAKER. Is there a House bill of similar intent?

Mr. JACOWAY. There is.

The SPEAKER. On the calendar?

Mr. JACOWAY. Yes; and it has been unanimously reported.

The SPEAKER. What is the number of it?

Mr. JACOWAY. H. R. 6386.

The SPEAKER. Which one is it the gentleman wants?

Mr. JACOWAY. The one on the Speaker's table—S. 2937, which passed the Senate on yesterday.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the bill S. 2937. The Chair will state to all the Members that when they have bills to come up out of the regular order they ought to notify the Clerk, so that he will have a fair chance to get them. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted for the county of Pulaski, in the State of Arkansas, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River at the city of Little Rock on the site now occupied by the free highway bridge constructed by said county in the years 1896 and 1897, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. JACOWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk S. 2937 and have it laid before the Congress for its present consideration.

A similar bill from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is now on the House Calendar. This is a bill to authorize the tearing down and rebuilding of a bridge across the Arkansas River, uniting the cities of Little Rock and Argenta. It is made necessary by reason of the remarkable growth of these two cities, which lie on opposite sides of the Arkansas River. The present structure until recently was adequate for the traffic between the two places, but so rapid has been the development and growth from many standpoints of these two cities, and so great the increase in population that every means of transportation, housing, and accommodations of all kinds have been pressed to their utmost capacity. Since the establishment of the cantonment at Little Rock, known as Camp Pike, these facilities have utterly failed to meet the requirements.

The people of Pulaski County, and Little Rock and Argenta particularly, have most generously agreed to go into their pockets and reconstruct this bridge sufficiently to accommodate the increased traffic, largely made necessary by the preparations to train the National Army at that place. Our people have not only responded to every legal demand made upon them by the Government to furnish men and materials to protect the flag, but they have drawn upon their private means for nearly a half million of dollars to provide accommodations and facilities for this Government to use in training its armies, and they are willing to incur this additional expenditure of much more money to build this bridge across the Arkansas River for the express purpose of dedicating its use almost exclusively, or at least to whatever extent it may be necessary, to the Federal Government.

When our country went to war our people did not respond half-heartedly. They were in deadly earnest when they pledged their lives and their fortunes and their sacred honor to the preservation of our national liberty, and this is only one of the many evidences of their patriotic spirit. I hope no gentleman will object to its present consideration, because it is of vital importance not alone to the citizens of these two cities but to his Government as well. In almost every sense of the word this bill is a war measure, and I urge again that no gentleman on either side of the aisle object to the present consideration of this bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, listening to the reading of the bill, I observe that this new bridge is to be constructed in place of a free-toll bridge.

Mr. JACOWAY. It is a free bridge now.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The gentleman says it is a free-toll bridge now. If this bill should become a law, would it permit the people privileged to construct this bridge to put up a toll bridge there?

Mr. JACOWAY. I think not. The county is building the bridge. This is for the purpose of reconstructing the old bridge that is now in use. They will have to reconstruct some of the piers. There is a favorable report from the War Department regarding this bill.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. They might be in favor of constructing a better bridge than that which is there now, but the bridge now there is a free bridge, as I understand. The question of constructing a toll bridge is important. Is there any doubt about the possibility or legality of it?

Mr. JACOWAY. I think not.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. There ought not to be any question about it.

Mr. JACOWAY. The War Department has recommended the passage of this bill and there is a favorable report from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House and a similar report from the Commerce Committee of the Senate. The idea of charging tolls on the new bridge never occurred to me and for one moment never entered the minds of the people interested in this measure. I feel sure it will be the same kind of a bridge as it has always been, in so far as tolls are concerned.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It is quite important whether it is to be a toll bridge or not. What provision is there in your State regarding the regulation of tolls for transit over a bridge?

Mr. JACOWAY. The present bridge has been in use for some years, and it is desired to make the bridge larger and stronger, and they will have to enlarge the piers. The question of tolls is a new one to me. I think beyond question there is no idea to make it a toll bridge. The statutes of Arkansas fully safeguard the question of tolls.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Is this a private company?

Mr. JACOWAY. No, sir. This is a bridge spanning the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta. Across the river from the city of Little Rock is located Camp Pike, where many thousands of United States soldiers are quartered, which cantonment has been constructed by the Government at a cost of many millions of dollars. At the present time there are not enough bridge facilities to adequately meet Government and other public needs.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I will say to the gentleman that, generally speaking, I have no objection to a bill of this kind; but I do not like to see, in a case where there is now a free bridge, permission given by Congress for the construction of a toll bridge. But I have no objection to this bill on the gentleman's assurance that it is his distinct understanding that this will not be a toll bridge.

Mr. JACOWAY. I think there is no intention to make a toll bridge of it, and I feel sure, and so state, that the fears of the gentleman from Wisconsin are groundless.

The SPEAKER. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

The question was taken, and the bill was passed.

Mr. JACOWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask that House bill 6386 lie on the table.

The SPEAKER. Without objection a similar House bill will lie on the table.

There was no objection.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman suspend for a moment?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 27. An act to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes.

EXPENSES, FOREIGN OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN.

Mr. SHERLEY. The House just passed, through a misunderstanding, Senate bill 2858, to defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States. Almost the exact terms of that bill are carried in the urgent deficiency bill which was adopted by the House yesterday. There ought not to be duplication.

The SPEAKER. What was it about?

Mr. SHERLEY. Senate bill 2858 provides for the expenses of foreign officers and enlisted men detailed in this country. It was passed by the Senate and has just been passed by the House. We carried the details of that bill in the urgent deficiency bill. The Senate bill, therefore, should not be enacted.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman tell us what Senate amendment that was?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not remember the number of it, but there are two words there different in the phraseology; but they are not words of moment. It provides for defraying the "expenses of travel."

Mr. STAFFORD. I understood the Senate bill was a little broader in scope than the provision in the emergency deficiency bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. The Senate bill says "To defray the expenses incurred by officers," whereas the urgent deficiency bill says "To defray the expenses of travel by officers."

Mr. STAFFORD. Still they are the expenses of travel. If the gentleman will permit, under the phraseology of the deficiency bill the Secretary of War was authorized to defray only traveling expenses.

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, no; "expenses of travel."

Mr. STAFFORD. He would not be authorized to pay expenses when the officer was located in any one place.

Mr. SHERLEY. "The expenses of travel" is broader than "traveling expenses." I ask, therefore, unanimous consent that the action of the House in just passing the bill S. 2858 be rescinded.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the proceedings in passing the bill S. 2858 be vacated. That will leave the Senate bill on the Speaker's table, where it was before. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 168 (H. Rept. No. 198).

Resolved, That the bill (H. R. 5723) entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes," be, and hereby is, taken from the Speaker's table, with the Senate amendments thereto, to the end that the said amendments be, and hereby are, disagreed to; and the conference requested by the Senate on the disagreeing votes on said amendments be, and hereby is, agreed to, and the Speaker shall immediately appoint the conferees.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is to agree to the conference requested by the Senate upon the so-called war-risk insurance bill. The Committee on Rules is informed that objection was made to that course being taken by unanimous consent, and hence reported this rule, which is in the usual form and provides for the Speaker immediately appointing the conferees.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman give me 10 minutes? I will probably not use it all.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman for debate.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I objected to sending this bill to conference, and my reason was, as I stated at the time, that I thought the House should be given some assurance either that the Senate amendment No. 100 would be agreed to, which provided that the widows of previous wars should be put on the same footing as this bill provides for the widows in the present war; either that we should have assurance that that should be done, or assurance, as is often given in the House, that when the matter came back the House should be given the privilege of voting on that proposition. The gentleman who has charge of the bill, of course, as he had a perfect right to do, refused to give either one of those assurances. Consequently I objected.

Now, the proposition is that this bill shall be sent to conference under a rule. I think those of us who are in favor of this proposition, which is amendment No. 100, ought to oppose this rule, because it is very obvious that the conferees on the part of the House are not willing to give us that opportunity to vote upon this proposition. The conference report will come back upon the very last day of the session, and, however we may object to that report, however large might be the majority in this House which was dissatisfied with the report, it would hardly take the chance of voting down the report and thereby either postpone adjournment or kill the bill. So the conference report will have unusual strength regardless of its merits, and so now is the time for us to insist on the opportunity to vote on this amendment. For one, I should like that opportunity. I think a great many in the House wish it, but a vote for this rule is a vote that we shall not have any opportunity to vote upon amendment No. 100. Our only chance is to vote against this rule and concur in the Senate amendment. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the passage of this rule.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman yields back one minute.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER].

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am in hearty accord with the desire expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT]. For to me the real question before us is not one of the mere technical meaning of words, a question as to whether the amendment is or is not the granting of pensions. In my judgment, the real question is, Shall the House seize the opportunity which now, at last, it has to do justice to the widows of the veterans of the Civil War and of the veterans of the Spanish-American War? In two or three previous recent Congresses the House has passed bills to help the widows of Spanish War veterans, but only to see each of these measures dropped after it reached the Senate. At last here is a provision, an amendment which originated in and has passed the Senate, that does approximate justice, whether or not you call it the granting of pensions, and the House ought now by its vote to make certain the retention of this provision in the law. This is my judgment on that proposition.

There is another Senate amendment, Mr. Speaker, about which I wish to say a word. I understand that the provision in the bill as it went from the House which would give $100 a month to a man who has had both eyes shot out has been so changed that he will receive a considerably less amount.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That provision is retained.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I am glad to know that the amount is left at $100.

Should the bill go to conference, there is danger that the conferees may hold it until so late to-morrow—the day fixed for final adjournment—that gentlemen will say, "Well, we must take the bill in the form in which it is reported, or pass nothing at all." And therefore, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] has forcibly said, the House, now that it has the opportunity, ought to insist upon the retention of this Senate amendment that will give to these deserving women the pensions to which they are justly entitled. [Applause.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] has eight minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, first of all I want this amendment 100 read from the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read amendment 100.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 314. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine Insurrection, now on the pension roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $25 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the additional allowance provided by existing pension laws on account of a helpless child or child under 16 years of age: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, this bill should take the ordinary course. The House should have an opportunity to vote to concur in this amendment. [Applause.] It is perfectly obvious that in the closing hours of the session, if there is an agreement made to leave out this amendment, of course that agreement will be ratified by the House. Now, we are all for the bill. We passed it by a unanimous vote in the House, and it comes with this amendment. There have been other wars before the present one—the Civil War for the preservation of the Union, the Spanish War, the war in the Philippines. I have been told that

the estimate has been made—I can not speak for its accuracy—that this amendment would involve an additional expense of probably $3,500,000 a year. We are caring, and properly so, for the men who are to fight the battles of the Republic in this great contest as men never have been cared for by any nation before in the tide of time, and we are appropriating by fives and tens, and by fifteen billions of dollars. While we are doing that, let the House have the opportunity, if necessary on a yea-and-nay vote, here and now, to pass upon a motion to concur in this Senate amendment. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH].

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to address the House for a few minutes on the war-risk insurance bill before the conferees shall be appointed, that we may take the sober second thought on one matter involved in that great measure.

One of the features of the war-risk insurance bill, a great many Members of this House felt when the measure was before this body, would be the means of permitting tremendous wrong to be done the beneficiaries; but in the light of the consideration that was given to the question in the House we were not able to have the objectionable feature removed.

I refer to section 304 of the measure as the sections were numbered in the bill as it was pending on the House side. This section provides that the beneficiaries under the compensation provisions of the bill may commute, under certain regulations, a part or all of the amounts payable in monthly installments to the beneficiary. The section referred to reads as follows:

That if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any, future compensation payments for disability may be commuted in whole or in part for a lump sum equal to the present value of such payments or the proportion thereof to be commuted, and such lump sum paid to the injured person in lieu of all further compensation or of the proportion so commuted of all future payments of compensation.

Provided, however, That in case of partial disability rated at 30 per cent or more of total disability, or in case of total disability, not more than 50 per cent of the compensation payments as for a man without a wife or child shall be so commutable. The basis for determining present values of future payments of compensation shall be prescribed from time to time by regulation.

Under that section, suppose a beneficiary was entitled to $25 per month through life. He could commute this annuity and receive a lump sum, depending, of course, upon the age of the applicant; the younger the applicant the larger would be the lump sum. The lump sum, which would be the equivalent of the annuity, would doubtless be based upon the scientific value of annuities when converted into lump-sum payments as have been worked out by the large insurance companies of our country. Possibly the beneficiary would receive $2,000, $3,000, or $5,000 in cash in lieu of the annuity.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if we could know that the moneys received by the beneficiaries who would convert their annuities into lump-sum payments would never be diverted from the beneficial purpose for which intended, we would not need to consider this matter further. I take it that every Member of this Congress has only one interest in view in the consideration of this bill; that is, the interest of the soldier and the interest of the beneficiary, plus, of course, the interest that this Government of ours has in seeing that justice and equity shall be done to those who serve their country in time of crisis. For years, under our pension laws, we have protected jealously the compensation due the soldier and his dependents. The compensation has been free from attachment. It has been free from assignment. It has been held at all times as an amount for the immediate benefit and comfort of the beneficiary.

Under the commutation provision referred to, we reverse this policy, and as soon as the money shall be paid to the beneficiary it may at once become subject to all the fortunes that other property belonging to the beneficiary may be subject.

Now, let us see for just a few minutes what may be the results:

I have been told by Dr. L. A. Kerr, of Spokane, Wash., one of the best-posted insurance men in the Northwest, that among women who are beneficiaries under insurance policies, or are the recipients of large estates, 92 out of every 100 lose everything, or nearly everything, that they have received within a period of seven years.

Again this same gentleman has called my attention to the fact that in the surrogate court of New York, out of 27,000 men whose business careers have come under the observation of the court, only 1.3 per cent left an estate worth over $25,000; 3.5 per cent an estate between $10,000 and $25,000; and 3.5 per cent an estate between $1,000 and $10,000; or, in other words, approximately 92 per cent of the 27,000 men coming before that court died without sufficient funds to take care of their last expenses.

My correspondent again points out from the records of the American Banking Association that out of 100 young men starting at the age of 25 with nothing except their earning power and good health, at the age of 65, 1 will be rich; 4 will have incomes; 5 will still have a little earning power but not enough to support them; 54 will be entirely dependent; 36 will be dead; and only 5 out of the 100 will be self-supporting at the age of 65. More than that, the records show that 85 per cent of the 5 will be dependent before death.

In other words, the statistics that have been compiled by insurance companies and the facts that have been ascertained by the American Banking Association disclose conditions that in the language of my correspondent are "hardly believable." Yet it is proposed in section 304 that we permit the beneficiaries to cash in their annuities, to commute their annuities, and to receive therefrom a lump sum.

Now, let us see just what will occur if this shall be done: It is common observation that there is a type of men often called grafters, who make it their business to watch the columns of the papers for persons who inherit money, who are beneficiaries under insurance policies. The grafter immediately arranges a conference with the beneficiary and solicits the investment of money that will be profitable, not to the beneficiary, but to this sleek-tongued promoter. The beneficiary, if without experience, and even oftentimes if with considerable experience, but with an amount of money larger than he has been accustomed to handle, will find himself listening to the representations that are being made. The sleek-tongued individual will assure the beneficiary that he will permit him to come in on the ground floor of this investment and these ground-floor investments too many times never rise above the ground.

Can you not imagine a shark of this character making lists of beneficiaries and possible beneficiaries under this compensation law throughout the United States? Can you not imagine him going to one of the beneficiaries who is content with an annuity of, say, $30 per month, and saying, "What a fool you are to be content with $30 per month when you can cash that annuity in, receive $3,000 for it from the Government, and invest with me in a proposition that will make you independently rich before another six months shall have rolled around."

Gentlemen, it does not, it seems to me, require a prophet to foresee the condition that I have suggested. All that it requires is that men who have observed something of the operation of certain individuals in human society, will apply that observation to the pending bill.

Can we then feel that the beneficiary under this compensation law will be more fortunate than the average run of people throughout the country?

But what will be the next step? Suppose that what I have said and which I believe is based upon the scientific results of insurance and banking companies should prove to be exaggerated twofold; suppose, even more than that—still there would be an immense number of beneficiaries who, in a few years, would have lost all the Government had paid to them by way of commutation for the service and for the injury received by the soldier who is now making his sacrifice for our Government. What, then, would we do?

You know, and so do I, that whether or not you and I are in this House of Representatives, those who will be here will do just as you and I would do now—they will protect the soldier and the dependents of those who are fighting for our country to-day, and they will pass additional compensation or pension bills for their relief. I would do it, you would do it, and succeeding Congresses will do it, and I submit that in addition to the interest of the individual beneficiary in this measure is the interest as well of all our people.

When this bill was considered on the Senate side the other day, the very feature to which I have called attention appealed to the Members of that body and was stricken from the bill. I urge that no matter what we may do as regards other features of this bill that we concur in the action of the Senate in striking out the provision for commutation of any part of the annuity due the beneficiary under this measure. Gentlemen, our boys are fighting to make this world of ours safe for democracy. As a small token of appreciation of this country of their service, we propose in this compensation bill to make secure and safe the old age of men who are now obeying their country's call; we propose to make safe the future of the dependents of these men, and let us not in the drafting of this measure do something that may be the means, unless relieved by the country, of taking from the very ones we seek to help the compensation they have so richly earned. That which is in the heart of every

Member of this Congress is to do that which will be best for our soldier boys, best for the beneficiaries under this compensation bill, who are the dependents upon our soldier boys.

This compensation law, in my judgment, is one of the wisest measures that has been brought before the Congress for consideration. I am anxious that it shall pass, but I am anxious that if it shall pass, it shall be modified so as to remove this one feature that will lead to so much injustice and wrong as the days shall go by. [Applause,]

I desire to insert as part of my remarks a part of a letter that I have received from Dr. L. A. Kerr, in which this section of the bill is discussed:

COLVILLE, WASH., *September 21, 1917.*

Hon. BURTON L. FRENCH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: Your letter of the 14th of this month reached me at Colville, and while it is rather difficult to cover the question of annuity, or lump-sum settlement in regard to insurance in a letter, I will endeavor to make myself as plain and brief as possible.

I believe that there is absolutely no question as to the difference regarding the two settlements. As I understand the matter, the purpose of the bill is to replace with modern insurance methods the rather clumsy pension bill that has been in use for a number of years. In other words, I suppose the object is to get away from the old style of pension, and, of course, if this is the case, it is very important that a beneficiary be protected by the Government for a number of years; and judging from the experience tables that all insurance men have at their command, it would seem that the most awkward thing, perhaps, that the Government could do would be to allow a lump-sum settlement to the beneficiary, inasmuch as statistics show that 92 out of every 100 women that are left large estates lose everything or nearly so within a period of seven years.

There are also many other striking examples of the loss of fortunes by even our most careful and shrewdest business men, and consequently we can hardly expect inexperienced women or children, as the case may be, to be able to invest any material amount of money without taking extremely long chances of losing the entire amount within a short period of years at least.

The statistics that have been compiled by insurance companies over a long period of years, and also the facts that have been obtained by the American Banking Association regarding the remarkable loss of capital through the regular channels of what we term "legitimate business," are hardly believable. For instance, in the surrogate court of New York the records show that out of 27,000 men whose business careers have come under the observation of this court that there are only 1.3 per cent that left an estate of over $25,000, and 3.5 per cent left an estate between $10,000 and $25,000, and also 3.5 per cent left an estate of between $1,000 and $10,000, which leaves an average of approximately 92 per cent that died without sufficient funds to take care of their last expenses.

From the records of the American Banking Association we find that out of 100 young men starting at the age of 25 with nothing except their earning power and good health, that at the age of 65, 1 will be rich, 4 will have incomes, 5 will still have a little earning power but not enough to support them, however; 54 will be entirely dependent, and 36 dead, leaving only 5 out of the 100 that are self-supporting at the age of 65, and 85 chances out of the 100 that 4 out of these 5 will be dependent before death. With all of these facts as a guide, it hardly seems possible that any sane man could recommend the settlement of a soldier's insurance which is intended as a pension to be settled in one lump sum.

We all know that in case a soldier is killed, leaving a dependent wife and children, and his insurance is paid in a lump sum, that these dependents, who are probably not experienced in business, it would be safe to estimate that 95 per cent of those in this condition would lose all within a very short time; and also that we as patriotic citizens would not permit them to suffer thereafter; therefore it would be necessary for the Government to make provision for them, and the insurance which was intended for their protection would probably go to the benefit of some unscrupulous grafter. It seems to me that one if not the most important part of the bill is the safeguarding of this fund so that it will accrue to their benefit over a long period of years.

I heartily join with you in your contention that the lump-sum settlement is a dangerous one to have embodied in the bill, and I trust that you will be able to bring such pressure to bear that this feature can be stricken out and thereby give to the American soldiers and dependents protection which it would be hard for them to secure in any other way, and at the same time deal a deadly blow to the common grafter, who is always watching for an opportunity to prey upon the innocent.

Yours, very truly, L. A. KERR.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING].

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I want to take advantage of this one minute to propound a parliamentary inquiry of the Speaker. In case the rule is adopted, will a motion to instruct the conferees be in order before the appointment of the conferees by the Speaker?

The SPEAKER. It will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I beg the Speaker's pardon, but it will not. The rule provides for the immediate appointment of conferees.

The SPEAKER. The Chair had not read the rule, and the gentleman from Tennessee is right.

Mr. GILLETT. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GILLETT. It is in order for me to move that this resolution be referred back to the Committee on Rules with instructions.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I did not yield to the gentleman to make that motion; I only yielded for a parliamentary inquiry. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the rule.

Mr. GILLETT. I move to recommit the resolution with instructions.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. But I have moved the previous question.

Mr. GILLETT. And I have moved to recommit.

Mr. CANNON. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CANNON. When will it be in order to move to recommit this rule to the Committee on Rules with instructions?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee moves the previous question. Now, the gentleman from Illinois wants to know when it will be proper, if at all, to move to recommit the rule.

Mr. FITZGERALD. You can not recommit a rule. The unbroken precedents are that that motion is not in order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the rules themselves provide for that, but he can not put his hand upon it at this minute.

Mr. GILLETT. Rule XVII provides that—

It shall be in order pending the motion for or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage for the Speaker to entertain and submit a motion to commit with or without instructions.

I am reading from page 349 of the Manual.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That relates to a bill and not to a report from the Committee on Rules. But let me read the language the gentleman has just read. It is on page 341 of the Manual, which I hold in my hand:

It shall be in order pending the motion for or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage for the Speaker to entertain and submit a motion to commit.

That means prior to the time the motion for the previous question has been made. It does not mean after the motion for the previous question has been made, which is the situation that now confronts the House.

Mr. GILLETT. But the previous question has been ordered.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; the previous question has not been ordered. But that refers to a bill and not to a report from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. GILLETT. Hinds' Precedents, volume 5, section 5572, says:

The motion to commit after the previous question is ordered applies to resolution, the word bill in the rule being a generic term applying to all legislative propositions.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That would apply probably to joint resolutions and concurrent resolutions, but it certainly would apply to a bill. This is not a legislative proposition, it is a proposition of procedure.

Mr. GILLETT. Any proposition which this House passes is a legislative proposition.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I think there is a very clear distinction, if the gentleman will pardon me, between a legislative proposition and a proposition of procedure.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not very clear about it, but he thinks that the rule provides that a resolution from the Committee on Rules can not be recommitted.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. There is no question about the fact that that has been the uniform practice.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman makes the statement but does not cite the authority.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I had no thought of this matter being called up, and therefore have not examined it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think I can give the Chair the authority.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I believe I have the rule applicable in this instance. The last paragraph of Rule XI says:

It shall be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules, and, pending the consideration thereof, the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced it shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of.

I suppose that is the rule which the gentleman from Tennessee and the gentleman from New York had in mind. It says that the Speaker shall not entertain any other dilatory motion. It further says:

The Committee on Rules shall not report any rule or order which shall provide that business under paragraph 7 of Rule XXIV shall be set aside by a vote of less than two-thirds of the Members present.

That refers to Calendar Wednesday.

Nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XIV.

Now, that last clause specifically refers to the rule authorizing the motion to recommit under Rule XVI.

Paragraph 4 of Rule XVI provides as follows:

When a question is under debate no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lay on the table, for the previous question (which motion shall be decided without debate), to postpone to a day certain, to refer or to amend, or postpone indefinitely.

The SPEAKER. From what is the gentleman reading?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am directing the Speaker's attention to the fact that the last clause of Rule XI limits the authority of the Committee on Rules.

Nor shall it—

Referring to the Committee on Rules—

report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XVI.

I am proceeding now to direct the attention of the Speaker to paragraph 4 of Rule XVI, and I was reading that when the Speaker asked me the question.

4. When a question is under debate no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lay on the table, for the previous question (which motions shall be decided without debate), to postpone to a day certain, to refer, or to amend, or postpone indefinitely, which several motions shall have precedence in the foregoing order; and no motion to postpone to a day certain, to refer, or to postpone indefinitely, being decided, shall be again allowed on the same day at the same stage of the question. After the previous question shall have been ordered on the passage of a bill or joint resolution, one motion to recommit shall be in order, and the Speaker shall give preference in recognition for such purpose to a Member who is opposed to the bill or joint resolution.

Although I am in hearty sympathy with the amendment as contained in the war insurance bill, nevertheless I think the reading of the rule just read would compel the Speaker to recognize the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] to present his motion for the previous question, because under Rule XI the authority of the Committee on Rules is specifically limited. The last paragraph reads—

nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XVI.

That paragraph relates to a motion to recommit on bills and joint resolutions, but the Chair will notice that the foregoing portion of that paragraph 4 of Rule XVI said that this shall be the order in which motions shall be entertained, namely, to adjourn, to lay on the table, for the previous question—the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] has moved the previous question—to postpone to a day certain, to refer, or to amend, or postpone indefinitely. To refer is the purpose of the motion to recommit, and as this rule specifically says—

which several motions shall have precedence in the foregoing order.

Therefore the motion for the previous question takes precedence of the motion to recommit, and, as the gentleman has stated, I question whether the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] has the prior right to make a motion to recommit.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I have a decision directly in point, made by Mr. Speaker JOSEPH G. CANNON on February 2, 1904. I read from section 5601, volume 5, Hinds' Precedents:

On February 2, 1904, Mr. John Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a resolution relating to the status of the Resident Commissioner from Porto Rico, and demanded thereon the previous question.

Pending this motion for the previous question, Mr. JOHN S. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, proposed a motion to recommit the resolution to the Committee on Rules with certain instructions.

Mr. Dalzell made the point of order that the motion was not in order.

After debate and a citation of precedents, the Speaker said:

"The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] moves to recommit the bill with instructions, pending a motion for the previous question. Rule XVII provides:

"'It shall be in order, pending the motion for or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage, for the Speaker to entertain and submit the motion to recommit, with or without instructions, to a standing or select committee.'

"Section 4 of Rule XIV, as to resolutions, conflicts with this rule. The Chair has been called upon already at this session of Congress to rule upon a motion to recommit a resolution, and held, somewhat reluctantly, that it was in order to make the motion as to a resolution the same as to a bill, and the Chair stated at the time that the rules might well have been construed together and one applied to a resolution and another to a bill.

"But owing to the precedents, which were quite numerous and which the Chair carefully examined, the Chair held that Rule XVII applied to resolutions as well as to bills, and that it was in order to move to recommit a resolution pending the motion for the previous question. Now, the gentleman moves to recommit pending a motion for the previous question. Ordinarily this motion would be in order, but as to reports from the Committee on Rules it is well settled by a ruling made by Mr. Speaker Crisp and by three rulings following that of Mr. Speaker Crisp, made by Mr. Speaker Henderson (the last one being appealed from, and the House by a decided majority sustaining the ruling), that reports from the Committee on Rules are exceptional and that the same rule does not apply to those reports as applies to reports from other committees.

"Some gentlemen may say that this ruling is not logical. Examining it, however, in the light of Rule XI, which has been read, the Chair is inclined to hold that it is logical. But let that be as it may, the rules are what the House construes them to be; and this rule of construction having been given first by Mr. Speaker Crisp in a matter of very considerable importance, and followed in three different rulings of Mr. Speaker Henderson, and affirmed by the House on a yea-and-nay vote by a decided majority, the Chair feels that it is his duty to follow the precedents, and therefore holds that the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi is not in order."

The SPEAKER. The Chair indorses the opinion of Mr. Speaker CANNON. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I understand this is for the previous question. Then, of course, this motion would not be in order after the previous question is ordered.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not in order at any time; a motion to recommit a resolution of the Committee on Rules is never in order.

Mr. CANNON. Then the only way to beat this rule is to vote down the previous question. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 58, noes 83.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and sixty-one gentlemen are present, not a quorum. The Doorkeeper will lock the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. This vote is on the previous question.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 112, nays 144, answered "present" 2, not voting 174, as follows:

YEAS—112.

Adamson	Dominick	Igoe	Raker
Alexander	Doremus	Jacoway	Robinson
Aswell	Doughton	Johnson, Ky.	Romjue
Bankhead	Drane	Jones, Tex.	Sabath
Barkley	Dupré	Kehoe	Sherley
Bell	Eagle	Kincheloe	Small
Black	Evans	Kitchin	Steagall
Blanton	Ferris	Larsen	Stedman
Booher	Fisher	Lazaro	Steele
Brand	Fitzgerald	Lesher	Stephens, Miss.
Brodbeck	Flood	Linthicum	Sumners
Buchanan	Garner	Littlepage	Talbott
Burnett	Garrett, Tenn.	McClintic	Taylor, Ark.
Byrns, Tenn.	Garrett, Tex.	McKeown	Taylor, Colo.
Campbell, Pa.	Glass	McLemore	Tillman
Candler, Miss.	Godwin, N. C.	Mays	Venable
Cantrill	Goodwin, Ark.	Montague	Vinson
Caraway	Gordon	Moon	Walker
Carlin	Gregg	Nicholls, S. C.	Watkins
Carter, Okla.	Hamlin	Oliver, Ala.	Watson, Va.
Clark, Fla.	Hardy	Oliver, N. Y.	Weaver
Coady	Hastings	Padgett	Webb
Collier	Hayden	Park	Whaley
Connally, Tex.	Heflin	Pou	White, Ohio
Cox	Hensley	Price	Wilson, La.
Crisp	Holland	Quin	Wilson, Tex.
Dent	Hood	Ragsdale	Wingo
Dewalt	Hull, Tenn.	Rainey	Wise

NAYS—144.

Austin	Farr	Kraus	Shallenberger
Bacon	Fess	La Follette	Siegel
Baer	Fields	Langley	Sloan
Barnhart	Focht	Little	Smith, Idaho
Bathrick	Fordney	London	Smith, Mich.
Blackmon	Foster	Longworth	Smith, C. B.
Bland	Francis	Lundeen	Snook
Britten	Frear	McArthur	Stafford
Browne	French	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sterling, Ill.
Browning	Gandy	Madden	Sterling, Pa.
Brumbaugh	Garland	Magee	Stiness
Burroughs	Gillett	Mason	Strong
Campbell, Kans.	Glynn	Miller, Wash.	Sweet
Cannon	Good	Mondell	Switzer
Carew	Gould	Moore, Pa.	Tague
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Ill.	Moores, Ind.	Temple
Chandler, N. Y.	Greene, Mass.	Morgan	Thomas
Claypool	Greene, Vt.	Nolan	Tilson
Cooper, W. Va.	Hadley	Norton	Timberlake
Cooper, Wis.	Hawley	Osborne	Towner
Crosser	Helm	Overmyer	Treadway
Dale, Vt.	Helvering	Parker, N. J.	Van Dyke
Dallinger	Hersey	Peters	Vestal
Darrow	Hicks	Platt	Volstead
Davidson	Hilliard	Pratt	Walsh
Decker	Hull, Iowa	Purnell	Walton
Denison	Ireland	Ramseyer	Watson, Pa.
Denton	Johnson, S. Dak.	Rankin	Welty
Dill	Johnson, Wash.	Reed	White, Me.
Dixon	Keating	Robbins	Williams
Doolittle	Kelly, Pa.	Rodenberg	Wilson, Ill.
Dunn	Kennedy, Iowa	Rogers	Wood, Ind.
Elliott	Key, Ohio	Rose	Woods, Iowa
Ellsworth	King	Rowe	Woodyard
Elston	Kinkaid	Rubey	Young, N. Dak.
Fairchild, B. L.	Knutson	Sanders, N. Y.	Zihlman

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.

Lever	Snell

NOT VOTING—174.

Almon	Bacharach	Byrnes, S. C.	Church
Anderson	Borland	Caldwell	Clark, Pa.
Anthony	Bowers	Capstick	Classon
Ashbrook	Bruckner	Cary	Connelly, Kans.
Ayres	Butler	Chandler, Okla.	Cooper, Ohio

Copley	Hamilton, Mich.	McKenzie	Sanford
Costello	Hamilton, N. Y.	McKinley	Saunders, Va.
Crago	Harrison, Miss.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Schall
Cramton	Harrison, Va.	Maher	Scott, Iowa
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Mann	Scott, Mich.
Curry, Cal.	Haugen	Mansfield	Scott, Pa.
Dale, N. Y.	Hayes	Mapes	Scully
Davis	Heaton	Martin, Ill.	Sears
Dempsey	Heintz	Martin, La.	Sells
Dickinson	Hollingsworth	Meeker	Shackleford
Dies	Houston	Miller, Minn.	Sherwood
Dillon	Howard	Morin	Shouse
Dooling	Huddleston	Mott	Sims
Dowell	Hulbert	Mudd	Sinnott
Drukker	Humphreys	Neely	Sisson
Dyer	Husted	Nelson	Slayden
Eagan	Hutchinson	Nichols, Mich.	Slemp
Edmonds	James	Oldfield	Smith, T. F.
Emerson	Jones, Va.	Olney	Snyder
Esch	Juul	O'Shaunessy	Steenerson
Estopinal	Kahn	Overstreet	Stephens, Nebr.
Fairchild, G. W.	Kearns	Paige	Stevenson
Fairfield	Kelley, Mich.	Parker, N. Y.	Sullivan
Flynn	Kennedy, R. I.	Phelan	Swift
Foss	Kettner	Polk	Templeton
Freeman	Kiess, Pa.	Porter	Thompson
Fuller, Ill.	Kreider	Powers	Tinkham
Fuller, Mass.	LaGuardia	Ramsey	Vare
Gallagher	Lea, Cal.	Randall	Voigt
Gallivan	Lee, Ga.	Rayburn	Waldow
Gard	Lehlbach	Reavis	Ward
Goodall	Lenroot	Riordan	Wason
Graham, Pa.	Lobeck	Roberts	Welling
Gray, Ala.	Lonergan	Rouse	Wheeler
Gray, N. J.	Lunn	Rowland	Winslow
Green, Iowa	McAndrews	Rucker	Young, Tex.
Griest	McCormick	Russell	
Griffin	McCulloch	Sanders, Ind.	
Hamill	McFadden	Sanders, La.	

So the previous question was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. SISSON (for the previous question) with Mr. PARKER of New York (against).

For the session:

Mr. SNELL with Mr. CALDWELL.

From August 2 for balance of session:

Mr. LEA of California with Mr. EMERSON.

Until further notice:

Mr. ESTOPINAL with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. GALLAGHER with Mr. GRAY of New Jersey.

Mr. JONES with Mr. BUTLER.

Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. ROWLAND.

Mr. SHOUSE with Mr. ROBERTS.

Mr. LEVER with Mr. ANDERSON.

Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. ANTHONY.

Mr. MARTIN of Illinois with Mr. LEHLBACH.

Mr. GRAY of Alabama with Mr. CARY.

Mr. LONERGAN with Mr. SLEMP.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi with Mr. KAHN.

Mr. SCULLY with Mr. MAPES.

Mr. ASHBROOK with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. PAIGE.

Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana with Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan.

Mr. STEENERSON with Mr. SANFORD.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas with Mr. MORIN.

Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana with Mr. MOTT.

Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. MEEKER.

Mr. RUSSELL with Mr. TEMPLETON.

Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. MUDD.

Mr. RAYBURN with Mr. MILLER of Minnesota.

Mr. KETTNER with Mr. HEATON.

Mr. EAGAN with Mr. TILSON.

Mr. ALMON with Mr. WASON.

Mr. LOBECK with Mr. FOSS.

Mr. LUNN with Mr. FREEMAN.

Mr. MAHER with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MANSFIELD with Mr. GRIEST.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina with Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan.

Mr. OLNEY with Mr. HAYES.

Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. WARD.

Mr. PHELAN with Mr. HUSTED.

Mr. ROUSE with Mr. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia with Mr. KEARNS.

Mr. SCHALL with Mr. KELLEY of Michigan.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD with Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. BACHARACH.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. FAIRFIELD.

Mr. DOOLING with Mr. BOWERS.

Mr. GARD with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. HULBERT with Mr. DYER.

Mr. HOWARD with Mr. DRUKKER.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina with Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLYNN with Mr. CRAGO.

Mr. DIES with Mr. COOPER of Ohio.

Mr. GALLIVAN with Mr. CRAMTON.

Mr. HAMILL with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. HOUSTON with Mr. COSTELLO.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia with Mr. DILLON.

Mr. DICKINSON with Mr. DEMPSEY.

Mr. CARLIN with Mr. WINSLOW.

Mr. POLK with Mr. SANDERS of Indiana.

Mr. AYRES with Mr. RAMSEY.

Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. ELSTON.

Mr. BORLAND with Mr. MCKENZIE.

Mr. MCANDREWS with Mr. MANN.

Mr. LAZARO with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. SEARS with Mr. DOWELL.

Mr. CHURCH with Mr. RANDALL.

Mr. GRIFFIN with Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts.

Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. HAMILTON of New York.

Mr. MANSFIELD with Mr. KREIDER.

Mr. NEELY with Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. OLDFIELD with Mr. SWIFT.

Mr. HUDDLESTON with Mr. PORTER.

Mr. SIMS with Mr. POWERS.

Mr. THOMPSON with Mr. MCFADDEN.

Mr. WELLING with Mr. MCKINLEY.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas with Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to withdraw my vote of "nay," on account of a general pair with Mr. CALDWELL.

The name of Mr. SNELL was called, and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present. The Doorkeeper will unlock the doors. [Applause.]

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield me a minute?

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. ADAMSON. I presume that this vote indicates the disposition of the House. I suggest, if it is in order, that we vacate all proceedings about the rule and allow the gentleman to make his motion to concur.

Mr. GILLETT. That is perfectly satisfactory.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON] asks to vacate all proceedings touching this rule. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in Senate amendment No. 100.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the House concur in Senate amendment No. 100.

Mr. GILLETT. Which I think the Clerk had better read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I think probably this whole matter could be cleared up if the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] will yield to me a moment. The Members of the two Houses who I understand will be the conferees on this bill have had up this very matter and have agreed to adopt a substitute for the Smoot amendment, to which Senator SMOOT himself agreed.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman submit it?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes; I will. I will have it sent up, and ask unanimous consent to have it read.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, first I am disposed to have my proposition reported.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report Senate amendment No. 100.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 314. That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine Insurrection, now on the pension roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll, and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, shall be $25 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the additional allowance provided by existing pension laws on account of a helpless child or child under 16 years of age: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall be administered, executed, and enforced by the Commissioner of Pensions.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] a motion that is in order?

Mr. RAYBURN. No. I was simply offering to the House a suggestion here.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Indiana rise?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.
Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I was recognized.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] moves the previous question.
Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.
Mr. RAYBURN. I rose, and the Speaker asked me if I had any suggestion or motion to make, and before I had a chance the gentleman from Massachusetts, I think without recognition, moved the previous question.
Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, did I not have the right to move the previous question?
The SPEAKER. When the vote on the previous question was taken the control of this matter passed to the gentleman from Massachusetts.
Mr. ADAMSON. I ask the gentleman from Masachusetts to yield to hear it read. He will probably be pleased with it.
Mr. GILLETT. I think we had better vote on the proposition now before the House.
Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker——
The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Indiana rise?
Mr. BARNHART. The gentleman from Massachusetts, when the gentleman from Texas offered to have his resolution read, asked that his be read first, leaving everybody with the impression that the other was also to be read; and I think in fairness to the House it ought to be read.
Mr. RAYBURN. I did not hear the Speaker recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts. He recognized me, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] interjected the previous question.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts had the floor after he moved the previous question.
Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, was the amendment or paragraph just read by the Clerk the one that passed the Senate?
The SPEAKER. Yes.
Mr. RAYBURN. I ask unanimous consent for three minutes in which to make a statement.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent for three minutes in which to make a statement.
Mr. MOORES of Indiana. I object.
Mr. RAYBURN. Has the gentleman from Massachusetts time? Would he yield me some time?
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] moves the previous question.
Mr. RAYBURN. Would he not withhold the motion?
Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that we were liberal in giving time on the rule. It looks to me that the gentleman from Texas ought to be permitted to make this statement.
Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw the demand for the previous question long enough to allow the gentleman from Texas three minutes.
Mr. RAYBURN. Three minutes of time is all I want. I ask to have this read in my time.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks to have the paper sent to the Clerk's desk read in his time. The Clerk will report it.
The Clerk read as follows:

That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy or Marine Corps of the United States, who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine Insurrection, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll because of the death of the husband as the result of wound or injury received or disease contracted in the service and line of duty shall hereafter receive $25 per month.

Mr. RAYBURN. Now, Mr. Speaker, that amendment if it is agreed to, will place the widows of these wars exactly upon the footing that we are going to place the widows of this war upon.
In this measure we do not give compensation, or pension, or whatever you please to call it, to anybody unless the man was killed in the war or from causes that resulted from injuries received in that war, and it does seem to me when we place the widows of other wars exactly on the same basis as we place the widows of this war that ought to be satisfactory to the gentleman.
Mr. LITTLE. How does it happen that you did not think of that until this occasion? [Applause.]
Mr. RAYBURN. I am against the whole thing. [Applause.] I do not think that the question of pensions for widows of other wars should come into this bill, and I said so in reply to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and also in reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], that I expected to increase the pensions of widows of other wars up to the rate of widows of this war next year, and that I expected it ought to pass, but I do not think it has a proper place in this bill. Senator SMOOT has agreed, or will agree, to this amendment if this conference report is adopted, and it seems to me it ought not to be objected to. [Applause.]
Mr. LANGLEY. I thought the gentleman was opposed to the whole proposition, and I am opposed to his compromised proposition, which would reestablish a distinction between war widows that Congress abolished years ago.
Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I renew my motion for the previous question.
Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.
Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the previous question is voted down, it will then be in order to instruct the conferees to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment, will it not?
The SPEAKER. It would be.
Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.
Mr. RUBEY. If the previous question is voted for, it will settle the whole question, will it not? [Laughter.]
The SPEAKER. The Chair is not certain that that will happen. The House has to vote on the amendment itself.
Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to me for a minute without losing his place?
Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.
Mr. CANNON. Make it two minutes.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for two minutes.
Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, clearly the will of this House is to concur in this amendment.
Now, beware of the "Greeks bearing gifts." [Applause.] The gentleman proposes to amend this Senate amendment when it goes into conference, and God knows how it is to come out of conference. The Senate by a majority agreed to this amendment. In God's chancery it is right. Let us buckle it now. [Applause.]
The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.
The previous question was ordered.
The SPEAKER. The question is on concurring in Senate amendment No. 100.
Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.
The yeas and nays were ordered.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, by unanimous consent, was granted leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of James M. Fink, Sixty-fourth Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll.
Mr. RAYBURN rose.
The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas rise?
Mr. RAYBURN. To ask unanimous consent to withdraw my demand for the yeas and nays.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to vacate the order for the yeas and nays. Is there objection?
Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I object.
Mr. LANGLEY. I object, Mr. Speaker.
The SPEAKER. Objection is made. The Clerk will call the roll. Those in favor of the motion to concur will, when their names are called, answer "yea"; those opposed will answer "nay."
The question was taken; and there were—yeas 176, nays 78, answered "present" 3, not voting 174, as follows:

YEAS—176.

Alexander	Carew	Doolittle	Gandy
Austin	Carter, Mass.	Dunn	Garland
Baer	Chandler, N. Y.	Eagan	Gillett
Barnhart	Claypool	Elliott	Glynn
Bathrick	Coady	Ellsworth	Good
Blackmon	Cooper, W. Va.	Esch	Gould
Bland	Cooper, Wis.	Evans	Graham, Ill.
Booher	Crosser	Fairchild, B. L.	Green, Iowa.
Britten	Dale, Vt.	Farr	Greene, Mass.
Brodbeck	Dallinger	Ferris	Greene, Vt.
Browne	Darrow	Fields	Hadley
Browning	Davidson	Fitzgerald	Hamlin
Brumbaugh	Decker	Focht	Hawley
Burroughs	Denison	Fordney	Hayden
Campbell, Kans.	Denton	Foster	Helm
Campbell, Pa.	Dewalt	Francis	Helvering
Cannon	Dill	Frear	Hensley
Cantrill	Dixon	French	Hersey

Hicks	McClintic	Riordan	Tague
Hilliard	McLaughlin, Mich.	Robbins	Talbott
Huddleston	Madden	Rodenberg	Taylor, Colo.
Hull, Iowa	Magee	Rogers	Temple
Igoe	Mason	Romjue	Templeton
Ireland	Mays	Rose	Thomas
Johnson, S. Dak.	Miller, Wash.	Rowe	Tilson
Johnson, Wash.	Mondell	Rubey	Timberlake
Keating	Montague	Sabath	Towner
Kelly, Pa.	Moore, Pa.	Sanders, Ind.	Treadway
Kennedy, Iowa	Moores, Ind.	Sanders, N. Y.	Van Dyke
Kettner	Morgan	Shallenberger	Vestal
Key, Ohio	Mudd	Siegel	Volstead
King	Nolan	Sinnott	Walsh
Kinkaid	Norton	Sloan	Walton
Knutson	Osborne	Smith, Idaho	Watson, Pa.
Kraus	Overmyer	Smith, Mich.	Welty
La Follette	Parker, N. J.	Snook	White, Me.
Langley	Peters	Stafford	White, Ohio
Lesher	Platt	Steele	Williams
Linthicum	Price	Sterling, Ill.	Wilson, Ill.
Little	Purnell	Sterling, Pa.	Wood, Ind.
London	Raker	Stiness	Woods, Iowa
Longworth	Ramseyer	Strong	Woodyard
Lundeen	Rankin	Sweet	Young, N. Dak.
McArthur	Reed	Switzer	Zihlman

NAYS—78.

Adamson	Dent	Jacoway	Steagall
Almon	Dominick	Johnson, Ky.	Stedman
Aswell	Doughton	Jones, Tex.	Stephens, Miss.
Bankhead	Drane	Kincheloe	Sumners
Barkley	Eagle	Kitchin	Taylor, Ark.
Bell	Fisher	Larsen	Tillman
Black	Flood	McKeown	Venable
Blanton	Garner	McLemore	Vinson
Brand	Garrett, Tenn.	Moon	Walker
Buchanan	Garrett, Tex.	Oliver, Ala.	Watkins
Burnett	Glass	Oliver, N. Y.	Watson, Va.
Byrns, Tenn.	Godwin, N. C.	Padgett	Weaver
Candler, Miss.	Goodwin, Ark.	Park	Webb
Caraway	Gordon	Quin	Whaley
Carter, Okla.	Gregg	Ragsdale	Wilson, La.
Clark, Fla.	Hardy	Rayburn	Wilson, Tex.
Collier	Heflin	Robinson	Wingo
Connally, Tex.	Holland	Sims	Wise
Cox	Hood	Sisson	
Crisp	Hull, Tenn.	Small	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3.

Lever	Rainey	Snell

NOT VOTING—174.

Anderson	Fairfield	LaGuardia	Randall
Anthony	Fess	Lazaro	Reavis
Ashbrook	Flynn	Lea, Cal.	Roberts
Ayres	Foss	Lee, Ga.	Rouse
Bacharach	Freeman	Lehlbach	Rowland
Bacon	Fuller, Ill.	Lenroot	Rucker
Borland	Fuller, Mass.	Littlepage	Russell
Bowers	Gallagher	Lobeck	Sanders, La.
Bruckner	Gallivan	Lonergan	Sanford
Butler	Gard	Lunn	Saunders, Va.
Byrnes, S. C.	Goodall	McAndrews	Schall
Caldwell	Graham, Pa.	McCormick	Scott, Iowa
Capstick	Gray, Ala.	McCulloch	Scott, Mich.
Carlin	Gray, N. J.	McFadden	Scott, Pa.
Cary	Griest	McKenzie	Scully
Chandler, Okla.	Griffin	McKinley	Sears
Church	Hamill	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sells
Clark, Pa.	Hamilton, Mich.	Maher	Shackleford
Classon	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mann	Sherley
Connelly, Kans.	Harrison, Miss.	Mansfield	Sherwood
Cooper, Ohio.	Harrison, Va.	Mapes	Shouse
Copley	Haskell	Martin, Ill.	Slayden
Costello	Hastings	Martin, La.	Slemp
Crago	Haugen	Meeker	Smith, C. B.
Cramton	Hayes	Miller, Minn.	Smith, T. F.
Currie, Mich.	Heaton	Morin	Snyder
Curry, Cal.	Heintz	Mott	Steenerson
Dale, N. Y.	Hollingsworth	Neely	Stephens, Nebr.
Davis	Houston	Nelson	Stevenson
Dempsey	Howard	Nicholls, S. C.	Sullivan
Dickinson	Hulbert	Nichols, Mich.	Swift
Dies	Humphreys	Oldfield	Thompson
Dillon	Husted	Olney	Tinkham
Dooling	Hutchinson	O'Shaunessy	Vare
Doremus	James	Overstreet	Voigt
Dowell	Jones, Va.	Paige	Waldow
Drukker	Juul	Parker, N. Y.	Ward
Dupré	Kahn	Phelan	Wason
Dyer	Kearns	Polk	Welling
Edmonds	Kehoe	Porter	Wheeler
Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Pou	Winslow
Emerson	Kennedy, R. I.	Powers	Young, Tex.
Estopinal	Kiess, Pa.	Pratt	
Fairchild, G. W.	Kreider	Ramsey	

So the motion to concur in Senate amendment No. 100 was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. RUSSELL (for) with Mr. LEE of Georgia (against).

Mr. AYRES (for) with Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana (against).

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas (for) with Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana (against).

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY (for) with Mr. HARRISON of Louisiana (against).

Until further notice:

Mr. HASTINGS with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. POLK with Mr. WASON.

Mr. DOREMUS with Mr. PAIGE.

Mr. POU with Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan.

Mr. SHERLEY with Mr. MILLER of Minnesota.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH with Mr. HEATON.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE with Mr. KAHN.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to disagree to the remaining Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to disagree to the remaining Senate amendments and to agree to the conference asked by the Senate. Is there objection?

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I move to concur in Senate amendment No. 80, which strikes out the provision for commutation of a part, or in some instances all, of the compensation to be paid to those injured in the service.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia has made a request for unanimous consent.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman can trust the conferees with something.

Mr. FRENCH. I think the House is of the opinion that this amendment should be concurred in.

Mr. ADAMSON. I have not polled the conferees, but they are fair and reasonable men who are going to be named. I am not one of them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know what the House wants or what it does not want. The gentleman from Georgia submits a request for unanimous consent. Is there objection?

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman that he allow the bill to go to conference, and then before the conferees are appointed he can move to instruct them, if he wants to do that.

Mr. GILLETT. It is an easier proposition for the gentleman to move to concur, which will settle it.

Mr. ADAMSON. All right. I am willing that that be done.

Mr. FRENCH. Then I move to concur in Senate amendment 80.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Georgia withhold his request?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Idaho will make his motion.

Mr. FRENCH. I move to concur in Senate amendment No. 80.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. FRENCH moves to concur in Senate amendment No. 80, on page 23, to strike out all of section 304, which is as follows:

"SEC. 304. That if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any, future compensation payments for disability may be commuted in whole or in part for a lump sum equal to the present value of such payments or the proportion thereof to be commutated, and such lump sum paid to the injured person in lieu of all further compensation or of the proportion so commuted of all future payments of compensation: *Provided, however,* That in case of partial disability rated at 30 per cent or more of total disability, or in case of total disability, not more than 50 per cent of the compensation payments as for a man without a wife or child shall be so commutable. The basis for determining present values of future payments of compensation shall be prescribed from time to time by regulations."

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to concur.

Mr. FRENCH. I would like some time.

Mr. ADAMSON. I was trying to make the agreement with the gentleman in order to expedite action.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia moves the previous question, and that is not debatable.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on concurring in the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ADAMSON) there were—ayes 79, noes 55.

Accordingly the amendment was concurred in.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, if there is no other gentleman who desires to concur in anything or to instruct on anything, I ask unanimous consent to disagree to the remaining Senate amendments and agree to a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to disagree to the rest of these Senate amendments and agree to the conference. Is there objection?

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to reserve the right to object, in order to ask the gentleman from Georgia a question.

Mr. ADAMSON. Ask me outside. [Laughter.]

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, ordinarily I would prefer to confer with my amiable friend from Georgia privately, but on such an important public question I think I ought to ask the question here. I want to know if he believes it to be certain that the conferees will report at this session, so that we can have this legislation right away?

Mr. ADAMSON. I hope so.

The SPEAKER appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. SIMS, Mr. RAYBURN, and Mr. ESCH.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the bill just disposed of.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on this bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

BRASS CANNON TO NORTH CAROLINA.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 2920) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon, with carriage.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass or bronze cannon, with carriage, and suitable outfit of cannon balls, condemned or not needed for present service, to be placed at the foot of the monument now being erected at Carthage, N. C., in honor of James R. McConnell, an American aviator, who was killed while flying in France.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. ROBINSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

IDA COTTRELL HODGSON.

Mr. BRAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 5833) granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired, is hereby allowed an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate said Frederick Grady Hodgson was receiving at the date of his death.

SEC. 2. That said Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired, as aforesaid, be paid out of the Treasury of the United States a sum of money or an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate said Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, was receiving at the date of his death.

SEC. 3. That the payment of the amount of money hereby allowed and authorized to be paid to said Ida Cottrell Hodgson is authorized to be made from the appropriations for beneficiaries of officers who die while on the active list of the Army.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Georgia a question. Under the insurance bill now in conference the beneficiary of every officer or enlisted man who has died since the beginning of hostilities will be entitled to a maximum amount of insurance of $10,000 carried in that bill. The gentleman from Georgia, who introduced this private bill for the relief of Mrs. Hodgson, shakes his head, as much as to say "no"; and I would like to inquire, Why not?

Mr. BRAND. I will state my position. The facts are briefly set forth in the report.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the gentleman understand my question?

Mr. BRAND. I do; but I think it is necessary for the House to have a statement of the facts in order to understand my answer.

Frederick G. Hodgson entered the United States Military Academy September 1, 1877; was appointed second lieutenant June 11, 1881, and served continuously on the active list of the Army until October 23, 1913, when he was retired from active service on account of disability contracted in line of duty.

By paragraph 37, S. O. 76, War Department, dated April 3, 1917, Col. Hodgson was assigned to active duty as assistant to the Quartermaster General of the Army, and in the operation of this assignment was detailed by the Quartermaster General to duty with the supplies committee of the Council of National Defense.

Col. Hodgson died suddenly in Washington, D. C., on Sunday, August 5, 1917, at which time he was entitled to the full pay and allowances of his grade under the provision contained in section 24 of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, which reads:

"That in time of war retired officers of the Army may be employed on active duty, in the discretion of the President, and when so employed they shall receive the full pay and allowances of their grade."

The act of May 11, 1908, as amended by the act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat., 108–735), makes provision for the payment of an amount equal to six months' pay to the duly designated beneficiary or widow of an officer who dies while on the active list of the Army from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct. This law has been construed by the Comptroller of the Treasury (15 Comp., 230) as being without application in the case of a retired officer who dies while on active duty, the comptroller taking the ground that an assignment to active duty does not place the officer on the active list within the meaning of the law.

Col. Hodgson died in time of war while on active duty, and it is most apparent that his widow should not be deprived of the gratuity of six months' pay simply because he was not, at the time of his death, on "the active list of the Army."

It is earnestly recommended that the bill be given favorable consideration.

This is an excerpt from the report of the Secretary of War.

Col. Hodgson left a widow, who is the only beneficiary, and she is about 60 years of age. She is left without any estate or income, and if it had not been for the strained construction—untenable, in my judgment—of the Comptroller of the Treasury, she would have gotten the money provided for by my bill within 48 hours after her husband died.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRAND. Yes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I think the gentleman may not be altogether advised if he questions the basis on which the comptroller made the decision. I am in favor of the gentleman's bill, but there is a great distinction between the military officer being on active duty and being on the active list, and the gentleman's case rests on that very point. The decision of the comptroller is within not only the spirit of the law but the letter of the law, because a retired officer when put on active duty is not restored to his former status on the active list. He is taken for temporary service, and on the completion of that service he returns to his settled status as a retired officer. There is a great distinction between the two, and the comptroller was bound to observe it.

Mr. BRAND. If that interpretation had not been put upon the act, the gratuity would have been paid to this widow long ago; but we are bound by it, and before she can get it it is necessary to have this private bill.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I agree with the gentleman, but I did not want the idea to go without contradiction that the comptroller was in error in his decision.

Mr. BRAND. To show that the Naval Committee is acting on the same theory, a bill was reported out of that committee by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] the other day and passed this House, providing for six months' pay to the widow and children, or other dependent relatives, of a retired officer on active duty. It provided for just such a case as this bill provides for as relating to the Navy and Marine Corps. If the war-insurance bill does not take care of the widows of the sailors in the Navy and the Marine Corps, how does it take care of the widows of soldiers in the Army? Why should you without objection provide for this class of beneficiaries and for the wives of husbands who may be killed in the present war, and not provide for the widow who is here in her sorrow and in her want, waiting for what should have been given her two months ago?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I hope the gentleman will not be foreclosed before he has time to answer the question I have propounded.

The SPEAKER. What is the question?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman says that he understands it.

Mr. BRAND. When this House passed the war insurance bill it provided in case of death without receiving any monthly installment that the whole allotment of 240 payments of $25 per month should be paid to the widow. The Senate amended this section by providing that this monthly allowance of $25 a month should be paid to the wife during her widowhood. It makes no provision for this six months' pay. The bill as it passed the House did, but as amended by the Senate it does not, and this bill is necessary to put her on the same footing as all other widows. Under the Senate amendment if this lady died within a month from now all she would receive would be $25 or $50. Or, for instance, if she should marry next year, which is not at all likely, she would get only a few hundred dollars, when under the law she is entitled to six months' pay at the rate Col. Hodgson was receiving when he died, just as the widows of all soldiers, privates and officers, white folks and negroes, alike have uniformly gotten, and this is all my bill asks for.

I do not disagree with the gentleman from Wisconsin in the interpretation he put upon the bill in reference to this six months' allowance as it passed the House, but as amended by the Senate she is not taken care of in this regard, and there is no

provision whatever for this six months' allowance, but only a monthly payment of $25 per month during her widowhood.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, so as to make my position clear, the way I construe the insurance bill now in conference is that this widow, if the insurance bill should become a law, would be entitled to the amount of the compensation and insurance provided in the act, because section 401 provides:

Any person in the active service on or after the 6th day of April, 1917, who, while in such service and before the expiration of 120 days from and after such publication, becomes or has become totally disabled or dies, or has died, without having applied for insurance, shall be deemed to have applied for and to have been granted insurance, payable to such person during his life in monthly installments of $25 each. If he shall die either before he shall have received any of such monthly installments or before he shall have received 240 of such monthly installments, then $25 per month shall be paid to his wife, child, or widowed mother if and while they survive him: *Provided, however,* That not more than 240 of such monthly installments, including those received by such person during his total disability, shall be so paid; and in that event the amount of the monthly installments shall be apportioned between them as may be provided by regulations.

I took the position when this matter was first reported by the committee that I had no objection to the widow receiving six months' pay, provided she would not be the recipient of insurance or gratuities under the insurance bill, and that action should be deferred until we knew exactly what privileges and benefits she would receive under the insurance bill. That I stated to the widow herself, and I do not think that it is an unreasonable request.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I read very carefully the letter of Secretary Baker in this case, and the only question that rose in my mind was as to whether there would be a duplication of payments here.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the doubt in my mind.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It seems to me that if the facts are as set forth this bill might readily be passed except for the possibility that there would be a duplication of payments.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Section 312 of the insurance bill provides that compensation shall not be paid while the person is in receipt of service or retirement pay, and the Senate amendment adds that the laws providing for gratuities or payments in the event of death in the service and existing pension law shall not be applicable after the enactment of this amendment to persons now in or hereafter entering the military or naval service, or their widows, children, or their dependents, except in so far as rights under any such law shall have heretofore accrued.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, this bill is not yet a law.

Mr. BRAND. Mr. Speaker, may I state a fact?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. BRAND. Her rights accrued before the bill not only became a law, but before it was introduced into the Congress.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Her rights would not accrue until the bill becomes a law.

Mr. BRAND. They accrued at his death.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is not an unreasonable request which I make, in view of the fact that this woman will be entitled under the insurance bill to benefits. I ask that we defer the consideration of this bill for the time being until we know what the law will really be and what benefits she will receive. For my part, I want this widow, as I have told her, to receive the same benefits as any widow of a Regular Army officer who was in the active service, and if the widow of a Regular Army officer is entitled to compensation under this law, then I do not believe this widow is entitled to double compensation simply because she happens to occupy this singular position.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. CRISP. As I understand it, the sole purpose of this bill is to permit this widow to receive six months' pay, which the widow of every man upon the active list is entitled to receive. Col. Hodgson served for a number of years and was retired, and then was restored to active duty. Because he had once been retired this bill is necessary. If he had not been retired, the widow would have been entitled to six months' pay without any action whatever on the part of Congress. The sole purpose of this bill is to give the widow what she would have been entitled to if her husband had not been retired. He was retired, but when his country needed him he was restored to active duty and died in the harness, but his name was upon the retired list.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think it is a reasonable request to ask that this matter be held in abeyance until the insurance law is decided on. I have been frank, and I hope I have been fair to the gentleman in this matter. I do not wish to do any injustice, as I said, to the widow, and after the insurance law is passed and we know the situation, if she is to be deprived of any right, then I will be very glad to have this measure go through with my support.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object for the time being.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

PERMISSION TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the deficiency bill which passed the House yesterday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

BRIDGE ACROSS TUG RIVER.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill S. 2663.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2663) granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River.

The conference report was read, as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2663) granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the words proposed to be stricken out by the House amendment insert the following: "which bridge is hereby declared to have been constructed in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906"; and the House agree to the same.

WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,
THETUS W. SIMS,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
JOHN K. SHIELDS,
WILLIAM M. CALDER,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken, and the conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

INVESTIGATION OF MINE FIRES, ETC.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate concurrent resolution 14, and if I may be permitted, Mr. Speaker, I desire to speak for about one minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I simply desire to say this is a matter which has been up here once before—that is, to enroll in the bill the words which were stricken out in conference, and that is to provide for the investigation of mine fires and accidents of that kind up to the time of the war. I say this, that I have talked with the lady from Montana [Miss RANKIN]——

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman give the number of the House bill so we may follow it?

Mr. FOSTER. H. R. 3932. I will state I have talked with the lady from Montana, who is probably as much directly interested in this matter as any Member of the House in desiring to find the facts as to these accidents. There are only three of those which could be affected by this legislation. The explosion at the Mare Island Navy Yard, the other would be the Eddystone explosion, and the one in the Butte mine, in which 170 miners lost their lives.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FOSTER. I do.
Mr. NORTON. The purpose of this is to permit an investigation of explosions that occurred before the passage of this resolution, as I understand it.
Mr. FOSTER. Since the beginning of the war.
Mr. NORTON. That is, to investigate regarding explosions prior to the time of the war?
Mr. FOSTER. No; not prior, but since.
Mr. NORTON. Since the beginning of the war and up to the passage of the act?
Mr. STAFFORD. The explosion at Eddystone was subsequent to the declaration of war, was it not?
Mr. FOSTER. My recollection is it was since the beginning of the war.
Mr. STAFFORD. My impression is the Eddystone explosion occurred after Congress declared war.
Mr. FOSTER. The idea is it is not to go back beyond the time of the declaration of war, not beyond that, only since that time.
Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FOSTER. I will.
Mr. ROBBINS. Is this a proposition to investigate the explosions in the munition plants of the Government as well as explosions in private institutions?
Mr. FOSTER. No; of course, they would have the right to investigate, and if possible to find out the causes of those explosions, but——
Mr. ROBBINS. Both in the munition plants, navy yards of the Government, and in private institutions?
Mr. FOSTER. I imagine at the private institutions investigation has been made there, and it will not be done anywhere else. The gentleman should understand that under the organic law of the Bureau of Mines an examination made by the Bureau of Mines can not be made public. Now, there may be some place where it will be necessary that that should be done, and this gives authority to permit that.
Mr. ROBBINS. At the expense of the Government?
Mr. FOSTER. Yes.
Miss RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FOSTER. I will.
Miss RANKIN. Does this include any investigation into labor conditions in the mines?
Mr. FOSTER. Not at all.
Miss RANKIN. It is just as to the causes of the fires?
Mr. FOSTER. That is all.
Miss RANKIN. Have these investigations been made?
Mr. FOSTER. I understand they have to some extent, and possibly all that will be necessary.
Miss RANKIN. And this will simply mean publication of the findings of the investigations?
Mr. FOSTER. To make it public. Now, the lady remembers that in Butte, Mont., there was a question as to labor difficulties. I want to say to the lady that this will not interfere in any way whatever, because the Bureau of Mines in its work can not take up those conditions that might exist in any mine, because the minute they do it they are going to get into trouble.
Miss RANKIN. It would be very fine if we could have an investigation of the labor conditions, and, of course, it is very fine to have the cause of the fires made public, but it will not really mean very much more information, because there are certain people who already know the cause of the fire.
Mr. FOSTER. That may be, but it is not generally known by the public.
Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. FOSTER. I will.
Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand, the explosions which took place at the Eddystone plant and at Mare Island have been thoroughly investigated by other agencies of the Government, and the proposition is now under investigation. I assume that those investigations have been carried on very thoroughly by agents connected with the Department of Justice.
Now, just what additional information or advantage can be gained to the Government in its endeavors to suppress these seditious or treasonable efforts, if they were really occasioned by active agencies, by the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois?
Mr. FOSTER. I will say this to the gentleman from Wisconsin, that it is not intended, so far as I know, that there shall be an investigation made as to the Mare Island Navy Yard or as to the Eddystone disaster; but that as to the cause of the accident which might be published or might be known, which occurred in the Butte mine, in which 170 lost their lives, that information might be given to the public. I do not think it affects the labor situation at all in that community.
Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman kindly indicate just what is the amendment that is sought to be included in the bill as agreed to by the conferees—the phraseology?
Mr. FOSTER. You mean if the language shall be restored?
Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.
Mr. FOSTER. I do not know that I can quote the exact language, but all it does is to restore that part of the Senate amendment providing for the investigation of mine accidents since the war.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman tell me whether he is discussing House resolution No. 13?
Mr. FOSTER. I am. I am discussing the amendment the gentleman spoke about.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There is something before the House, I take it.
The SPEAKER. Which resolution is it?
Mr. FOSTER. Senate concurrent resolution No. 13.
The SPEAKER. Number 14, is it not?
Mr. FOSTER. I think it is No. 13, though it may be No. 14. It is to restore the language.
The SPEAKER. Here is one numbered 14.
Mr. FOSTER. That is the one, then.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That one we have been unable to obtain thus far.
Mr. FOSTER. It is on the Speaker's table, I will say to the gentleman.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But not printed.
Mr. FOSTER. Not printed separately; but it was printed in the RECORD.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman state just what it is, if he has it in mind? Where does it pertain to the bill?
The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I object, Mr. Speaker.
Mr. FOSTER. I hope the gentleman will not do so.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is entirely too indefinite, I will say to the gentleman. Here is a conference report, and the gentleman comes in and proposes to change it.
Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman withhold a moment? It says, on page 11, in section 20:

That the Director of the Bureau of Mines is hereby authorized to investigate all explosions and fires which may occur or which since the commencement of the present war have occurred in mines, quarries, factories, warehouses, magazines, houses, cars, or boats, conveyances—

And so forth.
Now, what the House conferees struck out was "or which since the commencement of the present war have occurred." That language——
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And that is intended to enable the Bureau of Mines to take the place of the Department of Justice and go back and investigate explosions that have occurred and concerning which inquiries have already been had?
Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no. They would not investigate that kind of a question.
Mr. STAFFORD. If investigation would be made by a bureau other than the Department of Justice, could not the claim be made that to receive testimony might grant immunity?
Here is a proposition that might work ill in the prosecution of these people.
Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman does not mean to say that if this resolution were adopted investigations could not be made of explosions that have occurred heretofore? In fact, that is the purpose of the resolution, as I understand it, namely, to authorize the investigation of explosions that have occurred prior to the passage of the act.
Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman is correct.
Mr. MONDELL. So that there must be investigation of explosions prior to the passage of the act contemplated or the resolution would not be necessary.
Mr. FOSTER. I will state this to the gentleman. I want to be perfectly frank with the House. There has been a good deal of contention, I think, on how the explosions and the fire in the mine at Butte occurred. I think the lady from Montana will agree with us on that, and, of course, the Bureau of Mines has made an investigation, probably all it will make.
Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman says, "all it will make."
Mr. FOSTER. Yes. I will say, probably all it could make.
Mr. MONDELL. What assurance have we that the Bureau of Mines, under this authorization, will not be prevailed upon to make a dozen investigations, use the small sum of money that has been appropriated for the purpose of putting in operation a great system of control over explosives for the purpose of some ancient investigation? How do we know that the bureau will not do that?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, we have no knowledge of that except the good sense of the head of the Bureau of Mines, and the Secretary of the Interior would not countenance such a thing. I do not think they would.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think the gentleman will admit that Congress has been very generous with the Department of Justice in furnishing money for the investigation of offenses of this kind, and that the Department of Labor has very large appropriations for the purpose of ferreting out matters respecting labor. And it seems to me it simply confuses the issue and multiplies the number of offices and officers to add to the Bureau of Mines investigations of matters long since passed.

Mr. FOSTER. Let me say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that it is not for the purpose of prosecuting. It is simply to find out the cause of that accident.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman say that his bill as it is now, and with the authority already conferred upon the Chief of the Bureau of Mines, would not permit him to obtain all the information he desired about any one of these past occurrences or as to the causes of explosions, and things of that kind?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think it would. I do not think so.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will say to the gentleman that I do not like ex post facto laws or retroactive laws. It seems to me there is sufficient law and sufficient authority here now in this new bill, which met some objection on its original passage, and which has been vitally changed since it left the House—sufficient authority is there to enable the Bureau of Mines to do a great many things, and it is practically sufficient to enable it to uncover all these facts to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. FOSTER. That is so, after the passage of the act. I take it that the Director of the Bureau of Mines, who says only three explosions would be effected, so far as he knows, by this legislation, is familiar with the matters to which he refers.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I know how earnest the gentleman from Illinois is about matters of this kind and how anxious he is to put through any measure that has the sanction of his committee; but it seems to me that the money appropriated in this bill ought to be applied by the Director of the Bureau of Mines strictly to the work he has on hand and the work that is to come, and that he ought not to be given authority to spend that money to cover fields already covered by the activities of the Department of Justice and of the Department of Labor.

Mr. FOSTER. I would not ask for it if I thought that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman comes in with a resolution after the conference report has been agreed to and after the matter is out of the hands of both Houses.

Mr. FOSTER. It may not have been enrolled.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I am constrained to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania objects.

FEDERAL BUILDING AT MOULTRIE, GA.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the present consideration of the Senate bill 2852.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks for the present consideration of the Senate bill 2852. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 2852) to increase the limit of cost of the Federal building and site therefor at Moultrie, Ga.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman from Georgia if this bill has had the approval of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds?

Mr. PARK. No. That question was asked me a little while ago.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will say to the gentleman that, although knowing how earnest the gentleman is to get this bill through, the custom ought to be followed that obtains with respect to all bills, and that is to get a favorable report from the committee, and I therefore am constrained to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania objects.

CHARLES S. GREENWOOD.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia offers a privileged resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution (H. Res. 158; H. Rept. No. 195) to pay Charles S. Greenwood, clerk of the late EBENEZER J. HILL, a Representative in Congress, $166.66.

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of the contingent fund of the House, to Charles S. Greenwood, clerk to EBENEZER J. HILL, a Representative from the State of Connecticut at the time of his death, September 27, 1917, the sum of $166.66, being an amount equal to one month's salary of a clerk of a Representative in Congress.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE, TEX.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the present consideration of the bill S. 2947, now on the Speaker's table.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the Senate bill 2947. A similar House bill is on the calendar. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 2947) granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the number of the House bill on the calendar?

Mr. BLANTON. H. R. 6412.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the number on the calendar?

Mr. BLANTON. Seventy.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform me whether any negotiations have so far taken place with the Republic of Mexico toward the construction of this bridge?

Mr. BLANTON. I understand that negotiations have been had and that the city of El Paso will have the cooperation of the Republic of Mexico in building this bridge.

Mr. STAFFORD. From the wording of the bill I take it that this is not an ordinary bridge bill. It is a bridge across an international stream, and it provides in phraseology for the cooperation of the Republic of Mexico.

Mr. BLANTON. I will say that at present the only bridge across the Rio Grande is owned by the street car company, and it is a toll bridge. It is proposed by this bill, which is reported out by the committee, to build a free bridge for free transportation, both for the benefit of El Paso and Juarez and the people of this country and the Republic of Mexico.

Mr. STAFFORD. I presume it is of special advantage to the city of El Paso?

Mr. BLANTON. It is of especial advantage not only to the city of El Paso but to every man, woman, and child in the United States who visits El Paso, because they always want to go to Juarez.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the city of El Paso, in the State of Texas, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Rio Grande River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, such construction to be made only with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico, and such bridge to be free of any toll.

SEC. 2. That this act shall be null and void unless the construction of said bridge is commenced within one year and completed within five years from the date of approval hereof.

SEC. 3. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. BLANTON, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I move that House bill 6412 of similar tenor lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

"GARABED" INVENTION.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House joint resolution 116 and agree to the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 116 with a Senate amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is that the Garabed resolution?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it a minor amendment?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was read.

The SPEAKER. The question is on concurring in the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] is recognized for 30 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I have asked the indulgence of the House for a few minutes to discuss the patriotic position taken by Republicans throughout the country, and by Republican Members of the House and Senate in particular, in support of the Government of the United States during the present crisis, or since the beginning of the European war.

Mr. Speaker, this extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress convened on April 2 by virtue of the proclamation of the President of the United States. It has been in continuous session from that date to the present time, a period of six months. The entire time of the session has been devoted to the consideration of measures relating to the great war in which we are now engaged.

The Democratic Party has a small majority both in this body and in the other legislative branch, the Senate. Outside of the question of the organization of the two bodies on the convening of Congress in April, partisan politics has scarcely at any time been manifested in the deliberations of either branch of the Congress. [Applause.] The Democratic Party, having a majority, organized both branches of Congress, electing the present distinguished occupant of the chair [Mr. CLARK of Missouri] Speaker of the House of Representatives and a complete set of Democratic officials in all the minor positions in the House organization. The Senate was organized by the Democrats in the same manner along strictly partisan lines. Immediately following the organization of the two Houses the President of the United States appeared before a joint session of the two bodies on the evening of April 2 and delivered his message to Congress, which message was devoted wholly to the relations at that time existing between this Government and the Imperial Government of Germany. The President's message was a terrific arraignment of the Imperial German Government for the wholesale murder of our citizens upon the high seas and for the many flagrant violations of the rights of American citizens by Germany. In most eloquent and convincing language the President declared to the Congress that these flagrant acts on the part of the Imperial Government of Germany created a state of war, waged by that country against the Government and people of the United States, and demanded of Congress the adoption of a resolution officially recognizing the existence of such a state of war.

In the presence of such a tremendous and overwhelming crisis, partisanship along political lines ceased throughout the length and breadth of the land and the whole of our 100,000,000 people rallied loyally to the support of the country. It was proclaimed far and wide by the spokesmen of the administration that there was to be no partisan position taken by the administration in the conduct of the war that was then impending, and Republicans were urged to lay aside for the time being all political considerations and rally to the support of the President and the Government of the United States.

The Republican Party was in no way responsible for the condition of affairs that confronted the country at that time. The Democratic Party had been in complete control of every branch of the Government for the past four years, and the diplomatic affairs of the country had been handled exclusively by the President. Our relations with foreign nations had been managed by him during that time without any reference to the judgment, the opinion, or the wishes of Republicans. When the President in his very able address to Congress demanded that the existence of a state of war be recognized by the Congress it was a confession to the country that the exploited and boasted diplomacy of the President had failed to keep the country out of war. The adherents of Mr. Wilson had proclaimed loudly throughout the land in the campaign last year that because of the wonderful ability of the President, the splendid manner in which he had managed our foreign affairs, and his matchless skill as a diplomat and statesman he had kept the country out of war, and at the same time maintained the rights of our people and upheld the dignity and honor of the Nation. It was claimed, with equal assurance, by his supporters in that campaign, that his reelection guaranteed a continuation of peace and the keeping of our country out of the great war that was then devastating almost the whole of Europe. It was during the same campaign charged by the supporters of the President that the success of the Republican Party in November, 1916, would mean the entrance of the United States into war, and timid people everywhere were warned that the election of Mr. Hughes and the triumph of the Republican Party meant the placing of the young manhood of America in the trenches of the European war.

The conditions that confronted the country when the President addressed Congress on April 2 and the statements contained in the very eloquent and able address to the Congress demonstrated conclusively that, in so far as this issue of the campaign was concerned, and without doubt it was this issue that gave him reelection, it was a false issue, and that the voters of the country who were persuaded to support Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party on the extravagant and absurd claims of his supporters as to his ability to keep the country out of war had been "gold-bricked" and had been made the victims of the greatest confidence game that was ever perpetrated upon the American electorate in a political campaign.

In view, however, of the overwhelming crisis confronting the country at the time of the President's address to Congress urging a declaration of war, the Republican Party was compelled to take a position one way or the other on these great questions without any reference to the events just preceding which had made war inevitable, and for none of which the Republican Party was in any manner responsible. There was but one position which it was possible for the Republican Party to take, and that was a position of unswerving loyalty. That was the position which the Republican Party as an organization took at that time, a position to which it has consistently and steadily adhered ever since. Republican leaders in Congress and out of Congress determined that they would not allow the fact that the party was temporarily out of power to in any way deter Republicans from doing their full duty to the country. The Republican Party has never at any time in its history been a copperhead organization, and none of its members have ever presided over a lodge of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

The Republican Party was born in the crucial period of the country's history when it was being determined whether or not the country was to survive or whether it was to fall to pieces because of the inherent inability of a democracy to sustain its existence as a nation.

From the days of Lincoln to the present time the Republican Party has been the robust champion of American rights to their fullest extent upon land and sea, at home and abroad. Under 11 Republican administrations the rights of our people have been zealously safeguarded in every quarter of the globe. Republicans have never limited their devotion to the flag and their loyalty to the country to those periods of time when their party was in power and reserved to themselves the right to play the part of the copperhead when the reins of government should be temporarily in the hands of their political opponents.

Immediately upon our break with Germany, William R. Wilcox, chairman of the Republican national committee, waited upon the President and assured him that, in so far as he was authorized to speak for the national organization of the party it would, during the crisis then impending, give true and loyal support to the Government without reference to political considerations. This position was immediately taken by practically every Republican of prominence, either in public life or private station, including two ex-Presidents of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, and also our late candidate for President, Mr. Hughes. Every reputable Republican newspaper of influence from Maine to California took the same position and has steadily adhered to it since that time. Every Republican legislature that has been in session in any of the Northern States since the beginning of the war has unanimously adopted resolutions sustaining the position of our Government in the war and pledging the support of their States, without reserve, to the national cause.

Notwithstanding the patriotic position taken by Republicans at the very inception of the war and the enthusiastic and loyal support they have given to the administration on all the great questions affecting the preparation of the country for war during this session of Congress, there has been a surprising but very noticeable effort made by certain Democratic leaders high in the councils of the present administration to derive partisan advantage for the Democratic Party out of the management of the war, and a partisanship unwarranted and offensive has been displayed by the administration in practically every move that has been made toward a successful and vigorous prosecution of the war.

One of the most astonishing and convincing incidents evidencing this attitude on the part of prominent Democrats was a speech delivered by the distinguished Senator from my own State, Mr. JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, at Manchester, N. H., on the 26th day of May, 1917, when speaking in support of the Democratic nominee for Congress at a special election held to fill the vacancy in this body occasioned by the death of our late colleague, the Hon. Cyrus H. Sulloway. In the special election in that district but two parties presented candidates, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. The election took place weeks after the declaration of war had been adopted by Congress and after many of the great war measures that have been considered here had been practically agreed upon. At the time Senator LEWIS made this speech everybody in the United States who had sufficient intelligence to observe and know anything about current events knew that the Republican Party was practically solid in support of the war and was giving loyal support to the administration in the prosecution of the war. Republicans in both branches of Congress had given the President as cordial and whole-hearted support as had the Members of his own party. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, which no one in the country knew better than Senator LEWIS, he felt justified on the occasion I have mentioned to address the voters of the first New Hampshire district in the following remarkable language:

There is no issue of Republican or Democratic Party in this contest. The issue is, "Will the citizens of the Manchester (N. H.) district stand by the President of the United States in his effort to maintain a war for democracy and justice, and give him a supporter in Congress who will support his policies and hold up his hands? Or will this district select a gentleman of whom it could be said he was an opponent of the policies of the President and of whom hereafter, throughout the whole world, it will be said was elected upon the issue of dishonoring the President and defeating America?" If the candidate representing the cause of the President is defeated, it will not matter what reasons may be given at home, through all the world it will be said that in the first election—in the first contest—where the issue was raised in all America as to whether the people of the country were with the President, were with the war, and were supporting the cause that the New Hampshire district was the first to answer, and that the Manchester (N. H.) district replied, "No"; and by its verdict told the civilized world that it was against the war, against the President, against America, was for Prussianism, and was for the defeat of the United States by her enemies, and that loyal New Hampshire voted disloyally to the American Government for the first time in its life. The question for you, then, is "Which way?" Are you for America or for Germany? Are you for the President or for the Kaiser? Are you for your country or for its enemies? Your ballot is the only answer you can give.

The support of the war and the issues of the war is to the honor of New Hampshire. To do otherwise is to dishonor your State and to hold yourselves up before the country as citizens disloyal to the cause and deserters from your flag.

Had these astounding and unwarranted statements been made by some obscure political orator it at least would have been considered a most surprising and unjustifiable argument, but the significance of such language coming from so eminent a person as the distinguished Senator from Illinois makes it a matter well worthy of thoughtful consideration. Senator LEWIS is known to be one of the President's closest friends on the floor of the Senate, and when he makes an important speech, either in the Senate or on the stump, he is supposed to reflect at least with some degree of accuracy the feelings and sentiments of the President of the United States.

That this argument of Senator LEWIS was made deliberately and was seriously advanced by him is proven by the fact that his speech had been carefully prepared in advance, and that copies of the speech were given to the Boston papers on the afternoon before its delivery. But if there had been any question about the statements made by the Senator in this speech being deliberately made, and made for the purpose of reflecting upon the patriotism of the Republicans of the country and Republican Members of Congress in particular, and driving into the Democratic Party all voters who are at this time giving loyal support to the country, that question was removed by a subsequent statement of the Senator in a speech on the floor of the Senate, in which he undertook to explain what he meant in his Manchester speech. In explaining what he really had in mind at that time the Senator makes it very plain that in his judgment support given by a voter in an election of Members of Congress to a Republican candidate indicates a lack of loyalty to the country at this time. The Senator explained his Manchester speech in this way:

Mr. President, it was my intention when I made that speech to present very clearly to the country that which I now repeat, that in an hour like this, when the President of the United States, as the Commander in Chief of the armies is waging a war against the enemies of America, the man who presents himself as representing the President stands for the things for which the President is fighting, and that the man who stands against the President stands against the things for which America is fighting. I made the issue.

I deplore, sir, that that constituency could not accept it as such, and regret all the more that my eminent friend from Ohio, by calling attention to the specific issue which I raised, and now inviting the attention of the Senate to the result of the election, could accentuate before the country, when the issue was directly put before this American constituency as to whether their ballots should be free from partisanship sufficient to be for the President or against the President, that they chose to be against the President and for the Kaiser, or that they chose to be against America and for Germany.

Notwithstanding Senator LEWIS's appeal to the voters of that district, the Republican candidate was elected by a very large majority, and in commenting on this fact the distinguished Senator, the spokesman of the President and the gifted oratorical champion of the Democratic Party, expresses deep regret that the sturdy and hard-headed Republican voters of that district were so forgetful of their duty to the country that they "chose to be against the President and for the Kaiser, or that they chose to be against America and for Germany."

Mr. Speaker, is it possible that Senator LEWIS reflected the sentiments of the President of the United States when he spoke in this manner? Is it possible that he voiced the sentiments of Democratic leaders of the country in making the bold charge that in order for the Republican voters of the country to demonstrate their "loyalty to the country" and the fact that they are not "deserters from the flag" they must give up their convictions of a lifetime on great political questions, abandon the party in whose principles they devoutly believe, turn their backs on the great party of Lincoln and go over "en masse, boots and baggage," into the Democratic camp? Is it possible that in the coming election in 1918, when a new Congress is to be elected, the slogan of the Democratic Party is going to be that a vote for a Republican candidate for Congress is a vote for the Kaiser, and that in order to prove their loyalty to the country and not to be "deserters from the flag" Republicans are expected to support Democratic candidates for office? It would seem so from this remarkable utterance, coming as it does from such a high source in the Democratic Party.

I propose now to analyze this appeal made by my good personal friend, the distinguished Senator from my State, to the Republican voters of the loyal State of New Hampshire and see what foundation, if any, he had in making such an appeal to them. Was there any justification for such an argument except the desire to have the Democratic Party profit politically on account of the present distress of the country? Let us see if this is not an effort to capitalize the loyalty and the patriotism of the loyal masses of the country to the advantage of the administration in power.

Every Member of the Congress of the United States, and every informed person in the country, knows that at no time since the delivery of the address of the President of the United States to the joint session of Congress on April 2 to the present time has there been any effort on the part of Republicans to play party politics on any of the great questions that have been considered here. [Applause on the Republican side.] Let us take up the essential war measures that have been considered and enacted into law and see whether or not the official actions of the Representatives of the Republican Party in this body and in any other branch of the National Legislature have been less patriotic or less loyal than have been the official actions of our Democratic friends.

Perhaps the first of the great measures considered by the Congress intimately connected with the war was the "armed-ship bill," which was considered during the closing days of the Sixty-fourth Congress. The President before that time had severed diplomatic relations with the German Government and had given Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, his passports. The President came before Congress and in a very able address requested Congress to pass what was then known as the "armed-ship bill," a measure granting to him the authority and the power to arm and equip the merchant vessels of the United States with guns and gunners from our Naval Establishment, so that they might protect themselves upon the high seas from German submarines. This question was considered in the House for two days before the close of the last Congress. Although the President urged this measure as a peace measure, it was generally regarded by everyone as a practical entrance into the war, or at least it was very generally believed that unless Germany backed up on her announced purpose to wage indiscriminate submarine warfare this step on the part of America meant an acceptance of the gage of battle thrown down by the German Government and was notice to the world that the United States was prepared to take the extreme step of going to war in defense of American rights. After quite a lengthy discussion of this bill a roll call was had in the House, and out of a membership of approximately 200 Republican Members but 9 Republicans voted against the bill on final passage. So, Mr. Speaker, there was certainly nothing in that vote, so far as the Republican membership of the House was concerned, that would justify the claim that Republicans were

for the Kaiser or that they were "deserters from the flag." There was nothing to justify the argument of Senator LEWIS that the election of a Republican candidate to a seat in this body could anywhere be justly considered as an expression of disloyalty on the part of a constituency and a demonstration of unfriendly sentiments toward the President of the United States. This measure, as everyone remembers, failed in the Senate because of the inability of the supporters of the bill to bring it to a vote, but it is a matter of common information that had the measure reached a vote in the Senate it would have received the entire support of the Republican membership of that body, with probably two or three exceptions.

The next great measure affecting our relations with Germany and relating to the present war was the formal adoption by Congress of the war resolution. When the President addressed the joint session of the two Houses of Congress on the relations existing between our country and Germany he laid before the Congress instance after instance of the violation of American rights by the Government of Germany; cited the brutal and unjustifiable murder of American citizens—men, women, and children—traveling on peaceful missions on the high seas, and summed up his whole address with a declaration that this amounted to war upon the Government and people of the United States and demanded of Congress the adoption of a formal resolution recognizing the existence of a state of war. Congress immediately gave consideration to the address of the President—careful and earnest consideration such as a question of that tremendous importance to the American people demanded. On a roll-call vote in the Senate on the question of officially recognizing a state of war every Republican Member in that body, with the exception of three, voted for the adoption of the resolution. Four Democratic Members of the Senate voted against the resolution. When the resolution came to a vote in the House of Representatives, after a memorable debate, out of a total membership of 435 there were but 50 votes in the negative. These negative votes were divided about equally between the two sides of the House. If the vote on the formal resolution recognizing a state of war is to be the test of loyalty here, there was nothing in the vote in the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States that would warrant anyone in believing or charging that Republicans were less friendly to the Government of the United States than Democrats or that Republican Members of Congress and the Senate are less worthy of occupying seats in Congress than their Democratic colleagues.

Since the declaration of war both branches of Congress have passed bills which, in the aggregate, authorized the issuing of bonds and have levied taxes upon the people to the amount of many billions of dollars to carry on the war. In the consideration of these measures in Congress partisan politics at no time have been injected into the discussion by Republican Members, and on the passage of these great bills which provide for the raising of the most stupendous sums of money that were ever raised in the history of the entire world there was no partisan division; and on both the measures authorizing billions in bond issues not a single Republican vote was cast in the negative. [Applause on the Republican side.] So in this phase of the conduct of the war, the raising of money which is as vital to the prosecution of a war as raising the Army, there was nothing in the attitude or in the action of the Republican Party as a whole or any of its Members that would justify the argument made by Senator LEWIS in the New Hampshire campaign that a vote for a Republican candidate for Congress was a vote for Germany and a vote against the Government of the United States.

Another great war measure that has been considered and enacted into law by Congress, perhaps the greatest, was the military bill, or the bill authorizing the creation of a new army of more than a million men. There was nothing connected with the consideration of this bill in either branch of Congress that would indicate that the Republicans are less ardent in their loyalty to the Government of the United States than Democrats. Let us see what the real facts are as to the military bill. The administration demanded of Congress that the army to be created should be raised by a selective-draft system. This plan of raising an army in America was a new departure, and at the time the proposition was first mentioned was contrary to the sentiment of a majority of the Members of Congress and, in my judgment, was contrary to the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the people of the country. It was a reversal of the most sacred traditions of the American people. Yet the President and the administration very earnestly urged the adoption of this system as necessary to a successful prosecution of the war. In the consideration of that measure upon the floor of Congress many of the Democratic leaders were against the President. A majority of the Democratic members of the Committee on Military Affairs, which reported the bill to the House, refused to follow the lead of the administration and stood for the volunteer system that had heretofore prevailed. Among the prominent Democratic leaders who opposed the administration on this measure were the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], and the able and honored occupant of the Speaker's chair, Mr. CLARK, who not only declined to follow the President's leadership, but delivered one of the most able and eloquent speeches of the entire session in opposition to the measure. The leadership in the fight to put through the President's program on that question was assumed by the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], ranking Republican member of the Military Affairs Committee. Among the ablest advocates of the administration program in the debates in Congress were Members sitting on the Republican side of the House, and on the final test vote by which it was decided to accept the administration's plan of the selective draft in raising the armies as against the volunteer system, a very large number of Democratic Members broke away from the President, including the distinguished leaders I have mentioned and others prominent in the Democratic House organization. A very large majority of the Republican membership of the House voted with the administration.

On this question I was not in agreement with the majority of my Republican colleagues and was one of the 109 Members who voted for the volunteer system as against the system of a selective draft. And I am frank to say now that nothing has happened since that time that has caused me to change my opinion on this subject, and I do not in any way regret the vote I cast for the old, time-honored volunteer system. In fact, it is the one vote I am prouder of than any cast by me since I have been a Member of Congress. It therefore certainly does not lie in the mouth of any supporter of the President to say that in the consideration of this measure, which the administration considered of prime importance and which was the main feature of the legislative program urged upon Congress by the President, Republican Members of Congress took a position that could justify the argument made by Senator LEWIS that it was necessary for the support of the President and the war that Democratic Members of Congress should be sent here from Republican districts.

Mr. AUSTIN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Certainly.

Mr. AUSTIN. Is it not a fact that the Republican Member [Mr. BURROUGHS] elected to fill the New Hampshire vacancy has stood by and voted for these war measures recommended by the President?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Absolutely so. The gentleman is right. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague be given 10 minutes more.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time of his colleague [Mr. WILLIAMS] be extended 10 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Another of the great war measures, which was recommended by the administration and which has been enacted into law by Congress, was the appropriation of practically three-quarters of a billion dollars to be expended in the building up of the greatest fleet of aircraft the world has ever seen. This measure received the support of every Republican in both branches of Congress. Another of the great war measures that has been enacted into law by Congress was the appropriation of vast sums of money for the construction of merchant vessels and the creation of a great merchant marine for the purpose of making it possible to transport our armies and munitions and supplies for the Army to Europe. This measure was one of the really important measures of the whole war program and received the solid vote of the Republican Members of Congress.

Another great measure that we have enacted into law during this special session and one which the administration was very insistent upon was the so-called food-control bill. This legislation was perhaps more far-reaching in its provisions, more radical in the changes made, than any measure ever passed by the American Congress. It conferred great and almost autocratic power on the President of the United States in the matter of the production, distribution, and conservation of food supplies. The President said that the enactment of this measure into law practically in the shape in which it was submitted to Congress was vitally necessary and important to the successful prosecution of the war. On the final passage of this great measure in the House of Representatives, on the vote approving the conference report, not a single Republican vote was

cast against it. It received the unanimous vote of every Member present, without regard to party affiliations. Can it be claimed, then, by any candid person that there was anything in connection with the consideration of this great measure to justify the argument that Republicans are less to be trusted upon this floor in the enactment of legislation necessary to a successful prosecution of the war than Democrats?

Mr. Speaker, there have been several other important measures enacted into law during this special session of Congress which the President recommended and urged as a part of the war program, and on not a single one of these measures can it be said that the Republicans have shown less inclination to do that which was for the best interests of the country at this time than have the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle. On all essential war measures, including the creation of the Army, the strengthening of the Navy, the building up of a merchant marine, the creation of a great air service, the conservation of food supplies, the authorization of stupendous loans of money in amounts that almost stagger the imagination, Republicans have presented practically a united front, have laid aside partisan politics, and have declined to take advantage of many things where perhaps legitimate political capital could have been made. They have consistently acted in a manner to strengthen the Government and uphold the administration in every proper way. On no essential war measure can it truthfully be charged that Republicans have given less support to the administration than have Democrats.

It is true that on some measures incidental to the prosecution of the war we have considered during this session Republicans have not been able to follow the recommendations of the administration. The Republican Members almost unanimously opposed the proposition urged by the President to muzzle the press of the country, believing it was not essential to the successful prosecution of the war, and believing also that the constitutional guaranty of free speech and a free press could not and should not be denied the people of this country. [Applause.]

Republicans in Congress take the position that this being the people's Government, and this being the people's war, the American people are entitled to know all the facts possible for them to know in connection with its management. [Applause.] Republicans believe that the people of the country can be trusted, that they have a right to know what is going on in the various branches of government, also that they have a perfect right, in a proper way, to subject the acts of every official of the Government, from the President of the United States down to the humblest official to the closest scrutiny, and that the people have the undoubted right, and that it is their duty to discuss fully and freely public questions, even questions concerning the management of the war. [Applause.]

For these reasons Republicans in Congress refused to muzzle the press of the country and to deprive the people who are to pay the expenses of this war and who are to furnish the soldiers to fight its battles from their rightful privilege of knowing all that can properly be divulged consistent with the public safety. Republicans do not consider the fact that they have stood for free speech and a free press as evidence at all that they are for the Kaiser and against the President, and that they are for Germany and against the United States, or that they are "disloyal to the cause" and "deserters from the flag." [Applause on the Republican side.]

Another matter upon which Republicans, quite generally in Congress, opposed the administration was on the proposition of accepting the tender of Mr. Roosevelt to furnish a division of volunteer troops for service in France. Not only was the practically solid Republican membership of the two Houses in Congress in favor of allowing Mr. Roosevelt to take a division and go to France, but many Democrats joined them in support of that proposition; and it unquestionedly was the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the American people that his services should be accepted. [Applause.] I have never seen anywhere any good or sufficient reason given why the President defied the expressed will of Congress, and what he knew was the pronounced sentiment of the people of the country in this matter. It is not surprising that the sentiment in the country is widespread that the reason Mr. Roosevelt's patriotic offer was not accepted was because it was feared in some quarters that he might distinguish himself if given an opportunity to fight for his country and thereby further increase his great and justly deserved popularity with the American people.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague be allowed to complete his remarks. How long will it take?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, only a little longer.

Mr. LANGLEY. I ask that the gentleman be given 10 minutes more.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have 10 minutes more.

The SPEAKER. Unanimous consent is asked that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] have 10 minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Another proposition that Republicans quite generally agree upon and upon which they differ from the administration is that there should be a joint committee on war expenditures created from the membership of the two Houses of Congress, which committee would have to some extent supervision over the huge war contracts that are being let and over the expenditure of the stupendous sums of the people's money that Congress is appropriating to carry on this war.

Republicans take the position that the people are perfectly willing to furnish whatever money is necessary to a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, but that they have a right to know that every dollar of their money is properly spent and there can be no harm and much good would result from a committee such as Republicans propose to create to supervise and control in the proper way the expenditures of these vast sums of money. [Applause on the Republican side.] Certainly if these contracts are all fair, and there is no graft going on anywhere, and there is no disposition in any quarter to steal a little from the Government here and there on contracts, there can be no harm come from the creation of a committee of this kind, and the people will rejoice to know their money is being honestly and economically expended.

And, on the other hand, if there is perchance some room for the suspicion that improper and extortionate contracts are being forced with the Government and that a large part of the people's money, raised for the prosecution of the war, may possibly be filched from the Treasury by thieving and grafting contractors no patriotic man could object if a joint committee of the two Houses of Congress should expose such improper transactions and put a stop to such practices. There can not be too much light turned on public officials who are expending billions of dollars with practically no control or supervision. The President, however, is very insistent that such a committee should not be appointed, and has stated in a letter written to the chairman of one of the important committees of the House that such a committee would hamper him greatly in the proper conduct of the war. The fact that Republicans in Congress are in favor of a committee of this kind and are in favor of the honest expenditure of every dollar of the people's money in this war, and are opposed to thieving and grafting and looting the Treasury does not prove that they are for the Kaiser and against the President, or that they are enemies of the United States or friends of Germany by any means.

Mr. Speaker, aside from the position which has been taken by the Republicans on these questions, no one reading the proceedings of this Congress, and no one following the debates or listening to the roll calls when votes have been taken here on great war measures would be able to distinguish between the support given to the Government and to the administration by Republican Members of Congress from that of Democratic Members. So there is certainly nothing in anything that has transpired during the eventful weeks and months since this Congress was called into extraordinary session by the President that would justify or would in the slightest degree warrant the astounding argument made by the distinguished Senator from Illinois to the voters of the first New Hampshire district, in which he appealed to them to show their loyalty to the country and to the flag by voting for the Democratic candidate for Congress, and solemnly and in eloquent phrases warned them that a failure on their part to do this could only be construed as opposition on their part to the President of the United States in his efforts to maintain a war for democracy and justice.

If there is nothing in the record and the conduct of the Republican Party since the beginning of this war to justify the appeal of Senator LEWIS in his Manchester speech for Republicans to vote for Democratic candidates for office on the grounds of patriotism and loyalty to the country during a time of war, there is certainly, Mr. Speaker, nothing in the past history or record, either of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, that would warrant such an argument and such an appeal. The Republican Party, so far as loyalty to the country and devotion to the flag are concerned, has a record unsurpassed by any party in the political history of the United States. Without in any way reflecting upon the present leadership of the Democratic Party, so much can not be truthfully said of the past history and the past record of that great organization. There is much in the past history of the Democratic Party that Senator LEWIS

and the other Democratic campaign speakers do not mention when they are discussing loyalty and urging voters not to be "deserters from the flag." This is not the first time the country has been involved in desperate war. This is not the first time in the history of America that democracy and liberty have been assailed. From 1861 to 1865 a sanguinary conflict was waged in this country for the very life of the Nation, and certainly liberty and democracy were at stake in that great struggle. At that time the Republican Party, which is the minority party during this administration, had control of the Government in both the executive and legislative branches, and the Democratic Party for which Senator LEWIS speaks was in the minority and occupied relatively the same position in the Government at that time that the Republican Party now occupies relative to the present war.

Before the argument of Senator LEWIS is conceded to be well founded and meritorious, before Republicans are required to desert their party, before they are asked not to support candidates upon their own ticket and are required to support Democratic candidates and Democratic tickets in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the country, it might not be amiss to inquire somewhat into what the record and attitude of the Democratic Party was toward the Government of the United States and toward the administration in power and what position that party took toward the prosecution of the great war for the Union in the dark days from 1861 to 1865. I would not feel justified in calling the attention of the House and the country to the unfortunate and regrettable record of the Democratic Party as an organization in time of war were it not for the fact that it is apparent that a great effort is to be made in the coming campaign, and probably in the following campaigns, to capitalize the patriotism of the country into an asset of the Democratic Party. During the Civil War the Democratic Party, although in the minority, had a large membership in both branches in the Congress of the United States. After the election in the fall of 1862, in the middle of the war, they controlled the State legislatures in a number of the Northern, or loyal, States. Did the Democratic Members of Congress in that day or the Democratic legislatures in the States which they controlled during the progress of that war give Mr. Lincoln's administration the cordial and earnest support that Republicans have accorded to the present administration? Did they, with the unanimity that has marked the action of Republicans during the present war, support all the essential war measures recommended by Mr. Lincoln? Were they in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war? Did they speak of Mr. Lincoln, who was then President, in terms of respect such as Republicans throughout the Nation and in Congress always speak of President Wilson during this crisis? Oh, no! Oh, no! It is a matter of history, and is also a matter within the recollection of many men and women now living, that the Democratic Party of the North as an organization during the four long, trying years of the Civil War, when the life of the Union was at stake, was a disloyal organization in the main. There is not a record anywhere extant where a Democratic convention or a mass meeting, from a township gathering up to the national convention of the party which assembled at Chicago in the autumn of 1864, ever expressed one word in support of Mr. Lincoln or one word in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. Every official utterance of the party denounced Lincoln, denounced the conduct of the war, demanded the immediate termination of hostilities, and negotiation with the revolting States for the restoration of peace. There was not a prominent Democratic newspaper of the North during these long, dreary years that had a good word for Mr. Lincoln or that gave in any degree support to the Republican administration then in power. It is a fact well known by those who are familiar with the history of that time that the opposition which the Democratic Party of the North interposed to the prosecution of the war at times gave President Lincoln graver concern than the Confederate armies on southern battle fields.

Senator LEWIS, who is not only one of the most eloquent orators in the United States Senate, but is a gentleman of great learning and wide information, certainly had forgotten the recorded history of the record of his own party in our own State during the dark days of 1861 to 1865 when he admonished Republicans in the loyal State of New Hampshire that they could best show their loyalty to the country by deserting their own party and supporting a Democratic candidate for Congress.

In June, 1863, there was held at Springfield, Ill., the capital of my State, the home city of Abraham Lincoln, a great Democratic mass meeting. This meeting had been advertised far and wide throughout the confines of Illinois. The newspapers of that period estimated that on the day of this monster Democratic mass meeting 100,000 Democrats journeyed to the State capital and participated in what was in fact a great antiwar demonstration. Speeches were made to the assembled thousands by the then leading Democrats of Illinois and adjoining States.

Among the speakers were Senator Richardson, of Illinois, who succeeded the lamented Douglas in the Senate of the United States; Dan Voorhees, the eloquent leader of the Democratic Party of Indiana, Sunset Cox, then a distinguished Congressman from the State of Ohio, afterwards a Representative on this floor from the State of New York; and others equally noted. Lincoln was denounced as a tyrant, who had subverted constitutional government, who had become a greater autocrat, as was said by one speaker, than the Czar of all the Russias. There was much eloquence of a similar strain. Tremendous enthusiasm was aroused. The name of the archtraitor Valandingham was loudly cheered, and as a final act, which branded the great gathering for what it was—a traitorous assemblage of disloyal persons—the following resolutions, giving official expression to the sentiments of the Democratic Party of Illinois, the home State of President Lincoln, were adopted:

Resolved, That the further offensive prosecution of the war tends to subvert the Constitution and Government and entail upon the Nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy; that we are in favor of peace upon the basis of a restoration of the Union and for the accomplishment of which purpose we propose a national convention to settle upon terms of peace, which shall have in view the restoration of the Union as it was by securing by constitutional amendments such rights to the several States and the people thereof as honor and justice demand.

These resolutions were given the greatest possible publicity through the disloyal publications of the North and were heralded far and wide as being evidence of the fact that the people of the Northern States, especially the home State of President Lincoln, the loyal State of Illinois, were not united in the support of the war and were determined upon its immediate termination. These resolutions were also printed in full in the newspapers of Richmond, Va., the Capital of the Confederate Government, and other prominent newspapers throughout the South. That they had a tremendously bad effect upon the prosecution of the war, tending to prolong it and to increase the sacrifice of blood and treasure necessary to save the Union, is not in any manner a matter of doubt. The gallant soldiers of the Confederate armies, against whom the tide of battle was turning at that time and who were fighting against great odds, were encouraged to believe by the resolutions adopted at Springfield and by similar resolutions adopted by Democratic assemblages throughout the North that there was such a growing public sentiment in the Northern States against a further prosecution of the war that if the Confederates could hold out a few months longer their cause would be won because of the total collapse of loyal sentiment in the North. How many gallant men wearing the Union blue lost their lives because of the renewed encouragement given to the Confederates and because of the prolongation of the war by reason of these disloyal utterances of Democratic Party leaders in the North will never be known.

Oh, this was a great meeting! It was a red-letter day in the history of the Democratic Party in Illinois. It was called by them a patriotic meeting. But not a single patriotic utterance was heard from any of the eminent gentlemen who spoke on that occasion. Not one word of criticism was spoken of Jefferson Davis and his associates who were engaged in a criminal and treasonable attempt to overthrow the Union and to destroy the Government. Not one word of condemnation of traitors, but torrents of abuse of loyal men characterized every speech. Lincoln was the object of their peculiar wrath, and his heroic efforts to save the Union were to these Illinois Democrats highly criminal and reprehensible.

What would have happened had the resolutions that were adopted by that great Democratic assemblage become the policy of the Nation? Would it have meant the saving of the Union? Would it have meant a reunited country of which a hundred million free people, North, South, East, and West, are proud to-day? No! If the resolutions so enthusiastically adopted by that meeting had been accepted as a program for the future management of the war, the Union cause would have been irretrievably lost, Lincoln's administration would have been an ignominious failure, secession would have become an accomplished fact, and the government of Washington and the fathers would have been dismembered for all time. Senator LEWIS certainly could not have had that great meeting of the Democracy of his own State in mind when he was advising the patriotic Republican voters of New Hampshire that in order to assert their patriotism they should support a Democratic candidate for Congress against a highly honorable and capable candidate on their own ticket.

But, Mr. Speaker, that is not all. Even in the halls of the American Congress, during the dark days of the Civil War,

treasonable speeches were made day after day by distinguished leaders of the Democratic party. The war program of President Lincoln was criticized and opposed in every way possible.

Lincoln was denounced, traduced, and vilified day after day. His every act, his every word, was criticized and everything possible was done to obstruct the successful prosecution of that great war, as the pages of the Congressional Globe during those four eventful years abundantly prove. Why, here in this very Chamber, upon this floor, on April 8, 1864, a Democratic Member of Congress from the State of Ohio, Alexander Long, delivered a speech fairly bristling with treason, in which he announced that the Union Armies could not succeed; that the Southern States by force of arms could not be held in the Union, and advocated a recognition of the independence of the Southern States. Lest it be thought that I may exaggerate what was said by this distinguished gentleman, this spokesman of the Democratic Party, on this floor in the darkest hour of our country's history, I quote his language from the Congressional Globe of that date:

> Will they throw down their arms and submit to the terms? Who shall believe that the free, proud American blood which courses with as quick pulsation through their veins as our own, will not be spilled to the last drop in resistance? Can the Union be restored by war? I answer unhesitatingly and deliberately, No!
>
> War is final, eternal separation. I am reluctantly and despondingly forced to the conclusion that the Union is lost, never to be restored. * * * I see neither North nor South any sentiment on which it is possible to build a Union. * * * In attempting to preserve our jurisdiction over the Southern States we have lost our constitutional form of government over the northern. The very idea upon which this war is founded, coercion of States, leads to despotism. I now believe there are but two alternatives, and they are either an acknowledgment of the independence of the South as an independent nation, or their complete subjugation and extermination as a people, and of these alternatives I prefer the former.

Mark the date of this treasonable utterance, April 8, 1864. At the time this speech was made upon the floor of Congress, hundreds of thousands of brave men had given up their lives under the flag that the Union might live; countless thousands more had been maimed and wounded for life; Gettysburg had been fought and won; Vicksburg and Mobile had fallen; and the Mississippi River, the Great Father of Waters, once more "flowed unvexed to the sea." After three years of desperate war the Confederate armies had been forced back over mountains and rivers, the Southern Confederacy was hemmed in on every side and surrounded by a wall of fire. The Federal armies were slowly but surely tightening their grip on Richmond, and Sherman was marshaling his invincible hosts for their triumphant march to the sea.

It was recognized everywhere that the days of the so-called Confederate Government were numbered and that the triumph of the Union was near. It was at this hour when assured victory was in sight that this proposition was made in Congress by a prominent Democratic leader to give up all that had been gained by the great sacrifice of blood and treasure, freely spent that the Union might live. It was in this hour when victory was certain and the restoration of the Union was practically assured that the treasonable proposition was made in Congress to acknowledge the independence of the Southern States as an independent nation. This was treason—bold, defiant treason.

What would be thought of a Republican Member of Congress in this day if he should arise in his place and demand a cessation of hostilities; should declare that Germany could never be defeated; say that the American cause was hopeless; and advise practically the unconditional surrender of the Government to German autocracy by admitting the righteousness of the German cause and denouncing the position of our own Government? A Member who would dare to utter such treasonable sentiments in this place at this time would be expelled from this body by an almost unanimous vote.

Yet this gentleman, Mr. Alexander Long, delivered the sentiments just quoted amid the frequent applause of his party colleagues and took his seat without a single word of rebuke or dissent coming from the Democratic side of the House. A resolution was introduced on the following day, April 9, by the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, at that time Speaker of the House, providing for the expulsion of Long because of the treasonable utterances contained in his speech. This resolution required a two-thirds vote, which could not be obtained, as the entire Democratic membership, with very few exceptions, voted against the resolution of expulsion. Upon the failure of the resolution to expel Long, the following resolution was introduced:

> *Resolved*, That said Alexander Long, a Representative from the second district of Ohio, be, and he is hereby, declared to be an unworthy Member of the House of Representatives.

A roll call was had on this resolution, a record of which is found in the Congressional Globe of April 14, 1864, from which it appears that 69 Democratic Members of the House voted against the adoption of the resolution, indicating thereby that they indorsed the sentiments voiced by Long, and that they did not consider him an unworthy Member to sit as one of their colleagues in this Chamber.

Time will not permit even brief reference to the almost innumerable utterances of disloyal sentiments and treasonable acts of the leading members of the party of which Mr. LEWIS so eloquently speaks during the troubled days of the sixties. But the official position of the Democratic Party as an organization was proclaimed in the platform of that party which was adopted at Chicago on the 29th day of August, 1864. This convention was composed of leading Democrats from all the Northern and border States. These men presumably reflected the real sentiment of the constituencies which they represented in that great convention, and the platform which was adopted by the convention is an official expression of the position of the Democratic Party of that day on the questions growing out of the great war for the preservation of the Union. The most eloquent orators of the party appeared before the convention and many notable addresses were made. Not one word was uttered in commendation of Abraham Lincoln or his administration. Not a single criticism was made of the leaders of the so-called Confederate Government, many of whom had sat as delegates in the last preceding Democratic national convention, held four years before. The convention nominated as its standard bearer Gen. George B. McClellan, who, during the early years of the war, commanded the Army of the Potomac, and adopted a party platform for him to run upon which reads, in part, as follows:

> *Resolved*, That this convention does explicitly declare as the sense of the American people that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.
>
> *Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic Party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the supervision of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oath; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

These resolutions, unanimously adopted by the Democratic National Convention of 1864, require no word of comment or explanation from me. They show conclusively that the administration of President Lincoln in its supreme effort to put down the rebellion and preserve the Union had neither the sympathy nor the support of the Democratic Party of the North as an organization.

Gen. McClellan, the Democratic candidate for President in that campaign, in his letter accepting the nomination was compelled practically to repudiate the platform upon which he was running, and he did so in the following significant and remarkable language:

> I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the Army and Navy, who have survived so many bloody battles and tell them that their labors, and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethern had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we so often perilled our lives.

By its platform utterance the National Democratic Party in 1864 proclaimed that the war had been a failure, asserted boldly the proposition that the Union could naver be restored by force of arms, and demanded that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities. This platform was adopted as the official creed of the Democratic Party within six months of the final collapse of the Confederate cause at Appomattox. It was published in all the leading newspapers of the South, and gave great aid and encouragement to the Confederate Government to continue the struggle until after the election, when it was confidently believed and announced Abraham Lincoln would be repudiated by the people of the North and that the friends of those in revolt against the authority of the Government and seeking to subvert it would come into power at Washington.

Mr. Speaker, this is the record for loyalty in time of war of the party for which Senator LEWIS spoke in his speech at Manchester, N. H., the party that now claims a monopoly on the patriotism of the country. It is not of such a character as would impel any Republican who reveres the name of Lincoln, and who is proud of the great traditions and the

glorious history of the Republican Party to now abandon its banner and seek a home within the ranks of the Democratic Party. Before Republicans can be convinced that it is their patriotic duty to desert their party and to vote a Democratic ticket in congressional elections a stronger case will have to be made in support of the Democratic Party than that made by its record for loyalty during the days of the Civil War and a stronger case will be required to be made against the Republican Party than that shown by its record in support of the administration and the Government during this present war.

Republicans do not propose to abandon their party. It is not necessary that they should do so. They will give true and loyal support to this administration in its every effort looking to a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war because they are members of a loyal party and Republicans propose to discharge their full duty to the Government of the United States at all times, whether their party is in power or out of power.

Mr. Speaker, I represent here a people as intelligent and as patriotic as there is in this country. A majority of those whom I represent are surviving soldiers of the Civil War and their descendants.

A majority of them did not support the Democratic Party in the last election. They will not support the Democratic Party in the next election, in my opinion, yet they stand unitedly behind the United States in this great crisis and will do their full duty. They know the record and splendid history of the party to which they belong, and they are not unfamiliar with the record of the party which Senator LEWIS now invites them to join.

They are not "deserters from the flag," and they resent the charge that support given to Republican candidates for office during the continuance of this war brands them as being "against the war, against the President, against America," and that they are for "Prussianism and the defeat of the United States by her enemies."

They are for America now and always, as against the world, and will do their full duty in this crisis and make every sacrifice that loyalty and love of country may require of them. They have without complaint sent forth to the Army their sturdy sons to fight under the flag for the old Union as their fathers did in the days of Lincoln. They know but one country and one flag—that country is the United States of America; that flag is the Stars and Stripes.

But they must not be told by those high in the confidence of the present administration that loyalty to the country and to the flag now demands of them that they surrender their political convictions, desert the party of Lincoln, and enroll themselves under the political banner of the Democratic Party. This they will not do.

There is an issue before the country to-day that rises high above party issues and party considerations, and great is the responsibility resting upon Members of Congress at this time. The Nation demands of each of us the very best and most consecrated service of which we are capable. This is no time to seek party advantage. We can not gamble with the dearest interests of the American people by playing party politics here and now. A great Republican once said, "He serves his party best who serves his country best." This is especially true in a great national crisis like the present.

So far as I am concerned I have during the trying days of this special session been guided wholly by my sense of duty to the country, without giving the slightest consideration to what effect my actions here might have upon me personally in the future. I know our cause is just. We are striking in self-defense for the very principles of liberty and democracy upon which the Government is founded. Our future liberty, our future peace and security as a great people, are at stake in the conflict. This will not be a good world to leave for our children to live in if autocracy wins the war, and if the doctrine that solemn treaties between nations are "mere scraps of paper," and the doctrine that "necessity knows no law" should by brutal force and frightfulness become established as the rule of the world.

I thank God I represent upon this floor a loyal constituency, a constituency that would disown me if I faltered in my support of the Government or in my allegiance to the flag of our fathers; a constituency that would despise me if I should pay them so poor a compliment as to assume that I could win their applause and hold their confidence by a course of disloyalty as their Representative here in the Congress of the United States. [Applause.]

LAND LAWS—MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the committee, and to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 2918 for present consideration.

The SPEAKER. The order of the House was that after the conclusion of the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS] the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] was to have 15 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I do not want in any way to impede the ordinary and natural procedure of the House, and as long as there is business pending I shall be glad to withhold my speech.

The SPEAKER. There are two small matters that will take only a very short time.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the committee be discharged, and to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 2918) providing that the forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Utah asks to discharge the committee from the further consideration of S. 2918, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, from a hurried reading of this bill I should take it to be an exact copy of section 501 of H. R. 6361, to extend protection of civil rights to Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war, which the House passed a day or two ago. Am I correct?

Mr. MAYS. It is not an exact copy; it is in effect the same; but that will not become a law at this session. This bill ought to pass at this session. There is a great desire to have it pass this session, because of the fact that the soldiers now going into the service are very much disturbed. I have here a telegram.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the bill may be read for the information of the House, still reserving my right to object.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2918) providing that the forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military and naval service during the present war.

Be it enacted, etc., That no right to hold, occupy, or enter any public land initiated or acquired under any public-land law of the United States by any person in the military or naval service of the United States during the existing war prior to the commencement of his military or naval service shall be lost or forfeited by reason of his absence from the land or of his failure to perform work or make improvements thereon, or do any other act required by the law under which initiated during his service in the present war and until six months thereafter: *Provided*, That each such claimant shall, within six months after the passage of this act, or within six months after he is mustered into the service, file in the local land office of the district wherein his claim is situated, a description of his claim a notice of his muster into the service of the United States, and of his desire to hold his said claim or claims under this act: *Provided further*, That during the present war and until his discharge from the service, any person serving in the armed forces of the United States who is a claimant, applicant, or entryman under any of the land laws of the United States, or who has prior to enlistment filed a contest with a view to exercising preference right or entry thereunder, may make any affidavit required by law or regulation of the department affecting such claim before his commanding officer, as provided in section 2293 of the Revised Statutes of the United States: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall be construed to deprive a person in the military or naval service or his heirs or devisees of any rights or benefits to which he or they may be entitled under the public acts of the United States, Sixty-fifth Congress, numbered 32, approved July 28, 1917; numbered 36, approved August 7, 1917; numbered 40, approved August 10, 1917; public resolution, Sixty-fifth Congress, numbered 10, approved July 17, 1917, or any other act or resolution of Congress; nor shall anything herein be construed as abating any contest filed against the claim of any such person prior to his entrance into the military or naval service of the United States for failure to comply with the law prior to such entrance, or as validating or reviving any claim, application, or entry upon or in connection with which such person failed to comply with the applicable law or laws to his entrance into the military or naval service.

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman from Utah if this bill has been referred to the Committee on the Public Lands, of which he is a member?

Mr. MAYS. My request for unanimous consent embodied the proposition that the committee be discharged.

Mr. MONDELL. Has the gentleman conferred with the members of the committee?

Mr. MAYS. Practically all that are in the city.

Mr. MONDELL. Are there any members of the committee here now?

Mr. MAYS. I have seen the chairman.

Mr. MONDELL. This bill deals with a number of matters on which we have already legislated. We have legislated, and there is now on the statute books a law relieving homestead entrymen of the necessity of residence and homestead and desert entrymen of the necessity of doing work on their claims; and further, doing what this bill does not do, as I read it hurriedly, give them the benefit of constructive residence during their military absence. We passed a bill here the other day providing that claimants who had initiated rights to land be-

fore they entered the service could make affidavit relating to those lands before their commanding officer.

This bill may be all right, but it is a reenactment, in the main, of legislation now on the statute books. The remainder is a copy of part of a bill that has passed this House.

Mr. MAYS. But it has not passed the Senate.

Mr. MONDELL. I know; but until the Committee on the Public Lands has had an opportunity to examine it and see wherein it may conflict with the laws we have already passed, in order that we may know that in attempting to do something more for the entrymen we are not depriving them of rights they already have, I shall have to object.

Mr. MAYS. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for me to read a portion of a telegram from the exemption board of my State?

Mr. MONDELL. I will withhold it.

Mr. MAYS. These laws that we have passed do not cover every case that requires consideration. This is from the board of appeals:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *September 19.*

Congressman JAS. H. MAYS,
Washington, D. C.:

In a large number of cases of men held to service by this district board has been revealed a condition of indebtedness of a serious nature to the individual suddenly taken from his business. A large number of men who were squatters upon public land are affected. A large number of men developing mining claims are affected, because no provision has been made by the Government to protect their interests. These men entered the service unduly worried, and can not respond as they should. This board feels keenly this situation and regrets that in the exercise of its duty no consideration could be given such condition, and now most respectfully and emphatically urges that Congress enact protective legislation covering such cases of men ordered to service, and asks your best efforts to bring about such legislation before adjournment. Because of its close knowledge of these facts this board feels such legislation is vital to the proper morale of the new Army.

DISTRICT BOARD OF THE STATE OF UTAH,
By P. L. WILLIAMS, *Chairman*,
LAFAYETTE HANCHETTS, *Secretary*.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, September 27, 1917.

Hon. WM. H. KING,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your request for some comments upon S. 2918, "A bill prohibiting forfeiture of entries on the public lands on account of absence in the military service of the United States," I submit the following:

The bill is similar to H. R. 6179, and I suggest that the title to the latter bill, "Providing that the forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war," is more descriptive of the contents of the bill than is the caption to the Senate bill.

The first 12 lines of the bill are designed to protect any valid right which a soldier, sailor, marine, or any other person in the military service during the existing war may have initiated prior to his entrance in the service, and it will have the effect of suspending during the war and for six months thereafter any requirements as to residence, improvement, cultivation, application, entry, or any other act required by the law in connection with such a claim.

The acts of Congress cited in lines 20 to 25, page 2, and lines 1 and 2, page 3, protect homestead settlers and entrymen, desert-land entrymen, and relieve from the performance of annual assessment labor upon mining claims those in the military or naval service.

Senate bill 2918, in addition, would protect those in the military or naval service who have the following classes of claims:

Those persons in the military or naval service who had, prior to entering same, initiated desert claims upon unsurveyed lands, act of March 28, 1908 (35 Stat., 52); coal claims initiated under coal-declaratory statements (sec. 2348, Rev. Stat.); water-power permits acquired under the act of February 15, 1901 (31 Stat., 790); reservoir and canal rights of way acquired under the act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat., 1095); preemption claims on the former Ute lands in western Colorado and the Bitter Root Valley, Mont., in which areas the old preemption law is still operative; Indian lands entered or purchased and upon which payment of annual installments of purchase money are required by existing law; mining claims upon the Shoshone ceded lands upon which entries are required within five years from date of location (see act of Feb. 25, 1909; 35 Stat., 650).

The proviso beginning on page 1 and concluding on page 2 is regarded as important for the reason that unless provision is made for the filing of a notice of the claim in the land office, the Interior Department will not know of the existence of claims to unsurveyed lands for which entry has not been made. To protect the persons in the military service, as well as to prevent the tying up of lands upon which there are no such claims, it is necessary that some record shall be made as provided in this bill.

The second proviso on page 2 will permit persons in the military or naval service to exercise preference rights secured through contest or to complete their entries or filings by making necessary affidavits before commanding officers, as provided in section 2293, Revised Statutes.

The provisions on page 3, lines 3 to 10, are deemed advisable in order that the bill may not protect fraudulent or invalid claims against which contests have been filed prior to defendant's entering into the military or naval service, and to prevent the reviving of any claims canceled or abandoned prior to that time.

Very truly, yours,

_____,
Member, Board of Appeals.

DISTRICT EXEMPTION BOARD,
Salt Lake City, Utah
(Care of Lafayette Hanchett):

Your telegram received. Legislation is enacted and in process of enactment designed to protect enlisted and selected men. Will urge its passage this session.

JAS. H. MAYS.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1917.

DISTRICT BOARD OF EXEMPTION,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

GENTLEMEN: In response to your suggestion I have introduced a bill in the House of Representatives, as per attached copy, designed to relieve enlisted and selected men who may be occupants upon public land.

The Interior Department believes this bill will cover all possible cases.

There is a bill pending, introduced by Senator CHAMBERLAIN, which will grant relief as per your suggestion, with respect to contractual and other obligations due from such enlisted and selected men. The Senator thinks the bill will pass this session.

We have already enacted legislation exempting locators of mining claims who may be in the service from doing assessment work.

A bill generally exempting mining claims from assessment work during this year was passed by the House yesterday, and probably will become a law this session.

We believe these various measures will cover all possible cases to which your telegram referred.

If I can be of further service, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Very truly, yours,

_____.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield right there? The gentleman knows that most, if not all, of these classes of claims have been protected. We have protected the miner by relieving him of the necessity of doing assessment work.

Mr. MAYS. We have not done anything to prevent the forfeiture. These men have to perform certain things. Since the telegram was sent we have passed a general exemption law on mining claims. I have a letter, written yesterday, from the Department of the Interior giving a long list of other cases to cover. The gentleman referred to the bill that passed a day or two ago, called the civil-rights bill, which embodies this idea?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes; and also the Timberlake bill.

Mr. MAYS. That did not cover forfeiture.

Mr. MONDELL. It protected them by allowing men to file their affidavits and thus do anything necessary to prevent forfeiture; and prior to that time we passed a bill which not only protected the entrymen and settlers on unsurveyed lands, and applicants under the 640-acre law, relieving the entryman from the necessity of residence on the land, but, in addition to that, giving them the benefit of constructive residence upon the land.

Mr. MAYS. Let me finish the telegram.

Mr. MONDELL. We have been doing things since the party wrote that telegram.

Mr. MAYS. Now, the remedy that is granted through the civil-rights bill will not become a law this session. I will say that the Senator from Utah tells me that he has 50 telegrams asking relief at this session, because of the state of mind of these people. The gentleman himself introduced an amendment on the civil-rights bill which, in my judgment, at the time will cover just this, but his amendment will not become a law at this session.

The Senate has to-day passed this bill, and we are asking that it be considered at this time.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, let me make my position clear. The various laws that we have passed do protect in one way or another every class of land-claimant entryman in the service during his military service. It is true that this bill, in the portion that is copied from the civil-rights bill, holds all sorts of action against him in abeyance, so that it might not be necessary for him in a certain limited class of cases, as it may be now, to make affidavits while in the service in order to protect his rights; but we have practically covered the ground, with possibly a very limited number of comparatively unimportant exceptions. The Senator from Utah has gathered together some legislation that has already been enacted and some of the provisions contained in the civil-rights bill, that may not be enacted this session, and has put them into a new bill. I am not prepared to say that this bill, thus gathered together from laws that we have enacted or from proposals of legislation that has passed the House, may not be of some benefit; but without careful examination no man on the floor can tell what effect it may have on other and further provisions of recent legislation giving homestead settlers the benefit of constructive residence during the time of their service. The gentlemen said that he had referred this matter to certain members of the Committee on Public Lands. There is at least one member of the Committee on Public Lands on this side, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], who says that he has not seen the bill. The matter is too important to be taken up now without anyone having read the bill, conflicting as it may with legislation that we have passed after careful consideration, and have the House pass it by unanimous consent, without opportunity for comparison and full consideration.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit me to call his attention to a few matters?

Mr. MONDELL. Oh, I know that we could talk about this at length; but let me suggest to the gentleman that for the time

being he withdraw his request and get his committee together, get the laws that we have passed on these subjects, examine them all in connection with this legislation, and then, if the members of the committee who are in the city believe the legislation will aid some cases we have not provided for and should be enacted, I shall not object; I shall be very glad to help. I think, however, it would be exceedingly dangerous in the last day of the session, without any consideration, to pass a bill that may jeopardize rights and privileges heretofore granted.

Mr. MAYS. I have no objection to doing that.

Mr. MONDELL. It would be very dangerous to bring in a bill that legislates upon subjects on which we have already legislated in a different way, without careful examination, which I can not have now.

Mr. MAYS. If the gentleman will permit one second, I am doing this at the request of the chairman of the committee himself, who is leaving the city. So many of the gentlemen were leaving the city that he said we would talk about it informally, and see if there was any objection to it. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] did not happen to be in the Chamber at the time, but I have seen a majority of the Committee on Public Lands. They considered the same idea the gentleman referred to in committee, and they passed it favorably. The idea here is to grant this relief at this time, rather than to wait until some future session.

Mr. MONDELL. The question is whether, assuming to grant relief in this bill, you do not by inference repeal legislation already enacted, and particularly legislation, and most important legislation from the standpoint of the gentleman's constituents, which gives the benefit of constructive residence during his service in the Army to a homesteader.

Mr. MAYS. I have no objection to getting those together whom we can who are on the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. I am fairly familiar with this class of legislation.

Mr. MAYS. The gentleman introduced an amendment himself embodying the idea of it.

Mr. MONDELL. I realize that this is all adopted from other legislation and legislative proposals.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the gentleman to one matter.

Mr. MONDELL. To take up now, without examination by the committee, a piece of legislation which covers ground covered by three or four bills that we have heretofore passed, without an opportunity to consider the bill carefully, may result in repealing or affecting the best legislation that we have already enacted.

Mr. MAYS. I would say in explanation of this bill that upon receipt of this telegram from the district exemption board of my State I asked the Interior Department to report whether or not there were certain parties who should be protected who were going into the military and naval service who had not been protected, and the department said that they would report later in the day; they would have their attorney look it up carefully. This bill was drawn by the Interior Department to cover cases that had not been covered and matter that should be urgently considered and which is in no wise in conflict with the legislation already passed. It carries out the idea that the gentleman had in his amendment, and it carries out the idea of our section 501 in the civil rights bill. But that legislation will not become a law, I am advised, at this session.

Mr. MONDELL. Let me say to my friend I know he is just as anxious to have this legislation in perfect form as I am, and it is just as important for his people as for mine.

Mr. MAYS. I am willing to let it go over.

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman will withhold the request until the members of the committee can examine it——

Mr. MAYS. It will have to be done to-morrow.

Mr. MONDELL. It can be done the first thing to-morrow morning.

Mr. MAYS. I am perfectly willing to bring it up again. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the request for the time being.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws his request.

PRINTING OF HOUSE REPORT NO. 169, ETC.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 170.

Resolved, That 10,000 copies of House Report No. 169, first session, Sixty-fifth Congress, and 10,000 copies of the act authorizing national banks to issue their notes in denominations of $1 and $2 be printed, 2,000 of which shall be delivered to the folding room and 8,000 to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

EXTRA MONTH'S PAY TO OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Tennessee rise?

Mr. AUSTIN. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House joint resolution to enable the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employees of the Senate and House borne on the annual and session rolls on the 15th day of September, 1917, including the Capitol police, the official reporters of the Senate and House, and W. A. Smith, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD clerk, for extra services during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, a sum equal to one month's pay at the compensation then paid them by law, the same to be immediately available.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire whether the gentleman has advised the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of his intention to submit this resolution?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, if I were to submit myself to a rule of that kind lots of meritorious bills would never get through this House, and we really ought to be able to handle this proposition and do justice and fairness to the employees and officials of the two Houses without consulting the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations or the chairman of any other committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I took the liberty of asking, in the absence of the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], whether the gentleman had submitted him this resolution granting an extra month's pay to the employees.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. AUSTIN. Would a motion be in order to suspend the rules and pass the resolution?

The SPEAKER. Not now. Whenever the Senate passes the adjournment resolution then a motion to suspend the rules would be in order; but I understand they are in a row over there and there is no telling when they will pass it. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

BARNARD STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I send the following resolution to the Clerk's desk and ask to have it read in my time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the President be requested to use his good offices to prevent the shipment from the United States to England of the George Grey Barnard statue of Abraham Lincoln, which it is proposed to set up in London as a gift to the people of England.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, the fame of Abraham Lincoln is, of course, secure as one of the great figures not only in the history of the United States, but in the world's history. From one point of view, it makes very little difference to us in the United States, who know his achievements and his character, what is thought of him in the other countries of the world. And yet I think it is a matter of proper and natural pride when we find to what an extent, and to what an increasing extent, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is revered in the countries across the sea. It is a source of legitimate pleasure when we read that the prime minister of England, in a recent very important address upon the purposes of the allies in this war, found that he could do no better in summing up than to quote the words of Abraham Lincoln, uttered at the time of the Civil War.

We accepted the war—

Said Lincoln, as quoted by Lloyd-George—

for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will never end until that time.

About eight years ago an organization was formed on this side of the Atlantic and on the other side of the Atlantic known in the one case as the American Centenary Committee and in the other as the British Empire Centenary Committee.

These two committees were formed to act in cooperation and to make plans for a fitting commemoration of the 100 years of peace between the United States and Great Britain. Doubtless many of the Members present who were Members of the Sixty-third Congress will recall that they allowed the use of their names as members of an honorary committee composed of men in public life, which was formed to participate in the arrangements and in the celebration.

When the great war broke out in 1914 it was found that the plans of the committees could not proceed to advantage or the celebration be held. And so the program was radically changed. It was arranged to substitute a plan which involved the dedication of suitable memorials to the great men of the two countries. The British committee, which became known as the Sulgrave Institution, purchased the manor house at Sulgrave, England, the home of that branch of the Washington family to which George Washington belonged, and made it a gift, and certainly a most welcome and appropriate gift, to the American people. The American committee conceived the laudable purpose of securing a sum of money with which could be purchased and erected in Great Britain a statue of Abraham Lincoln. An American sculptor of note, George Grey Barnard, was already at that time at work upon a statue of Lincoln, which was to be set up in the city of Cincinnati.

Through private benefaction it was arranged that he should prepare a replica of that Cincinnati statue, and that that replica should be sent across the sea and erected in London. That plan has progressed, until now, as I am informed, the replica is actually boxed and awaiting shipment to the other side. Those of you who are familiar with London will remember that as you go down from Trafalgar Square through Whitehall, and on through Parliament Street, you finally come to a point where on your left-hand side are the Houses of Parliament and on the right-hand side is Westminster Abbey. That point is the precise location where this statue is to be erected—probably the most conspicuous, honorable, and historic site in the whole of Great Britain.

Mr. Speaker, of course we are all proud that the United States and Great Britain are by joint and harmonious action to erect in such a historic spot a statue of Abraham Lincoln. But then comes the question, and the inevitable and proper question, what kind of a statue it is to be. Some of you may have seen the original statue, which is now erected in Cincinnati. I have in my hand a reproduction which appeared in the Literary Digest for January 6, 1917. Those of you who are in the front rows may be able to examine the details of the statue. I want to call your attention to the fact that in the type just beneath the picture are the words "Copyrighted by George Grey Barnard."

George Grey Barnard is the sculptor of this original statue, and, as a consequence, the sculptor of the replica which is to go to Great Britain. It is fair to infer from the fact that that photograph appears in the Literary Digest, bearing the inscription "Copyrighted by George Grey Barnard," that it represents—in his opinion, at least—a reasonably satisfactory reproduction, by which the public may get an accurate impression as to the merits of the statue. There are other photographs to which I will call the attention of the House. One of them appeared in the Literary Digest of February 10. Others appear in the June and August issues of the Art World.

I desire to call your attention to some things about the statue. In the first place, there is absolutely no trace of the grandeur and the repose and the power and the mentality in the face of the statue that we associate, and I believe associate properly, with the memory of Abraham Lincoln. When you look at the elongated neck you are inevitably reminded of the picture of Alice in Wonderland after she ate the wrong piece of cake. [Laughter.] If it be suggested that the Literary Digest photograph of this statue—which, by the way, is more than twice life size and stands on its pedestal 25 feet high—is unfair to the original in that, being taken by a camera at its base, it foreshortens and brings out of focus the upper portions, I remind you that every observer will see the statue from the height and location from which the photograph was taken. I am quite willing to predicate my remarks on any reproduction which may be submitted.

Mr. SLOAN. I understand there is such a statue in Cincinnati?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes. It is the replica which it is proposed to send over to Great Britain.

Mr. SLOAN. I wonder that Brother LONGWORTH and Dr. FESS have allowed a statue of that kind—if that is the true representation—to stand in Cincinnati. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROGERS. Of course, if Cincinnati wants that kind of a statue, that is the kind of a statue it wants. But I think the whole American people, and not merely the people of Cincinnati, must interest themselves in the type of statue of Lincoln which shall go across the ocean to represent the United States for all time between Westminster Abbey and the House of Parliament.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. George Grey Barnard is a sculptor and artist of world-wide reputation. I was wondering whether the resolution the gentleman has offered has had the consideration of other artists or is the gentleman's own?

Mr. ROGERS. If the gentleman will allow me to proceed for a few minutes I hope to demonstrate to him that I am not going off half-cocked, and that I am not alone in my opinion.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman may be right in his criticism. I do not know. I have read somewhere in the newspapers, however, that some artists were complaining of this particular replica. I say that only in fairness to the sculptor, who I understand has done some very exceptional work.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Barnard is a Pennsylvanian, is he not?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; born in Bellefonte.

Mr. ROGERS. He designed, I think, some of the statuary in the capitol at Harrisburg?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; I believe he did some of that work in France. I am not, however, particularly familiar with his work, but I know he is a sculptor of wide reputation.

Mr. ROGERS. Let me continue my analysis. The neck sticks up like that of a crane.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am sorry to say that the necks of some of the rest of us do that. [Laughter.] Will the gentleman let me see that picture?

Mr. ROGERS. Certainly. The Adam's apple is easily the most noticeable feature—if an Adam's apple can be called a feature. Lincoln's arms are crossing himself at the middle as if he was suffering the most violent internal pain. [Laughter.] Perhaps he awaits an ambulance to take him to the operating table. He is wearing great shapeless boots like canal boats. His clothes are shabby and ill-fitting, and give the figure a slouchy and slovenly appearance. As a whole—I think it is fair and conservative to say—the statue looks rather simian than human, and certainly is not one that we like to think of as characteristic of Abraham Lincoln. It is a libelous and grotesque monstrosity.

I want to be entirely fair to Mr. Barnard, who is a sculptor of great ability and distinction. I will quote what seems to be an authentic interview with him, which appeared in the Philadelphia North American of November 19, 1916. In that interview he said, "I wanted to show the man's soul through his face and hands and feet."

If you will look at these great, awkward, skeletonlike hands, large as hams, crossing at his waist, I do not think you will feel that there is very much soul shown through them. If you will look at the misshapen, ugly, comic-cartoonist feet, I do not think you will find that there is much soul there—spelled "s-o-u-l"; although at least two very conspicuous soles. [Laughter.]

How did the sculptor get the impression of Lincoln upon which he drew? Here is what he says:

> I traveled through the States, North and South, East and West. I advertised and went personally to look at many men. At last, in Louisville, Ky., after a great number had come to me, I found the one I wanted. He was 6 feet 4¼ inches and realized as nearly as any other being conceivably could all that we know of Lincoln's appearance. I asked him about himself, and he gave this curious account:
>
> "I was born on a farm only 15 miles from where Lincoln was born. My father, my father's father, and his father were all born there. * * * I have been splitting rails all my life."

So that the basis for the model which Mr. Barnard used was a man combining three qualifications: He was 6 feet 4 inches tall, as Lincoln was; he was born 15 miles from where Lincoln was born, an obvious essential; and he had split rails all his life. Thereupon, as if conceived by magic, came the inevitable model of Abraham Lincoln. [Laughter.]

How did he get the clothing and shoes of Abraham Lincoln? Again, I quote from the interview in the Philadelphia North American, which tells us that the sculptor "wanted to show the man's soul through his face and hands and feet":

> To complete the circle he got an old-time broadcloth frock suit, which had served as a wedding garment in Illinois in the early sixties, and from the very county in Kentucky where the martyred President was born a pair of just such shoes as men of his position wore about the middle of the last century.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the gentleman if he has any objection to my including in the RECORD at the close of his remarks a sketch of George Grey Barnard?

Mr. ROGERS. None whatever.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Has the gentleman ever seen the statue in front of the old courthouse in this city, something similar to the statue that the gentleman is talking about? And does the gentleman recognize any resemblance to that?

Mr. ROGERS. No; and I do not recognize any marked resemblance between this statue and the wonderful St. Gaudens's statue in Chicago.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That has been recognized down there as not being of sufficient likeness to the martyred President.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I have absolutely no personal grievance in this matter. I do not know Mr. Barnard. I only know him through his work. I know that he is a sculptor of unusual distinction. I do not enjoy criticizing his work. I wish it were unnecessary.

But even if he is a sculptor of distinction, in an international matter of this kind the American people have the right to consider whether his notion of Abraham Lincoln, or the truth, shall prevail and shall serve as the basis for a monument which is to stand in Great Britain for all time.

Let us see what the facts are about the personal appearance of Abraham Lincoln. I hold in my hand the particular volume of the Encyclopædia Britannica—which, as you all know, is an English work—which contains the life of Abraham Lincoln. The publishers of the Encyclopædia Britannica came to America in order to secure the best possible author of their sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln. They selected John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary and biographer. Here is what he says about Abraham Lincoln; and if you please I want you to consider, as I read, whether they square with the picture in the Literary Digest which I have just shown to the House:

President Lincoln was of unusual stature, 6 feet 4 inches, and of spare but muscular build. He had been in youth remarkably strong and skillful in the athletic games of the frontier, where, however, his popularity and recognized impartiality oftener made him an umpire than a champion.

Now mark this—

He had regular and prepossessing features; dark complexion; broad high forehead; prominent cheek bones; gray deep-set eyes; and bushy black hair, turning to gray at the time of his death.

"He had regular and prepossessing features." That is the assertion of the man who was for years the intimate and trusted friend of Abraham Lincoln. The Milwaukee Sentinel has taken a keen interest in this Barnard statue of Lincoln, and has taken the trouble to get the consensus of opinion of living men who knew Lincoln as to whether this statue is an accurate portrayal. Here is what the Milwaukee Sentinel has to say:

The question arises, Is it realism at all? Is it a faithful presentment in bronze of the real Lincoln? That question is still fairly capable of settlement. There are entirely credible and competent witnesses now living who knew Lincoln in the flesh and remember perfectly well how he looked—no difficult thing, for "Old Abe" was a striking figure that, once seen, was never forgotten.

We have tried this test, by submitting to some who knew Lincoln in life the appalling photographic cut of the production which is supposed to perpetuate for Cincinnatians the appearance of Lincoln. The consensus of usually indignant testimony is that it is fearfully and wonderfully unlike Lincoln as they knew him.

The sculptor seems to have evolved his conception of Lincoln out of his inner consciousness, though he states that he was greatly assisted by contemplating a man he met in Louisville, who was 6 feet 4½ inches tall, who was born not far from Lincoln's birthplace, and who had been splitting rails all his life.

The finished artistic result of these processes is one that, so far as our own inquiries go, is calculated to stir to wrath and resentment those who knew Mr. Lincoln in life and must be admitted to be competent witnesses as to his personal appearance.

It is perfectly possible to combine good art with a respectable degree of verisimilitude in these productions. If we are going to have statues of Lincoln, a decent respect for the memory of "Old Abe" seems to require that they resemble him, and are not freaks of fancy that with a few alterations might do duty as figures of Ichabod Crane or Dominie Sampson or St. Simeon Stylites on his penitential pillar.

I do not suppose that there can be higher or more credible testimony than that of the son of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, now living in the city of Washington. Mr. Lincoln has gone on record in a public protest against this statue of his father. With the permission of the House, I will quote two letters from him on this subject:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 22, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to ask your consideration of a matter which is giving me great concern and to bespeak such assistance as you feel able to give me.

When I first learned through the newspapers that your brother, Charles P. Taft, had caused to be made a large statue of my father for presentation to the city of Cincinnati I very naturally most gratefully appreciated the sentiment which moved him to do this; when, however, the statue was exhibited early this winter I was deeply grieved by the result of the commission which Mr. Taft had given to Mr. Barnard. I could not understand, and still do not understand, any rational basis for such a work as he has produced. I have seen some of the newspaper publications inspired by him, one of which, printed in the North American, of Philadelphia, in November, and another in the Literary Digest for January 6 last, attempt to make explanations which are anything but satisfactory, to me at least. He indicates, if I can understand him, that he scorned the use of the many existing photographs of President Lincoln and took as a model for his figure a man chosen by him, for the curious artistic reasons that he was 6 feet 4½ inches in height, was born on a farm 15 miles from where Lincoln was born, was about 40 years of age, and had been splitting rails all his life.

The result is a monstrous figure, which is grotesque as a likeness of President Lincoln, and defamatory as an effigy.

I understand that the completed statue has gone to Cincinnati to be placed. As to that I have nothing more to say, but I am horrified to learn just now that arrangements are being made for a statue of President Lincoln by the same artist, and, I assume, of a similar character, to be presented for location, one in London and one in Paris. I understand also that these statues are to be gifts by Mr. Taft. I do not think I have ever had the pleasure of meeting him, and I am therefore venturing to beg you, on my account, to intercede with him and, if possible, to induce him to abandon this purpose, if it is true that he has it in mind. I should, of course, have filial pride in having a good statue of my father in London and in Paris, of a character like the two great statues of him made by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and that which I have good reason to expect in the Lincoln Memorial, now being modeled by Daniel Chester French. That my father should be represented in those two great cities by such a work as that of which I am writing to you would be a cause of sorrow to me personally, the greatness of which I will not attempt to describe.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President, always

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) ROBERT LINCOLN.

The Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

HILDENE, MANCHESTER, VT., *September 16, 1917.*

F. WELLINGTON RUCKSTUHL, Esq.,
Editor of the Art World, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. RUCKSTUHL: In reply to your suggestion that I should send you for publication a letter of protest against the erection in London and in Paris of the Bernard statue of my father, I find myself in difficulty, owing to the vigor and fullness of your own articles in the June and August issues of the Art World. I have already expressed to you my deep sense of gratification that you have so earnestly dealt with this miserable affair, from both artistic and public points of view, and I can think of nothing to add in those regards. But, as you did not know my own personal feeling and opinion when you kindly sent me your published articles, and think that there are others who might care to know them, I am sending you a copy of a letter written by me to President Taft as soon as I heard of the London and Paris projects; I send also copies of letters giving the views of three gentlemen peculiarly able to express a personal opinion for reasons I indicate in notes appended to the copies. These you are at liberty to use as you may think proper. Renewing my thanks to you for the helpful part you are taking in my efforts, believe me,

Very sincerely, yours,

(Signed) ROBERT LINCOLN.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, this protest of Mr. Robert T. Lincoln should be decisive, even if the case against the statue were not as strong as it is. Lincoln was not an ugly or repulsive man. He was a plain man. Perhaps he might even be called a homely man, in the best sense of that term. There was far more than mere beauty in his face. I have made it a point to talk with a number of men who knew Lincoln personally and who remember how he looked. Their impression was always one of dignity and high-minded intellectuality—the exact opposite of the impression that one extracts from the statue as portrayed in the picture to which I have referred.

Mr. George H. Story, who is still living at the age of 82, painted a portrait of Abraham Lincoln shortly after Lincoln went to the White House. I have called attention to the size of the hands and feet in the Barnard statue, and I have called attention also to the fact that this sculptor seems to be proud of the size and shape and appearance of the hands and the feet. I desire to read what Mr. Story said, in an entry in his diary made in 1861, of Lincoln's hands and feet. I do not say that this is the most important thing about the statue or that we ought to lay too great stress upon it, but I use it simply as indicating the unfairness of the statue and the lack of fidelity to life which I believe prevails throughout the whole work:

Mr. Story says:

Hands and feet appear rather small for a man of his size; his feet are in fine, close-fitting calfskin boots; his clothes are of the finest broadcloth and well fitting.

Abraham Lincoln was essentially a man of dignity. He knew the responsibilities and the proprieties of his great office. He lived the part. This statue shows him with a soft collar which does not rise above the level of the neckland; one point is tucked down in some way under the coat collar, and the other point raised above it, flying off as if pursued by a strong wind. Did

he ever wear such a collar after he left the haunts of the frontiersman?

The question is, What shall be done? Great Britain is powerless to protest. She can not look a gift horse in the mouth, and especially can she look a gift horse in the mouth at this particular time. The question is whether the United States shall act. I do not suppose it is a natural thing for the Congress to legislate upon a matter of this sort. But this statue, which is a grotesque and distorted and defamatory caricature of Lincoln, is soon to go across the water unless it can be stopped. In my judgment it is a calamity to the American people, and not only to the American people but to the English people, to have it stand for all time before the walls of Westminster Abbey. In my resolution I call upon the President to prevent the shipment of this statue. Standing 25 feet high, it will be one of the most conspicuous as well as one of the most hideous objects in London.

A mere suggestion from the President would stop the shipment. The gentlemen who are presenting it and sending it are patriotic Americans. They do not want to fly in the face of the well-considered judgment of the American people. In a time of war, when so many other things of greater importance are engaging the attention of the American people, we are not thinking of these things unless our attention is specifically directed to them. I am sure that a single word from the President of the United States to the patriotic and high-minded sponsors of the gift, whose sole purpose is to perform a generous and public-spirited act and to cement the friendship between the United States and Great Britain would be sufficient. In my resolution I am calling on the President to speak that single word. [Applause.]

Let us have no statue if we can not have the best statue. Far better, rather than to have an inferior and unworthy and even cruel thing, to ask the people of Great Britain to remember the great American by recalling the words of the manly apology made by their own famous Punch on hearing of the martyrdom of the Emancipator:

Beside this corpse that bears for winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew;
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?
Yes; he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To tame my pencil and confute my pen;
To make me own this hind of prince's peer—
This rail splitter, a true-born king of men.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend at this point a sketch of the artist who has been referred to by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The sketch is as follows:

Barnard, George Grey, sculptor; b. Bellefonte, Pa., May 24, 1863; s. Joseph H. and Martha (Grubb) B.; studied 1 yr. at Art Inst. of Chicago; Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887; m. Edna Monroe, of Boston, Mass., 1895. Exhibited in Paris Salon, 1894, and was then named Associé Société Nationale des Beaux Arts; awarded gold medal, Paris Expn., 1900; gold medal, Buffalo Expn., 1901; Prof. sculpture, Art Students' League, New York, A. N. A. Works include: Brotherly Love; Norway; Two Natures (in Met. Mus., New York); The God Pan (in Central Park); The Boy; group, Brotherly Love in Norway; The Hewer; Urn of Life (19 figures in marble); group, Brotherhood in Suffering; Despair and Hope; Youth; Mother and Angel; Lone Woman; Prodigal Son and Father; great group, Adam and Eve; relief (22 ft. high), Labor and Rest; Christ; group of Baptism; Love and Labor; The Brothers; family group of 4 figures; Pa. Capitol; also busts of Abram S. Hewitt, Collis P. Huntington, Blair Thaw (poet), Dr. Leeds of Stevens Inst., etc. Mem. Nat. Inst. Arts and Letters. Address: Care Monroe & Co., 7 rue Scribe, Paris, France.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from the further consideration of Senate joint resolution 89, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes, and for its consideration in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from further consideration of Senate joint resolution 89, and for its present consideration in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 89) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.

Resolved, etc., That in order to provide for immediate and necessary drainage of lands in the Rio Grande reclamation project, New Mexico and Texas, the provisions of the sundry civil act, approved June 12, 1917, so far as applicable to said project, are hereby modified and amended so as to authorize and permit the Secretary of the Interior to expend not exceeding $15,000 in drainage work upon that portion of the project located within the State of New Mexico pending the formation of an irrigation district covering the lands within New Mexico under this project, and to expend upon that portion of the project located within the State of Texas such amount, within the limit of available appropriations, as the existing irrigation district may obligate itself to repay.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from New York to tell the House what this is about and about how much money it will cost.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, in the sundry civil appropriation act for the current year there was a limitation placed on the expenditure of funds for the Rio Grande reclamation project for drainage purposes, under which, unless drainage districts were formed under State laws and the districts contracted with the Reclamation Service to assume the burden of the cost of drainage, money could not be expended for such purpose. That limitation was placed on the appropriation bill at the request of the Reclamation Service.

Since that time conditions on the Rio Grande project in certain portions of New Mexico and Texas have become such that unless money be immediately expended to overcome the rising ground water very considerable damage will be done to crops now in the ground.

In New Mexico an irrigation district is in process of formation. The necessary steps to be taken, together with the negotiations with the Reclamation Service officials, require a very considerable period of time. It is requested that the service be permitted to expend $15,000 in that district in anticipation of the formation of the district.

In Texas there is a somewhat different situation. On that portion of the project in Texas there is a water-users' association, which is a corporation under contract with the service to bear the cost of construction.

The Reclamation Service desired that an irrigation district, which is a municipal corporation, be formed, and that a new contract be entered into with it to assume the entire cost of construction and drainage. Under the constitution of the State of Texas, however, an irrigation district can not assume a liability for drainage in excess of 25 per cent of the value of the property, so that it has been found necessary, instead of creating this new corporation, to assume all of the liability, to continue the water-users' association, with the liability for the construction charges, and to organize the drainage districts, to assume the drainage charges. The matter has been investigated by the Reclamation Service, and the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the Reclamation Service, and counsel for the Reclamation Service recommend that this action be taken. The Committee on Appropriations has been engaged since this bill came from the Senate on the 28th of September in connection with the deficiency appropriation bill, and has been unable to consider the bill. The gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], who is very conversant with all of the reclamation matters, and myself took the matter up with the Reclamation Service officials and went into it thoroughly. We are satisfied that not only will the charges be assumed and expenditures be repaid under the contracts which will be made, but that unless action be taken at this time to enable the Reclamation Service to undertake the work at once damage of a very extraordinary character will result.

Mr. MADDEN. The original contract contemplated the payment in the first instance by the private parties, and now the Government of the United States is to assume the responsibility and advance the money?

Mr. FITZGERALD. No. The Government is building those reclamation projects, and the lands affected come in under an agreement to bear the cost. A dispute arose on this project as to whether the cost of doing drainage work should be added to the construction cost or should be defrayed under the reclamation fund, without repayment. It was because of that condition that the department itself requested this limitation be placed upon its ability to expend money for drainage purposes unless those districts were created and the burden assumed. The department, in the New Mexico portion of the project, because public notice has not yet been issued which fixes the cost to the individual landowners of the project, is able, even if the irrigation district should not contract to assume the burden, to include it in the construction costs; and in the Texas situation the organization of the irrigation district under the Texas law will unquestionably take care of the additional burden in that way.

Mr. MADDEN. They will have the power under the terms of their organization to levy assessments against the owners of the property, so that they may be able to reimburse the Government of the United States?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes; and it makes a contract by which the expenditure becomes a first lien upon the land.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. FRANCIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of Republican support of the war.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I understand that a conference committee is ready to report and that the Senate is waiting, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that I be given leave to address the House to-morrow morning for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WINGO). The gentleman from New York asks leave to address the House for not to exceed 20 minutes to-morrow, not to interfere with conference reports or other privileged matters. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 6175. An act giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska;

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of Staff Corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers;

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.;

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts;

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 3932. An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 116. Joint resolution for the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war, by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utiliaztion of free energy;

H. R. 5648. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate; and

H. R. 5646. An act to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 2203. An act for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise;

S. 2938. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east;

S. 2527. An act authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army;

S. 2937. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta;

S. 2858. An act to defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States; and

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to present a conference report on the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a conference report, notwithstanding the rule. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the conference report.

The conference report was read.

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 197).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 13, 15, 19, 25, 26, 33, 60, 92, 105, and 106.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, and 119, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 6: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the word "cohabitation," at the end of the amendment proposed by the Senate, insert the following: "*Provided further*, That for the purpose of the administration of Article II of this act marriage shall be conclusively presumed, in the absence of proof, that there is a legal spouse living, if the man and woman have lived together in the openly acknowledged relation of husband and wife during the two years immediately preceding the date of the declaration of war, or the date of enlistment or of entrance into or employment in active service in the military or naval forces of the United States if subsequent to such declaration"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert the following: ", and if such child, if born after December 31, 1917, shall have been born in the United States, or in its insular possessions"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 24: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 24. That the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, so far as practicable, shall upon request furnish information to and act for persons in the military or naval service, with respect to any contracts of insurance, whether with the Government or otherwise, as may be prescribed by regulations. Said bureau may upon request procure from and keep a record of the amount and kind of insurance held by every commissioned and appointive officer and of every enlisted man in the military or naval service of the United States, including the name and principal place of business of the company, society, or organization in which such insurance is held, the date of the policy, amount of premium, name and relationship of the beneficiary, and such other data as may be deemed of service in protecting the interests of the insured and beneficiaries."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 88: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 88, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of

the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 90: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 90, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 91: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 91, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert "five"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 117: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 117, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"Not later than five years after the date of the termination of the war as declared by proclamation of the President of the United States, the term insurance shall be converted, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request. Regulations shall provide for the right to convert into ordinary life, 20-payment life, endowment maturing at age 62 and into other usual forms of insurance and shall prescribe the time and method of payment of the premiums thereon, but payments of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 120: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 120, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows; In the first line of the amendment proposed by the Senate strike out "406" and insert the figure "3"; and the Senate agree to the same.

T. W. SIMS,
SAM RAYBURN,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
HOKE SMITH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the conference report:

On amendment No. 1: Changes the reference to the number of the section.

On amendment No. 2: Limits the construction of section 9 as referring only to the Division of Marine and Seaman's Insurance.

On amendment No. 3: Limits the amount of compensation paid to claim agents and attorneys for services to 10 per cent.

On amendment No. 4: Strikes out the words "so far as practicable," to which the House conferees agreed.

On amendment No. 5: This amendment makes the fees allowed and salaries to be the same as in other departments of the Government for similar services.

On amendment No. 6: The House conferees accepted the Senate amendment in its entirety, but also added in addition thereto the House text, which relates to proof of marriages for the purpose of the administration of Article II.

On amendment No. 7: Changes the word "approval" to "enactment."

On amendment No. 8: Changes the word "act" to "amendatory act."

On amendment No. 9: This amendment provides that the child must be legally adopted before enlistment.

On amendment No. 10: This amendment simply adds a comma after the word "only."

On amendment No. 11: This amendment proposes to insert "instrument in writing signed by."

On amendment No. 12: This amendment fixes the date of birth of child and requires birth in the United States or in its insular possessions.

On amendment No. 13: The Senate conferees receded from this amendment, which defines the term of "wife divorced" as being wife divorced without her fault as the ground or cause of such divorce.

On amendment No. 14: This amendment is simply a correction.

On amendment No. 15: This amendment restores the House text, which defines the age limit of a child.

On amendment No. 16: This amendment changes the language as to "disability."

On amendment No. 17: This amendment eliminates an Army clerk and a field clerk, Quartermaster's Corps, from the definition of the term "commissioned officer."

On amendment No. 18: This amendment includes in the definition of the terms "man and enlisted man" members of training camps authorized by law.

On amendment No. 19: This amendment defines the term "dependent"; and the Senate receded.

On amendment No. 20: Simply inserts the word "amendatory" before the word "act."

On amendment No. 21: The House recedes on amendment No. 21, striking out the words "a person mentally incompetent," because it is covered in amendment No. 22, disagreement to which the House also recedes.

On amendment No. 23: The House recedes on this amendment, as the language substituted by the Senate more clearly defines the party to whom payment shall be made.

On amendment No. 24: The Senate recedes from its amendment striking out section 24, and agrees thereto with an amendment inserting the words "on request" after the word "shall," in line 10; and also with amendments striking out the word "shall," in line 14 of the same section, and inserting the words "may on request."

On amendments Nos. 25 and 26: The Senate recedes from its amendments 25 and 26, which are only corrections.

On amendment No. 27: This amendment provides that allotment shall be made only to former wife divorced to whom alimony has been decreed; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 28: Adds the word "decree" after the court order.

On amendment No. 29: Inserts the word "written" before the word "agreement"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 30: This amendment defines what illegitimate child the father must contribute to, and further provides that where it has been judicially ordered that it shall not be beyond the amount decreed by the court; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 31: This amendment strikes out the words "his next of kin" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "the person or persons who would under the laws of the State of his residence be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 32: Strikes out the words "declaration of war" and inserts in lieu thereof "November 1, 1917"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 33: This amendment limits the payment of family allowances for members of class A and to those dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 34: This amendment relates to alimony when decreed to the wife; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 35: This amendment inserts the word "decree"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 36: This amendment inserts the word "written" after the word "agreement"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 37: This amendment relates to an illegitimate child to whose support the father has been judicially ordered or decreed to contribute, and the amount of the allotment shall not exceed the amount fixed in the order or decree; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 38: This amendment relates to the allotment under class B; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 39: This amendment simply changes the word "amendment" to "amendatory act"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 40: This amendment proposes to strike out "a wife, including a former wife divorced, and the children not in her custody, and as between children," and inserts "the members of class A and as between the members of class B"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 41: This amendment simply changes the language relating to the regulations to be made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury with reference to the distribution of allotments and clarifies the language; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 42: This amendment simply inserts the words "on the basis of"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 43: This amendment relates to the certification to the War and Navy Departments with reference to the amount of the allotment to be made by the man; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 44: This amendment strikes out the words "in the course of the service"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 45: This amendment provides that no compensation shall be paid if the injury or disease has been caused by the willful misconduct of the man; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 46: This amendment strikes out the words "from a marriage contracted before or within 10 years after the injury," and is covered in another section of the bill; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 47: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 48: This amendment strikes out the words "percentages of his pay" and inserts the word "amounts." This is necessary because the percentage provisions of the bill were stricken out in the House and the word "amounts" inserted in lieu thereof; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 49 to 55, inclusive: These amendments all reduce the rates of compensation as passed by the House; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 56: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent" and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 57, 58, and 59: These amendments relate to the payment of burial expenses and return of bodies to homes of men who died before discharge or resignation from the service. The House provision provided for the payment of $100 for burial expenses for men who died after discharge or resignation; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 60: This amendment strikes out "eighteen" and inserts "sixteen"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 61: This amendment strikes out the words "mental or physical infirmity, of pursuing any substantially gainful occupation, then until the marriage or death or until such incapacity ceases," and inserts the words "insane, idiotic, or otherwise being permanently helpless, then during such incapacity"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 62: This amendment simply defines the word "widow" as used in section 301; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 63: This amendment strikes out "so as to make it impracticable for the injured person to pursue any gainful occupation," for the reason that if the injury is total a person could not pursue a gainful occupation; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 64 to 71, inclusive: These amendments reduce the rates for disability resulting from injury and change the lettering of the paragraphs; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 72: This amendment simply changes the lettering of the paragraphs; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 73: This amendment strikes out the word "substantially" before the word "dependent"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 74: This amendment inserts the word "amounts," which is necessary; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 75: This amendment adds to the classification of those permanently disabled the words "those helplessly and permanently bedridden"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 76: This amendment provides that those helplessly and permanently bedridden must be from causes occurring "in the line of duty"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 77: This amendment inserts the word "governmental" before the word "medical"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 78: This amendment inserts the words "with such" before the word "supplies"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 79: This amendment inserts a proviso that nothing in this act shall be construed to effect the necessary military control over any member of the Military or Naval Establishments before he shall have been discharged from the military or naval service, which is admitted to be necessary to avoid any conflict of authority; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 80: This amendment strikes out section 304.

On amendments Nos. 81 and 82: This amendment simply renumbers the sections.

On amendment No. 83: This amendment strikes out section 307, which relates to the definition of the term "pay"; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 84, 85, 86, and 87: These amendments simply renumber the sections; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 88: The House recedes, with an amendment changing the time for the occurrence of the disability to 5 years instead of 10 years as inserted by the House and 2 years as inserted by the Senate.

On amendment No. 89: This amendment strikes out "in the course of" before the word "service" and inserts "during the"; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 90 and 91: On these amendments the House recedes with an amendment changing the time for the occurrence of the disability to 5 years instead of 10 years as inserted by the House and 2 years as inserted by the Senate.

On amendment No. 92: This amendment adds after the word "such" the words "minority or"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendments Nos. 93, 94, and 95: These amendments simply change the numbers of the sections; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 96: This amendment strikes out the words "existing pension laws and laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service" and inserts the words "the laws providing for gratuities or payment in the event of death in the service and existing pension laws"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 97: This amendment inserts the words "or their widows, children, or their dependents"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 98: This amendment renumbers the section only.

On amendment No. 99: This amendment inserts the word "amendatory" before the word "act"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 100: The House concurred in the amendment.

ARTICLE IV.

On amendment No. 101: This amendment simply inserts the word "permanent" before the word "disability"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 102: Insert the words "and permanently" before the word "disabled."

On amendment No. 103: Insert, after the word "wife," the words "from the time of his death and during her widowhood, or to his"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 104: Insert the words "and permanent" before the word "disability"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 105: Insert the word "dependent" before the word "both"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 106: Insert the word "dependent" before the word "sister"; and the Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 107: Insert the words "and permanent" before the word "disability."

On amendment No. 108: Strike out the words "and to such other person as may be provided for from time to time by regulation"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 109: Simply strikes out the word "only"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 110: Insert before the word "installments" the words "240 equal monthly" for the reason that it was desired that these payments should run for a period of 20 years; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 111: Adds the words "dividends from gains and savings," as it is believed the beneficiaries should have the full value of the policy at the time of the death; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 112: Makes the basis of calculation the American Experience of Mortality, with interest at 3½ per cent per annum, and provides further that no deduction shall be made from continuous installments during the life of the insured in case of total and permanent disability continues more than 240 months; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 113: Strike out the words "or as in the regulations"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 114: Adds, after the words "reserve value," the words "if any"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 115: Strikes out the word "policy" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "contracts of insurance"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 116: Inserts after the word "war" the words "and thereafter until converted."

On amendment No. 117: Provides that not later than five years after the close of this war that term insurance shall be converted into other lines of insurance without medical examina-

tion, which supersedes the House provision that it could be converted after the war. The House agrees to the Senate amendment with the following amendments: After the word "after" insert the words "the date of the termination of," and after the word "war," in the same line, "as declared by proclamation of the President of the United States."

On amendment No. 118: This amendment simply strikes out the words "*And provided further*, That no" and inserts before the word "or" the word "no"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 119: Strikes out the words "this act" and inserts the words "the provision of this section"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 120: Adds a new section to the bill, section 3, which provides for the revival of the term "general" in the United States Army and provides for the appointment of the commander of the United States forces now in France to this rank; and provides that the salary of the general shall be $10,000 and the lieutenants general $9,000.

T. W. SIMS,
SAM RAYBURN,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken, and the conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ALEXANDER] makes the same request. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned to meet to-morrow, Saturday, October 6, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 269) to authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 191), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 195) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 192), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. TILLMAN, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 3568) to pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 193), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WATSON of Virginia, from the Committee on Elections No. 3, to which was referred the contested-election case of Beakes *v.* Bacon, reported the same with the recommendation that Samuel W. Beakes was duly elected, accompanied by a report (No. 194), which said report was referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HASTINGS, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 1681) to confer upon the superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma the authority now conferred by law upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior respecting lands allotted to the enrolled members of the Five Civilized Tribes and their individual moneys, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 196), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DAVILA: A bill (H. R. 6481) to develop the fisheries and other aquatic industries in Porto Rico; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MASON: A bill (H. R. 6482) to amend the pension laws of the United States; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARDY: A bill (H. R. 6483) to provide additional terminal facilities in square east of 710 and square 712 and 713 for freight traffic; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CAREW: A bill (H. R. 6484) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1917; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRITTEN: Resolution (H. Res. 169) relating to the consideration of House resolution 166; to the Committee on Rules.

By Miss RANKIN: Resolution (H. Res. 171) to authorize an investigation of the District of Columbia workhouse; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND: A bill (H. R. 6485) granting a pension to Fred Hauk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 6486) for the relief of Marion B. Patterson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IRELAND: A bill (H. R. 6487) granting an increase of pension to Charles Saunders; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TEMPLE: A bill (H. R. 6488) granting an increase of pension to John B. Rayle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition urging the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLAND: Evidence in the case of Fred Hauk, to accompany House bill 6485; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Resolution of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, including 40,000,000 members, requesting the appointment of chaplains in the Army at the rate not to exceed, including chaplains now in the service, one for each one thousand two hundred officers and men in all branches of the Military Establishment, with rank, pay, and allowances as now authorized by law, and that there be assigned at least one chaplain for each regiment of Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Engineers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MASON: Petition of 46 citizens of Michigan; 100 citizens of Comanche and Erath Counties, Tex.; 100 citizens of Johnson County, Ill.; 98 citizens of Comanche and Erath Counties, Tex.; 64 citizens of Dublin, Tex.; 35 citizens of Elmhurst, Dupage County, Ill.; 50 citizens of Erath County, Tex.; the Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace; 16 citizens of Stephens County, Tex.; 20 citizens of Chicago, Ill.; 20 citizens of Big Flat, Ark.; 7 citizens of Philadelphia, Pa.; 11 citizens of Florinda, Fla.; 57 citizens of Erath County, Tex.; 20 citizens of Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON'S district; 12 citizens of Casey, Ill.; and 32 citizens of Big Flat, Ark., favoring the passage of House bill 5181; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Petition of citizens of Vandergrift, Westmoreland County, Pa., asking for enactment of law compelling aliens to either serve in Army or suffer deportation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Petition of Central Council of Irish County Associations, Boston, Mass., requesting the President of the United States to use his influence in obtaining national independence and self-government for Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *October 6, 1917.*

(Legislative day of Friday, October 5, 1917.)

The Senate reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask for the present consideration and immediate adoption of the concurrent resolution which I send to the Secretary's desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 15), as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 5723) entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes," the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out the words "of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election," as the same appear on page 30, lines 26 and 27, and lines 1 and 2, on page 31.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will state briefly that by mistake when an amendment to an amendment was adopted a part of the same language was included in the amendment to the amendment and left in the amendment to which it was an amendment. So we want to strike it out.

The concurrent resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

EXPORT OF DISTILLED SPIRITS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 99) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within three years from the date of entry into the United States, which was to amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States."

Mr. SIMMONS. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker had appointed Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. GILLETT a committee on the part of the House to join a similar committee appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses have completed the business of the present session and are ready to adjourn.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution of the Senate authorizing the clerk in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes, to strike out the words "for premiums in advance," etc.

The message further announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 89) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 162) authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2527. An act authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army;

S. 2531. An act to prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes;

S. 2663. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River;

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State;

S. 2920. An act authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon, with carriage;

S. 2937. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta;

S. 2947. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico;

H. R. 5646. An act to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

H. R. 5648. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate;

S. J. Res. 89. Joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes; and

S. J. Res. 99. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States.

PETITIONS.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I submit resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Texas, which I ask may be inserted in the RECORD.

The resolutions are as follows:

House concurrent resolution 1, Legislature of Texas.

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States in a decision has held to be unconstitutional the law under which the cotton-tax fund was collected by the Federal Government; and

Whereas owing to the great number from whom it was collected and the difficulty of the establishment of the individual rights thereto; and

Whereas the money has remained in the Federal Treasury for half a century unclaimed, and it becomes more and more difficult to establish a claim as time goes by; and

Whereas there are none more worthy or who more truly represent the spirit of the South than those Confederates from whom the taxes were collected and their widows; and

Whereas if the Congress of the United States should appropriate money to repay these taxes, it would enable the survivors of the Confederacy to pass their remaining years in comparative comfort; and

Whereas said veterans and their descendants have proved their loyalty to their country by following the flag under the matchless Joe Wheeler in the Spanish-American War; and

Whereas the hundreds of thousands have responded to the call of the peerless leader Woodrow Wilson to enlist in the cause of their country and fight against Germany; and for one-half of a century have helped to pay the pensions of the Federal soldiers, it is just and right and equitable for the Federal Government to return to these veterans what is rightfully and morally theirs; and believing that the North and the Grand Army of the Republic would indorse this act in justice to the decimated ranks of the gray: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house (the senate concurring), That we request our entire delegation in Congress at Washington to prepare, introduce, and work for the passage of a bill to appropriate "the cotton-tax fund" to the Confederate soldiers, sailors, and their widows, and to order the payment thereof to each Confederate soldier, sailor, and their widows in such monthly allowances as said fund will justify as long as such persons may live; therefore be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Member of the Texas delegation in Congress and to our great President, Woodrow Wilson, by the secretary of the Senate and the chief clerk of the House of the Texas Legislature.

Adopted by the house on September 25, 1917.

F. O. FIELDS,
Speaker of the House.
T. B. REESE,
Acting Chief Clerk of the House.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from sundry citizens of Alpine, Tex., regarding the utterances of certain Senators, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. POINDEXTER presented petition of sundry citizens of Colfax, Wash., relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland presented a petition of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Baltimore, Md., relative to the public utterances of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

STREET RAILWAY CONDITIONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. PITTMAN. On behalf of the special committee to investigate street railway conditions in the District of Columbia, I present a report (No. 176) and ask that it be printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That action will be taken.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 93) to consolidate national forest lands (Rept. No. 173);

A bill (S. 95) to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska (Rept. No. 174); and

A bill (S. 102) relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register and receiver of district land offices (Rept. No. 175).

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, from the Committee on Printing, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 101) to provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the Government of the United States an adequate supply of paper at a fair price and by insuring a supply and equitable distribution at fair prices to the industries of the United States, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 177) thereon.

INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT (S. DOC. NO. 116).

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. From the Committee on Printing, I report back favorably Senate resolution 147, submitted by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] on the 5th instant, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 147) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That the manuscript entitled "The Official Report of the Second Inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States and Thomas R. Marshall as Vice President of the United States, on March 5, 1917," be printed as a Senate document, with accompanying illustrations.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SWANSON:

A bill (S. 2980) to permanently renew patent No. 24917; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 2981) granting a pension to Elizabeth K. Cottman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 2982) granting an increase of pension to Ebenezer B. Sims;

A bill (S. 2983) granting a pension to Edward G. Davis; and

A bill (S. 2984) granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Cooper; to the Committee on Pensions.

ADDRESS BY JUDGE W. M. BOND.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a patriotic address delivered by Judge W. M. Bond, of Edenton, N. C., at Lumberton, N. C., on August 30, 1917. I have read the address, and it is a very admirable one by one of the prominent men of North Carolina.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAR AND OUR DUTY.

[A patriotic address delivered by Judge W. M. Bond, of Edenton, N. C., at Lumberton, N. C., on the 30th day of August, 1917.]

Judge Bond said:

"With the world veiled in the gloom of war, alike upon its surface, in the skies, and beneath the bosom of its seas, with millions dead and millions perhaps yet to die, with the flower of our manhood preparing to face its destruction, it may be well to speak of existing conditions. Fate has brought us face to face with a distressing situation. It has come uninvited and is not our fault. After our Government was constructed and our independence had been won by success in the Revolution our Nation began its career. In spite of disasters predicted, each closing decade has waved its admiring tribute to her growth and progress, and to-day her flag is respected on every ocean and her voice is heeded in every council of the nations.

"The War of 1812 was fought with England and terminated. About a quarter century later we had war with Mexico. That ended by establishing American sovereignty to the banks of the Rio Grande. In 1861 we had the War between the States. It closed by a settlement of the slavery question and denial of the right of the Southern States to secede from the Union in 1865. From then until our trouble with Spain a few years ago, which ended in liberation of the isle of Cuba, the pearl of the Caribbean Sea, from Spanish cruelty, we had peace until a few months ago. The weapons used in those contests were playthings compared with present-day methods of destruction. During the entire period of her existence no threat has ever been made to blight the liberties of her people; since the dawn of history no government has placed as few burdens on its citizens.

"The framers of this Government believed in America for Americans, and fancied that, with 3,000 miles of ocean on one side and 10,000 on the other, we would sleep with our dreams undisturbed by European or Asiatic complications. Submarine perfection has dissipated that distance and furled those watery curtains of immunity. Dark shadows of assault, with threatened invasion and destruction, have been floated over us and the continued enjoyment of our liberties is threatened.

"We stretched our arms across the Pacific and gathered in the Hawaiian Isles, and went farther over the bosom of that mighty sheet and acquired the Philippines. That move chained our destinies to theirs. We saw ourselves thus drawn into Asiatic policies and questions. Up to now peace has remained undisturbed and we pursued the noiseless tenor of our way.

"We have fought no war with any foreign power that was not to preserve the freedom of the seas, the great highways of nations, and to preserve the rights and liberties of men. We have fought no war with any power that was provided with present-day equipment for conquest and destruction. We have wanted no war and have done nothing to invite it, but we will meet it, regardless of cost, rather than surrender our national honor and lose our self-respect. True Americans can die, but can not live as slaves.

"Based upon the broad fundamental doctrine that man was capable of self-government and upon the further theory that every man should have equality of opportunity to enjoy the blessings of liberty and happiness, our Government has never fired a cannon that did not echo a desire to maintain the rights of men to freedom and liberty. No shackles of slavery can fetter beneath the shadow of our flag.

"Cutting through the heart of Europe and crossing the Asiatic border for years there has existed a great Government whose whole theory of national existence has been founded upon the so-called divine right of certain men to rule by reason of hereditary privilege. That Government is the German Empire, and its idea of ruling has ever been that every man's neck should have upon it the heel of Prussian military despotism. Its sole conception of right is its might, and its sole idea of solemn promises is to violate them whenever violation is to its advantage. Destructive power and brute force have paralyzed its measure of morality.

"Recently we have been forced into war with that great military machine—a nation that has dreamed only of war and conquest, and that has builded the greatest fighting machine the world has ever seen. They desire other monument to bespeak their conquest, as do the statues in Paris draped in mourning silently lament the loss of Alsace and Lorraine.

"With ghoulish glee, as they spoke of England's contemptible little army, we have seen German soldiery laugh at their solemn treaty to respect the integrity of Belgium, calling it a "scrap of paper," invade that happy and historic little country, converting the sites where stood its splendid cities into international cemeteries where to-day sleep the dead soldiers of many nations and many climes. Like a pestilence which walked in the darkness and a destruction that wasted at noonday, they have made graveyards of that historic country which has never done them a wrong.

"We have seen them become the pirate of nations, and by the use of undersea boats sink ships and drown noncombatant men and helpless women and children. The ocean's bottom is to-day strewn with the bones of its victims. We have seen them make desolate happy countries that had done them no wrong, and leave to starvation their former citizens; they have hammered down cathedrals and colleges with their cannon; trained their guns on Red Cross boats; and slaughtered sleeping men, women, and children by dropping dynamite bombs at night, their vengeance writing cruelty that would have brought blushes to the cheek of the Goth, the Vandal, and the Hun, all done while they were marching arm in arm with the unspeakable Turk, and boasting of the culture and civilization of the Rhine. Language must confess its poverty in any attempt to describe the wantonness of their cruelty and to picture the deeds which only barbarians could have imagined. They seem to enjoy it.

"We have seen their representatives in office in our Capital, under the protection of our flag, entering into intrigues to incite Mexico and Japan to make war upon us. We have read of their efforts to incite to rebellion the negroes of the South. They

drowned our citizens while asserting their friendship for us. We protested, but the outrages continued unabated. They were making war upon us months before we declared that a state of war existed. Any nation that would submit in its cowardice to such treatment without resistance should be swept from existence. It ought not to live and could not live. Struggle for existence is a basic principle of life. Not an animal roams beneath the forest shades, not a bird flies beneath the summer skies, not a fish cuts his way beneath the bosom of the deep, but must be ever alert to resist efforts aimed at its destruction. So is eternal vigilance the price of liberty with man.

"Staggered by their disregard of size and sex in their efforts to stage a frightfulness at which barbarians would shudder, we wonder if Atilla, the Hun, the scourge of God, would not lie dissatisfied in his grave if he knew how they had surpassed him. Faced with duty of selecting whether we would purchase peace at price of surrendering honor, or whether we would die if necessary to maintain it, we were forced into the war. We are told by some it is not our war, and they pretend not to know what we are fighting for. Only the blind should fail to see, in this panorama of bloodshed and slaughter, a studied effort to float the flag of Prussian domination over every capitol of the globe. Since the close of the Franco-Prussian war not a day has passed without strengthening the German dream for absolute world control. Are we ready for them to have it? Not an allied soldier's blood has crimsoned the snows of the Carpathians, not one died at the forts of Liege, not one fell at the Marne, and not one has fallen on the fields of Belgium and France but whose heart's blood flowed to preserve free government and freedom for man. They were fighting as much for us as for themselves; they died that our descendants, as well as their's, might be free. Is it cowardice, demagoguery, politics, or ignorance which makes any say it is not our war?

"Every American soldier who dies on the battle fields of Europe should have floating over him the inscription:

> "He died that American liberty might live;
> He died to stay the iron hand of Prussian despotism.

"Are we craven descendants of ancestors whose blood was shed for us? Some say, from what motives we do not know, that we have no right to send our soldiers to die in Europe. Appalling as the threatened destruction is, it is astounding that American citizens, descendants of men whose blood on the fields of the Revolution bought the liberties we enjoy, should be weakening the arms of their Government, in a state of actual war, by creating distrust and dissension, and making utterances calculated to destroy loyalty and patriotism and give comfort to the enemies of their country. In the face of the enemy, in a state of war, are not words and conduct calculated to destroy loyalty to our flag in every respect moral treason? No man unwilling to support his flag should be protected by it.

"Many treasonable utterances have been made. From now on let every man make a note of such, by whom spoken, when, and where, and who heard them, so that when the smothered resentment of those whose relatives are facing the struggle shall burst into flame, as it will when the death lists float their harrowing sorrow over us, and then inflamed sentiment demands the punishment of the guilty, we may know who the guilty are. Words spoken which lessen the ardor of our people and embolden the enemy are as much overt acts of treason as would be the killing of American soldiers, because of one's sympathy for Germany. Many now are cavorting with the shaded silhouettes of death. They are sowing the wind; they will reap the whirlwind.

"If this Government has not the power to put its soldiers anywhere to prevent its own destruction, we are indeed a weak Nation, and its Constitution is a rope of sand. The suggestion would seem too childish to merit consideration. To say we had no power to intercept and destroy threatened invaders, but must wait until they get on our soil, and then risk our own destruction it would seem unnecessary to answer.

"I am not without sympathy for the fathers and mothers whose sons must go. Ghastly as may be the reflection. I admit many will go who will never return. I am in position to sympathize. One of my sons is in the Army and has served on the Mexican border and elsewhere for a year. Some morning I expect to hear that he is gone. I have another who will probably be drawn into it in the near future. What their fate is to be I can not know. I can only wait and hope, and 'hope's brightest robes will be broidered with the sable fringe of fear.' Every man owes to his Government the loss of his own life, if that loss is needed to prevent his Government's destruction.

"Every man who does not do his duty strikes a blow at the heart of the land of his birth. We are now at war. It is too late for difference of opinion. The utterance of every man should be:

> "My country, my country, may she ever be right;
> But right or wrong, my country.

"No fancied freedom of speech gives to any man the right to make disloyal remarks after his country is at war. They should stand by the flag.

"It is no time for difference of classes or views. Some complainers say it is a rich man's war. There has been no war in which that statement was not made. It was being said in England, when the sons of wealthy men were falling at the front, while at the same moment workers in munition factories were striking for higher wages. Away with such utterances. For better or for worse we are in it. Except by absolute loss of self-respect we could not stay out. If we have disloyalty in our ranks those possessing it should be silent.

"Instead of calling it Europe's war, in the language of Gen. Wood at Fayetteville, 'we should thank God that we have the trenches of the allies behind which to prepare for the struggle.'

"Let us march shield locked to shield, every man determined to do all he can to prevent the destruction of American liberty, trusting in God for success. The selective draft all must admit is absolutely fair. Each in turn as drawn must go. There is nothing in it open to complaint. Its validity has been adjudged in the Federal court. Who furnished the money to assail it?

"In closing upon this subject a word as to the duty of those who will not be sent to face the cannon and rifles of the battle field: Every person should produce what he can. A starving world appeals to us for food. Hunger stalks abroad to-day over many countries of Europe. It may come here. He who feeds a soldier helps to win the war. Extravagance should be avoided and economy practiced. No waste should be permitted. We must win, or ruin awaits us. Success can not be easily attained. A nation which boils the bodies of its dead soldiers to extract oil with which to run its engines and grinds their bones into fertilizer can not be easly subdued. We must prepare to meet the gloom that death lists will bring to us. We know they are coming. We must prepare to meet the taxation burdens. Will demagogues try to capitalize it?

"Every man whose avarice commands him to make commercial warfare on those who are to go to the front, or on the families and dependents they may leave, should have the eyes of censure riveted upon him. We should live or die together. Cries of greed should be silenced. The tongue of the agitator should be still. Play no politics in gambling with the lives of men. The contest is on between preservation of human liberties, or leaving to our descendants slavery to despotism. It is too late for assertion of individual opinion. Who lends aid and comfort to our enemies in this struggle will himself die a traitor to his native land and a deserter to his family and his descendants. Let every soldier who marches to the front feel that he has behind him the undivided support of every American man and woman. If he dies, he dies for them. They should not desert him. God pity the man who stands not by the flag of his country. That flag, our homes, and our country call. Let us turn no deaf ear to that call.

"Permanent peace for the future should be secured. The right of people to free government should be assured to avoid the shedding of other oceans of blood. The stars of freedom can not be turned backward in their course, nor the hand of autocratic tyranny be lifted higher. It is whispered in the air, 'The world must be made safe for democracy.' On this rock, and on this alone, can the world have assurance of permanent peace. Blood must be shed. Men must die and women suffer to achieve, but its attainment should be the lofty aim of those who feel it is not all of life to live nor all of death to die. We owe to freedom's cause the everlasting destruction of its arch enemy. There can be no security for permanent peace as long as a military giant sleeps in the lap of Europe determined upon world domination. No doves of peace can live surrounded by vultures of destruction. No desire for promotion and no glitter of German gold, nor any other forms of bribery, should swerve us from duty's path. We can not die but once, nor in better cause than to save man's freedom for man.

"President Wilson showed great patience in suffering under the injustices done us. As far as honor would permit, he tried to avoid the conflict. Deploring war and desiring peace, he watched and waited until longer forbearance ceased to be a virtue. The world wondered at us. The Congress declared existence of war. That settled the right and the status of every citizen. The wise occupant of the White House at once threw his matchless energy to complete preparation. He said mankind must be free. History will wrap wreaths of fadeless honor about his brow. He has consecrated his effort to protect

humanity. Secretary Daniels, of our State, is the directing head of our Navy. Senator SIMMONS is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. They are now and have been at every step standing side by side with the President. Neither has done any act to weaken, hinder, or embarrass. They have done all in their power to help. Patriotic devotion to their flag has characterized their conduct. The Old North State has grave responsibilities resting upon her. She is not ashamed of her past. Let us preserve her future untarnished.

"There may be some Americans whose conduct should have awarded to them the Kaiser's iron cross for distinguished services rendered. We should not want it, but must prepare lest we meet the fate of crucifixion upon it.

"The great conflict will stagger many of us; to what extent we are not now permitted to know. Determination to do our duty and to take with calm resignation whatever comes should be our aim. We should have faith in the guiding power which shapes our destinies.

"Whether this cyclone of world madness be a part of the great plan of existence or whether it be caused by the weakness of men we may not know; but we can feel assured that the unseen force which from the center of the seas calls the wild waves to quiet and whispers peace to the storm-swept forest can in its own proper time command the stacking of arms and stop the flowing of rivers of blood.

"With duty done and faith in the Guiding Power, we must man the ship of state and pray she may sail on, sail on, while humanity, with its hopes, its fears, its smiles, its tears, is hanging breathless on her fate."

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE SUTHERLAND (S. DOC. NO. 119).

Mr. McCUMBER. I ask unanimous consent that an address of the president of the American Bar Association, Hon. George Sutherland, of Utah, may be printed as a public document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

PROMOTION OF EXPORT TRADE.

Mr. POMERENE. I ask unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2316) to promote export trade, and for other purposes. Before the question is put I may say that it is not my expectation or desire to ask for final action. My sole purpose is to have the bill made the unfinished business, so that it may be taken up at the beginning of the next session.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator will immediately ask that it be temporarily laid aside?

Mr. POMERENE. If that is the desire of the Senate, I shall do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Chair lays the bill before the Senate.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 2316) to promote export trade, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be temporarily laid aside.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I have prepared an estimate of appropriations and contract authorizations for the Naval Establishment and Navy Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918. I ask to have these estimates of expenditures and authorizations printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that will be done.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Appropriations and contract authorizations for the Naval Establishment and Navy Department for fiscal year 1918.

By the naval act:		
Pay, miscellaneous and contingent, Navy	$7,575,000.00	
Bureau of Navigation	7,910,430.54	
Bureau of Ordnance	43,594,359.00	
Bureau of Yards and Docks	2,784,000.00	
Public works, Bureau of Yards and Docks	16,976,255.01	
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	1,445,478.00	
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	76,268,719.55	
Bureau of Construction and Repair	13,725,000.00	
Bureau of Steam Engineering	12,965,000.00	
Naval Academy	909,049.20	
Marine Corps	13,358,187.78	
Increase of the Navy (3 battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, 1 destroyer tender, 1 submarine tender, and 18 coast submarines)	174,762,323.00	
Naval emergency fund (additional torpedo-boat destroyers, submarine chasers, naval small craft, aircraft, guns, etc.)	$115,000,000.00	
Coast submarines, at a cost not exceeding $1,300 each, exclusive of armor and armament	18,000,000.00	
To expedite construction of ships	12,000,000.00	
Total, naval act		$517,273,802.08
General deficiency act of the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress:		
Claims for damages	$128.18	
Pay, miscellaneous	124,180.33	
Bureau of Ordnance	315,000.00	
Bureau of Yards and Docks	746,000.00	
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	42,698.19	
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	3,445,304.06	
Bureau of Construction and Repair	1,715,000.00	
Bureau of Steam Engineering	1,668,840.00	
Naval Academy	5,200.00	
Marine Corps	846,318.00	
Total, general deficiency act		8,908,668.76
By legislative, executive, and judicial and other acts		2,417,162.22
Total, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session		528,599,633.06
By the urgent deficiency act, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session:		
Pay, miscellaneous	$1,801,500.00	
Aviation	11,000,000.00	
Bureau of Navigation	19,516,124.00	
Bureau of Ordnance	198,066,024.00	
Bureau of Yards and Docks	14,713,500.00	
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	7,300,000.00	
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	142,933,084.87	
Bureau of Construction and Repair	57,327,340.00	
Bureau of Steam Engineering	34,960,500.00	
Naval Academy	380,000.00	
Marine Corps	26,806,961.00	
Total, urgent deficiency act (first)		514,805,033.87
Urgent deficiency act, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session:		
Aviation	$45,000,000.00	
Naval emergency fund (additional torpedo-boat destroyers, submarine chasers, and other naval craft)	100,000,000.00	
Civilian consulting board	75,000.00	
Bureau of Navigation	850,000.00	
Bureau of Ordnance	152,677,123.50	
Bureau of Yards and Docks	19,965,000.00	
Urgent deficiency act, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session—Continued.		
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	$4,500,000.00	
Bureau of Steam Engineering	10,200,000.00	
Naval Academy	18,900.00	
Marine Corps	3,150,000.00	
Increase of the Navy (additional torpedo-boat destroyers, etc.)	225,000,000.00	
Total, urgent deficiency act (second)		561,436,023.50
Grand total of appropriations		1,604,840,690.43
Contract authorizations		271,851,175.50
Total appropriations and contract authorizations		1,876,691,865.93

MANUFACTURE AND STORAGE OF EXPLOSIVES.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I rise to a question of the highest privilege, not of personal privilege, but of the privilege of the Senate, and call the attention of the Senate to the fact that on yesterday the signature of the Vice President was appended to the bill H. R. 3932, evidently by an inadvertence, while a motion was pending before the Senate, and undisposed of, for the reconsideration of the vote by which the conference report upon that bill was adopted.

I advise the Senate further of the fact that on Monday, the 1st day of October, a resolution of the Senate was adopted requesting the House to return that bill to the Senate. The request was submitted to the House and by certain proceedings in the House was disposed of without even the courtesy of a reply to the request of the Senate, as I am advised. I shall refer to the proceedings had in the House directly.

The request of the Senate thus being ignored by the House, the bill was presented to the Speaker, signed by him, and re-

turned to the Senate, and, as I am advised, being laid on his desk, was signed by the Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair make a statement as to his signature to the bill. The Chair has to rely exclusively upon the bills that come to his desk. There is no way the Chair can keep a record of them.

Mr. WALSH. I had not time to inquire how it can be possible for a thing of that kind to occur. I assumed that one of the clerks was charged, as a matter of course, with the duty of seeing that no bills were laid upon the table of the Vice President that had not been finally disposed of by the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about that. There is no way to keep on my desk a record of the proceedings when bills come to me to be signed.

Mr. WALSH. I assumed that one of the clerks is charged with that duty; but I want to call the attention to the proceedings had in the House on the request made by the Senate for the return of the bill. I read from the RECORD of October 4, as follows——

The VICE PRESIDENT rapped for order.

Mr. WALSH. I assume that it will be of some considerable interest to the Senate to see how its request to the House for the return of a bill was disposed of, without even a reply from that body. I read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
October 1, 1917.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (H. R. 3932) "to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," with accompanying conference papers.

Attest:

JAMES M. BAKER, *Secretary.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, as I observed the reading of the resolution, it seems to me that is an unusual form of resolution coming from the Senate.

I pause to remark, Mr. President, that I am advised by the clerks and the Secretary of the Senate that the resolution is in the usual and customary form. In fact, the form was drafted by one of the expert clerks of the Senate.

The conference report on this bill was agreed to by the Senate on September 28—

Within the time limited by the rules of the Senate I moved to reconsider the vote by which that conference report was agreed to, and the customary resolution for the recall of the bill was adopted by the Senate as provided by its Rule XIII.

The House agreed to it on September 29. A motion was made to reconsider, and to lay that motion on the table, which was agreed to in the House, and the Clerk of the House reported to the Senate that the House had agreed to the conference report, when it was supposed that that was the end of the matter, and that the bill would be enrolled and presented to the President. The orderly proceeding between the House and the Senate, it seems to me, ought to be such that when a conference report has been agreed to, where no mistake has been made, except such as was remedied by a concurrent resolution here, that ought to be the end of it—

That is to say, I take it, that the distinguished Member of the House whose language I have quoted takes the position that when a conference report has been agreed to in the Senate that ends the matter, and that there is no power in the Senate to reconsider the vote by which such report was agreed to. I do not believe the Senate can afford to have its rules thus interpreted. At least, it should reserve the right to be the sole judge of the signification and application of its own rules.

Such a question has never before been presented to the House or to the Congress of the United States to my knowledge in this way, except where a mistake has been made. It requires unanimous consent to set aside the proceedings of the House, in order that this bill may go back to the Senate and be sent over here as originally agreed to by the Senate with amendments, as this bill has. I do not believe that under those circumstances it is any discourtesy to the Senate that the House should not return these papers, and I think that for the future the Senate ought not to expect the House to return the papers in a case like this.

Further brief discussion, quite irrelevant, I venture to say, followed, resulting in the adoption by the House of a motion that the request of the Senate be laid on the table.

So the papers have not been returned to the Senate except in the manner I have indicated.

It is but just to the House to state that after the motion for the recall of the bill was adopted a concurrent resolution was passed by the Senate directing the enrolling clerk to insert language in the bill which was omitted from the conference report. That went to the House and was nonconcurred in there, but the request of the Senate for the return of the bill remains on the table of the House.

Now just what action the Senate should take to uphold its own dignity in view of the substantial declination of the House either to comply with its request or even to communicate its reason for its refusal may be deferred to be considered at some later day. It is a matter that has no more interest to me than to any other Member of the Senate, and I shall not suggest what action should be taken; but, Mr. President, the Senate certainly should advise the President of the United States that the signature of the Presiding Officer of this body was affixed to the bill inadvertently, so that he may know that it is in fact still pending before and undisposed of by this body. I have accordingly drawn a resolution to that effect.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I would like to submit a question to the Senator, if it would not interrupt him disagreeably. Was any reason given by the gentleman in the House, whom I understood the Senator to be quoting from, as to why the action of the Senate in accepting a conference report was not subject to a motion to reconsider, as any other action of the Senate would be?

Mr. WALSH. I have read the entire discussion on that point.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I beg the Senator's pardon; I was not on the floor when the Senator began, and if he could briefly tell me without reading it all over again I would be obliged to him.

Mr. WALSH. No reason was urged except apparently the Member of the House, from whose remarks I have quoted, took the position that when the Senate had once concurred in a conference report the action was final.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. No reason was given?

Mr. WALSH. No reason was given.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. There is no reason.

Mr. WALSH. I offer, in view of the situation, the following resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 148) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, directed to advise the President of the United States that the signature of the Vice President was inadvertently affixed to the bill (H. R. 3932) "to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives; providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," and while there was pending before the Senate a motion to reconsider the vote by which the report of the committee on conference to said bill was adopted.

Mr. WALSH. I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 162) authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes was read twice by its title.

Mr. MARTIN. This is a very important resolution, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That section 355 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not apply to the expenditure of appropriations for the Ordnance Department of the Army now available for the purchase of land and for improvements upon such land.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN. I ask the Senator from Wisconsin to yield to me for just a moment.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. MARTIN. I send a resolution to the desk and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 149) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join a similar committee appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses, having completed the business of the present session, are ready to adjourn, unless the President has some other communication to make to them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints Mr. MARTIN and Mr. SMOOT as the committee on the part of the Senate to wait upon the President.

FREE SPEECH AND THE RIGHT OF CONGRESS TO DECLARE THE OBJECTS OF THE WAR.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

I have no intention of taking the time of the Senate with a review of the events which led to our entrance into the war except in so far as they bear upon the question of personal privilege to which I am addressing myself.

Six Members of the Senate and 50 Members of the House voted against the declaration of war. Immediately there was let loose upon those Senators and Representatives a flood of invective and abuse from newspapers and individuals who had been clamoring for war, unequaled, I believe, in the history of civilized society.

Prior to the declaration of war every man who had ventured to oppose our entrance into it had been condemned as a coward or worse, and even the President had by no means been immune from these attacks.

Since the declaration of war the triumphant war press has pursued those Senators and Representatives who voted against war with malicious falsehood and recklessly libelous attacks, going to the extreme limit of charging them with treason against their country.

This campaign of libel and character assassination directed against the Members of Congress who opposed our entrance into the war has been continued down to the present hour, and I have upon my desk newspaper clippings, some of them libels upon me alone, some directed as well against other Senators who voted in opposition to the declaration of war.

One of these newspaper reports most widely circulated represents a Federal judge in the State of Texas as saying, in a charge to a grand jury—I read the article as it appeared in the newspaper and the headline with which it is introduced:

DISTRICT JUDGE WOULD LIKE TO TAKE SHOT AT TRAITORS IN CONGRESS.

[By Associated Press leased wire.]

HOUSTON, TEX., *October 1, 1917.*

Judge Waller T. Burns, of the United States district court, in charging a Federal grand jury at the beginning of the October term to-day, after calling by name Senators STONE of Missouri, HARDWICK of Georgia, VARDAMAN of Mississippi, GRONNA of North Dakota, GORE of Oklahoma, and LA FOLLETTE of Wisconsin, said:

"If I had a wish, I would wish that you men had jurisdiction to return bills of indictment against these men. They ought to be tried promptly and fairly, and I believe this court could administer the law fairly; but I have a conviction, as strong as life, that this country should stand them up against an adobe wall to-morrow and give them what they deserve. If any man deserves death, it is a traitor. I wish that I could pay for the ammunition. I would like to attend the execution, and if I were in the firing squad I would not want to be the marksman who had the blank shell."

The above clipping, Mr. President, was sent to me by another Federal judge, who wrote upon the margin of the clipping that it occurred to him that the conduct of this judge might very properly be the subject of investigation. He inclosed with the clipping a letter, from which I quote the following:

I have been greatly depressed by the brutal and unjust attacks that great business interests have organized against you. It is a time when all the spirits of evil are turned loose. The Kaisers of high finance, who have been developing hatred of you for a generation because you have fought against them and for the common good, see this opportunity to turn the war patriotism into an engine of attack. They are using it everywhere, and it is a day when lovers of democracy, not only in the world, but here in the United States, need to go apart on the mountain and spend the night in fasting and prayer. I still have faith that the forces of good on this earth will be found to be greater than the forces of evil, but we all need resolution. I hope you will have the grace to keep your center of gravity on the inside of you and to keep a spirit that is unclouded by hatred. It is a time for the words, "with malice toward none and charity for all." It is the office of great service to be a shield to the good man's character against malice. Before this fight is over you will have a new revelation that such a shield is yours.

If this newspaper clipping were a single or exceptional instance of lawless defamation, I should not trouble the Senate with a reference to it. But, Mr. President, it is not.

In this mass of newspaper clippings which I have here upon my desk, and which I shall not trouble the Senate to read unless it is desired, and which represent but a small part of the accumulation clipped from the daily press of the country in the last three months, I find other Senators, as well as myself, accused of the highest crimes of which any man can be guilty—treason and disloyalty—and, sir, accused not only with no evidence to support the accusation, but without the suggestion that such evidence anywhere exists. It is not claimed that Senators who opposed the declaration of war have since that time acted with any concerted purpose either regarding war measures or any others. They have voted according to their individual opinions, have often been opposed to each other on bills which have come before the Senate since the declaration of war, and, according to my recollection, have never all voted together since that time upon any single proposition upon which the Senate has been divided.

I am aware, Mr. President, that in pursuance of this general campaign of villification and attempted intimidation, requests from various individuals and certain organizations have been submitted to the Senate for my expulsion from this body, and that such requests have been referred to and considered by one of the committees of the Senate.

If I alone had been made the victim of these attacks, I should not take one moment of the Senate's time for their consideration, and I believe that other Senators who have been unjustly and unfairly assailed, as I have been, hold the same attitude upon this that I do. *Neither the clamor of the mob nor the voice of power will ever turn me by the breadth of a hair from the course I mark out for myself, guided by such knowledge as I can obtain and controlled and directed by a solemn conviction of right and duty.*

But, sir, it is not alone Members of Congress that the war party in this country has sought to intimidate. The mandate seems to have gone forth to the sovereign people of this country that they must be silent while those things are being done by their Government which most vitally concern their well-being, their happiness, and their lives. To-day and for weeks past honest and law-abiding citizens of this country are being terrorized and outraged in their rights by those sworn to uphold the laws and protect the rights of the people. I have in my possession numerous affidavits establishing the fact that people are being unlawfully arrested, thrown into jail, held incommunicado for days, only to be eventually discharged without ever having been taken into court, because they have committed no crime. Private residences are being invaded, loyal citizens of undoubted integrity and probity arrested, cross-examined, and the most sacred constitutional rights guaranteed to every American citizen are being violated.

It appears to be the purpose of those conducting this campaign to throw the country into a state of terror, to coerce public opinion, to stifle criticism, and suppress discussion of the great issues involved in this war.

I think all men recognize that in time of war the citizen must surrender some rights for the common good which he is entitled to enjoy in time of peace. *But, sir, the right to control their own Government according to constitutional forms is not one of the rights that the citizens of this country are called upon to surrender in time of war.*

Rather in time of war the citizen must be more alert to the preservation of his right to control his Government. He must be most watchful of the encroachment of the military upon the civil power. He must beware of those precedents in support of arbitrary action by administrative officials, which excused on the plea of necessity in war time, become the fixed rule when the necessity has passed and normal conditions have been restored.

More than all, the citizen and his representative in Congress in time of war must maintain his right of free speech. More than in times of peace it is necessary that the channels for free public discussion of governmental policies shall be open and unclogged. I believe, Mr. President, that I am now touching upon the most important question in this country to-day—and that is the right of the citizens of this country and their representatives in Congress to discuss in an orderly way frankly and publicly and without fear, from the platform and through the press, every important phase of this war; its causes, the manner in which it should be conducted, and the terms upon which peace should be made. The belief which is becoming widespread in this land that this most fundamental right is being denied to the citizens of this country is a fact the tremendous significance of which, those in authority have not yet begun to appreciate. I am contending, Mr. President, for the great fundamental right of the sovereign people of this country to make their voice heard and have that voice heeded upon the great questions arising out of this war, including not only how the war shall be prosecuted but the conditions upon which it may be terminated with a due regard for the rights and the honor of this Nation and the interests of humanity.

I am contending for this right because the exercise of it is necessary to the welfare, to the existence, of this Government, to the successful conduct of this war, and to a peace which shall be enduring and for the best interest of this country.

Suppose success attends the attempt to stifle all discussion of the issues of this war, all discussion of the terms upon which it should be concluded, all discussion of the objects and purposes to be accomplished by it, and concede the demand of the war-mad press and war extremists that they monopolize the right of public utterance upon these questions unchallenged, what think you would be the consequences to this country not only during the war but after the war?

RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO DISCUSS WAR ISSUES.

Mr. President, our Government, above all others, is founded on the right of the people freely to discuss all matters pertaining to their Government, in war not less than in peace, for in this Government the people are the rulers in war no less than in peace. It is true, sir, that Members of the House of Representatives are elected for two years, the President for four years, and the Members of the Senate for six years, and during their temporary official terms these officers constitute what is called the Government. But back of them always is the controlling sovereign power of the people, and when the people can make their will known, the faithful officer will obey that will. Though the right of the people to express their will by ballot is suspended during the term of office of the elected official, nevertheless the duty of the official to obey the popular will continues throughout his entire term of office. How can that popular will express itself between elections except by meetings, by speeches, by publications, by petitions, and by addresses to the representatives of the people? Any man who seeks to set a limit upon those rights, whether in war or peace, aims a blow at the most vital part of our Government. And then as the time for election approaches and the official is called to account for his stewardship—not a day, not a week, not a month, before the election, but a year or more before it, if the people choose—they must have the right to the freest possible discussion of every question upon which their representative has acted, of the merits of every measure he has supported or opposed, of every vote he has cast and every speech that he has made. And before this great fundamental right every other must, if necessary, give way, for in no other manner can representative government be preserved.

Mr. President, what I am saying has been exemplified in the lives and public discussion of the ablest statesmen of this country, whose memories we most revere and whose deeds we most justly commemorate. I shall presently ask the attention of the Senate to the views of some of these men upon the subject we are now considering.

Closely related to this subject of the right of the citizen to discuss war is that of the constitutional power and duty of the Congress to declare the purposes and objects of any war in which our country may be engaged. The authorities which I shall cite cover both the right of the people to discuss the war in all its phases and the right and the duty of the people's representatives in Congress to declare the purposes and objects of the war. For the sake of brevity, I shall present these quotations together at this point instead of submitting them separately.

DISCUSSION BY AMERICAN STATESMEN.

Henry Clay, in a memorable address at Lexington, Ky., on the 13th day of November, 1847, during the Mexican War, took a strong position in behalf of the right of the people to freely discuss every question relating to the war, even though the discussion involved a strong condemnation of the war policy of the Executive. He also declared it to be not only the right but the duty of the Congress to declare the objects of the war. As a part of that address he presented certain resolutions embodying his views on these subjects. These resolutions were adopted at that meeting by the people present, and were adopted at many other mass meetings throughout the country during the continuance of the Mexican War.

For introducing in this body some time ago a resolution asserting the right of Congress to declare the purposes of the present war, I have, as the newspaper clippings here will show, been denounced as a traitor and my conduct characterized as treasonable.

As bearing directly upon the conduct for which I have been so criticized and condemned, I invite your attention to the language of Henry Clay in the address I have mentioned.

He said:

But the havoc of war is in progress and the no less deplorable havoc of an inhospitable and pestilential climate. Without indulging in an unnecessary retrospect and useless reproaches on the past, all hearts and heads should unite in the patriotic endeavor to bring it to a satisfactory close. Is there no way that this can be done? Must we blindly continue the conflict without any visible object or any prospect of a definite termination? This is the important subject upon which I desire to consult and to commune with you. Who in this free Government is to decide upon the objects of a war at its commencement or at any time during its existence? Does the power belong to collective wisdom of the Nation in Congress assembled, or is it vested solely in a single functionary of the Government?

A declaration of war is the highest and most awful exercise of sovereignty. The convention which framed our Federal Constitution had learned from the pages of history that it had been often and greatly abused. It had seen that war had often been commenced upon the most trifling pretexts; that it had been frequently waged to establish or exclude a dynasty; to snatch a crown from the head of one potentate and place it upon the head of another; that it had often been prosecuted to promote alien and other interests than those of the nation whose chief had proclaimed it, as in the case of English wars for Hanoverian interests; and, in short, that such a vast and tremendous power ought not to be confided to the perilous exercise of one single man. The convention therefore resolved to guard the war-making power against those great abuses, of which, in the hands of a monarch, it was so susceptible. And the security against those abuses which its wisdom devised was to vest the war-making power in the Congress of the United States, being the immediate representatives of the people and the States. So apprehensive and jealous was the convention of its abuse in any other hands that it interdicted the exercise of the power to any State in the Union without the consent of Congress. Congress, then, in our system of government, is the sole depository of that tremendous power.

Mr. President, it is impossible for me to quote as extensively from this address as I should like to do and still keep within the compass of the time that I have set down for myself; but the whole of the address is accessible to every Senator here, together with all of the discussion which followed it over the country, and in these times it would seem to me worthy of the review of Senators and of newspaper editors and of those who have duties to discharge in connection with this great crisis that is upon the world.

I quote further:

The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to declare war and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, and provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces. Thus we perceive that the principal power, in regard to war, with all its auxiliary attendants, is granted to Congress. Whenever called upon to determine upon the solemn question of peace or war, Congress must consider and deliberate and decide upon the motives, objects, and causes of the war.

If that be true, is it treason for a Senator upon this floor to offer a resolution dealing with that question?

I quote further from Mr. Clay:

And, if a war be commenced without any previous declaration of its objects, as in the case of the existing war with Mexico, Congress must necessarily possess the authority, at any time, to declare for what purposes it shall be further prosecuted. If we suppose Congress does not possess the controlling authority attributed to it, if it be contended that a war having been once commenced, the President of the United States may direct it to the accomplishment of any object he pleases, without consulting and without any regard to the will of Congress, the convention will have utterly failed in guarding the Nation against the abuses and ambition of a single individual. Either Congress or the President must have the right of determining upon the objects for which a war shall be prosecuted There is no other alternative. If the President possess it and may prosecute it for objects against the will of Congress, where is the difference between our free Government and that of any other nation which may be governed by an absolute Czar, Emperor, or King?

In closing his address Mr. Clay said:

I conclude, therefore, Mr. President and fellow citizens, with entire confidence, that Congress has the right, either at the beginning or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed or for which it ought to be continued. And I think it is the duty of Congress, by some deliberate and authentic act, to declare for what objects the present war shall be longer prosecuted. I suppose the President would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress and to employ the force and the diplomatic power of the Nation to execute that will. But if the President should decline or refuse to do so and, in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging the war for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority by the most stringent and effectual and appropriate measures. And if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse to conclude a treaty containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole Government to prosecute the war with all the national energy until those objects were attained by a treaty of peace. There can be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, simply, that the war shall or shall not be a war of conquest; and, if a war of conquest, what is to be conquered. Should a resolution pass disclaiming the design of conquest, peace would follow in less than 60 days, if the President would conform to his constitutional duty.

Mr. Clay as a part of that speech presented certain resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the meeting and which declared that the power to determine the purposes of the war rested with Congress, and then proceeded clearly to state the purposes, and the only purposes, for which the war should be prosecuted.

The last one of these resolutions is so pertinent to the present discussion that I invite your attention to it at this time. It is as follows:

Resolved, That we invite our fellow citizens of the United States who are anxious for the restoration of the blessings of peace, or, if the existing war shall continue to be prosecuted, are desirous that its purposes and objects shall be defined and known, who are anxious to avert present and future perils and dangers, with which it may be fraught, and who are also anxious to produce contentment and satisfaction at home, and to elevate the national character abroad, to assemble together in their respective communities, and to express their views, feelings, and opinions.

Abraham Lincoln was a Member of Congress at the time of the Mexican War. He strongly opposed the war while it was in progress and severely criticized President Polk on the floor of the House because he did not state in his message when peace might be expected.

In the course of his speech Lincoln said:

At its beginning, Gen. Scott was by this same President driven into disfavor, if not disgrace, for intimating that peace could not be conquered in less than three or four months. But now, at the end of 20

months * * * this same President gives a long message, without showing us that as to the end he himself has even an imaginary conception. As I have said, he knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show there is not something about his conscience more painful than his mental perplexity.

Writing to a friend who had objected to his opposition to Polk in relation to this power of the President in war, Lincoln said:

The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter and places our President where kings have always stood.

I now quote from the speech of Charles Sumner, delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, November 5, 1846.

John A. Andrew, who was the great war governor of Massachusetts, as I remember, presided at this public meeting, which was in support of the independent nomination of Dr. I. G. Howe as Representative in Congress. Mr. Sumner was followed by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, who also delivered an address at this meeting.

This is the view of Mr. Sumner on the Mexican War, which was then in progress, as expressed by him on this occasion:

The Mexican War is an enormity born of slavery. * * * Base in object, atrocious in beginning, immoral in all its influences, vainly prodigal of treasure and life, it is a war of infamy, which must blot the pages of our history.

In closing his eloquent and powerful address, he said:

Even if we seem to fail in this election we shall not fail in reality. The influence of this effort will help to awaken and organize that powerful public opinion by which this war will at last be arrested. Hang out, fellow citizens, the white banner of peace; let the citizens of Boston rally about it; and may it be borne forward by an enlightened, conscientious people, aroused to condemnation of this murderous war, until Mexico, now wet with blood unjustly shed, shall repose undisturbed beneath its folds.

Contrast this position taken by Charles Sumner at Tremont Temple with that of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo. He is now touring the country with all the prestige of his great financial mission and the authority of his high place in the administration. I quote the language of the authorized report of his speech before the Bankers' Association of West Virginia, September 21, 1917. According to daily press reports he is making substantially the same denunciation in all his addresses:

America intends that those well-meaning but misguided people who talk inopportunely of peace when there can be no peace until the cancer which has rotted civilization in Europe is extinguished and destroyed forever shall be silenced. I want to say here and now and with due deliberation that every pacifist speech in this country made at this inopportune and improper time is in effect traitorous.

In these times we had better turn the marble bust of Charles Sumner to the wall. It ill becomes those who tamely surrender the right of free speech to look upon that strong, noble, patriotic face.

Mr. President, Daniel Webster, then in the zenith of his power, and with the experience and knowledge of his long life and great public service in many capacities, to add weight to his words, spoke at Faneuil Hall, November 6, 1846, in opposition to the Mexican War. He said:

Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak with all soberness in this respect, and I would say nothing here to-night which I would not say in my place in Congress or before the whole world. The question now is, *For what purposes and to what ends is this present war to be prosecuted?*

What will you say to the stature of the statesmanship that imputes treason to his country to a Member of this body who introduces a resolution having no other import than that?

Webster saw no reason why the purposes of the war in which his country was engaged should not be discussed in Congress or out of Congress by the people's representatives or by the people themselves.

After referring to Mexico as a weak and distracted country he proceeded:

It is time for us to know what are the objects and designs of our Government.

It is not the habit of the American people, nor natural to their character, to consider the expense of a war which they deem just and necessary—

Not only just, but necessary—

but it is their habit and belongs to their character to inquire into the justice and necessity of a war in which it is proposed to involve them.

Mr. Webster discussed the Mexican War at Springfield, Mass., September 29, 1847, and again, while the war was in progress, he did not hesitate to express his disapproval in plain language.

Many battles had been fought and won, and our victorious armies were in the field, on foreign soil.

Sir, free speech had not been suppressed. The right of the people to assemble and to state their grievances was still an attribute of American freedom. Mr. Webster said:

We are, in my opinion, in a most unnecessary and therefore a most unjustifiable war.

Whoever expects to whip men, free men, in this country into a position where they are to be denied the right to exercise the same freedom of speech and discussion that Webster exercised in that speech little understand the value which the average citizen of this country places upon the liberty guaranteed to him by the Constitution. Sir, until the sacrifices of every battle field consecrated to the establishment of representative government and of constitutional freedom shall be obliterated from the pages of history and forgotten of men, the plain citizenship of this country will jealously guard that liberty and that freedom and will not surrender it.

To return to my text. Mr. Webster said:

We are, in my opinion, in a most unnecessary and therefore a most unjustifiable war. I hope we are nearing the close of it. I attend carefully and anxiously to every rumor and every breeze that brings to us any report that the effusion of blood, caused, in my judgment, by a rash and unjustifiable proceeding on the part of the Government, may cease.

He makes the charge that the war was begun under false pretexts, as follows:

Now, sir, the law of nations instructs us that there are wars of pretexts. The history of the world proves that there have been, and we are not now without proof that there are, wars waged on pretexts; that is, on pretenses, where the cause assigned is not the true cause. That I believe on my conscience is the true character of the war now waged against Mexico. I believe it to be a war of pretexts; a war in which the true motive is not distinctly avowed, but in which pretenses, afterthoughts, evasions, and other methods are employed to put a case before the community which is not the true case.

Think you Mr. Webster was not within his constitutional rights in thus criticizing the character of the war, its origin, and the reasons which were given from time to time in justification of it?

Mr. Webster discusses at length what he considers some of the false pretexts of the war. Later on he says:

Sir, men there are whom we see, and whom we hear speak of the duty of extending our free institutions over the whole world if possible. We owe it to benevolence, they think, to confer the blessings we enjoy on every other people. But while I trust that liberty and free civil institutions, as we have experienced them, may ultimately spread over the globe, I am by no means sure that all people are fit for them; nor am I desirous of imposing, or forcing, our peculiar forms upon any nation that does not wish to embrace them.

Taking up the subject that war does now exist, Mr. Webster asks:

What is our duty? I say for one, that I suppose it to be true—I hope it to be true—that a majority of the next House of Representatives will be Whigs; will be opposed to the war. I think we have heard from the East and the West, the North and the South, some things that make that pretty clear. Suppose it to be so. What then? Well, sir, I say for one, and at once, that unless the President of the United States shall make out a case which shall show to Congress that the aim and object for which the war is now prosecuted is no purpose not connected with the safety of the Union and the just rights of the American people, then Congress ought to pass resolutions against the prosecution of the war, and grant no further supplies. I would speak here with caution and all just limitation. It must be admitted to be the clear intent of the Constitution that no foreign war should exist without the assent of Congress. This was meant as a restraint on the Executive power. But, if, when a war has once begun, the President may continue it as long as he pleases, free of all control of Congress, then it is clear that the war power is substantially in his own single hand. Nothing will be done by a wise Congress hastily or rashly, nothing that partakes of the nature of violence or recklessness; a nigh and delicate regard must, of course, be had for the honor and credit of the Nation; but, after all, if the war should become odious to the people, if they shall disapprove the objects for which it appears to be prosecuted, then it will be the bounden duty of their Representatives in Congress to demand of the President a full statement of his objects and purposes. And if these purposes shall appear to them not to be founded in the public good, or not consistent with the honor and character of the country, then it will be their duty to put an end to it by the exercise of their constitutional authority. If this be not so, then the whole balance of the Constitution is overthrown, and all just restraint on the Executive power, in a matter of the highest concern to the peace and happiness of the country, entirely destroyed. If we do not maintain this doctrine; if it is not so—if Congress, in whom the war-making power is expressly made to reside, is to have no voice in the declaration or continuance of war; if it is not to judge of the propriety of beginning or carrying it on—then we depart at once, and broadly, from the Constitution.

Mr. Webster concluded his speech in these memorable words:

We may be tossed upon an ocean where we can see no land—nor, perhaps, the sun or stars. But there is a chart and a compass for us to study, to consult, and to obey. That chart is the Constitution of the country. That compass is an honest, single-eyed purpose to preserve the institutions and the liberty with which God has blessed us.

In 1847 Senator Tom Corwin made a memorable speech in the Senate on the Mexican War. It was one of the ablest addresses made by that very able statesman, and one of the great contributions to the discussion of the subject we are now considering. At the time of Senator Corwin's address the majority in Con-

gress were supporting the President. The people up to that time had had no chance to express their views at an election. After referring to the doctrine then preached by the dominant faction of the Senate, that after war is declared it must be prosecuted to the bitter end as the President may direct, until one side or the other is hopelessly beaten and devastated by the conflict, with one man—the President—in sole command of the destinies of the Nation, Mr. Corwin said:

With these doctrines for our guide, I will thank any Senator to furnish me with any means of escaping from the prosecution of this or any other war, for an hundred years to come, if it please the President who shall be, to continue it so long. Tell me, ye who contend that, being in war, duty demands of Congress for its prosecution all the money and every able-bodied man in America to carry it on if need be, who also contend that it is the right of the President, without the control of Congress, to march your embodied hosts to Monterey, to Yucatan, to Mexico, to Panama, to China, and that under penalty of death to the officer who disobeys him—tell me, I demand it of you—tell me, tell the American people, tell the nations of Christendom, what is the difference between your democracy and the most odious, most hateful despotism, that a merciful God has ever allowed a nation to be afflicted with since government on earth began? You may call this free government, but it is such freedom, and no other, as of old was established at Babylon, at Susa, at Bactrina, or Persepolis. Its parallel is scarcely to be found when thus falsely understood, in any, even the worst, forms of civil polity in modern times. Sir, it is not so; such is not your Constitution; it is something else, something other and better than this.

Lincoln, Webster, Clay, Sumner—what a galaxy of names in American history! They all believed and asserted and advocated in the midst of war that it was the right—the constitutional right—and the patriotic duty of American citizens, after the declaration of war and while the war was in progress, to discuss the issues of the war and to criticize the policies employed in its prosecution and to work for the election of representatives opposed to prolonging war.

The right of Lincoln, Webster, Clay, Sumner to oppose the Mexican War, criticize its conduct, advocate its conclusion on a just basis, is exactly the same right and privilege as that possessed by every Representative in Congress and by each and every American citizen in our land to-day in respect to the war in which we are now engaged. Their arguments as to the power of Congress to shape the war policy and their opposition to what they believed to be the usurpation of power on the part of the Executive are potent so long as the Constitution remains the law of the land.

English history, like our own, shows that it has ever been the right of the citizen to criticize and, when he thought necessary, to condemn the war policy of his Government.

DISCUSSION BY ENGLISH STATESMEN.

John Bright consistently fought the Crimean War with all the power of his great personality and noble mind; he fought it inch by inch and step by step from the floor of the English Parliament. After his death Gladstone, although he had been a part of the ministry that Bright had opposed because of the Crimean War, selected this as the theme for his eulogy of the great statesman, as best portraying his high character and great service to the English people.

Lloyd-George aggressively opposed the Boer War. Speaking in the House of Commons July 25, 1900, in reply to the prime minister, he said:

He has led us into two blunders. The first was the war. But worse than the war is the change that has been effected in the purpose for which we are prosecuting the war. We went into the war for equal rights; we are prosecuting it for annexation. * * * You entered into these two Republics for philanthropic purposes and remained to commit burglary. * * * A war of annexation, however, against a proud people must be a war of extermination, and that is, unfortunately, what it seems we are now committing ourselves to—burning homesteads and turning men and women out of their homes

I am citing this language, Mr. President, as showing the length to which statesmen have gone in opposing wars which have been conducted by their governments and the latitude that has been accorded them.

* * * The right honorable gentleman has made up his mind that this war shall produce electioneering capital to his own side. He is in a great hurry to go to the country before the facts are known. He wants to have the judgment of the people in the very height and excitement of the fever. He wants a verdict before the pleadings are closed and before "discovery" has been obtained. He does not want the documents to come, but he wants to have the judgment of the country upon censured news, suppressed dispatches, and unpaid bills.

In a speech delivered October 23, 1901, Lloyd-George charged that the English Army had burned villages, blown up farmhouses, swept away the cattle, burned thousands of tons of grain, destroyed all agricultural implements, all the mills, the irrigation works, and left the territory "a blackened devastated wilderness." He said:

In June the death rate among the children in the Orange River Colony camps was at the rate of 192 per thousand per annum, and in Transvaal 233 per thousand per annum. In July the figures were 220 and 336 per thousand per annum, respectively. In August they had risen to 250 and 468, and in September to 442 in Orange River Colony and to 457 in the Transvaal. These are truly appalling figures. It means that at that rate in two years' time there would not be a little child left in the whole of these two new territories. The worst of it is that I can not resist the conclusion that their lives could have been saved had it not been that these camps had been deliberately chosen for military purposes. In the few camps near the coast there is hardly any mortality at all—

Observe that here is a criticism of the military policies of his Government—

and if the children had been removed from the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal to the seacoasts, where they could have been easily fed and clothed and cared for, their lives might be saved; but as long as they were kept up in the north there was a terrible inducement offered to the Boer commanders not to attack the lines of communication. * * * If I were to despair for the future of this country it would not be because of trade competition from either America or Germany, or the ineffectiveness of its army, or anything that might happen to its ships; but rather because it used its great, hulking strength to torture a little child. Had it not been that his ministry had shown distinct symptoms of softening of the brain, I would call the torpor and indifference they are showing in face of all this, criminal. It is a maddening horror, and it will haunt the Empire to its dying hour. What wonder is it that Europe should mock and hiss at us? Let any honest Britisher fearlessly search his heart and answer this question: Is there any ground for the reproach flung at us by the civilized world that, having failed to crush the men, we have now taken to killing babes?

Mr. President, while we were struggling for our independence the Duke of Grafton, in the House of Lords, October 26, 1775, speaking against voting thanks to British officers and soldiers, after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, declared:

I pledge myself to your lordships and my country that if necessity should require it and my health otherwise permit it, I mean to come down to this House in a litter in order to express my full and hearty disapproval of the measures now pursued, and, as I understand from the noble lords in office, meant to be pursued.

On the same occasion, Mr. Fox said:

I could not consent to the bloody consequences of so silly a contest, about so silly an object, conducted in the silliest manner that history or observation had ever furnished an instance of, and from which we are likely to derive poverty, misery, disgrace, defeat, and ruin.

In the House of Commons, May 14, 1777, Mr. Burke is reported in the parliamentary debates against the war on the American Colonies, as saying he was, and ever would be, ready to support a just war, whether against subjects or alien enemies, but where justice or color of justice was wanting he would ever be the first to oppose it.

Lord Chatham, November 18, 1777, spoke as follows regarding the war between England and the American Colonies:

I would sell my shirt off my back to assist in proper measures, properly and wisely conducted, but I would not part with a single shilling to the present ministers. Their plans are founded in destruction and disgrace. It is, my lords, a ruinous and destructive war; it is full of danger; it teems with disgrace and must end in ruin * * *. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms! Never! Never! Never!

Mr. President, I have made these quotations from some of the leading statesmen of England to show that the principle of free speech was no new doctrine born of the Constitution of the United States. Our Constitution merely declared the principle. It did not create it. It is a heritage of English-speaking peoples, which has been won by incalculable sacrifice, and which they must preserve so long as they hope to live as free men. I say without fear of contradiction that there has never been a time for more than a century and a half when the right of free speech and free press and the right of the people to peaceably assemble for public discussion have been so violated among English-speaking people as they are violated to-day throughout the United States. To-day, in the land we have been wont to call the free United States, governors, mayors, and policemen are preventing or breaking up peaceable meetings called to discuss the questions growing out of this war, and judges and courts, with some notable and worthy exceptions, are failing to protect the citizens in their rights.

It is no answer to say that when the war is over the citizen may once more resume his rights and feel some security in his liberty and his person. As I have already tried to point out, now is precisely the time when the country needs the counsel of all its citizens. In time of war even more than in time of peace, whether citizens happen to agree with the ruling administration or not, these precious fundamental personal rights—free speech, free press, and right of assemblage so explicitly and emphatically guaranteed by the Constitution should be maintained inviolable. There is no rebellion in the land, no martial law, no courts are closed, no legal processes suspended, and there is no threat even of invasion.

But more than this, if every preparation for war can be made the excuse for destroying free speech and a free press and the right of the people to assemble together for peaceful discussion, then we may well despair of ever again finding ourselves for a long period in a state of peace. With the possessions we

already have in remote parts of the world, with the obligations we seem almost certain to assume as a result of the present war, a war can be made any time overnight and the destruction of personal rights now occurring will be pointed to then as precedents for a still further invasion of the rights of the citizen. This is the road which all free governments have heretofore traveled to their destruction, and how far we have progressed along it is shown when we compare the standard of liberty of Lincoln, Clay, and Webster with the standard of the present day.

This leads me, Mr. President, to the next thought to which I desire to invite the attention of the Senate, and that is the power of Congress to declare the purpose and objects of the war, and the failure of Congress to exercise that power in the present crisis.

POWER OF CONGRESS TO DECLARE OBJECTS OF WAR.

For the mere assertion of that right, in the form of a resolution to be considered and discussed—which I introduced August 11, 1917—I have been denounced throughout this broad land as a traitor to my country.

Mr. President, we are in a war the awful consequences of which no man can foresee, which, in my judgment, could have been avoided if the Congress had exercised its constitutional power to influence and direct the foreign policy of this country.

On the 8th day of February, 1915, I introduced in the Senate a resolution authorizing the President to invite the representatives of the neutral nations of the world to assemble and consider, among other things, whether it would not be possible to lay out lanes of travel upon the high seas and through proper negotiation with the belligerent powers have those lanes recognized as neutral territory, through which the commerce of neutral nations might pass. This, together with other provisions, constituted a resolution, as I shall always regard it, of most vital and supreme importance in the world crisis, and one that should have been considered and acted upon by Congress.

I believe, sir, that had some such action been taken the history of the world would not be written at this hour in the blood of more than one-half of the nations of the earth, with the remaining nations in danger of becoming involved.

I believe that had Congress exercised the power in this respect, which I contend it possesses, we could and probably would have avoided the present war.

Mr. President, I believe that if we are to extricate ourselves from this war and restore this country to an honorable and lasting peace, the Congress must exercise in full the war powers intrusted to it by the Constitution. I have already called your attention sufficiently, no doubt, to the opinions upon this subject expressed by some of the greatest lawyers and statesmen of the country, and I now venture to ask your attention to a little closer examination of the subject viewed in the light of distinctly legal authorities and principles.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS INVOLVED.

Section 8, Article I, of the Constitution provides:

> The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

In this first sentence we find that no war can be prosecuted without the consent of the Congress. No war can be prosecuted without money. There is no power to raise the money for war except the power of Congress. From this provision alone it must follow absolutely and without qualification that the duty of determining whether a war shall be prosecuted or not, whether the people's money shall be expended for the purpose of war or not rests upon the Congress, and with that power goes necessarily the power to determine the purposes of the war, for if the Congress does not approve the purposes of the war, it may refuse to lay the tax upon the people to prosecute it.

Again, section 8 further provides that Congress shall have power—

> To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;
> To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;
> To provide and maintain a Navy;
> To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
> To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion;
> To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

In the foregoing grants of power, which are as complete as language can make them, there is no mention of the President. Nothing is omitted from the powers conferred upon the Congress. Even the power to make the rules for the government and the regulation of all the national forces, both on land and on the sea, is vested in the Congress.

Then, not content with this, to make certain that no question could possibly arise, the framers of the Constitution declared that Congress shall have power—

> To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

We all know from the debates which took place in the constitutional convention why it was that the Constitution was so framed as to vest in the Congress the entire war-making power. The framers of the Constitution knew that to give to one man that power meant danger to the rights and liberties of the people. They knew that it mattered not whether you call the man king or emperor, czar or president, to put into his hands the power of making war or peace meant despotism. It meant that the people would be called upon to wage wars in which they had no interest or to which they might even be opposed. It meant secret diplomacy and secret treaties. It meant that in those things, most vital to the lives and welfare of the people, they would have nothing to say. The framers of the Constitution believed that they had guarded against this in the language I have quoted. They placed the entire control of this subject in the hands of the Congress. And it was assumed that debate would be free and open, that many men representing all the sections of the country would freely, frankly, and calmly exchange their views, unafraid of the power of the Executive, uninfluenced by anything except their own convictions, and a desire to obey the will of the people expressed in a constitutional manner.

Another reason for giving this power to the Congress was that the Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, was assumed to be directly responsible to the people and would most nearly represent their views. The term of office for a Representative was fixed at only two years. One-third of the Senate would be elected each two years. It was believed that this close relation to the people would insure a fair representation of the popular will in the action which the Congress might take. Moreover, if the Congress for any reason was unfaithful to its trust and declared a war which the people did not desire to support or to continue, they could in two years at most retire from office their unfaithful Representatives and return others who would terminate the war. It is true that within two years much harm could be done by an unwise declaration of war, especially a war of aggression, where men were sent abroad. The framers of the Constitution made no provision for such a condition, for they apparently never contemplated that such a condition would arise.

Moreover, under the system of voluntary enlistment, which was the only system of raising an army for use outside the country of which the framers of the Constitution had any idea, the people could force a settlement of any war to which they were opposed by the simple means of not volunteering to fight it.

The only power relating to war with which the Executive was intrusted was that of acting as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and of the militia when called into actual service. This provision is found in section 2 of Article II, and is as follows:

> The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.

Here is found the sum total of the President's war powers. After the Army is raised he becomes the General in Command. His function is purely military. He is the General in Command of the entire Army, just as there is a general in command of a certain field of operation. The authority of each is confined strictly to the field of military service. The Congress must raise and support and equip and maintain the Army which the President is to command. Until the Army is raised the President has no military authority over any of the persons that may compose it. He can not enlist a man, or provide a uniform, or a single gun, or pound of powder. The country may be invaded from all sides and except for the command of the Regular Army, the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army, is as powerless as any citizen to stem the tide of the invasion. In such case his only resort would be to the militia, as provided in the Constitution. Thus completely did the fathers of the Constitution strip the Executive of military power.

It may be said that the duty of the President to enforce the laws of the country carries with it by implication control over the military forces for that purpose, and that the decision as to when the laws are violated, and the manner in which they should be redressed, rests with the President. This whole mat-

ter was considered in the famous case of Ex parte Milligan (4 Wall., 2). The question of enforcing the laws of the United States, however, does not arise in the present discussion. *The laws of the United States have no effect outside the territory of the United States.* Our Army in France or our Navy on the high seas may be engaged in worthy enterprises, but they are not enforcing the laws of the United States, and the President derives from his constitutional obligation to enforce the laws of the country no power to determine the purposes of the present war.

The only remaining provision of the Constitution to be considered on the subject is that provision of Article II, section 2, which provides that the President—

Shall have power by and with the consent of the Senate to make treaties, *providing two-thirds of the Senate present concur.*

This is the same section of the Constitution which provides that the President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court," and so forth.

Observe, the President under this constitutional provision gets no authority to declare the purposes and objects of any war in which the country may be engaged. It is true that a treaty of peace can not be executed except the President and the Senate concur in its execution. If a President should refuse to agree to terms of peace which were proposed, for instance, by a resolution of Congress, and accepted by the parliament of an enemy nation against the will, we will say, of an emperor, the war would simply stop, if the two parliaments agreed and exercised their powers respectively to withhold supplies; and the formal execution of a treaty of peace would be postponed until the people could select another President. It is devoutly to be hoped that such a situation will never arise, and it is hardly conceivable that it should arise with both an Executive and a Senate anxious, respectively, to discharge the constitutional duties of their office. But if it should arise, under the Constitution, the final authority and the power to ultimately control is vested by the Constitution in the Congress. The President can no more make a treaty of peace without the approval not only of the Senate but of two-thirds of the Senators present than he can appoint a judge of the Supreme Court without the concurrence of the Senate. A decent regard for the duties of the President, as well as the duties of the Senators, and the consideration of the interests of the people, whose servants both the Senators and the President are, requires that the negotiations which lead up to the making of peace should be participated in equally by the Senators and by the President. For Senators to take any other position is to shirk a plain duty; is to avoid an obligation imposed upon them by the spirit and letter of the Constitution and by the solemn oath of office each has taken.

PRECEDENTS AND AUTHORITIES.

As might be expected from the plain language of the Constitution, the precedents and authorities are all one way. I shall not attempt to present them all here, but only refer to those which have peculiar application to the present situation.

Watson, in his work on the Constitution, Volume II, page 915, says:

The authority of the President over the Army and Navy to command and control is only subject to the restrictions of Congress to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces. * * * Neither can impair or invade the authority of the other. * * * The powers of the President (under the war clause) are only those which may be called "military."

The same author on the same and succeeding page points out that the President as Commander in Chief of the Army may direct the military force in such a way as to most effectively injure the enemy. He may even direct an invasion of enemy territory. But, says the author, this can be done "temporarily, however, only until Congress has defined what the permanent policy of the country is to be."

How, then, can the President declare the purposes of the war to be, to extend permanently the territory of an ally or secure for an ally damages either in the form of money or new territory?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I prefer not to yield, if the Senator will permit me to continue. I can hardly get through within the time allotted, and I am certain to be diverted if I begin to yield.

Mr. KING. I just wanted to ask the Senator whether he thinks the President of the United States has contravened any constitutional powers conferred upon him thus far in the prosecution of the war?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Well, sir, I am discussing the constitutional question here, and Senators must make their own application.

Pomeroy, in his "Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States" (9th edition, 1886, p. 373), says:

The organic law nowhere prescribes or limits the causes for which hostilities may be waged against a foreign country. *The causes of war it leaves to the discretion and judgment of the legislature.*

In other words, it is for Congress to determine what we are fighting for. The President, as Commander in Chief of the Army, is to determine the best method of carrying on the fight. But since the purposes of the war must determine what are the best methods of conducting it, the primary duty at all times rests upon Congress to declare either in the declaration of war or subsequently what the objects are which it is expected to accomplish by the war.

In Elliot's Debates (supplement 2d edition, 1866, p. 439, vol. 5) it is said:

There is a material difference between the cases of making *war* and making *peace*. It should be more easy to get out of war than into it.

In the same volume, at page 140, we find:

Mr. Sherman said he considered the executive magistracy as nothing more than an institution for carrying the will of the legislature into effect.

Story, in his work on the Constitution (5th edition, 1891, p. 92), says:

The history of republics has but too fatally proved that they are too ambitious of military fame and conquest and too easily devoted to the interests of demagogues, who flatter their pride and *betray their interests*. It should, therefore, be difficult in a republic *to declare war, but not to make peace*. The representatives of the people are to lay the taxes to support a war, and therefore have a right to be consulted as to its propriety and necessity.

I commend this language to those gentlemen, both in and out of public office, who condemn as treasonable all efforts, either by the people or by their representatives in Congress, to discuss terms of peace or who even venture to suggest that a peace is not desirable until such time as the President, acting solely on his own responsibility, shall declare for peace. It is a strange doctrine we hear these days that the mass of the people, who pay in money, misery, and blood all the costs of this war, out of which a favored few profit so largely, may not freely and publicly discuss terms of peace. I believe that I have shown that such an odious and tyrannical doctrine has never been held by the men who have stood for liberty and representative government in this country.

Ordronaux, in his work on Constitutional Legislation, says:

This power (the war-making power) the Constitution has lodged in Congress, as the political department of the Government, and more immediate representative of the will of the people. (P. 495).

On page 496, the same author points out that—

The general power to declare war, and the consequent right to conduct it as long as the public interests may seem to require—

is vested in Congress.

The right to determine when and upon what terms the public interests require that war shall cease must therefore necessarily vest in Congress.

I have already referred to the fact that Lincoln, Webster, Clay, Sumner, Corwin, and others, all contended and declared in the midst of war that it was the right—the constitutional right—and the patriotic duty of American citizens, after the declaration of war, as well as before the declaration of war, and while the war was in progress, to discuss the issues of the war, to criticize the policies employed in its prosecution, and to work for the election of representatives pledged to carry out the will of the people respecting the war.

Let me call your attention to what James Madison, who became the fourth President of the United States, said on the subject in a speech at the constitutional convention, June 29, 1787:

A standing military force, with an overgrown Executive, will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defense against foreign dangers have always been the instrument of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite war whenever a revolt was apprehended. Throughout all Europe the armies kept up under the pretense of defending have enslaved the people. It is perhaps questionable whether the best concerted system of absolute power in Europe could maintain itself in a situation where no alarms of external danger could tame the people to the domestic yoke.

I now invite your attention to some of the precedents established by Congress showing that it has exercised almost from the time of the first Congress substantially the powers I am urging it should assert now.

CONGRESSIONAL PRECEDENTS.

Many of the precedents to which I shall now briefly refer will be found in Hinds' Precedents, volume 2, chapter 49. My authority for the others are the records of Congress itself as contained in the Congressional Globe and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In 1811 the House originated and the Senate agreed to a resolution as follows:

Taking into view the present state of the world, the peculiar situation of Spain and of her American Provinces, and the intimate relations of the territory eastward of the River Perdido, adjoining the United States, to their security and tranquillity: Therefore

Resolved, etc., That the United States can not see with indifference any part of the Spanish Provinces adjoining the said States eastward of the River Perdido pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign power.

In 1821 Mr. Clay introduced the following resolution, which passed the House:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives participates with the people of the United States in the deep interest which they feel for the success of the Spanish Provinces of South America, which are struggling to establish their liberty and independence, and that it will give its constitutional support to the President of the United States whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of the said Provinces.

In 1825 there was a long debate in the House relating to an unconditional appropriation for the expenses of the ministers to the Panama Congress. According to Mr. Hinds's summary of this debate, the opposition to the amendment, led by Mr. Webster, was that—

While the House had an undoubted right to express its general opinion in regard to questions of foreign policy, in this case it was proposed to decide what should be discussed by the particular ministers already appointed. If such instructions might be furnished by the House in this case they might be furnished in all, thus usurping the power of the Executive.

James Buchanan and John Forsythe, who argued in favor of the amendment, "contended that it did not amount to an instruction to diplomatic agents, but was a proper expression of opinion by the House. The House had always exercised the right of expressing its opinion on great questions, either foreign or domestic, and such expressions were never thought to be an improper interference with the Executive."

In April, 1864, the House originated and passed a resolution declaring that—

It did not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European power.

On May 23 the House passed a resolution requesting the President to communicate any explanation given by the Government of the United States to France respecting the sense and bearing of the joint resolution relative to Mexico.

The President transmitted the correspondence to the House.

The correspondence disclosed that Secretary Seward had transmitted a copy of the resolution to our minister to France, with the explanation that—

This is a practical and purely executive question, and the decision of its constitutionality belongs not to the House of Representatives or even to Congress but to the President of the United States.

After a protracted struggle, evidently accompanied with much feeling, the House of Representatives adopted the following resolution, which had been reported by Mr. Henry Winter Davis from the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Resolved, That Congress has a constitutional right to an authoritative voice in declaring and prescribing the foreign policy of the United States as well in the recognition of new powers as in other matters, and it is the constitutional duty of the President to respect that policy, no less in diplomatic negotiations than *in the use of the national force when authorized by law*.

It will be observed from the language last read that it was assumed as a matter of course that Congress had an authoritative voice as to the use of the national forces to be made in time of war, and that it was the constitutional duty of the President to respect the policy of the Congress in that regard, and Mr. Davis in the resolution just read argued that it was the duty of the President to respect the authority of Congress in diplomatic negotiations even as he must respect it when the Congress determined the policy of the Government in the use of the national forces. The portion of the resolution I have just read was adopted by a vote of 119 to 8. The balance of the resolution was adopted by a smaller majority, and was as follows:

And the propriety of any declaration of foreign policy by Congress is sufficiently proved by the vote which pronounces it, and such proposition, while pending and undetermined, is not a fit topic of diplomatic explanation with any foreign power.

The joint resolution of 1898 declaring the intervention of the United States to remedy conditions existing in the island of Cuba is recent history and familiar to all. This resolution embodied a clear declaration of foreign policy regarding Cuba as well as a declaration of war. It passed both branches of Congress and was signed by the President.

After reciting the abhorrent conditions existing in Cuba it reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

On April 28, 1904, a joint resolution was passed by both Houses of Congress in the following terms:

That it is the sense of the Congress of the United States that it is desirable in the interests of uniformity of action by maritime States in time of war, that the President endeavor to bring about an understanding among the principal maritime powers, with a view to incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerents.

Here it will be observed that the Congress proposed by resolution to direct the President as to the policy of exempting from capture private property at sea, not contraband of war, in not only one war merely but in all wars, providing that other maritime powers could be brought to adopt the same policy. So far as I am aware, there is an unbroken line of precedents by Congress upon this subject down to the time of the present administration. It is true that in 1846 President Polk, without consulting Congress, assumed to send the Army of the United States into territory the title of which was in dispute between the United States and Mexico, thereby precipitating bloodshed and the Mexican War. But it is also true that this act was condemned as unconstitutional by the great constitutional lawyers of the country, and Abraham Lincoln, when he became a Member of the next Congress, voted for and supported the resolution, called the Ashmun amendment, which passed the House of Representatives, declaring that the Mexican War had been—

Unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. (See Schouler's History of the United States, vol. 5, p. 83. See also Lincoln's speech in the House of Representatives, Jan. 12, 1848.)

That the full significance of this resolution was appreciated by the House of Representatives is shown by the speech of Mr. Venable, Representative from North Carolina, and a warm supporter of President Polk, made in the House, January 12, 1848, where referring to this resolution he says:

Eighty-five Members of this House sustained that amendment (referring to the Ashmun amendment) and it now constitutes one of our recorded acts. I will not here stop to inquire as to the moral effect upon the Mexican people and the Mexican Government which will result to us from such a vote in the midst of a war. I suppose gentlemen have fully weighed this matter. Neither will I now inquire how much such a vote will strengthen our credit or facilitate the Government in furnishing the necessary supply of troops. * * *

They [referring to his fellow Members in the House of Representatives] have said by their votes that the President has violated the Constitution in the most flagrant manner; that every drop of blood which has been shed, every bone which now whitens the plains of Mexico, every heart-wringing agony which has been produced must be placed to his account who has so flagitiously violated the Constitution and involved the Nation in the horrors of war. This the majority of this House have declared on oath. The grand inquest of the Nation have asserted the fact and fixed it on their records, and I here demand of them to impeach the President.

That Mr. Lincoln was in no manner deterred from the discharge of his duty as he saw it is evidenced by the fact that on the day following the speech of Representative Venable, Lincoln replied with one of the ablest speeches of his career, the opening sentences of which I desire to quote. He said:

Some, if not all, the gentlemen of the other side of the House, who have addressed the committee within the last two days, have spoken rather complainingly, if I have rightly understood them, of the vote given a week or 10 days ago, declaring that the War with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. I admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party wantonness and that the one given is justly censurable, if it have no other or better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the truth of the case.

Lincoln then proceeded to demonstrate the truth of the charge as he regarded it. Evidently he did not think that patriotism in war more than in peace required the suppression of the truth respecting anything pertaining to the conduct of the war.

And yet to-day, Mr. President, for merely suggesting a possible disagreement with the administration on any measure submitted, or the offering of amendments to increase the tax upon incomes, or on war profits, is "treason to our country and an effort to serve the enemy."

Since the Constitution vests in Congress the supreme power to determine when and for what purpose the country will engage in war and the objects to attain which the war will be prosecuted, it seems to me to be an evasion of a solemn duty on the part of the Congress not to exercise that power at this critical time in the Nation's affairs. The Congress can no more avoid its responsibility in this matter than it can in any other. As the Nation's purposes in conducting this war are of supreme importance to the country, it is the supreme duty of Congress to exercise the function conferred upon it by the Constitution of guiding the foreign policy of the Nation in the present crisis.

A minor duty may be evaded by Congress, a minor responsibility avoided without disaster resulting, but on this momentous question there can be no evasion, no shirking of duty of the Congress, without subverting our form of government. If our Constitution is to be changed so as to give the President the power to determine the purposes for which this Nation will engage in war, and the conditions on which it will make peace, then let that change be made deliberately by an amendment to the Constitution proposed and adopted in a constitutional manner. It would be bad enough if the Constitution clothed the President with any such power, but to exercise such power without constitutional authority can not long be tolerated if even the forms of free government are to remain. We all know that no amendment to the Constitution giving the President the powers suggested would be adopted by the people. We know that if such an amendment were to be proposed it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The universal conviction of those who yet believe in the rights of the people is that the first step toward the prevention of war and the establishment of peace, permanent peace, is to give the people who must bear the brunt of war's awful burden more to say about it. The masses will understand that it was the evil of a one-man power exercised in a half dozen nations through the malevolent influences of a system of secret diplomacy that plunged the helpless peoples of Europe into the awful war that has been raging with increasing horror and fury ever since it began and that now threatens to engulf the world before it stops.

No conviction is stronger with the people to-day than that there should be no future wars except in case of actual invasion, unless supported by a referendum, a plebiscite, a vote of ratification upon the declaration of war before it shall become effective.

And because there is no clearness of understanding, no unity of opinion in this country on the part of the people as to the conditions upon which we are prosecuting this war or what the specific objects are upon the attainment of which the present administration would be willing to conclude a peace, it becomes still more imperative each day that Congress should assert its constitutional power to define and declare the objects of this war which will afford the basis for a conference and for the establishment of permanent peace. The President has asked the German people to speak for themselves on this great world issue; why should not the American people voice their convictions through their chosen representatives in Congress?

Ever since new Russia appeared upon the map she has been holding out her hands to free America to come to her support in declaring for a clear understanding of the objects to be attained to secure peace. Shall we let this most remarkable revolution the world has ever witnessed appeal to us in vain?

We have been six months at war. We have incurred financial obligations and made expenditures of money in amounts already so large that the human mind can not comprehend them. The Government has drafted from the peaceful occupations of civil life a million of our finest young men—and more will be taken if necessary—to be transported 4,000 miles over the sea, with their equipment and supplies, to the trenches of Europe.

The first chill winds of autumn remind us that another winter is at hand. The imagination is paralyzed at the thought of the human misery, the indescribable suffering, which the winter months, with their cold and sleet and ice and snow, must bring to the war-swept lands, not alone to the soldiers at the front but to the noncombatants at home.

To such excesses of cruelty has this war descended that each nation is now, as a part of its strategy, planning to starve the women and children of the enemy countries. Each warring nation is carrying out the unspeakable plan of starving noncombatants. Each nurses the hope that it may break the spirit of the men of the enemy country at the front by starving the wives and babes at home, and woe be it that we have become partners in this awful business and are even cutting off food shipments from neutral countries in order to force them to help starve women and children of the country against whom we have declared war.

There may be some necessity overpowering enough to justify these things, but the people of America should demand to know what results are expected to satisfy the sacrifice of all that civilization holds dear upon the bloody altar of a conflict which employs such desperate methods of warfare.

The question is, Are we to sacrifice millions of our young men—the very promise of the land—and spend billions and more billions, and pile up the cost of living until we starve—and for what? Shall the fearfully overburdened people of this country continue to bear the brunt of a prolonged war for any objects not openly stated and defined?

The answer, sir, rests, in my judgment, with the Congress, whose duty it is to declare our specific purposes in the present war and to state the objects upon the attainment of which we will make peace.

CAMPAIGN SHOULD BE MADE ON CONSTITUTIONAL LINES.

And, sir, this is the ground on which I stand. I maintain that Congress has the right and the duty to declare the objects of the war and the people have the right and the obligation to discuss it.

American citizens may hold all shades of opinion as to the war; one citizen may glory in it, another may deplore it, each has the same right to voice his judgment. An American citizen may think and say that we are not justified in prosecuting this war for the purpose of dictating the form of government which shall be maintained by our enemy or our ally, and not be subject to punishment at law. He may pray aloud that our boys shall not be sent to fight and die on European battle fields for the annexation of territory or the maintenance of trade agreements and be within his legal rights. He may express the hope that an early peace may be secured on the terms set forth by the new Russia and by President Wilson in his speech of January 22, 1917, and he can not lawfully be sent to jail for the expression of his convictions.

It is the citizen's duty to obey the law until it is repealed or declared unconstitutional. But he has the inalienable right to fight what he deems an obnoxious law or a wrong policy in the courts and at the ballot box.

It is the suppressed emotion of the masses that breeds revolution.

If the American people are to carry on this great war, if public opinion is to be enlightened and intelligent, there must be free discussion.

Congress, as well as the people of the United States, entered the war in great confusion of mind and under feverish excitement. The President's leadership was followed in the faith that he had some big, unrevealed plan by which peace that would exalt him before all the world would soon be achieved.

Gradually, reluctantly, Congress and the country are beginning to perceive that we are in this terrific world conflict, not only to *right* our wrongs, not only to *aid* the allies, not only to *share* its awful death toll and its fearful tax burden, but, perhaps, to *bear the brunt* of the war.

And so I say, if we are to forestall the danger of being drawn into years of war, perhaps finally to maintain imperialism and exploitation, the people must unite in a campaign along constitutional lines for free discussion of the policy of the war and its conclusion on a just basis.

Permit me, sir, this word in conclusion. It is said by many persons for whose opinions I have profound respect and whose motives I know to be sincere that "we are in this war and must go through to the end." That is true. But it is not true that we must go through to the end to *accomplish an undisclosed purpose, or to reach an unknown goal.*

I believe that whatever there is of honest difference of opinion concerning this war, arises precisely at this point.

There is, and of course can be, no real difference of opinion concerning the duty of the citizen to discharge to the last limit whatever obligation the war lays upon him.

Our young men are being taken by the hundreds of thousands for the purpose of waging this war on the Continent of Europe, possibly Asia or Africa, or anywhere else that they may be ordered. Nothing must be left undone for their protection. They must have the best army, ammunition, and equipment that money can buy. They must have the best training and the best officers which this great country can provide. The dependents and relatives they leave at home must be provided for, not meagerly, but generously so far as money can provide for them.

I have done some of the hardest work of my life during the last few weeks on the revenue bill to raise the largest possible amount of money from surplus incomes and war profits for this war and upon other measures to provide for the protection of the soldiers and their families. That I was not able to accom-

plish more along this line is a great disappointment to me. I did all that I could, and I shall continue to fight with all the power at my command until wealth is made to bear more of the burden of this war than has been laid upon it by the present Congress. Concerning these matters there can be no difference of opinion. We have not yet been able to muster the forces to conscript wealth, as we have conscripted men, but no one has ever been able to advance even a plausible argument for not doing so.

No, Mr. President; it is on the other point suggested where honest differences of opinion may arise. Shall we ask the people of this country to shut their eyes and take the entire war program on faith? There are no doubt many honest and well-meaning persons who are willing to answer that question in the affirmative rather than risk the dissensions which they fear may follow a free discussion of the issues of this war. With that position I do not—I can not agree. Have the people no intelligent contribution to make to the solution of the problems of this war? I believe that they have, and that in this matter, as in so many others, they may be wiser than their leaders, and that if left free to discuss the issues of the war they will find the correct settlement of these issues.

But it is said that Germany will fight with greater determination if her people believe that we are not in perfect agreement. Mr. President, that is the same worn-out pretext which has been used for three years to keep the plain people of Europe engaged in killing each other in this war. And, sir, as applied to this country, at least, it is a pretext with nothing to support it.

The way to paralyze the German arm, to weaken the German military force, in my opinion, is to declare our objects in this war, and show by that declaration to the German people that we are not seeking to dictate a form of government to Germany or to render more secure England's domination of the seas.

A declaration of our purposes in this war, so far from strengthening our enemy, I believe would immeasurably weaken her, for it would no longer be possible to misrepresent our purposes to the German people. Such a course on our part, so far from endangering the life of a single one of our boys, I believe would result in saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of them by bringing about an earlier and more lasting peace by intelligent negotiation, instead of securing a peace by the complete exhaustion of one or the other of the belligerents.

Such a course would also immeasurably, I believe, strengthen our military force in this country, because when the objects of this war are clearly stated and the people approve of those objects they will give to the war a popular support it will never otherwise receive.

Then, again, honest dealing with the entente allies, as well as with our own people, requires a clear statement of our objects in this war. If we do not expect to support the entente allies in the dreams of conquest we know some of them entertain, then in all fairness to them that fact should be stated now. If we do expect to support them in their plans for conquest and aggrandizement, then our people are entitled to know that vitally important fact before this war proceeds further. Common honesty and fair dealing with the people of this country and with the nations by whose side we are fighting, as well as a sound military policy at home, requires the fullest and freest discussion before the people of every issue involved in this great war and that a plain and specific declaration of our purposes in the war be speedily made by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President—— [Applause in the galeries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The occupants of the galleries at the present time are not aware of the fact perhaps that the presiding officer of the Senate is required to suppress all demonstrations of approval or disapproval on the part of occupants of the galleries. Upon the assumption that that rule was not known to the occupants of the galleries it will not be enforced at the present time. A repetition of it will result in the clearing of the galleries. The Senator from Minnesota will proceed.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask the Senator from Minnesota if he will yield to me for just one second?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the adjournment resolution which came from the House, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 25.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session of the Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on Saturday, the 6th day of October, 1917, at 3 o'clock p. m.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I have no sympathy with unjust and intemperate criticism of the Members of this Senate or of any public men, for I realize that when this Senate ceases to be a deliberative body the Republic is in danger. I desire for a few moments, however, to discuss the reasons which brought this country into this great conflict and what I believe to be the duties of public men in relation thereto.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] stated that resolutions or petitions had been presented asking for his expulsion for expressions of his opinion in public. I introduced one of those petitions a week ago. I presented it to the Senate. It came as a resolution from the Minnesota Public Safety Commission, a body created by authority of statute and headed by the distinguished governor of that Commonwealth. It had attached thereto, certified to me, a stenographic copy of the speech of the senior Senator from Wisconsin. It was not a pleasant duty to present the petition to the Senate of the United States. Sir, I performed that duty in response to the guaranties of the Constitution of the United States, fixing forever in our laws the right of petition.

At the time I made no comment thereon, and should not have done so but for the speech of the Senator to-day. I shall not now anticipate the action of the committee or of the Senate upon the question, or express any opinion as to what, if anything, should be done; but I can not allow this occasion to pass or this Congress to adjourn without expressing my emphatic dissent from some of the views stated in that speech. I shall limit my remarks to those parts of the speech stating, as the Senator understood it, the reasons why this Government went to war. The speech was delivered on the 20th day of September—16 days ago. It has been scattered broadcast all over this land. I have heard no denial of the parts of the speech which I shall read to the Senate. I hope they were not spoken; but they have been printed in the press of this country, and it is as to the sentiments therein expressed and the reasons therein given for this war to which I address myself. I invite the attention of the Senate to two paragraphs of that speech, reading as follows:

> Now, fellow citizens, we are in the midst of a war. For my own part, I was not in favor of beginning the war. [Continued applause.] I didn't mean to say we had not suffered grievances. We had, at the hands of Germany, serious grievances; we had cause for complaining; they had interfered with the right of American citizens to travel upon the high seas on ships loaded with munitions for Great Britain. [Applause and yells.] And, gentlemen, I would not be understood as saying we didn't have grievances; we did, and upon those grievances, which I have regarded as insufficient, considering the amount involved and the rights involved, which was the right to ship munitions to Great Britain with American passengers on board to secure a safe transit. [Laughter and applause.] We had a right, a technical right, to ship munitions, and the American citizens had a technical right to ride on those vessels. I was not in favor of riding on them [laughter] because it seemed to me when the consequences resulting from any destruction of life that might occur would be so awful, I say [a voice: "Yellow"]—any man who says that in an audience where he can conceal himself is yellow himself. [Cries: "Put him out."] I say this, that the comparatively small privilege of the right of an American citizen to ride on a munition-loaded ship flying a foreign flag is too small to involve this country in a loss of millions and hundreds of millions of lives. [Applause.]

Reading another part:

> And, fellow citizens, it behooves a nation to consider well before it enters upon a war of that sort how much it has got at stake. If all it has got at stake is the loans the house of Morgan makes to foreign Governments, and the profits that the munition makers will earn in shipping their products to foreign countries, then I think it ought to be weighed, not in a common hay scale, but in an apothecary's scale. [Applause.]
>
> Ah! But somebody will tell you American rights are involved. What American rights? The right of some venturesome person to ride upon a munition-laden vessel in violation of an American statute that no vessel which carries explosives shall carry passengers. Four days before the *Lusitania* sailed President Wilson was warned in person by Secretary of State Bryan that the *Lusitania* had 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition on board, besides explosives, and that the passengers who proposed to sail on that vessel were sailing in violation of a statute of this country, that no passengers shall travel upon a railroad train or sail upon a vessel which carries dangerous explosives. [Applause.] And Mr. Bryan appealed to President Wilson to stop passengers from sailing upon the *Lusitania*. I am giving you some history that maybe has not come to you heretofore—the grievances that carry this country into the war, into a war the results of which, as to the loss of life and burdens, financial burdens, that shall be laid upon us can not be calculated by any mind.

Mr. President, after we have declared war and when we are calling upon brave men to sacrifice their lives, when we are marshaling the resources of a mighty nation for a struggle unparalleled in history, I believe that we should be extremely cautious and scrupulously accurate in stating the grounds of conflict and causes of the war. I deny that we went to war to secure the right of American citizens to ride on ships loaded with munitions for Great Britain or loaded with explosives in violation of American statutes. I deny that we went to war to protect the loans of the house of Morgan & Co. to foreign Governments. I deny that we went to war to insure profits to munition makers, and I believe that such a statement is a slander upon the intelligence, the honor, and the patriotism of this country. What did we go to war for? I shall not hark back to the cause of the war between the central empires and the entente allies, although from a most painstaking investigation, I am convinced that Imperial Germany has been preparing for more than 30 years to spring on an unsuspecting world. To that preparation she has brought all the resources of her great empire and the marvelous energy of her concentrated government; that when the opportune time came, when she thought Europe was unprepared to meet her onslaught, she availed herself of an excuse to plunge Europe into war, that she might realize her dream of conquest and imperial mastery. I am convinced that the allied nations—France, England, and Russia—used every reasonable effort to prevent this world calamity. Sir, Germany stands convicted, by the judgment of the civilized world, and this war is a blot upon the pages of her history which sacrificial blood and time will never efface.

But whatever may be said as to the original cause of the war between Germany and the allies, this Nation rests upon solid grounds, backed by international law, by the dictates of humanity, and the instincts of self-preservation. Germany violated her sacred treaties with this country. She closed the ocean to our commerce and the commerce of the world. She sank merchant ships in violation of international law and the universal custom of all civilized nations. She murdered noncombatants, innocent women, and children; she defied and scoffed at our authority. She tried to induce a neighboring nation, with which we were at peace, to make war upon us by promising that nation a part of our territory. She violated our hospitality by having her ambassador, her consular agents, and her spies plot in our midst against our peace and safety. Sir, to-day, when we are at war, her spies and her agents are in our midst. She undertook to stir up rebellion in Cuba, in Haiti, in Santo Domingo, and she has filled the world with her mercenaries advocating her unlimited power and ruthlessness in destruction.

Mr. President, it is unnecessary for me to recite the details of the record of the sinking of American and foreign passenger ships—a record so black, so treacherous, so barbarous as to stir the indignation of all civilized nations. It is sufficient here to say that in addition to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and many other ships, on the 24th of March, 1916, her submarines sank the *Sussex* in the English Channel, having on board a number of American citizens. She was a passenger ship. There was no claim that she was armed or carrying munitions. And following a demand by our Government, on May 4, Germany gave her solemn pledge that thereafter "merchant vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempted to escape or offer resistance."

But this pledge, like all other pledges of the Imperial German Government, was treated as a scrap of paper, and on the last day of January, 1917, the German Government declared itself bound by no promises and threatened a ruthless submarine warfare against all the world.

I send to the desk and ask to have inserted in the RECORD a statement containing the number of American ships sunk immediately following this decree and American lives lost by the sinking of more than 20 vessels, American and foreign.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). Without objection, the matter referred to will be inserted in the RECORD.

The statement referred to is as follows:

Following eight or more American vessels which had been sunk or attacked earlier, in most cases in contravention to international law, these ships also had been sunk following the repudiation of her pledges by Germany:

February 3, 1917, *Housatonic.*
February 13, 1917, *Lyman M. Law.*
March 16, 1917, *Vigilancia.*
March 17, 1917, *City of Memphis.*
March 17, 1917, *Illinois.*
March 21, 1917, *Healdton* (claimed to have been sunk off Dutch coast, and far from the so-called "prohibited zone").
April 1, 1917, *Aztec.*
March 2, 1917, *Algonquin.*

Furthermore, no American should forget the sinking of the *William P. Frye* on January 28, 1915, by a German raider. This act, under normal circumstances, would be a casus belli. The raider, the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich,* then impudently took refuge in an American port.

American lives lost on the ocean during the war. (See Cong. Rec., 65th Cong., 1st sess.)

American lives have been lost during the sinking of at least 20 vessels, whereof 4 were American, 1 Dutch, and 1 Norwegian. In one or two cases the vessels tried to escape and made resistance, and the loss of life was possibly excusable for the Germans. In the bulk of the cases the destruction was without fair warning and without reasonable effort to give the passengers and crew chance to escape.

Among the more flagrant cases were:

May 7, 1915, *Lusitania,* 114 Americans lost.
August 19, 1915, *Arabia,* 3 Americans lost.
September 4, 1915, *Hesperian,* 1 American lost.
October 28, 1916, *Marina,* 8 Americans lost.
December 14, 1916, *Russian,* 17 Americans lost.
February 26, 1917, *Laconia,* 8 Americans lost.
March 16, 1917, *Vigilancia,* 5 Americans lost (United States).
March 21, 1917, *Healdton,* 7 Americans lost (United States).
April 1, 1917, *Aztec,* 28 Americans lost (United States).

Some on *Aztec,* probably not American citizens, although she was a regular American ship.

In all, up to declaration of war by us, 226 American citizens, many of them women and children, had lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most instances without the faintest color of international rights.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, it is sufficient for me to say that eight American vessels were sunk after that declaration of Germany and before the declaration of war by this country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And they were flying the American flag.

Mr. KELLOGG. And, as the Senator from Mississippi says, they were flying the American flag.

Sir, there are duties which a nation owes to its citizens and to the world which it can not ignore without danger to its institutions. Are our brave and patriotic young men who are going to Europe to fight our battles to be told they are fighting for no cause; that they are giving their lives that munition makers may reap a harvest; that banking houses may loan money? Is this Congress, this Nation, so sordid that our noble sons on the field of battle are to be sacrificed for these purposes, and all the splendid patriotism and the marshaling of the resources of this mighty Nation are for no honorable purpose? Sir, we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to those brave men, we owe it to history, we owe it to the nations allied with us in this tremendous conflict to place our disapproval before the world of this slanderous accusation.

I have it upon the highest authority that it is not a fact that President Wilson was warned by Secretary Bryan before the sailing of the *Lusitania* that she had on board 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition, besides explosives, and that the passengers who proposed to sail on that vessel were sailing in violation of the statutes of this country. In fact, Mr. Bryan denies that statement in the morning papers. We have the highest authority for the statement that the *Lusitania* was not armed, and that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States—the authority of a declaration of the State Department of this Nation, made on June 9, 1915, when the Secretary of State sent to the German Government, through Ambassador Gerard, the following statement:

Fortunately, these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of the facts alleged in your excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action; that she was not serving as a transport; that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States; and that if, in fact, she was a naval vessel of Great Britain, she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed.

And, as the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] suggests, the man who furnished that information to Bernstorff was afterwards prosecuted for perjury and, I believe, convicted. This solemn statement of the Secretary of State to the German Government has never been successfully controverted.

Neither is it an accurate statement that the passengers who sailed upon the *Lusitania* did so in violation of the statutes of the United States. I send to the desk and ask to have incorporated in my remarks section 10404 of the Compiled Statutes, which, in substance, makes it unlawful to transport, carry, or convey liquid nitroglycerin, fulminate in bulk in dry condition, or other like explosive on any vessel or vehicle of any description operated by a common carrier in the transportation of passengers or articles of commerce by land or water.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter referred to by the Senator from Minnesota will be incorporated in the RECORD.

The section of the statutes referred to is as follows:

SEC. 10404 (Criminal Code, sec. 234). High explosives excluded from certain vessels or vehicles.—It shall be unlawful to transport, carry, or convey liquid nitroglycerin, fulminate in bulk in dry condition, or other like explosive, between a place in a foreign country and a place within or subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, or place noncon-

tiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and a place in any other State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or any vessel or vehicle of any description operated by a common carrier in the transportation of passengers or articles of commerce by land or water.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, it is not unlawful nor in violation of the laws of nations to carry contraband of war or for passengers to ride upon such ships. But, however this may have been, it was not within the laws of nations, within the principles of humanity and justice governing the civilized communities of the world, the right of Germany to sink such a ship without warning and without taking off the crew and passengers and landing them in a place of safety.

Are we as a Nation willing to subscribe to the doctrine that will turn back the wheels of progress for more than 500 years; that will countenance the sinking of ships, freighted with men, women, and children, without warning, upon the highway of nations? Sir, it would be a blot upon the honor of this Nation, which stands for justice, for international law, for right, and for civilization, to consent for one day to such conduct.

But that is not all. Germany did sink our ships and take the lives of American citizens thereon when there was no pretense that they were carrying munitions of war or explosives, and this without warning and in brutal defiance of this Nation and the world. The time came when no self-respecting nation, believing in the principles of self-government and enlightened civilization, could longer ignore this monstrous menace to free institutions. If we believe in the right of a people to govern themselves unmolested by the dictates of arbitrary power; if we believe in the institutions of our own Government and all they mean to us; if we believe in self-preservation, in a peace that shall not make the world an armed camp, it is our duty to prosecute this war, to uphold the national arm until a lasting and honorable peace can be made, based upon these rights.

Sir, I wish here to read the language of the Father of his Country in his first inaugural address. He said:

> The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality. There exists in the course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between honest policy and public felicity. The propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a union [or government] that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained.

Mr. President, I have no quarrel with the Senator from Wisconsin or with the principles enunciated by the long line of American statesmen quoted by him who claimed the highest right and privilege of expressing their opinions of the rights of their country when involved in a foreign war. But, Mr. President, this is not a question of free speech. It is a question of an erroneous statement of facts rather than of free speech. I honor that long line of statesmen referred to by the Senator—Webster and his immortal appeal for unity of the Nation; Lincoln, the martyr of our greatest struggle, and many others. Charles James Fox protested against England's war with the French, but when we were engaged in war with Mexico our land was not filled with German spies, interfering with our citizens, stirring up discord and anarchy, encouraging the destruction of property, and plotting with foreign nations. We were not then engaged with the mightiest autocracy the world has ever known and the greatest of military powers for the principles of eternal justice upon which our Government is founded. Sir, I would refer the Senator to the language of President Lincoln addressed to the agitators in Ohio and other States when this Nation was struggling for its existence.

Mr. President, I am as jealous of the right of free speech as any Member of this body or any citizen of this land. It is a right acquired by the struggles of our ancestors for 700 years—since the days of Runnymede—and immutably fixed in our written Constitution; and I believe that the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press are absolutely necessary to human liberty.

I have no right or wish to criticize any man who voted against this Nation going to war, although I may disagree with him. But, sir, we are at war, and I believe men of this body, men of influence, should not make statements tending to aid and encourage the enemy and to cast dishonor and discredit upon this Nation. Imagine, sir, the circulation in the German Empire of these statements reflecting discredit upon our prosecution of the war and sustaining the justice of the cause of the German Empire. Could these people be blamed for believing in a cause, however lacking in justice and right, if these are the reasons which lead us into this great conflict and sustain us through its trying ordeal?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President and Senators, I regret that the address of the Senator from Wisconsin has been made in the closing hours of this session of Congress, so that the minds and labors of Senators are diverted from matters of important public interest to a consideration of the questions which are involved in the views which he has expressed. The greater portion of his address was directed toward the vindication of the constitutional privilege and right of freedom of the press and freedom of speech and to the quotation of mere platitudinous utterances by great men of the past.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin seems to me strangely inconsistent in insisting upon his right, under the constitutional guaranty of free speech, to declare in substance that this Government has entered upon war for no just cause, and to assail the Executive Department of the Government for its manner of conducting this conflict, to assail the legislative branch of the Government for a failure to perform its alleged duty, and even to attack the courts of the United States for their failure to protect the citizens of this country in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights. If it is the right of a Senator of the United States to speak freely upon topics of this character, why should the Senator from Wisconsin or any other Senator entertaining those views denounce newspaper men and other citizens of this country who, in the exercise of the same right of free thought and free speech, have declared that the Senator ought to abandon his seat in the United States Senate and seek membership in the German Bundesrath?

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin has sought to justify his attitude in this debate upon the record of Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster. It may be recalled that Mr. Lincoln, who introduced the resolution denouncing and criticizing his Government for engaging in the Mexican War and for its manner of conducting that conflict, was defeated for reelection by an Illinois constituency. Daniel Webster is not remembered for the speech the Senator quotes; his name does not linger in the memory of millions of American citizens because of the act of which the Senator from Wisconsin has spoken to-day—that is, because of his criticism of his Government for entering the Mexican War—but Daniel Webster will live in the hearts of the American people as long as men love liberty because he stood in this sacred presence and declared for the preservation of his country and the maintenance of its flag.

It is a singular thing to me, Senators, that a Senator of the United States should consume two and a half hours in denouncing his Government and have not one word for its flag, not one word for the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, not one word for the encouragement of the men who have already been sent to the far-stretched battle fronts of Europe, and who are now upholding with their lives the honor, the dignity, and the safety of this great Nation. If it is a privilege of free speech for Senators to test the patience of their colleagues and the patience of the citizens of this Nation, it is equally a right of other citizens, in the exercise of free speech, to criticize the conduct of Senators.

If I entertained the sentiments which the Senator from Wisconsin has expressed in this presence this morning, I would not wait for the United States Senate to pass upon the question of my loyalty or disloyalty; I would seek the companionship of those whom my discussion and my sentiments are calculated to support.

Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] has discussed an address credited to the Senator from Wisconsin, made in St. Paul some days ago. In that address the Senator from Wisconsin is charged with saying that the United States went to war for the purpose of vindicating the right of venturesome citizens to ride on passenger vessels transporting ammunition. I want to know from Senators now assembled whether they believe that is an exercise of the right of free speech. The Senator from Wisconsin is one of the best-informed men in the United States Senate. I want to know from you, sirs, whether or not you believe that was a statement of the conscientious sentiments of the Senator from Wisconsin. If he believes that the United States is involved in this conflict for that cause, or if he believes that is the principal cause which brought the United States into this conflict, his attitude is justified; but where does he get his information?

I propose to tell you to-day, in addition to the incidents that have been recited by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], some of the reasons which forced the United States into this war. The whole speech of the Senator from Wisconsin is based upon the erroneous assumption that the United States declared war against Germany and forced war on her. We did no such thing. The United States recognized a state of war which had already been existing between the United States and Germany for many months, for some years; and that state of war was brought about by the brutal, lawless disregard by the German Government of the rights of American citizens and of the sovereignty of this great Nation. A Sena-

tor who can find it in his heart to say, here or elsewhere, that the United States went to war for a trivial cause is, to say the least, lacking in the information which a Senator should possess.

The Senator, during the course of his address, referred to the failure of the courts to protect citizens of the United States in the exercise of their rights as citizens. I was astounded when, in the beginning of his address, he made the statement that Government agencies, acting under the authority of the Executive, are invading the private homes of loyal citizens, are arresting and confining innocent and loyal American citizens in jail, without warrant and without cause; that Government officers are violating every private and sacred right of the people of this Government. Passing over the references made by the Senator from Minnesota, taking the speech just made as the basis of my address, I say to you that while I can not find language within the rules of the Senate to appropriately characterize the sentiments uttered on this floor this morning by the Senator from Wisconsin, if I entertained those sentiments I would not think I had the right to retain a seat on the floor of the United States Senate. I would apply to the Kaiser for a seat in the Bundesrath.

The Senator from Wisconsin has denounced this Congress for failure to perform its duty in passing a resolution which he has introduced. That is Senate concurrent resolution No. 11 introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin August 11, 1917. I think the Senator himself inserted that resolution in the RECORD. I want to call the attention of the Senate to some of the provisions in that resolution.

He says it is designed to bring about peace by forcing the United States and the allies to declare their purposes in conducting this war. One of the purposes to which he declares the United States should commit itself is as follows:

Resolved further, That the Congress hereby declares that this Government will not contribute to the efforts of any belligerent for the purpose of prolonging the war to annex new territory, either in Europe or outside of Europe, nor to enforce the payment of indemnities to recover the expenses of the war.

The correct construction of that language is that it is designed to prevent the allies, in case of victory, from compelling Germany to indemnify Belgium for the misery and desolation which she has so lawlessly brought to that kingdom, for the wreck and ruin which has followed in the path of the German armies as they lawlessly invaded the Kingdom of Belgium. It will be remembered that at the outbreak of the war Germany invaded both Belgium and France. She justified her invasion of Belgium on the ground of alleged military necessity, and the Kaiser promised indemnity at the end of the war. He recognized that he was violating international law. He recognized that he was tearing up treaties and denouncing them as mere "scraps of paper." He said that in order to carry out the military purpose of the German Army it was necessary to violate the sovereignty of Belgium and to invade her, and that when the war was over, Germany would make reparation for that damage.

Germany violated the sovereignty of France. What was the excuse given for the invasion of France? She said French aviators had dropped bombs on the Nuremberg railway line. That statement, like the statement about armament on the *Lusitania*, was proved to be false. The German who gave that evidence to Von Bernstorff and made that affidavit concerning the *Lusitania* afterwards plead guilty to perjury. German agencies of high authority have denounced as equally false the statement that French aviators, before the outbreak of the war, dropped bombs on German railway lines.

It will be remembered that the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 was precipitated by the false telegram of Ems, sent by Bismarck. So, in this war, Germany invaded Belgium and France in violation of the law of nations.

I have not language nor time to recite the many brutalities imposed upon the people of Belgium by the German Army. If I could command your attention and express these outrages in language that would accurately define them, your blood would boil in horror. I shall not speak of German wrongs against foreign nations. I shall speak of German wrongs against the United States, which the Senator from Wisconsin and every other Senator here has sworn to vindicate.

The United States was forced into this war with Germany. We have not gone to war. The war has come to us. Before the Congress recognized the existence of a state of war the German Government, with insufferable barbarity and cruelty, had committed many acts of war against the United States. Every known peaceful means was resorted to by the President in his efforts to preserve neutrality, but the rulers of Germany misjudged our prudence and forbearance as cowardice and grew more and more aggressive until it became apparent that we must fight or be destroyed.

In the minds of nearly all our citizens, the question whether the United States was right in declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany has been so completely foreclosed that further discussion of that issue may seem useless. They know that our Government is now at war, and they are willing to uphold the flag without regard to the merits of our cause; but I am not willing to rest the case upon so narrow grounds.

As a Senator, I voted for the resolution declaring the existence of a state of war, and I intend to tell you why I cast that vote. No citizen more than I is imbued with the ideals of peace. My efforts have been contributed toward the establishment of permanent, world-wide peace. It was therefore with reluctance, and only when the path of duty seemed too clear for doubt, that I voted to protect with military force the lives and property of American citizens against German aggressions on land and sea.

The war was imperative from the standpoint of our national safety. Incredible as the statement may at first appear, the German Government planned for war with the United States even before the outbreak of the present conflict in Europe.

Just before the clash of August, 1914, Field Marshal von Edelsheim, of the Prussian General Staff, published in German newspapers Germany's war aim against Great Britain, France, and the United States. Regarding the contemplated attack against this Government, he said:

Operations against the United States of North America would have to be conducted in a different manner from those against England. During the last year political friction with the States, especially friction arising from commercial causes, has not been lacking, and the difficulties that have arisen have mostly been settled by our giving way. As this obliging attitude has its limits, we have to ask ourselves what force we can possibly bring to bear in order to meet the attack of the United States against our interests and to impose our will.

Our fleet will probably be able to defeat the naval forces of the United States, which are distributed over two oceans and over long distances. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the defeat of their fleet will force the United States, with immense resources, into concluding peace.

Considering the great extent of the United States, the conquest of the country by an army of invasion is not possible. But there is every reason to believe that victorious enterprises on the Atlantic coast and the conquest of the most important arteries through which imports and exports pass, will create such an unbearable state of affairs in the whole country that the Government will readily offer acceptable conditions in order to obtain peace.

If Germany begins preparing a fleet of transports and troops for landing purposes at the moment when the battle fleet steams out of our harbors we may conclude that operations on American soil can begin after about four weeks, and it can not be doubted that the United States will not be able to oppose to us within that time an army equivalent to our own.

There is nothing ambiguous or equivocal in this language. It proves conclusively that Germany was preparing to precipitate a conflict with the United States. It is seldom during peace that so offensive a purpose finds expression in such frank language as that employed by Edelsheim.

Not only is it true that Germany planned war upon the United States more than three years ago, but since the conflict began, and before Congress recognized the existence of a state of war, German military leaders declared a purpose to make the United States indemnify the Fatherland for the cost of the war on the ground of our alleged partiality in permitting American citizens to sell munitions of war to the allies. Germany realized that when the conflict with France, Britain, Russia, and Italy was over her resources would be exhausted and her industries impaired. She coveted the fertile fields, the extensive forests, the rich mines, and unlimited resources of our people, and without doubt would have undertaken to reimburse her treasury by indemnity forced from us. Her plan of despoiling the United States originated with Bismarck, who, when asked his opinion of this country, replied:

The United States is a great fat pig, which Germany will one day stick.

It is not important that you and I feel sure this Government could have repelled German invasion and successfully resisted every effort of the Kaiser to collect indemnity. The material fact is that Germany believed the United States was practically defenseless, and therefore after peace had been made with the allies she could make us pay her expenses and losses during the war.

Everyone here knows that the sale of munitions by the citizens of a neutral nation to belligerents is not a violation of the law of nations. Traffic in munitions between neutrals and belligerents has continued throughout the centuries, and its legality has never been questioned by any Government, except, perhaps, when forbidden by treaty stipulations.

Germany sold munitions to our enemies. When the United States was at war with Spain our enemies obtained their principal supply of munitions from German manufacturers. In

the Boer War Germany's trade in munitions was profitable with both England and the Boers. During the Balkan War the Krupps received enormous profits from the sale of munitions to the belligerents. It was only when the British Navy had shut Germany out from American ports and deprived her of the ability to secure munitions here that Germany started in the United States a propagandism against munition making.

The Senator from Wisconsin has insisted that the United States ought now to declare the purposes of this war and the terms of peace. The answer to that, Mr. President, is that that is exactly what the Kaiser wants. The authorities of this Government now have proof that more than $27,000,000 have been spent by representatives of the German Government in carrying on that propaganda; and it is unfortunate for the country and unfortunate for the Senator from Wisconsin that he has lent himself, his great talents and his services, to the promulgation of the ideas, theories, and desires of the Kaiser.

Mr. President, not only is it true that the traffic in munitions, as conducted by citizens of the United States with the respective belligerents in this war prior to our entry into the war, was entirely consistent with the law of nations, but it would have been suicidal for the United States to have estopped itself of the ability to secure munitions from other countries in case of war with a foreign foe by declaring the policy that citizens of neutrals shall not sell munitions to belligerents in time of war. It is well known that the United States, at the outbreak of this war, was one of the smallest manufacturers of munitions. It was well known that Germany was the greatest munitions-making country in the world; and for the United States to have lent itself to this German propaganda of forbidding the sale by American citizens of munitions to the allies would have been to deny herself the right of self-defense in case of war with Germany.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin has characterized as diabolical the acts of the executive department of this Government in making investigations of those who were suspected of being disloyal to the country. He has said that every private right guaranteed to the citizen by the Constitution is being invaded by the agents of the Government of the United States. Mr. President, the expenditure of millions of dollars by the German Government in the United States, the hiring of countless agents, the placing throughout this land of numerous spies, has made necessary activity upon the part of the Department of Justice and other agencies of this Government in order to protect our country and our people against the iniquitous schemes and devices of those German hirelings. It may be true, Mr. President, that in some instances unnecessary investigations have been made; but I suspect that if the Senator from Wisconsin would produce his evidence here, it would be found that those who made the affidavits to which he has referred in condemnation of his Government are German sympathizers, and some of them German spies.

Let not the Senator from Wisconsin and others be deceived. The great majority of the American people are loyal—loyal to our flag, loyal to the men in the trenches and in the camps, loyal to the President of the United States in every effort to conduct this war to a successful termination; and neither slackers, traitors, nor spies can prevent the consummation of those efforts. If I had my way about it, every spy, proven to be such, would be executed, and every German hireling in the United States would be placed in jail.

The Senator talks about the liberties of the citizen. The liberties of the citizen are imperiled as nothing else could imperil them in this conflict with Germany. The Senator from Wisconsin discloses either ignorance or indifference as to the true facts when he says that this war was brought about by a contention for the right of American citizens to travel on vessels carrying munitions. The German Government not only established a war zone 1,400 miles in length, through which passes three-fourths of all the commerce of the world, and declared that the United States could not continue her commerce in that zone, notwithstanding the fact that the laws of nations for a thousand years have made the open seas the free trading grounds of all neutrals, but Germany declared her purpose to destroy every vessel that entered that zone, whether neutral or belligerent; and in the execution of that lawless threat she sent to the bottom or attacked before the outbreak of this war more than 25 vessels lawfully bearing the American flag, with men and women upon them who were entitled to the protection of the United States. We may differ about the details of our duties as public citizens, but governments are justified principally upon the ground that they secure to their citizens their rights. An American citizen on the deck of an American vessel in mid-ocean is by the law on American territory; and every lawyer knows that when Germany fired upon our flag and killed American citizens on American vessels in the open seas she was outraging the sovereignty of the United States just as much as if she had crossed the ocean and made heard the thunder of her guns at the great seacoast ports of the United States or invaded the mainland of the United States with a Germany army.

What language can characterize the ignorance or the indifference to truth that would place this country, the soldiers in the field, the citizens at home, under the infamous charge of having gone into this war for a trivial purpose, of having gone into this war for the sole purpose or for the principal purpose of vindicating a questionable right? It was no questionable right for the American flag on an American vessel to be upon the ocean. If American commerce had been stopped, the conditions in the United States would have become appalling, and Germany would have been unable to arouse the sentiments for pacificism which talk about the war being unjustifiable and that it ought to be terminated. If Germany had enforced her decree, if American ships had stayed in port as the Kaiser expressly said and the Senator from Wisconsin impliedly says, then a bale of cotton would not have been worth as much as a bale of hay; the value of every American product would have shrunk into nothing; prosperity would have disappeared from the country.

But, sir, it is not on the ground of commercial right, however sacred and plain this may be, that the American people went to war. They went to war in part because it was the duty of this Republic to protect our citizens in the enjoyment of their peaceful pursuits, not on the sea alone but in their homes. Germany not only disregarded the law of nations and sought to destroy the commerce of neutrals and belligerents alike but she sent into the United States spies to arouse and stimulate a spirit of sedition among the people of the United States. Evidence of this is easily obtained. Millions upon millions of dollars were paid out to bribe men to betray their flag. For what purpose? To assist the Kaiser to carry out his will in America. They have prostituted the sacred and holy name of peace in this unrighteous propagandism.

I love peace as much as any man on this earth; but who wants a German peace save a German? In the name of God, is all the blood that has been shed by valiant men, women, and children, is all the blood that France has poured out on her battle fields, are all the sacrifices of Britain, Italy, and Russia to be wasted? Is Germany to be established "over all"?

If the Senator from Wisconsin had his will, if the Kaiser had his will, liberty would become a memory, honor a tradition, and tyranny the ruling power throughout this world. We pray for peace. We will make peace. When? When the army of the Kaiser is rolled back toward Berlin; when from the fields and homes of France and Italy arises the shout of victory, when bleeding Belgium arises from her desolation and cries, "Glory, glory, liberty, liberty, through the combined efforts of the forces of civilization; liberty through the power and wrath of the American people!" God pity the man who comes in the way of this wrath. God have mercy on the men who would paralyze the arm of American power in this great conflict. The American people will show him no mercy.

But, sir, Germany not only sent spies among us and filled the country with hirelings but it sent down into the sunny lands of the South countless hired agents to stimulate the negroes to rise in insurrection and destroy, if possible, the white people of the South. They sent agents into the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Cuba. They sought to lay the South prostrate beneath black domination.

It is not the fault of the German Government that this diabolical scheme failed. It is due to two causes, the fear and the loyalty of the American negro. The American negro knew that to attempt such a foolish thing meant his own destruction and the extinction of his race. But, thank God, that was not the principal cause which induced him to refuse the proffer of the German Government of its assistance in insurrection. The principal cause arose out of the fact that the American negro, North and South, is loyal to the flag of this Republic. He has vindicated his right to the blessings and benefits of our civilization. He is standing to-day loyally beneath the American flag giving up his fortune and his blood to uphold the country's honor. Germany could not induce him to rise in insurrection. What would have followed if she had been successful in that scheme? I leave it to your imagination to portray. The failure of the attempt was not due to Germany; it was due to the negro himself and his refusal to make himself a party to such treason.

But the cruel acts of Germany did not end there. While protesting friendship for us by calling upon the President to use his good offices to bring about peace, while our President was using his masterful resources and his great intellect, while invoking the power and the judgment of the President of this Nation in favor of peace, Germany, with the intention of vio-

lating her agreement for a temporary abandonment of ruthless submarine warfare, before seeking a rupture with the United States was planning for an invasion of the United States by Mexico and Japan, and actually offered to give to Mexico those sovereign States, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and to Japan the rich domain of the Pacific Coast States was to be parceled out.

Now, the Kaiser and the Senator from Wisconsin talk about wanting no war of conquest, wanting a guaranty from the United States and our allies that whatever the result we will neither profit by nor require Germany to make recompense, and at the same time would leave Germany to enjoy the fruits of victory if she can retain them. That may be free speech. A Senator can say it, a fool can utter it, but it is not patriotic Americanism!

If ever there was a holy war, this is one. Every wrong and outrage that human ingenuity can conceive Germany sought to perpetrate on the United States, and the longer we waited to resent it in the hope that peace might be maintained, the greater was the outrage perpetrated.

We realize that unless we recognized the state of war which she had forced upon us nearly three years ago and unless we did our best to aid the allies in defeating Germany, when peace had come to Europe, when the allies had settled back to their normal activities, Germany carrying out her plans conceived before the war began, would have demanded tribute from this Government, and then on American soil we would have had a conflict which would have excelled in its bitterness and barbarism anything that human history records.

The Senator from Wisconsin on other occasions has had a great deal to say against sending American soldiers to France. Sir, it is better for the American Army to go to France and fight there than for us to wait until the war is over and invite Germany to attack us here at home. Let him who doubts this declaration look for a moment on bleeding Belgium and prostrate Poland. Let him think of the homes that have been laid in ashes; of the beautiful structures devoted to religion and art that have fallen in ruins. Let him think of the women who have been outraged, of the boys whose hands have been cut off that they might never become warriors. Let him think of the men, women, and children who have been deported from Belgium into conditions of servitude worse than slavery. If men can find it in their hearts let them declare that the United States ought to wait until the war is over in Europe and then alone fight Germany here. But the moment they make that declaration in exercising the "right of free speech" let them move and move hastily into German territory.

Mr. President, a part of the propaganda that has been going on in this country has clustered around the declaration that the munition makers made the war. It is found in the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin as reported at St. Paul. It has been heard here on the floor of the United States Senate. There never was a sillier or falser statement. The munition makers had nothing to do with bringing on this war, and any man who makes that statement discloses his ignorance or his indifference to the truth.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin has treated the *Lusitania* incident as the sole cause of this war. That conclusion is irresistible if the only report which is available for me of his speech at St. Paul is reliable. I, of course, can not pass upon the reliability of that document, but he is quoted as justifying the sinking of the *Lusitania* in bold language. This to me is incomprehensible.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE "LUSITANIA."

Warfare, when conducted in accordance with the law of nations, is cruel and destructive. But German warfare is the epitome of barbarism. What language can appropriately characterize the deliberate destruction of a great passenger ship and the sacrifice of 1,500 noncombatant passengers? The *Lusitania* incident turned the tide of human sympathy throughout the civilized world against the German Government. One thousand five hundred noncombatant passengers, including 125 American men, women, and children, entitled by the law of God and man to the protection of this Nation, deliberately murdered without show of pity. Behold the wreck of the majestic steamer far out at sea and listen to the cries of the dying mingling with the roar of the waves and the crash of the wreck! Look upon the pallid faces of helpless mothers hugging to their breasts their innocent babes and going to their ocean graves unknelled, uncoffined, and unsung! I have no argument that can appeal to any mind which for a moment justifies such cowardly brutality. I will not waste any time in appealing for sympathy to one whose conscience can approve such outrage. I will not argue that the destruction of the *Lusitania* was an outrage upon civilization. If anyone here is in doubt upon that point he is a fit companion for the lustful Turk and the bloody Teuton and is unworthy of the name "American."

I wish to place in the RECORD a list of the ships bearing the American flag that were fired upon, some of them destroyed, some of them escaping, and others of them damaged. Many American lives were lost as the aggregate result. I wish to place this statement in the RECORD in everlasting refutation of the strangely foolish statement imputed to the Senator from Wisconsin that the United States went to war solely and principally on the demand of citizens for the right to ride on munition-laden vessels. I want to point him to the outrages perpetrated upon our citizens upon the seas and the cowardly injustice and treachery Germany perpetrated in carrying on her system of spies and hirelings, in seeking to incite insurrection among the negroes of the South, in trying to stimulate Mexico and Japan to make war upon this Government and promising as a result rich profits in the way of conquest. I want him to remember this statement. He can talk from now until judgment day if he wants to, but let him answer in his own conscience and in the exercise of "free speech" why he said the United States went to war at the instance of the munition makers to vindicate the right of venturesome citizens to travel on ships carrying munitions. When he made that declaration out in St. Paul, if he did make it, what was his purpose? What was his motive behind it? Men have the right of free speech, but it is the right to speak the truth, and, as suggested to me by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], to the right of free speech is attached the responsibility of truthfulness.

A man's memory may fail concerning trivial events, but when he himself prepares a speech and reads it word for word and letter for letter, when he takes a position that is questioned by a great many of his fellow citizens as disloyal, he ought to speak with some degree of caution and self-respect, and if he states a falsehood, if he leaves an impression that does injustice to his flag or to his President or to the armies which are enforcing the demands of his Government, then in humility he ought to correct it and not in defiance repeat it.

Twenty-four American ships have been attacked by German and Austrian submarines and other Teutonic commerce raiders since the outbreak of the European war and before the United States became a party to it. Of these, eight were destroyed by submarines and one, the *William P. Frye*, by the German converted cruiser raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*. In addition, one American ship, the *Cushing*, was attacked by a German airship on April 28, 1915. The list is as follows:

William P. Frye, January 28, 1915. Sunk by German raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*. Crew taken off.

Cushing, April 28, 1915. Attacked by German airship.

Nebraska, May 1, 1915. Torpedoed by German submarine.

Gulflight, May 20, 1915. Torpedoed by German submarine. Proceeded.

Leelanaw, July 25, 1915. Sunk by torpedo and shell fire.

Oswego, August 14, 1915. Fired on 10 times, but made port.

Communipaw, December 3, 1915. Fired on, but proceeded.

Petrolite, December 5, 1915. Fired on by Austrian submarine repeatedly after vessel had stopped.

Seacomet, June 18, 1915. Damaged by mine or torpedo.

Kansan, October —, 1916. Fired on by U-53, leaving United States. Struck mine after reaching other side. Six men injured in mine explosion.

Lanao (Philippine), October 28, 1916. Destroyed by German submarine.

Columbian, November 7, 1916. Sunk by German submarine.

Chemung, November 26, 1916. Sunk by Austrian submarine.

St. Helens, December 10, 1916. Attacked by German submarine.

Rebecca Palmer, December 14, 1916. Fired on by German submarine. Damage light.

Galena, December 15, 1916. Fired on by German submarine.

Sacramento, January 9, 1917. Fired on by German submarine.

Westwego, January 21, 1917. Stopped by German submarine, but allowed to proceed.

Housatonic, February 3, 1917. Sunk by German submarine.

Lyman M. Law, February 13, 1917. Burned by submarine.

Algonquin, March 12, 1917. Sunk by German submarine.

City of Memphis, March 18, 1917. Sunk by gunfire.

Illinois, March 18, 1917. Sunk by submarine.

Vigilancia, March 18, 1917. Sunk by submarine.

Mr. President, it is impossible in a brief address to marshal all the wrongs which Germany has sought to impose on this country. If there ever was a just cause for war, Germany gave the United States such a cause. A man who will not fight when his flag is repeatedly fired upon and his right to be secure on American territory is questioned, a man who will not fight to redress the wrongs which Germany inflicted upon the citi-

zens of the United States when she sought to incite the colored population to insurrection and Japan and Mexico to invasion, a man who will not fight then will not fight even if an enemy invaded his home and ravished his daughter in his presence.

When these outrages were occurring upon the seas the President was successful in inducing Germany for a time to abandon them. Germany promised that her conduct in the future should be governed by international law; that thereafter she would not attack neutral vessels and unarmed merchant vessels or vessels of belligerents without visitation and warning in accordance with the law of nations. It was a great and masterful achievement for the executive branch of this Government to accomplish that. We felt secure when it was announced that Germany had abandoned ruthless submarine warfare. She sought, however, to attach a condition to her purpose and her plans, and stated that the United States must rectify certain wrongs committed by the British Government. The President replied to that conditional agreement that Germany must obey the law without regard to Great Britain; that this was a matter to be settled between this Government and Great Britain; and for nearly a year Germany acquiesced in that statement by the President. But on the 31st of January of the present year Germany gave notice that on the following day all limitations upon the method of conducting submarine warfare would be abandoned and that anywhere on God's great ocean a neutral or belligerent merchant vessel in commerce with the allies would be subject to destruction without visitation or warning.

Let your champions of peace, let your advocates of mercy and of justice justify, if you can, that brutal attempt to abrogate the laws which the customs of men have established after a thousand years of struggles.

When Germany made that announcement the President saw that there was only one alternative to war, and that was to arm American merchant vessels, so that wherever they went under the American flag, if they were wrongfully assailed they might defend themselves.

I have never been able to comprehend the mental processes of the men who thought that the armed neutrality bill under those circumstances was wrong or a violation of the duties of this Government. I have never been able to comprehend that. It was the only alternative of war. If the armed neutrality bill had been promptly passed, in all probability Germany would have realized, despite her expenditure of enormous sums to corrupt American citizenship and to instill the ideas of the Kaiser into our people, that the American people are loyal. Congress had the duty to give American citizens the right to protect themselves when unlawfully assailed on the high seas.

By a filibuster, by a resort to a method which formerly prevailed in the United States Senate, but which has since been abolished by the action of the Senate—by a filibuster advised on the part of the Senator from Wisconsin, who boasted of it in his St. Paul speech as reported in the document I have before me—he encompassed the defeat of the armed-neutrality bill, with almost every Senator in favor of it. Under the absurd, old, and worn-out tradition of unlimited debate in the Senate of the United States, under "freedom of speech," if you please; under the system of debate which is not debate, but the mere foolishness of useless conversation, through a filibuster the Senator from Wisconsin defeated that great measure.

Mr. President, I am glad the day will probably never return when one Senator or a few Senators can accomplish such purposes as that by an abuse of the privileges of the Senate. The right of unlimited debate merely means that any Senator who gets the floor may talk just as long as he pleases on any subject he chooses, and nobody but Almighty God can interfere with him; and the Lord never seems to take notice of him in the exercise of that function. By a filibuster the desire of the American people, the desire of the President, the desire of Congress was prevented from registering itself, and the Kaiser chuckled, for the filibuster did just as well for him as if he, the crown prince, Hindenberg, and Ludendorf had been seated on the floor of the United States Senate. The Kaiser might well have said: "We do not need to be there ourselves. We thwarted the will of the American people. We bought and persuaded enough citizens and their representatives in the United States to prevent the Government of the United States from protecting the rights of its citizens and vindicating its sovereignty."

Congress reconvened and it was apparent to everybody that war was close at hand. We did not declare war on Germany, but simply said the time has come when we must recognize a state of war that Germany has forced on us. We will not go to war, but we recognize the fact that the war has come to us. So we began a systematic preparation for this gigantic conflict. There were those in the Senate here, there were some men in the country who did not realize what the conflict meant. They seem not to realize it yet; but, sir, my opinion is that it meant and still means a test of the strength and permanence of American institutions. It is no time to talk of peace when the Hun is at our gates. It is no time to talk of peace when the Hun is boasting of his victory. The time to talk of peace is when the armies of France, Russia, Britain, Italy, and the United States are driving the German Army back across the Rhine and making Germany feel what ruthless warfare means by imposing on the German people some of the burdens which have fallen on France and Poland and Belgium.

Some have said, and the spirit of the address of the Senator from Wisconsin has been, that we are in an unholy and questionable alliance with Great Britain and France. I have been amazed at the sacrifice and the resolution with which the British people have met this contest. At the beginning of the war Great Britain was totally unprepared and that is the best proof that she was not expecting a conflict with Germany. On the other hand, for 50 years Germany had been arming and training and preparing for the great conflict. German leaders had been investigating to see how they could best strike France and Great Britain and the United States. England was resting in fancied security. When Germany invaded Belgium and France, England went to the rescue, not alone from a spirit of humanity and resentment against outrages that were being perpetrated, but with the knowledge that it was necessary to do so in order to preserve her own existence. What did gallant France do? You may read human history from the beginning until now and you will never find a record of a braver struggle than the French people have made.

I read in a magazine the story of the Count de Pellèport—who is a relative of the wife of a Member of this body—70 years old, descended in a line of nobility for 11 centuries, a democrat at heart. On the evening when war came to France he was sitting in his library. He heard the bells. He said, "I will go forth and find the cause of the alarm." He came back and said, "It is war. I am going to enlist." In other days he might have become a general.

In the earlier days of France, because of his ancestry and his well-known virtues, he would have been given leadership. But he entered the army as a private soldier of France. He said, "I am only a private. My ambition is to be a soldier in the first rank." The French Army is democratic. I would to God some way could be found by which the American Army could be made more democratic than it is; more like the French Army than it is. In the French Army the Count de Pelleport was received with distinction. He bore himself courageously until one day the officer who led a portion of his regiment fell wounded and the count took up the standard and led the soldiers to victory. They made him, not a colonel, not a general, but they made him a private of the first rank in the army of France. A few days later dashing from the trenches toward the German lines bearing the tricolor to the outer works he fell dead with a hundred bullet wounds in his body, and when they examined the wounds they said—the French author reports—they expected to find a coat of mail but only found the coarse woolen shirt of a private soldier in the army of France.

If you know anything, if you have studied history like the Senator from Wisconsin, who bears a French name, however pro-German his sympathies and teachings may seem to us, you ought to rise in pride at the name of France!

Give us a name to fill the mind
With the shining thoughts that lead mankind,
The glory of learning, the joy of art,
A name that tells of a splendid part
In the long, long toil and strenuous fight
Of the human race to win its way
From the ancient shadows into the day
Of freedom, brotherhood, equal right.
A name like a star! A name of light!
I give you France.

Give us a name to stir the blood
With a swifter flow and a stronger flood,
At the touch of a courage that conquers fear,
A name that sounds like a trumpet clear,
And silver sweet and iron strong,
That brings three million men to their feet,
Ready to march and steady to meet
The foe who threatens that name with wrong,
A name that rings like a battle song!
I give you France.

Give us a name to move the heart
With the strength that noble deeds impart;
A name that speaks of the blood outpoured
To save mankind from the sway of the sword.
A name that calls on the world to share
The burden of sacrificial strife,
Where the cause at stake is the world's free life,
And the rule of the people everywhere.
A name like a star! A name of light!
I give you France.

I am proud that, after the passing of the years, the United States, in the vindication of the rights of its citizens, in the protection of our flag and of our people from wrongs and insults by the German Government, has joined hands with the gallant soldiers of France—France who has always been our friend. In the days of the Revolution D'Estaing and Lafayette came with money and with men to uphold the cause of the Colonies; and it was through their contributions largely that victory finally came to the cause of American independence and civil liberty. Now, in this conflict we are fighting side by side with France, with Britain, with Russia, and with Italy.

Germany tried to buy Russia by the same system that she inaugurated in the United States—that despicable and contemptible system of spies, and by stimulating sedition and all shames and crimes known to human history. Germany tried to put them into effect in Russia, and for a time it seemed as if she would succeed. If there is one man in this war who has risen above the wreck of revolutions and above the clouds of battle to everlasting fame it is the Russian Kerensky—Kerensky, the youthful hero and statesman, who has raised the standard of liberty in Russia. The Kaiser, with all his gold, the Kaiser's diplomats, with all their treachery, have not been able to cause him to betray his trust.

If Russia stands and fights to the end, the war will soon be over; the world will be free and enjoying a peace which ought to endure; but if Russia fails then, men of the Senate, it means greater sacrifices on the part of the United States; it means more millions poured into the maelstrom of this great conflict—millions of money and millions of men.

But the failure of Russia, which I do not now anticipate, to bear her part in this great struggle can not bring success to the German cause, for in the end that cause is doomed. Pro-Germans in the United States, hired agencies of the German Government, those who would betray their flag and their country, and those who are foolish enough not to know their duty, had better get to cover. There is no compromise on this issue. There are only two sides to this conflict—Germanism and Americanism; the Kaiser or the President. I want to know where you stand. I heard every word of the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin, and I do not know where he stands. I read his speech as reported from St. Paul, and I do not know from it where he stands. The American people are wondering where he stands.

The hour has come for loyal Americans to assert their manhood. We do not want any half-hearted support of this flag. You had the right to question the wisdom of the war, if in your honest judgment you doubted it, but when Congress passed the declaration of war, then, instead of going about the country and leaving your place on the floor of the Senate, where duty calls you, instead of going over the country, stirring up sedition, and gathering together the discontented elements of the country and seeking to inflame them against your flag, your country, and your President; by God, you ought to stand here and support the flag and the President and help bring victory to American arms!

Mr. President, let no mistake be made. The Congress and the people are loyal to this Government. They do not regard the President of the United States as an usurper, who is trying to take over to himself the prerogatives of Congress and the courts, and as a partner in the house of Morgan and of the munition makers. If that question were left to the people of the United States for a vote to-day they would say that Woodrow Wilson, by his courage, his capacity for leadership, his calm demeanor, his fearless conduct in the hour of peril, is entitled to a place with Washington, with Jefferson, and with Lincoln.

Do not deceive yourselves with the thought that you can organize the disgruntled, semidisloyal elements of the United States and run for the Presidency on a platform of disloyalty. It can not be done. You can not even start the running, much less win. That flag stands for justice—justice at home and liberty abroad. That flag never was lifted in a nobler cause than in the present conflict with Germany. If you can not agree with this statement, for God's sake so familiarize yourselves with current events as to escape the fearful responsibility of misrepresenting your country and its leadership before the American people.

A day of judgment is coming. The duty of every citizen, whether he is an officer or a private citizen, is to support his Government. He has the right to lead a revolution—the God-given right. If I believed, as the Senator from Wisconsin has asserted, that this war was inspired for the benefit of the house of Morgan and by the munition makers, and to guarantee the right of an American citizen to sail on vessels bearing munitions, I would not support the Government. But I can not comprehend how any man, much less a Senator, can make that statement or seek to justify his questionable action on theories of that kind. History belies his statement; every circumstance known to students of current events shows that that declaration is a libel upon the Government which he misrepresents.

We have some duty, my fellow Senators, besides the duty of talking. Some Senators seem to think that there is a paramount obligation to exercise the speaking power, but there come times when men of judgment remain silent. Perhaps I have already talked longer than I am justified, but I have done my duty as I see it. I have no malice toward the Senator from Wisconsin. I am a loyal American citizen, and the fact that I happen for a short time to occupy a seat in the United States Senate has not so inflated my opinion of myself that I conceive I am entitled to disregard my duty and obligations to the people who have sent me here and to the people of this great Republic. With me the first consideration is the honor of our flag and the safety of our Nation. We are fighting in the noblest cause that can inspire human hearts with courage.

E'en now the vanguard gathers,
E'en now we face the fray,
Thou who didst help our fathers,
Help Thou our hosts to-day;
Fulfilled in signs and wonders,
In life, in death made clear,
Jehovah of the thunders,
Lord God of battles, hear.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, we have heard a great deal to-day about freedom of speech. The argument of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] upon that point, I presume, met with the approval and received the indorsement of practically every Member of this body in so far as the general principles which he discussed were concerned. Our boast, of course, is our liberty. For a hundred years and more it has been our boast that we had established a Government as a "sign of the times" for all ages; that we had shown for the first time in the history of the world that a free government could be established and maintained without liberty or license bringing about chaos.

Freedom of speech, of course—the right to speak freely upon matters concerning the people of this country—is guaranteed us by the Constitution of the United States; there is no doubt of that, and no one will question it.

The Constitution of the United States recognizes a status of government—peace upon the one hand and war upon the other. A declaration of war is not a law; a declaration of war is not necessary, Mr. President, to create a legal status of war, as seems to be the impression of the Senator from Wisconsin, judging from his utterances here and from his utterances upon the platform elsewhere, as reported to us. A declaration of war is simply notice to our own people and to the other peoples of the world that war exists, in order that they may take notice and conduct themselves accordingly. It simply means that a certain status exists as between the people of this country, as well as their Government, and the people of other countries; it means that not only are the countries themselves at enmity and in a state of war but all citizens of the respective governments are enemies for the time being of the citizens of the other government. Therefore, when we discuss the abstract question or the particular or special question of liberty of speech in time of war, we must understand it with reference to the status existing.

Mr. President, the declaration of war which was adopted by the two bodies of Congress last April, over the opposition of certain Senators here, simply declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German Government because of certain acts of the Imperial German Government, because the Imperial German Government had declared war and was making war at that time upon the United States and the people of the United States; and that was the fact. Germany by its note to us had embargoed our commerce; Germany had said to us that we should not enjoy the freedom of the seas—a right which she maintains now is one of the objects of the great world war which she is waging. Germany had notified us that if we chose to continue as a nation of merchants, as we are, we should place a barber pole upon every ship carrying goods from our harbors to the harbors of other countries. We declared that Germany was making war upon the United States. I deny the freedom of speech of any Senator here, in view of the evidence and the facts in the case, to state the contrary.

I have criticized the President of the United States, and very likely I may criticize him again; but, having armed him with the sword for the defense of this Government, I think it is the duty of every citizen, and certainly of every official of the Government, to stand by him, carrying his buckler and his

shield for his defense and that of his country, and I think that any citizen who views his duty in a contrary light must accept the responsibility for his acts.

Mr. President, we have had cited to us a speech that Abraham Lincoln made during the Mexican War. Of course, the correctness of the citation is beyond doubt. The propriety of the utterances, if we may judge them now at this late day, should be judged by the status of the country at that time and by contemporaneous history. The Mexican War was not a war of liberty, not a war of democracy, not a war in defense of this Nation against overbearing attacks. It was a war for territory brought about by the annexation of Texas to the United States. It met with serious opposition; it was discussed from the inflamed standpoint of slavery, one party opposing it on the ground that the objects of the war were to annex territory from Mexico which would strengthen the slave States of the South, and the other party favoring it. It was a war for territorial acquisition, a war for profit, the result of which was the bringing of Texas into the sisterhood of States and the carving out of the territory of Mexico of other States of the Union—New Mexico, Arizona, California, and a portion of Colorado.

A matter of that kind, I may say, in my judgment, was at that time properly discussed, and I may go further and say now, sir, that utterances in criticism of this war and of the acts of the President may be made now in the Senate or in the other House of Congress which are justifiable, but which, when made before some assemblage with no one present to challenge the correctness of the statements made would not be justifiable. I say that if the speech reported to have been made by the Senator from Wisconsin, and which is the subject now under discussion, had been made here in this Hall, such an answer, such a refutation of the statements made by the Senator would have gone out to the public, along with those statements themselves, as would have deprived the statements of any possible effect upon the people of the United States; but unanswered, made, as they were, without an opportunity for answer, unless challenged and answered elsewhere, no more dangerous doctrine has been preached, no more insidiously dangerous utterance has been heard from any source, in my judgment, than that of the Senator from Wisconsin made at Minneapolis.

Mr. President, Abraham Lincoln made the speech to which reference has been made, criticizing the declaration of a status of war existing between the United States and Mexico, and a few years afterwards Lincoln became the President of these great United States. Then Abraham Lincoln, by an arbitrary order, arrested 10 duly elected members of the Maryland Legislature, a Congressman, the mayor of Baltimore, two editors, and various citizens and confined them in military prisons in Boston, and in New York, without a warrant, without authority of law, because they were guilty, in his judgment, of seditious utterances impeding the conduct of the war which Lincoln was then waging as Commander in Chief of the forces of the United States, and instructions were issued that no writ of habeas corpus should reach those men thus arbitrarily deprived of their liberty. Time and again, in the border States, and not only in the border States but in the loyal States of the North, men were arrested arbitrarily, fined arbitrarily, and instructions were issued by Lincoln that his military commanders should not recognize the writ of habeas corpus issued by any court.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. FALL. For a question.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Well, I will put it in the form of a question, Mr. President.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I can not yield. The Senator has had three hours, and I am only going to occupy the floor for a very short time. I want to treat the Senator courteously and justly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will put it in the form of a question, Mr. President, if the Senator will be kind enough to yield to me.

Mr. FALL. I will; certainly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Under the Constitution the writ of habeas corpus can be suspended only in case of a revolution or an invasion, and the writ of habeas corpus was suspended at that time. It is not suspended now, and it can not be suspended now. Is not that the understanding of the Senator?

Mr. FALL. No, sir. I will answer exactly, and I think I will correct the Senator.

Mr. President, the writ of habeas corpus was suspended in the State of Missouri, and it was suspended in some portions of the State of Kentucky. It was not suspended in Maryland; it was not suspended in Ohio; and it was not suspended throughout the loyal States of the Union at that time.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit another question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. FALL. I yield.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Did not President Lincoln, in the letter which he wrote regarding the Vallandigham case, put his denial of the right of Vallandigham to any appeal on the ground that the writ of habeas corpus was, within the authority of the Constitution, suspended by the President during a revolution or during a rebellion against the Government or an invasion?

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, Mr. Lincoln's answer was directed to certain petitioners who asked clemency in behalf of Vallandigham. That is the letter to which the Senator has reference. It was not a question of appeal, but a question of clemency, in the first place. The President did refer, of course, to his right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. The President said, I presume—the fact was—that in that case he had recognized the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Burnside.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Exactly.

Mr. FALL. The Senator, of course, is familiar with these matters of history. Vallandigham was not arrested under orders from Abraham Lincoln, but he was arrested by Gen. Burnside. He was tried before a military court-martial. He was sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary; and the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States, had to pass upon the report of the court-martial and either confirm it or disagree to it. He confirmed it in so far as the finding of culpability and guilt was concerned, and he mitigated the sentence from imprisonment to expatriation to the Confederacy, and he did it despite the petition of the gentlemen in answer to which he wrote this letter.

Mr. President, on February 19 and 20 of this year we had under discussion what were known as the espionage bills—some 14 bills, consolidated. I am not going to discuss those bills now; but the general purpose was to arm the President and the courts of this country, the judicial officers and the executives of this country, with certain powers which they did not possess under the law as then existing. I supported those measures, voted for their adoption, and fought upon the floor for their adoption against the Senator from Wisconsin and those who disagreed with me and thought as he did. I said then, among other things, that I owed nothing of a personal nature to the present occupant of the White House, but that to my mind we were even then, prior to the declaration of war, faced with a graver question than was embodied in any pending negotiations between the Imperial German Government, or any other country, and this; that we were not a homogeneous people, with our 100,000,000 inhabitants here in this country; that we have millions and millions who are, or recently were, citizens of the other countries of the world, some of them now engaged in this great world struggle. My idea then was, as it is now, that such freedom of speech as was allowed to Northcliffe, to Lloyd-George, and others in Great Britain, such freedom as is allowed to a senator in France among a homogeneous people, can not be allowed to extend to the point where it constitutes license and may mean sedition in this country, with a population such as we have here. I say to the Senator, if he does not know it, that there is to-day a practical revolution going on in various parts of the country, and that there has been a true revolution recently in some districts of some of the States of this Republic, and that utterances which might be perfectly proper at one time, in my judgment are not proper at the present time. I say to the Senator that in my judgment if he or any other Senator, in exercising his freedom of speech, so exercises it as that it is evidently his intention, or that it is the natural consequence of what he utters, whether it is his intention or not, to embarrass the administration in carrying on this war, then the Senator is not exercising the constitutional freedom of speech which is guaranteed him and to which he has appealed.

Mr. President, I say this with all kindly feeling to the Senator from Wisconsin. I have believed that he was sincere, although I have generally disagreed with him in the matters which he favored during the last five years. I have given him credit for sincerity of purpose. I have believed, as I believe now, that he is in error in certain matters. That was my personal judgment. I did not agree with him upon the revenue and finance bills. I stood here and heard his denunciation of those measures, and I read his denunciation in the speeches which he made in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and one of which, at least, is now the subject of discussion.

The Senator, I think, makes this mistake: Some sincere people become convinced that they are the only honest people. Some sincere people, as the Senator from Wisconsin, conceive themselves to be justified in saying, as the Senator said, that

in the passage of the revenue bill recently—where he stood, as he says, with only a little handful fighting for the liberties of the people and a just system of taxation—the actions of the other Senators who did not agree with him in his ideas of the proper method of fighting this war justified him in saying, "Shame upon the Congress of the United States which passed it, and shame upon the President of the United States, because he signed it!"

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. FALL. The Senator from Wisconsin, of course, must have some little consideration for me.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do appreciate——

Mr. FALL. I yield for a question. I believe, however, I shall have to ask the Senator to pardon me.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Will the Senator permit me to make this statement? It is a very brief one.

The accuracy of a statement which I made in the speech at St. Paul has been questioned here. I had expected that I would have an opportunity to say a few words in conclusion of this debate, and at that time I had expected to be given a chance to lay before the Senate and the country the authority upon which I made the statement. I thank the Senator for giving me the opportunity to say that I shall have to avail myself of some other means of communicating the facts to the public.

I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I must of course conclude very briefly. I should like to have 5 or 10 minutes more than will be allowed me.

To leave the subject to which I have just referred and go back for a moment in order that I may catch up one or two of these broken knots, I want to call attention—particularly the attention of the Senator from Wisconsin, if I did not emphasize it to him before—to the fact that in discussing these war measures or these powers of the President, and in discussing the arbitrary acts of Abraham Lincoln, I had the two things in mind, and was actuated in voting for the war powers of the President of the United States because of the historical facts with relation to the War of the Rebellion. In other words, as the Senator has said, there is no question that when the President of the United States decides that in any portion of this Nation rebellion exists he can suspend the writ of habeas corpus. That right has been conceded him by the courts, although the Constitution itself is silent as to who may exercise the right, whether it could be exercised by Congress or by the President. Jefferson, however, made the precedent.

Mr. President, I believe in establishing civil tribunals which could and would try a Vallandigham. I believe in establishing civil tribunals which would have jurisdiction to try all offenses against this Government during this time of war, and not in relegating those matters to the arbitrary decision of a military court-martial. For that reason I voted for those measures, that the Senator himself might exercise the freedom of speech which he has demanded, and that his right to it might be guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States and enforced by a writ of habeas corpus, and might not be suspended, as was the case with Vallandigham, when he was at first sentenced to incarceration and then exiled from his country. The Senator voted against those measures which provided a civil tribunal for the trial of such cases.

Now, Mr. President, to catch up the other knot for just a moment: I voted against the Senator's proposition to tax the wealth of this country 80 per cent, or the incomes of this country 80 per cent, and for that he cries upon me, "Shame! Shame!"

Mr. President, it is simply a question of difference of opinion as to the proper way to finance this war. The Senator from Wisconsin is proceeding, as he says, in this debate upon the theories advanced by Mill and Adam Smith and other writers upon economic questions. The Senator is discussing and voting upon these matters as though we were again in Great Britain or in France or in Germany or in some other country of the Old World, with all of our natural resources developed, not an acre of timber or a pound of coal in the possession of the General Government, no resources whatsoever except purely the private wealth of the individuals. The Senator forgets that while we estimate our wealth in this country at approximately $187,000,000,000, that estimate is based upon individual wealth, upon the developed farms, upon the factories which are now open and producing, upon the sheep and the cattle which can be counted—that this is the basis upon which the wealth of $187,000,000,000 is fixed; and he votes for a system of finance as though the profits upon that wealth, and that wealth alone, were the only resources of this Government with which to meet the extraordinary expenses of this war.

I voted, sir, that the undeveloped resources of this country might continue to be developed, as they have always been developed, by the excess profits of those engaged in present industry. I voted that when these boys come home from Europe and find their positions filled here in the present business of this country, the great fields of this country might be open to them, that they might find homes, and that they might find occupations; in other words, that the business of this country should not cease simply because we happen to be in war.

Mr. President, I voted as I did because in my State of New Mexico alone the Federal Government owns, according to its own reports, 191,000,000,000 tons of coal—at 10 cents a ton enough coal to raise all the money that we have voted. I voted as I did because we have 300,000,000 acres of public domain in the United States, because we have untold billions of wealth under the ground, because we have 48,000,000 acres of coal lands belonging to the United States, forty-five millions aside from that in New Mexico; because we have in Government ownership, aside from all the privately owned coal resources of the United States, approximately two thousand billions of tons of coal belonging to the National Government.

We have untold billions of tons of iron belonging to the United States Government. We have 160,000,000 acres of forest lands belonging to the United States Government. We have in Alaska, alone, sir, an asset which I will guarantee can be placed with financiers in this country upon a basis that will pay the sinking fund and the interest upon $50,000,000,000 of war indebtedness. It is upon those resources rather than taxing the present industry of the United States, that I would rely for the final payment of this great war indebtedness. I want to say, sir, that not only can we raise and spend this $21,000,000,000 but that rather than sending word to the Kaiser that our people are growing restless under the system of taxation already adopted, we should send word to him that with the natural resources belonging to us, without taxing the people of the United States one dollar, we can carry this war to a successful conclusion if it costs us two hundred and fifty billions rather than twenty-one billions of dollars.

During the delivery of Mr. FALL's speech,

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2531) to prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4897) to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain, and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution providing for the printing as one document the three revenue laws, etc., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 4897. An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain, and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5723. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 162. Joint resolution authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

PRINTING OF WAR-REVENUE ACTS.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask that the concurrent resolution, which has just been received from the House of Representatives, providing for the printing of a certain number of copies of the present war-revenue act and the law of 1916 be laid before the Senate for action.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The concurrent resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 26.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed as one document the following three revenue laws: The act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes, approved September 8, 1916; the act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1917; and the act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, approved October 3, 1917; of which 40,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate and 60,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, the apportionment for the House of Representatives to be distributed through the folding room.

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, at the request of a number of Senators on both sides of the Chamber, I have prepared a statement showing the aggregate appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, the estimated total receipts of the Government for the same fiscal year, the bonds and other Government obligations authorized, and also the percentage of appropriations covering the expenses of the Government to be raised by direct taxation. I ask to have the statement printed in the RECORD without taking the time of the Senate to read it at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

The direct appropriations made for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, total	$18,879,177,014.96
There have been contracts authorized by acts of Congress, in addition to direct appropriations, to be met by future appropriations by Congress amounting to	2,511,553,925.50
Included in the direct appropriations are the following items that will not be paid out of the appropriations authorized and for advances to foreign countries, which will be paid back to our Government with interest:	
The first war-risk insurance act, later repealed	10,000,000.00
The sinking fund never set aside	60,000,000.00
Loans to foreign countries	7,000,000,000.00
Interest on loans to foreign countries	170,000,000.00
Total	7,240,000,000.00
Appropriations made	18,879,177,014.96
Deductions not direct payments for Government expenses	7,240,000,000.00
Actual Government expenses for year appropriated for	11,639,177,014.96
Revenues to be raised under existing laws:	
From acts in force before this present extra session of Congress	1,333,500,000.00
From the revenue act passed this session	2,534,870,000.00
From post-office receipts (provision for expenses of the Post Office Department is included in the annual appropriations)	325,000,000.00
Total revenue	4,193,370,000.00
Appropriations for expenses of the Government	11,639,177,014.96
Revenues of the Government	4,193,370,000.00
Balance to be provided for	7,445,807,014.96
The act of Sept. 24, 1917, authorizes an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures of the Government of	3,538,945,460.00
From this it will be seen that the appropriations already made are not covered either by direct taxation or the authorization of a bond issue or other Government obligations amounting to the difference between	7,445,807,014.96
And	3,538,945,460.00
Or a balance of	3,906,861,554.96

The next Congress will no doubt provide means for meeting this uncovered amount.

	Per cent.
The percentage to be raised by direct taxation is	36.02
The percentage to be met by Government obligations	63.98
The percentages raised by direct taxation by other countries involved in the present war, after three years of continuous and bloody war, is as follows:	
England	26
France	14½
Germany	14¾
Canada	8
United States	36.02

CONFIRMATION OF WILLIAM D. KYSER.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, in open session as in executive session, to make a favorable report from the Committee on the Judiciary of the nomination for district attorney in the western district of Tennessee. It is to fill a vacancy. Action should be taken upon it before the adjournment of the session. I therefore ask unanimous consent to make the report, and I also ask unanimous consent that the nomination be confirmed in open session as in executive session, on account of the emergency, and that the President be notified.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read as follows:

William D. Kyser, of Memphis, Tenn., to be United States attorney, western district of Tennessee, vice Hubert F. Fisher, resigned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the nomination is confirmed. The President will be notified.

IDA COTTRELL HODGSON.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, of course the Senate can readily understand that in the course of these interruptions the thread of my discourse is very much knotted.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. FALL. Another knot, Mr. President.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment? I know he will not object when he knows what I am about to ask.

Mr. FALL. I am sure the Senator from Wyoming would not ask for anything that did not meet my approval.

Mr. WARREN. It is simply for the family of an old employee of the Government who has died. I ask that this bill may be taken up and placed upon its passage.

Mr. FALL. I yield for that purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the bill (H. R. 5833) granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired.

Mr. WARREN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of this bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate as in Committee of the Whole proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CONFIRMATION OF NOMINATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him for just a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I am very anxious to favor other Senators, but I have exercised a great degree of patience, I think. I will yield to the Senator from Oregon, but I should like now to give notice that I do not care to be interrupted again.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The President has just sent to the Senate the names of a number of officers promoted under the law that has just been signed by him—Gen. Pershing, Gen. Bliss, Gen. Crowder, and others provided for under the law—and I should like to ask, as in open executive session, that these nominations be confirmed.

Mr. FALL. Unless there is objection from other sources, there will not be from myself, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to considering these nominations as in executive session? The Chair hears none, and the nominations are confirmed. The President will be notified.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me to report from the Committee on the Judiciary a nomination which the Department of Justice is very anxious to have passed upon?

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, of course these nominations are more important than any other matters that could possibly come before the Congress or be considered by the people of the United States. I yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider, as in open executive session, the nomination which is at the desk.

The SECRETARY. Emmet R. Jordan to be United States marshal for the District of Alaska, division No. 2.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the consideration of this nomination as in executive session?

Mr. KING. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN and Mr. SMOOT appeared, and

Mr. MARTIN said: Mr. President, the joint committee of the two Houses of Congress appointed for the purpose of informing the President that the work of the session has been concluded and that Congress is ready to adjourn unless he has some other communication to make has performed that duty, and the President has informed us that he has no further communication to make to Congress.

THANKS TO THE VICE PRESIDENT.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I ask the Senator if he will yield to me for a minute?

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I yield for a vote of thanks to the Vice President.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I have the pleasure of sending to the desk a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 150), as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are hereby tendered to Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, if the Senator from New Mexico will yield to me—this will take only a moment.

Mr. FALL. I will conclude in a moment. The Senator will have time if he will allow me to proceed. However, I will yield now, if it is necessary.

Mr. PENROSE. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 151), as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are hereby tendered to Hon. WILLARD SAULSBURY, president pro tempore of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he presided over its deliberations during the present session.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. I suppose the Senator from New Mexico will yield to the Chair for just a moment.

The present occupant of the Chair wants to thank the Senators of the United States for the resolution just adopted, and for the patience and forbearance with which they have dealt at many times with my irascible conduct. I want to assure them that the outbursts that now and then have taken place from the Chair were not real in character. They were simply intended to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that they did have a presiding officer—not one that perhaps they wanted, but one that an ignorant electorate had thrust upon them.

I part with you, and I part with this session of Congress, with mingled feelings of pleasure and of sadness—pleasure in the fact that the proceedings of this session have been practically harmonious and practically unanimous; with a feeling of sadness in that I believe it has become necessary for the American people to engage in a great war. That is a necessity that always saddens every sober man and every man who has a kindly heart. But for myself I may be permitted to say that I think it will be my duty, whenever I am called upon to say anything, to voice my belief in the justice and necessity of this war.

I have been requested by the Secretary of the Treasury to ask that the several Senators, as they go to their homes and address the people upon the duties and responsibilities, the rights and privileges of American citizens and upon the rightfulness of this war, will call the attention of the people to the fact that this war must be fought finally out of the dollars and cents of the American people, and to urge upon the American people the duty of subscribing for this liberty loan.

I wish you all, Senators of the United States, long life, health, happiness, and that greatest consolation which can come to any human being—the consolation of finding out what the right is, and of daring to stand for the right regardless of how much it may cost either you individually or the American people in blood and treasure.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

On October 5, 1917:

S. 309. An act authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands;

S. 2434. An act authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties;

S. 2435. An act authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties;

S. 2623. An act defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military or naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe;

S. 2710. An act granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma;

S. 2878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River;

S. 2922. An act to amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes;

S. J. Res. 78. Joint resolution to suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the years 1917 and 1918; and

S. J. Res. 102. Joint resolution authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session.

On October 6, 1917:

S. 2437. An act to provide for the acquisition of an air-station site for the United States Navy;

S. 2774. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River;

S. 2203. An act for the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise;

S. 2883. An act making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes; and

S. 2938. An act to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east.

S. 2527. An act authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army;

S. 2531. An act to prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes;

S. 2663. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River;

S. 2916. An act to amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State;

S. 2947. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico;

S. 2920. An act authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon, with carriage;

S. 2937. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta;

S. J. Res. 89. Joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes; and

S. J. Res. 99. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 3 o'clock p. m. of this the 6th day of October, 1917, having arrived, in accordance with the concurrent resolution of the two Houses heretofore passed, I now declare the Senate of the United States adjourned sine die.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 6 (legislative day of October 5), 1917.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

TO BE GENERALS.

Maj. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Chief of Staff, United States Army.
Maj. Gen. John J. Pershing, United States Army.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Brig. Gen. Henry P. McCain, The Adjutant General, to be The Adjutant General, with rank of major general from October.

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Brig. Gen. John L. Chamberlain, Inspector General, to be Inspector General, with rank of major general from October.

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Brig. Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, to be Judge Advocate General, with rank of major general from October.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Brig. Gen. William M. Black, Chief of Engineers, to be Chief of Engineers, with rank of major general from October.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, to be Chief of Ordnance, with rank of major general from October.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Brig. Gen. George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer, to be Chief Signal Officer, with rank of major general from October.

BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS.

Brig. Gen. Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to be Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, with the rank of major general from October.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 6 (legislative day of October 5), 1917.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

William D. Kyser to be United States attorney for the western district of Tennessee.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

TO BE GENERALS.

Maj. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss.
Maj. Gen. John J. Pershing.

TO BE MAJOR GENERALS.

Brig. Gen. Henry P. McCain.
Brig. Gen. John L. Chamberlain.
Brig. Gen. Enoch H. Crowder.
Brig. Gen. William M. Black.
Brig. Gen. William Crozier.
Brig. Gen. George O. Squier.
Brig. Gen. Frank McIntyre.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *October 6, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who hast been our refuge and our strength, a very present help in trouble, from the beginning of our Republic, continue, we pray Thee, to uphold, sustain and guide us, in the present crisis which has been thrust upon us. And now, O God, our Heavenly Father, as the extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress is about to pass into history, grant that its work may be well pleasing in Thy sight and redound to the good of mankind. Let Thy blessing be upon the Members of this House, its officers and employees, to keep them and their dear ones in health and strength, that they may come together at the appointed time, fully equipped to take up the arduous duties which wait upon them. And Thine shall be the praise. "The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace," now and evermore. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

COMMUNICATION FROM SECRETARY OF TREASURY—LIBERTY BONDS.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a telegram from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated from Madison, S. Dak., which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Now that Congress is about to adjourn and the Members will return to their respective homes, may I not beg you to invite each and every one of them to speak to their constituents upon the liberty loan and to urge every citizen to invest his available means in the bonds of our Government, the safest investment in the world, and at the same time help provide the means to equip, support, and sustain our gallant soldiers and sailors in this righteous war? Warm regards.

W. G. MCADOO.

The SPEAKER. I think I can assure the Secretary of the Treasury on the part of the House that the Members will not only invest their own money in these bonds as far as they are able to do so but get everybody else to invest. [Applause.]

INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE OF COMMERCE.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a communication from the Secretary of State, which ought to have been laid before the House some time ago. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 24, 1917.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: Referring to my letter of May 4 last, communicating to you the invitation extended by the secretary general of the International Parliamentary Conference of Commerce to Congress to participate in that meeting, which was held in Rome May 1, I now have the honor to inform you that a telegram has been received from the American ambassador in Paris, in which he states that the conference is desirous that the United States send delegates to the coming meeting to be held in Paris from the 11th to the 14th of October, and requests to be informed what decision has been reached by Congress.

Since the receipt of the telegram above referred to a second message has been received from the American ambassador in Paris in which he states that he has been advised that Belgium, England, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia will be represented.

The ambassador is further advised that England is to send a delegation from the House of Lords and the House of Commons; Italy to be represented by Mr. Tittoni, some time Italian ambassador at Paris, and by Mr. Ferrari, who was former minister of state. It appears from Ambassador Sharp's message that discussions of a private character will be held with the presidents of the tariff commissions, and should the United States conclude to participate a solemn session will take place in the senate in honor of the American delegates.

The coming International Parliamentary Conference will be presided over by Mr. Doumer, who is minister of state in the French cabinet.

According to the statement of the secretary general, the conference was founded in the year 1914, at the suggestion of the commercial commission of the House of Commons, under the patronage of the Belgian King, before the declaration of war, and is purely an economic organization and quite distinct from the political congress in behalf of which Mr. Franklin Bouillon is now in the United States for the purpose of extending an invitation to both Houses of Congress.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

The SPEAKER. The communication is referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered printed.

COMMISSION FROM JAPANESE DIET.

The Speaker also laid before the House the following communication from the Secretary of State, which, with the accompanying document, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 26, 1917.

The Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith, for your information, a copy of a dispatch from the American chargé d'affaires at Tokyo, Japan, together with copies of the inclosures therewith, reporting that on the 18th instant a party of five members of the lower house of the Japanese Diet would sail from Yokohama for the United States for the purpose of studying general political, social, and economic conditions in this country.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant, (Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

Inclosures: Copy of dispatch No. 827, September 4, 1917, from the American chargé d'affaires at Tokyo and copies of the inclosures therewith.

033.9411–95.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH W. FOLK.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech made at Memphis, Tenn., before the Cotton States Exchange Merchants' Association convention, by the Hon. Joseph W. Folk. It is a patriotic address and is brief.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech by the Hon. Joseph W. Folk. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following is the address referred to:

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH W. FOLK BEFORE THE COTTON STATES MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, MEMPHIS, TENN., AUGUST 21, 1917.

"The American people are united as never before in a stern and resolute purpose. They were slow to arouse, but in the great heart of the Nation there is steadily awakening that

inherent loyalty to American ideals that has carried this Republic triumphantly through every crisis thus far encountered. We have before us a gigantic task, and a task upon the accomplishment of which depends all we have hoped for and striven for during the century and a half of our existence.

"No good American can question the justice of our entering the war with Germany, unless he be ignorant of why we did so. We have viewed for years the preparations for war being made by Germany, little dreaming that they might concern us, though occasionally there was apprehension as to the apparent ambition of the German rulers to be to the modern world what the Roman rulers were to the world of their time. When the day came for which Germany had been so long preparing, she suddenly hurled her tremendous military forces at the adjoining nations. Americans read with amazement of the ruthless violation of the rights of neutrals and the reckless disregard of treaty obligations on the part of Germany, but the war in its beginning seemed remote from our affairs and not necessarily to affect American rights. There were advocates of each of the contending nations among us, and a strict neutrality was maintained. The cruel treatment of the conquered and enslaved Belgians excited our sympathy and aroused our resentment, but there was no certainty then that these acts had the approval of the German rulers, so the American Republic remained neutral, and the American people hoped against hope that America might not become involved.

"As events followed events, and the frightfulness of the German military policy became more and more evident, those among us who sympathized with the German cause were little by little alienated. There was still an undercurrent of hope that we might not be drawn into the terrible conflict. President Wilson endeavored in every way possible, consistent with the national honor and dignity, to avert the disaster of war. On May 27, 1916, he urged the warring nations to state their peace terms, and pledged that the United States would become a partner in any scheme of lasting peace. The answer of Germany was evasive and unsatisfactory. Then came the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the wanton murder by drowning of hundreds of noncombatant American men and helpless women and children.

"This act was so conscienceless and inhuman, so contrary to all the rules of civilized warfare, that a shudder of horror ran throughout the American Republic, and the few remaining sympathizers with the German cause saw they could no longer continue their friendship for any nation guilty of such deliberate acts of brutality and savagery. The demand came from end to end of the Nation to declare war against this monster which was running amuck among the nations. The President, however, was patient. He hesitated to lead the Nation into the awful vortex of war, and endeavored to save the national honor without that dire necessity. He wrote a note of protest to the German rulers. They promised they would sink no more merchant ships without warning, and for a time it was thought that the crisis might pass, but it was only a hope to those who realized the German purpose of world domination. The President calmly waited, ignoring the malignant criticism and bitter attacks of some of those who insisted that we could no longer honorably remain out of the conflict. As late as January 22, 1917, the President addressed the Senate urging a plan of lasting peace among the nations through international arrangement. A few days thereafter it became known that on January 16, 1917, the German rulers had sent a secret note to Mexico and Japan attempting to unite them in a war against the United States, and promising to give Mexico in turn a part of the United States. Then Germany notified our Government that it would no longer keep its promise not to sink merchant ships without warning. By plain implication it admitted that it had given this promise merely to gain time for preparation for a warfare of hideous frightfulness. What was to be done? Every effort of diplomacy had been exhausted. American ships were being sunk without warning, the American flag was being insulted and fired upon, American men and women were being butchered, the mailed fist of Germany's war lord was being shaken at American institutions. German spies infested our country, endeavoring to incite discontent, strikes, and even civil war. It was plain that the German autocracy regarded this Republic with contempt, and its entrance or nonentrance into the war as a matter of indifference. National honor and national safety demanded that something should be done. Submission to such wrongs would have been unpardoned national cowardice. Only one thing could be done, all other means having been exhausted. The American people then realized that if the German autocracy should overcome the European allies our turn would be next. We had to fight to save our honor, to save our national existence, and to save democracy throughout the world, for democracy and autocracy can not exist side by side. A state of war was recognized by Congress, and thus reluctantly we were brought into the world conflict after the President had done everything that could fairly be done to avoid the catastrophe. Now that we are in the war we see, with clearer vision, that it was inevitable that we should go in for it is our war as much as the war of England or France. It is a war to preserve our rights and our liberties as much as theirs.

"It is now evident to all thinking Americans that Germany must be conquered or else Germany will conquer us along with the rest of the world. There have been many fights for freedom since the beginning of history, but they were merely local, while this is universal. There have been many wars for the liberty of a race, while this war is for the liberty of all mankind. Other wars have been waged to free one people, while this war is not only to keep ourselves free but to make free humanity of every race and of every creed. The outcome will determine whether the world will be all democratic or all autocratic, whether government of the people and by the people shall obtain throughout the earth or shall perish everywhere. We are at war with Germany because there is an irreconcilable conflict between the ideals of this Republic and the dominating purposes of the German autocracy. If our ideals do not prevail, then the German autocracy will prevail over us. We are fighting Germany because of outraged Belgium, invaded and enslaved; because of France, unjustly and barbarously assailed and attacked; because of Russia, just emerging into the light of democracy and just freed from the shackles of tyranny; because of England, from which came our laws and civilization, and whose early entry into the conflict prevented that victory for German arms which would otherwise have been certain, thus saving us from the terrors of German militarism. We are fighting Germany because the success of Germany would mean the end of freedom here and everywhere. America can not remain free if Kaiserism wins. If Germany should triumph over our European allies, we would have to battle single-handed with a victorious Teuton autocracy, determined to conquer and subjugate the world.

"For 40 years Germany has been building up a military machine, the central thought of which has been world domination, and this terrible world calamity of blood and misery is the result of this aim of the German autocracy.

"Germany's method of warfare, in the sinking of merchant ships without warning, in the drowning of helpless women and children, in bombarding unfortified cities, in lurking like assassins beneath the waters and in the air, ready to strike and murder the unarmed, the unsuspecting and the helpless, has evidenced a savagery and brutality such as the world has never known before. Humanity will find it difficult to forgive, and history impossible to forget. Germany is the outlaw among the nations, tramping under foot every obligation of international law, threatening every ideal dear to the hearts of freeman, and the world will not be a safe place for liberty until the German autocracy is overthrown and crushed forever.

"We would have lost the respect of mankind and our own self-respect had we failed to take up the gauntlet so insolently thrown in our face by the German rulers. We are fighting for our own freedom and for the freedom of all men during all the years to come. It takes fighting to make the people free and more fighting to keep the people free. We want no conquered territory; we desire no indemnity. The mission of America in this war is to free mankind by enthroning justice and brotherhood in the hearts of men everywhere. We are fighting Germany in order to secure the permanent peace of the world, which is impossible as long as the German military system is allowed to exist, for there can be no enduring peace until further criminal aggressions against the other nations by the German autocracy have been rendered impossible. The same reasons which impelled us to enter the war must force us to keep up the war until its objects have been accomplished, for an inconclusive peace now would merely mean a death struggle later on between American ideals and an unconquered German autocracy.

"A truce now would be compromise, and there can be no compromise between liberty and tyranny. A truce now would be surrender, and surrender would be defeat. James Russell Lowell wrote these words in the long ago, and they come to us in the present crisis with a new and deeper meaning:

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
* * * * * * *
Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
* * * * * * *

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

"Before we entered the war Americans had a right to be neutral as between other nations. Now that we are in no American can be neutral. The American who is neutral now is guilty of treason to the Republic. The American who is not for his country in this war must be counted as against his country. Whatever our internal differences may have been, in such a time as this we must be one people, loyal to a common country and devoted to a common flag. Any man or woman unwilling to render whatever service he or she may be called upon to give in this great hour is unworthy to be an American citizen.

"Millions of America's sons have answered to the Nation's call. They should have the full support of heart and soul and spirit of all American men and women; for in the name of America and in behalf of America they are going forth to battle in order that American honor may be sustained, American freedom preserved, to make the world safe for the common man and to make international justice supreme. The withholding of such support by any individual or organization is disloyalty to the Government and treason to the flag. In this crucial test of the fiber of the American spirit the future historian, I believe, will record the full fidelity of a great people to the principles of liberty and justice which America's sons are upholding on land and sea.

"The man in the White House who is guiding the destinies of this Republic in these troublous times with such a clear head and steady hand should be upheld by all who claim to be Americans. If I interpret American sentiment correctly, no President in our history has had the American people so solidly behind him as the people are behind President Wilson to-day. Supporting the President, and giving him inspiration, are the mighty hosts of American freemen, willing to serve and to sacrifice for the honor and safety of the Republic.

"This is the supreme hour in the life of this Republic and of the world. A new economic and social order is emerging in every land and a new internationalism is being produced by the blood and suffering of mankind. The ending of the great war in the only way it can rightly end will mark the beginning of a new epoch of world cooperation for the advancement of the common good. The public will no longer be the people of one section or of one nation, but all mankind, and the principles of humanity will then be applied between nations as they have long been applied between individuals. And why not? The inventions of the past few years that have annihilated time and space, and brought distant parts of the earth in touch with each other, have created new obligations in the relations of the nations. The civilized countries are nearer together in point of time and communication than were the States of this Union a century ago. No nation can live to itself and for itself alone. The time of the hermit nation is past. What each nation does affects in some degree the people of all other nations. These new conditions make it appropriate that the rights of nations throughout the earth be recognized and enforced by the common will through federated action. If there shall be born from the agony of Europe's battle fields an irresistible demand for some international arrangement to maintain the permanent peace of the world, the sacrifices of blood and treasure will not have been in vain.

"Men now living may see the day when the world will be ruled by right instead of might, by justice instead of selfishness. Men now living may see the time when the ideal of public right will be supreme throughout the world. Out of the black clouds of war that now envelop the earth may come a greater realization of the necessity for an international court of arbitration, with power to enforce its decrees. Then will dawn that day foretold of old, following the last great battle of the world, when there will be peace on earth and good will in the hearts of the children of men. The mission of America is to educate the world to this desired consummation. To fulfill this mission there must be loyalty and devotion to the ideals of America among the people of America. It is the mission of America by practical example to enlighten the world not only as to the rights of men but as to the duties of men toward their fellow men.

"The democracy that we are fighting for is the religion of brotherhood among men; the religion that says, 'Thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not steal'; the religion that demands the application of the Golden Rule in public and private life everywhere; the religion that does not array class against class, but preserves the rights of all, by causing each to respect the rights of the other; that equalizes conditions, not by dragging down those who are up but by lifting up those who are down; that does not attack wealth honestly acquired, but wages unending war against conditions that create poverty; that protects property rights, but recognizes the fact that property rights should never be inconsistent with human rights; that seeks more government by the people, not less government by the people; that gives to each man an equal opportunity to live and to labor upon the earth that God has given to all, and to enjoy untrammeled and unrestricted the gains of honest toil; the religion that means more of service and less of selfishness.

"The capacity of a people for self-government is to be determined not by the extent of a nation's dominions, but by the happiness and welfare of the average individual. It is the average man for whom America stands and for whom this Republic has become the torchbearer of liberty for all mankind. We may not attain the ideals of democracy any time soon, but we can strive for them, with the assurance that this endeavor will lead us up the heights of achievement, and at last we may come to the summit, where there shall shine unobstructed the light of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Then the standards of the nations will be grouped in everlasting friendship, and above all will be our flag, with its ideals realized.

"She's up there, Old Glory, no tyrant-dealt scars,
No blur on her brightness, no stain on her stars;
The brave blood of heroes hath crimsoned her bars.
She's the flag of our country forever."

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendment the bill (H. R. 4897) to amend section 10 of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes; in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 730. An act granting certain coal lands to the town of Kaycee, Wyo.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 99) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Senate resolution 149.

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Vice President to join a similar committee appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses having completed the business of the present session are ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to them.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Senate concurrent resolution 15.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 5723) entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes," the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out the words "of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured or be otherwise made at his election" as the same appear on page 30, lines 26 and 27, and lines 1 and 2, on page 31.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

S. J. Res. 99. Joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States;

S. 2531. An act to prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate in-

vention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes;

S. 2663. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River;

S. 2947. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico;

S. 2920. An act authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon, with carriage;

S. 2922. An act to amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 89. Joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on October 5, 1917, they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio;

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States;

H. R. 5949. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3932. An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildngs, etc.;

H. R. 6175. An act giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska.

H. R. 6306. To provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6362. To promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

H. R. 6350. To authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of staff corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers;

H. R. 6363. To provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts; and

H. J. Res. 116. For the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy.

FORFEITURE PROVISION OF LAND LAWS.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the committee and take from the Speaker's table for immediate consideration the bill S. 2918.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 2918. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 2918) providing that the forfeiture provision of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, yesterday afternoon, when this bill was called up for consideration under unanimous consent, it was objected to. Now, what is there about the bill to-day that is different from what it was yesterday?

Mr. MAYS. The objection was made yesterday, I will say to the gentleman, because there had been no formal action by the Committee on the Public Lands of the House.

Mr. MADDEN. Is that the only objection?

Mr. MAYS. That was the only objection made at that time, except some suggestions of amendments that ought to be made, to which the Members interested in the bill have consented. The gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] offered an objection for the time being, and we have had a conference in the Committee on the Public Lands of such members as could be gotten together.

Mr. MADDEN. How many were here?

Mr. MAYS. Five members of the committee were present.

Mr. MADDEN. I am going to object to the consideration of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. SIMS rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Tennessee rise?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, the resolution just brought from the Senate, correcting the text of the war-risk insurance bill, I wish to have acted upon immediately so that the bill can be enrolled.

The SPEAKER. What is the number of it?

Mr. SIMS. I have not got it. It is at the Speaker's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a Senate resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate concurrent resolution 15.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 5723) entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes," the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out the words "of premiums in advance shall not be required for periods of more than one month each and may be deducted from the pay or deposit of the insured, or be otherwise made at his election," as the same appear on page 30, lines 26 and 27, and lines 1 and 2 on page 31.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, if there is no objection, I ask that the House concur in the Senate resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate concurrent resolution.

The Senate concurrent resolution was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT UPON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Speaker's desk a resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina presents a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 172.

Resolved, That a committee of three Members of the House be appointed by the Speaker, to join a similar committee to be appointed by the Senate, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses have completed the business of the present session and are ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to them.

The SPEAKER. Is that a House resolution?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Here is a Senate resolution already passed.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then the Speaker can just appoint the Members.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman's resolution has not passed.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then I call up the Senate resolution. I should think, however, that the House resolution is the proper one.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. What is it?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Do not both the Houses pass separate resolutions?

The SPEAKER. I believe that is correct. The question is on agreeing to the House resolution.

The resolution was agreed to; and the Speaker appointed as members of the committee Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. GILLETT.

IDA COTTRELL HODGSON.

Mr. BRAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 5833.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 5833. The Clerk will report it by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 5833) granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, this is a private pension bill, is it not?

Mr. BRAND. No; it is not a pension bill.

Mr. WALSH. Is it a gratuity?

Mr. BRAND. It is a six months' allowance or gratuity. It goes to every beneficiary of any dead soldier—private or officer—of the Regular Army.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired, is hereby allowed an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate said Frederick Grady Hodgson was receiving at the date of his death.

SEC. 2. That said Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired, as aforesaid, be paid out of the Treasury of the United States a sum of money or an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate said Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, was receiving at the date of his death.

SEC. 3. That the payment of the amount of money hereby allowed and authorized to be paid to said Ida Cottrell Hodgson is authorized to be made from the appropriations for beneficiaries of officers who die while on the active list of the Army.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the question of fixing the price of coal and the implements used in its production.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD his remarks on the subject of fixing the price of coal. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a résumé of the war activities of the several departments of the Government, prepared by the Committee on Public Information.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by publishing some matter sent in by the Committee on Public Information as to the activities of the various departments of the Government in the war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a patriotic resolution adopted by the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing certain patriotic resolutions. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I did not hear by whom these resolutions were adopted.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. By the State Federation of Labor at Oklahoma City.

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

MEDICAL AND DENTAL SURGEONS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill H. R. 4897, with Senate amendments, and move to concur in the Senate amendments. That is the bill amending section 10 of the national-defense act.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 4897, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 4897) to amend section 10 of the national-defense act, approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama moves to concur in the Senate amendments. Is there objection to considering them?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, let them be reported.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate amendments.

The Senate amendments were read.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire what is the effect of the Senate amendments?

Mr. DENT. The only substantial effect of the Senate amendments is that they create a Dental Corps. The Senate practically adopted the House bill, which the gentleman will recall—the bill authorizing appointments in the Medical Corps without having had five years previous service as first lieutenant. That was the construction given to the national-defense act. The Senate adopted the House bill with this amendment. The Senate puts in the words "first lieutenant," whereas the House bill just had "lieutenant." The material amendment of the Senate creates a Dental Corps and gives to the Dental Corps the same corresponding rank and grade as the Medical Corps under the jurisdiction of the Medical Department.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the substance of the amendment under consideration?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. And that is the amendment that is now under consideration?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. In listening to the amendment I understood that it also extends exemptions to dental students under call, the same as to medical students.

Mr. DENT. It does.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am sure all of us have received a great number of letters from students in dental colleges, and that is the purpose of the amendment now to be adopted?

Mr. DENT. That is one purpose. I will state to the gentleman that the Dental Corps now has no standing corresponding to the Medical Corps.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is to allow dental students to complete their college courses?

Mr. DENT. That is one of the purposes.

Mr. FOSTER. If the gentleman will yield, I wish to say that I think this is a very important bill, and that it ought to become a law. In war time there will be a great many calls upon the Dental Corps for oral surgery, so that it seems to me of vital importance that there be a Dental Corps corresponding to the Medical Corps. Then, further, a dental surgeon now, however lucrative his practice may be, when he goes into the Dental Corps as now constituted, must wait for several years before he can be more than a lieutenant. This simply places these dental surgeons upon the same footing as are the doctors.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume that this Dental Corps is not merely for the emergency, but for all time.

Mr. FOSTER. I understand it is only for the emergency.

Mr. STAFFORD. I should like to inquire of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs whether the creation of this Dental Corps is merely for the emergency?

Mr. DENT. It is permanent.

Mr. FOSTER. Then I misunderstood.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought it was to dignify the Dental Corps the same as the Medical Corps.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it ought to be. I think this ought to be permanent.

Mr. STAFFORD. What salaries will these members of the Dental Corps receive?

Mr. DENT. Salaries according to their rank.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the highest rank a member of the Dental Corps can attain?

Mr. DENT. The rank of a major.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has this subject been considered at all by the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. DENT. It has; and my information is that the Surgeon General's Office are not opposed to this legislation. They objected to it being on the House bill, for fear that bill would lose out in the closing hours of the session. That was the only objection that the Surgeon General had, but as an independent measure I understand from his office that they have no objection to it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the matter ever been formally brought to the attention of the House Military Affairs Committee?

Mr. DENT. It has, time and time again, but no formal action has been taken.

Mr. FOSTER. It has been only a few years since the Dental Corps had any sort of standing whatever in the Army, and it has become more and more important.

Mr. DENT. Under the present law a dental surgeon must serve 24 years before he can become a major.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is certainly a very questionable practice, in the closing hours of a Congress, to create a Dental Corps for all time, without the subject ever having been considered by a committee of the House, and never having even received the formal indorsement of the Surgeon General of the Army. The only assurance we have from the chairman of the committee is that he thinks the Surgeon General is not opposed to it.

Mr. DENT. I know he is not.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no question about that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object for the time being.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

Mr. DENT. Then I move to take the bill from the Speaker's table and agree to the Senate amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman can not do that, because it places a charge upon the Treasury.

The SPEAKER. That is true.

Mr. DENT. Then I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I make the point of order that the gentleman can not do that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do that, because the Senate has not yet passed the adjournment resolution.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the Senate has passed the adjournment resolution.

The SPEAKER. When?

Mr. KEATING. About 10 minutes ago.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has no official knowledge of that fact. No message has been received. We are not running on grapevine information here. [Laughter.]

The SERGEANT AT ARMS. Mr. Speaker, a message from the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to House concurrent resolution 25, providing for the adjournment of Congress at 3 p. m. to-day.

MEDICAL AND DENTAL SURGEONS.

Mr. DENT. Now, Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules, take from the Speaker's table House bill 4897, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] 20 minutes.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I hope this bill will not be defeated because the Senate has tacked on this amendment in the closing hours of this session of Congress. This bill passed the House on June 25 last. Neither the House nor the Committee on Military Affairs is responsible for the delay in the passage of the bill by the other body. If this bill fails of passage it means that many officers lately in the National Guard, who were in the service as captains, who had the rank of captains in the National Guard, will have to serve in the Army of the United States after being called into the Federal service only as first lieutenants, because under the construction of the national-defense act every man in the Medical Corps has to have at least five years' previous service as a first lieutenant before he can receive the rank of captain.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Certainly.

Mr. TOWNER. Members of the House should understand that the provision regarding the Dental Corps is not by any means the only provision in the bill, and if the bill is refused a passage at this time the other provisions of the bill will be lost as well as the dental provision.

Mr. DENT. That is the point I am making. I said in the beginning that I hoped the bill would not be defeated because the Senate had tacked on an amendment creating a Dental Corps. I can not see any harm in that provision creating a Dental Corps.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. GORDON. What is the report of the Surgeon General of the Army with reference to the necessity of a Dental Corps as compared with the Medical Corps?

Mr. DENT. The Surgeon General, like every other medical man, considers that the Medical Corps is more important than the Dental Corps.

Mr. GORDON. Has he not said that there is a demand in the service for only one-sixth of the number of dentists as compared with medical men?

Mr. DENT. I do not remember the proportion, but probably the gentleman's memory is more accurate on that point than mine; but under the law as it now stands there are seven medical officers and one dental surgeon for every 1,000 men. That is in the Hay bill.

Mr. GILLETT. And how does this change the law?

Mr. DENT. Under the present law dental surgeons are appointed and under the jurisdiction of the Surgeon General of the Army. There is no such thing as a separate dental corps. This changes it so as to create under the Medical Department a Dental Corps.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Would this increase the number of dentists in the Army?

Mr. DENT. Not at all; not as provided in the national-defense act.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. The number would remain the same.

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. How would it affect the number of officers in the Medical Corps?

Mr. DENT. Does the gentleman mean whether it would increase the number? It would proportionally, according to the increase of the Army, but that could not be helped.

Mr. KEATING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. KEATING. It has been suggested to me that one proviso in the amendment might be construed to apply to dentists in the Navy—the provision that no dentist shall be commissioned who has not been confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. DENT. I am glad the gentleman has called my attention to that. It has been called to my attention by several Members of Congress over the phone. I took occasion to read the RECORD, and I can not see how by any possible construction that effect could be given to the language.

Mr. KEATING. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. DENT. The act originally provided for the appointment of captains in the Medical Corps. An amendment was offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] providing for the creation of a dental corps, and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] offered an amendment to that amendment that no dental surgeon shall be recommissioned until confirmed by the Senate. The Pomerene amendment relates exclusively to the dental surgeons in the Army, and therefore the amendment to the amendment relates to the surgeons in the Army and could not by any construction include surgeons in the Navy.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. What is the rank for dental surgeons now in the Army under the present law?

Mr. DENT. They are ranked as lieutenants, captains, and majors. A dental surgeon can not become a captain until he has had at least five years' service as a first lieutenant. A major has to have 24 years'.

Mr. DENISON. Are there no captains and majors in the Dental Corps?

Mr. DENT. I think there are no majors.

Mr. FOSTER. I think there are some majors.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. There are no majors; but six captains.

Mr. DENISON. Will the rank of these officers be changed by the provision of this act?

Mr. DENT. Does the gentleman mean will they be raised to a higher grade?

Mr. DENISON. Yes.

Mr. DENT. They will not; it creates a separate corps and gives the dentists the corresponding rank of the medical department.

Mr. DENISON. Will the man at the head of the corps have a higher rank?

Mr. DENT. Not at all; he will not have to have the previous service.

Mr. DENISON. Will the compensation of the dentists in the Army be increased by this act?

Mr. DENT. I do not see how it can possibly be so.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. The amendment provides that the rank and pay and promotion and allowance of officers in the Dental Corps shall be of the corresponding grade of the Medical Corps. Would not that indicate that there might be in the

Dental Corps a rank higher than major, that they might rank as high as any man in the medical department?

Mr. DENT. I have not read that carefully. I wish the gentleman would repeat that.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Who shall have the rank, pay, promotion, and allowances of officers of corresponding grades of the Medical Corps.

Mr. DENT. I presume it would. I was mistaken about that.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I do not think they have been created yet, but it might provide for the creation of colonels.

Mr. DENT. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, here we have an instance of the worst possible practice in parliamentary procedure, namely, the passing of legislation in the closing minutes of the Congress which neither a committee of the Senate nor a committee of the House has formally considered. A simple bill introduced into the House in May last and passed on June 25 changed the national-defense act merely in one minor particular, so as to permit those attached to the Medical Corps of the Regular Army and the National Guard to be eligible to promotion to a captaincy upon such examination as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War. It was represented, and properly represented, that many doctors in the National Guard who held the rank of lieutenant were not receiving sufficient compensation, and that it was wrong for them to be held back and retained in that position of lieutenancy when they were capable of filling the grade of captain. This bill goes over to the Senate, and, as we all know, because of conditions existing in the Senate important amendments are often hurriedly introduced from the floor of the Senate. One of the amendments adopted changed the Army reorganization act, an act which was as thoroughly considered by a master mind of military affairs, a man who knew all of the details and who framed that act not merely for times of peace but also for an army in time of war. That act made no provision whatever for the creation of a Dental Corps. It did create a Medical Corps. The Senate has attached an amendment providing for the creation of a Dental Corps, which has only one purpose, namely, to raise the grades of men now assigned to these various positions in the Army so that they may receive higher pay and rank. Following the profession of medicine and surgery is one thing. It is necessary at all times, even in times of peace, to have a well-organized body of eminent surgeons and pay them proper salaries so that as the years go on they will be retained in the service rather than resign; but that same argument does not apply to a Dental Corps. There is no such necessity for having high grades apply to these men who are dentists.

I can not conceive of any worse practice than this. One member of the Military Affairs Committee, who gives matters as much attention before his committee as any man can, asks questions of the chairman of the committee which show that he is not as fully informed about the particulars of this bill as he would like to be. I refer to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON].

How can other Members who have not the technical knowledge necessary to follow this legislation pass intelligently upon this amendment? If the rules were not suspended, this amendment, because it makes a charge on the Treasury, would have had to be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. There is no urgency about this proposition. We will be in session again within two months. Even if the provision which was sought originally to correct conditions in the Medical Corps should be held in abeyance for two months it would not be as long as the Senate has been holding it up, because this bill passed the House on June 25. The Senate did not consider in all of these months there was any urgency even in that particular. We can correct that condition when the House meets again by passing a proper provision. When you adopt this practice of allowing some interested Senator in some project, without even the recommendation of the head of a department, to tack on an important amendment and have it ushered over here and submitted on the spur of the moment, without even the committee or any other Members of the House having time to consider its merits, you are passing legislation in a very loose way, and of a character which I for one will protest against as long as I am here. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER].

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, under ordinary circumstances I am inclined to think that many of us would concur in the criticisms that have been made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] with regard to the fact that this amendment has been brought in so late in the session. However, I think the criticisms that are made upon the substantive parts of the bill are not well-founded. This matter has been under consideration both in the House and the Senate. It has received the consideration of the Committee on Military Affairs. It has the approval of the Surgeon General's Department. There is nothing asked that is extraordinary in its nature or character. We must have these dental officers. They are already provided for. The only question raised here is as to whether or not they shall occupy the anomalous position of being a part of the Surgeon General's Department, a part of the medical staff, or whether they shall have a distinctive position which shall still be under the Surgeon General's Department, but which will be separately recognized as a dental department. That, it seems to me, is entirely a matter that ought to be approved by the House, but that is not the most serious question. If we vote down the passage of this bill it will not only kill that provision but it will kill the whole bill. Certainly the provisions of this bill are important enough now that they should be passed at this session. It is an emergency act. Its provisions are important, and we should pass it at this time. I presume there has not been a single bill passed to which objections could not be made.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. In just a moment. But we are not given, Mr. Speaker, to making criticisms that we are not justified in concluding are vital when opposing necessary war legislation. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GORDON. The gentleman says that this is an emergency measure and was so important that the House passed it on the 25th of June, and the Senate held it up until now.

The SPEAKER. Neither gentleman is in order in criticizing the Senate.

Mr. TOWNER. I said if it was in order.

Mr. GORDON. This is giving the House's opinion of the Senate's judgment.

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows; but the rule is that gentlemen must not reflect on the Senate or Senators.

Mr. TOWNER. I think, Mr. Speaker, we have no justification now in delaying the passage of this bill, and I hope that the objection raised will not be considered as of sufficient merit or weight to prevent the passage of this bill. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON].

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I do not like this way of enacting legislation myself. Now, I did not intend, Mr. Speaker, to criticize the Senate. I was simply calling attention to the fact that in their judgment this bill, which we passed on the 25th of June, was not of such very great and pressing importance in the prosecution of this war, or they certainly would not have held it three or four months, until the closing hours of a session, when they could tack this on under suspension of the rules. Now, it has been said, it has been reported, that the Surgeon General has no objection to this amendment. If that report is correct we have received no communication from the Surgeon General upon that subject. We are creating brigadier generals and colonels in this Congress at a rate that has never been known before in this or any other country, and I tell you, gentlemen, it is time to call a halt on such legislation. As has been said, if this legislation is so important that we have got to create a Dental Corps and place it upon the same basis, with the same number of colonels and brigadiers as the Medical Corps of the Army has, it seems to me that we ought to have a formal communication from the Surgeon General of the Army upon that subject to lay before the membership of this House. I think this bill had better be defeated than to allow it to go through with this rider upon it at this time. Congress will meet again on the first Monday in December, and if this legislation is important and urgent, Congress can then enact it; and I do not think we ought to create here a corps, provide for a great lot of high-salaried officials, and undertake to place the Dental Corps upon the same basis as the Medical Corps of the Army. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin expect to use some more time?

Mr. STAFFORD. I may; but I am willing to allow debate to close now.

Mr. DENT. I ask for a vote, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LINTHICUM). The question is on suspension of the rules and agreeing to the Senate amendments.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the rules were suspended and the Senate amendments were agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I demand a division.

Mr. DENT. I make a point of order that that comes too late.
Mr. STAFFORD. The Chair has not even decided.
Mr. LANGLEY. The Chair announced that the ayes had it.
Mr. STAFFORD. Upon the presentation——
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman withdraw the demand?
Mr. STAFFORD. On the request of the gentleman from Kentucky, I withdraw the demand.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Two-thirds having voted in the affirmative, the rules are suspended and the amendments are concurred in.

LAND FOR USE OF ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES ARMY.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky moves to suspend the rules and pass the resolution which he sends to the Clerk's desk, and which the Clerk will report.
The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 162) authorizing expenditure of money upon land purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

Resolved, etc., That section 355 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not apply to the expenditure of appropriations for the Ordnance Department of the Army now available for the purchase of land and for improvements upon such land.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?
Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands a second.
Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Kentucky has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Illinois has 20 minutes.
Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, section 355 of the Revised Statutes provides that, before land shall be purchased or money expended in improvements on such land, the title shall have been certified to by the Attorney General of the United States and the consent of the State to the acquisition of the land shall have been given.
That is the sum total of the effect of section 355 of the Revised Statutes. Now, in the consideration of a number of matters heretofore, this Congress has waived the requirements of that section, and we had believed in the passage of the deficiency bill that we had taken care of such cases where it was necessary. But there has come to my attention this morning the fact that there are a number of purchases of land that have already been authorized to be made that could not be made without great delay if the requirements of this section were not waived. The resolution as drawn will not enlarge in the slightest degree the power of the Government to buy land or make any money available to buy land which is not now available, but it does permit moneys which have been appropriated for the purpose of particular pieces of land for particular purposes to be expended, and the land acquired and the buildings erected on it, without waiting for the certification of the Attorney General or the permission of States. Most of the States have passed general statutes touching such matters, in compliance with section 355, but some of the States have not. And in order to prevent delay this joint resolution is now presented.
Mr. TALBOTT. One moment. You have in mind the proving ground——
Mr. SHERLEY. No, I have not; because the proving-ground provision has already been taken care of by language carried in the deficiency bill, which is now a law. And I will say, to relieve any apprehension the gentleman has in mind, there is no contemplation in any way of taking Kent Island.
Mr. TALBOTT. I am not talking about Kent Island. I am talking about something else.
Mr. SHERLEY. We have made provision for the acquirement of land without regard to section 355 for proving grounds by express enactment.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I ask the gentleman just what the power of the Ordnance Department is under the deficiency bill to acquire land?
Mr. SHERLEY. No power in the world, except where moneys have been concretely appropriated to acquire land.
Now, I will give the gentleman an illustration of the situation that is confronting the Government now. Appropriations have been made for the acquisition of certain land near New York, and for certain other land near Norfolk, in connection with the building of storage warehouses for ordnance material. Also, we passed a law in regard to the purchase of land for the establishment of the nitrate plant. Now, without the enactment of this joint resolution that money can not be expended until there has been both a certification by the Attorney General and action by the State in which the land is situated agreeing thereto. This resolution does not broaden the power of the department to spend money for land but simply waives those two requirements of the section referred to.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman in his explanation go one step further? He has made reference to Kent Island, which he said will not be taken for the purpose of a proving ground. Complaint has come from another section in the vicinity, where certain industrial plants are established, and where the people are employed at canneries, and things of that kind, in very fertile territory.
Mr. SHERLEY. I will answer the gentleman in this way: This does not involve in any way, shape, or form the expenditure of any money in connection with the proving grounds. And for this reason, namely, that when we carried a provision of $7,000,000 for the purchase of proving grounds and improvements, we carried a provision similar to this, which is already the law on the statute book, and was one of the items in the urgent deficiency bill passed the other day.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. SHERLEY. I will.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I can understand why you should request to waive the granting of the right by the States, but why do away with the certification of the Attorney General?
Mr. SHERLEY. That is one of the requirements of section 355.
Mr. GORDON. Does not the gentleman think it is very important before paying out public money for real estate that you have the opinion of the Attorney General as to the title?
Mr. SHERLEY. I just as leave, and a little bit rather, have the opinion of the lawyer who really makes the examination of the title. The certification of the Attorney General is of necessity a matter of form.
Mr. GORDON. But it is an official opinion.
Mr. SHERLEY. It is an official opinion, based on the opinion of the attorneys of the Government who examine into it. The district attorneys will examine into it or the attorneys of the War Department. We are not going to buy land without title.
Mr. GORDON. If this is adopted, they can buy land without any title at all.
Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. SHERLEY. I will.
Mr. LINTHICUM. As I understand, the deficiency bill we passed a few days ago made sufficient provision for proving grounds without certification?
Mr. SHERLEY. Yes, sir.
Mr. LINTHICUM. There can be no delay in obtaining proving grounds now by the Government?
Mr. SHERLEY. Not by virtue of that section.
Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.
Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker——
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] is recognized for 20 minutes.
Mr. MADDEN. I am in sympathy with the passage of the resolution offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], and my only interest in the case was that he might be given an opportunity to explain the details that have already been explained. So far as I am concerned, I have not any disposition to take up any further time of the House.
The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the joint resolution.
The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the joint resolution was agreed to.

PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I rise to present a privileged report.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman will suspend just a moment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement of the activities of the Shipping Board and the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement on the Shipping Board activities. Is there objection?
There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of waterways, and also to include a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors—Mr. SMALL, of North Carolina—on the establishment of transportation by water, from the Secretary of War, and his reply thereto.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the subject of waterways. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the antislacker proposition.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the antislacker proposition. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the causes of the war and to incorporate some patriotic resolutions.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on what caused the war and to insert some patriotic resolutions. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the present war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the subject of the present war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I was directed by the Committee on Indian Affairs to make a report on a bill. By inadvertence the number 1681 was embodied in the report. I now ask unanimous consent to withdraw report No. 196 to make certain corrections.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to withdraw the report referred to. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. OVERMYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing a resolution adopted by the Fremont (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce asking for the expulsion of Senators STONE, GRONNA, and LA FOLLETTE.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas objects. The House has nothing to do with the Senators, anyway.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of land legislation during this session of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the marketing, handling, and grading of grain.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the subject of marketing and grading grain. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE (H. REPT. NO. 201).

The SPEAKER. Now the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] is recognized. The gentleman submits a privileged report, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Report of the special committee of five Members of the House of Representatives to inquire into the allegations and charges made by J. THOMAS HEFLIN, a Member of Congress from the fifth congressional district of Alabama, appointed on October 4, 1917.

Your committee, appointed to inquire into the allegations and charges made by J. THOMAS HEFLIN, Member of Congress from the fifth district of Alabama, on the floor of the House on September 21, 1917, and also to inquire into the allegations or charges made in an alleged interview or statement alleged to have been furnished by the said J. THOMAS HEFLIN and printed in the Washington Post of September 22, 1917, respectfully ask leave to report as follows:

The investigation made by the committee has necessarily been hurried, due to the fact that the resolution authorizing the appointment of your committee to make the investigation was introduced early in the afternoon of Thursday, October 4, 1917. Afterwards, on the same afternoon, a resolution was passed by the House fixing the hour of adjournment at 3 o'clock on the following Saturday.

The resolution authorizing the appointment of the committee and vesting them with authority is as follows:

"*Be it resolved*, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint a select committee of five Members of the House, who shall make inquiry into the allegations and charges made by J. THOMAS HEFLIN, a Member of Congress from the fifth district of Alabama, on the floor of the House on September 21, 1917, which is, in part, as follows:

"'I do not know what Members of Congress, if any, have been influenced by this mysterious German organization. If I were permitted to express my opinion I could name 13 or 14 men in the two bodies, who, in my judgment, have acted in a suspicious manner by the introduction of resolutions or bills or by speeches in the Congress or out of it, that leads to the conviction that they are not loyal to this Government in the hour of its peril—they ought to be investigated, and if found guilty, they ought to be expelled from the House and the Senate of the United States.'

"Also as to the allegations and charges made in an interview or statement alleged to have been furnished by the said J. THOMAS HEFLIN and printed in the Washington Post of September 21, 1917, as follows:

"'I have heard a story that there is a gambling room in Washington where pro-German and peace-at-any-price Members of Congress get their pay by being extraordinarily lucky at cards. I demand that this matter be investigated and that the guilty Members be expelled from Congress in disgrace. I believe that some of this money has reached some Members of the Congress. I know I could name 13 or 14 Members of the House and Senate who have acted in a very suspicious manner.'

"Said committee shall report to the House before the adjournment of this session of Congress the result of its inquiry and its recommendation as to the action which should be taken by the House touching any person or persons involved in or affected by or making these statements and charges."

Pursuant to this instruction, on the afternoon of October 4 the committee held a preliminary meeting to determine the scope of the inquiry, which meeting was continued to the morning of October 5. After careful deliberation your committee determined that the main question submitted for its investigation was whether the charges made by Mr. HEFLIN in his speech or alleged interview against Members of Congress involved the imputation of corrupt motives or the receipt by them of any portion of the alleged German corruption fund. For this reason your committee invited Mr. HEFLIN to appear, and he was closely questioned as to the meaning he conveyed or intended to convey by these charges. In the first place, he was questioned as to the accuracy of his reported interview in which it was specifically charged that Members of Congress had participated in gambling, as a result of which they received money from the German Government, or acted in a suspicious manner in that connection.

Mr. HEFLIN emphatically denied that he had made such a statement, and asserted that he had never, at any time or place, publicly or privately, made any charge that any Member of Congress had been influenced in any vote or action by the receipt, directly or indirectly, of any part of this or any other fund. He stated that he did not charge this, and did not intend to charge this, either in his speech on the floor of the House of September 21, or in any statement which he made to newspaper men which was alleged to have been reported in the Washington Post. With respect to the newspaper interview, however, Mr. Stuart Godwin, Washington representative of the International News Service, and Mr. Andrew Eldred, Washington representative of the United Press, appeared, at their own suggestion, and declared to your committee that Mr. HEFLIN had been correctly quoted, as they both heard his statement and reported it for publication.

After being questioned as to whether he had any proof of corruption by money of Members of Congress, Mr. HEFLIN most emphatically stated that he did not have any proofs of the receipt of money by Members of Congress and that he was unable to furnish or procure any such proofs.

On September 28, 1917, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, wrote to Hon. EDWARD W. POU, a Member of the House from North Carolina, as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. POU: In response to your inquiry over the telephone to-day, addressed to the department, I beg to inform you that the State Department has no evidence that could in any way connect a Member of Congress with the payment of money by the German Embassy in its propaganda activities.

"I take the liberty of quoting a statement issued by the Secretary of State on September 22, which indicates his opinion on this subject:

"'If there is any misunderstanding, I wish to say very emphatically I do not see how the Bernstorff message in any way reflects upon Congress or any Member. Apparently, it was the purpose to employ agencies to influence them, of which they would have no knowledge, and in case they were influenced would be entirely innocent. I do not know what the organization was. This exposé is apropos of German methods of peace propaganda, and there is no intention of casting suspicion on Members of Congress.'

"Believe me, my dear Mr. POU,

"Yours, very truly,

FRANK L. POLK,
"Acting Secretary of State."

On the above statement of Mr. HEFLIN, taken in connection with the letter from the Secretary of State's office, your committee is of the opinion that there is no justification for and no evidence upon which to base a further investigation of the question of the corrupt receipt of money by Members of Congress.

This question being disposed of, nothing remains for your committee to investigate but Mr. HEFLIN'S charges that he believes certain Members of Congress have acted in a suspicious manner by the introduction of bills or resolutions, or in speeches made in Congress or out of it.

It is apparent that such an investigation would necessarily consume a great deal of time and involve considerable expense, no provision for which has been made in the resolution under which your committee is acting. Therefore it is apparent that it is utterly impossible for your committee to make a full and fair investigation of this phase of the question within the time limit.

While your committee makes no recommendation in the premises, we beg to state it as our opinion that in so far as Mr. HEFLIN'S charges impute or might fairly be construed as imputing dishonest or corrupt motives to any Member of Congress, notwithstanding the fact that he now denies any intention of conveying any such imputation, his conduct in that respect is subject to criticism.

But inasmuch as the serious question of disloyalty to our country on the part of some Members of the House has been raised by Mr. HEFLIN, in the opinion of your committee the direct and parliamentary course of action would be in the institution by him of proceedings for expulsion from Congress of those whose loyalty he challenges.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY A. BARNHART.
W. W. VENABLE.
ARTHUR G. DEWALT.
NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.
JOSEPH WALSH.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, the report of the committee just read expresses the unanimous findings of the members thereof, although, in justice to some of them it does not fully meet their personal opinions. On one hand it was believed that the report does not go far enough in its findings and, on the other that it goes too far. But the committee was handicapped by lack of time and means to make such an investigation as the resolution directed, and I think every Member of this body will concede this. But we made a preliminary investigation of sufficient scope to prompt the report we have made, and hope it will be accepted.

So far as the charges that Members of the House having been bribed, as was inferred by those who heard the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] and as reported by the press, the committee was promptly advised by Mr. HEFLIN that he had no intention of giving out such an impression, had never heard of any such bribery, and, of course, had no proof. He also denies that he gave out the report that Members of Congress won money easily at a slush fund German poker room in this city, and so this incident at once became a question of veracity between Mr. HEFLIN and the newspaper men who interviewed him. That left your committee at a standstill, and the Members of the House and the country will have to draw their own conclusions.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BARNHART. I will not yield.

Mr. MADDEN. I should like to have the gentleman yield if he will.

Mr. BARNHART. With all respect to the gentleman from Illinois, I will not yield. But as to the matter of loyalty of Members of Congress, Mr. HEFLIN informed the committee that he believes he has evidence to corroborate his charges, which consists of speeches and resolutions, in and out of Congress, newspaper clippings, letters from constituents of certain Members, and opinions of some eminent men. However, the committee is not continuing, Mr. HEFLIN said he did not have his evidence immediately ready and could not have for some time, there is no provision in the resolution for defraying the expenses of such an investigation, hence we could only find and recommend on the brief outline of the situation before us.

Therefore, as the close of the session limited the possibilities of complying with the requirements of the disloyalty feature of the resolution, and as there are neither facts nor time available for a fair and full presentation and discussion of the matter, Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the committee to move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana moves the previous question.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will withdraw the motion for the previous question, for I should like to make a statement. The gentleman has not correctly stated my position. I am ready to start with the investigation now.

The SPEAKER. Wait a minute. The gentleman from Alabama will have to get unanimous consent in order to make any remarks. That is the rule.

Mr. HEFLIN. I trust that the gentleman will be fair enough to withdraw the motion for the previous question in order that I may make a statement, because the gentleman's statement does not correctly quote what I have said or state my position.

The SPEAKER. That is within the power of the gentleman from Indiana, and he moves the previous question.

Mr. BARNHART. I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the report of the committee.

The question being taken, the report was agreed to.

EXPENSES OF FOREIGN ARMY OFFICERS.

The SPEAKER. The other day the House passed a bill to defray the expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States. It turned out that this feature had already been carried in the general bill. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] the other day asked unanimous consent that the proceedings on this particular bill be vacated. Inadvertently the Chair had signed this bill, and, without objection, he now scratches his name off from it.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution of the following title:

H. J. Res. 162. Joint resolution authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 5833. An act granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired.

LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon food and foodstuffs.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on foodstuffs. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

PUBLICATION OF INVENTIONS.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Patents from the further consideration of S. 2531. This is a bill similar to a bill now on the House Calendar.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Patents, and for the present consideration of S. 2531. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill (S. 2531) to prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes.

Mr. MADDEN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman from New York to state to the House the special object of discharging the Committee on Patents for the purpose of considering this bill at this time?

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. We are considering the Senate bill. The House Committee on Patents reported a similar bill, which is now on the House Calendar.

Mr. MADDEN. What does this bill do?

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. The purpose of the bill is stated in the title. It is drawn by the Patent Office at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the secretary of the Munitions Board. The purpose of it is to keep secret an application for a patent whenever in the opinion of the Commissioner of Patents the publishing of the application might be of benefit to the enemy.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I realize the necessity of passing this Senate bill without amendment. Otherwise, I think the last paragraph should be amended so as to make more clear the intendment of the committee. I do not think the committee intends for a moment that, in case this patent is denied to the patentee during the pendency of the war, the patentee, upon the issuance of a patent, will be able to obtain compensation from the Government, in case it uses the patent, for damages by reason of the patent being withheld and the patentee prevented from using it during the pendency of the war. I call the gentleman's attention to the last paragraph:

When an applicant whose patent is withheld as herein provided and who faithfully obeys the order of the Commissioner of Patents above referred to shall tender his invention to the Government of the United States for its use, he shall, if and when he ultimately received a patent, have the right to sue for compensation in the Court of Claims, such right to compensation to begin from the date of the use of the invention by the Government.

I take it that this is not to give any right of compensation from the Government because of the deprivation of the right to use the patent during the war period, or for anything except the use by the Government.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. He is to have no compensation unless the Government decides that the application shall be kept secret.

Mr. STAFFORD. And no compensation from the Government, except for its use of the patent.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. None whatever.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wanted that clearly stated, in case that ambiguity should ever be presented to the Court of Claims.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That whenever during a time when the United States is at war the publication of an invention by the granting of a patent might, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Patents, be detrimental to the public safety or defense or might assist the enemy or endanger the successful prosecution of the war he may order that the invention be kept secret and withhold the grant of a patent until the

termination of the war: *Provided*, That the invention disclosed in the application for said patent may be held abandoned upon it being established before or by the commissioner that in violation of said order said invention has been published or that an application for a patent therefor has been filed in a foreign country by the inventor or his assigns or legal representatives, without the consent or approval of the Commissioner of Patents or under a license of the Secretary of Commerce, as provided by law.

When an applicant whose patent is withheld as herein provided and who faithfully obeys the order of the Commissioner of Patents above referred to shall tender his invention to the Government of the United States for its use, he shall, if and when he ultimately receives a patent, have the right to sue for compensation in the Court of Claims, such right to compensation to begin from the date of the use of the invention by the Government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH, a motion to reconsider the vote was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H. R. 5269) was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman yield for me to make a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. LONDON. I will.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that upon the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from New York the House stand in recess until 2 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from New York the House stand in recess until 2.50 p. m. Is there objection?

Mr. AUSTIN. Reserving the right to object, I wish to state that I am anxious to submit a resolution after the gentleman from New York closes.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman's resolution will be objected to if it is for the extra month.

Mr. AUSTIN. I am going to move to suspend the rules and pass it.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman can not get recognition for that.

Mr. AUSTIN. I will take my chance on it.

Mr. TREADWAY. Reserving the right to object, I want to say that my colleague, Mr. ROGERS, was expecting recognition. He is not in the room at present.

Mr. SLOAN. I want to say that I would like to have about two minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York will proceed.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I shall occupy the whole of the time, but I will ask to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I am probably late with the appeal I intend to make now at the end of this most important session. Lawyers may differ as to the necessity of suspending the Constitution, but there can be no dispute that even in times of war common sense ought not to be suspended. Some of our greatest statesmen are the worst sinners in that respect. The supreme ruler of all the jungles, Theodore Roosevelt, declared more than once that whoever dares express any opinion which is not in harmony with his present opinion should be deported, lynched, crippled, mutilated, and eaten alive. This policy seems to be advocated by a number of big men who have lost all sense of proportion.

I am not in a facetious mood, and I do not like to be introducing frivolous resolutions, but I almost feel like introducing a resolution that Congress should make an appropriation for night schools to teach the various members of chambers of commerce who are now demanding the expulsion of Members of Congress for the courage they show in honestly expressing their views, to teach those chambers of commerce the elements of American democracy. [Applause.]

We are working ourselves into a frenzy before a single shot has been fired at the enemy. What will we do later, when the crippled, wounded, and mutilated will return from the trenches?

Mr. Speaker, there is one thing that the war has shown—the one silver lining in the dark cloud—and that is the great loyalty of the American people. [Applause.] The war came after a campaign conducted with the implied promise that there would be no war. Nevertheless, the people have accepted the decision of the law-making body of the country and abide by it. No one will contend that conscription was popular. It had never been resorted to in previous wars except in the last extremity. Still the people, in their loyalty, in their submission to law, have yielded. When you deal with a people of such profound loyalty, when you deal with a people with such a devotion to law, when you deal with a people so thoroughly acquiescing in the principle of majority rule, the only rule possible in a Republic, all attempts to suppress freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and a full discussion of vital issues are acts of unpardonable oppression.

Things are becoming unbearable. In order to make the world safe for democracy, a very charming slogan, we have permitted to go unpunished one of the most abominable acts in the history of this country—the deportation of twelve hundred men by a lawless crowd speaking in the name of law and order in the State of Arizona. We have been too busy to take it up. This outrage was committed three months ago. The men are still in exile. They dared oppose a powerful corporation. We have tolerated the lynching of a man in Butte, Mont., because he stood for the rights of the laboring people.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washingon. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, did not that man who was lynched in Butte persist in saying night after night, from a soap box, that soldiers were nothing but scabs in uniform?

Mr. LONDON. Yes; but if the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] is willing to punish careless and foolish words by death nobody else would, particularly in the American Congress. No matter how foolish a remark may be, our laws and statutes provide a penalty, but that penalty is not death. The penalty of death, the penalty of lynching, can only be advocated by savages, by men who have lost all sense of right and wrong, and a Member of Congress should be the last person in the world to attempt to condone the infamous crime of lynching.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Did not this more or less mad man know that when he went one bit further each night he most certainly would bring serious consequence upon himself if he abused and defamed the soldiers of the United States?

Mr. LONDON. I do not know whether that man was mad.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I say he was a half-mad man.

Mr. LONDON. I do know that the men who commit the crime of lynching are criminals, are a dastardly crowd, whether they consist of business men, corporation lawyers, or other tools of a corporation.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield.

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. I would like to have the gentleman's opinion, while he is on this subject of lynching, of the proclamations of the governor of Illinois, of the governor of Minnesota, and the governor of Wisconsin recently withdrawing the right to peaceable assembly from citizens in those States.

Mr. LONDON. These gentlemen have suspended not only the Constitution, not only common sense, but they have suspended the decalogue. They have suspended every law of reason. Here we have this illustration of a Member of Congress trying to justify lynching on the floor of the House.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Oh, I beg the gentleman's pardon. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. No; I shall not yield any more.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The gentleman must not charge me with defending that crime. I am saying that he knew what the consequence would be. This man defamed the soldiers, and he knew what the consequence would be, and if he got it he knew he was going to get it.

Mr. LONDON. Why, I tell you I can rightly say that the gentleman is an advocate of lynching.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; I am not.

Mr. LONDON. And I am quite sure the lumber interests of the State of Washington approve the attitude of the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question.

Mr. LONDON. No; I shall not yield any more.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. LONDON. Nothing seems to be easier than to designate men as I. W. W.'s in order to put them outside of the protection of the law. It is the easiest thing now for corporations to suppress efforts of workers to improve their condition by denouncing their leaders as I. W. W.'s. Pleading for world democracy, we

have permitted a state of affairs where dozens of women are imprisoned right here within the shadow of the White House, where they are subjected to every sort of oppression. I know that the average American revolts against cruel treatment of a woman, but it is war psychology, and we are all more or less war mad, and we tolerate these things. I hope the President of the United States will do the gracious thing at the close of this session of Congress and open the doors of the prison for these women, who have suffered more than they bargained for. That is not a popular statement, I know.

Appealing to the social democracy of Germany to organize a revolution in Germany so as to save the world, we are suppressing socialist literature in this country. With the so-called espionage act as a pretext, they have suppressed a number of newspapers. We have made the Postmaster General the main reservoir of wisdom in the United States. We have made every assistant district attorney an expert upon internationalism, politics, economics, and the guardian of the people's liberties.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. No; I will not yield. We are destroying the freedom of the press. Mind you, in Europe, in every country, there is the fullest possible discussion of international relations.

In France cabinet after cabinet fell. In England there is not a man now in the Government who was there at the beginning of the war. The same, to a great extent, is true in Germany and in Austria. In Russia there was a revolution. Everywhere the people were permitted to talk, to discuss, to argue, to analyze, to scrutinize, to ask questions, to dream aloud, but here, in the name of democracy, we prevent them from discussing international relations. Here the Postmaster General is chief regulator of thought. War psychology, going mad. If the war lasts long enough, we may be justified in becoming mad, but it is too early now I respectfully submit.

The attempt to stifle the Socialist press is particularly inexcusable when one considers the importance of the Socialist movement as a permanent factor for international peace. In all countries of the world they have been, and are now, the foremost champions of an enduring peace.

The refusal by the Government of the belligerent nations to permit the holding of the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm was a blunder for which the full price has not yet been paid.

Nothing had such a demoralizing effect upon the democratized army of Russia than this refusal.

The program of the German Socialist minority which appears in a special cable to the New York Times of July 10, 1917, and which had been submitted to the Dutch-Scandinavian committee at Stockholm in advance of the conference, the holding of which was subsequently prevented, shows clearly the Socialist program for international peace. I give it in full:

In its peace views, as in its general policy, the German Independent Social Democratic Party proceeds from the common interests of the international proletariat and development of society. These interests demand immediate peace.

In the peace to be concluded we demand an international arrangement for general disarmament as being the chief means for strengthening the debilitated States. General disarmament is the only way to break any militarist supremacy and to obtain a lasting and peaceful understanding between the nations.

We demand the fullest freedom for international trade and intercourse, as well as the unlimited right of migration. We condemn all economic barriers and all economic struggles between States. All disputes between States must be settled by compulsory international arbitration.

We demand international treaties to make workers secure against impoverishment, especially as to women and children.

Political rights for women we regard as a social necessity. Equal rights should be granted to all the inhabitants of every country without regard to tongue, race, or religion. This would also mean securing to national minorities the right to declare their national life.

National and social liberation can not be achieved by the Governments at war; it can only be done by democracy. Democratic control of foreign policies will prevent aggressive measures. Secret treaties must be abolished, and all State treaties must be made dependent upon the assent of parliaments.

Though not regarding State boundaries as inviolable, we condemn the war and its prolongation as a means of regulating boundaries. Regulation of frontiers must be conditional upon the assent of the populations concerned and not an act of force. With all firmness we object to the violation of any nation in any form.

From the beginning of the war we have consistently demanded peace without annexations or indemnities, based upon material self-government.

It is not our affair to draw up a program covering all the questions to be dealt with in the peace settlement, but in regard to the questions raised in the discussions now going on we declare the following:

Reestablishment of Serbia as a self-governing and independent State is our absolute demand. The uniting of the Serbs in a single national State, and its combination with the other Balkan States in a republican Balkan federation we regard as the best way of removing the Eastern question as a cause of war.

To admit the right of Russian Poland to national independence but to deny that same right to Prussian and Austrian Poland is contradictory.

We condemn the prolongation of the war as a means of settling the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The population of Alsace-Lorraine, which in 1871 was annexed against its will, can obtain peace no sooner than by a direct and free vote to express its wish as to what State it shall belong.

The full independence and economic self-dependence—that is, freedom from economic interference—of Belgium is inevitable. In fulfillment of the German Government's promise at the beginning of the war the Belgian nation has to be compensated for the damage caused by the war, and especially for the economic values that have been taken away. Such repayment has nothing to do with various kinds of indemnities which simply mean the plundering of the vanquished by the victor, and which we therefore reject.

As opponents of any policy of conquest and foreign dominion, we reject, as we have always done, the policy of colonial conquest. Possession of any colony without its own self-administration is nothing else than possession of an unfree people, and, like slavery, is incompatible with our principles.

A peace treaty would be made secure only when there was a single international force to watch over it. We do not regard international government officials as such a force, but rather the international Socialist proletariat. Only when an international (force) is erected, independent and powerful, and the proletariat everywhere lends it its full force through keeping control over the governments and maintaining peace, will there come in the future a state of mutual confidence between the nations instead of a contest in armaments.

The proletariat in every country must now do its all to bring the war to an end. To attain this aim the independence of the Socialist Parties in relation to their imperial governments must be presupposed. Every government must be challenged to give unconditional adhesion to an international peace program. Credits are to be refused to any government which refuses this program or answers evasively or does not declare itself ready to enter upon peace conversations on the basis of this program. Such a Government must be fought in the sharpest manner.

The world will yet hear from the Socialists.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I think I have leave to extend my remarks, which has been previously granted.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. LONDON. Leave was granted before.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 5723. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4897. An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5833. An act granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired; and

H. J. Res. 162. Joint resolution authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

BILLS, ETC., PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 4897. An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5723. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5646. An act to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

H. R. 5648. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry, and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency, such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate; and

H. J. Res. 162. Joint resolution authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

PRINTING REVENUE LAWS AS A DOCUMENT.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following concurrent resolution and ask its adoption.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 26.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed as one document the following three revenue laws: The act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes, approved September 8, 1916; the act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1917; and the act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, approved October 3, 1917, of which 40,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate and 60,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, the apportionment of the House of Representatives to be distributed through the folding room.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this concurrent resolution?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Where does it come from?

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, I would tell the gentleman from New York that Mr. KITCHIN and myself have been discussing the question for several days. The gentleman from North Carolina has not had an opportunity to prepare the resolution, and he asked me to do so.

Mr. KITCHIN. I hope there will be no objection.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What are included in these?

Mr. KITCHIN. The three revenue bills.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken, and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

House concurrent resolution 26.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed as one document the following three revenue laws: The act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes, approved September 8, 1916; the act to provide increased revenues to defray the expenses of increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1917; and the act to provide revenues to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, approved October 3, 1917, of which 40,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate and 60,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, the apportionment of the House of Representatives to be distributed through the folding room.

LIABILITY OF ALIENS TO MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass House joint resolution 115, which I send to the Clerk's desk, and ask unanimous consent that the preamble, which has been stricken out by the Committee on Foreign Affairs before reporting to the House, be omitted in the reading.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the resolution, leaving out the preamble, which was stricken out by the committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 115) requesting the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with certain Governments with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States permitting the inclusion in the armed forces of the United States of such citizens of the countries of such Governments as are within the United States.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, requested to open diplomatic negotiations with the Governments of the several countries at war with a country with which the United States is at war with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States looking to the imposition upon such citizens of those countries as are within the United States of the liability to and performance of military service in the armed forces of the United States during the continuance of the present war between the United tates and Germany, and to report to the Congress of the United States as soon as practicable the result of such negotiations.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio objects, and the Chair appoints the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] as tellers.

The House divided, and the tellers reported there were—ayes 58, noes 0.

So a second was ordered.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STAFFORD. This resolution as introduced contains various whereases.

The SPEAKER. They have been stricken out.

Mr. STAFFORD. As reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs it strikes those out. Whatever action we take in the House on the committee amendments I assume the bill as read is the bill under consideration. My inquiry is, Is the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts merely to suspend the rules and pass the bill as reported from the committee?

The SPEAKER. It is to suspend the rules and pass the matter which has just been read by the Clerk. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Ohio has 20 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, this resolution calls upon the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with the Governments of the allies, with a view to the inclusion of their subjects who are in this country in the armed forces of the United States. The so-called Chamberlain bill, Senate joint resolution 84, which passed the Senate early last month, was a much more drastic proposal than this. The Chamberlain bill looks to the inclusion in our armies of all subjects of all countries other than enemy countries except in the event that treaty rights protect them from the obligation to render such service. That bill after being passed by the Senate came before the House Committee on Military Affairs. The Secretary of State appeared before the committee about 10 days or two weeks ago and in a very forceful statement, which is now available to the Members, gave as his opinion that the passage of the Chamberlain bill might easily involve the United States in very serious diplomatic difficulties. He called attention especially to the unwisdom of legislating so as to include in our armies subjects of neutral countries.

I remember that he used this expression that "our relations with neutral countries are not precarious but are irritating." And the clear import of his statement before the committee was that the passage of the Chamberlain bill would seriously embarrass the State Department in its negotiations with foreign powers and in its handling of international matters. Under those circumstances the Committee on Military Affairs unanimously voted to take no affirmative action upon the Chamberlain bill at this time. That is the status of the alien-slacker situation in so far as the Chamberlain phase of the legislation is concerned.

Mr. GORDON. The action of the committee, I will say to the gentleman, was a little bit broader than he states. You heard the testimony of the Secretary of State before our committee, did you not?

Mr. ROGERS. I did.

Mr. GORDON. And did he not say in that statement which he made that no legislation upon the subject of drafting aliens was desired by the State Department at this time?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not recall that he made that broad statement.

Mr. GORDON. I recall it very distinctly.

Mr. ROGERS. His appearance before your committee was limited to the Chamberlain resolution, on which he had been summoned to appear.

Mr. FIELDS. If the gentleman will yield, I want to say that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] is absolutely correct in his statement of what the Secretary of State said.

Mr. ROGERS. Of course the gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Kentucky were both present, and they know the situation from their point of view as well as I know it from mine. But bear in mind that Mr. Secretary Lansing was appearing before the committee only on the Chamberlain resolution.

On the 1st day of August the House Committee on Foreign Affairs had favorably and unanimously reported a resolution in the exact form which was just read at the Clerk's desk, and which I have now moved to be passed under suspension of the rules. That precise resolution had been indorsed by the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Polk, in a formal communication which he sent to Mr. FLOOD, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I will read that letter:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 28, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. FLOOD: Referring to your letter of July 16 in regard to H. J. Res. 115, introduced in the House by Mr. ROGERS, and to the department's telephone communication to your clerk of July 25 to the effect that this resolution, together with other bills on the same subject, had been laid before the President for his consideration, I beg now to advise you that the President informs me that of the bills before the Congress relating to the enlistment or drafting of alien residents in the United States H. J. Res. 115 (or S. J. Res. 83, which appears to be identical) seems to him most appropriate in the circumstances, as, in his opinion, the matter is properly a subject for negotiation with the countries concerned.

Very sincerely, yours, FRANK L. POLK.

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,
House of Representatives.

In that letter we have not only the explicit approval of this precise resolution from the Acting Secretary of State in a formal communication, but also the approval of the President of the United States. After the hearing of Mr. Secretary Lansing before the Committee on Military Affairs, to which allusion has been made, I sought an interview at which both Mr. Lansing and

Mr. Polk, who had written this letter as Acting Secretary of State, were present. They authorized me to state that they had no objection whatever to the passage of this resolution. If any gentleman in this House doubts that statement, I ask him to go to the telephone, call up either of those gentlemen, and be convinced for himself.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. This resolution, in fact, declares by Congress the very thing that the Secretary of State has assured us he is doing. Is that the fact?

Mr. ROGERS. I think that is a fair statement, and I think the only objection to this resolution which can possibly be advanced is that it is not especially important, because substantially what will happen if it is passed will happen if it is not passed.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. But it does not contravene in any way the work of the department? In other words, it does not bother them in their work?

Mr. ROGERS. If it does anything at all it strengthens the hands of the department in negotiating with the friendly nations for the inclusion of their citizens in the Army of the United States.

Now, let us see what this resolution does, and its passage is of great consequence. I think the suggestion made by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER] is important. The resolution enables the State Department to proceed with its negotiations with the full knowledge that the House of Representatives is in accord with these negotiations. That will be important. Why? The Secretary of State told the Committee on Military Affairs that the results of these negotiations with the friendly countries would probably be successful, and that they would probably require an amendment of the draft law so as to take advantage of the arrangements thus made. If that is true——

Mr. GORDON. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. ROGERS. I can not yield just now. The gentleman has 20 minutes.

And if that is true, the enabling amendment to the draft law will be necessarily passed by both branches of Congress. I submit, therefore, that it is of consequent importance that the Secretary of State should know that the House of Representatives is in harmony with the action which he is taking and will take in order that he may feel himself empowered to proceed with the full knowledge that his action will probably have the approval of the House of Representatives.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. Is not the Secretary of State, as a matter of fact, doing now what the resolution of the gentleman proposes that he shall do?

Mr. ROGERS. The Secretary of State is doing it in a measure now. I understand that he has been proceeding for over two months in a somewhat general way. The gentleman from Illinois comes from a great State that has a great alien population. The alien-slacker injustice is not a thing that can go on forever. I think the House of Representatives ought to show that it has an interest in remedying it. There is an enormous growing call on the part of many of the States and many of the sections of this country for legislation of this sort.

In deference to the wishes of the Secretary of State the Committee on Military Affairs has reported no legislation "with teeth in it." But is the House to remain silent? Is the House to adjourn sine die this afternoon without showing the slightest appreciation of the importance of this problem and its anxiety to cope with it as best it can? It may be that we can not go very far. But, Mr. Speaker, I insist that in honor to ourselves and to the sections of the country which are aroused over the manifest unfairness to our own citizens resultant upon the general exemption of aliens, we ought to go as far as we honorably and patriotically can.

Here we have a measure which has the approval of the President, which has the approval of the Secretary of State, which has the approval of the Acting Secretary of State, which has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and which certainly can not be objected to on any conceivable ground. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman reserves 10 minutes.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, the most that can be claimed for this joint resolution is that it does not amount to anything. [Laughter.] That is, it is not effective; it simply requests the President of the United States to negotiate about drafting aliens into our Army; and of course that involves the drafting of American citizens into foreign armies.

Now, I do not know, but the only practical result of the adoption of the resolution, I suppose, is that it will be used for home consumption with the electorate. But the Secretary of State testified before our committee that he was doing the very thing that this resolution asked him to do, and he stated very distinctly to the Committee on Military Affairs that no legislation on the subject of drafting aliens was necessary or desired at this time.

Now, I have very strong views myself on the subject of drafting aliens. I do not believe you have any right to do it. Every Secretary of State, including James G. Blaine, Thomas F. Bayard, and men like them, have notified foreign Governments in every single instance where there was a controversy, that under no circumstances would this Nation permit foreign nations to draft American citizens into their military service.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. Do I gather that the gentleman would not be in favor of including allied aliens in our armies, even if those countries specifically by treaty authorized their inclusion?

Mr. GORDON. No; I would not.

Mr. ROGERS. You would not approve of including them even if the countries were quite willing to have them included?

Mr. GORDON. Certainly not. What are you going to do with the political refugee that left one of those countries because he did not like their form of government, who came over here and has not been naturalized? Are you going to conscript them into the military service? What are you going to do with other foreigners who apply for naturalization and can not meet some educational test that we impose? Down in my country they are imposing very strict conditions on the naturalization of aliens, and I think there ought to be proper conditions imposed. Are you going to conscript a man into our military service who is an alien, and who tried to become a citizen and could not? Of course the aliens are like the Indians, not taxed, and minors, who have no votes, and therefore the demand is to force them into the Army. [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. What did the Secretary of State say to the Committee on Military Affairs on this subject as to the power of Congress?

Mr. GORDON. He said Congress had no power to conscript an alien into the military service. That is what he said, and of course he is right about that.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Does not this resolution recognize that fact?

Mr. GORDON. No; it denies it. That is my objection to it. If you already have any lawful authority to conscript them into the military service, why do you want to have the Secretary of State get the consent of some potentate in Europe to do it? That is my objection to it.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Is it not the function of the Secretary of State to negotiate treaties with our allies, so that the aliens of those countries who are slackers here can be mustered into the American Army?

Mr. GORDON. There may be American slackers in those countries. Would you allow an American citizen to be conscripted in a foreign army?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes—to be fighting alongside of my son.

Mr. GORDON. He would not be fighting alongside of your son. He would be fighting alongside of foreigners.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. He would be fighting in the same cause.

Mr. GORDON. I do not think you have considered this question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr FITZGERALD. Suppose an American citizen has gone into one of these allied countries to avoid fighting in the American Army. Would you object to his being compelled to fight in the French Army or in the English Army?

Mr. GORDON. I would object to any American citizen being conscripted to fight in a foreign army on the same ground that Secretary Bayard and Secretary Blaine put it. That is what the War of 1812 was fought about.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That was a different situation. Here we are compelling our young men to fight.

Mr. GORDON. Do not blame that on me. [Laughter.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not blaming it on you.

Mr. GORDON. Very well.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am sincere in asking the question. Suppose some of our citizens who would be eligible under the draft law, in order to avoid being drafted should go to Canada or to France or to England?

Do you not think it would be proper for this country to consent that in order to prevent their escaping their obligations to the country, if they were unwilling to fight alongside of their own fellow citizens, under the flag of their own country, they should be compelled to fight in a common cause for their country under an alien flag, with aliens? [Applause.]

Mr. GORDON. Here is my answer to that: I would consent to legislation which would bring those men back here to perform the obligations which the law has imposed upon them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I would make them fight under some other flag for the same purpose. I would not want to compel them to come back and fight under their own flag.

Mr. GORDON. Of course you are getting into deep water when you undertake to pass a law authorizing foreign Governments to impose compulsory military service upon American citizens. You are establishing an exceedingly dangerous precedent, and one that will arise to confront you forever after, and the Secretary of State said that in substance before our committee.

Mr. PLATT. I want to know if the gentleman was not opposed to the drafting of American citizens into our own Army?

Mr. GORDON. Of course I was.

Mr. PLATT. That is the whole thing.

Mr. GORDON. Being opposed to drafting them into our own Army, I certainly would not favor legislation that would permit them to be drafted into a foreign army.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Is not the solution of the problem this, to give them a chance to fight in this Army or go home where they belong?

Mr. GORDON. Of course gentlemen can solve this question offhand here without difficulty. You have an unquestioned and an undoubted legal right to expel from the United States, under certain limitations, aliens domiciled in the United States. That you have a legal right to do. But our Government protested at one time very strongly to the Russian Government because it expelled an American citizen who was resident in Russia, and did not give him an opportunity to close up his affairs, but required him to leave the country rather suddenly. Now, what situation have you here? You pass a law which will expel European aliens from the United States. You are driving them right across this submarine zone. They can not be convoyed. We have no means of providing a convoy for them. I do not think under international law you have a moral right to drive those men across the sea at a time like this without affording them any protection.

Mr. MAGEE. I want to ask the gentleman a question for information.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MAGEE. Aliens, as I understand it, under the selective-draft act, have been included in the quotas of the different cities in the country.

Mr. GORDON. Yes; unfortunately they have, in many States.

Mr. MAGEE. And the population of many of those cities has been greatly overestimated.

Mr. GORDON. Yes; that is true.

Mr. MAGEE. The population of my home city of Syracuse was estimated, I think, at 197,000, while the actual population is about 157,000.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MAGEE. Now, I will ask the gentleman if, in the quota drafted under the selective-draft act, those aliens have not been eliminated?

Mr. GORDON. No; they have not. That is the great injustice of the operation of this law as it is executed. There ought to be legislation that would base military service upon the population liable to military service.

Mr. MAGEE. Perhaps the gentleman did not understand me. They have been counted in making up the quotas.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MAGEE. But when the men are actually called, as I understand it, the aliens are eliminated from the call.

Mr. GORDON. Of course. They are exempt under international law. You can not lawfully conscript an alien into the military service of the United States.

Mr. MAGEE. Now, the point I call attention to is this: It seems to me it is a great injustice first to overestimate the population of a city, then to include in the quota of that city the aliens, and then when the call is made, to exclude them from the quota; because in many manufacturing cities like my own city most of the American boys are called.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. MAGEE. The result being that the aliens are left at home, because they have not been included in the draft.

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. MAGEE. And they take the places of our boys who are sent abroad.

Mr. GORDON. For you have no lawful authority to force aliens into the military service. But that being so, would you include them, anyway?

Mr. MAGEE. That is what I think we ought to do, to give an expression of our opinion in accordance with the resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and place ourselves on record upon this subject. [Applause in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER. The people in the galleries are here as the guests of the House. It is against the rule for them to display their assent or dissent by applause or otherwise, and if there is any more of it the Chair will have the galleries cleared.

Mr. GORDON. The last question propounded here would seem to indicate that all this resolution is wanted for is just for home consumption. I look upon it as a more serious matter than that. When the Congress of the United States requests the President to enter into negotiations with a foreign nation, with a view to drafting aliens, of course those negotiations would include drafting American citizens in those countries. I take it that no American administration would have the impudence to ask a foreign Government to permit this Government to draft their citizens and subjects into our military service, without at the same time offering to allow our citizens to be conscripted into their military service.

Mr. ROBBINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. Does not the gentleman know that there are no more Americans over in Europe; or if there are any, this country has offered the money to pay their way home? And if they are there under those conditions, they ought to be forced into those armies if they do not come home?

Mr. GORDON. Forced into foreign armies?

Mr. ROBBINS. What protection are they entitled to? They are not native Americans?

Mr. GORDON. That is the gentleman's opinion. I do not agree with him. We have American citizens domiciled in various countries, representing business concerns in the United States. They are over there on business.

Mr. ROBBINS. Does the gentleman know of any such?

Mr. GORDON. Plenty of them. I do not know of a foreign nation, that has any civilization, in which there are no representatives of American business concerns.

Mr. ROBBINS. I am speaking only of those with whom we are at war.

Mr. GORDON. Well, nobody proposes to draft our enemies into the military service; no sane man would seriously consider doing that. You would not want to draft the nonnaturalized Germans into our service, would you?

Mr. ROBBINS. There are American citizens residing in Germany.

Mr. GORDON. One of the principal grievances of the civilized world against Germany is that they have conscripted Belgians for nonmilitary service. I do not want any conscripted aliens in our Army. Personally I do not want anybody but American citizens in the American Army, unless they come in voluntarily.

Gentlemen seem to think that the way to make an army is by machinery. It is all involved in the draft, which a good many gentlemen regret that they ever voted for. They think you can make an army out of aliens, even our alien enemies. Well, you would have a strange mixture of men fighting for this country if you did it. There has been a tremendous amount of misinformation disseminated through Congress on this subject. They say the aliens are here, and they ought to fight for the flag. What flag? An alien does not owe any allegiance to the American flag. An alien has no such obligation as a citizen of this country has.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. DALLINGER. Does the gentleman from Ohio think these men ought to enjoy the privileges of an American citizen, have all their protection at the expense of the public, and not take the responsibilities and burdens that go with it?

Mr. GORDON. That illustrates the very point I want to make. Of course, I do not believe that aliens should enjoy all the privileges of an American citizen, and, as a matter of fact, they do not enjoy any privileges peculiar to the citizenship of the United States.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. DALLINGER. Do not they enjoy every privilege except that of voting?

Mr. GORDON. No; they have no privilege of citizenship. Of course they pay taxes, and they are allowed to live here, but they can not sue in your courts on many questions.

Mr. DALLINGER. Oh, yes.

Mr. GORDON. Is that so? Mr. Speaker, there is unquestionably a very great need of instruction in this House before we legislate upon this subject. [Laughter.] Let me call your attention to the fact that the only way you can put aliens in the military service and keep them there is because they can only appeal to this Government through their own governments. They can not appeal as individuals because the Government will not recognize them, and in many cases the courts are closed to them.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman favor legislation authorizing or permitting a foreign nation, through their properly accredited military representative, to come over here and draft the aliens into the foreign army?

Mr. GORDON. Unquestionably. Although I voted against the draft law, the fact that we passed it would seem to me to justify or require such legislation. As a matter of fact, we have passed legislation along that line.

Mr. WALSH. It does not permit a draft, it permits recruiting.

Mr. GORDON. I do not know as I would allow them to be drafted.

Mr. WALSH. What is the gentleman's objection to drafting them?

Mr. GORDON. I will tell you. Some of them are not subject to draft at home. They come to this country and they are aliens. Now, are we going to authorize a draft of those aliens when they are here by our permission? An alien can only come into a foreign country by permission, and every alien is here by the express authority of this Government. Now, that would be a funny way to treat a guest, to undertake to conscript him into the military service when his own country does not do it.

Gentlemen forget the obligations that we owe to these people who are here. I do not believe that we have any moral right to drive these people back across the submarine zone and subject them to the risk and hazard of losing their lives.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is perfectly willing to have American citizens subjected to that danger of the submarine zone.

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. WALSH. He prefers that they should encounter the danger, while aliens shall stay here in peace and quietness.

Mr. GORDON. The gentleman is mistaken; there is no analogy between the two cases. Aliens in the United States are here by permission of this Government. We have an unquestioned legal right to expel them from the country, but we should exercise that right with due regard to the circumstances and conditions, exactly as we contended that the Russian Government should exercise it in reference to American citizens. You talk about aliens fighting our battles; why should aliens fight the battles of a country of which they are not citizens?

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. The gentleman speaks about the duty that we owe aliens. Does he think that we owe them any further or greater duty than we owe to our own people?

Mr. GORDON. We owe to them a different duty than we do to our own citizens.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Does the gentleman think we owe a duty to protect them more than we do our own citizens?

Mr. GORDON. No; we do not owe them so much.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. If they live in this country, should they not be subject to the same law of conscription as our own people?

Mr. GORDON. Certainly not, and for this reason: They are under no obligation to fight for the United States. A man who is not a citizen of this country is not under any legal obligations to take up arms in prosecuting its wars. There is no civilized country on the face of this earth that ever contended it could demand and require military service from the citizens of other countries.

The only reason for which I rose to discuss this bill, Mr. Speaker, is because I want to appeal to the membership of this House during the coming vacation to consider carefully the question that has been discussed here since this joint resolution has been under consideration.

A great many men have said hastily that of course aliens have the rights and privileges here and ought to be required to perform the same duties for the country that citizens do. That statement, when made by an intelligent person, of course is made without due consideration. Aliens are under no such obligations as citizens. We went to war with Great Britain in 1812 because she insisted upon conscripting in her navy former Englishmen. England based her contention upon the doctrine, once an Englishman always an Englishman, and that they could not expatriate themselves. That was the main reason for the War of 1812. If you will read the dispatches in the archives of the State Department upon this subject, you will find that such Secretaries of State as Thomas F. Bayard and James G. Blaine have thundered against the proposition that any foreign country could ever lay hands upon an American citizen and put him into their military service.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, your committee appointed to wait upon the President and inform him that the House was ready to adjourn, and ask him if he had any further communication to make, have, in company with a like committee on the part of the Senate, performed their duty. The President directs us to inform the House that he has no further communications to make.

THE WORK OF CONGRESS.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has given out a statement about the work of Congress at this session, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be read at this time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that a statement of the President about the work of Congress be now read. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.

OCTOBER 6, 1917.

The Sixty-fifth Congress, now adjourning, deserves the gratitude and appreciation of a people whose will and purpose I believe it has faithfully expressed. One can not examine the record of its action without being impressed by its completeness, its courage, and its full comprehension of a great task. The needs of the Army and the Navy have been met in a way that assures the effectiveness of American arms, and the war-making branch of the Government has been abundantly equipped with the powers that were necessary to make the action of the Nation effective.

I believe that it has also in equal degree, and as far as possible in the face of war, safeguarded the rights of the people and kept in mind the considerations of social justice so often obscured in the hasty readjustments of such a crisis.

It seems to me that the work of this remarkable session has not only been done thoroughly but that it has also been done with the utmost dispatch possible in the circumstances or consistent with a full consideration of the exceedingly critical matters dealt with. Best of all, it has left no doubt as to the spirit and determination of the country, but has affirmed them as loyally and as emphatically as our fine soldiers will affirm them on the firing line.

LIABILITY OF ALIENS TO MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS].

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, in the limited time given me I desire to call attention to the situation that exists in my own county of Westmoreland, Pa. There we have 26,940 men registered for military service under the selective-draft law, and of these 9,570 claimed the right to exemption upon the ground that they are aliens. More than 33 per cent of the population of my district, therefore, will escape military duty because they are foreign born and have not taken out naturalization papers; but an investigation by the sheriff and the exemption board showed that more than about 95 per cent of these men have been here the required length of time and could have taken out citizenship papers if they had so desired. That indicates that these men are living in our country, not, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] says, without the right to acquire and own property, but, on the contrary, they have every right that an American citizen has to own and acquire and sell property, and they are to-day standing on the streets when our men are marching off to war, and are smilingly saying that they are going to get the jobs of the young American men who are going to war. This is an outrage upon American citizens, and it is up to this Congress to pass some law to remedy that evil.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a bill introduced for consideration known as H. R. 5667, reported from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, entitled "A bill to provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes," one that is exceedingly important and should be considered and either enacted in the form it is presented by the House committee or else amended and passed.

It appears that this bill aims at an existing evil, which is exceedingly pressing throughout the country. Under the selective-draft law, which is entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," which was approved on the 18th of May, 1917, it is provided in section 3 as follows:

Third. To raise by draft as herein provided, organize, and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men, or such part or parts thereof as he may at any time deem necessary, and to provide the necessary officers, line and staff, etc.

And by section 2:

Such draft as herein provided shall be based upon liability to military service of all male citizens or male persons not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 30 years, both inclusive, and shall take place and be maintained under such regulations as the President may prescribe not inconsistent with the terms of this act. Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof, and credit shall be given to any State, Territory, District, or subdivision thereof for the number of men who were in the military service of the United States as members of the National Guard on April 1, 1917, or who have since said date entered the military service of the United States from any such State, Territory, District, or subdivision, either as members of the Regular Army or the National Guard.

Under this section of the bill unnaturalized residents of the United States are exempt from the selective draft, and while the quota of the number of soldiers to be furnished is based on the population, which includes aliens, yet when it comes to furnishing the actual soldiers, these aliens escape responsibility and the burden falls upon the native and naturalized Americans. That this process of selection and this method of assigning quotas to the several States and subdivisions thereof is unfair is apparent from an examination of the law; but a concrete statement from my own district, composed of the counties of Westmoreland and Butler, Pa., will demonstrate the unfairness of the application of the selective-draft law.

In the county of Westmoreland, Pa., there were registered on June 5, 1917, 26,940 men within the military age eligible to the selective draft, made up as follows:

White male citizens	16,789
Black male citizens	485
Total	17,274
White male aliens	9,570
Alien enemies	96
Total	9,666

Of these aliens 40 per cent are subjects of Austria, with whom we are not at war. Thus in my native county more than 35 per cent of the registered male citizens subject to military duty under the selective-draft law are exempt and the quota must be filled, not from 26,940, but from 17,274 men, which imposes a great burden on the native and naturalized Americans.

In Butler County there were 1,626 aliens within the military age not subject to draft. These aliens, most of them having resided in the United States the required length of time to become citizens, had they taken out their papers when they were first eligible to do so, would have been citizens of the United States, but the majority of them do not intend to take out naturalization papers. They believe by not becoming citizens, and not voting, that they escape the burdens of taxation, which they do, and they prefer that situation to the duties, obligations, and pleasures of citizenship.

That such conditions can not be tolerated and allowed to exist is very plain to every patriotic American citizen, and it is the duty of this Congress to remedy this unbearable situation.

This has resulted in great dissatisfaction among the Americans who have been drafted, all over the country, and it is only the belief that Congress will correct it that has kept down the feeling that is so strong against this inequality of the burdens imposed upon American citizens by the selective-draft law.

This resolution is entitled:

Joint resolution requesting the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with certain Governments with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States permitting the inclusion in the armed forces of the United States of such citizens of the countries of such Governments as are within the United States.

It is now asserted that it ought not to pass because the Secretary of State is negotiating with foreign countries to correct this situation. The bill above referred to was reported on the 4th of August, over two months ago, and so far as we are now advised, the State Department has made no noticeable progress toward solving this difficulty.

The objection that is made against this resolution is that it will interfere with treaty obligations, and that if we impress citizens of foreign nations with whom we are not at war and may even be our allies, into the military service of the United States, such nations might also impress our citizens residing within their territorial limits into their military service.

I think it should be admitted that the citizens of every country engaged in this war wherever they reside are entitled to take part in it and assume their fair share of its burdens. If they are not willing to fight under the American flag, they should be compelled to go back and fight in their own country and under their own flag, and alien enemies residing within the jurisdiction of the United States should be interned and compelled to earn their support in some civil employment, just as we seized the alien enemy ships of Germany when the United States declared war against Germany. This would be no hardship on the citizens of Italy, France, England, or Russia. They are our allies in this great war. They will be benefited by our winning this war, and they certainly should be compelled either to fight in the armies of the United States and commingle with our troops or be placed in separate regiments and commanded by separate officers of their own nationalities, over whom the American officers should exercise authority, or else they should be deported to their native country, to which they owe allegiance, so that such countries might impress them into the military service.

It is unfair to draft our own native American boys into the military service and to permit one-third of the men who are of the draft age and capable of rendering military service, and who reside within the United States, to escape by simply stating they are "not citizens." The effect of this has been to require two-thirds of the population to furnish the full quota of soldiers for the Army, and in some small communities every American has been taken and only foreigners remain. In other communities where a large per cent of the Americans have been taken the foreigners remain to fill their good positions and to enjoy the blessings of comfort and peace while the American boys fight the war.

This situation, created by the existing treaties, is intolerable. Mr. Speaker, the resolution only requests the Secretary of War to take up negotiations so that when we return here in December we can promptly pass a law, let us hope, in time for the next draft that will compel these "slacker aliens" to enter the armies of the United States and bear their full share of the burdens of this war.

A singular condition was disclosed by the various exemption boards throughout the country, who made examination into the facts, as to how many of these slacker foreigners are justly entitled to be exempted. That is, how many of them had been in the country long enough to become naturalized, if they had promptly applied to the courts for that purpose, and it has been disclosed that over 90 per cent have been here sufficient length of time. Therefore it is very apparent that these men are intentionally evading the duties of citizenship, and especially military service. I contend that no government is so impotent as to be required to permit this evil to be unchallenged and uncorrected.

The whole theory of the selective-draft law is that it will muster the entire strength of the Nation for military and industrial purposes; that the entire man power will be utilized for national defense between the ages of 21 and 31. But apply this law as it now stands and over one-third of the population escape all obligation, civil as well as military.

This situation has become acute, and has been accentuated and emphasized by the departure of the American boys for the training camps and permitting the foreigners to remain at home. The feeling is intensified, and it is only the belief that Congress will remedy this critical situation that has, in a measure, satisfied our people and lulled them into waiting for such congressional action.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it appears that the State Department has prevented the enactment of any law on this subject, and now opposition is raised to even the passage of this resolution, the purpose of which is only to strengthen the hands of the administration in taking up diplomatic negotiations to correct this evil; and we are compelled to go home to our constituents without having done anything and without any consolation to give them except the fact that the State Department is negotiating, or proposes to negotiate, as it presumably has been ever since war was declared, to correct this evil. For my part, I think this is unsatisfactory. I think this resolution should pass, and I think, further, that some law should have been enacted that would have permitted the United States to compel every alien resident of the United States, if a citizen of an ally country,

either to enter our armies or be deported, and every alien enemy to be either confined or compelled to enter some industrial pursuit where he would have been kept from plotting against or committing overt acts against the United States.

Mr. Speaker, it is unfair to permit foreigners to live in the United States, enjoy our free schools, acquire property, be employed and receive liberal wages, accumulate a competence, and yet escape all the obligations of government that are imposed upon our own citizens. Such conditions are simply intolerable.

International law does not require that any such burdens be imposed upon the United States, and we have a high authority to the effect that no such discrimination ought to be allowed in favor of aliens. I quote:

> Since compulsory military service to a foreign country can always be avoided by timely departure from it, there appears to be no reason why, in itself, it should necessarily form any exception to the general rule that a government may, if it chooses, require the same support, whether personal or pecuniary, of aliens whom it permits to reside within its borders, as it requires of its own citizens. Discrimination against aliens is doubtless contrary to the trend of modern civilization, but there is no foundation in international law for requiring discrimination in their favor. (American Society of International Law, vol. 5, p. 223.)

This seems to be a fair statement of international law and it is founded on principles of equity and justice. It certainly would be no hardship to enforce this proposition against the alien residents of the United States at this time. It would subject them to the same burdens and duties that are now imposed by law upon our own citizens. In fact, Mr. Speaker, these foreigners ought not to expect to remain in the country and escape military service and by their presence create dissatisfaction among the people at home and discontent in the ranks of our soldiers at the front. In fact, I think it is most conducive to dissatisfaction in the ranks of our soldier boys to have them march away with a crowd of alien slackers standing along the streets witnessing their going, then know that they will turn back and fill their places in the industrial life.

Congress certainly has power to legislate for the "general welfare," and this seems to have been one of the grounds upon which the Supreme Court rested its decision in the following case:

> The right to exclude or expel aliens, or any class of aliens, absolutely or upon certain conditions, in war or in peace, [is] an inherent and inalienable right of every sovereign and independent nation, essential to its safety, its independence, and its welfare. (Fong Yue Ting *v.* United States, 149 U. S., 698.)

During our Civil War foreigners fought in the armies of the United States with great distinction; in fact, whole regiments of German, Irish, and other nationalities were enlisted, and when the question was raised by the British Government their minister was instructed that—

> There is no rule or principle of international law which prohibits the Government of any country from requiring aliens resident within its territories to serve in the militia or police of the country or to contribute to the support of such establishment.

These authorities go directly to the point that we have a legal right to impress foreign alien residents within our territory into the military service. The principle goes even further, Mr. Speaker, because we certainly have a right to expel a foreigner whose conduct makes him an undesirable resident, and we can enforce that authority at all times and against all nations. The right has been unchallenged, and ought to be accepted as settled law applicable to this situation. One further citation of authority, Mr. Speaker, is sufficient to sustain the soundness of this contention:

> Treaties and declarations by which a Government stipulates for its citizens a right of sojourn, of acquiring real property, of carrying on an industry on foreign territory, ought not to be interpreted as involving a renunciation on the part of the other contracting power of its right to expel aliens whose conduct should make it desirable. (Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad, Borchard, p. 49.)

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to further cite legal authorities to establish the soundness of the position that the United States, under existing law, has a right to impress these foreigners into the military service or to deport them out of the country, but we can apparently well do neither. Hence, it is necessary for us to legislate to correct this evil and compel some action that will relieve this critical situation. This resolution merely proposes to aid the State Department in its diplomatic negotiations.

We have already granted the right to our allies to come into the United States and establish recruiting stations, and, if possible, induce citizens of their country residing within the territory of the United States, who are not citizens, to volunteer in the military service of such allies. England alone has established such stations, but few have volunteered. Therefore it is apparent that some legislation must be immediately enacted to correct this evil and catch the alien slackers.

Mr. Speaker, we have come to a time in this war when legislation on this subject is imperative.

The laws of our country should be amended so that aliens, upon entering the United States, should be required to declare their intention, whether they are coming here for the purpose of permanent citizenship or merely a temporary residence. If for temporary residence they should be required to register, indicating the time and purpose of their stay in the United States. If for permanent residence they should be required to make such declaration, to obtain a knowledge of the English language and of our form of government, and at the expiration of a year should be examined, and if they prove undesirable they should be deported; if not, at the end of two years they should be required to take out naturalization papers, and at the end of five years to become full citizens; but after one year, if their residence is to be permanent, they should be liable to military service, the payment of taxes, and the other burdens of government such as is imposed upon citizens residing within the limits of the United States. This would impose no hardship upon foreigners who come in good faith to become citizens of this great Republic.

Mr. Speaker, for those who desire to come here and become part of us we still have a most earnest welcome. Our institutions, our country, and all of the liberties of our great freedom is theirs, merely for the coming here and becoming citizens of our country. No burdens will be imposed upon them that are not already carried by the native born or the naturalized. Political liberty, religious freedom, unbounded opportunity is open to them and to their children. To all such this country ever will be a haven and a home; but to those who seek to avoid responsibility, to shirk the burdens of our country, light though they be, we can not extend the welcome hand.

Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress is closing. It is the most memorable one that ever assembled in the Capital City. Within the limits of its six months' life it has passed more laws fraught with importance, not only for the citizens of our country but for the world, than any previous Congress. I myself have voted for all the measures that the administration desired or asked for as essential in the prosecution of this great war. I have forgotten party politics. I have acted only from motives of patriotic impulse. I have stood always for that which I believed to be for my country's good. I endeavored to sustain the President and the administration in every policy deemed proper and necessary for the prosecution of this great war to a speedy and successful termination. Every law that would contribute to the comfort of our soldiers I supported most earnestly. I believe the American people are stirred by patriotic fervor by this war. They are willing to make any sacrifice necessary to win a complete victory. America is sending its soldier boys to the battle fields in Europe, because by so doing we are defending our rights and battling against our assailant—the German Kaiser and the military oligarchy that supports him. A victory for American arms means that hereafter and in the future American ships, under the American flag, can sail the high seas free from assassination by submarines, and that American lives will be secure on sea and on land.

Let us not adjourn without passing some law that will correct this yet uncorrected evil of the alien slacker in our midst.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] complains that persons do not understand socialism. Perhaps not; but who is there who can distinguish the 57 varieties of socialism? Why a Socialist should defend the I. W. W. is more than I can understand. It is not so many years ago that the Socialist Party was wellnigh disrupted by a fight in the national convention between the "reds" and the "yellows"—that is, between the direct actionists and the more peacefully inclined. But many Socialists continue to make the troubles of the I. W. W. their troubles. They continually bring up this case of Little, who was lynched in Butte, Mont., a while ago. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] has just referred to it, and has charged me with defending that crime. Now, Mr. Speaker, I neither defend nor approve lynching or mob law anywhere. But I have taken the floor to repeat some observations made by me at the time of that unfortunate act. I said then that responsibility for the lynching of Little could be charged to the Federal Government. I repeat it. The demise of that unfortunate, half mad, fanatical man was at the hands of infuriated citizens. Why? Because he stood on a soap box night after night in that city and denounced the soldiers of the United States. Called them scabs in uniform. Urged citizens to spit at the soldiers and belittle them. Why did he do that? Because he wanted to bring on a

riot. He wanted to create class hatred. He went the limit. Perhaps he wanted to be a martyr to the revolution he and his kind are engaged in fomenting—a revolution which is to be of "blood and iron," as certain radical Socialists tell you in their newspapers and speeches. Little was a member of the general executive board of the I. W. W. He was one of Haywood's right-hand men. He was not so mad that he did not know what he was doing. He was sane enough to know that if he was sufficiently vicious in his street speeches he could bring on a riot. He did bring on a riot. He was the victim. He was lynched.

And then his followers complained bitterly that one of their number had become a victim of riot and mob law. Mr. Speaker, invariably they claim the protection of the very laws they themselves are breaking. That is one of their ways of promoting class hatred and discord, and hoping to bring on the revolution of which they are always prating.

Now, who was to blame for the lynching of this man at Butte? The Federal Government itself. Simply because it did not act quickly enough in suppressing soap-box sedition in Butte and elsewhere.

The responsibility lies at the door of the Federal Government. Little had preached sedition from a soap box for weeks. He had said everything he could think of against the Government of the United States. Nightly he referred to those in military service as "Uncle Sam's scabs in uniform."

The officials stood around and listened to Little and wondered what they were going to do about it. They even wrote letters to the Department of Justice in Washington, asking for advice. Little's speeches were anarchistic, treasonable, and seditious. City and State authorities said that it was a matter for the Federal Government to handle, and the Federal Government passed it right back to the States and cities, saying, "Handle your own riots."

Mr. Speaker, you and I and all of us deplore lynch law. It is a blot upon civilization and is never invoked where constituted authority acts vigorously and swiftly. When such authority is lax the people are likely to take affairs in their own hands. This is proved by the Butte tragedy. Such action should never become necessary, but history tells us that it is done whenever constituted authority falters and indulges in correspondence instead of cutting all red tape and precedent and nipping impending trouble in the bud.

The point that I make is that interference by the strong arm of the law should never be delayed to the stage where either a citizen or a disturber loses his life. The law is all right and omnipotent. Only its execution is at fault. Since the lynching at Butte the Government has acted. The Department of Justice has shut down on treason, and on sedition, and on conspiracy, and on enemies of the Government, foreign and domestic. Thus we may hope the Butte occurrence will not be repeated at any place in the United States. The Post Office Department has, under the law, refused to circulate newspapers that preach damnable treason; that teach slimy sedition; that urge on those who would hurt this Government of ours. Who shall say that these departments are not acting for the best interests of this great Government? There can be but one answer.

Mr. Speaker, if seditious publications were permitted to continue there would be many other crimes such as the lynching of that man out at Butte. To have continued the circulation of such printed stuff as I have seen in the office of the Postmaster General, clipped by the yard from these red revolutionary newspapers, would have caused lynchings and mob law everywhere. Under the law which refuses mail privileges to such publications Postmaster General Burleson does not become a dictator; he becomes a magistrate. The law empowers him to act, and all who know that sterling American know that he will act with discretion but with firmness.

The man who was lynched in Butte could not have stood on a soap box in New York or Philadelphia, or here in the Capital City, night after night for three weeks, belittling and defiling our marching soldiers, without being lynched. True, he and his kind did that very thing in time of peace and received the plaudits of their misguided followers and no complaint was made by the authorities. But we were at peace then. Now we are at war. And every one of us has to give up many claimed rights for the general good of the whole Government.

Have we been generous as to free speech and a free press? Why, we have been generous beyond the danger point. Because of her abuse of the right of free speech Emma Goldman should have been deported. She is a revolutionist. Her lieutenant, Alexander Berkman, also. He is a revolutionist; and he is a Russian.

Why not send Berkman back to Russia and let him help his own countrymen settle their revolution? That might occupy him for the rest of his lifetime. It took France 82 years, or from 1789 to 1871, to permanently establish a stable government after the French had overthrown Louis XVI.

Revolutions do not end in a minute. The French beheaded Louis XVI in 1793. They established a directorate. It was as feeble as the Russian Government is now. Napoleon came to the front, established a consulate, absorbed that, and became First Consul. Then came the Empire, followed by its collapse, and the imprisonment of Napoleon at St. Helena. Then the Bourbons returned to power. In 1830 Louis Philippe was made king, not of France but of the French. He lasted until 1848—18 years—when the second Republic was established. That lasted three years, and then Louis Napoleon became Emperor, and he lasted 18 years. Then the Commune, followed by the third Republic, the latter permanent and successful, and now fighting to the death for its territorial rights.

So, my friends, those who preach revolution in this country had better give a little study to the matter, and they had better be citizens before they prescribe rules for us. And they had better postpone their attempts to put their theories into practice until we get through with the business at hand. Now, then, I do not assail socialists in general. Thousands of them, like Russell and Lunn, have come out strong for this Government just as it is in this crisis.

Treason is punishable by death. Only at the risk of his life should any person be permitted to say or do anything that imperils the success of our course in this war. Our boys who go to the front have a right to expect and demand loyalty behind them. Our country must not only ask it; our country must and does demand it.

I do not pick out the I. W. W. aggregation for particular assault, while others go scot free. The Federal Government has exposed the I. W. W. Its leaders have been jailed. Patriotic union-labor organizations of my section and all other sections have repudiated it. I do not find it advantageous to call every man who does not think as I think an I. W. W. No; I go further than that. I declare that every man who is not for the Government is against it. Minor differences must give way. The President must be given full military power. Undivided Americanism must show in every one of us. Save the country, and then we will settle our differences in a greater and freer America than we have ever dreamed of.

Oh, my friends, the time has come when the American people must be fully aroused to the vast proportions of the task they have undertaken in this war. We are not only fighting the greatest and most effective military organization ever gotten together in the history of the world, but we are constantly engaged in a struggle against an insidious and vicious German propaganda in our own country as well as in neutral countries friendly to us, the slimy tentacles of which extend down to the very foundation of the Government itself.

We must prepare ourselves not only to meet and defeat the enemy upon the field of battle, but we must meet and defeat him in the dark passageways of intrigue and espionage, where frequently, in the guise of a friend, he seeks to assassinate the patriotic impulses and sentiments of the people and to poison their minds against their own Government.

My friends, free speech must not be used as a mask for such as these, neither shall a free press become a poisoned arrow. Free speech remains to us—and always shall—but free sedition is marked for destruction. A free press remains, but the free right to preach treason is gone.

In spite of the startling revelations recently made by the State Department and the Department of Justice, few of us have a real conception of the vast scheme of plotting, conspiracy, and intrigue going on in the United States under various forms, many of them clumsily attempting to hide their cloven hoofs and foul purposes under the snowy plumage of the dove of peace.

Thus does the ravisher of Belgium make war and attempt to undermine the liberal governments of the world. This is Germany, whose vaulting ambition is not confined to the territory of the entente, but who has fixed its greedy and avaricious eyes upon the vast wealth and wonderful resources of this country, realizing, as it does, that the shadow of this giant Republic of the West is cast across its pathway only before complete world domination can be theirs.

And yet there are people in this country who sympathize with the cause of Germany, and many others who are lukewarm to the cause of the democracies opposed to her! Before war was declared there might have been some excuse for division among us. Patriotic citizens may have disagreed as to the wisdom of plunging the United States into the mighty maelstrom of the European struggle. But now that war has been formally declared by our Government there is no place for the patriot except squarely under the flag of his country and behind its Com-

mander in Chief in the supreme struggle before us. If he occupies any other place, if he raises his voice in any other cause, he is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, which is treason to your country and my country—the United States of America!

We must be one for all and all for one, and we shall see in the end the grand old Stars and Stripes triumphantly planted upon the heights of victory, there to stand as freedom's beacon light forever. [Applause.]

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the same period of time to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILSON].

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS].

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I have a communication from one of the district members of one of the exemption boards of Ohio stating that under the present working of the conscription law there will scarcely be a single American citizen left subject to the draft in certain districts in Ohio, and all that will be left will be aliens not subject to the operations of this law, and that the palpable injustice of such operation is producing a bad state of mind. He asks that something be done to relieve the bitterness that that situation is creating. I wrote him that the only thing I saw in the way was the diplomatic situation, and that this resolution was introduced to relieve that. I have letters of similar tenor from members of the local boards. There is a widespread dissatisfaction over the operations of the law in this regard. I hope that this resolution will pass.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman from Ohio is a well-informed man, and he understands that the Secretary of State is now doing, and has been for some time doing, the very thing that this resolution requests him to do, does he not?

Mr. FESS. I understand that he is making an effort to that end.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the gentleman will permit, I do not think it is fair to the Government, to the Secretary of State, to let the impression go by that there is nothing being done. The Secretary of State is now doing the very thing, and has been for some time, that this resolution requests him to do.

Mr. FESS. This resolution can not interfere with the Secretary of State, but will be of some advantage to him, it seems to me, in the expending of it. The gentleman knows I would not vote to embarrass the State Department in any of its problems, but I am sure this resolution will help rather than hinder the work of the department.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ROGERS. I yield a quarter of a minute to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SHOUSE].

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROGERS. And the same period of time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MAGEE].

Mr. MAGEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has eight minutes remaining.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to make another speech; but for the possible benefit of some Members who have come in since this debate began, I want to call attention to just one thing, and that is that there is no opposition to this proposal at all except from the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON]——

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. ROGERS. I do not yield.

Mr. GORDON. Well, the gentleman will let me correct him?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not yield.

Mr. ROGERS (continuing). Except from the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON], who is wholly out of sympathy with the idea of including in our Army a single alien, who is wholly out of sympathy with my insistence that these aliens must be required to do something in return for the privileges of American residence. Gentlemen, that is the crux of this resolution—whether you believe in requiring the aliens within the United States to do their duty to the United States or whether you are content to let them step in and take the jobs left vacant by the American boys who are on their way across the sea and into the trenches of Europe.

Mr. GORDON rose.

Mr. ROGERS. I do not yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not. The only way by which we can show our opinion upon that point is by passing this resolution. This resolution has been unanimously approved by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It has in its terms been approved by the President of the United States; it has in its terms been approved by the Secretary of State of the United States; it has in its terms been approved by the Acting Secretary of State of the United States, and it can not, I submit, be objected to by any reasonable man. It puts the Congress of the United States and the House of Representatives in the position of taking an interest in this alien-slacker problem, which is one of the most vital questions before the United States to-day. It does not commit the United States in any way whatever. It calls upon the Secretary of State to report back to the American Congress the results of his deliberations. It strengthens his hands in his negotiations and it tells the people of America that we are not satisfied to have conditions continue as they have been continuing, to have the aliens profit at the expense of our American boys. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the resolution.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER. In the judgment of the Chair, two-thirds having voted in favor thereof——

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, it is now within 15 minutes of the hour fixed by the joint resolution for the moment of adjournment. It is evident from the situation that a quorum of the House is lacking——

SEVERAL MEMBERS. No!

Mr. ROGERS. A roll call being necessary and the time being inadequate for calling the roll, and my preference, and I am sure that of the House, being that we should not be in the midst of a roll call when the hour of 3 arrives, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings on this bill up to the present time be vacated.

The SPEAKER. Withdraw the joint resolution; that is the easiest way.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the joint resolution.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio withdraws the point of no quorum.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take a recess until two minutes of 3 o'clock p. m.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article on the "Constitution of a World Court," by A. S. Hough, of Jacksonville, Fla.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the article referred to. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] asks unanimous consent that the House take a recess until two minutes before 3 o'clock.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the soil-products exposition.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the question of soil products. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the legislation of this session.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the legislation of this session. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of soldier mail.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of soldier mail. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SLEMP] has informed me that he wants the privilege of extension of his remarks on the revenue bill. He was called out of the city and could not get back here.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SLEMP] be permitted to extend his remarks on the revenue bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the work of this extra session.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the work of this extra session. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the work of the session.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the work of the session. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota makes the same request. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado also makes the same request. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President announced approval of the following bills and joint resolutions:

On October 5, 1917:

H. R. 5839. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota.

On October 6, 1917:

H. R. 5949. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4232. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia;

H. R. 5082. An act providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States;

H. R. 5647. An act to provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service;

H. R. 6094. An act amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.;

H. R. 6175. An act giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act of August 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska;

H. R. 6306. An act to provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty;

H. R. 6310. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio;

H. R. 6350. An act to authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of staff corps and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps Officers;

H. R. 6362. An act to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy;

H. R. 6363. An act to provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts;

H. R. 4960. An act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3932. An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4897. An act to provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain, and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5646. An act to amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

H. R. 5648. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5723. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5918. An act to authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry, and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency, such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate; and

H. J. Res. 162. Joint resolution authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.

RECESS.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] asks that the House stand in recess until 2 minutes of 3 o'clock. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 2 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 2 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.

The SPEAKER. We have two clocks here, and neither one of them is right. [Laughter.] I go by my watch.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I congratulate you on the ending of the most important session of Congress in the history of the Republic. The amount of business that we have transacted is absolutely amazing and stupendous. I think every Member of this House has contributed all that was in him to the support of the Government of the United States in this great emergency. [Applause.] So far as I have been able to observe—and I have observed very closely—partisan politics has been temporarily banished from this House. [Applause.]

I think every man has given the utmost of patriotism to his service here. I doubt very much whether any other Congress from now until the day of judgment will ever vote as much money in one session as we have voted; I hope not. [Laughter.] Every dollar that the departments have asked, or the President has made it appear they needed, they have got, and the Sixty-fifth Congress has deserved well of the country.

This House has been very fortunate in one thing, and that is the general good health of the Members and the very few deaths that have occurred. I served in one House when we had only 359 Members and lost 17 Members, and 3 of them were dead in the city at the same time. We ought to thank God for His blessings in that regard.

And now, the hour of 3 o'clock having arrived, at which time we were to adjourn, I adjourn this House, in this the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, sine die, with the hope that God will have us all in His holy keeping during the recess. [Applause.]

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a letter in reference to the meeting of the International Parliamentary Conference of Commerce to be held in Rome, Italy, October 11 to 14, 1917 (H. Doc. No. 377); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a copy of a dispatch from the American chargé d'affaires at Tokyo, Japan, together with copies of the inclosures therewith, reporting that on October 18, 1917, a party of five members of the lower house of the Japanese Diet would sail from Yokohama for the United States for the purpose of studying political, social, and economic conditions in the United States (H. Doc. No. 378); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 3135) to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Ariz.," reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 199), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. HASTINGS, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 906) making an appropriation to Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford in payment of legal services rendered by them to the Creek Nation, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 200), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 6489) to renew and extend certain letters patent; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BANKHEAD: A bill (H. R. 6490) to require the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 6491) to amend section 2 of part B of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916," approved August 11, 1916; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FLOOD: A bill (H. R. 6492) authorizing the President to reinstate John A. Harman as assistant paymaster in the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 6493) authorizing and empowering the President of the United States to fix prices of commodities and of articles required for their production and to regulate and control the production, sale, and disposition thereof; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HULL of Tennessee: Joint resolution (H. Res. 163) amending section 201 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1917; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROGERS: Resolution (H. Res. 173) requesting the President of the United States to use his good offices to prevent the shipment of the George Grey Barnard statue of Abraham Lincoln to London, England; to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOREMUS: A bill (H. R. 6494) granting an increase of pension to Bernard Magoonaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6495) granting a pension to John Zanger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 6496) granting an increase of pension to James N. Dennis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 6497) granting an increase of pension to Mary Lenz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 6498) granting an increase of pension to Butler George; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6499) granting a pension to Mary C. Kelsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6500) granting a pension to Rose L. LaValley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 6501) granting a pension to Estefano A. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Miss RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 6502) granting a pension to John F. Smoot; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6503) granting a pension to Mary A. Walter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6504) granting a pension to Lizzie M. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6505) granting a pension to Lucinda Harrington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6506) granting a pension to Alice J. Farmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of New York: A bill (H. R. 6507) granting an increase of pension to Charles Hammelman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNOOK: A bill (H. R. 6508) granting a pension to Canada D. Hicks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6509) granting a pension to Percival C. Bishop; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6510) granting a pension to Francis Marion Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 6511) granting an increase of pension to David Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of 30 citizens of Detroit, Mich., signed by Rollin H. Stevens, secretary, favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: Petition of Hero Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of McKeesport, Pa., favoring further restriction of immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Turtle Creek Council, Fraternal Patriotic Americans, favoring Senate joint resolution 84; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition from the Upholsterers and Trimmers' Union, Local No. 101, of Baltimore, Md., protesting against the proposed prohibition amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: Petition from 33 women from the first congressional district of Rhode Island, asking for the immediate submission of the Federal suffrage amendment to the several States of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of nine men from the first congressional district of the State of Rhode Island, asking for the immediate submission of the Federal suffrage amendment to the several States of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

APPENDIX.

Congressional Record.

APPENDIX.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the action of Congress to-day, when written into the history of this country, will constitute the most momentous page of the annals of the United States of America since that memorable Fourth of July in 1776, when the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia announced the birth of the Nation.

Unborn generations of the children of men will feel the effect of what we do here to-day, and it is because of my firm belief that the action now proposed will be wholly evil in its effect on those future generations as well as disastrous to the welfare of our country to-day that I am compelled to vote against the measure declaring war.

It is a source of profound regret for me in a crisis like this to dissent from the views of the majority; it is still more a matter of regret for me to voice my disapproval of the attitude of the administration, but it is my solemn duty to do both.

The call to "stand by the President" may be a clarion call to many, but a higher, more potent voice tells me to "stand by the people."

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress my actions have been guided by three motives—the dictates of my conscience, my love for my country, and the wishes of my constituents. Sometimes one of these motives has been the strongest, but in the present instance the dictates of my conscience, my love for my country, and the wishes of my constituents, expressed in thousands of letters, telegrams, and petitions all impel me to vote, work, and speak insistently against this proposal to drag our country into the maelstrom of this ghastly world war.

I am comforted with the thought that in other periods of stress in this country greater men and better men than I have refused to "stand by the President," and that there is ample warrant for the exercise of independent opinion may be shown in the following extracts from the speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Corwin.

Abraham Lincoln refused to stand by his President. Even after war had been declared and our soldiers were fighting in Mexico he said of President Polk, speaking as a Congressman, on January 12, 1848.

I more than suspect that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him. That originally having some strong motive to involve the two countries in war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood; that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it and has swept on and on till he now finds himself he knows not where.

Thomas Corwin, foremost among all the illustrious sons of Ohio, orator, lawyer, Congressman, Senator, governor, ambassador, and Cabinet member, like Abraham Lincoln did not believe he should "stand by the President" save when he thought the President was right. In the very midst of the Mexican War, in one of the most notable speeches of all time, the great Ohioan denounced President James K. Polk. And to-day the verdict of history is that Corwin was right and patriotic, and Americans are ashamed of the unholy war Polk got the country into.

In his speech of February 11, 1847, Corwin said:

If it be my duty to grant whatever the President demands, for what am I here? Have I no will upon the subject? Is it not placed at my discretion, understanding, judgment? Have an American Senate and House of Representatives nothing to do but obey the bidding of the President? With these doctrines for our guide, tell me, tell the American people, what is the difference between your American democracy and the most odious, most hateful despotism, that a merciful God has ever allowed a nation to be afflicted with?

We are asked to go into the war in the sacred name of liberty. I am impelled to recall the famous sentence of Madame Roland at the foot of the guillotine in the bloody days of the French Revolution when she said, "O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

For, Mr. Chairman, I assert with the most absolute conviction that not a single nation involved in the war in Europe is to-day fighting in the cause of liberty. Great Britain is fighting to keep control of the seas and Germany is disputing that control. France is fighting to regain Alsace and Lorraine. Russia is fighting to gain Constantinople and the control of the Balkan States, and the smaller nations are in the fight to get what crumbs may fall their way, and back of all is the probability that the dynasties of Europe, feeling their thrones shaking, were not unwilling to head off the coming triumph of democracy by giving the common people this bloody work to keep them busy.

The arrant nonsense that England is fighting in the cause is so ridiculous that it hardly requires an answer; but, in all seriousness, I would like any student of history to mention a single instance in history where the English Government ever fought for liberty. Was she fighting for anyone's liberty in Dublin during Easter week a year ago? Is she fighting for liberty in Greece to-day? Was she fighting for liberty when she strangled the Boers?

No, a thousand times no! Mr. Speaker, America's place is not on the bloody battle fields of Europe to-day. Our duty is to keep the sacred fires of liberty burning here. When the war is over we will have our work to do in helping the cause of democracy throughout the world, and we will be able to do it with a better grace if we keep out of entangling alliances with any foreign nation. Let me quote here a letter from George Washington to Patrick Henry:

[From a letter to Patrick Henry, dated from Mount Vernon, Oct. 9, 1795. See Ford, "Writings of Washington," Vol. XIII.]

My ardent desire is and my aim has been (as far as dependent upon the executive department) to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, but to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home, and not by becoming partisans of Great Britain or France create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

In connection with this subject I can not do better than insert the following extract from an editorial in the New York American, one big newspaper, at least, that is not controlled by the Tory propagandists:

Europe is a seething volcano, which may explode at any time and which surely will explode in the near future. Europe's thrones and Europe's Governments and Europe's ruling classes and Europe's institutions are all rocking on to their fall.

A series of rapid revolutions is sure to change the whole face of political and social Europe, and within a year or two—it may be within two or three months; no man can tell—Europe will see only everywhere victorious democracies, which have cast out their Governments and their old institutions of government.

If we enter this war now as the champion of existing Governments, we can only delay the triumphs of democracy.

Instead of being the one Nation to which all the new democracies will turn their eyes for counsel and help, we will simply be in thier eyes the discredited ally of the Governments and the military and social castes they have violently flung away from them.

Senators and Representatives, it does seem almost madness to entangle our great democracy in alliances with Europe's Governments at the very time when it is apparent to every foreseeing and thoughtful man that Europe's peoples are about to destroy and to cast out these same Governments.

We do most earnestly believe that our true policy now is to keep clear of any alliance, to keep clear of entanglement in Europe's warfare, and simply to maintain an attitude of armed neutrality until Europe's inevitable revolutions have done their sudden work and the new democratic Europe, with which we can negotiate the peace of the world quickly and certainly, has emerged from this deluge of blood and agony.

Senators and Representatives, let us arm our merchant ships, let us provide for them the convoy and defense of our Navy, let us arm our whole Nation for its own defense, and there let us stop and rest on our arms and wait during the few months that will inevitably see the war destroy itself if we remain aloof and refuse to inject new vigor into its wasted fires and energies.

It seems to us, Senators and Representatives, almost madness to entangle our Nation in the alliances and wars of governments that are so insecure and that appear to be so near their doom and their extinction.

It seems to us that the voices of self-interest and of duty to ourselves and to the whole world unite to counsel caution and contentment with the defense of our ships and a complete aloofness from Europe's fast-dying struggle, to the end that whether that struggle concludes in exhaustion or in a frightful explosion of revolutionary forces, we may then be free from any entanglements, free to use our huge wealth and resources, not in adding to the universal wreck and horror but in succoring the miserable and wretched millions, and so crown our Nation with the gratitude of mankind and win the acclamations of the ages to come.

Senators and Representatives, we have tried to speak soberly, decently, straightforwardly, without passion and without malice, with charity toward all; and most certainly we have spoken with a deep sense of devotion to the land of our birth and of our fathers' birth, and with a profound sense of the gravity of this hour and of the dangers and perils that beset the Nation.

May that Providence which has so long guided us and our fathers in ways of righteousness and justice and peace strengthen your hearts and give you wisdom and courage to exercise your great authority for the welfare of mankind and the happiness and security of your people.

God keep and defend the Republic, and give all of us this day wisdom to see the right and to do the right.

I wish also to insert here a "plea for the clarification of the issues," which is an illuminating document:

PLEA FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE ISSUES.

AN OPEN LETTER.

NEW YORK, *March 23, 1917.*

To the PRESIDENT:

We earnestly press upon you that when Congress convenes you lead and clarify public opinion, now not only confused, but intentionally misled and in conflicting directions.

We urge that you analyze the international situation for the benefit both of Congress and of the public at large, expressing the national desire to keep alive international law, and to make effective protest against ruthlessness and lawlessness.

We beg you to set forth the significance of the conflicting policies publicly urged upon Congress, that in making decision it may clear its purposes to itself and to the public. For instance, if war should come, what of the following questions: Should the United States form an alliance, informal or formal, with the entente allies, or enter the war without any understanding with them, or how should it proceed? Should this country enter the war to establish the right of neutrals to defend by force of arms their commerce with belligerents? Should this country enter the war for the purpose of underwriting foreign bonds, as is now urged by officers of the Federal reserve bank? What, precisely and clearly, is the purpose of war, if war comes, and on what terms would we consent at any time to a settlement?

We recall that last summer, when millions of your fellow citizens could see no outcome of the Mexican crisis except war on Mexico—on the innocent and the guilty alike—you announced that that was the long way and the wrong way to settle international issues, making mere might the basis of settlements, arousing hatreds, and leading the citizens of the nation against which war is declared to feel it an imperative patriotic duty to defend their fatherland.

We believe that the same principles hold good in the present crisis, and we look to you in earnest hope for their realization.

—

JOINT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AND CONCILIATION.

In view of the fact that the great contribution which the United States can make to civilization during the present war is the championship of neutral rights and the advocacy of an international organization of guarantees of future peace, a policy in accordance with the best American ideals and the prime achievements of American diplomacy, including those of the administrations of Presidents Washington, John Adams, Lincoln, and Wilson, we respectfully urge upon the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States of America the steadfast adherence to that policy.

In pursuance of this policy we urge the President to offer to appoint two joint high commissions of inquiry and conciliation with Great Britain and Germany, respectively, for the purpose of agreeing at least upon a modus vivendi, perhaps upon the basis of the declaration of London, until the end of the present war, which shall conserve neutral rights.

The essence of neutrality is impartiality—an impartial assertion of neutral rights and an impartial observance of neutral duties. The joint commissions of inquiry and conciliation are a legal, American, and preeminently successful means of maintaining our neutrality.

MEDIATION.

The United States agreed with other nations at The Hague that it could never be deemed an unfriendly act for a nation to offer mediation either before or during a war. In accordance with this convention the United States has itself proffered its good offices to the belligerents during the present conflict.

The rumor now comes that a neutral nation is offering mediation in the issue between the United States and Germany, and that the United States Government is contemplating the summary refusal of the tender.

We submit that such a refusal on the part of the United States would be inconsistent with principles for which this country has stood. Should an offer of mediation be tendered, therefore, we urge that it be accepted.

CONFERENCE OF NEUTRALS.

The United States has, through its President, attempted to stand as a representative of international rights. Individually it has suffered no greater infringement of its rights than several other neutrals, yet it has already resorted to more drastic measures than any nonbelligerent by breaking off relations and arming its ships. Before it takes any further step, either in defending its prestige or in assuming to establish international law and represent neutral nations, it should call a conference of neutrals to clarify and, if possible, unify the neutral attitude toward the illegal methods of all belligerents.

CONSEQUENCES OF ENTERING THE WAR.

Statistics show clearly that to send a considerable army to Europe would involve such a drain on our food resources as to plunge us into the famine conditions of Europe. The popular idea that war producing an embargo on the exportation of foodstuffs would lower prices here is the precise contrary of the real result to be expected. The idea that war would bring any real prosperity to the country at large is a cruel illusion, even though doubtless some individuals or industrial groups might profit for a time.

If, on the other hand, the United States should adopt the suggestion of certain financial leaders and use money only, not armies, we should find ourselves as a nation merely an appendage to the financial system of London and New York City, there being already bonds, sold and unsold, covering thousands of millions of dollars awaiting indorsement by the Government of the United States.

A member of the Federal Reserve Board is quoted as saying: "As banker and creditor, the United States would have a place at the peace conference table, and be in a much better position to resist any proposed repudiation of debts, for it might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated." We believe that to make war for the purpose thus expressed would be a betrayal of every noble tradition of American democracy. It would make of the Republic a sort of assistant sheriff for the collection of bad debts of peoples bankrupted by war.

To undertake to protect by force any part of the European war debt involves the protection of the entire debt and tends to encourage war for the extension of loans. It is not or will not be the mere matter of the two and a half billions of loans already made in Europe by American financiers, nor the further billions contemplated for that purpose, but the seventy-five to one hundred billions of which they would be a part, most or all of which would have to be protected, if any of it be protected. Thus the control of the world would be put into the hands of the unseen empire of finance.

REFERENDUM.

We hold:

First. That the vesting in Congress of the sole power to declare war should not in any way be rendered formal or illusory.

Second. That there should be no declaration of the existence of a state of war without a vote of Congress to that effect.

Third. That Congress should neither declare war, nor declare the existence of a state of war, without considering the result of a previous advisory popular referendum.

For the commission:

DAVID STARR JORDAN, *Chairman.*
LOUIS P. LOCHNER, *Secretary.*

And now, Mr. Speaker, one last word. We have all heard a great deal during the war about the military junkers who forced this war upon unwilling plain people abroad, and I think we have lost sight of the fact that right here at home we have a worse class. Perhaps the military junkers in Europe had something to do with forcing the people into war, but at least they are brave enough to do some of the fighting themselves. We have our junkers here, and they are doing their best to push our plain people into the war and they will stay far enough from the firing line when the tussle comes, for they are monetary junkers, with the dollar mark on their breast; the munition mongers, the kept editors, the subsidized professors, the whole hireling crew who have been inflaming the minds of the people so that their pockets may bulge still more with the earnings of blood. At their behest we are told that we shall use all of our resources to aid one set of belligerents. In plain words, this country is to indorse the notes of bankrupt nations and assume the bloody debts of nations on the verge of insolvency. And into whose pockets will the plunder go and who will pay the bills? The answer is easy. The Powder Trust, the Armor Plate Trust, the munition makers, and all of the other unscrupulous gang of corporate grafters that have been robbing the people for years now scent possibilities of graft that stagger the imagination. And the same people will pay the bills.

The mechanic, the farmer, the small tradesman, the laborer will do the fighting, do the bleeding and dying, and then pay the bills.

The poor man's wife will bear men children, work in a factory to support them, and then give them to the money junkers to send to slaughter while she keeps on working in the factory to pay the bills.

In the name of the common people of America, I enter my solemn protest. In the name of the mothers of fighting men I insist that the men who call the tune shall pay for the music. I have introduced a resolution which I shall append to my remarks, and if we are to assume the debts of bankrupt nations let those who profit by the malodorous transaction foot the bill. If you are going to conscript the young manhood of America to fight in the trenches beside the minions of foreign kings, then let us conscript the ill-gotten wealth of the war-breeding gunmen of finance and save at least our children and children's children from a burden they do not deserve to bear.

APRIL 4, 1917.

The following estimate was arrived at from figures given in the Financial Chronicle and from statements recently made by Mr. L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware & Hudson Co. and by the National City Bank of New York.

Debts which must have been contracted by Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates in order to finance the purchases of their European customers since the beginning of the war:

Visible merchandise balance in favor of the United States from July 1, 1914, until Feb. 28, 1917		$5,700,000,000
Paid for by—		
Net gold imports	$950,000,000	
Repurchase of American securities held abroad	1,550,000,000	
Buying of foreign issues	2,400,000,000	
		4,900,000,000
Leaving still to be settled		800,000,000

three-fourths of which about represent the unpaid for balance of the war business handled through Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates, necessitating private debts of $600,000,000, which the American people are now being asked to assume. In addition, there may be in the hands of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates considerable amounts of unplaced foreign loans—possibly more than $400,000,000—forcing on them the contraction of still further debts, which it is also now proposed to liquidate with the money of the people.

Should not those who contracted these huge debts—$1,000,000,000 or more—carry their burden rather than the small taxpayer?

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 37) to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war.

Resolved, etc., That the following measures be taken to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war:

First. A graduated income tax levied by Congress upon all annual incomes above $5,000, which shall amount to conscription of all incomes in excess of $100,000 a year.

Second. Immediate conscription by the Government of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and their operation by the Government for public service without private profit.

Third. Immediate conscription by the Government of all natural resources, including mines and oil wells, and their operation under the Bureau of Mines without profit.

Fourth. The Government shall deal with the workers in any conscripted industry through the organizations formed by the workers, with due safeguards for the rights of unorganized workers. This will protect both the Government and the workers.

Fifth. Immediate conscription and operation by the Government of all food-storage warehouses for the service of the American people, and the passing of a law making speculation in food supplies an act of treason under the Articles of War.

Joint Resolution Relating to Federal and State Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK L. GREENE,

OF VERMONT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 3, 1917.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a joint resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, relating to Federal and State taxation of incomes and inheritances.

The joint resolution is as follows:

Joint resolution relating to Federal and State taxation of incomes and inheritances.

Whereas the Federal Government is encroaching more and more upon the sources of revenue heretofore reserved for purposes of State taxation; and

Whereas this encroachmert is felt particularly in the case of income and inheritance taxes, both of which forms of taxes are in danger of being dried up as sources of State revenue; and

Whereas in both these fields of taxation there exists a line which separates the taxable units that equitably and logically may be left solely to State taxation from the units logically belonging to the broader Federal jurisdiction; and

Whereas the establishment of some reasonable line of division, giving to the States sole taxing authority below such line, and to the Federal Government sole taxing authority above such line, would cure much of the trouble existing because of conflict of jurisdiction between States; would relieve the tension between Federal and State governments; would result in great economy in the administration of the tax; and would relieve the growing dissatisfaction on the part of the taxpayer resulting from irritating and expensive duplication of accounts and reports and double taxation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, That we respectfully urge action by the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several States to the effect that the Federal income and inheritance tax law be amended so that upon acceptance and compliance by the different States, the Federal tax will be withdrawn upon incomes and estates which reasonably and logically should be reserved for purposes of State revenue; and be it further

Resolved, That concerted and uniform action on the part of the States is of such vital importance that we recommend the holding of a congress of the States to consider the subject of Federal encroachment upon State sources of revenue, with the object of adopting and urging upon the Congress of the United States a definite policy in the segregation of State and Federal revenue; and be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the State be authorized to appoint one or more delegates to represent Vermont at such conference; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forthwith transmitted by the secretary of the senate to the President of the Senate of the United States and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, a copy hereof to each Member of Congress from the State of Vermont, and a copy to the president of the senate and to the speaker of the house of representatives of each of the State legislatures in session at this time.

ROGER W. HULBURD,
President of the Senate.
STANLEY C. WILSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved March 23, 1917.

HORACE F. GRAHAM, *Governor.*

Resolution Indorsing Universal Obligatory Military and Naval Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY,

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island.

The resolution is as follows:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, ETC.,
IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
JANUARY SESSION, A. D. 1917.

Resolution indorsing universal obligatory military and naval training.

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island hereby declares that it is in favor of universal obligatory military and naval training under the directions of the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, directed to send a certified copy of this resolution to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State in the Congress of the United States.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
PROVIDENCE.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original resolution approved by his excellency the governor on the 28th day of March, in the year 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Rhode Island this 31st day of March, in the year 1917.

[SEAL.]

J. FRED PARKER,
Secretary of State.

Resistance to the War Waged Upon Us by the Imperial German Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I herewith incorporate a resolution adopted by the city of Newnan, Ga., in the district I have the honor to represent. I have many similar communications from the district, and all burn with patriotic fervor, while deeply regretting that the German Kaiser has seen proper to make war upon us. I take pride in the fact that not one anti-American nor treasonable communication has reached me from that district. They all recognize the truth and patriotically face the inevitable. They all are as heartily determined in their conviction that this Government should take such steps as will make the Imperial German Government as sorry for having perpetrated aggressions upon us as we are that such aggressions compel us to defend our country and our rights.

The Senate joint resolution contains two essential propositions. One is the statement of an obvious fact—that war exists by the unprovoked aggressions of the Imperial German Government. The other part is the determination to end that state of war as soon as possible. When a man knocks you down and stamps you you do not take time to debate whether or not you will have a fight with him. You either fight or run immediately, if you are able to do either. Under the repeated and barbarous assaults of the Imperial German Government the alternative is

presented to us as to whether we shall run or resist. We are able to resist with success and honor. If we tried to run, we would be disgraced and disappear from the face of the earth. The American people agree with our President that we will not choose the path of submission and run.

The only way to end this aggression and end the war is to fight; and if we are to fight, it would be unwise to place any limitations on the methods or extent of our fighting. We must fight so as to end the war and make the Imperial German Government suffer for its aggressions and refrain for all time to come from repeating them. The way to fight, as I understand it, is to fight just as hard as we can and everywhere it is necessary to fight, and that is what we will do. If we can not end their barbarities otherwise, the sons of the wearers of the blue and the gray will repeat the exploits of Gettysburg and Chickamauga and other fields of glory and go through the German lines with bayonets.

We know that in war some must be killed; but American skill and courage will reduce the mortality as much as possible and end the war as quickly as possible by fighting to win.

The cry that the President was elected on the platform that "He kept us out of war" is unfair and misleading. It is true he kept us out of war for two years by the most masterly diplomacy known to mankind, and he would have continued to keep us out of war but for the fact that desperation and barbarity inspired duplicity and made it impossible to carry on diplomacy with the Imperial German Government, a Government whose word is worthless and who, because of deceit and infamy, can not carry on a diplomatic negotiation with us; and the President, after repeated and futile efforts to persuade the Imperial German Government to a course of truth and honor, severed diplomatic relations with that faithless dynasty.

As much as our people regret the existence of the war, it would be foolish and suicidal not to recognize the fact that the Hohenzollern government is now and has been for some time waging ruthless and relentless war upon us. American valor and American skill will make the Hohenzollern rue their barbarous assaults upon our prosperity, peace, safety, and honor.

NEWNAN, GA., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. W. C. ADAMSON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE: Inclosed you will find copy of resolution passed by the honorable mayor and aldermen of the city of Newnan at their last meeting, held Monday, April 2.

Very respectfully, J. P. SHACKELFORD,
City Clerk.

Whereas Congress has been convened in extra session to consider measures of national defense against the unlawful and reprehensible aggressions of the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas the efforts of the United States of America to persuade said Government to respect the rights of the Nation and people of said United States have failed; and

Whereas the rights of the Nation and people of said United States can only be protected and maintained by armed intervention:

Resolved by the mayor and aldermen of the city of Newnan in regular session assembled, That Congress be, and is hereby, urged to take immediate action to protect the rights of the Nation and people of said United States against said aggressions.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our Representative in Congress, Hon. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON, a copy be furnished the Newnan Herald, and be spread upon the minutes of this body.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EZEKIEL S. CANDLER,
OF MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I submit the following telegram received by me to-day:

COLUMBUS, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. E. S. CANDLER,
Care Congress, Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted by the people of Columbus and Lowndes County, in mass meeting assembled, introduced by E. R. Sherman.

Resolved, That we, the citizenry of Columbus and Lowndes County, Miss., in mass meeting assembled, feeling that we have endured the flaunts, aggressions, and murderous attacks of Germany long enough, do proclaim that we whole-heartedly and without reservation indorse the President in his appeal to Congress for a declaration of war; that we urge and demand the Congress to take affirmative and unanimous action on that declaration at once; that we hold inviolate and sacred the honor of our country above every other earthly consideration, excepting along the sanctity of the home; and we herewith severally and collectively pledge ourselves to respond according herewith to our ability to any call that our country in this hour of its need may make; that we urge an active, aggressive, and ceaseless warfare by land and sea, in the air above, and in the waters beneath until the last stronghold of militaristic autocracy shall have been put down and in its stead there be established through all the world, in the words of the immortal Lincoln, "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

P. W. MAER, *Chairman.*

The Daughters of the American Revolution passed resolutions indorsing the President and his course at their meeting in Tupelo, as did the Woodmen of the World at their meeting at Laurel, Miss. I shall vote for the resolution pending and thereby help to send the message to the nations of the world that we will protect our flag, our citizens, our property, and American rights, liberty, and civilization against unlawful assault, insult, and attack.

Resolutions of American Citizens of German Ancestry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES F. REAVIS,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to have printed the following resolutions, unanimously agreed to at a mass meeting of American citizens of German ancestry, held in the city of Lincoln, Nebr.

It is unnecessary for me to add anything beyond the fact that the tone of these resolutions fully justifies my confidence and my pride in my constituents.

The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas the President of the United States has heretofore severed diplomatic relations with Germany; and

Whereas there is now grave danger that the United States may become involved in a war with Germany; and

Whereas we, the German-Russians of Lincoln, Nebr., a people of Teutonic blood and of Russian nativity, who migrated to the United States of America and became citizens thereof in order that we may secure liberty for ourselves and our posterity, feel that our allegiance to the United States of America places upon us the duty to aid the Government of the United States in securing to its citizens all that is necessary to make liberty real and genuine: Therefore be it

Resolved by the German-Russians of Lincoln, Nebr., in mass meeting assembled, That we will uphold the President of the United States in any stand that he may take to secure to the citizens of the United States a liberty that is real and genuine; and be it further

Resolved, That in the event that the United States of America becomes involved in a war with Germany we, the German-Russians of Lincoln, Nebr., will faithfully and fully fulfill the allegiance that we owe to the United States of America, and that we will perform such services, either military or otherwise, and give the Government of the United States of America such aid that will secure to the citizens of the United States of America a liberty that is real and genuine.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of the German-Russians of Lincoln, Nebr., held at Lebsack's Hall, March 30, 1917.

ADOLPH LEBSACK, Jr., *President.*
H. J. AMEN, *Secretary.*

War With Germany.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, in the four years that I have been a Member of this body I have seldom felt it my duty to explain any vote that I have cast here. I shall not do so at this time with the purpose of apologizing for the vote that I shall cast upon this resolution at the close of this debate. I have no apologies to make. I cast the vote with the full knowledge that by some it will be severely criticized and the motives that prompted it will be brought into question. It is for the purpose of giving expression to some of the sentiments that have impelled me to cast this vote, rather than to make apologies, that prompt these remarks. In all the years that have come to me, I have never approached the discharge of a duty with quite the same feeling of weighty responsibiliy as now weighs upon me

when the time approaches to cast my vote upon this resolution. This is one of those times that comes to men but seldom, when a diversity of council, honest in its expression, leaves no well-marked path to guide him in his actions. At such times there are always three great monitors to which he may go to direct and guide his way. Those three monitors are his own heart, the welfare of his constituents and country, and the approval of his Maker. I know that I have consulted the guidance of these monitors with an honesty of purpose that has been sincere. I am not unmindful of the wrongs that my country has suffered at the hands of the Government that we are soon to count our national enemy. I am not unmindful of the further fact that our beloved President has been patient and long-suffering. I am not saying that under ordinary circumstances the honor of our country would demand that we take the step that this Congress before its adjournment to-day will take.

I have not been able to believe, however, that the circumstances under which this great provocation has come have been of the ordinary kind. Those nations which have been locked in the deadly grip of a fratricidal war have, in their zeal to win over their enemies, one and all forgotten at times the rights of neutrals and the limits of international law. Germany has been much the worse of these offenders, but all have at times done us wrong.

There is in my heart no rancor for those who believe that the limit of patience has been reached and the time has come to resist with all the force of a nation these wrongs that have been so many and so flagrant. I have no sympathy with those who refuse to accord to others at this trying hour the same measure of patriotism that I claim has guided and directed me. I know others have searched their hearts and have come to another conclusion than the one that I have reached. They have been inspired with high and patriotic motives. I love my country, and when this step is taken I shall take my place beside those whose judgments have led them to a different conclusion than the one that I have reached and help in every way that I can to uphold the hands that will conduct this war and bring it, as I know they will, to a successful conclusion. This vote, however, affords the last chance of men who believe as I do that we could further forbear without the loss of honor to express that belief. When that vote is taken there is but one place for the man who loves his country, and that is by the side of those who will march and fight and die, if need be, for the glory of our flag. I shall take my place there, and with a full faith in the righteous and the ultimate success of our cause, shall do my part to represent a great people who have until this time been divided in opinions but from this hour shall be one in purpose. I have cherished the hope that in some way this Nation, the last great power upon this earth that is to this time at peace with all the world, might have the blessed privilege to minister to the bleeding people of Europe and lead them again into the paths of peace. It may be that He who directs and guides the destinies of men and nations may, in His infinite plans, have another way to bring this about than the one that I had hoped and prayed for. If this is to be, my head and not my heart has been at fault.

Believing as I do that though the wrongs we have already suffered are great the line where honor demands action has almost, if not quite, been reached, I have determined that if in this hour I shall make an error, it shall be on the side of mercy and charity rather than on the side of vengeance. It shall be with the belief that in voting against this resolution I am listening to the voice of Him who centuries ago spoke to a mad and turbulent world and said: "Thou shalt not kill."

War With Germany.

REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE B. FRANCIS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. FRANCIS. Mr. Speaker, I represent a constituency in the Borough of Manhattan, in the city of New York, which is overwhelmingly in favor of peace at the present time. When the roll is called upon this resolution to declare that a state of war now exists between this Nation and Germany I would be in accord with the prevailing wish of my people if I should vote "no."

I shall, however, vote "aye."

My reasons are simple. This Congress is about to pass this resolution for war by an overwhelming majority. My vote against it would in no way affect the result. It would be unavailing as an effective protest. On the contrary, my vote would only be made the basis of an unwarranted assault against the good name of the voters of my district.

My constituency is to a large extent of German descent. I can testify with pride and confidence that they are to a man loyal Americans. I know they will loyally support the decision of this Congress. I trust their patriotism absolutely.

I can not, however, control the hostility of the press against them.

They have been the object of malicious attack for not only months, but years. Their loyalty has been falsely questioned even in high places. If I should vote against this resolution to-day my vote would be seized upon by these maligners as proof positive that my constituents were, through me, attacking the President, seeking to betray America, and to aid the cause of a foreign enemy. Once again would a riot of slander be hurled against these loyal Americans.

I shall vote "aye" on this resolution, confident that my people have known my desire to express their views, confident that they will approve the motives that control my course, and shall await a further and more effective time to renew their plea for peace.

In the meantime we must stand together for the increase of our Army and Navy and for thorough preparedness.

Resolution of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 3, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a brief resolution from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the pay of officers and enlisted men of the naval and military service.

The resolution is as follows:

[Telegram.]

Hon. HENRY Z. OSBORNE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was adopted by the board of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, who request that you introduce it and have it printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"Resolved by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, That we urge the President and Congress of the United States to make such a substantial increase in the pay of officers and enlisted men of the naval and military service that the same may be an adequate basis of remuneration, in view of the fact that their labor is entitled to as much consideration in the open market as supplies and munitions of war."

LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
L. D. SALE, *President.*

War With Germany.

REMARKS

OF

HON. COURTNEY W. HAMLIN,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, no man will vote for this resolution with a keener sense of its tremendous and far-reaching importance than will I.

These last several days have been sad days for me. I have a horror of war because I love my fellow men, but I know that there come times in the lives of all nations when men must fight not only to maintain their own rights but also the rights of the generations which are to follow.

This Republic, which was baptized in the blood of our patriotic forefathers, is a sacred heritage to us to be handed on down to our children. It came to us honored and respected by all the nations of the world, and it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that we are to-night to determine by our votes whether we will pass

it on to succeeding generations, with its flag flying proudly to the breezes, or whether we, by our action, shall compel that flag to pass on down drooping in humiliation and disgrace.

Through five wars our flag that stands for freedom, justice, glory, and power has gone through the smoke, grime, and clamor of battle. Ah, many times its folds have been bathed in the blood of its valiant defenders, but, thank God, it has never yet trailed in the dust nor borne the stains of humiliation or cowardice. We are now at the parting of the ways. Germany has thrown down the gage of battle. What shall we do? Shall we take up the gage of battle and unfurl to the breeze the Stars and Stripes and defend our rights like men, or shall we furl that flag and, like the Arabs of old, fold our tents and silently and ignominously steal away?

My vote to-night may send my two boys to the trenches. God knows that I would gladly go for them if I could, but I would be ashamed of them and of myself if they or I should not be willing to make any sacrifice to defend the rights and uphold the honor of this our home, our native land.

Mr. Speaker, for two years and a half I have done everything that I knew to do to keep our country out of that awful conflict in Europe. I have not hesitated to condemn our citizens for traveling on ships belonging to the belligerent nations, and while they have had a technical, legal right to so travel, yet if Germany had confined her submarine activities to the ships of such nations I do not feel that I could have concluded that in doing so she had committed an act of war against us; but, sir, when she brazenly and contemptuously and wickedly declared that she would sink any and all ships, neutral as well as belligerent, without warning or without an effort to save the lives of passengers and crew—that the United States flag would no longer be a protection for our people traveling on our own vessels—in other words, told us in effect to get off the face of the earth, then I refuse to further regard her as a civilized nation and am ready to vote to maintain our rights with all the powers and resources of our mighty Nation.

Mr. Speaker, for several weeks I have been receiving letters and telegrams from constituents asking me not to vote to put this country into war with Germany. My time would not permit me to reply to each with a separate letter, hence I prepared a form letter which I sent in reply, briefly outlining my position in the face of existing conditions. I incorporate a copy of that letter in these remarks, because it states tersely and clearly my position and some of the reasons therefor.

MY DEAR MR. ———: I most heartily join you in the hope that war may yet be averted, even though the way looks dark. No one deplores war more than I do, and I think we must all agree that the record of the President for the last three years has demonstrated that he will go to any length, short of humiliation, rather than to involve his country in war. Some people have criticized him for this, but I most heartily commend him for it, because I feel that war is so horrible that it ought not to be resorted to except in the very last extremity.

There are some things, however, that no self-respecting nation can endure, and some of these things are to have its rights ignored, its privileges treated with contempt, its flag disgraced, and its people humiliated. This will be the result if we submit to Germany's present conduct on the high seas.

Since before the dawn of civilization the seas have been regarded and treated by all the nations as public highways, to be traversed by any people who care to sail them.

I grant you the custom of nations, which has ripened into international law, permits a nation, while engaged in war, to take certain precautionary measures looking to its defense, to wit, such as preventing the shipment to its enemies of contraband of war by neutral nations; and in order to protect itself in that regard international law gives that nation the right of visit, search, and seizure, i. e., it has the right to stop any neutral vessel which it may find sailing the seas, board that vessel, examine its manifest, inspect its cargo, and if it finds that vessel carrying contraband of war to its enemies it may sink that vessel, with its cargo, if it wants to do so, to the bottom of the sea, but it can not do this until it has provided a way to save the lives of the crew and passengers on board that vessel. In other words, the lives of these neutrals can not and must not be ruthlessly and wickedly destroyed. This is not only the law of nations, but it is the law of humanity as well.

We have never denied to Germany or any other nation at war the right of visit, search, and seizure, but, on the contrary, have at all times conceded that right; but we do deny to Germany or any other nation in the world the right to sink our vessels without warning and thereby ruthlessly and wickedly destroy the lives of our citizens. That Germany has been doing this no one can deny; that she has done it deliberately no one can dispute; that she seems disposed to continue to do so is, unfortunately, an established fact.

We have a perfect right to sail our ships upon the high seas; and while we are willing to recognize the abnormal world conditions and endure some inconveniences—and we have suffered many such since this war began—yet I undertake to say that every American citizen who loves his country and who has a drop of red blood in his veins will fight to the last ditch before he will permit his flag insulted, his country humiliated and driven ignominiously from the high seas.

Nations, like individuals, are selfish. They are always seeking to encroach upon the rights of other nations; therefore it is extremely dangerous for a nation to voluntarily concede away a right which it has under the customs and laws of nations. If you concede away a right to-day, it will be used as a precedent against you to-morrow. If you concede away a fundamental right, it will be extremely difficult to maintain others. Therefore experience has taught us that the only safe way to sail the ship of state through the storms of war is to follow the chart of international law. To do otherwise is to invite disaster.

The President has asked Germany—in fact, almost begged Germany—to observe the well-established laws of nations, as well as the rules of civilized warfare, because we desire no quarrel with her. For a hundred years that nation and ours have been friends, and we most ardently desire that that friendship shall continue; but for some reason, not clearly known perhaps, Germany seems by her action to scorn our friendship and in effect to tell us to get off the earth. Naturally no red-blooded American will stand for that.

Whether we will go to war with Germany or not, in my judgment, depends entirely upon Germany.

Very truly, your friend,

———.

This letter, as is obvious, was written some days before the President came before the Congress and recommended that, in view of existing conditions, we declare that a state of war now exists with Germany, but it expressed my views then and nothing has developed since to cause me to change them.

I did not mean to reflect, and I am sure that I did not reflect, upon any person who does not feel that Germany has given us a just cause for war. I am willing to concede that all such persons are patriots; but as between other nations, while our sympathies may be divided, yet as between America and all the other governments of the earth we should stand as one man for our country.

I beg to call attention to the fact that Germany has been for some time making war upon us. How long must we permit her to strike us and how hard must she strike before we will feel justified in striking back? Some pacifists try to justify their opposition to going to war with Germany on the ground, forsooth, that we do not also propose to go to war with Great Britain. They claim that we have an equal cause for war with that country. I am not a partisan of Great Britain any more than I am of Germany. I acknowledge no allegiance to either. I am an American citizen and that is glory enough for me. But I submit that the facts will not justify the statement that Great Britain has given us as much cause to go to war with her as has Germany. True, Great Britain has encroached upon our rights in that she has confiscated some of our property and has interfered with our mails. These are offenses which can well await settlement at some future time. I trust and believe that she will be held to a strict accountability for these violations of our rights; in fact, she has conceded many of our claims and settled for property taken in many cases already. But the outstanding fact is that she has not destroyed the lives of our citizens; at least not by direction of her Government. But we are told that she has mined the North Seas. Yes; a portion of them, but so has Germany; but Great Britain, in obedience to the laws of humanity, notified us that she had mined certain portions of the North Sea, but told us that a way had been left open to our ships through these waters and offered to pilot us through them and guarantee us safe passage. How does that conduct compare with the conduct of Germany? Germany preempts more than 400 miles of the Atlantic Ocean out from the English and the French coasts and all of the Mediterranean Sea, except a strip of about 20 miles wide. These waters teem with the deadly submarine, shooting from ambush, and the only pilotage which Germany offers us is to pilot us to the bottom of the sea and our people into eternity. This, too, without warning and without any attempt to save the lives of either passenger or crew.

More than 200 of our citizens have lost their lives by reason of the deadly activities of the German submarine—not by accident or unintentionally, but deliberately and by the wicked and cruel orders of the German Imperial Government.

I know that some of those who are opposed to going to war try to offset these inexcusable crimes by saying that two of our ships were sunk by English mines in the North Sea and in consequence of which some Americans lost their lives. Even if this were true, it could not in any way lessen or palliate Germany's crime of murder or her studied insult to the sovereignty of our Government. However, it seems to be extremely doubtful whether it was England or Germany who planted the mines in the North Sea which sent the *Evelyn* and *Carib* to their destruction. The facts are that at the time this thing happened Germany seemed to think that it was her mines that had destroyed these ships. The following statement made by the German ambassador here at Washington clearly indicates that Germany thought she was responsible for the destruction of these two ships.

Count von Bernstorff, the then ambassador from Germany, wrote a letter to the State Department immediately after these vessels were sunk and said:

Pursuant to instructions, I have the honor to inform your excellency that the American vessels *Evelyn* and *Carib* were lost in the North Sea because, contrary to the directions given in the Wachrichten für Seefahrer (Notice to Mariners), No. 2770–14, etc., they ran along the East Friesian Islands by direction, as stated by the captain of the *Evelyn*, of a British warship.

From this statement each one can draw his own conclusion. I shall not pursue this inquiry further, but content myself by saying, in conclusion, that it is a conceded fact that Germany not only challenges our rights upon the high seas but has demonstrated on numerous occasions her contempt for our sovereiguty, and it is up to us to maintain our rights and the dignity of our country.

I believe an overwhelming majority of our people are patriots and want Congress to take the steps necessary to defend the honor and dignity of our country. Therefore, with a full sense of the responsibility resting upon me as a Representative in Congress, I will cast my vote for this resolution, and as I do so breathe a prayer to the God of nations to be with us to guide and protect us and to give us always the light to see and the courage to do the right.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL C. VAN DYKE,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, I am for America first, last, and all of the time, and because of that fact for two years I have consistently voted against any measure that would involve us in the present European struggle, with its consequent and horrible result; and still, because of Germany's continued submarine-war policy, I came to Washington thoroughly expecting to give my support to any action which might prevent the continuance of this unwarranted method of warfare. But after listening to the President's address and reading the resolution that has been presented before this body, I found, in the event war is declared, it meant much more than simply suppressing the submarine warfare, which I consider our cause of action against Germany.

I do not believe our cause of action against the Imperial Government is the same as that of the allies. Consequently I am not of the opinion that we should go to the extent of sending troops into the already blood-soaked battle fields of Europe, but rather to place ourselves in such a position that, when we have vindicated our stand in so far as the submarine warfare is concerned, we would then be able to withdraw from the European war.

At the present time I am opposed to conscription. I am opposed to compulsory military service, for it has been the military class in Germany to-day who are to blame for the condition they find themselves in at the present time. Then why should we, in the name of democracy, create that same class in this country by compulsory military service? For it is that which has been responsible for what we are pleased to term "Prussian autocracy."

If the cause is just when this country calls for volunteers, they will respond in numbers sufficiently large to fight our battles; but I can not convince myself that the time has come when we should throw our young men into the European struggle either on one side or the other, and that is what this declaration of war means. It means, unless something happens within a short time to prevent, that after the expiration of six months we will be called upon to face the horrible reality that 500,000 of our young men will either be in the European trenches or on the way there, and God alone knows how many more will be called into the service as time goes on.

My forefathers have fought in every war this country has seen, and I at the age of 17 volunteered my services to my country during the Spanish-American War. I have weighed this question carefully from every viewpoint, not as a partisan but as a representative of the people of this country. The Constitution of the United States invests in Congress the power to declare war, and I have been called upon to decide what is best for my country, and after having reviewed carefully all of the conditions which present themselves to us for our consideration I have come to the conclusion in the final analysis that inasmuch as it is my bounden duty to vote my conscientious belief in the matter I am forced to vote against this resolution.

But, as I stated in the beginning, I am for America first, last, and all of the time, and, although as a Congressman representing my people to the best of my ability it is my duty to oppose this measure, nevertheless, if war is declared, it is my duty to vote for such expenditures and other measures which I deem necessary to bring this war to a successful end. My only wish is that this may be accomplished before it is necessary to send any of our young men to the European battle fields.

As I have stated, Mr. Speaker, I came to Washington expecting to give my support to such action as might be deemed necessary to prevent the continuance of unwarranted submarine warfare. But the resolution on which we are asked to vote, and the meaning of our action as interpreted in the message of the President and in the arguments of Members favoring its adoption, presages a program of war far beyond the scope of submarine policy. It means to carry the war beyond and across the high seas where submarines ply. It means not a war for defense of our coast and commerce but a war of aggression in Europe. It means a kind of war in which the American Nation never hitherto has been engaged—a war in European trenches, for the invasion of European soil, and a war in which two-thirds of Europe has already been engaged for nearly three years. It means not only entanglement in the quarrels of Europe but participation in the greatest belligerent partnership of history. We are to wage war not merely for American rights on the sea but for British interests, French interests, and Russian interests on land in European battle fields.

The wide scope of the grant of power made in this war resolution shows that there is no limitation as to either purpose or field of action. The resolution provides:

> That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

This is not war upon submarine practice or any other sea policy, but a grant of all the military, naval, and other forces and resources of the United States to wage unlimited conflict with the Government of Germany.

The methods by which this is to be accomplished are outlined in the President's message. We are told:

> It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany; and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may as far as possible be added to theirs.

Furthermore:

> It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war.

Moreover, in addition to a full equipment of the Navy, which might suffice so far as enforcing our rights on the high seas is concerned, and so far as directly relates to our position in regard to submarine policy, we are told:

> It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

That is to say, successive increments of 500,000 each, as soon as they can be trained, are to be transported to the battle fields of Europe to be placed in utmost practicable cooperation with the Governments now at war with Germany.

We are likewise reminded that:

> In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

We are told, moreover:

> That the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend.

Likewise:

> That in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power.

This war declaration, therefore, commits us to the vast undertaking of enlisting all the forces and resources of the United States in a conflict for the destruction of the German Empire. It is to be a war not on sea only but on land; not for the defense of our coast and commerce but of European invasion; not of independent American action in defense of American rights but of utmost practicable cooperation with the Governments already at war with Germany.

For this program, Mr. Speaker, I was not prepared when I came to Washington, and I doubt if many Members of this House were thus prepared. No program of this scope has ever been involved in the diplomatic notes of the past three years.

No instruction has ever come to us in regard to a program of this scope and character from the American people who in November voted by nearly 600,000 plurality for the success of the national policy which had kept us out of war. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, no charge of lack of patriotism or of loyalty to the American people or the administration can be laid at the door of those Representatives who, following the precepts of Washington and Jefferson to avoid entangling European alliances, and following the more recent precepts of the President to seek peace without victory, rise on this floor and state that they can not conscientiously in the interests of American peace and democracy and for the welfare of American homes and youth and in the light of American traditions, as the world's beacon torch of peace and liberty, subscribe to the war declaration now before this House.

No Member can truthfully be charged with unpatriotism who is true to American traditions, true to the American Constitution, and true to the American people.

I assume, Mr. Speaker, that this bill will pass, and that in the early hours of Good Friday, the anniversary of the crucifixion of the Prince of Peace, this country will pass from the position of the world's greatest peace nation to that of the world's greatest war nation, with 112,000,000 people committed by our hand to a campaign of international conflict, and with $3,000,000,000 as the first item of debt and taxation incident to the war budget.

Of the eight so-called "great powers" of the earth, we yesterday were the only power standing for world peace; to-morrow we join the greatest combination of belligerent powers ever assembled on God's footstool.

We become the fifteenth nation to enter this whirlpool of war, lust, and devastation, and the eleventh nation entering the fight against Germany; and by both precept and example we now urge the rest of "Christendom," so called, to place peace, liberty, and the blood of our sons on the altar of Mars.

The die is cast, Mr. Speaker, and as loyal Americans, true to our national cause, we are all committed to the declaration which the majority of this House decrees. Opposed as I am to this declaration, its adoption carries with it my support of the Government and of the Army and Navy summoned to the colors. War once declared, it must be brought to a successful issue. My forefathers fought in the Wars of the Revolution, of 1812, and the Civil War, and I was a volunteer of the Spanish-American War, and, opposed as I am to the step about to be taken this day, I feel it none the less my duty to do all in my humble power to insure the success of our national arms that shall hasten the day of returning peace.

This does not mean, Mr. Speaker, that I shall support every measure which the champions of the war spirit may offer in carrying on this war on European soil. I do not favor universal military training or conscription, and I do not favor the extension of war measures beyond the traditional American scope of defending the rights and liberties of the American people. I do not favor sending our sons into that slaughterhouse, known as Europe, to fight the battles of, for, and by Europe. First, last, and all the time American, I am opposed first, last and all the time to making this country and its battles European. I am for the Stars and Stripes only and not for any flag floating over European battalions; and I trust that our sons may never be forced by the hand of our Government to fight under a European battle flag.

There never, Mr. Speaker, has been a war in this country since the days of 1776 when a just cause did not command the gallant support of American volunteers and carry that cause to victory. A just cause carried us to victory at the hands of volunteers when we were a Nation of only 3,000,000 strong, and again when we were 8,000,000, when we were 30,000,000, and when we were 70,000,000.

Shall it be said that in 1917, with an estimated population of 112,000,000—the greatest nation in the world in educated and trained population, in wealth, in commerce, and industrial power—that we engaged in a war which could not command sufficient support from volunteers to insure victory? Is that the confession which we now make in the hour of declaring this war? Is that the confession with which we propose to justify this cause? Where are the patriots who command the support of the vast majority of this House if we are unable to man this war without conscription? Are we lacking in patriots or is the trouble with our cause? With our vastly increased population are there fewer true Americans, or do true Americans object to enlistment in the cause of Europe? Whichever horn of the dilemma we accept this much all must admit, namely, that it is the business of Congress as the constitutional authority to declare war and furnish the means and make the regulations for the conduct of war, to see to it that the cause, the scope, the purpose, the character, and the conduct of this war are such that it shall command the maximum and not the minimum support of the American people. And if the cause and conduct of this war are just and worthy of a free and peace-loving people, why resort to the European war policy—the methods of "Prussian autocracy," if you please—of universal military service and conscription? Are not the methods of Washington, Madison, Polk, Lincoln, and McKinley—the methods of the traditional American volunteer system concerning which our historians have written and our poets sung—appropriate to the war in which we are about to engage?

I am one with those who believe that the militarism of European monarchs—the methods, for example, of so-called Prussian autocracy—is against the principles of American democracy. But what is the foundation of European militarism, of which Prussian autocracy is a type? It is universal military training. It is the power of the military authority to call from the schools and universities, from the farms and all other places of industry, the flower of the youth of the land, to take from them their democratic individuality and convert them into an efficient war machine subject to the orders of the military power.

We say that "Prussian autocracy is the foe of liberty." It is the foe of liberty because it takes freedom from the freeman and makes of him a military automatom. It is the foe of liberty because conscription and universal military training convert a Nation of self-governing citizens into a military class, controlled by military regulations and imbued with military ambitions. It is because I believe that Prussian autocracy is the foe of liberty that I oppose the adoption of the underlying methods of Prussian autocracy—conscription and universal military training—in place of the American system of the free public school, the free ballot, and the free volunteer. The substitution of force for the free will of the citizen volunteer is the essence of the difference between European militarism and American democracy, and I am one Member of Congress who has not lost faith in the principles of the fathers and the ways of American democracy.

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that in voting "No" on this resolution, we of the minority on this measure are subjecting ourselves to that wave of denunciation which ever overwhelms the defenders of peace and the employment of rational deliberation in the first hours of a country's madness. A rabid and noisy few inflamed by the scare-heads and denunciatory cartoons and editorials of an irresponsible and sensation-seeking press have no use for reason and deliberation in the hour when a war resolution is offered. It is the way of countries in such a time to declare war first and deliberate afterward.

Congress is the body created by the Constitution and granted the war-making power, and Congress is supposed to be a deliberative body. Congress is supposed to ascertain the facts and causes involved, to consider both methods and results, and furnish the ways and means. It was certainly never supposed by the makers of the Constitution of the United States that the acts of the Congress which represents the will and the interests of 100,000,000 sovereign people should be subjected to the intimidation of the "Jingo Press." The House and Senate were not constituted as automatoms to carry out the wild notions of newspaper cartoonists and scare-head writers. Nor is the legislation of Capitol Hill supposed to reflect the interests of the army of contractors, munition makers, and ambitious militarists who seek military honors and emoluments through the sacrifice of the lives of the Nation's young men in the ranks. We are supposed, I repeat, to be a deliberative body; but because we take the few hours of a single day's session to deliberate on the most momentous issue which has confronted our national existence, Senators and Representatives are cartooned and denounced by a jingoistic metropolitan press as if the legislators who are responsible to 100,000,000 people for the destiny of the Nation in this international crisis were traitors to the Constitution which make the exercise of reason and freedom of speech in debate their official duty.

This war fever, Mr. Speaker, will pass. It will pass when the successive increments of 500,000 of our young men are being sent to Europe—if they are so sent, as I hope may never occur—and it will pass when the lives of these young men pass from earth never to return. It will gradually pass as war debts and war taxes mount higher, and some of those who are now the most powerful instigators of war will be early in the clamor to stop the war in order to stop the career of the Federal tax-gatherer.

The condition which I most greatly fear is that which shall follow the war. After conscription and universal military training has converted the army of industry into an army of war, after the young men have been drawn from the arts of peace

and industry into the arts of that which Gen. Sherman typified as "hell," after the spirit of democracy has been superseded by the spirit of militarism, after European ideas and methods have succeeded American ideas and methods on American soil—what then? I trust that no such conditions may develop. I trust that this war may be brought to successful issue before such conditions shall have time to materialize. But if this danger is to be averted, if American democracy is to survive the threatened substitution of European ideas and methods, it is because there is a saving remnant in this Republic, it is because there is a vast sovereign people who hate and distrust the autocratic system from which in the Old World they departed when they sought the asylum of freedom under American ideas and system in the New. It is because, moreover, there are both in this Capitol and in the districts back home a saving remnant of patriotism and faith in American principles that can not be stampeded in the first hours of war madness to the adoption of the autocratic measures that are at this hour reaping their logical harvest in the downfall of Old World institutions.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, as I said in opening I say in closing, that I am opposed to this declaration because I am for America first, last, and all the time and because I have not lost faith in American traditions, the American Constitution, and the American people. Furthermore, I trust that when European entente nations are satiated and exhausted with this war, and when those who in the first instance we look upon as allies settle their grievances and have secured peace with Germany we shall not be left alone "holding the bag" with a war to the finish on our hands against the greatest military power in Europe, coupled with dangers from the Mexican south and the oriental west. In short, I trust that the results that may logically flow from our action this day may never occur and that by wisdom and moderation we may avert the dangers which now threaten the Nation, which yesterday was the world's great champion of liberty and peace.

Resolutions of the Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, Fairmont, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. M. NEELY,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution adopted by the Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, of Fairmont, W. Va.

The resolution is as follows:

MOUNTAIN CITY LODGE, No. 48,
KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS,
Fairmont, W. Va., March 30, 1917.

Hon. MANSFIELD M. NEELY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: At a stated convention of Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, Fairmont, W. Va., Thursday evening, March 29, 1917, the inclosed resolution was unanimously adopted by standing vote:

"This lodge, with a membership of 515 men, feels that it is its duty to apprise the President and the Government of our country that it is willing to aid in every way and in whatsoever place its aid may be needed."

With best regards to yourself, and trusting that whatever problem may arise shall be met by you and your colleagues with an unbroken front and with an unflinching determination to surmount it, I am,

Fraternally,

R. C. MILLER,
Keeper of Records and Seal.

Whereas grave problems of international scope are confronting the United States of America; and
Whereas the President of the United States and the Congress are called upon to decide these problems; and
Whereas we hold that it is the sacred trust and privilege of the United States of America to uphold the rights of man and of humanity; and
Whereas the Order of Knights of Pythias has ever been attached to the principles of liberty and devoted to a teaching of love of our country; and
Whereas in this critical moment in the Nation's life there should be no partisan feeling, no bias, no politics, and no division: Therefore be it

Resolved by Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, of Fairmont, W. Va., in stated convention assembled this 29th day of March, 1917—

First. That we pledge anew our devotion to our country.

Second. That we commend the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, in his declaration of American rights and the rights of humanity; that we pledge our support in the upholding of his hands.

Third. That we commend our distinguished brother knight, the Hon. MANSFIELD M. NEELY, Representative in Congress from the first congressional district of the State of West Virginia, in taking his stand in support of the President.

Fourth. That we call upon all American citizens to display the American flag and to make known in no uncertain manner their attachment to this Government and cooperate in every way to have us stand a united people in spirit and in truth, confident of our leaders, and sure that, whatever may transpire, this Government and its cherished ideals will prevail.

I hereby certify that at a stated convention of Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, Fairmont, W. Va., the above resolution was presented and unanimously adopted by standing vote.

Witness my hand and the seal of the lodge this 29th day of March, 1917.

[SEAL.] R. C. MILLER,
Keeper of Records and Seal.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. ELSTON,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, with a full sense of the gravity of my act, I have concluded to vote for the resolution before the House. The sequence of events in our dealings with Germany during the last two years compels this conclusion. It is the logical and inevitable answer to the wrongs we have endured.

The President has exhausted all peaceful means of settlement. He has patiently borne the abuse of those who believed that the time for action had long since come.

We must further submit and thereby forfeit our national self-respect and our spiritual leadership among the nations or we must stand and fight. There is only one course for a brave people to pursue. We must follow the ideals and traditions of the fathers of our Republic, and stand for justice and humanity.

We seek no material gain or selfish end. We are contending for spiritual principles that must and will prevail if Christian civilization is to endure on the earth.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY H. HADLEY,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HADLEY. Mr. Speaker, no one prizes the blessings of peace or regrets the necessity for war more than I. Our Government has not acted hastily. Diplomacy has been exhausted. The wrongs referred to in the resolution have been patiently endured. While cherishing and promoting peace, war has been made upon us. Those who make it have prescribed a zone across the common highways of nations and inaugurated therein a reign of terror in defiance of the laws of nations. They have destroyed our ships in the pathways of commerce and the lives of American citizens while engaged in peaceable and lawful pursuits, all without notice or warning. Our citizens have been driven from sinking vessels and abandoned to their fate upon the angry billows of the sea. American rights have been invaded and defied. Aggression has been confined to the sea, but intrigue has not stopped with our shores. The President has submitted the facts in his message to Congress. I refer to its recitals. He has asked for the authority which this resolution provides. Momentous as the issue is, far-reaching as it is in its import and consequences, as comprehended by the resolution, it is very plain and simple. The essence of the question is whether upon the facts detailed by the President and upon his recommendation Congress shall authorize him to protect the lives and maintain the rights of American citizens by prosecuting war against those who wage war upon us. The alternative is that of abandonment and surrender—that of humiliation and dishonor. Its adoption would be as unjust as, it seems to me, it would be un-American. The primary function of this Gov-

ernment is to preserve and maintain American rights inviolate and to protect and defend the lives of our citizens.

I regard it my duty to aid in setting in motion the forces which will insure the fullest exercise of that function. The first guarantee of national existence is national unity. The question is not local, not provincial. It is national. Whether we hail from the East or the West, from the North or the South, or whether from the great interior, our interests here involved are one and indivisible.

Deeply sensible as I am of the gravity of the action involved and the great responsibility attaching thereto, under all the circumstances and conditions confronting our Government and our country, I shall cast my vote for the resolution.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GRAHAM,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under ordinary circumstances I would not, on account of the brief duration of my service in this body, presume to present my views on the pending resolution to the House. However, the gravity of the occasion and the momentous nature of the business in which we are now engaged afford me sufficient justification, if any be needed, to record herein briefly my conclusions on this subject. In my consideration of the question involved in this resolution I have endeavored, in so far as I can, to divest my mind of the personal element and view it from the standpoint of my duty as a good citizen. The obligations that rest upon all of us here and now are not those of kindred or party, but those of fealty to country. I have in the past been a partisan in the exhibition of my political faith; I have criticized wherever I could and whenever I might the party now in charge of the governmental affairs of this country and its policies. I reserve the right to do so again, at a proper time and in a proper season. But to-day, Mr. Speaker, in the consideration of this question we know no parties. There can be no path here for our feet to follow but the path of duty to our beloved country; there can be no guide for us, the representatives of this great, God-conceived people of ours, but the polar star of everlasting justice and right. Nor may we stop to consider our own personal fortunes. Whether you and I shall continue here is of small moment. Men have come here and men have gone, but the Republic of our fathers, the institutions which these colleagues of ours who have gone over the great divide loved and served have gone on and on, and, please God, shall continue yet through centuries to come. We should rather consider this great people of which we are a part; we should rather have in mind 100,000,000 people throughout the cities and broad lands of our Republic as they wait for our decision. The joys and hopes, the material welfare, and the future of our people are in our keeping.

It is admitted by all that war should never be entered upon by any people except as a final extremity. No nation is justified in engaging in war unless there remains no other method of obtaining or preserving its rights and sovereign attributes. When reason has failed, when treaties have failed, when diplomacy has failed, then is war the final resort. When no appeal to the mentality of men will be effective there is but one thing left, and that is physical force. War is all that anyone has ever called it and more. It brutalizes and debases. It lights the fires of passion and bestiality. It kills and burns and ravishes and destroys.

I know I voice the sentiments of all of us when I say we do not want war. If we go to war, we shall do so only because we must. In the glorious past of this Nation we have at times taken up the sword and appealed to the god of battles. But whenever we did it we did it reluctantly and because there was no other way. And so to-day, if we must once more lay our bleeding sacrifices upon the altar of patriotism, we shall do it because reason has ceased to secure us our rights as a sovereign people.

The first question I have considered is whether any sufficient cause for war between this Government and the Imperial Government of Germany now exists. In other words, is any essential right of our people now invaded by Germany? It is entirely unnecessary for me to attempt to detail the course of the submarine policy of Germany as to merchant ships; the President of the United States has fully dealt with that subject in his special message to this Congress. It is admitted by all, including the Imperial Government of Germany, that the German submarine policy has been in violation of the spirit of The Hague conventions, subscribed to and in part proposed by Germany, in violation of all the known rules of international law, and in admitted violation of treaties heretofore existing between this Government and the German Government.

If we were, by our submission to this inhuman and illegal terrorism of the seas, deprived only of our profits which we might make by commercial ventures, I would say that we might avoid the contest. But by refusing to maintain our Government and its Chief Executive we lower our national dignity; we cease to occupy a position of any influence in the affairs of the world. But beyond all this, we weaken and deaden the moral sensibilities of our people; we make of ourselves a people with no national coherence and unity of purpose. Mr. Speaker, we can not afford to follow the paths of peace at the expense of national honor.

By these admittedly unlawful acts American lives were taken and American property destroyed. Not the slightest consideration has been given to saving innocent human life, but the admitted object has been to so terrify mankind that the high seas shall be as a place accursed and avoided by all neutral peoples. It has been said that the submarine can not comply with the rules of humanity because of its very nature. Then I say it is not a weapon of civilized warfare, and it is a terror that should not be countenanced. Not even the savage in his forest fastnesses will deny to his foe the right to yield and save his life.

We have been told by our President that spies have been quartered among us, and conspiracies formed to destroy lives and property and neutral nations inflamed against us by the agents of the German Government. This is fully admitted by this same Government. When we complain about these things, we are told that the same course of conduct will be continued. We have appealed to reason. Our Government has time and again employed the arts of diplomacy, but without avail. Our Chief Executive has warned the Imperial Government that a further continuance would mean a break in our relations. The acts continued and the break came. Since the discontinuance of the diplomatic relations conditions have steadily grown worse. In this emergency the President of the United States has come to us, and, after detailing the facts, has solemnly stated that, in his judgment, the safety of our people demands a declaration of war. The resolution asked by the President has been duly introduced, and we have but one alternative—to adopt his suggestion or reject it by our votes.

Mr. Speaker, I do not purpose now to question the judgment of the President of the United States in the conclusion he has come to. I do not know whether he has done all he could do; I do not know whether there is any other way. But I do know that the sovereign voice of the people has placed him in leadership in our Nation; I do know that he is the Chief Executive of this Government; I do know that he represents in his office the humanity and justice and nobility and dignity of the country; and by my vote and influence I propose to do what I can to hold up his hands and preserve the dignity of the Nation.

Let us presume for a moment that this resolution be defeated by our votes. This will be a repudiation of the principles announced by our Government, and will be a tacit recognition by the American Congress of the justice of the German claim of right. It will close the sea absolutely to American and all other neutral shipping. It will establish a precedent that in all other like cases we must leave the high seas. It will condone the deaths of the slaughtered innocents of the *Lusitania*. It will close our ears to the death cries of our people and our eyes to the dishonored flag of our Nation. It will be, Mr. Speaker, a relinquishment of rights we have, rights that came to us through the perils and battles of our fathers, dearly prized rights of a free people. And who can doubt if thus, by basely deserting our people and yielding our national privileges now, we temporarily escape the perils of war, that some time, somewhere, we shall tread the fiery trail of war to regain what we have lost. We may temporize and compromise and delay, but the time will come when the price will be paid; when again will be realized the vision of that mighty singer when, seeing the catastrophe of civil war sweeping down upon this people, she said:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible, swift sword;
His truth is marching on.

When this crisis first became acute it was suggested by the President, as I understand it, that it would suffice to arm merchant ships and let them defend themselves. The proposition was neither wise nor advisable. If wrongs were being committed against our people and merchant shipping, they were wrongs against our people collectively and not individually. It would not suffice to say to a master or owner of a merchant ship

to defend himself, but if he was entitled to defense it should be by the Government and its agencies. If organized thugs are operating in a portion of a city and the peaceable citizen complains, the mayor does not arm the citizen and leave him to his own defense, but the police power of the city is used to enforce the laws and keep the peace. And so it is with nations. If some reckless freebooter is abroad on the high seas, striking whom he may and when he can, it is not the business of the individual mariner, but the business of the Government to keep the peace.

We have all of us, Mr. Speaker, dreamed of the dawn of universal peace and have most earnestly prayed that it might come. The President in his message has strongly outlined the conflict between autocracy and democracy in the world to-day. Universal peace and arbitration will never come while kings and monarchs direct the affairs of nations. But when they who make the war are they who must do the fighting, then wars will soon give way to the glad rule of universal arbitration. God speed the day! If this mighty world cataclysm of to-day, if this welter of blood and treasure and tears is the last stand of autocracy, then, in spite of the anguish of stricken peoples, in spite of the torment of the world, these millions have not died in vain. And shall we, the champions of human liberty, not raise our voice and hand to assist in the agony of the birth of a new and better national life for all the world and all its peoples?

I have heard it argued in both Chambers of this Congress that Great Britain has also violated our rights on the high seas and has, with impunity, committed acts in derogation of international law. The claim is also made that had it not been for the aggression of England the submarine policy of Germany would not have been entered upon. All this may be true. I am not here to place the blame for this calamitous war. Nor am I here to pass upon the question whether we should have two enemies instead of one and levy war upon England and Germany both. Do those who argue that England was to blame or has violated our rights also argue that we should declare war upon Great Britain? The Chief Executive of the Nation has advised us that national welfare now requires a declaration of war against Germany. It is patent that such a cause of war exists. Therefore the fact that cause of grievance against, and perhaps of war with, another nation exists affords no reason for our stultification of ourselves in our attitude toward Germany. It has been said that this war is being engineered and brought upon us by the makers of munitions. If this be true, the President of the United States is a party to the hellish conspiracy. I will not concede that there can be the slightest modicum of truth in this statement. I would rather believe, and purpose to believe, that the President of my country is true to the traditions of American history and, animated by love of his country, is doing what he deems to be his patriotic duty. I do not propose to dishonor my country and its institutions, even in my own thoughts, by indulging in any other presumption.

I trust I have reached just and correct conclusions in this matter. I am not unmindful of all the horror and injustice and brutality of war. Almost within sight of where I stand to-day my father, over half a century ago, received his first wound in the service of his country. My early recollections are of the tales of the terror and suffering of that mighty conflict. I have no misapprehension of the trials in store for us as a people. Do you think I do not know what it means to all of us? I live in a little country town in the bosom of the valley of the Mississippi. There we live as little rural communities do; we know each other's business; we meet in stores and on the streets and the affairs of our lives are an open book to us; we share each other's joys; we bear each other's burdens. In that community, among my neighbors and friends, I have passed my life. About me are my schoolmates and neighbors, and when they married and there came to them a little fellow to rejoice them, I laughed with them. And now these boys are going out to take their part in the thing I am going to help create. The other morning the little military company of which we were so proud marched away, and as they went they were smiling, and waving and tossing in the air before them was a bright new flag that with loving hands our people gave them. Some of these boys, if this hellish thing comes to pass, will not come back, and by the hearthstones of my friends there will be vacant places, and the mothers of my little community will look at me with reproachful eyes. I would rather—in the sight of God I say it—bare my own breast to the bullets of the enemy than have these boys go by my volition. But I have searched my conscience, and I can see no other honorable way. And so, with an unfaltering confidence in the sincerity of our purpose and with a supreme faith in our national rectitude, I renew my pledge of fealty to my country and shall vote for this resolution.

Resolutions Passed by the Patriotic Alliance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROSE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of resolutions unanimously passed by the Patriotic Alliance of Altoona, Pa., of the 4th instant.

The resolutions are as follows:

ALTOONA, PA., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. ROSE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to inclose copy of resolutions unanimously passed by the Patriotic Alliance of this city on the 4th instant.

Respectfully,

ELLIS B. ROHRBACK,
Chairman of Committee.

ALTOONA, PA., *April 4, 1917.*

Inasmuch as repeated insults have been committed against the United States of American by Mexico and Germany, by the ruthless murder of American citizens and the sinking of ships carrying cargoes of American products and American citizens and floating the American flag, thus interfering with our rights on the high seas; and inasmuch as the American people have been extremely patient and President Woodrow Wilson has exhausted all honorable means to avoid war and has offered the assistance of the American Government to bring about peace, both in Mexico and in Europe, and is yet willing to participate in any feasible plan looking to the establishment of a world peace, with apparently no support from other nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this meeting of representative patriotic American citizens regrets that a few business and professional men, citizens of our city, at a recent meeting saw fit to advocate a policy which to our minds is untimely, misleading, un-American, and unpatriotic, and if adopted by our Government would prolong the destruction of American citizens and American commerce indefinitely; be it further

Resolved, That this assembly, representing business, professional, and laboring men, does most heartily commend the instructors in the public schools of our city in signing and forwarding resolutions of support to the President of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That we do most heartily approve the stand taken by the President of the United States for peace in the past and pledge him our support in whatever course or policy he may now see fit to advocate, looking to the protection of American rights on the high seas, and if necessary, to use the armed forces of this Nation to compel respect for the American Nation and her flag; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the President of the United States, the Senators from Pennsylvania, the Congressman from this district, and the daily press of the city.

PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE.

Conscript Property For War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, we are at war! It was recommended by the President in his war message that the costs of the war should be sustained "so far as they can be equitably sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation." That is right. We should pay as we go if the where-with-all with which to pay can be found within the boundaries of our country.

There are two very important essentials of war—men and money. We have the men. If they do not volunteer in sufficient numbers the Government will resort to conscription. There will be no waiting on the next generation to furnish the men to fight this war. We also have the money to pay for this war as it progresses. Why should not money volunteer as well as men? And if money does not volunteer in sufficient quantity, why not conscript money to keep up a well-filled Treasury as well as men to keep the ranks filled up? If the Nation has the right to take the lives of common men, it also has the right to take the dollars of the rich in time of war.

HENRY CLEWS V. HENRY FORD.

There are two very different attitudes held by mean of wealth toward war. I can best illustrate those views by calling atten-

tion to two interviews which appeared in the newspapers immediately after our diplomatic break with Germany.

In the evening issue of the Washington Times on February 3, 1917, there appeared an article, headed: "New York Market Booms Following Break." Describing the scene in Wall Street, the article says:

American flags appeared in the street soon after the news of the break with Germany spread, and brokers jumped upon chairs in their offices and made speeches to their customers, advising all to cover their short sales. Henry Clews, octogenarian member of the stock exchange, was one of the speech makers. "I advise everybody in this house to cover," he said, "The United States is entering a period of tremendous prosperity. I have been through the Civil War myself, and I believe the United States is unbeatable."

Observe! The stock market became a booming war market. Our country was about to become involved in the great world war. What did that signify to this old stock broker, Henry Clews? "The United States is entering a period of tremendous prosperity." The diplomatic break to be followed by war did not suggest thoughts of woes, heartaches, sorrow, hunger, famine, bloodshed, or disastrous world alliances to this Wall Street banker of many winters. War spells to him and his kind "tremendous prosperity."

Three days later Henry Ford, the Detroit automobile manufacturer, gave out an interview, in which he said:

I stand with the President, and in the event of war will place our factory at the disposal of the United States Government and will operate without one cent of profit. I will also contribute my own time and work harder than ever before. I can not believe that war will come, but if it does then it is the duty of every man to help all he can and not make money out of the distress of his country. I am ready to do my share.

Those are wonderful sentiments expressed by one of our great captains of industry. He sets an example to wealth for the exhibition of real patriotism. And why should not wealth do in times of war all that Henry Ford offers to do? Heretofore in time of war the men of the nations volunteered or were conscripted with their lives, while most of the so-called men of wealth remained securely and comfortably at home and enriched themselves out of the misfortunes of their fellow men. If the one gives his life and all hope of gain for the good of the Nation, why should not the other give his property and also his life for the good of the Nation?

Certainly the one who offers his life does not offer less than the one who offers his property. Surely human life and human rights are more sacred even in time of war than property and property rights. In time of war we conscript men for the defense of the colors with their lives without hope of financial rewards. Why should we not also conscript property of bankers, manufacturers, common carriers, and so forth, for the defense of the colors without hope of financial rewards? There is but one answer, except to those who contend and hold that property rights are more sacred than human rights.

Henry Ford gave the business world a new idea of patriotism in time of war when he said, "It is the duty of every man to help all he can and not make money out of the distress of his country."

I wonder whether such a thought ever occurred to any Wall Street stock broker.

Gen. Leonard Wood recently said, "Nine out of ten wars are based on trade." If Ford's principle was to be adopted by the business world or forced upon it—and why not—two results would naturally follow: First, at least some of the nine out of ten wars that Gen. Wood says are based on trade would cease; second, wars would be paid for as they occurred, thus relieving future generations from the burdens of paying for wars with which they had nothing to do, for which they were not responsible, and from which, with some exceptions, they derived little or no benefits.

During the last year Congress passed laws for commandeering the industries of the country in time of war or when war is imminent. That is as it should be. At such times every dollar's worth of property as well as every life should be at the disposal of and under the command of the Government. Since the diplomatic break with Germany many industries have offered their services to the Government on such terms as the Government might determine just and fair, but undoubtedly with a feeling of expectancy and hope that Uncle Sam would be not only fair but liberal as well. But up to date Henry Ford is one of very few who has volunteered his industry without profit and his fortune without interest to the service of the Government during the period that his country should be at war. Such an example is worthy of the emulation of every man with property who loves his country more than the profits he can make out of the distress of his country and the woes of mankind.

"PAY-AS-YOU-ENTER WAR."

Mr. Speaker, I wish to present a plan to raise war funds, which has recently been extensively advertised by the American Committee on War Finance, a voluntary committee with headquarters in New York. This committee especially advocates and urges that this war against Germany be made a cash war, a "pay-as-you-enter war," and already considerable public sentiment has been aroused in support thereof. The pledge to which this committee requests signatures embodies their plan to raise the funds to make this a cash war. I submit herewith as part of my remarks that pledge for the information of Members of the House and of the general public, and it reads as follows:

I hereby demand that the Congress of the United States shall immediately enact legislation providing substantially for the following war measures:

1. That in case of war all net incomes of $5,000 or over shall be subject to the following annual graduated war contributions:

"On all net incomes from $5,000 to $10,000 a contribution of 2½ per cent.

"On all incomes over $10,000 a year a contribution increasing on a sliding scale, beginning at 10 per cent and rising to a point which will permit of no individual retaining an annual net income in excess of $100,000 during the war."

2. That no war supplies or war service, including transportation, shall be furnished to the Government at a net profit of more than 3½ per cent.

3. That no wholesale or retail dealer shall sell food or other basic necessities of life during the war at a profit larger than 6 per cent.

4. That intentional failure to supply the Government with correct figures as to incomes and profits on such sales and service shall be a felony, punishable by imprisonment.

5. That any individual or corporation who knowingly furnishes the Government with defective war supplies shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, I think I can safely say to the House that the great rank and file of the people of my congressional district are solidly behind our President and Chief Executive of this Nation in his course and actions leading up to and inaugurating military and naval hostilities against the Imperial German Government, and every Member of the Congress of the United States will bear witness to the truth that his great course has been one in the interest of justice and humanity. Never has a ruler of any nation on earth striven harder and more honorably to avoid military or naval complications with another country than has President Wilson to avoid such complications with the Kaiser, the head of the Imperial Government of Germany. To this we can each and all bear witness. He has suffered humiliation and embarrassment during the last two years to an extent that it has not only humiliated him but has humiliated our Nation; but we all know he has gone on the principle that it is better to make some sacrifices, great as they may have been, than to enter the world-wide war, but we finally had to act in defense of the integrity and preservation of our own Republic and the preservation of democratic forms of government throughout the world.

Billions of dollars' worth of property owned by American citizens and the American Government has been destroyed by the German submarine warfare. Nearly 250 lives have likewise been destroyed. Men, women, and children have been hurled from vessels torpedoed by German submarines in the dead of midnight upon the high seas where they had a constitutional and international right to be. They were innocent people, as a rule, and came from this country and were citizens of the United States. The submarine warfare has been increasing to such an alarming extent both in and outside of the "war zone" that we can not longer see our way clear to submit to it.

No man in the American Congress has been more opposed to war than myself. I am one of three orphan children who nearly starved to death for the actual necessaries of life for nearly three years immediately following the late Civil War, and I never imagined for one moment that I could ever be placed in a position where the duty to myself or my country would be so strong as to induce me to vote to involve this country in war. Each and every one of us knows we have a Christian President, and

a President who loves this country better than he does himself; who loves the American people and whose heart almost bled with sorrow when he was last before us recommending what we should do, and if we failed to do it we would not only lose our own self-respect as a people but the self-respect of this Nation. Our national honor was at stake—in fact, had been attacked and assaulted so repeatedly and with such hellish and uncivilized murderous design that when it came to a question of my vote I felt that my country's standing among the nations of the earth was so much more important than my own; in fact, I felt, Mr. Speaker, that to desert the President in this national crisis after I had stood by him so long and so faithfully, that I would be guilty of stabbing the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy in the back. I repeat, my country's honor was at stake, and my country's usefulness among the civilized nations of the earth was being seriously questioned if not doubted. I felt that so much of our property had been destroyed and so many of the lives of our people had been ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed that rather than stand it any longer it was incumbent upon me to vote as I did, sustain the President, or resign and surrender my commission, unsullied as I have faithfully striven to preserve it, to the people who sent me here, and retire again to private life.

The latter course would have been cowardly, and I am not a coward; but, Mr. Speaker, it was an awful responsibility to assume and an awful vote to cast; but the transaction has been, up to date, completed, and in the sight of God, loving my country as I do, and, I repeat, so much better than I do myself, that I recorded my vote in accordance with the request of the President of my country, and I hope and pray to God I made no mistake thereby.

Under the permission given me to extend my remarks I include the following resolutions adopted at various mass meetings held throughout my district and some other points in my State.

At my home city of Charleston, the capital of West Virginia, I am informed nearly 14,000 people—old and young, some of them foreign born but having long since renounced their allegiance to all foreign potentates, kings, and the countries of their nativity, and pledged fealty and loyalty to the American country and American flag, under which they enjoy greater privileges and more freedom than in their own native country—marched for three hours through a drenching rain, and upon assembling unanimously adopted the following resolution:

CHARLESTON, W. VA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the Hon. John J. Cornwell, governor of the State of West Virginia, has by public notice requested the citizens of the State to assemble in public meetings for appropriate action in this time of national crisis; and

Whereas we, the people of the city of Charleston, W. Va., and its immediate vicinity, have so assembled do hereby adopt the following resolutions: Be it

Resolved, That we heartily indorse and commend the action of the President of the United States in severing of diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government and the steps that are being taken by our President, Woodrow Wilson, our Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, our Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and all others in governmental authority for their efforts to place our country in a position to defend its honor and its rights in this time of national peril; and be it further

Resolved, That we, the people of Charleston and its vicinity, both men and women, do hereby pledge to the President of the United States and others in authority our unanimous support in any policies they may adopt for the defense of our country, and by this pledge we mean to dedicate our property and our lives, if need be; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States to stand solidly behind the national administration in its defense of our country and its honor, and that copies of this resolution be telegraphed to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the governor of our State, and that copies be furnished to the press.

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS.

CHARLESTON, W. VA.

Hon. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was unanimously passed:

"*Resolved*, That in this crisis of our country's history the Charleston Rotary Club hereby pledges to the President, Woodrow Wilson, and to the Government of the United States of America our loyal and undivided support in any measure that may be found necessary to protect our honor and defend our rights as a sovereign Nation."

Sincerely,

THE ROTARY CLUB OF CHARLESTON, W. VA.,
G. R. EDGAR, *Secretary.*

CHARLESTON, W. VA., *April 2, 1917.*

His Excellency the honorable WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

SIR: At the March meeting of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and the proper officer was directed to forward it to you:

"*Resolved*, That this chamber, in regular session assembled, hereby pledges its support to the President of the United States, and affirms that it is ready to aid in any manner possible the Government of the United States in the preservation of the country's honor; and that our support means our means, our talents, our businesses, and ourselves."

Very truly, yours,

CHARLESTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
HERBERT FRANKENBERGER, *President.*

At a called meeting of Kanawha Camp, No. 2, United Spanish War Veterans, held at Charleston, W. Va., on the 31st day of March, 1917, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

"With profound admiration of the fortitude, wisdom, and patience which have characterized the course heretofore pursued by the President of the United States in his heroic efforts to maintain with honor the peace of our beloved Nation;

"With no malice in our hearts toward the people of that great nation whose Government has fallen into the hands of military mad despots;

"We believe that the time has come when we must take more rigorous steps to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties for which our forefathers fought and died, to protect the lives and property of American citizens from a ruthless foe who knows no quarter, and to retain unmolested the right to send our commerce on the high seas: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That Kanawha Camp, No. 2, United Spanish War Veterans, hereby extends to the President of the United States the assurance of our most complete approval of the course he had taken, and is taking, in demanding that ruthless submarine warfare shall cease against our commerce, and that we pledge our sacred honor to support loyally and with energy such steps as he and the Congress shall deem most expedient, and, if requested to do so, we shall be glad to again take up arms in defense of humanity."

A true copy. Test:

JOHN BAKER WHITE,
Commander.

BECKLEY, W. VA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting of Raleigh County citizens here to-night:

"Whereas by a deliberate course of aggression the German Empire and its subservient allies have destroyed the peace and safety of American citizens and property; and

"Whereas we recognize that as a consequence of the deliberate purposes of the German Empire, now the mightiest military power that the world has ever known, both the safety and existence of all representative Governments throughout the world are at stake and will be determined by ruthless war, carried on with the most deliberate and wholesale atrocities, we the people of Raleigh County, believing in the principles laid down by the founders of our Government, pledge to our country our united and unwavering support in armed resistance to this world-wide conspiracy, and urge on it vigorous warfare to a successful and safe conclusion; and recognizing that civilization owes its position to you at this time, in the first place, to Belgium and France, we cheerfully approve the extension of financial support by the Government of this country to the Governments of France and Belgium, with the most unstinted liberality; and recognizing the full demands of national safety we respectfully urge upon the Government that an army of at least 1,000,000 be organized as rapidly as possible by universal compulsory training: And be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and to our Senators and Representatives in the National Congress."

S. M. PATTERSON, *Chairman.*
CHAS. P. HODEL, *Secretary.*

RONCEVERTE, W. VA., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Adopted at a meeting of the Ronceverte Chamber of Commerce, of Ronceverte, W. Va., Monday, April 2, 1917:

"*Resolved*—

"First. That we gladly, in response to the appeal of our governor, give this expression to our loyalty to our country in these ominous and trying times; that we sympathize with our President, upon whom devolves the heavy burden and responsibility of leadership in this crisis of our country's history; that we approve his earnest and sustained efforts, marked by christian forbearance and patience, to maintain friendly relations with all other nations.

"Second. That we deplore war; that, as free American citizens, jealous of our rights, we hate all wars of conquest and subjugation; such wars are criminal, intolerable, and utterly repulsive.

"Third. That we approve, as thoroughly righteous, war for defense, provided all other honorable means of rectification have failed; that a state repel vi et armis the encroachment, the aggression, the trespass of another is a moral obligation of the highest order.

"Fourth. That we heartily approve the action of our President in arming our ships for defense against unlawful attacks 'after all honorable means of rectification have failed,' and we urge upon our Congress soon to convene to provide such means as may be wise and necessary to protect and defend the lives and property of our people against all unlawful attacks.

"Fifth. That copies of these resolutions be sent to our Congressmen and to the press for publication."

THOMAS P. DOUGHTY,
President.

ST. ALBANS, W. VA., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. ADAM LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.:

The St. Albans Board of Trade, St. Albans, W. Va., at a meeting held March 27, 1917, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we unqualifiedly indorse the policy of President Wilson in the present international crisis and pledge him our loyal support in any course he may pursue."

ST. ALBANS BOARD OF TRADE.

BLUEFIELD, W. VA., *April 2, 1917.*

Congressman ADAM LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.:

The following message wired President Wilson:

"Eight hundred members Bluefield Lodge, No. 269, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledge themselves to be with you in preparedness and even to war with Germany in the present international crisis confronting the American peoples."

JOHN F. LANG, *Secretary.*

—

MORGANTOWN, *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LITTLEPAGE: A great mass meeting of students and faculty of the West Virginia University last night adopted the inclosed resolutions, which speak for themselves. In addition, they ordered the following telegram sent to the President of the United States:

"West Virginia University, in a mass meeting of students and faculty, offers its classrooms for barracks, its laboratories for arsenals, its athletic fields for drill grounds, and its splendid cadet corps of 600 men to support you in this trying hour."

We renew our allegiance and are ready for service in whatsoever way it pleases the authorities to use us.

Very cordially, yours, FRANK B. TROTTER.

Whereas the great crisis now confronting the American people demands the immediate raising of a large army; and

Whereas in the past the volunteer system has proved wholly inadequate for the creation and maintenance of a sufficient fighting force; and

Whereas it has been demonstrated that the principle of universal military service is the only just, fair, and democratic basis for any military establishment: Therefore be it

Resolved by the faculty and students of West Virginia University in mass meeting assembled, That we favor the immediate enactment by Congress of laws providing for universal military training and service; and

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and to the Senators and Representatives from West Virginia.

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Whereas Germany persists in a ruthless use of submarines which contravenes international laws and grossly violates her treaty obligations to the United States;

Whereas many American citizens have been thereby subjected to wanton and cruel suffering and death, and all who dare to exercise their right to travel on the high seas are menaced with similar suffering;

Whereas, in defiance of law and right, Germany dares to dictate the terms on which American commerce may use the world's highways;

Whereas President Wilson has, with utmost patience, exhausted every honorable and peaceful means to safeguard the lives and the rights of our citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved by the faculty and students of West Virginia University in mass meeting assembled, That we respectfully urge the President to protect with all the power he commands the lives and the rights of our citizens; that we pledge to him our loyalty and fullest support in all measures to that end; that we urge our Senators and Representatives without stint or partisanship to aid the President by appropriating funds, enacting laws, and conferring powers appropriate to this purpose; that the president of the university, as chairman, send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, the governor of West Virginia, and to each United States Senator and Representative from West Virginia.

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Whereas with fervid supplications to that Almighty Being who rules the Universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that His benediction may be with our President and Congress and consecrate them to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced since the days of Washington and the long line of distinguished men and patriots who have succeeded him, each of whom by some token of providential agency seems to have been chosen with peculiar fitness for the work, and in these troublous times it is but meet that patriotic citizens of the Nation should indicate to President Wilson, the God-given man of the hour, their confidence in him as their Commander in Chief and to assure him that in case of war every call emanating from him will be answered with the same patriotic alacrity that characterized the actions of our forefathers, the early settlers of our then wilderness country in the years long gone by; and the mountains of West Virginia may be depended upon to do their full share in bearing the burdens of the Nation, no matter in what branch of service they may be called to act or by what means they can assist in restoring and perpetuating the peace and prosperity of our common country by defending its honor, either on land or sea: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of White Sulphur Springs and community, who, acting under the call of our governor, have this day met, regardless of political party or other affiliations, hereby pledge our support to the President and assure him that while his efforts to keep our beloved country out of war have largely been approved, that should the worst come we shall be found in the ranks in one capacity or another and will otherwise contribute to the success of our Nation in its direst extremity.

Resolved, That the officers, chairman and secretary, of this meeting be requested to furnish President Wilson, our Representatives in Congree, and Gov. Cornwell, each a copy of this resolution and the proceedings of this meeting.

J. F. HENDERSON, *Chairman.*
A. M. HEPPERT, *Secretary.*

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At a meeting of the citizens of Lewisburg and community, held at Carnegie Hall the evening of April 2, 1917, John A. Preston, Esq., was called to the chair.

On motion, the following paper was adopted unanimously by a standing vote:

"We, the people of Lewisburg and vicinity, in meeting assembled do unanimously and heartily adopt the following resolutions and request our chairman to forward them to the Representatives of our section in Congress and Senate, now in session:

"'First. *Resolved,* That we appreciate the patience and strength that have so long kept America from the maelstrom of war now engulfing the countries of Europe. When others have cried out in madness the voice of America has risen above the storm in sanity and sweetness as the one clear counselor among the raging rulers of earth.

"'Second. *Resolved,* That we tender the President and the powers that be in this hour of national crisis and testing our unfaltering assurance of confidence and cooperation in whatever lies before them in the path of duty.

"'Third. *Resolved,* That in the event of war with any foreign nation we pledge the resources of our section in life and treasure to the protection of American honor on land and sea and to the attainment of those high ends and aims that shall establish righteousness among the peoples and shall forward the development of every country unto the day when nations shall no longer learn war but shall dwell in that comity that shall make all peoples friends and every man a brother.'

"JOHN A. PRESTON,
"Chairman."

—

SUTTON, W. VA., *April 2, 1917.*

Be it resolved by the citizens of Braxton County, W. Va., in mass convention assembled, at the courthouse of said county, on this the 2d day of April, 1917, That we are in absolute accord with the President of the United States in his attitude and policy toward the Imperial Government of Germany, and eagerly embrace this opportunity to place the stamp of our approval on all that he and the administration at Washington have done looking to the protection of American interests and American lives on the high seas; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the citizens of this county that every Member of Congress from West Virginia ought to and should uphold the hands of the President and stand firmly behind him in carrying out and rendering effective all of his said policies for the maintenance of international law, the protection of American rights, and the safeguarding of the honor and dignity of our great and glorious country; and be it further

Resolved, That should the Government at Washington deem it necessary, in order to maintain any of our rights aforesaid, to take up arms against the Imperial Government of Germany or any other nation, in such case, we hereby pledge to the President and to our National Government, in the prosecution of such a war, our lives and our fortunes.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States and to each Member of Congress from West Virginia.

L. H. KELLY.
VAN B. HALL.
AMOS BRIGHT.

Now, Mr. Speaker, since the die has been cast, the defense of American institutions and American honor has been undertaken, and by force of arms, I am prepared to say to this House and to the people of my native land, that the good people, without regard to their race, nationality, or color, of the sixth congressional district of West Virginia are ready, individually and collectively, to sustain this Republic, its glory, and its institutions, at whatever the price to be paid and obey the order of a Christian President of a noble country dominated by the Christian religion. My people do not have to fall in line, as they stepped into the line of duty the moment the President and the Congress of the United States acted. Our money, our property, our lives, and our all we pledge to the preservation of the honor and integrity and glory of our Republic and the perpetuation of a democratic form of Government, and in the sight of God we each and all stand ready to do our duty in this crisis which may prove a bloody one, but we pray God for triumphant victory of our forces in the interest of justice and humanity.

War With the Imperial German Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I had not expected to lift my voice or to take any part in the discussion of this resolution. However, since our President, on April 2, came before us and made the recommendations he then made, which led later to the introduction of this resolution, my heart has been heavy. I have almost regretted during these days that I must take my share in the great responsibility now resting upon the membership of this body. I have felt like the man of Galilee, when in the garden of Gethsemane he prayed, "may this cup pass from me," for I remembered with great force the early teachings of my sainted mother and father, who, in the simple but steadfast faith of the Quaker Church, of which they were devoted and devout members, firmly believed. This church is now and has always been opposed to war, believing implicitly in the teachings of the Savior of men—"On earth peace, good will toward men." My inclinations, therefore, have always been to follow these teachings.

I abhor war with all its attendant evils, its horrors and sufferings, and I know and realize that a very large number of the people whom I am called upon to represent here are opposed to war, though lacking in no sense of true patriotism. I had felt that it would be easy for me to look only to these things and oppose this resolution. Yet when I considered again and realized that I am more than the representative of my constituents in Colorado—that my duty here is also to this great Government as a whole, and there came with this full realization the conviction that Congress was in honor bound to fulfill the dictates of the President in his authorized leadership, in order that no shadow of doubt as to the perfect patriotic unity of the United States might rest on this country, and so give a false impression abroad. With these thoughts came my determination to support the resolution.

I wish to say, however, that I have in my service here done all within my power to prevent the situation which confronts us. Since clouds of war first appeared upon the horizon I have used whatever influence I may have had to avert this calamity. When the McLemore resolution came before the House—a measure warning American citizens of the danger of travel on belligerent ships—I voted against tabling the resolution, and I have voted for the amendments to the resolution under consideration, believing that our boys should not be conscripted into service on foreign soil, except by special authorization of Congress. These being defeated, I therefore bow to the will of the majority, as it seems to me that there is no other course open to us as Members of Congress than to follow the President, in his capacity as head of the Nation, and that duty and loyalty demand that we join in patriotic submission in the defense of our country and our flag, when we remember for what this flag stands—what sacrifices were made and hardships endured by our forefathers, that the blessings we enjoy to-day should be ours. I say, when I think of these things, then I am led to the thought, Shall I be less patriotic than they in not resisting by force the taking away of these rights for which they shed their blood?

When I have during sleepless nights the last week contemplated these things and believing it a patriotic duty to my country to support our President in this our Nation's crisis, I have determined to vote for the resolution and to call upon the God of battles for his approval of our acts, that our country may continue to enjoy the blessings of a free people.

War With Germany.

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. B. WALTON,
OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. WALTON. Mr. Speaker, I have made up my mind to vote for this resolution and to vote against any amendment to it that may be proposed. This decision is the result of calm deliberation on a subject that I realize is of momentous importance to every man, woman, and child in the United States. In taking this step not only have I the approval of my own conscience but it is my firm conviction that I am acting with the full approval of a vast majority of the people of the country and especially of the constituency which I have the honor to represent in this House.

It is idle for us to talk about "making" war. War is now being made upon us by the Imperial German Government. The blood of hundreds of American citizens murdered in the pursuit of their peaceful vocations bears eloquent testimony to the cruelty and savagery of that warfare. What are we to do about it? Are we to delude ourselves with the fatuous pretense that we have not been attacked—deny the existence of an obvious fact—become the object of the just ridicule and contempt of the civilized world? Or shall we strike back like men? Strike back not for vengeance and punishment but to vindicate the rights of American citizens and of humanity.

I confess my inability to follow the reasoning of those who maintain that we go into this war hastily or without just provocation. The patience of the man who knows his quarrel just has been ours. We have recognized that, to use the words of our great President, the world has been "on fire," and that the frenzy and rage of the greatest struggle the world has ever known have left little chance for reason to exercise its sway. We have borne much, have suffered much in recognition of this, but always with the hope that some day calm humanity would again assert itself and that a pathway out of the jungle of international outlawry would be opened.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it has become all to obvious that we have hoped in vain; that the state of the world is to become worse, not better; and that if we are to emerge from the world chaos with any rights left to us as a Nation and a free people we must fight for them. We wanted peace. We have waited for it. We have almost begged for it. As long as there was the slightest hope that peace could be had without black dishonor we have refused to fight. But now that that ray of hope has been extinguished we shall go into the fight like men and come out of it as we have come out of every fight in our national history—victors in the glorious cause of human liberty.

I am not lacking in appreciation of the horrors of war. I know that as a people we are this day going down into the valley of the shadow of death. I know that we will sacrifice some of the finest flower of the young manhood of the country, that homes will be made desolate, that widows will mourn and the prattle of childish laughter will be hushed. But, as has been truly said on the floor of this House, only the craven will stop to contemplate the horrors of war when the fact that war is right and necessary has been made plain. Nothing worth achieving has ever been gained without sacrifice. Our dearest and most cherished rights and liberties have been won at the cost of blood and tears, but we have not stopped to count the cost or weigh blood and tears against that which was dearer to us than life.

Speaking for my own constituency, I say without hesitancy that the people of New Mexico do not want war; but I know that I speak with entire accuracy when I declare that they do not have to be urged to fight for a principle or lay down their lives in defense of the national honor. And the volume of letters and telegrams that I have received from representative citizens of my State in the last few days leaves no doubt in my mind that the sentiment of the people of New Mexico is well-nigh unanimous that not to fight now would be shameful.

Approximately, one-half the population of my State is of Spanish-American origin or descent. There is no race of people on earth that is by instinct more peaceful and tranquil, the members of which are more anxious to dwell in harmony and fraternity with their fellows and devote their entire energies to the developments and upbuildings of their Commonwealth. At the same time there is no braver, more patriotic, or more loyal class of citizens between the two oceans. In their veins flows the blood of the Spanish conquistadores. It was their ancestors who subdued the savage and made our vast western country habitable for civilized man. It was their fathers who, joining with the Anglo-Saxon pioneers of an earlier day, have built up what we are proud to believe is one of the great States of the American Union. The combination of these two strains has made what I believe, Mr. Speaker, is one of the most enlightened constituencies represented on the floor of this House.

I mention this merely as illustrative of the temperament of my people. Such a people want no unjust war—no war for conquest—no fight that is without a cause. Such a people can not be kept from fighting where there is just cause. And with this in view, Mr. Speaker, I say to you that I would be ashamed to go home and face these people if I did not give whole-hearted support to this resolution.

Loyalty of the People of the Ninth District, Wisconsin.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID G. CLASSON,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. CLASSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, as showing the loyalty of the people of my district, a telegram received by me from Marinette Lodge, No. 1313, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, as follows:

MARINETTE, WIS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. D. G. CLASSON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Following resolution passed by unanimous vote:

"Whereas our country is confronted with a grave international crisis that will test its right to live; and

"Whereas it is about to enlist its men and resources to protect the lives and rights of American citizens and advance the cause of justice for all mankind; and

"Whereas the President in a great message to Congress has asked that a state of war be declared to insure the attainment of these noble objects:

"Resolved by Marinette Lodge, No. 1313, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That we believe that the country and its citizens should spare no effort in this great cause and stand by the President first, last, and all the time.

"Resolved further by Marinette Lodge, No. 1313, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That we pledge our resources, our honor, and our lives to insure the perpetuity of the Nation and its success against the enemy."

D. C. ROBERTSON, *Exalted Ruler.*

I also place in the RECORD for the same purpose the resolution adopted by a loyalty meeting of the citizens of Green Bay, Wis., together with the letter transmitting the same:

GREEN BAY, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. DAVID G. CLASSON,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: I have the honor, as chairman of a "loyalty" meeting held in this city yesterday attended by 3,000 people from all classes and walks of life, to inclose you herewith a copy of the resolutions unanimously adopted.

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN F. MARTIN, *Chairman.*

Whereas a gigantic conflict of arms is now being waged between most of the nations of Europe and is even spreading to the peoples of Asia, the extent and virulence of which have never before been known in the history of the world; and

Whereas it has been the aim of the United States of America to observe a strict neutrality in such conflict, because by treaty stipulations and a century of practice we are on terms of peace and friendship with all the warring nations, and fervently desire to remain in such relations with them; and

Whereas the President of the United States has, since the beginning of the conflict, earnestly endeavored with infinite patience under many adverse circumstances to preserve such strict neutrality, and has frequently assured the warring nations of his desire so to do, while at the same time preserving to our people all such rights as are possessed by them to the unrestricted travel and commerce of the sea, not only under treaty stipulations but also under the principles of international law and the dictates of humanity, which should govern nations while at war as well as in times of peace; and

Whereas for more than a century the United States have had a treaty with Germany—the nation with whom the crisis now threatening our peace is imminent—which is still in force and expressly assures to the contracting parties the very rights of travel and commerce which are now being and, from the outset of the struggle have been, insisted upon by President Wilson, as assured by such treaty as well as by the law which governs the sea; and

Whereas in violation of this treaty agreement and of our rights as a Nation, not only under such treaty but the principles of international law as well as the dictates of humanity, Germany now asserts her determination to prevent any commerce on our part with her European enemies and to destroy not only the property but the lives of our citizens without warning if they attempt either to travel or to carry their commerce in such restricted zones of the sea as she may see fit to prescribe; and

Whereas Germany has actually put into effect her said determination and has without warning destroyed vessels carrying our commerce and the lives of our citizens, including helpless women and children, who from necessity or choice are traveling the high seas as sailors or passengers on such vessels, and now asserts anew her purpose to continue such lawless and inhuman conduct toward our people, with whom for a hundred years she has had and still has a treaty of friendship which she thus ruthlessly sets at naught; and

Whereas the people of the United States are a peace-loving Nation, and now earnestly desire and are striving to preserve peace with all the nations of the world, and have ever been long-suffering and patient, as circumstances have required, to avoid a rupture with any foreign nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That while peace is a condition earnestly to be desired, it must be had only with honor; peace may not be bought with a forfeiture of our own self-respect nor the respect of the world; that the heritage of valor and unshaken courage in the defense of the God-given rights of every American citizen to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on land and sea wherever he may go, which came down to us from the heroes of the Revolution and has ever been kept stainless by the blood of our soldiers and sailors in every war since our liberties were won, must remain unsullied in this hour of trial; be it further

Resolved, That it is the duty of every American citizen, whether native or adopted, to stand firm for the fearless defense of American rights both on land and sea against assault from whatever source; that in this crisis, however threatening, duty calls upon every American citizen to give his unflinching and loyal support to President Wilson in every endeavor he is putting forth, not only to preserve the peace of the Nation but to fearlessly assert and defend its rights, especially against inhuman and murderous assault upon the lives and property of our people who are lawfully using the high seas; be it further

Resolved, That it is not our purpose to suggest how such rights should be asserted or defended, as such determination has been, under our system of government, wisely committed to the President and his advisors and to the Congress, in whose wisdom and patriotism we must and do confide, in the hope that without stain upon our national honor, but always mindful of the untarnished valor and exalted patriotism and fidelity with which American institutions and American rights have ever been defended these trusted servants of the people may not hesitate or falter in this great crisis in choosing such a course, whatever may be its cost, as shall redound to the everlasting honor and good of the Republic and the promotion of free institutions among the peoples of the world.

Be it resolved, That we as citizens of Green Bay in this mass meeting assembled pledge anew our loyalty to our country and to American ideals and institutions, and hereby declare our firm and unwavering support of President Wilson in all the efforts he is putting forth, not only to preserve an honorable peace with all the warring nations, but to assert and defend American rights against attack from whatever source.

H. O. FAIRCHILD,
SAMUEL H. CADY,
F. W. VOGELPOHL,
Committee.

Also, resolutions adopted by the citizens of Crandon, Wis.:

Be it unanimously resolved by a mass meeting of the citizens of the city of Crandon, Wis., duly called and held this 1st day of March, 1917, That we heartily support President Wilson in his stand to protect the lives and rights of American citizens on the high seas and elsewhere.

Resolved further, That we appeal to our United States Senators and Members of Congress for a similar support of our President in this crisis.

C. O. DECKER,
Chairman.
O. J. SWANSON,
Secretary.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER L. HENSLEY,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have realized, and I now realize, how futile it is for one entertaining my views to speak against this resolution. This is an awful hour. This hour and its responsibilities try the very souls of men, but I can not shift that responsibility. I must meet my duty to-day and cast my vote in that way that will square with my conscience and my God. I had hoped that this hour would never come to my country. I had hoped, yea prayed my God, that this great Nation, the only hope of a constitutional democracy, would not be engulfed in that awful European war. I have feared for some time that we were slowly but surely being dragged toward the verge of that awful hell. The metropolitan press of the country, in the main, have said everything possible, it seems to me, and I am sure the most of you feel as I do about it, to produce this situation. I would not wish a curse upon that institution, but I do most earnestly hope and pray that the scales may fall from the eyes of those who are responsible for producing this situation, so that the ghastliness of their cruel crime committed, as I see it, against our beloved country, our flag, and democracy may be seen and thoroughly understood. May God in his mercy forgive them. May the eyes of the mothers, dimmed with galling tears, when called upon after the passage of this resolution to give up their first born to go to the trenches of Europe, either in France or in Russia, be unable to comprehend the purposes and all back of it lest they may pray a curse upon the heads of those who are responsible for this thing.

Mr. Speaker, I do not undertake to explain away the many wrongs Germany has committed against us and our people. Both the central powers and the allies have committed grievous wrongs against our people, as I see it, though I never have believed that they primarily intended to commit the wrongs against us. They have only been actuated by a desire to further their cause against their enemy with whom they are in a death grapple. They have been committing these wrongs for some time, but while others were severely criticizing the administration's course in keeping us out of war I have at all times most heartily approved those policies. I am not pro-German any more than I am pro-British. I am most truly American. My forebearers helped establish this Republic, and my country and my country's need is my whole concern. I do not pretend to say that the many things done by Germany do not constitute a cause for war any less than the many things done by England constitute equally a just cause for war. I have thought for some time that under other circumstances these things might be sufficient to produce war, but, Mr. Speaker, the things which ordinarily would cause me to vote for a declaration of war under the present circumstances, the present world condition, would not influence me at all in that direction.

One-half of the world and its peoples have hydrophobia; anger, hate, and all those things which are primitive possess them; the animal, the spirit of the jungle, controls them. Nothing but the lust for blood and rapine will satisfy them. I did not want my country to take hydrophobia now—nor at any time, for that matter, especially not now. I wanted this great big,

peaceful, Christian Nation to be a beacon light to the peoples of those countries when revolution has torn them as it has torn Russia. I wanted this Government, almost at any cost, to serve humanity by preserving those ennobling characteristics of manhood and Christian nationality. I wanted it to guide the peoples of all those countries after this awful war is over in setting up a new and a different system—Republics, if you please. I did not want to see the flames of that conflagration reach this continent and this people, for when they do they may involve the other Republics south of us and Japan in the Far East, and God only knows, in that event, the future of our race. I have believed that this country was especially destined to perform a great mission in the affairs of the world, and I did not want us to fail in that glorious mission to democratize the world. I did not want to see us take this fateful step.

In the language of the brilliant majority leader, Mr. KITCHIN:

Half of the civilized world is now a slaughterhouse for human beings. This Nation is the last hope of "peace on earth, good will toward men." I am unwilling for my country by statutory command to pull up the last anchor of peace in the world and extinguish during the long night of a world-wide war the only remaining star of hope for Christendom. I am unwilling by my vote to-day for this Nation to throw away the only remaining compass to which the world can look for guidance in the paths of right and truth, of justice and humanity, and to leave only force and blood to chart hereafter the path of mankind to tread.

We have jurisdiction and rules of action to govern men within the States. Tell me, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of this House, why it is and where the reason lies for having anarchy when you get beyond the State into the international sphere? If only a small part of the enormous sums used for war purposes—2 to 5 per cent—was used for the purpose of setting up some mechanism to control such situations as this, it could be done. It can be remedied. Why pursue policies which in the end will result in war? There is a way out of all this horrible situation; and the first thing to be done in that direction is to eliminate human greed and the profits that men make out of war. There was a time when dueling was a recognized institution in this country, and we are told that when Hamilton was challenged by Burr that he prepared a statement which he left behind in which he protested against dueling. He said that he did not believe in dueling, but he was afraid it would impair his usefulness and therefore he accepted the challenge and went upon the field of honor and was murdered. It is also said that Hill, of Georgia, when challenged to fight a duel replied, "I have a soul to protect and a family to support while you have neither, and what is more I do not believe in dueling. Therefore I will not fight you." Which of these two men served future generations best? It took big courageous men like Hill to trample dueling under foot in this country and it is no longer recognized as an institution. I had hoped that my country, this great Republic of ours, might be a "Hill" in these troublesome international affairs so as to contribute toward putting organized murder under the foot of the people of the world.

I am not deceiving myself about this situation. I am not unmindful of the unpleasant consequences to me and mine by my stand here to-day. I know what my vote on this resolution will cost. I will be misunderstood and when once war is on and the minds of our people are more thoroughly inflamed I will be reviled and abused and likely by those I love most, the very ones I am seeking to serve now. I have passed several sleepless nights. I have prayed for guidance. I know my purposes. So come what may, I can not support this resolution. I would be a coward, a craven coward if, feeling this way, I voted for it in order to spare myself the things which I fear I may suffer by voting against it.

The Constitution places authority in Congress to pass upon these questions, and what is done must be done before a vote is cast, because after the vote is had upon the resolution it will be too late. When the recruiting officer goes to the homes in my country the boys can not inquire then concerning the causes of war or where they will be expected to do service. When that flag, the flag of my country, peaceful as it is to-day, is unfurled as a battle flag, then we can not falter. We must be ready as true patriots to suffer, to die, if needs be, to promote the good of our cause. The weeping mothers all over this land can not then inquire what it is all about, whether or not it is for the purpose of sustaining commerce, whether it is to enable the shipping of goods, and in some instances to ship ammunition to some warring nations. They can then only kiss their brave boys good-by and in God's name send them forth to serve their country. I had hoped that our people would be too patriotic either for pleasure or for money to go into the danger zone, and thus recklessly involve our country and our people in war. I only wish that the goods sold to those nations had been sold at our factories, the other nations assuming the risk of delivery during these terrible, perilous times. We have had some prominent citizens who have never ceased, in season and out of season, to abuse our beloved President because he would not go into the European war. In many speeches I characterized these men and the motives possessing them as criminal. I said that they were a distinct menace to our Republic and our institutions. I plead with my folks in every speech that I made, and declared that President Wilson was being assailed because he would not consent to send our boys into the trenches of Europe. I assured them that President Wilson would not do this thing. I promised my people I would not vote to send our brave boys to the trenches of Europe to fight in a war—a quarrel between the crowned heads of Europe. There is no telling the cost in blood and treasure of this fateful move, but when the move has been made and the resolution passed and approved by the President I hope my countrymen will respond cheerfully to the call to colors and that we may prosecute this war to a speedy and successful conclusion. Then will be the test of patriotism, and not now here on the floor of the House among Members who assume no risk by their votes.

I have been impressed with letters and telegrams from my district asking me to "stand by the President, but, for God's sake, keep us out of war." In this case that is impossible. It is well to favor a state of democracy throughout the world; but, mind you, we are joining several of the most autocratic nations on earth to bring this about in Germany, and at no telling the cost, in addition to perhaps a million lives it may cost us democracy at home, which has been purchased by the blood and lives of our fathers.

A Patriotic Board of Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of this opportunity to submit correspondence between the officials of the Knoxville, Tenn., Board of Commerce, the President of the United States, and others, in connection with certain publicity work in the interest of military preparedness and volunteer enlistments in the Army and Navy. This action of Knoxville's commercial organization is further evidence of the fact that eastern Tennessee is loyal to the National Government and intends to do its full duty in the war with Germany.

The correspondence is as follows:

KNOXVILLE, TENN., *March 27, 1917.*

Judge H. B. LINDSAY,
Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting held to-day of the trade trip executive committee the serious situation confronting the Nation suggested the advisability of offering to the Government the trade trip as an instrumentality for the dissemination of preparedness propaganda in the territory to be covered. It was felt by the committee that perhaps the trip if made on this basis would stimulate interest in the preparedness movement and assist in the mobilization of troops.

Please call on the President, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy and make known our offer to the Government, asking for suggestions as to how we may best serve the interests of the country through the medium of what we had originally styled a "trade trip," but which might, under the above circumstances be styled a trip of applied preparedness and patriotism. If desired by the Government the trip will be conducted exclusively in the interest of the preparedness movement.

R. S. HAZEN,
General Chairman Trade Trip Committee of Board of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 28, 1917.*

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have just received from Knoxville, Tenn., my home, a telegram, a copy of which I herewith inclose.

This trade trip is an annual affair with us, and this year will travel through east Tennessee, north Georgia, and North and South Carolina, going by way of Atlanta, Columbia, S. C., Charlotte and Raleigh, N. C., and return via Asheville, N. C.

It will be composed of about 100 business and professional men of Knoxville and the band of the University of Tennessee.

We travel by special train, and large crowds usually meet us at all stopping points. This year's trip will cover more than 1,200 miles and occupy four days and make 50 or more stops.

The train moves under military orders at the command of a colonel, and each Pullman has a captain.

Of course this tender of our organization and services is without charge or expense to the Government.

We have a speaker's bureau, of which I am captain, and we would be pleased to accommodate on our train any person or persons who might be suggested by the Government to accompany us. We will leave Knoxville on the morning of April 10.

I will be in this city during to-day and to-morrow, and if necessary will be pleased to furnish any additional information required. I am stopping at the Raleigh Hotel.

Very respectfully, H. B. LINDSAY.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 28, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR: The President asks me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of even date, with inclosure, and to convey to you and to everyone concerned an expression of his deep appreciation of your patriotic offer, which is being brought to the attention of the Secretary of War.

With warm thanks in the President's behalf, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

Hon. H. B. LINDSAY,
Hotel Raleigh.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 31, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 28th instant with reference to a trade trip which will be taken by the Board of Commerce of Knoxville through the States of Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and of your offer to give publicity to the Navy on this trip, the department wishes to express its hearty appreciation of this patriotic offer and to state that there is no representative of the Navy who can be spared from his regular duties at this time to accompany the delegation from Knoxville. I should be very glad, however, if your speakers would take occasion to refer to the needs of the Navy for young men. Attention is called to the recent proclamation of the President increasing the complement of enlisted men of the Navy to 87,000. There is unquestionably a fine opportunity offered the young men of the country to improve themselves by joining the Navy, besides responding to the country's call. I am sending you under separate cover a supply of booklets, leaflets, and lists of recruiting stations from which your speakers can obtain the necessary data regarding the opportunities offered young men in the Navy. Letters have also been addressed to the officers in charge of the Navy recruiting stations with headquarters at Nashville, Atlanta, Charleston, and Raleigh, instructing them to cooperate at the various cities where they maintain recruiting offices in such manner as appears to be practicable.

The department has directed Lieut. Commander B. K. Johnson, United States Navy, recruiting inspector, southern division, to proceed to Knoxville and confer with you regarding this trip.

Thanking you and the board of commerce for your offer of assistance, I am,

Respectfully JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Judge H. B. LINDSAY,
Knoxville, Tenn.

KNOXVILLE, TENN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

The eloquently patriotic message delivered to the Congress last night finds a hearty echo in the bosoms of the people of this the volunteer section of the Volunteer State. We are moved to respond, not with mere words of approval, but in a material way, and hereby place ourselves at your disposal. We are tremendously in earnest about converting our coming trade trip into one of applied preparedness and patriotism, and will gladly do so if the suggestion has your official sanction. We would feel deeply honored if you would designate some one to represent the Government on our special train, which will leave Knoxville on Tuesday, April 10, for a four-day trip through Georgia and the Carolinas. This would afford the opportunity of reaching the masses with a personal message from our Chief Executive. We will cover over 1,200 miles and visit approximately 50 cities. We make this suggestion in the belief that, if carried out it may bring about a deeper realization on the part of our countrymen as to the need of adequate preparedness and thus, by the proper crystallization of sentiment in favor thereof lay the foundation for any further preparedness measures which your wisdom and foresight may deem expedient. We are at your service.

KNOXVILLE BOARD OF COMMERCE,
HUGH M. TATE, *President.*

"Two Wrongs Do Not Make One Right."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, this is the most solemn moment of my life. It is indeed hard for a new Member of this body to be confronted with and asked to help decide by his first vote the most momentous question to come before a Congress in 50 years.

In my desire to seek light and act for the best I have sat here for many, many hours, listening to arguments for and against the resolution which has for its object a declaration of war against the central powers of Europe and sending our brave young boys into the shambles of a sorely tried continent.

None has moved me as has the speech delivered by that man of men, Representative CLAUDE KITCHIN, the majority leader, who has signified that he prefers to follow the dictates of his conscience in so grave a time, rather than the titular head of his party. From the bottom of my heart do I admire his courage, his honesty of purpose, and his utter disregard for personal consequences.

When the President issued his call convening Congress in extraordinary session I thought, in common with millions of my countrymen, that he would seek from this body authority to hunt out and destroy hostile submarines preying upon neutral commerce and shipping. Alas, how soon were we to be disillusioned. Imagine my surprise and dismay when he announced that it was our duty to place our entire resources at the command of the allied Governments. That means entangling alliances, the very thing George Washington warned us against in his farewell address, a portion of which I will here quote:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence—I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens—the jealousy of a free people ought to constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

Have we as a Nation heeded the admonition of George Washington? Have we been entirely neutral in our dealings with the belligerent nations of Europe? Have we not contented ourselves with issuing faint and half-hearted protests to the various British orders in council while with Germany we have maintained a nagging policy that would have been creditable to a common scold?

For two years I have felt that an insidious campaign was being carried on in the great metropolitan press of the Nation to create within the American breast a spirit of militarism and a feeling of hatred for the central powers. Thank God there is no feeling of hatred within me for anyone, but rather one of pity and compassion for the unfortunate men and boys who have been called upon to sacrifice their lives, or eyes and limbs, in the slaughter pens of Europe. Now the mask has been thrown aside and we are asked to declare a war which has for its object the sending of hundreds of thousands of the flower of our youth into that saturnalia of bloodshed and misery, there to be shot to pieces.

In the name of God the Father, and American mothers, fathers, and young manhood I protest. The struggle now being waged in Europe is none of our affair. It has been said on the floor this afternoon that we must destroy the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs; that they are a menace to democracy. Are we to endanger our democracy—which at times has bordered perilously on autocracy—in order to destroy a form of government which appears to be to the liking and choosing of those who live under it? No! No! A thousand times no!

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this resolution because I feel that were I to vote for it I would be false to my conscience and to the best interests of the people whom I have the honor to represent. However, once the die has been cast they will rally loyally about the Starry Emblem of freedom and democracy, gladly sacrificing all in the common cause.

I shall vote against a declaration of war because I feel that we have no business meddling in European affairs; I shall vote against this resolution because it will mean entangling alliances which might at a future date endanger the Monroe doctrine and embroil us in another holocaust such as they now have in Poland and Flanders; I shall vote against war because of my understanding that it is the plan of the General Staff to send hundreds of thousands of our boys into the slaughter pens of Europe, there to be shot to pieces or rendered incapacitated for life; I shall vote against war because it will impose upon our people a burden of taxation that will weigh down generations yet unborn; lastly, I shall vote against war because I feel that a majority of the common people, who live by the sweat of their brow, do not want it.

Have you, my friends, stopped to consider what a burden a war will lay upon the shoulders of an already heavily burdened people? Do you realize that there is much suffering in the land as a result of the high cost of necessities of life, and that thousands, yes hundreds of thousands, of our boys and girls are suffering from malnutrition, and that war would greatly increase the number? Do you realize that in thousands of American homes they have their meatless and potatoless days just like they have in war-stricken Europe? What provision are those of you who speak so glibly of war going to make for the poor and needy of our country? What do you propose to do toward reducing the cost of living so that every toiler and his family may have enough to eat? You say these are questions

that will be settled later, or that will take care of themselves. Surely you realize that war in this country will greatly increase the cost of living.

If, as is proposed, two million young men are drafted into the service, does it not stand to reason that you will create a great scarcity of labor, especially on our farms? Farm labor is exceedingly scarce as it is.

If, as is proposed, a bond issue of five billion, four hundred million dollars is floated that will mean an additional debt of fifty-four dollars for every man, woman, and child in the land. We already have a very respectable national debt, but I presume that the agitators for war will not rest content until we have entered the bloody arena. If we must go to war, let us make this a pay-as-we-go war. Let those best able pay the greatest share of the fearful cost. Let those who will coin the blood of our young boys into gold pay the bills. Surely that is fair and equitable.

It does not require a great deal of courage to vote to declare a war that will be fought and paid for by others. The Civil War was fought and won by young boys from the farms and shops. The slackers staid at home and made fortunes. I was greatly impressed with the patriotic and generous offer of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] who unselfishly offered to furnish a cousin and a nephew for the fray. Surely, a grateful people will long remember and cherish his great sacrifice.

I am going to be perfectly frank, Mr. Speaker. I have no desire to go into the trenches of Flanders, hence I will not vote to send the son of the widow, whose only support he is, into that caldron of hell and misery. Were we threatened with invasion we would all gladly offer up to the last great sacrifice.

I am not unmindful of the fact that we have been most grievously sinned against by both the belligerent groups, but so have other neutral nations. Had we been singled out for the irreparable wrongs that have been committed against us I would have favored war long ago. But other neutral nations have suffered with us, hence we can not say that our honor is at stake. One hundred years ago personal disputes or differences were settled by duel on the field of honor. To-day one would think an individual a crazy lunatic who sought to vindicate his honor or settle such differences by the arbitrament of sword or pistol.

Thank God, the American people are not too proud to fight when they think their liberties or firesides are endangered. Neither are at stake in this controversy, hence I shall vote "no."

I realize fully what that vote will mean. I know in advance that I shall be crucified by the press, and the unthinking who want war, yet many of whom will probably rest content to let some one else do the fighting. I am resolved to do my duty as I see it, let the consequences be what they will. Whether or not I am returned to this body is merely incidental to the onward march of the Republic. In the words of Congressman KITCHIN:

> Profoundly impressed with the gravity of the situation, appreciating to the fullest the penalties which a war-mad moment will impose, my conscience and judgment, after mature thought and fervent prayer for rightful guidance, have marked out clearly the path of my duty, and I have made up my mind to walk it if I go barefoot and alone.

In this hour of stress and strife let us act deliberately. This is a most solemn occasion and worthy of our most serious and honest consideration. The effect of what we do to-day will be felt for generations to come, and I pray the Almighty God to give me wisdom that I may vote in a manner that will best serve the interests of my country.

Should it be the will of the majority that we are to unsheath the sword—and it looks very much as though this resolution will pass—I can only say, let us put forth every resource and bend every energy to prosecute it to the limit of our ability that there may be a speedy and successful peace. This is your country and mine; it will be my fight as it is yours, and we must leave no stone unturned to bring victory to our arms.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, this war was made in Germany. It has been said that the German Government will not declare war on this country in answer to this resolution. There is no need for a declaration of war on the part of Germany. Those who doubt that the German Government declared war upon us with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the murder of hundreds of American men, women, and children may, if they choose, take the later date of February 1, 1917, when the German Government published its declaration of a ruthless submarine campaign. Since that time American vessels—neutral ships—carrying American passengers have been sunk; ships with munitions and ships without; vessels with cargoes and vessels in ballast; passenger ships going abroad and those returning home. If ever Germany investigated the character of the vessel it must have been after its sinking, as was the case with the *Laconia*. Was this not sufficient declaration of war upon America and American principles?

We have been discussing this war in Europe for many weary months. It has furnished an excuse for everything from tariff failures to the high cost of living. It has been the greatest source of trial to the patience of our President and State Department and a most prolific source of argument in this House. The subject has been exhausted from every viewpoint. Now, in my opinion, the time for discussion of its merits or demerits is past, and the past must be eliminated, and we should consider only the present and the future and the problems before us.

Ethically and technically we have been in this war since the first ship carrying American passengers was sunk unwarned by a German submarine. That dates back two years or more. From that time the allies have been fighting the battles of America and for the causes and ideals for which America has stood since the first meeting of the Continental Congress. During this period of strife in Europe we have been more than patient and forbearing. We have always been giving the German Government just one more chance. We have accepted every excuse and refused no reasonable explanation for the crimes that have been committed against us. We have even swallowed with good grace a few excuses and explanations that illy accorded with national pride. Our politely couched requests for justice have invariably been answered by the tearing up of another page of international law by the German Government. The only explanation we ever got was that the German Government was trying to starve England, and that because she had that purpose in view we were expected to stand idly by and watch the destruction of millions of dollars of American property and the death of hundreds of American citizens, noncombatants—women and children—through murderous Prussian U-boat methods. It may be recalled that the allies are trying to starve Germany to accomplish their ends, but they have not asked for the lives of American citizens, nor do they seek wholesale destruction of American property upon the high seas.

The conduct of the Imperial German Government and its allies has outraged established law, violated every precedent of humanity and the rights of neutral nations. The agents of those Governments have hesitated at nothing in this country. They have fostered plots against our domestic peace and tranquillity; they have schemed against the sovereignty of America, and through their propaganda of hate have sown the seed of dissention and suspicion broadcast, causing American to look at American with suspicion and neighbor upon neighbor with coldness and un-American dislike. The secret files of the State Department and the reports of agents of our Department of Justice undoubtedly would show the proof that under our freedom of democracy and under their cloak of diplomatic immunity Germany and her allies, through accredited agents, have struck time and again at American principles in violation of all rights and customs and the etiquette of nations at peace with each other.

And yet, as our President said in his splendid message on Monday, we realize that it is not the German people who are responsible for these crimes against right and reason, but the government of autocrats, who have misrepresented them. If we could send our message direct to the peoples of Germany, Austria, and Turkey, struggling under and stricken by Prussian militarism and autocracy for years, I believe the reply would come back, "The people of Germany want no war with America. We want peace with you and with all the world."

Unfortunately we can not deal with the German people in this instance. The autocracy stands between them and us, and will until they rise as the people of Russia have done and throw off their shackles and cast down their yokes of servitude and establish a new government where the people shall rule, with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

There have been but few people in this country who have wanted war with Germany, and there are few now who would want it but for the lofty purposes of maintaining the ideals of Americanism and the principles of our country's founders. The long list of crimes of the German Government against democracy and humanity, from the devastation of Belgium and France

and the enslavement of the civilian population, culminates in savage attacks upon the democracy of the world as represented by our national endeavor to maintain our rights of free and unrestricted travel upon the high seas, as is our prerogative as a neutral nation at peace with all the world. We have never yet entered into a war without high purpose. We have never sought at the outset of any war the extension of our lands or the enrichment of our Treasury. In the Revolutionary War we fought to secure freedom as a Nation and the right for men to live in freedom and equality. In the War of 1812 we fought for the freedom of the seas and the right of free travel thereupon. In the Civil War we fought to maintain the Union. Our last war we fought with Spain for the sake of humanity and to relieve the oppressed.

Once we have started, and I believe that to-day will mark the entrance of this country into the world war, in my opinion, it should not be a half-hearted attempt upon our part to lend our moral aid to the cause of democracy but one that will make itself felt. It should be one that will be productive of results and the genuine good of all the people of the German Empire and its allies. We have been spreading our doctrines of democracy into almost every nation upon earth except into the German Empire and the countries of its allies. America has been the shining light of democracy and humanity, casting its rays around the globe. Our peaceful progress, our humanity, our illustrious example has been the standard of republics since the closing days of the eighteenth century. We have striven in this instance to bring the light of reason to Germany through peaceful methods, but where treaties have become scraps of paper, international law a relic of the Dark Ages, and honor a forgotten accomplishment these methods have failed, and at last reluctantly and with sorrow we find that we must unsheath the sword that has lain in its scabbard since 1898.

As we have fought victoriously in all these wars, accomplished the fulfillment of our ideals and our high purposes, so shall we fight now in this war with all our might and main, and when our armies and our Navy return with battle flags flying and the laurels of victory borne aloft, when armed conflict ends and quiet reigns once more upon this troubled earth, let us pray God that as war was made in Germany, may an everlasting peace be made in America!

Resolutions in Regard to Migratory Birds and National Defense Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following resolutions:

Joint resolution relating to the protection of migratory birds.

Whereas there exists a convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds, the ratifications whereof were exchanged on December 7, 1916; and

Whereas there are now before the Congress Senate bill 7858 and House bill 20080, both intended to give full force and effect to said convention in this country; and

Whereas the Legislatures of the States of Minnesota and Michigan have before them resolutions memorializing Congress to promptly enact such needed legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate, the assembly concurring, That this Legislature of the State of Wisconsin does hereby respectfully urge upon Congress that it promptly enact Senate bill 7858 or House bill 20080 for the protection of migratory birds.

That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Wisconsin are respectfully requested to use their influence and to vote for the passage of such legislation.

That copies of this resolution, duly attested by the signatures of the presiding officers and chief clerks of the two houses, shall be transmitted to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

EDWARD F. DUTTMAR,
President of the Senate.
LAWRENCE C. WHITTET,
Speaker of the Assembly.
O. G. MUNSON,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

A resolution relating to the national-defense act.

Whereas under the Constitution of the United States and by effective Federal statutes, the able-bodied men of military age are constituted, those in each State the militia of that State, and together in all States the militia of the United States, and this whether enlisted for a term of years and called Organized Militia or National Guard or whether unorganized and so denominated in the law; and

Whereas power is conferred upon the Congress by the Constitution to provide for the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions, and for no other purpose; and

Whereas by virtue of section 111, act of Congress, June 3, 1916, the President of the United States may, when Congress shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army, draft into the military service of the United States any or all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserve; and

Whereas the direct effect of the foregoing provision will be to materially lessen enlistment in the National Guard whose true function is to enroll, organize, and give convenient opportunity for military training to all citizens capable of bearing arms to the end that they may efficiently perform their constitutional military duties; and

Whereas men who would freely pledge themselves to serve if their Federal service under oath is limited to the grave national emergencies enumerated in the Constitution will be deferred from such training and service if this oath also obligates them to leave business and settled occupation, on order of the President, to garrison posts, domestic or foreign, which the Regular Army is inadequate to guard, or to perform other military routine duties in times of peace; and

Whereas the extending by the same act of the term of original enlistment in the National Guard to six years, three years active and three reserve, also tends to defeat the purpose of the law if that purpose is to have subject to the President's call at any time the maximum number of trained guardsmen since those who may be thus held in reserve for the final three years will not equal in number those who will be deterred from original enlistment by thought of the contingencies of these years: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States to so amend the act of June 3, 1916 (national-defense act), as to make the draft of the National Guard applicable only when in the judgment of the President, a national emergency requires the use of National Guard troops beyond the borders of the United States; be it further

Petitioned, That the said act be also amended by the Congress so that the term of original enlistment in the National Guard shall be three years of active service therein, with provision that on the expiration of his active service any guardsman physically able may, if he so elects and takes oath, enlist in the National Guard Reserve for such period as the Congress shall determine and enact; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby directed to forward a duly authenticated copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate of the United States, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States; also to the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from this State.

LAWRENCE C. WHITTET,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Resolutions Adopted by a Mass Meeting at Springfield, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COURTNEY W. HAMLIN,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions:

Be it resolved by this mass meeting in Convention Hall, Springfield, Mo., of 15,000 sovereign citizens of Missouri, That we consider it our duty and privilege as citizens of these United States, regardless of nativity or political conviction, to consecrate, and we do hereby consecrate, our persons and property to the service of our Government in the protection and defense of our homes, of our rights, to continue to enjoy the blessings of a republican form of government, established and maintained by the people, for the people, and of the people, and of the rights secured to us by the laws of nations upon the high seas.

We solemnly pledge to the President, the Congress, and the Government our loyal support in the accomplishment of these sacred purposes.

To refuse to resist international crime is to be unworthy of the name American, and it is our present duty to the cause of freedom to support our Government in any sacrifice required to defend those principles of international law and order absolutely essential to civilization: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we approve in the fullest measure the action of President Wilson in severing relations with Germany and arming American vessels for their defense against ruthless and piratical attack made against them by a power seemingly gone mad with imperialism.

Exercising our sovereign right, we strongly recommend to and urge upon Congress the vital importance of taking immediate and energetic action to properly protect the honor and safety of our country, that it make prompt provision for an adequate Army, Navy, coast defense, and full equipment sufficient to enable our country to defend itself against any force which any nation may send.

We pray for peace, but we urge the Members of Congress, individually and collectively, to in the fullest measure prepare us for war, to the end that blasting ruin and shame may not come upon our Nation for the lack of proper expenditure of a few paltry dollars. What would it profit our Nation to gain the wealth of the world and lose our ideals of freedom and human rights? Be it further

Resolved, That we aid and encourage in every way possible the immediate movement of recruiting our Army and Navy to the fullest standard required by our President, and that we pledge him and our country a constant continuation of this movement so long as he shall consider it necessary.

Resolutions in Regard to War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include some resolutions that have been recently forwarded to me.

The resolutions are as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
TOWN OF NEEDHAM.

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: At the annual meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Needham, held on the 26th day of March, A. D. 1917, the following resolutions were voted unanimously, viz:

"Whereas the German Imperial Government has forbidden the citizens of the United States the exercise of their lawful rights on the high seas, and has without cause sacrificed American lives thereon; and

"Whereas the President has severed diplomatic relations with that Government and called Congress to take further action thereon: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the citizens of Needham, Mass., in annual town meeting assembled—

"First. That we commend the President for his action in severing diplomatic relations and in the further steps he has taken for the protection and preservation of American lives on land and sea.

"Second. That we assure the President and our Representatives in Congress of our unqualified support in any measures that they may deem necessary for the preservation of life and the vindication of national honor.

"Third. That a committee of 15 be appointed by the honorable board of selectmen, to be a committee on public safety to cooperate with the State committee on public safety in furtherance of the principles of freedom and humanity. Be it further

"Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the town records and a copy thereof forwarded to the President, Woodrow Wilson, and the Senators and Congressmen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Attest:
[SEAL.] THOMAS SUTTON, *Town Clerk.*

CARPENTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL,
Newton, Mass., March 12, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
Representative from Massachusetts, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of this council held March 8 the following resolutions were adopted, and I was instructed to forward a copy of the same to you.

Respectfully, yours, EVERETT A. MCASSEY, *Secretary.*

NEWTON, MASS., *March 8, 1917.*

Whereas the present prices of food have soared beyond the reach of the workingmen of this country; and

Whereas the manipulators of the foodstuffs in this country seem to have cornered the market so that there is no relief in sight; and

Whereas the citizens of this country deem it time that some drastic action be taken to stop this procedure at once: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Carpenters' District Council of Newton, Mass., demand that you, as a representative of the people of the United States, put in force such laws that this state of affairs will stop at once, now, and for all time; and also be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, one to the governor of Massachusetts, one to the mayor of our city, one to the Attorney General of the United States, one to each of our 2 Senators, and one to each of our 16 Representatives in Congress, and also be spread on the records of this meeting.

ALEX. G. NICOLSON,
GEORGE SOBIESKI,
E. MURPHY,
Committee on Resolutions.

BOARD OF SELECTMEN,
ASHLAND, MASS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
Representative in Congress.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Inclosed you will find a copy of a resolution adopted by the citizens of Ashland, Mass., in the town meeting held Wednesday, April 4, 1917.

Very truly, yours, ABRAHAM H. LINCOLN,
Clerk of Board of Selectmen.

Whereas the President of the United States of America has called Congress into extraordinary session to take action on a war resolution against the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Ashland, Mass., in town meeting assembled, to hereby solemnly pledge their support to the President and Government of the United States of America to any action they deem necessary to maintain and protect the honor and safety of the American people and of the Government of the United States of America.

BROOKLINE, MASS., *March 24, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
Needham Heights, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a copy of the resolutions adopted by the town meeting members of the town of Brookline at the annual meeting held on Wednesday, March 21, 1917.

Respectfully,

EDWARD W. BAKER,
Town Clerk of Brookline.

The original of the above resolutions has been sent to the President.

BROOKLINE, MASS.

At a meeting of the town-meeting members of the town of Brookline, assembled in town meeting at the town hall on Wednesday, the 21st day of March, 1917, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by a rising vote:

"Whereas the German Imperial Government has, as President Wilson has said, forbidden to our people the exercise of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas, and in consequence the President has severed diplomatic relations with Germany and has taken steps to protect American citizens and American ships in their acknowledged rights on the high seas: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the town-meeting members of Brookline, assembled this 21st day of March, 1917—

"First. That they commend the President for his uncompromising position in the relations of the United States with Germany and in insisting that the acknowledged rights of American citizens on land and sea be respected.

"Second. That, while they have desired peace, they now recognize that a state of war practically exists; and believing that any effective resistance to Germany must necessarily involve cooperation with Great Britain, France, and their allies, they urge upon the President and Congress the immediate consideration of such action.

"Third. That they pledge to the President and Congress their unqualified loyalty and support in this crisis of our Nation's history."

A true copy.
Attest:

EDWARD W. BAKER,
Town Clerk of Brookline.

BOSTON, MASS., *March 26, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER.
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Weston, Mass., assembled in our anual town meeting, at this time of grave national crisis declare our allegiance to our country and our unhesitating support of the President of the United States and all other constituted authorities, in any forward step to protect American lives, American rights, and American honor. No ship that flies our flag is too small, no American's life is too humble to be denied the protection of our Government. We urge upon Congress the imperative duty of enacting at the coming session a bill for compulsory military training of the youth of our land as a safeguard of liberty. Our country needs and demands leadership, and we call upon our President and the Congress and upon our governor to take immediate and effective action to resist aggression, that unashamed we may transmit to our descendants those principles of freedom and duty for which our ancestors were proud to shed their blood. Unanimously adopted by rising vote.

ANDREW FISK, *Moderator.*
ALFRED L. CUTTING,
B. LORING YOUNG,
HERBERT E. TYLER,
Selectmen.

FRAMINGHAM, MASS., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The citizens of Framingham, assembled in crowded mass meeting Monday, March 26, 1917, voted unanimously to forward at once to their Representative in Congress, to the United States Senators from Massachusetts, and to the President this expression of their approbation of the measures recently taken for meeting the present international crisis, the call to Congress to meet in extraordinary session, the order to enroll the National Guard in United States service, the increase of the naval forces of the Nation; also to assure the President of unhesitating support, without partisan division, of such vigorous policy as he may recommend to protect our shipping, to safeguard the rights of our people, and to maintain our basic principles of democratic government against the aggressive military policy waged by the Government of Germany.

A true copy.
Attest:

EDGAR A. BOWERS,
Secretary of the Meeting.

ASHLAND, MASS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At a public meeting at the Congregational Church of Ashland tonight, the people were almost unanimous in favor of universal military training.

A. G. WARREN.

THE FRAMINGHAM BOARD OF TRADE,
Framingham, Mass., March 29, 1917.

Hon. WM. H. CARTER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At at regular meeting of the Framingham Board of Trade, held Tuesday evening, March 27, it was unanimously voted to go on record as favoring universal military training and that the secretary be instructed to write to the Senators from Massachusetts and the Representative from this district concerning this action of the board and requesting their favorable action on this matter.

Very truly, yours,

EDGAR POTTER, *Secretary.*

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled recommend the immediate establishment by Congress of an adequate system of universal military and naval training under the direction of the National Government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to each Senator and Representative from Massachusetts in Congress.

In senate, adopted March 29, 1917.

In house of respresentatives, adopted, in concurrence, March 30, 1917.

A true copy.

Attest:

ALBERT P. LANTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Our Duty as Patriots.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution as a patriotic duty; I shall vote for it in the same spirit with which over a half century ago I offered my young manhood to my country on a similar call from President Lincoln, although I fully realize that our action to-day will bring more rejoicing to the descendants of old King George the Third at London than any act in the world's history since Wellington's victory at Waterloo and Napoleon's exile to St. Helena.

I shall vote for it, because our present duly elected Chief Magistrate has said to us in effect that he has exhausted all proper means of avoiding war with a nation which happily heretofore has been at peace with us during all our national life. As the President has well said, "it is a most fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war"; but his is the responsibility; our duty in a sense is of lesser degree—that common to all official and patriotic citizenship.

I represent a district in which there are many so-called pacifists, sturdy, rugged, conscientious believers in the peaceful doctrines of William Penn; nonresistants, if you please, and yet men and women of the type of martyrs, unafraid in any human presence. I honor them. Family traditions and teaching point me in the same direction, and yet, as in the lurid days of the Civil War, placing country above family ties or personal considerations, I must respond to duty as I understand it—answer the call of the President and stand by him in matters of immediate concern, such as the resolution we are now considering, reserving only matters of conscience and the future exercise of deliberation and judgment on doubtful governmental policies which may or may not arise after the exigencies of the hour shall have passed.

With me it is not a matter of excitement or hysteria caused by war propagandists or aroused by the more serious and burning words of the President. I do not agree in sentiment with all he has said. I have felt that absolute neutrality, even to the extent of an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerents, was the duty of this great Republic, and I am loth to waver in judgment in this respect. Yet when I returned to Washington on the day before the meeting of this extraordinary session of Congress and found on my office desk awaiting me many friendly letters and telegrams of advice, some making demands with which I could not comply, and a few making threats which were ignored as unworthy, I at once, without hesitation or doubt, wrote to my good friends of peace the following letter, omitting only the names:

[Office of D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, M. C., eighteenth Ohio district.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 1, 1917.*

RESPECTED FRIENDS: I have your interesting, and I assure you most appreciated, letter on peace and good will among men and nations, now in imminent danger of being broken, which I regret certainly as much as anyone can, my own early training, environment, and feelings being much like your own. But I fear we are approaching a condition where not to stand by the President—elected for four years by the people and the only one we have or can have in the present emergency—would be like attempting to tie the hands and embarrass the executive branch of the Government, a thing which I feel no Member of Congress ought to be expected to do in such an hour of national peril.

This does not mean that all Members of Congress should follow him in extreme ideas for the future, such as the construction of big battleships in large numbers which can not possibly be put in commission until after present dangers are past, or in big standing armies for the future formed by compulsory military training; in other words, abandoning the ideals of the Republic for the reactionary ideals of monarchy. My hope has been that permanent peace and disarmament might come together.

And, writing on the eve of a possibly fateful to-morrow, I yet have hope that the dire extremity of war may be avoided with honor, and that America may yet be able to lead the nations upward by means other than the sword.

But if war comes, or the alternative of national dishonor be presented, my instincts, feelings, and endeavors will be with my country, its flag, and American ideals.

Very respectfully, D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

Resolutions Adopted by Georgia Division of the Travelers' Protective Association.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. OVERSTREET,
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. OVERSTREET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted by Georgia Division, Travelers' Protective Association, in convention assembled, Atlanta, Ga., April 6, 1917.

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolutions adopted by Georgia Division, Travelers' Protective Association, in convention assembled, Atlanta, Ga., April 6, 1917.

Whereas there is a possibility of an attempt to invade our country by a foreign power; and

Whereas there is no highway between Tybee Island and Savannah, Ga., therefore a road is a military necessity. There are no means at present for ingress and egress to and from Fort Screven on Tybee Island, Ga., save the Tybee Railroad, and a few well-directed shots would destroy this railroad, thus cutting off all means of escape for the occupants of Fort Screven: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon our Representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives at Washington to use their best efforts to introduce and have passed a bill requiring the prompt construction of a road between Tybee Island and Savannah, Ga., fully prepared to meet all military demands.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. LA FOLLETTE,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to reiterate the expressions I uttered when informed that my time for the discussion of the resolution plunging this country into war, had expired. "Such an important question as this we can not have any time to discuss!" Think of it! A resolution precipitating our Nation into war that will cost many thousands of precious lives and billions of dollars in money, which will have to be wrung from the people by excessive taxation, brought into the House and rushed through within 16 hours. Why this haste? Is it because the emergency is so great? I deny it. It is because we are asked to pass it on a false assumption of fact, as I stated in the remarks I made on the floor last night.

The public are asked to believe it is because of the sinking of some of our ships, with attendant loss of life, by German submarines. That is a plausible defense to make for our action to the people. It appeals to them—the destruction of the lives of our citizens! How long since we became so tender of their lives? Congress was in session when United States warships were ordered from Tampico waters, leaving a large hotel building full of our people to the tender mercies of a Mexican mob. There were many women and children among the besieged; they asked for help and succor. The ships' admiral referred their prayer to Washington and received orders that caused

them to steam away under protest while the eyes of those women and children besieged there viewed the flag, whose honor our boys are now asked to give up their lives to defend, as it faded in the distance, leaving them to their fate. A foreign warship, belonging to the ruthless German race, happened to be in that harbor. It landed marines, forced back the mob, escorted those Americans, whose lives were not of sufficient importance for our Government to care for or protect, with the help of a British vessel, to our port of New Orleans. I suppose those refugees have hearts full of hate for the ruthless Germans and love for those who considered the "saluting of the flag" of much greater importance than the protection of their lives and honor.

The President came before Congress in regard to the using of the American forces in connection with the flag fiasco at Tampico, and the Congress in that case passed the resolution requested under a misapprehension of the facts, and each and every move that followed proved it. The Congress should have been entirely too astute to consider a failure to fire a salute of 21 guns in honor of our flag by an unrecognized Government of enough importance to justify the request for authority to use our armed forces against Huerta. It only veiled the greater purpose in mind. We may have accomplished that purpose; it is not given to mankind to absolutely read the minds of their fellows. We sometimes make a good guess. We only know we marched into Vera Cruz and then marched out again. The shipload of arms we stopped from unloading was taken off at another nearby port, we accomplished nothing in that respect. Huerta never saluted the flag. We killed a couple of hundred Mexicans, snuffed out the lives of 19 American boys, for what? God knows! I wish only 19 could be lost by the passage of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, it will more than likely be 1,900,000 lives, and then some. And not because of the loss of a few ships (in many cases ships under American registry, largely controlled by British capital) with the attendant loss of some American lives; we did not, in my judgment, enter Vera Cruz simply to prevent the landing of arms, that was only incidental; the proof is that the arms were landed a few days later in Porto Mexico while we had 17 warships in Mexican waters.

We are not entering this war directly because of our personal loss of property and lives through German submarines; in my judgment we are entering this war because Great Britain and her allies in this country realize that the German submarine will get England and France's backs to the wall. They are becoming depleted in both men and money. Death is claiming the former and American munition factories and American war material manufactories have largely absorbed the latter. Our capitalistic class has made huge loans to the entente allies, which they have received back in payment for the munitions and war supplies. Should the entente fail, where will "Shylock get his pound of flesh"? What are the lives of a couple of millions of Americans when such huge profits are at stake? The farm boys and the laborers in city and country usually do the fighting and dying. Why not offer them now as security for American manufacturers' profits, while they are securing additional profits and dividends at home by furnishing more war supplies? What are young lives when American honor ($) is at stake?

Mr. Speaker, there are other viewpoints and I desire to be fair. It may be that our President and his Cabinet have, in discussing this matter around the table, taken the view that with Russia as an uncertain factor, owing to revolution and the establishment of an untried Government, that might collapse as a real fighting entity at any time, and if it should it would be more probable that Germany would win the war, then the question to decide would be, Is it our place to make their quarrel ours and offer our boys to die in order that England and France may win? Will it do to allow England and France to go to the wall? Is it best for civilization and the good of the world that such an ending shall be?

The dollar mark might not have figured in their minds at all (even though it would incidentally do all I have outlined) and only high regard for the future welfare of our country and the world may have entered into their calculations. If such was the case, why was not the matter put up to Congress to decide instead of a much less, and when I consider Tampico, I am constrained to say a more trivial cause for war, advanced? Is not the law-making department of our Government worthy of the fullest confidence? If the latter proposition I have advanced is the real motive for this resolution it should be thoroughly analyzed. Are we under any obligations to either Great Britain or France that are so great as to demand this sacrifice? Has their conduct during the centuries been such as to justify so great an offering? I say it has not and I defy our historians to point out a single act in all their history that would justify this assistance. The newspapers are howling the present of a billion dollars of the peoples' money to France for the assistance rendered us during our Revolutionary War. Washington himself laid any claim for our bounty in that direction to sleep. He loved La Fayette, who made personal sacrifice; but as to the French Government under the rule of the Bourbon King Louis XVI, he expressed no sense of obligation. France was at war with England and she helped us because by so doing she helped herself; we were to the extent we held English armies in America and to the extent we killed or captured her soldiers, fighting France's battles. Washington fully realized this. France had no personal feeling for America, nor sympathy with her desire for freedom. English history is too well known to all our citizens to make them believe we owe her anything in the way of gratitude or gratuities.

Mr. Speaker, I think we can help England greatly, if she so desires and the American Congress is willing to make the venture, by buying from His Majesty's Government his North American possessions. We can afford to pay him a good price; I care not how high the Congress cares to go, if at all in reason. We can afford to go high. In that way we can punish Germany's warfare on us through her submarines and not put our boys into war for a quarrel not ours. For God's sake, let us pause before it is too late. If we will furnish England gold for her North American possessions that she can pay her way with she can recruit her armies from her own dependencies with which to fight her battles as she needs them. We can defer delivery of Canada until five years after the date of the consummation of the deal, not depriving England of its assistance during her present struggle, thus securing to her the sinews of war.

Mr. Speaker, I can not vote for a war involving us in a partnership abhorrent to me. In my judgment, unadvisable and inexcusable, including the placing of our boys in the trenches of Europe, with the attendant horrors.

Mr. Speaker, Woodrow Wilson, the historian and writer, has said, among other things:

> I sometimes think it is true that no people ever went to war with another people. Governments have gone to war with one another, but peoples, so far as I remember, have not.

If that sentiment he penned was true and the thought is followed to a logical conclusion, this war will not be between the German people and the people of the United States, but between the German Government, as represented by the Kaiser and the Reichstag, and the United States Government, as represented by Woodrow Wilson and the Congress of the United States, and the people of the United States and the people of Germany will not have gone to war with each other at all.

The pity of it! The people of Germany and the people of the United States have to bleed, suffer, and die for the acts of the Kaiser and the Reichstag and Wilson and the Congress! I agree with Mr. Wilson, the historian, and I, for one, decline to assume the responsibility and to help to force our people into a war not asked for nor desired by them, even though some of our people have expressed such a desire. I have not heard of the recruiting stations being overrun by those gentlemen offering themselves as a sacrifice. I have not heard of members of the chambers of commerce and boards of trade (nor of their sons) that have passed resolutions asking Congress and the people to stand by the President and pledging their support rushing to the recruiting stations and enlisting as privates in the ranks for the trenches of Europe. Neither have I heard of any of the great meetings filled with patriotic fervor and speeches of patriotism being followed by the enlistment of either the orators or the immediate members of their families. It is easy to orate; it takes courage to fight and offer yourself to almost certain death. Surely those patriots are not waiting to be conscripted.

The flag, God bless it! To the man whose soul is attune with love for mankind and a desire for the welfare of his country it stands for one thing; to the men who view it as an emblem to wave above their cargoes of contraband of war, arms, and ammunition, picric acid and hand grenades, Missouri mules, and so forth, it is only a protection for such commerce. Love of country and compassion for mankind has no room or habitation in their minds or hearts, and the flag only means protection to their dollars and trade. Yes; use the flag and its honor as a means to lure young men to death and destruction.

They have, in the nature of things, not thought very deeply of such matters; they have not yet realized that the flag only stands for what is in the heart of each individual; they have not given thought to the fact that the flag they are to die for was, for 85 years after we became a Nation, floating over a living lie. Our famous Declaration of Independence, containing the fiction that all men were created free and equal, was a mockery and a delusion as it waved over the slave pen and blood often flowed

from the bondsman's back as his master plied the lash. That flag for 85 years witnessed this great wrong and inconsistency.

I am not throwing any rocks at those who owned the slaves. The smug Yankee at the North, finding the negro unprofitable, sold him to the South, where economically he was profitable; then he complacently folded his hands, thanked God that he had become better than his neighbor and, like the Pharisee of the Bible, expected to be blessed of God. He was equally guilty with the South for the living lie, and to-day it is from him the cry goes up most insistently, "Save my profits, protect my ventures! The flag has often cloaked sin like "slavery"; now it should protect my holy commerce." Poor old flag!

Mr. Speaker, people are wont to liken the present occupant of the White House to our martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln abhorred slavery, yet he loved his country so greatly that he said:

If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union, and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. * * * I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

The President has received great credit for having kept us out of war. He received his reelection on that slogan. I think he made his fatal mistake, either advisedly or otherwise, when he insisted on the tabling of the McLemore resolution warning our citizens against traveling on ships carrying contraband of war, arms and ammunition, the armed merchant vessels of belligerent nations. The President had already, through his Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, transmitted to some of our representatives abroad notice that the Government was contemplating giving practically this warning to all our citizens and designated their right to so travel as a "doubtful legal right." I feel that Abraham Lincoln would have said: "If by warning our citizens to keep out of the restricted waters I could prevent our entrance into this war, I would do so, regardless of their legal rights. If warning our people that their shipping arms and ammunition or any other contraband of war to any of the belligerent nations was absolutely at their own risk of life and property would have lessened our risk of being drawn into the maelstrom, with its attendant sorrow, suffering, and death, I would do it, regardless of doubtful legal rights."

I am sure Lincoln would have given those who would have to suffer from war, who would lose their lives should we enter it, more consideration than he would have given the property rights of shippers of commodities under perilous conditions or those of our citizens who cared to travel in those waters "to receive a thrill" or for profit or pleasure.

Shall our people carry an interminable load of debt and give millions of human lives to assure their safety or right to thrills, profits, or pleasure? If the President of the United States feels that our people will long subscribe to such a doctrine why does he not trust to their patriotic fervor for the procuring of soldiers to fight for our wrongs? Why does he advocate conscription, the method of the tyrant and the autocrat who has power of life and death over his subjects? Is it because he knows his position on the question is untenable and will not bear the light of reason. Does he know it will be necessary in order to carry out his ideas and procure enough men to carry out his will and purpose—to conscribe the youth of our land. The special plea is made that conscription will tend to equalize and force all alike to serve. There never was a conscription in history that caused equality of service; there will not be now. It sounds fine! Just wait and see how it works out.

Mr. Speaker, each and every Representative or Senator who votes against this unholy partnership and the forcing of our country into this war knows the administration has power to carry out its purpose, and the measure is already as good as passed. It would have been much easier for them had they chosen to have been classed with the patriots voting for war. I myself already have a boy in the National Guard; he put in four months on the Mexican border and is subject to the trenches in Europe. My vote against war can not in any way help him. War is assured in advance of the vote. Why should not I make a fiery speech in defense of the dear old flag, vote for the war and conscription, then go home and pose as a hero, and if criticized say, "What are you kicking about? I have a son who served on the Mexican border and is now with the colors. Surely your son is no more dear to you than is mine to me."

I could easily have taken that course and received the plaudits of thousands, and in my heart always had a contempt for myself. The price was too large; being a hero came too high. If I had done that, with my feelings and belief in regard to this war, I would in reality feel myself unworthy to represent my district.

Mr. Speaker, had I known that a majority of my constituents, regardless of politics, were in favor of this war I probably could have brought myself to talk against it and to vote for it on the plea that I was carrying out their wishes and that it was my duty to do so. In that way I might to a great extent have satisfied both factions. I could not bring myself to do it. I do not know how a majority of the people of my district feel about it. I have voted to keep them from war, from the loss of their sons and the widowing of their daughters; the maiden from losing her sweetheart and the wife her husband by the horrible death of European battle fields; and I am perfectly willing to abide by the verdict of the people as to my actions. If I am alive and physically fit, I will be a candidate to succeed myself at the next election. I will give the people of my district a chance to, by their votes, show whether I have erred in judgment, lacked patriotism, or in any other way am unworthy of their suffrage, and will bow to their will if against me, not without some sorrow for respect lost and friendship severed, yet with perfect equanimity and a feeling of duty conscientiously performed, with malice toward none and charity for all.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. WALLACE DEMPSEY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, those who are opposed to this resolution or hesitate as to their course must believe, or at least hope, that war with Germany can be avoided. The question is, then, whether there is foundation for such a belief or even for a hope of peace. To determine it we need only to examine briefly the cause of this war and its course.

There is substantial agreement among disinterested observers that Germany provoked and started the war, and that she did this deliberately, because she thought she had reached the limit of growth within her present boundaries, and to expand she must have more territory. Her ambition in this respect seems likely to fail, so far as regards Europe. She is steadily being driven back out of France, and at the present rate of progress by the allies she will at no very distant day lose the part she now has, and her hold on little Belgium will be loosened. The Serbian Army is again battling for its country. If Roumania is held, it must go to Bulgaria and Turkey. Germany has lost what few provincial possessions she had at the outbreak of hostilities. As regards all these countries Germany's enormous sacrifices of men and untold expenditure of money for nearly three long, weary years count for nothing.

There is, however, a land of promise to which she can and clearly does look, and that is all of the countries on this hemisphere to the south of the United States. If she can acquire control or a dominating interest in even a considerable part of this vast territory, she can expand to the extent of her wildest dreams. One readily believes what he desires, and the prospect on a superficial view is alluring. Mexico is in chaos, and Germany has strong trade connections and a vast number of people of German descent in the South American Republics.

Her intrigues against us with Mexico and Japan, carried on in our own land while we were still at peace with her, prove that Germany plans to obtain a foothold in this country to the south of us, and gives from her viewpoint the best of reasons for what would otherwise seem her inexplicable conduct toward us.

Struggling single handed against almost a world in arms, it is incredible that, for the chance of crippling England, she would have defied us by her ruthless submarine warfare and have brought into the field against her the one great neutral, with a hundred million people and untold resources. She must, as her intrigues with Mexico prove, have fixed an ambitious eye on the land to the south of us, and have recognized that to acquire any part of it she must overthrow the Monroe doctrine through a struggle with us.

On all traditions of our nearly a century and a half of existence we must maintain the Monroe doctrine. The quarrel between us is, then, one which can not be reconciled. The invasion of our rights on the sea, the slaughter of our citizens not alone without cause but in defiance both of international law and of the common rules of humanity, demand, in performance

of the basic contract between a country and its citizens of protection in return for obedience and support, the ultimate resort to arms. Back of it all looms Germany's ambition to expand in the way of which stands our support of the Monroe doctrine.

War, then, is inevitable, and let it come while we can march in step with England and France and Russia and Italy, and not be deferred until their quarrels have been settled and we, unprepared, must alone confront Germany with a military training extending back through the whole history of the Empire.

Gentlemen inquire why the armed neutrality but recently proposed by the President should not be tried further. We answer because it was proposed in the hope that Germany would not act as ruthlessly as she threatened to do; that she meant to scare our commerce from the seas, not to murder and destroy if our boats had the courage to sail. Since then, too, the attempted intrigues with Mexico and Japan and the conspiracies against our industries here at home have been revealed. The situation has entirely changed, and armed neutrality has proved utterly inadequate to the crisis.

Sympathy has been expressed, too, for the youth of our land. They, however, are speaking for themselves. Harvard and Yale, our leading colleges, will, it is clear, be deserted the instant the call for recruits is given. Even the boys at the great schools, like Philipps Exeter, are drilling and ready to go.

From age to age, from time to time, wars come. The advance in civilization does not alter this rule. There comes a time in the life of a nation when in decent self-respect it must take the ultimate resort—that to arms. Such a time unhappily has now come to us. We have followed the injunction, "Because of entrance to a quarrel." Let us now remember the other part of it, "But being in, bear thyself so that the opposer may beware of thee." Let us devote ourselves to the task in hand with all our resources of men and means, so that America may emerge at the end with added dignity and prestige, with its name respected and honored throughout the world and wherever the Stars and Stripes may go.

In conclusion let me quote, for the benefit of those who have thought that war might be avoided, the words of a great German poet:

Dream ye of peaceful sway,
Dream on who dream it may,
War still is empire's word.
Peace! At the victor's sword.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, as much as I may wish to stand by the President in all things, yet I can not, by any force of reasoning, bring myself to believe that a vote for this resolution will be right and just or that in casting such vote I will be voicing the sentiment of a majority of the people I have the honor to represent. I would not for any office within the gift of the people cast a vote contrary to my honest convictions, nor would I stultify myself by supporting that which I believe to be a violation of those American principles that were enunciated by Washington—Washington, that mighty ruler who stood for all that is good and just and who dared to do right in all things.

Mr. Speaker, had the resolution simply declared that a state of war has been thrust upon the United States by the Imperial German Government and then directed the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on the war, it would perhaps have received the indorsement of the American people generally. But the resolution does not stop there, Mr. Speaker. It makes the President's power absolute, and under the resolution he can send our soldiers to the trenches of the allied nations now at war with Germany, and he can employ at will the resources of the country, and by his action bring about foreign entanglements that will place upon the people of the United States a burden of taxation that in ages to come will still be a millstone around the necks of the American people—not the millionaires and favored ones, but the toiling masses, who pay the taxes and fight their country's battles.

Mr. Speaker, I am not yet ready to vote absolutism to any President, nor will I ever vote to abrogate the Monroe doctrine by forming any alliance with the warring nations of the Old World. If we engage in war with Germany we should do so as an independent nation and not as an ally of any of the European nations, whether England, France, Belgium, or Italy.

That I am not a pacifist, Mr. Speaker, is proven by the fact that I was the first Texas Congressman to come out unreservedly for preparedness, and by the further fact that I voted for every preparedness measure that came before the House of the last Congress. But in pledging myself to preparedness, Mr. Speaker, I did not pledge myself to the policy of having my country enter into foreign entanglements or to fight the wars of foreign nations.

Mr. Speaker, I know that my vote against this resolution will subject me to a storm of abuse and censure from the manufacturers of munitions of war, from financiers who make money out of war, from a Tory press, from Anglicized college professors, and from political preachers, who seem to be under the influence of Satan rather than that of the Lowly Nazarene, whom they slander by posing as His representatives. There will be good men, too, Mr. Speaker, who will differ with me on this vital question, but these will accord me that same honesty of purpose which I accord to them. But, Mr. Speaker, I can stand the abuse, the censure, and the criticism as long as I have the inner consciousness of doing that which I believe to be right. And I will also find consolation in the blessings of tender mothers and loving sisters who will thank me with silent prayers and tears of gratitude for the vote I am about to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. And one such prayer and one such tear, Mr. Speaker, will be more to me than all the abuse, the censure, and the criticism that may be heaped upon me by the war-maddened few and a tory press.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard it intimated that I was being influenced in my stand on this resolution by political affiliations—the German vote of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have received many protests from my constituents urging me to vote against this resolution, yet only a few of these protests came from those who bore German names. They came from men who bore old-fashioned American names—men who live on the rural routes and till the soil, who are their country's bulwark in time of peace and their country's hope in time of war. And I might add, Mr. Speaker, that perhaps the strongest criticism I have received because of my stand on this resolution comes from one of the most prominent German citizens in Texas, a man of great influence among his fellow citizens of German extraction, and who is universally respected by all that know him.

But, Mr. Speaker, it seems inevitable that the resolution will pass, and its passage will mean a declaration of war; and once war is declared, Mr. Speaker, it is not for me as an American citizen to do otherwise than stand with my country, for, whether right or wrong, I am with my country, as were my ancestors in the War of the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and through all of the intervening years. And this, Mr. Speaker, shall be my answer to pacifist importunist as well as to those who lust for war—those who may praise me for my course or those who may censure and condemn.

Mr. Speaker, I am above everything an American—an American whose ancestry antedates the War of the American Revolution; and, being an American, it is only natural that I should stand with Washington, the greatest of all, and who warned his country against all foreign entanglements; and thus standing with Washington, I could not, Mr. Speaker, conscientiously give my vote to this most un-American measure.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker, being a new Member of the House I had not intended to take any part in the discussion of the resolution pending, but the weight of responsibility is such that I can not refrain.

With love for my country, a God-fearing and patriotic interpretation of that oath of office taken five days ago, pledging my

faithful support of the Constitution and a loyal defense of the country against all foreign aggression, I shall without apology or mental reservation vote for the resolution.

I trust and believe I realize the seriousness of the proposed step, but as I view the situation, the Imperial German Government has for months past been making war upon us, and we, in an effort to prevent the conflict, have exhausted patience and diplomacy. The adoption of the resolution will be a promotion of our self-defense, and war is the only safe or honorable course to pursue. This war has been thrust upon us and we will accept the gage of battle, but in doing so let it be with an abiding faith in Him who rules the destinies of all, that we shall not submit and that all we do may be for His honor and glory and for an extension of democracy, righteousness, and political freedom.

As a Nation we desire no extension of our territory or of our national rights, but we should permit no encroachment upon them; we would rather practice the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and commerce than the arts of war; we would rather be victors in peace than in arms; we are satisfied to rule ourselves and over our own affairs, without intermeddling with others, and by the help of God we shall do so.

The Imperial German Government has without just cause or provocation attempted to create internal dissension among us, to array labor against capital, the foreigner against the native, the negro against the white man and the individual against the Government; it has sought by intrigue and plot to involve this Nation with the Mexican Government and to array its people against us so as to cause an attempt at invasion of our territory and war upon us; it has by an infamous submarine-warfare policy of a madman, deaf to diplomacy, sympathy, the rights of neutrals and noncombatants, wantonly destroyed our ships engaged in commerce and conveying the products of our factories and farms to foreign ports and returning with such commodities as our necessities required, and has taken the lives of American citizens peacefully and lawfully engaged in honorable pursuits and of helpless women and innocent children without notice or warning.

The people of this Republic love peace and abhor war. Those of the district which I have the honor to represent are no exception to the rule. They are enamored with life, plying their various vocations in a sun-kissed clime made musical by the song of birds, laughing children, and lowing herds; but the fires of patriotism burn bright in every southern home, and its gallant sons can be counted upon to rally to the flag of our country with that same self-sacrificing, patriotic devotion which characterized and immortalized those brave sons of the Confederacy who followed Gordon, Jackson, and Lee. They will come in legions from the dear old Southland, from—

The hills and vales of Georgia,
Where birds in blossoms dream,
King Cotton waves his flag of white,
And golden nuggets gleam.

From—

Where the roses bloom the sweetest
For the daughters of the land,
And the spirit of patriotism
Throbs in the breast of every man.

And, in the language of Jens Grondahl, you will hear them say:

America, my country, I come at thy call;
I plight thee my troth, I give thee my all;
In peace or in war I am wed to thy weal;
I'll carry thy flag through the fire and the steel;
On sea nor on land shall it suffer disgrace;
Unsullied it floats o'er our peace-loving race;
In reverence I kneel at sweet liberty's shrine;
America, my country, command, I am thine.

The Formal Announcement of the War Being Waged Against the United States by the Imperial German Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, the people of my district love peace. They are engaged in the useful occupations of tilling the soil, raising cattle, and producing oil. They are a pioneer people acquainted with the hardships and dangers incident to building a prosperous Commonwealth from wild wastes and trackless prairies.

They have struggled against the devastation of the drouths and the destruction of the tornado, and are now struggling for existence under almost unbearable conditions of land titles. They are a cosmopolitan people, coming from every State in the Union and from every civilized country on the globe.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, they are hopeful people and have been patiently waiting and hoping that the Imperial German Government would cease its unlawful attacks upon our commerce and flag, and thereby escape this crisis.

They have suffered from the blockade of their cotton in the ports of this country on account of the U-boat policy of Germany; and the tenant farmers were practically ruined financially by this policy in the fall of 1914.

American lives have been destroyed, and the promise of the German Government to modify its U-boat policy toward the United States was accepted in good faith by the people of my district, a majority of whom were absolutely neutral in their feelings toward the belligerent countries. They voted in the last election for the President without regard to party affiliations, because they believed he had used every endeavor to keep the country out of war. They are ready to stand by him now, because they believe he has done everything possible to keep the country at peace, notwithstanding war has been thrust upon us without the formality of a declaration.

I take this opportunity to refute the charge made by some thoughtless, though noisy, persons, outside of this House, that the people of Oklahoma and other interior States are less patriotic than other States of the Union, and in reply to such statements I will say that Oklahoma will send as many men and pay as much war tax as any other State, according to population and wealth.

In this trying moment when I must cast my first vote in this House and upon such a momentous question, it is indeed a source of inspiration to receive patriotic messages, some of which I shall have printed here as a part of my remarks:

COALGATE, OKLA., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. TOM D. McKEOWN,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved by Coalgate Lodge, No. 988, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That we stand behind the President of the United States in his determination to protect American rights and as a man are ready with unflinching patriotism to aid and assist our country in every needed peril on land or sea.

BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS, NO. 988,
Coalgate, Okla.

ADA, OKLA., *March 26, 1917.*

Hon. TOM D. McKEOWN,
Washington, D. C.:

Official board, also Men's Bible Class, 50 strong, First Methodist Church, indorse the President's past action in the present crisis. We confide in your judgment and will stand by you in all future propositions.

J. L. BARRINGER,
Chairman Committee.

HOLDENVILLE, OKLA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. TOM D. McKEOWN,
Washington, D. C.:

In mass meeting here to-night Hughes County unanimously voted to indorse any action which may be taken by the President or Congress with reference to war with Germany.

G. W. SIEVER,
Chairman Mass Meeting.

WEWOKA, OKLA., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. TOM D. McKEOWN,
Washington, D. C.:

Seminole County is with Wilson—peace if we may, war if we must. We hope for peace, but if war comes Seminole County will go Irish.

LUTHER HARRISON,
J. C. LILLARD,
J. S. BARHAM.

Personally I hate war and love peace. But the things I hate or the things I love are not material here to-night. The only question for me to determine is whether or not I shall support the President by voting for the resolution, which is a formal declaration of the state of facts now existing. As to the merits of the controversy between the belligerent powers I have nothing to do.

Whether England has committed wrongs against our rights upon the seas is not an issue here. But whether the course of the Imperial German Government toward the United States is in fact nothing less than war is the question to be determined. War in its simple definition is: Open hostilities between nations. And Gen. Sherman said, "War is hell." In the mind of the man who reads the record of the loss of American lives and property by the ruthless methods of the Imperial German Government, in violation of the sacred sovereignties of international law, is overwhelmingly convinced that a state of war has been thrust upon us; and this being true, I have no other alternative but to vote for the resolution and thereby declare the truth to the world, however much I regret to have the unpleasant duty to

perform upon the very threshold of my entrance here, but should I hesitate or falter I would not be worthy of the constituents I represent.

In casting my vote for the resolution I am impelled by the desire to retain in this land of freedom the light of hope that shines from the eyes of the new-born babe born under the stars and stripes, where freedom and equality reign, where the boy or girl, whether blessed with riches, or whether born in absolute poverty, may rise to the highest plane of civilization. In this connection I am reminded of the lines of John Albion Andrews carried on the editorial page of one of the leading dailies of my district:

Whether right or wrong in its domestic or its foreign policy, judged by whatever standard, whether of expediency or of principle, the American citizen can recognize no social duty intervening between himself and his country. He may urge reform, but he has no right to destroy. Intrusted with the precious inheritance of liberty, endowed with the gift of participation in a popular government, the Constitution makes him at once the beneficiary and the defender of interests and institutions he can not innocently endanger; and when he becomes a traitor to his country he commits equal treason against mankind.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter and resolutions:

INDUSTRIAL CLUB (INC.),
Covington, Ky., April 5, 1917.

Hon. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ROUSE: I am inclosing herewith a resolution that has been offered and unanimously passed by the board of directors of this club, and we trust that our President will grant us the privilege of being of material assistance to our country in the ways as offered in this resolution or in other kindred ways that he may see fit to designate.

The pulse of this community with every beat is for the President and his policy. This feeling is unanimous beyond the shadow of a doubt.

If there is any information that you care to give, or if there is any service that this organization could give that would be of assistance to you or the Government, if you will kindly advise us we will gladly comply with the request.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Yours, very sincerely,
L. B. WILSON.

Whereas the President of the United States has addressed the Congress, assembled in extraordinary session, calling its attention to various and numerous acts in contravention of the well-defined principles of international law and the inalienable rights of civilization, committed upon the high seas and elsewhere against our rights and generally against the rights of all mankiud, by the Imperial German Government, and calling upon Congress to declare that a state of war exists by virtue thereof between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America and asking Congress to take the necessary steps within its power to enforce the principles of international law and all other inalienable rights of civilization thus violated;

Whereas the Congress, in both Houses assembled, in response to the address of the President, has introduced a resolution giving to the President authority and directing him to take immediate steps to put the country in a thorough state of defense and to exert all of its power and employ all its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government to bring the conflict to a successful termination: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Industrial Club of Covington, by its board of directors, That it fully indorses the action of the President and Congress and agrees with the President that "to such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured," to the end that these principles may bring "On earth peace, good will toward men"; and be it further

Resolved, That we extend, through our Congressman, ARTHUR B. ROUSE, to the United States Government, the use of the Industrial Club building and its facilities for the recruiting of men to be used in this conflict and for any other kindred purposes desired; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States of America; a copy be forwarded to the Speaker of the Congress of the United States; a copy be forwarded to the President of the Senate; a copy be forwarded to ARTHUR B. ROUSE, Congressman from this district; and the original be spread upon the minutes of this organization.

—

Whereas our country is now facing a crisis which demands not only the undivided loyalty of all its citizens but the outspoken support of those directing the affairs of our Government as well; and

Whereas from the very nature of its organization the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks is under a peculiar obligation to help quicken the spirit of American patriotism: Therefore be it

Resolved at a regular meeting of the Covington, Ky., Lodge of Elks, No. 314, held April 4, 1917, That this lodge fully indorses the patient and determined course of our President, Woodrow Wilson, in seeking to preserve American rights by peaceful means; and, the possibilities of negotiations having been exhausted, that it firmly stands behind him in every step he has taken to maintain those rights, including the breach of diplomatic relations with Germany and his address to Congress on April 2, and pledges its loyal and active support to the President and the Congress of the United States in whatever action they may take to uphold the rights, welfare, dignity, and the honor of America; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President, the Senators from Kentucky, and the Representative from this district.

THEO. VON HORNE.
H. G. MEINERS.
GEO. E. PHILLIPS.

—

COVINGTON, KY., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. A. B. ROUSE,
Member of the United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR:

Whereas our country is on the verge of a great crisis, upon the outcome of which depends the future welfare of our Nation; and

Whereas we approve the stand that our able President has taken and are united in our support of President Woodrow Wilson and his policies pertaining to international affairs: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Old Kentucky Lodge, No. 1359, Loyal Order of Moose, located at Covington, Ky., do hereby indorse our President and his international policy and stand firmly and solidly behind him and give him our hearty support; and be it further

Resolved, That we spread this motion upon our minutes; and be it finally

Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and copies to United States Senators, Hons. OLLIE JAMES and J. C. W. BECKHAM, and Hon. A. B. ROUSE, our Representative in Congress.

Fraternally,
[SEAL.] TRACY PALMER, *Secretary.*

Resolutions in Regard to Universal Military and Naval Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training.

The resolutions are as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in general court assembled recommend the immediate establishment by Congress of an adequate system of universal military and naval training under the direction of the National Government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to each Senator and Representative from Massachusetts in Congress.

In senate, adopted March 29, 1917.
In house of representatives, adopted, in concurrence, March 30, 1917.
A true copy.
Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD IRELAND,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, I trust the unparalled gravity of the situation may plead pardon for the seeming presumption in a new Member of this body for attempting an expression on the subject now before the House for consideration and which is uppermost in the minds of the American people to-day.

I had no thought to speak upon this subject, and I am deeply conscious of the fact that in so doing I may be usurping a privilege not usually accorded a new Member of the House.

The occasion, however, seems to warrant the transgression, if such it be, and for only a moment do I beg your forbearance and charity in my humble effort to voice the patriotic devotion of my district.

I yield to no Member in proven loyalty and patriotism of my district. But we are a peace-loving people and desire peace above all else. However, we desire peace only with honor to this Nation and its people and without humiliation to our Government and without the degradation of our flag. And I hope and trust that we are loyal enough in patriotic resolve and broad enough in scope of thought to support the Constitution, the Government, aye, the President, without heed to party lines in a crisis such as now confronts our Nation. At such a time partisanship should be submerged in patriotism. Now, if after all other efforts have failed, the price at which such peace may be attained be war, so be it. We will meet the issue squarely and without flinching.

I have heard it said to-day that 80 per cent of our people are against war. I will go further and voice my honest conviction that 99 per cent of our people are against war. I am. But the question for decision is not one of preference for or against war as a general proposition. It is a question of upholding American rights which have been violated, of supporting the chosen Chief Executive of these United States, and thus presenting a united front to the world.

War is to be adopted only as a means of protecting those American rights invaded, and as a last resort, after having exhausted all other measures available. It is an action forced upon us. Our Nation's honor and position have been imperiled; we may not question the extremes to which we have been driven. However much we may all abhor war, its misery, cruelness, the privations and sacrifices which it entails, we can not blind ourselves to the situation forced upon us. The call to colors has been sounded; no choice remains to us but to answer it and answer it unitedly.

What a lesson in preparedness this trying hour brings to us! What a sermon on failure to seize past opportunities for the performance of duty to American people! We find ourselves hurled into a world conflict without adequate measures of preparation having been taken to fortify our Nation against this day. We are forced into a position for which we are illy prepared. We take thought of the morrow only with the going down of the sun upon our action of to-day. Our condition, from a military standpoint, is alike pitiable and pitiful. We justly call ourselves the greatest nation of the earth, but immediately called upon to measure points with any European nation now in unholy conflict, we would experience difficulty in proving the facts. But it can avail nothing now to point to the fact that over two years ago and at different periods in the interim our condition and the consequence of delayed action must have been patent to our administration; that drastic measures for preparedness at such times fostered and prosecuted with determination would have fortified us against this inevitable situation and perhaps have averted it. It is also quite as futile to press the thought that inconsistencies of the past may have contributed to the precipitation of our country into its present strained relations with an European power. That is all past and may well be buried quickly. We look to the future and what may be impending for our people. We are facing a situation of the present and must meet it without regard to how we arrived. In passing this point it might be observed, however, that we who retain memories active on a period prior to November 7 last may, if we listen intently, distinguish a slogan, voiced in certain quarters, not in entire accord with one employed prior to that date. However, I have no desire to indulge in criticism at this time. We appreciate the exigencies of the trying situation, accord our administration conscientiousness of motives, and applaud its earnestness of purpose, and endeavor to protect American interests.

Acknowledging our present state of unpreparedness, let us from this premise proceed with caution in our deliberations. We desire with all our hearts to support the President in such a crisis, but in good conscience we may not do so unless consideration be given to the feasibility of the project demanded and thought taken of the people on whom the burden of consummation of such plan must be cast.

We are about to oppose in hostile array a nation with years of preparation; with mobilization complete; organization and training unequaled; and whose every energy is centered on the destruction of each foe with more than usual ingenuity and cunning. Compared to this we have a handful of men, only partially trained, and none properly equipped for the service that may be demanded. If in our present excitement and circumstances we have utterly failed in our best effort to make aught save an unfavorable impression on a disorganized nominal Republic on this continent, how may we hope, with no better facilities at command, to immediately prevail against a fortified world power overseas? Thus I humbly council thorough preparation before an aggressive foreign invasion be attempted and must register my protest against any other policy by voting for the Britten amendment providing against the deportation of American soldiers to European soil without further action of Congress. Any other course would result in the sacrifice of American lives without proper thought to their preservation, and to that I can not be a party. The toll of our American youth will be heavy enough at best.

All the preparation so imperative for such a contemplated conflict can be accomplished in time; with our abundant resources, in an incredibly short time. The citizenry of this country will rise to the situation.

We have, however, exercised great fortitude in the past. May we not now, with warrant and consistency, exercise discretion and moderation in our movements until we acquire the ability and means for defense? Let us move with proper regard for our own humanity. The situation does not differ greatly from that of two years ago; the hazard is increased; the arrogance of the case intensified. It is a degree of tyranny. To my mind no new principle is involved. By this I do not mean that I would temporize with the situation.

I am in no sense a pacifist either by instinct, training, or environment. Nor does my district acknowledge to the harboring of a single cowardly soul. But the life of our youth is precious to us in common with all Americans regardless of location. We will furnish our full quota and without resort to conscription. But we may not send them illy prepared and untrained.

I can hold no brief for the Imperial German Government. There has been for some time past ample ground for a declaration of hostilities such as is now offered. Violations of international law, indignities to our flag and citizens, treachery practiced within our own domain while enjoying our protection and genuine friendship, these alone offer ample provocation for action no less drastic than that considered. War is to be avoided if possible; it has not been possible to escape. As has been aptly said, we war upon Imperial Prussia, not upon the German people. I have the honor to represent a large German constituency, who are not lacking in their love for the Fatherland, and our action to-day will rend their hearts, yet will not diminish their loyalty to this the country of their adoption. They are Americans first and will not be found wanting in patriotism.

We who may have traveled through the valley of indecision in our effort to be guided aright on this question have been torn by conflicting emotions. I would accord to those who differ on this momentous question the same sincerity and honesty of conviction that I would assume to myself. To-day no one takes thought of his political future, but is actuated by motives solely in interest of his country and its welfare and to total exclusion of selfish consideration. I have a faith supreme that those opposing this resolution both in and out of Congress will be equally active with those favorable to it in their support of the Government after its passage.

There is no one within these halls less skilled in statecraft than I am, yet with all my inexperience I yield to no man in my desire for the country's good and the enjoyment of peaceful pursuits by its people. I have endeavored to gain the attitude of my district and believe I voice their sentiment. But this question is broader than any district, *section, or State.* It involves national action.

We can not be stampeded by the madness of the hour. Cool blood and calm reason should govern our action. Resolutions vigorous in character may be passed, without immediate ability to carry them out. We can not longer serve as an experiment station. We have been told by a most eminent authority that "armed neutrality" is impracticable. Is it not a true corollary thereto that trench warfare before troops are seasoned is suicidal in its nature? Let us safeguard our action by a provision against overzealousness. It has been said that conscription will be necessary. So long as our military operations are confined to our own shores my faith in American patriotism causes me to stoutly differ on this point at present.

Though the thought harrow our souls our conclusion must be for war and a support of the administration.

How clearly rings that first note of warning, that first cry of preparedness uttered over a century ago by the first President of our Nation:

> If we would avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire peace, it must be known that at all times we are ready for war.

The advice was never so applicable as now.

Resolutions Adopted by the Leonidas Polk Bivouac and William Henry Trousdale Camp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. HOUSTON,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 9, 1917.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted by the Leonidas Polk Bivouac and William Henry Trousdale Camp, of Tennessee.

The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas the American Nation is now upon the verge of war with Germany; and

Whereas Congress of the United States meets to-day to take action at this momentous crisis and is expected to declare that a state of war now exists between this Nation and Germany: Therefore be it

Resolved by Leonidas Polk Bivouac and William Henry Trousdale Camp, at regular meeting in Columbus, Tenn., That Congress be requested to sequester individual annual incomes over $25,000 and corporation and partnership earnings in excess of a reasonable profit for the purpose of war expense, and provide comforts for soldiers while serving and upon their return, and for the families of those who may not return; and be it further

Resolved, That the Tennessee delegation in Congress be, and are hereby, requested to use their best efforts to see that no great war fortunes shall be made, and then our war will be patriotic and more popular, so that it can be no longer called a rich man's war and a poor man's fight.

Be it further enacted that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each member of the Tennessee delegation in Congress.

SIMS LATTA,
President.
J. N. MERONEY,
Secretary and Adjutant.

Where Kansas Stands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, April 11, 1917.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to incorporate certain resolutions and expressions from citizens of Kansas that have come to me within the last few days. It has been charged that the Middle West is overrun with those who advocate a policy of "peace at any price"; that the people of that section have become unpatriotic as they have grown abundantly prosperous; and that they are more concerned with high prices for their products than with the demands of patriotism. It is true that some of these people were opposed to a declaration of war with Germany—a position in which I think they were entirely mistaken. But I am happy to say that since the President and Congress have acted, since war has become an established fact, the expressions that reach me from Kansas are, almost without exception, enthusiastic in their patriotism and their loyalty and their desire to serve.

The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the citizens of Stafford, Kans., held on April 6:

STAFFORD, KANS., *April 7, 1917.*

Representative JOUETT SHOUSE,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted by the citizens of Stafford and vicinity, State of Kansas April 6, 1917:

"Whereas, by the request of Gov. Arthur Capper, of the State of Kansas, we have met to observe loyalty day, and in this manner to express our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of Stafford and vicinity hereby renew their allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and the maintenance of its honor and integrity."

R. J. MCMULLEN,
E. A. BRILES,
NATE E. REECE,
Committee.

The following telegram sets forth resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Hamilton County, Kans., held at Syracuse on April 6:

SYRACUSE, KANS., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

A mass meeting of the citizens of Hamilton County, assembled in the city hall, hereby resolve that we pledge to the Government of our country in the present crisis our unswerving loyalty and stand ready to do our part to carry to a successful conclusion the conflict on which the Nation is entering.

HENRY BLOCK.

The following telegram from the mayor of Cimarron, Kans., under date of April 1, before the President had delivered his historic message, shows the fine spirit of the people of that community:

CIMARRON, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Cimarron knows that in this crisis you will be behind the President. We will have a mass convention here April 3 and wish you could address us, but be sure our people will not forget those Representatives who demonstrate their Americanism.

J. A. EVANS, *Mayor.*

I also append copy of my answer, which may be of interest:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. J. A. EVANS,
Cimarron, Kans.:

It is gratifying to have your telegram. Congratulate the people of Cimarron upon the meeting which they will hold to-day. I wish I might be with you to share in the enthusiasm and the patriotic fervor which should characterize every true American in this crisis. It is no time for divided counsels. All of us must stand solidly and unflinchingly behind our President.

JOUETT SHOUSE.

Yesterday I received a letter from one of the leading men of Kansas in which he tells of the reception of the President's message. This man, Judge F. C. Price, of Ashland, is a lifelong Republican, and, in my judgment, the ablest member of his party in our State. He was for years a district judge, and for the past nine sessions has been the dominant figure of the Kansas State Senate. I take the liberty of quoting a paragraph from his letter:

The President's address to Congress was received with great enthusiasm all over Kansas, and the people are united and determined, and may be counted on to a man in any emergency that may arise. They believe the cause is a just one, and their patriotism is aroused as never before within my memory. We are all proud to note that Congress is giving the administration a free hand. There are no politicians in Kansas now; they are all patriots.

In the same mail is another letter from a distinguished and able Kansan, likewise an uncompromising Republican, likewise a power for years in the State senate, and one of the most brilliant legal minds of the West. He is Hon. F. Dumont Smith, of Hutchinson. He so correctly and properly interprets the spirit of the people of my State that I have secured by wire his permission to insert his letter in full. It is as follows:

HUTCHINSON, KANS., *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JOUETT: I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Shouse in Larned Monday, and when I told her that I was now a Wilson man she wanted me to wire you, which I failed to do, but it may interest you that in a speech at Stafford yesterday afternoon I publicly declared that Mr. Wilson is now my President as much as the President of the Democratic Party, and I said further that no Democrat from Key West to Puget Sound could possibly be any prouder of him than I am at the present time, and it surely made a hit.

For a standpat Republican like me, that fought him as bitterly as I did last fall, this is going some, is it not? And it simply shows the revulsion of the sentiment here in Kansas. There are no Republicans and no Democrats, simply Americans and a few pacifists, who are growing fewer all the time. Make no mistake, Arthur Capper and the Capital do not represent the sentiment of Kansas. Kansas is as strong for war to-day as New York, and your district particularly so. Of course there are a few Germans who are quiet and sullen, but they do not open their heads.

Mr. Wilson made clear for the first time in his message the object and purpose of this war and why we are into it. It seems to me that that message boiled down—that is, the main parts of it—ought to be sent to every citizen in America. It will go down in history with Washington's Farewell Address, John Quincy Adams's draft of the Monroe doctrine, and Lincoln's inaugural.

I may add that Eustace holds the same attitude as strongly as I do.

Sincerely, yours,

F. DUMONT SMITH.

Here is a heartening telegram that has come from an influential Kansas farmer, which shows that the farmers of Kansas stand solidly behind the flag:

LEWIS, KANS., *April 8, 1917.*

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE,
Washington, D. C.:

Practically all our people are with you and the President with our resources and influence in defending American ideals. We heartily approve of your support of the administration and pledge our loyalty almost to a man.

JAMES F. MALIN.

The Elks' Lodge at Great Bend, Kans., has in its membership a number of German-Americans, but in the passage of the following resolutions it proved itself all American:

GREAT BEND, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

MEMBERS OF KANSAS DELEGATION,
Care Hon. Jouett Shouse, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BROTHER:

Whereas by the request of the grand exalted ruler we are met in a special session for the purpose of expressing our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Great Bend Lodge, No. 1127, B. P. O. Elks, hereby renews its allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and the maintenance of its honor and intergity.

CHAS. LISCHESKY, *Exalted Ruler.*
STANLEY HILL, *Secretary.*

The following letter comes from the Panhandle Teachers' Association, assembled at Liberal, Kans., composed of both men and women and signed by a woman officer:

LIBERAL, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,
National Representative of Seventh Congressional District of Kansas, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The Panhandle Teachers' Association, assembled, declares its unfaltering faith in your judgment and ability to handle the affairs of state in this impending crisis, and shall support you and your policies to the last extreme.

LOUISE A. WILSON, *Secretary.*

The following telegram has just reached me embodying resolutions passed by the Chamber of Commerce of Topeka, Kans.:

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 10, 1917.*

HON. JOUETT SHOUSE.
House of Representatives, Washington:

Resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce, Topeka, Kans., April 10:

"Whereas the Government of the United States has declared that a state of war exists, a war not of our own choosing but rendered necessary by the arrogant, illegal, and inhuman course of the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas it is imperative that this country prepare to defend itself and to protect its citizens on both land and sea, as well as to promote the principle of universal democracy: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Chamber of Commerce of Topeka hereby unhesitatingly and unequivocally indorse and commend the action taken by the President and Congress of the United States against the Imperial German Government and that we pledge ourselves to uphold and maintain this action to whatever extent is demanded of us; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge upon Congress the necessity of immediate legislation necessary to carry the war in which we are now engaged to a successful conclusion, and also the passage of whatever laws may seem necessary to provide for universal military training, not with a view of becoming in any sense a military nation but that we may be placed in a position to defend ourselves at all times against the aggressions of any and all enemies; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we earnestly pledge ourselves to the support of the President in his recommendation for raising the armed forces necessary for this war by the application of the principle of general liability for service under the plan as proposed by the General Staff, and we believe that any attempt to rely upon the volunteer system in this great emergency would be productive of injustice and inefficiency and might result in grave peril to this Nation; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the Topeka Chamber of Commerce be, and hereby is, instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to each Member of the upper and lower Houses of Congress from the State of Kansas."

J. WILL KELLEY,
Secretary Topeka Chamber of Commerce.

It would seem, Mr. Speaker, that such expressions as these leave no doubt as to the attitude of Kansas in the great war crisis in which we are involved. Kansas men, Kansas money, Kansas food products, Kansas brains, Kansas ingenuity will be tendered to our Government without stint, and within the confines of Kansas there will be no room for those who would attempt to incite sedition or harbor treason.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the President has made up the case of the United States against the Imperial German Government in his message delivered to Congress yesterday. He charges the German Government with violating its pledged word to the United States; with destroying our ships of commerce and murdering our sailors and innocent noncombatant men, women, and children; with sinking hospital ships on errands of mercy that the Government of Germany itself had provided with safe-conducts; in short, with making war against mankind; and asks that this Congress declare that the acts of the German Government are acts of war against the United States, and that provisions be made at once to prosecute the war thus thrust upon us with a view of bringing the German Government to terms.

The case is a strong one. There is no dispute among us about the facts upon which the case rests. Therefore the question is simple enough. Shall the Congress adopt the recommendations of the President, which are in line with the traditions of our country, or, by our voting down this resolution, in effect accept the policy of ruthless and inhuman warfare now waged on our people by the German Government? Whatever we may say about it, in the last analysis we must either adopt the President's course or by our refusal accept the Kaiser's course. There is no middle ground.

I abhor war. It is a resort to the methods of the beasts of the field. It is most repugnant to me, but when I am compelled to take a choice between the doctrines of liberty and humanity, as outlined by the President and fought for by our forefathers, or accept the doctrines of ruthless and murderous warfare of the only autocratic power left in Europe, I unhesitatingly take my place with the President. No one has been more opposed to war than I have, but we have no choice in the matter. War has been thrust upon us, and there is nothing left to us but fight for our lives and the sacred rights of our people.

Let us examine the President's recommendations. Are they in line with the traditions of our country? The Declaration of Independence was the basis of the first government made by free men for themselves in this world, and they earned the right to make it with their blood. It is our Government and it was consecrated to freedom and humanity. It was born because our forefathers refused to be taxed by a government across the seas in which they had no voice. When the lovers of liberty talked about refusing to pay the small tax Great Britain wanted to collect, they knew it meant war. There were men among them then who said the tax was not worth fighting about. They measured up the blood that would be spilled if war was waged and set it against a small tax on our shipping and thereby settled the matter in their own minds. But not so with the red-blooded men who loved their liberty. No government could tax them without their having a voice in it. The difference between the doctrines of the tories and patriots involved the difference between free men and slaves, and had the arguments of those who would rather pay the odious tax than fight prevailed free America would never have raised her head to gladden the hearts of oppressed peoples the world over. It was a glorious sacrifice those patriotic backwoodsmen made for the cause of human rights, but there were those then, as now, who could not make the sacrifice. They were not willing to fight for a sacred principle, because it would require a blood sacrifice.

The difference between the doctrines of those who felt the tax was not worth fighting about and those who stood out against it is the difference between a world in blackness and despair as it then existed and a world of light and hope as it is to-day, with the last of autocratic Governments crumbling in the hands of their enslaved millions, whose eyes have never lost sight of the great beacon light of liberty—America—since the day the embattled farmers of New England took up arms against King George.

These patriotic farmers in the wilderness of Americe not only had to fight a great and despotic king, but they had also to fight those of their own brethren who loved peace so well they were willing to be enslaved for its sake. It was a wonderful struggle for liberty—a fight for a principle, and not to escape a little tax as their beloved brethren, the Tories, believed in that day. The struggle was for an ideal. A Government was established by free men for themselves. It was the only one of the kind in a world of cruelty and slavery. It was the light of liberty. It shone out weakly in a world of blackness. It grew with the years and gave hope to other men in other lands who struggled to break their shackles, with the results that one people after another broke down their despotic Governments and established republics like our own. Ours was the great experiment, and as the years went by new tests were given us.

THE WAR OF 1812 A TEST.

In 1812 England, still holding us in contempt, began to insult us by stopping our merchantmen at sea and searching them for British subjects. Under this guise, illegal as it was, the King's ships took our sailors and impressed them into the British

service. We were patient, we were poor, and did not want war. There were many of our good people then who said a few ragged, worthless sailors were not worth sending the Nation to war for.

What possible good could it do to go into a bloody war for these men who were just as well off on a British ship as they were on our own? Besides that, it would plunge us into an awful debt, all for the sake of a few manufacturers and bankers who would profit by the country's suffering. It was a plausible argument, and many accepted it. But there was a great man at the helm of state, and great men in Congress, who did not lose sight of the insults to our flag and the principle of the freedom of the seas involved in the question. We had not yet taught the world that we were like busy little bees wanting to be left alone, but that no one could heave a brick into our hive in the form of insults and violation of our sovereign rights that exist on every ship flying our flag without getting stung for his pains. The result was we went to war with England for the second time for the vindication of our honor and for human rights. The soft arguments that the life of a poor sailorman was not worth going to war for was seductive, but it did not mislead the men of Congress in that day any more than will the arguments advanced to-day about this war being a dollar war mislead this Congress.

THE THIRD WAR FOR IDEALS.

Then our great Civil War gave us another test in the faith of our fathers. Human slavery was at the root of our trouble, and disunion followed for the purpose of perpetuating slavery. The subject was as usual obscured by materialism. There were plenty of men in those days who objected to the war because of its blood cost. They measured up the blood and treasure that would be spent in a civil war and set it against human slavery and a divided country, and they were convinced that the war would be useless and wicked. They also insisted that those who stood against human slavery and disunion as a principle worth fighting for were placing the dollar mark on the flag—were making war for the benefit of those who would profit by it. But those who had a clear vision of the destiny of the Nation and an understanding of the sacred principles on which it was founded were ready to follow in the footsteps of their fathers and fight for it.

The far-seeing dreamy Lincoln and the courageous men of his time never wavered in their faith that the cause was just and would ultimately prevail. The results were greater than any mortal man of that time ever dreamed. It is a shock now to even picture the spectacle of free men owning four and one-half million human slaves under our charter of liberty. Yet there were plenty of good men of that day who believed the war was a failure, just as men to-day are filled with doubt about the step we are about to take. Let them apply the principles to the case in point and go ahead. No nation ever made a mistake or spilled blood uselessly in behalf of humanity.

AN UNSELFISH WAR FOR CUBA.

We went to war for the sake of an ideal to free poor, bleeding Cuba, and lest our intentions might be misunderstood we pledged the world to make Cuba free and independent, and we did it so effectually and Cuba is so happy, prosperous, and grateful to us for the sacrifice we made that every American is glad that we were able to render these poor and oppressed people this service. This unselfish sacrifice made for the sake of humanity has brought its reward, and the little Republic of Cuba rejoices in its big brother and protector and is ready to fight for us. Even in destroying the last power of despotic Spain in America we did so with profound sympathy for the oppressed people of that Kingdom. We paid them $20,000,000 for the Philippine Islands that were being misruled by their King and are gradually teaching them self-government in order that they may become an independent people. It was a war for the sake of a principle, for humanity, and it cost us uncounted millions in money to wage it and bear the responsibility of the results that have followed. There were those materialists in that day who thought that we were making a mistake, but the heart of the Nation beat true to its traditions. When we lose this fine sentiment from our political life, then indeed will we begin to decay. There is no man in America to-day who is not proud of the fact that we wiped off the earth the two great blots of vice and crime that spread over Cuba and the Philippines, and who does not rejoice in the happiness and prosperity that has since come to the people of these islands under the protection of our strong arm?

THE WAR OF TO-DAY.

To-day we are going to war with a great autocratic Government, the German Empire, which is founded on force and not upon the consent of the people. It is one of the very few civilized governments left on earth that derives its power by force. Let us hope the splendid people of Germany, and there are no better anywhere, will emerge from this nightmare of war a free, self-governing people. Prussian militarism struck down their liberty and robbed them of their rights as free and independent people. This may, after all, be a war of liberation for the people of Germany. If it results in their liberation as it has already in the liberation of the people of Russia from the tyranny of the Czar, the war in Europe will have been justified. The sacrifice we will have to make in this war will be compensated by the self-respect we will feel in having done our duty to our country and to humanity in standing for the principles sacred to every American citizen.

Yet there are those among us who believe the ideals of our country will not suffer if we fold our hands and watch in silence and indifference while our sovereign rights under our own flag are trampled under foot; while our commerce is driven from the sea, while our poor sailors, and innocent, noncombatant men, women, and children are murdered or drowned like rats without being given a chance to escape; I say there are some who feel that these sacrifices are less objectionable than the horrors of war, but I am not among them. I can hear the cry of our sailors who live on the sea under the Stars and Stripes as they go down to death through the murderous and inhuman assaults of German submarines. This conduct of Germany involves a principle of humanity dear to every American, and I am not only willing to send my country to war in defense of human rights, but I am willing to go myself. This is the most sacred ideal of the free people of America, and countless thousands of our ancestors have laid down their lives in its defense. We can not permit this sacred heritage bought with the blood of our forefathers to decay in our own hands for want of spunk enough to resent with force, if necessary, the impudence of a European autocrat.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. H. VESTAL,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. VESTAL. Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to address the Members, even for a few moments, on this question before the House, for the reason that I am a new Member of Congress; but I have been assured by Members from both sides of the House that there would be no impropriety in my making a few remarks, if for no other reason than the gravity of the situation before us.

I come from a great district in Indiana, a district formerly represented by a distinguished Member from the other side of this House. My situation is probably different from a majority of the Members for the reason that up until late last night I had received but very few letters and telegrams bearing upon this question, the few I did receive being about equally divided for and against the war measure. So I realize the responsibility that rests upon my shoulders in speaking for the people of that great district upon this all-important question. I have always contended that no man had a right or was worthy to represent his people in public office who did not have the courage to take his political life in his hands when great questions confronted the Nation and do the thing which he thought to be right. I realize that probably the easiest thing to do would be to run away from responsibility, but I shall not do that. I can not agree with some of the gentlemen who have spoken against this resolution, that if it were passed we would begin war with Germany.

The gentlemen may talk peace, but there is no peace. So far as the Imperial Government of Germany is concerned, the war has actually begun. Germany has already begun war against the United States by committing acts not only contrary to international law but without the pale of justice and right. By her imperial order she makes no distinction between a French or English battleship, bent upon German destruction, and a neutral American ship carrying nurses and food for the starving and dying. She has, under a recent order of the Imperial Government, mapped out a part of the open seas, hundreds of miles long and hundreds of miles wide, and declared to all nations that any ship entering within those limits, no matter what the kind, or what the character, or where the destination, would be

blown to pieces without warning and without regard to human life. It is a question of either supinely disregarding our duty to protect American life and American property or of accepting the challenge and by force of arms maintaining our honor. For my part, I am not concerned so much with the kind of a government Germany may have, or any foreign nation may have—whether they be monarchies or republics does not concern me—but I am concerned, and I believe the people of the United States are concerned, with the vindication of American rights upon the high seas and the protection of American life anywhere and everywhere in the whole world.

War is horrible, and I realize the seriousness of the step we are about to take. I have asked the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to direct and guide me in my vote upon this question. I have counted the cost, and, although it may cost millions of treasure and blood, I shall support the resolution.

I do not know what you think about it, but, for myself, I believe that since the President of the United States, who is the spokesman for the people of this country in matters relating to foreign nations, has requested this action to be taken by Congress, and, since the Senate of the United States has passed this resolution almost unanimously, if we should fail to pass this resolution to-night, I believe it would greatly embarrass this Republic. A nation that fails to protect the lives of its citizens and their property has already begun to decay.

I am satisfied that there will be no division when the real test comes. I thank God that there is no geography in American manhood; that there are no sections in American patriotism. We are told by some one that it only takes a few weeks to change a New Yorker into a Hoosier or a Hoosier into a Texan, and, when the final test comes, the men from the North and the South, the East and the West, without regard to nationality or color, will all be found giving their loyal support to the United States, and with but one song upon their lips—

The Star-Spangled Banner,
Oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free
And the home of the brave!

An Eight-Hour Day for Women in Industry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 10, 1917.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of this session I introduced a bill establishing an eight-hour day for all women employed in mills, canneries, workshops, factories, or other manufacturing establishments situated in the United States.

In principle the bill is the same as the child-labor bill which I had the honor to introduce in this House in December, 1915, which was signed by President Wilson on September 1, 1916, and which will become effective on September 1, 1917.

The new bill proposes to set a standard for working women employed in manufacturing in the United States—an eight-hour day and a six-day week. Four States—Arizona, California, Colorado, and Washington—and the District of Columbia already have eight-hour laws for women. Many other States prohibit the employment of women in manufacturing more than 9, 10, or 11 hours in one day. Only six States have no such legislation.

It is indorsed by the National Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League and many other organizations which are directing their efforts to the amelioration of the condition of the women and children who are employed in industry in this country.

Unfortunately the number of women so engaged is increasing rather than decreasing. The problem of safeguarding the health of these women is of vital importance to society. A working day limited to eight hours has been found reasonable by the universal experience of mankind and has received legal sanction from the Supreme Court of the United States when it upheld the California eight-hour law for women, a statute which covers a very wide range of industries.

To my mind, there is no question about the power of Congress to enact the suggested legislation. That matter was pretty well thrashed out when the Federal child-labor law was under discussion in this House, and I believe that the contention then made by the proponents of the legislation will be sustained by the Supreme Court whenever the question is brought before that body.

Briefly, we hold that under the commerce clause of the Constitution Congress may bar from the channels of interstate commerce any article produced under conditions which jeopardizes the public health, the public morals, the public safety, or the public welfare.

Of course, Congress must exercise this power in a reasonable way, but surely a measure designed to safeguard the physical well-being of the mothers of the land is a reasonable exercise of constitutional power.

For girls over 16 years, to whom the Federal child-labor law does not apply, this measure will afford a much-needed protection. They are to be the mothers of the future and their strength must not be sapped by excessive daily hours of toil.

As regards older women, it must be remembered that mothers of families work for wages because the normal breadwinners are disabled or are deserters or are in prison, or in thousands of cases because the wage of the man of the family is insufficient for the wife and children. The health of the mother and the welfare of the family life suffer when the daily absence of the mother is unreasonably long. The need of a short working-day for mothers is greater than for any other class of wage earners.

In general, modern manufacturing is characterized by increased strain upon the workers. Machinery is being constantly speeded up. The number of machines tended by individual workers grows larger. Processes become more and more complex. Specialization has been carried so far that the monotony of work has become extreme, requiring constant repetition of the same motions and processes. All these things hasten the onset of fatigue and require for relief the establishment of a short workday. Fatigue constitutes the most eminent danger to the health of the workers, because it undermines vitality and lays the foundations for many diseases. The shorter workday is the only remedy.

I submit the following copy of my bill in order that Members may familiarize themselves with its provisions:

A bill (H. R. 20947) to prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce any article or commodity the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which within 30 days prior to the removal of such product therefrom for any purpose females 16 years of age and over, hereinafter referred to as females, have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any one week: *Provided*, That a prosecution and conviction of a defendant for the shipment or delivery for shipment of any article or commodity under the conditions herein prohibited shall be a bar to any further prosecution against the same defendant for shipments or deliveries for shipment of any such article or commodity before the beginning of said prosecution.

SEC. 2. That the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor shall constitute a board to make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of securing proper enforcement of this act the Secretary of Labor, or any person duly authorized by him, shall have authority to enter and inspect at any time mills, canneries, workshops, factories, manufacturing establishments, and other places in which goods are produced or held for interstate or foreign commerce; and the Secretary of Labor shall have authority to employ such assistance for the purposes of this act as may from time to time be authorized by appropriation or other law.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of each district attorney to whom the Secretary of Labor shall report any violation of this act, or to whom any State factory inspector, commissioner of labor, State medical inspector, or health officer, or any other person shall present satisfactory evidence of any such violation to cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States without delay for the enforcement of the penalties in such cases herein provided.

SEC. 5. That any person who violates any of the provisions of section 1 of this act, or who violates any of the rules or regulations promulgated and published by the board constituted by section 2 of this act, or who refuses or obstructs entry or inspection authorized by section 3 of this act, shall for each offense prior to the first conviction of such person under the provisions of this act be punished by a fine of not more than $200, and shall for each offense subsequent to such conviction be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000, nor less than $100, or by imprisonment for not more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That no dealer shall be prosecuted under the provisions of this act for a shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation who establishes a guaranty issued by the person by whom the goods shipped or delivered for shipment or transportation were manufactured or produced, resident in the United States, to the effect that such goods were produced or manufactured in a mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment in which within 30 days prior to the removal of such goods therefrom no females were employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any one week; and in such event, if the guaranty contains any false statement of a material fact, the guarantor shall be amenable to prosecution and to the fine or imprisonment provided by this section for violation of the provisions of this act. Said guaranty, to afford the protection above provided, shall contain the name and address of the person giving the same.

SEC. 6. That the word "person" as used in this act shall be construed to include any individual or corporation or the members of any partnership or other unincorporated association. The term "ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce," as used in this act, means to transport or to ship or deliver for shipment from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to or through any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia or to any foreign country; and in the case of a dealer means only to transport or to ship or deliver for shipment from the State, Territory, or district of manufacture or production.

SEC. 7. That this act shall take effect from and after one year from the date of its passage.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRA G. HERSEY,
OF MAINE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has called the Congress into extraordinary session, and in a notable message he has made very clear and plain our duty to declare war against Germany. The Senate yesterday, by an almost unanimous vote, adopted a resolution which is a formal declaration of war, and that resolution is now before the House.

"This day we fashion destiny." Gentlemen may talk about the beauties of peace and attempt to explain how they can not as a matter of conscience vote for war; but we as Representatives should not forget on this solemn occasion that we are not here to express our private opinion as to war or peace; we are here to represent the people and by our vote to give to the world the voice of the American Republic.

If I mistake not the signs of the times, if I read aright the wishes and desires of our people, they everywhere demand that this House of Representatives at once concur with the Senate in the adoption of this resolution. To defeat this declaration of freemen would be a crime against civilization and almost treason to the Republic.

On last Monday evening the President gave to us his splendid message of patriotism, and the next morning the legislature of my State, within an hour after it assembled, by a unanimous vote, approved and indorsed that message, demanded of Congress a declaration of war, and appropriated a million dollars for that war. In the face of this shall I, a Representative, attempt to delay or defeat the will of my people because I hate war and love peace?

I am, however, exceedingly grateful that personally I am in hearty accord with the views of the people of my State. I remember that it was in Maine that Germany committed against this Government her first overt act of war. As early as February 2, 1915, Werner Horn, a German military officer and spy, acting for and with the knowledge of his Government, attempted to dynamite and destroy the international railroad bridge between Maine and New Brunswick at Vanceboro, Me. This was an act of war against the United States. It was a deliberate attempt on the part of Germany to deprive us of the use, benefit, and safety of our public highways on the land, as she has deprived us of the public highways of the sea.

My people can not forget that on February 12 last the *Lyman M. Law*, a Maine-built ship, owned by an American citizen, manned by American sailors, loaded with box staves manufactured by Maine men from the forests of Maine, not armed, with no contraband goods, bound for a neutral port, engaged in peaceful trade, as pursued for 50 years, was torpedoed and sunk by Germany. This act of war was also without excuse, and nothing less than a premeditated attempt to sweep from the seas the commerce of the United States and to ignore and defy the rights of American citizens.

And that is not all that has stirred to earnest action the people of Maine. Only the 23d day of last month, at Fort Williams, near Portland, Maine, two spies crept into that fortification past the guards, and when discovered they shot to death the guard and in the darkness made their escape. German dynamiters are making unsafe the public highways and institutions in our land; German submarines are destroying the ships and lives of Americans on the high seas; German spies infest the land, and when discovered they shoot to kill. Is it any wonder that our people demand an immediate declaration of war?

The oft-repeated argument of gentlemen who oppose this resolution is that they can not in conscience vote to send our young men to war, and knowing that this resolution will pass they seek to amend it by keeping the boys at home. Our duty as Members of Congress is to assert the will of the people. We have no special instruction from the youth of our land. Our young men have not delegated us to exempt them from the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The boys are more interested than we in the prompt passage of this resolution. The gray-haired men that largely compose this Congress have about completed their work; the future will hold very little for you and I. This country with all its glorious history and matchless achievements is the proud heritage of our young men. It is their privilege and desire to defend, protect, and make great among the nations this Republic of Washington and Lincoln. To the young men has been given the mighty task of perpetuating the institutions and preserving the liberties and faith of their fathers.

In the late War with Spain our boys did not ask to stay at home but they like true Americans fought our battles in foreign lands and the islands of the sea, and they willingly and gladly to-day will follow the flag if necessary to the ends of the earth.

In opposition to this resolution certain gentlemen say they are but followers of Washington who warned us against alliances with other nations, and that now to enter this war would place us on the side of England and France and other nations which are now fighting Germany. We must remember, however, that Washington warned against "entangling alliances," and nowhere did he oppose all alliances. A union of forces of those who have a common interest against a common enemy can never be an entangling alliance. Surely Washington, who gladly accepted the valuable aid of France in the dark days of the Revolution, never intended to oppose the union of freemen against a tyrannical foe. The time has come when all nations that love liberty must unite to oppose this common foe of civilization engaged in an inhuman warfare against all mankind.

As one of the Representatives of the people of this Republic I shall vote for this resolution, and after its passage I shall do all I can to support the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy in the prosecution to success of this last great war, to the end that this Nation may still remain, as it ever has been, the last best hope of the world—"the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Letter From C. W. Brown, of Cleveland, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 11, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the record by including a very instructive letter from C. W. Brown, of Cleveland, Ohio.

The letter is as follows:

EAST CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. H. I. EMERSON.

DEAR SIR: Am watching with interest the war situation in the daily papers, and there is one request I would like to make, but before making it will jot down a few statements.

This letter was not dictated by anybody else, nor is it copied from some original laid down by some one else, neither is there any peace-at-any-price organization's influence behind it.

I am not German, pro-German, English, or pro-English, but an American citizens whose ancestors came to this country in the Jamestown settlement, and they were not German.

But I am a poor man with a family to support, and am pro-poor man all the way through, all the time, and antimoney man just as emphatically as I am pro-poor man.

My idea of the thing is that the money man of this country is just as domineering and overbearing as the Kaiser or any other king in Europe ever dared or thought of being.

So I will watch with interest your work in Congress when the questions of drafting men and conscription of incomes are before the House.

I think the President ought to issue a call for volunteers first, just the same as all Presidents before him did, and then when he needs more men, if he can not get them, it is time enough to talk draft.

I am for conscription of incomes and against militarism, and my request is, I would like to see you in line with my ideas when the votes are taken on these two subjects, so that I will be able to vote for you again, as I did last time.

For I am persuaded that I will have to make these two items the pivot on which my vote and all my influence for or against you will swing if you ever run again.

Hoping this little note will at least help keep your influence on the side of the majority of poor people in the country, I am,

Yours, with respect,

C. W. BROWN,
287 Potomac Avenue, East Cleveland, Ohio.

Resolution Adopted by a Mass Meeting at Mobile, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR L. GRAY,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 10, 1917.

Mr. GRAY of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me I desire to have printed in the RECORD the following telegram from Mayor Pillans, of Mobile, Ala.:

MOBILE, ALA., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The people of Mobile, in mass meeting assembled this date, above 5,000 strong, adopted by acclamation the following resolution:

"Whereas our country now finds itself forced, however unwillingly, into war by the aggressions of the German Government: Now, therefore

"The people of Mobile, in mass meeting assembled, hereby declare their profound and unswerving loyalty to the Government in the measures which it may take for the due and energetic conduct of the war, and urge for the protection of our homes and institutions the adoption of a system of universal military training, and the amplest provision of war materials, by the Congress of the United States."

H. PILLANS, *Mayor.*

The resolutions passed at that great meeting, referred to in the telegram, assert in no uncertain way the devotion, loyalty, and patriotism of the people of Mobile, the city that gave to the world Raphael Semmes and Father Ryan. The same patriotic spirit that inspired these and others burns to-day in the hearts of those who live under the same flag and love the same country.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, in a very few hours a large majority of the Members of this House will vote for the resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany, and a vote for that resolution is a vote to "instruct the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are to be pledged by the Congress of the United States." The responsibility of casting a vote upon this measure weighs heavily upon every Member of this body, because the consequences of that vote will directly affect the lives and fortunes of every citizen of this Republic, and no one can even approximate its ultimate effect. Never again, I hope, will such a responsibility rest with me.

Many Members of this body now present were, like myself, elected in 1914, after the beginning of the European war. At that time, as at the present, there was much difference of opinion as to the part that the United States was to play in that struggle, and apparently every effort was made by the President and the Members of Congress to preserve a studied neutrality. The difficulty of preserving this neutrality, however, and its uncertainties forced every thinking individual in this country to study the question of preparedness, and it was necessary for the United States to determine the condition and efficiency of its Army and Navy and decide if they needed to be strengthened.

On December 8, 1914, the President outlined the policy that we should pursue with reference to preparedness, and in his message, found on page 21 of the RECORD of that date, he said:

The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principals of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense.

It can not be discussed without first answering some very searching questions. It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course, we are not ready to do that, and we never shall be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in time of peace.

* * * * * * *

We are at peace with the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is any reason for fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. * * * Just now we should be particularly jealous of it, because it is our dearest present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in God's providence, bring us an opportunity such as has seldom been vouchsafed any nation, the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and healing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action.

From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, Are you ready to defend yourselves? We reply, Most assuredly; to the utmost. And yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. There is another sort of energy in us. It will know how to declare itself and make itself effective should occasion arise. And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate, indeed.

Let us remind ourselves, therefore, of the only thing we can do or will do. We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. * * *

More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our policy. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes can not touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble. * * *

But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspect because the times are not normal. Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of States, and the unhampered freedom of all with whom we deal. Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstance, and what is needed will be adequately done.

I did not agree with the contents of that message at that time any more than I do now, although apparently, in the mind of many people, it was treason to disagree with the President of the United States. That message lulled this country to sleep, and we will pay for it and for its consequent lack of action in the flesh and blood of the manhood of this country just as soon as this House passes the resolution now before it. Practically every Member of the body on the Democratic side of this House tumultuously applauded that message exactly as the message of last Monday was applauded, and exactly as they would commend any message of any purport from that source at the present time. They did more than commend it. They adopted it in toto, and as a consequence this country criminally neglected its defense.

I am not disposed to criticize any Member of this body for their vote on this occasion or on this resolution, because I feel that every man will vote his convictions, but before some Members of this body criticize those of us who do not believe it is necessary for this country to declare war before the sun rises I want them to have a full realization of the fact that because of their votes in 1915 and 1916, when they opposed preparedness measures, this country is not equipped as it should be to conduct a war of magnitude; that it has neither trained men nor sufficient arms or munitions. And I want them and the country to know that the men who are responsible for the lack of preparedness are the ones who will be responsible for the declaration of war to-day.

During the Sixty-fourth Congress many of us were voting for legislation that would prepare us for the situation that faces us to-day, feeling that the conduct of our foreign affairs was such that war with Mexico or Germany, or both, was inevitable; and I can not see how men on this floor can to-day vote for war when for three years they have opposed every measure that would tend to prepare for it. The Navy bill for 1917 came before this House for action on June 2, 1916, on a motion to recommit, and the record of the vote is found on page 9188 of the RECORD of that day. In that motion an attempt was made to add approximately $100,000,000 to the bill for better equipment and more vessels and to increase the number of men to about 85,000, and this motion was voted down by a vote of 183 to 189, with the men in this House who now wish to put

the taint of treason on everyone who disagrees with them voting against the motion.

Again, on August 15, 1916, this Navy bill came back from the Senate amended so as to include a building program that ought to have appealed to every warlike individual in the United States, and many of the men who now favor this resolution vociferously opposed the Senate amendment—51 in all.

The Army bill for 1917 came before this House for action on March 23, 1916, on the Kahn amendment, which had the effect of increasing the Army from 140,000 to 220,000. This amendment was voted down, and a record of the vote is found in the RECORD of that date on page 4729.

The 213 Members of this body who cast the negative votes on that day were simply carrying out the desires of the President as expressed in his message of December, 1914; but time has demonstrated that the President and those 213 Members who voted in the negative were wrong at that time; and when they vote for war to-day it may be that they are again mistaken, and those of us who feel that nothing would be lost by a few days' negotiations or by another attempt to persuade Germany to abandon her present submarine warfare are adopting the right course. We were right then, and the adoption of our views at that time would save the lives and prevent the suffering of many thousand American boys who will be conscripted and sent into the war without proper training.

During the years I refer to I have supported every measure and every amendment that would appropriate an increased sum for the Army or Navy or increase the number of men in military service, and took this attitude when I was practically the only Member of Congress from the Central West who did so. Many of the men who are to-day writing me that we ought to enter the European war a year ago were vigorously condemning me for voting for adequate preparation. During that time I have been a strenuous advocate of universal military training in time of peace, so that every young man in the United States would be equipped in every way to defend his country in time of war, and in that attitude I have been in opposition to the President and a majority of the Members of this House who will now vote for war.

Never again will a Member of this body or a citizen of the United States be able to express an opinion concerning the advisability of the United States entering the war or against the conscription of millions of men to send to the European trenches, because the moment this vote is cast and the resolution is adopted we must all not only acquiesce in the administration's program but insist upon the raising of an immense army and upon the appropriation of all of the money that is necessary to push the war to a successful termination.

I can not vote in the affirmative upon this resolution for many reasons. It would be as well not to express them, because in a few minutes the question as to whether we should or should not enter the war will not be debatable, and I will only say, therefore, that in my opinion the entry of the United States into the world war would not have been necessary had the proper course been taken in our negotiations with the European countries and had the same rule been applied to every country in both the Old World and the New.

Again, a vote for this resolution adopts as a whole the recommendations contained in the President's message of Monday last, where he says:

> It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany; and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may as far as possible be added to theirs.
>
> It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war.
>
> It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.
>
> In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I should vote for this measure if it involved an immediate attack only upon the unlawful practices of which we are complaining and in casting that vote would feel that the responsibility would then rest upon Germany for any further breach in its relations with the United States. I trust that everyone will realize that the entry into this war means that every individual in the United States of military age will be conscripted into the service and I shall vote for such conscription because no man should be exempted from doing his full duty, and when war is declared his full duty is to render every service that he can to his country. I think, however, that no man should be compelled to enter into military service when he does not desire to do so when others who do desire to enter it will be kept from enlisting thereby, and feel, therefore, that everyone ought to be given an opportunity to voluntarily enlist, if he desires to do so, before conscription is enforced.

I am not unmindful of the effect this vote may have upon the personal political fortunes of Members of Congress, but regardless of that effect and regardless of the change of the attitude that it may bring to many men who have previously been in accord with me, I shall cast this vote in accordance with my convictions and will not complain nor shrink from the consequences. It is the right of every man, whether he be a private citizen or Representative, to vote his convictions, and I concede that right to others and demand it for myself.

In conclusion, allow me to suggest that men of military age who disagree with me at this time will find that no Member of Congress will do more to assist in the vigorous prosecution of the war than I shall do, and instead of complaining of my attitude to-day they could render better service to their country by going to the nearest recruiting office and enlisting in the Army or Navy.

War and Neutrality.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. NELSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 11, 1917.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to print for 10 days on the subject of war and neutrality I include the following editorial from La Follette's Magazine of March 29, 1917, as an expression of my views:

[Editorial from La Follette's Magazine.]

THE ARMED-SHIP BILL.

I.

I was opposed to the armed-ship bill. Under my oath as a Senator it was my duty to do everything legitimately within my power to defeat it, and I exercised my constitutional rights and discharged my constitutional obligations to defeat the measure, in so far as permitted by the tyrannical action of a majority. This majority, as I believe, and as I think the record plainly shows, resorted to a perversion of the rules and to the very filibustering methods which it so violently condemned in order to prevent me from obtaining the floor to speak against the bill.

1. A plain statement of the facts will, I believe, convince any unbiased mind that the majority, in dealing with the armed-ship bill and matters connected therewith, was not acting upon its own volition, but that it was itself so coerced by an arranged order of events that it was deprived of all independence of legislative judgment and legislative action.

It is well to remember that the Sixty-fourth Congress was to expire by limitation at 12 o'clock noon on the 4th day of March.

The next regular Congress would not meet until December 3—a period of more than nine months.

If Congress was to complete its work by March 4 it was absolutely necessary to report from committee the appropriation bills supplying the money necessary for the several departments of Government and to report the bills in time to give them fair consideration. This was the more necessary because of the wanton and reckless extravagance in appropriations last year and the enormous increases urged upon this Congress by the executive departments, imposing upon every Senator regardful of the interests of taxpayers already overburdened the obligation to scrutinize these measures with the greatest possible care.

But the appropriation bills were held back for some reason until it became a matter of comment among Senators and Representatives that the bills were to be jammed through in a rush at the end of the session.

As the committees of Congress are organized a few of the majority party leaders control the business and expedite it, or otherwise, at will.

2. For some unexplained reason six bills carrying an aggregate appropriation of more than $500,000,000 were so delayed by those having them in charge that they were not even placed before the Senate for consideration or attempted to be passed at all.

Six other great appropriation bills carrying an aggregate of nearly a billion dollars were so held back by those responsible for them that they were not passed and finally disposed of by the Senate until the last 48 hours of the session, while another measure had the right of way and was the all-absorbing subject for consideration.

What was the real underlying significance of such a proceeding?

Was it to create a situation where a number of the bills might escape thorough investigation and debate? For example, the naval appropriation bill will cost the people the enormous sum of $523,000,000 for the coming year. Such a bill ought to be carefully considered and thoroughly discussed. So, too, with the Army appropriation bill, carrying $278,000,000, besides a provision to force military training upon the American people. Think of attempting to drive that proposition through without opportunity for deliberation and debate!

Whatever may have been the reason for the condition of legislation described, it had been brought about. It existed and presented a situa-

tion most favorable for bringing forward a measure such as the armed-ship bill.

3. The closing days of a Congress is always a time of tremendous pressure and severe tension.

It is the one time when a measure of debatable right that has not been thoroughly considered should be kept out.

It is the one time of all others when a matter of great and momentous import to the peace of the Nation should not be thrust into the gorged and swollen flood of legislation.

And it was at this time in the last 50 hours of the life of the Sixty-fourth Congress, with pending bills appropriating more than a billion and a half of the people's money calling for the most critical examination of Congress, that the President demanded the passage of the bill which sought to invest him with powers which, if executed, must inevitably bring on war.

4. If Congress was to be called upon during that session to consider and pass upon that question fraught with its certain consequences the country has a right to know why he waited until the last hour to present the bill.

As early as the 31st day of last January Germany had declared her determination to prosecute, from and after February 1, relentless submarine warfare within the limits of her designated war zone. We had definite warning. Her purpose was unmistakable.

Within 14 days thereafter German submarines had sent two American vessels to the bottom of the sea.

And still the President waited day after day without an intimation that he would seek to secure from Congress extraordinary and unconstitutional powers to bring on war at his discretion.

Finally, in the last week of the session, the word came.

Even then his bill was not presented for consideration by committee until 68 hours before the expiration of Congress, and came before the Senate for debate less than 50 hours before adjournment, with appropriation bills carrying hundreds of millions of dollars of tax burden still to be disposed of.

5. At this point it is well for the public to understand that the right of Congress to deal with the great issue raised in a calm, thorough, and dispassionate manner, which its gravity and magnitude demanded, could have been disposed of in a word from the President.

If his bill had been accompanied with a call for Congress to meet on the 5th day of March to consider the question of arming ships and employing all means and instrumentalities in the hands of this powerful Government against Germany or any other foreign nation, there would have been no occasion for forcing immediate action upon the bill.

The appropriation bills could have been properly discussed and disposed of, and then Congress could have addressed itself to the orderly consideration of this war issue.

The Constitution makes Congress the only authoritative body to consider and determine the question of war with another nation.

One calmly reflecting upon this whole proceeding will find it difficult to discover a rational reason why the President should not, above all things, desire the presence of Congress at a time when the question of meeting violence with violence is to be determined.

II.

1. The armed-ship bill provided that the President be authorized to supply our merchant vessels "with arms and also the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them," also that the President be "authorized and empowered to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as may in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels." It appropriated $100,000,000 to be expended by the President "for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions."

The bill attempted to confer upon the Executive not only the authority to place guns and gunners upon merchant ships and send them to sea with orders to fire on German submarines at sight but sought to empower the President to use any other methods and any other instrumentalities in his judgment necessary to protect such merchant ships.

2. Give validity and effect to such provisions and it removes every limitation upon his acts.

He might do whatever it pleased him to do and there could be no check or halt upon him.

He might decide to order our Navy out to convoy merchantmen loaded with arms and ammunition, or with food and clothing and shoes for the allied armies.

He might decide that our Navy should patrol the trans-Atlantic lanes through the German war zone hunting submarines in the interest of the owners of our munition ships.

He might decide that the best way to protect our merchant ships would be to land an army in Germany and destroy the Krupp works and any other manufacturing plants where Germany is constructing submarines.

Nowhere would there be lodged any power to prevent any President from doing anything his judgment dictated with the Army and Navy to protect the merchant ships of our war traders.

If the language of this bill does not seek to confer authority which would leave it in his discretion to make war, then there is no power in human language which could accomplish that result.

3. The armed-ship bill is therefore contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which expressly vests the war power in Congress—without which provision the Constitution could not have been adopted. It was again and again affirmed in the constitutional debates that it would be dangerous to the liberty of the people to place the war-making power and the control of the Army and Navy in the hands of the Executive. In breaking away from the autocratic power of King George, the first thought of the framers of the Constitution was to be clear and specific as to this vital principle. The people of Europe, we are told, were plunged suddenly and hopelessly into the awful maelstrom of war through the autocratic agencies of monarchy and secret diplomacy. But the crowned heads of Europe and their diplomatic agents exercise their absolute authority under government sanction. If the President exercises it, it is in violation of expressed provisions of the Constitution.

Our Supreme Court in Bas *v.* Tingy (4 Dall.) expressly decided that when Congress authorized private armed ships of the United States to defend themselves against the armed ships of France it was a declaration of war on the part of Congress, and the Court said:

"Every contention by force between two nations in external matters, under the authority of their respective governments, is not only war, but public war."

Congress can not confer upon the Executive the powers invested in it. In the case of the *Nereide*, reported in 9 Cranch, the Supreme Court said:

"To the legislative power alone it must belong to determine when the violence of other nations is to be met by violence."

III.

The armed-ship bill meant war. The public need not rely on opponents of the measure for proof of the fact; supporters of the bill, in the course of the debate, again and again specifically stated that it meant war.

Senator LODGE, supporter of the bill and ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, said:

"Mr. President, in my opinion for us to arm a vessel loaded with contraband, or to convoy a vessel loaded with contraband, would be an act of war."

Senator FALL, Republican supporter of the bill, said:

"This act of Congress, the Senate act, if adopted, is a declaration of war, a limited declaration or a declaration of limited war."

Senator BRANDEGEE, a Republican supporter of the bill, said:

"I am aware of the effect of this bill. * * * For myself, I would vote to-day * * * that 'whereas a state of war exists between the Teutonic alliance and the United States of America, the President of the United States is directed to use every means to carry that war to a successful conclusion.'"

Senator REED, an administration supporter of the bill, said:

"The proposition is to take naval guns, perhaps to take expert gunners from our warships, and put them aboard those vessels, to sail into the prohibited zone, and, if a German periscope shows itself, to fire at the periscope, and if the boat shows itself, to send a shot or shell through it. Of course we know the minute that is done by a vessel thus equipped it will be treated as though it were done by a war vessel of the United States; in other words, the act will be the beginning of war. * * *

"It seems to me that it is conceded that vessels shall be armed and shall fire upon German submarines the moment they come in sight. If that is the purpose might we not just as well plainly provide that our war vessels shall convoy our merchant vessels?"

To this Senator WALSH—next to Senator HITCHCOCK the most active advocate of the bill—replied:

"The principle is exactly the same."

And other Senators who championed this bill can be cited to the same effect.

IV.

1. The 12 Senators who opposed the grant of such indefinite unascertained and unconstitutional power as the armed-ship bill sought to confer upon the President were exercising their rights and discharging their obligations under the Constitution in the same spirit that governs the Executive in the constitutional use of his veto power, through which one man overturns the majority action of both branches of Congress.

2. As a result of their opposition, the President has convened a new Congress. The time of calling an extra session of Congress is within the President's discretion, and the Sixty-fifth Congress might have been convened immediately upon the expiration of the Sixty-fourth, making a practically continuous session, and it should be noted that while a new Congress must necessarily be reorganized, the change in the personnel of the two branches of the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses is relatively very small. There are only 62 new Members out of 435 in the House of Representatives and 16 new Senators out of 96 in the Senate. The support and opposition to the bill as developed showed plainly that it was not dealt with as a partisan question by a single Member of either House. Hence no party issue would have been raised on it when the new Congress convened.

3. In attempting to force the armed-ship bill through in the last hours of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the President made it plain that he desired to be left alone to exercise extraordinary and autocratic power affecting the destinies of this country and the world, from the 4th of March to the assembling of the new Congress the following December—a period of nine long months.

V.

The lessons of the European war and recent events on our own continent force the conclusion that there should be no haste in taking steps that lead to war, and emphasize the fact that time to reflect is an important element in averting war.

1. It was the evil system of one-man power and secret diplomacy in government that plunged the helpless peoples of Europe suddenly and hopelessly into the awful war that has been raging for the past three years with ever-increasing fury.

The one universal conviction of those who yet believe in democracy is that the first step toward the prevention of war and the establishment of permanent peace is to give the people, who must bear the brunt of war's awful burden, more to say about it. The armed-ship bill by every standard of progress and democracy faced backward, not forward.

2. We might have been at war with Mexico. No one accords the President higher commendation than I for resisting the pressure of the jingoes who would have forced us into war with our neighboring State; and I believe it reflects honor on our Nation and that we should be profoundly grateful that instead of being at war with Mexico, we can to-day congratulate our sister Republic on the peaceful election of a President by the largest vote ever cast in that country.

3. And yet, in order to avoid war, we had to submit to the sacrifice of property rights of our citizens in Mexico. Hundreds of citizens were killed. Women were outraged. President Wilson, however, even though American property and American rights were violated, very rightly, I believe, under the conditions, exercised his great influence to keep us out of war with Mexico. There are times when it is the highest national duty to submit for good reasons to the sacrifice of undisputed rights for the sake of greater service to the country and to humanity.

VI.

I am aware that many good people contend because the President has thus far succeeded in keeping us out of war, he can be intrusted with the exercise of the war power more safely than Congress. To such I would say that even if Congress could legally abdicate any of the sole powers with which it is vested by the Constitution, yet the President may err. President Wilson did err at Vera Cruz, where wholly without authority, under the guns of an American battleship, American marines were landed on foreign shores and fought a battle in which 19 American soldiers and 200 Mexicans were killed, and the city of Vera Cruz captured. Had this unauthorized act of war been committed upon the soil of Great Britain, France, Germany, or any other world power, instead of poor, weak, distracted Mexico, it would have involved us in war—and President Wilson would have taken a place in history beside President Polk, of whom Webster caustically remarked when reviewing a less flagrant act, "No one declared war; Mr. Polk made it."

VII.

The armed-ship bill was not only unconstitutional, it was in my judgment foolish and inadequate. It pleased the supporters of this bill to assume that it was only necessary to place guns on merchant ships in order to defend them successfully against submarine attack. There was no evidence before Congress that would warrant the conclusion that arming these ships would afford protection.

1. The available evidence points to the futility of such armament. The *Laconia* was armed, but she was torpedoed twice and sunk without a chance to fire a shot. Merchant ships of the allies are armed. Their great loss of tonnage is conclusive evidence that guns planted on merchant ships are ineffectual in warding off submarine attack. It is criminal to lure from our harbors our merchant ships with passengers, crew, and freight, to embark on a voyage fraught with such imminent peril, in the belief that they may resist attack.

2. The first question we should ask ourselves before we enter on this war with our armed merchantmen or our Navy, for the expressed purpose of maintaining our right to the seas, is what will happen to our ships? If it is so easy to clear the transatlantic lanes of submarines, why is not the British Admiralty keeping them open and free for our commerce—since our carrying trade across the Atlantic now consists of supplies for the allies—food, and ammunition? From all we can learn it appears that the British Navy is not attempting this perilous task, but is keeping inside carefully guarded harbors.

What assurance have we that we can clear the German war zone with armed merchantmen, or with battleships as convoys, or with any of the so-called "submarine chasers"?

Manifestly it is an undertaking which the British Admiralty declines for good and sufficient reason.

The American public is being woefully deceived; we are derided for hiding behind the British Navy; moving pictures portray our fleet firing on submarines that instantly go to the bottom. The daily papers are filled with stuff that would lead us to believe that we need only declare war, order out our fleet to scour the seas, and the war is ended and won.

It is admitted that the submarine discharges its torpedo with deadly accuracy at a range of 2 to 4 miles.

It is admitted that the submarine, with its hull submerged several feet below the surface and exposing nothing but its periscope, can discharge its torpedo with equal chance to achieve its purpose.

The periscope furnishes a target no larger than a sailor's cap for merchant and naval gunners to fire at.

I have the best authority for the statement that the chances of hitting a target of that size at the distance of two miles, or of damaging a submarine so submerged, would in a hundred shots be practically zero.

Would not a command to clear the seas of German submarines be analagous to the order to bring Villa out of Mexico, dead or alive? Would it not again be attempting to cope with forces beyond our power successfully to control? Are we to blindly and blunderingly enter upon an experiment such as the British Admiralty attempted at the Dardanelles, the results of which are almost sure to be disastrous?

The one overpowering motive that might justify our entering this war is that of carrying food to the hungry in Europe; but then we should go to all the starving nations, through the Baltic to the Poles, who are suffering as terribly from the effects of war as the Belgians, and getting no relief; we should force our way through the Mediterranean to the Greeks, whose poor, we are told, are subsisting on roots and grass.

But food riots in our own great cities and the ever-increasing difficulty of the masses of people to maintain the normal standard of living, because of the world's shortage and the wicked speculation of Wall Street in the necessaries of life, imperatively demand that we should not enter upon an aggressive war for humanitarian ends, much less for commercial profits in carrying munitions.

VIII.

1. The armed-ship bill asserted the purpose to maintain our neutral rights upon the high seas. If we really mean to reclaim and assert our neutral rights to the freedom of the seas by using the armed forces of the United States, then we should as a neutral nation—neutral in fact as well as in name—assert those rights against Great Britain and her allies, as well as against Germany; insist on access to the port of Bremen, as well as that of Liverpool, and hold all belligerents alike to strict accountability for unlawful interference with those rights.

It was the declared purpose of the Executive to use the authority which the armed-ship bill attempted to confer upon him to enforce our neutral rights against Germany alone. If we are to attempt to reestablish and maintain our neutral rights with the armed forces of the Government we are bound by every principle which controls in international law to assert and maintain those rights against all belligerents impartially.

2. Perhaps some consideration of the source of the clamor for arming our ships may shed light on the real motives back of that movement. The demand came chiefly from the American Line, whose tonnage is less than 5 per cent of the total tonnage of the United States engaged in foreign trade. The American Line is a subsidiary of the International Mercantile Marine Co., which in December, 1916, had 102 vessels flying the British flag, 2 flying the Belgian flag, and 8 flying the United States flag. The control of the International Mercantile Marine Co. prior to the war was in England. Whether the stock control is now English or Morgan is immaterial. J. P. Morgan is its financial head in the United States to-day, and he is the official financial agent of Great Britain in all her dealings with the people of this country.

Mr. P. A. S. Franklin, whose visits to the Navy Department to secure guns for his ships, whose interviews and movements have been featured as though he were head and front of the American merchant marine, is the active manager of these combined properties—British, Belgian, and American. When one of the American Line ships, armed with United States guns, sails out to sea, the orders to fire will be given by Mr. Franklin's master of the ship, not by the United States gunner. The English owners give orders to Franklin. The English owners take their orders from the British Admiralty. Hence we, professing to be a neutral nation, are placing American guns and American gunners practically under the order of the British Admiralty.

3. England established the first war zone, in violation of international law. On November 2, 1914, she declared the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean from the Hebrides to Iceland a military area. She sowed the seas with submerged mines. Our Government submitted to this sweeping order, destructive of our neutral rights, without protest. Thereafter, with feeble and ineffectual protest, we submitted to her rifling our mails, prohibiting our commerce with the civilian population of Germany, although that country is not legally blockaded, restricting our commerce with other neutral countries, blacklisting our merchants, seizing our ships and impressing them into her own service, confiscating their cargoes, and with her submerged mines sinking some of our ships and destroying American lives.

IX.

I am opposed to the United States making war upon England for her ruthless violations of our neutral rights, just as I am opposed to making war upon Germany because of her relentless violation of our neutral rights.

The belligerents upon both sides are desperate to the verge of madness. Germany is bordering upon starvation. England, according to Lloyd-George, is facing actual want. France is beginning to feel the pinch of hunger. Revolution, whose first warnings were food riots, has taken place in Russia. Shall we, to maintain the technical right of travel and the pursuit of commercial profits, hurl this country into the bottomless pit of the European horror? Shall we bind up our future with foreign powers and hazard the peace of this Nation for all time by linking the destiny of the American democracy with the ever-menacing antagonisms of foreign monarchies?

If the neutral nations had been brought together early in this war, by united action, they might have compelled the belligerents to respect neutral rights, and the force of moral power of the half of the world still at peace might have aided an early termination of the war.

The United States might even now render the greatest service to itself, to humanity, and to the world by calling a conference of neutral nations, whose object would be to enforce the rights of neutrals. The mere suggestion that food and other supplies would be withheld from both sides impartially would compel all belligerents to observe the principle of freedom of the seas.

But so long as we have not risen to our opportunity and met our first manifest obligation, let us not in this later hour of a world crisis exercise less forbearance than the other neutral powers of the world—neutral powers whose example we may well follow in keeping out of war, rather than urge upon them a policy that would certainly involve them in this terrible strife.

Whatever violation of rights or commercial loss Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Central and South America may tolerate, without sacrificing their dignity or honor, the United States is strong enough and brave enough to endure for the sake of saving the world from being drawn into this dire catastrophe.

X.

For the United States to enter this war without consulting the other neutral nations is a fearful responsibility. All hope of concert of action is lost and we know not what degree of chaos may follow.

And now at this time when a crisis is approaching, when internal forces that have been gathering momentum appear to press the war to a conclusion, our intervention will confuse the issue, bring new alignments, force other neutral nations to take sides, giving to the horrible conflict now approaching a climax, a fresh intensity, increased fierceness, and prolong it indefinitely.

We are quick to believe that we shall be able to hasten the end. It is being said now on every hand, "We do not want war, but if we go in, we will go in with all our might and make a quick finish of it."

We thought when the war broke out in Europe that it would be a bloody, but a very brief conflict. The people of the world, shocked and paralyzed by the threatened cataclysm, took refuge in the hope that it could not last, not more than three months at most they said. With the modern enginery of destructive warfare, we expected to witness a crushing blow and speedy termination of the struggle. Even those trained in military science looked for a terrific death grapple that would make it the greatest and briefest war in the world's history.

As it progressed, one country after another was drawn in. That did not end it. On the contrary, it but added to the numbers and multiplied the battle fronts.

And now in the third year of the war, the stricken world finds that all these efficient instruments of woe to mankind can not accomplish a big enough slaughter to force a victory. Starvation—race starvation—starvation of men, women, and children has become the terrible, relentless, merciless issue of this war madness among civilized Christian nations.

How can we, with the history of the past three years mapped out so vividly before us, assume that the entrance of the United States upon the bloody field will stop the war?

In God's name, let us not deceive ourselves. We stand at the head of the neutral nations, outside the territory swept by this war mania. Shall we break the peace of the neutral half of the world? Shall we take on the awful responsibility of dragging in on one side and pushing in on the other, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, and it may be South America, until every quarter and corner of the earth is one battlefield?

Who shall then set limits of time or space upon its ravages?

And for what? For commercial advantage and fat profits beneficial to a limited number of our dollar-scarred patriots, for neutral rights which were surrendered to the belligerents on one side during the first three months of the European war.

For my own part, I look upon Europe as cursed with a contagious, a deadly plague, whose spread threatens to devastate the civilized world. If it were, indeed, the Black Death that was mowing down its millions of victims, instead of this more ghastly war, we should not hesitate to quarantine against it; we should keep our ships in their ports and our people at home without any hesitation whatsoever; all personal consideration, all thought of material loss or commercial inconvenience would fall before the necessity of protecting our people from being stricken with the dread disease.

I am not an extremist—I do not say there may not be supreme principles for which men must fight to the death as a last resort. But I do believe that as organized society in its slow evolution has developed more rational means of settling individual differences than brute force, so must the nations of the world ultimately find other ways of deciding their disagreements than war.

So far as the masses of men who are killing each other are concerned, the European war is a bootless conflict. The multitudes who are dying in the trenches and the millions who are suffering more agonizing pain at home do not know what it is all about. They are doing their patriotic duty as they have been told to do it, and obeying orders without daring to question.

It is unthinkable that with this awful object lesson before them the American people nevertheless to-day being stampeded into war in blind though lessness of its awful consequences. Thirty-seven million men are now under arms in Europe. The peace strength of

the standing armies of Europe before the war began was less than 5,000,000. It follows that more than 32,000,000 have been drawn from the field, farms, and industrial pursuits and placed in the trenches to be mowed down at the rate of 5,000 a day. The United States, once in, will stay in to the end. Who can foretell what it means?

The United Press, from the casualty lists of the belligerent nations, estimates that more than 21,000,000 men have been killed or wounded or reported missing to date, affecting 100,000,000 noncombatants. And these brutal facts of death and mutilation only suggest the horrors of the insane conflict—women and children homeless, desecrated, starving. Already $70,000,000,000 of debt piled up. For unnumbered years to come generations of helpless people must bow their bended backs under the tax burdens entailed by this war of destruction. For long years to come all the resources that should go to the world's betterment mortgaged beyond redemption to pay for this awful holocaust Think of it, any economic loss, because of the interrupting of commerce, is but a grain of sand compared to the colossal costs of war.

Ask any plain citizen if he wants war. The involuntary answer is "We ought to know better from the lesson in Europe." How can we justify the insistence of our right to push through the mines and submarines of the war zone when that right is compared with the obligations to protect all our people here at home from the terrible effects of war?

If the silent masses who found opportunity for expression at the November election could to-day make themselves heard above this clamor for war, instigated and sustained by the money power and a subjugated press, they would, with even a stronger voice, pray God that this country be kept out of war.

Very truly, yours,

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, for two years and more the specter of the European war has spread its pall of terror over the earth—to us a nightmare of frightfulness, to the nations engaged a reality of unspeakable horror.

As the titanic conflict on and under and over land and sea has extended its area of destruction we have fervently hoped and devoutly prayed that we might escape the spread of its devouring flames.

Our patience and forbearance, as our rights have been ignored and denied, as our honor and power has been mocked, our citizens subjected to humiliation, to fearful suffering and to awful death, have been the outward and visible signs of our profound and sincere longing for honorable peace.

But there is no peace. Arrogant and despotic power has decreed slaughter and death to all who venture the sea lanes where all have the right under the laws of God and man to pass unharmed. Our flag has been fired upon, our power contemptuously ignored, our citizens wickedly slain.

Amid conditions such as these continued patience and forbearance cease to be a virtue; they come to be accepted as signs of cowardice and weakness, the evidence of supine submission to insult and outrage. They no longer express the attitude of a brave and free people.

And so, regretfully but with firm and steadfast determination, the Republic draws the sword, firm in the conviction that we fight for human rights against the excesses of despotic power.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, when the war resolution was before the House for consideration I presented upon the floor my reasons for opposing that measure. The large question which concerned me was the character and extent of force to be used.

I thought that thorough preparation for our defense, authorization of the use of all the force of our Army and Navy, and our immediately available Government resources to protect the lives of our citizens and our ships, especially in the blockade zones, was all that was necessary. The other view which prevailed was that we should wage maximum war to overthrow a Government and free the German people who seemed reasonably satisfied with their chains.

My vote was dictated first by the question of right. I voted that way. I was supported by the overwhelming expression of those who communicated with me by letter, telegram, or petition. This was without having called for a single expression. While this last fact is comforting, yet it is not binding and should not be controlling.

Under our form of government, and whose oath I took, Congress alone should determine, regardless of wish of people or President, whether we should have war. The cry "Stand by the President" is all right after the declaration is finally adopted, but not before final deliverance of Congress.

It is passing strange that war is being declared against Germany alone in the interests of her people, none of whom have appealed to us for relief, while Austria is not declared against. Her unspeakable record for oppression of many small countries and distinct peoples call loudly for redress. Prominent among these is Bohemia whose history and people through centuries of heroic resistance to Austrian tyranny and persistent attachment to and defense of their language, literature, and racial rights make them one of the heroic peoples of the earth. Their voice should be heard and heeded whenever and wherever might is resorted to in the interests of mankind.

To show the state of Nebraska's minds before the war message was delivered, I submit a motion adopted by the Nebraska House of Representatives on the 31st day of March, 1917:

LINCOLN, NEBR., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
Congressman Fourth District, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following motion has been adopted in the House of Representatives of the State of Nebraska, March 31, 1917:

"I beg leave to move the assurance to our great President of our unswerving loyalty to him in anything he may undertake to protect the honor and dignity of the United States in the present world crisis, but we believe the President expresses the true sentiment of the American people when, on February 3, 1917, before Congress he said:

"'We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.'

"We honor the President for up to this time keeping America out of war and its attendant consequences, and, as representatives of the people of the State of Nebraska, we earnestly hope that he will continue to do so.

"We feel that war would only increase the loss of life and property and that it is the duty of America to prevent suffering, not to join in the work of further destruction. We fear that war would not quench, but feed the fires of militarism. If we become belligerents, we cease to be neutrals and become engulfed in European politics.

"We believe that a course by our Government which will defer settlement of grievances until the present war is over will give the United States the opportunity to be the leader in the great international peace movement crying to be born. To stay out of war demands more courage, more patriotism, and more self-sacrifice than going to war, but it will give America the moral leadership for all time to come.

"I ask the foregoing as the sentiment of this house on the great question agitating the Nation.

"I move that a copy hereof be sent to our Congressman and Senators at Washington."

J. J. MCALLISTER.

Mr. McAllister moved the adoption of the motion, which was carried.

G. W. POTTS,
Chief Clerk.
GEORGE JACKSON,
Speaker.

I submit an able editorial of the Nebraska State Journal of March 31, 1917:

A QUESTION OF WAR POLICY.

As the situation is being framed in the United States, the Government will settle the war question only to face a struggle over an ensuing question. Suppose that we declare that Germany has brought about a state of war. What shall our war activities be? On this point the President will have the making of important history. The decision may be a turning point.

It has been made clear that the radical war party, which has from the beginning of the European war wanted the United States to join the allies, is determined that we shall send an army to Europe. That is what Mr. Roosevelt meant when he demanded that if we go to war we make it a real war. The moment war is declared a big movement will be launched to hasten an expedition of troops to the Continent.

That would mean the most radical possible departure from past American theories and policies. It would make us at once a party to the issues of Europe, including its territorial disputes. More conservative Americans will oppose this, preferring instead that America should limit itself to its original field as a defender of neutral rights. We should use the Navy to the fullest extent and apply our economic force in whatsoever way best promised to bring the war to a successful issue. But we should keep our troops off European soil. In fine, we should fight a purely defensive war.

The President's course thus far has pointed to the latter alternative. Should his message to Congress next week indicate that he still holds to the defensive course we may expect an immediate clamor for a European army.

I also submit an editorial from the Morning World-Herald, of Omaha, of March 30, 1917:

UNFORTUNATE SMALL NATIONS.

The Kaiser's Government is not the only one of the belligerents that wrongs and oppresses small and weak nations. Neither is militarism their only menace. The command of the seas attained by the superior naval strength of any nation is a menace potentially as great.

Washington dispatches tell of Dutch ships in English ports having been confiscated by the British Government. The dispatches say further:

"About 40 Dutch ships are now in ports belonging to Great Britain, and a fleet of 15 grain-carrying vessels is understood to be on its way from a Holland port to the United States. Many of the Dutch ships now in English ports have been detained for from six to eight weeks. The British Government for some time has been insisting that a certain percentage of Dutch merchant tonnage carry cargoes to British destinations and the Dutch Government has refused."

In other words, Holland is not to be allowed to use its own ships to carry foodstuffs to its own people exclusively, though their need is increasingly great, and it is reported that the grounds about the royal palace are plowed up to be planted in grain. Holland, willy-nilly, must serve Britain's purpose or the British Government, without the shadow of legal right, will seize the Dutch ships which she compels to put into British ports and leave the Hollanders to starve.

Now, is Holland the only victim of this governmental brigandage? A New York dispatch tells that "more than 200,000 tons of Swedish ships are being held in ports controlled by England and her allies. Among these ships is a passenger liner which left New York more than a month ago with 40 passengers on board."

The fate of Greece is known to all men. A starvation blockade has been imposed upon that unhappy country because its Government refuses to join the allies in making war on the central powers. The entente seeks to justify this course on the ground that Greece has failed to live up to a treaty requiring it to join Serbia in war against Bulgaria. But Italy was bound by a similar treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary, and not only disregarded it but joined with the enemies of those countries in waging war upon them.

President Wilson is entirely right in his repeated declarations that one of the terms of peace should assure the freedom of the seas. It is just as fatal to be starved by a "mistress of the seas" as it is to be overrun by the armies of an imperator.

As to the general situation there can be no room for argument. Both the entente and central powers are desperate and thoroughly frightened. Both see ruin by starvation threatening them. Each is ruthlessly bent upon starving the other first. Neither will permit itself to be bound by international law nor by consideration for the rights of neutrals.

It is largely due to force of circumstances that the aggressions of one of these groups against the United States are bloody while those of the other group are not. Because aggressions against the lives of its citizens may and do become intolerable to a self-respecting State, this Republic properly has armed its ships to protect the flag they fly and the lives they carry. If our Government deems this comparatively mild policy insufficient, war itself may result. But even though we warred against the same enemy we would not thereupon become the ally of the entente powers. We would not therefore become committed to their ends and aims, nor to a sanction of all their war-time policies and methods. We would retain, let us hope, our Americanism undiluted and unadulterated, free from entanglements and liaisons, and open eyed to recognize wrong by whomsoever committed and to hate evil wherever it was found.

The war resolution introduced in the Senate and House was as follows:

Joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the recent acts of the Imperial German Government are acts of war against the Government and people of the United States:

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps to put the country in a thorough state of defense, and also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination.

It was amended by the Foreign Affairs Committee to read as follows:

Joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

It will be noted that the principal change was cutting out the provision for immediate and thorough defense. Believing that the war we wage should be first defensive and after that protection of our American lives and shipping on the high seas, I presented at the earliest possible moment the following as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the resolution:

Amendment offered by Mr. SLOAN: Strike out all of the resolution, beginning on page 1, line 1, and substitute therefor the following:

"*Resolved, etc.*, That the said state of war between the United States and certain citizens on the one hand and the Imperial German Government, brought about by the Imperial German Government, is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps to place the country in a thorough state of defense and enforce American rights both as to citizens and ships on land and on the high seas, and especially within the zones where said rights have heretofore been interfered with, and to that end the President is authorized to use the military and naval forces of the United States, together with all the immediately available resources of the Government."

In offering this amendment I spoke as follows:

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I will not use all the time that is allotted to me, but there are two propositions: First, in the resolution before the House there is no provision for placing this country in a state of defense, which, in my opinion, will, during the next six months, be found to be of more importance than the prosecution of a foreign war.

The second proposition is that the war to be prosecuted is restricted to meeting the injuries or attacks of the character which we have suffered. With these propositions I simply ask for a vote on the amendment. I think it expresses more fairly the wish of the American people than the prosecution of a foreign war for the regulation of European affairs; that is, the redress of our own grievances and the preparation for a defense of the United States against attacks which we may have within the next few months.

To this I add under the leave of the House that my amendment tenders the President the immediately available resources, including Treasury funds and credit of the Government, while the war resolution pledges all the resources of the country.

As time proceeds during the conflict and after it I submit to the impartial judgment of my constituents and posterity the wisdom or lack of it in the course I have taken.

Aeronautics.

Report of the Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, cooperating with the commandant of the third naval district in the organization of the Naval Reserve Forces of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 13, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the present session the speaker introduced in the House, and two days later my colleague on the National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, the Senator from Texas, Mr. SHEPPARD, introduced in another body, the Sheppard-Hulbert bill, to create a department of aeronautics, with a secretary having a portfolio in the President's Cabinet.

When one considers the tremendous strides which were taken in the development of aeronautics in the Sixty-fourth Congress it is not too much to expect that this measure will receive favorable consideration during the Sixty-fifth Congress, and it is to be hoped at the present session.

Its importance is particularly accentuated by more recent developments. At present, it is to be remembered, we have a Division of Aeronautics attached to the Signal Corps in the War Department, which has 135 machines in active use; a section of naval aeronautics attached to the Office of Naval Operations in the Navy Department with only 40 machines in active use; the establishment of another subdivision in the Treasury Department, attached to the Coast Guard Service—which in time of war, by operation of law, passes under the jurisdiction and control of the Navy Department—has been authorized, and several officers of the Coast Guard Service have been detailed to put the same into operation, but no appropriation has ever been made, and consequently no machines have ever been provided, while the fourth source of aeronautical activity is to be found in the Post Office Department, which has so far been limited to specific contracts with private individuals for experimental purposes in Alaska and over exceedingly short routes elsewhere.

The need of coordination is self-assertive. The lack of it was particularly brought home to me when, recalling that the British Government, after two years of experimentation, had found it necessary to establish an independent department, the chief of which is Lord Cowdray, who, with the title of air minister, is a member of the British cabinet. I read in a New York newspaper of April 6 a dispatch from the aerial headquarters in France, pointing out what the allies considered they most needed from us:

In army circles, it is suggested that it might be well for the United States to specialize in the war, say, in aviation and machine-gun detachments

And I wondered just how much cooperation the United States Government, with its 175 machines in active use, could afford France and Great Britain, who combined have 20,000 trained pilots, 20,000 machines, and an air personnel of 200,000 officers and men.

And recalling further the fact that the War Department and the Navy Department must be taxed to their capacity in perfecting the organization of their land and sea forces, the need of a special department for the development of our aeronautical resources was to my mind absolutely convincing.

But, thanks to the patriotism, loyalty, and devotion of public-spirited citizens actively identified with the Aero Club of America, by whose liberality, talent, and earnest and efficient cooperation very effective results have already been accomplished, its advisory committee on aeronautics, of which Alan R. Hawley, president, and Henry Woodhouse, governor, respectively, of the Aero Club of America, and the speaker are members, cooperating with the commandant of the third naval district in the organization of the naval reserve forces, have presented a report which contains such a complete analysis and such a clear and comprehensive plan of operation that I deem it a duty to present the matter for the information of the Members of this House, and insert it in the RECORD.

To further emphasize the importance of the work of this committee, I would make mention of the fact that when recently two U boats were reported off Montauk Point the committee found, upon investigation, that there was not a seaplane available, the few of them that we had there having been taken to Pensacola, Fla., for the training of men for the aerial coast patrol, which we need so badly for the protection of our shipping. Suppose the submarines reported had actually been on a mission of destruction, they could within 24 hours have sunk ships and destroyed other property valued at more than twice the cost of the establishment of a complete aerial coast defense system for the entire United States.

The success of Great Britain at sea has been greatly due to the excellent British air service, particularly since its reorganization as a separate department. Sir Edward Carson, first lord of the Admiralty, on February 21, 1917, stated that since the commencement of the war the British Navy, with the cooperation of its very efficient air service, have examined 25,874 ships. During the first 18 days of February last, 6,076 ships arrived in ports of the United Kingdom and 5,873 ships cleared from United Kingdom ports. Practically every ship that arrived was inspected as it neared port, and all of these ships were convoyed by dirigibles or aeroplanes, which have thus cooperated effectively in the defense of the British seacoast. He further pointed out that from the beginning of the war up to October 30, 1916, the British Navy had transported across the seas all of their troops now engaged in northern France and those who have returned home, and millions of tons of explosives and other material, the safety of which was insured and maintained by well-organized and thoroughly trained aeronautical squadrons.

The air service can be much more quickly and effectively developed; why wait to enlist and train 60,000 infantrymen—nearly three divisions—when 100 large battle planes, equipped with 3-inch guns, afford the same defensive power, and can be organized, equipped, and trained in a fraction of the time?

It seems to me to be of vital importance that steps be taken to carry out the plan recommended by the advisory committee on aeronautics of the third naval district in every one of the 13 continental and 2 insular naval districts, and I am satisfied that anyone who will take the trouble to examine this report with the painstaking consideration which it merits will be readily convinced.

THE AERIAL DEFENSES NEEDED FOR THE THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT—A BASIC PLAN OF AERIAL DEFENSE SUITABLE FOR THE 15 NAVAL DISTRICTS.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICS, COOPERATING WITH THE COMMANDANT OF THE THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAVAL RESERVE FORCES.

The committee, which was appointed on March 2 at the request of the naval authorities and is cooperating with the other committees working in organizing the naval reserves of the third naval district, includes:

Chairman, nominated by Rear Admiral Usher, Mr. Alan R. Hawley, president of the Aero Club of America, member Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, Mayor Mitchel's committee of one thousand; chairman aeronautic committee National Security League, etc.

Operations and coordination: Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary, chairman of the National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, member of the board of governors Aero Club of America, and other national organizations; Eugene S. Willard, member committee on naval aeronautics, Aero Club of America, New York Yacht Club, member board of governors and chairman of New York State enrollment committee Naval Training Association of the United States; member executive committee Power Craft Association, H. P. Davison.

Enrollments: F. Trubee Davison, organizer Volunteer Aerial Coast Patrol Unit No. 1; Lewis S. Thompson, Augustus Post, Evert Jansen Wendell.

Instruction: Robert A. Lovett, son of Judge Robert Lovett, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, member of Volunteer Aerial Coast Patrol Unit No. 1, organizer of Aerial Coast Patrol Unit No. 2; F. C. G. Eden, who is in charge of the Dodge aviation training camp for college men; Congressman F. H. LA GUARDIA.

Aviation training camps: Lewis S. Thompson, in charge of the aviation training camp of Volunteer Aerial Coast Patrol Unit No. 1; W. Earl Dodge, founder of the Dodge aviation training camp for college men; Harold Irving Pratt, Harry Frank Guggenheim, Congressman MURRAY HULBERT, J. K. Knapp, jr.

Flying equipment: Henry Woodhouse, member board of governors, Aero Club of America, National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission; chairman committee on aeronautics, National Institute of Efficiency; member Mayor Mitchel's committee of one thousand on national defense, National Security League, etc.; F. Trubee Davison, W. Earl Dodge, Harold Irving Pratt, Howard S. Borden, August Belmont.

Torpedo planes, aerial guns, and explosives: Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, retired, president Naval Institute of the United States; member of committee on naval aeronautics, Aero Club of America, etc.; Frank M. Leavitt.

Naval antiaircraft defenses: Eugene S. Willard, member of Aero Club of America, New York Yacht Club, and chairman New York State enrollment committee, Naval Training Association of the United States, etc.; Schuyler Skaats Wheeler, president of the Crocker-Wheeler Co., inventor of numerous important electrical and mechanical devices, vice president Automobile Club of America, who is developing several aeronautic devices of importance; Capt. Robert A. Bartlett, who was captain of Peary's ship the *Roosevelt* in the North Pole expedition and of the *Karluk* on Stefanssen's expedition (Capt. Bartlett has been preparing an Arctic expedition which is to include aeroplanes in its equipment, but is now putting his efforts in developing the aerial defenses); Henry Woodhouse, Charles Elliott Warren.

Communications (radio signaling, etc.): John Hays Hammond, jr., member board of governors Aero Club of America; conference committee on national preparedness; treasurer and chairman Institute of Radio Engineers; Lawrence B. Sperry, aviator and inventor, expert in instruments for signaling and aerial navigation; Schuyler Skaats Wheeler, William Dubellier.

Observation balloons: Rear Admiral William N. Little, retired, member of numerous organizations.

Secretary of the committee: Henry Woodhouse.

THE NAVAL DEFENSES NEEDED FOR THE THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT—A BASIC PLAN SUITABLE FOR THE 15 NAVAL DISTRICTS.

NEW YORK, *April 2, 1917.*

To: Rear Admiral Nathaniel R. Usher, commandant, third naval district.

From: Alan R. Hawley, chairman advisory committee on aeronautics, cooperating with the commandant in the organization of the Naval Reserve Forces.

Subject: Aerial defenses needed for the third naval district.

AERIAL DEFENSES NEEDED FOR THE THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT (EXTENDING FROM NEW LONDON TO BARNEGAT).

(1) *General.*

There is at present no air service in the third naval district or in any other of the 13 naval districts. The Navy has only one aeronautic station, which is at Pensacola, Fla.; but it is only a training station, and is not adequate to train even the naval aviators needed for the aeroplane mother ships for the fleet.

The advisory committee on aeronautics, cooperating with the commandant of the third naval district, has received hundreds of applications for admission in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps, and has also received offers of the use of seaplanes from a number of patriotic men who have placed orders for machines and are about to learn to fly themselves. Mr. Rodman Wanamaker has offered the use of a large 400-horsepower air cruiser, and within 30 days it is expected that there will be about 12 single-motored flying boats operating within a radius of 50 miles of New York, these machines being owned by men who have purchased them so as to train themselves, to be available in case of national need.

Owing to the fact that the naval aviation school at Pensacola is full and can not accommodate any more students, and that there are no other naval aviation schools at which men who enlist in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps can be sent for training, no progress has been made in enlisting men in the Naval

Reserve Flying Corps. But hundreds of men can be enlisted as soon as aviation training schools can be established to train them.

(2) *Duties.*

The air service of the third naval district has the following duties to perform. All of these have been done in the great war:

(a) To locate and assist destroyers, trawlers, and submarine chasers in capturing or destroying hostile submarines (both seaplanes and dirigibles are needed).

(b) To locate submerged mines and assist trawlers in destroying mines. (Seaplanes, dirigibles, and observation balloons needed.)

(c) Searching the coasts for submarine bases. (Seaplanes and dirigibles needed.)

(d) To convoy troop and merchant ships on coastwise trips. (Dirigibles best adapted for this work.)

(e) To patrol the coasts, holding up and inspecting doubtful ships and convoying them to examining stations. (Dirigibles best adapted for this work.)

(f) Attacking hostile ships and submarines that may show up near the coasts, with torpedoes, bombs, and guns. (Large torpedoplanes and large seaplanes mounting guns best adapted.)

(g) Protecting ships at sea and in ports against attack from hostile submarines and battleships. (Seaplanes and dirigibles needed.)

(h) Communicating to incoming ships information regarding the location of mines, submarines, and the courses to follow to avoid disasters and confusion. (Seaplanes and dirigibles needed.)

(i) Serving as the "eyes" of mine planters, minimizing the time required for mine planting. (Dirigibles and observation balloons best adapted for this work.)

(j) Defending and protecting naval bases and stations from naval and aerial attacks. (Armed air cruisers and combat planes needed.)

Besides the above the naval air service in other countries has been used for many other purposes, but the air service of the third naval district need not concern itself with the other purposes, which are to be performed by the aviators connected with the fleet.

(3) *Divisions.*

The territory comprised in the third naval district should be divided into divisions to be served by aeronautic stations established in each division, so as not to weaken the efficiency of the service by sending aircraft on too extended cruises. The lack of large dirigibles capable of long cruises necessitates costly and inefficient makeshifts and it is necessary to follow as closely as possible the example of Great Britain and establish the aeronautic stations close enough to get utmost efficiency out of each type of aircraft available. Great Britain has an aeronautic station at about every 20 miles along her coasts, numbering 107 in all. The aircraft available for the air service of the third naval district within 60 days will be seaplanes equipped with two or three motors, which may be entrusted with flights of about 80 miles out to sea and return, at a speed of 80 miles an hour; and seaplanes equipped with a single motor which may, if supported by water craft, be entrusted with flights extending 20 miles out to sea and return at a speed of 60 miles an hour; and observation balloons which can be put on board ships or barges and can be used from whatever positions these ships occupy.

The limit on continuous flight out to sea is placed here because while many aviators have made flights of several hundred miles along the coasts, very few of our aviators have had experience in actual aerial navigation over water. Until they have gained this experience their flights seaward should be limited in distance and with every seaplane sent out on patrol duty there should be sent out one or two boats with observers, whose duty is to keep track of the flight with powerful glasses, and be ready to rush to the assistance of the aviators.

After 90 days it will be possible to get larger air cruisers, some of which are under construction, and small dirigibles of the coast-patrol type, 16 of which were ordered by the Navy Department on March 12.

(4) *Location of divisions.*

In considering the location of divisions there must also be considered the necessity of establishing one of the divisions as far as possible out at sea, where the aircraft may have the opportunity of detecting hostile submarines while they are on the surface. On approaching the land, hostile submarines logically submerge so as not to be seen. Therefore a division should be established at Montauk Point. On the other hand, the divisions having charge of keeping channels clear of mines and submarines must be located as near as possible to the channels. For instance, the New York division, having as one of its duties to keep the channel clear up to the 50-fathom curve, which is about 85 miles from Sandy Hook, must include in its equipment large multiple-motored seaplanes capable of long-distance cruises.

For efficiency, 10 aeronautic stations should be established in the third naval district, to be located approximately as follows:

(1) Sandy Hook (aeronautic base).

(2) Montauk Point (aeronautic base).

(3) Bay Shore (station being established by the New York Naval Militia).

(4) Port Washington (already established by the America-Transoceanic Co.; offices, 280 Madison Avenue, New York).

(5) Amityville (one hangar and workshop already established by the Sperry Gyroscope Co., Manhattan Bridge Plaza, Brooklyn, N. Y.).

(6) Ocean Beach, N. J.

(7) Seaside Park, Barnegat Bay.

(8) Rockaway or Manhattan Beach or Massapequa, Great South Bay, L. I.

(9) New Haven, Conn.

(10) Southampton.

(5) *Equipment for stations.*

The flying equipment of each station varies according to the duties of that station. In a general way, until dirigibles and observation balloons are obtained, the territory to be covered by each station will be covered by units consisting of one aviator and one observer, having at their disposal three aeroplanes, one of which must always be in flying order. Each of these units is expected to fly about 200 miles each day when the weather permits. Whenever the distance to be covered is so great that a unit only covers it once in the course of its 200-mile flight, as in the case of the unit which will have to protect the channel down to the fiftieth-fathom curve and back, starting from the Sandy Hook base, there will be required a sufficient number of units to make it possible for a unit to start every half hour, beginning with daylight and ending at sundown.

As at present the daylight lasts about 12 hours, there would be required 24 units to patrol the channel course, a unit starting every half hour. That would necessitate having 24 units, with 3 machines to each unit, or 72 machines in all. The same is true at the Montauk Point station, which would have to patrol part of Block Island Sound and go as far out at sea as possible to look out for hostile submarines. The smaller stations, the duties of which are essentially to search the bays for submarines and convoy coastwise shipping, would need a smaller number of units unless the call for aerial patrol and convoying was heavy.

The equipment required for each station depends on the importance of the station from a strategic standpoint. In some cases the station can consist of only a sufficient number of hangars to house the aeroplanes, with a workshop, storage for gasoline, oil, etc., and the necessary housing for the officers and men. In other cases the stations must have hangars for aeroplanes, dirigibles, and observation balloons; motor and machine shops; hydrogen plant, magazines, erecting shops, stores, an aerologic station, wireless station, listening towers, searchlights, and antiaircraft guns for the protection of the station; also provision for aeroplane mother ships, kite balloon ships, and mine-laying ships to cooperate with the aeronautic station and the necessary water craft.

Until dirigibles and observation balloons can be obtained the entire work must be done by aeroplanes.

A single dirigible of the Zeppelin type could do the work of patrolling the channel from Sandy Hook to the 50-fathom curve, which is 85 miles out at sea, better than the 72 seaplanes hereinbefore mentioned; but no number of small scouting dirigibles could do that same work, excepting in the best of weather conditions, because the small dirigibles would be carried away by or could not travel against the average wind to be met along the channel.

Under fair weather conditions there could be placed four or six observation balloons along the channel, anchored on barges or suitable ships. Slow-moving ships with the observation balloons could, under normal conditions, do the work of the 72 aeroplanes. On sighting a hostile submarine, or mines, the observers would wireless the information to the shore station and summon cruisers, air cruisers, submarine chasers, or the trawlers in charge of mine sweeping.

There should be, in addition to the stations, at least one aeronautic base in the naval district. It may be stated that all the personnel required for the air service of the district has to be trained, there being practically no trained personnel available. The personnel should be trained at the aeronautic base.

The Sandy Hook and Montauk Point stations should be most complete, their equipment including the 72 aeroplanes required

to maintain a steady patrol for 12 hours daily and at least 2 dirigibles and 2 observation balloons.

The aviators, dirigible pilots, observation-balloon operators, and observers for the three kinds of aircraft would be trained partly at these stations and partly at two other stations which, while not so extensive in general equipment, would have extensive facilities for instruction. The equipment needed for the last-mentioned 2 stations would consist of about 24 seaplanes to be used for coast patrol, and about 18 aeroplanes and 1 dirigible and 1 observation balloon, respectively, for training.

The number of torpedo planes and of large sea planes mounting 3-inch guns needed for the aerial defenses of the third naval district is not estimated herewith, because the number required will depend entirely on how extensively shipping in the third naval district is subject to attack from hostile ships and submarines. The torpedo plane itself, which can be either a hydroaeroplane or a flying boat of the single-motored type, equipped with a small Whitehead automobile torpedo weighing about 175 pounds, having a range of approximately 1,500 yards at a speed of about 25 knots an hour, can be put in use in quantity within 3 months. The small torpedo will probably be tested within 3 weeks of date of writing. It may require a few weeks to adjust it and standardize it, after which it can be produced in numbers. The device for attaching the torpedo to any flying boat or seaplane is simple, and almost any trained aviator can launch the torpedo under ordinary conditions, as is proved by the experience of the British Navy in Europe. The torpedo plane was patented by Admiral Fiske in 1912.

Larger seaplanes can be put into service to launch larger torpedoes, but that will require considerable experiments and training, which is, however, heartily recommended by the committee. The small torpedoes are to be sufficiently powerful to sink destroyers, all kinds of unarmored ships, and submarines. The larger torpedoes would, of course, sink armored ships.

Large seaplanes equipped with 3-inch guns would be powerful factors of offense and defense also, as they can sink destroyers, submarines, transports, and so forth. The large seaplanes required for this purpose are obtainable, one having been delivered to the Navy recently. Larger types can be obtained; some made in the United States have already been delivered to allied countries. Both the torpedo plane and the seaplane equipped with a 3-inch gun represent an extraordinary combination of mobility and power, which combination promises to revolutionize naval warfare. Their great speed and their ability to fly in a straight line over all natural obstructions make it possible to mobilize their power at any point from Barnegat to Montauk Point within two hours.

The other six stations would require about 12 seaplanes each. The above is to some extent based on the British and French experience. At the beginning of the war Great Britain had only 18 aeronautic stations. To-day she has 107, one-fifth of which are large aeronautic bases. France has about 150 aeronautic stations.

(6) *Personnel.*

There is practically no trained personnel available, but it will be possible to get, to start, at least 20 civilian aviators, professional and amateurs, who have had some experience in marine flying, although no experience in actual naval operations or in the operation of twin-motored aeroplanes. There can also be had about 20 students who are about to complete their preliminary course in the operation of single-motored seaplanes. About 200 more students, mostly college men who have joined the Aerial Coast Patrol units, will be under training in the third naval district within two months, several large aviation training camps being established at private expense. These are part of the hundreds of college men who wanted to join the Naval Reserve Flying Corps, but could not because the Navy Department has not the aeronautic training schools at which to train them.

There are no dirigible pilots or observation balloon operators available, but there are a few civilian experts available to take charge of the training. It will therefore be necessary to train the entire personnel of the air service, which will comprise for the third naval district about 150 aviators and aviation instructors, 30 dirigible balloon pilots, and 30 observation balloon operators. Also as many observers as there are pilots and operators. While naval officers make the best observers, the European countries have found that civilians can be trained to make efficient observers. There will be required an average of one chief mechanic and three assistant mechanics to each aviator. For each dirigible in operation there must be a crew of mechanics and a company of enlisted men to act in docking the dirigible. To each observation balloon there is required a crew of mechanics and a company of men.

(7) *Training of personnel.*

As the personnel available is practically all untrained in naval matters, it will be necessary to teach the students the rudiments of naval discipline and naval regulations as well as aeronautics. Great Britain has had to do this to get military aviators, and the British system, which has been adopted by her allies and Canada, is undoubtedly the best system to follow.

By the British system the civilian who wishes to join the army or navy air service in Great Britain or Canada at present has first to join the service as a cadet and go through a course in the cadet's school, at which military subjects as well as aeronautic subjects are taught. He gets a grounding in drill and discipline, care of arms, interior economy, military law, and the use of the machine gun; this course lasts about two months. From this the cadet is sent to a flying corps training school, school of military aeronautics, where he begins his technical training on the ground. In Canada, and in some cases in England, he gets the first-mentioned military training at the same time as he gets the rudimentary training in flying or operation of dirigibles and observation balloons. He goes through a course in the care of engines and rigging, is given some ideas of the theory of flight, and is taught wireless signaling and receiving.

He gets instruction in the care of machine guns, in the use of the camera, in map reading, in the observation of artillery wire with models, and in his spare moments he gets a certain amount of drill. This course lasts another two months, and if he gets through this successfully he is given a commission on the general list. He then joins a preliminary training squadron as a pupil, and starts his instruction usually on the slow Maurice Farman aeroplane, his training both in military and technical subjects going on concurrently. After reaching a certain standard of efficiency and having completed a certain number of hours in the air, he is sent on to an advanced training squadron, or service squadron, where he learns to fly service types of machines for military purposes and eventually qualifies for his wings. He is then gazetted as a flying officer of the Royal Flying Corps and posted to a service squadron. If he shows exceptional promise as a pilot after his qualification, he is sent to the Central Flying School, where he is given extra higher instruction on flying scouts. During the period of advanced training he goes through a course of aerial gunnery away from his squadron. The total time in the air usually required to reach the qualification stage is about 30 hours' solo in present circumstances, but, of course, the length of time that it takes to reach this standard depends entirely on the weather and the number of aeroplanes available. During the winter it works out to about four months, but in the summer it is considerably shorter.

(This information is quoted from statements of Gen. W. S. Brancker, R. A., director of British Air Organization.)

The above may seem a long process, but it is the best, and will prove the shortest in the end, as it will produce well-trained aviators.

A number of naval aviation officers are needed to properly carry out this plan. They can be taken from Pensacola, where they are engaged in instructing, which can be done by civilian instructors, to be engaged for that purpose the same as the Army does.

(8) *Immediate action necessary.*

It is not necessary to emphasize that immediate action is necessary to carry out all or any part of this plan as it is or with modifications. The vital necessity of a substantial air service is too obvious. Likewise, no time should be lost in placing orders for several large dirigibles of the Zeppelin type. They are badly needed for patrolling the channels and to convoy ships on long cruises. Unless prompt action is taken, we may wake up some morning to find that a U boat has sunk a number of ships, which can be prevented by an efficient aerial coast patrol.

As it is necessary to make provision to send seaplanes on a tour of search for hostile submarine bases that may have been established along our coasts, and for other purposes, steps should be taken immediately to set up half dozen wooden runways, hangars, and gasoline and oil depots at each of the 10 mentioned stations. The runways and gasoline and oil depots should be established immediately. That would make it possible to send the half dozen flying boats now available on searching trips, eliminating the necessity of their coming back to their base to replenish their gasoline tanks, and removing the possibility of their being damaged by landing on rocks.

(9) *Free use of land for stations.*

The use of land required for stations can be had free. The advisory has received many offers of that nature. Mr. Rodman

Wanamaker has offered the use of his aviation station at Port Washington; the Sperry Gyroscope Co. has offered the use of its station at Amityville; Mr. Floyd Jones has offered the use of 350 acres of land at Massapequa, Great South Bay, Long Island, for one year. These are only some of the offers of use of land suitable for air stations. The Gallaudet Aircraft Corporation, Marbridge Building, 1328 Broadway, expects to establish a training school on the south shore of Long Island. Volunteer Aerial Coast Patrol Unit No. 1 is planning to establish a station near Port Washington. These stations will be available for use by the air service of the third naval district.

(10) *Plan adaptable to the 15 naval districts as well as land defenses.*

This report deals mainly with the third naval district and with the use of aircraft for coast patrol. But the plan is adaptable to the 15 naval districts, and it may be pointed out that the inherent qualities of combined power and mobility make the aeroplanes an effective weapon over the land as well. For instance, 100 battle planes properly distributed could make a military reconnoissance of the entire northern border of the United States in less than an hour. If distributed along the border between the United States and Mexico, they could make a military reconnoissance of the entire border in less than half an hour.

(11) *Production of aeroplanes to carry out plan.*

This plan can be carried out in part with the aeroplanes obtainable under present conditions, but the carrying out of the plan as a whole depends on greatly increasing the production, which can be done by placing substantial orders with manufacturers for steady, continuous deliveries. The National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics has investigated the conditions of the aeronautic industry and found that the production of aircraft of all types can be increased from hundreds to thousands by placing substantial orders for continuous deliveries extending over a period of two or three years, so as to enable manufacturers to secure the various machinery and materials required and train the large number of workmen required.

Orders should, therefore, be placed immediately, including orders for two or three large Zeppelin type dirigibles, to foster the development of this valuable type of aircraft.

(12) *Report on the efficiency of American aeroplanes.*

Regarding the efficiency of American aeroplanes, our committee has investigated the subject and has found that, type for type, American manufacturers supply aeroplanes equal to the very best European products. An investigation of statements of people who, on their arrival to this country, from Europe, state that American aeroplanes are not used at the front in Europe has brought out the fact that the aeroplanes ordered in this country so far, with the exception of our large seaplanes, which are superior to any European product, the orders have only been for aeroplanes of the training type. A further investigation has shown that the reason why only the training type of aeroplane have been ordered in this country by the allies is that the limited production in this country in the past two years did not permit deliveries of thousands of aeroplanes, and it would have been most inefficient to send to the front a few hundred aeroplanes of a type for which spare parts were not available. This inability on the part of American constructors to deliver aeroplanes by the thousand at the time when the allies needed the aeroplanes most made it necessary for the different countries to create their own sources of supplies for the bulk of the aeroplanes needed by them. The complaints from the representatives of different countries which have ordered aeroplanes in the United States are entirely of our limited output. They state that they could use thousands of additional aeroplanes of the training type—as well as of the remarkable large seaplanes which are not obtainable elsewhere outside of the United States.

These facts are substantiated by the fact that additional orders have been placed continuously in this country for aeroplanes and aero motors.

The committee's investigation shows that all the reports regarding the alleged inefficiency of American aeroplanes and motors are based on the fact that close to two years ago, when it was almost impossible to get the suitable metals for crank shafts, a shipment of American motors proved to be unsatisfactory and the motors had be reconstructed in England. But the investigation also shows that the allies had the same trouble at the time with British and French products. These facts were brought out by the recent investigation of the Royal Flying Corps of Great Britain.

(13) *Investigation of the efficiency of American fighting aeroplanes.*

Our investigation shows that the statements made recently to the effect that American fighting aeroplanes do not have the speed and climbing ability of foreign fighting machines is based on the fact that in America we demand a factor of safety of six, whereas foreign machines only have a factor of safety of three. Likewise, whereas foreign countries expect machines that land at a speed of close to 100 miles an hour, in the United States we expect our fast aeroplanes to land at a speed not exceeding 60 miles an hour. Considering that we have a factor of safety twice as large as the foreign machines and that we have a landing speed not exceeding 60 miles an hour, our fighting machines compare favorably with the foreign machines in speed. We get a speed of approximately 120 miles from our machines, while the European machines, with the lower factor of safety and greater landing speed, get only about 10 miles more.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. HOUSTON,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I had not expected to discuss this resolution. I am not given to much speaking, and, indeed, this is a time that calls for action rather than words; but I feel constrained, as a Representative of a peace-loving though brave and patriotic people in casting my vote as their Representative, to say a few words as to the reasons that impel me to vote for this resolution.

With steadfast faith in the principles of this Government and unwavering belief in the maintenance of these principles, I do not hesitate to cast my vote for this resolution.

Our Government was founded in righteousness and justice, and we must maintain these principles or lose the blessing they afford. Our rights have been violated in the most inhumane way. Our people have been destroyed in ways that are murderous. These wrongs we have borne with patience, hoping that we might right them without entering into a horrible war. We have hoped and prayed for peace in vain. We have been denied the right to travel the high seas on peaceful missions in the pursuit of business, except at our peril. Our ships have been sunk and our people drowned without warning. These wrongs have continued until we must resist them. President Wilson has done all in his power to keep us at peace and out of this terrible warfare. Now, he has issued a call to us to resist the war already made on our people. Can we fail to respond? We must assert our rights and compel Germany to respect them.

That we are into a state of war already is a fact that can not be ignored. Our people have been killed deliberately and unlawfully. We can no longer submit to this in safety for ourselves to-day or in security for our peace hereafter.

The Kaiser believes in a government of force and the ruthless exercise of any power to accomplish an end, in order to carry out the purpose of his ambition. International law, justice, humanity, are recklessly set aside and we are made victims of the most ruthless methods of warfare ever practiced by a civilized nation. When this despotic power assaults the rights and lives of our people we can not submit, but must assert ourselves and do battle for the dearest principles of our existence.

This resolution calls us to action, and Americans will quit themselves like men in defense of their people, their rights, and in the defense of the rights of mankind.

I vote for this resolution recognizing that Germany has thrust war upon us, and I feel to the utmost the fearful import involved. I have considered it with serious and solemn thought. We all love peace and dread war, but I can only act as my judgment and my conscience tell me it is my duty to act, when such great interests are at stake and terrible consequences are involved. I know no way to determine my course except to stand for what I believe is right and do my duty. I believe we can not in duty to ourselves and our fathers or to our posterity tamely submit to the wrongs that have been inflicted upon us. We stand for the principles of human liberty; we stand for the rights of mankind; and if it becomes necessary when these are imperiled we should make the sacrifice necessary to maintain them. In defending our rights in this contest we are fighting the battles of liberty the world over. The great struggle is now on between democracy and autocratic despotism. We are enlisted now under the banner raised by our fathers when they asserted on this continent the principles of human liberty and the rights of mankind.

Our success—and I believe we will succeed—will, I trust, be the dethronement of despotism and the establishment of democracy and freedom in all lands.

Declaration of the Position of American Labor in Peace or War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 13, 1917.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, the attitude of organized labor is more than ever a matter of vital concern to the Nation now that the United States has embarked upon a great war. The following remarkable document, printed only in small part by the newspapers, was formulated after three days of discussion by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. The declaration is as follows:

"We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the Nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the Nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

"A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

"Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

"The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the Nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employees, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

"In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

"In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

"Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

"It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted cooperation of wage earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

"War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the National Government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize its full strength for outward defense.

"We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the Nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom, and opportunity, but, under guise of national necessity, labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guaranties of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage earners they generally lost.

"In previous times labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests, and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of 'national safety.'

"The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the Governments upon the cooperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

"The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands, and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

"Whether in peace or in war, the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

"Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

"As the representatives of the wage earners, we assert that conditions of work and pay in Government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

"A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the Government they are expected to and will defend.

"The corner stone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

"The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford it the greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective cooperation in spirit and in action.

"During the long period in which it has been establishing itself the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage earners.

"Whether planning for peace or war the Government must recognize the organized-labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with wage earners.

"Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

"We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the Government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies, or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

"We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guaranties and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

"We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

"Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war, and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be main-

tained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

"The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom, and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation, and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions, and ideals of human justice.

"Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters, and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

"The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the State from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

"The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made against military service for the Nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

"We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial, and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

"It is fundamental, therefore, that the Government cooperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in Government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade-union standards.

"The guaranties of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the Government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

"Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage earners, organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

"Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that in all countries stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit, or corrupt foreign governments, but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

"The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a Nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

"We, the officers of the national and international trade-unions of America, in national conference assembled in the Capital of our Nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

"In this solemn hour of our Nation's life it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood, and a higher civilization.

"But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom, and humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

While the declaration speaks for itself, its importance is magnified by the knowledge that it was adopted without a dissenting vote by the representatives of 79 national and international trade-unions of America, the chiefs of the four railroad brotherhoods, and the heads of the five departments of the American Federation of Labor who assembled in Washington on March 12, 1917, pursuant to a call issued on March 2, which stated:

"Every day has added to the seriousness of the situation that confronts our Nation. It dims the hope that our country may not be drawn into the maelstrom that is rocking the very foundations of world civilization.

"For months the tide of world-war has been creeping further and further upon the coasts of our country. Even though we should be able to maintain our rights without being drawn into active participation in the present world conflict, yet we shall be compelled to meet the problems of readjustment after the war and to do our part to have incorporated into international regulations what shall determine the future ideals and principles of human justice and democracy, and the establishment of institutions and relations to deal with misunderstandings, differences, and conflicting interests, so that they may be guided in such a way as to prevent future wars.

"But there is an immediate, critical situation which the labor movement must meet at once. The whole world is afire and there is imminent danger that at any moment we may become part of the conflagration. National constructive policies of preparedness and defense are now being formulated. The wage earners of the United States will have to recognize their obligations to maintain institutions of liberty and justice if they are to have part in directing the spirit and the methods that shall be adopted for the defense of our Republic.

"Some plan will be adopted. Whatever the plan may be it will affect wage earners primarily. If in this formative period the labor movement shall clearly enunciate what part it is willing to take in defense of the Republic, it will be in a position to have a voice in deciding the whole plan of national preparedness for defense, but if the labor movement should hold aloof and should refuse to proclaim a constructive program all wage earners will be forced to accept conditions and methods determined by those who do not understand or sympathize with the aims or purposes of the labor movement.

"Either duties and service in connection with national defense will be imposed upon the workers without their advice when formulating these plans or labor must make this an opportunity for emphasizing the tremendous service that it has rendered to society, both in peace and in war, and for demanding that all plans be in harmony with the thought that human life and human welfare are the ultimate purpose which both peace and war serve.

"General policies are now in the making and can be directed either in accord with the interests of humanity or against them. But organized labor can not delay in expressing itself upon the present and impending critical situation. Now is the time for labor to speak."

In describing this historic national conference, which assembled only 25 days before the declaration of a state of war between the people of the United States and the Imperial German Government, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has said:

"For years the organized labor movements had been giving their best thought to maintaining and perfecting institutions of peace. They had been working and planning for international peace, and in their fight for idealism they were blinded to the dangers and the possibilities of war; they undervalued the instincts and the forces that so frequently have plunged countries into war. With power and suddenness that stunned, a titanic world conflict disproved the belief that never again would civilized nations become involved in serious warfare. Like all other institutions of peace, the organized labor movements of the European countries involved in the war were swept away from their moorings in the effort to provide immediate protection and to mobilize all forces that would contribute to national defense.

"To prevent a similar situation in this country representatives of the organized labor movement were called together in order that they might agree among themselves what should be their part in the defense of this Republic if war should come and to prepare a way whereby principles of human welfare should be maintained under war conditions as well as under peace.

"A spirit of serious intentness pervaded the deliberations of the conference from the beginning. It was evident that all had felt that the labor movement had a responsible duty to perform in the time of national need. The men participating in the conference had been educated by the problems, the needs, and the struggles of wage earners. They knew that the relation of labor to the war was fundamentally a human problem to be worked out in accord with the experience and the principles developed in the growth of the organized labor movement—the one organization that has proved its right to represent principles of humanity, freedom, and justice.

"They had watched in all European countries the downfall of institutions of democracy and the substitution of autocracies. Upon this as a basis, the claim was made that democracy was not and could not be efficient. With the people of the United States rests the responsibility of demonstrating that, with the best forethought and cooperative effort, democracy becomes the most efficient agency of government.

"Those participating in the conference were men of very positive convictions, but they came with open minds. During the discussion there were evidences of changes of opinions and of the fact that the men were keenly sensitive to the impact of recent events; that they felt the situation now confronting our country demanded original, fresh thinking without regard to any decision made yesterday or the year before.

"The world is entering upon a new era; new institutions, new policies, new powers are in the making.

"It is the opportunity for labor, conscious of the dignity of its service, assured of the justice of its cause, to demand the right to participate as a distinct entity in national affairs. The conference felt that the organized labor movement ought to assume the initiative.

"No more important document was ever issued by a nongovernmental agency in the history of this country. It heralds a new era when direction and administration over matters that concern the Nation shall be in the hands of those whose brain, sinew, and nerve energy have been expended in the service of the Nation.

"It was the voice of the masses declaring 'Let us plan to save democracy.' In every warring nation democracy has given way to autocracy. Labor wants to prove the efficiency of democracy—let us cooperate upon a basis that will assure whatever of value we already possess and clear the way for the new era—the constructive period of growth and progress under the inspiration of our democracy united and efficient."

That a serious effort will be made to carry out the policies outlined in this declaration is shown by the following clipping from the Weekly News Letter of the American Federation of Labor:

WELFARE OF WORKERS A DEFENSE PROBLEM.

WASHINGTON, *April 7, 1917.*

At a meeting last Monday of the labor committee of the advisory commission, National Council of Defense, the chairman, President Gompers, appointed the following executive committee:

Samuel Gompers, chairman; Secretary of Labor Wilson; Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor; James O'Connell, second vice president American Federation of Labor; James Lord, president mining department, American Federation of Labor; Warren S. Stone, grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Elisha Lee, general manager Pennsylvania Railroad; V. Everit Macy, president National Civic Federation; Lee K. Frankel, in charge of welfare department Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; A. Parker Nevin, National Association of Manufacturers; and Louis B. Schramm, of New York.

The meeting was attended by a large number of trade-unionists, including officials of national and international unions and other men and women interested in various phases of America's social life. It was the purpose of the meeting to coordinate every social force to the end that many experiences, both in this country and Europe, may be utilized without impairing democratic institutions. The bulk of the work of the labor committee of the advisory commission, National Council of Defense, will fall on the executive committee appointed last Monday, although subcommittees will be assigned to different activities.

Among the problems to be handled by the executive committee are the length of the workday, proper and even compulsory rest and recreation, mobility of workers with a minimum of disturbance of social ties, provision for elasticity of established rules without breaking down organized labor's machinery, maintenance of proper working conditions, housing and maintenance of proper home conditions, safety and health provisions, and problems of a similar nature.

Mr. Gompers has also sent the following cablegram, asking that labor be represented in the commission soon to be sent to America from England for a conference on the conduct of the war. A similar message was sent to Premier Ribot, of France, urging that Messrs. Jouhaux and Keufer, well-known labor leaders in that country, be sent to the United States as members of the French commission:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1917.*

Premier LLOYD-GEORGE,
London:

As president of American Federation of Labor, President Wilson appointed me member of Advisory Commission Council of National Defense. Special work of my committee is conservation and welfare of workers and for effective industrial service. Cable dispatch to-day states commission from the British and French Governments will come to United States for conference. We need here the additional advice of representatives of England's workers, and respectfully urge that Appleton and Bowerman be sent here as part of British commission. Have cabled Premier Ribot, of France, to like effect for French representatives.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

The British Premier to-day made the following reply:

LONDON, *April 13, 1917.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Washington:*

Delighted to comply with your request. Two labor leaders and representatives of welfare department of ministry of munitions will leave for America as soon as possible.

LLOYD-GEORGE.

Recognition of the War Against the United States Waged by Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAS. H. MAYS,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, gentlemen ask, "What will you say to the supporters of the President in the late campaign who say 'We voted for Wilson because he kept us out of war'?" They are fearful lest the people repudiate at the polls their colleagues who resist the aggressions of Germany. Their solicitude is commendable, but may be misdirected.

In answering the question, however, we should know the international situation in November, 1916, as compared with that which exists to-day.

The war in Europe began suddenly August 1, 1914. No sufficient cause has ever yet appeared visible to the naked eye. A member of the royal family of Austria and his consort had been slain in Serbia. Apparently Serbia had offered every reasonable apology and tendered most gracious offers of reparation. The assassin was promptly executed. Austria, coached and backed by Germany, insisted upon conditions which were generally admitted to be inconsistent with the sovereign existence of any nation. Russia interposed an objection finally to the absolute humiliation of their kinsman, Serbia. Then Germany declared war upon Russia and France, and with her magnificent army, for years held in impatient readiness, invaded Belgium, a peaceable nation having no part in the quarrel.

The invasion of Belgium was the work of a barbarian. It was an assault upon the rights of humanity; it was a palpable violation of existing treaties. Many of our people believe that we should have forcibly protested. Our integrity as a Nation, however, was not assaulted and the President counseled and exercised patience.

Apparently emboldened by our expressed tendency toward peace, the Imperial Government of Germany committed a number of serious acts of agression upon us. She began a ruthless submarine campaign against us which culminated in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, resulting in the murder, without warning and contrary to international law, of American citizens.

The President, after considering all the facts, called the German Government to task and, through splendid diplomacy, secured that nation's disavowal of the crime, promises of reparation, and assurances that it would not be repeated.

Many of our people thought that we should have forcibly resented it at the time, and the President was denounced by half of our people and ridiculed as a spineless writer of eloquently composed diplomatic notes. The *Lusitania*, however, floated a belligerent flag. She carried arms and munitions to belligerent nations. American passengers were not unwarned of the danger of taking passage upon her.

Two or more ships floating the American flag were sunk. The President patiently protested and disavowals and promises were renewed that such violations of our rights should be discontinued. It is hardly necessary, Mr. Speaker, to recite in detail the several instances of German assaults upon our people, as every reader of current history is familiar with the humiliating story.

However, in considering the verdict of the 1916 election, it must be borne in mind that diplomacy had apparently succeeded where war had been threatened. It could then be said that "He kept us out of war with honor to the Nation," and while there were many other substantial reasons for continuing his administration at the helm of affairs, it is probable that his peace-loving tendency may have contributed toward his election, though of this we are not certain.

The remarkable record of the administration in progressive, constructive legislation may have been the chief factor after all. Many who approved the domestic program opposed the President because of his foreign policy, which they claimed showed a shameless, vacillating disregard of American rights. However, to those people who voted for the President because he kept us out of war and who now feel that they have been betrayed, it can be said that the conditions are now vastly different.

Then Germany had yielded to every substantial demand we had made. She had disavowed the unlawful acts of her submarine commanders. She had promised not to sink passenger ships or other ships without warning. She had promised to make reparation.

Now she has announced, under date of January 31 last, that on and after February 1, 1917, she will sink all vessels entering a zone on the high seas described by her, whether such vessels are neutral or belligerent, whether loaded with contraband or passengers bound upon errands of mercy.

Her restricted zone would bar us effectually from the high seas and rob us of rights inherent to our Nation.

The President had stated that the Imperial German Government would be held to a strict accountability for all acts of ruthless aggression upon us.

He had stated in most emphatic terms that friendly relations would be dissolved if the illegal and inhuman submarine warfare should be resumed. Therefore there was nothing left for him to do, when the announcement was made that all promises, assurances, and disavowals would be repudiated and the murderous program resumed, than to do just what he did.

The Congress approved and the country applauded his course in breaking off friendly relations with Germany, as he personally announced to us in the joint session of February 3.

For a time it appeared that the breach of friendly relations and the warning that we must defend our most sacred rights had some effect upon the German Government. Acts of aggression were committed, however, sufficiently grave to cause the President to ask the Congress, in his address to us in joint session, for authority to arm our merchant ships for their defense against unlawful attacks. The country again applauded. The Congress almost unanimously approved. Except for a filibuster, disgraceful and craven, the armed neutrality bill, giving the President authority to arm our merchant ships, that they might at least spare themselves the humiliation, jeers, and insults to their sinking flag after the fatal blow had been delivered by the cowardly bushwhackers of the sea, would have overwhelmingly passed the Congress. It is true that the President kept us out of war as long as it was possible for patient forbearance and the exercise of diplomacy to do so.

It is untrue to say that he now plunges us into war. Germany officially announced that she would wage war upon us by sinking ships carrying our flag and our people. And she has done so. By asking us to recognize that a state of war exists he simply suggests that we have the common sense to accept a situation which Germany had imposed upon us and to take the necessary steps to meet it. We could do nothing else and continue as a Nation.

Germany would, no doubt, prefer to continue this one-sided warfare upon us. She would be pleased to sink our ships and murder our citizens—men, women, and children—and drive us off the seas while we cowardly submit. Every murderer, every outlaw, would prefer a policy of nonresistance on the part of the victim.

The President stated that Germany, in the new policy, "had swept every restriction aside, vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, had been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, without thought of help or mercy for those on board; vessels of friendly neutrals along with belligerents, hospital ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the Germany Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion and principle."

Was there ever a more serious indictment preferred in the annals of history? Does anyone dispute the facts set forth by the President? What other course could we take and preserve our own self-respect?

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] occupied an hour in opposition to the resolution. He employed his time in a defense of the Imperial German Government and an arraignment of his own. He advances the novel argument that so long as Germany kills all neutrals without discrimination we could not object to being killed by her. To this cowardly doctrine we could not subscribe. He would condemn the offenses of England against property rights and condone the offenses of Germany against every sovereign right we, as a Nation, possess.

He could see no difference between the capture of the cargo of a ship for which payment is made and the destruction of the lives of citizens without warning. He denounces his Government for submitting to the capture and seizure of property and yet he would not recognize a state of war waged against his people by the German Government. His argument against the armed-neutrality bill pretended to be based upon the objection to arming ships against attack which carried arms and munitions. Now, when Germany is sinking our ships carrying only passengers and ballast he still supports the Kaiser instead of the President.

It is noteworthy that the gentleman and the colleagues supporting his most astonishing position have a very large German constituency. He could not find it in his heart to condemn anything the Kaiser's Government has done. He knew of the many acts of aggression upon the seas. He was aware of the intrigues to involve us in war with Mexico and Japan, the ultimate object of which was to dismember our country and apportion it out to the conquerors. His argument is an insult to the German constituency to whom he seeks to cater.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] occupied 20 minutes, three-fourths of which was devoted to the task of showing us how much our Nation had been dishonored by submission to the illegal acts of Mexico and England. Then, strange to say, he advocates submission to Germany. He has been the most persistent critic, in a small way, of the administration for what he called its "pacifism." He has clamored for more Navy, a larger Army, and now he would not use what we have in defense of all we have which makes us a sovereign Nation. To such doctrine we are incapable of subscribing.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] would not declare war against any nation. He, at least, is consistent. He would not recognize war when he met it in the middle of the road. He hopes Germany would yield to persuasion. If that gentleman or any other could give us substantial assurance that our people would not continue to be murdered, we might listen to his eloquent appeal. But no assurance is forthcoming.

The gentleman from Washington [Mr. DILL] says that we go to war simply for the right to trade with other nations, because our property rights are being violated. Suppose that we had no other cause for passing this resolution, still it should be passed because we must, as a people, preserve and defend our rights upon the high seas.

The gentleman failed to follow the President when he said:

> I am not now thinking of the loss of property, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants—men, women, and children—engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for. The lives of innocent and peaceful people can not.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] consistently preaches the doctrine of nonresistance. If a barbarian should place a chalk mark around the gentleman's home and tell him not to cross it, his argument would compel him to submit. If a bully should strike his wife or proceed to murder his children, his doctrine would prevent the use of the weapons with which nature supplied him for the defense of his life and the lives of those dependent upon him. He says we could avoid a con-

flict by staying off the seas. So we could by getting off the earth.

I am reminded of an incident related in the book called the Virginian. A desperado named Trampas had given the Virginian notice that if he did not leave the town of Medicine Bow, Wyo., by sundown he would kill him. The pacifists all advised the Virginian to leave. His sweetheart, the school-teacher, plead with him to go. The preacher urged him to avoid any conflict by departing to another town and quoted the Scriptural injunction: "Thou shalt not kill."

The Virginian told the preacher to "tell that to Trampas and there would be no killing." He upheld his rights upon the earth and went about his legitimate business. The desperado undertook to execute his threat and lost his life in the attempt.

Everyone knows that if the Virginian had been so cowardly as to submit to the dictates of the desperado he would have been a wanderer upon the face of the earth. He would have lost the respect of everyone including his sweetheart, the preacher, and even of himself.

So now if we should cravenly submit to the autocratic orders of the German barbarian we would forfeit the respect of all people, including our own. This would be worse than war, deplorable as it is.

To me, Mr. Speaker, there is no other course for us to take. Regardless of political affiliations we should solemnly sustain our President.

It grieves me to know that some votes will be cast against the resolution. It should be unanimous. We are all impressed by the deep solemnity of the hour. We are all sincere lovers of peace and look forward to the war's early victorious conclusion.

Personally I expect to see three results of world-wide significance:

1. Such a league of nations as will abolish militarism and bring peace to the world.

2. The overthrow of autocratic, kingly power and the establishment of democracy.

3. Incidentally the abolishment throughout the world of the liquor traffic as a military and economic necessity.

The world will not permit such a menace to exist again as Prussian militarism over which a Kaiser reigns who would dominate the world.

A distinguished Senator said yesterday:

> The very opening chapter of God's holy law prescribing the charter of our creation informs us that God gave to man dominion over the sea and over the land, but it is for us in Christian America to behold that one part of the civilization of the world, through imperial power, repeals the law of Almighty God and amends the ordinances of Heaven by placing a limitation upon that which God gave his children by denying to one portion—America—the privileges of the earth.

Lloyd-George, the premier of England, said to-day that—

> The Kaiser, when he witnessed the incessant tread of his legions through the streets of Prussia, got drunk with the sight and sound of it. He delivered the law to the world as a new pastor on Sinai, delivering the law from the thunderclouds.

It is against that arrogant assumption of divine power and the barbaric exercise of it upon us rather than against the German people that we now offer determined resistance and unselfishly pledge the manhood and the resources of our country.

War, Patriotism, and Neutrality.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARK R. BACON,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. BACON. Mr. Speaker, the question as to whether we should declare war should be determined only after serious and mature deliberation, and I am glad that Congress has thrown the doors open for a full discussion to all Members.

We are told that the country seems to be clamoring for war, and there is no question but that Congress will declare for the resolution; but we must not be carried away by passion or prejudice, fear or favor. We should deliberate calmly, with a view for the present and future of our beloved country. Every man should be a patriot in times like these, and should consider every phase of the question, communing seriously with his conscience, his country, and his God. A man surely can be a patriot and still not want to plunge his country into war.

We have been taught to look upon George Washington, the Father of his Country, as a patriot, and no man will question his patriotism; then would it be out of order, should it lower us in the estimation of patriotic people in a patriotic country, to stop long enough to ask ourselves and consider whether Washington would, if living and a Member of this Congress, be in favor of our entering this war, and how would he cast his vote—for or against this resolution? The only way for us to form an opinion as to what he would do under such circumstances would be for us to examine and consider his writings, his letters while on earth, and his actions as handed down to us in history.

Here is a letter written by him from Mount Vernon to Patrick Henry, as reported in Volume XIII of the Ford "Writings of Washington." Listen:

> My ardent desire is and my aim has been (as far as dependent upon executive department) to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, but to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, and to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not, by becoming partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquility, and destroy, perhaps, forever, the cement that binds the Union.
>
> GEORGE WASHINGTON.

When we enter this war our soldiers will cross the ocean to Europe; they must face the liquid fire, the poisonous gas, the deadly shrapnel and bullets; they will not falter; they will die as heroes only die! When will the living remainder of our armies return? Not until the allies say they may return, when the war has ended to the satisfaction of the allies, and not until then will our boys be free to return to their native land. Would this be "acting for ourselves and not for others"? Would we not become "partisans of Great Britain or France" or the other allies? Would not this "create dissensions and disturb the public tranquility" of this country? Let us pause and consider.

Are we at this critical time in our Nation's history going to ignore, forget, and disregard the advice and teachings of George Washington?

When we enter this alliance with the allies will we be "free from political connections with every other country"? Will we be "independent of all and under the influence of none"? Is this "the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home"? Would this not place us in the position of "becoming partisans of Great Britain and France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquility" and lose to us our standing as an independent Nation, free from all foreign alliances of whatsoever nature?

I prefer to heed the teachings of Washington rather than to help to plunge our beloved country into the unfathomable abyss of questionable foreign politics and foreign alliances. I can not accept or believe that patriotism calls upon us to impoverish our country and our people by saddling upon them a debt that they, their children, nor children's children, nor the children's children's grandchildren and great-grandchildren will never live to see paid and extinguished. Billions of dollars must be raised by taxation and bonds. Stop and consider for a few minutes and see whether you can realize what a billion dollars means, and then consider that this must be raised from taxing the people and the country's resources. But war not only means money and high taxes for each and every individual but it means death and destruction; it means that our American boys will go to foreign lands and thousands and thousands will give up their young lives, thousands and thousands will return home sightless, thousands and thousands will return legless and armless, millions and millions of dollars' worth of property will be destroyed. It will be a war of destruction and not of construction and building up.

Will our honorable Senators and Congressmen who are championing this resolution for war be among the first to enlist and cross the ocean? Time will tell. Will those people throughout the length and breadth of this land who are clamoring for war and denouncing every man who does not favor this resolution as an enemy to his country—will we find these men, when war is upon us, in the trenches facing shot and shell, liquid fire and deadly gases? I think not. Will they be the first to send their boys to the front? I can not believe it. The man who stands off and yells to the other fellows to "fight" do not generally get close enough to the fracas to receive any of the blows himself.

I question no man's right to vote as his conscience dictates, and if that conscience dictates that he should vote for this resolution no man has any right to question or censure his vote, and the same rule should apply to those who conscientiously vote against it.

We are told that this war will be popular with the people; that the country is aroused and that the people are in favor of war. Is this true? I can not believe it. The President surely does not believe it, or he would not recommend conscription—

drafting the people from the start in order to fill the ranks and get an army of sufficient strength to start operations.

If this question could be left to a referendum of the people, I believe, from the letters and telegrams I have received, both pro and con, that a majority of the people would be glad to register their vote against war.

We have been complaining about the high cost of living. How will it be when this war is upon us and the boys from the farm, the boys from the factory, the boys from every walk of life have quit producing and gone across the ocean to fight?

From whence will come the money with which to pay our taxes, with which to pay the cost of this war? Some newspapers tell us that it will be paid, in a measure, by the rich and the moderately rich through the many methods of taxes and taxation, including the inheritance and the income tax. Let me tell you that the wealthy citizens may furnish part of the money—do not for one minute believe that the balance of us will escape taxation—but the boys of this country, the boys between the ages of 18 and 25—18 and 19 if we take the Civil War statistics—the flower, the bone and sinew of this country, the laboring man, the clerk, the young man from all walks of life, will furnish the blood, their lives, their arms, their legs, their eyesight, their young manhood, their health, and the mothers of this country will not only furnish their boys but they will furnish the loving memory, the anguish, the tears, the heart's blood of this Nation—and all for what? Answer this question for yourselves and to your God!

We stand for the people at home and abroad and wherever the American flag may float; but what must we say of the person who knowingly rushes into a war zone, where he is liable to bring on complications that would lead his country into war, that might involve millions of his countrymen and all the resources of his Nation?

The man who rushes into a saloon brawl must expect to take what is coming to him and must abide the consequences. Should it be different with the person who would rush into a war zone—rush in where angels fear to tread?

O, my colleagues, would it be out of order to refer again to the patriot, Washington, and quote one of his proclamations while President, when Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain were at war with France? Listen:

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Whereas a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain on the one hand, and France on the other, I do hereby make known that whatsoever citizen of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment by carrying to any of them articles which are deemed contraband will not receive the protection of the United States. I have given instruction to those officers to whom it belongs to cause prosecution to be instituted against all persons who shall violate this law.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, 22d day of April, 1793.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By the President:

[SEAL.]

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Secretary of State.

O my countrymen, think of the thousands and thousands of happy homes throughout our beloved land! Then let your minds look forward to one or two years hence and note the death, the destruction, the desolation stalking abroad. Think of the heart-broken mother—perhaps your own mother; think of the wife; think of the boy; think of the many once happy homes now made desolate.

Why should we not take as strong a stand for democracy in America as our President asks us to take for a foreign country? I do not believe that the rank and file of the people in this country want to send our armies to Europe. I do not believe our boys are ready or anxious to be sent to the slaughter pens of Europe. It is against every principle of democracy and a free country and is utterly opposed to the principles, in my opinion, that were taught by the framers of our Constitution or by George Washington.

My countrymen, we are appealed to to stand by the flag. We are standing by the flag; we can all be for our country's flag; in this hour we are neither politicians nor partisans; we must be patriots whether we support this resolution or not—we are patriots. Every man in this House is for the flag and what it stands for, and though we may differ as to what it may stand for in this crisis, yet, my countrymen, we love that flag; we love her glorious folds; we love those white stripes of purity and those red stripes of love; we love that beautiful field of blue, emblem of truth and fidelity, bedecked and glittering with 48 of the evening's sentinels from heaven's own.

When we look upon that flag we are reminded, and we want to feel proud, that we are American citizens and revere the teachings of our forefathers. When we look upon that flag, no matter whether in foreign lands, we want to know that 48 States and more than 100,000,000 people—100,000,000 of as true, as brave, as honest, as patriotic a people as God's sun ever shone upon—are backing us in our rights as American citizens, as long as we conduct ourselves as becomes true Americans, behaving ourselves at home and abroad. When we look upon that flag we are reminded of the thousands and thousands of happy homes all over this glorious country, on the rocky hills of the East, along the shores of our Great Lakes, among the southern pines, on the productive soil of the Mississippi Valley, over the fertile prairies of the great West, along the golden slopes of the Pacific—all over this glorious land of ours—made happy with the thought that as long as that flag floats in the heavens and we keep ourselves free from any and all entangling foreign alliances they may rest in security and dwell in neighborly love.

When we look upon that flag we want to know that we live in "the land of the free and home of the brave"—free from political and military connections with any and all foreign countries.

When we look upon that flag we are reminded of the Nation's dead, those who fell in defense of our glorious country in the different wars—fell with the Star-Spangled Banner as their winding sheet, weltering in a patriot's blood, dampened with a Nation's tears, remembered in their country's prayers.

When you look upon that flag you are reminded of your grandfathers, your fathers, your brothers, aye, perhaps your loved sons, who are already sleeping in foreign lands.

When we look upon that flag we think of you who periled your lives in defense of our glorious country and of your comrades who may have left an arm or a leg as a monument of their patriotism on the bloody field of battle, and in our hearts we say, God bless those noble defenders of our country and our country's flag. I know there is nothing that pleases you better, when you watch the unfurling and waving of your country's flag than the thought, than the knowledge, that you were one of its defenders, and that still the national flag—the same old flag that was unfurled to the breezes from the heights of Saratoga, the same old flag that was handed down to us by our forefathers, and under which our fathers fought—the same old flag that has kissed every breeze, in peace and in war, for over a century and a quarter, and through Heaven's will, with the same patriotism in the future as has been exhibited by Columbia's sons and daughters in the past, that same old flag will be floating in the heavens as our national ensign for hundreds of years—for centuries yet to come. Aye, throughout all eternity may that beautiful, that glorious, that grand old flag float to heaven's breeze. May no traitor's hand ever trail it in the dust. May universal peace soon perch upon that banner, and may we never again be called upon to bathe it in the blood of patriotism, but standing under the American flag, as one united Nation, may we soon be at peace with all the world.

In conclusion I make the following editorial from a recent issue of the Detroit (Mich.) News a part of my remarks:

THINK OF THIS.

[Editorial from Detroit Evening News.]

If the United States goes to war with Germany it will be over our rights on the seas.

If we go to war there are a great many good, able-bodied men reading this now who will be dead two years from now—killed in battle.

If we go to war there are a great many men reading this now who will be unable to read two years from now—blinded in battle.

If we go to war there are a great many men reading this now who will be back from battle two years from now crippled for life.

If we go to war there are a great many women reading this now who will be widows two years from now; others who will be mourning the killing of their sons.

If we go to war the children of many who are reading this now will be orphans two years from now.

Going to war means the taking of lives, the flowing of blood, the giving up of treasure.

So let us understand—all that will be called to make sacrifices—that in giving up the lives of the best men of our Nation, that in opening the veins that the blood of youth and mature man may flow forth in a torrent, that in sacrificing the great treasures of our land, it is to be because our legal, technical rights on the sea have been violated.

He who understands fully the cause of his adversary is doubly strong, for in understanding that he is twice fortified in the justice of his own course.

If these lives are given, if this blood is caused to flow, it will be the lives and the blood of the men in field and factory and office, not the lives and blood of the men in legislative halls.

So let the men who are to make the great sacrifice know why the sacrifice is to be made; let the cause be so strong that light thrown on it from any direction will only make the justice of it all stand out more clearly.

That our legal rights upon the sea have been violated by Germany there can be no doubt.

Some of our citizens do not believe that the violations have been such as to call for the sacrifice of millions of lives, but that they call for negotiations and settlement—such a course as has been followed in other cases.

Others of our people believe they call for strong action along protective lines, for arming ships for defense, and sending out convoys.

Others of our people believe the violations so flagrant as to call for an aggressive war of extermination against the Germans; for an alliance with England, France, and the other allies; for furnishing men in sufficient numbers and money in sufficient quantities to annihilate Germany.

If our men are to go into this war, they should know all there is to know about the cause for which they are fighting and sacrificing their lives.

Home Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 13, 1917.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture upon the shortage of the food supply.

The article is as follows:

HOME PREPAREDNESS.

[By Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.]

I.

National preparedness for war has ceased to be a theme for argument. Congress and other Federal agencies are now occupied with questions of ways and means. Moreover, to-day we face the question of individual preparedness, about which little has yet been said, but which is as vital a question as the other.

War is not only a matter of gunpowder and lead; it is just as much a matter of food and forage. Comparatively few are in position to serve their country in actual trench or on actual firing line, but there is no man, woman, or half-grown child who can not serve on the forage line, if only by tending a bed of green vegetables. Such service may not be exciting, may not seem glorious; yet in the long run it may be as useful as the service of the man who dies for his country on the field of battle. It is not inconceivable that the time may come when such humble service, loyally performed by thousands of patriots a thousand miles from any battle line, may turn the balance upon which hangs our very existence as a free people.

We produce more than enough food for ourselves; but in war there nevertheless always will be danger that people may starve with food reserves in abundance in remote elevators and storage plants, but with railroads too busy handling troops and munitions to carry food to the civilian population. Thus the Government would be embarrassed by the problem of meeting local shortages of food at a time when all its energies should be focused upon national defense. Incidentally, from time to time prices of some necessaries of life may become prohibitive, even though food be available. Hence it is as imperative that the individual meet the problem of home food supply as that Congress should look to national food preparedness.

Individual preparedness in cities should take form this spring in the planting of hundreds of thousands of dooryard gardens, where before there was only sod or bare earth. In the country it should take the form of more intensive cultivation, even of a measure of training on the part of women and girls that they may be prepared to ride the sulky plow or the binder if the worst comes. Everywhere it should take the form of scrupulous care in the production, use, and conservation of foods. The nation whose homes are assured an abundant supply of vegetables in summer and home-dried and home-canned fruits and vegetables in winter has already taken a long stride toward the establishment of a sound policy of food preparedness.

II.

KITCHEN EFFICIENCY.

The commissariat of a modern army should be an example to every American housewife. In the army the ration is well balanced; the cheapest, nutritious, and palatable foods are purchased; and the most economical means of preparing them are used.

It is a patriotic duty at this time and all the time, whether there is war or peace, for every American woman, rich or poor, to keep her home "prepared." Home preparedness means substitution of cheap dishes for costly foods when practical, elimination of waste, and scientifically balanced rations.

There are two great groups of foods that enter into a balanced human ration—the protein group, like meats, eggs, and beans, and the starch group, such as potatoes, rice, cereals, bread, and so forth. The protein foods, as a rule, are more expensive than the starchy foods. Some protein foods, however, are cheap. The prime factor in economy in foods is the choice of protein foods that are at the same time cheap and palatable.

A cheap food, rich in protein and fats, is the ordinary field soy bean, often sold under the name "Togo bean." Ten cents' worth at the price of 15 cents a quart will supply over 5 ounces of protein, while average beef, at 20 cents a pound, will supply little over 1 ounce of protein for the same money.

An excellent basis for soups can be made from the water in which most vegetables are boiled. The water in which soy beans have been cooked, for example, may be used to good advantage in making stock. Save also vegetable tops, skim milk, bones, and meat scraps for soups. Make the butcher give you all the fat that he weighs with your cut of meat—it is valuable grease.

Do not depend on one kind of food. When potatoes are dear remember that 1 pound of dry corn meal provides about five times as much fuel or energy and five times as much tissue-building protein as 1 pound of raw potatoes, and costs from one-third to one-sixth as much.

Raisins are rich in sugar, mineral salts, and the natural grape acids, and their cost is low.

Whole wheat, cracked in a little $2.50 hand mill, or even in a coffee mill, is one of the most delicious and nourishing breakfast foods known—and inexpensive even at the present high price of wheat.

Save fuel and labor by making hot breads only when using your fire for the cooking of other foods. Avoid the danger of overcooking, and conserve the flavor of your dinner by using a fireless cooker. You can make a good one yourself very cheaply.

By such expedients as these every woman can "prepare" her home not only against war, but also against sickness or hard times.

III.

THE WOMEN IN THE FIELD.

Can we enlist a million American women to do men's work this summer on the farms?

I ask this question because it is possible that this summer the United States may be in as great need of farm laborers as of soldiers or munition makers. But whether the actual opportunity comes this year or not, preparedness of the individual for war or for peace demands that American farm women be ready for every possible emergency.

It is well within the bounds of probability that the available farm labor of the United States will be materially reduced by the calling of many men to other and more hazardous duties than sowing and reaping.

It is physically possible for the farm women of America to aid our economic preparedness in the event that a war summons an immense army to the colors. To handle modern farm implements is not necessarily beyond a woman's strength. With a good team and a riding cultivator equipped with a sun umbrella, plowing corn is a deal more pleasant than washing. The spring seat of a binder compares favorably with the comfort of a piano stool. Few household duties are more fun than riding a hay rake. Even plowing with a sulky plow is not too heavy a strain for some American women.

Every farm girl and woman should proceed at once to master the elements of practical scientific farming. Those who can should attend short courses in agricultural schools and everyone should ask questions, observe, and read bulletins.

The Department of Agriculture has issued a concise, simple, practical primer of scientific agriculture for the Middle West—Farmers' Bulletin No. 704—which can be obtained through Congressmen or directly from the Department of Agriculture. Similar bulletins for other regions are now under preparation.

Every farm girl and woman, moreover, should, by all means, take a hand in actual farm operations, so as to handle tractors, horses, and farm implements readily and skillfully. Those who do so will not have to prepare after the fighting has begun to do their "bit" for their country in time of danger. They will know how to plant, cultivate, and harvest the crops essential to our national welfare when saving them depends upon the service of women in the field.

Let the million women step forward!

IV.

THE HOME GARDEN.

Without going beyond their own dooryards millions of American women can render real service to the Nation this summer, as real as that rendered by the soldier on the field of battle. They each can do this by merely planting and caring for a home garden.

A million or more gardens planted in our cities and suburbs this spring would mean a national saving of possibly $50,000,000, a sum as large as that which President McKinley was given by Congress for the prosecution of the Spanish-American War. Growing vegetables for home consumption in these gardens would relieve the railroads of the necessity of carrying millions of pounds of bulky freight, thus releasing thousands of cars and engines for hauling men and munitions.

Department specialists have calculated that an average American family uses about 20 bushels of potatoes a year. It takes but a fraction of an acre to produce this quantity of this important foodstuff, since a fair yield of this crop is 200 bushels per acre, and it is not uncommon for potatoes to run to 400 bushels.

Radishes, onions, lettuce, beets, beans, peas, tomatoes, lima beans, spinach, and numerous other easily cultivated vegetables can be raised in the back yard, provided the soil is fertile and intelligence is employed in the process. There is no reason in the world why literally millions of new back-yard gardens should not be planted this spring as soon as the ground is warm enough and supply millions of families with good, cheap, nutritious foods all this summer, war or no war.

The hitherto wasted resource of this dooryard land should be utilized at once. It is no more work for a woman to attend a vegetable garden than it is to attend a flower garden or house plants. At present it is more patriotic to subordinate flowers to food.

V.

SOY BEANS.

Among the simple, nutritious, and inexpensive foods which should be listed on every housekeeper's program of home preparedness is the soy or "Togo" bean. As a forage crop in the United States these beans are well known, but as yet the soy bean, which is utilized widely in Japan, China, and India for human food, has not yet been used to any great extent in this country for that purpose.

When soy beans sell for 15 cents a quart, 10 cents' worth will supply over 5 ounces of protein. When beef of average composition sells for 20 cents a pound, 10 cents' worth will supply a little over an ounce of protein. Soy beans contain 36 per cent protein, 18 per cent fat, and 28 per cent carbohydrates, as against 24.6 per cent protein, 1 per cent fat, and 62 per cent carbohydrates in navy beans.

Soy beans contain more fat than starch. Next to peanuts they contain more fat than any other legumes. They contain more protein than any other vegetable. This not only makes them a fatty food, but it makes it possible to cook them without the addition of pork or other fat. Soy beans can be used in almost exactly the same way as the ordinary navy beans.

To prepare baked soy beans soak the beans over night in cold water; in the morning add a pinch of soda, and boil the beans in the water in which they were soaked. Pour off the water and use it for making soup. Put the beans in a baking dish, add two level teaspoonfuls of salt, cover them with water, cover the dish, and bake six to eight hours, leaving the dish uncovered during the last hour. It is unnecessary to flavor them with molasses, as their natural flavor is delicious.

Since the soy bean contains little starch, the liquid in which they are cooked is not thickened, and the beans remain separate. If this is considered objectionable, the liquid can be thickened with corn meal—one-third of a cup to a quart of beans.

The skins of the soy beans can be removed by boiling the beans for 10 minutes and allowing them to cool overnight in the same water and then rubbing between the hands. Most persons prefer the beans without the skins. They have a more delicate flavor and probably are more easily digested when thus prepared.

VI.

WHOLE WHEAT.

Whole wheat, which can be bought in the grain at seed or feed stores, is one of the best all-around cheap and nutritious foods in the country. Every American home should keep a supply of whole wheat. When soaked for several hours and cooked an equal length of time it makes a delicious breakfast food. Ground in a hand gristmill, which can be bought for from $2.50 to $5, it is equally palatable when made into bread or used as a cereal.

It has been estimated that whole wheat cooked overnight in a fireless cooker or cooked all day on the back of the kitchen range makes a cereal costing one-sixteenth the price of some of the patent commercial breakfast foods and furnishes, moreover, fully equal nourishment.

Whole wheat contains all the nourishment of the original wheat. It contains the white flour plus the shorts and bran. Whole wheat contains valuable protein and mineral matter, so that persons who eat whole-grain products can get along with fewer meats, fruits, and vegetables than those who eat the refined cereals. Whole wheat is a better source of growth-promoting and body-regulating substances than cereals and breads made from the inside of the grain only.

Whole wheat may be cooked without cracking or grinding, but it requires many hours in a double boiler to cook it thoroughly. Whole wheat ground in a hand gristmill should be cooked at least three hours over the fire or all night in a fireless cooker. To have the best flavor, it should not be too moist. The longer it is cooked the better. It is possible to cook up enough for several days and warm it over as desired. If whole wheat is soaked several hours, it will not need to be cooked so long.

The Bureau of Chemistry has worked out a recipe for bread made primarily from home-ground meal. Two cupfuls of wheat meal, 1 cupful of white flour, 1¼ cupfuls of lukewarm water, ½ cake of compressed yeast, 1 level teaspoonful of salt, 1 level teaspoonful of sugar, and 1 level teaspoonful of shortening, if desired, is the formula. Dough of this kind has only two-thirds of the usual rise of white bread. It should be baked slowly for three-fourths of an hour.

Every American woman should know and use whole wheat.

VII.

CORN MEAL.

Corn meal is a cheap and valuable foodstuff which is not in as general use in the American home as it ought to be. A pound of dry corn meal provides about five times as much energy and five times as much tissue-building protein as does a pound of raw potatoes. At present prices a pound of corn meal costs from one-third to one-sixth as much as a pound of potatoes.

When potatoes are scarce or expensive corn meal makes an excellent substitute. Corn meal is not, however, a perfect substitute for potatoes, because as it is prepared by modern milling methods it contains fewer minerals and other valuable substances than do potatoes. When, consequently, corn meal is substituted for potatoes the diet should be balanced with another vegetable, a salad, or a fruit.

Corn-meal mush for breakfast or supper is a standard and palatable dish. Fried mush is an excellent substitute for fried potatoes. There are dozens of corn-meal dishes, in addition to the different varieties of corn bread. What is known in the North as Boston brown bread is composed of about one-half rye meal and one-half corn meal. Polenta is another corn-meal dish, extremely popular throughout southern Europe and in certain parts of the United States. The tomale is another corn dish which is in high favor when well made.

If speculators corner the potato crop, or if the potato crop—as was the case in 1916—should be short, corn meal is the next best thing. Of course, rice is also a partial substitute for potatoes, but rice at present costs more than corn meal.

Corn meal is a wholesome and typical American food.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORMAN J. GOULD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. GOULD. Mr. Speaker, owing to the continuous attacks and insults thrust upon this Government by the Imperial German Government, I can not refrain from voicing my sentiments as well as those whom I represent before voting on this resolution.

We are going through one of the greatest crises in the history of our Nation and have practically no precedent or past experience to guide us in deciding our best course. We must protect our own interests, including those of our citizens who may be dependent on the support of their country, and so guide our actions as to treat all nations fairly, but demand for our own citizens the consideration to which they rightfully may be entitled.

I feel that the dearest possession which any American may have is that of being a citizen of our country, and I believe it to be the duty and privilege of all of us to uphold our national honor by every means in our power.

This must include giving to President Wilson the united and patriotic support which he deserves, no matter whether we may agree with his methods or policies. In the present emergency party politics, petty or otherwise, should not be allowed to affect our views.

We should allow no people or nation in the world to deny us the freedom of trading and of intercourse on the high seas, and I am firmly behind the administration in its decision to arm

merchant vessels to defend themselves, if necessary, from unlawful attacks by anyone.

The people of the country should not overlook the fact that we can not tell when we may be the objects of attack, and all just means for defense should be canvassed, foreseen, and arranged for. The point made by several opponents of preparedness that this country and its people might develop into a militaristic nation is too absurd to be seriously considered, as we have built our laws and institutions on the foundations prepared by the forefathers, whom we revere, and our long and glorious record has developed no trace of a desire for conquest. We are a peace-loving people who are slow to wrath, but we are so constituted that we must have, and shall demand, our rights, not being afraid, if necessary, to fight for them.

President Wilson in his address to Congress on the evening of April 2 brought out in his speech that he and the members of his Cabinet had tried every possible way to avoid war with Germany, at the same time maintaining the dignity and honor of this country, but Germany, disregarding our international relations, refused the freedom of the high seas to our citizens, and to uphold our standing in the world it was necessary for President Wilson to ask Congress to declare that a state of war existed between this Government and the Imperial German Government.

When this resolution is reached for a vote I will be recorded in the affirmative, as I heartily indorse President Wilson's actions during the present crisis, and trust that this body of Congress will show its patriotism by giving President Wilson its full support.

At this time I would also state that I hope the Congress will see its way clear to pass the universal military training bill and adopt it as a permanent national policy, as I believe that this is one of the most important factors during the present crisis. Universal military training would not only be a great benefit to the young men, as well as to their country, but would place us on equal military footing with the rest of the foreign countries.

The prosperity of our country depends on fair treatment for all, and as we can not succeed without universal cooperation, I maintain that each must help the other, as described in the grand old saying, "United we stand, divided we fall."

Therefore let us approach the future confidently and with no misgivings, secure in the belief that, although we may make mistakes, our aims and purposes are sound, and may we realize the consummation of an everlasting peace, in which we and all the peoples of the world shall participate.

Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letters and resolutions:

AUBURN, N. Y., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. NORMAN J. GOULD, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting held this evening, attended by 3,000 citizens of Auburn, certain resolutions regarding the present situation of the affairs of the Nation were unanimously adopted, a copy of which was ordered to be sent to you. No dissent from the resolutions was manifested in any way, and great enthusiasm was shown in their adoption and throughout the meeting. As secretary of the meeting I have the honor herewith to hand you a copy of the resolutions.

Believe me, sir,
Yours, sincerely, ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS.

Whereas our Government in severing diplomatic relations with Germany gave notice that if the illegal submarine attacks which Germany was threatening to make upon our ships should, in fact, be made, necessary steps to resist such attacks would be taken; and

Whereas many such attacks have since been made, resulting in the sinking of the *Algonquin*, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, the *Healdton*, and other vessels, with the resultant loss of many American lives; and

Whereas, besides murdering our citizens, restricting our commerce by illegal submarine warfare, and destroying our ships, the German Government has attempted to array against us the friendly powers of Japan and Mexico in a plot to dismember our Nation; and

Whereas by these and other hostile acts Germany is now virtually making war against the United States; and

Whereas we believe with President Monroe that "we must support our rights or lose our character, and with it our liberties": Now, therefore be it

Resolved by citizens of Auburn, N. Y., in public meeting assembled—

1. That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, in deciding to arm American vessels, and in calling Congress in special session.

2. That we declare our deep conviction that the principles of national conduct governing Germany's actions in the present war are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and with the purposes and aspirations of this Republic, and we hold that the time has now come when it is the duty of this Nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against Germany's military aggression.

3. That we call upon Congress, when assembled, to declare that by the acts of Germany a state of war does now exist between that country and the United States.

4. That we look to our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership for the effective protection of American rights in this crisis.

5. That we urge the immediate enactment of a universal military training law, providing for a national defense based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of our country and in the maintenance of its high ideals.

6. That we publicly affirm our loyalty and pledge our support to the President of the United States, the constitutional leader of the Nation, and that we hold ourselves ready to respond to our National and State Governments for such services as may be required of us in the defense of our country and the enforcement of the rights of its citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions shall be sent to the President of the United States, to the governor of this State, to the Senators from the State of New York, and to our Representative in Congress.

AUBURN, N. Y., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. NORMAN J. GOULD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GOULD: At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Auburn, N. Y., held March 28, 1917, at which there were present about 300 of the leading business and professional men of the city, the following resolution was adopted practically unanimously. I am forwarding it to you as an expression of the sentiment of the representative men of this community:

"The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Auburn, N. Y., and its guests assembled at their annual banquet, do now approve the action of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with Germany and in arming our ships, and we do solemnly record our purpose, individually and collectively, to support the President and those in authority with him in whatever acts they deem best for our country in this its time of grave danger and great opportunity, and we do declare it to be our determination to make all sacrifices necessary to protect our country's liberty and maintain its honor.

"We urge upon the Congress to take positive and vigorous action in the support of the President in all ways, including the passage of a universal military service law, to the end that we may appear, as we are, in fact, a united people.

"We urge upon all citizens of this community and upon all groups of citizens, organized for whatever purpose, to unite with us in carrying out the purpose here expressed.

"We request the president of this chamber of commerce to appoint a committee representative of the business, financial, and professional interests of the community to cooperate with similar committees for the moblization of our civic strength and its most effective enlistment in the service of our country."

Respectfully,

THE AUBURN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
C. G. ADAMS, *Secretary.*

GENEVA, N. Y., *March 31, 1917.*

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a meeting called by Congressman NORMAN J. GOULD, held in Geneva, N. Y., on Saturday, March 31, 1917, by the representatives of the Republican Party of the thirty-sixth congressional district of New York, comprised of Wayne, Yates, Ontario, Cayuga, and Seneca Counties. Dr. John Parmenter, Geneva, N. Y., was elected chairman of the conference and Arthur E. Blauvelt, Port Byron, N. Y., secretary, and they were accordingly instructed to wire the adopted resolution to President Wilson:

"*Resolved*, That we hold and affirm that when our rights as a Nation are invaded, our country is invaded; when our citizens' lives are sacrificed in violation of international law and in defiance of civilization, as they have been, that a state of war already exists between this country and Germany and the only honest, courageous, and self-respecting course for Congress to pursue is to declare that a state of war does exist between the United States and Germany, which state of war has been created by the acts of the German Empire itself despite the tireless efforts of President Wilson to maintain peace and friendly relations with the German people.

"Whereas this country is now facing a great international crisis owing to the European war and the general unheaval throughout the world; and

"Whereas in this country we have no large standing army and must depend upon the individual citizen to defend the life of the Nation in time of war: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we favor the pasage by Congress of a universal military training law providing for training designed to educate, develop, strengthen, and make efficient the citizenship of the Nation, as the wisest and most efficient means of preparing the country for self-defense in case of a foreign invasion; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we indorse the action of Gov. Charles S. Whitman and the State legislature and congratulate them on leading the other States in the Nation in placing upon the statute books laws providing for physical and military training."

Resolution Adopted by Former Residents of the Province of Croatia, Austria-Hungary.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. FRANK JAMES,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, April 13, 1917.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a copy of resolutions adopted at a patriotic meeting held last Sunday, April 8, 1917, by former residents of the Province of Croatia, Austria-Hungary:

CALUMET, MICH., *April 9, 1917.*

DEAR MR. JAMES: Inclosed find the resolution which was accepted at a mass meeting of our people. Please have it printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

We all approve of your stand taken by you in the war issue.

Yours, very truly, Rev. JOS. MEDIN.

CALUMET, MICH., *April 8, 1917.*

Whereas this meeting of the Croatian citizens of Calumet and vicinity has been called for the purpose of making it known to the President and all loyal citizens of the United States as to the attitude and stand of the Croatians in this great European conflict into which this country is about to enter as an ally of those countries that are now fighting for liberty and rights of the small nationalities; and

Whereas Croatians have for centuries in their native land been fighting for liberty and the preservation of their nationality against the tyranny and oppression of emperors and kings; and

Whereas a great many Croatian patriots have died and sacrificed themselves for the cause of liberty and their nationality; and

Whereas it has been the dream of every true Croatian that some day their country would become free and independent and would again take its place alongside of other great nationalities of Europe and arise to the position that they once held: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, Croatian citizens of the United States, who were former subjects of Austria and those of us who are not yet naturalized, do hereby declare that we are in absolute accord and sympathy with the declaration of the President and Congress of the United States, and we tender the President and Congress our enthusiastic and whole-hearted support and assistance in any demand that they may make upon us in this war that is now being waged for freedom of mankind and the triumph of liberty and justice. We consider this a great opportunity and privilege to assist this country in waging war against our former oppressors and those responsible for the suppression of the Croatian and other Slav nationalities of Europe.

REV. JOSEPH MEDIN, Ph. D.,
Chairman of Meeting.
JOHN B. MALNOR,
Secretary of Meeting.
WILLIAM MIHELICH,
LUCAS STEFANAC,
MATT OZANICH,
Committee.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. W. FAIRFIELD,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it had not been my purpose to address the House at this time, and were it not that the question at issue is of such vast moment I should hesitate to say anything before this body where I have been a Member but a single week. Certainly, however, under the stress of such circumstances it will not be considered out of place for one who is just beginning his congressional career to express his convictions upon this bill.

My own judgment had been that our first duty is to put this country in a state of preparedness. For several years I have thought it necessary to make adequate preparation for any contingency that in all human probability would arise. We had been comforting ourselves with the belief that our own idealism had become the idealism of the world, when the great war burst upon us, and we began to understand how little we were conscious of the movement of events in Europe. Indeed our people were intoxicated with our own idealism and from platform and through magazine we were assured that a great war could never occur. How little we understood the temper of Europe is evident from the sequence of events. I had thought it wise for us to refrain from engaging in this contest until we had made some adequate preparation for defense. Then, too, my people from my own district—good people, patriotic people, God-fearing men and women—have protested against entrance into this war. My own training in youth led me to believe early that all war is wrong, that the principle of nonresistance is the only principle that is in harmony with the teachings of the Nazarene. The wider knowledge of the influences that are at work in the world has led me to believe that war is sometimes necessary, even righteous, so that while my feelings protest against the necessity which arises, my judgment and my conscience teach me to believe that my early training should not always be followed.

It is not my purpose to review in detail the events that have led to this unhappy situation. They are common knowledge. My own judgment is that a majority of this House sincerely desire peace were peace possible with any sense of honor and safety for the future. But, Mr. Speaker, the situation is grave in the extreme, and while many people insist that our course has not been absolutely neutral—and I agree with them in that contention—it is yet true that conditions have arisen which have determined my action. May we not look for a moment at the situation? We are already at war with Germany. Whatever mistakes have been made or whatever course might have been pursued, it is now too late to retreat. Through our executive department we are assured that every effort has been made to keep us out of war, that our rights have been repeatedly violated; and while others may have violated our rights they have not done so to the degree in which Germany, with her ruthless campaign, has set aside all the principles of international law.

Already our ships are armed. The President, in his message to Congress, has recited the causes and the purposes for which he asks us to go to war. This is not a war on the German people; this is a war against an autocratic government that will not listen to the judgment and reason and conscience of mankind, but persists in ruthlessly violating our most sacred rights. I had hoped that when Germany ceased her submarine warfare that our Government would exact from every other country the same measure of respect for international law and trusted the forbearance of our people until such effort had been made. But Germany would not wait. We have broken off international relations with her. Her representatives to this Government have been sent across the seas. Our merchant ships have been armed. Some of them have been sunk; ships carrying supplies to the suffering Belgians have been ruthlessly fired upon and sunk. These actions, so out of harmony with all the dictates of humanity, are surely ample justification for a declaration that a state of war exists.

The only reason I could allege for voting against this resolution would be that we might defer the action until better prepared to assert our rights. But we are in war now with Germany. The executive branch of the Government is conducting that war. By an overwhelming vote the Senate of the United States has declared in its favor. Until that action had been taken I had hoped that there might be some solution of our difficulty. But now, with ourselves involved and two-thirds of our Government declaring that there is no other course, that every resource has been exhausted, that only the arbitrament of war is left, it is manifestly the duty of this House to concur in this resolution. I therefore vote "aye."

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOREN E. WHEELER,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, during the last session of Congress I voted consistently for those measures which I felt would tend to better prepare this Nation to meet the crisis which apparently the majority of this House now deem inevitable. I voted for those bills because I believed the greatest guaranty for peace for any nation is preparedness to resist assaults from without and treachery from within.

When in the closing days of the session the President of the United States proposed armed neutrality as a possible prevention of open conflict with the Imperial German Government, I supported such a measure, being firm in my conviction that we should resort to all honorable means to keep this Nation from being hurled into the maelstrom of Europe.

But after only 18 days of trial of armed neutrality we are called upon to declare that policy impractical and to announce that a state of war exists.

In my opinion a state of war does not now exist between the United States and any European Government and will not exist until we so decree.

Therefore, as a Representative of the people of the twenty-first district of the State of Illinois, I would, in view of my convictions, be violating my oath of office if I voted for this measure.

And while I register my protest against this entangling alliance which may not only cause millions of our boys to be slaughtered in the trenches of Europe and compel us to abandon the Monroe doctrine, which has been a bulwark against European invasion of this hemisphere, yet I hereby pledge myself in the event we are plunged into this great crucible of war to make whatever sacrifices are demanded of me, and to use all my energy and all my power to the end that our efforts will not only be crowned with success but with honor to our country.

In the first place, this European war is, in my estimation, the most useless and senseless, as well as the most horrible and uncalled for, conflict ever waged.

It was founded upon mere pretext. Not one of the great European powers now at war could enter an arbitration court with clean hands. Subterfuge after subterfuge was resorted to

by those Governments in an effort to convince the people of their respective countries that their cause was a righteous one.

But false statements will never balance an account. The people can not always be deceived, and when the day of awakening comes it will bring with it riot and revolution and the consequent overthrowing of European Governments.

I realize that many of our greatest citizens and statesmen feel that we owe it to humanity to enter this war, and they can recite many instances of cruelty to support their contention. But these cruelties were not confined to any one nation.

I contend that if we went to war simply because we have a technical right to do so, we should not only declare war against Germany but also against Great Britain and Mexico.

But people are often biased in their judgment or influenced by their sympathy and their interests. In my consideration of this question I was free from bias or prejudice.

I have read and reread the message of our President. In it he states that one of the main reasons why we should declare war against Germany is that the Imperial Government has announced certain war zones in which she sinks all ships without notice and destroys lives of Americans and other neutrals; and in this war of destruction she relies upon the submarine. That is our case against Germany and the grounds upon which we are asked to enter this terrible war. And while I am holding no brief for the Imperial Government I desire, in order to make plain my position in the matter, to state the other side of the controversy.

The first war zone to be established by the warring nations was declared by Great Britain on November 4, 1914, and became effective the following day. Only one day of grace was given American shipping interests to adjust their trade and schedules. This order closed the whole of the North Sea. It was aimed at the north of Scotland route around the British Isles to Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic Sea. It notified all neutral shipping that it would enter that field at its own peril.

Three months later, on the 4th day of February, 1915, the German Government established what it declared to be a war zone; but its order became effective 12 days later, giving American shipping interests nearly two weeks instead of one day to prepare for this condition. The German war zone covered the English channel and the waters around the British Isles.

Jointly these two orders closed practically all of the European waters. The lanes of travel which Germany wanted open England closed, and the lanes of ocean travel which England wanted open Germany declared closed.

Both of these orders were declared by our Government as illegal and contrary to all international law. They were both violations of the principles of humanity.

But the element of instrumentality seems to have had great weight in determining the status of the two offenders. England resorted to the use of hidden mines to make her order effective, while Germany called into use its flotilla of submarines.

International law is against the placing of submerged mines in the high seas, and it also fails to recognize the right to take human lives without notice by the use of submarines. Here again the status of both offenders appears the same.

If a ship strikes a mine and is sunk—and many have been—there is no submarine close by to see that the crew and passengers are saved. The ship goes down, and those whom it does not carry with it are left to shift for themselves in the open sea. Could a more ruthless warfare than this be conceived? On the other hand, our daily papers carry numerous accounts of the rescue of crews and passengers by submarines.

It is true that the figures presented to Congress show that many more lives have been lost and more ships sunk by the use of submarines than by mines. But the reason for that is plain. We sanctioned the establishment of the war zone by Great Britain, but our shipping interests were ordered to ignore the one established by Germany. Thus it is evident that had our ships used the zone as declared unsafe by Great Britain there would have been a greater number of vessels sunk and a greater number of American lives lost.

We insisted upon respect for our rights by one nation but not the other. Had we been neutral and, after declaring both war zones as illegal, kept our shipping from both territories, the war zones would have been abolished in short time and this controversy never would have endangered the peace of our people.

There are in my district many patriotic people who believe we should go to war, but I feel they have been misled by statements appearing in the public press and by lack of knowledge of the true facts.

I represent people who not only can but who do think for themselves. They are people in all walks of life; people characterizing all that is good and all that is commendable and worthy in a Nation of wonderful people. And in my vote here to-day I shall not only voice my own convictions but I honestly believe those of a majority of my home people as well. They are the ones who must pay the price in money, bereavement, and suffering, and all that war implies.

If we enter this war, we must accept certain responsibilities that go with such action. We can not as a Nation be a slacker. We will be required to give all financial and physical aid possible to our allies. We will need 500,000 men to protect our interests at home. Two million more will be recruited and sent into the trenches of Europe.

This means that over 4,000 young men from my own and every other congressional district in the United States will be sent 4,000 miles away to fight a battle that is strictly European and which should be confined to Europeans. And it will mean drafting in the event there is not a ready response on the part of our young men.

Of course there are some to whom this untold suffering and sacrifice of human lives, which must result from our entering this greatest holocaust of all history, will bring prosperity; but they will not be the ones who will shoulder the musket. They will not be the ones who will enlist as privates. They will no doubt be brave enough to seek and accept commissions that will not require their presence on the firing line or in the immediate vicinity of the danger zone.

But what of the poor broken-hearted widow pleading with the Government to send her the mangled remains of her husband from across the sea; the grief-stricken mother who has just learned of the death of her brave boy; of the thousands of cold and hungry children who will be deprived of their support; of the millions of mothers, daughters, and sweethearts who will bravely carry their broken hearts to their graves? To these the war will bring no prosperity, but these are the ones who must pay the price of our error.

But if err we must, I can only say in the words of the immortal Lincoln:

> Having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

I realize I shall be criticized by many, branded as disloyal by others, and condemned by some of the press, but, believing as I do, and after careful and mature deliberation, having reached a decision, it would be cowardly and disloyal to vote contrary to my convictions.

Whatever the future may develop, I shall, to the best of my ability and understanding, be governed by the solemn oath I have taken as a Member of this House of Representatives, and without fear or apology perform what I believe to be my solemn duty to my country and to humanity when I vote against this resolution.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT F. POLK,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I doubt if in the history of our country a matter of as grave import has ever come before Congress as the resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government, now under consideration, and demanded cooler or calmer judgment by those whose duty it is to pass upon it. I have tried to give it the most serious consideration, so that in my final conclusion and vote I would do my duty to the people of the district which I represent, and not only to that district but to my country as well.

I have examined the whole question from every angle and have considered it from every point of view. I have not been and am not unmindful of the horrors of war and all it entails; not unmindful of the heartaches caused by the broken family circles; of the hardships of those who will, if war comes, fight their country's battles; of the lives that will necessarily be sacrificed; of the cost to the country in every way. All these things have appealed to my love and tenderness for my fellow man and almost make me hesitate.

But, on the other hand, there is a duty we owe our country. Germany has infringed upon our rights upon the high seas; has destroyed the property of our citizens; has intrigued against and attempted to disturb our peaceful relations with other friendly governments; has in the most brutal and inhuman manner taken the lives of our citizens.

As terrible as are the horrors of war, to my mind the horror of war would be as nothing compared to the humiliating position in which this country would be placed among the nations of the world should we meekly submit, without resentment by force, to the indignities, insults, and injuries we have suffered at the hands of the German Government. We would be held in utter contempt by all the peoples of the world, and in the future it would be worse than useless to attempt settlement of any trouble with any other government by diplomacy, because, knowing our meek submission in this, they would concede nothing, believing we would again submit rather than fight, and the result would be that we would either be compelled to submit or fight and keep on fighting to settle every dispute that might arise. I believe resentment by force now will insure a proper respect by other governments for our rights as a Nation in the future, and secure a lasting peace. While the sacrifice may be great, are not the ends to be accomplished worth it? Should we meekly submit now it would be a blot upon the bright pages of the history of our country, and it would cause a blush of shame to mount the cheeks of coming generations.

For two years this Government has tried every means known to diplomacy to peacefully settle the matters in dispute between the German Government and the United States. Our patient President, to avoid war with Germany, has accepted assurance after assurance—assurances given only to be broken—until it became evident that in order to retain the respect of the other nations of the earth it would be necessary for this country to secure by force that which it failed to secure by diplomacy.

We have borne insult and injury at the hands of the German Government so long and patiently that it makes one wonder if the spirit that animated our forefathers still lives; but I believe the American people have reached the limit of patience and will by their representatives say to the German Government before this session adjourns to-day, "Thus far hast thou gone, but no farther," and to the world, "Do not mistake patience for cowardice; the American people will fight when their cause is just and settlement can not be obtained by peaceful means. Then we are not too proud to fight."

Mr. Speaker, after the most serious and conscientious consideration I feel that I would not be doing my full duty to my country if I did not vote for the resolution. Therefore I shall vote for the resolution.

Emergency Bond Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRA G. HERSEY,
OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 13, 1917.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has declared war against Germany and authorized and directed the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the reserves of the Army to carry on war against the Imperial German Government, and to the success of this coming conflict we have pledged all the resources of the country. To-day we are called upon to make good that pledge.

The President as Commander in Chief has called for the first great war appropriation—the enormous sum of $7,000,000,000. The bill comes from the great Committee on Ways and Means with a favorable report, and, in my opinion, it ought to receive a prompt and unanimous passage in this House.

Those who object to this bill say that we should have from the President more detailed information as to how and when and where this money is to be expended. The bill provides that $3,000,000,000 is to be used in extending credits to foreign governments, $2,000,000,000 for expenses for the national security and defense, and $2,000,000,000 to meet public expenditures.

Congress is the legislative branch of the Government. It can never take the command of the Army and the Navy. It is not, in days of war, a board of strategy. Upon the President, his Cabinet, and advisers must of necessity devolve the exclusive control and conduct of the war. Its details and secrets must be denied to the Congress. We ought not to interfere with or obstruct the plans of the President without the most clear and imperative reasons.

Some one must have the charge and direction of the forces of this Nation in this great war. The Constitution has made plain who should be commander. I shall therefore vote for this bill as it comes from the committee because it is a prompt and plain notice to the world that the great resources of the American Republic are freely and fearlessly given to protect and defend the rights of our citizens and to defeat this enemy of all mankind.

The Response of the Orthodox Jew to the Call of the President.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Jewish faith in this country are awake to the needs of the hour, as is shown by two addresses delivered in the past 48 hours in New York City. One is entitled—

"THE RESPONSE OF THE ORTHODOX JEW TO THE CALL OF THE PRESIDENT."

[Delivered by Emanuel Hertz, president of Washington Heights Congregation, during the services on the 7th day of Passover, Friday, April 13, 1917.]

On this glorious day when the Passover celebration has reached its climax, being the anniversary of the day when we as a liberated people crossed the Red Sea, it is proper that orthodox Jewry should make such an unequivocal declaration of loyalty to our country and to our flag that it should echo and reecho through all the corners of the world. What, then, is the position of the orthodox Jew on this most momentous of world problems since the diaspora with which he is this day confronted? What has he to say at a time when what he has been hoping for, praying for, yearning for, dying for, may be granted to him as a result of this world-rocking war? Palestine, the unattainable, may be returned to him as a result of a universal readjustment of nations, of peoples, and of boundaries; when he may receive the right to go and to live in every portion of the world. What has he to say at a time when the country which has been so good and so just and so kind to him has risen in its might to her rightful stature among the nations of the world and has joined the war of liberation and of democratization for the sake of the oppressed and persecuted of every land; when America, the young giant which Washington molded into a nation out of a few unwilling colonies, and which Jefferson made continental, and which was united by Lincoln, was, by President Wilson, after fusing its various strata of citizenship, made to join the forces of right in order to crush the forces of reaction? The orthodox Jew, who has been the custodian of the decalogue, the promulgator of religion, the preacher of ethics, the exponent of toleration and of brotherly love, has he nothing to say on this occasion?

Has the wise man of antiquity, the philosopher of the ages, the eternal Jew, nothing by way of comment, nothing by way of declaration or announcement? Can he only think, write, create, and prosper intellectually in adversity? At a time when our offshoots, the religions which owe their origin directly or indirectly to the people of the Book, vie with one another in declaring their allegiance, their joy at the prospect of this conflict, when our own reform congregations hasten to bedeck their houses of worship with the Stars and Stripes and keep their congregants spellbound listening to patriotic addresses and singing the Battle Cry of Freedom and the national airs, are we alone to remain silent? Is our patriotism to be inferred and surmised? No! a thousand time, no! The people of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob have ever been heroic. The people of Joseph, of Moses, and of Aaron have ever been law-abiding and saintly. The people of Joshua, of David, of Gideon, and of the Macabees have ever been heroic and martial—when the fight was for the Lord and for his commandments. And in this greatest of all wars, in this let us hope last bloody conflict for the liberation and enfranchisement of humanity, let every orthodox Jew, in the name of his Bible, his liturgy, his prophets, his rabbis, his leaders, his thinkers, his poets, and his dreamers; in the name of his martyrdom of 2,000 years, rise in his might and declare before the whole world that this fight is his fight; this war is his war; that the United States, which was builded and founded upon the Book of Books, is his United States, his land, his home, and that he will fight and die for it as he fought and died for Jerusalem of old, as he fought and died for his own native land. We are 95 per cent of the Jewish race—all orthodox, fully a million and more in the United States—and we, with God's help, will be heard from. Let each man in his way, in his special field of endeavor, do his share toward upholding the United States in this monster struggle. Let him help the land which has given him a home and a chance such as he never had, the land which has made him free, which has made him rich—let him now return at least a tithe of what he has received. Let him proclaim in the burning accents of the poet, "This is my own, my native land." And if I may be permitted to paraphrase, I ask, "Lives there a Jew with a soul so black who never to himself had said, 'This is my own, my native land?'" No; we will show it by our declarations, by our contributions in men and treasure, by our counsel, by our assistance of the Government in State and Nation, which have been better to us than any other in any age.

We will show that we have deserved all we received. We will thus reawaken the spirit of old and will fight like lions for our homes. We will follow to the ends of the earth. Let the Union, the Army, and the Navy but lead and we will follow anywhere—everywhere. We will open our homes, our synagogues, our schools, our hospitals, our institutions to the call of our country, and show our critics, if there be any left, that God Almighty never made a better American than is the orthodox Jew and his American children, residing in and part and parcel of America. We need no leaders of our own; we need no spokesmen, no intermediaries; our President, the people's President, is our spokesman, is our leader, and with him we stand, and with him we go wherever he leadeth. We will demonstrate that the orthodox Jew is the pure, un-

alloyed, unqualified American, who has been in the making these 140 years. And if the descendants of the settlements of Plymouth Rock and of Jamestown do not hesitate to pronounce and reiterate their loyalty to the flag and to the country, we need not hesitate to think and talk and reiterate our loyalty each morning and evening—even as we repeat our devotions every morning and every evening—with all our hearts and all our minds and all our souls. The Jew loves to repeat, reiterate, summarize. Look at our prayer book, look at the famous summaries in the Bible. Let us then repeat our loyalty. And what better rounding out of our daily and Sabbath prayers than the singing of our national hymns at their conclusion. Glory to the God of Israel and loyalty to America—what an inspiration! Let us not have our loyalty and our patriotism, as Dr. Jowett said the other day, as some people have their religion, like a coal box which may be moved from room to room without effecting the atmosphere in the least and which is a cold and chilling quantity. Let us ignite that coal, let that coal burn to its fullest extent, and we have wrought a marvelous change. Let not our patriotism be like the coal box filled with unignited coal—let it be burning, flaming, warming, invigorating patriotism. Let our patriotism be aflame, let it burn forth in song, in volunteers, in donations, in turning our inventive genius to the service of the Federal Government; then, and not till then, shall we have done our full duty.

Let not this chance—the last—be wasted. We dare not be guilty of such neglect, of such criminal neglect. Let the father tell his son, the mother her daughter, the duty of the hour; let us teach our children, young and old, the national airs, the national aims, the national hopes, and the national aspirations. Let us all act as though we were an indistinguishable portion of the Union. Let not our stepbrothers and stepsisters of the faith gather all the reward or assume all the glory. We are the great bulk, the great body of Israel. Let us speak as one; let no one presume to speak for us. Let us have no apologists, no defenders; we need none. Let the great body of the Jewish community, which is orthodox, come into its own; let it speak in the language of the Book; and let it take the first place in the front of the procession leading to universal liberty of thought, of speech, and of action.

President Wilson has spoken as no other man has spoken in this land since Abraham Lincoln. He has called upon all to stand up and be counted. He said, like the sorely tried lawgiver of old on beholding the idol and its worshipers, "Whosoever is on the Lord's side, let him come unto me." And when the President pointed to the crimes of the modern Moloch, who threatens to destroy all civilization, then from all the remotest corners of the land came pæans of joy and words of thanksgiving at our moral deliverance. Like the priests of old, together and at the head of the tribe of Levi; like the Jewish patriots of the War of the Independence; like the Jewish warriors of 1812, 1848, and 1861, it behooves us, the people from Mount Sanai, to lead all the rest in response to this call of our President to destroy the idol which stands for tyranny, for oppression, for injustice, and for the enslaving of the body and the destruction of the soul of mankind.

Let me quote a poem which was read by Congressman ISAAC SIEGEL in the House of Representatives on April 5, when the war resolution was under debate. It is entitled "America, My Country," by Grondahl.

"AMERICA, MY COUNTRY."

[By Jens K. Grondahl.]

America, my country, I come at thy call,
I plight thee my troth and I give thee my all;
In peace or in war I am wed to thy weal,
I'll carry thy flag through the fire and the steel;
On sea nor on land shall it suffer disgrace,
Unsullied it floats o'er our peace-loving race;
In reverence I kneel at sweet liberty's shrine—
America, my country, command, I am thine.

America, my country, brave souls gave thee birth,
Who yearned for a haven of freedom on earth,
And when thy dear flag to the winds was unfurled
There came to thy shores the oppressed of the world;
Thy milk and thy honey flow freely for all—
Who takes of thy bounty shall come at thy call,
Who quaffs of thy nectar of freedom shall say,
"America, my country, command, I obey."

America, my country, thy flag I adore,
It glories in peace but it fears not in war;
When tyrants would trample its folds in the dust,
Old Glory, undaunted, is true to its trust;
Its stars ever twinkle from liberty's dome
A message of hope to mankind through the gloom;
And children of men bless the red, white, and blue—
America, my country, the tried and the true.

America, my country, now come is thy hour—
The Lord of Hosts recks on thy courage and power;
Humanity pleads for the strength of thy hand
Lest liberty perish on sea and on land;
Thou guardian of freedom, thou keeper of right,
When liberty bleeds there is task for thy might;
"Divine right" of kings or our freedom must fall—
America, my country, I come at thy call.

The second address, Mr. Speaker, was delivered in the Temple Emanu-El, Forty-third Street and Fifth Avenue, New York City, by one of America's most famous preachers, and is reported in to-day's New York Times, as follows:

CALLS ON PACIFISTS TO FORM WAR LEAGUE—RABBI SILVERMAN URGES EMERGENCY FEDERATION TO TRANSFORM AT ONCE—WILL MARRY NO SLACKERS—BRANDS AS "BORDERING ON TREASON" CONDUCT OF MEN WHO HIDE BEHIND WOMEN'S SKIRTS.

Preaching on "The kind of patriotism that America needs," at services yesterday in Temple Emanu-El commemorating the last day of the Passover, Dr. Joseph Silverman called on the Emergency Peace Federation to disband at once or to reorganize as an emergency league for war; branded neutrality and pacifism as akin to treason in the present crisis, and in a vigorous demand for a patriotic response to the needs of the Nation, no matter at what personal cost, pledged himself, with the hope that other ministers would join him, not to perform the marriage ceremony for any couple open to the suspicion that they sought to enter matrimony as a means for the man to escape military service for the United States.

Dr. Silverman spoke in response to the appeal of the recruiting committee of the mayor's committee on national defense for the support of the clergy in making April 19, the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, "Wake-up America" day throughout the country. He took as a text Jeremiah xxix, 7: "Seek the welfare of the city whither I have banished you and pray in its behalf unto the Lord, for in its welfare shall ye fare well."

The prophet, he said, had appreciated that the nationality of Israel was at an end, perhaps for all time, but had realized that its mission was not political, but spiritual, and did not depend for its success on nationality. From that day to this, he said, the principle of seeking the welfare of the country of their adoption had been supreme among Israelites.

"The world conflict," said Dr. Silverman, "into which America has been forced by the deplorable but inevitable conflict between organized monarchies and organized democracies, calls not for ordinary patriotism but rather for the extraordinary patriotism made imperative by the conditions of the battle. Until now neutrality was a meritorious virtue; pacifism was borne with patience. The time has come when neutrality and pacifism are no longer virtues but border on treason.

"There is no call for an emergency peace federation, but rather for a league to aid war, and I for one, believing there are thousands who agree with me, call now on the federation to disband or to reorganize itself at once into a league for war.

"Because you have not yet heard the cannon's blast at your door, do not feel secure. At any moment the bombs may burst in the air overhead and drop destruction down upon your cities and homes. The submarine stiletto has been summoned from Europe and is now forging its way through the waters to stab our ships in their most vital spots. We are in a great universal holocaust, in which all sense of right, humanity, and law has been lost.

"This is a war for civilization and for world peace. It calls for the highest patriotism, a consecration of all citizens on the altar of humanity's needs. We are going forth in a holy crusade to resurrect the rights of humanity, which have been buried deep beneath the feet of tyranny. In such a time as this we need extraordinary patriotism. Not only must the soldier be fitted for his duties, but the country must be taught heroism. Are we a nation of heroes to-day? That remains to be seen. Can we echo the spirit of 1776, 'Give me liberty or give me death'? That was not a mere peroration of perfervid oratory, but the outburst of passion born of the conviction that liberty was an inalienable right."

Dr. Silverman referred to the Revolutionary heroes, and asked if America in these days could be untrue to their memory. He told of the purpose of the mayor's committee in setting aside "Wake-up America" day, and with a burst of feeling exclaimed:

"The call will go forth, 'Awake, America! Rouse ye to arms! The enemy is at your door!'"

The call for half a million men should be answered by two millions, Dr. Silverman said. Parents should emulate the Spartan mother and urge their children to do their duty.

"We have had a sad and sorry and piteous spectacle of cowardice," he continued, "when young men have gone in haste to the marriage bureau and have taken advantage of a technicality in a way that borders on treason to escape the service they should perform. I for one will not be a party to such treasonable conduct, and I hope the ministers of the country will join me in refusing to perform the marriage ceremony for couples who are under suspicion of entering matrimony that the man may escape military service."

Dr. Silverman said he hoped the women of the country would have the heroism to refuse to wed such cowards. In conclusion, he asserted that the country needed not only physical preparedness but mental and moral preparedness, for "you can not have heroism without morality." He admonished his hearers to do their part for an undivided country, in which there could be no race or class distinction.

The War Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend remarks on the war resolution, which passed this House on April 5, 1917, I deem it my duty to insert in the RECORD several articles which are a complete answer to those pacifists who have opposed war and are opposed to universal military training because it may involve "the taking of human life."

In the New York Times there recently appeared an article by George Kennan, one of the best known of the world's travelers and one of the greatest authorities on the question of Russia and its people. It is entitled—

"RUSSIA'S LESSON FOR PACIFISTS—THE GREAT REFORMS THERE WERE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THOSE WHO WERE WILLING TO FIGHT FOR LIBERTY."

[By George Kennan.]

NEW YORK, *March 30, 1917.*

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Since the Russian revolution ended, two weeks ago, in the complete victory of the people and the establishment of a free form of government, half a dozen mass meetings have been held in New York to celebrate the success of the revolutionary movement and to rejoice over the triumph in Russia of the democratic principles for which our own country stands. Among the people who took part in these celebrations and rejoicings were hundreds of American pacifists, who seemed to be perfectly unconscious of the fact that they were applauding ideas and methods in Russia which they strenuously oppose and vehemently denounce in the United States. They declare here that the taking of human

life in war is unjustifiable and wicked, but they celebrate a victory of democratic principles in Russia which was directly brought about by years of persistent fighting and taking of human life. Liberty in Russia was not won by pacifists and nonresistants; it was won by a whole generation of aggressive revolutionary fighters, who took human life without a moment's hesitation, and who died with arms in their hands. They were not "militarists," not lovers of fighting merely for the sake of fighting. Even the so-called "terrorists" were lovers of peace, but they loved justice and liberty more than peace. In a letter sent to the Czar, Alexander III, by the revolutionary executive committee on the 10th of March, 1881, the Russian revolutionists said:

"There is something higher than the most legitimate human feeling, and that is duty to one's own country—the duty for which a citizen must sacrifice himself and his own feeling, and even the feeling of others. We understand better than any one else can the waste of so much talent and energy in revolutionary warfare—the loss in bloody skirmishes of so much strength that, under other conditions, might have been expended in creative labor and in the development of the intelligence, the welfare, and the culture of the Russian people. Whence proceeds this lamentable necessity for bloody conflict? It arises, your Majesty, from the lack in Russia of a real Government, in the true sense of that word—a Government that shall give outward form to the aspirations of the people. We declare solemnly, before our native land and before the whole world, that our party will submit unconditionally to the decisions of a national assembly elected by the people, and that we will not allow ourselves in future to offer violent resistance to any government that the national assembly may sanction."

In the year 1882 the famous revolutionist, Anna Pavlovna Korba, was tried before the Governing Senate—the Russian Supreme Court—on the charge of being a traitor and a terrorist. At the end of the trial, when she was asked if she had any last words to say in her own defense, she replied as follows:

"I do not admit my guilt. I will, however, admit that I belong to the revolutionary party—the party of the will of the people—and that I believe in its principles and share its views. As for an organization that chooses and prefers a path of bloodshed, I do not know of any such organization, and I doubt whether any such organization exists. Such a party may arise in time, if the revolutionary movement extends; but if I be living when that time comes I will not belong to it. We do not adhere obstinately to terrorism. The hand that is raised to strike will instantly fall if the Government will change the political conditions of life. Our party has patriotic self-control enough not to take revenge for its bleeding wounds, but unless it proves false to the Russian people it can not lay down its arms until it has conquered for their people freedom and well-being.

"As a proof that the aims of our party are wholly peaceful I beg you to read the letter written to Alexander III soon after the 1st of March. You will see from it that we desire only reforms, but reforms that shall be sincere, complete, and vital."

These revolutionists were lovers of peace with liberty, but they were ready to fight for liberty if they could not get it in any other way.

At one of the recent mass meetings in New York called to celebrate the victory of the Russian revolutionists a placard bearing the following inscription was put up between two American flags on the wall at the back of the stage:

"The taking of human life is murder, whether it be taken by the individual, the State, or the Nation."

The word "murder" was in red capital letters more than a foot high. I do not know what was in the minds of the men who composed this inscription and put it up; but if it was intended to be, as it seemed to be, a declaration that the taking of human life in a fight for liberty or in a war against despotism is murder, it attacked the characters of thousands of revolutionists who fought for freedom in Russia and of millions of men who, with arms in their hands, are resisting German aggression in Russia, Belgium, and France. The audience which sat facing this "murder" placard was unmistakably a pacifist audience, and it seemed to be of opinion that "the taking of human life" in revolution or in war is murder, regardless of the circumstances and regardless of the object of the killing.

In defense of the thousands of Russian revolutionists who died fighting for freedom, I feel it to be my duty to protest against the pacifism which would characterize war for human rights as wholesale "murder." George Washington, who fought in a great Revolutionary War, was not a murderer. Abraham Lincoln, who, as Commander in Chief of the Union Armies, directed military operations in another great war, was not a murderer. The Russian revolutionists of 1905, whose fighting gave Russia her first Duma, were not murderers. And, finally, the liberty-loving soldiers of Petrograd, who fought with and killed the gendarmes and police of the Czar two weeks ago, were not murderers. They were true patriots, and by their fighting and killing they saved the fourth Duma, crushed the reactionary ministry, forced the abdication of the Czar, and won liberty for nearly 200,000,000 of people.

By no possible course of reasoning can the war against despotism in Russia be differentiated from the war against despotism in Belgium and France. If it would have been morally right for an American to join the revolutionists and fight for freedom in Russia, as Lafayette, a Frenchman, joined the revolutionists and fought for freedom in America, so it is morally right for an American, or for all Americans, to join the allies and fight for freedom in Europe.

GEORGE KENNAN.

Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Ledger recently contained an editorial which answered a number of questions which have been asked by a number of those who do not realize even now that war has been declared and that it is the duty of all citizens to support the country at this critical time with all their strength and with all their might in order that victory may be ours as quickly as possible and that we may be able to spare our Republic from a lengthy and drawn-out war. The editorial is as follows:

ANSWERED.

To the EDITOR OF THE PUBLIC LEDGER:

SIR: To you paid propagandists of warfare—

First. Will you tell the public to what extent your newspaper, like many others, is subsidized by the allies to preach war?

Second. Will you print the fact that the intelligent class does not want this war?

Third. Will you picture to these American mothers their sons, now in the glory of youth, returning crippled and useless?

Fourth. Will you admit, as you know, that this is a war of "wealth" attempting to pull the wool over labor's eyes?

Fifth. Will you, who are fighting so against capital punishment, denying our right to take another's life, explain the consistency whereby we can take the life of another because he is a foreigner?

Sixth. Will you gentlemen, who have had the advantage of a sociological training, which teaches that warfare is wrong, explain to the masses, who because of traditional reasons can not think for themselves, but must be led, that this war is not just, that Germany is like the drunkard who knows not what he is doing?

Seventh. Will you tell the people the truth? And then see whether they desire war. Will you print this?

I am not a socialist, an anarchist, or a pacifist. If this were really a patriotic war, I would go myself. I am voicing this on behalf of many thousands of intelligent people to a presumably intelligent newspaper.

EDWARD BARRINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 3, 1917.*

First. There is no such thing as "a subsidized press" in the United States, if periodicals like the late Fatherland are left out of the account. Even were it possible for the allies to purchase newspaper opinion in this country it would have been totally unnecessary, for its overwhelming weight has been on their side. Not one dollar has ever been paid or could be paid to this or any other honest newspaper for its opinions.

Second. We believe it to be an indisputable fact that "the intelligent class"—that is, the great mass of the American people—do not want war and have not sought it. But they join with heart and soul with the President in his conviction that "the right is more precious than peace," and they believe they are standing for the right.

Third. There is no disposition to minimize the horrors of war. They have been pictured only too vividly during the last two and a half years of German frightfulness.

Fourth. No intelligent man can read the President's address to Congress and believe that this is a "war of wealth." Did "wealth" sink the *Lusitania,* ravage Belgium, reestablish piracy on the high seas?

Fifth. There is no analogy between the deliberate taking of human life as a penalty for crime and the taking of human life in a war for the defense of civilization and human rights. Humane people abhor cruelty to animals, but they are not deterred by their humanity from taking up weapons of defense against a mad dog. Nor are they precluded from taking arms against a power that is running amuck throughout the world in a warfare against all mankind.

Sixth. The drunkard or the maniac may not "know what he is doing," but armed with deadly weapons he must be stopped by the most efficient means.

Seventh. This is the truth as the President, the Congress, and the people of America see it. America has not sought this war, but, "God helping her, she can do no other."

What universal military training really means has been explained by Porter Emerson Browne in the New York Globe in an article which reads as follows:

WHAT UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING REALLY MEANS.

[By Porter Emerson Browne.]

Among the sincere opponents of universal military training and service there seem to be three objections. The first is that a large Army is not necessary to our national existence.

Yet how are we to defend ourselves against large armies by any means other than a large Army? We have tried diplomacy. We have tried patience. We have tried forbearance. We have tried the precepts of humanity and the teachings of Christianity. We have tried turning the other cheek until, long ago, our supply of cheeks was exhausted. And all these means have failed. So how else can we defend ourselves, save by armies? And since we must have armies, how can they protect us unless they be equal or superior in size, equipment, and efficiency to those that may be or will be sent against us? You wouldn't ask 1 man to defend us against 10? Then why ask 1,000,000 to defend us against 10,000,000?

The second objection is that universal military training is undemocratic. Yet, when one considers carefully, what could be more democratic? Is it democratic to ask one man to give up his position, his friends, and his family and go out and risk his life in defense of other men who are unwilling to perform similar sacrifices? Have I any right to ask you to do what I myself am too cowardly, too selfish, or too lazy to do? Hardly! What is true democracy except that each individual stands ready and willing to do his part for the common good of the common country? Each man as good as the next, each man bearing his burdens, sharing his joys and his sorrows with the next.

The third objection is that universal military training will tend to make us militaristic.

Is this, again, borne out by fact? A standing army of great size—even a volunteer army of great size—might so tend. But that is because with such armies there are certain men in the country who are making a business of being soldiers, while others are making a business of not being soldiers. Thus as any man naturally takes a pride in his profession we find our citizenry dividing into two classes that develop logically along two diametrically antithetical lines—one to the business of war the other to the business of peace.

It is that very thing—that pulling apart in our national life—that we want to avoid. We want no large professional army. We want merely that all our citizens should be coalesced in the common cause and able to take care of themselves under any conditions and at any stage of the game. We don't want a divided country with a dual personality, half of us Napoleons and the other half Bryans. We want a Nation of George Washington—first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of their countrymen.

By universal training—which, by the way, Washington himself advocated with all his strength—we can attain a solid and unified citizenship that can devote itself to protecting its country efficiently when protection is needed; and that can devote itself as earnestly and as successfully to peaceful pursuits in times of peace, and that can do both the better in that it has learned to think and feel and act under a mutual bond of common sympathy, ideals, and understanding.

There is no fear of militarism in such a plan. Militarism comes of caste rule. We have no caste in America. Militarism comes of the few being masters and the many slaves. We have neither masters nor slaves in America.

What those that advocate universal military training want, and all that they want, is to create for our national life, as we create for our private lives, a great, united family, each member of which will serve

all the others bravely, fearlessly, and devotedly in times of danger as well as in times of peace. That is what they want; just that and no more.

Let me also call attention to part of an article which appeared in Scribner's Magazine, and written by the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt entitled—

"NO DANGER OF OUR BECOMING 'MILITARISTIC.'"

[Franklin D. Roosevelt, in Scribner's Magazine.]

Certain professional peace theorists have with crafty cunning laid emphasis on the military feature of universal training. They have called up pictures of the omnipresent uniform, of the Cossack whip of olden days, of the military dictator. They forget that in a true republic service which is universal is of necessity voluntary—it is, in other words, the desire of the majority of the people themselves. If there be shirkers, if there be any who would still place the liberty of the individual—their own little right to go their own gait—above the liberty and the need and the safety of the community and of the Nation, then in their case alone can universal training be called compulsory. Few of us honestly fear that this Nation will ever become militaristic—the trend of our civilization is all the other way. Switzerland and Australia are examples of progressive democracy successfully armed against attack. And yet many of our prominent men have argued with me that our great size would preclude us from following these systems. They can understand training a hundred thousand men a year; they balk at half a million. They are the kind of people who would organize a well or two to supply a city block but who would be appalled at the thought of a municipal water system.

The primary object of universal training is, it is true, to create an organization which would be used as a whole body for national protection in time of war. The country needs for Army and Navy alone a trained reserve of at least 2,000,000 men. This is not merely my personal conviction, but is corroborated by the investigations and reports of men who would in a crisis be responsible for our safety. There is in addition the aspect of the benefits this training would give in time of peace. If every boy of 18 years of age were to give a year of his life to his Nation the advantage would be at least as much with him as with the country.

Mr. Speaker, it is our duty as citizens to seize every opportunity to teach the boys and girls of this Republic the meaning of real patriotism and in every possible way interest them in the recognition of the fact that genuine love of country and flag can only be shown by them when they reach maturity of age by being prepared to risk life and limb in order that there may be a continuance in this country of the enjoyment of those many liberties and privileges that free America has bestowed upon them, whether they first saw the light of day here or whether they have come to our country from abroad. We must awaken within them the realization that the man or woman who does not respond to the country's call in its hour of need is a traitor to the Nation and undeserving of American citizenship. Patriotism can best be demonstrated at the present time by each man doing his share in his particular sphere of life by more energetic and efficient work even though he may be unable on account of age or other physical disability to enlist in either the Army or the Navy and to fight for the United States. We must all learn to teach the rising generation that it must not forget the brave deeds of men like Nathan Hale, whose noble words, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country," should at the present time arouse the young generation to a similar feeling and patriotic self-denying desire to serve the Republic. Let us not forget, and let us endeavor to see that our children always remember Lawrence's words, "Don't give up the ship." And let us also remind them of the words of Secretary Dix, "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me read a poem entitled—

"THE HOUR'S NEED."

[J. G. Holland, in the Kansas City Star.]

God give us men. The time demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
  Men whom the spoils of office can not buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
  Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
  And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
  In public duty and in private thinking.

Crop Production.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert the following letter on crop production:

ANHEUSER-BUSCH BREWING ASSOCIATION,
St. Louis, Mo., April 14, 1917.

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DYER: We respectfully call your attention to the inclosed editorial of the St. Louis Times. In addition to the facts brought out in editorial, we might add that erroneous statements have recently been given currency that millions of bushels of wheat are used in the manufacture of liquor. None is used in the preparation of beer, and inquiry shows none is used in the distillation of liquor. The principal grains used in the processes of either beer or liquor are barley, corn, and rice screenings.

Respectfully, ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III.

The article referred to by Mr. Busch is from the St. Louis Times of April 13, and is as follows:

SOME REMARKABLE "STATISTICS."

With amazement we observe that Government officials, newspaper correspondents, special writers, and numerous editors are swallowing whole and blood raw the remarkable statistics which the professional prohibitionists are handing out in Washington as an argument for the conservation of the country's cereal resources by the enactment of a law forbidding the manufacture of alcoholic beverages.

The latest figures furnished by these patriotic conservators of the Nation's food supplies were a terrific indictment of the criminal waste which accompanies the distillation and brewing of grains for the purpose of making beer and whisky.

Staff Correspondent Holmes, of the International News Service, yesterday forwarded to the St. Louis Times from the Capital the following codification of the figures arrayed in the interests of this life-saving measure:

"There has been placed before President Wilson and his Cabinet figures showing that by stopping the manufacture of liquor there will be an annual saving of 600,000,000 bushels of grain alone."

Now, are the figures precise? Are they measurably correct? Are they approximately accurate, or are they wantonly, incredibly, and astoundingly false?

In the last year, for which certified Government statistics furnish the facts, the distilling and brewing interests of the United States consumed 85,000,000 bushels of grain of all kinds.

In the distillation of spirits from grain the process of "cooking" improves the grain for stock-fattening purposes, and practically every grain of corn that goes into the bins of a distillery is eventually used for feeding cattle for the market.

These two facts put the "statistics" "placed before the President" pretty much in the position of an unarmed merchantman struck by a U-boat torpedo. But it is characteristic of the prohibition statisticians to deal in figures of this sort, and our wonder is not that they were furnished, but that they were accorded sufficient acceptance to be sent out from Washington for the consumption of the unthinking.

The fact remains that 85,000,000 bushels of grain are used annually in this country to produce alcoholics. A large portion of this consumption is conserved for the food uses of the people by feeding it to live stock. For the mere purposes of argument we will assume that 50,000,000 bushels—an estimate too high—are not saved for food in this manner.

This number of bushels would furnish each person in the country somewhat less than 1 ounce of flour or meal a day.

If it is deemed advisable by Congress to conserve this daily ounce of flour or meal per capita, by all means let Congress close down the breweries and shut up the distilleries, and let their armies of workers and the other armies in dependent occupations and the further armies of their children and wives do the best they can without a pay day.

But let not Congress do this in ignorance, based upon false statements made for interested purposes.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. WELTY,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to express my views upon the pending question as to whether a state of war exists between this country and the Imperial German Government, were it not for the fact that there seems to prevail what I believe to be a wrong impression as to the loyalty of the German people in this country. When diplomatic relations with Germany were about to be severed the foreign secretary of the Imperial German Government was quoted in press dispatches as saying: "There are a million Germans in the United States," the inference being obviously that they would be disloyal. According to the story, this brought forth the significant remark from the American ambassador that there are "a million lamppo ·3 in America."

The mind of the military autocracy in Germany can not understand why so many of their subjects have emigrated to the new world. They do not come here to escape those of their own class, but that they may obtain greater freedom of thought and action and escape the domination and exactions of the Hohenzollern despotism. As a class they are the most law-

abiding citizens we have in this country. We need never entertain any doubt as to the loyalty of the German people who have applied for and accepted citizenship in our land.

The annual reports of the Immigration Bureau show that no other nation has so large a number who immigrate to this country, and no other nation has so large a percentage of its people who become naturalized and are now citizens. They are attracted by our form of democratic government, and it is their home and the home of their children. Statistics show that they accept our institutions, language, and customs more readily than any people of any other nationality—and why? It was to escape the Kaiser and his military despotism. And do you now tell me that they will not fight for their rights and defend this country against the outrages and murders of the autocracy from which they escaped? They will not only fight for their rights as God has given them light to see that right, but will be found in the first ranks to carry the banner of freedom across the seas, if need be, to free their own brethren from the yoke of the Hohenzollern. "Divine right" to rule, when that right is not granted by the people, is unthinkable to the German who has gained his residence in a free country.

They love peace and will endure much before engaging in a conflict against their own blood and would rather prefer to escape this war. But did we ever gain anything worth while except by civil conflict? The principles in our Bill of Rights which we so much enjoy are the result of civil strife. Taxation without representation ended as the result of a civil war. The freedom of the seas was fought out by peoples of the same blood. The freedom of the black man is the result of civil war.

And, Mr. Speaker, did we not find the German hand clasping the sons of Britain during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812? The soldiers of the South during our Civil War repeatedly said that they "could lick" the Union Army in two weeks were it not for the Germans.

Mr. Speaker, can it be said that the German mind and heart will shrink at this hour and fail to make the necessary sacrifice? The foreign secretary of the Imperial German Government will find the million Germans in America in the front ranks, and the benediction after this war, as in every war we have fought in this country, will be upon that class as much as upon any class. Ah, I can now see column after column marching toward the trenches, and I find on French soil one-fourth of the American soldiers of German blood carrying the Starry Banner of Freedom "on to Berlin," and plant it, not "unter den Linden" but far above, so that all the world may know that we are brothers in the eyes of Him who sits upon the throne of thrones. Pray tell me, sirs, were the Germans ever unfaithful to their trust? Show me before I shall believe.

My experience as a prosecuting officer in the Commonwealth of Ohio and on behalf of the Federal Government has convinced me that there is no class on earth who will sooner convict an offender against the laws of our country than the juror of German descent. They believe in law and order and will be true to their oath of allegiance.

I do not want to support this resolution if I can avoid doing so. I love peace and shrink from war. I have spent sleepless hours brooding over this very question—alone with my conscience and my God.

I spent hours on the floor of the Senate when they considered this joint resolution, and was hoping for some argument to justify my vote against it; and, Mr. Speaker, no man has been more attentive on the floor of this House during the debates on this resolution. I was glad that entire freedom was given both sides and hoped that the opponents might produce some fragment of an excuse which could justify my mind and conscience if I voted against this resolution.

But, with all due respect to the Senators and my colleagues who spoke against this resolution, I can not bring my mind in harmony with their minds in the face of the charges of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, which none here have contradicted as being untrue.

I was somewhat interested in the proposition of submitting this question to a vote of the people; but upon examination of the Constitution I find that power duly delegated by the people to Congress. We alone are the judges and can not shift or dodge this responsibility, even though our very souls tremble while being weighed in the balance of our judgments. We can no more shift this disagreeable duty than a juror drawn in a criminal case who would desire to refer the matter of guilt or innocence of the defendant to the people. It is a delegated authority. We alone are the judges, and anyone who attempts to transfer or avoid this duty is either ignorant of our fundamental law or a coward.

No one on the floor of the House has attempted to justify the insults and injuries of the Imperial German Government to citizens of our Government, but a number have advised further patience.

I wonder how long these gentlemen who so advise would want us to wait before we act upon this indictment, with its evidence submitted by the committee, who were in duty bound to submit the same correctly? Would they wait until 200 more were foully murdered? Or would they want us to wait until one of our own loved ones was a victim of the foul murder of the assassin who is to-day stalking in our midst on land and sea? Some of these pacifists seem to rest supinely, so long as the death blow is not aimed at their mother, their wife, or their child. They would not be heard to raise their hand so long as the murderer confined his operations to the neighbor's family across the street.

Mr. Speaker, we are one great political body and we can no more suffer an injury and injustice to any one citizen without affecting the whole political body than I can permit the severance of my little finger without injury to my whole body. Is that the logic of the gentlemen who so eloquently opposed this resolution? If so, how many amputations of their fingers would they suffer without even a protest? All? And then permit them to cut off the left hand and the right hand and the left foot and the right foot and fight with their stumps? Is the American soul so dead as to permit a condition of this kind? Have we become so mercenary as to value the dollar above the life of a human being? I hope not. I have heard it said that those Members of this House of German descent will vote in favor of this resolution because of the fear of being misunderstood. The gentlemen who make that remark do not understand the German mind. He does not act because of fear, but he acts because his soul within him is stirred and will fight to the last ditch, no matter what cost to himself personally.

I was somewhat amused when the gentleman from Missouri quoted the words found in Holy Writ, "They who take the sword shall perish with the sword," as though every soldier must "perish with the sword." My sainted mother, too, was under that impression when three of her sons volunteered during the Spanish-American War; but when the same three sons who volunteered returned unharmed midst cheers and flying banners, she saw a new light, and then knew that the sword was the spirit of hate and had no reference to the sword made of steel.

Heritage and every drop of blood within me cries out "Peace!" "Peace!" But how can I longer toss upon my bed, halt between two ideas and cry "Peace," when there is no peace, but war is upon us. The sword is what they want, and by the passage of this resolution they shall have what they want.

No matter what cost to myself, I can do no less and remain true to my people, my conscience, and my God. Our Americanism to-day, as always, depends upon the degree of our willingness to sacrifice.

I, for one, have made up my mind that this sacrifice of self is the least I could do, and I shall not only vote for this resolution but, God helping me, I shall be ready to volunteer my services to maintain the rights of a free people.

In Time of War Food Crops Must Be Increased.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ESCH,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1917.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, now that war has been declared and we are making "an assessment of every circumstance and condition relating to our preparedness" it becomes clearly apparent that the three essential needs are money, men, and food. We will this day vote $7,000,000,000 worth of bonds and certificates of indebtedness to take care of the immediate financial needs of our allies and to meet the cost of supplying men and ships. We are about to legislate to increase the personnel of the Army and the Navy. Men and money we will not lack, but more essential than either for success in the pending crisis is the matter of food—food not merely for the sustenance of our armed forces and civilian population, but food for the armed and civilian

populations of our allies. With most of Europe and especially its food-producing areas war riven, with millions of her people withdrawn from agricultural pursuits, engaged in the trenches and munition plants, with crop shortages in the leading food-producing countries of the world, the United States must, during this year and for the immediate future, become the leading factor in the world's food supply.

An appeal, therefore, must be made to our own people to exert their utmost efforts to cultivate the very last acre to produce the largest possible food supply for man and beast. Already efforts in this direction are being made, but in order that most effective work may be done States should organize with township and county units under direction of a central body. In this mobilization of men and acres due regard should be had for the supply of farm labor. The demand for this labor, even in time of peace, in many section has exceeded the supply, owing to the high prices paid in the cities and manufacturing centers. Under war conditions and the enlistment of from one to two million men this supply will be still further depleted unless the Government exempts, under certain conditions, from military service agricultural labor where there is a shortage or furnishes an outside supply.

An adequate food supply being absolutely necessary for our success in the pending conflict, every effort should be made through Federal and State authorities and organizations to produce a surplus of food crops during the current year. In support of such effort I wish to have printed as a part of my remarks the following correspondence, including the recent news letter issued by the Secretary of Agriculture on the subject "Food crops must be increased":

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, April 12, 1917.

DEAR SIR: In the absence from the city of Secretary Houston I acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 9 in which you quote a telegram received from the Listman Milling Co., of La Crosse, Wis., with reference to the acreage for spring wheat and the necessity for utilizing all available ground for planting.

In this connection I may say that the whole question of the food supply of the Nation is receiving the definite attention of the Secretary, and I inclose as of possible interest to you a copy of a statement recently issued to the press by the Secretary, entitled "Food Crops Must be Increased." The Secretary at present is in the West holding important conferences to consider the food problem, and it is expected that among the questions to be discussed will be that of increasing the efficiency of production.

I shall be glad to bring your letter to the attention of the Secretary upon his return to the city.

Very truly, yours,

H. F. FITTS,
Acting Private Secretary.

Hon. JOHN J. ESCH,
House of Representatives.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.

FOOD CROPS MUST BE INCREASED—WAR DEMANDS AND WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE SHOULD BE MET BY AMERICAN FARMERS—EFFICIENT PRODUCTION IMPERATIVE—WHAT CROPS SHOULD BE STRESSED AND WHERE.

The Secretary of Agriculture, D. F. Houston, to-day, April 7, issued the following statement:

"The importance to the Nation of a generously adequate food supply for the coming year can not be overemphasized in view of the economic problems which may arise as a result of the entrance of the United States into the war. Every effort should be made to produce more crops than are needed for our own requirements. Many millions of people across the seas, as well as our own people, must rely in large part upon the products of our fields and ranges. This situation will continue to exist even though hostilities should end unexpectedly soon, since European production can not be restored immediately to its normal basis. Recognition of the fact that the world at large, as well as our own consumers, must rely more strongly on American farmers this year than ever before should encourage them to strive to the utmost to meet these urgent needs.

INCREASE YIELDS OF STAPLE CROPS.

"It is obvious that the greatest and most important service that is required of our agriculture under existing conditions is an enlarged production of the staple food crops. Because of the shortage of such crops practically throughout the world there is no risk in the near future of excessive production such as sometimes has resulted in unremunerative prices to producers. This is particularly true of the cereals and of peas, beans, cowpeas, soybeans, and buckwheat. In view of the world scarcity of food, there is hardly a possibility that the production of these crops by the farmers of the United States can be too great this year, and there is abundant reason to expect generous price returns for all available surplus.

"The most effective step that may be taken to increase the production of these crops is to enlarge the acreage devoted to them in the regions where they are grown habitually. This expansion of acreage should be to the limit permitted by available good seed, labor, and equipment. The placing of too great emphasis on production in new regions is inadvisable, since the introduction into a farm operation of a crop not usually grown frequently involves practical difficulties not easily foreseen nor quickly surmountable.

"Taking the winter-wheat territory as a whole, winter killing has occurred to an extent very much greater than usual. This, obviously, if not compensated for in some way, will mean a material reduction in the supplies of our most important bread cereal. Where winter wheat has been damaged sufficiently to justify the abandonment of fields it should by all means be replaced by spring-planted food crops, preferably small grains or corn. The acreage of winter wheat seeded last fall is estimated at 40,080,000, or only 2 per cent above that of the preceding year (39,203,000 acres), and about one-eighth more than the average for the preceding five-year period (35,724,000). The condition of this crop, as shown by the department in its report of April 7, is more than 25 per cent below the average condition April 1 for the past 10 years. This condition forecasts a production this year nearly 52,000,000 bushels less than that of 1916 and 243,000,000 bushels less than the crop of 1915.

"Climatic requirements of spring wheat during the last few weeks of its growth render it a more risky crop than others to plant outside the areas in which its production has been proved to be successful, so that it is not recommended for regions where oats or corn will be more certain to produce satisfactory yields. In the northern spring-wheat States, however, where old ground has been reserved for flax and seed wheat is available, flax ground may well be sown with spring wheat and new land broken for flax where such land is available. In the Pacific Northwest, where the seed supply of well-adapted varieties is adequate, a considerably increased acreage of spring wheat appears probable. The spring-wheat acreage of 1916 (17,956,000 acres) was more than 5 per cent less than that of 1915 (19,161,000 acres), and more than 4 per cent less than the preceding five-year average (18,799,000 acres).

GOOD SEED WHEAT NECESSARY.

"The minimum quality of seed grain that should be relied upon under existing conditions is a very difficult point to decide. In general, it is not wise to risk planting seed wheat showing less than 75 or 80 per cent germination, nor that weighing less than 50 pounds to the bushel. If the land is prepared thoroughly and otherwise is suitable, the use of spring wheat weighing as low as 45 pounds per bushel, if it shows good germination, may be advisable where better seed is lacking.

THE USEFULNESS OF OATS AND BARLEY.

"If land intended for spring wheat can not be put into good condition early enough for seeding, oats or barley can be substituted to good advantage in the sections where these crops are known to do well. Barley can be relied on in the proved areas of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, and Montana, while oats have a much wider range. The ease with which barley may be substituted directly for wheat in human food and its usefulness to replace wheat milling by-products as food in the production of the milk supply, renders its abundant production important. Barley, where it succeeds, yields a larger weight of feed per acre than any other small-grain crop. With an abundance of oats and barley available much closer milling of wheat than at present could be practiced, if necessary, without endangering the milk supply, which constitutes so important an element in the dietary of consumers.

LARGE ACREAGE OF RYE PLANTED.

"The place of rye under present conditions is an important one. The crop this year should be harvested and utilized with more than the usual care. Considerable acreage is planted in some sections for plowing under in the spring for green manure. Where conditions are suitable, part of this acreage might well be held for harvesting and followed with a suitable summer or fall crop for plowing in later.

BUCKWHEAT FOR LATE PLANTING.

"Buckwheat may be planted later than any similar crop, and often does well on old meadows or waste land that can be broken after the more exacting crops are planted. In some sections where experience has demonstrated that the cereals, except rye, can not be relied on, buckwheat is a crop of considerable importance. The acreage could well be increased, especially in portions of New York, Pennsylvania, and New England, where the crop now is grown to a considerable extent.

RICE GAINING IN POPULARITY.

"Rice at present prices provides more food value for the money than most of the other cereals. Fuller appreciation of its value should stimulate production quickly in Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and California to an extent that would increase the total food supply greatly.

INCREASED ACREAGE OF GRAIN SORGHUMS WARRANTED.

"The prices of the grain sorghums during the past season appear to warrant increase of acreage of these grains in the regions where they can succeed, as in western Kansas, Oklahoma, and northern Texas. This increase should be practically to the limit of the acreage, that can be handled properly with the labor and facilities available. Grain sorghums may well be used in that area to replace winter wheat on fields abandoned because of winter injury. The grain sorghums are but little known to eastern farmers, but are assuming importance rapidly in the drier portions of the country where corn and the small grains are unreliable because of frequent insufficiency of moisture. In the past these grains have been used chiefly as poultry and stock feed, but they have possibilities also as human food.

FLAX FOR NEW GROUND.

"Though flax is not primarily a food crop, the cake remaining when oil is expressed from the seed constitutes an important element in the dairy food supply. Its increased use in this way would release other grain products for use as food. As a crop peculiarly adapted to newly broken land in the spring wheat States where it is chiefly grown, the acreage of flax should be increased to the greatest extent possible.

EXPAND THE CORN ACREAGE.

"Corn is the leading food and feed crop of the United States in geographic range of production, acreage, and quantity of product. The vital importance of a large acreage of this crop properly cared for, therefore, is obvious. Because of the prices obtained for the last crop and the world demand for this grain its profitableness to the American farmer during the approaching season is clear. The 105,954,000 acres planted to corn in 1916 yielded 2,583,000,000 bushels, or more than 400,000,000 bushels less than the large crop of 1915—2,904,793,000 bushels—and considerably less than the five-year average—2,732,457,000 bushels. Conditions now warrant the planting of the largest acreage of this crop which it is possible to handle effectively.

"Although fall is the proper time for breaking sod for corn, there are many unproductive and foul meadows and indifferent pastures in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and the Middle Atlantic and Northeastern States that, under existing conditions, can be broken now to advantage and planted to corn. The resulting reduction of hay and pasture would be more than replaced by the corn stover, ensilage, and grain produced. Corn as a cultivated crop has been found well suited to replace summer fallowing in portions of Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, and Montana, the forage and grain produced not materially reducing the succeeding grain crop.

PLANT EARLY AND REDUCE RISK.

"Earliness of maturity, other factors being equal, is advantageous in the case of practically all grain crops. Relatively early maturing varieties should be selected where possible, and the planting should be done at the earliest suitable date. With the small grains an advance of three or four days in stage of maturity frequently saves a crop from serious damage by rusts. With corn a similar advantage is obtained by early maturity when severe droughts are encountered and when killing frosts occur toward the end of the season. Corn grown on the rich bottoms, which constitute the best corn lands, often is damaged by temporary overflow. If corn has an early start, however, it usually will attain a size which will make it possible to withstand overflows with less damage. Early plantings of corn, if somewhat damaged by flood or frost, can be replanted even a second or third time with profit, if seed of early maturing varieties is secured in advance of the time when needed.

COWPEAS AND SOY BEANS VALUABLE FOR FOOD.

"The usefulness of cowpeas and soy beans as human food has been recognized only recently in this country. Existing conditions warrant the planting of all the available seed of varieties known to do well in the several sections. The soy bean in particular has proved sufficiently resistant to cold in spring and to adverse weather during summer to warrant heavy planting, especially throughout the South. The value of the beans for oil production, as well as for human food, has become recognized so quickly and so generally during the past year that the crop has acquired a commercial standing far in excess of its previous status. While the commercial supply of seed late in March was estimated not to exceed 500,000 bushels, the quantity available on farms, where home-grown seed is held over in small lots for planting, undoubtedly will make possible a largely increased acreage.

FIELD-BEAN PRICES SHOULD STIMULATE PRODUCTION.

"The high food value of field beans and the shortage of supply due to the light yields of 1915 and 1916 render them of great importance in the regions to which they are adapted. This is especially the case in portions of the New England States, New York, Michigan, and California, where the chief supply has been grown for many years, and in sections of Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, and other Western States where beans have attained importance recently. The seed supply, while high in price, is well distributed. In order that especially good crops may result, beans should be planted under such conditions of soil as regards character and preparation as will insure efficient use of the seed supply.

RESERVE SUFFICIENT HAY, FORAGE, AND PASTURE LAND.

"A deficiency of hay and forage for the next winter would jeopardize the future meat and dairy supplies of the country and result in a shortage of roughage for military draft and saddle animals. In regions where dairying dominates the full acreage of clover, alfalfa, and the grasses that is in productive condition should be maintained. Under the conditions prevailing in most dairying sections, these crops can be carried with less man power than that required for tilled crops. The older, thinner, and less productive grass lands, however, frequently can be made to produce much larger yields of feed in corn than if left as they are in unproductive grass. The seeding down of small grain fields for next year's mowing should by no means be neglected, for the maintenance of effective rotation of crops will be found as important in the future as in the past.

"For the Gulf States perhaps no forage crop of which the available seed supply is relatively abundant exceeds the velvet bean in potential value. This legume possesses also the ability to make a crop when planted relatively late.

POTATOES AND VEGETABLES.

"Seed potatoes should be conserved by planting on the best lands available for them and planning for thorough tillage and protection of the crop against disease and insect pests. Potatoes can be grown most advantageously near the centers of population in the Northern States where transportation cost may be reduced to a minimum. This crop is capable of quick and large increase of production when conditions are favorable. There is, however, considerable risk of unprofitable production of potatoes when they are grown at long distances from the consuming markets, owing to their disproportionate weight and bulk of the product in comparison with the cereals.

"Such vegetable crops as carrots, rutabaga, turnips, onions, and cabbage are worthy of much more attention than they generally receive, especially in the eastern United States. All these crops are capable of large production on suitable land under intensive culture throughout the more densely populated portions of the country. The supply of seed is ample and their culture relatively simple. The holding of these vegetables for the winter food supply is relatively easy where suitable inexpensive pits, cellars, or lofts are prepared in time. The practicability of quickly drying vegetables for longer preservation was demonstrated on a large scale last year in western New York, where quantities were dried in the available apple evaporators and in quickly constructed dry kilns for export as army supplies. This was a repetition of the experience of the Civil War period, when desiccated vegetables assumed considerable importance in the Army ration, and the equipment required for their preparation proved the forerunner of our present fruit-drying equipment. Existing conditions warrant heavier planting than usual of staple winter vegetables in the sections where canneries and fruit evaporators exist, and probably in some sections where the provision of such facilities later in the season may be justified.

"In the southern half of the country perhaps no crop has larger possibilities for quick increase of production of food for both men and animals than the sweet potato. Methods of handling and storing this product demonstrated and advocated by the department workers for several years make possible much fuller utilization of this crop than has occurred generally in the past.

"The peanut in many sections of the South also is capable of greatly enlarged production with little risk of oversupply, as it is in demand for oil and peanut butter manufacture, as well as for direct use as food both for man and hogs.

HOLD SEED FOR REPLANTING.

"While early planting is desirable, it is rarely advisable to risk the entire supply of seed in the first planting. This is particularly important with the tender, tilled crops, including corn, sorghum, beans, cowpeas, and soy beans. It is well to hold a fair proportion of seed in reserve against possible need, due to untimely frost or other destructive weather, at least until after the recognized danger period is passed. The availability of seed for immediate use when the need occurs frequently determines the practicability of replanting effectively. This is true also of reserve stocks of plants of tomatoes, sweet potatoes, early cabbage, and other vegetables usually transplanted.

POSSIBLE SWEETS FOR DOMESTIC PRODUCTION.

"Only about 20 per cent of the supply of sugar normally consumed in the United States is produced domestically, and this amount can not be increased appreciably during the coming season. Unless normal imports of sugar reach our shores, therefore, a shortage of this food is inevitable. Supplemental sweets, however, may be produced more abundantly than in normal years and to some extent may take the place of sugar for the home use of farmers. Sirups from cane and sorghum constitute one of the most important groups of supplemental sweets. Wherever these crops can be grown farmers may find it to their advantage to plant acreage sufficient to furnish materials for the home manufacture of at least a sufficient supply of sirup to meet family needs. In many parts of the country honey production may be increased by closer attention to bee culture.

INCREASE FARM PRODUCTION OF VEGETABLES, POULTRY, AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.

"The high prices for foodstuffs that have prevailed during the last few months have stimulated interest in the increase of home supplies of vegetables, poultry, and dairy products on farms. This interest has been quickened most noticeably in the South, where for several years this department and the States, through their extension workers, have urged such an increase as necessary for economic reasons, even under normal conditions. Other parts of the country have responded to these appeals, but emphasis on this feature should be continued by all agencies in position to operate effectively.

"Through increased attention to poultry on farms it is possible to add quickly and materially to the food supply. Because of the importance of an increased supply of eggs, under present exigencies, farmers should not market hens of the egg breeds, such as the Leghorns, which are less than 3 years old, or of the larger breeds which are less than 2 years old. By the immediate preservation of eggs for home consumption through the use of water glass or limewater, larger supplies of fresh eggs may be made available for marketing later in the season, when production is less and prices higher. Every person who raises chickens, from the novice to the poultry husbandman, should see that infertile eggs are produced and all surplus marketed promptly so as to eliminate waste through spoilage.

INCREASE PRODUCTION OFF THE FARMS.

"When conditions render it feasible small flocks of poultry should be kept by families in villages, towns, and especially in the suburbs of large cities. The need for this extension of poultry raising is particularly great where consumption exceeds production, as in the Northeastern States. Through utilization of table waste, scraps, and other refuse as poultry feed much wholesome food in the form of eggs and poultry for home use may be produced at relatively low cost. Many families in villages and on the outskirts of cities also should consider the advisability of keeping a pig if sanitary regulations permit. In most cases, however, it will be profitable to keep a pig only when a sufficient surplus from the household and the garden is available to furnish a considerable portion of the pig's food.

"Consumers living in villages and in the suburbs of cities do not appreciate sufficiently the possibility of adding materially to their food supply by utilizing suitable idle soil in yards, vacant lots, and unused outlying fields. The total contribution to the food supply of families and communities which can be brought about through such activities is great. Gardening is peculiarly an activity in which the family and the community may share with resultant mutual helpfulness and benefit.

"The duty of the individual farmer at this time is to increase his production, particularly of food crops. If he has control of tillable land not in use or money lying idle or labor unemployed, he should extend his operations so as to employ those resources to the fullest extent. This does not mean that he should rob his land, waste his capital, or expend his labor fruitlessly, but that by wise planning and earnest effort he should turn out a greater quantity of food crops than ever before. He will not lose by it, and he will perform an important service in supporting his country in the task that lies before it. The agricultural sufficiency of a nation is not attained unless as the units which compose it are efficient. Those agricultural workers who produce, conserve, and market wisely will help toward the achievement of national agricultural sufficiency, and thus will perform valuable service for the Nation."

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following resolutions:

COLONEL AERIE, No. 1285,
FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES,
Dayton, Ky., April 10, 1917.

Whereas we feel that we are most fortunate to be living under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, and appreciating that the rights and privileges which we enjoy as American citizens require of us in return a love of country and an allegiance to it which nothing can alter or destroy; and

Whereas liberty, truth, justice, and equality, our four great cardinal principles, around which the bulwark of protection not only of our order but of the very Nation itself have been woven, are endangered by the numerous barbaric, heinous, and odious atrocities practiced by the Imperial Government; and

Whereas our President and Congress have declared that a state of war exists between the United States and the German Empire: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the officers and members of Colonel Aerie, No. 1285, Fraternal Order of Eagles, of Dayton, Ky., That we heartily indorse the action taken, and dedicate ourselves, without restriction or limitation, to the disposal of the constituted authorities.

WM. S. OSTER,
H. W. HUNDLEY,
OSCAR H. FORSTER.
Committee on Resolutions.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, no more solemn duty is imposed by the Constitution of the United States than that upon which we are now asked to come to a decision.

It had been my hope that some course could have been decided upon by our Chief Magistrate, through diplomatic channels, which would have averted the expensive and distressing evil from which there now seems no recourse.

It seems, however, that the Imperial German Government has decided that it will in no way abate one iota from the position it has undertaken in violation of all previous international understandings, and expects the neutral world to surrender these rights, which have been established years ago and found to be fair. It is now prepared to enforce these violations without listening to any proposition looking toward a proper adjustment with our country, with which she has never heretofore had a controversy.

Her position is somewhat similar to that of a mad Malay who hopes to attain heaven by killing Christians by the method called "running amuck," and which certainly can have but one ending.

To place the position of the Imperial German Government in a few words: It has violated international law and the rights of neutrals. It has disregarded all pleas for humanity and justice; it has by plot and espionage sought to prevent our citizens from carrying on their lawful business, and has used our country as a base to encourage and raise enemies against us, all of which are proven facts and have resulted in injuring us beyond all patience. We must, if it is our desire to maintain our integrity and self-respect, end such an intolerant condition, and there is only one way.

I shall vote in favor of the resolution declaring a state of war, and do everything I can to support and uphold the constituted authorities in its enforcement.

It is needless, Mr. Speaker, to go into detail regarding these matters, but I wish to quote a statement received from the State Department, showing the number of American ships damaged or destroyed by German submarines since the beginning of the present war to March 29, 1917, and a list of ships sunk with loss of American lives to the same date:

SHIPS SUNK WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES.

British ship *Falaba*. Torpedoed March 28, 1915 (warned); 1 American lost.
British ship *Lusitania*. Torpedoed May 7, 1915 (no warning); 114 Americans lost.
American ship *Gulflight*. Torpedoed May 1, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.
British ship *Armenian*. Torpedoed June 28, 1915 (ordered to stop; tried to escape); 23 Americans lost.
British ship *Iberian*. Sunk July 21, 1915 (tried to escape; stopped by shell fire); 3 Americans lost.
British ship *Anglo-Californian*. Sunk July 4, 1915; 2 Americans lost.
British ship *Hesperian*. Torpedoed September 4, 1915 (no warning); 1 American lost.
British ship *Arabic*. Torpedoed August 19, 1915 (no warning); 3 Americans lost.
British ship *Persia*. Believed to have been torpedoed. Sunk December 30, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.
Italian ship *Ancona*. Torpedoed November 9, 1915 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.
British ship *Englishman*. Torpedoed March 27, 1916 (no warning); 6 Americans lost; 1 more whose nationality is doubtful.
British ship *Cabotia*. Sunk by gunfire October 20, 1916; 1 American lost.
British ship *Marina*. Sunk by gunfire October 28, 1916 (warned); 8 Americans lost.
British ship *Russian*. Torpedoed December 14, 1916 (no warning); 17 Americans lost.
British ship *Eaveston*. Sunk by shell fire February 5, 1917; 1 American lost; 1 other whose nationality is doubtful.
British ship *Vedamore*. Torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 10 Americans lost.
British ship *Turino*. Torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 1 American (?) lost.
French ship *Athos*. Torpedoed February 22, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.
British ship *Laconia*. Torpedoed February 26, 1917 (no warning); 8 Americans lost.
Norwegian ship *Sjostad*. Believed torpedoed March 2, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.
American ship *Vigilancia*. Torpedoed March 16, 1917 (no warning); 5 Americans lost.
American ship *Healdton*. Torpedoed March 21, 1917 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.
British ship *Crispin*. Torpedoed March 29, 1917 (no warning); 68 Americans on board, 1 killed, 18 missing.
Total, 226 Americans lives lost.
On the *Lusitania* there were also 24 children born of foreign parents on American soil.

Before closing, Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that I also have a large German constituency, and among the citizens of the many nations that have come to this country to help make up our population there are none that are more loyal, industrious, and God-fearing than those of German birth. They came here to be a part of us because of their love for our institutions, and they will be one with us when called upon to protect and defend their adopted country.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NICHOLAS J. SINNOTT,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks made by me in the House on the 5th of this month, I desire to have printed the report published in The Dalles Chronicle on April 2 of the patriotic demonstration held at my home town, The Dalles, Oreg., on the 1st of this month.

This demonstration was the greatest in the local history of the city and shows that the people of Oregon are exceedingly patriotic in this hour of national crisis.

I wish particularly to call attention to the inspiring incident of the flag presentation by citizens of German descent and birth, some of whom were veterans of the Franco-Prussian War. The presentation speech was made by Max A. Vogt, a son of a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War.

The press reports that when American Ambassador Gerard was leaving Germany one of the German officials, with sinister purpose, said that in the United States there were a million German citizens. To this Ambassador Gerard retorted: "There are a million lamp-posts in the United States."

The insinuation of this official would not have been made with such assurance nor would the retort of the ambassador have been necessary had he known there was such a spirit of devotion to their adopted country among those of German blood in America as was revealed by what was to take place in my home town on the 1st of this month when American citizens of German birth and extraction presented to the city the American flag and expressed their pride in the flag and loyalty to it.

I believe that this manifestation of love for our flag and loyalty to the country so expressed at this meeting is an index of the loyalty and patriotism of all of our citizens of German origin throughout the length and breadth of the land; every one of whom I believe is willing to exclaim in the language of the poet:

Though my father's father
Felt hale German blood
Course through his veins,
A satisfying flood;
* * *
Yet as for me,
Strong limbed and free,
I'll face the war a man;
Not alien, but American.

The following is the report referred to:

DEMONSTRATION IS GREATEST IN LOCAL HISTORY—THOUSANDS GATHER TO PROVE THIS IS UNITED CITY BACK OF PRESIDENT—MESSAGE SENT TO WILSON—PARADE AND MASS MEETING FOLLOWING SHOW PATRIOTISM RAMPANT.

"The entire citizenship of The Dalles, in mass convention, pledge to you our unqualified support and express our confidence in your ability to protect the honor and dignity of the Nation."

That message went over the wires between The Dalles and Washington, D. C., yesterday afternoon following the greatest patriotic demon-

stration in the history of this city. It was directed to Woodrow Wilson, was signed by Mayor J. E. Anderson, and meant just what it said—that the entire citizenship of The Dalles supports President Wilson in these perilous times and is confident he will uphold the honor and dignity of the United States.

At the close of the great mass meeting yesterday, Mayor Anderson, who had presided, stated it had been suggested that a message be sent to the President, embodying the sentiment as expressed at the demonstration.

"Those in favor will please say aye," advised the mayor.

The big crowd yelled "aye" as one person though only hundreds of people could have made that much noise in so doing.

"It is unanimous," announced Mr. Anderson, and it certainly was.

The public demonstration of yesterday proved that patriotism is running rampant in The Dalles, and that this city, if called upon, will do its full part in supplying men to shoulder arms under Old Glory.

TIGHT LID ON WHOLE TOWN.

For the first time in the annals of this community business was absolutely at a standstill. Even the cigar stores and restaurants were closed, and the lid was on tight from 12 to 2 o'clock.

The demonstration began with a parade in which 1,895 persons marched. The formation was begun at 12.30, but it was nearly 1 before the line of march could be started, for so many more persons than were expected presented themselves for participation. Sheriff Levi Chrisman was the competent grand marshal. The police and the fire department did splendid work in handling the crowd.

Civil War veterans and the O.-W. R. & N. band of Portland led the parade, following Mr. Chrisman. Next were W. R. C. members and Daughters of the American Revolution. Then came the Girls' National Honor Guard, totaling 76, and "The Dalles Volunteers," 63 strong.

Folda's band led the next section, composed of Woodmen of the World, firemen, boy scouts, the fife and drum corps of the Columbia Hose Co. volunteer firemen, more than 900 school children, and city and county officials.

NURSES MAKE HIT.

The Elk's band headed the third section, a feature of which was an immense flag which was accompanied by 14 nurses of The Dalles hospital, in uniform. They were followed by the largest turnout in the parade, with the exception of the school children—the Elks, who totaled 107. The Knights and Ladies of Security order was represented by 40 members. Employees of the O.-W. R. & N. Co. also numbered 40.

The large American flag, which was carried by the nurses, is the property of Henry McNulty. The flag was formerly owned by the late Capt. John McNulty. It was made in 1863 and contains 34 stars. It is 30 feet 8 inches long and 20 feet 5 inches wide.

The last section was composed of the general citizenship, including church congregations in groups.

The entire demonstration of yesterday was solemnly impressive, but the most stirring, soul-gripping part of the ceremonies was the presentation of a beautiful American flag by United States citizens of German birth or extraction, who gave the banner to The Dalles. This ceremony opened the exercises at the city hall at the close of the parade. Mayor J. E. Anderson, and those who later made short speeches, took places on the city hall balcony, which was attractively draped with red, white, and blue bunting. Large pictures of President Wilson and George Washington which had been especially framed for the occasion by George Brown, fire warden, looked down upon the crowd. Following the singing of "America" by the audience, led by Mrs. Carlton P. Williams, Mayor Anderson, who presided, addressed the citizens who numbered about 3,000, as follows:

"This meeting was arranged that the citizens of The Dalles might be given an opportunity to assert, in no uncertain manner, their loyalty to our Flag and what it stands for, and their unswerving support and confidence in the Government at Washington.

"When, after exhausting all means to avoid a conflict, war seems inevitable—war with a nation to which more than 8,000,000 of our citizens are bound by ties of blood—the question naturally arises: What will our German citizens do? What action will they take?

"Personally I have never questioned their loyalty, but the question is pertinent and vital. We have in The Dalles German citizens who faithfully reflect the sentiment of all Germans in America. We will have a concrete example of how our German citizens feel and what they will do from our good friend, honored citizen, and loyal American, Max Vogt."

Mr. Vogt was almost overcome with emotion as he rose with the flag. It was with great effort that he controlled his voice and kept from breaking down completely. He said:

LOYALTY IS PLEDGED.

"Honorable mayor and fellow citizens: I take pleasure in presenting to you an American flag, to be hoisted on the flag pole of your city hall. This flag is donated to Dalles City from United States citizens of German birth and extraction, whom I take pleasure in representing.

"I desire to say in behalf of these United States citizens that they as well as myself are not only proud of this flag but are loyal to it."

TRIBUTE TO GERMANS BY BIRTH.

In graciously accepting the flag, the mayor paid a splendid tribute to American citizens of German birth. He said:

"In the name of Dalles City, and representing all of its citizens, I accept this flag as added evidence of the continued loyalty and patriotism of our citizens of German birth or descent.

"We do not take the presentation of this beautiful emblem as indicating that the Germans of this city hold in their hearts hate or contempt for the fatherland. That would be unnatural.

"'Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land?

A TOUCH OF SADNESS.

"The American citizen with German blood in his veins who can view the threatened conflict between the United States and the fatherland without a feeling of sadness is not worthy of citizenship in any nation. It is not a reflection on his loyalty if he still has a tender spot in his heart for the land of his forefathers. But it is a reflection on his loyalty if he does not stand shoulder to shoulder with the citizens of America who, regardless of birth or descent, are of one mind with our President and are willing to sacrifice even their lives in defense of this flag.

"And now, as this beautiful emblem is unfurled to the breeze and takes its place in God's sunshine, let everyone blot from his mind any suspicion of disloyalty or lack of patriotism on the part of our German citizens and remember that we are one country, free and undivided, intensely and absolutely loyal to the Star-Spangled Banner."

The new flag was run up to the top of the city hall mast. It had been cleverly arranged by C. A. Fox, a Civil War veteran, and Edward Lemison, who served in the Spanish-American War, so that it was not until it reached the top that it unfolded. As the 900 school children gave the salute to the flag many a person cried and hardly an eye was dry among that large crowd. Such a sight is always beautiful and impressive, but yesterday's was especially stirring in view of the present crisis of the United States and due to the splendid display of loyalty upon the part of the American citizens of The Dalles of German lineage. Many a heart was saddened because of the realization of what persons of German descent must feel for the fatherland; how their hearts are necessarily torn because of Germany's crazed ruthlessness.

The cheering that followed the unfurling of the flag must have carried beyond the city limits. The audience then sang the "Star-Spangled Banner." "America" was again sung at the close of the meeting. Short speeches were delivered by Mrs. Alexander Thompson, who represents this district in the State legislature; the Rev. B. A. Warren; Irvin B. Warner, city superintendent of schools; J. W. Brewer; and District Attorney F. V. Galloway. The speakers followed one another without introduction.

WOMEN ARE READY.

That Mrs. Thompson should speak at the meeting was decidedly fitting, for it is not only the men of The Dalles who are loyal; the women are every bit as patriotic, as was evidenced yesterday by the number of them that turned out and their expressions at the meeting. The writer, as he viewed the ceremonies of yesterday from the city hall steps, couldn't help but think of the women who were "out in front." The men must make sacrifices if they shall be called upon to bear arms, but won't the women suffer most?

Mrs. Thompson delivered a brilliant address that greatly stirred the large audience. She said:

"Your honor, the mayor, and fellow patriots: On the 5th day of February, after diplomatic relations had been severed between the United States and Germany, the editor of the New York World sent me a telegram asking for an expression of my views on the international crisis. I wired my reply, and it was published in the New York World of the following day, as follows:

"'The American Nation is a peaceful Nation. Never has it taken up arms except in defense of right. Never has it drawn a sword except at the behest of reason. Never has American blood been shed except in a just cause.

NO TIME FOR FAULTFINDING.

"'Prudence would dictate that this position be maintained, but the exigencies of the present grave crisis that confronts the Nation seem to call for a reversal of our attitude. Clouds and darkness are around us, our Nation's honor is at stake, and this is no time for petty faultfinding and criticism.

"'The President, I believe, has taken the only honorable stand possible under the circumstances. His position in the matter calls for the patriotic and loyal support of every man and woman in America to-day.'

"These were my sentiments on February 5, and they are emphatically my sentiments to-day, now that we are gathered here to perform a patriotic duty. Webster defines patriotism as 'love of country,' patriot, 'one who loves his country and zealously defends and supports its interests.' It is regrettable that in the present crisis this patriotism involves us in conflict with a powerful nation with whom we have heretofore lived upon terms of peace and harmony. This glorious Nation of ours was founded upon the principle that all men are created free and equal. For almost a century and a half America has been the refuge for the enslaved and oppressed of every race and clime who were seeking here the freedom which was denied them at home.

"Among these America has welcomed to its shores with open arms the sturdy emigrant from the German Empire and clothed him with all the authority of a free citizen in a free country.

"It is hard for us to believe that our friends and neighbors of German birth, after enjoying the precious liberty granted to them under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, will ever prove disloyal to the glorious freedom vouchsafed to them by this Government.

WOULD BE TRAITORS.

"On the other hand, they must know that we would be worse than traitors at this critical time if we failed to 'zealously defend and support the interests' of this Nation, for whose liberty our forefathers gladly gave the last full measure of their fervent devotion.

"We are indeed facing a grave crisis. National patience has ceased to be a virtue. A foreign foe has repeatedly violated the neutrality which we have sought to maintain, and the time for action has arrived. This is a time that calls for loyal cooperation on the part of men and women of all parties, creeds, and opinions. Right or wrong, our country calls us. Flag of our country, we salute thee! To-day we meet as Americans to renew our allegiance to our country and our President, and in the words of Thomas Jefferson, 'to mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'"

Irvin B. Warner spoke as follows:

"This is no celebration. We are not rejoicing, but are sad and serious in the face of the impending crisis which is being forced upon us. We have met to renew our allegiance to those principles upon which all just governments are founded. We have met to review again our national ideals and purposes and to highly resolve to aid our country in its realization of those ideals and purposes to humanity.

NATIONAL LIFE IN DANGER.

"The great crisis which we all hoped might be avoided appears to be upon us. Our national honor, and with it our national life, is in danger. We have no choice left; we are forced to defend ourselves against the old despotism and oppression of Europe, and by so doing defend again those principles of human freedom of which our own Stars and Stripes are an emblem.

"We are happy to know that flag has never been used as a symbol of conquest and oppression. Let us here return thanks to Heaven that it never has and never will wave over a conquered people. Every page of our American history reflects this great truth and principle.

"It is well for us to remember at a time like this that we are all descended from that vast throng which came to America during the past two centuries seeking the liberties and opportunities of a new world. Here, on a wild and ragged continent, they and theirs builded a new nation—a nation conceived in liberty and justice to all men; a nation dedicated to human freedom and equality; a nation founded upon the principle that all men are created free and equal, endowed divinely with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness; a nation instituted from the principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"Our people have come from every part of the globe, from every form and condition of humanity, from every type of human government on earth. They have come for a common purpose—human liberty and human justice.

"There is no other tie to unite these different people that have come here. They have placed their hope and trust and confidence in the Nation they have created. All now turn to her for protection and guidance. Less than a century ago President Monroe gave utterance to that memorable principle which declared that while we as a nation were determined not to meddle with the affairs of the Old World, we were equally determined that they should not meddle with ours.

CITIZENS OF WORLD NOW.

"The history of the past two and a half years has altered that doctrine. We are no longer citizens of the Western Hemisphere only; we are citizens of the world, and as such this Nation can not remain true to her principles without taking her place among all the nations of the earth and there defending and protecting, in peace and in war, those principles we all know so well. These principles have been well stated by our great President in his inaugural. They involve equality, justice, and liberty in the whole family of nations.

"We have met here to-day to renew our allegiance to the Nation born under the conditions I have briefly pointed out. We have met to gain a clearer vision of our duty; to dedicate again our lives and our fortunes to the service of our country, whether in peace or war."

The Rev. Bertram A. Warren, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, made his talk very short. He stopped his address to the crowd to offer the remark that he wished "some one would kill that fellow on the motorcycle." The motorist was at the corner of Second and Court. Standing there with his machine he appeared to be running opposition to the patriotic demonstration. Before murder could be committed, however, he moved on.

If the Rev. Warren is typical of clergymen, they are certainly not "peace-at-any-pricers." The minister was very vigorous in presenting his well-chosen remarks regarding the present crisis, and unquestionably proved his patriotism and Americanism. He said that at the morning service of his church he had been presented with a United States flag by American citizens of British birth, something that had given him much pleasure.

SHOWS UNANIMITY OF UNITED STATES.

The Episcopal rector made it clear that if it were a demonstration against Germany or any other nation he would not be there. He declared the occasion was significant in that it was not evincing hostility toward Germany, but rather the unanimity of America. "The parade of arms fills history, but the really momentous occasion is not spectacular," he stated. "It is not Yorktown, but Lexington and Concord; not Waterloo, but the French Revolution," he added, "that are really the points of importance to liberty and democracy." In closing he said:

"To-day our demonstration is not significant as a military pageant, but as part of a Nation-wide declaration of the unity of spirit in the United States. Such a united front is the strongest arm America has against any foreign aggression or insult."

J. W. Brewer's talk, in part, follows:

"For years these United States have existed as the freest country on the globe. In order to enjoy that freedom men and women from every clime have come to us and are to-day American citizens. It is like to a great funnel hanging suspended over this land and into which are poured the people of every nation, and as they drop out below they scatter over our country and are to-day those who are supporting our great Government.

"A crisis is imminent, and these same people are arising in defense of our flag.

SACRIFICE MUST BE MADE.

"Some one must make a sacrifice. These sacrifices must come from every State, every county, and every district. Often have we seen portrayed in pictures the mother of England, France, or Germany, with a little babe in her arms and anguish in her heart, kissing the husband and father good-bye and telling him to go forth and protect his country, or the gray-haired mother, with trembling hands, putting the musket on the shoulder on her boy and telling him to protect that flag so dear to the hearts of all.

"Across the street stands a company of 85 of your husbands and your sons, who have signified their willingness to answer the country's call in case of necessity. Mothers and wives, what will you do when that call comes and your loved ones are ready to answer the call. Will you do as the foreign sisters have done, make the sacrifice and bid them Godspeed? While there must be a sacrifice on the part of those who answer their country's call, there is a like sacrifice of those who stay at home. When temptation comes to keep your boy at home cast your eyes upward to that banner floating in the breeze and then do your duty."

District Attorney Galloway was the last speaker and he sounded a real war note. The crowd had commenced to disperse. Many were literally fagged out as the result of marching and standing so long, but the minute Mr. Galloway began speaking those who were leaving or had been thinking about leaving changed their minds. The district attorney held the audience breathless by a magnificent, though short, oration and a masterful delivery. He said, in part:

"A republican form of government is founded upon the consent of the governed and necessarily goes into war slowly. If we had rushed into war on the invasion of Belgium, perhaps most of our citizens would have thought the Government was acting hastily. If we had listened to the cry of the 'war party' and declared war upon the sinking of the *Lusitania*, we might still have had some feeling of uncertainty and doubt. It has taken many months for the American people to come to the present conclusion. But months of constant infringement of our rights have convinced 100 per cent of the true and patriotic Americans that American rights must be upheld even to the extent of entering war.

A SQUARE-DEALING NATION.

"The United States, in the words of a distinguished ex-President, has always been a 'square-dealing' Nation. A true American citizen never questions the rights of his neighbor in relation to religious creed, political party, or private business. The American Government has never interfered with the affairs of other nations so long as American rights were not transgressed. For more than a century the United States, the first really honest nation in the history of the world, has followed the doctrine of fair dealing. At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War we were left in possession of the Philippine Islands; we had conquered them. By all the former rules of international relations they were ours. We had more right to them than Germany ever had to Alsace-Lorraine or Schleswig-Holstein; more right to them than England or France to any of her colonies, but when the accounts were settled this fair-dealing Nation voluntarily paid $20,000,000 for the Philippines. In 1885 we voluntarily returned to China over half of an indemnity that had been paid on account of the padded claims of American citizens. No court of claims had jurisdiction to enforce this returned payment, but this honest Nation thought it was the right thing to do and acted accordingly. We bought Alaska 50 years ago day before yesterday. We bought the Louisiana territory. This domain voluntarily became a part of the United States. Texas, as an independent nation, joined our Government. Hawaii came to us of her own free will. The United States has never indulged in transgression. The American flag has never waved in triumphant scorn over a conquered people, a people who did not love this emblem.

"It seems like a strange reward that the Nation that has so religiously rewarded the rights of others should to-day have her own rights so ruthlessly opposed.

FIGHTING FOR PRINCIPLE.

"As long as the European conflict is between those nations it matters not to us which country is victorious. We are fighting for a principle, and God only knows what they are fighting for. Germany might be the victor; the allies might win—that matters not, but the ultimates victor in that conflict will be free institutions and republican forms of government. Kings and princes to the garbage can—let the people rule!

"The American people are the most patriotic people in the world, because their patriotism is a voluntary fidelity, founded on logic and understanding; not a patriotism or prejudice or compulsion. The person who can not be a loyal citizen of the United States can be loyal to no government on earth.

"The impression may prevail in Europe that the American people are a great disorganized mob. I fear that Germany may have been misled by the idea that the Germans in America—that was a slip of the tongue—there are no Germans in America. A German statesman is credited with having said on the floor of the Reichstag a few days ago: 'If Germany and the United States go to war the German-Americans will revolt!'

"NO GERMAN-AMERICANS.

"A state of war exists between the two countries. Only a miracle can avert actual war. But if anything short of a miracle could maintain peace it would be to reply with one great, national voice to 'der Fatherland: There are no German-Americans in the Motherland!'"

The services of the local band and the Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co. band of Portland were donated yesterday. The music of both organizations was much enjoyed and appreciated.

The splendid display of flags throughout the city did not a little to make yesterday's demonstration the success it was. The flags were not only upon buildings. Everybody wore or carried one, and the automobiles were decorated with the national colors. Even the local switch engine was dressed in red, white, and blue bunting with an American eagle on the front of the locomotive.

Mayor Anderson, in his recent proclamation, urged that all flags be left up until "blessed peace once more reigns over the land of the Stars and Stripes." To the mayor, who originated it, is due much of the credit for yesterday's successful event.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MAYS,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, under general leave I insert in the RECORD the resolutions passed at a patriotic meeting held in the assembly hall at Salt Lake City, Utah, on April 10, by Americans of Scandinavian birth and extraction of the State of Utah on the general subject of our conflict with Germany in support of American rights.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Minutes of a patriotic meeting held in the assembly hall, Salt Lake City, April 10, 1917, by Americans of Scandinavian birth and extraction of the State of Utah. About 1,000 persons were present:

"The Star-Spangled Banner," by the Union Band.

The chairman of the evening, Hon. F. S. Fernstrom, was introduced by Mr. John Halversen.

Invocation by Hon. Adam L. Petersen.

Introductory remarks by the chairman.

Song, "The Flag Without a Stain," by Miss Stella Lund.

Speech by Col. H. M. H. Lund, of the governor's staff.

Song by the Swedish Male Chorus, "Svea."

Speech by Judge C. M. Nielsen.

Song, "Don't Bite the Hand that's Feeding You," by Miss Stella Lund.

Speech by Hon. C. A. Carlquist.

Song, "The Soldier Boy," by Mr. Rieder Warring.

Introductory remarks and presentation of resolutions by Hon. I. C. Thoresen, United States Surveyor General. The declarations and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Song by the Norwegian Male Chorus, "Norge."

The speech by Gov. Simon Bamberger was not delivered, as press of official business prevented the governor from being present.

Timely and patriotic remarks by President Anthon H. Lund of the Mormon Church.

"America" by the band, male choruses, and the audience.

Benediction by Hon. Andrew Jensen.

Declarations.

Expressive of our sentiments and in harmony with the traditions and history of our race, we, as loyal Americans of Scandinavian birth or extraction, residents of the State of Utah, convened in mass meeting at the Assembly Hall, in the city of Salt Lake, this 10th day of April, A. D. 1917, declare our firm loyalty and undivided allegiance to our adopted country, the United States of America; its flag, the Stars and and Stripes; and to the President and Congress of these United States.

We love, revere, and appreciate the basic principles and guaranties of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness accorded us by the Constitution, and reaffirm our belief in the divine doctrines of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created free and equal, and that the just powers of governments must be derived from the consent of the governed.

We indorse and approve the patriotic, humane, and Christian declarations of President Wilson in his message to Congress April 2, 1917, and the resolution adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives confirming said message and declaring that "a state of war exists," which has been forced upon us by the Imperial German Government by and through its numerous overt acts against the lives and property of American citizens, in plain violation of international law and against the protests, peace, and dignity of the United States.

We have no enmity toward the German people, but deplore and condemn the inhuman and tyrannical conduct of the Imperial militaristic German Government. We earnestly hope and pray that by the successful termination of this war it will be completely abolished and popular government inaugurated throughout the civilized world.

Therefore in this crisis of our country we hereby solemnly adopt the following:

Resolutions.

Resolved, That we citizens of Utah of Scandinavian origin, hereby solemnly pledge our loyal support to the President of the United States and to the governor of the State of Utah in obedience to any and every demand and requirement made of us for prosecuting this war, enforcing and defending the rights of our fellow citizens at home and abroad, and for maintaining the honor and integrity of our glorious Nation against any and all its enemies;

Resolved, That we aid and encourage the enlistment of all able-bodied men required for the Army and Navy, especially in the militia of the State of Utah, and the naturalization of all alien Scandinavians within our borders;

Resolved, That we increase our racial habits of industry, frugality, and economy, and produce and conserve every resource and product within our control, holding the same subject to the orders of the President and the governor for use in the prosecution of this war to a successful end;

Resolved further, That copies of these declarations and resolutions be presented to the President of the United States, the governor of the State of Utah, and our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

Liberty, Equality, and Humanity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. SNOOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Speaker, in his essay on Emerson Maeterlinck says:

It is at first necessary to make the organ of vision similar to the object which it is to contemplate. Never would the eye perceive the sun had it not first taken the form of the sun; in the same way, never would the soul have seen beauty if at first it had not become beautiful itself, and every man should begin by making himself beautiful and divine, so as to obtain the view of beauty and divinity.

As every man who wishes to see beauty must first make himself beautiful, so the man seeking justification for the adoption of this resolution must, first of all, be an American.

He must understand that our Government was founded and is maintained to perpetuate the principles of liberty, equality, and humanity.

He must know that this is our ideal. He must stop to think what a surrender of these principles, a lowering of this ideal, would mean to those who are to follow.

He must fully realize that this is not a personal question; that it is not to be settled by our personal like or dislike of any of the nations engaged in the war.

He must put himself in an attitude to see the matter stripped of every prejudice, and with an eye seeking only that end which will redown to the benefit of our country and the preservation of the principles on which it is founded.

He must keep in mind that there can be no such thing as a divided allegiance, and that the people of the country with which we are about to declare war are not to blame for the situation, but that the fault lies with a system of government in which these people have little or no voice.

He must remember that the right to enjoy liberty and freedom is involved, and that to the true American this is the dearest and most sacred right of all.

The man who approaches the vote on this resolution in this attitude and with all these things in his mind, will understand the spirit of the quotation I have made from Maeterlinck; that is to say, he will have his eye and soul so full of the beauty of his country and so inspired by her lofty ideals as to clearly see the course to which duty leads.

In considering this resolution we must not forget that there is a principle involved, and that the principled involved touches the right of our citizens to freedom, which is the corner stone of the foundation of our Government.

In this country liberty is universal; it is such a common thing that we are accustomed to look at it from a personal rather than a national standpoint. On this account in very many cases it seems that our own personal rights must be interfered with before we are ready to resent the wrong.

We are now face to face with the fact, which can not be denied, that every encroachment on the right of our citizens to enjoy liberty is a menace to each one of us.

Wherever this right is denied it must be defended and upheld by the common effort of all.

The acts against our Government and people which led the President to address the Congress, and which are the cause of proposing this resolution, have all been recited in the newspapers and given in detail in the speeches made during the course of this debate.

They are known of all men, so I will not undertake to recite them again.

It is claimed by some who oppose the resolution that such acts do not justify the course which will result in its adoption.

In defense of their position they say that Mexico has done us still greater wrongs, that its conduct has been a still greater infringement of our rights, and that we have not seen fit to declare war against that Government.

In my judgment such argument is hardly worthy of a reply. It is a matter of common knowledge that most of the wrongs committed in Mexico were inflicted by irresponsible bandits; that the country has been divided by a bloody revolution.

That her people have not been able to sustain a stable government, and that for these reasons the responsibility is not similar to that involved in the present crisis where the acts complained of are the deliberate acts of a responsible Government and are brought about over our protest and in defiance of our petitions and warning.

Other members seek to justify their opposition on account of the conduct of other belligerents. I do not have time to discuss this question fully. Suffice to say that it has been pointed out several times by persons taking part in this debate that under the terms of The Hague convention, which were agreed to by all the great nations engaged in this war, that in laying mines in the North Sea the nations were clearly within their rights.

But, after all, as it has been so many times said, it is not the loss of property but the loss of the lives of our citizens that impels us to engage in the war.

I repeat it is the loss of hundreds of human lives caused by orders issued in violation of international law, in disregard of the lives of our people, and with no regard for the plainest principles of justice and mercy.

There has also been much talk by some who were opposed to the resolution, as an excuse for refusing to support it, that it is proposed by the President of the United States, and they say they refuse to act as a rubber stamp.

In our Government there must be a President and there must be a Congress; each have their duties.

In times like these through which we are passing it is the duty of the President to use every resource at his command to secure information concerning the affairs of the Government, to consider such information, and to communicate his thoughts and conclusions to Congress.

By reason of his position he is enabled to learn facts that none of us can ascertain. At this time he has become so thoroughly conversant with the situation as to make his thoughts and advice of the highest value to those who are willing to listen.

If under those circumstances men, using their own judgment, impressed by his means of knowledge and the force and logic of his statement, are lead to agree with him, can it be well said that they are foregoing their own notions to follow his will?

The President has told us, and we know for ourselves, how he has used every resource at his command to avoid war.

Therefore one of the most forceful reasons for supporting this resolution is that the President, after a careful study of all the facts, advises and urges such action.

Neither do I believe that there is any force to the argument which some try to draw from the President's message that he seeks by war to arbitrarily force our form of government on the nations of Europe.

In giving the reason for his action he clearly says that we are not seeking war, but that we have been forced into the

struggle to maintain our rights and protect the lives of our citizens.

To my mind he does not speak with the spirit of intolerance, but rather expresses the hope that, animated, as we are, with no desire for conquest, we may so conduct ourselves and play our part that the people of the whole world will be impressed with the spirit that animates us and lead of their own volition to adopt and put in force our ideal of Government, and that thereby liberty may become the ruling force in national life.

I must confess that the argument of the opposition that appeals most to me is the one voiced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] and by others during the discussion; that is, that the adoption of the resolution means war, with all its attendant sacrifices and horrors, its destruction of property and loss of life, and its sightless and crippled victims.

I abhor war; it has been ever my hope that it might be possible to spare our people from further war; but hate and oppose war as we may, and dream of the day when, under the rule of the brotherhood of man, countries will lay aside the rule of selfishness, and nation will respect the right of nation, even a slight study of the present situation draws us to the conclusion that the hoped-for day is not at hand.

As yet it seems that nations have no other way of securing and maintaining their rights except by force.

Even the men of the party in Europe, for which the gentleman from New York speaks, seem to recognize this fact in the present crisis and find themselves taking part on that side of the struggle where they believe lies the right.

On this subject I quote parts of an editorial from a paper published in my own county which gives a clear notion of the situation in which we find ourselves:

With our many centuries of social striving toward better and more ideal conditions of things, it seems upon sober second thought, rather discouraging and disheartening, from the broader point of view, to realize it is necessary to pick out the flower of the young manhood and send them forth with gun and cannon to defend the Nation and its freedom.

It seems too bad, in this day and age, that such things are necessary, but circumstances all seem to point to the fact that they are. You can not depend on a universal brotherhood when there is no universal brotherhood to depend on. The only thing left is to forbear until forbearance ceases to be a virtue, then strike with sufficient force to accomplish something.

Some of the best reforms on earth have been brought about by force. Let us hope if force must be resorted to in this case something worth while will come of it.

We must approach this vote remembering that in the most trying hours of our national existence force has been the only arm on which justice could rely.

That Europe and the world was saved to Christianity by the sword; that the Magna Charta was forced from an unwilling king, and that our Nation was founded on the sacrifice of our people and preserved by the blood of heroes who did not hesitate to make war.

The principles for which they struggled are again at stake.

Shall we falter and refuse to use force because our course entails sacrifice and suffering, or shall we make use of the only means left us to protect our lives, maintain our honor, and preserve our liberties?

Let us move forward, confident in our duty and remembering the words of America's greatest philosopher—

For what avail
The plow or sail,
Or land, or life,
If freedom fail?

Missouri, the "Show You" State.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, every person in Missouri and, for that matter, all over the United States, is familiar with the "I'm from Missouri" phrase, but few know its derivation. In the early seventies there lived in one of those wild Nevada mining towns an individual of such rare fighting ability that the whole country knew of his prowess and respected it. He was king of the community and his was a reign of terror. Quick on the trigger, he had a row of notches on his gun handle, but his specialty was at a rough and tumble. He was a native of Arkansas and was proud of the fact. He boasted of the superiority of his native State. So, as the name pleased him, he was called "Arkansaw." He was built like a puma and his punch was like the kick of a mule. "Arkansaw" enjoyed the rôle of champion and handed out his wares in large and severe doses; in fact, there were few men in the vicinity who had not been licked by the bully. And once was generally enough for a man. After that he spoke in a meek and subdued tone of voice in the Arkansas man's presence.

One day there came into the saloon a stranger. A lanky, solemn-faced boy he was, in patched and faded blue overalls, and a great floppy, brimmed hat. He was a prospector from the hills and not a particularly successful one—from his looks. "Arkansaw" caught sight of the youth, who leaned against a post so mournfully watching the roulette and saw a prospect. He swaggered over to the stranger and tapped him on the shoulder.

"You, kid," said he, "you want to be mighty blamed careful how you're actin' around here. I'm from Arkansaw, I am."

The young fellow cast a lazy, expressionless glance at the half-drunk man and turned his attention again to the wheel. The miners moved up to see "Arkansaw's" latest victim.

"Say, you!" roared the man; "I say I'm from Arkansaw!"

"Yes," drawled the stranger, "I heard you the first time."

"Arkansaw" went into a rage.

"Ya don't know me, huh? Well, I eat 'em like you every morning before breakfast. I'm an old she wolf from Arkansaw, I am, and the best two-handed man in the country."

The youth jerked off his coat and threw his old hat on the floor.

"Well, by gosh!" he said, "I'm from Missouri; you got to show me or I'll show you!"

"Arkansaw" handed his gun to a bystander and rushed. He was met with a smash on the jaw that stunned him. Then the lanky stranger proceeded to give the bad man a sound thrashing. When the combat ended the youth was a hero. The miners carried him in triumph through the town. Thereafter if a person made a statement of doubtful veracity some one was apt to assert that he was from Missouri and had to be shown.

The story may be fictitious, but it is true in spirit. Missouri has been the "show you" State since her birth, a hundred years past. Independence characterized her first official act. Refused admission to the Union, she became a State with duly selected government officials a year before a new star was added to the Nation's flag.

Politically Missouri has been the "show you" State, with a galaxy of statesmen unsurpassed by any Commonwealth. Her sons are legion, led by such captains as Thomas Hart Benton, Edward Bates, Frank P. Blair, jr., Richard P. Bland, Lewis F. Linn, Carl Schurz, and George C. Vest.

The spirit of the pioneer has given to the "show you" State a rank preeminent. Virginia is "the Mother of Presidents," Kentucky "the Mother of Governors," and Missouri "the Founder of States." Under the Austins, of Potosi, Mo., Missourians fought for Texas independence and later made homes in the "Lone Star" State by the tens of thousands. Settlers of the coast from Puget Sound to San Diego Harbor, Missourians first opened the gates of the Pacific to the flow of American immigration. Under Doniphan and his "one thousand Missourians" they added the Southwest to the Nation's domain and later sent the left wing of their beloved Price's army to found Montana and Idaho. They gave Wisconsin, New Mexico, and California their first governors, Arizona her last, and Idaho and and Utah their present. Builders of the Nation and founders of States have Missourians ever been. Settlers on Missouri soil and later Missouri's Territorial governors were the two famed leaders of the greatest exploring expedition in our annals—Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The discoverer of Yellowstone Park was a native of the "show you" State—John Colter—and the father of the Santa Fe Trade and Trail another—William Becknell.

In war, as in peace, the "show you" State has more than played her part. In Indian warfare for decades she defended her borders without help from others. She sent her sons under Gentry to help subdue the Seminoles in Florida, under Dodge to conquer Black Hawk in Illinois and Wisconsin, and under Boone and others to struggle with the hordes of western tribes for half a century. She furnished the "Xenophan of the Mexican War" who triumphed in New Mexico, Durango, and Chihauhau in '48 and seven decades later gave a Pershing to the Nation to repeat and enlarge these exploits. Alone among States she sent 100,000 strong to wear the blue and 50,000 to don the gray.

The wonder of the "show you" State is that she could give so much and still be great. Sending her sons and daughters to found States or still strife, Missouri retained on her fertile soil the seed of greater harvests. For literature the world's

greatest humorist was sprung from her, and as companions to Mark Twain she bore a Eugene Field and a Winston Churchill. For art a Bingham was produced. For journalism she adopted or reared a Nelson, Knapp, Pulitzer, King, and Williams. For science she gave to the world the astronomer, See, and the civil engineer, Eads.

A people wonderful in deeds are the citizens of the "show you" State. Native born, nine out of ten, they are true types of the real American when given a chance. That chance was the natural resources of Missouri, covering 69,000 square miles of fertile soil. Ranking seventh in population in 1910, the "show you" State had three and one-half million persons to till her soil, gather her berry, apple, and melon crops unsurpassed; mine her coal, lead, zinc, iron, nickel, cobalt, barytes, and stone; cut her millions of feet of hard and soft timber; make her factories productive; trap her game; and enjoy her mild climate and Ozark scenery. Cities she has of wealth and size; one, St. Louis, the fourth in the Nation; another, Kansas City, the second railroad center and live-stock market in the world; financial centers, both, each with a United States reserve bank, the only instance in the Nation of two such institutions in one State, and the former with a United States farm-loan bank. Still not an urban Commonwealth is the "show you" State, for only 38 per cent of her population live in towns of 5,000 and over; a land of homes, churches, and schools; of native American blessed in fertile acres and running waters; of mountains, woodlands, prairie, and bottoms; of cities and country—such is the "show you" State, "Imperial Missouri," whose official motto, true in precept and practice, has been and is "Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law."

The President's Appeal to Every Man, Woman, and Child.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and for the reasons stated in making the request therefor, I include the address of the President of the United States to the people of the country as it appeared in the Washington Post of to-day.

The address is as follows:

PRESIDENT APPEALS TO EVERY AMERICAN MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD TO "SPEAK, ACT, AND SERVE TOGETHER" TO MEET "NATION'S SUPREME TEST"—IN AN ADDRESS TO THE COUNTRY PRESIDENT WILSON TELLS HOW FARMERS, MANUFACTURERS, MIDDLEMEN, CONSUMERS, CLERGYMEN, RAILWAY MEN, MINERS, MERCHANTS, SHIPBUILDERS, AND HOUSEWIVES MAY HELP TO WIN THE WAR.

President Wilson last night issued the following address to the American people:

"My fellow countrymen, the entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action, which call for immediate consideration and settlement, that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of honest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

"We are rapidly putting our Navy upon an effective war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for.

ARE FIGHTING FOR MANKIND.

"We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage, and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice, it involves.

"These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

"We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

HUNDREDS OF SHIPS NEEDED.

"We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are cooperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but can not now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

URGES INCREASED EFFICIENCY.

"It is evident to every thinking man that our industries on the farm, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever, and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battle field or in the trenches.

"The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, service army, a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the Nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere.

"Thousands, nay hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much a part of the great patriotic forces of the Nation as the men under fire.

ADDRESSES WORD TO FARMERS.

"I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own Nation and of the nations with which we are cooperating is an abundance of supplies. A food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative.

"Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency, but for some time after peace shall have come, both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

"Upon the farmers of the country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the Nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual cooperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short.

"It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done, and done immediately, to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

APPEALS TO THE SOUTH.

"I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the Nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

GOVERNMENT TO AID FARMERS.

"The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it, and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the Nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it!

"This, let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you.

WARNING TO THE MIDDLEMAN.

"This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

"To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the Nation's life, and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, 'Small profits and quick service,' and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom.

"The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great service army.

EVERY GARDEN A HELP.

"The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the Nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

"Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the Nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty and as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

SUPREME TEST HAS COME.

"In the hope that this statement of the needs of the Nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes, and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal.

"I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

"The supreme test of the Nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

"WOODROW WILSON."

Freedom of the Seas.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution of the Lincoln Republican Club, of the city of Yonkers, N. Y., in loyal support of the President.

The resolution is as follows:

YONKERS, N. Y., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

Whereas, by the infringement of the rights of American citizens, by the denial of the freedom of the seas to the American merchant marine, and by the illegal destruction of American lives and property, a state of war, which was not of our seeking, has been forced upon us by a foreign power: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Lincoln Republican Club, of the city of Yonkers, N. Y., in regular meeting assembled, do hereby affirm our loyalty to our beloved country and solemnly pledge to the President of the United States and the National Government our hearty and unfaltering support in the maintenance of our national honor, in the safeguarding of our rights and liberties as a free people, and in the protection of American lives and institutions against the aggression of an alien foe.

True to the memory of our fathers, who established and, at a later date, preserved this Union, we will uphold the heritage they have handed down to us, and, conscious of our long forbearance, which has been willfully misinterpreted, but with the courage born of the knowledge of the unassailable justice of our cause, we will preserve unsullied the honor of our country and our flag.

Very sincerely, yours,

The LINCOLN REPUBLICAN CLUB,
Per WM. J. MOSHER, *Secretary.*

Food Production.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the question of food products by printing therein a report made by the University of Illinois, and also upon the same subject an advertisement calling for farm hands in western Canada.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the Daily News, Apr. 12, 1917.]

FARM HANDS WANTED—WESTERN CANADA FARMERS REQUIRE 50,000 AMERICAN FARM LABORERS AT ONCE.

Urgent demand sent out for farm help by the Government of Canada. Good wages. Steady employment. Low railway fares. Pleasant surroundings. Comfortable homes. No compulsory military service. A splendid opportunity for the young man to investigate western Canada's agricultural offerings and to do so at no expense. Only those accustomed to farming need apply.

The demand for farm labor in Canada is so great that as an inducement to secure at once the necessary help required Canada will give 160 acres of land free as a homestead and allow the farm laborer who files on land to apply the time he is working for other farmers as residence duties the same as if he had lived on the land he had applied for. This offer made only to men working on Canadian farms during 1917, thus making it possible to reduce the necessity of actual residence to two years instead of three years, as under usual conditions. This appeal for farm help is in no way connected with enlistment for military service, but solely to secure farm laborers to increase agricultural output. A wonderful opportunity to earn good wages while securing a farm. Canadian Government will pay all fare over 1 cent per mile from St. Paul and Duluth to Canadian destination. For particulars as to railway rates and districts where labor is required or other information regarding western Canada, apply to ———, authorized Canadian Government agent.

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MOBILIZATION FOR FOOD PRODUCTION—A PLAN FOR CIVIL-MILITARY SERVICE TO INSURE AN ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLY FOR THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE—PROPOSED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS—PREPARED BY THE FACULTY OF THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS.

This plan is based upon the following facts:

1. The present production of food in the United States is not increasing in proportion to the increase in population.

2. In going to war the production of food is our strongest asset, particularly in view of the reduced food production in Canada and in western Europe.

3. The experience of all time indicates that every nation in going to war puts men into active military service without regard to the disturbance of basic industrial conditions, even the production of the food of the people.

4. Indiscriminate enlistment from the farms with no plan for labor replacement is certain to reduce food production below the level of positive need, for we already have two lean years behind us, and under present conditions of a hungry world continued shortage may mean disaster.

5. If an adequate food supply is to be assured, *the military plan must include an enlistment for food production as definite as for service at the front.* From the first the Department of War should as rigorously protect the food production as it does any other means of national defense.

6. Anything like limiting the food of the people is wholly unnecessary if reasonable attention be given to the business of production. America has land enough, if it is properly handled, to feed both herself and western Europe; besides, more men would be required to enforce a police restriction of food than would be required to turn a scarcity into an abundance.

7. For years labor has been deserting the land and building up conditions of employment that the farmer can not meet, for it is impossible to conduct a farm upon the eight-hour plan and according to union rules. The typical family of five can not work to the best advantage the typical farm of 120 to 240 acres, and the farmer has reached the limit in the use of machinery and in the employment of his children to replace the hired help that has gone to the city. Any plan to be safe, therefore, must not only make good the enlistment from the country, but must actually add to the present labor supply of the farmer.

DETAIL PROCEDURE.

I. REGISTRATION.

Register every farm operator, whether owner, tenant, or manager, together with the number of acres of tillable land, pasture, and timber; the men he usually employs, including his sons, and the number of men he would need to employ in order to insure maximum crops.

II. ENLISTMENT.

Enlist in the civil-military service and under military pay the following classes:

1. Men above military age, especially with farm experience.

2. Men of military age and of good health but either permanently or temporarily unfit for war service at the front.

3. Boys from 15 to 18 years of age, whether from the country or from the city.

III. TRAINING-CAMP FARMS.

1. Establish at convenient points on land rented by the Government and suitable for intensive farming military camps where the enlisted men not otherwise employed (see under Employment) may be gathered and housed, such farms to be devoted to the raising of crops requiring a maximum amount of hand labor, such as vegetables, small fruits, cotton, and tobacco.

2. Erect at these centers facilities for drying and canning such food products for preservation and for transportation.

IV. EMPLOYMENT.

1. On farms: The largest asset for food production is the thousands of farms already organized under the management of experienced farmers, each with an independent business operating through established channels of trade. Here should go the maximum of the enlisted men, and the camps should be ready at all times to furnish list of available help, it being understood that men under employment by the farmer are on furlough and off Government pay, receiving from the farmer the "going wage" of the locality, dependent upon the work the man or the boy is able to do. All such enlisted men should be reported from time to time, as may be required by the military authorities.

It should be understood as a part of the plan that an enlisted man having taken service with a farmer and becoming dissatisfied may return to the camp and the lower wage, or if he is unable to give satisfaction he may be discharged, in which case he must return at once to camp.

2. Enlisted men not employed on private farms should be at the camp farms under military discipline, but under agricultural leadership; such men to devote their first attention to the production of food under the direction of an agricultural leader, chosen in each case for his ability in the particular kind of farming followed at this special camp.

The plan of farming should be such as to afford time for regular military drill for those of military age and below, not only for the welfare of the camp but in order to afford preparation for such as are going to the front as soon as their age limitations or physical disabilities are removed. In general, men of military age and above without farm experience should be quartered in regions engaged in intensive farming where oversight is possible.

As the camp is depleted by members entering the active military service its numbers should be systematically replenished by new enlistments.

Registration or enlistment for civil-military service should be considered as truly patriotic as any service, and such enlistment should be made attractive through formal recognition, as by uniforms, by use of special organizations, ranks, and degrees of efficiency, even promotion and commissions. Especially is this true for the younger men and boys.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT F. FISHER,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted at a patriotic mass meeting in the city of Memphis, Tenn., presided over by Hon. T. C. Ashcroft, mayor.

The resolutions are as follows:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 15, 1917.*

Hon. HUBERT F. FISHER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas, in the wisdom of Providence and under the guidance of the President and the Congress of the United States expressing the will of the people, this Nation has entered into a mighty world war; and

Whereas this is a moment for the solemn consecration of every man, woman, and child in the Nation to the cause of liberty and humanity; and

Whereas every physical, mental, and natural resource of the Nation and the people thereof should, in order to assure victory and peace, be placed at the disposition and disposal of the constituted authorities of the Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the people of Memphis in mass meeting assembled, do hereby pledge to the President and to the Congress of these United States our supreme loyalty and consecration to the national cause; and be it further

Resolved, That we do urge upon the Congress of these United States the necessity of upholding the hands of the President by immediate adoption of a system of selective universal military service that will call to the colors all classes and conditions of men, conserving their efforts along the lines to which they are best suited; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be wired to the President, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR, Senator, and to the Hon. HUBERT F. FISHER, Member of Congress, it being our united wish that the chairman of this mass meeting, Hon. T. C. Ashcroft, mayor of Memphis, express through this medium our pledge of loyalty and undying patriotism.

Respectfully transmitted,

T. C. ASHCROFT, *Mayor.*
EDWARD MCCORMACK, *Secretary.*

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD VOIGT,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. VOIGT. Mr. Speaker, from the hundreds of communications received by me bearing on the question of whether war shall be declared against Germany it is apparent that the people whom I have the honor to represent in this House are almost a unit in being opposed to such a step. I have heard in one way or another from about 8,000 voters in my district. They all protest against the proposed step, with the exception of a small number, not exceeding 20. Even if I were not in accord with the sentiments of my constituents, in a matter such as this, which so vitally affects their lives and their fortunes, I should, as their Representative, defer to their practically unanimous judgment.

I have given the subject most earnest and conscientious consideration. I should be glad to shift the responsibility of the decision, if such a step were possible. It is a question which each Member of the House must decide for himself, guided by his conscience and his responsibility to his God.

It is my judgment that both of the belligerent factions in the European war have violated our rights as their necessities to them seemed to demand. Great Britain has strewn a large portion of the ocean with mines, against the rules of international law. She has declared a blockade of belligerent and neutral countries which our State Department has declared to be illegal and indefensible, and she has modified arbitrarily the contraband list until no article of peaceful commerce remains as noncontraband. Germany has illegally operated her submarines, has sunk American ships and destroyed American lives ruthlessly and without warning.

Although at the beginning of the war our country proclaimed its neutrality, we have not, in fact been neutral. We have submitted to every violation of our rights by Great Britain. It is true that we have protested, but we have done nothing to back up our protest. We have refused to submit to violation of our rights on the part of Germany, with the result that American property and American lives have been lost. If we had attempted to go through the British mine fields with our neutral commerce to reach ports of Europe which were neutral as to us, there would have been the same resistance on the part of Great Britain which we have encountered on the part of Germany, and the same consequent loss of life and property.

Great Britain by her illegal methods has endeavored to starve Germany, and Germany by way of retaliation has conducted her submarine warfare in order to starve out Great Britain. Both of them are violating our rights and disregarding international law. If we have cause for war against one, we have it against the other.

I believe it to be the course of wisdom to stand aside and let Europe fight out its own battles. Our entry into this horrible conflagration is against our traditions, it is against the advice of the Father of our Country, which has served us well since the establishment of the Republic, and it casts to the winds the Monroe doctrine.

By the passage of this resolution we entangle ourselves in the bloody intrigues of Europe, we become the backers and bankers of countries on the verge of financial exhaustion, our young manhood will die in the trenches of Europe—and all for the purpose of settling a quarrel in the making of which we were not consulted. My soul rebels at the thought.

It is certain that the resolution before the House will pass by an overwhelming vote. My vote can not change the result, but I can not find it in my conscience to vote with the majority, and shall be compelled to vote no.

If war shall be declared, my opposition to the step will cease, and I shall be in honor and duty bound to support the Government in all steps which to my mind shall bring victory to American arms and an early peace.

I make a part of my remarks a few of the many messages and communications received from my district:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

By referendum vote taken the last two days of the qualified electors of the city of Sheboygan on the question "Shall our country enter into the European war?" 4,082 voted no and 17 voted yes. Certified to as correct.

FREDERICK VOLLRATH,
A. O. BASSUENER,
ADAM TRESTER,
Canvassers.

—

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

Since sending the last telegram the referendum vote taken by the qualified electors of Sheboygan County, outside the city of Sheboygan, 2,051 voted against our country entering into the European war. No votes were cast in favor of war. Certified to as correct by the canvassers.

OTTO A. BASSUENER.
F. VOLLRATH.
ADAM TRESTER.

—

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

Ninety per cent of the people of Washington County are with you in your stand against war. We wish you Godspeed.

JOS. F. HUBER,
Republican County Chairman.

—

BEAVER DAM, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

Am sending by mail petition against war, 302 signatures.

F. J. MIRLACH, *Mayor.*

—

CLYMAN, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

St. John's congregation stands without a dissenting vote for peace and against war.

F. X. SCHNEIDER, *Pastor.*

—

CEDAR GROVE, WIS., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, earnestly beg that you use all available effort in keeping our country out of war, a struggle that will mean butchery of the flower of our youth, the wrecking of thousands of homes, the orphanage of thousands of children.

JOHN VAN DE WALL
(And 48 others).

WAUPUN, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD VOIGT.
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned residents of Waupun, Wis., and vicinity, respectfully notify you that we are not in favor of war.

E. C. FENELON
(And 184 others).

PORT WASHINGTON, WIS., *March 29, 1917.*

Congressman VOIGT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Taking it for granted that you desire to know the sentiment of your constituents, allow me to state that your stand has the indorsement not only of myself, but of 95 per cent of the voters here. The sentiment here is pro-United States and believe in leaving well enough alone. I have customers from the rural districts calling almost every day and they are most pronounced in their expression against entering the great conflict.

Very truly, yours,
HENRY SCHOENSIGEL,
Editor Port Washington Pilot.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent granted to Members to extend their remarks on public resolution No. 1, I desire to say that I refrained from active participation in the discussion because I have been troubled with conflicting emotions, and, while always prepared to vote for what the President recommends, I somehow or other could not fashion my words together in the way I have desired. Too much already has been spoken. There has been a lot of windy-worded patriotism. Now is the time for real action, and I have received a suggestion from one of the most distinguished financiers of New England regarding the financing of war with Germany which I desire to call to the attention of the House at this time. This elaborate and well-thought-out program comes from Mr. James J. Phelan, a leading member of the firm of Hornblower & Weeks, of Boston, who is not only a born financier, but is one of the most patriotic Americans in my State. Mr. Phelan's suggestions, as they come to me, are as follows:

Regarding the contemplated United States Government issue of $5,000,000,000, I am of the opinion that the success of the offering would be very much more decided if the offering was made in installments; that is, if at the outset $2,000,000,000 be offered, $1,000,000,000 three months thereafter, $1,000,000,000 six months thereafter, and $1,000,000,000 nine months thereafter, the bonds to bear interest at 3½ per cent, but in the event of it being decided to pay a higher rate of interest on any installment subsequent to any bonds then outstanding of this issue that such bonds outstanding should have the right to convert to the higher rate bonds from the date of issue of such higher rate bonds.

It would seem to me that a plan of mobilization of bond distributors throughout the country should be made; that full information, officially in printed form, should be in the possession of all distributors before any offering in any part of the country should be attempted, and that the offering should be begun simultaneously throughout the whole country; that the services of all distributors should be without cost to the Government; that the bonds should be of such denomination as to permit the small investor to subscribe liberally numerically; that such part of the issue as is made for the purpose of lending to the allies should mature at the same time the obligation of the allies to the United States Government matures or shortly thereafter; that the balance of the bonds mature serially during the next 10 years and that provision be made through various forms of taxation for the meeting of such maturities. This taxation could take the form:

First, of an increase of all tariffs on such imports as might be construed as luxuries; second, increase of internal revenues on all wines, liquors, beers, tobacco, cigarettes, and other luxuries; third, a graded tax of from $10 to $25 on all pleasure automobiles in operation throughout the country; fourth, a graded stamp tax for places of amusement, such as moving-picture shows, theaters, operas, etc. In a word, seek out all luxuries for the purpose of taxation.

Then, next approach the income of the individual. On this item I would reduce the amount exempt from taxation from $4,000 to $1,500, making, however, such tax light, but a tax nevertheless, in order that all may assume a portion of the responsibility on the ground of equal opportunity with proportionate responsibility, and that this is a Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Of course, the greater burden of this tax should come where it can be most easily borne, and that on the incomes of the wealthy. This could be worked out by increasing at intervals the now existing 8 per cent excess tax—that is, the 8 per cent excess to be on all incomes from such amount to such an amount—and then increasing 1 per cent for each increase of $100,000 per annum until such time as the excess rate has been advanced to not more than 15 per cent. Corporations might be treated along similar lines, but with not so large an increase in the rate; certainly not if it is expected that they are to contribute their materials and services for practically cost; that is, it will not be fair to tax corporations, who will be called upon to furnish materials either in the raw or finished state at almost cost, an excessive tax in addition.

I have said that the bonds actually issued for our own purposes should run off serially in the next 10 years. I say this because the President has, I believe, stated that the present generation should pay the expense of the war. I think it is generally assumed that the present generation means within the next 10 to 15 years. Most of our Government bond issues have no actual maturity, but are redeemable after a certain date, and this new feature must be made clear to the administration. I personally think that the suppression of German militarism, while essential to the present day, will mean fully as much, if not more, to posterity, and that, therefore, we would not be shifting to posterity our present responsibilities if we were to allow them to pay a part of the cost of the tremendous benefits to be derived by crushing Prussianism as we understand it to-day. Whatever we do, and how we do it in a financial way, great care must be taken that the economic condition of the country be jarred as little as possible, if at all.

As regards the amount of the total $5,000,000,000 loan that New England might absorb, say, in the course of 12 months, I would think it might be somewhere between $350,000,000 and $500,000,000. Of the initial $2,000,000,000, if the loan is brought out in installments and the first installment is for that amount, I would expect that New England would subscribe for $150,000,000 to $200,000,000.

The patriotism of the people of the country is unquestionable. The desire on the part of all to aid is equally plain. However, that the best results be obtained in a matter of this kind, mobilization of experts, that an organization of greatest efficiency can be had from the very beginning of the offering, is essential. An extensive campaign of advertising should be made beyond that of the various banks and banking houses. The tremendous success of the recent British internal loan, where there were 8,000,000 subscribers, was due to the widespread advertising which had prepared the minds of the people several weeks ahead, making each individual feel that the war was his personal concern.

Mr. Speaker, may I also insert, as an extension of my remarks, the following indorsement of my position, just received from my own home town?—

SOUTH BOSTON, MASS., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. J. A. GALLIVAN.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Hersey Mutual Aid Association, held in Dahlgren Hall, April 12, 1917, your decision in the present crisis was unanimously indorsed.

HERSEY MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION,
WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, *President.*
FRANK B. RYAN, *Vice President.*
LUCIUS W. CLEAVES, *Treasurer.*
EDWARD J. BURLEY, *Financial Secretary.*
ROBERT OGDEN, *Recording Secretary.*

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. BUTLER,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include communications from and resolutions adopted by certain organizations in my district. The matter referred to is as follows:

PARKESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Parkesburg, Pa., April 7, 1917.

Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: We have the honor to advise that at the regular monthly meeting of the directors of the Parkesburg Chamber of Commerce, held April 3, 1917, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas we, as loyal citizens of the great United States of America and also of the borough of Parkesburg, county of Chester, State of Pennsylvania, realizing the gravity of the offenses committed by a foreign power upon the lives and property of our inhabitants while in the pursuit of their peaceful and legitimate rights on the high seas: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the board of directors of the Parkesburg Chamber of Commerce, in the regular monthly meeting of the said board, held the evening of the 3d of April, A. D. 1917, do hereby put ourselves on record as being heartily in sympathy with the declarations of our esteemed President, His Excellency Woodrow Wilson, as made by him before the assembled bodies of Congress on the 2d day of said month of April, and are thoroughly in accord with his ideas for the correction of said abuses as above stated; be it further

"*Resolved*, That our citizens of the said borough of Parkesburg be requested to display prominently in and above their property our beloved national emblem in token of their approval of the course pursued by our national authorities."

Signed as per orders of the board.

H. A. BEALE, Jr., *President.*
C. E. MILLER, *Secretary.*

Whereas there has been introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill providing for some form of universal training, by which there may be at all times in the United States of America in reserve and supplemental to the Regular Army a force of men prepared by training and experience to take up their duty as soldiers of this Republic for the purpose of guarding its welfare and of protecting it from invasion: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the people of the city of Coatesville, Chester County, Pa., in meeting assembled, this 9th day of April, A. D. 1917, do hereby approve the said bill and indorse unreservedly the principle of universal training so that there may be at all times in reserve a body of citizen soldiery who are prepared by experience and education to render to their country that service which their country has the right and privilege of requiring of them; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to His Excellency Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and to the Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER, Representative in Congress from this district, and that we do urge upon the said Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER that he cast his vote in Congress in favor of such bill.

A. H. SWING, *Chairman*.

—

CHESTER, PA., *March 29, 1917*.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY. The business and professional men of the city of Chester and its vicinity, assembled in meeting at the Chester Club, March 29, 1917, recognizing the gravity of the situation confronting the American people, and realizing the weighty responsibilities resting upon the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, hereby solemnly renew their oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, and pledge their cordial, united, and unqualified support to the administration and to Congress in every measure to be adopted by the executive and the legislative branches of the Government providing for the national safety and promotive of the unsullied honor of their beloved country.

It is the sense of this meeting that in view of the persistently hostile attitude of the Imperial Government of this Nation such safety can be secured and such honor maintained by force of arms alone.

Should war be declared or be recognized as already existing, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States may be assured of the loyal sympathy and support of the people of Delaware County.

GARNETT PENDLETON, *Chairman*,
CHARLES R. LONG,
Dr. W. KNOWLES EVANS,
Committee on Resolution.

—

SPRING CITY, PA.

Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

In a large and enthusiastic patriotic mass meeting the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That this large and patriotic gathering of Spring City and Royersford express to Congress our devotion to the Government of the United States and pledge to Congress our loyal and whole-hearted support in whatever may be done in the present and international crisis.

H. H. HOLLOWBUSH, *Chairman*.

Military Training at Our Schools.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting some arguments in favor of a bill I introduced to provide universal military training at our schools and colleges.

MILITARY TRAINING AT OUR SCHOOLS.

In our discussions of the various schemes for putting our country in proper condition to take and keep the place due her among the great nations of the earth, sufficient importance is not being given to the imparting of military training at all schools big enough to justify the United States in furnishing the necessary instructors.

No good reason is known for depriving any school, denominational or otherwise, of the great benefits to be derived from systematic and healthy exercises given the students by competent instructors. The fact that these exercises are useful in the training of a man for military duties in war should not act as a deterrent to any young man, whatever may be the walk in life which he expects to follow after leaving school, and it should increase his desire to be thus trained if he is a patriot and loves his country.

No oath of allegiance or of enlistment need be required of the boy while at school, nor any obligation to complete the military training which he may have begun.

Uniform clothing would greatly increase the interest taken and the benefit received, but it is not absolutely essential.

The fact that several million school boys of varying ages are annually being instructed in military training will strengthen our Government beyond calculation, even though one-half of those still at school may not have been allowed to handle a rifle.

EFFECT ON THE BOY.

Besides the great increase in physical power and health which military training while at school would and does bring to each boy fortunate enough to receive it, he also imbibes habits of cleanliness and order, and becomes more patient, persistent, and confident, altogether a much more capable man.

Team work brings out the powers of a leader among his fellows which otherwise may remain latent and undiscovered. The training advocated increases one's love of country as nothing else does except actual military service in the Army or Navy.

While receiving military training at school, the daily sight of the flag at drills and exercises and the ceaseless hearing of our country and of our duty in case of need, must inevitably tend to arouse patriotic sentiments which grow stronger still if the boy chooses to keep on following the flag. Commodore Stephen Decatur's toast, "Our country; may she always be right; but, right or wrong, our country," is more apt to receive the proper echo from one who has received military training than from one brought up in the idea that wars have ceased and that they never achieved any good.

Military training will be popular among the boys at high schools and other schools, just as it is now with the institutions so fortunate as to have it in their curricula. They will be proud of it and take to it greedily and enjoy it the more as they observe their own progress. And if, after receiving such training the boy should continue in the same path and choose the military life he will only follow where better, indeed our best men, have led and blazed the road.

PROGRESS GRADUAL.

Progress should be gradual, beginning at the very beginning, with boys too small to carry a rifle but fully capable of executing many calisthenic exercises, marches, and simple drill movements, all without arms; but in some instances using a wooden wan or light rod. Military training periods should not be too long, and fatigue the boy and cause him to lose interest and fear the work. This applies with greatest force to the beginning of such instruction.

For boys younger than 14 years of age, 15 to 20 minutes daily training in squads, the number in the squad increasing as the boys increase in knowledge, would answer every purpose. During their fifteenth year the training period should be lengthened a few minutes, but not to require longer than 30 minutes' instruction. After receiving the rifle at 15 it may be again increased, but never to exhaustion, an hour being the limit for any schoolboy drill. Frequent rests should be given at all stages of the training. The boy's age, size, and intelligence would determine exactly when he should be given a rifle. Fifteen years of age would be a good average age for a boy to begin his instruction or training with a rifle, but before being thus favored he will already have learned so many of the exercises, marches, and movements incident to the instruction of a company and battalion that to complete his training with a rifle will have been made smooth and easy work.

VARIOUS DUTIES.

During the boy's military training he will fill various positions, the more apt and capable being given the higher duties and offices which belong to the different military grades of noncommissioned and commissioned officers.

The boy who is a corporal this year will, if capable, be a sergeant next year and a commissioned officer the year after next, and the desire and struggle for these offices cause all the best boys to study harder and behave better in all their duties at school.

The military department is of great assistance to all the others, besides bettering the sanitation and appearance of the grounds and buildings. Military method and system will soon show good results in everything connected with the institution.

TARGET FIRING.

Instruction in the use of the rifle as a weapon will naturally be a part, and a very important part, of a boy's military training at school. Target firing will be given toward the end of his attendance at school, when he is big and strong and intelligent enough to retain what is taught him.

When no open rifle range is available for target firing a good substitute for instruction could be improvised in any closed acre or half acre, with firing at diminished distances and at diminished or reduced targets, just as is done in the Army in gallery practice.

In the Army this kind of training, preceded by systematic, careful, and thorough instruction in how to hold the piece, point, aim, and fire it, is considered indispensable, and it greatly shortens the length of time needed to make a good shot out of one who has never fired a rifle before.

ARMY INSTRUCTORS.

In order to derive full benefit from any system of military training used, said system should be uniform throughout the Union and should be carried into effect by instructors who should be at the same time competent, reliable, and inspiring confidence and respect.

Only the Army can furnish the number and kind of instructors needed, and the Army should do it. Military training at institutions having less than 75 boys could easily be given by a competent sergeant; one having from 100 to 300 should have a lieu-

tenant or a captain; and one twice as large should be given a field officer and a lieutenant or a captain as assistant.

One or more regular noncommissioned officers should, at least in the beginning, be assigned a school to instruct students in the best method of cleaning and caring for rifles.

UNIFORM STANDARD.

Simple, short, and few regulations should be prepared, under orders from the War Department, regulating the amount and kind of military training required of each school, and every school should be compelled to live up to the standard thus set.

Naturally, the kind and amount of instruction required should vary somewhat with the number of boys in attendance and the facilities available, but it should be understood that military training is a duty to the United States, to our country, and it should not be allowed to be slighted or evaded in the least.

SCHEME OF INSTRUCTION.

A satisfactory and workable plan or scheme of instruction to be required at so many and different kinds of schools would call for careful thorough preliminary investigation, and this could best be accomplished by a composite board or committee of Army officers and representatives from public schools and other schools.

A system could thus be worked out which would apply to all kinds of schools, the requirements differing somewhat for different kinds of schools. The public school's representative would be able to make suggestions applicable to his kind of school, which perhaps would not apply to some other school; and the same statement would apply to other representatives on the board.

SUPPLEMENTED BY A DRAFT LAW.

While military training at schools would supply millions of good material for service in war, it is now well established that the slow processes and results of depending upon volunteers will not save our country if attacked by any great power.

Therefore a thorough and complete draft or conscription law, necessary to our country in any case, would enable us to quickly gather in and make fine soldiers out of the grown-up boys and young men who have been receiving military training at schools. Such a law should be on our statute books now, and its absence therefrom places us at a great disadvantage.

These boys and young men would be especially useful in furnishing noncommissioned officers and junior officers, all to be commissioned by the President.

CONNECTION WITH OTHER PREPAREDNESS SCHEMES.

A careful reading of the foregoing will show that what is herein advocated is built along the lines of what is said to be practiced in Switzerland and Australia as part of their military schemes. But whether or not the balance of either of their schemes or any other scheme for preparedness is made the law in our country the value and advantage of military training at schools is not diminished. Really, it must be evident that with no other uniform and complete scheme adopted, the value of the military training given at schools is greatly enhanced, and such training is therefore the more necessary while we are struggling with this great problem.

When considered in connection with any scheme, whether used in Germany, Japan, Australia, Argentina, or Switzerland, it is claimed for military training at schools that—

First. It will interfere with no other scheme for achieving preparedness against war.

Second. It is dependent upon no other scheme.

Third. It is independent of every other scheme.

Fourth. It would assist any and every other scheme that has been advocated or practiced in any enlightened country.

Therefore the sooner we begin it the better for us and our country.

Where All the Men Are Kings.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a patriotic song written by Eleanore See Inslee and set to music composed by Mrs. H. L. Marshall, both of Muskogee, Okla., in my district. It is entitled "Where All the Men Are Kings."

This song was written and the music composed in response to a general demand through the press for a patriotic song for use in the present war. In order to give publicity to it, I ask that same be inserted in the RECORD.

The song is as follows:

WHERE ALL THE MEN ARE KINGS.

The world is going crazy, so they say—they say,
And men are fighting demons 'cross the way,
But Uncle Sammy winks,
As lovingly he thinks
Of loyal boys who guard him every day,
Through valley, lake, and hill to mountain's rim—Take care!
They all are on the watch, protecting him;
And sons of blue and gray
In khaki march away,
To carry Glory's message anywhere;
For all the men are kings
Where freedom's banner flings
Its ample folds across Columbia's breast.
Then forward march for freedom, for brotherhood and love,
And heaven's mighty legion will aid us from above.

From East to West there speeds a message clear—"Hello!
We're waiting, boys, your frame of mind to hear."
And quick the answer runs,
"We're standing by our guns,
Old Glory's colors flying far and near;
And when the order comes to 'Shoulder arms!'—Aye! Aye!"
Our women run our business and our farms,
For side by side we stand
A combination grand,
The circle's shield from all the world's alarms.
Yet all the men are kings
Where freedom's banner flings
Its ample folds across Columbia's breast.
Then forward march for freedom, for brotherhood and love,
And heaven's mighty legion will aid us from above.

And so from North and South and West and East, hurrah!
The sons of Uncle Sam will fight the "beast"
That holds the world in check
And feet upon its neck,
They'll lend a helping hand unto the least;
For Uncle Sammy's heart is deep and wide—Yes! Yes!
And in it loving-kindness doth abide;
There's room and some to spare
For all who enter there—
A little home and roses twined beside;
And all the men are kings
Where freedom's banner flings
Its ample folds across Columbia's breast.
Then forward march for freedom, for brotherhood and love,
And heaven's mighty legion will aid us from above.

Resolution of the National Security League of St. Joseph, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. BOOHER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter addressed to the President, accompanied by a copy of the resolutions passed by a patriotic mass meeting of the people of northwest Missouri, held in St. Joseph, Mo., April 9, 1917:

ST. JOSEPH, MO., *April 9, 1917.*

President WOODROW WILSON,
Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting held to-night under auspices of the St. Joseph, Mo., branch of the National Security League, at which 7,000 were present, the following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas the Government of the United States has declared that a state of war exists, a war not of our own choosing but rendered necessary by the arrogant, illegal, and inhuman course of the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas it is imperative that this country prepare to defend itself and to protect its citizens on both land and sea, as well as to promote the principle of universal democracy: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the citizens of St. Joseph and northwest Missouri in mass meeting assembled hereby unhesitatingly and unequivocally indorse and commend the action taken by the President and Congress of the United States against the Imperial German Government, and that we pledge ourselves to uphold and maintain this action to whatever extent is demanded of us; and be it further

"Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the necessity of immediate legislation necessary to carry the war in which we are now engaged to a successful conclusion, and also the passage of whatever laws may seem necessary to provide for universal military training, not with a view of becoming in any sense a military nation but that we may be placed in a position to defend ourselves at all times against the aggressions of any and all enemies."

R. T. FORBES, *Chairman.*
J. G. WING, *Secretary.*

Universal Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK R. LEHLBACH,
OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, I have received since the call for an extra session, and am still receiving, hundreds of communications from my constituents on the subject of universal military training and service and also conscription. It is a physical impossibility to reply personally to each one of these communications, even were I to devote myself solely to this task. I will therefore, in a general way, state my position on this question. I have for a long time been an advocate of universal military training and service and have repeatedly so stated. I favor the plan outlined by the General Staff of the Army and embodied in the bill introduced in the House at the present session by Representative KAHN, of California, ranking Republican member of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Regarding the raising of the needed increments for the present war, I favor the administration plan of selective conscription. The liability of all to serve in time of national danger is indisputable. It is, of course, not intended to compel anyone to serve for whom any reasonable excuse exists for remaining at home.

The continuance of production of food products and necessary industrial products must be safeguarded against too great a depletion of producers along such lines. System and order in filling the ranks must be observed. Furthermore, there exists no reason why the burden of fighting the war should rest solely on those who realize their duty in the premises and not as well upon those to whom their duty must be pointed out.

It Means Something to Be An American.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 16, 1917.

We have in America a melting pot into which all races have been placed, but you can not fuse until you have the fire; and perhaps this great war is going to give us the necessary fire to fuse all our elements together; and if there are elements that refuse to fuse, throw them into the fire. (Former Ambassador Gerard.)

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the bill H. R. 2893, which would permit agents of foreign countries to come to the United States, pick up citizens of those countries who have come here presumably to complete the process of naturalization, and to be of us—to pick them up, carry them to Europe, and place them into the armies of their countries, should not be passed. At least it should not be passed without full and careful consideration. We should know something about it, and I regret that an effort was made to give it a quick "unanimous-consent" consideration here last Saturday, with a view to passing it, at a time when the House had spent the whole day in consideration and passage of the war-bond measure, and at a moment late in the afternoon when many of the Members, feeling that a day's work had been done, were leaving their seats for their homes.

Mr. Speaker, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 14 shows that unanimous consent was asked for the consideration of H. R. 2893, which bill is as follows, and which has since become No. 6 on the House Calendar:

A bill to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 10 of chapter 2 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

The amendment consists of the proviso—

That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war.

In making a brief statement in behalf of the bill, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee said:

The proviso permits allies to send their recruiting officers into the United States for the purpose of recruiting among their own citizens and subjects. It is a very important measure and a very urgent one. I do not feel at liberty to give all the reasons for the passage of the bill.

The debate over the request for unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill Saturday afternoon resulted in an objection by Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts, after some inquiry by Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. RAKER, Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania, and others.

I am pledged to support all measures that might tend to hasten the end of this war. But this bill, if enacted, will do more harm than good, I am convinced. I can not believe it is an administration measure. The attempt to pass it without even a report shows the need of a committee on the conduct of the war, as suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

REPORT ON THE BILL.

Subsequent inquiry developed that no report had been filed on the bill, and in to-day's House proceedings the following occurred:

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, which bill was up Saturday afternoon and partially discussed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not know that I shall, I see the gentleman from North Carolina is not here. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] told me the other day that the bill was reported, but I have not gotten a reported copy and it has not been printed as being reported and it is not on the calendar. His attention ought to be directed to it.

Mr. GARNER. What is the title of the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. It is the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] told me on Saturday this bill has been reported.

Mr. MANN. I see it is not on the calendar; I looked this morning, and it is not on the list of reported bills. I am careful to get all bills reported, and I have not received that.

The SPEAKER. One of the clerks informs the Chair that the report on this bill has just been put in the basket.

Mr. Speaker, the report is now available. It is dated to-day, was printed late this afternoon, having been submitted by Mr. WEBB, from the Committee on the Judiciary, and is as follows:

Report to accompany H. R. 2893.

The Committee on the Judiciary, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, unanimously report the same back with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

It is quite evident that the allies who are fighting a country against whom we have also declared war, should be permited to recruit from their citizens and subjects in the United States for the purpose of fighting their country's battles.

In view of the fact that our own country is contemplating the conscription of our boys to wage war against Germany, certainly the allies should be permitted to, at least, persuade their citizens in the United States to go and do likewise. The bill merely gives the allies permission to recruit among their own citizens and subjects within our borders.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the report might be a little more complete. I hear that it is considered advisable to send some United States troops abroad quickly; that it is proposed to hurry up this bill, then solicit a lot of Italians, Russians, Polacks, and south of Europe subjects, throw them into companies, and send them abroad ostensibly as troops from the United States. Is that a good plan? Is it a fair plan?

My belief is that many thousands of aliens who were in the United States have returned to their colors abroad since the European war began. Others might desire to go, but is it a good idea to let officers of other countries enlist them within the borders of the United States? Will it not make trouble?

EFFORTS TO NATURALIZE ALIENS.

It has been said that we have been remiss in the effort to make citizens of those who have come among us in recent years. We have been. But, for a considerable time, a great movement for the naturalization of aliens has been going on. Night schools have been opened for that purpose.

The Department of Labor has carried on a great and successful propaganda for the naturalization of the aliens among us. Thousands upon thousands have taken out their first papers through these efforts. Are these "first-paper" aliens to be protected in any way if this bill, H. R. 2893, is passed?

These men go into the United States Army and the United States Navy on their first papers and have made good soldiers and good sailors. They will continue to enlist. They would rather be in our armies than in the armies of the countries they have left.

WAR TO FUSE THE DISCORDANT ELEMENTS.

Mr. Speaker, if there is to be one great advantage from the fact that the United States has entered the European war it is to be from the fact that it is likely to result in a real fusing of the hitherto discordant elements among us. There has been clashing and discord. Our national fabric has not been closely woven. Those who have advocated so strenuously for 20 years past a restriction of immigration have realized that.

Their opposition has not been against the individual foreigner, but against their arrival in such numbers as to weaken the fabric we have woven in the name of liberty, which we call the United States of America. We have felt that we could care for all who were here, but for not too many more. We are in duty bound to care for all who are honestly within our gates. This is their opportunity to learn that it means something to be an American—or even to have taken the first step toward becoming a citizen of the United States.

Former Ambassador Gerard expressed a great sentiment at a meeting in New York a week ago when he said:

We have in America a melting pot into which all races have been placed, but you can not fuse until you have the fire; and perhaps this great war is going to give us the necessary fire to fuse all our elements together; and if there are elements that refuse to fuse, throw them into the fire.

Mr Speaker, now is the time to bind all discordant elements. These aliens will go into our armies. Let them not be either coerced or even solicited to go into other armies by any agent who may set foot on these shores from any country whatsoever. The aliens among us will enlist in our armies, as they have done heretofore. They have earned citizenship that way from the time of our first war. The War of 1812 was a conspicuous example.

Mr. Speaker, if it is considered good military policy to send American troops abroad, let them be American troops, under the flag of the United States, with American officers, who shall give their commands in the English language. There are plenty of Americans who are anxious to volunteer for service abroad and who will be glad to have with them these "aliens" in liberal proportions. But they do not want an "all-alien American Army in France or anywhere else.

We have abundant proof that the foreign born among us are loyal to a degree. Every Member of Congress is receiving patriotic resolutions by the score from citizens who meant it when they took the oath of allegiance to the United States.

I have a great many, including one from the German born of Puyallup, Wash., one from the Greeks of Hoquiam, and one from the South Slav Culture and Political Club, of Tacoma. This last one I take the liberty of placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I regret that I can not use space for all of the resolutions. The one in question follows:

Resolutions.

Whereas the South Slav Culture and Political Club, of Tacoma, Wash., having as its members men who immigrated to this United States of America, seeking refuge and peace from the tyrannous Government of Austria-Hungary, and having enjoyed here freedom and prosperity, in appreciation thereof, at a meeting regularly convened and assembled, as good and loyal citizens, do hereby

Resolve, That we do pledge to the Government of the United States of America and to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, the President thereof, our unqualified and steadfast support in this critical time in any action they think best to guard the honor and dignity of this country and the lives and rights of its citizens; and be it further

Resolved, Being in favor of national preparedness, we do hereby approve and commend the passing of a law by Congress providing for universal military training as proposed by the Staff of the United States Army and as set forth in a bill introduced by Senator George G. Chamberlain, of Oregon; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be mailed by our secretary to the President of the United States and to our Representative in Congress, Hon. Albert Johnson, and to the Jugoslavenska Kancelarija (International Slavonic Office), in Washington, D. C., and that said resolutions be spread at large on the minutes of our club.

SOUTH SLAV CULTURE AND POLITICAL CLUB, OF TACOMA, WASH.

IT MEANS SOMETHING TO BE AN AMERICAN.

Oh, Mr. Speaker, it means something to be an American. Let me present this letter:

ABERDEEN, WASH., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Being one of the thousands of bitterly disappointed Germans, whose action in securing final citizen's papers was blocked by the declaration of a state of war, and who was once more encouraged by the news that Senator TOWNSEND, of Michigan, had introduced a bill the passing of which would admit Germans who have resided here five years or more to citizenship, I most respectfully petition you to support this or any similar measure that may come before the House, and do all in your power to give me a chance to share the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in this country of my choice.

I have taken preliminary steps toward final papers two months ago, but owing to the fact that I entered the United States as a seaman on the American schooner *Watson A. West*, I was passed by the immigration authorities to "follow vocation" instead of being manifested as an immigrant. Thus much valuable time was lost in securing the certificate of arrival necessary to be able to file the petition for final papers.

Now I am termed an alien "enemy," a term that cuts me to the heart, because I am a most friendly alien, and I am, let me assure you, Mr. JOHNSON, the makings of a loyal and bona fide citizen of the United States.

Would you kindly give me your view as to whether or not and when the Townsend bill would carry?

Most respectfully, yours, A. W. K. HIRCHE-BRANDIS.

P. S.—Anno Domini 1812, during the British-American war, Congress lifted the bars to British subjects who wanted to become citizens of the United States; why not now to faithful applicants of German birth?

And, Mr. Speaker, why not?

BANKER TO SUPPORT DEPENDENTS.

It means something to be an American. At a great patriotic meeting in Aberdeen, Wash., two weeks or so ago, the leading banker there, Hon. W. J. Patterson, pledged himself to the financial support of every dependent of any member of Company G of the State troops from that city. Here is what Mr. Patterson said at that meeting, which was a farewell to the troops:

I came into the United States 26 years ago, after 19 barefoot years in Canada, because I thought there were greater possibilities. I am willing to go barefoot again for the sake of this blessed United States—my country. All I have accumulated or may accumulate, and life itself, are at the disposal of this Nation, to which I give my entire, whole-hearted loyalty.

Mr. Patterson said he regretted that he had passed the age limit for active duty in the fighting line, but that he could and would help all dependents of members of Company G, and would see to it that they were provided for until the return of the troops. That, Mr. Speaker, is what it means to be an American.

The United States has been since the beginning an asylum of refuge for the oppressed of all the world. Lately we partially barred the doors because we feared that if too many came we might before long jeopardize our own free institutions.

Now we are helping to carry liberty to all the world. Let us not mar our great record by permitting one single alien among us to feel that we have not protected him just as he knew we would when he came to us. If he wants to go abroad and fight under the colors from which he has not fully released himself, he can go without the aid of this bill, H. R. 2893, unless, of course, he would go to a country with which we are now at war. If he wants to help in the great struggle for the freedom of the world, he can enlist under Old Glory in the Army of the United States.

NOTE.

In seven years ended June 30, 1915, there came to the United States 6,253,087. A very large number of these have not completed naturalization.

The population of New York State (census of 1910) is 30.2 per cent foreign born; Connecticut, 29.69 per cent; Pennsylvania, 18.8 per cent; Rhode Island, 33 per cent; Wisconsin, 22 per cent; Washington, 22.4 per cent; Massachusetts, 31.5 per cent; Montana, 25.2 per cent; Illinois, 21.4 per cent; and so on down to Georgia, with 0.6 per cent; Mississippi, 0.5 per cent; South Carolina, 0.4 per cent; and North Carolina, 0.3 per cent.

Our Boys in the Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. SUMNERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter received from a man who has a son in the Navy, with reference to the general situation.

The letter is as follows:

MESQUITE, TEX., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. HATTON W. SUMNERS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to express myself on conscription, and especially the calling out for service in the Army of our boys only of the age of 19 to 23 years. I am sure it is a better way to call for volunteers of men of military age, preferably young men. But it is an insult to our young manhood to ask them to absolutely bear the first and possibly the very worst of the hardships of the war. They are no more able to stand those hardships than men up to 35 years of age, and life is just as dear to them as to a man of any other age. Let the burden begin equal and end equal. We claim this a free country, not a European country. Every man will demonstrate his patriotism if given an opportunity. I have four sons, and it is possible all four of them will have to serve. The youngest is already in the Navy, and am sure the others will go if necessary. But no man wishes to see all his boys give their services and possibly their lives while others sit back and await results. Of course I am not so young, but I can and will put in my time farming to help feed the people and am just as patriotic as any man. I believe in all of military age doing their part and not put all the hardships on the youth of our beloved country. Hence I ask that you get this matter before Congress on behalf of our boys.

Most respectfully, A. J. JONES.

The Crisis Confronting the Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN JOHNSON,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution adopted by the supreme board of the directors of the Knights of Columbus.

The resolution is as follows:

The supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, at a called meeting held this 14th day of April, 1917, in the city of Washington, realizing that the crisis confronting the country calls for the active cooperation and patriotic zeal of every true citizen, hereby reaffirms the devotion of 400,000 members of this order in this country to the Republic and its laws, and pledges continued and unconditional support of the President and the Congress of this Nation in their determination to protect its honor and its ideals of humanity and right.

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President and to the House of Representatives and to the Senate of the United States of America.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT N. HAUGEN,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, President Wilson in his address April 2 suggested to Congress that Congress should declare war on the Imperial German Government and to immediately take steps not only to put the country on a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power, to employ all its resources, to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. Practical cooperation in counsel and action of the Governments now at war with Germany and extension to those Governments of most liberal financial credit is suggested by the President.

The President states it will involve the drafting into service of at least 500,000 men, and the authorization of subsequent additional increment and the granting of adequate means to the Government sustained.

The purpose of the President is clearly indicated. There can be no question as to what he intends; so if we pass this resolution and the President carries out his plan, no Member of Congress will stand in his way or hinder him from carrying it out. After Congress has given the instructions no one, certainly no one of those who vote for the resolution and who are directly responsible for the course to be pursued, will stand in his way. It will be too late then to object to a $5,000,000,000 loan to foreign governments, our allies to be, or to the billions to be expended, or to the drafting of millions of men into service, and the possibilities of millions of lives being sacrificed. No; when war is once declared, it becomes the duty of American citizens to do everything in their power to sustain the President in every honest and patriotic endeavor to successfully prosecute and end the war. Certainly no one voting for war and the sacrifices to be made will desert him and the country in its hours of peril.

The issue is here, and no Member can escape it. The responsibility is grave. Honest differences of opinions, of course; one as honest and conscientious in his conviction as the other; all realize the great responsibility. To those who claim a corner on patriotism and to be the only pure champions of patriotism and what is in the best interests of all concerned we extend our sympathy. The question has been discussed in an honest, patriotic, and dignified manner on both sides. Every Member has made up his mind how he is going to vote, and anything I or anybody may say will not change a single vote.

The resolution is going to pass. No one doubts that. Notwithstanding, I feel it my duty to offer a few observations. In so doing, I shall deal only with indisputable facts. That is, facts universally admitted here in the discussion.

Property and American ships have been lost, American lives have been taken, our rights have been invaded, and our national honor is at stake. Germany and Great Britain, Mexico, and others are all guilty. No defense has been offered for either. Certainly, I have no word of defense for either one, and I shall confine my remarks to the three first named.

First, I desire to refer to a declaration of the accredited representatives of the German Empire, United States, and England, and other leading nations of the world in 1900, who met in London at England's request and prepared for in various Hague conferences. One of the many things declared for by the accredited representatives of the nations was that a blockade must be limited to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy, and that a blockade, in order to be binding upon one nation must be maintained by a force sufficiently large to prevent access to the enemy's coast, and that under no circumstances must a blockade bar access to the ports or the coast of neutral countries. Nothing new or unreasonable about that. That has been the international law for ages. It has been approved by our courts and adhered to by our own Government. In our Civil War our Supreme Court denied our Government the right to stop the shipping of goods from England up the Rio Grande to be loaded on the Mexican side to be transported from there to Brownsville, Tex., for the southern Confederacy. Certainly, if our Supreme Court was right in thus protecting the rights of neutral commerce in contending that foreign neutral ships and goods had access to foreign neutral ports no one will deny our ships and goods the same right.

No one, so far as I know, has questioned our rights as a neutral to ship food to the people of Germany or any other country. It is agreed that that right has been denied us by England. Three months after the beginning of the war, or on November 2, 1914, England announced that on three days' notice all of the North Sea, a vast stretch of the Atlantic Ocean extending from Scotland to Iceland, was barred not only to our commerce but to the commerce of the world. Under international law and according to the holdings of our Supreme Court all of that vast stretch of the area of the Atlantic Ocean was, and should be, free, not only to our trade, but to all neutral nations.

Notwithstanding our rights their deadly contact mines were planted there. Ships have been sunk. I refer to the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*.

The report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (H. R. 21069) of the Sixty-fourth Congress calls attention to the fact that the *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were sunk by mines, with a loss of several American lives, because of entering into the Great Britain barred zone. Secretary Lansing, in his letter to Mr. RAMSEYER, under date of April 15, 1917, read by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER], stated that one American citizen lost his life with the *Carib*. Hundreds of floating mines taken up and rendered harmless in the North Sea were found to be of British origin. Our just rights and certain agreements by its accredited representatives have been denied us. So there is no question of England's having violated international law.

On February 3, about three months after England's declaring a blockade, Germany established her war zone and gave notice that ships going within the declared barred zone would be sunk by mines or submarines. American ships and many American people have been destroyed without warning. All agree that both England and Germany have violated international law. Neither Germany nor England has attempted to define the legality of the act. Our rights to free and open seas have been denied us by both.

The only difference seems to be the magnitude of the crime committed against us. To that all agree that more ships and people have been destroyed by Germany than by England, and that the reason for it is that we have submitted to the dictates of one and not to the other. All admit that had our ships with American citizens on them been sent into Great Britain's forbidden zone, as they have been sent into Germany's barred zone, the hazard would have been the same, and loss of property and lives would probably have been the same in one case as in the other. Deadly contact mines floating in the ocean are, of course, beyond control, and any ship coming in contact with them, whether neutral or not, goes down without warning.

Whether a ship is sunk or American lives lost by a mine or a submarine, with or without warning, in violation of international law, the consequences and responsibilities are the same, as before stated, the only difference being that Germany has destroyed more lives and property than England has, and for that no one can or will offer excuses.

I fear, if a full account was taken of property destroyed and confiscated, the mutilation and taking American lives in Mexico, or all the hardships inflicted upon us by Mexico, would be even greater than either of the two.

Considering it all, what is the just and proper thing to do? Germany is generally admitted to be guilty and should be brought to terms and end her warfare upon us; but how about others? If we are to fight for principles and national rights and honor, are not property rights and the lives of American citizens destroyed in one war zone as sacred and dear to us as in the other? If we are to go to war with one nation in order to maintain our rights, are we justified in excusing another? I am unable to distinguish between them. I am unable to see, if we are to fight for principles and our national honor, how we can justify our action or with dignity serve our ends by attempting to enforce our principles and terms upon one and not upon others.

When we are asked to declare our cause for declaring war with one and not the other, what will the answer be? The contention is, "To maintain our national honor, rights, and dignity." What will be the answer when asked why our rights and honor are to be fought for in one land and sacrificed in the other? Why are outrages committed against us to be condoned in one land and not in the other? Why are we fighting one nation guilty of invading our rights, and fighting side by side and loaning money to other nations equally guilty? Are we not by our action in declaring war upon one, and sending the cream of manhood into the trenches, fighting side by side and under the flag of another guilty nation, approving of the course of one and condemning the other? Will principles and justice be vindicated in that way?

It seems to me that after acquiescing in numerous violations committed by England, to now go to war with Germany because of her committing similar violations will place our country in a most embarrassing position.

No; if our war is to be a war for principles, then I submit that we can not fight one nation for wronging us and condone similar wrongs by another. No; our national honor, dignity, and rights can not be maintained in that way. The further we pursue along that line the deeper we get in the mire. It goes without saying that if we are to fight for principles and to assert our rights to the high seas our national honor and dignity require that both England and Germany shall respect our just rights upon the high seas. Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned us against entangling alliances. Why, under existing conditions, ignore his admonition?

I confess my inability to comprehend why the proposed alliance; why we are to vote and authorize a large bond issue, and loan money to nations on the verge of bankruptcy, and to send millions of our boys and men into the trenches to fight the battles of those equally guilty of wronging us as those whom we are to fight.

The President in his message of April 2, in expressing sympathy for the German people, said:

> It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

If the President's contentions are well taken, then the same rule should be applied at home. I do not take issue with the President. I believe the position was well taken; nor do I believe that the President would suggest war without previous knowledge and approval of the American people. I have not sufficient knowledge of their sentiments in that respect to venture an opinion, but I have received several hundred telegrams, letters, and petitions from people in the fourth Iowa district, which I have the honor to represent, and judging from sentiment expressed in those communications more than seven-eighths of my constituents are opposed to war. The actual percentage is according to the communications received—ninety-eight and one-half per cent against a declaration of war and 1½ per cent for war. Many of them are well known to me. They are all patriotic and high type of citizens. Many of them come from mothers and those who fought for the preservation of the Union.

I quote from a few:

> I am a mother among the millions of mothers in the United States who pray for your boys to be spared the horrors of the battle field and the unknown grave.

Another:

> You can not kill a man for humanity's sake if you are not attacked.

An old soldier writes:

> Of all the men I have talked with in Charles City I have not found one man that was in favor of war with Germany. As you know, I served three years in the Civil War to preserve the Union. I realize what war is. But the President was selected because he was too proud to fight. If that vote was taken to-day, he would not come within a million of being elected.

Another calls attention to the story told before election of the capitalist with large investments in Mexico going to Washington to see the President to see if something could not be done to save at least part of his investment there. After telling the President of his millions invested, almost all ruined and confiscated by Mexico, the President turned to the capitalist and said, "You, of course, want this Government to go to war with Mexico." The answer was, "No; I have a son; to me he is more than my millions." This story was frequently told before election in justification of the President keeping us out of war.

If the people of Germany were entitled to a hearing before declaring for war, certainly old soldiers who fought for preserving our Union, the mothers, and our people in general have a right to a hearing. With the apparent overwhelming majority of my constituents against war, and being in full sympathy with these views expressed by that large majority and the sentiments expressed by President Wilson and conscious of my oath of office, under the circumstances I can not vote to take from our homes the flower of manhood and send them into the trenches there to be slaughtered. With 26,000,000 in the trenches now, no one can forecast the number of millions of our men and the number of billions of our money that may be required.

If we stay out of Germany-forbidden zone as we have stayed out of England-forbidden zone, no one will suffer or be harmed.

No one can take pride or honor in fighting an insane man, even though he may have stepped on his toes. The insane man is not responsible for his acts. The nations at war are worse than insane. They know not what they do. By deferring action no pride or honor is sacrificed. We still maintain that we have a right to the sea, and shall always enforce and insist upon our rights, just as one insists and asserts his right to the highway. I voted for the McLemore resolution to warn our people from taking passage on merchantmen of belligerent nations. Had that resolution passed, and had we kept out of Germany's forbidden zone as we have England's war zone, no lives would have been lost or property destroyed.

I believe I was right then. I believe I am justified and right in not voting for war now. One contention is that we are already in war. Germany has not declared war with the United States. Congress is the only body vested with power to declare war in the United States. War with Germany has not been declared by Congress.

If we are in a state of war, why the proposed resolution? No; the responsibility is here upon our shoulders. Our vote will determine it. A vote for the resolution is a vote for war, and every vote against the resolution is to avert war. When the resolution has passed and been signed by the President, we will be at war. Then, and not until then, we will be at war with Germany.

Then billions of dollars must be expended, and possibly millions of men, the cream of manhood, will be required and demanded, not by volunteer enlistment, as in England, Canada, and France, our allies to be, did but as suggested, by conscription, to render service in foreign lands, there to wallow in blood, many to lay their lives on the altar, to die alone far away from their near and dear ones. Then will come the agony, sorrow, and privations of the mother, father, brothers, sisters, and sweethearts at home. Boasting or voting for or against a war to be fought by others is not a test of courage or patriotism. Neither justifies one claiming a corner on patriotism.

Now is not the time to criticize the action of anybody as to what has been done. The time has come for refraining from questioning the loyalty of any and every citizen. If war is declared, every effort should be to unite, not to divide, our people. Let the unfortunate, indiscreet insinuations made in the past be forgotten. Indiscreet, ambitious politicians may endeavor to make capital out of it, but sound judgment and patriotism will hold that the best interests of the country will be served better by everyone putting his shoulder to the wheel and aiding the President in every honest effort to successfully prosecute and end the war, if war is declared.

Availing myself of the privilege granted to extend my remarks, I append extracts from a few of the many letters received commending my action in voting against the resolution.

In the absence of a permit to give the names of parties, I omit names:

LETTER FROM MASON CITY, IOWA.

APRIL 9, 1917.

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I desire to express my appreciation of the cool and collected manner in which you represented your constituency in Congress recently.

I heard to-day that letters of severe criticism had been written you from this point, representing to you that everybody here was enthusiastically for the strong prosecution of the war, and that prior to the declaration a large majority favored it. I fear that this is not a repre-

sentation of the sentiment here, and it is not right, nor is it good policy, to deceive you or delude ourselves.

You and I, as well as every true American citizen, are now loyal in supporting the Government, and should so remain, no matter what our opinions before the declaration.

But I do not believe that we should misrepresent matters to our Representatives and officials. I wish that now, after we are in it, the people were more unanimous on the matter, but the best I can report is that perhaps 1 out of 10 or 15 favor war. Many of those in favor of war are expecting to get commissions. I do not think that is good patriotism. I am told that one party, who is desirous of getting into your shoes, is advocating your public denunciation. Such patriotism will not win our war. Far rather do I prefer a cool, unselfish patriotism, asserting itself frankly, as I think you did.

Will you let me know if there is anything I can do in this crisis, and as well help keep history straight, and keep selfish hucksters from besmirching others' characters undeservedly?

Yours, very truly, ——— ———.

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ANOTHER LETTER FROM MASON CITY.

APRIL 11, 1917.

Hon. GILBERT N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAUGEN: I want to congratulate you on having the nerve to vote against war. I believe 90 per cent of the people of your district are with you. While loyal to our country and as patriotic as any people in the world, if called on to vote for or against war they would vote as you did. I have talked with a good many on this question, and I have failed to find one single person who was willing to vote for war. I have six boys, all of military age, three of them in school at Iowa City. All of them will go if needed to defend their country.

* * * * * * *

Yours, truly, ——— ———.

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A LETTER FROM A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT CLEAR LAKE.

APRIL 13, 1917.

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to write and express my approval of the noble stand you took in the matter of a declaration of war. As I have been informed there are those who have tried at least to convey to you the impression that you did not vote in the matter as the people of this district desired. I am a public man. I come in touch with a great number of people. And I have not spoken with more than one man who favored the step taken by the Government. That is an insignificant minority.

Well, we are at war. We shall make the best of it. As loyal citizens Uncle Sam shall not find any fault with our actions. * * *

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ONE FROM ST. ANSGAR, IOWA.

APRIL 10, 1917.

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAUGEN: I wish to express my highest appreciation for your vote against the war resolution. A very large majority of the people here approve of your stand.

There are two things now which I hope you will be able to prevent. I hope you can get a provision written in the law that no one shall be sent across the ocean to fight without his own consent. If that is done there will be more than enough volunteers to fill up the Army without any drafting. I hope also that you can prevent drafting. It is one of the fundamental doctrines not only of the United States, but of all English-speaking nations, that men shall not be drafted into the army except in times of the greatest extremity. Neither Canada nor Australia have adopted it yet, and England but recently. I am aware there is a strong effort being made by militarists, capitalists, and some newspapers to adopt it at once, but the men who would have to go I know are opposed to it.

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ROCKWELL, IOWA, *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I see by the Mason City Times that Mr. ——— takes issue with you on your position in regard to the war situation. Permit me to express to you my deepest approval. I trust the man who acts according to the dictates of his conscience.

I take issue with Mr. ———. I believe that you are right when you say that seven-eighths of the people in your district are opposed to war. The die is now cast. We are all for the United States. But I firmly believe, judging from expressions, freely made, from men of all nationalities, stations, and creeds, that had the question been submitted to a vote it would have been overwhelmingly defeated.

Regrets are too late. Though with a sad heart it is, My country; right or wrong, my country.

Very respectfully, yours, ——— ———.

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POSTVILLE, IOWA, *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been requested by some of my fellow citizens to write to you expressing our hearty appreciation of the stand which you have taken in the vote against the war resolution. * * *

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FAYETTE, IOWA, *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. G. N. HAUGEN,
Washington, D. C.

FRIEND HAUGEN: I want to congratulate you on your vote against war. I think more than 75 per cent of the people in the fourth district are against this war, and I think more than that many feel you voted right at this time.

Yours, truly, ——— ———.

War Bond Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORDELL HULL,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 17, 1917.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the United States is at war with the Government of Germany. This is not the time or occasion to discuss its causes, but to devise and adopt the most comprehensive and effective methods and means of conducting the war. Congress has authorized the President to proceed with "the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government" to a successful termination of the war. Almost a year will be required in which to raise, train, and equip an army of sufficient size and strength to play an important part in the present military operations against Germany. Our naval forces will be organized and ready almost from the outset to perform the maximum of service in whatever ways opportunity may offer, but the opportunity for sea fighting may be small for some time. Naturally, the Government will proceed with all dispatch to the work of increasing the Navy and raising, organizing, and equipping an Army commensurate with the great part the United States can and should take in the war—or to the extent, at least, that may be necessary to bring it to a successful conclusion. While this great work of organization, training, and equipment is proceeding, the military situation and the condition of those other countries who are making common cause with us in the war against Germany are such as to make it the plain duty of the United States to give such immediate aid and cooperation as will contribute most effectively to the active and successful prosecution of the war during the next few months. The nature and extent of this assistance is so patent as to admit of no discussion.

The allied nations are in great and urgent need of supplies and ships. Each of these countries has in operation the most perfect organizations engaged in the work of procuring and furnishing munitions, food, and other necessary supplies in sufficient quantities and in the most expeditious manner possible. What these countries most need just now, therefore, is credit. The most powerful blow the United States can strike at this early stage would be to arrange suitable credits for the allies to the end that their armies on the various battle fronts may be clothed, fed, and otherwise supplied with all the necessary equipments and munitions which will enable them constantly to prosecute their present military operations against the common enemy.

Now that the United States is at war it will be worse than folly from every viewpoint to prosecute that war on a small or insignificant scale or in a seemingly weak or half-hearted manner. Every consideration of safety and self-respect now and in the future requires that the entire weight of this great country should unreservedly be thrown into the war. This means that every man, woman, boy, and girl in America, with a keen realization of the issues involved, should lend their services to the Government in such lines as will be most valuable and effective.

The great and intricate problem of formulating and establishing a comprehensive policy for financing the war now confronts this Government. The bill authorizing bond and treasury certificate issues aggregating $7,000,000,000 constitutes the initial step of the Government in dealing with the financial side of the war. The amounts thus authorized, while large, are not excessive in the light of existing conditions and possibilities. The proceeds of these bonds to the extent of $3,000,000,000 are to be loaned to the allied nations at war with Germany. No sound criticism can possibly be offered against the wisdom of this step. It is both wise and timely.

With respect to the fiscal policies which this Government should adopt during the course of the war in order to finance it on sound lines there may be more or less conflict of views. This problem, however, can not receive too serious consideration, for the reason that the wisdom and soundness of its solution would be calculated materially to affect the economic affairs of the country both during and after the war. We have many lights by which to be guided, as presented by the experiences of our own and other countries in financing former wars.

We also have under observation the present and radically different policies of England and Germany in providing means for conducting the existing war. At the outset of any great war it is impossible to levy sufficient taxes to meet constantly increased demands on the treasury without disorganizing and dislocating business. Any government, therefore, must in the beginning resort either to short or long term loans. As to what proportion of the war expenditures should be met by taxes and what proportion by bonds is a controverted question. My own view is that no fixed rule can be established for all governments or even for one government. The relative amount of war taxes levied at the beginning of a war would naturally be affected not only by the amount of the early war expenditures and the possibilities of largely increased expenditures following it, but also by the ability of the country to bear largely increased taxation at the outset, and still greater increases as the war progressed, without crippling important classes of business. The condition of the country's credit and the estimated length and cost of the war are also factors. England has imposed taxes to the extent of about 25 per cent of her war expenditures and met the remainder chiefly by long and short term loans. At the outbreak of the war Parliament voted to the Government a war credit of $500,000,000. These were followed by additional votes of credit, until by the middle of 1916 they amounted to $14,000,000,000. They have now reached nearly $20,000,000,000. England met her early war expenditures by the issuance of low-rate temporary obligations having six months to run, very similar to our Treasury certificates of indebtedness, which have 12 months to run. In November, 1914, however, England offered a 13-year funded loan of $1,750,000,000, payable in fixed installments during the next five months and bearing 3 per cent interest. These bonds sold at 95. While this loan matures in 1928, it may be called after 1925. The next large loan—that of July, 1915—was for $2,900,000,000, at 4½ per cent at par value, and the bonds become due in 1945, but are redeemable after 1925. The 3½ per cent bonds of the previous war-loan issue were allowed in payment for subscriptions to the new 4½ per cent issue. Six hundred and seventy-five million dollars were thus converted. It may be here observed that during this period, as well as prior to the war, the rate on other outstanding British Government bonds was 2½ per cent. From the beginning of the war until March 31, 1917, the British Government loaned to its allies the sum of $4,450,000,000. The recent British war loan of $5,000,000,000 is in a sense already expended to the extent of $3,000,000,000 heretofore used to take up outstanding treasury bills. This loan was at the rate of 4 per cent with income-tax exemptions or 5 per cent without them. The chief bids were on the 5 per cent basis. Including the amounts loaned to her allies, the debt of Great Britain aggregates $19,350,000,000. At the outbreak of the war Great Britain held about $20,000,000,000 of loans made in foreign countries. The unloading of large portions of these loans enabled her citizens to take English war bonds in much greater amounts.

England made her first important war-tax levy in November, 1914. This embraced the doubling of the income and supertax. The tax on beer was more than trebled. A few other tax items were embraced. In December, 1915, a far more drastic tax measure was enacted. Income taxes were considerably increased. The larger incomes carried a rate of 30 per cent. A number of excise and import taxes were imposed. At the same time, the excess profits tax of 50 per cent was enacted. From August 1, 1914, to March 31, 1915, $858,000,000 was raised by taxation and $2,025,000,000 by bond and other forms of borrowing. The tax revenues for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, were 50 per cent greater than those for the previous fiscal year in England.

The wealth of the British Isles at the outbreak of the war was estimated at $85,000,000,000, while her debt was $3,500,000,000. Notwithstanding this proportion of indebtedness to national wealth, that country has been able to borrow nearly $20,000,000,000 during the present war. England's war interest now exceeds $700,000,000. The fact that she has financed one-fourth of the war expenditures by taxation has enabled her to meet all this interest and sinking fund requirements, as well as to make a substantial contribution to the current expenses from tax revenue. This combined policy of utilizing bonds and taxes in substantial proportion has undoubtedly operated to maintain the strength of her original credit. The British daily expenditures rose from a peace basis of $2,750,000 at the outbreak of the war to $10,000,000 in August, 1914, and averaged $25,000,000 near the end of the second year of the war. At the end of the first year of the war the daily cost to all the warring nations was $75,000,000. England's expenditure for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1916, was nearly $8,000,000,000, and the average daily rate was constantly increasing. The Napoleonic wars, covering 22 years, only cost her $4,150,000,000.

Germany has pursued a different policy. She has depended until within the last few weeks almost exclusively upon bonds and treasury issues of paper currency to finance her part of the war. Prior to its outbreak her national indebtedness was $1,172,000,000, although that of the German States was $3,864,000,000. Her national wealth was then $80,000,000,000. At the beginning of the war Germany offered a 10-year 5 per cent loan, at 97½, for $824,000,000. She has made successive loans of from $2,000,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 every few months during the progress of the war. The result was that the German debt has risen from $5,000,000,000, including that of the German States at the beginning of the war, to $11,613,000,000 at the close of the year 1915, and to $15,260,000,000 on November 1, 1916. Her annual interest charges exceed $700,000,000. The failure of Germany to levy some war taxes has necessitated the application of portions of her bond issues to the payment of interest on already existing bonded indebtedness. Early in the war Germany enacted a law prescribing a severe penalty against any person who exported gold from the country or who asked a premium for gold in exchange for the greatly inflated paper currency. The percentage increase in gold reserves and outstanding paper currency in Germany between the end of June, 1914, and the end of 1916 was: Gold increase, 93, and paper increase, 359. It is true that the percentage in England for the same period was 106 gold increase and 544 paper increase; but it is claimed that substantial portions of the English paper took the place of gold held by certain banks or which was in circulation. Germany's bank-note issues are $2,041,000,000, as against $475,000,000 when the war began. This great inflation has caused a considerable rise in prices.

The flotation of German bonds has been greatly aided by the proceeds of foreign investments sold, by deposit banks, savings banks, and the various fiduciary institutions, as well as business profits placed in bonds instead of being reinvested in the business. The Government practically forced the investment of munition profits in its bonds. Germany's idea from the beginning seems to have been that her immense bond issues would be taken care of by large cash indemnities levied on the opposing belligerents. During the early stages of the war Germany only increased taxation to the extent of $120,000,000. She had, however, in 1913, imposed a heavy percentage tax on property of every sort, to be paid in three installments, for the purpose of increasing her standing army and her navy. The German Government also caused a proclamation to be issued insisting on the exchange for bank notes at face value of all the gold held by citizens of the Empire. Within the first seven months of the war $250,000,000 gold came from its hiding places. The redemption in gold of imperial bank-note issues, however, has been suspended since the beginning of the war.

During the first few months of the war France relied upon the national bank, which advanced her $1,200,000,000 in the form of note circulation issued against the Government obligations deposited with the bank. During 1914 and 1915 France issued 5 per cent bonds with short maturities to the amount of $1,500,000,000. These were supplemented by a loan of $2,762,000,000, in the latter part of 1915, at 5 per cent, in which the bonds running 16 years sold at 88. France did not undertake to levy any considerable amount of war taxes until the war had well advanced. The fact that Germany early in the war captured and occupied some of her most valuable coal and industrial sections prevented her from placing long-term loans at satisfactory rates. In the middle of 1915 the Government appealed to the citizens to turn in their gold and exchange it for Government securities, with the result that more than $250,000,000 came from its hiding places before the end of that year. It will be remembered that the Morocco crisis with Germany in 1911, which brought the two countries to the brink of war, caused the French people to withdraw all their investments in Germany and hoard the money. These withdrawals were accentuated by the Balkan War. The French were thus unconsciously fortifying themselves financially for the coming European war. It has been impossible, however, to prevent considerable inflation. France expanded her bank issues from $1,336,000,000 to $3,100,000,000, or 131 per cent, between July, 1914, and the middle of 1916. Her increase in gold reserve during this period was less than 30 per cent. Her currency has been expended to a considerable additional amount since that period. In 1916 the French Government induced her citizens to turn over their foreign securities on stipulated terms, which the Government in turn deposited as collateral for a loan of $100,000,000 in New York. France has had many severe financial trials during the war. Her expenditures, in the beginning, of $7,500,000 a day have daily increased to the present daily amount of $21,270,000. In order to float her recent loan of $100,000,000 in the United States France was obliged to present gilt-edged collateral and

pay 6 per cent, not to mention large amounts for commissions, and so forth, and the war prices for our supplies she purchased, the final result of which was that she only received about 75 cents to the dollar thus borrowed. This little country has been able to limp along financially through the course of the war, and with an estimated wealth of only $55,000,000,000 has borrowed $9,500,000,000 in addition to her prewar debt of over $6,000,000,000. Her annual interest account is now staggering to a small country such as France.

Notwithstanding these loads of indebtedness which would have been considered overwhelming before the war, France and England, the one with an estimated additional expenditure of more than $7,000,000,000 and the other with more than $8,000,000,000 confronting them during the present fiscal year just beginning, move steadily forward in the prosecution of the war.

No special lesson is to be learned from the Russian method of financing the war. Suffice it to say that with the estimated wealth of $50,000,000,000 she has borrowed nearly $10,000,000,000. Russia comprises about one-seventh of the land of the globe, and has boundless resources of untold value, but they are almost wholly undeveloped.

The sum total of the borrowings of the allies is that, with the combined estimated wealth of $215,000,000,000, they have borrowed nearly $42,000,000,000. The estimated wealth of the central powers is only $113,000,000,000, and they have borrowed near $15,000,000,000, exclusive of their prewar debts of $9,000,000,000. The aggregate indebtedness of Europe has jumped from $27,000,000,000 at the beginning of the war to $75,000,000,000 at the present time, while the annual interest on the same has risen from $1,070,000,000 when the war broke out to $3,800,000,000 at the present time.

The fact that Europe owned about $33,000,000,000 of foreign securities at the outbreak of the war has stood her in good stead during her severe financial trials in the course of the past two and one-half years.

The United States has always adhered strongly to the policy of paying off its public debts. The debt of the Revolutionary War, amounting to $75,000,000, was cut almost half at the beginning of the War of 1812. This latter war debt of $127,000,000 was wiped out in less than 20 years. The Mexican War indebtedness of $68,000,000 was reduced to $28,000,000 when the Civil War came on. The Civil War debt of $2,381,000,000 was cut down to $585,000,000 as early as 1892. The Spanish War and unpaid debt of $1,046,000,000, including also the Panama Canal financing, has dropped to $971,000,000, which constitutes our present interest-bearing debt.

This record compares most favorably with that of other countries, such as Great Britain, whose public debt of $4,500,000,000 arising out of the Napoleonic wars still stood at the high figures of $3,500,000,000 when the present European war came on. From almost every important standpoint the United States is in the strongest possible attitude to finance a great war. A conservative estimate of our national wealth is $200,000,000,000. If we should borrow on the strength of this wealth in the same proportion that Europe has borrowed during the war we would have a public debt of near $50,000,000,000. The proposed loan of $5,000,000,000 is less than one-fortieth of our wealth and not exceeding one-tenth of our gross annual income. It is less than one-half of the net annual income of the limited number who are at present subject to the income tax, which is nearly $11,000,000,000. The present loans of the United States to belligerent nations aggregate $2,213,000,000. The proposed credit of $3,000,000,000 will make a total of $5,213,000,000. The net amount of gold received from abroad during the past two and one-half years is $1,000,000,000. The aggregate value of American securities held abroad and repurchased by this country exceeds $2,000,000,000. In the three items just named is comprised the change of credits in favor of the United States to the extent of $5,213,000,000, which has occurred during the past two and one-half years.

During the first year of the war Great Britain raised by popular subscription considerably over $5,000,000,000; France, $1,790,000,000; Russia, more than $2,600,000,000; Germany and Austria, $5,070,000,000. In the light of these loans successfully made by the foreign nations at war, the United States should without the slightest difficulty dispose of $3,000,000,000 bonds within a short time.

I shall undertake to discuss the tax phases involved in the raising of war revenue at a later date. I am most heartily and enthusiastically in favor of the proposed credit to the allies while the United States is getting ready to utilize the full strength of its Navy and a large Army. I realize that the placing of a large loan involves many intricate problems and the most careful handling to avoid business and financial disturbances. I have full confidence, however, in the ability of the Secretary of the Treasury and his advisers successfully to cope with every difficulty involved in the sale of these $3,000,000,000 bonds without any disarrangement of our financial or commercial affairs. It has been suggested that the furnishing of this large credit to the allies might in some way affect our favorable trade balance. My own opinion is that the balance of trade will continue in our favor to an increasing extent. Neither is there any sound support of the suggestion that a judicious and equitable levy of war taxes in substantial amounts will interfere with the satisfactory sale of the bonds. The fact that they are tax exempt will make them specially attractive to many owners of large wealth who prefer thereby to avoid subjection to possible future high tax rates. It is true that the flotation of $5,000,000,000 of bonds will scarcely affect the credit of the United States in its present impregnable financial condition. It is also true that the American people were never in a more favorable condition to pay a reasonable amount of taxes for war purposes in addition to those for normal purposes. Suggestions are always offered to the effect that future generations should bear a share of emergency indebtedness incurred in fighting a great war. These suggestions overlook the fact that the same future generations are generally called upon to bear contemporaneous war or other emergency taxes in large amounts. The experience of this and other nations in financing wars has taught the sound lesson that a nation should undertake to liquidate its indebtedness incurred in war or on account of other extraordinary causes as soon as possible, or at least within the period of not exceeding 20 or 30 years. My judgment is that the terms and conditions prescribed for the sale of the bonds authorized in the pending bill should be such as would enable the United States to pay off the entire amount at par (and not at a premium, as in 1890) within the period just stated. It may be found consistent with the successful sale of the bonds and desirable in policy to insert a redemption clause to the end just stated.

The aggregate bond indebtedness of our States, counties, and municipalities is near $4,000,000,000. The $5,000,000,000 bonds authorized in the bill now pending in the Senate, together with our present interest-bearing indebtedness of $971,000,000, will aggregate a bonded indebtedness in this country of near $10,000,000,000. Many would prefer to see reasonable tax rates imposed on all these securities. A small rate should be imposed in the beginning. When we consider that more than $12,000,000,000 of property belonging to charitable and other institutions is exempt from all taxation in this country, it is apparent that the United States will soon have $25,000,000,000 of its $200,000,000,000 of wealth practically exempt from all taxation. It would not be accurate to say that the just amount of taxes due thereon are saved to the Government, the States, and their localities, through the low rates of interest at which these tax-exempt securities are sold on the market. The purchaser generally secures immunity from a substantial amount of taxation in such cases. If the recent experience of England in floating her $5,000,000,000 loan, in which the purchasers of her bonds were given option of taking them at 4 per cent income tax exempt or 5 per cent subject to the tax, is of value, the action of the purchasers of these bonds in preferring the 5 per cent proposal in the face of the heaviest income taxation, present and prospective, ever imposed by any country in all history, is very significant. Furthermore, this condition, if allowed to grow, may in the future result in considerable disarrangement of our economic conditions. The investing public during the past year purchased a little more than $2,000,000,000 of domestic securities. If, however, attractive Federal, State, or municipal bonds, tax exempt, had been offered, they would undoubtedly have received the decided preference. In thus calling attention I merely seek to point out possible injurious results that may arise in the future unless a suitable remedy shall be devised and adopted. I am not thus offering any personal views.

The proposed bond issue, aggregating $7,000,000,000, including short-term certificates which will be absorbed from time to time by tax revenues or the proceeds of long-term bonds, is, in my judgment, amply justified in the light of present and prospective conditions. This step embraces wise and sound policy. I have no doubt that this action of the Government will meet the overwhelming approval of the American people. When the boundless resources of this country are considered—the tremendous annual incomes of the people, the enormous amount that can be saved during each year—it is manifest that the indebtedness about to be incurred can be met during the next few years in equitable annual allotments without appreciable burden to the citizens. Over $500,000,000 has been saved by the people of Canada during the past two years.

The war expenditures of Canada are now $250,000,000 per annum. The experience of the countries at war has been that expenditures have not been so great during the first year as were estimated, but they have grown with each succeeding month and year until they finally passed beyond the estimates originally made for the latter and advanced stages of the war. Tax levies and bond issues by the United States should conform to these probable conditions as shown by experience. The people can stand a very large tax levy now, and when the war advances several months business will be so adjusted to the new tax conditions as to be able to stand an additional and more drastic tax levy if necessary. I take it that the proposed bonds will be put on the market at such periods and intervals in blocks of some $1,000,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 as their proceeds are needed at home and abroad.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD COOPER,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the war resolution I desire to state the following orders and patriotic meetings of citizens of my district have adopted resolutions pledging their loyalty to the President and Congress at this critical time. I do not care to burden the RECORD by asking to have these resolutions printed in full, but wish to state that they all breathe the true spirit of enthusiastic patriotism, and it is apparent to me that while the people of West Virginia love peace, and while they had hoped for a settlement of our differences with Germany which would have kept us out of the European conflict, still they are willing to give their support to the President and Congress in protecting American rights against unlawful attacks on land and sea.

Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Monroe County Improvement Association, Confederate Veterans, Sons of Confederate Veterans, pupils and teachers, Masons, and others, citizens of Monroe County, at Union, W. Va., pledge their unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to do their utmost to increase the crops of their great agricultural county in this time of need.

Eight hundred members of Bluefield Lodge, No. 260, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledge themselves to be with the President in the present international crisis confronting the American people, even to war with Germany.

Twin Branch Lodge, No. 169, Knights of Pythias, pledge their unlimited loyalty to the flag and fealty to the Government of the United States in this, their hour of travail.

The citizens of Bluefield, W. Va., of Graham, Va., and the surrounding territory in mass meeting held at Bluefield April 3, approved the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, and Congress is urged to take the most extreme measures to protect the life, liberty, and property of American citizens, and to insure the Nation the freedom of the seas guaranteed by established law and custom.

Resolutions were adopted on April 2, 1917, at a meeting of the citizens of the town of Welch, W. Va., pledging the support of the community to the Government, at which meeting the Welch Home Guards were organized with a membership of about 60, and with a probable membership within the next few days of 150.

Resolutions adopted by Bluefield Lodge, No. 153, Knights of Pythias, on March 31, 1917, pledge support to the Government to all such measures as will secure life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness of the citizens of the United States. At the meeting at which these resolutions were adopted over 400 Knights of Pythias were present.

Resolutions adopted by colored Masons of Bluefield, W. Va., April 3, 1917, Cismont Lodge, No. 31, A. F. and A. M., offer money, life, and services to their country.

Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the colored citizens of Bluefield, W. Va., April 3, 1917, reaffirm their allegiance to their country and flag, and should occasion arise stand ready to offer the full measure of service and life. They further ask that fair treatment be accorded their race, both by those in positions of power and those in the common walks of life.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD B. ALMON,
OF ALABAMA,
Thursday, April 5, 1917.

On the joint resolution (S. J. Res 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, when the President issued his call convening Congress in extraordinary session and when I was at home, I thought, in common with our people, that he would seek from this body authority to protect our rights upon the seas and to destroy the hostile submarines preying upon our commerce, and I expected to vote for a declaration of war for this purpose and for the protection of American rights.

I have not the words with which to express my surprise and disappointment when we were called upon to place all the resources of our country at the command of the allies of Europe and to form alliances with foreign countries, against which we were warned by George Washington, the Father of our Country, in his Farewell Address, when he said:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence—I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens—the jealousy of a free people ought to constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

Up to this time our country has heeded the advice of Washington, and we have been entirely neutral in our dealings with the belligerent nations of Europe.

As I have stated, Mr. Speaker, when I left my home to come to the National Capital, I expected to give my support to such action as might be deemed necessary to prevent the continuance of the wrongful and unwarranted submarine warfare by the German Government, but the resolution upon which we are now called to vote, and its effect as interpreted by the messages of the President and the arguments which I have heard in both Houses for the past six or seven hours, leave no doubt in the mind of any Member of this Hou that when this resolution becomes a law it means that we are to become allies with Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan in every sense of the word, and when the amendment providing that our soldiers should not be sent to the trenches in Europe until further action of Congress was voted down by an overwhelming vote no one could then doubt that such was the purpose of this resolution.

Why is a million more soldiers wanted now if they are not to be sent abroad? Where else do they expect to kill Germans?

Our rights have been violated by Great Britain for more than two years. She has not only kept our ships out of the ports of the central powers but also out of the ports of neutrals and has unlawfully seized our ships and cargoes and rifled our mails. She mined the entire North Sea, and the only reason that more of our ships were not sunk and lives lost is because we kept out of it. We knew that this was wrong and unlawful, and not intended to injure us, but for military purposes and necessities.

Then Germany declared the war zone to the ports of our enemies, infested it with submarines, and warned neutrals to stay out. This was also wrong and unlawful, but it was also done for military purposes and necessities. We went in, and some of our ships were sunk and lives were lost, while by staying out we could have avoided war with Germany as we did with England.

Still, I do not say that we should have kept out of this war zone, and I do not base my opposition to this resolution upon that ground, but I refer to it to show that the only interest that we have and the thing that concerns us is the protection of American rights and American interests. The rights of ours that have been violated by Germany are our rights upon the seas, and I am now ready and willing to vote for a resolution declaring a state of war for the purpose of defending those rights and avenging those wrongs. Then why should we do more than place ourselves in a position, when we have vindicated our

rights so far as the submarine warfare is concerned, to withdraw from the war?

When Congress was called in extraordinary session I understood that the purpose of our entry into the war would be to "defend American rights," and I expected to vote for that, but when I reached Washington I found that it had expanded into the "preservation of human liberties against autocracy," and for the formation of an alliance and partnership with Great Britain and her allies to fight for their cause as well as our own.

Our grievance against the Imperial Government of Germany is not the same as that of the allies. The war between the central powers and the allies is not our war, and I do not believe that we should become a party to it. I am not in favor of becoming allied with any of the foreign powers, and that is just what is going to happen if this resolution becomes a law.

The effect of this resolution is not only to protect American lives and American rights upon the high seas, but is to make the cause of Great Britain, France, and Russia our cause, and that, too, whether their cause is right or wrong.

When this resolution passes, we are going into full partnership and alliance in every sense of the word with Great Britain, France, and Russia, and I understand our Government will be expected to loan the allies $3,000,000,000 at the start, with which to buy ammunition, food, and other supplies for the prosecution of the war, and perhaps more later on, and we will, of course, have to raise many billions of dollars to support our Army and Navy, all to be paid now or hereafter by the levying and collection of taxes from a people, some of whom are already taxed to the extent of their capacity to pay.

It is also the program to follow the passage of this resolution, as is well known to us all, by trying to force the passage of a conscription law and take thousands and probably millions of the flower of our young manhood into training camps, and later on, if the war lasts six months or a year—and it may last several years—ship them to Europe to fight under the flags of kings and emperors and under the orders and directions of foreign officers, and to be slaughtered in the trenches and buried in a strange land in unknown graves. Entering the war at this late day and in this way, we could not, of course, prosecute an independent campaign, and for that reason our troops in a strange land will be commanded by officers of the allied armies and will be placed where they may see proper to place them, and it is not difficult to foresee to what hardships and dangers they will be exposed.

Ah, my colleagues and friends, the quarrel and the issues between the European nations are not ours. Then why should we be thrust into it? Why condone the wrongs of Great Britain and then enter into an alliance with her?

With my vote against the resolution and when it is passed, as it appears that it will, my opposition ends, and hereafter there should be no criticism of the Members who vote for or against the resolution. It will be our duty to stand together as one man for America and American rights. I claim that I have always been and will continue to be as loyal to our country as any Member who has voted for this resolution, and I would not for a moment question the honor, integrity, or motives of anyone who disagrees with me as to my views.

When this resolution becomes a law, if it does, as a Member of this Congress, I will support all measures which I think are right and proper for the purpose of providing men and money with which to prosecute the war to a successful termination, but in saying this, Mr. Chairman, I do not wish it to be understood that I favor the enactment of a law providing for conscription before the volunteer system is tried out and found to be inadequate, for I am unalterably opposed to it.

Every Member of this House fully realizes, from what he has heard and read within the last few days, that upon the passage of this resolution a strong effort will be made for the enactment of a conscription law.

I am not willing to vote for a bill to draft our boys and send them to England, France, or Russia, to help to fight their battles when many of their own sons have refused to do so. When it comes to fighting for the defense of America and American rights, a conscription law will not be necessary. All that are needed will gladly volunteer. The Army officers who are said to be behind the movement call it "selective draft" and "selective conscription," but it is the old-fashioned conscription.

Under the volunteer system Alabama boys would be together under Alabama officers. Under conscription, whether it be called "selective draft" or "selective conscription," they would be separated and shipped to every part of the country, to serve with strangers and under Army officers unknown to them.

Why all this talk about conscription before the volunteer system is tried out? It is, in my opinion, an insult to American patriotism. Is the patriotism of Americans distrusted? Is it because it is thought that America's sons will not volunteer for trench warfare in Europe, and that they should be forced by conscription to render such service?

If a conscription law should be adopted and forced upon our people, would not it be said by Germany that it was evidence of a want of patriotism on the part of our people or that they were not in favor of this war?

Has our country ever engaged in a war when it did not have the support of American volunteers, and at times when our population and resources were very much less than they are now? Shall it now be said that this, the greatest of all the nations in the world, with a cultured, educated, patriotic, and brave people, sufficient support from volunteers can not be secured to insure victory? I am not prepared to believe that there are fewer true and patriotic American citizens to-day than there have been heretofore when we were engaged in other wars.

Let us be careful, if we become entangled in a contest for the destruction of Prussian militarism and autocracy, as is contemplated by this resolution, and for the establishment of democracy in Germany, that we do not establish an autocracy and militarism at home.

It is estimated that 30,000,000 men have been called to take up arms in Europe since the war commenced. The loss of that number as producers has brought about such a decrease of food products that it has even in our country caused the prices of food and the necessaries of life to rise beyond the reach of our people, and many of our own people in times of peace are suffering for the want of sufficient nutritious food. We have already had bread riots in some of our cities.

If we go into this war, everyone in every walk of life will and should exert renewed energies and do his part in providing food and material with which to prosecute the war and relieve, as far as possible, all human suffering, and at the same time we should place some restriction upon the exportation of food if it is found necessary to prevent suffering and starvation in our own country.

I believe that the great masses of our people are opposed to sending our boys to the European trenches for anything that has happened up to this time.

The question of throwing 100,000,000 of happy and peaceful people into war is a stupendous responsibility, but that is what will follow the passage of this resolution. Yes; it is an awfully serious thing to plunge the people of this Nation into one of the most barbaric carnages in the history of the world.

It is an easy thing to vote for a war for some one else to fight. It is easy for some who will never go to the battle field or smell gunpowder if the war lasts five years and who have no boys to go to criticize one who opposes or votes against war; and we who have the courage of our convictions to vote against this resolution will no doubt be criticized by some people of this kind, who may also at the same time claim the right to express the sentiments of all the other people in the community on this question. I can not help but think this night of the millions of mothers in this fair land of ours who will have to give up their boys to go upon the battle fields in a foreign country three or four thousand miles from home, and who are now spending sleepless nights with aching hearts, and of the sisters who will have to give up their brothers. The women and children are always the greatest sufferers in times of war.

One young man during the day, while clamoring for war in a speech in the House advised all who opposed the resolution to be quiet and say nothing lest they embarrass the Government. I can imagine no greater embarrassment to our Government than for a Member of this House who has taken an oath to do his duty under the Constitution when his conscience dictates to him that he should speak to be denied the right of free speech.

Some one else has said that no one should oppose this resolution because it has the approval of the President. Then, what the reason and the need of that provision of the Constitution which declares that Congress alone can declare war and may do it without the recommendation of the President? I am sure the President would not respect a man who voted for something that he thought was wrong because some one else thought it was right.

I have served in this historic Hall with the most of you for the past two years. During that time we have had many important questions to pass upon, but none to compare with this. Your manner and the expressions upon your faces make me know that each one of you feels the responsibility resting upon you at this time.

In a short time and during the early hours of Good Friday, the anniversary of the crucifixion of the Savior of the World, we will be called upon to vote upon this resolution.

This resolution was only reported to the House about 24 hours ago, and I have not had an opportunity of submitting it to the people whom I represent and of giving them an opportunity to examine it and fully understand its purport, meaning, and effect, and to get an expression of their views upon it, but will send them my remarks in order that they may know my views upon this all-important question and upon what I base my decision.

The time will soon come when each Member of this House will be called upon to cast his vote. This is an awful hour. I have hoped and prayed that we would never be called upon to vote upon such a resolution as this. I have prayed to the Almighty for aid and guidance, and I will do my duty as I see it, voting my honest convictions and the way I believe to be right and to the best interests of my country and the people I represent, and, in doing so, shall vote against the resolution.

I may be criticized by some of my constituents, but when they have studied the question and have read my views and my reasons for voting as I do, I believe that those who know me, whether they agree with me or not, will give me credit for having discharged my duty as I saw it and in a manner which I believed was for their best interest, and I believe the time will come—and at no distant day—when they will practically all agree that I am right. If not before, they will no doubt when conscription officers come for their boys, the flower of the young manhood of the country, to train them for European warfare and to convert them into war machines for the slaughterhouses of Europe, and when the Federal taxgatherers come for the additional taxes to pay the expenses of the war, and when additional taxes are levied on coffee, sugar, and all other necessaries of life, to say nothing of the stamp taxes and all other kinds of taxes, though I do not base my opposition to this war resolution on account of the expense of the war, but on the grounds heretofore stated.

In casting my vote against this resolution, I yield to no Member of this House in patriotism and loyalty to my country, and I wish to assure you that the people whom I have the honor to represent and whom I love are as brave, loyal, and patriotic people as ever lived, and that if war is declared they will all rally to the flag and will bravely discharge their every duty, as they and their splendid and noble ancestry have heretofore done in all the wars of our country.

Patriotic Resolutions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 18, 1917.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted to Members of the House to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the war resolution I wish to present certain matter relative thereto from my congressional district. I have been highly pleased with the patriotism and loyalty manifested in many different ways by my constituents. This I have gathered from many personal letters, from editorials in the newspapers of my district, and from resolutions adopted by citizens' meetings. It is true that many of my constituents were opposed to war and believed that war with the Imperial Government of Germany was unnecessary; but the vast majority, I believe, approved the course of the President, and in the mighty struggle in which we are now engaged will respond to every call of duty and do their full share to maintain the rights of our citizens and the honor of this Republic. As an evidence of the spirit of patriotism in my district I wish to print in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the citizens of my home county of Woodward, which are as follows:

WOODWARD, OKLA., *April 12, 1917.*

To Hon. DICK T. MORGAN,
Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MORGAN: We, the committee appointed at a mass meeting of 5,000 people at Woodward, April 11, 1917, and charged with the duty of sending the resolutions adopted at that meeting to our honorable Senators and Representatives in Congress for their action—inclose a copy of the said resolutions—and respectfully request that they be presented to the honorable House of Representatives and, if possible, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very respectfully,

D. P. MARUM,
C. W. HEROD,
JOHN J. GERLACH,
S. M. SMITH,
Committee.

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the people of Woodward County, Okla.

Whereas our Nation has been forced into war by acts of the German Empire; and

Whereas our national rights have been ruthlessly violated on land and sea; and

Whereas American lives have been taken and plots formulated to destroy our national existence by two powers which were responsible for the Holy Alliance 95 years ago, said alliance having been formed for the purpose of destroying all republican forms of government: Therefore we, the citizens of Woodward County, Okla., in mass meeting assembled this 11th day of April, 1917, in the city of Woodward—

Resolve—

First. That we approve the action of our President and Congress in their declaration of war on the 4th day of April, 1917, against the German Empire.

Second. That we, as loyal Americans following in the footsteps of our forefathers, hold the enemies of our country to be our enemies, and the flag of our country, the Stars and Stripes, to be the flag for which we will fight.

Third. That we pledge the entire resources of our country, even to the last drop of our blood, the last penny of our wealth, in support of our Government in its efforts to vindicate our national honor and preserve for us and all the world the sacred right of self-government.

Fourth. That we ask our Senators and Representatives to give to the President their hearty support in organizing our Army and Navy to be of the highest efficiency, that our national honor may be vindicated and our future peace and prosperity guaranteed for all time to come.

Fifth. That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee to present these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives, with the request that they be properly presented to the President of the United States and to both Houses of our National Congress as embodying the unanimous sentiment of the people of Woodward County, regardless of the countries of our birth and irrespective of our political affiliations.

I also present resolutions adopted by the citizens of Enid, the largest city in my district and one of the largest in the State of Oklahoma. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolutions by citizens of Enid, Okla.

ENID, OKLA., *April 4, 1917.*

We, the people of Enid, Okla., in patriotic meeting assembled, do hereby declare that we are not a people of parties, neither partisans, but Americans. We are but a part of great democracy; we are individuals of a Government by and of the people; we must decide what the Government shall be and do.

We are here to-night, a part of this great democracy, to speak our word, to say that we are ready to do our part in bearing the burdens of a free people. We feel that the rights of a free people have been assailed by ruthless warfare, made not only upon armed men but upon helpless women and children; not only upon land but upon the high seas. The commerce of the seas made to cease, or are imperiled, so that children can not be fed and clothed. In fact, we feel that democracy has been assailed upon the earth and may perish unless this our land shall come to the rescue. We therefore, as citizens of free America, do hereby say that we are ready to bear any burdens that must be borne that democracy may not perish from off the earth: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of Enid, Okla., do hereby extend and offer to the Congress of the United States and to Woodrow Wilson, our President, our lives, our all, in defense of democracy; our lives, our all, in defense of the rights of all people to traverse God's highways of the seas with their commerce; our lives, our all, in defense of the rights of humanity; finally, our lives, our all, in defense of our flag, the Stars and Stripes, Old Glory; and be it further

Resolved, That we, as citizens, wish to express our heartfelt appreciation of the work of our own boys, members of Company K, First Regiment of Oklahoma Infantry. We give the officers of Company K and each member a hearty Godspeed as they go forth to fight our battles for us, and our sincere wish is that each boy may return, that we may do him further honor.

CHARLES H. DAVIS,
W. E. BROWN,
C. D. BOARDMAN,
C. P. FILLEBROUN,
FRANK LETSON,
Committee.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DENVER S. CHURCH,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I can see a multitude of reasons why we should not go into this war, but I am totally unable to see one reason why we should. Nothing was ever settled by war which could not have been settled better some other way. There never was a war that was not an indictment against the human race. If we must have war, it only shows our weakness and depravity, and that we are still uncivilized and yet in the jungles.

I had hoped that our people were at least a little wiser than the other peoples of the world; that our goodly land, our high pretenses, and our hopes and fears had caused us to actually

grow and burst the shell; but such is not the case, for it is decreed that we must abandon our high ambitions, extinguish our lights, call back our vanguards, turn around and take up the barbarous methods of the past. It is decreed that we abandon our treaty plans and dreams of peace and adopt the methods of the ancients and help make again the world a slaughter pen.

To-day 14 of the great nations of the earth are engaged in a desperate war—more gigantic, more bloody and foolish, and more wicked than any of the wars that have preceded it. They are not fighting against ignorance or immorality, not fighting against diphtheria that chokes our little children to death, not fighting tuberculosis—our national scourge—not fighting to find a relief for cancer or leprosy, nor any other of the evils that beset the race, but fighting people of their own kind who kneel before the same shrine and worship the same God, apparently trying to exterminate the human race.

If all the money, energy, and human intelligence that has been expended in this war had been used for the alleviation of the woes of humanity, it could have caused the extermination of 95 per cent of all the venomous reptiles in the world; could have destroyed all of the wild, ferocious beasts of the woods and built homes for all of the homeless wanderers on the face of the earth, and yet it is demanded by the newspapers and a few other interested sources that we become one of the factors in the disgraceful struggle.

If a score of men were fighting in front of my house, fighting furiously with knives, clubs, and guns, striking wildly and all fighting madly for their lives, I would not think of standing around continually prodding the fighters about my rights. If I did, I would expect to get a broken nose or a nasty lick over the eye. Even if they staggered onto my radish patch, I would not at once challenge the whole bunch for a fight. No! I would get out of the war zone as quickly as possible and see them at their homes when the fight was over and they were no longer excited but were reasonable and cool, and I would ask them if they did not think they owed me something for tearing up my garden the day they had the scrap, and nine chances to ten they would pay me every cent I asked, and I would go away from them their friend.

It is no time to be too exciting when a fight or war is on. I once knew a gentle milch cow to run her master up a tree when he interfered with her fight, and at one time I was bitten through the hand by my own watchdog when I was trying to referee his scrap. That, however, was a long time ago, when I was young and foolish. During later years I have made it a practice to do my talking the day after the fight, when the air was no longer filled with dust, hide, hair, and fur.

I am perfectly devoted to the idea of keeping out of the war zone when a free-for-all fight is on.

To be frank with you, I think that instead of encouraging this war, we should devote all of our wisdom, energy, and skill in a gigantic effort to banish war forever from the face of the earth. It is necessary that we should do this, for war lowers all of our standards and threatens the very existence of humanity. It makes a mockery of our morality, a mockery of our humanity, a mockery of our religion, and it makes a mockery of our God. It makes prayer sound like the murmuring of the feeble-minded. Why should human beings call on God for mercy when they will not show mercy to one another? Millions of men to-day are in the trenches of Europe on their knees praying to God for mercy, while at the same time they are looking over the embankments trying to blow out the brains of their fellow men, trying to make their wives widows and their children fatherless. If our Creator is watching us at all, I wonder that He does not get tired of the whole proposition and blot out the human race. I wonder that He did not do so in the day of Darius. I wonder that He did not do so in the days of Julius Cæsar or in the days of Napoleon, and I wonder more than ever why He does not do so now. Yes; blot out the human race and start all over again with upright beings that have mercy and humanity in their hearts.

Mr. Speaker, I am constitutionally opposed to war, unless we are invaded or threatened with invasion, which is something almost too absurd to contemplate and something which will never occur so long as we treat the other nations in a just and humane manner. But if I were inclined to war I am sure I never could get the consent of my mind to vote my country into this present conflict. It is such a contagious, wicked, unheard-of strife, without precedent in all the years of time.

It is estimated that four millions of men have already been slain in this war. Some one who had computed it told me the other day that if all these dead were placed end to end a pedestrian could walk a distance equal to all the way from San Francisco to New York and return stepping every foot of the way upon the bloated bodies of the dead. It is also estimated that over 500,000 barrels of human blood has already been shed—shed in vain, for a cause unknown. The question is, Shall we get into this monstrous conflict and add a few thousand miles more to the long row of the putrid dead? Shall we simply—because we have an excuse—spill and have spilled a few more thousand barrels of blood? Humanity with uplifted hands screams "no" from the uttermost parts of the earth.

It is absurd to claim that one group of belligerents is wholly right and that the other is entirely wrong. The course of each finds justification among the highest, most sincere, and approved reasonings of their race. Each nation is fighting for what it thinks is right.

The rights denied us both by the allies and the central powers are of a temporary nature. They will be suffered by us only during the existence of the war. The rifling of the mails and the blockade of the North Sea by England and the declaring of the war zone by Germany are in neither instance intended as an insult to us, but are the result of exigencies, as they claim, to which they have been driven in fighting for their existence and life.

For one, I have no patience with any citizen of this country, devoid of patriotism and reason, who wants to go within the war zone. While three-fourths of the world is prostrate with grief and military law is generally in force and more than 30,000,000 men are on the battle field, it is no hardship for me or any of my kind to remain at home and enjoy the marvelous blessings and wonders of North America and my peaceful native land.

I know a thousand young men in my district in the West who in case of war will volunteer and follow the flag, if necessary, into the very jaws of death. I do not want these faithful, thoughtful boys, sons of pioneers, who, since they were 5 years of age, have had sense enough to take shelter when the storm is on, to have to lay down their lives to avenge the loss of those who, in search of trouble and new thrills, ventured into this condemned zone of war. Neither am I concerned because during the remainder of the war the attitude of the belligerents will prevent, to a certain degree, the exportation of our goods. In view of the unheard-of high prices which now prevail it is self-evident that more of our produce should be retained here in order to reduce the prices at home.

Another big reason why I am opposed to our becoming one of the belligerents is that not one man whom our soldiers will kill has had even a word to say in regard to bringing on the war, and not one in a hundred thousand who will fall before our guns will ever know the cause of the war in which they fought and died.

The saddest part of the whole thing is, that when it is all over and the terms of peace are presented the rulers of the nations will come out of seclusion with their families all intact—the same rulers who declared and brought on the war—and will treat together and arrange the terms of peace. They caused the war, and during its duration lived in luxury, suffered none of war's inconveniences, ate three good meals a day, and slept in a downy bed at night, while the soldiers, innocent of its cause, fought, suffered, and died.

If we enter into this war, it is just a matter of killing a sufficient number of innocent men to convince the rulers of the central powers that in order to save their own unworthy heads it is time to stop the war. I submit to you in all candor and reason that the poor soldiers who must be slaughtered, in many instances being men of responsibility, of home and family ties, it would be far more merciful and less far-reaching if the same results could be achieved, for our soldiers to brain an equal number of babies innocently sleeping in the cradles of the homes in Europe. The men whom we will kill in this war, in which we propose to enter to maintain our rights and honor, will be as innocent of its cause when they receive our fatal blow, and turn their pale faces toward home and wife and child and die, as they were in babyhood the triumphant morning on which they first learned to lisp their mother's name.

Another reason why I do not favor this proposed war, which the newspapers, the munition sellers, and the bondholders propose to bring upon us, is because many of the soldiers whom we will put to death will leave widows and children to mourn their loss. I never will believe that the honor of this people demands that we should flood the countries of Europe with a countless horde of orphan children.

We recently passed the child-labor law, preventing the little children of this country from being abused by working in manufacturing establishments and shops, but now it is demanded that we make war on the central powers, kill probably a million innocent men in order to make the Kaiser sorry, and thereby leave about 3,000,000 more fatherless little children to

cry themselves to sleep at night, uneducated and uncared for, to travel childhood's weary and uncertain path alone. It is estimated that there are 8,000,000 children now over there whose fathers have already been killed. "These little ones, without being the least responsible for the horrors of this war, are suffering with hunger, pain, loneliness, and bewilderment, utterly ignorant of the cause of their sufferings. They bear malice toward none; they can not understand why life for them has so completely changed, or why they are in a world of such sorrow and suffering. These children, if they live, will be the men and women who will direct the course of Europe when our children of America have reached manhood and womanhood. What will be their attitude toward our children—enmity or deep-rooted friendship? Perhaps it is yet possible for us to decide these questions; perhaps it is America's mission to decide it in the right way—in a way that will make a deep impression on the world now and which will be remembered through many generations."

The two greatest agencies in the world are force and love. The effect of one is temporary, while the effect of the other is enduring. Force holds only while its power lasts. Love binds as if with cables and bands of steel. The father who rules his family as with a rod if iron will soon lose his power, and, ridiculed and despised, will sit at last alone, while the winter storms of age beat upon the roof of his abandoned home; while she who rules and draws by love, though her form is bowed beneath the weight of years, is the idol of her home and the inspiration of her children's children.

The government that holds the allegiance of its citizens only by an iron hand is ripe for revolution and is tottering on the brink of ruin; but the government that has the affection of its people is filled with patriotism and is in the morning of its long and useful day.

That nation that wins and holds its place by force among the family of the nations of the world is only hastening to a fatal day when some other power will grow strong, dispute its rights, and take its place.

No right-minded person believes that a household, in order to be respected by its members, must be ruled by force.

No right-minded person believes that a nation, in order to be respected by its citizens, must rule them by force, and no right-minded person, it seems to me, should believe that a nation, in order to be respected by the other nations of the world, must maintain and hold its position among them through acts of force and putting in fear.

Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece, and Rome, as well as all the other fallen nations of the past, are examples of the futility of the plan of nations trying to hold the respect of each other by force alone.

When I close my eyes at night, however dark, I see 8,000,000 fatherless children in Europe who, at the close of every long and lonesome day, cry themselves to sleep. War has decreed these little waifs shall drift down childhood's stream alone, beset by every kind of vice, by childhood's ills, by hunger, fear, and cold, with no fond eyes guarding from shore. War has caused humanity at last to forsake her young.

I will give you a human plan in which we can participate in this war, a plan which will not cost a life, a drop of blood, nor cause a tear to flow, save tears of gratitude and joy—that will not produce a moan, a sigh, a wrinkled face, or broken heart.

This war will doubtless cost the United States at least $20,000,000,000. Let us dedicate five billions of this sum to humanity's cause, and with it relieve suffering instead of using it in a way that will produce more. Let us send $100,000,000 worth of food and clothing a year to each of the belligerent governments, to the allies and the central powers alike, a gift to the little children whose fathers and brothers have fallen or who are fighting in the war. Five billions used in this manner would last more than three years, probably to the end of the war. If so, we will save $15,000,000,000 to our own Government by the plan. Let us print, in their native tongues, on each package and garment sent the words: "The heart of America is bleeding for you."

Let each garment and food package also show a picture of the beautiful American flag, so that when the little fellows rise from their beds each morning they will clothe themselves with at least one garment, a token of mercy and kindness from far away America, and when they eat their breakfasts they will see our flag and the inscription on the packages from which is secured their scanty supply.

Were we to follow this plan we would make both the giver and receiver glad. Were we to follow this humane, sympathetic plan, instead of the barbarous methods of war, America would soon become in reality the light of the world. Were we to adopt this method, in years to come, when the children of Europe are grown to be men, if some kaiser or war god should marshal his armies on the field of battle against us the then warriors, being the children whom we now feed and clothe, when they saw that flag planted upon the ramparts of the enemy would remember that they first saw it on their little jackets or food parcels sent them by a kind-hearted people across the sea when fatherless and friendless, too sad even to cry, as in bewilderment and desolation they sat alone. Do you think such an army would fire on that flag? No!

By force we can never make that flag permanently popular, but we can do so by acts of justice and affection. "Whosoever killeth by the sword must die by the sword."

For one I am thoroughly disgusted. I am sorry my country will not rise to this masterly occasion. I am sorry we are to throw down the weapons of humanity and take up the weapons of brutality.

Another reason why I am opposed to going into this war is because we have to lose and surrender so much, and because we will, at the best, gain so little.

We established the right to enter the German war zone during the few months or years of this war. Do not say we have settled the matter for all time. Such is not the case. We have no reason to believe we will not be confronted with the same or a very similar situation in the next great war. We are not fighting for a principle, but to remove a condition. We are simply angry with the Kaiser and we propose to get into the war and kill a few million quiet, friendly Germans in order to show the Kaiser how mad we are. We know that if we enter the war we will lose a thousand lives for everyone we will lose if we stay out of it. We will lose a thousand dollars for every dollar we will lose if we stay out of it. We all must admit that from the saving of lives and money the war is going to be a miserable failure. What else do we lose?

To-day the United States is the only great neutral power on earth. It stands aloof and alone. It stands just where it ought to stand. For 140 years we have declared our form of government to be the light of the world—that our position among the nations is that of a brother—that we are not here to slaughter them, but to do the other nations good. Let us maintain our position and keep our course, for the hour of our supreme usefulness is at hand. Soon the poor, foolish, struggling, bleeding, and dying nations will need the helping hand of a great, just, and powerful friend to lift them to their feet and steady them while they learn to stand alone.

It is an easy matter to get into trouble, but sometimes a very hard matter to get out of it.

When we go into this war we are 100,000,000 happy people, but what will we be when we emerge? When we enter it our stores and warehouses are full. How will it be when we come out? When we go in, the grass has grown for years upon the graves of our honored dead. How will it be when we come out? When we go into this war empty sleeves and sightless eyes are almost unknown. How will it be after the struggle? When we go into it crutches and widows' tears are out of date. How will it be when we come out? When we go in we are heavily laden with honor and are recognized as being the light of the world. How will it be when we come out?

To-day we are the only great neutral nation. This ought to be more sacred to us than was the ark of the covenant to ancient Israel. To whom are we going to surrender our privileges for humanity when we sell our birthright for a mess of war pottage? Will China or some one of the neutral South American Republics take our place?

Again, I am not willing to enter this war, for by so doing we will unite with the allies, espouse their causes, and be obliged to fight until their causes, as well as our own, are won. The American people, in my judgment, are not ready to form such an entangling alliance, against which we were warned by George Washington. Neither are they ready to help England, France, Italy, Russia, and Japan win their causes. We have not passed on the proposition as to who are right—the Allies or the Central Powers. Neither do we intend to, for it is none of our business. Let us beware lest in settling our own good cause we help settle also the causes of others that are bad.

We have but to go back to the Spanish-American War to find an example of how two nations were grossly wronged by the same agencies that are now at work bringing on another war.

John Sherman, Secretary of State during the Spanish-American War, said, in a public address at his home in Mansfield, Ohio, at a reception given in his honor just before he retired as Secretary of State:

> Had not the War with Spain been declared when it was we could have secured by treaty with Spain all that we demanded.

The United States Government in 1903 published a "Report of the Foreign Relations of the United States," for a period that

included the diplomatic negotiations preceding the War with Spain. This report shows that on February 26, 1898, the American minister to Spain, Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, wrote to President McKinley that he had obtained the "practical adjustment of every problem" that had been intrusted to him. On April 3, 1898, Minister Woodford cabled to President McKinley as follows (p. 732):

If conditions at Washington still enable you to give me the necessary time, I am sure that before next October I will get peace in Cuba with justice to Cuba and protection to our great American interests. I know that the Queen and her ministry sincerely desire peace, and that if you can give me time and reasonable liberty of action I will get for you the peace you desire so much and for which you have labored so hard.

Just a few days before we declared war Minister Woodford again cabled President McKinley, on April 10, repeating the foregoing sentiments, and added:

I hope that nothing will be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can. With your power of action, sufficiently free, you will win the fight on your own lines.

Yet on April 19 Congress ordered armed intervention in Cuba, and three days later adopted a resolution in which it was declared that "war exists."

What a shame to the American people that a war was unnecessarily declared, which resulted in the death of 6,395 officers and enlisted men, wherein hundreds of millions of dollars were spent, when the matter could have been settled by ink and pen on a scrap of paper.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to declaring war on Germany for the further reason that, in my judgment, 98 per cent of the people of the United States are against such a declaration. On January 31, 1916, I introduced House joint resolution 128, which provides for a change of Article I, section 8, division 11, of the Constitution of the United States, which section defines the powers of Congress to declare war. Congress has the power at present to declare war whenever it shall see fit. I seek by this resolution to restrict this power, and have provided in the proposed amendment that Congress shall have the power to declare war in cases of invasion or threatened invasion of the United States or any of its insular possessions by a foreign power, or in cases of insurrection or revolution within the United States or any of its insular possessions, and in other cases where the matter of declaring war has been submitted to the people and a majority of those voting have declared themselves in favor of the proposed war. In other words, Congress shall have the right to declare war only in cases of emergency. In all other cases it shall be left to the people.

Mr. Speaker, I consider this scheme the solution of the whole war proposition. The people of one nation seldom, if ever, want to fight the people of another nation. It is the rulers of nations that bring on war. President Wilson, in his Chicago speech several months ago, said: "Rulers, not public opinion, brought on the present war in Europe." He could with the same degree of truthfulness have said that nine-tenths of all the wars that have come in the past to blight and curse the earth have been brought on by the rulers, instead of by the public sentiment of the people. The rulers of our country here in Washington, changing, as they frequently do, every two, four, or six years, are just as apt to mistake newspaper agitation for public sentiment and bring on war as are the rulers of other lands. Remove the power of the President and Congress to bring on war, except in cases of invasion, threatened invasion, revolution, or threatened revolution, and nine-tenths of the danger of war will pass.

Congress, that now has the constitutional power to bring on war, is composed of Senators and Representatives who are exempt from war. This is a wise provision, for most of them would be a hindrance on the battle field. In case of a charge they would hardly escape being run over by the Red Cross, the newspaper boys, and the commissary department; and yet on the most trivial provocation we find many of them anxious to bring on a war that other men must fight.

Our present plan is neither safe or fair. I hear much about the honor of our country, and I believe the honor of this country should be maintained; but I want to see the term "honor" defined by the men who have to maintain it.

I would not like to have some fat fellow define my honor, tell me when it had been assailed, and shove me into a fight.

No man should have to be a factor in his country's defense in time of war who was not a factor on election day in determining whether there should be war.

War so vitally affects every citizen that I think every citizen should have a right to express his views as to whether there should be war.

War is the most important of all subjects. Why should not the people decide it?

Why should not the interested parties decide the most interesting to them of all subjects?

Do we not believe that the people should rule? Do we mean that this is a Government wherein the people shall decide matters of minor importance, but when it comes to deciding whether we shall have war, the largest and most important of all questions, that the people are not qualified to decide? As human blood and human life are of more importance than all other considerations, so the question of war is of more importance than all other subjects.

During all the history of the world small minorities have been declaring wars for the large majorities to fight. The men who fought the battles of olden times fought not for a cause but for their kings. To-day the same old system prevails, and now the armies of Europe fight not for a sacred cause but for their Kaiser, their Emperor, their King, or Czar.

Fighting, bleeding, and dying for a cause to them unknown! It is now proposed that a handful of rulers here, who really ought to be the servants of the people, but who will not be if they declare war, shall follow the example of the rulers of Europe and pry this country over into the seething hell of war. For one, I am not in favor of it. I am in favor in this people's Government of letting the people decide whether they want war or not. I am in favor of letting the mothers and fathers who will furnish the fuel decide whether this wildfire shall be started. I am in favor of the men whose country will be imperiled, whose blood will be spilt, and whose lives will be lost in case of war, having a chance to say whether there shall be war. I am in favor of hearing from the poor fellow who in case of war will die in the trenches, from the fellows who will have their eyes shot away, who will wear empty sleeves, and go on crutches for the rest of their lives. I do not care so much about hearing from a few well-fed newspaper men and a few fat bondholders as I do the young, lean fellows, who will have to stand, and who are willing to stand, if necessary, like a granite wall and face without a quiver the fiery hell of war. Before this war is deliberately declared, as long as there is plenty of time, I want to hear from the firesides and thresholds that will be saddened and ruined in case of war. I know how the people feel who are going to profit in case of war, but I want to know for sure how the people feel who will defray its expenses. For the sake of the result of the war, I want the voters of this country to have a voice in declaring the war, for when this great people decide for war, their cause will every time be just. It will be a human cause, a cause as free from stain as that flag is free from stain, a cause as pure as the dewdrops that fall upon the mountain sides.

Do not decide against this plan because it is something new. Remember that this is a new age. Progress beckons from the mountain tops. Our best ideas have not yet found their way in books. Humanity has come up from the Stone Age step by step up the long and weary way. Remember, the absurdities yesterday are the accepted truths of to-day.

Let me call your attention to the fact again that the people of one country scarcely, if ever, want to fight the people of another country. Had the peoples of the belligerent countries been consulted this war never would have been fought, and if we were to take time now, and we have lots of time, for it never does any harm to postpone a fight, and let the people speak by ballot, America will not become a factor in this hideous strife.

I am desperately in favor of abandoning the old system. It is wrong on the very face of it, and it has proved itself to be wrong in all the wars of the past.

The old system has caused as many drops of blood to be shed along the Mediterranean as there are drops of water in the sea; it has caused as many teardrops as there are drops of water in the Amazon; it has reduced to putrid flesh, grinning skeletons, and bleached and withered bones the youth and flower of every age and land; it has disgusted humanity with itself, made religion a farce, prayer a mockery, and by universal consent closed the windows of heaven to mankind; it has caused the chief occupation of man to be the shedding of his neighbor's blood, and made implements of husbandry secondary to implements of death; it has caused the soldiers to be superior to the tiller of the soil and the army officer to be regarded head and shoulders above his fellow man; it has caused human sympathy to become dry at the fountain and has turned the heart of man to stone; it has outraged decency and morality and caused mankind to fall below the level of the beast, and the iron and bloody foot of war has trampled without regret the noblest inspirations of the human heart.

I submit that it is time to get rid of war or it will get rid of us. It is an unwelcome visitor, and I want to make it impossible for it to reach our shores. I want to make it a stranger and drive it to the uttermost parts of the earth. I will never be

willing to pursue it as some desire across the sea. I want to remove it as far from us as the east is from the west. I want to put thorns and thistles in its pathway. I want to make its way devious and uncertain. I want to throw up barriers against it, mountain ranges, trackless deserts, oceans, and continents between my native land and war.

Some one told me the other day if a war referendum were declared there would be no war, that the people would never declare war unless we were invaded or threatened with invasion. He argued that this would be a calamity. I would rather, ten thousand times rather, argue in favor of yellow fever, cancer, or smallpox than bewail the loss of war. I would rather raise my voice in behalf of diphtheria or the great white plague than court this monstrous evil.

It has been said that the devil is the cause of all our natural earthly woes. Mankind is the cause of war, and in bringing woes upon ourselves we have outdeviled the devil. We certainly have made the devil feel silly. We have discounted him at his own game of bringing misery.

All power in government rests with the people. In some instances they delegate their power to a few men; but the important matters they refuse to delegate. For instance, we do not delegate to our State legislators the power to change the State constitution. That must be done only by a vote of the people of the State. We will not permit our State legislators to vote a bond issue upon the State. That power has not been delegated. It is of so much importance that we refuse to let it go out of our hands. If the change of a State constitution or the voting of a bond issue is so important that the people have refused to delegate the power to representatives, why should we delegate to the President and a little over 500 men here in Washington the power to declare war? War is of as much more importance than all other things as human blood is more precious than oats or corn. War may mean the death of 10,000,000 men; it may mean 10,000,000 children made fatherless, 10,000,000 wives made widows; it may mean every dollar taken from the Treasury, and it may mean the lowering of our flag.

Will you trust your hired man with your complicated automobile but not with a simple cast-iron plow? Will you trust your doctor with the life and health of your wife and children but refuse to permit him to prescribe for a poodle dog?

I can not reach the viewpoint of those who claim that the people should not have charge of their war-making power. They have all of the power. The soldiers and sailors who do the fighting must be furnished by them. The people furnish every dollar of the expense. They own the ships, the guns, ammunition, and all the other machinery of war. The question is, Why should they not decide when it is all to be placed in operation? I can not possibly see why they should have a few men to say when it is time for them to fight and die on the battle field.

It astounds me to think that in spite of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth, the founder of the Christian religion, declared in his Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." An element of the American people revile those who lift up their voices against war and certain newspapers and moral cowards try to make it appear that he who in this fateful hour prefers peace to war is a traitor to the country in which he lives.

A little while ago I heard a Member on this floor denounce CLAUDE KITCHIN, of North Carolina, because in deep sincerity he spoke the honest sentiments of his great heart and bravely gave to this House the best product of his masterly mind. When this country really becomes acquainted with its great men of this time the name of CLAUDE KITCHIN, in my judgment, will head the list.

In conclusion let me say I am sorry we are not far enough from the jungles to take the right course. I am sorry we have to matriculate again in the tedious university of time. Some nation in the future will rise. I know not when or where will be its seat of power. I fondly trust here in our goodly land. That nation, like Saul, the son of Kish, will stand head and shoulders above all around. It will be a nation of destiny, its purpose to uplift the human race. Its people will be just and wise; excitement will not sweep them off their feet. In that nation there will be no assumption of power, no inroads or intrigues. The legislators there will fear no whip, but, guided by what they feel is right, will bow their heads only to duty's call. There will be no war gods there, no thirsting for human blood, and newspapers will be the servants of the peoples' will. Before that day comes republics like our own may crumble a hundred times. No one can tell, but until it does come this world will not be a fit place in which to live. Humanity will finally learn its lesson. Humanity must finally win.

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 16, 1917.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to present a number of resolutions of patriotic citizens and associations showing the loyal western public sentiment prevailing throughout the State of Colorado.

The matter referred to is as follows:

PLEDGES LOYALTY—GOV. GUNTER SPEAKS FOR THE CENTENNIAL STATE.

[By the United Press.]

DENVER, *April 3.*

Gov. Gunter to-day pledged Colorado's loyalty to the President in the following telegram:

DENVER, COLO., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

As the chief executive of the State of Colorado, I pledge to our President in this great crisis the most loyal and earnest support of this Commonwealth and its citizenship.

JULIUS C. GUNTER,
Governor of Colorado.

—

ASKS LOYAL RESPONSE—GOV. GUNTER ISSUES WAR PROCLAMATION—EXECUTIVE URGES COLORADOANS TO DO DUTY AND ACCORD JUST TREATMENT TO LAW-ABIDING ALIENS.

[Western Newspaper Union News Service.]

DENVER.

Gov. Gunter has issued the following proclamation:

"*To the people of the State of Colorado:*

"A state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government. Every thoughtful citizen, while determined and confident of the issue, realizes the awful and stupendous character of the world conflict upon which we are entering. Calmly, patiently, thoughtfully, in the fear of God, and in obedience to the principles of international law, our country has proceeded. Every reasonable effort known to the law of nations or to intercourse between civilized peoples has been made to avert this conflict—yet made in vain. Our country now has no other recourse in defense of our rights and the honor of the Nation but to declare war. War has been declared. As becomes a brave, proud, and patriotic people the citizenship of Colorado will loyally bear their full part in this struggle, will unhesitatingly give to their country all that is needed of our resources.

"I, Julius C. Gunter, as governor of the State of Colorado, do hereby enjoin upon our people the strict observance of every provision of our President's proclamation declaring a state of war, and especially urge considerate and just treatment of all aliens within our borders, who are observant of our laws.

"This conflict may be long. It will certainly demand largely of our resources. As the chief executive of the State I urge loyal response to all calls for volunteers, State and Nation. The young men of our Commonwealth are as loyal as were their forefathers. They are patriotic, brave, and manly and require no conscription to respond to their country's call. Let there be no halting step in the action of the youth of our State.

"We must solemnly realize the demand that will be made upon our people—money, provisions, men. Let economy be entered upon. Every citizen, whether it be by the garden tract, the larger area, or aid by seeds, money, or otherwise to the farmer, should endeavor to increase our food production. There is now no scarcity of food products, no occasion for purchases which will stimulate prices and add to the burdens of those ill able to bear them; but there should be economy and provision for the future. Our maidens, our women, should continue in the work they are entering upon, preparing to serve their country as nurses and otherwise. Let our girls and boys of tender age be trained in their line of service. They will be needed before this struggle is over.

"In conclusion, let every citizen of our State perform, as he will, his full duty. In asking service of our citizenship the executive appeals to our citizens of all nationalities and all beliefs with as perfect confidence as to those native to our land.

"Given under my hand and executive seal this 7th day of April, A. D. 1917.

"JULIUS C. GUNTER, *Governor.*"

—

DURANGO, COLO., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting of citizens held at Durango, Colo., on April 6, 1917, the following resolution was adopted by unanimous vote, with direction that copy be wired to the President:

"Whereas the despotic rulers of Germany, in betrayal of the friendship long existing between the common people of Germany and the people of the United States, and in defiance of the law of nations, and in violation of the laws of humanity, have forced our Government to declare an existing state of war; and

"Whereas that war is declared and, under the wise guidance of our President, will be waged not for conquest nor any selfish gain but for defense of the rights and principles of our beloved Republic against the lawless and inhuman aggressions of monarchy, and for the preservation of republican self-government among the several nations of the earth, and to make human liberty secure and a safe and lasting peace among nations possible: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we pledge our earnest, loyal, and active support to our President and the Government in the coming conflict, and will do all within our power to bring victory to the American flag; and let it be known that this pledge covers many German-born loyal American citizens."

E. P. WILSON, *Secretary.*

—

CITY OF SALIDA,
Salida, Colo., April 11, 1917.

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR: At a patriotic mass meeting held in the Salida Opera House on Monday evening last the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas the President of the United States and the Congress should have the united support of the citizens in the conduct of the war: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That as loyal American citizens of Salida, Colo., without regard to political party lines, we approve the action of the President of the United States in severing relations with the Imperial German Government and of the Congress in declaring a state of war to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government, and that we pledge to the President our hearty support in every act of the Government to provide safety for our citizens and to protect the honor of our Nation and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the chairman of this meeting shall transmit copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

WM. C. ALEXANDER, *Mayor.*

—

MONTROSE'S RESOLUTIONS OF PATRIOTISM.

MONTROSE, COLO.

Congressman EDWARD T. TAYLOR:

Copy of resolutions adopted Thursday evening, April 5, 1917.

S. S. SHERMAN, *of Committee.*

Be it resolved by the citizens of Montrose County in convention assembled, That we recognize but one flag as our flag, the Stars and Stripes. That we acknowledge allegiance to but one Government, which is represented by that flag, the United States of America. That we recognize but one head of the Government, the man who now occupies the chair formerly occupied by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson. That in our present national crisis and emergency, without thought of party affiliations, we unhesitatingly commend, sanction, and indorse the address of our President to Congress, made on the evening of April 2, and pledge to him our unqualified support in the maintaining and carrying out of these principles, and this we do as fully and determinedly as did our forefathers who pledged their fortunes, their lives, and their sacred honor. That we are residents of an agricultural community, and as such must not forget that food staples grown by the farmers are as necessary in war as are munitions, and that of all food staples wheat is predominant. That we urge upon all farmers the growing of a larger and increased acreage in wheat and food staples that can be used not only by our own armies and people but also shipped to the people of the allied nations who are fighting our battles: Be it further

Resolved, That there is no room in this country for traitors or spies. Those who are not with us are against us. We demand strict respect and allegiance from all within our borders to our President, our Nation, and our flag.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS J. BLACK,
JAMES F. KYLE,
T. W. MONELL,
W. A. LINGHAM,
S. S. SHERMAN,
Committee.

—

OFFICE OF BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
MONTROSE COUNTY,
Montrose, Colo., April 10, 1917.

To all road overseers of Montrose County:

Our country is now at war with the Imperial Governments of Germany and Austria, not with the German people. The question to be fought out is not the subjugation of these people but the elimination of the Kaiser and Emperor. In other words, the elimination of Prussian militarism and the substitution of democratic government for the German and Austrian people.

As appointive officers of Montrose County you are part of its peace representatives. It is your duty to warn all persons against seditious talk and to inspire a reverence for the flag and a spirit of true Americanism. It is also your duty to warn Americans against intemperate talk or actions against their foreign-born neighbors. We should all be Americans in the broadest sense.

However, it is your duty to report at once anyone guilty of seditious talk, and, if necessary, to arrest them and notify the sheriff's office at Montrose.

Any American, whether born or naturalized, who shall by talk or action be guilty of sedition is a traitor.

Any citizen not naturalized who shall be guilty of sedition is an alien enemy.

Either offense is subject to severe punishment.

By order board of county commissioners.

T. W. MONELL, *Clerk.*

—

OFFICE OF CLERK OF THE
DISTRICT COURT, EAGLE COUNTY,
Red Cliff, Colo., April 9, 1917.

Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Pursuant to telegram, herewith find copy of resolutions adopted at a patriotic loyalty mass meeting of the citizens of Red Cliff, with request that you lay the same before our President, Woodrow Wilson.

With kind regards, we remain,

Very truly, yours, CHAS. W. COURSEN, *Chairman.*

To the Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America:

Whereas our United States is at war with the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas the people of Red Cliff wish to tender their sincere loyalty and support to our President and our Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved in mass assembly by the people of the city of Red Cliff and State of Colorado, That they fully concur in and indorse the actions and proclamations of President Wilson and the concurrent action and legislation of the Congress of the United States in the declaration of war against the Imperial Government of Germany, and as a pledge of our loyal support we have perfected an organization for the military instruction of our young men and an independent division of the American Red Cross Association of the ladies of Red Cliff, Gilman, and Eagle County.

Approved and adopted this 8th day of April, A. D. 1917.

The CITIZENS OF RED CLIFF, COLO.
CHAS. W. COURSEN,
WM. H. LUBY,
W. J. MEEHAN,
Committee on Resolutions.

—

Resolutions of the citizens of Fort Morgan, Colo.

We, citizens of Fort Morgan, Colo., in mass meeting assembled, make the following declarations: As loyal citizens of the United States we pledge our unqualified support to the administration at Washington in the endeavor, through suppression of unlawful invasion of our rights, both upon land and sea, by the German Government, to perpetuate freedom, happiness, and tranquillity for all nations of the world.

That in the declaration of a state of war as approved by the Congress President Wilson has consistently promulgated a principle of which the Imperial Government of Germany was duly warned following the initial unlawful submarine warfare, destruction of our ships, and murder of our citizens.

We as citizens of the Centennial State shall demonstrate in this emergency that the criticisms by the East of apparent apathy in our attitude toward the war issue is unmerited; that consistent patriotism of Colorado citizens is not subject to the spell of distance from the scenes of either military activity or of possible aggression by a foreign enemy; this regardless of the recent actions of a "little group of willful men" in the Colorado congressional delegation. We therefore commend the patriotic support of the war measures by Congressmen CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE and EDWARD T. TAYLOR and of Senator JOHN F. SHAFROTH.

We further pledge our support to the endeavors to be required of Colorado's governor in the war emergency, and that his call for supplying the State's unit in the military, civil, and commercial requisitions of the Government shall meet with prompt response in so far as our ability may permit.

Apparently secure in our position in the shadow of Pike's Peak and the eternal hills of the Rocky Mountain Range on the one side and the vast expanse of plain and valley on the other from eastern invasion of a foreign enemy, yet who knows but German intrigue and Mexican treachery may require our personal activities, every man of us, in defending the fair State of Colorado against invasion and disintegration by our neighbors on the south? Hence the further necessity of an awakening to the sense of our immediate duty in the pending war, abhorrent in any phase of its development.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President and to Members of the Congress from Colorado.

C. W. BALLARD,
Committee.

The Indian Problem.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SCOTT FERRIS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, April 18, 1917.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, the Indian problem, like the poor, is always with us for solution. Every four years we have had a new commissioner, new administration, injecting all sorts of doctrinaire into the administration of the Indian tribes. It has all been perplexing, confusing, and disturbing to them. Commissioner Sells, under date of April 17, 1917, has put out a new pronouncement of the policies that are to be followed in that bureau hereafter. If the policies laid down in that pronouncement are carried out to the letter it will be the most advanced step yet taken in Indian affairs and, I think, will result in no little benefit to the Indians and to the communities in which they live. I have not at all times been in full accord with the methods of handling Indian affairs, but Commissioner Sells's pronouncement of April 17, if carried out, will amount to an intelligent handling of the Indian situation and will, I am sure, bring good results. It is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 17, 1917.

DECLARATION OF POLICY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

During the past four years the efforts of the administration of Indian affairs have been largely concentrated on the following fundamental activities: The betterment of health conditions of Indians, the suppression of the liquor traffic among them, the improvement of their industrial conditions the further development of vocational training in their schools, and the protection of the Indians' property. Rapid

progress has been made along all these lines, and the work thus reorganized and revitalized will go on with increased energy. With these activities and accomplishments well under way we are now ready to take the next step in our administrative program.

The time has come for discontinuing guardianship of all competent Indians, and giving even closer attention to the incompetent that they may more speedily achieve competency.

Broadly speaking, a policy of greater liberalism will henceforth prevail in Indian administration to the end that every Indian, as soon as he has been determined to be as competent to transact his own business as the average white man, shall be given full control of his property and have all his lands and moneys turned over to him, after which he will no longer be a ward of the Government.

Pursuant to this policy, the following rules shall be observed:

1. Patents in fee: To all able-bodied adult Indians of less than one-half Indian blood there will be given, as far as may be under the law, full and complete control of all their property. Patents in fee shall be issued to all adult Indians of one-half or more Indian blood who may, after careful investigation, be found competent, provided that where deemed advisable patents in fee shall be withheld for not to exceed 40 acres as a home.

Indian students, when they are 21 years of age, or over, who complete the full course of instruction in the Government schools, receive diplomas, and have demonstrated competency will be so declared.

2. Sale of lands: A liberal ruling will be adopted in the matter of passing upon applications for the sale of inherited Indian lands where the applicants retain other lands and the proceeds are to be used to improve the homesteads or for other equally good purposes. A more liberal ruling than has hitherto prevailed will hereafter be followed with regard to the applications of noncompetent Indians for the sale of their lands where they are old and feeble and need the proceeds for their support.

3. Certificates of competency: The rules which are made to apply in the granting of patents in fee and the sale of lands will be made equally applicable in the matter of issuing certificates of competency.

4. Individual Indian moneys: Indians will be given unrestricted control of all their individual Indian moneys upon issuance of patents in fee or certificates of competency. Strict limitations will not be placed upon the use of funds of the old, the indigent, and the invalid.

5. Pro rata share—trust funds: As speedily as possible their pro rata shares in tribal trust or other funds shall be paid to all Indians who have been declared competent, unless the legal status of such funds prevents. Where practicable the pro rata shares of incompetent Indians will be withdrawn from the Treasury and placed in banks to their individual credit.

6. Elimination of ineligible pupils from the Government Indian schools: In many of our boarding schools Indian children are being educated at Government expense whose parents are amply able to pay for their education and have public-school facilities at or near their homes. Such children shall not hereafter be enrolled in Government Indian schools supported by gratuity appropriations, except on payment of actual per capita cost and transportation.

These rules are hereby made effective, and all Indian Bureau administrative officers at Washington and in the field will be governed accordingly.

This is a new and far-reaching declaration of policy. It means the dawn of a new era in Indian administration. It means that the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen. It means reduced appropriations by the Government and more self-respect and independence for the Indian. It means the ultimate absorption of the Indian race into the body politic of the Nation. It means, in short, the beginning of the end of the Indian problem.

In carrying out this policy I cherish the hope that all real friends of the Indian race will lend their aid and hearty cooperation.

CATO SELLS, *Commissioner.*

Approved:

FRANKLIN K. LANE, *Secretary.*

Supporting the President.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 18, 1917.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a telegram from certain citizens of Rome, N. Y.

The telegram is as follows:

ROME, N. Y., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. HOMER P. SNYDER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of Rome, to the number of 2,500, in mass meeting assembled, held under the joint auspices of the Rome Defense League, the Rome Chamber of Commerce, and the citizens' Navy recruiting committee, appointed by Mayor Midlam, have, by a unanimous vote, instructed me to telegraph you the following resolutions and ask that you present them to the House of Representatives:

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge ourselves to support the President in a vigorous prosecution of the war; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge our Representatives and Senators to work and vote for the immediate passage of a law providing for universal military training and service."

S. H. BEACH,
Chairman of the Meeting.

The Declaration of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER A. WATSON,
OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 5, 1917.

On the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Mr. WATSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, being unable, on account of recent sickness, to speak at length upon the resolution declaring war against the Government of the German Empire, I shall avail myself of the privilege to extend my remarks.

While there has been no lack of interest here or elsewhere in this important question, like most Members of this body I have hesitated to express opinions which might tend to embarrass the administration in the conduct of delicate negotiations, or which might compromise my own freedom of thought when subsequently called upon for action. The importance of the subject itself and respect for the interests of those we represent seemed likewise to impose silence on our part until diplomacy had exhausted its resources, the record made up, and all the facts in the long controversy were given to the world.

At length that time—deprecated, I am sure, by every patriotic citizen—is here; debate, remonstrance, protest have all been in vain; the time for action has come.

Upon the Congress the Constitution devolves the solemn duty to say whether there shall be peace or war.

I need not tell that the people whose commission I hold do not want war. Fifty-two years ago this day the closing scenes in the War Between the States were being enacted in their midst, and the memory of that great tragedy is too fresh for them to lightly invoke the god of battles in any cause. Their landscape is still marked here and there by frowning trenches and soldiers' graves, and there is scarcely a fireside at which the children have not learned the sad lessons of war—its toils, its privations, its sacrifices.

Having themselves drained the bitter cup to its dregs, my people would be the last to press it needlessly to the lips of their fellow men. The wreck of a civilization they are slowly and hopefully rebuilding, the restoration of their waste lands under changed economic conditions, the working out in peace and good will of the grave problems of race which confront them—all these domestic issues likewise admonish them to peace. And yet, with such memories and their vital interests at stake, if asked to-day whether they would have "peace at any price," I think I know what their answer would be.

"Is life so sweet or peace so dear as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?" was the question Patrick Henry propounded to their ancestors in the Revolution, and the answer was written in the bloodstained snows of Valley Forge, and sounded from the cannon's mouth at Yorktown.

The American people could have had such a peace in 1860 had they been willing to yield without a struggle their deep-rooted convictions concerning their constitutional rights and the fundamental principles of their Government; but had they done so many of its brightest pages would have been lost to their history. The trials and sacrifices of heroic conflict would not have come to strengthen men's character; Manassas and Gettysburg, Shiloh and Chickamauga, would not be recorded in our annals to inspire the Nation with courage, and the people of this land could not have been welded together in this great "Union of indefinite duration and illimitable expansion." Hence there is no American patriot who does not now rejoice that his people, in the settlement of their own vital domestic concerns, did not stoop to compromise with principle; but when the need came, like their fathers before them, boldly staked life and fortune upon the issue.

It is this fact which gives finality to the contests of the past, extinguishes the embers of controversy along with its flames, and which to-day imparts strength and stability to our institutions.

THINGS DEARER THAN PEACE AND WORSE THAN WAR.

Mr. Speaker, in this world there are things dearer than peace, and some things are worse than war. Peace is not an end in itself, but only a means to a higher and nobler national life. Honor is dearer than peace, justice is higher, liberty is more

important, humanity is far nobler. Without these a nation might have peace, and yet be so lacking in morals and self-respect as to deserve the contempt of mankind. What shall it profit a nation to gain peace everlasting and lose its own soul? It was Robert E. Lee, the great and the good, who said, "What is life without honor? Dishonor is worse than death."

So some things are worse than war. Dishonor and breach of faith are worse; so are cowardice and inhumanity; death is preferable to lasting disgrace. "Injustice is infinitely worse, and it were better that civilization should perish altogether than have injustice permanently enthroned by force."

If, then, these things be true, the nation so lost to shame as to resent no insult to its honor, to have no rights it is willing to fight for, to acquiesce in the destruction of its property and the slaughter of its own citizens, and to condone the breach of public faith and deeds of inhumanity in the family of nations—that nation has lived too long already, and sooner or later must face the obloquy of mankind. Either it will fall a prey to its own weakness, or the fierce barbarian from without will come in to mend the puny breed.

Therefore, while impressed with the weight of responsibility for those whose interests are committed to my keeping, and conscious, as I am, that my people desire peace as long as it can be kept with honor, it is for considerations like these, so imperfectly enumerated, that I have been impelled to the conclusion it was no longer possible to maintain friendly relations with Germany without the sacrifice of interests far dearer to us than peace. Hence, I lift my voice for war in the profound conviction that in this crisis, when liberty and law and humanity are all at stake—when the foundations for the future government of the world are being laid—it is better for America and for mankind that we should take our predestined place in the great conflict.

DUTY TO ASSIGN REASONS FOR OUR ACTION.

Decent respect for our constituents and for the opinion of the world would seem to require some statement of the reasons for so important a step in our career, the consequences of which no man can foresee. Fortunately most of the salient features in the controversy with Germany are well known, and judgment upon their merits has long since been made up in the minds of the people. They may not have followed the sequence in which events have come, or the technical details in dispute, nor felt always satisfied what remedy should be applied; but upon the essential questions of right and wrong our people seem practically of one mind. And while this does not excuse us from the duty of assigning reasons for the course we pursue, it does in a measure simplify the task. Leaving then to others, whose service on the Foreign Affairs Committee has brought them in closer contact with the subject, the task of expounding the matter in detail, I shall now submit in a general way some of the reasons which have actuated me in giving support to the resolution before the House.

REASONS FOR WAR.

1. Only means by which we can save the foreign commerce of the United States upon which the material welfare of the Nation depends.

There is an idea in some quarters that this controversy with German is all "a tempest in a teapot," and that at most it only concerns the technical rights of a few hard-headed Americans who persist in going where they have no business, and of American ships which voluntarily continue to sail the seas after repeated warnings to stay away. Why do not our citizens remain at home in times like these and forego the exercise of their rights, rather than run the risk of plunging their country into war? is the question frequently asked. And Why do not our ships stay in port until the danger is over?

Apart from the consideration of national honor and right involved, such questions lose sight of the immense material interests at stake.

According to the report of the Department of Commerce the value of the imports and exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1915, aggregated the vast sum of $4,442,759,080. During the war our export trade has rapidly increased and our total foreign trade now approximates $6,000,000,000.

For the same period the products of the farm exported to foreign countries were valued at $1,470,344,195—54.1 per cent of all the domestic exports from the country—and the amount has since largely increased. This sum represents a material part of the produce from the labor and toil of millions of our people who till the soil. In the year mentioned 37.31 per cent of the wheat crop, about 35 per cent of the tobacco crop, and (1914) 55.35 per cent of the cotton crop went into the export trade—enough to control the price in the domestic market. In addition to this, for the same period, other agricultural products found a market abroad, as follows: Live stock, valued at $77,953,686; eggs, $5,003,764; hay, $1,980,297; hides and skins, $4,685,724; meat and dairy products, $220,051,847; seeds $3,861,064; and peanuts, $325,725.

Of these exports 68.82 per cent went to Europe, in the area directly affected by the submarine blockade of the German Government.

It is thus manifest that the prosperity of our agricultural population, from ocean to ocean, to say nothing of the countless numbers who labor in the factory and the mine, is vitally concerned in keeping alive our foreign commerce. We make more than we can consume; and most of our staple products must find a market across the sea. It would be but poor consolation for the tobacco grower of Virginia, the cotton planter of Carolina, the cattle raiser of Texas, the wheat farmer of Minnesota, to wake up one fine morning and find the submarine master of the ocean; the merchant ships of the country chained to the docks of the Atlantic seaboard, afraid to put to sea; and the products of his year's toil without market and without price. Then he might realize, for the first time perhaps, that the quarrel with Germany was farther reaching than the rights of the pleasure seeker and adventurer upon some remote sea.

Not only is the farmer affected, but the lives and fortunes of many thousand American citizens personally engaged in our foreign trade. The mere adventurer and pleasure seeker ought to, and perhaps does, stay at home in time of danger; but the importer and the exporter of the seaboard—the captains of trade who search out a market in foreign lands for the things we have to sell, and bring back the things we have to buy; they and their countless employees—"the drummers of the ocean"—have no such choice; they can not abandon the sea but to sacrifice the business upon which they and many thousands of their countrymen depend for the necessaries of life. The report of the Department of Commerce for the year ending June 30, 1915, shows that the number of American citizens arriving by boat at our principal seaports during that period was 239,579. No figures are available for the number taking passage out of the country for the same time; but, assuming that approximately the same number went out as returned thither, it may be said that a quarter million of our citizens yearly find it necessary to go to sea in pursuit of their lawful business.

And shall we deny them that right or refuse to defend them in its exercise? Shall the Anglo-Saxon skulk and hide on shore, when his ancestors won the freedom of the sea from the Armada and the pirates of the Spanish Main? Shall the flag of this great Republic, which, in its infancy, kept the sea against a Napoleon and a Pitt, and for more than 100 years has proudly ridden the ocean's wave, retire now before Von Tirpitz? Not if I understand the temper of my countrymen will they consent to such ignominy; not unless they are willing to submit to despotism at home will they surrender the rights of the humblest American citizen in any part of the habitable globe. "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, an uncondemned," was the appeal of Saint Paul which stayed the centurion's lash before the mob at Jerusalem. If the citizenship of a Pagan country in a barbarous age, 20 centuries ago, could shield its possessor from personal indignity, will we not now protect the life of the citizen of a Republic many times more powerful than the empire of the Cæsars?

2. NECESSARY TO RESTORE THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

Before this war the seas were the common highway of the nations, upon which citizens of every nation had the right to travel and to trade, but subject to the control of none. In war an enemy's ports might be blockaded under certain conditions, and his merchant ships captured upon the high sea, provided safety were extended to the passengers and crews. Even the ships of neutrals were subject to visit and search to prevent the passage of contraband, but with like protection to persons on board.

As far as I am advised, the first attack upon the freedom and safety of the sea in this war was the announcement by Germany in August, 1914, very shortly after hostilities began, that she had mined certain portions of the North Sea, and it was no longer safe for navigation. As is known, this was followed by the countermining of other areas of the same water by Great Britain. The conduct of both was against international law, but with this difference, however: Great Britain did not attempt to close her war zone to neutral trade, which she permitted with some restrictions, and offered to furnish neutral ships with safe pilotage through the mined area. This in turn was followed by the proclamation on the part of Germany of

a war zone on all the high seas around the British Isles, dated February 4, 1915, in which that Government said:

Every enemy merchant ship found within said war zone will be destroyed, without its always being possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers.

This proclamation has since been enlarged so as to extend the so-called war zone to practically all the waters of the Atlantic, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean communicating with any of the allied ports of Europe, and so as to include within its prohibitions the merchant ships of all neutrals as well as of belligerents.

Thus was inaugurated the submarine war; and for the first time in modern history the ruler of a civilized nation announces not only that a great ocean is to be staked off against commerce, as if it were a private fish pond in Prussia, but what is far more important to mankind, that passengers and crews sailing the same, however peaceful their mission, whether belligerent or neutral, would do so at the imminent risk of their lives. Until then no principle of public law was more securely established than that war should be confined to the armed forces of the enemy. Under the benign influence of this principle the calamities of war had been spared to woman from respect for her sex, to old age and childhood because of its helpless condition, and to noncombatants because it was not kind or brave to strike one who could not return the blow. The principle is old as civilization, and had been the practice of enlightened Greeks and Romans long before the Son of Man delivered the Sermon on the Mount. Chivalry, a Pagan institution, founded not upon the sanctions of a future life but the simple instincts of courage and courtesy, held its shield over the noncombatant of the Middle Ages. Neither the scimitar of Saladin nor the broad sword of Richard was ever wielded against an unarmed foe.

In the submarine war over 600 neutral ships have been destroyed, and it is estimated over 2,000 lives of noncombatants sacrificed. Nineteen American ships and over 200 American lives have gone to pay the ominous toll.

It is not the submarine, but the use that is made of it that is a crime. It is as fair a weapon as any in the naval armory when properly used and in humane hands; in itself no more cruel than the battleship and far less formidable. Employed against the armed fleet of the enemy, it would be within the laws of war and might demonstrate its efficiency; but as a commerce destroyer the submarine is an outlaw, and its use for such a purpose is common piracy. Because, by reason of its structure and operation, it can not afford to merchant ships the protection for crew and passengers required by the law of nations and the dictates of humanity. The battleship has the same and even greater power to destroy commerce. But before now what civilized government would permit its navy to fire upon and sink the unoffending human cargo of a peaceful ship?

The idea that because the submarine is a new invention it may rightfully commit deeds which would be criminal in other warcraft is ridiculous and monstrous.

The wild savage of the American forest gave the war whoop before he pitched his tomahawk; the fierce reptile of nature, the rattlesnake, sounds the alarm ere it strikes its victim; but the submarine, lurking in the hollows of the deep, without warning casts its human prey to the mercy of the pitiless waves.

Nor will necessity alter the case. No necessity ever justified murder, no policy of state can condone cruelty, no ambition of man can atone for inhumanity to man.

What exigency of state was ever greater than that which beset the Southern Confederacy from the beginning to the end of its stormy career? The disparity in arms between it and the North was much greater than that which exists to-day between the central powers and the allies. It was cut off from the world more effectually than Germany now is; money failed, transportation broke down, bread and raiment became scant; it, too, was fighting for its national life, and dear to its people was the cause they struggled to maintain. Striving to break the hold of its competitor by assailing his commerce upon the sea, it fitted out the *Sumter* and the *Alabama* as commerce destroyers, and sent them upon their mission. Yet, as the son of a Confederate soldier and as an American citizen, I am proud to proclaim what the records attest, that during a cruise of three years under Raphael Semmes, though the American marine practically disappeared from the water and the Confederate flag sailed every sea from the Indian Ocean to the banks of Newfoundland, and though many ships were destroyed and over 2,000 captives passed from their decks—I am proud to say that not one man, woman, or child among them all lost his life or suffered a personal injury.

3. NO HONORABLE ALTERNATIVE TO WAR.

Mr. Speaker, I have reflected in vain to find if there were any honorable way out of the difficulties surrounding us short of war. All desire peace, but nobody can suggest any practical thing to be done beyond what has already been attempted.

Against the violations of our neutral rights—the laws of nations and of nature—this Government has not failed to protest from the beginning, and the two years since elapsed is a long record of patience and forbearance on the part of our people under great provocation. All conventional efforts to obtain redress having failed, we declined further intercourse with a government so regardless of our rights, sent its ambassador home, and armed our ships for self-defense; but still declined to appeal to force, in the lingering hope that reason might resume its sway at Berlin and we be spared the ordeal of war. But when, instead, atrocities have multiplied anew; plots against our domestic peace are hatched within our own gates; and we find Mexico being incited to invade our soil and Japan invited to assist in the partition of our country—what recourse is left but war?

Shall we be told to arbitrate when the facts are known to all the world and our adversary has had two years to consider, to refrain, and to redress? If the dead of the *Lusitania* could not move him to relent, would any award from The Hague soften his hard purpose? May the Congress escape responsibility in the crisis, and by a national referendum cast upon the people a burden itself has not the courage or the ability to bear? There is no constitutional way to submit such a question to popular adjudication; and if there were, there is no power to stay the arm of the aggressor while the election is being held.

4. WAR NECESSARY TO SAVE THE IDEALS OF CIVILIZATION.

Mr. Speaker, thus far I have tried to present the material interests involved in this contest, and chiefly those appertaining to us as a neutral Nation. But the issues are of far wider import than the material welfare of any nation or of all nations. The physical environment and material fabric of a people demolished by war can be restored by the industry of peace; but their liberties once lost may not be recovered, and in the tide of revolution their social and ethical standards may be submerged forever. War has been likened unto a grand surgical operation in the hands of Providence for the purpose of eliminating the cancer from the body politic; but in the hands of mortals the knife is often extended far beyond the bounds of the disease it was originally designed to correct.

With the causes of the European war we were not originally concerned; but the methods by which it has been conducted on one side, the means employed, the principles proclaimed, and the objects now become manifest are such as to fill the world with alarm. The very temple of civilization itself—so slowly and painfully wrought by men struggling upward through the ages—seems threatened in the blind rage of the Prussian giant. What principle of public law, public liberty, or public morals has not been abrogated already in the war he has waged?

Truth among men is the foundation on which the personal intercourse and business of society rests; and good faith among nations is the only tie by which the peace of the world has been made possible. Yet Germany signalized its entry in this conflict by the deliberate violation of its own treaty securing Belgium—a feeble but friendly State—against invasion; and when remonstrated with characterized her own solemn obligation as "only a scrap of paper."

Hitherto in every civilized age respect has been shown for the handiworks of art and science and religion, because they were supposed to perpetuate knowledge and were beneficial to mankind at large. Attila, "the scourge of God," in time of invasion saved the library of the Athenians from the vandalism of his followers; Rome was sacked many times by the fierce barbarian of the north, but Trajan's Column, the Arch of Titus, Hadrian's Wall, and many public monuments in "the Eternal City" yet survive all the ravages of time and war; even Napoleon, called in his day the robber of Europe, who, as conqueror, visited every capital and carried away treasures to enrich his own land, never stooped to *destroy* the monuments of human taste and skill. Contrast with these the modern invader of Belgium and France. Where are the trophies of Liege, Louvain, and Rheims? Priceless monuments of antiquity are fed as targets to the cannon, and temples of the Most High are crumbled into dust.

In better days both Moslem and Christian were wont to spare the civil population the penalties of battle, but now we see large areas laid waste as the desert—food, raiment, and shelter swept away—and men, women, and children dragged from home into foreign exile; and in Armenia the slaughter of thousands of followers of the meek and lowly Saviour, for no cause but conscience.

If "might make right" is to become the law of nations, mankind will be severed from its ethical standards and relapse into moral chaos.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Speaker, democracy and military autocracy are now in death grapple on the plains of the Old World. One or the other must prevail and become the standard of human government for the future. Nature's law is the survival of the fittest.

If Germany succeed and impose her will on Europe, it will mean that democratic governments are not strong enough to stand in a trial of strength with the highly organized and well trained military State; it will mean that henceforth the soldier, and not the citizen, will make the State.

At this time the issue is by no means sure.

The military autocracy has at its command the most numerous, best equipped, and highly trained single army the world ever saw. It has the heart of Europe to subsist upon and a population of 150,000,000 to recruit from. It has the advantage of consolidated territory and is moving upon interior lines. Its opponents, while able to draw from a larger population and area, are, for the most part, far removed from one another in time and space; their soldiers are less highly trained, are compelled to move upon exterior lines, and, in case of Russia, are inadequately armed and fed.

For near three years victory has hovered in doubt over immense battle fields from Bagdad to the walls of Paris. What if she perch at last upon the Prussian banner?

If Britannia cease to rule the waves America would be the last hope for democracy in the world; and in that catastrophe does any wise man doubt that, single-handed and alone, she would have to face the mighty conqueror, flushed with the pride of victory, backed by veteran arms, greedy to recoup financial losses, and bent upon destroying the people's rule in its last strong citadel?

This hour the destiny of the human family is being fought out, perhaps, for generations to come; it may be the future liberty or slavery of the world.

In such a contest, can the people of this great free Republic afford to remain neutral? Ought they be content to make money out of the misfortune of their brethren across the sea, who are dedicating their lives and their fortunes to the cause of liberty and humanity? Can we shut our eyes any longer to the immense import of the great conflict, or still hug the delusion that distance alone may exempt us from its calamities? Rising rather from our long sleep and facing the future with clearer eyes and stouter hearts, ought we not bravely to resolve that the children of men shall not again be bruised by the despot's heel, nor bow down and worship before the god of force?

Jehovah yet rules on high and there is such a thing as conscience in the world. Mankind really believes that the weak should be protected against the strong; that there is such a thing as international honor and good faith; and that right is more powerful than might.

Then, since we must, let us take the sword; and, appealing to the God of Battles to make our aims just, let us "smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us."

Emergency Bond Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the $7,000,000,000 bond bill because I believe that in that manner we shall help to shorten the war and give notice to the world that we are determined that victory shall be won by us regardless of the cost.

The people of the United States did not seek this war; and heavy as the financial burden may become, they know that their money is going to be spent in this war in a most careful and prudent manner in order that the best and quickest results can be obtained.

The important question before us now is the question of war taxation, and the New York Times published a very important article on the subject by Victor Morawetz, and I insert same in full, as it is worthy of the most careful consideration and thought. It reads as follows:

WAR TAXATION—DISTURBING EFFECTS ON BUSINESS AND LABOR OF THE MOST DRASTIC MEASURES PROPOSED.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

We entered upon the war not for present advantage but to insure the future safety and welfare of the people of the United States and of all humanity. It would be equitable, therefore, to spread the payment of the cost of the war over a generation, or about 30 years, by requiring the people to contribute annually, through the payment of taxes, one-thirtieth of the aggregate principal and interest of the cost of the war. Justice, however, requires that we should first appropriate by taxation and apply to the payment of the cost of the war a large share of the profits in excess of the normal profits of business obtained by companies, copartnerships, and individuals during the continuance of the war by reason of the conditions resulting from the war. Only the balance of the cost of the war, after deducting the war profits appropriated by taxation, should be spread over a term of years and be raised by ordinary taxation. Part of the people should not be permitted to obtain large profits through the war at the expense of the rest of the community, but it would be injudicious to tax away all the extra profits due to the war, as this would destroy the incentive to industry.

The sums advanced to the allies would not have to be raised by taxation, as the principal and interest of the bonds issued for this purpose would be repaid by them. Assuming, however, that the war will cost us $5,000,000,000 over and above the sums advanced to the allies and the sums raised by special taxation of war profits, the repayment of the principal of the $5,000,000,000, together with interest at 3½ per cent per annum, in 30 equal annual installments would require additional taxation amounting approximately to $250,000,000 a year.

It has been proposed, however, to impose enormously high, if not confiscatory, taxes not merely to provide for the cost of carrying on the war but for the collateral purposes of preventing the increase of prices of commodities which otherwise would result from war conditions. It has been urged that a large issue of bonds would cause inflation, and that the imposition of heavy taxes, forcing the people to practice severe economy, would counteract the increase of prices by diminishing the demand for luxuries and by causing labor now applied to the production of luxuries to be shifted to the production of necessaries of life and supplies for the Government.

It should be observed at the outset that the argument that a large bond issue by the Government would cause rising prices by increasing the volume of bank credits is untenable. It is not proposed to lower the standard of value, as was done during the Civil War, by the issue of irredeemable paper currency. The purchase of bonds by transfers of existing bank credits to the Government would not increase the volume of bank credits. The purchase of bonds by the banks themselves or by inviduals with money borrowed from the banks for that purpose would increase the volume of bank credits, but it would likewise diminish the surplus reserves of the banks and their power to grant further credits. It would tend to cause higher prices only if it should result in an increase of the aggregate activity of business and of the aggregate use of bank credits. Wages and prices will be increased by the war for two reasons, namely, (1) the enlistment of a large number of laborers in the Army and Navy, thus diminishing the supply of labor, and (2) the employment of part of the remaining labor in producing war materials and supplies for the Government, thereby diminishing the supply of labor available for the production of things consumed by the people and for other necessary purposes. This increase of wages and prices, due to the inadequacy of the supply of labor, together with the uncertainties and risks of business in times of war, will prevent any unnecessary use of bank credits or excessive activity of business, which should be checked by artificial means.

The problem is not a problem of currency or of bank credits, but it is essentially a labor problem. The inflation to be guarded against is not inflation of currency or credit, but inflation of prices of commodities due to the diminished supply of labor applicable to their production. This inflation of the prices of commodities can be checked only by diminishing the demand for the commodities or by increasing the supply or the efficiency of labor applicable to their production.

However, it must not be overlooked that unless we place an embargo upon the export of foodstuffs and other exportable articles, their prices will be fixed by the world's supply of these articles and the world's demand for them. The prices of these articles consequently will rise until their consumption throughout the world is reduced to the diminished world's supply. Diminished consumption or increased production of such articles in the United States alone will affect their prices to a limited extent only.

The warring nations in Europe have partially met the situation created by the war by the following three means: (1) They have diminished the consumption of food and of other necessaries of life by the use of food cards and other methods; (2) they have increased the volume of labor by the employment of men who previously were idle and by the employment of women; and (3) they have diminished the use of labor in the production of luxuries and for other unnecessary purposes, so as to force this labor to find employment more useful to the community.

The kind of labor which it is desired to increase in volume or to shift to the production of necessaries of life and war materials is ordinary unskilled labor and skilled labor which would be available for these purposes. It would be desirable to prohibit, or to diminish largely, the employment of labor of this kind in the production of luxuries or for any unnecessary purposes, but nothing would be gained by causing laborers of any class to remain unemployed.

In the absence of labor conscription there are only two ways of shifting labor from one employment to another, viz, (1) by attracting labor to the new employment through the inducement of higher wages and (2) by causing unemployment of laborers or a reduction of their wages in their present employments. The purpose of the proposed drastic increase of taxes is to cause the desired shifting of labor by causing the discharge of laborers now employed in the production of luxuries or for other unnecessary purposes or a reduction of their wages, so as to force them to seek other employment.

The imposition of enormous taxes is not an effective or an equitable means of attaining the desired result. In considering the effect of such taxation three classes of persons should be considered separately, viz:

(1) The very rich; that is to say, those whose incomes largely exceed their living expenses. The very rich are not numerous, and taxation which is not practically confiscatory would not compel them largely to reduce their living expenses—certainly not their consumption of necessaries of life. The principal effect of taking away from the very rich a considerable part of their incomes would be to depress the value of securities and to diminish the amount of new capital that would

be available for new construction or for the enlargement of existing works.

(2) Those who receive incomes substantially larger than needed to supply the necessaries and ordinary comforts of life, but not substantially larger than needed to maintain the standards of living to which they are accustomed. Heavy taxation would force persons of this class to diminish their consumption of luxuries, but nothing short of practical confiscation would cause them to diminish their consumption of food and of other necessaries of life. Persons of this class commonly spend nearly a quarter of their incomes for rent, an item which could not be reduced promptly, and they commonly spend a considerable part of their incomes for the support of dependents and the education of their children. Heavy taxation would force many persons of this class to vacate the houses which they own or lease and to readjust their entire mode of living. As such a readjustment can not be effected quickly, many of them would be forced to draw upon their principal or incur debts.

(3) The relatively poor, whose incomes are not more than enough to supply the necessaries of life and a very moderate degree of comfort. This class includes most laborers, clerks, and farmers, and many professional men. It includes the vast majority of the people of the United States. Therefore to effect through taxation a substantial lessening of the aggregate consumption of food and of other necessaries of life it would be necessary to impose substantial taxes on the relatively poor.

Drastic taxation, such as has been proposed, would not merely cause suffering among those who are taxed. It would bear with special hardship upon the owners of dwelling houses and shops, the rental value of which would be greatly depressed, and upon all those engaged in the production or sale of things that can be dispensed with, or in rendering services that are unnecessary. It would cause far-reaching business disturbances and many business failures.

Possibly a radical readjustment of social conditions resulting in a permanent shifting of labor to other occupations and an impairment of the values of many classes of property might ultimately prove beneficial to the Nation, but such a readjustment could not be effected quickly without much present suffering and injustice, or without causing business derangements that would seriously imperil the financing of the present war.

This is not the time for undertaking to bring about a social revolution or for trying experiments in taxation. The sounder and safer course is, as above suggested, to impose heavy, but not confiscatory, taxes upon the extra profits of business during the continuance of the war, and to raise annually sufficient sums to pay off the remainder of the cost of the war in a generation by means of a moderate increase of the income and inheritance taxes and by imposing stamp taxes, taxes upon the use of vehicles for pleasure, and other indirect taxes.

To check the rise of prices of commodities and the other evil results due to the inadequate supply of labor, a popular campaign should be started to attain the following ends: (1) To dimipish waste and unnecessary consumption of food and of other necessaries of life; (2) to increase the volume of labor by the employment of those who are idle and by the employment of women wherever practicable, and (3) to diminish the use of labor in the production of luxuries or for any unnecessary purposes. To enact direct compulsory legislation to attain these ends would probably not be practicable at the present time. To attempt to attain these ends indirectly by means of drastic taxation would, for the reasons above stated, be unwise.

VICTOR MORAWETZ.

Location of the Government Armor-Plate Plant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM B. LITTLEPAGE,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 23, 1917.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include some remarks on the subject of the location of the Government armor-plate plant.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I appreciate this opportunity to explain to the Members of Congress the situation and give a brief description of the site recently selected by the armor plate board in the Great Kanawha River Valley, near Charleston, in my congressional district, and in fact in dear old Kanawha County, where I was born and where the scenes of my life's struggles have occurred.

The site was recently settled upon by Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, and the board of naval officers and Government engineers by unanimous report, and in accordance with the act of Congress of the last session appropriating $11,000,000 for an armor-plate factory and $1,700,000 for a projectile factory. These two factories will be located at the same time and within close proximity to each other.

I have been greatly interested in this matter and have been contending every opportunity I have had during my stay here that the Government has been robbed for many years by having to pay such tremendously exorbitant prices to private manufacturers engaged in the manufacture of both armor plate and war munitions, and in fact they have grown immensely rich off of the great profits our Government has had to pay. I think it was clearly demonstrated before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House and the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate last year that it was high time the Government was undertaking to get rid of this terrible drain upon the Treasury and undertake to save the people taxes and money, and stop this leak, which has been going on for more than 30 years, during which time had the stupendous profits been saved by the Government and invested in battleships, submarines, and so forth, we would now have the greatest Navy in the world for our defense and protection. Those of you conversant with the hearings before the two committees named during the last session can not fail to remember how we were beset and almost overwhelmed with letters, propositions, protests, and petitions that we do not appropriate to construct a Government armor-plate factory. We were told by interested witnesses that it would cost the Government $350,000,000 to $400,000,000 to construct and equip for successful operation an armor-plate plant, and that the Treasury would collapse if we did. You all remember these letters, protests, and petitions, and that the witnesses all came from practically the same source—from the representatives of the millionaires engaged in the armor plate and munition business. These manufacturers have amassed great fortunes from the profits derived from the Government. You remember it was charged by some that they had been making in some instances $227 net profit per ton off the Government on the armor plate, but of course it was strenuously denied. Finally, when it was seen that the House and the Senate were determined to stop the leak and commence the making of its own armor plate, the manufacturers proposed to the Government to make its armor plate at $30 per ton profit, which in itself would have been a tremendous saving to the Government. When it was ascertained that the Congress was still determined they finally offered to make the armor plate for the Government and leave it to the Government officials as to what profit they should have; but it was too late. A revolution of sentiment had set in. Congress was determined to act—had made up its mind to stop that one awful drain upon the Treasury. President Wilson and his Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, in order to economize and save for the Government when and where they could, favored the position Congress had taken. The bill authorizing the appropriations I have mentioned went through the House and Senate by an overwhelming majority and finally it was signed by the President, which means the ultimate saving of hundreds of millions of dollars to the people in this one of many instances which could be enumerated in other directions to the eternal credit of the Wilson administration.

This is bringing the Government back to the people and wrenching it from the hands of predatory wealth. The Great Kanawha Valley in West Virginia is about 100 miles in length, extending from the historic city of Point Pleasant, on the Ohio River, where that noted Indian chief and warrior, Cornstalk, fell before the army of Gen. Andrew Lewis in his effort to advance the westward course of civilization, to Kanawha Falls, near the spot where Van Bibber leaped over the cliff into New River and swam away in order to escape from the Indians who were after his scalp. This great and valuable waterway has been improved by the Government by the construction of 11 modern locks and dams, rendering this stream navigable for passenger and tow boats and coal and coke barges practically the year around.

Our freight rates are about 25 cents per ton cheaper than at any of the other sites examined. This of itself will result in a tremendous saving of money to the Government, and our railroads, because of the immense travel and amount of freight hauled, are making money rapidly.

Our coal operators and coal miners, nearly every one of whom is heart and soul behind and with this Government, produce in the coal fields, in close proximity to the site, from 30,000,000 to 50,000,000 tons per year of the finest coal and coke in the world, excepting only the anthracite coal, and this, you know, can not be successfully used for steam purposes. The site is in the midst of one of the greatest oil and gas fields in the world. The Government can command these most excellent fuels much cheaper than at any of the other sites proposed. This important situation affords the most natural, convenient, economical, and safe location to be found on the American Continent.

This valley is traversed by two trunk lines of railroads—the Chesapeake & Ohio, running through passenger and freight trains from New York to St. Louis and Chicago, and the Kanawha & Michigan Railroad and connections, from New York, Baltimore, and Washington to Detroit, Mich. Both these great railroads, with their connections, permeate all the eastern and western sections of our country. The Virginian Railroad, the Norfolk & Western Railroad, the Coal & Coke Railroad, and the Balti-

more & Ohio Railroad afford transportation north and south. All of these railroads, with connecting lines, reach both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The water facilities afford transportation of freight and passengers direct to the Gulf of Mexico. The site will be in the valley, entirely above high-water mark, inland about 400 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, with mountain ranges from 1,000 to 1,500 feet high on each side of the valley, and each within three-fourths of a mile of the plant site, thus affording a natural fortification, when guns are mounted on them, against the raid of any hostile aeroplane or bomb dropper.

Any quantity of pig iron can be had within 70 miles, direct railroad and water facilities for shipment, and an inexhaustible amount of fine-grade iron ore within 175 miles of the city, down-grade haul, direct railroad connections. One of the most desirable water-power sites and within close proximity can be had and doubtless will be taken advantage of by the Government in the more economical operation of these plants in the near future. One of the largest electric-power plants in the whole country, generating power and transmitting it throughout a radius of perhaps 100 miles is being successfully operated in this great valley and within 20 miles of the site.

The Government will have ample railroad facilities for shipment of the product of these plants east and west, north and south, and magnificent water facilities for shipping the finished products to the Gulf of Mexico and elsewhere along the Atlantic coast. Shipping facilities could not be better or cheaper.

It is urged, and I believe it truly so, that the Government will save 20 to 25 per cent on account of its fuel to run these plants more than at any other site proposed in the country. Within a radius of, I should say 50 miles of the plant site, there are perhaps 125,000 hardy, skilled, and industrious workmen employed. On account of this cheap fuel in the Great Kanawha Valley, its convenience and facilities for its handling important industries from the different sections of the United States are being rapidly located there.

We have the largest ax factory in the known world, furniture factories, steel and rolling mills, lumber factories of nearly every character, some of the largest glass factories in the country, and all of them doing a successful business, and to the eternal credit of them all each one is interested in the others' upbuilding and success.

In the city of Charleston there are about 16 banks, every one of which is solvent and prosperous, controlling deposits of perhaps $20,000,000. The legal rate of interest authorized by State statute is 6 per cent. The banks are all accommodating and are invariably helpful to one who is trying to help himself.

The people of the city of Charleston are a God-fearing, liberty-loving people, and they are intensely patriotic. We have the finest churches to be found anywhere in the United States for a city of its size, and the Christian religion is the dominating influence there, as it ought to be throughout the world.

The hospitality of our people is well known throughout the Republic, and once a stranger visits our people and becomes acquainted he will either linger there or return and settle.

There is, indeed, every good business reason for the location, and, above all, the natural conditions surrounding the selected site, would impel anyone who had the interest of the Government at heart, whether he be a civilian, military, or naval expert, that its location is ideal, and there is not a single good reason why this city should not have been selected.

When these important plants are completed and are being successfully operated, it is presumed that there will be 3,000 skilled mechanics employed. There is plenty of land and it is cheap enough so that every employee who wants to serve well his Government can upon easy terms acquire his own home.

The city of Charleston, in a business sense, is controlled by a chamber of commerce, composed of liberal, aggressive, and honest business men, every one of whom loves his Government better than himself. In fact, they are among the best people that any man ever saw. The rich and the poor, the high and the lowly, are in fact grateful to the Government for the consideration shown our community, as are the people of the State at large, and every possible effort will be put forth by them, one and all, on account of their loyalty and devotion to the Government to cause President Wilson, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, the members of the Armor Plate Board, the Senate, and the Congress to feel proud as long as they live of having selected Charleston, W. Va., as the most suitable place in the United States for these two great plants, the completion and perfection of which will ultimately cost the Government possibly a hundred million of dollars, and, mark my words for it, in after years the members of this national administration and their successors will have the supreme satisfaction of realizing, as this plant site is seen and understood, that first-class, up-to-date, unselfish, and good business judgment was exercised from a civilian and military standpoint, as well as that a great naval, safe, and sane strategic location was selected. These facts and these conditions will run with the Government and be appreciated as long as this Government shall endure.

Let me say to you further that our people will be self-sacrificing whenever the occasion may arise, as it will during the coming future, in order that these plants in their operation shall measure up to the full expectations of the great men who love this Government and who are responsible for their location in such a suitable place, and upon which plants the Government will be more or less dependent as the ages come and go.

As for my humble part during the eight months I have labored for this important accomplishment, I claim no credit. I am but a humble public servant of my people, the ambition of my life being to respond and measure up to their expectations; and every man, whether in public or private life, ought to try faithfully to do his best to make his community better on account of his living there.

I have tried to impress upon you that Charleston offered the best location in the United States for the plant, and I feel safe in saying that many of you would have agreed with me and lent me your influence but for the fact that you wanted the plants in your own district. For the splendid fight you have made to get these plants for your respective districts you deserve great credit at the hands of your people.

This has been an open, highly honorable contest, and thousands of great men have been deeply interested in its outcome and result.

The board, including, I believe we all think now, one of the greatest Secretaries the Navy has ever had, heard us all. They were patient with us in the extreme, and they labored day and night, traveled practically all over the country, personally visiting the different sites proposed, and from the few they did not personally examine they heard the witnesses and received the maps and drawings and were made familiar with their surrounding conditions and value.

Never in my day has any committee of any House or Senate or any board of either the Army or Navy striven harder to promote the best interests of the Government than did the Secretary of the Navy and the Government armor-plate board, which selected the site referred to; and, so far as I know or have heard, the decision made has left but one sore spot in the United States, and I regret very much to say, indeed I do, that this exists in the biased mind, but not in the heart, of but one man in one section of my own State, according to a newspaper editorial; but I am glad to say that he does not voice the sentiment of the rank and file of the people where he himself lives.

To those of you who are fair and just enough to speak truthfully of the natural conditions and surroundings and who are conversant with the facts pertaining to these natural conditions and who realize the desirability of the location selected, if not the necessity therefor, upon the part of the Government, I want to express to you individually and collectively my unstinted gratitude.

My home city's cause was presented to the board in the open. The Charleston Chamber of Commerce craves no credit for its industry and tact. The committee from that chamber and the public-spirited men who contributed to the preparation of Charleston's cause and its thorough presentation to the board, I know the officials of the Government appreciate because of their fairness and the reliability of their representations, especially after investigations, to each and all of whom I bid God-speed through life's journey.

I have received many letters of congratulation from the Members of the House, some from Senators, from citizens of my State on the successful contest made, and for which I am gratified. I claim no credit, neither do the people of Charleston claim credit, neither does the chamber of commerce claim credit, nor do the members of the committee of that body having in charge Charleston's cause claim credit. The case was decided and won for Charleston upon its merits. All any man or association of men did was to try faithfully to present the merits of Charleston's cause to the minds of the great men who had to pass upon and settle it. We all tried faithfully to do this in an open, honorable way.

Let me say in conclusion that the people of the whole State of West Virginia are proud of and grateful for this wonderful accomplishment, justified by nature, sagacity, and principles of economic justice. On behalf of Charleston and West Virginia I beg to say the action of this great board has filled our hearts full of pride, hope, and gratitude.

Death of Will H. Parry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 23, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the brief announcement made by me to-day of the death of Hon. Will H. Parry, vice chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, I desire to refer at some length to his life, his character, and his achievements, and to express the sorrow of myself and my colleagues at his death, which occurred at the Emergency Hospital in the city of Washington late Saturday afternoon. He had been desperately ill for more than a week, and until almost the hour of the end it was hoped that he might be spared.

The loss to our State of Washington, Mr. Speaker, is great. Although a native of New York, educated at Columbia University, Mr. Parry, by reason of his long life in the West and his complete attunement with the spirit of that region, typified that which is best and manliest of the westerner. His was a gentle soul, but a fearless one; he was a strong man, fighting a strong man's battles; a tolerant man, charitable toward his adversaries, and broad visioned withal.

After some time at newspaper work in Oregon, Will H. Parry went to Seattle 28 years ago as a newspaper reporter. In that modest capacity, so high was the quality of the man, he impressed himself upon the civic life of the community, a lusty, growing, vigorous western city not lacking in strong men. In five years he was chosen city comptroller to straighten out and reorganize the city's muddled financial system. The work he did brought high praise from eminent financiers of the Nation.

Presently a shipbuilding concern, grown great from a small beginning, called upon him to organize it on sound lines of business management. This was in the days before we had heard of "scientific management" in industrial corporations, but Mr. Parry, seemingly by instinct, produced the results that efficiency experts promise to-day. One of his achievements was the building of the battleship *Nebraska*, a ship that in her splendid career has won the "E" awarded by the Navy Department for efficiency, and since her launching has had to undergo the minimum of repairs.

Other great business enterprises called Mr. Parry for service in organizing and reorganizing, but always he found time to serve in a self-effacing but powerful way as a leader in civic enterprises for the betterment of his city and State, and thus of the Nation. He was the business genius of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition at Seattle, the first great international exposition that did not lose money.

Called to the Federal employ by President Wilson on the organization of the Federal Trade Commission, Mr. Parry, as a commissioner and latterly as vice chairman, worked as few men in the public service work. The confidential character of the business adjustments effected by the commission, the quiet way in which corporations offending against the definitions of unfair competition have been brought to book and compelled to reform their ways, have prevented full publicity being given to his notable accomplishments in this work, but they are well known to his associates.

He knew months ago of his grave physical condition, but he refused to take the rest and the surgical treatment he needed until the huge national tasks he had undertaken had been performed. Never did he find that time. Deferring and ever deferring care for himself, he finally died in harness.

Mr. Speaker, while the heart of Mr. Parry was always in wholesome public works, a trait equally strong was his thoughtfulness for his friends. For them he was always doing something. Only a day before he went to the hospital for an operation which he knew might result fatally he paused long enough to write a letter for a friend. This letter, which was handed to me by the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], is as follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, April 16, 1917.

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have long been interested in trying to get a change in assignment for our mutual friend, Tommy Sammons. Information has come to me to the effect that he is worn out and needs a rest and a change of climate. I have wondered if it would be possible to get him assigned to service here in Washington, or possibly to some European billet, although, of course, I understand the latter are greatly restricted at the present time because of the war.

The reason why I am writing to you to-day is that I have been quite ill and am going to the hospital to-morrow for a rather serious operation, and I want to be sure to speak to you about Tom before going.

With warmest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours,
WILL H. PARRY.

Mr. Speaker, that letter is typical of Will H. Parry, with whom my acquaintance began many years ago, for I took up newspaper work in the State of Washington at about the time he laid down the pen. I have known the members of his family for many years, and to them I can only say that their great loss will be felt in part by all the citizens of our Evergreen State.

In a statement to the press yesterday, Hon. Joseph E. Davies, formerly chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and Mr. Parry's close associate, said of Mr. Parry:

> The commission has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Mr. Parry. He was in many respects an ideal public servant, devoted to the public interest, indefatigable in industry, preeminently judicial and fair. The country also suffers a real and great loss in his death. He was one of the most high-minded men I ever knew. He was beloved by every man in the commission. By that I mean actually every man, not merely the commissioners.

Mr. Speaker, no man ever lived who so fully exemplified the great truths penned by William Cullen Bryant in that immortal poem, "Thanatopsis." Will H. Parry has taken his place "in the silent halls of death." And, Mr. Speaker, he had so lived that he could and did approach the grave—

> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

Reception to Congressman Ricketts on His Return Home.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 23, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article published in the Logan (Ohio) Record, describing the reception given ex-Congressman Edwin D. Ricketts, from the eleventh district of Ohio, on his return home after serving faithfully through the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The article is as follows:

RECEPTION TO CONGRESSMAN RICKETTS ON HIS RETURN HOME.

At 7.30 o'clock Friday evening the citizens of Logan and Hocking Counties held at the courthouse a public reception in honor of their distinguished Congressman, Hon. Edwin D. Ricketts, who so ably, faithfully, and efficiently served them in the Congress of the United States during the past two years.

The courthouse was filled to a comfortable capacity, while the Ladies' Band rendered some very appropriate selections.

Judge Elmer O. Pettit was made chairman of the meeting, and he appointed a committee of five to escort Mr. Ricketts to the courthouse, where he was greeted with an enthusiastic ovation from the large audience which had assembled. People of all parties, classes, and professions were there to do honor to the one who had so ably and faithfully served them. Many very high compliments were paid Mr. Ricketts by Attorney J. F. White, Senator Dollison, Rev. L. L. Magee, F. M. McKay, A. E. Huls, and Attorney John C. Pettit, all of whom were loud in their praise and eulogy of his ability and faithful service as a Congressman. Hon. H. M. Whitcraft, in a presentation speech, presented to Congressman Ricketts a watch chain and charm, which charm was engraved, "Presented to Edwin D. Ricketts, M. C., by the citizens of Logan, March 16, 1917," as a token of the high esteem in which he is held by them and their sincere appreciation of the able and faithful manner in which he served his constituents in Congress.

Mr. Ricketts was then introduced by Chairman Pettit, and responded in his genial and eloquent manner, which made everybody present feel and know that he was their sincere friend and had to the limit of his ability endeavored to do his full duty.

His address follows:

"Mr. Chairman, friends, neighbors, and fellow citizens, I am indeed delighted to meet each and all of you and to know that it is again my privilege to be one of your number and to reside among those whom I have long since learned to know, to love, and to appreciate.

"I thank all of you from the very depth of my heart for this public reception and for the beautiful present you have given me as an evidence of your appreciation of my services as your Representative in the Congress of the United States. I can not find words sufficient to express my real gratitude to you for the honor you have conferred upon me.

"Believe me when I say I would rather have your respect, your esteem, and your appreciation than the gold of the world.

"When I look into your faces, after having listened to the many compliments paid me by the numerous gentlemen of all parties who have spoken here to-night, the question arises in my mind, 'Well, what does it all mean anyway?' This certainly is an honor that any man should cherish and appreciate, coming as it does from the citizens of his own home city and county, and being, as it is, the general expression of true and generous gratitude to one who simply did what he believed to be his full duty in carrying out the trust imposed by the generous suffrage of the people whom he represented.

"I am glad, my friends, that I was able to please you. I assure you that I did at all times that which seemed to me to be right, and what I believed to be right, in the interest of all the people.

"I have no regret because of any vote I cast. If I had it to do over again, I would do exactly the same thing which I did do, in each and every instance.

"Every act of mine was taken, only, after a most careful, sincere, and honest consideration.

"The two sessions of the Sixty-fourth Congress were the most strenuous in the history of the Nation, as must be conceded by all fair-minded men. The country and Nation, during this time, passed through many critical crises. As said by the President: 'These are times that try men's souls,' and I fully agree with that sentiment.

"My record in Congress is an open book, and subject to public inspection, and I stand squarely upon that record. It is the result of an earnest and untiring effort upon my part to serve all the people of this congressional district faithfully, efficiently, and well.

"I went to Congress feeling deeply the responsibility and I return, convinced in my own mind, that I have fully discharged my official duties to those whom I had the honor to represent.

"This public expression on the part of my own neighbors and friends richly repays me for each and every effort and sacrifice that I made in trying, truly, to represent the people of the eleventh congressional district of Ohio.

"Now, in conclusion permit me to again express to you my most sincere and profound gratitude for the high honor of this occasion, and I especially express and extend my gratitude and appreciation to the distinguished gentlemen who have so ably spoken and so highly complimented me with reference to the service rendered. This action, taken voluntarily by you, is an expression of regard that I shall ever treasure with sincere fondness, remembering at all times that it is in fact the greatest event of my life, and an honor seldom conferred upon men in public life for public service rendered. To me this is indeed a most happy moment, and I again thank each and all of you from the very bottom of my heart for this public reception and expression of your loyalty to me and your public sanction and approval of my feeble effort to render the best service of which I was capable to the people of this district.

"I am proud to be one of you, and to know that I am the only man from Hocking County that has ever had the honor to represent the people of the eleventh district in the Congress of the United States.

"I bid you all 'Good night, and may God bless you each and all.'"

The affair was a success in every particular, and Democrats and Republicans alike felt they were indeed glad to do honor to one who had brought honor to them, a man who put the eleventh district back on the map and after 100 years' waiting brought old Hocking into the limelight.

BACK HOME.

Congressman Ricketts has returned to his home in Logan after two years at Washington. He has served with distinction, and Logan is proud of him, regardless of politics. The first time in the history of Hocking County we have had a resident Representative in the Congress of the United States, and, regardless of politics, we may say he has served his constituents well and has made a record to be proud of. He has the distinction of answering to every roll call in the session, being the only Congressman with such a record. He is one of the brilliant young men of Ohio, and when he shall have served a second term in Congress, or perhaps ere that time, Attorney Edwin Ricketts, of Hocking, will be called upon by his party and by the people to serve Ohio as its governor. He is one of the rising young men of this Nation, with a future before him which means political prominence and further national reputation. Hocking tips her hat to her favorite son.

The War Resolution and the Bond Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 13, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, a week ago to-day this Congress, acting under the supreme authority of the Constitution, registered its decision upon the most momentous question ever submitted to it.

Fully conscious of the horrors of war and impressed with the weight of the grave responsibilities which that decision involves, it was with profound sadness that I cast my vote in favor of the war resolution. It is a fearful thing to plunge a nation into the travail of war, and I had hoped that the fateful hour would not come when this great Republic would be compelled to unsheath the sword and enter the field of conflict.

An appeal to the abitrament of arms should be the last resort of an enlightened nation, the final step after all other means have failed. In my judgment all honorable means have failed, and the time for action has come. However much I may regret the necessity of the act, I am firm in my conviction that justice demands and humanity sanctions it.

The salient features in our controversy with Germany need not be reviewed. They are well known, and the judgment of the American people has been rendered. Protest and remonstrance have been unavailing; diplomacy and persuasion have been exhausted. We have appealed to justice, to international law, and to the humane instincts of civilization, but our appeals have not been answered. We have protested against the violation of our rights—the laws of humanity and of nations—but we have not obtained redress.

Arrogant and despotic power has deliminated a war zone across the highway of nations in defiance of every precept of international law. It has inaugurated on the high seas a reign of terror, decreeing death to all who venture within the prescribed area. Our flag has been fired upon, our citizens slain, our honor assailed, and our power mocked and ignored. Submission to brute force, the abrogation of justice, and the denial of protection to our citizens must never be the path for this Nation to follow.

We have been patient and forbearing. To the last we have hoped that our Republic, by remaining neutral, might hasten the day for peace to stricken humanity, but our hopes and our prayers have been in vain for war has been thrust upon us. We have no choice now even should we desire to exercise it. We have done all; yea, more than any nation conscious of its duty to the future as well as to the past can or should do.

Continued patience and forbearance cease to be a virtue. Instead they become a confession of timidity and weakness, evidence that this Nation supinely submits to insult and injury.

Steadfast in our determination to "preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy, and the light of civilization," cherishing our traditions and our ideals, America draws the sword to do battle for humanity against despotism.

In this crisis, Mr. Speaker, partisanship disappears and we rejoice that patriotism knows no party distinction; loyalty no sectional divisions; and that Americans of every race and creed and station stand united in the presence of the common danger.

We enter the war not for conquest or territorial aggrandizement, not for trade expansion or commercial development, not for any indemnity or political advantage which peace may bring. We bear no malice toward our enemies. There is no hatred in our hearts of the German people. Our quarrel is not with them, only sympathy that they have been misled victims, crushed under the iron heel of the Prussian military obligarchy.

We enter this war, Mr. Speaker, to preserve all that civilization has acquired in its centuries of advancement up through the ages, to prevent despotic military power and autocratic political creeds from strangling free governments, to stop the ruthless violation of treaties and of national obligations. We wage battle for the defense of our national existence, for the maintenance of our rights, for the reestablishment of law and order, and for a victory which will destroy militarism and secure peace—a peace so permanent and lasting that it will bestow its blessings on all mankind forevermore.

To-day representative democracy and military autocracy are in a death struggle on the plains of Europe. One or the other will prevail and become the standard of government for the future. The American people take their stand on the side of democracy and place their faith in Divine Providence, trusting that the star of destiny will guide the great Republic onward to victory and to glory.

THE WAR LOAN.

Last week this Congress declared war against Germany, and to-day we are called upon to take the initial step in carrying out the policy then decreed. We are supremely confident of the result, yet as we have never been a military nation we are not prepared for war. We have vast resources, undaunted courage, and untiring energies, but we can not at once mobilize our wealth or transmute immediately our gigantic strength into effective organization.

We can not send troops to Europe, for we have no army, and upon the sea, outside of the submarines, Germany has no navy that we can reach. There is, however, another field for our activities while we are preparing; another way of striking effectively, and that is by furnishing money to the entente allies which will enable them to purchase new supplies of war munitions. Here we can act quickly, and I doubt if there is anything we can do now which will give such confidence and hope, as well as ultimate material assistance, to those with whom we stand in the conflict as a prompt and unanimous passage of this bill. By the enactment into law of this measure we accomplish three things: We provide funds for our own defense; we strengthen the credit of the foreign governments to whom the money will be loaned, thus stimulating them to greater activity; we deliver a demoralizing blow to Germany by showing her in no uncertain terms that there is no faltering on our part; that all our strength and all our resources, no matter what the cost or the sacrifice, are to be thrown into the balance against her. Every blow struck at Germany by any

of her enemies is a blow struck in our interests. There can be no halting or hesitating now.

I desire briefly to refer to the pending measure, appropriating the largest amount ever passed upon at any one time by any legislative body in all history.

This bill authorizes an issue of $5,000,000,000 of bonds, $2,000,000,000 of one-year certificates of indebtedness, and the issue under new terms of $472,000,000 of bonds authorized by previous acts but not issued, making a total of $7,472,000,000, all of which is to bear interest at the rate of 3½ per cent.

Of the $5,000,000,000 of bonds authorized, $3,000,000,000 are to be used in extending credits to foreign governments by purchasing with the proceeds from the sale of the bonds the bonds of those foreign governments. It is stipulated that these foreign bonds must carry the same rate of interest and conditions as the bonds issued under this act. In reality this feature of the bill empowers the Government of the United States to invest in the public securities of the nations at war with Germany—an interest-bearing loan—which will enable those nations to extend and increase their credits and purchasing power by the amounts thus loaned them.

The remaining $2,000,000,000 of bonds are to be used in meeting expenditures for the national security and defense. The $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness are to provide funds for the immediate needs of the Government, pending the collection of taxes.

The total interest-bearing debt of the United States on February 28, 1917, was $973,000,000. This act adds $7,472,000,000, making a total of $8,445,000,000. From this stupendous sum should be deducted, however, the $3,000,000,000 loaned to foreign governments, for, while these bonds are an obligation on our part, the interest will be offset by the interest received from the bonds issued in exchange, and eventually the loans also will be repaid. Such a vast sum is staggering, and we can only comprehend its bearing upon our finances by comparison. Considering our wealth, population, and productive power now in comparison with what they were in 1865, this huge debt is far less a burden than that assumed by the Government during the Civil War. Then part of our country was impoverished, now all is prosperous; then dissension and bitterness prevailed, while now all is unity and harmony. At the close of that great conflict our bonded indebtedness on August 31, 1865, was $2,381,000,000, the interest on which amounted to $150,977,000 per annum. The interest charges we will now be obliged to meet will be about $285,000,000 per annum. Deducting the interest on the $3,000,000,000 of bonds to be exchanged for the interest-bearing bonds of foreign governments and our yearly interest charge will amount to $185,000,000, an amount not greatly in excess of that paid in 1865. Let us compare our resources then and now. At the close of the Civil War our wealth was estimated to be $20,000,000,000 and our population was 34,750,000. Our wealth now is estimated to be $250,000,000,000 and our population is 100,000,000. When we remember the enormous wealth of the Nation, gigantic as is this loan, it will produce far less of a strain upon the credit of the Government and the financial resources of the country than did the bonds issued during the Rebellion.

I submit some interesting tables, which, owing to the lack of positive figures, are to some extent approximations:

Wealth, population, and debts of countries.

Country.	Wealth.	Income.	Debt.	Population.
United States	$250,000,000,000	$50,000,000,000	$8,445,000,000	100,000,000
Per capita	2,500	500	84	
British Isles	85,000,000,000	13,000,000,000	19,000,000,000	42,000,000
Per capita	2,024	309	452	
France	50,000,000,000	6,000,000,000	17,000,000,000	39,600,000
Per capita	1,263	152	429	
Russia	50,000,000,000	8,000,000,000	13,000,000,000	175,000,000
Per capita	286	46	74	
Germany	75,000,000,000	10,000,000,000	17,000,000,000	66,000,000
Per capita	1,136	151	258	

NOTE.—If we deduct the $3,000,000,000 foreign loan, our per capita debt is reduced to $54.

The following statistics are taken from the Wall Street Journal:

Foreign and domestic loans financed by the belligerent nations.

Entente allies:	
British Empire	$16,021,400,000
France	12,040,000,000
Russia	7,035,000,000
Italy	2,125,000,000
Belgium	100,000,000
Japan	26,000,000
Serbia	18,000,000
Total	37,365,400,000
Central powers:	
Germany	$11,833,000,000
Austria-Hungary	4,140,000,000
Turkey	350,000,000
Bulgaria	30,000,000
Total	16,353,000,000
Grand total	53,718,400,000

Daily and total cost of the world war to Jan. 1, 1917.

Country	Total cost to Dec. 31, 1916.	Average cost per day, Dec. 31, 1916.
Great Britain	$15,374,000,000	$25,000,000
Russia	8,500,000,000	16,000,000
France	12,200,000,000	18,000,000
Italy	4,000,000,000	7,000,000
Belgium	490,000,000	1,000,000
Serbia	330,000,000	1,000,000
Roumania	250,000,000	2,000,000
Total entente allies	41,144,000,000	70,000,000
Germany	14,600,000,000	21,000,000
Austria-Hungary	5,000,000,000	11,000,000
Turkey	650,000,000	1,500,000
Bulgaria	375,000,000	1,500,000
Total central powers	20,625,000,000	35,000,000
Grand total all nations	61,769,000,000	105,000,000

Let us act and act quickly. Thus will we send the message across the sea to the brave boys in the trenches, to the undaunted heroes of Belgium and the brave soldiers of Italy and France. The tidings will echo in far-off Russia, writhing in the throes of revolution, "Hold on, help is coming; the great Republic of the West is with you with all its mighty strength, united in your cause until the end. Hold on."

The War With the Imperial German Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I beg leave under extension heretofore granted to insert some information obtained from the Department of State touching results to American life and property of the submarine warfare that has been waged by the Imperial German Government against the United States. It is as follows:

American ships damaged or destroyed by German submarines.

Name of vessel.	Date.	Particulars.
Gulflight	May 2, 1915	Torpedoed.
Nebraskan	May 25, 1915	Do.
Leelanaw	July 25, 1915	Torpedoed and shelled.
Seaconnet	June 16, 1916	Damaged by mine or torpedo
Oswego	Aug. 14, 1916	Fired on 10 times by submarine.
Lanao (Philippine)	Oct. 28, 1916	Sunk by submarine.
Columbian	Nov. 7, 1916	Do.
Colena	Nov. 26, 1916	Fired on.
St. Helen's	Dec. 10, 1916	Attacked by submarine.
Rebecca Palmer	Dec. 14, 1916	Fired on; slight damage.
Sacramento	Jan. 9, 1917	Fired on.
Housatonic	Feb. 3, 1917	Sunk.
Lyman M. Law	Feb. 13, 1917	Burned by submarine.
Vigilancia	Mar. 16, 1917	Torpedoed.
City of Memphis	Mar. 17, 1917	Sunk by gunfire.
Illinois	....do....	Torpedoed.
Aztec	Apr. 1, 1917	Do.

SHIPS SUNK WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES.

British ship *Falaba*, torpedoed March 28, 1915 (warned); 1 American lost.

British ship *Lusitania*, torpedoed May 7, 1915 (no warning); 114 Americans lost.

American ship *Gulflight*, torpedoed May 1, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Armenian*, torpedoed June 28, 1915 (ordered to stop; tried to escape); 23 Americans lost.

British ship *Iberian*, sunk July 31, 1915 (tried to escape; stopped by shell fire); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Anglo-Californian*, sunk July 4, 1915; 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Hesperian*, torpedoed September 4, 1915 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Arabic*, torpedoed August 19, 1915 (no warning); 3 Americans lost.
British ship *Persia*, believed to have been torpedoed; sunk December 30, 1915 (no warning): 2 Americans lost.
Italian ship *Ancona*, torpedoed November 9, 1915 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.
British ship *Englishman*, torpedoed March 27, 1916; 6 Americans lost (1 more whose nationality is doubtful).
British ship *Sabota*, sunk by gunfire October 20, 1916; 1 American lost.
British ship *Marina*, sunk by gunfire October 28, 1916 (warned); 8 Americans lost.
British ship *Russian*, torpedoed December 14, 1916 (no warning); 17 Americans lost.
British ship *Eaveston*, sunk by shell fire February 5, 1917; 1 American lost (1 other whose nationality is doubtful).
British ship *Vedamore*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 10 Americans lost.
British ship *Turino*, torpedoed Februrary 7, 1917 (no warning); 1 American (?) lost.
French ship *Athos*, torpedoed February 22, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.
British ship *Laconia*, torpedoed February 26, 1917 (no warning); 8 Americans lost.
Norwegian ship *Sjostad*, believed torpedoed March 2, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.
American ship *Vigilancia*, torpedoed March 16, 1917 (no warning); 5 Americans lost.
American ship *Healdton*, torpedoed March 21, 1917 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.
British ship *Crispin*, torpedoed March 29, 1917 (no warning); 68 Americans on board, 1 killed, 18 missing.
Total, 226 American lives lost.
On the *Lusitania* there were also 24 children born of foreign parents on American soil.
Carib (American), February 23, 1915 (mined); 1 American lost.
Koophandel (Belgian), August 1, 1915 (torpedoed); 1 American lost.
Batavier V (Dutch), May 16, 1916 (mined); 1 American lost.
Alaunia (British), October 19, 1916 (possibly mined); 1 American lost (statement unreliable).
Cabotia (British), October 20, 1916 (torpedoed); 1 American lost.
Palermo (Italian), December 2, 1916 (torpedoed); 1 American lost.
Galgorm Castle (British), February 27, 1917 (torpedoed); 2 Americans lost.
Argo (Portuguese), March 23, 1917 (torpedoed); 3 Americans lost.
Aztec (American), April 1, 1917 (torpedoed); 28 missing. Number of Americans lost not established.

Resolutions of Kazoo's Patriotism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 23, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me I wish to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD a patriotic resolution passed at a citizens' mass meeting held in the city of Kalamazoo on Thursday evening, April 19, 1917, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS OF KAZOO'S PATRIOTISM.

The following preamble and resolutions are presented at a general mass assembly of the citizens of Kalamazoo County, Mich., held at the armory in the city of Kalamazoo, April 19, 1917:

"Whereas our Nation has been forced into this war in order to protect the lives and property of our citizens and to defend the principles for which our forefathers mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and that Nation now needs assistance of every true and loyal citizen; and

"Whereas the Chief Executive of the United States has formulated and presented plans for increasing the Army and Navy to meet the important crisis before us, and has called upon our people to join in common cause in defending and protecting our rights and in carrying the blessings of freedom which we enjoy to others, even though they may now be our enemies, and that to accomplish these purposes there be provision made for universal military training and enforced military service; and

"Whereas Michigan has always rallied around the flag whenever the Nation has called for help, and it intends to do so now: Therefore the citizens of Kalamazoo County, in mass convention assembled, join together in support of these resolutions:

"Resolved—

"First. That our country needs the service in the Army and Navy of sufficient men to carry our banner to victory; that it also needs volunteers in civil life who will care for those who may be injured or disabled in the conflict and to aid the dependents of those who are on the firing line, and still others are wanted in our manufactories and on the farms and in the gardens for the purpose of furnishing the necessary material and food for the military forces and our civil population, and that every loyal and patriotic citizen should act in accord with every other one to carry forward this work by the employment of their time, their money, and their energies, and by making all necessary sacrifices.

"Second. That we are eminently proud to note that our delegates in Congress were among the first in all the States of the Union to pass a resolution to stand back of the President in his plans for national defense.

"Third. That we are to-day all Americans, irrespective of where we or our ancestors may have been born. We can all trace our lineage from some foreign land, but the very fact that we and those before us left some other country and took up our residences here gives positive proof that we and they prefer the liberal laws and desire to enjoy the extended rights vouchsafed to us in these United States to anything which is offered by any other nation on earth, and neither political opinion, religious belief, wealth or poverty, social distinction or otherwise, race or previous condition of servitude should sway us from dutiful loyalty to our country.

"Fourth. We congratulate the noble men who have come voluntarily forward and offered themselves through enlistment for service at this time of the Nation's need, and we honor them and those who may hereafter join them for their patriotism and their loyalty. Our prayers are for their safety and our hopes for their speedy return to our midst. We who are left in the community of which they have been members do pledge to them that we will not only do all we can for them during their absence, but we will not be wanting in our hearty greetings and in extending them proper honors when they, with victory, march home again.

"Fifth. That we stand in unreserved and full support of the policies of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States and Commander in Chief of our Armies.

"We believe the position taken by him for universal military training and for selective draft for military service as approved by our Army leaders is the correct and only proper mode of establishing in the shortest possible time an efficient soldiery, this, however, not to interfere with voluntary enlistment in the manner and for the purposes proposed by him.

"We not only pledge our support to President Wilson upon these questions, but we offer him our aid in all legitimate ways that we may be able to serve, to the end that we may be successful in the great task which is set before us, that our flag may not only continue to float unsullied over our own land, but that its folds may protect the downtrodden of other lands and bring new hope to the people of all the earth."

DALLAS BOUDEMAN, *Chairman.*
WM. E. PRAGER,
C. H. KLEINSTUCK,
ALBERT TEN BUSSCHEN,
PATRICK J. REDMOND,
Committee on Resolutions.

War Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 24, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by myself in Springfield, Ohio, on the war.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN MEMORIAL HALL, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, ON THE WAR SITUATION, APRIL 14, 1917.

For 30 months and more we have tried neutrality only to see it lead directly to the vortex. With three-fourths of the world in arms in the last gasps of a life and death struggle, it might have been too much for us to cherish the fond hope of exemption from war. The titanic contest was noted from the very beginning between the militarism of the Prussian on the one side and the navalism of the Briton on the other. The one superior on the land, the other on the sea. In the nature of the situation our relation was precarious from the beginning, due to our ability as a great commercial neutral country.

Fully aware of the critical situation our Government immediately upon the outbreak of the war endeavored to induce the warring nations to agree upon a code of naval warfare, suggesting that adopted in the declaration of London. In this we failed. We then endeavored to induce them to limit the operations within certain proposed regulations. In this we also failed. We then announced we would hold all countries to a strict adherence to the rules and practices of international law.

CONTENTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

In due time we were in diplomatic disputation with both great belligerents. England's pretended blockade we denounced first as no blockade at all, and later as "ineffectual, invalid, and indefensible." We also complained that she must not extend it to neutral countries. To our first protest her answer was proclamation of a real blockade to extend to all the coasts of her enemy. To our second she quoted against us the *Springbok* case of the Civil War. Whether her blockade was effectual was a matter of fact and not of law—to be determined as any other fact in dispute. The ".continuous-voyage" doctrine of the *Springbok* case raised a question of doubt which England agreed to adjust by a proper court proceeding after the war.

All our differences with the great naval power extend not beyond property rights, and are therefore subject of judicial adjustment in the prize court.

CONTENTION WITH GERMANY—"WAR-ZONE" ORDER.

The retaliation against England's blockade and her extension of the lists of contraband making all goods subject of capture under the laws of war, Germany, in February, 1915, announced her famous "war-zone" order, declaring she would sink all belligerent merchant vessels that were seen in the barred zone without regard to passengers, whether belligerent or neutral. Our Government at once addressed the German Imperial Government our protest, in which we declared we would hold to "strict accountability" the government under whose orders any American citizen should perish while he was exercising his lawful pursuits.

THE "LUSITANIA," AND WHAT FOLLOWED.

Just three months later the *Lusitania* was torpedoed with its frightful loss of life, among which were over 100 American citizens. Then began our series of diplomatic notes in which Germany justified her submarine action on the ground that the United States did not compel England to abide by the laws of neutral rights. Our contention was that our adjustment of disputes with England must not be named as a condition of Germany's recognition of protection of American life from unlawful attacks of submarines. In the meantime the *Gulflight* and *Cushing* were attacked. The *Nebraskan* and the *Falaba* were also torpedoed without warning. Then the *Ancona*, and at last the *Sussex*. Our Government finally addressed an ultimatum to the Imperial German Government to the effect that diplomatic relations would be severed unless disavowal was forthcoming. Germany then promised not to attack without warning and forwarded necessary instructions to her submarine commanders.

THE BREAK.

Later she withdrew these instructions, and on the 31st of January last sent us warning that all vessels, neutral as well as belligerents, found in a specified barred zone would be sunk without warning. Three days later, February 3, we broke off diplomatic relations. The President announced to Congress an overt act would most likely lead to armed neutrality. On the 26th of February he asked Congress for authority to arm merchantmen. The American vessels *Illinois*, *Memphis*, and *Vigilanti* were sunk. The President called the special session of Congress to meet, first, on the 16th and then a hurry call for the 2d of April.

WAR.

The war resolution was passed by the Senate on the 3d of April and by the House on the 5th and signed by the President on the 6th. We are now in war.

In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, our great country, this giant Republic has ceased to be the peaceful people, and are now arrayed in the habilaments of war. Yesterday ours were the joys of a peaceful prosperity of farm and factory, of mine and manufactory, of institutions of home, state, church, and school. To-day we are absorbed in the fatalities of war. Yesterday our busy population were threading the thoroughfares of peaceful pursuits of production and exchange. To-day it is leaving these fields for camp and the training grounds. Yesterday our citizenry went about their vocations undisturbed, save by the hum of industry, the music of peaceful pursuit. To-day they are marching in line to the step of martial music.

Yesterday our public debt, all told, was but $973,000,000, less than one billion, or less than the amount necessary to run the expenses of the Government in time of peace for but one year. To-day that debt is $8,000,000,000, or more than eight times what it was but yesterday.

THE REAL SITUATION.

My fellow citizens, I come to make a few statements to you that we may not underestimate the real situation. We are now in the greatest war, by all odds, known to man. Our entrance is the last fading hope to see its end by mediation. It is now a test to the death. We are against the most efficient, the most powerful military aggregation in ancient or modern history. We are to make a trial with a Government which for three years has held the world at bay, without so far as having fought a single battle upon her own soil. We must not think of our enemy as gasping for breath or suing for peace.

We did not enter because we thought it a struggle of short duration or that our enemy was so far spent that we need not expect a supreme test. We entered because we could not avoid it. War was not of our choosing. It was made upon us. It was left to us to either surrender rights, dignity, national honor, which might have meant all the blood-bought principles for which we stand, or else take up the gage of battle.

We enter it without revenge, without hatred. Our country loves the great German people. Among us our very best citizenship numbers those who came from the fatherland. In this hour of stress, where our life is in the balance, we will find no more patriotic element in our citizenship than those of foreign birth who came here because of the prospect of American rights, which we are now fighting to preserve.

I come to indicate to you the situation. We must and will win! Our cause is just. We are armed in the holy cause of liberty and justice, man to man, and we can not fail! We must not fail!

PROBLEMS LOOM HIGH.

How are we to cooperate? We, of course, must make common cause with the nations fighting against our common enemy. We will of necessity be compelled to seek unity of action for the sake of effectual cooperation. Can this be done without effecting alliances, which we all fear to do? In case we do not make common cause with our colleagues, is there danger of a separate peace with them and a final struggle alone to fix an indemnity? What is the real situation in Russia? Revolution is always uncertain. Its issues can not be definitely fixed. Revolutionary Russia is a problem and this country must not lose sight of possibilities in that quarter.

Let no man deceive himself into a belief that we have not entered upon a dangerous voyage—a course we could not have averted. I have come to you to speak of the duty of the hour. Let no man indulge the fond hope of peace or immediate mediation. There is no peace. On every side, in every quarter, it is war. War as never before in all history. Our Nation must buckle on the armor. We must mobilize our abilities. It must not be confined to military activity, including munition making, but it must extend to industrial and agricultural as well, including labor. The duty of the hour looks beyond the trench into the field of production. We must utilize to the fullest the productive capacity of the farm and garden, and if necessary exercise the military powers of enlistment to assure that production. Here is also the field of the women of the Nation not only to insure production but to conserve resources to avoid needless waste.

CONTROL OF HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Our enemy is not to be confined in the German trench or the barred zone, but he will be active in the field of speculation. We must, if necessary, take charge of the food supply of the country, or at least handle as with the mailed fist the food speculator who thrives from the agonies of war by compelling a docile population to pay him tribute in the form of exorbitant prices for the necessaries of life.

The Government has already taken steps to commandeer the country's industries. It voted to-day the most fabulous sum ever presented in the form of a budget for war in the history of the world.

THE ARMY—VOLUNTEER VERSUS DRAFT.

It will not hesitate to take all necessary steps to end the war successfully. Its problem to-day is the Army. Personally I am naturally not in favor of conscription until the volunteer plan is given a trial. The conscription plan seems to me un-American. It can not be put in readiness short of one year so soon as the volunteer. The volunteer system can begin at once. We are rapidly filling up the ranks to war strength. If we find the volunteer system will not succeed, it is then time to undertake conscription. I may be compelled to vote for it as the only way, but I am not yet so convinced. I believe universal military training and service must be adopted, and I shall vote for it when it comes up. But this is far from conscription for European trench service. Let the country call upon all her youth to train for the defense of her shores, and then, if it be necessary to enter the European trenches, make a call from the trained men, and there will be no lack of volunteers. The ranks will be swelled by seasoned soldiers.

OUR MISSION TO THE WORLD.

My fellow citizens, we have lived for near three years over a possible volcano. During that time we have shown remarkable equanimity in the face of danger.

The Nation has been lulled to sleep over the assurance dinned in our ears that exemption from war was assured if we but refuse to show a willingness to defend ourselves. We now face the reality of war. Columbia has been called to action. She has accepted the gage of battle. She has been challenged to defend her honor and her liberties. She to-night calls her sons to the colors. She summons her daughters to make necessary sacrifice to bring speedy recognition of her rights as first expressed over 100 years ago when our fathers fought for life, liberty, and opportunity in the rivalry of life. She goes to war to preserve her blood-bought principles of justice, man to man, the general welfare of all her citizens and the guarantee of the fruits of freedom to her posterity. To establish these principles our fathers went to war with the "Mistress of the Sea." To extend the principles to the domain of the high seas,

the Nation entered a second contest with the "mother country," and later went through the fires of the greatest civil war known to man. Later, hearkening to the call of oppressed Cuba, she took up the sword in behalf of humanity and gave freedom to Cuba. To-day this great Republic of over 100,000,000 freemen, no less patriotic and brave, is challenged to defend her rights against the greatest military power of Europe. She has bravely taken up the sword, and I can assure you that she will make good account of herself. Already our Navy is under orders. Every department of national defense is alert and ready for action.

The German interned ships, representing the flower of Atlantic sea-borne commercial power, are now under the American flag. My fellow citizens, it is well to remember this banner is the only national emblem that floats the breezes to-day that was never lowered to a foreign conquerer. In its struggle for the rights of man it has been planted on the ramparts of every country which denied to us human rights, and holds sway to-day over a continent. If it becomes our mission under God to extend human right and liberty to other lands denied the same, that mission will be supported by a united nation, that knows neither party division, religious contention, national bias, nor racial prejudice. But as one man our citizens will place their all on the altar of their common country and for the rights of mankind.

Memorial of American Economists to Congress Regarding War Finance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 24, 1917.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a memorial signed by all of the teachers of economic and political science in Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, relating to raising war finances by taxation.

The memorial is as follows:

GRINNELL COLLEGE, *April 22, 1917.*

Hon. C. W. RAMSEYER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am inclosing a memorial signed by all the teachers of economics and political science in our college relating to the methods for financing the war. This memorial was drawn by prominent members of the American Economic Association and will be signed by nearly all of them, I believe, and sent to their Representatives.

It is not intended at all as a criticism of the legislation for the issue of $7,000,000,000 in bonds recently passed, but suggests additional legislation providing adequate and proper taxation to support and eventually pay off these bonds.

I dare say the proposal is in line with your own ideas in general, for I have heard you refer to the needless inflation of prices and unnecessarily heavy cost of our Civil War period.

Our idea is not simply to arrange to have the wealthy pay a proper share of the cost, but to lessen decidedly the cost of the war to all.

I have been studying and teaching the subjects of taxation and finance for 20 years, and I want to assure you I am convinced that the positions taken in the memorial are sound. I believe you will find them almost unanimously supported by the economists of the country.

With great sympathy for you in these difficult times, I am,
Yours, truly,

G. P. WYCKOFF,
Grinnell, Iowa.

MEMORIAL OF AMERICAN ECONOMISTS TO CONGRESS REGARDING WAR FINANCE.

We, the undersigned, teachers of political economy, public finance, and political science in American universities and colleges, respectfully urge upon Congress to adopt the policy of taxation rather than that of bond issues as the principal means of financing the expenditures of our own country in the war on which it has embarked.

The taxation policy is practicable. It will prevent the price inflation which must result from large bond issues. It is demanded by social justice. It will increase the efficiency of the Nation in the conduct of the war.

The argument in support of these statements is briefly as follows:

THE TAXATION PLAN IS PRACTICABLE.

The taxation policy is practicable because the current income of the people in any case must pay the war expenditures. The choice between bond issues and taxation is merely a choice whether the Government shall take income with a promise to repay those who furnish it or take income without such promise. The actual arms, munitions, and other equipment and supplies for use in the war, except to the small extent that they have been stored up in the past, must be produced now, during the war itself, not after the war; and, moreover, must be produced by our own people. The policy of borrowing within the country itself does not shift any part of the nation's burden of war expenditures from the present to the future. All it does is to make possible a different distribution of the burden among individuals and social classes, to permit repayment to certain persons who have contributed income during the war by other persons after the war. If the people can support the war at all, they can do it on a cash basis. Borrowing creates nothing. Except by borrowing abroad, which we can not do, we can get nothing which we do not ourselves produce.

It may be necessary for a month or two at the outset to issue a limited amount of bonds pending the collection of increased taxes, but beyond these, which might well be made repayable within a year, no necessity for bonds exists.

TAXATION PREVENTS PRICE INFLATION.

The taxation policy and no other will enable the country to escape the enormous evils of further inflation. The present high level of prices in Europe and America is primarily due to the war bonds and the paper money issued abroad. If the United States joins on a huge scale in this policy of borrowing, prices are bound to become far higher still.

Price inflation is harmful even in times of peace. During a war it is disastrous. It increases the cost of conducting the war. It postpones victory and thus adds to the war's toll of lives as well as to its money expenditures. By every bond issue the Government enhances the prices it must pay, and thus creates the need of more bonds. The policy works against itself.

Moreover, inflation of prices works injustice between different classes of society. The burden rests chiefly upon wage earners and salary receivers, whose pay never rises as fast as prices, and upon those who receive fixed or contractual incomes. The hardship which millions of our people are already suffering from the increased cost of living will be made many fold greater if the Government issues billions of dollars of bonds to finance the war.

The manner in which bond issues inflate prices may be briefly explained. The bond policy increases the amount of bank credit, which is equivalent in effect to an increase in the currency.

For example, if the Government takes $1,000 from a man in taxes, his credit or purchasing power is lessened to the same extent as the Government's is increased. On the other hand, if the Government borrows $1,000 from him, the quantity of purchasing power in existence is greatly increased. He now has a bond worth $1,000 on which he can and very often will borrow at the bank. Say he borrows $800; to lend him $800 the bank does not have to give up 800 actual dollars. Instead, it gives him a deposit account of $800 and, inasmuch as most of those who present checks do not ask for actual cash, but have their checks credited to their deposit accounts, the bank can keep this $800 in checks floating by setting aside, say, only $200 of actual cash. In other words, this bond issue transaction has resulted in increasing the Government's credit by $1,000, in decreasing the man's credit by only $200, and in decreasing the bank's money by only $200; that is, there has been a net increase of credit currency (checking deposit accounts) of $600, in contrast with no net increase if taxes had been adopted instead of bonds.

If the man had given up his money in taxes, he would have ceased to compete with the Government and other buyers of commodities and labor, to the extent of $1,000; but when the Government gives him a bond for his payment, he is still enabled to compete to the extent of $800. The purchasing power of society as a whole has increased by $600. This inevitably forces up prices.

The above illustrates the result of a bond issue that is taken by the public. As a matter of fact, if bonds are issued a large part of them will be taken by banks. It is likely that the Federal reserve banks will buy these bonds wholesale by giving the Government checking accounts to the extent of the bonds. This causes immediate inflation to the full amount of the checking accounts thus created; that is, inflation to 100 per cent instead of to 60 per cent of the bond issue, as outlined in the illustration above.

As the Government draws checks on these bank accounts to meet its requirements, the banks will try to recoup themselves by retailing the bonds to the public. To the extent that they succeed, the bonds get into the hands of the ultimate investor with the resulting inflation already described. In so far as the banks are unsuccessful in this distribution, they are almost certain to issue bank notes on the basis of bonds left in their hands, and these notes will cause inflation even worse than that due to the checking accounts of the public based on bond collateral.

JUSTICE DEMANDS THE TAX POLICY.

The policy of taxation for war expenditures is demanded by justice. Apart from the injustice arising from price inflation, the policy of paying for the war by bond issues gives property a preference over life; it deals unjustly as between citizen and citizen. The question of taxation versus bonds is not merely one of economics; it is one of morals, of right against wrong.

This war is a great social enterprise. The American people have undertaken it as a people. The future welfare of the country as a whole is involved; the future welfare of every citizen is involved. It is the duty therefore of every citizen to share in war's burdens to his utmost. For some the duty is to fight; for others to furnish money. For all the duty is without limit of amount. The citizen who contributes even his entire income, beyond what is necessary to subsistence itself, does less than the citizen who contributes himself to the Nation.

The man who goes to the front can not be paid back the life or the limb he may lose. The man who stays at home should contribute his just share of the money cost without expectation of repayment. That the soldier or sailor who gives himself to his country should, if he be so fortunate as to return, be taxed to pay interest and repay principal to him who has contributed the lesser thing—money—is a crying injustice. If conscription of men is just and right, conscription of income is the more so; conscription of both is just and right when the Nation's life and honor are at stake.

TAXATION WILL INCREASE WAR EFFICIENCY.

The policy of taxation for war expenditures will increase the efficiency of the Nation in the war. Its effect in keeping down the cost of the war has already been pointed out. Its effect on the spirit of the people is still more important. The general recognition of the justice of requiring every one, according to his ability, to share the burdens of war, will bind the people together; the sense of injustice in the policy of borrowing will tend to drive them apart, to array class against class. Our soldiers and sailors will fight loyally in any case, but their spirit will be the more indomitable if they feel that every man who stays at home is serving the country to the utmost with his substance. An America in which every citizen without discrimination, is called upon to do and to give all that he can, all that his powers permit, will be a united America, and a united America is bound to be victorious.

SUGGESTED FORMS OF TAXATION.

Without entering into details, concerning which opinions may differ, we recommend that, among the tax measures to be adopted for the war period, the following should be included:

(1) A tax which will take substantially all of special war profits.
(2) A material lowering of the present income-tax exemption.
(3) A drastic increase in the rates of the income tax, with a sharper progression in rates as incomes become larger.
(4) High consumption taxes on luxuries.

J. MACY,
Professor Emeritus of Political Science.
JOHN W. GANNAWAY,
Professor of Political Science.
HOLMES BECKWITH,
Assistant Professor Business Administration.
G. P. WYCKOFF,
Professor of Economics.
W. L. BAILEY,
Associate Professor Political Science.
E. D. STRONG,
Instructor Economics.

War With Germany.

SPEECH

OF

HON. OLLIE M. JAMES,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, April 4, 1917.

The Senate had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, no man loves peace more than I do. I had hoped and prayed as all of our people had up to not quite three years ago that the day of war with its suffering and its death had passed. I attended a great peace conference in London about 11 years ago where more than twenty-odd nations of the world had assembled. England was there, France was there, Italy was there, Russia was there, but Germany was not there. But I had hoped that peace would become a realization and that no longer would armies have to be raised and battles have to be fought in order to determine the rights or settle the disputes of nations.

Mr. President, I read once of a maiden who was making her way down the dusty road. She held in one hand an urn of water and in the other hand a faggot of fire. The God of the universe asked her, "My dear maiden, what are you going to do with the water and the fire?" She answered, "With the fire I am going to burn up heaven, and with the water I am going to quench the flames of hell, so that mankind will do right without the hope of reward or the fear of punishment."

Mr. President, unhappily that dream that nations and men would do justice because they loved the right has not come to pass, and a tyrant threatens not only the liberty of those across the sea but the liberty of the greatest Republic in all the tide of time—our own beloved land.

There is one beautiful thing about this fight here. A gallant Confederate soldier introduced this joint resolution to declare war in the defense of American rights and the Starry Banner of this Nation. My heart leaped with joy the other night as I sat in that great and history-making assembly and heard the President of the United States deliver that matchless message, as I saw another Confederate soldier, that great judge, that matchless American, Chief Justice White, leading the applause for a common country's right and the glory of her flag.

We are a united people. I rejoice that though I am the son of a Federal soldier my mother's people fought upon the other side, and I represent old Kentucky, whose people are unexcelled in their loyalty to that flag and will furnish as brave soldiers who will sacrifice as much and dare as much as any other soldiers who ever marched under a heroic banner or fought for the liberty of mankind.

The distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] read to us in tearful tones to-day a letter from a mother who was telling him of the horror that would come to her if we should undertake to defend our flag, our honor, and our country. It was a very touching letter; but has the Senator a letter from one of the mothers with her little babe clinging to her arms upon a cold night, who without warning were pitched into a surging sea by a submarine shot in violation of the law of humanity, the law of God, and the law of all the nations of the earth?

Mr. President, in my judgment men mistake the temper of the German-American citizen. I have known many of them long and well in my own State, and I am happy in the thought that no treasonable utterance or act has come from a single one of them. If anybody thinks that he courts favor by pleading the cause of Germany against America with these Americans, these men who came here and sought this as an asylum of freedom, he is mistaken. Those men have prospered here; they have enjoyed our splendid and wonderful liberty; they have many of them married here; their children were born here; their dead are buried here; and when the time comes you will find them, in my judgment, as loyally fighting for the supremacy of the American flag as any other class of our citizenship.

You cry peace. That is a beautiful word, but its awful price is slavery. Not one of you who has risen has not admitted that Germany has violated international law. What has she done? She has murdered our citizens; she has sunk our ships; she has dynamited our factories; she has spread her spies over our land; she has sent her ships within 3 miles of our shores, preying upon and harassing our commerce that had made its way from our ports. Not only that, but Zimmermann, speaking for the Kaiser and the Imperial German Government, wrote a letter seeking an alliance with Japan and Mexico to plan an alliance with a monarchy, neither responsive to nor elected by the public will, and with Mexico, which is in practical revolution and yet swarming upon the United States shores, would have come this alliance, if Germany had her way, to overthrow our liberty, destroy our country, enslave our people, give Arizona, New Mexico, and the imperial State of Texas to Mexico and give California to Japan, reserving to Germany's own brutal kultur the balance of the Union. Yet Senators tell us that we should halt; that we should hesitate; that this great democracy should sleep while the other democracies of the earth are destroyed.

Mr. President, we are not warring upon Germany. We are warring in defense of the rights of America. I remember very well when the Zimmermann letter was read here hearing some Senators flouting the very thought that it was authentic, asking the question where did it come from, why was it given out at this time, insinuating that it was done for the purpose of forcing some legislation through this Chamber. It was inconceivable to them that it was possible that Germany would seek to make a conspiracy against not only America but many thousands and millions of Americans who had come from her own shores. But when it became a sad reality, when it finally dawned upon them that it was true, they tell us that we ought to go to war with England—England that has not taken the life of a single American. Germany has made an area called the death zone of 1,500 miles long upon the sea and 1,100 miles wide, and that does not include the Mediterranean Sea, which they have included in this death zone, except a narrow strip of 20 miles of it. The open sea, the gift of God to all mankind, the common property of the world, the highway of commerce, is made a death zone by this blood-bespattered monarch of Germany. If our ships go there, or if they are coming through that zone to an American port, as some of them were with the American flag painted upon the vessel, loaded only with ballast, coming back home—without warning, without search, or seizure our ships are sunk, our citizens murdered, our flag shot to pieces. When the frailest bark that is seaworthy flies our flag, the Stars and Stripes of this Nation, is fired upon, it is not fired alone at the single ship and those on board; it is a shot fired at 100,000,000 of American freemen, a shot fired at the sovereignty of this Republic, a shot fired at the very life of this Nation. We are told that America, with her 100,000,000 people, must cowardly submit to the murdering of her citizens, the sinking of her ships, the dishonoring of her flag, when one hundred and odd years ago 4,000,000 of our people asserted the right to the free sea, and Henry Clay, whose fame rests upon his great speech in favor of the compromise that prevented war, made one utterance that, in my judgment, approaches that when he said in 1812:

> In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail, let us fall like men—lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for "seamen's rights."

Mr. President, this is no time for talk. It is a time for action. Some want a referendum. I suppose when the ships of the enemy were destroying our cities and when the hostile foe could be heard upon our shores you would cry, "We want to vote." I say we want to fight. Yes; this is more, even, than the War of 1812 was. It is a battle between liberty and slavery. It is a battle between democracy and autocracy. As the President happily said, this is not a war upon the people of Germany; we war upon the despotic, autocratic, and brutal Government of Germany. I pray God that before this trouble ends Germany may do what Russia did—throw off the control of the Kaiser and all who constitute the military party there

and become, as I know they can, a free government in the Empire of Germany. Mr. President, for myself I am willing to cast my vote to defend that flag. It is the emblem of my country. It speaks the language of hope, liberty, opportunity, and justice to our more than hundred millions of people. That flag was hung in the sky and consecrated by tears long since dried, by blood long since shed. The heroic fathers who fought and died, the dear mothers who suffered and prayed, committed this flag and the liberty for which it speaks to us. Shall we maintain it? That flag has no dollar mark upon it to my eyes. It is the flag that patriots fought for. It is the flag that Lincoln loved. It is the flag that will be borne by our heroic soldiers in this great struggle, with every star ablaze and every stripe aglow, and he who is unwilling to march under it is unworthy to breathe the free air of American liberty.

Sweet Potatoes, Etc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK PARK,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 25, 1917.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a statement made by the Department of Agriculture on the sweet potato, its uses, its value as a food crop, and the curing and shipping of the same. Also a letter by Mr. J. B. Wight, of Cairo, Ga., showing the practical application of the instructions regarding the growing and curing of the sweet potato as above set out.

I wish to add that the sweet potato as a food product during war times has a precedent. When the "Swamp Fox," Gen. Francis Marion, during the Revolutionary War period, was fighting the British in the swamps of South Carolina a British officer appeared under a flag of truce to discuss some measure and was invited by Gen. Marion to dine with him. When they sat down for refreshments the general had served on pieces of pine bark roasted sweet potatoes and water in gourds. The British officer inquired if that was the kind of food the army was living upon. Gen. Marion replied, "Yes; it is sufficient in starch and sugar to make a wholesome and sustaining ration. We have plenty of sweet potatoes, plenty of guns, powder, and ball, and are enlisted for the war." The British officer refused, as history states further on, "to carry on war with people who lived on roots." But these "roots" contain food properties which will alone sustain the body. In the Southern States, without fertilization, 200 bushels can be raised on an acre of land, and with fertilization 400 bushels of the finest quality of potatoes can be raised. For the provisioning of the Army nothing can be better in times of stress, and they can be shipped across the water, after being cured and packed in accordance with the methods outlined by the Department of Agriculture, at little expense for curing and packing, and I trust the people will be alive to the commercial value of this product.

I also include a letter from Mr. J. B. Wight, of Cairo, Ga., explaining the practical operation of the suggestions of the Department of Agriculture and the results obtained by him.

SWEET POTATOES.

[Statement by Department of Agriculture.]

The sweet potato ranks second in value of the truck crops grown in the United States, being preceded only by Irish potatoes. In the South the sweet potato is ahead of the Irish potato in value. In 1916 the area planted to sweet potatoes was 774,000 acres, which produced 70,955,000 bushels valued at $60,141,000. The 13 Southern States produced nearly 90 per cent of the crop (63,304,000 bushels). The value of the crop produced in the South was estimated at $48,049,000 or practically 80 per cent of the value of the total crop of the United States. If the demand for sweet potatoes justified the acreage would be enormously increased as there are millions of acres of cheap, cut-over land in the South well adapted to the production of this crop. No doubt the consumption of sweet potatoes could be greatly increased by putting on the market a better and more attractive product than is being generally sold at the present time.

The production of sweet potatoes does not present any very difficult problems, but more attention should be given to varieties. There are 35 to 40 varieties of sweet potatoes grown in this country and these are badly mixed, especially in the South. The growers are careless in handling the potatoes, storing the different varieties together and as a consequence most fields of potatoes contain several varieties. It would be very easy to separate the varieties and develop good strains of all of them.

Certain sweet potato diseases, notably black rot, scurf, and soft rot, are found wherever the crop is grown. Stem rot, foot rot, and one or two others of minor importance are severe only in isolated centers where the crop is grown intensively. Certain varieties, such as Yellow Jerseys, Big Stem Jerseys, Nancy Hall, and Early Carolina, are particularly susceptible to stem rot. Most of the other commercial varieties are more or less resistant.

All these diseases, except the foot rot, are worst in the sections of the Northern States where sweet potatoes are grown intensively and there reduce the crop annually from 10 to 40 per cent. The losses in the South from all causes, that is from field diseases and storage rot, roughly estimated amount to from 10 to 20 per cent. Black rot, both a field and storage trouble, is found everywhere and is by far the worst enemy of the crop. Soft rot, exclusively a storage trouble, occurs in the storage houses and in the banks, and exacts a toll variously estimated from 5 to 50 per cent. These storage rots, however, can largely be controlled by carefully following the directions given in Farmers' Bulletin No. 548. The different diseases of sweet potatoes and methods for their control are discussed in Farmers' Bulletin No. 714.

In growing sweet potatoes for the market the main point that should be considered is the individuality of the markets. Most southern markets prefer a moist-fleshed sweet potato, such as the Pumpkin Yam, Georgia, Nancy Hall, Dooley, and Porto Rico. The northern markets prefer a variety which is rather dry and mealy when cooked. The Yellow Jersey and Big Stem Jersey are the varieties commonly sold on these markets. The markets of the Central West and West will take such varieties as Nancy Hall and Dooley if they are properly graded and packed, and put up in neat attractive packages. It is reported that the highest price paid for sweet potatoes on the Chicago market in 1915 and 1916 was for southern-grown Nancy Hall. Some southern growers have produced the Triumph for shipping early in the season to the large cities of the East and Central West. This is a promising industry.

The main problems to be solved in connection with the sweet-potato industry are the proper methods of handling, curing, storing, grading, packing, and marketing the crop. A large part of the crop grown in the South is stored in out-of-door pits and banks. Probably 30 per cent of the potatoes so stored are lost by decay. This results in a loss of millions of dollars to the growers. In addition to this, potatoes stored in banks or pits do not undergo a curing process and consequently are not of high quality when taken out and do not keep well when put on the market.

The Department of Agriculture has been conducting experiments and demonstrations on sweet-potato handling and storage for the past five years. After studying the methods used in the few sections in the North where sweet potatoes are stored commercially, a house was designed for use in the South. During the first year of the work a few houses were built in Alabama and Mississippi for experimental purposes. The results were so satisfactory that many houses were built the following year in those States. During the last three years the work has been extended to all of the Southern States, and several hundred houses have been built, and all have been a decided success.

In all of the experimental work with sweet-potato storage accurate records were secured to show the value of the methods used. During the four years 1913 to 1916 records were secured on 228,318 bushels of sweet potatoes stored for an average of 124 days. The average decay was 2.45 per cent. In addition to reducing the amount of decay in sweet potatoes, the storage house has many other advantages over the pit or bank method of storage. Too much labor and expense are required to make the banks every year and to get the potatoes out when wanted. It is not advisable to open a pit or bank during cold or rainy weather, as these conditions injure the potatoes and induce them to decay. It often happens that when there is the greatest demand for sweet potatoes the weather is such that it is not safe to open the pits. Where the potatoes are stored in houses built for this purpose they can be taken out at any time. The details of construction and management of sweet-potato storage houses are given in Farmers' Bulletin No. 548.

By using the methods of storage that have been abundantly proven at least $10,000,000 could be added to the value of the sweet-potato crop of the South each year. In addition to this, consumption could be materially increased by putting on the market good varieties of sweet potatoes properly cured, graded, and packed.

The sweet potato is a valuable crop for feeding to live stock, but its value is not appreciated by most farmers. Three to four bushels of sweet potatoes are equal to a bushel of corn for hogs, and where fed in connection with rich concentrates, like cottonseed meal or peanut meal, they provide a good feed for cattle and hogs. On light soils that will produce 20 to 25 bushels of corn to the acre, 100 to 200 bushels of sweet potatoes can be grown with the same care and attention. All classes of live stock need succulent feed during the winter, and the sweet potato can be used to advantage for this purpose.

The sweet potato is not utilized to its full extent as food for man. In fact, in practically all sections of the United States, with the exception of the South, this product is considered a luxury rather than an important and cheap food crop. The sweet potato has about the same general chemical composition as the Irish potato, containing, on an average, about 9 per cent less water and 9 per cent more carbohydrates. Table II, in Department Bulletin No. 468, gives the composition and fuel value of the sweet potato and Irish potato.

Experiments that have been carried on by the department indicate that sweet potatoes might be artificially dried to advantage. The advantage in this drying are: First, to reduce the bulk and weight; second, to make a product that could be kept as long as desired. The dried product would be of special value for shipping long distances. However, the experimental work has not been carried far enough to show conclusively the practicability of drying on a commercial scale.

CAIRO, GA., *April 16, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK PARK,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE PARK: Replying to your request for information as to my method of keeping sweet potatoes, I give you the following information:

BUILDING.

The building for storage is a two-story frame building 25 by 50 feet. The lower story is 7 feet and the upper story 11 feet. The upper story, however, is not used for potatoes, but for the storage of seeds and farm products of various kinds. The sills rest on brick pillars, and the weather boarding extends to about 6 inches of the ground on all sides of the building. The floor is of plank 1 by 4 inches, so laid as to leave a space of about one-half inch between each plank. This is for the purpose of admitting air from underneath to all parts of the building. When it is desired to make the building tight this may be done by piling dirt up to the weatherboarding.

In each end of the building there is a solid closely fitting door 4 by 4 feet. On each side of the building there are two glass windows about

3 by 4 feet, which can be lowered to secure ventilation. In the ceiling there are two closely fitting trap doors on hinges opening into the second story. I should have said above that the second floor is well supplied with glass windows in order to secure light and ventilation. The arrangements given above enable the building to be ventilated quite well from all directions or to be closed up so as to make it practically air-tight.

The whole building cost about $500, only one-half of which should be charged to the potato-storage room.

HARVESTING AND STORING.

Much of the rot, which is the bane of sweet-potato growers, is caused from bruises incident to the excessive handling of the potatoes and from the damp condition in which they are stored. To avoid the former I secured cantaloupe crates at a cost of 10 cents each. These hold a fraction more than a bushel each. These crates are taken to the field when the potatoes are dug, are carefully filled, and then carried to the storage room on wagons provided with a platform, which takes the place of the ordinary wagon body. On this platform, which can easily be made at home, from 26 to 30 crates are hauled at one time. These crates are at once placed in position in the storage room in tiers resting upon each other five crates deep. These tiers extend from the lateral walls almost to the middle of the building. Three rows of crates are placed together and then a narrow passage extending from the wall to the center aisle is left. This passage is intended for the purpose of securing more even ventilation and to provide readier access to any part of the storage room. The accompanying diagram will better explain this. (Diagram omitted.)

DRYING OUT.

As soon as potatoes are all harvested, an ordinary heater, placed in the middle of the building, is used for drying out the potatoes. The heat is kept at a temperature of approximately 80° night and day for about 10 days, or until the potatoes are sufficiently dried out. This is indicated by the eyes of the potatoes beginning to sprout. During the heating process all vents in the building are kept open, in order to allow the escape of moisture.

RESULTS.

The results were very satisfactory. Not more than 1 per cent of the potatoes were lost by rot. An accurate test showed that potatoes lost 19 per cent in weight from the time they were dug until they were shipped.

The first carload of potatoes was shipped in bulk February 20, and sold at $1 per bushel f. o. b. shipping point. The second car was shipped March 2 in the same manner, and sold for the same price. The third car was shipped March 7 in hampers, the purchaser furnishing the hampers, the price being $1.05 per bushel f. o. b. shipping point.

VARIETY.

The variety used was the Porto Rico yam, which, owing to its culinary and keeping qualities and to its prolificness, is considered by most of our farmers superior to any other variety grown in this section. During the last three or four seasons I have been improving this potato by careful selection, with a view to increasing the yield and deepening the color of the potato.

To secure the first, a beginning was made four seasons ago by selecting a hill which had 14 tubers. This hill selection has been carefully followed every season since that time, with the result that this strain shows a yield of 10 per cent to 20 per cent over ordinary strains of the same variety.

In order to deepen the color of the potato, the end opposite the stem end is broken off when the potatoes are bedded. It may not be generally known, but it can be readily ascertained by examination that the stem end of a sweet potato is of a deeper color than the opposite end. Sprouts coming from the lighter colored part of the potato produce a lighter colored product than those coming from the more highly colored part of the potato.

The last season was not especially favorable to sweet-potato production. The yield per acre from 12 acres which I planted averaged approximately 150 bushels per acre of marketable potatoes.

It is needless to say that I am well pleased with the first season's test of the above method of handling sweet potatoes. The initial cost of the building and the crates in which to store the potatoes was about 25 cents per bushel. The building, however, will be good for at least a dozen seasons, with very little, if any, repairs, while the storage crates will be usable, at least, for several seasons.

Very truly, yours, J. B. WIGHT.

Remarks By Mr. Joseph Leiter, President of the Army League, and Also Resolution By the Board of Education of Cleveland, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 24, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the remarks of Mr. Joseph Leiter, president of the Army League, and also a resolution by the board of education of Cleveland, Ohio, which are as follows:

REMARKS OF MR. JOSEPH LEITER, PRESIDENT OF THE ARMY LEAGUE.

If Congress should adopt any of the proposed volunteer amendments to the administration's Army bill it will create a slacker class during the war. Every young man who is physically qualified and is of military age will be regarded as a slacker if he does not respond to the call for volunteers. As it is proposed to raise only 500,000 volunteers, the millions of young men who do not go out with this force would by the act of Congress be classified as slackers.

By the inauguration of the universal military service policy every citizen will have discharged his duty when he has registered. It would then be the function of the governmental authorities to determine whether he is qualified to serve and whether he is needed. The entire defenses of the country could then be organized upon a scientific basis and in a manner that would least disturb economic conditions.

Any experiment with the volunteer system in the present crisis, except in filling the Regular Army and National Guard, will work a great injustice in both those who volunteer and those who would eventually be called under a universal military service system. Those who volunteer would be discharging the duties of others upon whom equal obligations to serve rest, and those who were called under universal military service would be placed in the attitude of being forced to discharge their duties after they had refused.

The administration's bill is a sincere attempt to equalize the burdens of war. It places military service upon the same basis with taxes. After it has been put into effect there will be no complaint from the patriotic people of the country. Those who object to it will be slackers at heart or expect to secure commissions or some special benefit under the volunteer system.

The only objections to the administration's bill from the standpoint of the advocates of national defense is that it does not give the country a permanent policy. There are no provisions in it by which in the future young men can be trained in peace for war. It is the continuation of the policy of waiting for the declaration of war before any attempt is made to prepare the country to defend itself.

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RESOLUTION BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, ADOPTED MARCH 12, 1917.

Resolution No. 6396 (Mr. Williams).—Declaration of the principles of the Cleveland Board of Education in the present national crisis—Plans for disseminating same.

Whereas we believe the following to be true:

The first duty of a people is to protect from assault of every kind, from within or without, its life as a people and the principles and ideals upon which its national existence as a people is founded.

Crime, poverty, riot, oppression of the weak by the strong, disease, shirking of duty, and ignorance are some of the things from within from the results of which society must protect itself.

Unjustified attack by another nation, open or insidious, by armed force or otherwise, denial of our rights, ruthless and willful disregard by one nation of those common rights of humanity which one nation enjoys with its fellows and which it has a common obligation to defend are some of the assaults from without, against which a people must as a nation take action if that people cares to exist as a nation.

By means of its courts, police and fire departments, health boards, quarantine, and many other agencies we protect ourselves from the dangers from within. To secure this protection we limit, and rightly so, the liberty of the individual in so far as it is necessary to insure the welfare of us all.

As to dangers from without we must be prepared to combat not the average but the lowest standard of international morality existing in nations strong enough to cause us trouble.

Until, then, the spirit of aggression is definitely removed from the last strong nation, it is necessary for us to be able to resist any possible aggression on its part. The greater we become in our prosperity under high and noble principles and ideals, the greater will be the necessity of our being prepared to defend them.

A citizenry trained to arms and adequately equipped is the essential of the safe protection of national life from assaults from without. Here, as in the other case, the liberty of the individual must be circumscribed so far as is necessary for the common good.

In a Nation whose Government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the prerequisite for both kinds of defense is education.

There must be a mental and moral equipment in each individual that will enable him on the one hand to care for himself to his best advantage, and on the other hand will cause him, even to the ultimate degree of sacrifice, to assume his share in the common defense, whether the assaults are from within or without.

Our State has established free education in order that every child might have the opportunity of growing into a useful man or woman. It has made this education compulsory as the most potent means of causing every child to grow into a useful citizen.

We are now in the United States facing a situation that compels us to a decision that those intrusted with the direction of education must, if true to the obligations of their office, see to it that this now all-important side of education be attended to; that the duty of our country in this hour be made plain, not alone to the child but wherever necessary to the parent who conjointly with the teacher is influencing the child's educational progress.

Voices and influences making for cowardice and national immorality and consequent destruction are abroad in the land which must be combated and killed at whatever cost, if this generation is to hand on to the next the priceless heritage we are all too prone to forget came to us by virtue of the sacrifice and blood of our fathers.

We, ourselves and our children, must be taught and again taught and yet again taught that wrong, injustice, oppression, unjust assault must be fought and must come to know the utter silliness of declining war if war be necessary to overcome evil and hold up high principles and ideals.

No nation can rightfully omit to use its schools for this purpose; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of education of the city school district of Cleveland—

That, in view of the existing conditions in our country, there can be no loyalty in silence, and that this board can be no longer silent or neutral.

That we express our faith in the essential loyalty and unity of our citizens in this city of over 700,000, of whom more than 75 per cent are said to be of foreign birth or parentage.

That the president, the superintendent, and one member of the board, to be appointed by the president, are hereby authorized to arrange for a series of meetings in the schools on the general subject of duties of citizenship, considered especially from the national standpoint.

That this board recognize that the country is now in a situation of assault from without.

That in the present war the questions that have arisen between the United States and the allies are questions of property and convenience only, questions that can be settled judicially after the war.

That Germany has wantonly attacked the lives of our citizens; that the lives of many more are endangered unless Germany can be induced or compelled to cease the interference with their lawful rights.

That we must safeguard against or redress the worst wrongs first, and therefore could not take sides against both groups of combatants any more than we could side with both.

That, aside from ourselves, we must stand for the rights of humanity against the lawless and ruthless assaults of a power that seeks no justification other than its own will.

That propaganda of many peace societies and others is undermining national morality and national security and must be combated.

That clear thinking leading to courageous performance of duty individually and as a people is the need of the hour.

That lessons to this end by lectures, talks, or other available means is not only a permissory activity but an imperative duty on those intrusted with our educational affairs.

That accordingly the meetings hereinbefore provided for shall avowedly admit these principles and facts as their motive.

That the selection of speakers be left to the committee named in these resolutions, with instructions that they be chosen with knowledge that their views coincide with the spirit of these resolutions.

That these meetings be arranged at schoolhouses either for the scholars or for their parents or as neighborhood meetings, and either during or after school hours, as the committee may decide best in each case. At such meetings there shall be no debate. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions, with the preamble, be forwarded to the board of education of the largest city in each county of the State of Ohio and to the board of education of the largest city of each State in the United States, with a request that they take similar action and invite it from other cities in their State.

Resolutions Adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted at the present session by the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in general court assembled, requesting Congress to take measures regulating the price of anthracite coal and other commodities.

The resolutions are as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions requesting Congress to take measures regulating the price of anthracite coal and other commodities.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts in General Court assembled hereby request the Congress of the United States to take such measures as may be necessary, under the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution, to regulate the price at which anthracite coal may be sold by mining companies and their agents, in order to prevent the extortion which has been practiced upon the public, and especially upon the retail purchasers of coal, and that a maximum price be established for wheat, corn, oats, and other cereal products which so largely enter into the high cost of living in our Commonwealth and Nation; and

Resolved, That the secretary of the Commonwealth be directed to send copies of these resolutions to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress and to each Senator and Representative from Massachusetts in Congress.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Boston, April 11, 1917.

A true copy of resolutions adopted at the present session by the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts in General Court assembled.

Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

America Awake.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 18, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, on April 18, when the Webb bill permitting recruiting by our allies was under debate in the House, there was considerable discussion as to whether foreign born who are here would be loyal to us at the present time. Much was said in reference to their patriotism and many an expression carried with it the insinuation that they would be found wanting at this critical hour. Not a single gentleman furnished any proof substantiating his statement, and, what is more, the recruiting records since the war was declared show that there are more enlistments in those States where the foreign born are greater in numbers than in those States where the native born predominate. I could point out several States which might be taken as proof of such fact, but I am opposed, Mr. Speaker, to this constant vituperation of the foreign born or their descendants here. We are all part of this great Republic, regardless of where we first saw the light of day. We must all do our duty to it, according to the best of our ability. When doing it, let us have the satisfaction of knowing that we are serving our country in the most efficient manner that brain and muscle will give us the strength to perform. No matter what our station in life, let us think and speak of loyalty, patriotism, love of country, devotion to America and its institutions, urging all men and women to do likewise. Let us prepare ourselves for the greatest task that has ever faced us, and let us all exert ourselves to see that the flag which has never met defeat is once more the symbol of victory and justice.

Mr. Speaker, about 30 years ago there came to the United States an immigrant whose name is Morris Rosenfeld. He found employment as a sewing-machine operator in the clothing trade, but when the long hours were over he took to writing prose and poetry depicting the life of the worker in the clothing industry in the big cities of the East. Men who had risen high in public life gradually learned of his work, and amongst those who encouraged him were Col. Theodore Roosevelt and the late Gen. Frederick Dent Grant.

That he would rise to the occasion when America needed him was demonstrated a few days ago when he wrote a hymn that has met the approval of President Wilson.

It was published in the Jewish Morning Journal, of New York City, and is entitled

"MY AMERICA."

[Our new hymn, by Morris Rosenfeld.]

I.

Be thou, New World, by heaven blest!
Thy threshold doth on freedom rest.
America! thou hast my love;
And if my valor thou wouldst prove,
And ask my life as sacrifice,
It shall be yielded in a trice.
No wherefore and no why I ask;
I shall obey, whate'er the task.

REFRAIN.

Thy wish is holy, thy command
I deem as writ by God's own hand.
With thee in peace, with thee in strife,
Blest nourisher of freedom's life!
I am with thee, with thee, with thee;
Yea, thou art precious unto me.

II.

Thou sanctuary of the earth!
Thy voice to men has sacred worth,
Like that which did from Sinai sound.
Thy every span is sacred ground.
What scepter and what throne shall dare
With thy bright banner to compare?
No other friend but thine I know;
Thy foe—I hate him—is my foe!

REFRAIN.

Thy wish is holy, thy command
I deem as writ by God's own hand.
With thee in peace, with thee in strife,
Blest nourisher of freedom's life!
I am with thee, with thee, with thee;
Yea, thou art precious unto me.

III.

Amidst thy cannon's crash I hear
The voice of freedom calling clear.
I bless thy hosts on land and sea,
God's chosen home of liberty!
The waves roar hymns to thee, my land,
Thou'rt led by the Creator's hand.
Glad echoes from thy every hill
With praise of thee set worlds athrill.

REFRAIN.

Thy wish is holy, thy command
I deem as writ by God's own hand.
With thee in peace, with thee in strife,
Blest nourisher of freedom's life!
I am with thee, with thee, with thee;
Yea, thou art precious unto me.

That all over the country our poets and music writers are awakening is seen in a large number of songs, poems, and hymns that are being written, breathing the spirit of real American and live patriotism. One of them is entitled "The Call to Arms" and was published by the Washington Star a few days ago. It is as follows:

THE CALL TO ARMS.

[Written by Miss Emma Hamilton Bulloch, a direct descendant of Archibald Bulloch, the president and commander in chief of the colony of Georgia in 1776, and dedicated to President Wilson. It is intended to be sung in various schools of the city as a national patriotic hymn.]

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
With thy starry flag unfurled
And thy shield of honor stainless,
Give this message to the world:
Lofty principles of justice,
Peace, and freedom for mankind
Do not mean a craven spirit,
As conspirators will find.

CHORUS.

Here we pledge to thee, our President,
Our unswerving loyalty;
We will give allegiance only
To our God, our flag, and thee.

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
For the cause of liberty
Hold the torch of justice heavenward
Till it flashes o'er the sea
And proclaims to all the nations
That on this they can depend:
We love peace but not dishonor,
And the right we will defend.

CHORUS.

Here we pledge to thee, our President, etc.

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
With thy armor shining bright
And thy sword unsheathed and ready
To strike boldly for the right.
We love all mankind as brother,
But 'tis best they understand
On the shores of this fair country
Hostile feet must never land.

CHORUS.

Here we pledge to thee, our President, etc.

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
Duty calls, we must obey;
Freedom of the world imperiled
By a despot's iron sway.
We must help to crush forever
Greed and tyranny and hate.
Love and liberty must triumph—
Strike at once before too late.

Another one, Mr. Speaker, and expressing the feeling of all citizens, regardless of political faith, but all standing shoulder to shoulder in the present conflict, is entitled—

TO THE PRESIDENT.

[John Kendrick Bangs, '83, in Columbia Rambler.]

We have fought you, Mr. Wilson, just as hard as e'er we could;
We have lined our pens against you, and we've told you where we stood;
We have criticized your actions, and we've tied a lot of hay
For to trip you and to grip you as you've run along your way;
We've opposed your reelection, and we've jested now and then
On the subject of your doings and the products of your pen;
But we want to tell you now, sir, in this moment full of dole,
We are with you—yes, we're with you—we are with you heart and soul!

And the past, sir, is forgotten, just as though it hadn't been—
Just as 'twere a bit of writing on a slate washed wholly clean.
All the things we deprecated, all the things we didn't like,
They have vanished from our vision like a pacifist on strike;
All remembrance of your "waiting" and its brother "watchfulness"
Has gone tumbling to the discard in this moment of your stress;
And we want to tell you now, sir, when you come to call the roll,
You will find that we are with you—yes, we're with you heart and soul!

There's no Elephant or Donkey on the Yankee pike to-day,
And the Bull Moose stops his bulling on the broad and starry way;
All the animals of party in our overvaried zoo
Are united, Mr. Wilson, and are standing back of you;
From the sands of San Diego to the rocky cliffs of Maine,
From Atlantic to Pacific, out and back and back again.
So here's to you, Prexy Wilson; may God speed you to the goal!
We are with you—yes, we're with you—we are with you heart and soul!

Mr. Speaker, I most sincerely hope that from every part of this great land of ours will come the heartiest response to the Nation's call, but I am quite confident that when the record is written of heroic deeds performed in defense of our country, whether it be on land or sea, that there will be found written thereon the names of numerous men who came here from abroad, but who have learned to cherish and admire our institutions, insatiated with the true spirit of real patriotism, ever ready and willing to sacrifice both life and treasure for their adopted country, and vieing in every manner to emulate the noble and gallant acts of such men as Nathan Hale, James Lawrence, and Admiral Farragut.

May this war be the means of cementing the ties of citizenship of all men, both from the North and from the South, and may it be the means of having our people, regardless of their place of birth or place of residence, commence to realize that the worth of the individual to the Republic is the kind of service that he renders to it in its hour of peril.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it to ourselves and to our posterity to do all in our power to encourage in every manner real love for our flag and institutions, and we can serve our country best by constantly bearing in mind that the way the young acorns grow up so will the oaks in future years be. In other words, unless we exert ourselves to teach the present generation that flag and country come first, before materialism and commercialism, that we may rue the day when the Nation may require the services of its citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of those who believes that the future of the Republic is safe in the hands of those who are now growing up, and that this land of ours will grow greater and grander as the years go by, ever remaining a beacon light, encouraging all suffering people all over the world to know that their day of religious liberty and freedom is bound to come, and that these United States are prepared to help them achieve those inalienable rights which are theirs by birthright.

A Tribute to the Memory of John E. Epolucci, First to Give His Life for His Country in the Present War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. H. LaGUARDIA,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the memory of John E. Epolucci, a sailor of the United States Navy, who lost his life April 2, 1917, while on the steamer *Aztec*. He was one of the armed guard detailed by the Navy Department on board this American steamer. Epolucci is the first man in the service of this Government whose life was sacrificed for his country in the present conflict. I learned at the Navy Department this morning that the death of this man had just been officially confirmed. Epolucci was a boatswain's mate, first class, and in the service since June, 1907. His first enlistment expired January, 1914, and he reenlisted for another term. He was born on May 30, 1888, at Terra Haute, Ind. He had an excellent record in the Navy and gained promotion through his efficiency and faithful service.

Epolucci lost his life in the faithful performance of duty. He was not going abroad for sordid curiosity or in the search of capricious adventure, or even for commercial gain. He went in obedience to orders as a sailor of the United States Navy, ready to go anywhere in the world for the protection of American lives.

The steamer *Aztec* left an American port bound for France. She was torpedoed in the night of April 1, 1917, 9 miles off the coast of France. Epolucci was in command of one of the lifeboats. This boat was not seen after its launching, and he perished with several of the ship's regular crew in that boat.

This young man was a true, loyal, and brave young American, but, gentlemen, his parents, like my own, like some of yours, were born on the other side of the water. His parents, like mine, were Italian immigrants. He came from that brave race of people who know no fear, who have been always ready to battle and fight for ideals, for principles, and for liberty. That same race, Mr. Speaker, I regret to say, which but a short time ago, during the last session of Congress, on this very floor, was so unjustly slandered, abused, and maligned. I am glad to be able to say that on the roster of the United States Army and Navy there are hundreds of Epoluccis ready to sacrifice their lives for the safety and happiness of this country, and Epolucci will be an inspiration to thousands of American boys with Latin blood in their veins about to rally around the flag and do their share for the continuance of its glory.

Epolucci leaves surviving him his mother, Anna Mariah, a widow, and resident of the city of Washington. She has been waiting for three weeks in the hope of receiving word from abroad that her boy was rescued and still lives, but now that the official sad message has arrived she takes her loss with resignation and fortitude and in a manner worthy of a true descendant of Rome, proud of the noble sacrifice of her boy.

It is my privilege to say that in this crisis and in these hours of danger the citizens of the United States descendants of Italian immigrants and Italians who have acquired citizenship through naturalization will stand loyal to a man for the protection, safety, and honor of our country. They all stand ready to take their part and render useful, necessary, and patriotic duty.

Why I Favor Universal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, in the President's "war message," delivered at the joint session of the two Houses of Congress on April 2 last, he recommended "the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service." I heartily favor the President's program and shall attempt to set down very briefly some of the reasons which, it seems to me, make it essential that Congress should immediately put into legislation the principle of universal service.

1. Governments do not request; they require. They require their citizens to pay taxes for their support. They require their citizens to send their children to school. They tell them what they may lawfully do, what they must do, and what they must not do. The principle of compulsion is as old as civilized government. No nation could exist without it. The general welfare demands it in the apparently little as well as in the great things. But universal service may be necessary to save our Nation not merely from inconvenience but from annihilation. If we compel our citizens to do as the Government requires in the lesser things, how can we hesitate to require of our citizens that which may be necessary for the very existence of our Nation?

2. Universal service is democratic. It puts the son of a millionaire and the son of a pauper upon precisely the same footing. It makes no distinction of class. We hear much in these days of "special privileges." Universal service abolishes special privilege. It imposes upon the rich and the poor alike precisely the same burden and precisely the same privilege. The young man whose family came to this country 300 years ago will march in the ranks next to the young man whose father came from southeastern Europe five years ago; the man with 10 talents will have as a tent mate him who has not apparently been given even the 1 talent; the man who has driven the racing automobile will find himself next in line to the chauffeur of a wheelbarrow. Each will learn that the other is after all a good sort of a chap. Class distinctions will be leveled, true democracy will succeed.

3. An army raised on the principle of universal service proceeds upon a principle economically sound. It will in general exempt the married men, the older men, and the men who have already taken their productive place in the work of the world. It will take the young and unmarried man whose age precludes the likelihood that he is as economically important to the country as is his older brother. A man who is married and who goes to the front must necessarily expect the State to keep his wife and children from starvation. The State will unhesitatingly assume this burden when necessary. But the unmarried man entails no such obligation. From the standpoint of war finances, as well as from the point of view of logic and humanity, the unmarried soldier is more of an asset to the Government. From another economic aspect universal service is preferable. Under a volunteer system the Government is obliged to compete in wages with the wages paid by private employers. Many men want to be patriotic, but do not feel that they can afford to give up a $5 a day position to take a 50 cents a day position. A large volunteer army can not be enrolled without large bounties or be maintained without high wages. An army based on universal service will succeed without bounties and whatever the wages. In the Civil War the Nation alone—leaving out of account State and local contribution—paid to the soldiers entering the northern army over $300,000,000 in bounties. Universal service would have saved this sum and made it available for strictly war purposes.

4. A volunteer army would be recruited from the men who possess the highest sense of duty in the community; it would be made up of the flower of our Nation. But it would include very many men who should not go—should not go from either their individual standpoint or from the standpoint of the Nation. It would include many married men whose place is clearly, at the present stage of the war at least, at home; it would include the munition maker, the farmer, the chemist, and the inventor, all of whom could serve the Nation better than by enlisting, but whose sense of duty would require them to enlist. Selective universal service will exempt the men who for any reason should not do the actual fighting. As I have said, a volunteer force is made up of the flower of the Nation, but that very fact makes it too costly. We do not want the flower of our Nation to sacrifice itself and leave the rest behind. We want a fair representation in our Army of all degrees of our citizenship.

5. Universal service eliminates unrest. A man is told exactly what his "bit" is. If he is not called upon for service, he can continue his vocation with the assurance that no stigma or odium attaches to him—that if the Government wants him it will call him, and that so long as it does not call him he is doing the proper thing to stay where he is. The life of the whole community, so far as humanly possible, continues without the upset and the fever which attend a community where each man is wondering exactly what his duty is.

6. The only argument one hears advanced against universal service is that the spirit of a volunteer force is better and that a man ought not to be subjected to the obligation to serve. As I have previously said, it is hardly a valid objection to a system that it recognizes that as between a citizen and his country, as between individuals, it is more blessed to give than to receive, and that there is an obligation upon every patriotic man to serve at the call of his country. But aside from this, no stigma can possibly attach to the idea of universal service when it is the common lot of all. It is only when in past wars universal service has become necessary when volunteering ceased that odium attached to the men compelled to serve. If the obligation rests upon all, or upon all within the stipulated age limits, there is no suggestion or possibility of dishonor involved in the service. Nor will the esprit de corps be impaired by universal service. I need only to cite the example of France in the present war as proof of this. Frankly, I should like to have our entire Army raised on the universal service principle, eliminating even the volunteering fraction for which the President's program provides. I think a mixed force is unfortunate; that the half million volunteer army is illogical and hampers the raising of a universal service force.

7. The volunteer system as applied in England the second year of the war is a misnomer. It amounts to compulsion of the most extreme kind. The slacker is ostracized, shunned by his former friends, deprived of work, and frequently subjected to physical attack. If he enlisted under these circumstances, he can scarcely be called a volunteer in spirit. He is just as truly forced into the army as if a constable took him by the arm. And the worst of this situation is that the fear of these indignities forces men to go who for many reasons should not go—men whose duty lies at home.

8. The example of England has shown that it is vastly more difficult to change from the volunteer system to the universal-service principle after the war is well under way. England has done it because she had to do it, but it was a tremendous fight to bring it about. The United States will accept the principle to-day without very much cavil. Let us not make the mistake of postponing wise decision until a time when difficulties in our path will be much increased.

9. Universal service is the inevitable corollary to universal military training. It is scarcely worth while to train a force of young men in time of peace and then let them go their way in time of war. When the war burst upon Europe the Swiss system of universal training enabled the little Republic to send within 24 hours to their several posts the 200,000 men who were trained to bear arms. If we train and do not require service, we can not stipulate in advance where Private A or Captain B shall go in time of emergency. We can not say that such and such a unit will be called upon to defend such and such a post. When the emergency comes we shall have to start in all over again, forming units of men who have been trained and who volunteer for service. As a matter of advance planning and administration to meet an emergency the universal-service principle is vastly more efficient than the volunteer. Furthermore, a volunteer system in time of war is uncertain. External events will vitally affect its progress. No one can foresee a month or six months ahead what the rate of volunteering will be. Many men may present themselves, or only a few. Those in charge of our military policy can not lay their plans with precision. On the other hand, universal service enables the authorities to forecast with absolute accuracy just what forces they will have at their disposal upon a certain date. Uncertainty is removed and efficiency promoted.

10. Universal service operates equally throughout the sections of the United States. It bears proportionately on Massachusetts and Nevada alike. The volunteer system may lead to much injustice and inequality.

11. The universal service principle will mean no delay. The registration census can be taken and the men selected under the census quite as quickly as our Quartermaster and Ordnance Departments will be ready to clothe and arm them. And when the registration census is once taken it is available for future enrollments. In other words, the universal service plan will furnish the first levy of men as quickly as we can care for them, and, after the first, will be incomparably more speedy and certain than the volunteer plan, as to which no one can ever predict with confidence in advance.

12. Patriotic mothers will welcome universal service. They will want their boy to do his part, but they will be glad to have his duty—whether to go or stay—pointed out to him in unmistakable terms. They will know that the son of their neighbor owes exactly the same duty and is under exactly the same liability to perform that duty. The spirit of fair play is the foundation principle of universal service.

13. I believe that in a country like the United States, made up of men of many races, many creeds, and many countries, universal service is socially more important than in any other country of the earth. The exchange of view will broaden and solidify our population. Universal service will help to make us truly a melting pot.

14. Every great modern war which really tested the resources of a nation has necessitated the recognition of the universal obligation to serve. The Confederate States of America adopted the plan before the Civil War had run a year; the Federal Government shortly after. The volunteer system has failed whenever really tested, both in the great war of to-day and in the wars of the last century.

15. The Commander in Chief of the Army and his adviser, the Secretary of War, the Army War College, and every officer now holding high position in our Army recommend the adoption of universal service. It is the business of these men to know whereof they speak. While their opinion should not be conclusive upon Congress, I think it is fair to say that it should be given very great weight, and in the absence of cogent reasons to the contrary should control.

I confess that there is one reservation which persistently crops up in my mind as to the application of the universal-service principle. I should prefer not to have the force thus raised transformed into an expeditionary force and sent to France without any volition of its own. I should like the overseas force to be a volunteer force. It may be that this feeling is illogical and indefensible. I am inclined to think it is, for oftentimes the best defensive method of warfare is an offensive, and in this case the offensive would probably be the expedition to France. And yet the feeling persistently recurs. Would a program like this be practicable? Let us train our forces, raised on the universal-service principle, for the six months' period or the year period necessary to make them efficient soldiers; then call upon that universal-service army for volunteers to join the expeditionary force to France. I believe that 90 per cent—perhaps 95 per cent—of those who had been trained would eagerly volunteer for the foreign service. We should then have every advantage of the universal-service plan and have the satisfaction of feeling that the men engaged in the hazardous fighting across the Atlantic went there gladly, resolutely, and of their own free will. The analogy of calling for individual volunteers in time of war for extra-hazardous service is interesting. Every soldier may lawfully be ordered and compelled to perform that service. But a wise officer will call for the requisite number of volunteers. If the call is not answered, compulsion may follow. So for extra-hazardous service in France let us call upon the army, when raised and fully trained, for volunteers. If the call is answered—and I have no doubt of its overwhelming success—our purpose will be fully achieved. If the call is not answered, we can then do what is necessary to make available the number of men needed. All this, however, is a matter of administration and not of legislation. It is simply, to my mind, but one more reason why we should adopt universal service.

Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend remarks in the RECORD, I append a statement entitled "Objections to the voluntary system," by a Canadian, Mr. Lorne Mulloy, and stated by Commodore Jarvis, who is in charge of the recruiting of the Canadian contingent for the British naval service, to be the best article ever written upon the subject:

OBJECTIONS TO THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

The following conclusions have been arrived at after careful study of the experience gained by more than a year's work in recruiting men:

1. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IS NEITHER BRITISH NOR FRENCH.

(a) The French method, commonly known as conscription, is better described as democratic compulsion or the subordination of each to the expressed will of all. In other words, it is the same form of compulsion as that which compels us here in Canada to pay our self-imposed taxes and to obey our self-made laws.

(b) The British method of raising men has always been by the employment of the compulsory militia levy, including the militia ballot. Under this system each parish, town, and county was required to furnish its just quota. From the eligibles of a certain class, aggregating many times the number of the quota, exemptions were made in the cases of those men considered to be indispensable to the carrying on of business at home, while from the names of the remainder the necessary number was balloted.

(c) With the exception of two or three companies of royal garrison artillery, volunteer units were unknown in the British Army until the middle of the eighteenth century. Upon the outbreak of the Seven Years' War national unpreparedness was so marked and popular fear of invasion so great that the Government in 1757 was compelled by act of Parliament to recognize and regularize volunteer units and to include volunteer units in the armed forces of the Crown. The volunteer movement, however, by no means displaced the compulsory militia levy, which was used freely throughout the Napoleonic struggle, but took its place alongside as an adjunct.

As it was in the army, so it was in the manning of the British fleet, and the great majority of the men who built up the splendid traditions of the British Navy were men who were sent to sea under compulsion. In fact, excluding punitive expeditions and the South African War, which was in the main guerilla warfare, the only war in British history in which the compulsory levy was not used to raise the required number of men was the Crimean War, in which, though the militia act was suspended, it remained a convincing instrument; ready to be put into effect at an hour's notice.

2. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IS NOT RELIABLE.

History, ancient or modern, of all nations and all peoples does not record a single instance in which the voluntary system stood the test of a real war. Whenever the struggle was of such proportions as to require approximately the whole effort of a nation, some form of compulsion was found necessary. This is so because the volunteer system is haphazard in its methods, uncertain in its results, and incapable of supplying the steady, uniform stream of recruits necessary to create and fight an army.

3. THE VOLUNTEER SYSTEM IS A CONTRADICTION OF THE NECESSARILY FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIP EXISTING BETWEEN THE CITIZEN AND THE STATE.

(a) The State is an organized society of human beings, associated presumably for their own welfare, the members of which possess a community of race, language, or ideals. Whether in its inception—the family, in the family enlarged, the tribe, or in the tribe expanded into the nation—its citizens possess rights paralleled by responsibilities, and in the constitution of all States which have existed from the twilight of ancient civilization until to-day the primary responsibility upon which all citizens' rights are in common founded is the obligation to defend the State when at war. When the constitution is written this obligation is incorporated; when the constitution is unwritten, it is basic, underlying and understood—in time of war the eligible male citizen must fight.

(b) Since the basis of voluntary offering is the right to refuse, it follows that when the government of a country at war calls for volunteers to fight it is tantamount to stating openly that each eligible male citizen is at liberty to adopt whatever attitude he pleases toward the struggle, and no moral obloquy can be attached to the man who decides that the adventure is no concern of his. In other words, a call for volunteers not only gives a legal justification to the man who will not go, but it is a confession to the world that the nation is not wholeheartedly committed to the struggle, for the world knows that this method can not call forth one-half of the nation's whole effort.

4. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IS A VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY.

The fundamental principle of democracy is the equality of all citizens before the law or from the standpoint of the State, and any burden imposed by the State must be evenly and equitably distributed over the whole citizen body. A tax of 25 mills is not laid upon one man and 10 mills upon his neighbor, and the customs duty is strictly impartial, affecting rich and poor alike.

The voluntary system, however, discriminates drastically and flagrantly against the unselfish and patriotic citizen and in favor of the selfish man, the unpatriotic, the lover of his own ease, and of him who desires to remain at home and get gain. If it is a true democratic principle that in the raising of taxes—a mere matter of dollars and cents—the burden should be evenly and equitably distributed upon the whole body of citizens, is it not truer democracy to observe the same equity and equality when the toll to be exacted is hardship, suffering, and death?

5. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM CREATES THE MAXIMUM OF INDUSTRIAL DERANGEMENT.

It is axiomatic that in war the maintenance by a State of an effective army in the field depends upon the husbanding of the economic resources at home and the conservation of the Nation's industrial or wealth-producing power. In other words, only a small percentage—say 10 per cent—of the people can actually go to war. The ultimate base of the National Army, whether it fights on the frontier or 10,000 miles distant, must be the economic resources of the homeland and the wealth-producing power of the 90 per cent who can not go.

This power of wealth production, therefore, must be as jealously guarded as the strength and composition of the combatant force, and on no account should we take from the former men who are indispensable from the industrial standpoint.

The captain of industry, the skilled mechanic, and the rising artisan are men of trained and disciplined minds. They know the meaning of self-discipline, regularity of habits, long hours, night study, and concentration of purpose. While these are precisely the benefits which military training holds out to the undisciplined mind, it is beyond controversy that a nation's appeal for men to fight goes straight home to the mind of the disciplined man, while it slips lightly off the man to whom military training would be a boon. This explains the universal complaint of manufacturers that the appeals of recruiting officers constantly and invariably take from them the men who are indispensable to the proper conduct of their business, while for each one taken there are five unskilled men left whose places, were they to go, could be easily filled.

The voluntary system, while discriminating between men by drawing largely from the more efficient and those the country can least afford to spare, is nondiscriminating as between industries, drawing alike

from the munition plant and from the distillery, and frequently hitting more heavily those industries most indispensable to the Nation's economic welfare.

6. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IS PRODIGALLY WASTEFUL AND RIOTOUSLY EXTRAVAGANT.

(a) Throughout central Canada the time taken to raise local battalions has been found to be between four and seven months, and this is probably true of the whole of Canada. As against a compulsory system, which would raise a regiment in two weeks, there is, therefore, loss in time of at least five months in bringing each battalion up to the stage of mobilization at which point the real training only begins. Moreover, since the authorized full complement of officers and noncommissioned officers is on pay practically from the beginning, and since the heaviest enlistment occurs in the first two months, it is a conservative estimate that the loss in money—that is, the avoidable expenditure incurred—can not be less than the pay and upkeep of the full battalion for a period of from three to four months. As this equals $75,000 per month, it is evident that with the exception of the first 100,000, men who came forward eagerly, every thousand men raised by the voluntary method has cost the Canadian taxpayer $250,000 of unnecessary expense. In other words, the 260,000 men thus raised have—as contrasted with any sane system of levying troops—cost the Canadian taxpayer $65,000,000, for which his only return has been the privilege of being five months late in turning out each battalion as a full unit ready to commence its training.

(b) Another cause of unnecessary expense is the large number of married men enlisting, 90 per cent of whom would be refused by any system of selection which calls the unmarried man first to the colors. The reason for the large proportion of married men enlisting lies in the fact that the married man is older, more thoughtful, by reason of his greater responsibilities, and has undoubtedly a greater stake in the war. The proportion in some battalions is as low as 30 per cent and in many others reaches 50 and even 75 per cent. Taking the low average of 425 married men per 1,000 enlisted, we are paying in separation allowances alone $3,000,000 per month, or $36,000,000 per annum, as long as the men remain under arms.

(c) In connection with the enlistment of married men there are also to be considered patriotic funds, pensions to the widows, and the financial obligation of the State in reference to the children of such men who may be killed in action or totally disabled. These children must be reared to the age of 18, and we are therefore obligating ourselves for the future expenditure of many millions, reaching forward over a period of from 1 to 18 years.

(d) In addition to this there is the not inconsiderable expense of so-called whirlwind recruiting campaigns being conducted spasmodically in every part of the Dominion of Canada. Speakers, bands, and escorts must be transported; press, bills, and bunting must be used in abundance; clerical work, halls, motor cars, liveries, speakers' hotel expenses—returned soldiers are frequently on salary—must all be provided for; and the people pay. In fact, it is a safe estimate that the man power and the money now used in the undignified attempt to raise men would, if properly controlled, raise, equip, and maintain another division on the firing line.

7. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM PRODUCES THE MAXIMUM OF INEFFECTIVES.

Since youth is an idealist and maturity is thoughtful, appeals from the platform and the press are being daily responded to by boys of 16 and 17 and men between 50 and 60 years of age, both classes, in their desire to serve, adjusting their ages to meet the requirements of enlistment.

Commanding officers of many local battalions inform me that these classes aggregate as high as 10 per cent of the total enlistment, and by some they are placed at 20 per cent. The inevitable result of this will be the weeding out later of thousands of men and boys who will prove physically incapable of standing the strain of thorough camp training, but who, nevertheless, have been in the pay of the country for from 5 to 10 months.

RECAPITULATING.

The so-called volunteer system—it is the precise antithesis of system—is neither British nor French; it is not reliable; it is a denial of the basic responsibilities of citizenship; it is undemocratic; it creates the maximum of industrial derangement; it is wasteful and extravagant; it results in the minimum of effectives and the maximum waste of valuable time. These things being so—and these things ought not so to be—it seems to me that to continue on these lines is an evidence of moral weakness and insincerity on our part, and it is little short of sheer hypocrisy on the part of our press and our public men to proclaim to the world that we are in this struggle to the last man and the last dollar when the world knows, and we ourselves know, that the first step in a sincere attempt to put even half our strength into the struggle would be a classification of our industries and registration of our man power. Some form of authoritative selection is necessary not for the purpose of dragnetting the country for men to fight, but for the purpose of conserving our wealth-producing powers and putting into the field in the most expeditious manner the most effective force compatible with this main object.

LORNE MULLOY.

MARCH 4, 1916.

Petition of the Senior Class of the Case School of Applied Sciences.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD under the general consent given by inserting a petition sent me by the senior class of the Case School of Applied Sciences of Cleveland, Ohio, urging conscription. All of the signers would be subject to conscription. The petition is as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY EMERSON,
House Post Office, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As citizens liable to conscription, we, the undersigned, heartily indorse the bill providing for universal military service throughout the United States. We are not in favor of a volunteer system which allows men to shirk their duty.

Signed by the following seniors of Case School of Applied Science: G. W. Norrick, K. A. Barren, E. H Lindeman, B. E. Skeel, J. A. Graves, W. T. Van Onnon, G. E. Hart, D. H. Dozer, O. T. Park, J. E. Figner, J. B. Harris, H. S. Watson, J. C. Arrowsmith, F. S. Kuehn, E. G. Hollman, jr., R. E. Weidner, C. E. Daird, H. H. Smith, W. S. Gaines, jr., P. A. Belelen, Kent H. Smith, C. D. Putnam, P. R. McCurdy, L. H. Priday, C. R. Hill, M. E. Kessler, J. S. Adelson, L. N. Markoritz, H. C. Kulka, C. H. Penning, E. S. Ridler, H. S. Kendall, S. G. Seaton, O. H. Steiner, J. Valasek, O. J. Hodge, V. P. Matthews, J. V. Resek, R. A. Green, C. Ganzenmulle, G. D. Roach, H. G. Hills, R. E. Farnham, N. E. Sprowl, H. D. Barch, G. M. Beals, C. J. Oetzel, A. W. Horning, W. E. Hall, C. A. Martin, N. L. Kaehni, J. M. Hart, H. H. Howard, R. S. Munsell, E. C. Drake, A. C. Blank, John M. McFadden, A. A. Prior, Albert M. Higley.

Memorial of the Presbytery at Philadelphia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted to extend remarks on the Military Establishment bill, I submit the following memorial from the Presbytery of Philadelphia expressive of its views on the war situation:

THE PRESBYTERY OF PHILADELPHIA.

To our churches and people.

GREETINGS: This is a solemn time in our Nation's history. For more than two years our Government was able to keep us as a people out of the great world war, but the time came when war was forced upon us, and it became evident that we, too, must needs take our part in bringing to an end the terrible conflict. Therefore when our President, in the noblest public national utterance since Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, challenged us to our task, we as a people, through our Congress, accepted our burdens.

And now that our Government has formally and officially acted and we are confronted not with an academic question but with a fact, not with a theory but a state of war, it behooves us as a united people and as individuals to do all within our power to bring to a successful termination this war, which for two and a half years has shaken the world to its very foundations.

Our Presbyterian and Reformed Churches from the days of John Calvin, and very notably during the American Revolution, have been in the forefront in patriotism, liberty, and evangelism. Deeply conscious of our obligations to God and country, we, your brethren in the Lord, the Presbytery of Philadelphia, have deemed it our duty and privilege to send you this letter, with the request that if the way be clear it be read from the pulpit on Sabbath next, 22d instant, or as soon thereafter as possible.

That the great ends for which our Government was created and for which it exists may not fail, our people are solemnly urged to manifest their support of the Government in thought, word, and deed. In particular we make the following specific requests:

1. That our Presbyterian people continue instant in prayer, so that our spiritual channels may be kept deep and unobstructed; that public and private prayer be offered in our churches and homes for our President and all the officers of State, and for our Army and Navy, which stand in our stead on the line of battle.

2. That the American flag, the emblem of our national aspiration and freedom, be displayed on, or in, or both on and in our church and parish buildings.

3. That at least one patriotic hymn be sung in our churches and one in our Sunday schools each Sabbath day.

4. That patriotic services be held frequently, at which prayers should be fervent and humble.

5. That our societies of men, women, and young people be requested to align themselves with the Red Cross and other organizations and agencies looking to the comfort and convenience of our soldiers and sailors.

6. That our people practice every possible economy, thus helping to conserve the Nation's resources against the possible day of dire need. We must gird up our strength as one who would run a race.

7. That our able-bodied men offer themselves to their country for whatever services they are best suited to perform; that our pastors set their flock a worthy example in this respect as in others, volunteering not only as chaplains but to serve the Nation in whatever way their gifts may best fit them.

8. That while emphatically discountenancing any word or act of disloyalty, we carefully refrain from harsh criticism and bitter words to and concerning those in our midst who are of alien birth and are therefore under great stress of soul, loyal as most of them are to the country of their adoption, but sympathetic, in some measure at least, as they are to the land of their birth.

9. That we remember we have entered this war with no selfish motives, and solely for the sake of humanity; that oppression may be brought to an end; that our children may continue to possess that liberty which our forefathers bought for us with their blood and

treasure; and that the door of hope may be left open for the downtrodden and oppressed of all lands.

10. That we pray Almighty God, if it be His divine will, to give victory to our forces and to those with them in this mighty struggle, and that the outcome of this victory shall be not the glory of any man or nation, but rather a deepened spiritual faith throughout the world.

11. That we exercise the Christian graces of patience and fortitude, looking and believing that in His own good time God will give the victory to democracy over imperialism; that in the noble language of Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth," and that the establishment of a permanent and world-wide peace so eloquently urged by the President shall be not a dream of idealists but a fact known and enjoyed by all mankind.

In addition to the above recommendations to our people, it is the sense and will of the presbytery in session this the 19th day of April, A. D. 1917, in the Chambers-Wylie Memorial Church, that a copy of this letter be sent to each and every church and pastor within our bounds, and a copy to each of the following:

The President of the United States of America.

The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

The governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The mayor of the city of Philadelphia.

The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

And that a copy be furnished to each of the daily newspapers of our city.

For the Presbytery of Philadelphia,

ROBERT HUGH MORRIS, *Moderator.*
ROBERT HUNTER, *Stated Clerk.*

What Kind of an Army?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, the bill under discussion contains a provision recommended by the War Department for raising an army of a million men by selective conscription. Under this plan only so many men will be mustered into the service of the Government as are needed, and they will be equally distributed throughout the various States of the Union in proportion to population. Provision is also made for certain exempted classes and for the exemption of certain men from military duty where their work is more urgently needed in the agricultural and industrial activities of the country. In other words, it is a scientific system designed to make the highest possible use of our man power without confusion or injustice.

The bill also contains a provision, inserted by the committee, against the advice of the administration, for an optional enlistment of a volunteer force. I shall be constrained to vote to strike out this optional volunteer force from the bill, first, because I do not believe it is necessary; second, because I do not believe it will be successful; and third, I am sure that it would demoralize the plans for a draft and bring about inequalities and injustice. I can not see that it would benefit anyone except the comparatively few men in each State who desire to make a bid for political prominence by organizing these volunteer forces.

The best which has been said by the advocates of the volunteer system in favor of the committee provision is that it has been safeguarded in such a way as to be as near like uniform conscription as possible. In other words, it contains the same exemptions and limitations as contained in the War Department proposal, but this is quite different from the original plan of volunteer forces. We must not forget that there is ample opportunity now for the man who wants to enlist and serve as a private to volunteer either in the Regular Army or Marine Corps or the National Guard. The service in all of these branches has been made for the period of the war, so that there is no difference in the period of enlistment in any branch in which a man serves.

The Regular Army must be recruited up to 287,000 men. The Marine Corps has room for a large number, and the various States of the Union have full power under the recent decision of the Judge Advocate General to create additional units of the National Guard up to a total force of 625,000. If this does not give ample opportunity for any man who really wants to enlist and to volunteer his services as a private, I am at a loss to understand how the creation of a new organization, to be known as a volunteer army, could possibly afford him any better opportunities.

I believe that the volunteer system is wrong in theory and vicious in practice. Under the stimulus of enthusiasm it sends a great many men to the front who ought to be left at home, and it leaves a great many men at home who ought to be serving their country at the front. It contains an element of injustice and inequality which can not be eliminated. Why should we start with such a system which we know we must early abandon simply for the purpose of giving a few men a chance to play politics with this war?

Democracy demands that where there is an equality of right and opportunity there is also equality of duty and responsibility. It is the duty of Congress to see that this equality is enforced by effective legislation.

The weakest thing about the argument for the committee provision is that the speeches in favor of it do not ring true in the support of the administration in this war. They do not sound as though they were in earnest. They have an undertone of "perhaps this will do, or maybe this is good enough, or let us try this first." History teaches us that the common mistake of all nations—particularly the freest nations—in entering a war is to underestimate the difficulties and to be dazzled with an unfounded optimism of the chances of success. We are prone to think that we will not need very many men, that the war will not last very long, and that the enemy will be speedily defeated. In this war we are facing an enemy who has brought military science and national efficiency to the highest point—an enemy who knows the value of universal training and preparedness. If we were facing such an enemy single-handed, we would soon be rudely awakened from our dream of an easy and early victory. The only thing that will save us from such a disaster is the fact that the enemy is already busily engaged with other effective forces.

When we passed the war resolution we pledged in express terms all of the resources of our Nation for the successful prosecution of the war. This meant our resources of men as well as of money, and did not mean such resources as chose to volunteer for service. I am quite convinced that selective conscription is the only scientific and effective way of raising an army worthy of the name and of any use in the present emergency. In my judgment, gentlemen who argue otherwise are simply arguing that we are not going to have a real war. Even the men who want us to try the volunteer system first are careful to say that if we have a real conflict and prolonged struggle conscription must shortly come. Why not, then, prepare for such a struggle and start right?

HEADQUARTERS FARRAGUT-THOMAS POST, No. 8, G. A. R.,
DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,
Kansas City, Mo., April 23, 1917.

Hon. W. P. BORLAND, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This Grand Army post, the largest in Missouri, most cordially indorses your action on universal compulsory military service.

I herewith, by direction of this post, inclose you copy of resolutions u[illegible]sly adopted on Saturday, April 21, 1917.

Very respectfully,

C. A. MORRIS, *Commander.*
[SEAL.] R. J. EDMONDS, *Adjutant.*

KANSAS CITY, MO., *April 23, 1917.*

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of Farragut-Thomas Post, No. 8, Grand Army of the Republic, the largest Grand Army post in Missouri, April 21, 1917.

C. A. MORRIS, *Commander.*
R. J. EDMONDS, *Adjutant.*

Resolutions by Farragut-Thomas Post.

Whereas a majority of the members of the House Committee on Military Affairs is adverse to the plan of "selective draft" for raising an army, a majority of said committee having voted in favor of a combination of volunteer system and selective draft for raising the required army; and not believing this system advisable: Therefore

Resolved, That Farragut-Thomas Post, No. 8, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Missouri, expresses disapproval of a combination of volunteer and selective draft for creating an army, for the reason that the conscript, associated with the volunteer, will be discredited throughout his term of service. In view of this, we favor universal training and equitable conscription, as this would require every man, irrespective of station, color, or wealth, to do his duty, while under the volunteer system the load falls to the "willing horse" upon whose services the country relies, while the slacker slumbers in security.

Resolved further, That we adhere to and emphasize the resolutions adopted by this Grand Army post over a year ago, viz, February 10, 1916, on national defense and transmitted at the time to the authorities at Washington, advocating the greatest Navy in the world, increasing our standing Army to 250,000 men, universal compulsory military training and service by every able-bodied citizen—the rich and poor alike—on a plan to be devised by the Army General Staff, all under the authority and exclusive control of the National Government. Also the establishment of gun and munition plants at interior points in the country secure from coast attack.

We recommend the adoption of the foregoing resolutions.

C. A. MORRIS,
H. B. KELLY,
R. J. EDMONDS,
Committee.

ST. LOUIS, *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. W. P. BORLAND, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It was my pleasure and good fortune as a Texan to have the pleasure of casting my first vote in Missouri in your district and of voting for the greatest of the Presidents and for yourself. This fact gives me further satisfaction when I note, from time to time, how cordially you support the well-thought-out policies of the President.

Any Member of the Congress who may be doubtful of the position of the American public at this time has but to take a trip most anywhere to find that there is practical unanimity of opinion back of the Wilson policies. The mosquitolike buzzing of pacifist and pro-German in his ears may make him think that there is opposition, but an intelligent effort to obtan an insight into the real feeling of the country will soon convince him differently.

I have just made a trip south as far as Florida, and everywhere it was evident that the people are with the President and want to see his plans and policies quickly put into effect. In reading the editorials of the big dailies of the southern cities all were found to be unequivocally for conscription as urged by the President and to be working heroically to increase the food crops of the South this year. They are organizing canning clubs, backed by a proper vegetable acreage therefor; calf and pig clubs, backed by the bankers; gardening clubs, backed by the officers and people of the cities and towns, and everywhere holding meetings with the farmers and planning for increased corn and foodstuff acreage. And, notwithstanding all of this effort, they are not behindhand in the work of securing volunteers for the various branches of war service, as is attested by the high percentages along this line now accredited to the southern cities and States.

It does one good to note the whole-hearted support of the Government there everywhere apparent and leads to wonder that any Congressman from that section should be willing at this time to delay urgent and needed action by seeking to impart his personal and impractical hobby into pending legislation. Conscription is fair, and it is democratic. It will not prevent the high idealism that actuates the volunteer, but will protect those possessing it by making the slacker of high and low degree do that duty due to the Government by all citizens in its times of stress.

Success to you.

Cordially, yours, R. H. WESTER.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, to me the question of a volunteer system or selective conscription—draft system, if you please—is now answered plainly and clearly. I have reached my decision, in the main based on the following facts:

Our Republic is the greatest of all democracies. It is the duty of every citizen to fight for his country if he be required. Every patriotic, red-blooded young American would respond to a call for volunteers. The praise of neighbors, comrades, and Government accompanies those who go to the front. But no man who would volunteer is deprived under the draft of an opportunity to prove his patriotism, and the slacker is made to do his share.

Not all the red-blooded young men are needed in the Army, however; millions are needed on the farms. A nation or an army can not exist without sustenance. A doctor is of more value just behind the firing line than in the line. On the firing line he would have but one life to give to his country. Behind the lines he might save hundreds of lives for his country. A young chemist on the firing line might kill a half dozen of the enemy; kept at work in the powder factory he would aid in furnishing ammunition to destroy a thousand. And so we could go on.

The patriotic citizen should not have to decide whether, to serve his country best, he should stay at home or go. If he determines it himself and patriotically decides that he can render more service to his country by staying at his employment, his own neighbors may charge him with lack of patriotism and being a slacker and a coward.

The United States is at war. The essence of national service in these trying days is to place oneself at the disposal of the Government for whatever the Government may think best. The individual can not for himself decide where he is most needed; the Government alone can decide. Herein lies the weakness and the unfairness of the volunteer system. It is not a matter of personal choice; it is a matter of national obligation. The fundamentals of democracy demand that what is the business of all must be the duty of all. Democracy means that all shall be treated the same.

The willing patriot should not be sacrificed on the altar of duty because the unwilling shirker prefers to stay at home and let others take the risk. Selective conscription is the only method that puts all citizens on the same equal basis, regardless of social status. It is the democratic scheme, because influence or position in life would be of no avail in seeking to escape a plain duty to serve the Republic. In a land of equal opportunity and favor there shall also be equal liability and equal obligation resting upon one and all alike when the Nation needs its sons on the battle field. Selective conscription, as defined by the President, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, is not a last alternative; it is a first choice. The Government in time of war should say who it wants for the Army and who to stay at home to balance the fighting efficiency of the Nation.

Opportunity is now open for approximately 600,000 volunteers in the National Guard and Regular Army. Patriots who prefer to be known as volunteers can enlist as such. The volunteer soldier is a real patriot and makes a wonderful fighter. History shows there is nothing the matter with the volunteer soldier; it is the system under which he serves that is one-sided and ineffective for the greatest good.

Mr. Speaker, I have reached this conclusion in favor of the selective draft in war time, as against the volunteer system, in spite of my former prejudice against the draft and my strong leaning toward the volunteer system. I had failed to distinguish between the historical excellence of the volunteer soldier's service and the woefully imperfect system, honeycombed with partisan politics, favoritism, and chance, under which the private volunteer served.

I am certain my conversion places me with those whose stand best represents the lasting welfare of the United States.

Resolutions Against Conscription.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a dispatch from the Central Labor Union of Toledo, 10,000 strong, announcing the adoption of resolutions against conscription and similar reslutions passed by the Machinists Union and the Glass Workers Union, of Toledo.

The following telegram received from the Central Labor Union of Toledo, representing 90 locals and 10,000 industrial workers, signed by John J. Quinlivan, business agent of the Central Labor Union, on the question of conscription.

The Machinists Union, 2,700 strong, passed a similar resolution with only one dissenting vote.

The Glass Workers Union, one of the strongest unions in Toledo, unanimously passed a resolution which is appended hereto, also a letter from a veteran soldier and officer of the Civil War.

The resolutions are as follows:

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. I. R. SHERWOOD,
Congress Hall, Washington, D. C.:

The Central Labor Union of Toledo at its last regular meeting, April 19, went on record unanimously against the conscription or selective-draft bill now before Congress, and instructed the undersigned to ask you, on behalf of over 10,000 trade unionists, to work and vote against the above measure. We note by to-day's press reports that you have been requested to resign by some of our so-called citizens if you see fit to vote against the conscription bill. If you will take time to scrutinize the membership of these organizations to which these citizens belong you will find that none of them represent labor. We take this opportunity to congratulate you on your stand against militarism, and further request that you continue your efforts to defeat this measure. Labor wants you on the job, and knowing you as we do we feel confident that you are coming out on top. The voters, or at least the great majority of them in your congressional district, are back of you.

TOLEDO CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
By JOHN J. QUINLIVAN, *Secretary.*

—

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. I. R. SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Following resolutions adopted by Local Union No. 81, American Flint Glass Workers:

Whereas there has been or is being prepared a bill called the selective conscription and military-training bill, to be submitted to Congress and Senate to draft young men into the military service; and

Whereas to enact such a law would establish military autocracy in the United States, such as has ruled the people of the German Empire with an iron hand, and has been one of the reasons for the United States in plunging into the awful conflict which has been raging in Europe for nearly three years: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 81, American Flint Glass Workers Union go on record as being opposed to the enactment of conscription and compulsory military training laws; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Hon. I. R. SHERWOOD, National Representative at Washington, D. C.

With best wishes for your health and happiness, I beg to remain,

Truly yours,

FRANK B. MACKALL,
Secretary Local Union No. 81.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 25, 1917.*

Gen. SHERWOOD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: During our national life our Army and Navy (and which, practically speaking, is our militia) have fought more battles and gained greater achievements in the same length of time than any other army and navy, as every historian knows. A sample of the courage and valor of our militia may be cited at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, where Gen. Jackson, with 6,000 new volunteers, defeated the English veteran army, 12,000 strong, and killed and wounded 2,600 of his enemy, while Jackson's loss was only 8 killed and 15 wounded, and no man can say from that day to this that we have ever sent one of our militia armies to a battle field where they displayed less courage and valor and less tact and coolness than Gen. Jackson's army did on this occasion. We call our Army and do our fighting and go home. We do better fighting because every man has an interest in what he is fighting for, while other countries have, by their system, got to keep an army of 600,000 or 700,000 men all the time tented on the field, waiting for possible war, while if we had a common-sense universal training law, where the man could be trained in his own neighborhood, every man taking his turn alternately in drilling. The militia was organized, trained, and officered by the States in the Civil War, before they were turned over to the Federal Army, the United States paying all expenses for this, and President Lincoln and our greatest generals never made any objections to this, but always encouraged it, and President Lincoln honored his soldiers above other men and said at a sanitary fair, at Philadelphia, in part, on June 16, 1863, "For, say what you will, the most is due the soldier who takes his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country." What a contrast in this and what President Wilson said in his speech of April 15, 1917, where he makes the man who stays at home and works to produce supplies equal to the man who goes to the front with his gun.

These rights of the States as specified have always been adhered to, and if this is doubted I stand ready to prove it. What other nation with its military system has done half as well in its accomplishments?

I am for the war, but for it according to the Constitution. It is broad enough to whip the Germans or any other nation. I know something of this up-to-date system of which we hear so much, and it means power for a few men only and a lock on every man's mouth, and if he criticizes wrong, as every true, loyal citizen has the right to do, a squad of soldiers will be knocking at his door.

The Government authorities have no right to establish training camps to train officers to be appointed over the militia, whether they are volunteers or drafted men, or to train the militia itself; and if the universal-training bill becomes a law the States and not the Government have the right to do the training. In my opinion, any attempt on the part of the Government to establish training camps to train officers to be placed over the militia, or to train the militia itself, or to be operated as a universal training camp for any of the militia or for officers of same, will meet with widespread dissatisfaction, as this right belongs to the States; and the day those in authority break over the Constitution, as they have announced in the newspapers they would do, by opening training camps on the 1st of May, that day the glory and liberty of this country will start on a downward grade. We now have the best military system in the world for our own people, notwithstanding its enemies.

Yours, truly,

L. W. LINDLER.
Late First Lieutenant Company A, Seventeenth Indiana.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY C. WOODYARD,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. WOODYARD. Mr. Speaker, this bill as reported from the Committee on Military Affairs gives the administration in the first place everything it asks for except one thing, viz, selective conscription; and, in the second place, it gives it all it asks for should the volunteer plan prove unsuccessful. In that event the President is clothed with all the powers he now demands.

Aside from this one issue there is practically no difference of opinion here. There is a difference as to the minimum and maximum age provision, and in that particular, too, the committee has improved on the bill by fixing the minimum at 21 and the maximum age at 40, instead of 19 and 25. Even as to the matter of "selection," upon which the administration so strongly insists, that is a right which the Government may exercise under the volunteer plan fully covered by law. It may exclude men who are not fitted for the service but are more suitable elsewhere.

The advocates of conscription contend, Mr. Speaker, two things, namely, that conscription is more "democratic" and that an army of the size asked for can be the more quickly raised. In support of the latter contention they assume that the volunteer plan will fail and erroneously declare that it has proven a failure in the past. All of which I most vehemently deny.

I deny that a conscripted army will be a more "democratic" army than a volunteer army. The armies that have fought our wars have all been volunteer armies, and they certainly have been democratized to the maximum. I deny that a conscripted army can be more quickly raised, trained, and outfitted, if the people's heart and soul are in this war—and I hope that to be the case—than a volunteer army. I contend that a volunteer army will be a fighting force of finer morale, greater efficiency, higher patriotism and intelligence, and possessed of a deeper inspiration of enthusiasm at all times than any army which is raised under the draft. If efficiency is what is being aimed at, it is far more likely to be had from men who volunteer than from men who are the unwilling and discontented results of conscription.

Mr. Speaker, there is nothing in this bill which is calculated to retard the upbuilding of the army of 1,000,000 which the President and his advisers are asking, for the Government is in no condition to take care of an army of that size if it could be enlisted to-morrow. Either way—volunteer or conscription—it will take time. In my judgment, the Army, so far as the requisite number of men is concerned, will be ready long before the Government machinery is constructed or adjusted to handle it. I feel as justified in that opinion as those who disagree with us on this question have a right in arbitrarily assuming that a call for volunteers will fail to result in a prompt and satisfactory compliance.

There is abundant evidence before us that a call for volunteers will be heard and heeded up and down the land. Every day since we declared a state of war there have been offers without number on the part of men anxious and willing to volunteer in this war, to raise companies, regiments, and even divisions and turn them over to the Government. I know personally of two friends of mine who came to Washington and offered the War Department not only to raise a regiment each, but to fully equip them at their own expense and then turn them over to the Government. We all know of an ex-President's patriotic offer to raise a division of experienced fighting men, men above the age which the administration's conscription law would touch, and turn that division over to the Government when it was raised. And I can readily imagine, from what I know, of how chilly the patriotic offers of my two friends were received at the War Department, what will come of Col. Roosevelt's volunteer division.

Why is it, Mr. Speaker, that in a time like this, when men everywhere are offering themselves with that fine spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism which has always characterized our men when the country was at war, that they should be held at bay until it could be ascertained whether or not a law could be secured to draft them? Why a draft anyway? I confess that I am mystified, that I am at a loss to account for this demand, when there is no apparent necessity to resort to it now. Should that necessity arise later, well and good. This bill provides for that, and provides amply. It gives the President in all those respects everything he is asking this Congress to grant.

But they say your volunteer plan is a failure; that it has failed before. When, pray? The only time the draft was resorted to by this Government was in the third year of the Civil War, and we had already raised an Army of over 2,000,000 as brave men as ever followed a flag. They say that we should fasten the odious and un-American and undemocratic draft upon the men of our country because England had to resort to it. And so England did, but not until she had raised 5,000,000 of her 6,500,000 under the volunteer system. It would have taken England just as long to train and equip her first army to send to France to supplement her little army of regulars dispatched there at the beginning of the war had they been drafted as it did to train and equip her first army of volunteers. It was not until near the third year that England dared to resort to the draft. She dared not do it in her colonies—in Canada and Australia. Should this war continue three years longer, which hardly anybody believes it will, conscription may come, but there is no excuse for it in the United States now, I care not how strenuously the War Department contends that there is, or what other reasons—and there are many, and the roots grow deep and extend far—why there is, among a certain class

of people, other than the Army officers, whose desire in this matter we can more clearly understand and analyze, a determined effort to change the century-old policy of the United States and inflict a compulsory one upon the young men of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I do not share the doubts which advocates of conscription have so tearfully voiced here, that we can not give the President a million volunteers, and give them to him without any more delay than getting the machinery of conscription started, intricate as it is, would entail. Those doubts, in the largest measure, are unsupported by the facts of history, and for the most part, in my judgment, rest upon the unsubstantial foundation of either an audacious assumption or a fevered imagination. In either or both cases they are not to be relied on, and hence not to be accepted.

This country is not ready for the draft, nor is there now any necessity for resorting to it, Mr. Speaker. It is a hated and detested policy and has been so regarded by the people of the United States ever since they set up this great free Republic. It is only to be thought of as a last resort, and at the outset of our engagement in this war it certainly can not be said that we have reached that stage, nor is it anywhere in sight, nor is there any opinion sufficiently large to be noticed that we will ever arrive there.

All we ask in this bill is, first, that the patriotic boys and men of this country be given an opportunity to volunteer their services; that they be permitted to escape the stigma of conscription. We have met the imaginative assumption of the conscriptionists, who have foreordained volunteerism to failure by safeguarding against it. We give to the President ample powers to go ahead with his preparations on a conscription basis, while our patriotic sons everywhere are responding to a call for volunteers. If our plan fails, which we are justified as much by the facts of history in declaring that it will not as those on the other side are in affirming that it will, then bring on your conscription, Mr. President, and we are with you. But until then, for God's sake, do not let us make this false start in a great war venture with a thoroughly un-American and undemocratic policy. If England could raise a volunteer army of 5,000,000 certainly we can raise one of 1,000,000. Americans will volunteer as freely and as loyally and as promptly—I believe more so—as the Australians and the Canadians. They would have resented the draft as we resent it now. It has not been necessary even now for England to fasten conscription on her colonies, and the citizens of the United States are no less brave and no less willing to fight for their country's flag than are our neighbors to the north of us. Volunteerism has not failed in Canada, and it will not fail here. Under it we can give the Government the finest fighting force it is possible to raise anywhere, for a volunteer army is the best army to be had. None better can be secured.

West Virginia, Mr. Speaker, is, compared with the population of some of the other States, not large; but since the declaration of war West Virginia has two regiments in the field, one of them having had experience on the Mexican border. Since the war with Germany started, West Virginians have been volunteering their services and are being enlisted in the Navy and the Regular Army. In the Army branch the figures of enlistment will show that in proportion to her male population West Virginia leads Illinois, which heads the list for the number of enlistments. Let there be a call for volunteers and West Virginia will not only do her part but will furnish more than her quota of as fine fighting men, as intelligent, and as patriotic young men as ever followed the flag of our country on a battle field. We do not need conscription in West Virginia; we do not want it. It is odious to our people. At least we do not need it and we do not want it until a call for volunteers is made and an opportunity to see how that plan works out in raising an army of the size that the Government has asked for.

Much has been said in speeches here and in the press of the country to the effect that a Representative in Congress should "rise above his constituents" when the sentiment of his constituents appears to be opposed to conscription and favorable to trying out the volunteer system first. That is a peculiar argument. If it fits one side of this proposition, it fits the other with equal aptness. This oral effort to make water rise above its source is, to say the least, interesting. In my case I am bothered not in the least by any friction with my constituents. From the first I have been opposed to fastening the draft on the country without giving the volunteer method a trial. Without any advice from me on the subject, without even knowing how I viewed this matter, the people of the fourth West Virginia district have, it appears from the extensive correspondence I have received from leading men in every county, taken the same view that I do.

They do not want conscription undertaken as the initial prelude to the raising of an army. They are willing to accept it, should the volunteer plan prove unsatisfactory. On that proposition we stand together. And in the final analysis, they, as well as I, will patriotically stand by the Government in whatever situation may arise in this great war. We are sincere in our opinion as to this proposition. Time and experience may prove our opinion the wrong one, but we have no doubts on that score now. I am just as anxious for the United States to win this war as they, and am just as anxious now as when I cast my vote in favor of what was virtually a declaration of war against the German Empire.

I would not put an obstacle in the way of the Government successfully prosecuting this war, nor am I when I support the volunteer plan. I am supporting it because the very idea of conscription and draft is hateful to me. I thoroughly detest it. I consider it wholly un-American and undemocratic. I look upon it as repugnant to the spirit of this Republic. I regard it as smacking of militarism with a most rancid taste. I condemn it as a menace to our country's future, that future which will come after this great war is over. I brand it as a dangerous and a far step toward military caste. I can think of it as nothing short of vicious, harmful, and immoral.

The United States is not ripe for this thing. I do not believe that the people think it necessary at this time. I sincerely believe that could they have an opportunity each and every one of them to express himself on it, he would say, as we are saying, try the volunteer method first; should that fail, then conscription.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time that an attempt has been made to fasten the policy of conscription onto the organic law of our country. Each and every time it failed. The people, through their Representatives in Congress, saw to that. From the foundation of our Government until now, conscription has been odious to American citizens. It does not accord with the traditions and ideas of our people.

As early as 1812, it will be remembered, an attempt was made in Congress to do what is being attempted to be done here now—pass a conscription law; legalize the draft. Upon that occasion such great statesmen as Daniel Webster raised their voices in protest against this un-American, unpatriotic, and vicious doctrine, and the assault against the liberties of our land was frustrated. In a speech against conscription in the Congress of that year—one of the greatest and most effective and most far-reaching in its beneficent results of any speech delivered by Webster, he said:

> Laws, sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad, like the fabled serpent's teeth, they will spring up into armed men. A military force can not be raised in this manner, but by the means of a military force. If the administration has found that it can not form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it can not enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail, and having already thrown away our peace we may thereby throw away our government.

Mr. Speaker, for the second time within a month I stand upon the floor of this House experiencing a sense of my oath to my Government and my obligations as a Member of this great body as I have never felt them in the nine years of my service as a Representative. The other time I refer to was when, three weeks ago, I cast my vote in favor of the war resolution. That was the most solemn hour in all my life and it weighed upon me as no weight ever did before. Hardly less solemn is the present hour. Deep within me I feel the indescribable gravity of these times which have come upon our peace-loving land.

I am trying to see clearly and think coolly and act wisely and patriotically on the great problems which we must settle as God gives me the light to see, to think, and to act. In the forefront, I am endeavoring to keep the burning words of my oath before me as a shining sun by day and a pillar of flame by night. I know that every Member of this House is making the same effort; that they feel as I do the unparalleled gravity of this crisis in our country's affairs. We do not all see things alike, nor vote in the same way, but the devotion of all to the common cause of our country is the same. There is no difference between us there. We want to do the right as we are given to see it. From the President to the pettiest official in the Government, that is the animating thought and the dominating purpose. From the highest to the lowest, the oath is substantially the same. The President, I believe and I know, is acting in this matter with regard for the oath of his great office paramount in his heart and mind. The Members of this House who

agree with him on this question are doing not a whit less. Those who disagree with him on this issue are just as zealous in upholding the Constitution and the laws of our land as he is. Their oath is just as dear to them as the President's is to him.

With a profound consciousness of it, with a full appreciation of my action, with an abiding faith in my country, with the awful seriousness of the great duties which devolve upon me to conscientiously and patriotically discharge to the best of my ability, and with a prayer in my heart to Almighty God to save and protect our great free Republic and give it wisdom and strength I cast my vote against conscription, against the draft, but—"My country! Right or wrong, my country!"

Resolutions Adopted by the League of Republican Clubs of Cleveland, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD, under the general leave, by inserting resolutions adopted at a meeting of the League of Republican Clubs of Cleveland, Ohio, the greatest Republican organization in the State of Ohio, indorsing the attitude of the President in this crisis. It is apparent that the Republicans of the United States are supporting the President more strongly than Democrats:

LEAGUE OF REPUBLICAN CLUBS OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY,
Cleveland, Ohio, April 25, 1917.

Hon. HENRY I. EMERSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, president and secretary, respectively, of the Cuyahoga County League of Republican Clubs, hereby certify that at a regular meeting of the league, held on Tuesday, April 24, 1917, the following resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the Cuyahoga County League of Republican Clubs, in behalf of all the organizations represented by this league, urge upon citizens generally the strongest possible support of the President of the United States in his farseeing and patriotic stand for selective conscription as now pending before Congress.

"*Resolved further*, That Congressmen EMERSON, CROSSER, and GORDON, representing Cuyahoga County in the House of Representatives, be requested to support the President in his request for selective conscription, and that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the said Congressmen."

D. A. MARSH, *President.*
ULLRICH RICHTER, *Secretary.*

Resolutions Passed by the Washington Harvard Club.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions of the Harvard Club, indorsing the course taken by the President and Congress in joining the allied nations of entente.

The resolutions are as follows:

WASHINGTON HARVARD CLUB,
Washington, D. C.

At the meeting of the Washington Harvard Club, on April 17, 1917, it was—

Resolved, That the Washington Harvard Club, with a membership representative of all parts of the United States, hereby fully and heartily indorses the course taken by the President and the Congress in joining the allied nations of the entente in defense of individual liberty, of national independence, and of the freedom of the seas, and most thoroughly approves the use by our Government of the armament and resources of the country, without limit, for terminating successfully the great war.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this club universal military training and service are absolutely essential to the success of our arms, and should be instituted immediately by appropriate enactment.

Resolved, That as a club and as individuals we pledge our loyal support to the Government, and place ourselves unreservedly at its disposal for such services as we can render.

Resolved, That copies hereof be sent to the President, Vice President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, ambassadors and ministers of friendly nations in Washington, Senators and Representatives in Congress, members of the Cabinet, and Harvard Clubs throughout this country and abroad.

GEORGE N. HENNING, '94, *President.*
HENNEN JENNINGS, '77,
FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, '93,
HARVEY W. WILEY, '73,
EDWIN W. SPALDING, '88,
Vice Presidents.
JOHN W. DAVIDGE, '02, *Secretary.*
PICKERING DODGE, '79, *Treasurer.*

Resolutions Adopted by the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT F. POLK,
OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein resolutions adopted by the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party, relative to the Federal amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, which I have been requested to have read into the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Delaware?

There was no objection.

The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas the question of woman's enfranchisement is fundamental and of paramount importance; and

Whereas in the present national crisis women, together with men, share the burdens of taxation, responsibility, and horrors of war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party, in convention assembled, call upon our Senators and Representative in Congress to give their favorable support to the immediate passage of the Federal amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Senator SAULSBURY and Representative POLK, with a request that they be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the Senate and House, and also be sent to the President of the United States.

(Mrs.) M. P. DERICKSON BRINGHURST.
(Miss) ELIZABETH P. SPEAKMAN.
(Miss) PAULINE TOWNSEND.

Letter From Gen. A. B. Critchfield.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter from one of my constituents.

The following letter was received by me from Gen. A. B. Critchfield, a resident of my district, who has served in the Ohio National Guard for a period of about 34 years, and in the Spanish-American War:

APRIL 27, 1917.

Hon. ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In response to your request, I will give you the following conclusions that I have reached after a careful analysis of the two bills now pending before Congress—the one known as the Dent bill, being the bill reported by the majority of the Committee on Military Affairs, and the other being the Kahn, or the bill reported by the minority of the Military Affairs Committee.

. These bills both provide for conscription, which means compulsory service. The minority bill prohibits the President from accepting the services of volunteers and provides for an army raised by selective conscription alone, while the majority bill would authorize the President to call for volunteers and accept them into the service, at the same time authorizing him to use conscription to insure the raising of an army or armies as he may deem necessary. Neither bill provides for compulsory universal military training, as has been so often reported in our daily press. This feature is not included in either bill.

No matter what we may have thought regarding various questions concerning this war, we are now in it and a real condition confronts

us demanding immediate action. Time is of vital importance. If the volunteer is given an opportunity, we can have an army in France months sooner than by any other method. Hundreds of men who have had training and service will volunteer. From our Army—Marines, National Guard, and Volunteers—we can send an army of 250,000 men to France as soon as they can be equipped and supplied. They can be used as reserves, immediately relieving trained men of the French and English Armies who could be moved up to the line of supports and the trenches. There our men would finish their training under real war conditions and have an opportunity to learn conditions at first-hand on the ground. Far more important still, in my judgment, would be the moral effect of the appearance of a quarter of a million American soldiers along the line in France. Thus while our Army was being trained under the same conditions and on the same ground as both the French and English soldiers were trained, who are to-day so effectively fighting the greatest battles of all time, we would be adding a moral effect and encouragement of incalculable value.

Let us take advantage of time and opportunity; let us answer the prayer of our French confreres for the United States to send an army to France—that we will, and that we will do it now.

I would not close the door of opportunity to the volunteer who offers his service, and by reason of this feature I think the Dent bill preferable.

At the same time we would give the President full power to proceed to raise an army or armies by any and all means and methods necessary to conclude this war, as all wars have been concluded in which our country has engaged, and at the earliest possible day.

Yours, respectfully,

A. B. CRITCHFIELD.

H. B. Lyon Camp, U. C. V., Passes Resolutions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution of H. B. Lyon Camp, No. 1259, U. C. V., in regular meeting last Monday.

The resolution is as follows:

H. B. LYON CAMP, U. C. V., PASSES RESOLUTIONS.

H B. Lyon Camp, No. 1259, U. C. V., in regular meeting last Monday passed the following resolution unanimously:

To His Excellency WOODROW WILSON,
President United States:

H. B. Lyon Camp, No. 1259, U. C. V., in regular meeting last Monday President of the United States and to those members of the Congress whose votes were cast to sustain his efforts to protect and defend our country from the attacks of a foreign foe the assurance of its earnest support, and in such manner as may be possible to men of their advanced years they pledge the President that they, veterans of the great War between the States, are ready to answer any call in the service that may be made upon them.

The adjutant of the camp is directed to forward to the President a properly engrossed copy of this expression of the camp.

J. N. WILLIAMS, *Commander.*
W. O. WEAR, *Adjutant.*

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THETUS W. SIMS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN] offered his amendment, as follows:

Amend, on page 2, following line 24, by inserting the following proviso:

"*Provided further*, That the President is authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment, to organize, and equip not to exceed four Infantry divisions, the officers of which shall be selected in the manner provided by paragraph 3 of section 1 of this act: *Provided*, That the organization of said force shall be the same as that of the corresponding organization of the Regular Army: *And provided further*, That there shall be no enlistments in said force of men liable to draft under section 1 of this act: *And provided further*, That no such voluntary force shall be accepted in any unit smaller than a division."

Now he changes it so that it reads one division instead of four. This amendment weakens the whole proposition. It should not be offered in such a way as to show plainly that the purpose of it is to enable only one man to come within its provisions. There may be one man in the United States to whom it might more fittingly apply than to any other man, but, perchance, there may be other men who can and who are equally willing and anxious to do exactly what it is intended that the one man who is in every Member's mind shall be permitted to do.

In my desultory remarks on this bill in the general debate I said in substance that in my district, the eighth of Tennessee, the Republicans nominated against me a very popular man. Hon. L. M. Rhodes, of Huntingdon. For several years Mr. Rhodes had been the State president of the Farmers' Union of Tennessee. He was well and favorably known all over the State. In his speeches he said not one word in favor of or against the Republican candidate for President, nor did he say one word in favor of or against the Democratic nominee for President. He neither advocated nor opposed the platform of either party. So far as appeared in his published public utterances he made a strictly nonpartisan canvass. I invited Mr. Rhodes to have a joint discussion with me of the pending political issues, as the Republican nominee for Congress, before either of us had made a speech of any kind. His secretary informed me that Mr. Rhodes at that time was suffering with a slight facial paralysis, which it was hoped would be temporary, but that he could not at that time accept my offer of a joint discussion, and that he did not know at that time whether Mr. Rhodes would recover in time to make any speeches at all before the election.

I then made out a list of appointments throughout my district and offered an equal division of time to my opponent.

Mr. Rhodes soon recovered sufficiently to make speeches, but did not accept my invitation for a joint discussion, but made a list of appointments for himself and proceeded to fill them. He opened his canvass, as I now recall, with a speech at Big Sandy, Tenn., on October 25, 1916. I was advised both by letter and by telephone that in that speech Mr. Rhodes charged that I had voted for conscription and claimed to have absolute documentary proof of his charge. A printed copy of his speech was circulated throughout my district. I have a copy of that speech in my hand and will now read from it what Mr. Rhodes charged against me.

"I am not 'a peace at any price' pacifist. I am in favor of enough military preparation to properly police the country, but to say that we are immune from militarism is absurd. I am unalterably opposed to that part of the national-defense act which Mr. SIMS voted for, which provides that the President of the United States can conscript, or have conscripted, in time of war, any citizen of the United States subject to military duty between the age of 18 and 45 years. He can, under this act, go to your home, force your boy before he is old enough to vote to join the Army, and if one of these conscripted soldiers shall make any show of violence against any superior officer, he shall suffer death, no matter what the provocation may have been. That is militarism with a vengeance and is wholly at variance with American ideals of liberty. It tends to reduce us to the standard of European customs in subjecting us to the rule of a military despotism. If I had been in Congress and had allowed this extreme militaristic influence to clutch the American people by the throat in this way without strenuous objection and emphatic protest and had sanctioned it with my vote, I would not only retire from Congress but would never ask a free people for another position of trust."

I, of course, immediately and emphatically denied the charge. But I did not stop with a simple denial. I stated in unequivocal language that I had never voted for conscription and that I never would vote for it only as a last resort, after the volunteer system had been fully and fairly tried and had failed to secure enough enlistments to meet an imperative emergency demand, and then only as a temporary and supplementary measure and not as an abandonment of the time-honored war-tested volunteer system of free America.

But notwithstanding my emphatic denial of the charge made by Mr. Rhodes in his Big Sandy speech on October 25, 1916, the Tennessee Republican, a newspaper published at Huntingdon, the home town of Mr. Rhodes, in its issue of November 3—just before the election—made the charge which I now read from a copy of that paper, which I now hold in my hand, as follows:

"Mr. SIMS lined up against 'the masses' and voted for the conscription of our boys in the service and the penalty of death if they refused to go to become gun fodder, as provided in the national-defense act.

"Do you call a vote compelling the sons of American freemen and the husbands of American women to go to war against their will, to be drafted into service and forced to face death regardless of their wishes or will in the matter, voting for 'the masses'?"

I again repeated my emphatic denial of the truth of these charges, and I again declared that I had not and would not under any circumstances vote for conscription as a system.

But after doing all I could to counteract the effect of this unjust charge against me, I did not succeed in fully doing so and came dangerously near being defeated. If I had not repudiated the charge, I certainly would have been defeated. But, on the other hand, if I had advocated and approved a change from the American volunteer system to the conscription system, I would have been the worst defeated Democratic nominee that ever ran for Congress in my district.

In view of my record and of the pledges and promises I made to those who elected me, can any man expect me to vote for conscription? By reason of the pledges and promises made prior to the election, am I not in honor bound as a Representative to do all I can to defeat the adoption of the system of conscription in this country?

But in my canvass prior to the charges made by Mr. Rhodes, I discussed fully and freely the question of universal compulsory military training in time of peace and of the volunteer system for raising and training an army in time of war, as provided for and approved in the national-defense act passed in 1916, known as the Hay bill.

By way of bolstering up and strengthening my own position in opposition to universal compulsory military service in time of peace, I read from the address of President Wilson delivered on the 8th day of December, 1914, or that portion of it touching compulsory service in time of peace, as follows:

"It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a Nation in the field, a Nation of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that; and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace."

Mr. Speaker, in all fairness of construction of the language used by the President, can anyone escape the conclusion that he was opposed to compulsory military service in times of peace? In referring to the admitted fact that we were not ready upon brief notice to put a Nation in the field, a Nation of men trained to arms, the President said, "and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions." Now, what is the thing or element involved in compulsory military service in time of peace that is so antagonistic to our political principles and institutions that it can never exist as long as we retain our political principles and institutions? Clearly it must be the element of compulsion, the application of force. Have we now reached the period in our history when we are justified in abandoning our political principles and institutions in exchange for the continental European doctrine of force and compulsion? Speaking for myself, I am not ready to abandon our principles and institutions in exchange for the principles and institutions of force and compulsion embraced in the General Staff bill.

A resort to unnecessary compulsory military service in time of war is just as fatal to the retention of our political principles and institutions as it is in time of peace. Most clearly it is the element of enforced training and service that can not exist in our country without an abandonment of our existing principles and institutions.

In the same address the President again says:

"From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have a large standing army. If asked, Are you ready to defend yourselves? we reply, Most assuredly; to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves."

The General Staff bill, it is true, does not provide for compulsory military service in time of peace, but it does provide for unnecessary and preferential compulsory military service in time of war, which is equally destructive of our principles and institutions.

In the same address the President further says:

"Let us remind ourselves, therefore, of the only thing we can do or will do. We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps."

I beg to call your attention sharply to so much of the last quotation I read from the President's address which says:

"It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms," and so forth. The use of the words "who will volunteer" clearly excludes compulsion or any element or principle of force.

On page 12 of the same address, the President further says:

"It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety.

"More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity."

Mr. Speaker, I beg to call special attention to the last words of what I have just read, which are "More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity." These words must be understood to mean when read in connection with the whole address and recalling the clamor that was being made in some quarters for compulsory military training in time of peace and for compulsory service in time of war, as an avowal of the President's disapproval of the introduction into our system of the elements of force and compulsion, and characterizing a resort to such methods as a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity.

I am not now ready to be a party to bringing about such a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity and try to excuse myself to my constituents by the German plea of "military necessity."

Mr. Speaker, I voted for the resolution declaring that a state of war existed between this Government and the Imperial Government of Germany. I sincerely hoped that by a failure of Germany to win the war that militarism would perish from the earth, never to be revived. I hoped that by winning the war, or helping to win the war waged against Germany, that we would be doing our part to destroy the repulsive and liberty-destroying doctrine of universal compulsory military training and service. I hoped we might help to make it impossible for military autocracy to ever again raise its horrid head in this world. But, of course, I never dreamed that in order to destroy military autocracy in Germany that we would be asked to even temporarily resort to the methods of militarism practiced in Germany. I had a right to believe from our history, ideals, and principles that we would be permitted to at least try to win the war without their reversal and abandonment.

Every crime that Germany has committed in this war was committed in the name of military necessity, and now we are asked to adopt the un-American, autocratic methods of compulsion and conscription in the name of military efficiency.

It is claimed that the General Staff plan is democratic. If so, it is the democracy of servitude. Many slaveholders have been democratic in the treatment of their slaves. They have treated them all alike, have not discriminated between them, but were they any less slaves on that account?

In order to win this war in the quickest possible time I am opposed to experimenting with European compulsory military systems. We know what we have done and what we have accomplished in the past by the volunteer system of raising and maintaining armies, and our experience gives us confidence as to what we can do if we stand by our time-tried, war-tested American volunteer system.

Speaking for myself, I do not believe in compulsory military service, and I do not propose that we shall ever resort to compulsion only as an exception to the general and approved policy of volunteer military service.

To authorize the establishment of compulsory military service as a system for the raising and maintaining of armies, even as alternative, secondary, and permissive, ought not to be coupled with and included in the initial stages of our war legislation.

Leaving it optional as to which system shall be adopted by those charged with executing the law, who have in advance openly declared their lack of confidence in the successful prosecution of the war under the volunteer system, is, in my judgment, a weakness in the House bill. If exceptional conditions arise which, in the judgment of Congress, can be met in no other way than by a resort to conscription, it will then be time enough to enact such a law.

I feel absolutely confident that if the Confederate Congress could have foreseen how little military value would result from conscription that no such law would have been enacted. I feel no less confident that the Congress of the United States would not have resorted to conscription if it, too, could have foreseen the results that actually followed its attempted enforcement.

The first call for troops by Mr. Lincoln was for only three months. This short period of service, in the mind of Mr. Lincoln, was the measure of his expectation as to the duration of the war. But a sad awakening awaited Mr. Lincoln. Instead of it taking only three months to go to Richmond, it took four years of long and bloody war.

If Germany and the other continental powers are to be vanquished in the next six or eight months, as some men are now predicting, the armies of the allies now in the field will have to be relied on to do it. It is freely admitted on all sides that under no system that can be adopted will it be possible for American troops to be of any substantial value as an actual fighting force on the battle fields of Europe in less time than 8 or 10 months.

By the time an army can be raised and properly drilled for actual fighting in the field under the proposed conscription system we will be in the midst of a hot political campaign for the nomination and election of Members to the House of Representatives of the Sixty-sixth Congress, as well as for the nomination and election of one-third of the Senators.

Do we not all know that this question of compulsory military service will be the single paramount and dominating issue, in both the primaries and general elections, in each and every congressional district in the United States and in every State in which a Senator is to be nominated and elected? Do we not know that in this country it takes ballots as well as bullets to wage a successful war?

I have no hope that this war will be ended by the time the next election is held, and I am unwilling by my vote or otherwise to do anything that will endanger the election of an antiwar, antiadministration Congress; and believing, as I do, that the old American war-tested. time-tried, and time-honored system of raising an effective fighting army by the volunteer system is the only hope we have for winning this war, I feel it my conscientious duty to vote against the proposed adoption of the compulsory conscript system, but in doing so I can not indicate my lack of confidence in the success of the volunteer system by voting for an amendment that limits it to the raising of only one division.

My friend and colleague who has offered this amendment comes as a Representative from the proud old Volunteer State of Tennessee, but I can assure him that if the opportunity for volunteering to serve in the cause of our country in past wars had been limited to one organization, Tennessee would never have been called the "Volunteer State." I can not by my vote do anything that will take from beloved, brave, free, democratic Tennessee her proud and ever-cherished title of the "Volunteer State" and substitute for it the "Conscript State." Tennessee is the land of the free and the home of the brave, and I can not by my vote make her the land of the coerced and the home of the slave.

You may paint, you may picture conscription as you will,
But the seeds of despotism will remain in it still.

Resolutions Passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts relative to the price of anthracite coal and other commodities.

The resolutions are as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions requesting Congress to take measures regulating the price of anthracite coal and other commodities.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts in general court assembled hereby request the Congress of the United States to take such measures as may be necessary under the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution to regulate the price at which anthracite coal may be sold by mining companies and their agents, in order to prevent the extortion which has been practiced upon the public, and especially upon the retail purchasers of coal, and that a maximum price be established for wheat, corn, oats, and other cereals and cereal products, which so largely enter into the high cost of living in our Commonwealth and Nation; and

Resolved, That the secretary of the Commonwealth be directed to send copies of these resolutions to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress and to each Senator and Representative from Massachusetts in Congress.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Boston, April 17, 1917.

A true copy of resolutions adopted at the present session by the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts in general court assembled.

Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. GARRETT,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted Members to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the pending bill, I desire to have printed in the RECORD the following petitions and telegrams for and against the abandonment of the voluntary system and a statement by myself to the people of Texas in connection therewith:

MANOR, TEX., *April 22, 1917.*

D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

You are reported as opposing the President's policy for raising an army. If true, you do not represent the great majority sentiment of the State, who are heartily with the President. We urge you to give his policy your open and actual support.

Jas. A. Hill, A. G. Boyce, W. G. Crockett, John A. Hill, jr., Shirley Gregg, W. H. Weinland, G. Murphy, C. C. Eppright, J. C. Lockwood, H. L. Hill, Geo. P. Smartt, M. D., W. R. Wray, Ewing Baker, Walter M. Allison, Joe G. Justin, Edwin O. Lindgren, Joe H. Vaughan, W. H. Cole, R. E. Allison, Harry Prescott, Geo. W. Shmoe, J. S. Schermerhorn, Jno. Lockwood, N. R. Jackson, J. R. Lockwood, J. G. Williams, Frank C. Gregg, J. W. Calson, F. E. Stacy, A. J. McEachern, J. N. Littlepage, Hickman Baker, Jim Lane, Mace B. Thurman, J. W. Swenson, E. S. Harris, C. C. Johnson, W. H. Jones, jr., C. W. Eppright, I. N. Mayfield, P. B. Scrogin, Shake Sparrow, C. D. Hammons, W. B. Raney, P. W. Bowman, Jno. W. Lane, G. W. Loveles, S. E. Smartt, W. S. Hart, O. F. Goddard, Wm. H. Jones, sr., C. W. Bickley, S. F. Goddard, J. O. Froberg, F. R. Wachtengen, O. W. Anderson, A. N. Anderson, W. S. Gustafson, Chas. W. Hanser, H. C. Smith, W. O. Gustafson, E. R. Wray, Aron Gustafson, J. S. Mayfield, Jas. C. Keltner, J. O. Watt, H. P. Lockwood, F. H. Beard, C. D. Henson, L. M. Lee, A. T. Loptes, F. O. Hanke, E. D. Hains, John P. Tiberg, I. G. McMullen.

CLEVELAND, LIBERTY COUNTY, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, Hon. JEFF: MCLEMORE, and Hon. A. W. GREGG, *Texas Congressmen, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: In this great crisis of the American peoples, we, the undersigned citizens of this community, being individually concerned for the welfare of our young manhood with reference to the new army of Americans now being organized, believe, after careful consideration, that the plan of our President, advocating "selective conscription," is the most fair and equitable means of accomplishing the desired end, and is much preferable to the ordinary volunteer system. Therefore, wishing to voice our sentiment, we address this petition to you, in the hope that you will use your influence and give your vote in support of our great President.

H. A. Meeurn, J. H. Meeun, R. L. Williamson, E. L. Smith, G. O. Bartle, W. O. Bartle, W. J. Kelley, L. J. Flournay, Dr. R. L. Overton, J. H. McClandbon, W. Searle, C. Del, Jim Kinkham, T. E. Publis, Asa Anderson, C. A. Miles, W. P. Cruse, P. C. Matthews, R. W. Jeffris, G. F. Hackney, Clyde C. Young, M. W. Harrelle, J. D. McMahon, A. F. Matthers, Joe Stephens, R. L. Traylor, C. G. Hall, W. H. Rice, W. H. Phillips, T. F. Banks, J. F. Barclay, E. W. Ratin.

GEORGETOWN, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. CHAS. A. CULBERSON, *Senator,*
Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD, *Senator,*
Hon. J. P. BUCHANAN, M. C.,
Hon D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Hon. JEFF: MCLEMORE, M. C.
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIRS: We are inclosing you a copy of a petition signed by more than nine-tenths of the citizens to whom it was presented as they were approached, and out of 292 citizens to whom the petition was presented 275 signed, advocating selective conscription, as favored by President Wilson.

The original of this petition and copy of which is sent you has been mailed to Hon. J. P. BUCHANAN, Congressman of this, the tenth, district, and we take pleasure in presenting it to you.

We urge you to support the measure in this great national crisis, believing it will bring to the administration the aid and support necessary to protect American interests, honor, and patriotism on land and sea.

R. E. WARD,
C. C. CODY,
J. J. GORDON,
LEE J. ROUNTREE,
Committee.

—

GEORGETOWN, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

To our Representatives in Congress, Hon C. A. CULBERSON, Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD, and Hon. J. P. BUCHANAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIRS: We, the undersigned citizens of Texas, and of congressional district No. 10, hereby petition you to vote for and support by your influence the passage of the bill advocated by the administration providing for selective conscription, thereby making it possible to raise an army in a reasonable time and include therein such persons who would otherwise be "slackers."

F. D. Love, R. E. Ward, Chas. Barnett, J. M. Page, E. G. Gillett, T. H. Anderson, S. A. Hodges, N. N. Box, C. O. Edens, Jno. M. Patrick, E. C. Taulbee, H. L. Price, J. B. Gholson, A. H. Logan, R. T. Cooper, M. F. Smith, H. O. Metcalfe, Lee M. Taylor, J. P. Piper, W. F. Sauer, S. A. Chrone, J. E. Cooper, John H. Harris, Charlie Mason, W. H. Nunn, C. R. Faubion, W. G. McDonald, M. L. Langford, W. L. Price, H. M. Edens, J. S. Gillett, H. B. Sherrod, J. M. May, W. F. Pearce, A. C. Brizendine, C. J. Gustafson, J. N. Stone, Oscar Sand, Palmer Gilleland, B. W. Landrum, G. W. Pancett, J. W. Long, H. L. Coleman, J. K. Pierce, Ross Wood, W. R. Harty, Donie McGlamery, M. B. Lockett, Geo. N. McDaniel, Erie W. Lundblad, D. W. Wilcox, W. R. Rogers, Tom Lundblad, E. N. Box, A. P. Johnson, R. T. Harvick, Ben Stromberg, W. D. Whiteside, John T. Coffee, Cooper Sansom, John Sand, L. B. Coker, R. G. Eubank, Wharton L. Foster, W. L. Coleman, Claus Anderson, J. W. Elliott, M. W. Matthews, Emmett Hightower, A. C. Johnson, W. P. Ford, Lowry Foster, S. A. Easley, E. Goeth, J. J. Gordon, J. S. Carvel, Sam H. Henderson, Chas. B. Atkinson, J. E. Snyder, Hal. S. Jones, W. F. McCullough, G. Smith, W. A. Smith, Lee J. Rountree, W. J. Flanagan, D. C. Cooper, L. D. Harris, P. W. Machernehl, C. S. Russell, P. B. Conlee, Marvin Queen, J. S. Byron, Jack Thorpe, C. A. Thies, T. S. Seymour, J. N. Norvell, J. F. Towns, W. J. Burcham, A. L. May, C. S. Griffith, Jeff Gordon, Will L. Balliew, R. M. Koleye, Oran Langford, D. E. Davis, Ernest C. Ischy, Abe Harrison, W. T. Hampton, W. H. Davis, H. A. Harrison, C. J. Brady, S. A. Heard, F. W. Carothers, D. A. Peaslee, Dean Miles, L. E. Schieffer, G. K. Talley, M. M. Thorp, D. W. Vaught, L. B. Rogers, Walker Moore, Jno. D. Hughes, Maclin Robertson, John H. Maresh, D. K. Wilcox, Geo. F. Reed, W. E. Ford, C. G. Miffleton, jr., E. M. Thomas, H. A. Hodges, Edgar Vaught, G. W. Norvell, J. B. Box, A. L. Baker, G. E. Henschen, W. M. Gottis, Waverly Stone, Jow Stromberg, W. T. Gully, M. M. Berry, W. H. Cowley, Jno. W. Buchanan, T. C. Hutte, F. M. Oliphant, W. A. Quebedaux, E. A. Perrin, W. J. Busby, Geo. Keahey, C. K. Rogers, Sebe Goodlett, Aubrey Parks, Arthur Eanes, J. G. Mullens, A. G. Harris, Chas. Shaw, J. E. May, Carl Burkhardt, C. C. Cody, Wm. P. Fleming, B. Merchenehl, J. W. Moody, D. W. Stephens, C. W. Shell, W. S. Frasier, Edgar P. Miles, M. C. Hodges, H. R. Lindell, H. M. Kyle, A. W. Sherman, J. C. Lyons, H. W. Joiner, Alex Eanes, C. G. Miffleton, N. S. Lookey, C. O. Boyd, R. J. Stone, Oscar Berkman, W. E. Stirling, R. E. Watts, I. H. Tyler, A. W. Carlson, H. E. Richardson, R. J. Belford, L. N. Richardson, H. C. Purl, Swen Swenson, Jno. M. Vaught, Ray Purl, John Sherman, jr., Fay Sherman, H. S. Eanes, J. A. Morgan, C. T. McCurray, Walter Rowntree, D. T. Whitworth, L. Brunson, W. W. Jenkins, R. E. Moore, T. W. Wilson, W. B. Moore, D. E. Root, D. D. Byrom, Luke Mankin, C. M. Bishop, J. E. Buchholz, I. N. Keller, John Sherman, Jack Adams, W. P. Poole, J. B. Preem, W. F. Magee, Jno. Shaw, S. A. Boyce, Jno. M. Charpe, Donald Barron, R. O. Morse, W. R. Mood, Jas. D. Bolding, Lee Whaley, Jeff Logan, jr., J. T. McCarty, W. E. Hughes, W. H. Hanna, J. V. Rowlett, C. H. Gee, Lee C. Allen, Geo. Irvine, H. S. Sharpe, Sam Myers, Joe N. May, W. G. Evans, Tom L. McCullough, H. P. Bickler, N. M. Wilcox, W. C. Pettus, M. Harrell, J. J. Breneke, Hedges Agnew, W. W. Mankin, Jno. E. Carlson, Lynn M. Strickland, J. R. Humphries, W. P. Hoffman, D. H. Bearden, Jno. M. Cluck, R. H. Chreitzberg, Ed M. Martin, John Bethel, R. L. Garagan, Thos. E. Lee, F. L. Hickman, R. E. Bowers, J. D. Hall, jr., W. R. McElroy, A. C. Hickman, A. W. Sillure, C. S. Belford, R. C. Burleson, J. J. Johnson, Richard Critz, J. F. Taulbee, S. S. Sansom, J. C. Vigal, T. B. Stone, W. I. Stump, T. E. Stone, Emmett James, Albert Towns.

—

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, Congressman,
Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on your speech and your attitude. Careful inquiry among the people of Texas, based on 10 years' experience as a newspaper man and a like number as a lawyer, leads me to believe the great number of Texans are with you. To every Texan the word "conscript" is the most obnoxious and hateful in the English language. No State or nation has ever done more than Texas to withstand tyranny and maintain her rights by the sword, and the history of her volunteer army is the brightest in the world. Being beyond the age limit of proposed conscription, and having tendered my services already to my State and Nation, as has every man relative in my family, 10 in number, I have no selfish method in opposing conscription. If Texans are to do their best fighting, they prefer to go voluntarily and be led by men of their own selection and with whom association has given them confidence.

HORACE H. SHELTON,
Attorney at Law.

—

PORT ARTHUR, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Congressional Hall, Washington, D. C.:

Any person who, in their zeal to suppress autocracy, seeks and demands the power of a despot, can only be teeming in a spirit of tyranny that will develop a condition more intolerable than the end sought. I compliment you for your Americanism.

J. O. B. YOUNG.

—

SAN MARCOS, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

For our country's sake allow our boys to manifest their patriotism by volunteer service. It will be humiliating if they are led to defense of liberty by conscription. God save us from Prussian military spirit and centralized power.

N. E. SHANDS.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Congressman DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Many mothers of Dallas believe that boys under the age of 21 ought not to be conscripted. Stronger men above that age can and will be glad to serve our country. Please stand for this.

Mrs. ANNIE LEAKE MCCAULEY.

—

GREENVILLE, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We strongly favor your Army bill fixing age limit 21 to 40, as do large majority of our people.

J. O. ROLYE.
H. L. CARPENTER.
L. L. BOWMAN.
J. W. MANNING.
J. R. BASS.
G. L. VANCLEVE.
W. R. PETERS.
HARRY ROYCE.
C. B. BRISCOE.
T. W. THOMPSON.
J. L. S. COOPER.

—

NEVADA, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We with many other constituents congratulate you on your antidraft stand.

W. J. BLUDWORTH, *Minister.*
JOE GOOCH, *Merchant.*

—

PITTSBURG, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Righteously you fight conscription. The spectacle of Congress forcing boys to serve at 50 cents per day the while voting millions to loan a dependency of a crown paying her men three times as much isn't lost upon home folks. We, the richest country in the world, could pay our men, and will, as Canada. As an income-tax payer I beg you to pay them and millions will respond.

DAN F. SMITH.

—

AMARILLO, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Your statement Dallas News, support committee bill. Very fine, in fact unanswerable. Hope you can put committee bill through. If you do it should make you the next governor of Texas; hope it does.

W. H. KIMBROUGH.

—

BOWIE, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The men of Texas stand with you against conscription of boys under 21 years. I find 90 per cent of our men say you are right and that we have enough men of legal age to furnish the Army needed. Don't give up the fight for the boys.

A. E. THOMAS.

—

SHERMAN, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Your position on raising Army is correct one. Stand by your guns. To take boys 19 to 23 out of colleges and leave pool hall, saloon, and street loafers and idlers 26 to 40 free to be fed by country would be an outrage.

THE SHERMAN COURIER.

—

BRYAN, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Maintenance of democracy worth more than any immediate advantage to be gained by adoption of conscription. The weaker spokes make the loudest noise. Your vote against conscription will meet with approval of soundest Democrats.

JORDAN T. LAWLER.

—

PORT ARTHUR, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I sent you a paid message this morning, as follows: "Any person whom, in their zeal to suppress autocracy, seek and demand the power of a despot can only be teeming in a spirit of tyranny that will

develop a condition more intolerable than the end sought. I compliment you for your Americanism," which message I hereby wish to confirm. What little I have been over the State since this question has become paramount I find that the common people are opposed to any plan of conscription, but there seems to be such a domineering propaganda of misrepresentation by the jingo that the average citizen is afraid to raise his voice in protest, thinking, possibly, that such might be committing an act of treason. There is no need of you resigning or not offering again for reelection, as I feel the masses are with you.

Very truly, yours,

J. O'B. YOUNG.

PORT ARTHUR, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Congressional Hall, Washington, D. C.:

Any person whom, in their zeal to suppress autocracy, seek and demand the power of a despot can only be teeming in a spirit of tyranny that will develop a condition more intolerable than the end sought. I compliment you for your Americanism.

J. O'B. YOUNG.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Congressman DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Just read your speech and agree with you emphatically. However, I am the only man I have found who does.

ROBT. E. GOREE.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Member House Military Affairs Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Urge your support in defeating conscript measure. We believe the people want an opportunity to first volunteer.

HORACE B. WHITE.
GEO. M. KELLY.
HARRY W. HUGHES.
JOSEPH S. KRABANAK.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: A large majority of the laboring class and farmers in this section are against conscription. You may not have as many telegrams from them opposing as you do from the rich favoring it, but this is because they need their money for other purposes. The time has come when the laboring class must be considered. Let the people vote on this, as England did.

H. W. MILLER.

SHERMAN, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Stand by your conviction and country. Out of 50 men interviewed by us to-day we find most of them do not understand Army board bill. Only one favors making us Army from boys 19 to 25; all others favor 21 to 40. Most of them favor conscription for other fellow but prefer to volunteer if their services are needed.

THE SHERMAN COURIER.

DALLAS, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington:

We commend your stand and admire your courage. Had President promptly called for volunteers, country would now be ablaze with patriotic fervor. Old bachelors, old maids, and men with girl babies how enthusiastically arguing conscription. Do your best to keep the children out of the trenches.

TONY WILLIAMS,
JACK BEALL.
B. O. BAKER.

BRYAN, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Poll in city by sender showed slight majority against conscription. Proconscriptionists composed most part of youths. Hold out for same rights for our people as accorded by democratic Government of Australia. Uncoerced ballot will show people by large majority opposed adoption Prussianism as means for success. Sender all times proally.

JORDAN T. LALER.

KLONDIKE, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The people in this territory are almost unanimously against conscription. Such a policy has no place in a democratic government and would be liable to cause bloodshed and much international trouble. Would be glad to see your name along with Speaker CLARK, MCLEMORE, and other patriots in behalf of the priciples of democracy. Let Roosevelt make up a volunteer army. Refer you Hon. EUGENE BLACK for my standing.

J. J. HUNT.

SEYMOUR, TEX, *April 27, 1917.*

Representative GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HON. SIR: In respect to your general inquiry will say that it is safe to estimate that 85 per cent of the people in this part are strongly against conscription. A petition circulating here received on an average of one signer per minute for one hour to my certain knowledge. That fact is very conclusive. Most of those howling for conscription are designing politicians, bankers, speculators, big newspaper men, and their bootlickers, who howl because their masters are howling and with only a few exceptions they are all above military age. Conscription would be a drawn sword against the true principles of democracy and would suddenly nip in the bud the sacred spirit of patriotism.

D. A. SHACKELFORD.

FARMERSVILLE, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

You can not get sense of the country from telegrams. Those that favor conscription are mostly in the towns. They can easily get together, and are already in close touch with the powers. The great body of the people engaged in productive enterprises you do not hear from. My talk with them leads me to believe they are four-fifths opposed to conscription. Use your own judgment as Representative for the good of your constituents.

W. Y. CARVER.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Member Military Affairs Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Don't know of any special mass meeting here in regard to your call. Personally, and speaking for quite a number of other young men, we are against the abandonment of the volunteer system. We believe that every young man with any spark of patriotism should have the right to volunteer, and I feel safe in saying Texas alone would furnish 100,000 such men. Texas is for Wilson always, but want to be willing agents.

AUG. DEZAVALA,
Vice President Houston National Exchange Bank.

SEALY, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Representatives GARRETT and MCLEMORE,
Washington, D. C.:

Ninety per cent of Austin County people favor volunteer system.

F. C. SCHAFFNER.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Having defended your individual views, we feel that in this crisis you should now yield to the administration plan. It will be a brave and manly thing to do. It will respect the wishes of the administration and the overwhelming numbers of those you represent. We think you feel that the dissatisfaction at home with your views results from a misunderstanding as to the extent of the differences existing between the two plans, but your views and speech, though setting these out clearly, seem rather to inflame than abate the resentment here, and your name is constantly coupled with that of MCLEMORE in expressing dissatisfaction with our representation.

LEWIS R. BRYAN.
R. M. FARRA.
JESSE H. JONES.
W. O. HUGGINS.
N. E. MEADOR.

BRENHAM, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

You are not reflecting the sentiment of the people of Texas in opposing President Wilson's selective conscription plan. We do most earnestly urge you to stand by the President in all things in this crisis.

W. W. Searcy, Emmet Shannon, John M. Matthis, D. C. Giddings, J. B. Williams, Henry Muller, C. E. Stokes, Robert Young, C. L. Wilkins, T. A. Low, H. F. Kolwes, August Brockschmidt, William Morriss, A. M. Klaerner, Almont Schlenker, Arthur Knolle, H. F. Wehmeyer, William Heidel, jr., P. Mundellus, R. E. Nicholson, T. F. Mathett, Theodore Schirmacher, R. E. Nicholson, T. F. Holt, E. W. Reichardt, Alexander Simon, D. C. Giddings, jr.

WICHITA FALLS, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Regret exceedingly your position on Army bill. In our judgment you are not representing Texas.

R. E. HUFF.
A. H. CARRIGAN.
J. T. MONTGOMERY.

DALLAS, TEX., *April 22, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Greatly disappointed in your stand on Army bill. Past history of United States and British experience of this war and testimony of British officer before Congress prove conclusively failure of volunteer system; urge your support of administration bill as most efficient way to raise and maintain an army. Talk of militarism in this country is nonsense.

W. T. PIKERING.

KINGSVILLE, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Out of 200 citizens interviewed, 191 signed petition stating they were in favor of selective draft, as proposed by President Wilson; 9 opposed it. This is a fair expression of sentiment in this county.

BEN F. WILSON, *County Judge.*

GALVESTON, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We understand that you are opposing universal military training and conscription features of the President's military program, and we want it distinctly understood that when you do that you act in absolute opposition to the wishes of an almost unanimous Galveston. As we see it, the men who would not volunteer are all opposed to conscription, and the commercial interests of Galveston have heretofore adopted resolutions urging upon you that you support the President's program for universal military training and selective conscription, and we hope that you will not be found on the side of the slackers and the shirkers. So far as your representation at large of Galveston County is concerned,

you can only perform it with satisfaction to the people you represent in this county by voting and working solely and whole-heartedly for the President's military program.

GALVESTON COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATION,
H. V. HAINES,
Secretary and Traffic Manager.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Member Congress, Washington, D. C.:

As your supporter and well-wisher in the last general election, and an American, I want to appeal to your Americanism and Democracy to support President Wilson and his administration in Army plans that will give the United States a real army. I have interviewed scores of south Texans and find out that almost without exception Texans favor selective conscription over the volunteer system that has been found wanting. The opposition to selective conscription for the most part seems to come from those who hope to get places in a volunteer army as generals and colonels and other fat jobs.

FRANK B. HARRISON,
City Editor Caller Herald.

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The board of directors of the Austin Chamber of Commerce by unanimous vote to-day expressed themselves as being solidly in favor of President Wilson's selective-conscription policy. We earnestly request and expect your support of this policy.

AUSTIN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

KERRVILLE, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We favor administration plan for raising army and that it is the only effective way. We believe Texas indorses it and that Texas Congressmen should stand as a unit for all measures for successful conduct of the war.

H. C. GEDDIE.
J. M. HAMILTON.
ED. SMITH.
T. A. BUCKNER.
SCOTT SCHREINER.
R. S. NEWMAN.
A. C. SCHREINER.
ALLEY BEITEL.

DALLAS, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Congressman GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Your constituency expects you to support the President and your country. Vote for his army bill.

WM. W. ZIMMERMAN.

LOCKHART, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

One hundred and twenty-five representative citizens Lockhart indorse President's plan national defense, and deplore your opposition and apparent disloyalty to Commander in Chief. Time for quibble past. We are at war. Emergency exists. If selective draft bad, change after war. Volunteering system failing because best and bravest first always followed by conscription. Read our own history if blinded to England's. We demand that you cast vote—loyal Texans support President—or else resign and join slackers at home.

LEA BEATY,
H. W. FIELDER,
J. B. HATCHETT,
Committee.

MARSHALL, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representative, Washington, D. C.:

Many of us voted for you as our Representative, but all of us voted for President Wilson. We have read of your opposition to the President's plan for raising an army. We are still with the President. Will you represent us or not?

R. P. LITTLEJOHN,
Chairman Mass Meeting of 500 Voters.

ORANGE, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We are convinced your stand against the President's selective-draft measure is contrary to the best interests of our country, and firmly urge that you lend the measure your influence and vote, thus representing the wishes of a majority of your constituency.

S. M. WHITE,
W. D. BETTIS,
E. V. FOLSOM,
Committee Representing Orange Reserves, 250 Strong.

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Congressman DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We as men most vitally interested and most likely to be included in first draft urge your vigorous support of conscription as most effective and equitable plan for raising an efficient army. Keep at home those most needed; send those least likely to go under volunteer system.

MALE STUDENTS UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

COLLEGEPORT, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of this community favor the selective-conscription bill as proposed by President Wilson. We urge you to give policy your open and actual support.

COLLEGEPORT COMMUNITY,
M. A. TRAVIS, *Chairman.*
J. J. RODEBAUGH, *Secretary.*

WICHITA FALLS, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

At a public mass meeting held to-night a resolution was passed requesting that you as our Representative support the administration army bill containing selective-draft feature. As chairman of the meeting, I was instructed to notify you that your Wichita County constituents desired you to support the President in all war measures.

EDGAR SCURRY, *Chairman.*

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.:

For your information I wish to advise that sentiment in and around Corpus Christi is overwhelmingly in favor of universal military service and of selective conscription. I hope you will use every effort to pass the selective-conscription bill and do away with volunteer system, which is unquestionably and fundamentally wrong.

DAVID M. PICTON, Jr.

GALVESTON, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We heartily indorse the President's program for selective draft as the only righteous, impartial, and democratic method of mobilizing the martial resources of the country, and we hope you will support it with your influence and votes.

SONS OF HERMANN LODGE OF GALVESTON.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 22, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at an enthusiastic mass meeting of citizens held here Saturday night:

"Whereas the Congress of the United States has declared a state of war existing with the German Empire, and in pursuance of his manifest duty the President has with the advice of the General Army Board, composed of the greatest military experts in this country, elaborated a plan of national defense, based on universal military service; and

"Whereas this plan of universal service elaborated by experts after careful investigation of experiences of the leading European countries now engaged in the great war is without doubt the only practicable and effective and truly democratic method of raising an Army and Navy: Now, therefore,

"We, as citizens and voters of San Antonio, Tex., in mass meeting assembled on this the 21st of April the anniversary of the victory of San Jacinto, which established the liberties of Texas, do hereby heartily indorse the plan of national defense by means of universal military service as put forward in Congress with the President's approval, and pledging anew our loyalty to our country and our support to the President do hereby demand of our Representatives in Congress that they give whole-hearted support to the President in his plans for universal military service."

EDWIN CHAMBERLAIN.

BROWNWOOD, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Congressman GARRETT, of Texas,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

It is unthinkable that I supported a man that is using his influence to destroy the unity of our country in face of such perilous conditions. Ninety-five per cent of the thinking people are with the President. Why protect the slacker; in the name of wisdom stand by the President and country.

R. A. THORNTON.

GIDDINGS, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Congressman GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Urge absolute necessity for supporting the President's policies unreservedly.

JAEHNE CHERRY,
(And 50 others).

CAMERON, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Texans elected you to Congress expecting you to carry out the President's plans. Excepting the former pro-German sympathizers the State is overwhelmingly favorable to conscription. Don't go back on the people who elected you.

J. G. VEST.

PARIS, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Sixty-nine Paris business men at to-day's Rotary luncheon by standing vote unanimously, enthusiastically, and heartily indorsed the President's selective draft. We urge you to support his policy. Our country is at war, and we must stand by the President. This message originates voluntarily in the Rotary Club and expresses only mildly our sentiments. Stand by the President.

S. T. M. SCOTT, *President.*
W. H. P. ANDERSON,
Secretary Paris Rotary Club.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. D. E GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At a largely attended mass meeting held last night in pursuance of a joint call by the mayor, president of commercial association, and president of Rotary Club, and citizens of Corpus Christi, with but one dis-

senting vote, adopted a resolution indorsing selective conscription plan as recommended by the President and General Army Staff. As our Representative we respectfully request you to stand by the President.

ROY MILLER, *Mayor.*
L. D. GARRISON,
President Commercial Association.
H. B. BALDWIN,
President Rotary Club.

—

GALVESTON, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, your fellow citizens, residing in Galveston, take this occasion to urge upon you as our Representative in Congress to vote for the selective conscription measure of the President and to give a whole-hearted support to the administration in this hour of our country's crisis.

JAMES T. HUFFMASTER,
THEO. L. BAUSS,
H. A. ROBERTSON
(And 50 others).

—

FROST, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We believe, with the President, that selective conscription is wise. We don't think that boys under 21 years of age should be conscripted. We believe that our country is unanimous against it. In several county meetings where resolutions were passed supporting the President, no age limit or other details were discussed. We urge that you contend for an age limit of 21 years.

FRED HYER,
S. S. HOOSER,
W. W. HUNTER,
W. P. GILLEAN,
J. C. BECK,
W. A. IMMS,
J. F. HENDERSON,
GEO. SMITH,
G. J. HEFLIN,
(And many others.)

—

HUNTSVILLE, TEX., *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The people of Walker County earnestly request that you stand with the President for selective conscription, and that you represent the peoples' views and not your personal feelings.

HUNTSVILLE YOUNG MEN'S BUSINESS LEAGUE,
By A. T. MCKINNEY, Jr., *Secretary.*

—

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Stand by the President, Texas, and the country. The overwhelming sentiment here is with the President in this crisis.

W. A. GRAY.

—

BROWNSVILLE, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Congressman at Large from Texas,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting of farmers and business men of Brownsville and vicinity, several hundred strong, held this afternoon in the Federal building, resolution was unanimously passed urging you to support the universal military service bill and the President in his campaign to a united national effort in the prosecution of the war. We believe the overwhelming majority of sentiment in this State supports this position.

BROWNSVILLE BOARD OF CITY DEVELOPMENTS,
By A. WAYNE WOOD, *Chairman.*
LOUIS COBOLIN, *Secretary.*

—

GEORGETOWN, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the Williamson County Farmers and Citizens' Institute, indorse the selective conscription plan as advocated by President Wilson and urge you to give it your support.

J. F. YEARWOOD, *President.*
H. M. WEIR, *Secretary.*

—

GALVESTON, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The sentiment of this community is overwhelmingly in favor of the selective-draft bill. We trust that the Congressman-at-large will support it and will appreciate it if you will submit this telegram to the other members of the Texas delegation. We indorse the President's plan to fullest extent.

C. Harper Anderson, F. B. Von Harten, Robert I. Cohen, Marion Douglas, Robert Zapp, H. O. Stein, K. E. Mason, E. S. Levy & Co., Edw. F. Drewa, E. Hanson, R. W. Shaw, F. T. Rennie, J. H. Keefe, M. T. Webb, F. W. Hocker, C. W. Taylor, Jas. P. Walsh, H. M. Schocke, John J. Wilderman, M. R. May, Charles Daferner, Fred Oplendorf, Henry C. Haden, Ballinger Mills, Geo. E. Mann, John Winterbotham, Edward Randall, J. M. Kirwin, J. E. Pearce, W. C. Morris, W. L. Moody, 3d, F. W. Erhard, P. B. Eghard, E. R. Gerardeau, Geo. Sealy, W. L. Moody, Frank Jones, V. L. Baulard, R. E. Moreland, Alvin T. Launge, Henry Wilkins, J. J. Davis, C. A. Waterman, R. H. Smith, A. H. Smith, J. W. Smith, J. W. Harris, A. W. Purdy, Justus J. Schott, F. Huber, M. S. Jiffy, Otto K. Peters, Louis A. Advar, Lewis Fisher, Henry Cohen, Edward F. Harris, J. S. Fordtran.

—

BEAUMONT, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

As one of your best friends, I urge that you support the President in his war policy. In times like these our Government can do no wrong. The citizenship of southeast Texas is overwhelmingly in favor of the President's plan of selective conscription.

WALTER J. CRAWFORD.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Congressman JULIUS KAHN,
Washington, D. C.:

For two years I have hoped to lead a regiment of volunteers wherever needed, but I frankly avow the wisdom of our military experts in urging selective conscription and trust Congress will not quibble in an hour when such tactics aid our foes. Texas stands behind the President in everything, and we thank you for leading where others have dallied. Please show my friend, Judge GARRETT.

GEORGE D. ARMISTEAD.

—

BASTROP, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We, your constituents and former supporters, have this day read your letter of the people of Texas, published in the Galveston News, and wish to say that we do not agree with you in your views, but stand back of the President and the War Department for the immediate enactment of the selective conscription law, and earnestly urge that you support same.

J. N. Jenkins, mayor; C. L. Moncure, Jno. H. Jenkins, J. H. Powell, county attorney; H. P. Luckett, vice president First National Bank Bastrop, Tex.; W. A. McCord, president First National Bank Bastrop, Tex.; Chester Erhard, cashier First National Bank; Maynard & Maynard, attorneys; O. P. Jones, merchant; J. T. Crysup, cashier Citizens State Bank; T. Jones, Hartford Jenkins.

—

MANOR, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

You are reported as opposing the President's policy for raising an army. If true, you do not represent the great majority sentiment of the State who are heartily with the President. We urge you to give his policy your open and actual support. Petition with 75 names follows by mail.

SHIRLY GREGG.
JOHN A. HILL.
A. G. BOYCE.
W. G. CROCKETT.
F. G. GREGG.
W. H. WENTLAND.

—

MCKINNEY, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We believe the President is in better position than anyone else to know the perils confronting the country and the best steps to take for its protection, and we want to ask you to give your unqualified and undivided support and influence.

Paul K. McKenney, Wm. M. Mosheim, P. V. Mulkey, E. Bartholomew, J. C. Fitzgerald, A. M. Cox, M. V. Talley, D. B. Boothe, Ike Pipkin, W. S. Shuman, C. Hamilton, Chas. Bennett, W. F. Gibbs, W. A. Powers, J. E. Lisenby, John Eubanks, Chas. Richards, W. B. Hollinsworth, John M. Britton, Robert Litolf, R. P. Smith, Roy Yarbrough, Ernest McNeal, Eabert Bennett, Gille Powell, C. C. Wilson, B. H. Lucy, J. K. Fryer, J. C. Colvin, L. Brasewell, Dock Smith, Mitchell Nunn, G. W. Powell, W. H. Bracken, W. E. Cobb, J. A. Lamy, L. T. Riley, J. E. Michle, Tom Tarvor, George Smith, Ray Klipper, A. C. Mattison, and J. C. Frayer.

—

BRAZORIA, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We urge you to heartily support President Wilson's plan for raising an army. Large majority of citizens here favor selective conscription.

W. H. Brigance, E. S. Smith, J. G. Smith, E. J. Wilson, M. L. Weems, jr., M. D., Brazoria Advertiser, and large number of others.

—

SHERMAN, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Congressman at Large, Washington, D. C.:

We most earnestly solicit your hearty cooperation in supporting the administration plan for raising an army by selective draft, as recommended by the unanimous judgment of our best-trained military men.

S. W. GLADNEY.
C. B. DORCHESTER.
R. A. CRAPMAN.
T. J. JOINER.
REED MARKHAM.
G. B. R. SMITH.
T. U. LEE.
H. G. STINNETT.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Congressman GARRETT,
Washington:

Our employees favor selective draft.

N. O. NELSON CO.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.:

We believe sentiment here overwhelmingly in favor of the President's plan of raising an army. Anything short of conscription would be mistake. Let the service be universal. To secure equality of sacrifice, our Army should be organized on purely scientific basis, without any favoritism of any kind entering into appointment of officers. Let it be scientific and on the basis of merit.

W. H. FARRIS,
UNDERWOOD NAZRO,
RAYMOND DICKSON,
R. L. BLAFFER,
R. S. STERLING.
L. A. CARLTON.

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of Houston to-day in mass meeting assembled adopted the following resolution, which was submitted by Hon. Ben Campbell: "We are in favor of universal military service and training and for all policies of President Wilson," and that this action be wired to our Representatives in Washington.

CHESTER S. BRYAN, *Acting Secretary.*

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The members of the Houston Cotton Exchange and Board of Trade respectfully urge your earnest support to President Wilson's plan of enlistment by selective draft. The volunteer enlistment in England shows that it is not the proper plan to be voted at this time, and every man in this country should be called on and made to assume his share of the burden whatever it may be.

E. D. MCCAA, *President.*

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Greetings on the anniversary of Texas independence, which please do not menace by opposing the plans of President Wilson for a real Army. Stop and think who would be colonels in Texas under your volunteer system. All patriots can volunteer at present for real service, but they can not volunteer into fat jobs as they might under your plan. Sentiment here is universal for the President's plan.

C. B. GILLESPIE.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

After a canvass among the business men of the city, and others, we have to-day wired President Wilson that we were in sympathy with the plans outlined by him for Army mobilization. We ask that you kindly give the President your support.

R. W. WIER,
President Chamber of Commerce, Houston, Tex.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DAN GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned local members of the Training Camps Association, have had occasion to circulate petitions sent out by the National Security League supporting universal military training with subsequent liability for service. Out of 84 asked to sign, 80 signed as advocating such a bill.

F. C. CLEMEN.
W. H. SCHERER.
J. W. LISTER.
B. P. BRISCOE.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Texas Congressman at Large, Washington, D. C.:

The Texas Association of Young Men's Business Leagues, composed of young men most likely to be affected, in State convention assembled voted unanimously to support President Wilson's stand for selective draft. We want you to know that sentiment throughout the State has materially changed in the past few days, so that in our opinion each and every Texas Representative must either vote for the selective-draft bill or grossly misrepresent his constituency.

J. M. CARROLL,
President Associated Y. M. B. L. of Texas.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The Rotary Club of Houston unanimously indorses the administration's plan of selective draft as affording the most efficient way of raising a sufficient force of men to the support of the colors, and that a copy of these resolutions be wired to our own Representatives in Congress.

ROTARY CLUB OF HOUSTON.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

It is my strong desire to see the General Staff bill as approved by the President passed immediately by both Houses of Congress. Personally, I want to serve whenever the Government is ready, not merely when I am ready.

W. WALDO.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment against conscription disappearing. Wilson knows. Give him your support.

WILLIAM A. ROBERTSON,
Carter Building.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 24, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We wish to urge your support of the selective-conscription bill and bill prohibiting liquor traffic during the war.

PURDY-GUINAN LUMBER CO.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We urge you to support the President's plan of selective conscription. The Morten Milling Co. has 32 white employees; 29 favor it; only 3 are opposed to it.

KENT BARBER,
FRANK B. WARREN,
Superintendent-Manager.

LOCKHART, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DAN GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

About 90 per cent of the people of Caldwell County are heartily in favor of selective conscription and ask that you vote for same.

LEA BEATY,
(And others).

—

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. D. T. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

From Associated Press note you oppose selective-conscription bill. We urge your approval of same as being only equitable plan for increasing Army to required size to cope with present crisis.

George H. King, Milton L. Bowen, D. W. Hughes, E. F. Boyce, W. H. Erskine, Paul H. Smith, Paul W. Seiler, R. E. Telford, E. L. Moore, W. F. Robinson, F. S. Allen, Dee Orr, M. F. Muench, G. E. Fushell, J. H. Caperton, J. B. Pettis, Philip Engle, Harry Moses, M. S. Rather, J. C. Miller, John E. Coryell, Joe J. Lodovic, James R. Webb, B. J. Horner, W. C. McGregor.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DAN GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The Kiwanis Club, of Dallas, composed of 225 business and professional men, in session to-day unanimously request your support of the selective draft measure now pending before Congress, and ask you to convey this message to your colleagues. The club unreservedly indorses the President's military policy.

JAS. L. HOLLOWAY, *President.*
ALBERT T. WALRAVEN, *Secretary.*

—

BASTROP, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Your stand against the administration measure now before Congress is extremely unpopular with we, your prosupporters.

J. GORDON BRYSON, M. D.

—

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Greatly surprised at your speech of yesterday. Supported you twice for Congress, although differing from you on a great question. The President is entitled to the support of every patriotic American. I regret that any Member from Texas should voice the sentiment proclaimed by you on yesterday. You seem to be thoroughly in accord and in line with MCLEMORE.

P. F. PAGE.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Congressman GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We emphatically urge your standing by President Wilson in his conscription policy.

SOUTHERN ENGINEERING AND BOILER WORKS OF TEXAS STAFF.

—

ENNIS, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The sentiment of Ennis is for selective conscription. Urge your support.

ENNIS COMMERCIAL CLUB.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Member Military Affairs Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Your friends do not doubt your patriotism, but doubt your judgment. Stand by the President.

L. T. DASHILL.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 29, 1917.*

D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Stand behind the President.

T. E. Cornelius, W. E. Douglas, R. B. Cammack, Alger Jones, H. D. Guy, J. D. McKinney, J. W. Truly, M. K. Ratcliffe, J. A. Miller, D. A. Broden, J. C. Welch, G. D. Cunningham, W. W. Ponder, J. E. Taggard.

—

TYLER, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Tyler Chamber of Commerce unanimously adopted resolution urging you to stand by the President in his selective-draft plan. It is our opinion that citizens of Smith County are overwhelmingly in favor of same.

EARL JACOBS,
Secretary Chamber of Commerce.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The present is no time for bickering or hairsplitting. Our President, we feel, is making an honest, earnest effort to lead the American people in the right way. Rotary stands for service. Its motto is "He profits most who serves best." The mothers of the Dallas Rotary Club, representing some 250 different lines of business and professions, believe you will be carrying out the wishes of the vast majority of the people in this district and in Texas by unqualifiedly supporting the President in his efforts to render service in the cause of humanity throughout the world. We trust you may see your way clear to do this.

DALLAS ROTARY CLUB,
By W. C. TEMPLE, *Secretary.*

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment seems overwhelmingly in favor of selective conscription. Personally we are for this form of conscription and we believe you are exercising the discretion that it is your duty to use, and we have unlimited faith in you.

JESSE E. MOSELY.
C. M. MCWILLIAMS.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

As citizen supporting you, urge undivided support administration military program.

L. B. JEFFRIES.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Houston Aerie, No. 63, Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote in meeting this date, urge you to stand squarely behind the President and give the administration's military measures now before Congress your hearty support.

M. L. ANDERSON, *Secretary.*

—

SAN BENITO, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

People of San Benito are largely in favor of Congressmen backing the President on bill to raise additional army.

MCMURRAY RICHEY, *Mayor.*
SAM SPEARS.
A. V. LOGAN.
W. J. VINSANT.

—

MANSFIELD, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Mansfield 15 to 1 for President's plan. Stay with President.

O. P. HOUSE.

—

ANGLETON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Angleton straw vote: Selective conscription, 103; volunteers, 44.

C. D. JESSUP.

—

ALTO, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Cherokee County favors President's conscription plan; we ask you to support him.

E. M. DECKER.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D C.:

The afternoon Chronicle states you will vote for selective conscription. As one of your supporters, I wish you to know I am in thorough accord with you in this stand.

E. P. CROW.

—

BEAUMONT, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

On account of shortness of notice, there may not be many meetings in response to your request, but I assure you that the overwhelming sentiment of the State is in favor of cooperation with the administration, not only in draft plan, which they specifically favor, but in all matters of organization. Take this from a friend.

STUART R. SMITH.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Seventy-two Southern Pacific office men favor conscription. Petition by mail.

D. R. HODGES.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We believe your opposition to selective conscription utterly misrepresents the views of your constituents. The people of Texas and of the Nation are against the volunteer system and in favor of compulsory universal military service. We strongly urge you to support the General Staff Army bill.

R. F. Crow, E. W. Scales, F. G. Brashear, E. K. Dillingham, M. G Smith, L. W. Smith, W. P. Knight, W H. Journeay, P. Jenison, E. H. Terrell, H. D. Lea, A. B. Carr, R. B. Bowen, Herbert Godwin, E. L. Pearson, R. C. Hocksmith.

—

CAMERON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Majority of our people favor selective draft, minimum age 21 years.

Dr. J. C. REESE.

—

CADDO MILLS, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

We urge minimum age 21. Make it man's war.

F. G. Morgan, H. F. Royce, J. R. Bass, W. M. Killian, O. L. Van Clave, W. P. Moore, A. Fagg, W. B. Webb, J. M. Ennis, W. C Welch, G. L. Rutherford, J. M. Hanchey, G. W. Williams, W. R. Peters, J. L. S. Cooper.

CLARKSVILLE, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The sentiment here is overwhelmingly for the selective draft with 21 as minimum age.

C. E. TERRY.

—

BROOKSHIRE, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas it has been made known to some 350 citizens of Waller, Fort Bend, and Harris Counties that you are opposed to the President's plan of selective conscription: and

Whereas we believe that the interests of the people of the United States would be best served by you standing by the President at this time: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we earnestly and respectfully request that you vote in favor of said measure.

ALLEN HANNEY
(And about 350 others).

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. Mr. GARRETT, M. C.,
Care United States Congress, Washington, D. C.:

In harmony with almost unanimous feeling of all Slavonic-American race, we consider administration's selective conscription the only fair and practical plan to raise Army. We urge passage of law to protect country against all sharks hoarding American products.

FRANK KRABEC,
Secretary United Slavic Association.

—

NACOGDOCHES, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

You ask for expressions, and in response we say, you support the President.

F. C. FORD.
EUGENE BLOUNT
(And others).

—

TAHOKA, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment in this section of State overwhelming in support of administration bill as prepared by War Department. We supported you. Please support us by voting for selective conscription.

LYNN COUNTY NEWS.
E. S. INMAN, M. D.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Citizens of Houston held mass meeting San Jacinto Day, which has already been wired you, and confirmed by newspapers, clippings, and letter approving selective conscription and agreeing to support President in his policies regarding war.

J. J. PASTORIZA,
Mayor city of Houston.
CHESTER H. BRYAN,
County Judge, Harris County.

—

CENTER, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of Center and surrounding country in mass meeting of several thousand people assembled to-day unanimously passed the following resolutions.

"*Be it resolved by the citizens of the city of Center and the surrounding vicinity of Shelby County assembled*, That we do by this resolution express our unbounded confidence in the ability of our President, Woodrow Wilson, to lead this great Nation through the hours of peril while the destinies of nations are balanced in his hands; that we urge our national Representatives to follow his leadership implicitly—God grant them wisdom and fortitude; that we are in favor of selective draft and universal military service as advocated by our President; that as America has been forced to unsheath her sword in defense of our national rights and human liberty, that we here now concentrate all of our power, all of our strength, our very lives, to the successful consummation of this great undertaking.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America."

THOS. O. DAVIS, *Chairman.*

—

VERNON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Referring your statement to-day, we shudder at the thought of Congress hesitating to give the President unqualified support. The proposed bill for selective conscription has been worked out by men who are not only as patriotic as we but who have made a careful study of the situation and are better qualified for such work than any Member of Congress. This is no time to quibble. The best informed and patriotic citizens of Wilbarger County implore you and the entire Texas delegation to support the President, not because we are bloodthirsty and love war, but because we believe we are sane and realize the importance of immediate and decisive action.

CECIL STOREY, L. G. HAWKINS,
J. A. BIRDSONG, W. H. HUGGINS,
HARRY MASON, S. K. JOHNSON,
W. O. ANDERSON, G. C. MORRIS
(And 200 others).

—

WYLIE, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: A thorough canvas reveals that a large majority of voters favor draft feature instead of volunteer system. Give the administration your support.

J. S. BILLINGSLY, *Postmaster.*

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Suggest service of conscripts until peace, then enrolled in reserve. War must continue until lasting peace is assured.

WM. A. ROBERTSON.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Fifty members Salesmanship Club unanimously voted selective conscription at meeting to-day.

SALESMANSHIP CLUB OF HOUSTON.

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Impossible to hold another mass meeting on account lateness of date. Meeting of 21st represents and is enthusiastically behind President Wilson. Ninety per cent of your constituents in this country are in favor of President Wilson and his idea of raising an army.

CHESTER H. BRYAN.

—

BRENHAM, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

As a traveling man for the Galveston News I find that great majority of the people of south and east Texas favor the selective draft, ages to range from 21 to 40 years.

Yours. truly,

R. A. YAWS.

—

KOUNTZ, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

This section overwhelmingly favors selective army draft. Idle, useless men industrial pursuits shirking duty. Vast majority of men responding to volunteer call. High-minded skilled industrial leaving responsible positions and home obligations. Need them to feed Nation.

W. S. PARKER, *County Judge.*

—

TIMPSON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.:

We are for the abandonment of the volunteer system at the beginning of this war. We want you to vote with our President and against the Kaiser. Twenty were present.

F. O. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

—

FRANKLIN, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We favor selective draft for Army recruits.

JOHN C. MITCHELL, *Chairman.*

—

COOPER, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of Cooper and of Delta County, respectfully ask that you support the President on the draft bill. We think 90 per cent of the people of this county favor said bill.

J. T. ROUNTREE,
JOHN L. RATLIFF,
JOEL H. BERRY
(And 50 others).

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We are strongly in favor of conscription and request that you do all in your power to defeat the volunteer system.

C. L. STOY,
E. E. MACH,
W. B. COFFEE.

—

EL PASO, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At special meeting El Paso Chamber of Commerce, held this afternoon, at which were present large number leading citizens and officials, El Paso City and County unanimously voted to wire you that it is sentiment of El Paso that every loyal American, and particularly every American lawmaker, owes it as duty to country as well as Constitution to stand loyally behind President in his effort to uphold honor and dignity of Nation. We urge you to support President's universal-service plan for creating army. Ninety out of one hundred people in west Texas favor universal service.

EL PASO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By GEORGE H. CLEMENT.

—

GREENVILLE, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Hunt County is for President's Army bill, including myself.

W. L. BECKHAM.

—

KINNEY, TEX., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

For the sake of the country and in hour of certain peril stand by the President. Our people will back you up. The South will furnish more volunteers in proportion than North or East. Only sensible and fair way is selective conscription. Be fair to our southland. Be true to the Nation.

J. PERRY BURRUS.

BEAUMONT, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting of about 150 men, held here last night in course of organizing for service, a well-considered resolution was unanimously passed indorsing the compulsory and selective service plan and expressing the view that in all matters of organization the administration should be supported, and we were instructed to transmit this information and to urge upon you as our Representative to support the plan of raising armies as outlined by the President. The above also expresses, as we believe, the solid sentiment of the section.

STUART R. SMITH,
F. B. MINER,
J. M. REAGAN,
Committee.

—

PORT ARTHUR, TEX., *April 20, 1917.*

United States Congressman GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Five hundred citizens of Port Arthur, organized for defense of home and country, in mass meeting unanimously adopted a resolution insisting that you support the President of the United States in any and all measures that he deems necessary in defense of and in upholding the dignity of our Nation.

W. H. RICHARDSON,
Secretary Port Arthur Board of Trade.

—

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.:

The Battle of Flowers Association, of San Antonio, a society of patriotic women who seek to keep alive the glorious tradition of the Alamo, call on you to be true to Texas and vote for universal military service.

Mrs. WINCHESTER KELSO, *President.*

—

GONZALES, TEX., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

All disinterested citizens with whom I have been able to confer favor selective conscription plan of War Department. A successful war conducted in the most efficient and equitable way is our supreme desire. The only advocates of the volunteer system known by us are those seeking commanding positions through political appointment or private organization. Their seeming backing comes from those lacking courage to refuse to sign petitions circulated by them. A volunteer army will saturate our country with politics, envy, and disorder. If Texas can not get her quota of officers in strict competition for training and efficiency, our soldiers will be assured better officers. It is a mistake to gauge public sentiment by activities of those conducting a propaganda for political purposes. The mass of the people of Texas back of President unreservedly.

T. F. HARWOOD.

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C :

The Lions Club, Dallas, representing over 200 business men from various businesses, to-day unanimously indorsed President's selective conscription policy and urged adoption by Congress.

WILLIAM L. LEEDS, *Secretary.*

—

DALLAS, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Capitol, Washington, D. C.:

University Club, 200 men from 90 colleges, unanimous for selective draft, and ask your support.

CHARLES CLINGMAN, *President.*
ADAMS COLHOUN, *Secretary.*

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

I am disposed to agree with you that it would be much better if officers of new army could be selected and assigned to command quota from each State; however, I have addressed approximately 100,000 people at loyalty meetings throughout south Texas in past two weeks, and from manifestations have concluded that fully 90 per cent of those people favor any plan President may advocate. My observation is people have unlimited confidence in President, and without commenting on the merits or demerits of respective plans simply believe that President should be supported. My only purpose in giving you this is for your information.

J. F. WOLTERS.

—

DAYTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The voters of Liberty County, by almost unanimous expression, earnestly urge you to support the bill now pending in Congress providing for selective conscription, and that you stand openly, actively, and unequivocably behind President Wilson with reference to other measures which he is about to prepare, as by so doing you can best serve the people.

A. E. KERR, *Chairman.*

—

AMARILLO, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Representatives' Hall, Washington, D. C.:

Allow me to say to you, and through you to the other Congressmen, that if in your good judgment commercialism and politics have so far destroyed patriotism that it is necessary in order to win the fight thrust upon us by these same vicious forces, then vote for conscription, but so amend the bill as to make inability to serve the only exemption. It would be an outrageous crime against all virtues known to mankind to compel innocent boys to assume the burden of the fight and become a sacrificial offering on the altar of commercialized policies.

H. H. MADDEN.

THORNTON, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

In mass meeting voted to-day unanimously to indorse President Wilson's selective draft system.

G. W. BLACK, *Mayor.*

SMITHVILLE, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution passed unanimously:

"*Resolved*, That the people here assembled, being about 1,000 leading citizens, express full confidence in the wisdom of the administration and heartily indorse the measures as advanced by it and urge our Representatives in Congress to support the President."

W. R. CURHAM, *Mayor.*

WACO, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Don't be misled. This State is overwhelmingly in favor of supporting the administration.

WM. BRUMBY.

CALDWELL, TEX., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. D. E. GARRETT,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.:

We, representing the sentiment of Burleson County, but without mass meeting, will state that Burleson County is in favor of the Wilson bill of conscription, and ask you to support the bill.

C. S. WILLIAMS.
G. W. GRANT.
W. H. JENKINS.
W. H. HUNDLEY.
G. M. JOHNSTON.
V. E. HERBST.
E. POLLOCK.

COLORADO, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Favor volunteer. Hold out for age to 40.

JAS. L. SHEPHERD.

WEST, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Congressman DANIEL E. GARRETT,
Washington, D. C.:

Citizens West mass meeting unanimously indorse administration conscription bill.

B. B. INGRAHAM, *Mayor.*

HOUSTON, TEX., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Just returned from a trip over the State attending loyalty day rallies. While I agree with you, must confess that I believe 90 per cent of the people of Texas are in favor of selective draft.

CHAS. J. KIRK.

To the people of Texas:

On last Thursday I delivered a speech upon the floor of the House of Representatives setting forth my views in support of the majority report of the Committee on Military Affairs on the Army bill.

Prior to that I had published in the daily papers of Texas a brief analysis of the bill.

Immediately thereafter I began to receive telegrams, letters, and petitions from various parts of the State, some approving but many opposing the bill.

In order to obtain as nearly as I could, in the short time remaining, the opinion of my people on the question of whether or not they favored the abandonment of the voluntary system for raising an Army at the beginning of the war, I issued a call to the citizens to advise me at once, by wire, their views upon this very important question.

In response to this call I received many answers from friends in many parts of the State, which were overwhelmingly in favor of abandoning the volunteer system at this time. Believing as I do, that a public office is a public trust and that it is the solemn duty of a public servant to truly and faithfully obey the will of a majority of the people he represents, as far as he may be able to ascertain, when the same does not run contrary to his official oath, and believing as I now do, with the information before me, that my views upon this question of public policy are not in full accord with a majority of my constituents, therefore candor impels me to submerge my individual views upon the question and reflect those of the people I represent.

As a man who reaches a deliberate conclusion after serious thought—and God knows mine have been serious—I have a pardonable pride in my own judgment, and under ordinary circumstances would willingly follow it. But we are not now dealing with ordinary questions; we are dealing with the lives of our people and the very destiny of our Republic.

Whatever my own opinion may be, I will not at the beginning of a great war to democratize the world deny my own people the right to instruct their Representative in Congress concerning their will, but shall do my best to obey them.

DANIEL E. GARRETT.

The Selective Draft.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following letters:

ST. LOUIS, *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DYER: During these critical hours of our Nation one hesitates to express his views, especially if he be of German descent.

In these times the masses are looking up to the men of courage and fixed convictions, despite the humiliation that is heaped upon them by the press; who, in no sense of the word, in my judgment, is voicing the sentiment of the people. If by a referendum the people of the United States were asked to approve of the administration's recent attitude I am convinced that it would be overwhelmingly disapproved. The people to-day are deprived of the right to express their sentiments by intimidation. As loyal American citizens, believing in a representative form of government, they must abide by the actions of their Representatives

Not until the next election will the people be given their just rights of expression, and then I look for many, many surprises. It is then when the people will voice their sentiments and when they will approve or disapprove of the conduct of their Representatives. I feel confident that the vast majority of this Nation's people are not in sympathy with the administration's attitude, and I feel sure that 90 per cent of the people in St. Louis are opposed to conscription. The administration and the big interests know only too well, in my judgment, that the people are not in sympathy with this war movement, and, therefore, they dare not let the true sentiment go on record by the test of allowing only volunteers to enlist.

It takes courage to oppose the public press and there will be a time coming when the people at the polls will voice their sentiment and prove that the power of the press is shorn of its influence.

With the food prices rising as they are, a most uncanny feeling overwhelms me that interior strife will arise among those clamoring for food, and that those men who have had the courage to express their views in this crisis in all candor will be looked upon as the true heroes of the present time. Mark me! I fear the time is not far distant when the laboring classes will arise in a body and protest against the starvation of their own people merely to aid in prolonging the agonies abroad.

You understand that I am expressing to you my views purely from the standpoint of a friend to friend, and do not wish to misguide you or influence you.

With best regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,

OTTO F. STIFEL.

ST. LOUIS, *April 26, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
House of Reprcsentatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have sent this, in substance, to the Globe-Democrat to-day. Whether they will use it I do not now know. As I am one of your constituents I thought I would send it to you.

The position of Speaker CLARK and others who oppose the proposed bill for selective service, or so-called "selective" conscription, is rather curious. They talk of conscription as a sort of convict service, and as if by providing for compulsory military service the idea or fact of voluntary military service was eliminated. That I assume is a mistake. I have not seen a full copy of the proposed law, but I assume it in no way abolishes voluntary service. I know that after the conscription law of August, 1862, was passed by our Government, the Confederacy passing one before that, hundreds of thousands of our young men volunteered. That surely will be open to them even if the proposed law is passed. If the men of serviceable age and condition do not desire to be drawn into service as conscripts, all they have to do is to volunteer. We have now no time to wait on volunteers. We need fit men now, and must draft them into service for the public welfare. Surely when a duty to serve rests on all there can be no disgrace in service merely because called upon by selection to render it.

I would not call those who fail to volunteer now "shirks" or "slackers." We are so far separated from actual war that many do not realize our present urgent need of men for service.

We compel by law the attendance at schools of children between 8 and 14 years of age, and in this city "attendance" (or truant) officers are appointed to enforce attendance. Why? Because the welfare of the State demands that its future citizens be educated to at least some extent. Why is it less important that our citizens of proper age be compelled to submit to be trained as soldiers or sailors? The safety of the Nation demands that. When we have universal military training made compulsory, all the imaginary horrors of a draft as a species of involuntary servitude disappear. With universal training we will have a body always liable to be called on when the safety or welfare of the Nation requires. There is nothing humiliating in rendering service when called upon.

I was in the Government service as a civilian from April, 1861, to September, 1862. Then in 1862 volunteered and enlisted as a private,

and was in the military service until March or April, 1866, being mustered out with rank of lieutenant colonel. During my service I was associated with hundreds of soldiers who had been drafted, and had many such under me, and I never heard of the fact that they were drafted being thrown up to any of them, nor were they less efficient than the volunteers.

The question of who should be called on—a selective draft or conscription, as you may call it, settles itself, if we have universal military service. We merely call "to the colors," call into service, those whom we have educated for that service, instead of depending altogether on the voluntary service of willing but entirely untrained men, selecting for military service those who are fit and not otherwise engaged in other service just as important to the welfare of the Nation. That is all, as I understand it, there is in the proposed "selective draft," which should have been provided for and made available long ago by universal training. The President is on the right course, and is entitled to our hearty and loyal support in this belated movement. The chances are that if this proposed law is enacted a knowledge that they are liable to be drafted will render it unnecessary to draft very many. But what we now and at once need is an adequate number of fit men.

Yours, truly,

GEO. D. REYNOLDS.

The Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIJAH C. HUTCHINSON,
OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I have given serious thought to the measure now under consideration and have decided to vote for selective conscription in preference to the volunteer system as the better method for raising an army for the present emergency.

Personally, I would like to see the volunteer system given a fair trial, but the situation is such that we can not afford to experiment and must adopt a plan, the success of which can not be questioned, that will insure the raising of an army sufficient for the needs of this emergency in the quickest possible time.

This war is not of our making, but has been forced upon us by a nation that has been our friend for a generation, and we accept the challenge on principle only and are willing to assume all the burden and make every sacrifice necessary for the cause we champion.

There have been times when I thought our foreign policy could have been handled differently; that we should have been made more familiar with the true situation, so that misunderstandings could have been avoided and false impressions corrected. But such was not the case, and it may have been wise to withhold this knowledge.

I believe our President did everything possible to prevent this war, but it seemed otherwise ordered, and we find ourselves face to face with conditions that will test democracy and prove the worth of every man living under such form of government.

As an experienced business man, and one who has been connected more or less with manufacturing plants of different kinds, I have made it a rule to select competent managers and hold them responsible for the success of the business, adopt their ideas and methods if at all feasible, and seldom interfere with their policy or plan of operation. I take the same position regarding the conduct of this war. Our President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has submitted a plan worked out by the General Staff and approved by the administration, and I feel it should be adopted.

Our General Staff is composed of men of broad experience, educated and trained at the expense of the Government, and after a close study of all conditions, especially of the methods adopted by the European nations now at war, they offer this plan as the one most likely to accomplish the best results in the quickest time, and if we expect to win the war we must put into practice the ideas of those we have trained for just such emergencies.

There is nothing in conscription that will impeach the dignity of the volunteer, for the man that really wants to serve his country should be willing to render that service where it will count for most, and to my mind the principal idea of the plan is not so much to conscript men as it is to utilize service.

Many men can be more valuable to the Government in the operation of manufacturing plants or at work on the farms than in the trenches or camps, and it is to control and regulate this service that the plan is suggested, so that all may have a part in the successful conduct of the war and at the same time conserve our resources.

From debates on the floor there seems to be conflicting statements as to just how the selection of men will be made, but I have enough confidence in our Government to know that the method they adopt for this part of the work will be fair and honorable, and the men so selected will be true and loyal patriots, willing if necessary, to sacrifice their lives in defense of their country.

Resolutions Adopted by the Cleveland Committee on War Finance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend granted, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a letter and resolutions received by me from John D. Fackler, of Cleveland, president of Cleveland (Ohio) Committee on War Finance:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 25, 1917.*

Hon. H. I. EMERSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned beg to transmit herewith copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of Cleveland people at Engineers' Hall, April 4, 1917, and most respectfully urge you to support the principles therein contained as a means of equalizing the burden of the present conflict.

We transmit herewith a copy of resolutions adopted by the Cleveland Federation of Labor We deem it unnecessary at this time to transmit numerous individual petitions, preferring to lay them before Congress when the necessary legislation comes up for adoption.

In this crisis there is an overwhelming sentiment in favor of the President's legislative recommendations, and we sincerely hope that his attitude on this question so clearly indicated in his splendid message to Congress may be followed by appropriate legislation to the end that the financially strong shall bear the burden of expense just as the physically strong must bear the brunt of battle.

Respectfully submitted.

CLEVELAND COMMITTEE ON WAR FINANCE,
JOHN D. FACKLER, *Chairman.*
ERNEST ANGELL, *Secretary.*

Resolutions passed at a mass meeting in Engineers' Hall, Cleveland, Wednesday evening, April 5, 1917.

Resolved, That to meet the expenses necessitated by war and preparation for war, we urge Congress to levy taxes on surplus profits of corporations and partnerships and to impose heavy graded taxes on the incomes of individuals. We believe that the entire expense of the war should be met by such taxes, and that governmental borrowing should, so far as practicable, be limited to temporary loans in anticipation of incoming revenue; that if necessary to meet the expenses of war a tax measure with levies as high as the following should be imposed:

(a) On all net personal incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 a contribution of 25 per cent of such excess over $5,000.

(b) On all net personal incomes from $10,000 to $25,000 a contribution of 50 per cent of the excess over $10,000. And on all net personal incomes over $25,000 a contribution increasing on a sliding scale to a point which will permit no individual retaining an annual income in excess of $50,000 during the war.

(c) That there be levied on the net earnings of all corporations and partnerships a tax of 80 per cent of all net earnings over 8 per cent. Be it further

Resolved, That we urge Congress in the event of the above schedule of income and excess-profit taxes not proving adequate for the expenses of the conflict and preparation therefor, that more drastic percentages be imposed, to the end that the burden of war may be borne by persons now living and that no one be permitted to profit through the sacrifice of others. And be it further

Resolved, That we urge Congress to provide sufficient pay for the soldiers and sailors in the service of the Government, that those dependent upon their incomes shall be maintained in comfort.

Resolutions passed by the Cleveland Federation of Labor Wednesday evening, April 5, 1917.

Whereas the subject of the best method of raising public revenue for the conduct of the war by this Nation is one of great present public interest; and

Whereas the right of the Nation to compel men to put their lives in the hands of the Nation for the defense of the Nation has general sanction; and

Whereas many scandals have occurred in the past on account of the amassing of private fortunes on account of the existence of war; and

Whereas it is intolerable that many men who suffer great personal privation and even give up their lives, while other men, relatively few in number, accumulate great wealth on account of the same causes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Cleveland Federation of Labor, That we indorse the movement that is now attracting attention which is based on the principle that the excess profits made during war time and on account of war should be retaken by the Nation to pay the cost of the war. And be it further.

Resolved, That the Cleveland Federation of Labor recommend to its members that both moral and financial support be given to the Cleveland Committee on War Finance in promoting the excess income tax as a method of war finance.

Resolutions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following resolutions:

FULTON, KY., *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. A. W. BARKLEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As adjutant of Camp Jim Pike, 990, Fulton, Ky., I have been instructed to write you the expressed sentiment of the members of the camp as true American citizens, freely and fully indorsing the administration's policy in reference to the threatened war with Germany, and are ready to aid in defense of American rights in any way we are able, and would be pleased for you to make known our sentiment here expressed to President Wilson.

W. C. CROFT, *Commander.*
R. A. MOWDER, *Adjutant.*

—

Whereas the President of the United States and the Congress assembled have, in the cause of humanity and justice, declared our Nation to be in a state of war with the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of the United States and members of the Seminole Club, of Paducah, Ky., tender our hearty support and cooperation to the Government, and indorse its action; and be it further

Resolved, That we indorse the principle of universal liability for military training, as embodied in the Chamberlain bill now before Congress, and give it our sincere recommendation; and that copies of this resolution be sent to Senators OLLIE M. JAMES, J. C. W. BECKHAM, and Congressman BARKLEY.

JOSEPH JACOBS,
C. M. HAND,
W. R. WRIGHT,
Committee.

—

PADUCAH, KY., *April 2, 1917.*

Whereas there exists at the present time a grave responsibility in the relationship between the United States Government and the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas the issue joined between the two Governments is liable to terminate in armed conflict: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Brotherhood of the Unity Evangelical Church, in regular session assembled, do hereby and by these presents pledge our entire assistance to the President of the United States in this the present crisis of our Government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, to the local press, and a copy spread upon the records of our meetings.

Adopted April 2, 1917.

FRED ROTH, *President.*
GEORGE LEHNHARD, *Secretary.*

Conscription.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of this House know, I have consistently opposed all legislation looking to conscription. I recognize the right of my constituents, however, to petition the National Congress, and am therefore submitting the following letter from William E. Spencer, secretary of the Canon City Government Support and Home Protection League, together with a copy of the resolutions recently adopted by the league:

APRIL 22, 1917.

Hon. EDWARD KEATING,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KEATING: The organization referred to in the resolution herewith has requested me, as permanent secretary, to forward you a copy of the resolution, with request that you send it to the Clerk, have it read before the House, and printed in the RECORD.

The objects of the league are to procure enlistments for the Army and Navy, organize a home guard of men who have passed military age, encourage production of foodstuffs, etc.

Very truly, yours,
WM. E. SPENCER,
Secretary Canon City Government Support and Home Protection League.

CANON CITY, COLO., *April 21, 1917.*

At a meeting of the Canon City Government Support and Home Protection League, held on April 27, 1917, at the Fremont County courthouse, with Mayor D. N. Cooper presiding and Mr. William J. Lindenberger acting as secretary, the following resolutions by former Gov. James H. Peabody were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the President and the Congress have declared these United States to be at war with the Imperial German Government and with the principles of autocracy and oppression for which it stands; and

"Whereas we, in harmony with our State and country, are glad to respond to the call of patriotism and to employ all of our energy and service in the mighty struggle unhappily forced upon us: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the Canon City Government Support and Home Protection League of Canon City, Colo., duly assembled, do hereby unqualifiedly extend our hearty approval to President Wilson for his determined stand for "universal liability to service" and to the Congress for its manly and patriotic support in this terrible ordeal; and further be it

"*Resolved*, That we urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to support and urge immediate adoption of the principle of national conscription to supply our Army and Navy with a full quota of men, so nobly and impressively urged by our President, Woodrow Wilson."

D. N. COOPER, *Chairman.*
WM. J. LINDENBERGER, *Secretary.*

Statement on the Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under general leave granted, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by having published the following statement, which I issued this morning defining my attitude on the military bill:

APRIL 28, 1917.

Having listened to the debate on the Army bill for five days and nights, I have fully determined upon my course. I shall vote for the bill on its final passage, whether it is amended or not, as we must have an army, and the situation calls for quick action. The bill before the House provides for calling for volunteers, and it also provides for selective conscription, leaving it up to the President to decide which method he will follow; or he may use both methods if he deems it necessary. The bill leaves it entirely up to the President. I shall vote against the Kahn amendment, which eliminates the volunteer feature of the bill, because I think the President should be in a position to accept the services of volunteers should he see fit. I shall vote for the Britten amendment, should it be offered, that no conscripted soldier shall be sent to Europe without his consent. I shall vote for the amendment permitting Roosevelt to enlist the volunteer army he has enrolled. I voted for the amendment in the Committee of the Whole yesterday because I believe that we should use every means within the power of the Government to get together an effective fighting force and not quibble about the method.

ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. KEARNS,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I am going to vote to retain the volunteer plan in this bill. I want this plan, together with the draft system. I am not yet willing to abandon every American tradition that is deep-seated in our breasts. God save us from the only autocratic element in our country—the Army Staff. But should the majority of the membership vote to strike this volunteer section from this bill, then I bow to majority rule and shall vote for the bill thus amended, because we must have an army to strike, and strike the enemy hard.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUART F. REED,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted Members to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the pending bill, I desire to insert the following resolutions, statements, and messages:

HARRISON COUNTY G. A. R. RESOLUTIONS.

APRIL 2, 1917.

Hon. STUART F. REED, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am inclosing to you resolutions adopted by Custer Post, G. A. R., Clarksburg, W. Va. Make such use of them as seems advisable.

Yours, sincerely,

GEO. A. WOOFTER.

Whereas Germany and her allies have now for more than two years been engaged in the bitterest and most cruel warfare known in history against England, France, Russia, and their allies; and

Whereas this warfare has been carried on in the most ruthless and cruel manner on sea and land and in the air, not sparing the lives of women and children and breaking all of the laws of civilized warfare; and

Whereas the United States has from the beginning protested against this cruelty and ruthlessness, especially against the violations of the laws of neutrality on the high seas in the use of submarines, and these protests have been unheeded until the President of the United States, after long forbearance, has felt compelled to break off diplomatic relations with Germany, and a state of armed neutrality, if not of actual war, exists; and

Whereas the Hon. John J. Cornwell, governor of this State, has asked all loyal citizens, patriotic orders, Grand Army posts, etc., to meet April 2, 1917, and pledge their hearty support to the Government in the event war is declared: Now therefore be it

Resolved by Custer Post No. 8, Department of West Virginia, Grand Army of the Republic, Clarksburg, W. Va., in special meeting March 31, 1917, That we as American citizens, faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity, do hereby declare our absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States and pledge our support to the President and Congress in protecting American rights against unlawful violence on sea and land, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international rights; and

That we have explicit confidence in the young manhood and of the American Army and Navy and trust that if they should have to face any foe on the battle field or on the sea that they will display the courage and patriotism of their grandsires of '61 to '65.

GEORGE A. WOOFTER,
W. N. EDGELL,
W. M. MORRIS,
Committee.

LEWIS COUNTY LOYAL.

WESTON, W. VA., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. STUART F. REED.

DEAR SIR: The 400 members of Camp 5430, Modern Woodmen of America, Weston, W. Va., congratulate you upon your true Americanism, your loyalty to the administration, and pledge our support now and in the future.

F. E. JARVIS,
F. R. YOKE,
J. E. VASSAR,
Committee.

ADJUTANT GENERAL OF WEST VIRGINIA FAVORS SELECTIVE DRAFT.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., *April 27, 1917.*

Adjt. Gen. John C. Bond, of West Virginia gave out an interview here to-day urging Congress to immediately enact laws providing for the raising of an army by the selective-draft method. Gen. Bond's statement was as follows:

"The only way to reach the slacker is by conscription, and Congress should lose no time in passing a bill providing for conscription.

"As between the selective draft or conscription and the volunteer methods of raising a fighting force, there should be no delay or hesitancy in adopting the former plan. In my opinion it is the only successful way of raising an army such as the country is likely to need in the near future.

"We have tried the volunteer plan but recently, and the results were far from satisfactory."

[From the Nicholas Republican.]

CITIZENS OF RICHWOOD HOLD PATRIOTIC MEETING AT CITY HALL MONDAY NIGHT—GREAT INTEREST MANIFESTED.

Richwood did herself proud in the big patriotic meeting held at the city hall Monday night, and if anyone had held to the opinion that the spirit of patriotism had departed from our people he surely would have changed his mind had he been present at the monster demonstration.

Long before the hour set for the opening exercises the hall was packed almost to suffocation and hundreds were turned away. Every seat was taken, the gallery packed and jammed full, and hundreds remained standing in the aisles and wherever they could find standing room.

The following committees were named to have charge of the matter: On general arrangement—J. H. Landacre, J. J. Dotson, Lee Reese, E. E. Deitz, C. B. Cropp, J. H. Patterson, and J. O. Knapp. On publicity—L. A. Thomas. On finance—A. S. Wolf and E. E. Dietz. On resolutions, F. N. Alderson, J. J. Dotson, H. E. Dillinger, and L. A. Thomas.

The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas our country is facing a grave international crisis, and inasmuch as we are seemingly about to be drawn into the great world war: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the citizens of Richwood in mass meeting assembled,* That they do send to the President and the Government of the United States the assurances of their hearty and loyal support and full cooperation in every national undertaking which, in their wisdom, may be necessary to meet the situation and to protect and vindicate American rights, dignity, and honor, wherever or by whomsoever they may be endangered; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That we call upon our people to give to the President and the Government at Washington in all their efforts their patriotic support and assistance in whatever plans or measures that may be necessary in the present emergency;

"*Resolved further,* That we request that the national colors be displayed from all public buildings within our town and that we urge that all places of business and residences dsiplay such colors, as far as may be practicable; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and the presiding officers of both branches of Congress and to the governor of our State."

SONS OF VETERANS, U. S. A.,
Clarksburg, W. Va., April 3, 1917.

Hon. STUART F. REED.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose you herewith resolution of our camp, Sons of Veterans. Clarksburg and Harrison County is full and running over with loyalty and patriotism.

Respectfully,

W. N. EDGELL, *Camp Secretary.*

At a called meeting of Nathan Goff Camp No. 4, Division of Maryland, Sons of Veterans, U. S. A., held in the city of Clarksburg, W. Va., on the 2d day of April, 1917, the following resolution was read and unanimously adopted:

"Whereas our fathers heard the Nation's call to arms, and with streaming banners and patriotic heroism went forth in the defense of the Union in the great, but now forgotten, Civil War; and

"Whereas we, the sons of those patriot fathers, are by common ties united and organized in the further defense of our now reunited country; and

"Whereas it appears certain that this Nation shall soon again be called upon to sacrifice its blood, never yet spilled except in the cause of liberty and the common defense, in another war which we believe under God shall blazen anew the way of progress and universal peace to the ultimate end that 'dark places may become lighted by the lamp of a wise intelligence and the whole earth be reclaimed and made fruitful by the joys of a perfect civilization': And to this end be it

"*Resolved,* That we pledge our lives and our fortunes, if need be, to the defense of our Government in war as well as in peace, and pledge our loyalty and support in upholding the hands of the President of these United States in the grim crisis which now seems to confront this Nation."

RITCHIE COUNTY RESOLUTIONS.

At a mass meeting of the citizens of Harrisville, W. Va., held on the 16th day of April, 1917, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas our Government has, by the current of events over which it had no control and by the ruthless war policy pursued by the Imperial German Government, been forced into the war now being waged in Europe; and

"Whereas we recognize in that gigantic and herculean struggle a contest for supremacy between Prussianism and democracy, between the assumed rights of monarchs and the natural rights of men, in which one or the other must fall; and

"Whereas we deem it the duty of every American citizen, regardless of political or religious preference, to stand by and support the President in his war policy as outlined in his message to Congress, to the end that governments 'of the people, by the people, and for the people' may prevail over governments of monarchs, by monarchs, and for monarchs: Now therefore be it

"*Resolved,* By the citizens of Harrisville and vicinity, in the county of Ritchie and State of West Virginia, in mass meeting assembled, as follows:

"First. That we pledge our unswerving loyalty to our Government, and hereby dedicate our lives, our property, and our sacred honor in its defense.

"Second. That we recommend to our Senators and Representatives in Congress that they support the Government in its war policy against the Imperial German Government as promulgated by our President, and that it is the sense of this body and of the community at large that the action of certain Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States in voting to delay the consideration of such policy, or who by their actions and conduct and by their vote are temporizing with this most important subject of legislation, are by such actions, conduct, and vote giving aid and comfort to the Imperial German Government, and that such conduct can be characterized in no other way than as a treasonable affront to the American people and Government.

"Third. That as the food crisis now confronting the American people, due in part to the war, in part to a shortage of production, and in part to speculations in and manipulations of the food supply, may prove a menace to our Government and hinder it in the proper prosecution of the war, we further recommend that the Congress now in session pass stringent laws prohibiting speculations in and manipulations of our food supply, and that as a war measure it pass a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors within the United States—except for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes—in order that the grain now being fed to breweries and distilleries may be preserved and used to feed the American people and their allies.

"Fourth. That we recommend to the citizens of Ritchie County, that they forego the use of all luxuries and practice strict economy, and that they see to it that every available acre of land within the county

be made to produce the maximum amount of cereals, grains, and vegetables, to the end that our county may, as far as possible, be self-sustaining."

Copy, teste:

J. H. LINNIGER, *Chairman.*
C. H. HARRISON, *Secretary.*

—

ORIGINAL RIMFIRE SCOUTS CLUB No. 1,
Webster Springs, W. Va., April 2, 1917.

Hon. STUART F. REED,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: On Monday, March 26, 1917, Hon. John J. Cornwell, governor of West Virginia, by proclamation, urged that the representative bodies in West Virginia, lodges, etc., meet on April 2, 1917, and pass resolutions supporting the President and the Government of the United States in the crisis through which we are now passing.

In accordance with the proclamation of the governor, the Chief Club of the Original Rimfire Scouts of Webster Springs, W. Va., met in session to-day and passed the following resolutions, which have been respectfully submitted to the President:

"*Be it resolved,* That the Chief Club of the Original Rimfire Scouts, of Webster Springs, W. Va., indorse most heartily all the acts of the President of the United States of America and the majority of the Congress of the United States during the critical period of more than two years resulting from the European war.

"*Be it further resolved,* That the members of the said Chief Club of the Original Rimfire Scouts, without dissent, tender their services to the President and the Government of the United States and place themselves at the disposal of the authorities thereof in such manner and at such time as necessities may require.

"*Be it further resolved,* That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and the governor of the State of West Virginia, and to our Member of Congress from the third congressional district of West Virginia."

Very respectfully, yours,

VERNON A. DE MOSS,
Chief Secretary.

—

WEBSTER COUNTY (W. VA.) UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS.

APRIL 6, 1917.

Whereas the clouds of war are hovering over our beloved United States of America; and

Whereas Hon. John J. Cornwell, governor of West Virginia, hath, by proclamation, urged all patriotic organizations to meet on this, the 2d day of April, 1917, for the purpose of passing resolutions pledging their support to the President and General Government in the present crisis; and

Whereas in pursuance to said proclamation Camp No. 1051 of the United Confederate Veterans of Webster County hath caused a meeting of its members to be held at the courthouse of said county for the purpose aforesaid: It is therefore

Resolved, That while the healing balm of time hath not wholly removed from our minds the appalling effects and blasting influences of war, and we deeply deplore its crimson fruits, and shall earnestly hope that actual conflict may be averted, yet we glory in the honor and bravery of American citizens and the justice, equity, and honor of our National Government, and believing that Woodrow Wilson, President of these United States, has been patient, forbearing, and neutral in his attitude toward the European Governments now engaged in war, and that the rights of this Government and her citizens have been violated and are now menaced, we hereby pledge to the President and the General Government of the United States of America our unfaltering support in whatever action may seem expedient in the present crisis; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by wire on this day to the President; STUART F. REED, our Representative in Congress; and to Hon. John J. Cornwell, governor of West Virginia.

A copy of record of proceedings.

Attest:

B. C. CONRAD,
Commander of United Confederate Veterans, Camp No. 1051.

—

UPSHUR COUNTY.

A patriotic demonstration held at the courthouse at Buckhannon, April 2, with the auditorium filled to its capacity, resulted in the adoption of ringing resolutions, as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the people of Buckhannon.

"The people of the city of Buckhannon and the county of Upshur recognize in the pending crisis growing out of the world war that the honor of this Nation, the majesty of her flag, and the exalted principles for which it stands, are vitally involved. Democracy, the sacred rights of all people to be at least instrumental in government, and the untrammeled rights of all neutral nations to the high seas in times of war have been challenged. Our people have been murdered through a system of ruthless piracy, shamelessly promulgated as a part of a system of civilized principles of absolutism.

"Under the stress and strain of this crisis the great people of America have been more than patient, and have been more than charitable in yielding rights which a nation less conscious of its strength and position of influence among the nations of the world would not have yielded to prevent bloodshed. They are a peace-loving people; and, realizing that they have in them the blood of all the warring nations of Europe, by reason of which, however, they are none the less American, they have every reason for maintaining an honorable neutrality, and have done all in their power to maintain it.

"Notwithstanding all this, and in spite of all that the great President of this Nation, in faithful exemplification of American charity and forbearance, has done to avert war, we find ourselves, this great peace-loving Nation, dragged to the very brink of a war it was in nowise instrumental in causing, and all through the selfish lust of power of a European war lord claiming to rule by 'divine right': Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the people of this city and county in mass meeting assembled,* That they pledge anew their lives and their honor to the defense of the American flag and the deathless principles for which it stands, and that they likewise pledge to the President of the United States and to the Congress thereof their unfaltering and united support in this hour of the country's need.

"*Resolved,* That copies of these resolutions be placed in the hands of each of the Representatives and Senators in the United States Congress from this State as an earnest demand upon them that they shall lay aside all party issues and give their undivided support to the President in his efforts to put this country in a wise and adequate state of preparedness for the defense of its people and its sacred honor."

Judge J. C. MCWHORTER,
T. W. HAUGHT,
J. M. N. DOWNES,
H. ROY WAUGH,
H. A. ZICKEFOOSE,
J. FRANK LATHAM,
C. E. WHITE,
J. J. MORGAN,
Committee on Resolutions.

—

THE WEST VIRGINIA SOCIETY RESOLUTIONS.

We, the members of the West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia, recognize in the present crisis, growing out of the world war, that the honor of our Nation, the majesty of her flag, and the exalted principles for which it stands are actually involved. Democracy, the sacred righs of all the people to a voice in their Government, and the untrammeled rights of all neutral nations to the high seas in time of war are challenged.

Under the stress and strain of this crisis the great people of the United States have been more than patient and have been more than charitable in yielding the rights which a nation less conscious would not have yielded to prevent bloodshed. The people of the United States are peace loving, and while realizing that they have in them the blood of all the warring nations of Europe are none the less American.

Notwithstanding all these things, this great, peace-loving Nation finds itself dragged into war: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia, in regular meeting now assembled, That we pledge our honor and our lives to the defense of the American flag and the undying principles for which it stands, and that we further pledge to the President and to the Congress of the United States our loyalty, unfaltering and united support in this hour of our country's need.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President and to each of our West Virginia Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, commending them for their loyalty and patriotic support of the President in his efforts to put this country in an adequate state of preparedness for the defense of this Nation and its sacred honor.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the governor of West Virginia, and that we salute through him our brave men and soldiers, the West Virginia National Guard, and express our profound admiration for their exemplification of the highest form of genuine patriotism of which humanity is capable in the dedication of their lives to the defense of our common country.

Unanimously adopted April 13, 1917.

HENRY S. BAKER, *President.*

Attest:

WM. T. GEORGE, *Secretary.*

—

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY,
Morgantown, April 3, 1917.

Hon. STUART F. REED,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. REED: A great mass meeting of our students and faculty of the West Virginia University last night adopted the inclosed resolutions, which speak for themselves. In addition they ordered the following telegram sent to the President of the United States:

"West Virginia University, in a mass meeting of students and faculty, offers its class rooms for barracks, its laboratories for arsenals, its athletic fields for drill grounds, and its splendid cadet corp of 600 men to support you in this trying hour."

We renew our allegiance, and are ready for service in whatsoever way it pleases the authorities to use us.

Very cordially, yours,

FRANK B. TROTTER, *President.*

Resolutions adopted by the faculty and students of the West Virginia University.

Whereas Germany persists in a ruthless use of submarines, which contravenes international laws and grossly violates her treaty obligations to the United States; and

Whereas many American citizens have been thereby subjected to wanton and cruel suffering and death, and all who dare to exercise their right to travel on the high seas are menaced with similar suffering; and

Whereas, in defiance of law and right, Germany dares to dictate the terms on which American commerce may use the world's highways; and

Whereas President Wilson has, with utmost patience, exhausted every honorable and peaceful means to safeguard the lives and the rights of our citizens: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the faculty and students of West Virginia University in mass meeting assembled, That we respectfully urge the President to protect with all the power he commands the lives and the rights of our citizens.

That we pledge to him our loyalty and fullest support in all measures to that end.

That we urge our Senators and Representatives without stint or partisanship to aid the President by appropriating funds, enacting laws, and conferring powers appropriate to this purpose.

That the president of the university, as chairman, send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, the governor of West Virginia, and to each United States Senator and Representative from West Virginia.

—

WEST UNION, W. VA., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. STUART REED, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Do all you can for draft bill. Stand by President.

HENRY H. SHINN,
Editor of Doddridge Republican.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT J. DRANE,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. DRANE. Mr. Speaker, I have always been taught that a new Member of the American Congress would pursue the path of wisdom and discretion were he to refrain, during his first session, from taking part in debate; that he should sit mute while his elders and betters speak. Sir, there is no personal ambition on my part to violate this custom; rather would I adhere to it. But, sir, it seems to me in this hour, the beginning of "the times which try men's souls," every loyal American citizen should lift his voice, whether in field or forum, to tell of the faith that is in him.

The Legislature of Florida, the State of my adoption, where I have spent all the days of my youth and my mature manhood, and where I expect to reside until I come into my second childhood, every foot of whose soil I regard as holy ground, is now in session, and its first official act after organization on the 3d day of the present month was to pass, by unanimous vote, a resolution pledging their lives, their property, and their sacred honor in a new Declaration of Independence; pledging those things held sacred by every American-born man child to support the statesman in the White House; to support the American Congress in its every effort to uphold the dignity and honor of the American people; and to compel respect for their flag on every sea.

Sir, my conscientitious conviction is that every man who, under the Constitution of the United States, is "equal before the law" with every other man; every man who, under our Constitution is free to pursue happiness, to enjoy the blessings of liberty and the beneficent advantages of our laws and our institutions, owes his allegiance to the Government in exact equality to the allegiance of every other man.

My very first official duty, when I sat for the first time as a Member of the American Congress, the hardest and sternest duty I ever performed, the greatest responsibility I was ever called upon to assume, was to cast a vote which would commit my country to war. Sir, I performed the duty, I assumed the responsibility as God gave me light; and I did so believing that the spirit of my loyal American constituents would approve. My next duty and responsibility was the logical sequence of the first, to provide the financial means for carrying on the war; a vote which provided from the inexhaustible resources of the American people, the most stupendous sum of money ever voted in the history of mankind; and now, in its logical sequence, comes still another duty, that of providing men. Mr. Speaker, the cost of war may not be paid in gold; would to God it might be. There is only one legal tender in war, it is not gold, nor show, nor protestations of patriotism; it is not martial music or martial display. The legal tender of war is human life; the lives of good men and good women and innocent children. The interest on a war debt may not be paid entirely in gold; it must be paid, sir, in widows' weeds, in the weeping of women bereft and the wailing of innocent children deprived of their bread. Without this awful cost, if paid only in gold, war would be cheap indeed. What, then, must be the method of conducting the war at the lowest possible cost; which will require the smallest sum of this legal tender of human life? To my mind, sir, the only answer would be: Let every man do his duty.

The man who has been so fortunate as to accumulate wealth should do his part just as the man who, less fortunate, must toil and sweat to supply the needs of his loved ones. The duty should fall alike upon the just and the unjust; upon palace and hovel; upon shop and counting room; upon the man of the street and the toiler in the field; every man who claims America as his home should do his duty as an American citizen, each man according to his talent and the Nation's need. We assume—aye, sir, we know—that every Member of the American Congress is earnestly endeavoring to perform his duty in such manner as will bring the war to its most successful conclusion, and it is one of the highest proofs of the wisdom and endurance of this great Republic that debate upon this momentous question has been allowed to run practically without limit. It is a question of so far-reaching importance that I feared to commit an error; so far-reaching that it reaches every branch of human endeavor; so far-reaching as to reach every fireside in the land; so far-reaching as to summon from the paths of peace every man of military age. I desired to take counsel with the people of Florida, whose representative in part I am, and whose vote, for a season, is entrusted to my keeping. Having taken counsel with my people, it has been a source of great gratification to me that I am informed from every section of my congressional district that they approved my course in voting for the war resolution; that they approved my course in voting this stupendous sum of money; and that they approve the course which I am now about to adopt, of voting that every man under the American flag shall perform the duty of an American citizen and take that part in the defense of his Government when the Commander in Chief of its Army and Navy shall point the way.

Mr. Speaker, we are prone to boast—because we are a proud people, that this great Republic on the Western Hemisphere is the only Republic true to its name and which shall last as long as time without crumbling. At the time of its birth, when our forefathers were fighting for its very existence, we who read history know that there was never but one element of danger of failure, and that was when the American Congress hesitated and delayed in giving its fullest and most loyal support to its great commander in the field, George Washington; the Republic stood through the storm and uncertain existence until the days of the sixties, when there came the period of night and darkness and distress, and it seemed for a time as though the efforts of our fathers had been in vain. Again, the fate of the Republic wavered in the balance, but that was because the American Congress hesitated and quibbled over the methods and means while the Commander in Chief of its Army and Navy, who was destined in a little while to "lay down his life for his friends," waited for the decision of the American Congress to give him its undivided and most loyal support; and now, sir, we come again to a period of uncertainty and distress, when another statesman in the White House, a fit successor to Washington and Lincoln, bowed down with the weight of responsibility as to how best to preserve the Republic which Washington established and Lincoln saved, is hampered and embarrassed while the American Congress, loyal though it is, enthusiastic for success though it may be, hesitates and quibbles over small questions of detail of how best to bring about a happy consummation of his desires. Mr. Speaker, I accord to every Member of this Congress the right to exercise his conscience and his judgment as God gives him light to see, but as for me, feeling as I do, that I am supported by an overwhelming majority of the loyal American citizens whom I represent, I propose by every vote and act to stand by the President and help him to carry out the war program which he and his expert advisers, learned in the horrible science of war, have laid before us.

This is not, sir, a question of sentiment, it is a question of business, cold-blooded business, nothing more and nothing less. Were I to indulge in sentiment—and I am prone at all times to do so—my memory would hark back to a scene which I witnessed a few days ago as I looked out of my office window in this city. Marching up and down through the street and on the lawn of the handsome building in which I have my office, I saw a company of youthful soldiers, little boys, drilling, soldier fashion, with new guns, just from the carpenter shop and made entirely of wood. A little lad marched with them carrying a flag, which was nearly heavy enough to lift him off his feet had the wind blown, and he called himself a color sergeant. A youthful captain of about 12 years of age marched proudly at their head giving orders in true military fashion, which orders they obeyed in many instances like trained veterans. They were without uniform, were soiled and unkempt as boys are wont to be, just schoolboys; and as I looked there came to my mind the words of the immortal bard, "And then comes the school boy, with satchel and shining morning face, creeping like snail, unwillingly to school"; and which they doubtless would, had it been a matter of school rather than playing soldier; and then I thought again of something else that Shakespeare had said: "And then the soldier, bearded like the pard, swearing strange oaths, jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel, seeking the bubble reputation, even in the cannon's mouth." And then, sir, I looked again, and watching them, not carelessly, as a man of the street, but with a dreamy look in their eyes, I saw some of the soldiers of the sixties; some smiled rather wistfully, I thought, as they stroked their beards, others shook their heads and limped away on their staffs, while others lingered near, speaking words of commendation to these little soldiers of the twentieth century. When some of these old men spoke I was again reminded that Shakespeare said:

> The sixth stage shifts into the lean and slippered pantaloon; with spectacles on nose and pouch on side; his youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide for his shrunk shanks. His big, manly, voice changing again to childish treble, pipes and whistles in the sound.

And then he wrote: "Last scene of all in this strange, eventful history is second childishness." Here indeed, sir, were two generations of children, the soldier of the sixties, now a child again, and the young child soldier of the twentieth century. God grant that these little soldiers of the twentieth century may be permitted in their "military careers" to always "play soldier" on the green, midst happy surroundings and smiles and peace and plenty. God grant that they may "seek the cannon's mouth" only to watch the birds which build their nests therein. God speed the day when they may "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks," and war shall be no more. Sentiment; but we deal not in sentiment now.

A few days ago I stood at the tomb of a man who rested from his labors more than a hundred years ago; there was nothing there but a mausoleum, mayhap a hand full of ashes and a memory, but involuntarily, sir, in the faded evening light, I uncovered my head, for I stood at the tomb of the founder of this Republic, Washington. As I returned to the city, the capital of earth's grandest Republic, admiring, sir, even in a spirit of awe, in the brief time between twilight and darkness, its towers and spires and minarets and domes, looking, sir, as one would imagine, like the new Jerusalem itself, I passed what is destined to be the most magnificent memorial ever erected to mortal man, the memorial to Abraham Lincoln, who saved the American Republic in the sixties; and beyond that, standing against the sky line, a great gray monument, seeming almost to reach to heaven itself, the monument of him to gave the Republic life; whose very name, this proudest of earth's cities bears. Sir, as I looked it reminded me, in its somber gray, of a pillar of cloud; and I thought of the story I learned at my mother's knee, long years before I entered into manhood and she entered into rest, wherein the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness and "Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, that they might go by day and by night; the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night departed not from before the people."

The pillar of cloud is the memory of Washington as exemplified by that monument standing before all peoples. Do we American people wander in the wilderness now? Sir, I admonish you to follow the example of Washington, be true to his memory. But where is the pillar of fire? Sir, there is a fire of patriotism burning brightly in the heart of every true American; and among the children of Florida it has already burst into one great pillar of fire and her sons are willing to follow this successor of Washington in the White House, who shows you the way in this night of darkness and distress and who has the wisdom and the statesmanship to give you light. I stand by the President. Knowing as I do that the destiny of this Nation rests, not upon a sentiment, however lofty that sentiment may be, I deem it my solemn duty to uphold the acts of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, by giving him what of my feeble strength I may; to set aside sentiment and deal with this horrible situation in a practical way. You will understand, Mr. Speaker, that I do this absolutely without sentiment, when I tell you that I have only one son, and in the course of nature he will be my only son when I shall cease from life's labors and disappear from the haunts of men. As I remarked at the beginning, the legal tender in war may not be paid in gold, it must be paid with human life; and freely and voluntarily and with his full consent I lay that price upon the altar of my country, and with it I lay a father's love, by voting for the bill as recommended by the President.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

INTERVIEW WITH CONGRESSMAN FOCHT.

Interviewing Congressman BENJAMIN K. FOCHT, of the seventeenth Pennsylvania district, Mr. Harry N. Price, the well-known character sketch and human-interest story reporter on the Washington Post, put this question to the Pennsylvania Congressman:

"If you were President of the United States, what would you do?"

"If President, what would I do?" retorted Mr. FOCHT. "If President, as far as I could within my constitutional rights, when the war is over I would do something to help rehabilitate poor, brave, bleeding France for her response to the appeals of Benjamin Franklin, the great Pennsylvanian, in sending Rochambeau to us with his sloops of war and soldiers and supplies which brought the sword of proud Cornwallis to the dust at Yorktown and right there made us free. And for England, too, I would have something, if nothing more than mercy and pity, after her 800 years of conquest over weak people around the circle of the globe. Early adopting the easy way, the way of Benedict Arnold was tempted to his ruin and the princes of India fell and the Boer generals were induced to quit fighting, and with every treaty ever made with Napoleon regarded as they are now looked upon by Germany in time of war, merely 'scraps of paper,' the pround island kingdom finally finds herself up against it, and this monarch cries to our Republic for help. But all this is only well-known history, even though the present methods employed to excite our modern press, and through this potential agency the country, these historical facts may be somewhat obscure and not too well understood at this time.

"Sothern, the great actor, tells a lot of things he would do in the marvelous play 'If I Were King.' Now, if I were President I would summon every resource America commands or would require and sweep the seas of all interference with legitimate American rights, Germany, England, and all other countries to be included in my purpose. My war, if any war at all, would be for America and her citizens, and not for any European king, dynasty, or plutocracy. I would follow the course laid out by our fathers when they designed this Republic and fight to the last old man and the last schoolboy and the last dollar, for America, but not one cent would go to help continue the murder that now drenches Europe in blood. Instead of sending our money and our youth to the trenches of Europe to be consumed in hell's fires of war there, I would conserve our resources for better things when the war is over.

"I would take advantage of the opportunity now offering to extend freedom throughout the world—real freedom, individual sovereignty, but not the spurious and counterfeit sort supposed to be enjoyed in limited monarchies and so-called republics, which in reality are only military despotism, where the people are tricked and deceived just as some few either in ignorance or mendacity would permit the old Machavellian game to be played here. With Europe down and out in every resource, bleeding, crushed, and contrite for her sins against God and humanity, I would help all the stricken peoples back, but with the people ruling, and all despots and all entailed rights absolutely on the scrap pile as effete if not noxious. My condition for the rendering of this helpfulness would be the elimination of the three big bosses of the centuries, the Hapsburgs, the Romanoffs, and the Hohenzollerns, with the expurgation of the autocratic and all-controlling Ministry of England. Great Britain's entailment laws which perpetuate the feudal system under which few are free and rich and the many are poor and helpless subjects, would have to be abolished, and instead of a condition where only 10 per cent of those who occupy land and property own it, all would have the same opportunity frugal and industrious men have here in America. For anything we might do to bind the wounds of Great Britain I would demand the freedom of Ireland, whose great and brave people stood with the iron men of Germany referred to by Tacitus and Caesar, fought the battles of the Revolution against England, and again in 1812, and who saved the Union in 1861–1865. I would not be an easy mark for the machinations of either Lombard Street or Wall Street in this hour when my country has the balance of the world's wealth, but I would prepare my country to meet an embattled world and do it in the name of freedom, individual sovereignty, intelligence and happiness, and I am sure the power of God would be with my purpose and in the accomplishment of which not a shot need be fired by America.

"We took under our banner of freedom some new and raw recruits when we gave the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico their liberty. Now, at this opportune time I would strive to carry freedom, real freedom, which Europe does not have, across other seas, and in doing this I would feel it my duty to my countrymen to make honorable trade agreements so that in the coming upbuilding after the war our commerce might not suffer any disadvantage.

"If President Wilson would rear a monument for himself to stand by the side of that of Moses, our Savior, and Abraham Lincoln, the opportunity now knocks at his door, and if he accepts it, the freemen of unborn centuries will applaud his name. The chance of ages is before him and the Nation awaits the opportunity to support him in everything American, and in extending without hate or malice or war to others the blessings of real freedom.

"And all this I would do if I were President and the Constitution of my country permitted the use of such power, but since I am not President, I am ready to stand squarely back of the man who is in case of hostilities with any other country," concluded Mr. FOCHT.

FREE IRELAND AND MAKE FAVORABLE TRADE AGREEMENTS.

[By Congressman B. K. FOCHT in the Lewisburg Saturday News, Mar. 31, 1917.]

With special representatives of the French and British Governments due to arrive in America in the course of a few days, and the wager said to be offered by Lloyd's, the big world underwriters, of 10 to 1 that the war will be over within 60 days, there is injected new sensations if not thrills into the war situation. In any event no matter whether these foreign representatives are to visit this Government with some sort of peace arrangement in their satchels, or whether they are coming to tell just how the money they want from us is to be returned and when, their contemplated and announced visit has greatly intensified interest about the halls of Congress. Therefore all await Balfour, of England, and M. Viviani, of France, and the outcome of their visit and errand.

With these representatives on our soil and under our protection, no better opportunity could be offered than on this occasion for looking somewhat ahead for the business and the commercial future of America. When the war is over we should have some of the world's new trade, and now when England as a single nation is really helpless to conquer Germany, and France is almost bled to death, it is a fine time to get just consideration. Certainly if the war is to go to a finish it is self-evident that "Uncle Sam" must complete the job for the allies, and if we go in with men, money, credit, and provisions, to put out Prussianism and rescue France and England, we must not overlook the fact that we may be poor, too, when we get through, and we ought to know that we are going to have at least an even start commercially with the allies after we help them to win. Our laborers, farmers as well as capitalists, should be well kept in mind.

Our suggestion goes with the little proviso that Lloyd's are wrong in their guess about the whole thing in Europe falling down in 60 days. This may be true, but there is no such official word in the air around Washington; yet, of course, barring a "leak," such important information would not be divulged through the agency of administration sources.

Long ago in this department we predicted that we would not get into this world war in the same physical way other nations are involved, and while we are yet hopeful that we may not, the way things have been traveling during the past two weeks puts our guess very much in jeopardy.

In the House on Tuesday the weather vane spun around a few times and pointed the way in which some important matters may head. A southern Democrat could not understand why there should be conscription, and especially among farmers, whose sons in time of war will be needed on the farms to raise food for the soldiers. The question of raising 4,500 soldiers by conscription or draft in each congressional district in the United States was deemed the fair way to raise a real army, but the draft was always odious, which is the reason England has never enforced it, and here a call for volunteers may be first made. The other question upon which there is far from unanimity is that of sending our armies to fight on the Continent of Europe, and the newspapers here have modified the demands for this and now speak only of the possibility of sending troops there, and then only after a year's training.

But the spirit of '76 is abroad here, and so far as Congress is concerned, while there may be talking by some and talking and writing by others, every star in the field of blue will always be ablaze and every stripe aglow.

Talk about a billion-dollar Congress! This one is to provide more funds than it cost to fight the Civil War and pay as much for pensions since the South tried to make the big get-away. But Congress is in session, and the Congress is sovereign, and you would have thought so when on Tuesday the Senate sent over for concurrence a little item of one hundred million "for expenses for the President which he might not know he is going to have." By unanimous consent the bill went back with notice from everybody that Congress must know more about items even as small as one hundred million. It was a unanimous protest. Democrats and Republicans alike demanding an estimate for which the one hundred million was to provide, and there was some talking to the point on the subject. Representative FITZGERALD, the Democratic chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, had this to say:

"I do not believe myself that any situation has arisen that makes it either necessary or desirable to establish in this country the most absolute autocracy the world has ever known in government."

The Republican House leader, JAMES R. MANN, added these few words, following which the House adjourned over until the next day with the hundred million hanging in the air.

"I hope that we will not be asked, in the endeavor to spread democracy throughout the world, to abolish it at home."

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[From the Lewisburg Saturday News, Apr. 21, 1917.]

TIME TO FREE IRELAND.

When Congressman FOCHT was asked by a Washington reporter "What he would do if he were President?" among other things he said, in substance: "For such assistance as we may render England I would require as part compensation that Ireland be made free."

Following this suggestion, made March 31, there was this week introduced into Congress by Congressman MEDILL MCCORMICK, of Chicago, a resolution calling upon that body to take advantage of the psychological moment and press Ireland's freedom as one of the conditions involved in the final peace settlement.

This is the time of all times to end the bondage of the island which has given America so many statesmen, soldiers, and industrial workers. No one expected a Republic for Russia at this time, and yet the yoke of the oppressor was thrown off; the German Emperor has just promised more equitable representation in legislative deliberation, and the Empire is not far removed from the likelihood of becoming a Republic upon the close of the war, or even before. Then why should the proposal of a free Ireland be regarded as out of alignment and keeping with the trend of the times? It is not, but on the contrary is altogether timely and germane to President Wilson's propaganda of universal democracy.

Make Ireland free.

LUTHERANS LOYAL TO AMERICA AND THE PRESIDENT.

The following was read in the Memorial Lutheran Church, of Washington, by Rev. Henry Anstadt on Sunday, April 15, 1917:

Whereas the Government of the United States has declared that our beloved country is in a state of war, and it becomes the duty of all citizens to give the authorities their most earnest support, we, the presidents of the three general Lutheran bodies in America, viz, the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, and the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South, do hereby call upon and request the members of these bodies now, as they ever have done, to affirm and approve by word and act their loyalty to the President and Congress of the United States; and we further recommend to the congregations in our cities and towns that they form American Red Cross chapters in their respective communities for the amelioration of the lot of our brave soldiers in the field and our sailors, and that they offer up prayers that the war may end with honor to our country and in an early and perpetual peace.

THEODORE E. SCHMAUK.
J. A. SINGMASTER.
M. G. SCHERER.

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[From the Philadelphia North American, Apr. 20.]

COL. ROOSEVELT AND HIS AMERICAN VOLUNTEERS.

Here is a fact which may be taken as evidence of the weakness or of the strength of democracy, according to the point of view: While earnest folk have been arguing laboriously as to whether this country should send troops to Europe, and while the Government of the United States has been making plans for a large Army to be employed a year or two hence, if necessary, and issuing urgent appeals for recruits to fill up the depleted ranks of the Regular Army and the National Guard, 100,000 Americans have volunteered to go to the trenches upon the mere announcement of a private citizen that he hoped to lead such a force.

Once the great decision of war was made, the overshadowing national problem became the choice of means for bringing the power of this Nation to bear upon the enemy. Plans vital to this end are being worked out with encouraging vigor. There is to be close cooperation with the governments already in the conflict; they are to have all the financial, industrial, and economic support which American resources can provide. Because of the character of their needs and the relative unpreparedness of the United States in other respects, these matters are the most urgent.

But the military program is likewise of vast extent. The Regular Army and the National Guard are to be enlisted to war strength—this will require about 300,000 men—and 500,000 troops in addition are to be raised by selective conscription. Yet it is the official judgment that none of the total force of more than 1,000,000 shall be sent into action for at least a year.

Practical reasons of undoubted weight are cited in support of this policy. It would mean, nevertheless, that for 12 months, perhaps the most critical of the war, America would be represented by its wealth, not by its citizenship; and it might mean that the flag of the world's greatest Republic would never reach the battle front at all.

No one, we suppose, has so imperfect an understanding of what the colossal struggle is that he believes the United States could soon add decisive strength to the armies now fighting in France. It must be conceded that we have neither the trained men sufficient to swing the balance nor the means of transporting them. But the fact remains that the sending of an American force to the front would have a moral effect translatable in military terms. The most serious reverse Prussianism has suffered since the battle of the Marne was the President's declaration to Congress a fortnight ago. Every word had the power of an armed host. And in the same way every American soldier in France would be multiplied, because his presence would signify to Germany and the world democracy's sentence of outlawry against autocracy.

It is for this reason, and not from visionary belief, that America can turn the tide in the field, that leaders in the European democracies hail the suggestion. A French statesman said recently:

"The moral factor involved would be more important than the military aid. This war is a struggle of liberal, progressive nations to overthrow a reactionary governmental system. It is of the highest moral importance that the United States, the most progressive power in the world, should be represented in this new army of crusaders."

"The appearance in Europe of even one American division," says Lord Northcliffe, "would be a sign and portent of America's devotion to the cause of freedom. France and the world will never forget the day when a division flying the Stars and Stripes shall make its way to the fighting line at Verdun or on the Meuse." Nearer still in sympathy with American ideals and understanding of the American character, Viscount Bryce states clearly the meaning of such a contribution:

"Even a small American force would have an immense moral effect. The German Government would see less hope than ever of success. The German people, hitherto deceived and kept in the dark by their rulers, would turn the sooner against the military class whose arrogance and cruelty, they would see, have turned the whole world against them."

Finally, American support of the idea has been powerfully expressed by Elihu Root, a citizen whose services as Secretary of War and Secretary of State will long outlive in memory his disservice in political affairs:

"One thing that ought to be done at the earliest possible day is to send an American army, great as it may be or small as it must be, to the battle lines of France and Belgium, so that the whole world will know that America is willing to fight for the principles of American freedom; so that the Stars and Stripes shall float beside the tricolor of France, the meteor flag of England, and the banner of the new Russian democracy; so that no one may have any doubt that we are willing to fight with our friends in a cause in which we have so much to gain and so much to lose."

There are, indubitably, objections to the plan. Pro-Germanism, which could exult over the *Lusitania* massacre, cloaks its hostility under pretended concern lest Americans "die in a European quarrel." Pacifism is aghast at the suggestion that the place to fight for justice is where its enemy seeks to slay it. And narrow-minded patriotism holds that the United States should wait until its territory, as well as its sovereignty, is invaded. But none of these pleas, whether of disloyal interest or sincere delusion, should deter the Nation from giving this convincing testimony of its championship of civilization.

Objections on military grounds are more serious and require careful consideration.

"For every trained man sent abroad at this time," says a War Department official "the Army will have been deprived of the services of a hundred trained men two years hence. The vital need is the raising of an immense army and the training of it. We can not neglect this work for the sake of sentiment." Great Britain, it is pointed out, nearly wrecked herself and her allies by sending her trained troops to the front at the beginning and depriving herself of their invaluable services for the training of the vast levies that were necessary.

The logic of this position is impressive, and if the factors in the problem were as rigid as represented there could be no question of undermining the Nation's resources and impairing its defenses in order to achieve any moral or psychological effect, however far-reaching it might be. But the difficulties had been foreseen and conquered. There was one man in the United States, and only one, who had the vision, the capacity, and the power of leadership to make possible the realization in this manner of America's ideals.

Theodore Roosevelt's accomplished plan for the raising of a division to serve in France has been but one item in his extraordinary service to his country during the war. It is but the concrete expression of that ardent spirit of patriotism and humanity that made his voice the voice of true Americanism when the soul of the nation was drugged with false doctrine. Yet it will be remembered of him that during all the months when he was championing, almost alone among our leaders, the cause of national rights and international justice and preaching the need of defensive preparedness he was tirelessly organizing a force that might carry the standard of his country to the field of honor.

Thus it was that when the inevitable war began he had ready for enlistment 22,000 picked men eager to prove their faith in him and in America even unto death. And thus it was that he could formulate a program which meets every objection raised against the proposal of an early expedition.

Having personally pledged his loyal service to the President and to all military commanders who should be placed over him, he was able to offer for dispatch within 60 to 90 days "an infantry division of three three-regiment brigades and one divisional brigade of cavalry, together with an artillery brigade, a regiment of engineers, a motor cycle machine-

gun regiment, an aero squadron, a signal corps, supply service, etc."—22,000 men selected from 100,000 applicants, every one fit to undergo intensive training in France for the grim work of the trenches.

No achievement of sheer leadership ever excelled this. But far more important is the fact that the plan of which this is a part would obviate the dangers justly feared by the military experts.

Col. Roosevelt urges the raising of 100,000 volunteers—to include his division—"not in the smallest degree as a substitute for, but as the necessary supplement to, the obligatory system." He would, moreover, have the enlistments restricted absolutely to men who would not be taken under the conscription law and could not be expected to enter the Regular Army or the Militia. Three Regular Army officers for each 1,000 men—66 officers in all—would be the trifling extent of his drain upon the experts whose services are vital in the creation of the main armies of the Republic.

From the day when Col. Roosevelt's plan was first made known it has been assailed by ignorance and partisanship. Critics sneered that he was "going off half-cocked"—and the answer is the revelation that his force is ready for mobilization within two months. They charged that he was embarrassing the Government, and the answer was his visit to the White House to offer loyal support and his powerful advocacy of the President's entire policy. They complained that he threatened to disrupt the military program of the General Staff, and the answer is a proposal which adds strength to it.

Sentiment and strategy alike urge that at the earliest day American patriotism and energy can accomplish it the flag of this Nation shall be in its appointed place on the firing line. For our sins of neglect and self-indulgence we must suffer the reproach of being unable to send it there with a force that would be decisive; but let us send it, if only as a symbol of our faith and high resolve! Let us send it in the spirit which Theodore Roosevelt has so splendidly interpreted:

"We owe this to humanity. We owe it to the small nations which have suffered such dreadful wrong from Germany. Most of all, we owe it to ourselves, to our national honor and self-respect. For the sake of our own souls, for the sake of the memories of the great Americans of the past, we must show that we do not intend to make this merely a dollar war. Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire. Let us without one hour's unnecessary delay put the American flag on the battle front in this great world war for democracy and civilization and for the reign of justice and fair dealing among the nations of mankind."

Letter from the Farmers' National Committee on War Finance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 30, 1917.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Farmers' National Committee on War Finance.

The letter is as follows:

FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON WAR FINANCE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

To the United States Congress.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: The farmers of this country affiliated with this committee, composed of members of the leading farm organizations of the country, are unqualifiedly in favor of a graduated income tax, as proposed by the American Committee on War Finance.

This being a war for democracy, we submit that the only way to finance the war democratically is on the pay-as-you-go plan, by conscripting the accumulated wealth and surplus incomes to pay the enormous money cost coincident with conscripting the young men to pay with their lives the enormous human sacrifice demanded to win the war. Any less democratic method of meeting the cost of the war will be considered by the farmers of the Nation unpatriotic and unworthy of this great Republic.

Respectfully submitted.

FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON WAR FINANCE,
By GEO. P. HAMPTON.

Americanize the Capital as a Wise Measure of War Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address delivered by Hon. Theodore W. Noyes, editor of the Washington Star, before the Washington Board of Trade on April 27, 1917.

The address is as follows:

AMERICANIZE THE CAPITAL AS A WISE MEASURE OF WAR PREPAREDNESS.

Washingtonians have been urging a constitutional amendment which shall give them the status of citizens of a State for the purpose only of representation in Congress and the Electoral College. They now urge only an amendment which, as an irreducible minimum of justice, shall empower Congress, in its discretion, to give them this status.

War is upon us. World issues and vital national questions absorb attention.

Is this a time to redress the Capital's political grievances?

Yes, says Washington. To Americanize the political aliens of the District of Columbia is to do justice and to relieve the Nation of reproach and shame—achievements which, like the motion to adjourn, are always in order. And not only in a general, but in a special sense is this Americanizing process peculiarly opportune, in that it reflects the very thought and spirit of the times and is an integral part of the legislation which springs naturally from the patriotic impulse toward true preparedness.

TO AMERICANIZE CAPITAL PECULIARLY OPPORTUNE.

The dominating thought to-night concerns vitalized Americanism; patriotic self-sacrifice in war-preparedness; a quickening and intensifying everywhere of the fine, strong spirit of American nationality. In these days of exalted Americanism Washingtonians are in the front rank of devoted Americans. They have ever been foremost when Americanism meant loss instead of benefit, when to be Americans meant to place both sacrifice of treasure and blood sacrifice upon the Nation's altar.

I do not now emphasize the unique patriotic service which Washingtonians have rendered, far surpassing in this respect all other Americans, in the creation, maintenance, and upbuilding of the National Capital. To-night I compare them with other Americans solely on the basis of the degree in which they and others have respectively met the general patriotic obligation that is common to all.

WASHINGTON'S NATIONAL TAXES.

Washingtonians have paid their proportion of every national tax, direct or indirect, from the birth of the Nation. The only national taxes that fall directly and in ascertainable amounts upon Americans are the internal-revenue taxes, including the excise and income taxes. In total contribution in 1914 to these taxes Washington exceeds 22 of the States, though it exceeds in population only 6 of them. Its contribution is greater than those of 9 of the States combined. The Washingtonians' per capita contribution to these national taxes is greater than that of the citizens of 36 of the States.

WASHINGTON'S BLOOD SACRIFICE.

Washingtonians have risked life and shed their blood in every national war. To preserve the Union the first volunteers came from the capital, and Washingtonians supplied a greater percentage of troops in excess of their quota than nearly every State in the Union. In the War with Spain they sent to Cuba a fine regiment exceeding their quota in numbers. The same response was made when the summons to the Mexican border came. At that time the percentage of men of military age enrolled in the Organized Militia was greater in the District than in any State in the Union. Washington sent more soldiers to the border than 22 of the States.

In war to-day no other American community responds more enthusiastically and effectively to the call to arms and universal service. They are eager volunteers of money for war through the Red Cross and other agencies, and of personal service through enlistment in Army, Navy, National Guard, or Home Defense League. They show patriotic readiness to bear the burden of conscription, whether in the shape of taxes imposed on lines which cause the District of Columbia to contribute more per capita than three-fourths of the States and more absolutely than nine of the States combined, or in the shape of universal personal service and the selective draft.

To every demand of devotion and self-sacrifice made upon Americans Washington has rendered, is rendering, and will always render full, hearty, and unstinted response.

NATIONAL BURDENS IMPOSED; RIGHTS DENIED.

In genuine representative governments rights and privileges are inseparably wedded to obligations and responsibilities. How do the Washingtonians, thus burdened with national obligations, fare in respect to American rights and privileges?

Before the judicial branch of the National Government they are, the United States Supreme Court says, less than aliens in the right to sue and be sued.

In relation to representation in the legislative branch and by the executive branch of the National Government they are on the same footings as aliens.

They are good enough Americans to pay taxes and go to war, but not good enough Americans to be represented in the Congress which taxes them and sends them to war.

In relation to national taxes, their sole function is to pay. They have nothing to say, like other national taxpayers, concerning the amount and kind of taxes they shall pay and how the tax money shall be spent.

In relation to national war their sole function is to fight in obedience to command. They have no voice, like other Americans, in the councils which determine war or peace. They have no representation in the Government which requires them to fight, to bleed, and, perhaps, to die.

In all the expanse of the continental and contiguous United States, from ocean to ocean, from Canada to Mexico, every Territory has been exalted into Statehood, and the District of Columbia is the only remaining American community whose people are still compulsory occupants of the national hospital for politically defective and delinquent Americans.

NO EXCUSE OF NATIONAL NECESSITY.

These gross discriminations against the Americans of the District of Columbia find no excuse in national impotency or national necessity.

The suggestion that the Nation is impotent to cure this evil is an insult to American character and capacity. No other nation in the world degrades in national representation the people of its capital below the residents of its other cities.

These discriminations are not necessary to the constitutional control by Congress of the 10 miles square. Correction of them, Americanizing the District of Columbia, does not destroy or diminish that control. Representation by 1 out of 436 in the House and by 1 out of 97 or 2 out of 98 in the Senate would obviously fall short of giving the

District control of Congress. So small a tail could never wag so large a dog.

To give this national representation to the Washingtonians works no change in the local government or in the financial relation of Nation to capital. Exclusive power is still in the hands of Congress representing the Nation, and the change merely makes the District politically a part of the Nation and gives the 360,000 Americans in the District representation in that Congress.

Even this change is not made directly and immediately by the constitutional amendment for which, as the minimum of justice, we are now petitioning. No representation whatever is given by the amendment itself. It merely empowers Congress in its discretion, at the fitting time, to grant to the Washingtonians this measure of national representation.

Congress now has the power to grant full national representation to the people of a new State, and the nominal representation of a voteless Delegate in the House to the residents of a Territory. Is there any incongruity or evil or danger in granting to Congress the closely related power of giving this limited representation in their National Government to the Americans of the District of Columbia?

The present condition convicts the Nation of a paradoxical inconsistency, inequity, un-Americanism, unpatriotic unpreparedness.

It involves injustice to the capital and shame to the Nation.

PARADOXICAL INCONSISTENCY.

How can the Nation with consistency and self-respect tax these 360,000 intelligent, public-spirited Americans of the capital and send them to war as patriotic Americans and at the same time slur and degrade their Americanism by keeping them unnecessarily in the same category as aliens in relation to all branches of the National Government?

The Americanism to which the Nation confidently appeals in these times that stir men's souls must not be, through the Nation's neglect or fault, a stunted, dwarfed, distorted Americanism in respect to any of the Republic's sons who rush to arms in the Nation's defense.

The shock of war electrifies the Americanism of the Nation as well as the individual, of Americans collectively as well as individually.

Will not the Nation, now demanding of the individual a purer, higher, stronger Americanism, respond on the instant to its own appeal and thoroughly Americanize itself?

SAVIORS ABROAD; CRUCIFIERS AT HOME.

In the impressive and inspiring words of President Wilson: "We are glad * * * to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included. * * * The right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

Washingtonians are among "those who submit to authority." Are not all Americans then fighting in this war for the Washingtonians' right "to have a voice in their own government"? Or is there an implied proviso in our proclamation which causes us to fight in this war to establish representative government everywhere in the world except in the Capital of the great representative Republic?

Surely the Washingtonians who go to war in response to their country's call do not shed their blood or lay down their lives to secure representative government for everybody else in all the world except themselves.

America will, as a matter of course, first liberate and give representative government to all her sons, Washingtonians included, before sending them forth to fight to bestow these vital privileges upon the rest of mankind.

The purpose of the war is to substitute democracy for autocracy everywhere. Let us make a beginning by substituting democracy for autocracy in the National Government of the Nation's city.

Shall we applaud representative government in Russia, urge it upon the people of Germany, go to war to establish it in all the world—and then spit upon, mock, and crucify the principle of representative government in the Capital of our great self-governing Republic?

If the Nation and Capital are to be the saviors of representative government abroad, they will surely not remain its crucifiers at home.

UNPATRIOTIC UNPREPAREDNESS.

Preparedness, like patriotism, is in the air and in the universal thought.

The Nation is physically unprepared for war. Its muscles are untrained and flabby. It does not know how to use weapons of offense or defense. It does not know how to concentrate, coordinate, and effectively apply its whole strength. It has not organized its powers and resources.

The Nation, faced with war, is struggling desperately to overcome this unpreparedness.

But there is an unpreparedness of mind and of spirit as well as of muscles and sinews. Obviously a nation would be unprepared in spirit to enter a war to destroy slavery in another hemisphere if it held a portion of its own people in slavery at home. Clearly an army composed in part of slaves is unprepared in spirit to fight for freedom for somebody else.

Is the United States prepared in spirit to fight as the champion of world democracy against autocracy and of representative against despotic irresponsible government when it tolerates the autocratic nonrepresentative government of its own Capital under its own exclusive control?

America, like the crusaders of old, is an armed knight who goes forth to battle in the cause of representative government. This champion of democracy against autocracy protects himself from head to foot in the armor of tested republicanism. But in this process of preparedness for battle he omits, strangely enough, the breastplate of republicanism which should protect his heart from the thrusts of autocracy.

In place of Achilles of old, invulnerable except as to his heel, is our modern Achilles, invulnerable except as to his heart.

No more striking exhibit of supreme unpreparedness could be imagined.

AN UNCONCEALABLE NATIONAL SHAME.

Un-Americanism at the American Capital is startlingly unexpected and incongruous.

The exposure of a shameful national disfigurement is here most glaringly conspicuous. It can not be hid. It is like a saber slash across the face or a brand burned deep on cheek or brow.

An evil condition maintained by the Nation at the Nation's Capital is rightly viewed as typical and characteristic. The shame is national, not local.

Autocratic nonrepresentative government in the only American territory governed exclusively by the Nation brands the Nation itself distinctly and indelibly as un-American. As is the Nation's city so is the Nation. The Capital is the Nation's heart. If the Republic is tainted with un-Americanism at its heart, the whole of the body politic is thus tainted.

Washington's slave pen in time of civil war thus branded the Nation itself with the shame of slavery, and to rid itself of this reproach the Nation freed first of all through compensated emancipation the slaves of the Nation's city. First to destroy slavery of the body, the National Capital is the last to free political slaves. All of Washington is retained by the Nation as a political slave pen, in which dwell Americans who are political aliens. Shall not the slave pen of to-day be emptied like the old?

The shame of un-Americanism at the National Capital is thus national and unconcealable. It is flaunted before all the world. As the counterpart of Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter A, America exposes upon its breast a black letter U, proclaiming itself in its Capital "Un-Republican, un-Democratic, un-American." For the Washingtonian politically the black U stands for "Unclean, unclean, unclean," the warning cry of Americans tainted with the political leprosy of non-Americanism.

AMENDMENT TIMELY AND VITAL.

Consistency and justice; national pride and self-respect; the will to efface a shameful blot from the national escutcheon; the spirit of true Americanism and righteous hatred of autocracy in any guise; the patriotic impulse toward full preparedness of the Nation as the champion of democracy and representative government everywhere in the world—all combine to make irresistible at this very moment our appeal for the adoption of this amendment.

Washingtonians will not fight less vigorously and enthusiastically for their country if these grossly unjust discriminations, slurring and degrading their Americanism, are not immediately corrected.

But should the Nation take advantage of this unselfish patriotic devotion to perpetuate an evil springing from its own unpatriotic neglect, from its own lack of appreciation of the requirements of the spirit of true Americanism? Should not the Nation, irrespective of the just pleas of the Washingtonians and purely as a national concern, abolish the evil and injury-working paradox of nonrepresentative un-American government of the National Capital territory under exclusive national control? At a time when all Americans are thrilling in response to the appeal for a purer, higher, stronger Americanism and for a more devoted and self-sacrificing spirit of American nationality will not the Nation insist, in accordance with the spirit of the times and in its own vital interest, that there shall no longer exist at the very heart of the body politic this foul abscess of non-Americanism? Surgical relief to the Nation from this threat of blood poisoning is an essential war measure, an urgent patriotic task. Cut it out unflinchingly! Cut it out at once!

Aeronautics.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 1, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, we have just concluded the consideration of House bill 3071, making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies for the Military and Naval Establishments, among which I am glad to note $43,450,000 for military aviation; $760,000 for antiaircraft guns, and $1,640,000 for ammunition therefor; and $11,000,000 for naval aviation; or a total of $56,850,000, as compared with $18,000,000 appropriated in the last Congress.

In this connection, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to put in the RECORD the very admirable article by Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary, chairman of the National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, appearing recently in the Army and Navy News, San Francisco, Cal.:

A DEPARTMENT OF AERONAUTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES AS PROVIDED BY THE SHEPPARD-HULBERT BILL.

The most vital and immediate matter in our national preparedness is air preparedness. In this at the present time we are not only deficient—we are absolutely lacking—and yet the United States gave flight to the world.

The remedy for this extremely dangerous condition is the immediate creation by Congress of a separate independent department of aeronautics with one of the biggest executives the country can produce at its head, to have full and undivided control of the upbuilding of a great air service for the Nation.

Our air service is now handled partly by the Army and partly by the Navy. This manner—it can not be called system—is inherently wrong. It means divided and dispersed responsibility. It means diversion of officers from the imperative work of their respective departments at this crucial time. It means that aeronautics is the last and least of the numerous duties devolving upon these officers.

An air fleet for the United States is a too intensely vital matter to be handled by boards or commissions or different departments, by diluted authority or divided attention. It must be handled by concentrated undivided one-man control and responsibility. This is the method which built the Panama Canal after 400 years of fussing, and it is the only way.

Air preparedness for the United States centers and hinges on the creation of a new Government department of aeronautics. Bills for

the creation of such department have already been introduced in the present Congress. Congressman HULBERT, of New York, and Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, introduced identical bills in the House and Senate. These bills are modeled on the bills which created the Department of Commerce and Labor some years ago, and later the new Department of Labor. There is reason to believe these bills have the approval of the President. The support of strong men in both Houses, from the East, the Middle West, and the Pacific coast, is already assured. The next immediate step is to secure sufficient additional support to insure the speedy enactment of these bills into law.

The building of an air fleet for this country can then be undertaken at once and pushed to rapid materialization. Individuals and organizations can do no more effective work for preparedness than by using the wires and mails to urge every Congressman and Senator to use his influence and efforts to support these bills.

Collier's of March 24 has the following:

"Our Army and Navy are virtually blind. We have less than 200 trained aviators in the service. These 200 will be busy training other men to fly. We have not a single aeroplane equipped with a gun. We have had to refuse 2,000 applications from men who wished to enlist in the Aerial Reserve Corps authorized by President Wilson last summer because we had no way of handling them. What are we going to do about it?"

According to information obtained from the Government and published in February of this year, there were in service in the Navy 37 seaplanes, 53 officers, and 163 enlisted men. In the Army, 73 machines, 96 officers, and 600 enlisted men.

On the other hand, Germany, France, and Great Britain are said to have some 10,000 aeroplanes each in commission, and it is said that the personnel of the French air service numbers more officers and men than our entire Army.

In the matter of grasp of the importance of the new service as shown by expenditures of various countries the contrast is equally striking.

A single illustration will suffice. Canada is to expend $80,000,000 this present year in building a great air fleet.

Our total appropriations for aeronautics last year were about $18,000,000 and for this year the same.

In round numbers, $80,000,000 for Canada in one year and less than $40,000,000 for us in two years. One-fourth of the amount of our next-door neighbor, with a population less than the State of New York.

The immediate needs of this country are:

First. A strong aero coast patrol and defense system along our entire coasts from Eastport, Me., to Brownsville, Tex., and from San Diego, Cal., to Cape Flattery, Wash. A national burglar alarm, as it were, around the entire country.

A year ago, in a public address which has since been printed as a United States document, I stated that "we should have at the very minimum not less than 2,000 seaplanes ready for duty on the Atlantic coast and an equal number on the Pacific; 5,000 on each coast would be better."

On the 5th of last February the Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, of which I have the honor to be the chairman, wrote to the President stating, among other things, that 1,000 aeroplanes along our Atlantic coast would increase the efficiency of our coast protection 200 to 300 per cent.

Second. We need an efficient air patrol for every mile of our Mexican frontier, a line four times as long as the present European western battle front. Had there been a dozen aviators and serviceable planes at Columbus when Villa made his raid he would have been located and captured within a week.

Third. We need antiaircraft defense for our great cities. There should be immediate and energetic action to protect our great cities from the possibility of almost indescribable destruction from air raids. Paris furnishes a good example of such defenses.

These defenses include numerous expert aviators, with swift armed planes; numerous antiaircraft guns, capable of throwing a shell 4 miles into the air, mounted in and around the city, some of them on cars that can be transferred rapidly on the city electric lines; numerous powerful searchlights to cover the air above the city with a network of light; sensitive microphones to detect the sound of an approaching propeller; the whole system connected by telephone and wireless with controls in secret underground chambers like the mine casemates of a fortified harbor.

These are the three principal items of immediate permanent air equipment. In addition to these we need seaplanes for the use of our fleets and aeroplanes for our coming great Army.

One thing should be recognized and borne constantly in mind—that while this immediate air preparedness is for a present military emergency, the money and effort expended on our air service will all count toward a great peace air service, toward the commercial air development which is surely coming at the close of the war, and in which the United States, the mother of flight, should have no difficulty, with her resources and inventive genius, in securing and retaining supremacy.

This peace air service means the carrying of mails; the transportation of passengers and express material; the life-saving patrol of our coasts, with a speed, thoroughness, and cheapness far beyond our present Coast Guard and Revenue Services.

England and France have built up the great air services which they now have under the adverse conditions of the greatest war in history. Previous to the war they had divided and uncoordinated control in their air work. The inexorable logic of war has forced them to create a concentrated and undivided control under one-man power.

The climate of the Pacific coast, with its astonishingly large number of flying days in a year, makes it ideally adapted for the location of great aviation training schools and manufacturing plants.

This fact, and the deep and practical interest of your manufacturing concerns and aeronautic organizations, should insure the Pacific coast a leading place in the air industry of the country; but to insure this position a department of aeronautics, which can recognize the importance of these conditions, and which has the power to encourage and increase them, is a sine quo non.

With a separate department of aeronautics with a man like Gen. Goethals at its head, with the experience of Great Britain and France to guide us, we can have a great air fleet in a year. Under the present system we may never have it.

If we should be crippled or seriously injured by the superior air fleets of a hostile nation, would it not be superlative irony and tragedy that we should be struck down by a weapon which we ourselves forged?

It would be like the eagle from Aesop's fable—pierced by an arrow feathered from his own wing.

The Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON.
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 30, 1917.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to place before the House a notable tribute in verse to the flag of our country, written by Mr. Charles G. Crellin, of Michigan:

THE FLAG.

Stars of the early dawning set in a field of blue,
Stripes of the sunrise splendor, crimson and white of hue;
Flag of our father's fathers born on the field of strife,
Phoenix of fiery battle risen from human life,
Given for God and freedom sacred indeed the trust
Left by the countless thousands returned to the silent dust.

Flag of a mighty nation waving aloft unfurled
Kissed by the sun of heaven, caressed by the winds o' the world;
Greater than kingly power, greater than all mankind,
Conceived in the need of the hour, inspired by the Master Mind.
Over the living children, over the laureled grave,
Streaming on high in the cloudless sky, banner our fathers gave.

Flag of a new-born era, token of every right,
Wrung from a tyrant power, unawed by a tyrant's might;
Facing again the menace outflung from a foreign shore,
Meeting again the challenge as met in the years before;
Under thy spangled folds thy children await to give
All that they have or are that the flag they love shall live.

—Charles G. Crellin.

Fort Huron, Mich.

Selective Conscription—Militarism a Menace to Democracy—Is Labor to be Enslaved?—How About the Constitution?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, one more vicious attack on the spirit of American liberty! One more deadly insult to the patriotism and intelligence of American manhood! One more abject and miserable surrender to the wiles and influences that Washington foresaw and warned us against in these immortal words:

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

Selective conscription, you call this bill? Who is to do the selecting? Who are they going to select? Who are they going to let go? You passed a bill the other day giving the recruiting officers and press gangs of foreign monarchies right and power to come over here and enlist their subjects, and I presume these same enlisters or recruiters are going to teach our recruiters the gentle art of pressing as it is done across the water. I saw in the Evening Star of Tuesday, April 24, an article whose headline read "Gen. Bridges Tells of British Errors," and then the article went on to state that the volunteer system had failed in England. Well, suppose it did fail in England? Does that mean it will fail here? Has it ever failed here in the past? Did it fail at Lexington in 1775? Did it fail at New Orleans in 1815? Did it fail at Gettysburg or Santiago?

Mr. Speaker, every battle that ever was fought by American soldiers or sailors on land or sea; every victory an American Army or Navy ever won was fought by volunteers. Does any Member of this House seriously believe that we have deterio-

rated? I for one believe that the young and virile manhood of America is just as ready to fight and die for America to-day as they ever were. I know that the State of Wisconsin will furnish her full quota of husky scrappers, and a surplus if necessary, and I have absolute faith that every other State in the Union will do its fair share without the persuasion of a press gang.

What Wisconsin has done in the past and what she is ready to do in this present is clearly and patriotically expressed in the following telegram from the Hon. E. L. Phillip, governor of Wisconsin:

MADISON, WIS., *April 18, 1917.*

Hon. WM. J. CARY, M. C.
Washington, D. C.:

In reply to an inquiry by the New York American on the question of conscription I sent them the following wire to-day:

"I favor universal military training and the National Guard system, but not militarism in the European sense. I am opposed to conscription as advocated by the Military Staff. If we will adhere to the volunteer plan we will raise an Army more promptly and give patriotic men an opportunity to show their loyalty to the country, and we shall have the fighting spirit in our Army, which, in my judgment, is necessary to wage war successfully. As to conscription at the present time, I believe it is both unwise and unnecessary. This State stands ready to furnish 20,000 men on 30 days' notice and such additional troops thereafter as the needs of the country will require if the President will so order and the War Department will provide equipment. During the Civil War Wisconsin, with a population of only 800,000, gave Lincoln 91,000 men. The patriotic spirit of the sixties still lives here, and it is unnecessary to call Wisconsin's men to the flag by compulsory act.

E. L. PHILLIP, *Governor.*

That the Americans of German birth and descent in Wisconsin will prove as loyal to-day as they always were in the past ought not to require any new proof, but I will insert here an article from the Germania-Herold of April 7, a Republican newspaper printed in the German language in Milwaukee:

WAR!

The Constitution of the United States lays down for our country its form of government.

Ours is a representative government. That is to say, the Constitution in none of its provisions recognizes the referendum, the right of participation by the people through direct specific ballot. Neither does the Constitution direct that the representatives in Congress, in the Senate or in the House, submit to the prevailing wishes of their constituents. These representatives, on the contrary, are given the right to decide upon the weal and woe of the country according to their own conviction.

So they acted within their rights in proclaiming a state of war, whatever may have been the wish of the people at that particular moment.

We, the citizens of the United States, ourselves drew up this Constitution, and have voluntarily subjected ourselves to its provisions. Consequently we must abide by the decision of Congress.

Opponents to the step Congress now has taken hold the view that it was not to the interest of the United States to enter the European war; that, furthermore, circumstances did not warrant war; and, finally, that the Nation owed it to its own sense of justice to exercise forbearance to the other side after having accorded it to the one side.

Especially did the opponents of the war emphasize that British influences on the Nation, resulting from the identity of language, as well as from their control of the cable service, operated against a correct judgment as to the best interests of America.

Whatever these influences may have been, however, the fact remains that Congress, under the provisions of the Constitution, acted according to its own judgment in the best interests of the Nation, and that every citizen must, and will, submit to this decision as the decision of the court of last resort.

* * * * * * *

Many citizens, before this decision was reached, felt obliged to give assurances of their loyalty. Such action could only emanate from the mistaken notion that there were citizens who were not Americans in the fullest meaning of the word.

The case is different for those who are stepping from civil life into military service, thereby accepting new duties under new conditions. These with raised hand and throbbing heart take the new oath of allegiance. May thousands upon thousands do their duty in this manner within the next months.

To further indicate the readiness of Americans of German blood to show their loyalty, let me insert here a record of enlistments in Milwaukee on April 11, from the Milwaukee Free Press, and also a clipping on the same subject:

THE DAY'S RECRUITS.

After establishing a record of enlistments that put even Chicago to shame, "recruiting row" in the Plankinton Arcade Tuesday exerted every effort to avoid the slump that almost inevitably comes after a marked achievement. The purpose which inspired every worker in the intensified campaign was productive of results, and when the day's work was over the military services of the United States were swelled by 52 stalwart Wisconsin boys. The young men who helped Milwaukee maintain its position as a premier recruiting city follow:

THE ARMY.

Alfred Chatell, Milwaukee; G. W. Reese, Milwaukee; Charles Sauerssig, Milwaukee; F. A. Stondall, Milwaukee; John Tidd, Milwaukee; Charles Ware, Milwaukee.

THE NAVY.

Regulars: N. H. Rowlingson, 311 Washington Street; G. E. Hauschewitz, 1163 Twenty-first Street; R. F. Waterman, 537 Sixty-eighth street; Arthur H. Jackson, Norway, Mich.; William H. Parker, 919 Newhall Street; L. L. Paul, 722 Galena Street; Albert A. Callies, Oshkosh; J. J. Prondzinski, Winona, Minn.; Louis P. Kropp, Racine; Lewis C. Rusch, Oconto; Aloysius Majchrzak, Rollins; James H. Doyle, Seattle; Arthur W. De Muyser, Green Bay; Raymond O. Hussong, Greenleaf; C. W. Newberry, Madison.

Reserves: Elmer B. Scribner, Sheboygan; William N. Perry, Racine; E. H. Krahn, 1560 Oklahoma Avenue; F. P. Ternes, 506 Twenty-fifth Street; J. L. Hanratty, 477 Fourteenth Avenue; Joseph Tonferes, Breed; P. E. Thorpe, 734 Thirty-third Street; H. H. Seybold, Lake Geneva; Alex S. Becker, West Bend; Walter L. Gottschall, Chicago.

THE NATIONAL GUARD.

Company F: F. J. Sieber, 3608 North Avenue; W. J. Wren, 2619 St. Paul Avenue.

Company D: Joseph Marifke, South Milwaukee; Raymond T. Friel, Milwaukee; Stanley Krysinski, Milwaukee.

Company E: Arthur D. Boyd, Lancaster, Pa.

Signal Company: L. Komarek, 1014 Cambridge Avenue.

Field Artillery: A. K. Schoenke, 1229 Fourteenth Street; G. A. Koch, 834 Downer Avenue; R. E. Gerhard, 840 Downer Avenue.

Cavalry: R. Heinz, Fifty-third and Blue Mound Road; M. Guse, St. Francis; Arthur Hartel, Milwaukee; L. Patterson, 2627 Cold Spring Avenue.

The motor ambulance: Dr. H. S. Sargeant, Wauwatosa; W. I. Pitt, 411 Fifteenth Avenue; C. A. Geroulx, Waukesha; T. Montgomery, St. Joseph's Hospital; John Pensen, Wales; G. W. Williams, 859 Astor Street; O. W. Webber, 694 Cramer Street.

GERMANS PROVE LOYAL—MORE READY TO ENLIST THAN MEN OF OTHER DESCENT, FIGURES SHOW.

That men of German descent are demonstrating their loyalty more than men of other nationalities was shown by figures compiled by the Navy recruiting official of Milwaukee. Out of 250 applicants examined for enlistment, by classifying the men as to nationality when either one of the parents or both were born in a foreign country, the following results were obtained:

German, 37 per cent.
American, 34 per cent.
Norwegian, 7 per cent.
Polish, 5 per cent.
Canadian, 3 per cent.
Danish, 3 per cent.
Irish, 1 per cent.
Scattering, 10 per cent.

Out of 154 applicants for admission to the Navy, 57 were the sons of parents born in Germany and only 9 were sons of parents born in countries now fighting Germany.

TIME TO STOP TALK.

The above figures were compiled by Lieut. Frank Chapman and was a surprise to Army and Navy officers.

"I think it is about time to shut off all talk about who is and who is not patriotic when reference to foreign born or children of foreign born is made," declared Lieut. Chapman. "These figures are a surprise to every one of us. They certainly do not put the son of the native American in a pleasant light."

I asked a moment ago whether the volunteer system had ever failed, and now I ask another question, and that is, Has a draft ever succeeded?

History records that when a draft was proposed in 1812 New England threatened to secede, and there are men still living who can recall the draft riots of New York during the Civil War. I say to you in all solemnity that you are not going to get either good soldiers or efficient service by any such un-American methods. Give American boys a good leader and a righteous cause and they will storm the gates of hell. You can lead Americans everywhere; but if I know the plain people of my country, and I think I do, you will find it a pretty stiff job to drive them anywhere.

And the worst feature of this measure is the avenues it opens to rank favoritism, brutal tyranny, and unjust discrimination. If it were an out-and-out universal military-service act, compelling every male citizen to do his share of service, with no chance for favoritism, I would gladly support the measure, for it would at least put every American on a par, but selective conscription—shades of Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln forgive us the sacrilege we are committing! Selective conscription indeed; discriminatory draft would be a fitter name. Can not any intelligent man see how the measure will be carried out. The rich man, the fellow with the pull, the one who would be a slacker under the volunteer system will be a slacker still.

Expecting some such measure as this, I introduced on April 13, 1917, a resolution indicating some of the types that ought by right to be conscripted first, and I will insert this resolution here:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 51) instructing the Secretary of War to make certain selections of recruits under the proposed conscription law.

Whereas the resources of our country will be taxed to the utmost during the coming war and all available labor will be needed on the farm and in the workshops of the United States; and

Whereas it is proposed to raise an army by selective conscription: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That upon the adoption of a regulation to conscript by selection the War Department be instructed to select the first recruits from among such male citizens of the proper military age who are officers or members of the New York Stock Exchange or of any other similar body, or who are officials in banks, lawyers, magazine editors, and other citizens engaged in nonproductive pursuits.

I have received a great many letters in reference to this resolution, and while most have been favorable a number have come from the Wall Street section which have been amusingly abusive and show very plainly that the very thought of real field service is sending chills and fever through the systems of a whole bunch of these natural born shirkers. I will insert a little squib from the New York Sun of April 14:

GOSSIP OF WALL STREET—SLACKERS AND COWARDS.

Probably Representative CARY, of Wisconsin, is making himself believe that the men of Wall Street are slackers and cowards and that they are responsible for the war and are urging its active prosecution in the interest of their own pocketbooks. Like many of our inferior Congressmen, he talks of the Street without knowledge, and argues along the same lines as the vigilance committees of olden days, who believed in hanging first and trying afterwards. Be that as it may, Representative CARY says he is in deadly earnest about the "slackers" of Wall Street, and he therefore has introduced a resolution in Congress which doubtless will bring consternation to these "slackers" and make the Street all atremble, because the measure states that in raising an army by selective conscription the first selection should be made from such male citizens of proper military age as are officers or members of the New York Stock Exchange. But the Hon. CARY does not stop at exchange members. He urges that bank officers, lawyers, and magazine editors likewise should be among the first to be manhandled by the military press gang. Such men, he opines, are nonproducers. And he might add the remark of a woolly rural visitor to the stock exchange who, when he looked down from the gallery upon the apparently crazy men below, said: "They ain't worth hanging."

My resolution did not in any way insinuate that the Wall Street gang were cowards or slackers, but the writer of this squib, who is doubtless familiar with the bunch, immediately saw that imputation and gave another proof of the old adage, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." I also note in this little squib the cynical reference to my desire to see "nonproducers manhandled by a military press gang"; well, he is correct enough in that assumption. If we are going to have press gangs driving unwilling Americans with the butt end of their muskets into training camps, I would much rather see them exercise their brutal prerogatives on any of the nonproducing parasites of society than to see that same press gang drag the hard-working, producing sons of workingmen and farmers from their humble homes to be driven into an army of conscripts and then possibly shanghaied across the ocean to fight alongside of other conscripts and be ordered around by some scion of an effete aristocracy who bought his commission and knows less about soldiering than even the members of the Wall Street bunch.

What conscriptive militarism will mean in the future, what peril there is in fastening such a hideous monstrosity upon our plain people is almost impossible to estimate, but I say to you that in passing this infamous bill democracy is following the footsteps of Frankenstein in the weird story of Mrs. Shelley, and is creating a monster that will destroy it. Let me quote here an editorial from the Irish World of April 28:

MILITARISM A MENACE TO DEMOCRACY.

Our Government has professedly entered the war to further the cause of democracy and to crush militarism. Yet at home the first fruits of our efforts are the restriction of free speech, free press, and free assembly, and the starting of a military system which may well make any European militarist turn green with envy. Can we then further the cause of democracy by undemocratic methods? Can we crush militarism by turning the Nation into an armed camp? Can we introduce universal peace by forcibly suppressing all who disagree with us? Is not this procedure like invoking Satan to cast out sin?

In the name of peace and democracy we are to enforce upon the country "selective conscription." Conscription has proven itself a curse to every country that has tried it. Viewed from the physical side, it has constituted an enormous and exhausting tax; from the mental side, it is a machine for crushing individual initiative and independent thinking a machine for turning free-born men into automatic servants of the ruling class; while from the moral side, it has entailed consequences unfit for discussion in this paper.

But if plain conscription be a curse, "selective conscription" is an utter abomination. "Selective conscription" is what David practiced when he sent Bathsheba's husband to the front, but the Bible does not use so fancy a name for his deed. When David's act is repeated a hundred thousandfold, does it become more respectable, more democratic?

The free States in the British Empire—Australia and Canada—have refused conscription. Germany, whose militarism we are to crush, has a law forbidding the sending of conscript soldiers beyond the seas. Our own free land is being driven to do not only what Australia and Canada have refused to do, but the very thing which military Germany has refused to do. And our "servants" do this to us in our name, without consulting us, without even giving us an opportunity to protest. What are we coming to?

It seems, indeed, full time that the American people should awake to the menace of militarism to democracy. The American people assuredly love freedom and treasure democracy. To safeguard them it is necessary to crush militarism at home. To crush militarism at home is not only the best service but the biggest service we can render to humanity in the campaign against militarism everywhere.

While we are listening to the advice of agents of the British monarchical empire on the draft system, suppose we turn for a moment to American history and see what that giant intellect, Daniel Webster, had to say on the same subject. I quote some extracts of a speech delivered in the House of Representatives when a draft bill was introduced in 1812:

That measures of this nature should be debated at all, in the councils of a free Government, is a cause of dismay. The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered and despotism embraced in its worst form.

* * * * * * *

Is this, sir, consistent with the character of a free government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, sir; indeed it is not. The Constitution is libeled, foully libeled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasures and their own blood a Magna Charta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained that you may take children from their parents and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war which the folly or the wickedness of government may engage in? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous and baleful aspect, to trample down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life, and even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous Government may require it? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free goverment and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free government. It is an attempt to show, by proof and argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism and that we have a right to chains and bondage, firmly secured to us and our children by the provisions of our Government. It has been the labor of other men at other times to mitigate and reform the powers of government by construction, to support the rights of personal security by every species of favorable and benign interpretation, and thus to infuse a free spirit into governments not friendly in their general structure and formation to public liberty.

The supporters of the measures before us act on the opposite principle. It is their task to raise arbitrary powers, by construction, out of a plain written charter of national liberty. It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion which we have fondly cherished that we are the subjects of a mild, free, and limited Government, and to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises and conclusions that Government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort of misery than has been exercised by any civilized government, with one exception, in modern times.

* * * * * * *

I would ask, sir, whether the supporters of these measures have well weighed the difficulties of their undertaking. Have they considered whether it will be found easy to execute laws which bear such marks of despotism on their front, and which will be so productive of every sort and degree of misery in their execution. For one, sir, I hesitate not to say that they can not be executed. No law professedly passed for the purpose of compelling a service in the Regular Army, not any law which under color of military draft shall compel men to serve in the Army, not for the emergencies mentioned in the Constitution, but for long periods and for the general objects of war, can be carried into effect. The operation of measures thus unconstitutional and illegal ought to be prevented by a resort to other measures which are both constitutional and legal. It will be the solemn duty of the State governments to protect their own authority over their own militia, and to interpose between their citizens and arbitrary power. These are among the objects for which the State governments exist, and their highest obligations bind them to the preservation of their own rights and the liberties of their people. I express the sentiments here, sir, because I shall express them to my constituents. Both they and myself live under a Constitution which teaches us that "the doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind." With the same earnestness with which I now exhort you to forbear from these measures, I shall exhort them to exercise their unquestionable right of providing for the security of their liberties.

In my opinion, sir, the sentiments of the free population of this country are greatly mistaken here. The Nation is not yet in a temper to submit to conscription. The people have too fresh and strong a feeling of the blessings of civil liberty to be willing thus to surrender it. You may talk to them as much as you please of the victory and glory to be obtained in the enemy's Provinces; they will hold those objects in light estimation, if the means be a forced military service. You may sing to them the song of Canada, conquest in all its variety, but they will not be charmed out of the remembrance of their substantial interests and true happiness. Similar pretenses, they know, are the graves in which the liberties of other nations have been buried and they will take warning.

Laws, sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad like the fabled serpents' teeth, they will spring up into armed men. A military force can not be raised in this manner, but by the means of a military force. If the administration has found that it can not form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it can not enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our government.

Reading this speech and studying carefully the Constitution, one is compelled to ask whether conscription does not violate the thirteenth amendment, and is it not an attempt to enslave labor?

Mr. Speaker, this bill ought to be buried so deep that it would be forgotten before it was even fully known. It was "conceived in iniquity and born in sin." It will fasten the burden of militarism on unborn generations. We claim that we are going into this war in the cause of democracy, and then we proceed to put democracy in our own country in steel handcuffs. We profess that we are fighting militaristic junkerdom in Germany, and then we hand over the bureaucratic militarists in our country power enough to outjunker the junkers; we declare that we are in deadly conflict with autocracy, and every day we pass some new measure emasculating democratic representative government and vesting powers in administrative

branches of our Government that will soon make us out-Kaiser the Kaiser.

Oh, in God's name, let us call a halt before it is too late. Fight and fight to the death if need be for every American right; but let us fight like Americans for America, and always and only for—

Our flag, the one flag;
The flag for me and you,
Glorified all else beside
The Red, the White, and Blue.

That is the supreme issue, Mr. Speaker. We are in this war, according to the peoples' view, to protect American rights, and for no other purpose. If we must fight, we can and we will, but we will insist on fighting in the American fashion, and I know that we need neither advice nor instruction from any outside source. We have developed the greatest country in the world without needing the advice of any foreign country. We have successfully fought over a half dozen wars without needing the military advice of any foreign Governments or the expert knowledge of any officer trained in the atmosphere of European military snobbery, and we do not need that advice to-day. Nor do we need the counsel of any foreign diplomat to tell us what our policy should or should not be.

The diplomats of Europe do not and will not and probably can not see any public policy from an American point of view.

Democracy in any of the forms which we understand is absolutely unknown and unfathomable to the minds of the men in charge of State affairs abroad. When they yield any measure of self-government to the people, it is done only under the pressure of impending danger or to bribe and cajole unwilling peoples to do something they have no liking for.

I only need to indicate the one example of how the question of home rule in Ireland has been handled and is being handled to-day to prove that the generous, humanity-loving principles of democracy, as we understand them here, are unknown across the sea and the solemn twaddle about the fight for democracy that is handed out is, in the language of the street, just "plain bunk."

This country, and this country alone, can tell what democracy means and is. We, and we alone, are in a position to give advice and instruction. We did not call for help, and we do not need it. They did call for help, and we are giving it in money, in food, and now in men. If we are to pay the piper, we should call the tune; and if we are to do the fighting, we will be fully able to say just when, where, and how we propose to do it.

Let me in closing ask my countrymen to read carefully what the distinguished and universally beloved Speaker of this House had to say on the bill under consideration. If a patriotic American is to guide the destinies of this Nation during this crisis, the words of the Speaker will show him the way. The American volunteer forever! We know what he has been; we know what he will be and what he has done and will do, but we have no faith in the American conscript.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, in all of the debate on this bill there seems to be a disposition on the part of the opponents of the selective-conscription plan to leave the impression on the country that the proponents of the plan were belittling the volunteers. Nothing can be further from the fact. All American citizens are proud of the volunteers of each and all of our wars. Too much can not be said—no; not even enough—of the patriotism of these noble men; but it is the system which permits one class of men to make the sacrifice by volunteering to fight the battles of the Nation when those who are just as able physically and financially, and in fact even more so, are permitted to stay behind as slackers; it permits those to volunteer who in thousands of cases leave behind dependents and helpless ones, while others who have no one depending on them stay at home and reap the benefits of the sacrifices made by the volunteers. It permits the industries of the country to be paralyzed, because those in all of the avocations of life answer to their country's call while thousands of able-bodied loafers stay behind. If a nation is worth living in it is worth fighting for, and one and all owe a universal obligation to the Nation, and all should be on an equality in such service.

I feel my inability to meet all of the objections urged against this measure, for I have no personal experience from a military point of view. Therefore, I feel that I am justified, in answering many of the objections made by some of my constituents, by quoting from those who speak from experience and who are high in authority. I have received some letters from constituents who claim the selective-conscription plan of raising an army violates the well-known tradition of this country, and that all our wars have been fought by the volunteers, and invariably they will start in by calling my attention to Washington, the Father of his Country. I am perfectly willing to take the judgment of Washington and have done so very largely in reaching my conclusion on this bill. Let me call attention to a letter written by him on the 17th day of October, 1777, almost at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, to Thomas Wharton, president of Pennsylvania, in which he said:

There is another matter which I beg leave to recommend to the serious consideration of the legislature of your State; that is, the adopting of some mode of completing and keeping up the quota of your continental regiments. Upon an average your battalions have never been above one-third full, and now many of them are far below even that. From the extravagant prices given to substitutes in the militia in the different States, it has become impossible to recruit more upon the bounty allowed by Congress. The New England States and Virginia have begun to adopt the mode of drafting, and, I am informed, they have succeeded very well. I am convinced that this will be found the only method of raising continental troops, and if the measure were to become general throughout the States it would not be deemed a hardship. I mention this matter to you at this time in the hope that you will as soon as possible fall upon this or some other mode to recruit your regiments in the course of this fall and winter; and as it is more than probable that our opposition will not end with this campaign, we ought to endeavor to have a respectable army in the field in the spring, before the enemy can receive further reinforcements from Europe.

Again in a letter dated at West Point on the 18th day of November, 1779, to the President of the Continental Congress, he said:

In the more early stages of the contest, when men might have enlisted for the war, no man, as my whole conduct and the uniform tenor of my letters will evince, was ever more opposed to short enlistments than I was, and while there remained a prospect of obtaining recruits upon a permanent footing in the first instance, as far as duty and a regard to my station would permit, I urged my sentiments in favor of it. But the prospect of keeping up an army by voluntary enlistments being changed, or at least standing on too precarious and uncertain a footing to depend on for the exigency of our affairs, I took the liberty in February, 1778, in a particular manner to lay before the Committee of Arrangement, then with the Army at Valley Forge, a plan for an annual draft as the surest and most certain, if not the only means left us, of maintaining the Army on a proper and respectable ground. And, more and more confirmed in propriety of this opinion by the intervention of a variety of circumstances unnecessary to detail, I again took the freedom of urging the plan to the committee of conference in January last; and, having reviewed it in every point of light and found it right, or at least the best that has occurred to me, I hope I shall be excused by Congress for offering it to them, and in time for carrying it into execution for the next year, if they should conceive it necessary for the States to complete their quotas of troops.

The plan I would propose is that each State be informed by Congress annually of the real deficiency of its troops, and called upon to make up, or such less specific number as Congress may think proper, by a draft; that the men drafted join the Army by the 1st of January and serve until the 1st of January in the succeeding year; that from the time the drafts join the Army the officers of the States from which they come be authorized and directed to use their endeavors to enlist them for the war, under the bounties to the officers themselves and the recruits granted by the act of the 23d of January last, namely, $10 to the officers for each recruit, and $200 to the recruits themselves; that all State, county, and town bounties to drafts, if practicable, be entirely abolished, on account of the uneasiness and disorders they create among the soldiers, the desertions they produce, and for other reasons which will readily occur; that on or before the 1st of October annually an abstract or return similar to the present one be transmitted to Congress to enable them to make their requisitions to each State with certainty and precision.

Again, I desire to call your attention to what he has to say regarding the expense of raising an army by the volunteer system and by militia. In this letter he states:

As we should not be able to keep the same body in the field during the whole campaign, we should a great part of the time have a double set of men to pay and feed.

And further he states:

The mode by draft is, I am persuaded, the only efficacious one to obtain men, and it appears to me certain that it is the only one to obtain them in time.

This is what Gen. Washington wrote on May 25, 1780, to Philip Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody, of the committee from Congress:

Unless the principal part of the force be composed of men regularly organized, and on the continuance of whose services we can rely, nothing decisive can be attempted. The militia are too precarious a dependence to justify such an attempt, where they form a material part of the plan. Militia can not have the necessary habits nor the consistency, either for an assault or a siege. In employing them essentially we should run a risk of being abandoned in the most critical moments. The expense and the consumption of provisions and stores, which we are bound by every motive to economize, will be very consid-

erably increased. As we should not be able to keep the same body in the field during the whole campaign, we should a great part of the time have a double set of men to pay and feed, those in actual service and those on the march to relieve them or returning home when relieved. The operations of husbandry will suffer in proportion.

The mode by draft is, I am persuaded, the only efficacious one to obtain men. It appears to me certain that it is the only one to obtain them in time; nor can the period which you have appointed for bringing them into the field be delayed without defeating the object. I have little doubt that at any time, and much less at the present juncture, the powers of government exerted with confidence will be equal to the purpose of drafting. The hopes of the people, elevated by the prospects before them, will induce a cheerful compliance with this and all the other measures of vigor which have been recommended and which the exigency requires.

And again, in writing to his brother concerning the raising of troops by volunteers, he had this to say:

I observe what you say respecting voluntary enlistment, or rather your scheme of raising 2,000 volunteers, and I candidly own to you that I have no opinion of it. These measures only tend to burden the public with a number of officers without adding one jot to our strength, but greatly to confusion and disorder. If the several States would but fall on some vigorous measures to fill up their respective regiments, nothing more need be asked of them.

On August 20, 1780, this great general had seen all of the defects of short enlistments under the volunteer system and the want of a well-trained and disciplined army, and in a letter of the same date he said:

Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning * * * we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776, trembling for the fate of America; * * * we should not have been the greatest part of the war inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them pass unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford, and of seeing the country ravaged, our towns burnt, the inhabitants plundered, abused, murdered with impunity, from the same cause.

And again, on September 15, 1780, he stated that—

Regular troops are alone equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defense as offense, and whenever a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous.

It seems to me that, in view of the foregoing, those who criticize the selective-conscription plan of raising an army and rely upon Washington as authority are much mistaken. I could give many other quotations from the Father of our Country sustaining the plan of raising an army by universal draft or conscription; and it seems to me that the foregoing should be sufficient, but as further evidence of Washington's views as to universal conscription I desire to call attention to the law that was passed in 1792 at the beginning of the Republic, under his administration, which provides for universal and even compulsory military servce for every citizen between 18 and 45 years of age, which is as follows:

That each and every free, able-bodied, white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of 18 years and under the age of 45 years (except as hereinafter excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia by the captain or commanding officer of the company within whose bounds such citizen shall reside, and that within 12 months after the passing of this act. And it shall at all times hereafter be the duty of every such captain or commanding officer of a company to enroll every such citizen, as aforesaid, and also those who shall, from time to time, arrive at the age of 18 years, or, being the age of 18 years and under the age of 45 years (except as before excepted), shall come to reside within his bounds; and shall without delay notify such citizen of the said enrollment by a proper noncommissioned officer of the company by whom such notice may be proved. That every citizen so enrolled and notified shall within six months thereafter provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch, with a box therein to contain not less than 24 cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball, or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch, and powder horn, 20 balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder, and shall appear so armed, accoutered, and provided when called out to exercise or into the service, except that when called out on company days' exercise only he may appear without a knapsack.

What consternation there would be to-day among some of our citizens if such a law should be advocated, and especially if compelled to arm and equip themselves as was provided in this law!

Frequently I am told in letters that the bill under consideration is contrary to the Declaration of Independence. I wish to call your attention to what Thomas Jefferson, the author of tha. great document, had to say in a letter to Gen. Kosciusko on February 26, 1810, in explanation of his message to Congress:

Two measures have not been adopted which I pressed on Congress repeatedly at their meetings. The one to settle the whole ungranted territory of Orleans by donations of land to able-bodied young men, to be engaged and carried there at the public expense, who would constitute a force always ready on the spot to defend New Orleans. The other was to class the militia according to the years of their birth, and make all those from 20 to 25 liable to be trained and called into service at a moment's warning. This would have given us a force of 300,000 young men, prepared by proper training, for service in any part of the United States, while those who had passed through that period would remain at home, liable to be used in their own or adjacent States. These two measures would have completed what I deemed necessary for the entire security of our country. They would have given me, on my retirement from the Government of the Nation, the consolatory reflection that, having found, when I was called to it, not a single seaport town in a condition to repel a levy of contribution by a single privateer or pirate, I had left every harbor so prepared by works and gunboats as to be in a reasonable state of security against any probable attack; the territory of Orleans acquired and planted with an internal force sufficient for its protection; and the whole territory of the United States organized by such a classification of its male force as would give it the benefit of all its young population for active service, and that of middle and advanced age for stationary defense. But these measures will, I hope, be completed by my successor, who, to the purest principles of republican patriotism, adds a wisdom and foresight second to no man on earth.

Also, I desire to call your attention to a letter written by this great statesman to one J. W. Eppes:

I think the truth must now be obvious, that our people are too happy at home to enter into regular service and that we can not be defended but by making every citizen a soldier, as the Greeks and Romans, who had no standing army; and that in doing this, all must be marshaled, classed by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class.

In Jefferson's message to Congress he was continually calling attention to the condition of the country and to the attitude of the people, which was very similar to the attitude of the people of to-day, and many quotations could be produced from this great champion of the rights of the American people and freedom of the Nation which it seems should convince all good, red-blooded Americans that all owe an obligation to the Republic in time of peace, and most emphatically an universal obligation in time of war. I have quoted very extensively from the creators of this Nation. Now, let me call your attention to that great and grand statesman known as the savior of our country, the immortal Lincoln. No one to-day, I apprehend, will question his loyalty, his patriotism, his wisdom, and feeling for the American people as a statesman. He advocated universal conscription for the reason, as he saw it from experience, and, as he said, for expediency, and further that it was the fairest and most equitable way of raising an army. Amongst other things, he had the following to say:

It is at all times proper that misunderstanding between the public and the public servant should be avoided; and this is far more important now than in times of peace and tranquillity. I therefore address you without searching for a precedent upon which to do so. Some of you are sincerely devoted to the republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country and yet are opposed to what is called the draft, or conscription.

At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing, some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would, or would not, voluntarily enter the service. Among these motives would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage, love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposite of some of these. We already have, and have had, in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law. This is natural; nor does it imply want of patriotism. Nothing can be so just and necessary as to make us like it if it is disagreeable to us. We are prone, too, to find false arguments with which to excuse ourselves for opposing such disagreeable things. In this case, those who desire the rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. * * *

The republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country can not be maintained without the further raising and supporting of armies. There can be no army without men. Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription. If you dispute this fact and declare that men can still be had voluntarily in sufficient numbers, prove the assertion by yourselves volunteering in such numbers, and I shall gladly give up the draft. Or if not a sufficient number, but any one of you will volunteer, he for his single self will escape all the horrors of the draft, and will thereby do only what each one of at least a million of his manly brethren have already done. Their toil and blood have been given as much for you as for themselves Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part?

I do not say that all who would avoid serving in the war are unpatriotic; but I do think every patriot should willingly take his chance under a law, made with great care, in order to secure entire fairness. This law was considered, discussed, modified, and amended by Congress at great length, and with much labor, and was finally passed by both branches with a near approach to unanimity. At last it may not be exactly such as any one man out of Congress, or even in Congress, would have made it. It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the joint work of all, and certainly the better that it was so. * * *

The principle of draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practiced in all ages of the world. It was well known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that "the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies." It had been used just before in establishing our independence, and it was also used under the Constitution in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free Government which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?

Again, a law may be both constitutional and expedient, and yet may be administered in an unjust and unfair way. This law belongs to a class, which class is composed of those laws whose object is to distribute burdens or benefits on the principle of equality. No one of these

laws can ever be practically administered with that exactness which can be conceived of in the mind. A tax law, the principle of which is that each owner shall pay in proportion to the value of his property, will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it can be shown that every other one will pay in precisely the same proportion, according to value; nay, even it will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it is certain that every other one will pay at all—even in unequal proportion. Again, the United States House of Representatives is constituted on the principle that each Member is sent by the same number of people that each other is sent by; and yet, in practice, no two of the whole number, much less the whole number, are ever sent by precisely the same number of constituents. The districts can not be made precisely equal in population at first, and if they could they would become unequal in a single day, and much more so in the 10 years which the districts, once made, are to continue. They can not be remodeled every day, nor without too much expense and labor, even every year.

This sort of difficulty applies in full force to the practical administration of the draft law. In fact, the difficulty is greater in the case of the draft law. First, it starts with all the inequality of the congressional districts; but these are based on entire population, while the draft is based upon those only who are fit for soldiers, and such may not bear the same proportion to the whole in one district that they do in another. Again, the facts must be ascertained and credit given for the unequal numbers of soldiers which have already gone from the several districts. In all of these points errors will occur in spite of the utmost fidelity. The Government is bound to administer the law with such an approach to exactness as is usual in analogous cases and as entire good faith and fidelity will reach. If so great departures as to be inconsistent with such good faith and fidelity, or great departures occurring in any way, be pointed out, they shall be corrected; and any agent shown to have caused such departures intentionally shall be dismissed.

With these views and on these principles I feel bound to tell you it is my purpose to see the draft law faithfully executed.

I should think this would be sufficient to show how this great statesman viewed this troublesome question.

It is said by historians that one of the greatest, if not the greatest, military genius of this country was Gen. Grant. At least I should think that no layman of to-day would question his ability as a warrior, and his ideas should have some weight from a military viewpoint. In his memoirs he had the following to say relative to universal conscription or draft adopted by the Southern Confederacy:

The cause was popular and was enthusiastically supported by the young men. The conscription took all of them.

He was referring to the universal draft or conscription that was adopted by the Southern Confederacy as early as 1862, and, furthermore, Gen. Grant said:

Before the war was over further conscriptions took those between 14 and 18 years of age as junior reserves and those between 45 and 60 as senior reserves.

I wish to quote further from this great general, as recorded in his memoirs on page 547:

To maintain peace in the future it is necessary to be prepared for war. There can scarcely be a possible chance of a conflict such as the last one occurring among our own people again; but, growing as we are in population, wealth, and military power, we may become the envy of nations which led us in all these particulars only a few years ago; and unless we are prepared for it we may be in danger of a combined movement being some day made to crush us out. Now, scarcely 20 years after the war, we seem to have forgotten the lessons it taught and are going on as if in the greatest security, without the power to resist an invasion by the fleets of fourth-rate European powers for a time until we could prepare for them.

It seems to me that this, to say the least, is very, very prophetic. He predicted years ago what our condition as a nation would be in the year 1917. We have moved along all through these years as though nothing would happen or could happen until at last, by the force of necessity, we have awakened to a realization of our situation. At least, some have, but I am sorry to say a great many have not. I fear it would take an actual invasion to cause some to realize the condition of our country to-day.

After all, when sentiment is eliminated, the question is: Which is the most efficient system of raising an army to fight the battles of this Republic, and the fairest and most equitable way to raise it, taking into consideration, first, the welfare of the Nation, and, second, the welfare of the people? It seems to me it needs no more convincing proof than already produced as to the efficient way to raise an army. As to the second proposition—the fairest and most equitable way—I wish to again quote from the lamented Lincoln a letter written by him on November 21, 1864, from the Executive Mansion to a mother in Boston:

DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours, very sincerely and respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

I want to ask the most enthusiastic supporter of the volunteer system, Was it fair and just for this mother to make such a sacrifice for the Nation while others, no doubt, within the same block never made any sacrifice, although more able to do so? Under the system of volunteering for such service the slacker is permitted to stay at home. Under the selective-conscription plan advocated by the administration it would not be possible for such a sacrifice to be made by one individual. Under this plan the industries of the Nation would not be paralyzed, because the Government would have the right and power to protect its industries and compel the nonproducer and the loafer to bear his part of the burdens of government in such a crisis. No stigma is attached to any conscripted man, because the one chosen is on an equality with all others chosen for the same duty. I repeat, if the Republic is good enough to live in, every citizen should be proud of an opportunity to answer the summons in any capacity when called on to serve.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to print the following resolutions from some of the prominent clubs and organizations of Chicago:

UNION LEAGUE CLUB,
Chicago, March 30, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE E. FOSS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At its annual meeting, held in the clubhouse on March 27, 1917, the Union League Club, of Chicago, stated its stand on the present crisis and the manner of meeting it in the following resolution:

"Whereas, with a desire to avoid armed conflict, the Government of the United States has for many months patiently endeavored by diplomatic negotiations to protect its citizens in their lives and property from intolerable attacks by Germany, and to secure trustworthy promise of security for the future, and all such efforts have failed, so that against its will this Nation is now on the verge of war; and

"Whereas the time has come when this country must defend its rights and vindicate its honor decisively and by all means necessary to those ends; and

"Whereas the present crisis shows that the United States must be prepared at all times to defend itself and to protect the rights of its citizens; and

"Whereas, subject only to such conditions as Congress may prescribe, all able-bodied men between 18 and 45 years of age are liable under Federal law to perform military duty in the service of the United States; and

"Whereas a system of universal military training will not only prepare the citizen for service in war, but will develop in him a sense of democracy, of discipline, and of responsibility to duty, and will add a dignity to the defensive military service of the country, which is most justly its due: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Union League Club, of Chicago, places itself on record as supporting the President of the United States in severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, and in all efforts made and to be made by him, even to the extent of war, to protect American lives and property and defend our national rights; and calls upon Congress to give to the President the fullest support, and further places itself on record as favoring the principles of universal military service in this emergency and for the future defense of the Nation; and also calls upon Congress to provide by the law for universal and compulsory military training and service in the United States, and to enact all laws that may be necessary to the end that the Government of the United States may prepare in the fullest measure to uphold the dignity and honor of this country."

Very truly, yours, HOWARD G. HETZLER, *President.*

Attest:

WARREN GORRELL, *Secretary.*

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

Resolutions adopted by Hamilton Club, of Chicago, March 30, 1917.

Whereas the United States as a world power is now confronted with serious international questions and may be required at any time to defend its borders, protect the rights of its citizens upon the land and upon the sea, and to uphold with honor the cause of humanity in the councils of the nations; and

Whereas manifest, efficient, available power in a free people, used only in the cause of justice, right, and humanity, is a guaranty of the respect, support, and confidence of the world and a mighty influence for enduring peace; and

Whereas under Federal law all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 are liable for military service and may be called upon at any time for such service; and

Whereas to organize an army of untrained men in an emergency and to put them in the field unprepared is improvident and unfair to the men and the Nation and may result in irreparable disaster to the country; and

Whereas a proper system of universal military training will prepare men alike for war or peace and, properly administered, will be a benefit physically, mentally, and morally and create in the Nation an enduring sense of national spirit, of discipline, and respect for law and responsibility to duty: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Hamilton Club, of Chicago, subscribes to and indorses the principle of compulsory universal military training and service as an immediate necessity and a guaranty of future security, and urges the President and Congress of the United States to provide without delay for such training and service, and calls upon our Senators and Representatives from the State of Illinois to use their individual and united efforts to secure the enactment of such legislation; and we pledge our undivided and loyal support to the President and Government of the United States in upholding the honor of the Nation and protecting its citizens in their lives and property and in all of their just and lawful rights; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and to each Member of the Congress.

—

Resolution of the Illinois Commandery Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War.

Whereas we, the members of the Illinois Commandery Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War, are believers in general military training and in the personal and national efficiency which would result therefrom: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That at a general meeting of the members of said society held on March 24, 1917, the approval of the membership be; and it is hereby, given to the measure which has been pending in Congress and known as the General Staff bill. And be it

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the United States Senators from Illinois and to the Members from said State in the National House of Representatives.

This is to certify that the foregoing resolutions were adopted at a general meeting of the Illinois Commandery Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War at Chicago on March 24, 1917.

JAMES H. STANSFIELD, *Recorder.*

—

Resolutions adopted at a patriotic meeting of citizens held at the Auditorium Theater, Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1917, under the direction of the National Security League.

Whereas the Nation is on the verge of war; and

Whereas American ships have been sunk on the high seas by the submarines of the Imperial German Government with the loss of American lives in violation of specific and solemn treaty obligations and in violation of international law: Therefore we, citizens of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, "with malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right," do hereby

Resolve—

First. That as loyal Americans, without regard to political party lines, we approve the action of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the German Empire.

Second. That we pledge our hearty support to the Government in every act to protect the safety of our citizens, the honor of our Nation, and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world.

Third. That we urge Congress immediately to enact a law providing for universal obligatory military training and service as the only efficient, just, and democratic method of national defense.

Fourth. That we urge Congress without delay to equip our existing troops and all troops to be raised with the most modern appliances of war, so that the equipment and effectiveness of our Army and Navy shall be second to none.

Fifth. That if war occurs we urge the Government of the United States to conduct it with all the power of the Nation.

Sixth. That a committee, of which the presiding officer of this meeting shall be a member, be appointed by the Chair to place these resolutions before the President of the United States and the proper committees of Congress and to urge the adoption of the policies declared therein.

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THE CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD,
Chicago, April 4, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Chicago Real Estate Board at its regular monthly meeting, held in the assembly rooms, Wednesday, April 4, 1917, unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we are heartily in favor of an act providing for compulsory universal military service which shall include all male citizens of a prescribed military age capable of bearing arms, which also shall provide definite organized, trained, and equipped military units sufficient in strength and numbers for the present and the future. In this hour of our country's trial we know all American citizens will present an unbroken front to the enemy of the United States; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, to the chairmen of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and to the Senators and the Representatives of the State of Illinois."

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES D. RICHARDS,
Chairman.
FRANK G. HOYNE,
RAYMOND E. HERMAN,
Committee.

Attested by:

VALENTINE H. SURGHNOR,
President the Chicago Real Estate Board.

—

BOND MEN'S CLUB OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, March 31, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As secretary of the Bond Men's Club of Chicago, I have been instructed to send you the inclosed copy of a resolution passed by this club at its meeting Thursday, March 29, 1917.

Trusting this matter will have your thoughtful consideration, I am,
Yours, very truly,

CUTHBERT C. ADAMS, *Secretary.*

Whereas the Congress of the United States of America has been called together in extraordinary session for the purpose of declaring war or a state of war against a foreign nation from whose illegal actions this country has long and too patiently suffered; and

Whereas this country is admittedly unprepared to wage effective war, a condition that would be disastrous should we be attacked by an enemy of even moderate strength; and

Whereas there is a large number of groups of various classes who are opposed to adequate preparedness, and these groups are so organized as to present effective objections to Congress and the administration, and while those in favor of preparedness and universal service are doubtless numerically as great, they are represented by few organizations, and but little effective and organized work has been done by preparedness sympathizers; and

Whereas the opportunity for securing adequate legislation covering universal service for preparedness is, under stress of the present crisis, better than any yet presented: Be it

Resolved, That it is the sentiment of the Bond Men's Club of Chicago that universal military service is not only desirable but essential, and that its members will individually and as an organization do all in their power to persuade Congress to pass legislation designed to put such a policy into effect at the earliest possible moment.

Resolved, That this organization expresses its loyalty to the Government of the United States in the present crisis and its desire to do all in its power to assist and support it; further

Resolved, That the Bond Men's Club of Chicago, through its officers, shall draft an expression of its views as above outlined and forward to each of the Senators from Illinois at Washington and to each of the Representatives in Congress from the Chicago district, and to the Representatives at large of the State, and that each member of the club be requested to wire and write both Senators and the Congressman of his district asking them to use every endeavor and all speed in obtaining universal military service and adequate preparedness.

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CHICAGO, *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. GEORGE E. FOSS,
Representative Tenth Illinois District, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please find herewith a certified copy of the resolutions adopted by the Chicago Society of Illinois College at its annual meeting held April 6, 1917.

Respectfully,

E. D. JACKSON,
Secretary.

At the annual meeting of the Chicago Society of Illinois College, composed of alumni and former students of Illinois College, of Jacksonville, Ill., held at the University Club, Chicago, Ill., on the evening of April 6, 1917, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of the Chicago Society of Illinois College, do hereby record our approval of the action of the President and the Congress of the United States in proclaiming a state of war with the Imperial German Government, and do hereby pledge to the President of the United States our loyal support for the prosecution of this war of democracy against autocracy to a successful, and we hope an early, conclusion; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge upon the President and the Congress of the United States our profound belief in the necessity for the immediate adoption of a permanent plan of universal and compulsory military training and service; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of this society be instructed to send certified copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the Senators and the Congressmen at large from Illinois, and the Congressmen from the Chicago districts, and to the president of Illinois College."

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy from the minutes of said meeting.

E. D. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

—

THE REALTY CLUB,
Chicago, April 12, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Realty Club, of Chicago, at its regular monthly meeting for April unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we are strongly in favor of an immediate passage of an act providing for universal compulsory military service and training to include all male citizens of a prescribed military age capable of bearing arms not only for the present but for the future; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War, to the chairmen of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Illinois."

Respectfully submitted.

EDWIN E. HARTRICH, *President.*
JAMES B. KAINE, *Secretary.*

Resolutions Adopted by the Irish Nationalists.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, May 2, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement and resolutions adopted by the Irish Nationalists, pledging their ardent support to our country in the conflict which it has now entered.

The statement and resolutions are as follows:

IRISH NATIONALIST COMMITTEE,
Buffalo, N. Y., April 9, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed herewith find resolutions unanimously adopted at a mass meeting held at the Majestic Theater, Buffalo, N. Y., Sunday evening, April 8, to commemorate the first anniversary of the Irish (Easter week) rebellion of 1916, and as a memorial for those who were executed. The attendance was upward of 2,000.

The resolutions contain a pledge of ardent support to our country in the terrific conflict upon which it has now entered, and state that if England—which will now be so greatly benefited by our participation in the war—is sincere in her profession that she is fighting for the "integrity of small nations" and "the liberties of suppressed peoples," she will now immediately give evidence of her good faith by declaring Ireland a free and independent nation.

They also contain a request that the Congress demand of England that she now immediately declare Ireland's independence. This we emphasize with parallel black lines. The psychological effect the making of such a request on England by this country will have upon the American soldiers of Irish birth or extraction is at once apparent.

Sincerely hoping that you will see the justice of it and that you will do everything you can to have the Congress take favorable action, we have the honor to remain,

With assurances of the highest regard and esteem,

Yours, very sincerely,

W. P. KILCAWLEY, *Chairman.*
W. O. SHIELDS, *Secretary.*

We, the Irish Nationalists, of Buffalo, N. Y., in memorial meeting assembled on this first anniversary of the Irish rebellion of 1916, renew our fealty to the ideals and the principles so gloriously exemplified in the gallant deeds and sacrificial deaths of the patriots engaged in that rebellion.

Their heroic efforts have reawakened the soul of Ireland, and were crowned with every element of success short of complete independence; the spirit they created has placed the achievement of their ultimate aim within the realm of present possibility.

We indorse the principles of liberty, equality, and justice set forth in the proclamation of the Irish Republic issued over the signature of Padraic H. Pearse and his compatriots, and the purposes they sought to attain.

Interested above all worldly things in the honor and welfare of the United States, and realizing that those authorized to act under our Constitution have declared that a state of war exists, we proclaim it to be the duty of all men and women of Irish blood to rally to the support of our country, and with all the loyalty and ardor of our race to maintain its rights, preserve its ideals, and advance its interests.

Our country now needs and should have the best that can be given her by all her sons and daughters, and appreciating the real seriousness of the vast struggle into which we have entered we pledge our best efforts to knit together and solidify all of the people of this country so that we may present a united front to the world.

To us war and conflict are nothing new; no fight for America has ever missed the men of our blood, from the Revolution to the Spanish War, and no men of any race have shed their blood more freely and even generously than we. So it has always been; so will it ever be in every conflict to which the Government of this country commits us; so it is to-day.

This terrific struggle into which we have entered has been proclaimed by England to be a contest "for the integrity of small nations" and for "the liberties of oppressed peoples." Our President has declared that we are entering the war because "the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy * * * for the rights and liberties of small nations."

We acknowledge the sincerity of our own declaration, and we declare that if England is sincere in hers she should now, immediately, in all justice, show her good faith by declaring Ireland to be a free and independent nation.

On July 28, 1776, at the very inception of the conflict between the fathers of this Republic and England, the Continental Congress addressed "An appeal to the people of Ireland," requesting their assistance and paying tribute in these words to the men of Irish birth active in the cause of liberty in America:

"Your parliament has done us no wrong. You have ever been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America."

And now we Americans of Irish birth or extraction, numbering to-day upward of one-fifth of the population of this country, deem it fitting and proper at this time—when we are called upon to make tremendous sacrifice of life and property whereby England will be greatly and directly benefited—to petition our President and our Congress that the English Government be immediately requested to acknowledge at once the independence of Ireland.

Ireland is a distinct and separate nation, with all the attributes of nationhood, geographically, ethnically, and in the political and military capacity of her people. She has fought for her independence for over 700 years, and has never relinquished her right. Seventy years ago Ireland had a population of 8,500,000, which is now reduced to a little over 4,000,000, although her magnificent natural resources render her capable of supporting a population of 25,000,000. This alone proves the case against England.

Our country freed Cuba and removed a blot from the Western Hemishere; she now has the opportunity of freeing Ireland and setting up a sister Republic in Western Europe as a beacon light of American liberty for the people of the Old World. That opportunity, we declare, should be availed of.

Resolved, That a synopsis of these resolutions be immediately telegraphed to the President, the Presiding Officer of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet, the Senators of the United States, and the Members of Congress; the governor, the executive officers, and the Senators of the State of New York; the members of assembly from the county of Erie; the mayor and the members of the council of this city.

Resolutions Adopted By the Pattern Makers' Association of Cleveland, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 2, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend remarks, I desire to insert in the RECORD a copy of resolutions adopted by the Pattern Makers' Association of Cleveland, Ohio.

The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas the United States is at war with Germany; and
"Whereas immense war appropriations must be made immediately to supply the Government with funds necessary to carry on the war; and
"Whereas it is of paramount importance in this crisis that the financial burden of the war should be distributed among the citizens of the United States in accordance with their ability to bear it; and
"Whereas, in the interest of national unity and a spirit of harmonious cooperation between all classes, it is necessary that every citizen should know that the cost of the war will be paid promptly and not remain as a future burden upon those who fought, and their children: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That all bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and other obligations issued by the Government for war purposes shall be paid by a tax to be levied on all net incomes in excess of $2,000 (for unmarried persons) and in excess of $3,000 (for married persons), beginning at 2 per cent and increasing on a sliding scale to a point which will permit of no individual retaining an annual net income in excess of $100,000, such war tax to continue until said bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and other obligations issued for war purposes are paid; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That all war supplies or war service, including transportation, shall be furnished to the Government at a reasonable profit, to be fixed by Congress; that Congress shall enact legislation preventing the sale of necessaries of life during the war at excessive profits; and that intentional failure to supply the Government with correct figures as to income or other profits on such sales and service, and that furnishing the Government with defective war supplies shall be a felony punishable by imprisonment."

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Pattern Makers' Association of Cleveland and vicinity.

Food Supply.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. RUBEY,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 1, 1917.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to say that the question of the food supply of the country has impressed itself upon me as one, not only of the greatest importance, but one which should be given immediate consideration by Congress. The "man behind the plow" is the important factor in this world-wide war. He must furnish the food, not only for our own armies and for our own people, but he must furnish a large part of the food to supply the armies and peoples of England and France.

Almost immediately upon the convening of Congress I began to study and investigate this subject. I soon realized that it was a problem not only for our Nation as a whole, but that it was one which should also be taken up by each individual State, where it could be studied at closer range. I felt that my own State should be among the first to take the lead in a great State-wide movement to encourage agriculture and conserve the food supply. On April 10 last I sent to the governor of Missouri the following telegram:

GOV. FRED D. GARDNER,
Jefferson City, Mo.:

The question of furnishing food for Army and Navy, supplying needs of a hundred million people at home, and having surplus to send abroad is greatest problem confronting us. This is the seedtime. Now is the time to take definite action encouraging our farmers to exert their utmost. Reports indicate difficulty in obtaining seed on account of scarcity and high cost. This is especially true of potatoes. Would suggest as our executive you get in touch, through the press or otherwise, with some one in every county in Missouri, find out what conditions are, and call upon the bankers and moneyed people everywhere to furnish money to buy seed and to remedy bad conditions where they

exist. Urge every farmer in Missouri to do his utmost. Thus he will benefit not only himself but render a valuable service to his country. This plan has already been tried by several governors with good results. My extreme interest in this important phase of the present situation prompts me in making these suggestions.

THOS. L. RUBEY.

The next day I received from our governor the following reply:

Hon. THOMAS L. RUBEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Your telegram contains many valuable suggestions and I thank you for same. Am now fixing to carry them with others into effect in our State.

FREDERICK D. GARDNER, *Governor.*

Gov. Gardner of my State, with that promptness and patriotic zeal which has always characterized him, on April 12 issued to the people of his State the following proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the United States is now at war with a foreign enemy; and

Whereas it is conceded that the greatest problem confronting the United States will be the question of food supplies for both Army and Nation:

Therefore, as governor of this State, I call upon the bankers and those who have money to loan to perfect arrangements whereby every pair of willing hands in the State of Missouri may be furnished money on long time at low rate of interest, for the purpose of securing seeds, machinery, and teams in order that crops may be planted and harvested. It is imperative that not only the usual acreage be cultivated but that every vacant town and city lot be utilized, as well as railroad rights of way and hundreds of thousands of other available acres within the borders of our State.

The crisis confronting our State and Nation is the most critical in our history. It is time for every loyal and patriotic Missourian to make some sacrifice. It is within the power of the people of this State, if sufficient funds are forthcoming and sufficient encouragement is given to those who are willing to till the soil, to not only feed our own people during the strenuous days which confront us but millions of our fellow men as well.

I now call upon the mayor and chief executive of every village, town, and city in this State, from the largest to the smallest, also all bankers and representatives from all commercial bodies, as well as representatives of agricultural associations and clubs, to meet with me in conference with the State board of agriculture at Jefferson City April 23, 1917, at 10 o'clock a. m., in the new capitol building, for the purpose of carrying into effect the spirit of this proclamation.

Every newspaper in Missouri is hereby requested to publish this proclamation.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Missouri.

Done at the city of Jefferson, this 12th day of April, A. D. 1917.

FREDERICK D. GARDNER.

By the governor:

JOHN L. SULLIVAN,
Secretary of State.

As a result of that proclamation there assembled at Jefferson City, the capital of my State, on April 23, 1917, hundreds of citizens. They came from every county. Great interest was manifested in this movement. Men were there from every walk of life—farmers, merchants, bankers, representatives of commercial clubs, representatives of farm organizations. The conference was held in our splendid new capitol building, where the delegates met with the governor and the members of the State board of agriculture. At this meeting the following resolutions were adopted:

MISSOURI FOOD CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

Herewith are the resolutions adopted at the Missouri State conference on the food situation, called by Gov. Frederick D. Gardner to meet with the State board of agriculture in Jefferson City on April 23, 1917, on which occasion were present several hundred citizens from all over Missouri. The resolutions follow:

"In the war upon which America has entered the agriculture of this country will be put to the supreme test. Already the nations of the world which are engaged in the great struggle may be facing a world-wide famine. The success or failure in this war will be determined by the ultimate food supply.

"The world's food reserves are low. The outlook for even a normal wheat crop this year is unfavorable. In 1915 America produced 10 bushels of wheat per capita; in 1916, 6 bushels, consuming 6½ at home and exporting 2½ bushels. The wheat estimates for 1917 are only 63 per cent of a normal crop, and the latest reports are that a similar condition exists throughout the world. In Missouri the estimated production is only 59 per cent of normal. The number of cattle and hogs now on feed in this State is but 55 per cent of the number on feed one year ago.

GARDENS.

"We urge the cultivation of every available lot or plot of ground, and its use for the growing of vegetables and garden truck. We approve the enlistment of the public schools and public-school pupils for this purpose. We commend the organization of boys and girls into garden, canning, and poultry clubs under the joint direction of the extension service of the College of Agriculture and the public-school authorities. We join in urging the planting of beans, potatoes, tomatoes, chard, sweet potatoes, beets, and such other vegetables as will materially add to the food elements necessary to human life.

UNIVERSAL SERVICE.

"We approve the principle of universal selective service that the Army and Navy may have men, the industries workers, and the farms the labor necessary for maximum production, and to that end this conference strongly indorses the administration bill providing for a 'selective draft, universal military service,' and we urgently request our Senators and Representatives in the National Congress to use their best efforts and cast their vote in behalf of this measure, and the secretary is instructed to send a copy of this resolution to each Member of the Missouri delegation in the National Congress.

FEDERAL REGULATION.

"We urge the adoption by Congress of the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture which would grant to him, under proper restrictions and at the proper time, the power to fix minimum and maximum prices of foodstuffs, to regulate all agencies of distribution, and to prohibit speculations in food products. We especially approve of Secretary Houston's recommendation for an appropriation by Congress of $25,000,000 for making a food survey, increasing food production, enlargement of the cooperative demonstration forces, and such other activities as may be deemed necessary for the national defense.

PREVENT WASTE.

"We appeal to all the people of Missouri to eliminate every source of waste in the home, that while every effort is being made to increase production so as to prevent suffering no foodstuffs shall be uselessly taken from the world's supply. (To this paragraph of the resolution committee's report the following 55 words were added by motion from the floor:) And to that end we are in hearty sympathy and full accord with every movement and effort of the Federal authorities to place an effective ban on the use of corn and all other foodstuffs for the manufacture of intoxicating drinks during the continuation of the present war in which the United States is engaged.

COOPERATION.

"Every organization and individual in Missouri is invited to lend assistance to the agencies already at work, rather than to form new bodies having the same purposes in view. All present agencies should be subject to the general supervision of the Missouri Council of Defense. The most effective work can be accomplished by the active cooperation of local bankers, commercial clubs, and other bodies with the State Council of Defense and with county boys' and girls' clubs, public schools, county farm bureaus, or other agencies which it may suggest or approve. We suggest the formation of local companies of able-bodied boys under military age that, at the call of the State Council of Defense, they may be ready for semimilitary assignment to such work as may be necessary to secure maximum production of food products.

THE FARMER AT WORK.

"The Missouri farmer has already demonstrated his patriotism by exerting unusual effort to help meet the food and feed emergency and is deserving of the active cooperation of all the financial and commercial interests of the State.

"It is the patriotic duty of all commercial organizations to assist all worthy farmers in the State who may need credit for planting and cultivating their crops. And the bankers serving on the resolution committee, backed by 50 of the bankers present here to-day, hereby give the governor assurance that the bankers of the State in general, and of each county in particular, are able, willing, and ready to cooperate in extending to all needy and worthy applicants such material assistance and credit as may be necessary to meet local conditions.

THE FARMERS' OPPORTUNITY.

"This is a time of great responsibility and brings with it the greatest opportunity that has ever been presented to the farmers of this country. The farmer will be both wise and patriotic if he exerts every energy toward the maximum production of food crops.

"Maximum production must come in two ways—first, by widely extending the acreage planted to food crops. This is the year to increase largely the areas planted to corn, wheat, potatoes, and all vegetables. Second, by growing a maximum crop on every acre. Apply fertilizers. Plant tested seed of known productiveness. Cultivate with unusual thoroughness.

"Build more silos. An acre of corn preserved in a silo will produce 25 per cent more beef, pork, or mutton than when harvested by the ordinary method.

"Grow staple crops. This is no time to experiment with unusual and untried crops.

"Plant all waste ground to some profitable crops which may be used for food for man or animal. Increase the number of hogs; plant rape for forage; increase the acreage in potatoes and beans. Plant special forage crops and feed good dairy cows the maximum ration. Every housekeeper should put up two year's supply of canned fruits and vegetables. Where cans are not available all fruits and vegetables that can be dried should be preserved in this manner and in larger quantities than ever before.

"The methods to be followed in obtaining maximum production have been definitely worked out. Farmers may get this information quickly and without cost by applying to the College of Agriculture or the State Board of Agriculture.

MISSOURI COUNCIL OF DEFENSE.

"In order that the State of Missouri may render the greatest service to the Federal Government and make effective all the activities of the State enlisted in the national service, we recommend that the governor appoint a Missouri State Council of Defense. It shall be the duty of such body to serve with him and to cooperate with the National Council of Defense and to place at the service of the Nation without restriction all the resources and activities of the State of Missouri.

LOYAL TO STATE AND NATIONAL LEADERS.

"This State-wide Missouri conference on food and public defense does unreservedly approve and commend the progressive and patriotic spirit of Gov. Frederick D. Gardner in calling this convention through the board of agriculture; we indorse the actions and policies of President Woodrow Wilson and the Congress of these United States; and we do pledge to the governor of Missouri and the President of the Nation the unqualified support of each and every Missouri citizen in this unparalleled struggle for world peace and human liberty."

Resolutions committee, names appointed: F. B. Mumford, chairman; C. O. Raine, E. W. Solomon, H. G. Windsor, W. C. Gordon, W. H. Stubblefield, W. K. James, A. L. McCawley, Uel W. Lamkin, A. L. Donlin, A. W. Nelson, J. H. Hahn, E. C. Yancey, G. C. Brittingham, Jewell Mayes, Thornton Cooke, J. H. Brayton, W. S. McLucas, M. W. Sweetman.

Certified copy of resolutions: The foregoing is a certified copy of the resolutions as adopted. Instruction of convention that resolutions be sent to each member of State delegation in Congress obeyed. Jewell Mayes, secretary, Columbia, Mo.

In closing I want to say that Missouri will do her part, rest assured of that. Only a few days ago there assembled in the various school districts of my State 300,000 farmers. There they met to discuss the situation and to pledge their support to

the great work of supplying food in this great emergency. The way of the farmer in my State has not always been a smooth one; in fact, he has had many difficulties and hardships. Especially has that been true in the Ozark regions of south Missouri, where out of five consecutive years he has had only one successful crop season. But, notwithstanding the fact that his crop has frequently been destroyed by drouth, he has not given up, but has come forward each spring with renewed vigor and energy, ready for another season. This year, realizing the necessities of his country, he will be more determined than ever to win success.

Agriculture in this great crisis is to become the important factor. The farmers of America should be encouraged in every possible way, both by the State and by the Nation. Not only should they be encouraged, but they should be helped where help is needed. Seed will be needed in many places, fertilizer will have to be supplied, and in many instances it may be necessary in some manner to furnish the farmer with funds to the end that he may be supplied with feed, farm implements, and other things absolutely necessary to enable him to raise a crop. Our Committee on Agriculture is at the present time considering a measure along this particular line, and we hope to complete it and to present it to the House within the next few days.

It may be necessary to send recruits to the farm from the cities. Some are advocating that. If this becomes necessary and recruits are sent out to assist in the work of planting, cultivating, and harvesting, those recruits should be placed in charge of experienced tillers of the soil, because in that way, and in that way only, can they be of any material aid to the farmers. Let us remember and take heed of this fact, that in this great State-wide, Nation-wide effort for increased production the trained and experienced farmers of America must be made the commanding officers in the great army of food supply if victory is to crown our efforts.

Extension of Suffrage to Women.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 2, 1917.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the head of the largest fraternal beneficiary order in the world, composed exclusively of women, Miss Bina M. West. To her notable ability as an organizer and proven business judgment has been due in large measure the success of the organization of which she has long been the head. The force of her suggestions with reference to the extension of the suffrage to women will be readily admitted and I am sure her letter will be of particular interest.

The letter is as follows:

THE WOMAN'S BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF THE MACCABEES,
Port Huron, Mich., April 24, 1917.

Hon. LOUIS C. CRAMTON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: As chief executive of the Woman's Benefit Association of the Maccabees, the largest woman's fraternal beneficiary order in the world composed exclusively of women, with a total membership of nearly 200,000, I most respectfully urge the immediate submission of the Federal amendment for woman suffrage in order that the women of this great democracy may be placed on an equal footing.

The women of our association have by their acknowledged success in the business world proven their ability to think and act in matters of public importance. Moreover, as an insurance association our business interests are affected. Legislation and amendments to State constitutions are being annually proposed upon which, for our self-protection, we ought to have a direct voice.

As you may know we have insurance on the lives of our members—who are all women—of over $131,000,000. Our reserves in hand invested in municipal securities are over $10,000,000, and our association has disbursed to the families of our members in every State in the Union over fourteen and one-half millions of dollars.

Our society has a record in the business world of never having lost a dollar in investments made, bank deposits, or dishonesty of its officials.

Women are now being called upon to aid the Government in the prosecution of war, in defense of the Nation's interests. Without their aid and patriotism this war could not be conducted. Do you not think women who are successful in public affairs of this character and who are to be relied upon in the Nation's defense should have a voice in the administration of its affairs?

Surely the men of this great democracy will not permit women to suffer the humiliation of seeing the women of England, of Canada, of Russia, of France, and possibly of Germany, enfranchised before political freedom is granted to the women of the United States.

I, therefore, most respectfully ask that you urge upon Congress the immediate submission of the Federal amendment, and that you will use your influence to secure its passage, thus making suffrage Nation wide in 1919.

Very respectfully, yours,

BINA M. WEST,
Supreme Commander.

Publicity the Weapon of Progress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to publish an able editorial which appeared in the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Daily Leader of April 27, 1917, entitled "The open book better than injunction court." The editorial is as follows:

THE OPEN BOOK BETTER THAN INJUNCTION COURT.

Publicity is the weapon of progress.

Publicity is the foundation of confidence.

Publicity leads enterprise before the people and creates mutual trust and confidence.

The open book is better than the open shop.

An emphatic illustration of the efficiency of publicity was given when the United States Steel Corporation—the greatest industrial organization of the world—went out of its way to give to the public full information as to its financial transactions.

The frank statement that the earnings for the first quarter of this year were $113,000,000 created no resentment.

The people accepted the corporation's action as an example of good faith, as a display of honesty, and applauded the publicity.

The incident marked the inauguration of a new era of good feeling.

The directors of the United States Steel Corporation met in New York on Tuesday of this week.

It was at this meeting that Judge E. H. Gary, chairman of the board, made public the fact that the earnings for the first quarter were $113,000,000, that the corporation had taken $5,000,000 of the Government's short-time loan, that it had recently again voluntarily increased the pay of its employees, and that it had subscribed $50,000 to the $3,000,000 fund which the Young Men's Christian Association is raising for war work in Army camps.

There is no law requiring Judge Gary and his associates to give publicity to any of these facts.

It was a voluntary act, an unforced recognition of the value of full publicity between the people and an immense corporation—a manifestation of the square deal between its labor and its capital—and a deliberate opening of its books to all.

The corporation's marvelous earnings attest not only to the extraordinary prosperity of the steel industry but quite as much to the marvelous efficiency of the organization.

Critics who have been telling us that these giant corporations were inefficient, wasteful, and bound to break down of their own weight must stand abashed before this wonderful record.

The United States Steel Corporation, it is now seen, is a great cooperative enterprise, with stockholders in every State of the Union, probably in every country in the world, with over 40,000 of its laboring men themselves actual stockholders, and with every officer and employee striving to increases the efficiency, such an organization can not help but contribute to public betterment.

And yet, under an antiquated trust law, passed before we hardly knew what the telephone was, before the advantages of cooperative effort were understood, our Government is seeking to disrupt this organization—to break it up when there is not a single complaint from its vast army of laboring men, from its enormous list of stockholders, from its many competitors, or from the public generally.

Will our lawmakers ever learn anything of modern economics?

What have they accomplished with the Standard Oil Co.?

A few days ago the Interstate Trade Commission officially acknowledged that the dissolution suit won by the Government against the Standard Oil Co. had been ineffective and that the whole matter should be opened up again.

Here is a situation where a company that has been dissolved by an edict of the Supreme Court, under the Sherman law, is still being complained of, while another company has not a single complaint lodged against it by labor, capital, or consumer.

Wherein lies the difference?

Simply in honest publicity. The Steel Corporation is out in the open, doing its business with open books, on the square, in the light of day.

If the Government, instead of trying to enforce the antiquated Sherman law, should replace it with a publicity act that will compel corporations to do by law what the United States Steel Corporation does voluntarily, the trust question will be solved.

It required a man of vision, a man of courage, and a man who knew the thoughts and the hopes of the people to step forward into the light as did Judge Gary.

In this time of war and war uncertainties commercial diplomacy is the peer of international diplomacy.

Patriotism can be exerted in many fields, and the patriotism that unites the people for the country's material good has its uses equally with the patriotism that meets the shock of battle.

This editorial may seem remarkable in the sense that this newspaper and very few other newspaper ever dare to write editorials commending any corporation.

But this is published in a community where the activities of the United States Steel Corporation are seen and known and their benefits felt and where fairness is appreciated.

The Steel Corporation is working in the light.

It is frank with the people, it has confidence in the people, and the people can afford to be frank with the corporation and return its confidence.

Selective-Draft Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 3, 1917.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of the selective-draft bill I desire to publish a letter which I have sent to Mrs. J. B. Brown as president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Larned, Kans., in answer to a telegram from that organization. This letter explains itself, and is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 3, 1917.*

Mrs. J. B. BROWN,
President Woman's Christian Temperance Union,
Larned, Kans.

MY DEAR MADAM: On Tuesday, May 1, I received the following telegram:

LARNED, KANS., *May 1.*

JOUETT SHOUSE,
Care House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

You have spoken in Congress. Your constituency will speak at the polls in 1918. The draft bill is an outrage.

THE SEVENTY-FIVE WOMEN OF THE W. C. T. U.

Inasmuch as this message was neither officially nor individually signed, I desired before answering it to know whether it represented official action by your organization. I therefore wired Mr. Leslie E. Wallace, of the Larned Tiller and Toiler, requesting him to secure this information for me. I am advised by Mr. Wallace that the telegram was sent by the executive committee of the Larned Woman's Christian Temperance Union, consisting of the president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and two or three committee chairmen. I therefore accept it as an official expression and am addressing this answer to you as president with the request that you may present it to your membership at your next meeting.

It is impossible within the reasonable limits of a letter to attempt detailed discussion of an important piece of legislation. The selective-draft bill was debated in the House for an entire week; in the Senate for a longer time. In many respects it brought out the most interesting and most forceful debate that has been heard in Congress for years. Probably the best speeches of the many on their respective sides were those of Mr. Speaker CLARK and Senator REED for the volunteer system and Mr. SHERLEY and Mr. KAHN for the selective draft. I should like to have your membership read these speeches, and I am sending you under separate cover marked copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing them.

Please bear in mind the fact that both sides were in entire accord in the view that a large and efficient army must be raised. The only disagreement was as to the method to be employed; and the same divergence of views that was evident in Congress obtained throughout the country. For example, I have had expressions from several hundred of my constituents, both previous and subsequent to the vote on the measure, and while sentiment, as evidenced by these expressions, has been pretty evenly divided, a slight majority of those who have communicated with me have been in favor of the selective draft.

Briefly summarized, my reason for favoring the bill in the form that it finally passed Congress is that, in my judgment, it provides the fairest, most equitable, most democratic, and most certain method of securing an effective fighting force. We have had thrust upon us by a foreign power a war that is serious in the extreme. We need to mobilize all the tremendous forces and resources of our Nation. We must get ready to face any contingency that may arise. Every citizen owes the duty of service to his Government in whatever capacity he can be best utilized. Why should only those whose patriotism induces them to volunteer be compelled to protect the slackers? Why should those who are needed on the farms and in the factories be sacrificed at the front?

If you have followed the history of England during the present war, you must realize what every thinking person in that land admits, that the volunteer system there was a failure. After the war had been in progress 18 months, England was compelled to send to the trenches in France and bring back skilled mechanicians in order to keep her munitions factories going. Is it not the part of wisdom for us to profit by her mistakes rather than to risk a repetition of them? For it is patent that if the volunteer system were tried and failed, then some form of conscription would become necessary and we should have the odium of implied lack of patriotism attached to every conscript. Such odium can not attach where all the men of the country are placed on the same basis and required, each alike, to perform necessary service for a Government that deserves the very best that any of us can give.

The implication in your telegram that because of my position on this piece of legislation I may expect the combined opposition of your membership at the polls in 1918 is interesting. Allow me to make one thing very clear: Whether I am reelected to Congress is a matter of small concern; that I should do my duty faithfully as I see it as long as I am a Member is of the utmost importance; and if I am ever influenced to cast a vote for its political effect rather than for the benefit of the Government I have sworn to serve, I very earnestly hope that I may be speedily and permanently retired from public life. Certainly such a district as the big seventh of Kansas is entitled to be represented by a man who strives to serve the best interests of his people through serving the Nation best rather than by one who would merely endeavor, through his vote, without conviction or study, to please a portion of his constituency.

I am not one who resents criticism of my official acts. I welcome any suggestions or advice that may come from my district; but I must reserve the right to vote as my conscience and my judgment dictate, and I am entirely willing to abide by the record I may make.

For your organization I have the greatest admiration and respect. I have been permitted to cooperate with the forward-looking men in Congress in the passage of legislation to destroy the liquor traffic, legislation which you have so earnestly urged. I sincerely hope it may be possible during the term of the present Congress to enforce prohibition throughout our land. To that end I shall work unceasingly. Feeling as I do toward you, I have endeavored to write with all respect; but also I have endeavored to make my own position very clear and definite. In justice to myself I could do no less.

I have the honor to be
Faithfully and sincerely, yours, JOUETT SHOUSE.

The Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AMBROSE KENNEDY,
OF RHODE ISLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to place in the RECORD the following tribute to the American flag, recently published in the Worcester Telegram, composed by Rev. Francis P. Donnelly, S. J., ex-president of Gonzaga College, Washington, D. C., and now professor of literature at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.:

THE FLAG OF OUR SKIES.

[Dedicated to the Holy Cross Reserve Officers' Training Corps.]

(Air: Gounod's "Marche Processional.")

Red with the brightness
That flames the sky with coming morn;
White with the whiteness
That floods the day when fully born;
Blue with the azure
Of heaven and its starry host;
Hail to our treasure,
Our flag, our love, our proudest boast!

Then let it float with the glories of the skies,
And roll on high its white and red united bars;
Fling out its folds for the storm king it defies;
Let it flash thro' the gloom all the lightning of its stars.
Aye, let it float with its hues from the skies above it.
With the red of the dawn and the white of the day
and the blue of the night, we love it.

CHORUS.

Wave it, proudly wave it;
With your life's blood gladly save it;
Praise God who gave it—
The flag of the good and true.
Round it now bravely stand,
Guard it ever with a strong right hand;
Love the banner of your native land,
The red, white, and blue.

Resolutions Adopted by the National Equal Rights League.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 3, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted by the National Equal Rights League pledging their ardent support to our country in the conflict which it has now entered and disclaiming any speculation whether Americans of color will be loyal because of the denial of rights to a majority of them.

The resolutions are as follows:

Memorial to the President and the people of the United States.

To the President, WOODROW WILSON,
White House, Washington, D. C.

SIR: When this European war began the world involuntarily speculated whether the Irish would be loyal and the Russian Jews, because of the denial of home rule by England and of civil and political rights by Russia. As the United States of America enters this awful war the world speculates whether Americans of color will be loyal, because of the denial of rights to a majority of them.

Since colored Americans in the past have offered their lives in every way for the country, if Germany is seeking to induce them to revolt, it but proves how notorious is their proscription. If this Nation,

knowing the active loyalty of the Americans in the past, believes this alleged plotting could succeed, it shows that the Government and people believe that colored Americans are most unjustly treated.

The Boston Branch of the National Equal Rights League, meeting when the country is at war, realizing its responsibility as a branch of the only Nation-wide organization formed by and of and led by colored citizens to oppose race and color discrimination, declares false all charges of disloyalty.

Colored Americans would be less than human if they did not feel bitterly every bar from employment, from public accommodation because of our race and color. Deep is the resentment against enforced segregation by city, State, or the Federal Government, whether in the civil or military service. But we have no thought of taking up arms against this our country. Ours it has been to save the Government from rebellion. This work of our fathers we shall not destroy. There is not gold enough in all the treasuries of the Nations of the earth to corrupt us, for it is not a question of money, but of equality of rights.

Let neither white nor colored Americans seek to deny the truths of human nature. Soldiers of democracies fight better than soldiers of autocracies. The same men fight better if in time of peace they can sell their labor in the open market than if denied work because of race; fight better if public accommodation in peace depends on conduct and the price than if it is denied for color; fight more eagerly if in peace encouraged by possession of a free man's ballot than if repressed by its denial; fight with more heart if in peace they have court protection than if their very race means possible murder by the mob.

To the National Government which calls us all to war, to our fellow Americans of every race variety we would appeal in the name of fair play, of justice, and humanity. We are all citizens of a common country.

There is need no longer of subjection of Americans to the race prejudices of fellow Americans. In the presence of a common danger and a common obligation, with a war devastating Europe caused by racial clannishness and racial hatred, under Almighty God, let the United States of America and the people thereof give up race proscription and persecution at home. Let the door of the workshop, the school, the college, the civil service, the Army, the Navy, the military school, the naval school now and henceforth open alike to every citizen of the Republic without regard to race and without distinction of color. Let the right to travel, to vote, to have court protection be free, without barrier or denial.

Give, Mr. President and all our governors, the same encouragement for volunteering or enlisting to white, to brown, to yellow, to black—Americans all—by vouchsafing the same free chance to enlist, to rise on merit, and on return home the same right to civil service and to civil rights without bar or segregation.

With our great Republic entering a world war for humanity, remove the need for the colored mother and father to suffer under the feeling that their son will return to find the color line drawn at factory, eating place, playhouse, and ballot box; make it not necessary for the colored soldier in the trenches to suffer with the thought that as he bares his breast to the bullet his sister is segregated in the Government service at Washington and his mother in danger of the lynching mob.

Recognizing the world-honored ethics of national defense, as England promised home rule to the Irish and Russia abolition of restriction and the ghetto to her Jews, the United States of America is now called upon to grant the abolition of Federal segregation and of disfranchisement to her colored citizens.

As this Nation goes forth to fight the "natural foe of liberty," let Americans highly resolve that all shall have liberty within her borders. As she fights for democracy as against autocracy, let there be a democracy at home 100 per cent, not 90 per cent, strong. As our President declares we "fight for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government," let us all resolve that when the war is over such shall be the privilege of 100 per cent of our people, not 90 per cent.

Now is the time for all in authority to declare for the abolition of all racial discriminations and proscriptions, and for all to join in our unhyphenated Americanism for victory under the favor of the God of all mankind.

Emery T. Morris, 30 Parker Street, Cambridge, Mass.; William D. Brigham, Boston; Allen W. Whaley, 40 Warwick Street, Boston, Mass.; Wm. Monroe Trotter, 34 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.; Matthew A. Neal Shaw, D. D., M. D., 16 Allston Heights, Boston, Mass.; Theodore Drury, 20 Kendall Street, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. M. Cravath Simpson, 21 Tappan Street, Everett, Mass.; R. McCants Andrews, 69 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Wesley J. Furlong, Melrose, Mass.; Mrs. Mary E. Gibson, 49 Hammond Street, Roxbury, Mass.; Mrs. Mary C. Hall, 96 Kendall Street, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. J. G. Street, 75 Camden Street, Roxbury, Mass.; Mme. L. C. Parrish, 95 Camden Street, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Johnson W. Hill, 313 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.; Curtis J. Wright, 39 Court Street, Boston, Mass.; Emeline Sport.

BOSTON, MASS., *April 20, 1917.*

Appeal from the President of Switzerland to President Wilson not to Cut Export of Grain to That Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, Switzerland is the oldest democracy in the world. President Schulthess, of Switzerland, a few days ago made an appeal to our President which at this time is of special significance. The people of Switzerland have been free for 700 years. During that time they have not crooked the knee to any emperor, king, or potentate, and have held high the torch of liberty and freedom among the peoples or Europe. We have entered the war to aid the democracies of Europe.

Switzerland is neutral. She is surrounded by belligerent countries. On a mountainous area of only 15,976 square miles she has a population of nearly 4,000,000 to support. She must look to us for food, and if we fail her her people must starve. We have entered this war for democracy. We certainly will not aid the cause for which we entered the war if by our policy we aid in crushing Switzerland, the cradle of European liberty.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the appeal from President Schultess to President Wilson may be printed in the RECORD as it appeared in the New York American of yesterday.

The article is as follows:

BERNE, VIA PARIS, *May 2.*

There is growing anxiety in Switzerland that the United States may restrict exports to neutral countries. Edmund Schulthess, president of the Federation, to-day gave the Associated Press a comprehensive statement of the situation.

The President made a warm appeal to President Wilson and the American people not to allow a small sister Republic to meet starvation, which would be her inevitable lot if her imports were reduced. He clearly outlined Switzerland's utter dependence not only on America but on both groups of European combatants.

President Schulthess likewise pointed out just what supplies were needed from the United States, but denied categorically that any portion of such supplies goes to the central powers. He explained the measures taken to control imports and prevent them from being sent out of Switzerland. He said:

"Situated as it is in the heart of Europe and bounded on the north and east by the central powers and on the south and west by the entente, Switzerland is dependent on both belligerents. Our land does not produce sufficient food, and particularly lacks grain and fats, which must be supplied by importation.

"Switzerland has no raw materials, such as coal, metals, and oils. To offset this she has highly developed industries."

Asked why the export of many articles from America to Switzerland, especially grain, had increased during the war, President Schulthess answered:

"Before the war Switzerland imported 50,000 tons of grain from Russia. This importation has been completely stopped by the closing of the Dardanelles. The same is true for Roumania. Switzerland, therefore, is compelled to procure her entire grain supplies from America and Argentina to-day.

"We actually can exist only by the help of shipments that come from the United States and Argentina. For us it is nothing less than a question of existence or nonexistence. Were America to restrict or stop the exportation of grain to Switzerland, our position would be critical. Without exaggeration, the danger of starvation would then be at hand."

Concerning reports that foodstuffs sent from the United States merely passed through Switzerland to the central powers, President Schulthess concluded with the following appeal:

"It seems to me out of the question that so high-minded and just a man as President Wilson will lend his hand to a measure which would hit the oldest Republic in the world hard and place it in an extremely critical situation.

"We claim the right to live and work. We have done nothing to forfeit this right. He who thinks justly must admit this.

"Tell this to your big-hearted American people and convey to them an expression of my sympathy and the greeting of the Swiss people."

Address of Hon. Isaac Siegel at Cooper Union, New York City.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert an address delivered by Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL at Cooper Union, New York City, May 3, 1917. The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ISAAC SIEGEL, OF NEW YORK, ON MAY 3, 1917, AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in no country on the face of the earth have men enjoyed greater blessings than in this Republic of ours. Nowhere under the sun have the rights of civil and religious liberty been more zealously guarded than here, and no citizens of the United States have been more appreciative of those great privileges than those of the Jewish faith. Here they have come from places of oppression and persecution with the sole idea of becoming good and law-abiding citizens. They have recognized that with the benefits and opportunities of America came the reciprocal duty and obliga-

tion to make every sacrifice for her in the hour of national peril.

It is therefore fitting and proper that here in Cooper Union, where many notable meetings have been held in the cause of human freedom and religious liberty, that we gather to-night to demonstrate to the world that, as American citizens of the Jewish faith, regardless of the place of nativity, we are just as loyal, just as patriotic, just as true, just as devoted to our flag and country as those who are the direct descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims.

From the time of Haym Solomon the citizen of the Jewish faith has served the Union, giving up life as well as treasure in its behalf. In the Revolutionary War, in the War of 1812, in the Mexican War, in the Civil War, in the Spanish-American War, and on the Mexican border during 1916 he willingly shed his blood for her both on land and sea.

The known number of Jews who participated in our wars until 1865 was 8,257. In the Spanish-American War 2,551 answered to the call of our lamented martyred President, William McKinley.

It has been estimated that at the present time the number of our boys in the Army and Navy of the United States and National Guard is over 6,000.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is but right at this time for me to state as emphatically as I can that I am unalterably opposed to the formation of any regiment which is to be composed exclusively of men of the Jewish faith. As in the past, I want to see men of all faiths fighting side by side for Old Glory, symbolic of the fact that we have no state religion.

We point with pride to the fact that the man selected by the administration to carry on its fight in the House of Representatives in behalf of a proper army at this critical hour was JULIUS KAHN of California. There is no man who loves America more than JULIUS KAHN, and I know that by act and word he reechoes your feelings.

Mr. Chairman, on June 20, 1895, the late President William McKinley, then governor of Ohio, at Ottawa, Kans., in a speech gave utterance to the following noble sentiments:

> What more beautiful conception than that which prompted Abraham Kohn, of Chicago, in February, 1861, to send Mr. Lincoln, on the even of his starting to Washington to assume the office of President, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds those words from the first chapter of Joshua: "Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage. Be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so shall I be with thee. I will not fail nor forsake thee."
>
> Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer or been better calculated to sustain his courage or to strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him? Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr. Lincoln journeyed to the Capitol, where he took the oath of office and registered in heaven an oath to save the Union. And the Lord our God was with him until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was the more firmly enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory from every flagstaff of the Republic.

To-night, my fellow citizens, all over this broad land of ours, regardless of political belief, we are standing solidly behind President Wilson. He speaks in behalf of the whole people, and the words of prayer uttered in behalf of the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, by Abraham Kohn, we repeat here to-night for your President and my President, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us then bear in mind that this war is being waged to bring freedom and religious liberty to the Finn, Pole, Armenian, and Jew. Let us not forget that when the smoke of battle shall have cleared away we can look forward to beholding the dream of the ages fulfilled and Palestine once more the home of Jewish learning and culture. We shall also witness the Irish question successfully solved to the thorough satisfaction of all concerned, and the Jew in Roumania at last come into his own.

This is our war and it is for us to bear that constantly in our thoughts.

Mr. Chairman, I have often referred to the necessity of our teaching the rising generation in as impressive a manner as we know what our flag means and what it stands for. It is a flag standing for peace. It is a flag that has ever gone into battle for the sake of humanity. It is a flag that has ever stood and been the sign of justice, freedom, and fair dealing amongst all men. The blue has stood for God's blessings that have been showered upon this land; the white typifies justice and the red exemplifies the blood that Americans have spilled in its defense and expressive of their willingness to again make every sacrifice for its continued triumph. It has never known defeat. That flag embodies the hope and the ambition, the desire, and the will of 103,000,000 people determined that it shall ever float over the land of the free and the home of the brave. As American citizens we are resolved that it shall bring the same blessings to those suffering people who have been crushed for many years by militarism and autocracy.

That flag has the right to command the self-sacrifice of every individual that lives under its folds. That flag, with its glorious history and noble achievements for mankind, reminds us that the duty of the hour requires every man to sink self in the effort to render to America such service as will help to make her not only victorious but will render the conflict as short as possible.

In the past we have spoken many times in this country of the rights of the individual. Now the rights of the individual must temporarily give way to the paramount and superior rights of our country to command and receive the unselfish and full support of all men regardless of race, creed, or color.

America is calling. Its sons and daughters must answer the call. The war must be won. It can only be won by all men and women having the fixed purpose to render the most efficient service in their particular sphere of activity. Whether in the armed forces of the United States or in the factory or on the farm, every man, woman, and child must give the most efficient service that mankind has ever seen or known.

There is no room, Mr. Chairman, in the United States for any man who has any divided sentiment as to what his imperative duty is in this critical hour. Let us remember that men, women, and children abroad are battling for the same principles of equal rights, the right to live, and the inherent right to have the same opportunities that we have here.

We must realize that we have very serious business before us. We have the greatest militaristic power on earth to fight. It is only fair and just that America should expect all men who are walking upon her soil and who have been attracted to our land from all over the world because the Stars and Stripes have been to them the emblem of freedom, of religious liberty, and of opportunity, that they should now be ready and willing to make the necessary sacrifice in defense of those ideas and principles which have helped to make the Republic what it is.

Real Americanism requires us to be faithful in this hour of trial, for we must help save the world from an autocracy of the foulest kind, which was bent on crushing us when we least expected it.

When peace finally comes let us be resolved to mold America into a greater, stronger, and mightier adherent of the doctrine that right makes might and that all men are to be judged in the future as in the past by the value of their services to our country when she needed them most.

Let us then awaken to the situation which is before us. Let us, if business men, do our duty to the United States by being willing to forego profits when selling to the Government during this war; if we are capable of rendering military service let us be amongst the first to respond, and if for any reason we can not do that, let us do our part by helping the families and dependents of those who are going to the front, that they shall not be in want. Let us make sure that when these boys return that a grateful Republic will make certain their reemployment.

Let me recall a few lines of a poem by Elias Lieberman:

> "See," said my father, pointing to the flag that fluttered near,
> "That flag of stars and stripes is yours;
> It is the emblem of the promised land.
> It means, my son, the hope of humanity.
> Live for it—Die for it.
> Under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so;
> And every drop of blood in me will keep my vow.
> I am proud of my future.
> I am an American."

We are all born to die. The length of man's years is in God's hands and not ours. What grander, greater, and more beautiful bequest can one leave to posterity when he goes from this world, than the words written upon his tombstone: "He gave his life for his country."

Resolutions Adopted by the City Council of Wilmington, Del.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT F. POLK,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by having printed therein certain resolutions adopted by the City Council of Wilmington, Del., relating to the acquisition of the Delaware & Chesapeake

Canal as a part of the plan of preparedness of this Government.

The resolutions are as follows:

WILMINGTON, DEL., *April 19, 1917.*

Whereas it has become alarmingly apparent that the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, in time of war, would be absolutely necessary for the perfect protection of a great portion of the Atlantic coast, with its great cities and important manufacturing plants: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Council of Wilmington, That Congress is hereby urged to take immediate action looking toward the purchase of the canal or to institute immediate proceedings for acquiring the same by condemnation; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our Senators and Representative in Congress; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Council of Wilmington heartily approves of Senator SAULSBURY'S interest in the project, and his endeavor to have the Government purchase or condemn the canal, and the council respectfully solicits the cooperation of Senator WOLCOTT and Representative POLK in bringing about the Government control of the canal, and later of its improvement.

[SEAL.] THE MAYOR AND COUNCIL OF WILMINGTON,
By HENRY C. DOWNWARD,
President of the Council.

Attested:
HOMER C. SIMMONS,
Clerk of the Council.

Resolutions Adopted at a Meeting of the Citizens at Murfreesboro, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. HOUSTON,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted at a meeting of the citizens at Murfreesboro, Tenn.

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolutions adopted by patriotic mass meeting held at the Grand Theater, Murfreesboro, Tenn., on Friday night, April 20, 1917. About 1,000 people attended this meeting and the spirit of enthusiasm and patriotism ran very high.

Whereas the United States of America has made formal entrance into the world's greatest war, combining its destinies with those allied nations of Europe long engaged in open warfare with the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas the American people, always jealous of their inalienable rights and priceless liberties, ready always to resist any form of attack upon their institutions of government, have for almost three years watched with unusual interest the trend of relations between their own country and its present enemy; and

Whereas the people of America, loving peace and having always advocated the fellowship of all nations in a common pact of peace, especially appreciate the efforts of their President, throughout all the long period of disagreement and controversy with Germany, to amicably adjust differences and secure a lasting peace; and

Whereas the United States, seeking no territorial extension by conquest, and having utterly no selfish ends to subserve by the waging of war with any great world power, bravely enters this conflict in behalf of the rights of mankind and the ultimate establishment of peace throughout the world in the future; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States, practically with one accord, met the view of the President, in that war was inevitable; that the body of the Nation favored it; and that, without delay, its declaration should be made, that the honor of the Nation may be upheld; and

Whereas the representatives in Congress from the State of Tennessee, consisting of 2 Senators and 10 Congressmen, solidly aligned themselves with the President and voted for a declaration of war on the part of the country with the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas the Nation faces the gigantic task of speedily providing all necessary preparations for the proper prosecution of the war, including greatly enlarged armed forces on land and sea, together with adequate equipment and maintenance therefor; and

Whereas the President has stressed the shortage of food reserves throughout all food-producing countries of the world, and has made patriotic appeal to the country, especially the South, to increase and conserve the food supply in order that the armies, the country generally, and the European allies of this Government may be properly supplied with such necessities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, in mass meeting assembled, indorse the course of President Woodrow Wilson in his consistent advocacy of peace so long as there was hope for peace. We also commend his wonderful alertness, patience, conservative, and decisive course in dealing with all the causes responsible for war with the German people. We also pledge him our cooperation and loyal support and promise our best efforts toward the maximum production of food supplies during the whole progress of the war; and be it further

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the course of Tennessee's Representatives in Congress in casting their votes for the declaration of war against a known enemy of our beloved country, and express to them our thanks in view of their prompt, courageous, and patriotic action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be furnished to the President of the United States, the honorable Secretaries of War, Navy, and Agriculture, Members of the National Congress from Tennessee, the local newspapers, and the press at Nashville.

Cotton Prices.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,
OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article on cotton prices.

The article is as follows:

COTTON PRICES NOT UNREASONABLE.

Theo. H. Price in Commerce and Finance of April 12 and Arthur R. Marsh in an article printed in his paper, the Economic World, and reprinted with applause by Mr. Price, under the patriotic license of the times makes certain statements in respect to the cotton situation which are so grossly incorrect in fact and indulge in certain generalizations which are so palpably unfair in application that a contradiction is demanded.

Both Mr. Price and Mr. Marsh seem to be disturbed by the present prices of cotton and feel called upon to criticize the producer and holder for rapacity and unpatriotism in their efforts to maintain present prices and in their expectation of a still further enhancement in step with the advance in other commodities.

Mr. Price starts out with the eminently correct statement of principle that the hope of personal gain must in time of war be subordinated to the duty of supplying our military forces and our civil population with the essentials of life at a reasonable price. He then states that the only question with which those who own or produce cotton should concern themselves is, Does the present price of cotton pay a fair profit on the cost of production? So far, so good. But then he makes the preposterous statement that the present price of cotton shows a profit of nearly 200 per cent on the cost of production. From this correct declaration of principle and this incorrect statement of fact his thought flows to the conclusion that it is the patriotic duty of the owners and producers of cotton to sell at the present price and to try to produce an adequate supply for the future. He does not tell his readers that if his advice were followed, and if the present owners of cotton should put their stocks on sale and the producers should plant a largely increased acreage, then the bottom would fall out of the market, entailing present loss and future shortage of supplies.

Mr. Marsh's assault, although delivered from the same high plane of altruism upon which Mr. Price stands, is somewhat more truculent than that of his copatriot. He begins by reciting the harrowing details of the oppression to which certain short sellers on the New York Exchange have been subjected. He then declares that the present price of cotton is inexcusably high, that the producer is already making fully 200 per cent profit and that by his greed he is "besmirching the face of patriotism." The cotton producer alone seems to be guilty of the high crime of rapacity against the commonweal. Mr. Marsh pointedly excuses the excessive rise in the price of foodstuffs upon the theory that the people are prone to wastefulness and extravagance and that the only known means by which they can be brought to habits of economy and frugality in respect to food consumption is through severe enhancement of prices. From Mr. Marsh's reasoning it would therefore appear that high food prices are good because they force the people to economize, but that high cotton prices are bad because, by analogy, they breed in the people habits of extravagance. In other words, Mr. Marsh would have us believe that the patriotic position at this time is to be long on foodstuffs and short on cotton.

Aside from any collateral objections, the trouble with the arguments of both Mr. Price and Mr. Marsh is that they are based upon a flagrantly incorrect premise. Both declare that the producer is at the present price (20 cents) making a profit of 200 per cent on the cost of production. Both base their percentage statements on the alleged figures of the average cost of production published by the United States Department of Agriculture in December, 1914. If the cotton producer was making a profit of anything like the figures stated, I would join Messrs. Price and Marsh in condemning such profit as excessive. But this is not true. The obvious incorrectness of this figure should be apparent to even a journalistic cotton economist in New York City; its actual falsity is well known to every man who is in the least conversant with the problem of cotton production.

In the first place, it is practically impossible to arrive at any accurate statement of the cost of producing cotton. Mr. Price will no doubt recall that a conference which he and I and many others attended in Washington in August, 1914, the request was made of the experts of the Department of Agriculture there present to supply us with production cost figures; to which request answer was made that due to the wide difference in conditions, physical, seasonal, and financial, prevailing in the several sections of the cotton belt, it was impossible to secure any dependable figures on average cost. He will also remember that the consensus of opinion among the practical cotton men there assembled was that the cost of production was upwards of 8 cents per pound on the then existing scale of expenses.

But regardless of the correctness of the department's figures in 1914, and assuming for the sake of the argument that 20 cents per pound (which the producer has not received) represents a profit of 200 per cent on the 1914 cost of production (which it does not), why do Messrs. Price and Marsh take the cost figures of 1914 and deduct them from the alleged selling price of 1917? It is not possible that these distinguished disciples of patriotic economics are unaware that there has been an excessive advance in the price of every single item (money alone excepted) that contributes to the cost of making cotton. Disingenuousness could hardly reach any more intense expression than it does in the effort to convict the cotton producer of extortion by the statement that he is making 200 per cent profit and to undertake to prove that he is making this profit because in 1914 it cost him only around 6½ cents per pound to make his crop, whereas in 1917, after two years of progressive war prices, he was selling for 20 cents per pound.

I am no apologist for extortion. On the contrary, selfish greed is to the last degree offensive to me, and I would go as far as any man to

circumvent it. But we must not permit either half-baked or specious calls to patriotic duty to obscure the real facts of the situation and mislead not only the producers of cotton but the users of cotton goods and the Government itself into costly error.

It is quite true that the producer has made some profit out of the past year's crop, but he was entitled to some profit, and he made it not by favor but because the law of supply and demand and his own fortitude enabled him to make it. But he did not make any 200 per cent or 100 per cent or 50 per cent profit. I do not know just what the average per cent profit amounted to, as that is not accurately ascertained, but I do know from a rather wide practical experience that the past season did not produce any cotton plutocrats, and that the profits of these producers were small in comparison with the gains of those industrial enterprises which spun the staple and trafficked in the manufactured product The present high cost of such foodstuffs as the cotton farmer must buy, of agricultural implements, of work stock, of transportation; the scarcity and high cost of labor; the scarcity, poor quality, and high cost of fertilizers; the wide extension of boll weevil infestation which has increased cost and decreased productive capacity, are the elements which have reduced the producers large theoretic profit to an actual modest remuneration, and which make it necessary for him to realize high prices for his product if he is to live and do his duty as a producer.

As for the future, the cotton farmer faces an inevitable increase in all his costs aggravated by enlarged boll-weevil activity and the wholesale exodus of labor to the Army and to the industrial establishments and avocations which pay higher wages than the farmer even on the basis of present cotton prices is able to pay. The real danger to this country in so far as the cotton problem is concerned is that the farmers will not be economically able to produce an adequate crop. The contingency to fear is not that prices will go too high, but that they will not go high enough to encourage or permit the production of sufficient supplies. If economists of the Price-Marsh school were followed, the present spot holders would offer their reserves, break the market below the cost of production, transfer the remnant to spinners to be manufactured, and then sold at God knows what prices, and next year the world would face a cotton famine which would strain the industrial and military necessities to the breaking point. The Government can and will and should prevent extortion, but the Government will not and should not and can not compel the production of an adequate supply of cotton under cost. The patriotic issue is an economic one. The salvation of the country, in so far as its cotton supply is concerned, lies in advancing the price of cotton so that it will keep pace with the increase in the cost of production. A decline in price at this particular time would be the worst thing that could happen both from the military and industrial point of view. The great essential fact is the need of an adequate supply of cotton for the portentous future. The distress of a few short traders on the New York Exchange will not weigh against the economic necessities of the Nation.

The farmers of the South are as patriotic as the journalists of the East. They will give without stint of their men, their means, and their blood, if necessary, for the Nation's cause. They will freely coordinate their resources and efforts with those of the Government and of the other sections and other departments of industry. They will make all necessary sacrifices for the common cause and the common victory. But they can not make bricks without straw. They can not produce an adequate supply of cotton if they are obliged to pay high and higher prices for everything that goes into the production of the crop and required to sell on the altruistic basis proposed. And, finally, they will not take advice either in patriotism or economics from Messrs. Price and Marsh, of New York.

W. B. THOMPSON.

APRIL 16, 1917.

Militarism and Mr. Anthony's Speech.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP P. CAMPBELL,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from the Topeka (Kans.) Capital, April 29, 1917. The editorial is as follows:

[Editorial from the Topeka (Kans.) Capital, April 29.]

MILITARISM AND MR. ANTHONY'S SPEECH.

Congress has done what everybody knew would be done with the issue of volunteerism—it has destroyed this traditional American system in the bill passed yesterday. This was done against the best opinion of Congress itself. It was done because military authority had won over President Wilson. Such is the confidence of the Nation in its President that Congress was forced to accept the President's bill.

The bill, nevertheless, was amended by the House in one matter, though not one of principle. The President's bill in its original form proposed to skim the cream of the young blood of the Nation into the Army Staff's army. It proposed, under its preposterously misstyled "liability to universal service"—a term invented to deceive the chambers of commerce of the country and bring their pressure to bear through resolutions and telegrams—to exempt 15,000,000 men of military age at a stroke, to restrict the conscripts to 7,000,000 under 25 years of age, and to select from this 7,000,000 of the cream of the young men of the land the 500,000 or 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 desired.

Nothing could be more entertaining than the Army's crocodile tears over volunteering—that the volunteer system sacrificed the best blood of the young of America and let off the "slacker"—in view of this well-conceived Army scheme to skim off precisely this volunteer element of superfine military material, and yet not permit it to call itself volunteers or to volunteer its services?

The House, in fact, defeated so much of the Army Staff scheme by amending the bill so that conscription goes on up to 40 years, instead of quitting with 24.

But the amendment will not amount to anything in reality, because selection is still left to the Regular Army, and the Army will do what it intended to do. It will restrict its selections precisely as if the bill remained as in its original shape.

Congressman ANTHONY was scarcely permitted to make his speech, so constant was the fire of interruptions and questions from every part of the House. He has been for 10 years on the Military Committee. His familiarity with Army men and matters is known to the House, if not to the country. But the questions and interruptions only served to bring out the real "milk in the coconut," as the Capital's readers will perceive this morning.

The Kansas Congressman is not a foe of the Army—far from it—nor has he ever been a bitter critic of big business. In this speech he had been exasperated to the point of telling the truth to the country regarding the combine between these two interests for the military government of the United States.

Mr. ANTHONY says, in answer to a question, that the new law means the wiping out of the National Guard. That has been the determined aim of the Army militarists ever since the militarism issue arose. If this plan lasts it is good-by to the National Guard and to every trace of the volunteer idea in the United States. Every National Guard officer knows this in his heart. It signifies that hereafter all military matters, all military organizations, will be wholly under the thumb of the professional Army chiefs.

There are those short-sighted Americans who approve; they see nothing objectionable in the professional militarists having supreme control of military policy; they are as blind and infatuated as if they should also approve that professional railroad officials should have exclusive control of railroad regulations. As well provide that the professional officials of big business should have supreme control of national policy relating to the regulation and control of trusts and monopolies. Democracy's use for the professional expert is in administration of the policy; in determination of the policy he is interested, biased, and dangerous.

It never has been the instinct or the practice of democracy to trust special interests with supreme control of State policy relating to such interests.

Why the Army has favored this "selective" conscript scheme is too obvious to require elucidating. It breaks the back of all opposition to the Army as the self-dominated military power. As it contemplates destroying the National Guard, so it involves increasing the Regular Army by a similar number.

Why big business has entered into the game, has organized a score of national defense and national security and Army league and Navy league socities, and has sent out glib orators representing these organizations to "educate" the democratic West, whose instincts and knowledge of militarism have cautioned it to resist everything of the sort, is also obvious. Big business wants a Federal Army of magnitude, free from the local control and local sympathetic weakness of a National Guard or militia in its war against strikes and against labor. And big business wants a real military power at its back when it goes out through its large organizations, for that purpose, to obtain special privileges—"concessions"—from weak rulers in South America, in Mexico, in Central America, in China above all, for the exploitation of feeble peoples. Big business and the professional soldier have similar opinions of democracy, similar instincts, and are natural allies.

All this is implied in Mr. ANTHONY'S speech, if not expressed. The speech itself is too long to be printed in the Capital to-day, but the extracts from it in another column will be found to be very good reading.

Opponents of the conscript system and the abolishment of the volunteer have expressed themselves. When war is over or when the issue again comes up they will again be heard from. When Congress acts, the Nation falls in line, and so it will be now. It is the duty of all elements to cooperate once the policy is settled, as it now is settled for the present war.

Espionage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, while we are spreading democracy in Europe we are making the same mighty thin in the United States. This section 4 of the espionage bill leaves the President power to make law, execute the law, and to determine who shall be prosecuted. Those who voted as directed by the General Staff and scolded those of us who could not surrender our convictions, now worship no longer at the shrine of the General Staff, and demand their liberty to think. We welcome you from the rubber-stamp column to help us knock out this section 4. It will, if enacted, protect every Army contractor and prevent the people from knowing what is happening to our boys.

Newspapers are a necessary evil and a great blessing. Do not get mad when they roast you, or lie about you. Very soon they will tell just as big ones flattering you. The people do not believe what they read there unless they want to. We had better stand by the Constitution for free speech and a free press. The editors are like Congressmen—mostly honest, with here and there an exception. There are some small editors printing large papers and some great editors printing small papers. These great editors are loyal. Give them all a chance. If they print anything willfully to aid the enemy the law will punish them. To illustrate the danger of placing law making and law enforcement in one branch of Government: It is treason to

discourage enlistment in time of war. The administration—General Staff—papers print letters and editorials begging Col. Roosevelt not to enlist. If one of our great editors of a small paper should discourage our boys from enlisting in the Regular Army during this war he would be invited to go to jail by the shortest possible route.

Our hearts thrilled when our President changed the purpose of this war from the exercise of a "doubtful legal right" to the spread of democracy. We believe he meant it. The people of Chicago believe he meant it. At a meeting in Chicago 100 of loyal patriotic men signed the following statement. It is headed by our ex-governor, Edward F. Dunne, and by many of the judges of our courts; by the clergy, by business men and leading professional men. Here is the declaration and the signers:

DECLARATION.

The cry for liberty from the people of China, Russia, Poland, and Portugal has been heeded. The avowed purpose of America, as well as England, on entering the world war was to establish the rights and liberties of small nations, to advance the cause of permanent world peace, and to make the whole world free.

Ireland is one of the small nations and is demanding her liberty. Over her destinies the present enemies of England and America have no control and England has full power to give Ireland her liberty.

As America has an opportunity to bring about the freedom of Ireland now, we Americans of Irish birth or ancestry ask that the Congress of the United States pass a resolution calling upon Great Britain to stand by her solemn declaration and grant to Ireland her rights and liberties by permitting her to establish an Irish Republic.

Edward F. Dunne, former governor of Illinois; John P. McGoorty, judge of the appellate court of Illinois; Kickham Scanlan, chief justice of the circuit court of Illinois; George F. Barrett, judge of the circuit court of Cook County; Robert Emmet Crowe, judge of the circuit court of Cook County; Marcus Kavanagh, judge of the superior court of Cook County and former colonel of the Seventh Regiment Illinois National Guard; Hon. Thomas F. Scully, judge of the county court of Cook County; John A. Mahoney, judge of the municipal court of Chicago; Hugh J. Kearns, judge of the municipal court of Chicago; Joseph P. Rafferty, judge of the municipal court of Chicago; George E. Gorman, former Congressman from Illinois; Joseph P. Mahoney, former minority leader of the Illinois Senate; Rev. Francis X. McCabe, president De Paul University; Rev. Michael O'Sullivan; Rev. John K. Fielding, president Irish Literary Society; Rev. John J. Green; Rev. James P. O'Donoghue, of St. Patrick's Church; P. J. Reynolds, State president Ancient Order of Hibernians; George P. Kerrigan; Edmund J. Rice; James P. Walsh, president United Irish Societies; P. J. Farley; B. J. Mahoney, assistant State's attorney, Cook County; Michael F. Sullivan, assistant State's attorney, Cook County; Thomas P. Bonfield, secretary United Irish Societies; John T. Stanton; J. J. Hickey; Daniel L. Cruice; J. J. O'Connor; Thomas A. O'Shaughnessy; Francis J. Kilkenny; D. J. Herlihy; John A. McGarry, president Irish Fellowship Club; James V. O'Donnell, president Irish Fellowship Club; John J. Brown, president Irish-American Club of Cook County; John J. Coburn; Hugh O'Neill; John J. Mahoney, president Irish Nationalists; James A. O'Callaghan; T. N. Morrissey; P. Gallagher; Francis B. O'Gallagher; Joseph Joyce, former president Irish Fellowship Club; John B. Hayes; Joseph A. O'Donnell; J. H. Harrington; D. S. Harrington, secretary Ancient Order Hibernians, county board; Patrick H. O'Donnell; Francis E. Croarkin; John E. Sheridan; J. F. Donohue; John M. Murphy; Patrick T. Barry, former president Irish Fellowship Club; W. H. Burkin; Martin J. McNally; Michael J. McGlynn; Lawrence R. Buckley, president United Irish League; Alexander Pope, M. D.; James Hyland; Dr. Thomas S. Crowe, former Cook County physician; John F. Long; Thomas J. McKeown; William P. Crowe; Charles Callahan; Patrick Breslin; Elbridge Hanecy, former judge of circuit and superior courts of Cook County and former president Irish Fellowship Club; Stephen Henehan; William F. Meagher; William P. J. Halley; Frank J. Ryan, former member Illinois Legislature; Rev. Frank L. Reynolds; P. F. Conway; R. T. Hanrahan; John Morgan; Charles Lynch; James McDevitt; Thomas J. Falvey; Matthias Harford, the Irish World; Bryan Connolly; Thomas F. Hunt; M. J. Carey; Francis D. Connery, former city clerk of Chicago; John F. Higgins, city printer; James W. Higgins, publisher Public Safety; Henry P. Bergen, alderman, city of Chicago; James Conwell, editor the Chicago Citizen; James I. Naghten, president the Hibernia Fire Insurance and president Metropolitan Fire Insurance Co.; Thomas J. Considine, president John T. Shane Co.; John F. Scanlon; James O'Shaughnessy, president O'Shaughnessy Advertising Co.; Patrick I. Creedon; Charles V. Barrett; Eugene O'Riordan; Capt. Edward H. White; Richard W. Wolfe, president Cook County Real Estate Board; Thomas P. Flynn; Thomas Moriarity, State secretary Ancient Order of Hibernians; Daniel Scanlan; James A. Hogan; James T. Clarke; Stephen N. Kelly; Dr. William P. Honan; Leo J. Doyle, judge municipal court of Chicago; Hon. William E. Dever, judge of the appellate court of Cook County; James R. Quinn, assistant State's attorney.

This is not the cry of Irish-Americans alone. It is the cry of every lover of human liberty all over the world, who said "Amen" when the President demanded liberty and self-government for all the "peoples" and all governments of the world.

Baltimore Raises Quota for Navy in Time Specified.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

LED ALL CITIES IN THE EAST—BALTIMORE ONLY ONE THAT RAISED QUOTA FOR NAVY IN TIME SPECIFIED.

Of the big Atlantic seaboard cities, Baltimore was the only one to meet the President's call for more men for the Navy in the specified time. Figures are beginning to become known about what happened in other parts of the East and in the country at large.

New York was called upon for 2,000 men, and raised only 960, not many more than Baltimore. Philadelphia's quota was 1,200, and she contributed but 590, over 200 fewer than this city.

Four cities arrived at their goal in time. They were Baltimore, with 800; Kansas City, with 800; Cincinnati, with 400; and Portland, Oreg., with 800.

Since the expiration of the time limit, Minneapolis has completed her 800, but several other large cities, such as Boston and Cleveland, have not yet reported.

It is believed that the Navy at the present time is nearly up to the emergency complement of 87,000 required by the President's call, but it will not stop there. A bill which has the approval of the President and has been favorably reported by the committees of both branches of Congress authorizes a further increase to 150,000. This will provide plenty of men for all the Navy's needs—the work on shore at the navy yards and the manning of the new ships, including the "mosquito fleet."

If this new force is authorized, the drive for more men will start all over again, regardless of whether the selective-draft bill passes Congress, as the machinery for conscription will require some time to be put in working order.

Lieut. Wilson is chiefly concerned at present with the gathering of 30 hospital apprentices, who are needed badly, and with the enlistment of machinists and firemen, of whom there is a dearth in the Navy and whose promotion is correspondingly rapid.

The Espionage Bill—Shall the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights be Deleted by a Censor? Shall the American People be Compelled to Fight in the Dark? Shall the People be Gagged as Well as Chained?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, on April 5, 1917, Good Friday, the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled decided that this great country should enter the great war. Acting according to my honest and sincere convictions, I voted against such action, along with a small minority. War has been declared, and once the Stars and Stripes are unfurled in the front of an American army there is but one path of duty for a patriotic American to follow, and that is to think, talk, act, and shoot from his country's side, always and only.

On April 28, 1917, the House of Representatives threw into the discard our time-honored volunteer army system and decided that this great people could not be trusted to assemble at the trumpet call of duty and "rally 'round the flag" but must be driven into military servitude instead of being led into patriotic military duty. Believing, as I did, that American manhood would rather be led than driven, I voted against this measure of iniquity and am proud of my vote.

To-day you come with a still graver proposition, a proposition so full of menace to every vital principle of liberty, so contrary to every precedent and tradition of our past history, and, what is of still more importance, so fraught with peril to any possible success in our conduct of this war that I am at a loss even in this day of denaturing representative democracy to understand the mental processes of those who are responsible for the introduction of this measure.

Before considering the peril to us in present conditions let us for a moment look back to the past. Let us summon from the glorious pages of American history the mighty intellects and

patriotic souls that wrought the constitutional concrete foundation upon which our magnificent Republic was built.

The very first amendment to the Constitution reads as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

This, Mr. Speaker, is very plain and simple. It requires neither learning nor education to understand, and I may say frankly if somewhat brusquely I do not think the most astute lawyer nor the most subtle and adroit interpreter of constitutional law and history can get around the obvious truth that Congress to-day is trying to do something plainly and explicitly forbidden by the Constitution. Are we going to treat the first amendment of the Constitution as a "scrap of paper"?

Now, let us examine what the master minds who framed the Constitution had to say on this very subject. Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson differed very widely on many fundamental doctrines of government and were in their day leaders of two schools of thought with conflicting theories of constitutional construction, amendment, and interpretation, but both agreed that under the Constitution Congress should not have any power over the press.

Hamilton said in reference to the first amendment:

They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted, and on this very account would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision—

To wit, an amendment—

would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power. They might urge with a semblance of reason that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a power to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the National Government.

Therefore—

Said Mr. Hamilton—

as the power does not exist in the National Government to legislate concerning the press, to adopt an amendment with reference to the subject matter would be an implication that the power does exist, and it does not.

Very well—

Said Mr. Jefferson—

I agree with you that the power is not legitimately here, and that it was not intended to be here, and that it is a subject matter which belongs to the States, the same as the common police power of the States. But there is in the Constitution a provision that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the powers here granted, and it might be held and might be construed to include regulation and legislation concerning the press. Therefore, accepting your view that it is not among the powers of the General Government, and that it should not be among such powers, we ask for a declaratory amendment to the Constitution which shall put it beyond peradventure that it is not one of the powers granted to the National Government.

James Madison, often referred to as the father of the Constitution, submitted a report to the Virginia Legislature which has direct bearing upon the subject, and I will insert here an excerpt from this report:

When the Constitution was under the discussions which preceded its ratification it is well known that great apprehensions were expressed by many lest the omission of some positive exception from the powers delegated of certain rights, and of the freedom of the press particularly, might expose them to danger of being drawn by construction within some of the powers vested in Congress, more especially of the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying their other powers into execution. In reply to this objection it was invariably urged to be a fundamental and characteristic principle of the Constitution that all powers not given by it were reserved; that no powers were given beyond those enumerated in the Constitution, and such as were fairly incident to them; that the power over the rights in question, and particularly over the press, was neither among the enumerated powers nor incident to any of them, and consequently that an exercise of any such power would be manifest usurpation. It is painful to remark how much the arguments now employed in behalf of the sedition act are at variance with the reasoning which then justified the Constitution and invited its ratification.

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Without tracing further the evidence on this subject, it would seem scarcely possible to doubt that no power whatever over the press was supposed to be delegated by the Constitution as it originally stood and that the amendment was intended as a positive and absolute reservation of it.

But the evidence is still stronger. The proposition of amendments made by Congress is introduced in the following terms:

"The conventions of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstructions or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institutions."

Here is the most satisfactory and authentic proof that the several amendments proposed were to be considered as either declaratory or restrictive, and, whether the one or the other, as corresponding with the desire expressed by a number of the States and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government.

Under any other construction of the amendment relating to the press than that it declared the press to be wholly exempt from the power of Congress the amendment could neither be said to correspond with the desire expressed by a number of the States nor be calculated to extend the ground of public confidence in the Government.

Nay, more; the construction employed to justify the "sedition act" would exhibit a phenomenon without parallel in the political world. It would exhibit a number of respectable States as denying, first, that any power over the press was delegated by the Constitution; as proposing next that an amendment to it should explicitly declare that no such power was delegated, and, finally, as concurring in an amendment actually recognizing or delegating such a power.

Let me quote here from the very illuminating speech of Senator BORAH in the Senate on April 19, 1917:

Mr. President, I do not want to take too much of the time in recurring to these historic incidents; but I think it is well to know what was the actual view of those who wrote the Constitution, in order that we may more properly construe its terms. Without insisting that this historic interpretation is to be accepted as the true and final construction, it is exceedingly important in arriving at the true construction.

I have before me Jefferson's Works, volume 18; and in the forefront of that work is an article by the Hon. Josephus Daniels, present Secretary of the Navy, on the subject of "Jefferson's contribution to a free press." It is a very interesting and illuminating article and has a direct bearing on the present question. He quotes at length from Jefferson's view. There can be no doubt as to what Jefferson understood to be the import and purpose of the first amendment, and with him Hamilton entirely agreed, and so did Madison.

Says Jefferson:

"The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institution."

In the days of the Civil War, when Mr. Lincoln was being criticized and assailed as no other man in public office ever was by some of the great journals of the country, which are still among our great journals, his reply was that the administrators and administration had better suffer some of the evils and some of the sorrows which accompany such work than that the people should lose control of or forfeit the great benefits flowing from the absolute fredom of the press.

Jefferson and Lincoln both always adhered to the principle that the evils of attempting to restrain the press or speech must be incalculably greater than the evils flowing from their freedom.

Again quoting Mr. Jefferson:

"To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty.

* * * * * * *

"Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost.

* * * * * * *

"The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties."

Says Mr. Daniels himself, in regard to the first amendment:

"For this amendment and the healthy agitation that secured it all men who believe in a free press will ever hold Jefferson in grateful esteem. It was contended that this amendment was wholly unnecessary—'useless surplusage,' as one Federalist declared—but the prophetic eye of the liberty-loving sage of Monticello looked from Paris across the Atlantic and saw that the influences that distrusted the people would muzzle the press unless the Constitution forged chains that would deny power 'abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.'"

Later I may have occasion to refer to this in reference to the sedition laws.

Mr. President, it is my judgment that whatever may be the construction placed upon this provision of the Constitution now, there can be no doubt that those who wrote this instrument thoroughly understood that they were excluding from the National Government all power with reference to the press; that it was a subject matter entirely withdrawn from the National Government. There was no difference of opinion upon that subject among those in the best position to know. The only reason for the first amendment was to prevent a possible construction which might include control of the press as one of the powers which the National Government could exercise. The only difference of opinion was as to whether it was necessary to put into the Constitution an inhibitory power which would prevent a misconstruction of the Constitution.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have indicated briefly some of the traditions of the past which are all against the adoption of a censorship system. Let us, however, look at the matter from a present-day point of view. If we want the American people to stand firmly behind the Government in the prosecution of this war to a successful issue, the sooner we let them know all of the real facts the sooner they will realize the size of the job we are undertaking and the quicker they will be ready to do their effective bit. But do not deceive yourselves about one thing, and that is they will not fight in the dark. Our people are not servile, willing slaves that will follow blindly at anyone's beck or call; nor are they timid, shrinking souls who can not be trusted with the knowledge that they have a hard battle to fight. And if any further reason against this absurd folly were necessary the consequences on England to-day of a mediæval censorship system should be a sufficient warning for us to profit by.

Let me quote from an editorial in the New York American of April 27, 1917, which is full of patriotic wisdom:

IT IS NEITHER WISE NOR RIGHT TO COMPEL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO FIGHT THIS TREMENDOUS WAR IN THE DARK.

* * * * * * *

But when we see the mischief and damage and dangers which our people have suffered through the concealment, falsification, distortion, and garbling of the news and the truth, during more than two years,

by the British censorship which has had control of our cables, our mails, our news agencies, and every avenue of information, then we are stirred to strong opposition to this proposed grant of the same powers, to be used in the same harmful way by a department of our own Government.

The British people at this very moment have no conception at all of the true political and military conditions in Europe, owing to the operation of their censorship, and neither have most Americans, for that matter. So far as we know, the only publications in this country which have steadily told the truth about the real conditions are the Hearst publications, and that these publications have had to do under great difficulties, because the British Government has been permitted to deny any American publication the use of the cables, to rifle the mail of any American publication, and to deprive any American publication of its rights under international law, and did do those very things to any American newspaper or other publication which tried to obtain true and reliable news from Europe.

The extent to which this policy of suppression, concealment, falsification, distortion, and garbling has been able to impose on the American people is one of the chief wonders of the war. It probably imposed on the President, upon the Cabinet, and upon Members of the Congress, as well as upon the man in the street, and it is quite possible that even some of the newspapers were imposed upon by the very stuff they were more or less obliged to print.

We call your attention to this extract from the daily report of the World's Washington correspondent, Mr. Louis Seibold, a very capable journalist and high in the good graces of Mr. Wilson, the report appearing under date of April 24:

"The President and his Cabinet this afternoon obtained a clear view of the task confronting the United States in its war against Germany.

"What is required to strengthen the weak links of the narrowing allied ring about the Teutonic forces was brought out in detail for the information of the President and his Cabinet in the memoranda presented by Mr. Balfour and his associates. These necessities were grouped under three general heads. The first, of course, was money; the second, ships to carry to the allies what money will buy, and finally and more remotely, men, if occasion requires.

"The exact situation in Russia and Italy was revealed by no other information previously received.

"Suggestions for relieving these conditions, which admittedly have been the cause of much concern to the allied Governments, were presented with such unmistakable clarity as to confirm the belief that the first country to receive attention should be Russia and the second Italy."

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Of one thing we are sure, and that is that the President and the Cabinet have now, for the first time, an adequate conception of European conditions; and the reason they have an adequate conception for the first time is due to the fact that they have persisted in believing the false and utterly untrustworthy reports and so-called "news" with which the British censorship has stuffed American newspapers through its control of the only avenues by which American newspapers could get any news at all from Europe.

And we can not refrain from pointing out that if our Government had firmly insisted upon the inviolability of mails between other countries and ours—a long-established and undeniable neutral right—this abuse of censorship in deceiving and misleading our people would not have been possible.

At this moment Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet know at last whether or not we have been right all the time in denouncing this censorship, in exposing its unscrupulous and lying character, and in warning our Government and our people that they were being constantly deceived as to the real situation of affairs, political and military, in Europe.

If they do not know this, if we have been wrong, if our statements are substantially incorrect, we stand ready and willing to be corrected.

If, on the contrary, the President and his Cabinet do now know that we are, and all the time have been, substantially right in our statements, then it seems to us that the portion of the American people who do not read the Hearst papers have a right to be told the truth by our Government itself—and the right to be guarded against any more such wholesale suppression and falsification of the truth as have marked the whole course of censorship during this war.

We stand upon the broad ground that the American people are the rulers as well as the citizens of this country, and that they have the sovereign right to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about matters which affect their fortunes and their lives and the safety and honor of the Republic.

We appeal to the Congress to kill this contemptible and dangerous espionage bill where it stands.

It is an offense to decency and to our common liberties, and it will become, like the British censorship, an instrument to hoodwink and deceive the American people to their humiliation and undoing—exactly as the English people have been deceived and are deceived at this very moment.

We are not children, that we can not be trusted to know our own business affairs; we are not cowards who dare not be told that we have lost a battle—we Americans.

We are free men—our own sovereigns in our own land—and we insist that there is nothing the Government can possibly know that we have not all of us the right to know, the courage to hear, and the sense to deliberate upon with just as much intelligence and just as good judgment as any of our public servants—President, Cabinet officer, Congressman, or anybody else.

Is not that so, citizens?

I can readily understand one element in our country desiring a censorship and that is the stockjobbers, food manipulators, armor-plate swindlers, and other grafters who scent enormous possibilities during this war. They have succeeded in getting some sort of censorship already, but a kept press is costly, and no matter how much money this precious pack can gather in, they always hate to pay any out, and if they could get the Government to keep the press from giving the news they would be just that much money in.

And then what an orgy of rapacious swindling we would be up against. The Civil War and the Spanish-American War are still fresh in the memories of lots of people, but the performances of the Army contractors of those days would fade into insignificance if the lid was put on all independent criticism and this hungry horde were left to work their own sweet will. Can not any intelligent man draw a picture of what will happen?

Shoddy uniforms to brave the rigors of winter, paper-soled shoes to wade in the swampy trenches, embalmed beef and other delectables to feed on, defective armor plate on our ships—oh, it is a beautiful picture. And if anyone dared to say a protesting word or print a line of intelligent criticism, to jail with the traitor. Verily, this is in truth "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Now, let us examine another feature. Along with the censorship I suppose we will have the same kind of publicity that we have been getting. Everywhere we would see headlines announcing that the enemy had suffered a crushing defeat; that the war would soon be over; that this line or that line had been pierced, and so on ad libitum. And the weeks and months would grow into years and we would be asked just for a few more billions of dollars, just for a few more million soldiers, and yet the truth would be withheld, and our boys would be sent to slaughter without knowing or comprehending the game they were up against.

I say this is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," should be the eternal motto of a democratic government.

Let me quote right here from another editorial in the New York American of May 1, 1917:

* * * * * * *

We have never believed, nor do we ever mean to try to believe that any national good—military or economic or political—can be achieved by telling lies and by a general deception of the people.

That is the most false, foolish, and mischevious policy that can possibly be adopted by a government, either in peace or in war.

Let him who doubts that look at England, in her distress and peril, crying to us for help to save her from the deadly strangle hold of the German submarines, and then remember that if the English and American peoples had been told the whole truth for months past they could have saved enough food and stored enough food to have carried England through her peril.

But the inconceivable stupidity and fatuous folly that persisted in deriding the danger, in concealing the conditions, in buoying up the people with false reports of victory, and bragging prophecies of their enemies' imminent ruin, persisted day after day—and day after day England went on wasting its precious food, jeering at the careful and provident Germans, talking of its invincible navy's ability to destroy any puny menace of submarine boats, denouncing wise and prudent men's warnings as the utterances of faint hearts and disloyal tongues until now, astonished, dazed, and helpless, the English people have waked to the terrible truth that the German submarines have England by the throat and will choke her into defeat unless we—the despised Yankee dollar chasers—save her from her doom.

That is what the fatuous and idiotic censorship has done for England.

That is the disastrous result of the so-called patriotism which denounces truth-telling as disloyal—which waves flags and brags about licking all creation, when it ought to be planting potatoes and preparing for the future.

That is what comes of the idiotic folly of belittling the power and skill and bravery of strong and wise enemies.

That is what comes of jeering at and denouncing the warnings of loyal men and newspapers who have sense enough to perceive facts and to forecast emergencies.

That is what comes of senseless lying, of still more senseless bragging, of yet more senseless refusal to recognize danger and to prepare for it before it comes.

Countrymen, incredible as it seems, it is now proposed to follow that same identical policy of concealment in this country.

As a matter of fact, that same identical policy is being followed.

In a very large measure, your newspapers are still at the mercy of the same British censorship which has brought England to the verge of defeat and ruin.

You are being deceived every day as to the military and political situations in Europe, because your newspapers are filled with the colored, distorted, garbled, and frequently false narratives of the war's progress which alone are permitted to pass, either by cable or by mail, through the hands of this stupid and arbitrary London censorship.

And now we are told that another censorship like it is needed in America.

If these men who, unhappily for the sad and wretched earth, have the fate of nations in their hands really did possess that broad statesmanship which wisely looks ahead, which trusts in its people's courage and intelligence, the last vestige of censorship would be removed before the sun sets this night. The whole truth, the bad as well as the good, would be spread before the peoples of France and England and America, open as the daylight, for their inspection and their information, so that they, who have to pay the huge money cost and shed the streams of blood which this terrible and awful war demands, might know the extent of their task, the extent of the sacrifices to be made, and, so knowing, brace themselves to do or die, courageously and intelligently, and not go like dumb cattle, driven in herds to die, they know not why nor for what.

The fundamentals of liberty are freedom of speech and freedom of printing.

These two necessities and guaranties of freedom are just as essential to the intelligent conduct of war, by a democracy, as they are essential to the intelligent conduct of peace.

If the Congress shuts its eyes and ears to all the piled-up evidence of the mischief and disasters wrought by espionage and censorship abroad, and inflicts upon our own country this stupid and criminal blunder by passing the espionage bill, we do not see what possible excuse they can find in the day of reckoning that must surely come.

For nothing can be more certain than that this war must end, that these times of excitement must be succeeded by times of calmness, that everything which is now done in haste and amid hurrahs, must

be explained to a people who will no longer be hurrahing, who will have learned what haste and blunders cost and who will not be in a mild mood or a pleasant mood.

The Congressman who votes right upon the espionage bill and other bills may not be popular at this time, but he will hear his people's plaudits some day

Kill this espionage bill, gentlemen of the Congress.

You know it is wrong and un-American and offensive to all the instincts of a free people, don't you?

Then kill it.

It is very difficult to understand why any statesman who is at all familiar with American citizenship should desire a censorship. We have plenty of laws now to punish treason and prevent espionage if they were properly enforced. I will insert here a clipping from the Milwaukee News of April 30, 1917, which is pertinent to the subject:

THE WHY OF THE LAW.

The censorship bill which would muzzle the American press and stifle all attempts at criticism that fail to meet the approval of the powers that be, has aroused such a storm of disapproval that the President seeks to allay popular indignation at this glaring attempt to void constitutional rights, by pledging that he himself will under no circumstances apply the rigid measure to prevent criticism of himself as an official. The President, in a letter to a New York editor, says:

"I approve this legislation, but * * * so far as I personally am concerned, I shall not expect or permit any part of this law to apply to me or any of my official acts in any way to be used as a shield against criticism"

If the law is not to be enforced, then why enact it? If the measure Mr. Wilson approves is to be nullified in advance of passage by presidential decision, then why the law?

And even if the President personally will not wield the unconstitutional club to muzzle the press, what guaranty have the American people that no other official will wield it? And even if Mr. Wilson pledges that neither he, his official family, nor any other Federal officials shall be permitted to gag the press, the utter asininity of passing a law that by presidential decree is guaranteed enforcement—proof still remains to challenge the sanity of Congress and the administration.

The very fact that leaders pledge not to enforce a law is a confession of fear that the law itself will not hold water. And by what right does an Executive, who is sworn to enforce the law, set himself as a judge as to whether or not a law shall be enforced?

The whole program to muzzle the press seems to smack of unconstitutionality, tyranny, and deceit.

Mr. Speaker, it is very distasteful for me to be compelled to vote against any war measure. I have always believed in absolute loyalty to America and believe in it still. I know no other country; I am not deeply concerned in any other country; but as long as I remain in Congress I will continue to vote against any proposition, war measure or no war measure, that seeks to place upon the shoulders of my countrymen any of the repressive statutes that have made the Old World suffer for centuries.

I do not believe the fetters have yet been forged to chain the spirit of American liberty, and I for one will not help to forge them.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to extend remarks I desire to add a few words to what I said on this bill in the House on Wednesday, April 25, page 1113 of the RECORD.

I then, with a full realization of my words and after much consideration and thought, said:

I can not vote for this bill if its volunteering features are stricken out as proposed; I will vote for it if such features are retained.

My convictions of duty in this regard as thus expressed have grown and strengthened with the masterful discussion of the subject pro and con, to which I have listened with care, on the floor of the House; and, much as I would like to be able to agree with a few sincere friends in my district who have written me differently, urging that I ought to give up my own convictions of a lifetime and as a Member of Congress automatically register the will of the General Staff of an army soon, as I believe, to be reorganized on a Prussianized basis, I can not so do. I may be wrong, but every instinct within me rebels at such humiliation. I would rather resign and let the people back home send to Washington a more subservient tool of militarism.

A large conscript army organized as must be done under this bill, permanently to be kept in service as a standing army after peace has come, is, in my judgment, the end of free institutions in America, destructive of that form of government which Lincoln in his inspired words at Gettysburg said our forefathers had brought forth on this continent and which he and other sturdy, unflinching American patriots have ever since maintained without foreign cooperation or entanglements. I know the ready answer to this is that, as our country is at war, no citizen should haggle as to means. In a sense this is true; but, on the other hand, the same majority vote that strikes down the volunteering system in favor of an exclusive conscript system will be able to pass the bill, however radical its tendency toward militarism, and the responsibility for the measure must and should rest with such majority. I do not wish to aid by my vote in robbing anyone of this distinction. The rules of the House very properly provide for just such contingency, and a member of the minority, feeling as I do about the situation, may by answering "Present" when his name is called show and thus record the fact that he opposes only a part of the bill, leaving its good and bad features to be approved by an already ascertained majority. No other vote is possible in explanation of vital issues of conscience when they arise with men of conviction and honesty of purpose; but this does not absolve the dissenting minority from further duty in regard to the bill or from aiding the majority in efforts to perfect it by fair consideration of its other provisions. Accordingly, although this vital question of the right and duty of the citizen to voluntarily enlist, if he desires, without being conscripted, in defense of his country when assailed, has been stricken from the bill by a decisive majority in favor of organizing our American armies on a conscript, militaristic basis; yet I have and shall continue my best efforts in aiding to perfect the bill in a number of other important respects which the discussion has developed to be faulty, although it is admitted to have been drawn by the scientific "high-brows" of the General Staff:

In the minority report, headed by Mr. KAHN, it is said:

The bill as originally forwarded to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs was drafted in the War Department and has the approval of the Commander in Chief of the Army, his civilian representative, the Secretary of War, and the officers of the General Staff and the Staff Corps. The military officers are the experts of the Government in military matters. It is to them the Nation will look for the organization and the conduct in the field of our armies in the present war. The study of military plans and problems constitutes their life work. On the other hand, the members of the Committee on Military Affairs are laymen. They are not military men. And yet the majority of the committee have seen fit to set their own views on the raising of the proper military forces for the successful conduct of the war above the views of the trained military experts of the Government.

We are expected to accept mandates as to this legislation from the War Department without question or individual thought of our own; expected to abrogate our functions as representatives of the people. No one is to question the wisdom of the genial gentleman in the War Department, although recently appointed from civil life.

But do the facts connected with the drafting of this bill warrant belief in its author's infallibility or in that of the General Staff who are supposed to assist him?

The discussion of the bill had not proceeded far until a mistake of $3,000,000,000 was discovered and on motion stricken out by a large majority. So much for one item of saving by vigilance of House Members in refusing to adopt blindly the suggestions of the Army experts. In speaking in favor of this motion, its author, Mr. FITZGERALD, chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, a most level-headed leader on the Democratic side of the House, used these words:

The sum of $3,000,000,000 is placed in the hands of a single official of this Government to be expended by him in his discretion, without any restriction or limitation whatever on his power. It is a greater sum and a greater power than has ever been committed to any one man in any country in the history of the world. It is practically three times the entire annual cost of the Federal Government up to within a few years. * * * This is not all. * * * This is a critical time for us. We are guardians of the public purse. We should give every dollar essential for the proper conduct of the war, but we should not, in the guise of doing so, surrender the most precious right reserved to the representatives of the American people—the control of the public funds.

Of course, I voted for this amendment, although having made up my mind as a matter of vital principle not to vote for the final passage of the bill unless its volunteering features should be restored. Amendments of this character certainly tend to improve a bill, and they should be supported by Members favoring them without regard to their intentions as to final action on the measure.

In like manner and for like purpose I shall support or oppose other amendments according to my best judgment of their merits.

I voted for an amendment to authorize the President to have a division of volunteers organized, distinctly to be enlisted, not drafted, for foreign service, and to be led by a former Commander in Chief of the Army, Theodore Roosevelt, whose judgment to-day ought to be as reliable as that of a civilian Secretary of War, and who is still young and vigorous and willing to lead his volunteer followers, if need be, on foreign soil into the jaws

of death, anywhere they may be ordered, in defense of American rights or the honor of Old Glory. We can not think of a man of his type leading an army of conscripts; they are not as a rule of his way of thinking or fighting, and no amount of training can imbue them with the independent self-respecting spirit of an intelligent volunteer. As well imagine George Washington leading a band of hired Hessians as of Theodore Roosevelt leading an army of unthinking conscripts. Brains and brawn and bravery are characteristic of Roosevelt's followers; they believe in his personal integrity and patriotic purpose. They are anxious to follow his banner, answer to his bugle call, and, if denied, as now seems probable, I predict that the refusal of the War Department and Congress to allow Col. Roosevelt to call around him an army of such men, willing and glad to go with him into the trench fighting of Europe, will be resented sooner or later by the American people. One word of command from him to a division of American volunteers on any of the bloody battle fields of Europe would be cheering to our allies and be worth more to humanity than all the conscript armies our infallible Secretary of War can draft into the service.

Amendments to the bill of possibly less importance have been adopted and there is now no doubt of the measure being in better form than when it came fresh from the red-tape rooms of the General Staff with the military stamp of perfection upon it.

The age limit has been raised to 40, making it apply to men and not alone to schoolboys; the pay of $15 per month for private soldiers has been doubled, and the hiring of substitutes has been forbidden. All in all, it has been much improved, and but for my unalterable objection to conscription without first giving the citizen an opportunity to volunteer, I should be glad to vote for the bill in its entirety.

One amendment for which I have voted somewhat doubtfully is worthy of special mention. It gives to the President authority to exempt from the draft features all persons engaged in agriculture without regard to the length of time they shall have been so engaged. Such provision may develop a back to the farm stampede, but I hardly think it will. The farmer boys of my district, the eighteenth Ohio, blessed with pure air, good health, and hardy constitutions, patriotically alert mentally, and without enervating habits of idleness, are as brave, courageous, athletic, and venturesome as their village or city neighbors, and I prophesy that this gracious tenderness toward them will fail of its purpose, and that, like Putnam from the plow and the Minute Men of Lexington, the farmer boys of 1917, as in every war of the Republic, will find some way of getting to the front with their rugged fighting spirit, and when the war ends, as it will in victory for the American Army, they will have won imperishable honors and the lasting gratitude of the Government and people. They belong naturally at the front like Col. Roosevelt, and are likely in the end to resent any attempt to classify them as mollycoddles.

Nor is the proposed mobilization of farm products and farm activities, of which we hear rumors from the same sources whence came the influence back of the conscription movement, likely to be satisfactory to the farming classes. Men of mature years, accustomed to think for themselves in their own business and transact it according to their own ideas, are not likely to look kindly upon a shoulder-strapped deputy when he comes round to inspect and order them in regard to ordinary details.

But it is perhaps better not to speculate as to the future. No one in Washington seems to be able to tell what a day or an hour may bring forth.

As this discussion draws to a close it has become apparent that the American volunteer system, successful heretofore in all our wars, is to be stricken down. The militaristic conscription system is to be substituted in its place as the future military policy of the Republic by influences powerful enough in this House to override the earnest pleadings of our honored Speaker, former Speaker CANNON, the chairmen of both the Military and Naval Committees, the majority leader, Mr. KITCHIN, Dr. FESS, Mr. MONDELL, Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas, and many other leaders of experience and conscience.

In conclusion, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a last word on this subject to fellow Members of this House, whose good opinions I value, and to my constituents. By constituents I mean the sturdy, intelligent citizenship of a district far above the average, some of whom, with candid sincerity, which I highly appreciate, have sent me telegrams and letters containing views radically differing from my own conclusions. I do not mean alone the few who, not subject to conscription themselves, have suddenly assumed patriotic prominence by sending sensational telegrams and communications urging, in some instances under penalty of political ostracism, that I support their ideas without regard to my own reasoning or judgment. By constituents I also mean real constituents who have no selfish motives to subserve in favoring conscription as against volunteering, and to these I say that while my feelings and convictions are unalterably opposed to forcible conscription until opportunity be afforded for volunteer enlistments, yet my opposition to this feature of the bill shall not weaken my support of the administration program in other respects. If a law favoring conscription and leading to permanent militarism be enacted, I shall stand ready to vote full power to the President to exhaust, if necessary, all the resources of a brave, free people, all the resources of the Government in men and money, to bring the war to a successful conclusion. My loyalty does not depend upon the form of government of which I am a citizen. Citizenship with me implies duty; and if my worst fears shall be realized and this proposed change in the basic methods of the Republic shall be accomplished and the ideals of Washington, Lincoln, and McKinley be Prussianized in fact, I shall still be an American, pure and simple, hoping and trusting that the God of our fathers may go with and watch over our beloved land and people on the imperial highway of the Cæsars and eventually save them from the fate that overwhelmed ancient Rome.

Resolution Indorsing the President.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 19, 1917.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution unanimously adopted at meeting of Kirkup Lodge, No. 401, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Ohio.

The resolution is as follows:

KIRKUP LODGE, No. 401, I. O. O. F.,
Norwood, Ohio, April 10.

Hon. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Last night the following resolution was unanimously adopted at meeting of Kirkup Lodge, No. 401, a copy of which resolution I am mailing to you, and we trust that you will see to it that the same may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This is one of the largest Odd Fellow lodges in the State of Ohio, and some of the boys have already enlisted in the service of their country.

Loyally, yours,
[SEAL.] C. S. BURDSALL,
Recording Secretary.

Whereas it is the duty of every patriotic citizen or organization to proclaim the ideals of justice and righteousness to all mankind in the support of a just and upright cause: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Kirkup Lodge, No. 401, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, in meeting assembled, stand firmly back of the President of the United States of America in his attitude toward the central powers and pledges to the President and the country its unqualified support and the individual support of its members in order that peace and righteousness may soon reign upon this earth again, when brother shall not take up arms against brother and when the teachings of Odd Fellowship shall control in the council hall of the nations; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the records of this organization and that a copy of the same be sent to the President of the United States of America and to our Representative in Congress, and that copies of the same be published in each of the Norwood newspapers.

Very respectfully, F. W. LERSCH, *Noble Grand.*

Attest:
[SEAL.] C. S. BURDSALL, *Secretary.*

The Cost and Value of Food.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 5, 1917.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the urgent necessity of utilizing the scientific knowledge available in combining our wholesome vegetable and animal oils, milk and cream, into edible foods that are more reasonable in price and at the same time most sanitary and wholesome.

This is not a time to talk in general terms. The demand is for definite plans to meet the world food shortage.

I have to-day introduced a bill in the House to authorize the agricultural colleges and experiment stations to teach, free of license or tax, the use and advantages of our vegetable and animal oils and the art of scientifically combining them into palatable food products.

In the national food campaign no question is of more importance than the matter contained in this bill. I appeal especially to the South for cooperation and assistance in the realization of this idea. There is a tremendous world's shortage of all kinds of edible fats, and it was because of a similar emergency that France in 1871 offered a reward for a practical way of combining animal and vegetable oils with milk and cream, which resulted in the creation of margarine, now accepted throughout the world as a food necessity, but knowledge as to the manufacture of which is limited in this country.

The South produces annually 1,450,000,000 pounds of cottonseed oil, 50,000,000 pounds of peanut oil, 10,000,000 pounds of creamery butter, and 1,000,000 pounds of margarine.

Holland, one of the greatest dairy countries in the world, produces (vegetable oils all imported) 286,000,000 pounds of margarine.

Twenty pounds of oil properly churned in milk enough to make 1 pound of butter will make about 23 pounds of margarine.

Why should not the South's agricultural colleges teach the science and art of producing margarine?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Bulletin No. 469—page 7—gives the food value of vegetable fats as 4,080 calories per pound, and—page 12—when these vegetable fats are churned in milk with animal fats, thus making oleomargarine, the food value is given as 3,500 calories per pound. The food value of butter—page 7—is given as 3,490 calories per pound.

Bulletin No. 505 gives the digestive availability—page 18—of peanut oil at 98.3 per cent, of cottonseed oil at 97.8 per cent, of olive oil at 97.8 per cent, of cocoanut oil 97.9 per cent, of sesame oil 98 per cent.

Bulletin No. 507 gives the digestive availability—page 18—of butter fat in cream at 96.9 per cent, of brisket fat 97.4 per cent.

Certain substances have been found in milk, apparently of lipoid nature, necessary in human food to maintain health and growth. It has also been found that the seat of this "food accessory" is not in the fat itself, but the casein solution mixed with it; and that margarine, produced by churning vegetable oils in milk, carries a higher percentage of this "food accessory" than is carried in butter, the percentages being in butter four-tenths of 1 per cent and in margarine nine hundred and seventy-five thousandths of 1 per cent. Prof. E. V. McCollum has found by experiment that 5 per cent of butter added to otherwise desirable food furnishes about the required amount of this accessory food substance to promote growth.

Prof. L. V. Allyn says:

Cottonseed oil is an excellent food product and has practically the same food value as olive oil.

Dr. William Brady says:

Peanut oil is as nourishing as olive oil. Food value for food value, peanuts are cheaper than bread.

Senate Document No. 141, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, "Adulteration of Food Products," page 47:

Prof. Atwater says that margarine is perfectly wholesome and has a high nutritious value. Prof. Schweitzer states that careful physiological experiments reveal no difference whatever in palatability and digestibility between butter and the brand of margarine which he has examined. Prof. Baker considers margarine quite as valuable a nutritive agent as butter. Prof. Johnson says that for all ordinary and culinary purposes it is the full equivalent of good butter made from cream. He regards the manufacture of margarine as a legitimate and beneficent industry. Prof. Jolles says that pure margarine is as digestible and nutritive as pure butter. Dr. Ames declares that the manufacture of margarine in properly constructed factories is much cleaner than the manufacture of butter. He says: "It should be more generally used and not looked upon as an inferior article and makeshift for butter, when it is really superior."

The pressing demand for food is every day now being brought to our attention by our own experiences, by the constant newspaper attention to the subject, and by the appeal of the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States. The inadequate supply of butter is well known.

Consideration of the facts relating to the food situation of the country, the food materials produced by that part of the country in which southern agricultural colleges are located, and the duties and opportunities of these colleges with respect thereto is a duty resting heavily upon trustees, faculties, and patrons.

Those parts of the South devastated by the boll weevil are beginning to produce large quantities of peanuts, from which it is said the most excellent food oil is expressed, and for which a good and permanent market should be provided. The peanut hay is easily and profitably used for cattle, and the peanut cake or meal is high-class feed for all kinds of live stock. Hogs are necessary to use that portion of the crop left in the ground.

Those sections not yet reached by the weevil must be relied on to supply the necessities for cotton. For many years, and even now to some extent, a mysterious prejudice has existed against cottonseed oil as food, but the most exhaustive investigations by the highest authorities have demonstrated that cottonseed oil has food value fully equal to that of peanut or olive oil or any of the animal oils. Cottonseed meal has also been demonstrated to belong among the high-class concentrated feeds. Millions of tons both of the oil suitable for food purposes and the meal and hulls suitable for feed purposes are produced annually by southern people. An overwhelming majority of them are engaged in such production.

As an outgrowth of these feed productions and the adaptability of the climate, the growth of cattle for dairying purposes and of cattle and hogs for slaughtering purposes is steadily increasing, calling for new activities and markets. Encouraged by this call, a number of creameries have been established and several packing houses. These packing houses ought to produce certain quantities of oleo oil and neutral lard, which are the choicest food oils, from the beef and the pig.

The oils referred to, viz, peanut, cottonseed, oleo, and neutral, are relatively newly discovered foods. They are all nearly tasteless. In order, therefore, to be of the highest value they must be combined with other food materials. While each of them possesses a greater energy-producing value than butter, they do not possess the desirable flavor of properly made butter. They will when properly churned in milk, however, combine with butter to produce a pleasing, palatable table food of high nutritious value. This combination is legally designated as oleomargarine and can not lawfully be made except under inspection of the Federal Government.

Due to conditions which need not here be detailed, southern butter and southern oils are each marketed in their simple forms, and, of course, are less valuable both to the producer and the consumer in such forms, just as all other marketable products. There has been no education of southern people either as to methods of producing desirable combinations of these food fats or the value of such combinations. This industry has been developed only in the great dairying and packing sections of the country, and vegetable oils are shipped to those sections and the people of these sections largely use the product. Every oleomargarine plant must have dairy routes to supply the large quantities of milk and cream needed.

Here in the South all the elements of margarine are produced by practically all the people. We do not know how to use them in combination. The agricultural colleges were founded primarily to develop agriculture. They owe an impartial duty to each class of producers—whether they be producers of peanut oil or cottonseed oil or animal oil or butter—to teach the children of the South how to produce the largest quantities of raw materials and the most skillful and useful combinations of these materials.

In the matter under consideration it clearly appears that practically all southern people have a common interest—the cotton planter, the peanut producer, the live-stock raiser, the consumer. It seems plain, therefore, that the southern agricultural colleges should consider their duty and their opportunity to teach those members of the student body who desire to learn the scientific and practical methods of producing from the materials under consideration the best forms of food possible rather than limit their efforts to the one item of butter.

If this duty and opportunity are clear, then the means must be found. To this end the need must be brought to the attention of the country. When fully advised of any line of usefulness along which these colleges may travel, the people have generously opened the way. No doubt they will do so in this instance; and there is no doubt that the United States Department of Agriculture, under whose supervision all margarine must be made, will lend every possible support.

To do this new work will require some extension of the creamery equipment of the various colleges. It will enable the colleges to cooperate much more substantially with their dairy routes and will require but little, if any, modification of the agricultural, live stock, and chemical departments.

Shall the United States, and particularly the South, lose this opportunity to benefit by the experience of France in a great war emergency not only to conserve but to increase the use of its wholesome vegetable and animal oils, milk, and cream? Should we not take fullest advantage of the war-born invention which has been proved by 45 years of experience to be one of the great sources of food, and should we not teach its manufacture in the broadest possible way, that our people and the people of all friendly nations may have an increased supply of the edible fats which are an absolute necessity to life itself?

Universal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE R. LUNN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Speaker, in presenting a petition containing the names of 2,000,000 people favoring universal service I addressed the House as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, I was compelled to differ with the conclusions of the majority of the Committee on Military Affairs. I fought as a member of the minority for the President's plan of an army based on the universal liability to service. Our minority bill will pass. It is being supported regardless of party affiliation. I have received hundreds of petitions urging that Congress support the President's plan. This petition is the largest petition ever presented to the House, so far as I know.

"All these men of splendid public spirit who, without regard to politics, have come to the support of the President in this hour of national crisis, are to be congratulated that an effective law whereby an army can be raised has been passed.

"One of the sacred rights of every citizen is that of petition to Congress, and I trust that this House will not be unmindful of the fact that these 2,000,000 signers are desirous of universal service based on the principle of democracy. I like the idea, which is the true one, of having the people tell their representatives what they want us to do, rather than for the representatives to force upon the people our own will.

"In times of war we must center all our thoughts and plans on a successful prosecution of the war. I would not have this army, however, solely for military effect, even in time of peace. I would not have it trained solely for war. I would not have the precious years of millions of our youths devoted to the one item of learning how to kill, no matter how necessary the killing might be.

"A really democratic army, I believe, could be devoted to public service of other kinds. There are other enemies of democracy besides foreign powers; there are other crises besides those that arise from foreign threats. There is hunger in the United States, and poverty. There are slums in our cities unfit to shelter a single human child.

"And yet there are vast stretches of desert territory which only need the magic touch of labor, directed by intelligent engineers, to turn them into fruitful lands.

"Our forests need protection—from plutocrats and other vandals. We need better railroads and harbors and canals. There are ever so many things which a great army might help us do if we will only take it over to the service of democracy.

"As for defense, I believe with all my heart that America is worth defending. If I did not think so, I might oppose preparedness. This is one of the psychological facts which I hope to help Congress to see, for if I were born in a dark tenement, half starved through youth, and denied the right to work in manhood, I might not think America worth defending. There are thousands still to whom America has meant just that, and it is utter foolishness to expect them to be patriotic.

"The best preparedness we can undertake is to make the country worth loving and worth dying for. A thorough program of preparedness must include the mobilization and development of all our resources, and, most important of all, the human element.

"If we are going to develop sturdy youth, the handicaps of poverty, sickness, and unemployment must be removed. These are social problems which can easily be solved by a willing acceptance on the part of the people of our social responsibility.

"A democratic army could do much toward making our country worth dying for. This is not Utopian. It is practical politics. It was the Army organization that enabled us to build the Panama Canal and turn a fever-stricken belt into a health resort. It is all wrong to suppose that an army must spend its time in ceremonies and dress parades. We should make it work, and we should make that work as honorable as any heroism on the battle field.

"I want a citizen army that will make for citizenship, an army that I will want my son to join. I believe we can have an army that parents generally will be glad to have their sons enlisted in. Just as they now say proudly, 'Our boy is in Harvard,' they may then be saying with equal pride, 'Our boy is in the Army of the United States.'

"The citizen army should be a training school in which the young man can develop the best that is in him, and in which he will constantly be giving that best to the immediate needs of his fatherland. As in Switzerland, the mere military drill should take but little time; the major portion of the training should be training for everyday citizenship and social service."

Telegram from the Governing Board of the Los Angeles Home Garden Committee.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 5, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, I request permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD by reproducing a telegram from the governing board of the Los Angeles home garden committee, which shows the extent to which this organization is increasing the supply of food by encouraging the planting of home gardens and vacant lots in a large city:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *May 2, 1917.*

Hon. H. Z. OSBORNE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The home garden committee of Los Angeles, Cal., appointed by Mayor Woodman, has for 10 weeks been carrying on a most active campaign to encourage the planting of home gardens and vacant lots, and we intend to make Los Angeles city the biggest small garden farm in the United States. We are supplying free garden seed to an average of 500 people every day, and there are ten times as many home gardens planted in Los Angeles as in any previous year. We consider this the most practical form of efficient patriotism in the present emergency of world-wide shortage in food and labor. You can promise the President and the Congress of the United States that the people of Los Angeles will do and are doing their part to the utmost limit. Send us as many copies as possible of the Government bulletin entitled "The Small Vegetable Garden." We can use 10,000.

GOVERNING BOARD LOS ANGELES HOME GARDEN COMMITTEE,
LUTHER G. BROWN, *Chairman.*
E. G. JUDAH.
W. W. MINES.

Resolutions Adopted By the National Board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH McLAUGHLIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I take the liberty of inserting the resolutions adopted by the national board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians at a meeting held in this city on May 2, 1917.

These resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That an assessment sufficient to realize a fund of $500,000 be levied on the membership of the order, and payable before September 1, 1917, the same to be used in caring for the families of those members who are serving, or who will hereafter serve, in the armies and Navy of our country in the great world war into which it has just entered, said fund to be disbursed by the national officers; and be it also

Resolved, That all members of the order whose means will permit be, and hereby are, requested to make such voluntary contributions to that great cause—a cause that aims to secure world-wide freedom and permanent world peace—as will insure the raising of at least a million dollars in all.

The following resolutions were also adopted:

Whereas the confluence of the sentiment of free nations bears triumphantly forward the spirit of Irish liberty, exhibiting in this magnificent land that historical and traditional sympathy which has ever linked the peoples of America and Ireland in a generous friendship; and

Whereas recent events of mighty significance touch not only the fate of the people of Ireland, not only the principles of the people of America, not only the aspirations of followers of freedom of every land but also influence the destinies of the human race, and these events culminating in the refusal of the British Government to establish an Irish parliament imperil the cause in which the United States is engaged by denying the claims of the oldest of the small nations: It is therefore

Resolved, That the President and Government of the United States are hereby memorialized to use all those friendly influences and good offices permitted by the customs of diplomacy to secure at once such

action by the British Government as shall restore self-government to Ireland, placing in full operation a parliament having legislative authority over every rood of Irish soil, over every individual whose life is cast in that country, and over every department of national activity which is necessary to promote the prosperity, the happiness, and the safety of a united people; and it is further

Resolved. That this board requests the President and Government of the United States to present the claims of Ireland to complete national independence at the peace conference to be held at the close of the world war, confident that the justice of the cause of Ireland will enlist the same generous encouragement that has been given to the cause of Poland, the restoration of whose freedom is advocated by the President, and the cause of Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania, for the freedom of which the United States is now marshaling its armies and assembling its fleets. The action of the United States in assuming the advocacy of Irish independence would complete the analogy of history, for in 1777 the Continental Congress thanked the people of Ireland for their sympathy; during the Revolution no voice was raised in more powerful vehemence for the liberties of America than the voice of the Irish orator and statesman, Edmund Burke; in the armies and navies of the revolted Colonies there were throngs of Irishmen; in all our wars, on every page of our annals, in the very texture of our American people the blood of Ireland gleams in eager service in all that contributes to the power and glory of this great Republic. The peace conference in examining the claims of Ireland to national independence will have within the scope of its vision a nation geographically complete, a people possessing a history reaching back to the early ages of civilization, a people whose soldiers have written their names in the records of many armies, whose statesmen have lent their intellects to the service of many nations, and whose fitness for independence is not only vindicated by every material evidence but also by the unexampled survival, through 800 years of undaunted effort, of the precious ideal of ultimate national freedom. We are confident that the peace conference will join the hands of the democracy of America and the democracy of Ireland. We are sanguine that the statesmen who will rearrange the affairs of mankind will recognize that the Irish question is not a religious question, for the patriots of Ireland have been, and are, of all religions; it is not a political question, for the narrow sphere of politics can not bind within its limits the world-wide aspirations of the Irish race. It is an exalted moral question, exhibiting in all its aspects the unchanging truth that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. The Irish question must be settled right. The Irish people in every land are thrilled by the prospect of a free Ireland at the peace conference, where they hope that the hand of the most powerful of the free nations will break the chain that for dark centuries has fettered the aspirations of their island home.

Right Rev. D. J. O'Connell, national chaplain; Joseph McLaughlin, national president; Patrick F. Cannon, national vice president; Peter J. Doyle, Canadian vice president; Thomas J. Mathews, national secretary; Michael W. Delaney, national treasurer; Philip J. Sullivan, Edward R. Hayes, John E. Healy, and Myles F. McPartland, national directors; and John O'Dea, national historian.

I have no desire to comment on the resolutions; they clearly express the sentiment and the feelings of the members of the organization represented by the board, and require no extended elaboration. The members of the organization understand fully and definitely where their first duty lies in this crisis, and they are prepared to discharge that duty on this occasion as they have on every occasion in the past when the supreme test of patriotism was required, and as they will on every future occasion that calls for the same test. Their record has been too often written and proclaimed to make it either necessary or desirable that I should call special attention to it now. It has occurred to me, however, that the insertion of these resolutions at this time, setting forth what the Ancient Order of Hibernians—of which I have the honor to be the national president—purpose doing in the way of looking after the dependents of those who may give up their lives in the struggle that is before us, may be an incentive to other organizations, equally patriotic and equally anxious to do their full share of the work, to take the same or similar action.

I desire also, Mr. Speaker, to say just a word on section 4 of the bill that the House has to-day been considering, although I realize that it is largely a work of supererogation to attempt to add anything to what has been said in opposition to that section by my distinguished and eloquent colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAHAM]. Nevertheless, I feel that I would be false to my convictions were I to fail to record in this formal way my opposition to that section of the bill. Few of our institutions—perhaps none of them—have been guarded more jealously than that which concerns the freedom of the press. To place restrictions upon it, even in a time like the present, seems like weakening a structure that has hitherto been considered well-nigh indestructible. The newspapers of the country surely can be depended upon not to abuse the trust that is placed in them. The menace of this section is not needed to point out to them that which is a prime and patriotic duty. No agency is or can be more effective than the newspaper in stimulating the patriotic impulses of the people, and a suggested restriction upon its prerogatives seems like an uncalled-for and unmerited attack on its honesty and patriotism.

There is no suggestion, of course, that the power which this section proposes to confer upon the President would be or might be used by him in any other way than to protect and advance the country's interests. His course in the past with respect to the momentous questions that have engaged his attention almost since the first day of his inauguration is the best guarantee of what is to be expected from him in the future. It would therefore be idle to speculate on what his course might be if this power is conferred upon him, since we know it would be used wisely. But notwithstanding this certainty of what his position would be, I believe that this—one of our most cherished ideals—should not be suspended or interfered with even in such trying times as these, but rather that we should trust to the honesty and patriotism of those whose privilege it is not only to help mold public opinion, but to keep an ever-watchful eye on the things for which this great Republic stands, and one of the most cherished of these is the freedom of the press.

There is another section of the bill, Mr. Speaker, which I feel constrained to notice, and which, it seems to me, should have been eliminated. I refer to section 704, page 53, of the bill as reported to the House. Under that section, if I interpret it correctly, it will no longer be permissible for people to applaud or give encouragement to the oppressed people of other lands who are striving to achieve for themselves some measure at least of the liberty that we enjoy. I can not believe that this is a step in the right direction. On the contrary, it seems to me like getting away from another ideal which has been part of our country's glory. It would seem as though another historic landmark has been swept away. It has always been our privilege as well as our proud boast that we have extended the hand of fellowship and the kindly greeting and sympathy to every people, wheresoever they be, who are struggling to set up a government of their own and to work out their destiny in such ways as suited them. Few perhaps have contended more firmly for this very principle than President Wilson himself, and to abolish that privilege, or even to curtail it, is like giving up one of the things that have enshrined our country and its citizens in the hearts of the people of every known section of the world where history is read and where the records and achievements of the human race are studied.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT N. HAUGEN,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is safe to say that never has a bill or a committee been more misrepresented than the pending bill and the majority members of the committee. The people and the country have been made to believe that Congress is about to determine whether the proposed army of 1,900,000 is to be raised under a volunteer or conscription policy. Hundreds of communications and copies of resolutions passed by patriotic meetings have been received by many, if not all, Members of Congress, many of them demanding conscription; many for voluntary enlistment; others demanding conscription pure and simple and at the same time expressing the belief that Col. Roosevelt's offer to raise an army to go into service against the enemy should be accepted. Col. Roosevelt's volunteer army is now reported to be about 123,000; that would make it about 94 per cent conscription and 6 per cent volunteer.

Members have argued the question just as if we had two pure and simple propositions presented to us in the two propositions under consideration and that an opportunity will be given us to vote and decide the question whether the proposed army shall be raised by one or the other. No such bill has been submitted or suggested by the President, by the War Department, or the majority members of the committee. What are the propositions presented? First, the one submitted by the administration.

Secretary Baker, in his statement to the committee, had this to say about it:

I have drawn, or, rather, caused to be drawn, a bill which has been presented to you.

In explanation of the bill, he said:

The President was of the belief that the volunteer spirit and principle ought to be preserved to the extent of authorizing the filling of the Regular Army and the National Guard to full strength by that process if the process proved sufficient to accomplish that end.

According to the table submitted by the Secretary, printed in the hearings, he gave the number that may be filled by voluntary enlistment under the War Department plans to be 724,718. According to Secretary Baker, under the administration bill

724,718 recruits are to be selected, not by conscription but under the present volunteer system. After that the Secretary says:

As to the additional forces to be raised, a policy ought to be adopted which, without becoming the beginning of the practice of universal training or service, policy of selective conscription, the policy of the administration is made clear. First, the Regular Army and National Guard, full strength; approximately 1,000,000 recruits shall be raised by volunteer enlistment and the additional 1,000,000 men, if called for, by selective conscription—here we have a half-and-half proposition.

Now, what does the committee's bill provide for—the bill designated as a volunteer bill, the one so much feared by those contending for conscription? It provides, after volunteer enlistment has been given a trial, for the selective draft, exactly as provided for in the administration bill. The President is given full and complete authority to refuse to accept in and to discharge from the service any and all persons designated in section 3 of that act. The President is authorized to call for volunteers under and in accordance with the act of April 25, 1914. Further on the bill provides—

In the event the President decides that such additional force or forces shall not have been effectually raised under the call for volunteers as herein provided, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise by draft as herein provided.

The question then is, What will the President do in the event additional forces shall not have been effectually raised as provided for? The President in his address April 2, advising the Congress to declare war, made it clear what such a decision would involve. Among other things, he said:

It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law, in case of war, of at least 500,000 men who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal forces so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

Here we have it both from the Secretary of War and the President what the administration policy will be, and that is, first, volunteer enlistment up to 724,718 men, if that process proves sufficient to accomplish that end; if not, an additional force is to be raised by selective conscription. The only difference in the two plans is that under the administration plan the additional forces of 1,000,000 recruits shall be raised by selective conscription, while under the committee plan the President may first call for volunteers, and upon the completion of taking the census and preparing a roll of people eligible for military service as provided for in the bill, if in the event the President decides that such additional force or forces shall not have been effectually raised under the call for volunteers, he may raise by draft. So then, if the maximum number of recruits authorized do not volunteer by that time, authority is given the President to make selective draft. In that case the only difference is that one is mandatory and one discretional. According to the Secretary of War, no draft is to be made until the completion of the roll, hence the authority granted the President goes into effect the same day; the same hour.

In the light of experience and the President's determined policy in regard to the matter, it seems to me there can be no question as to what policy will be pursued. With our experience in the past, conscription seems unavoidable. During all these years our Army has not been filled to its authorized maximum strength. When the national defense act of June 3, 1916, was under consideration, Chairman HAY pointed out the difficulty of recruiting the Army to its full strength. He told the House that the volunteers were not joining freely. He called attention to the resolution passed in March, 1916, and said that in two months they succeeded in getting only 6,000 recruits, which number would about take the place of the number to retire at the expiration of the term of enlistment. When asked about the enlistment in the Regular Army, from Boston, in about five weeks, Mr. HAY replied: "I heard they got one recruit there." It will be remembered that Texas, in response to the country's call for 4,000 recruits, sent 3,945 men to the National Guard in the time mentioned. Only about two months ago we were told that enlisted men were compelled to serve beyond the term of their enlistment, and even with that no material increase was made.

In the report of the Secretary of War [Mr. Baker] to the committee on April 15, 1917, he reports the authorized strength of the Regular Army, all increments included, exclusive of Philippine Scouts, as 293,000 men; present strength, 131,491; short, 161,509.

If with all the endeavor in all this time we have failed in raising one-half of 293,000 recruits, how are we to get 2,000,000 men now by volunteer enlistment? No; the fact is that the required number of recruits can not be had under the volunteer system, which I take it accounts for the President, the Army experts, and the committee now abandoning their pet scheme. It goes without saying that men getting from $35 to $50 per month on the farm or men drawing high salaries from the Government or good wages in factories and mills are not going to give up their positions and join the Army for $16 per month.

Much has been said about universal obligation to service that is generally recognized. If so, the existing apathy is no reflection on the patriotism of our people. It is not necessary to discuss why the apathy. It is enough to say that conscription had to be resorted to in the Civil War, both in the North and the South. If it had to be resorted to then in raising an army of less than 3,000,000 men in the North to fight for the preservation of our Union, certainly no one will contend that the millions estimated necessary to go into the trenches can now be raised by voluntary enlistment. If volunteers failed to enlist in the Regular Army in our recent war with Mexico, what assurance have we that they will volunteer now? No; the apparent fruitless efforts of patriotic meetings, the press, and the numerous recruiting officers throughout the country to induce enlistment have, I believe, fully demonstrated that in order to raise the many millions that may be asked for, right or wrong, conscription must be resorted to. The sudden change made by the administration and war experts and the committees of both Houses of Congress is evidence as to that. If not, why the sudden change? Here is what they had to say about the volunteer system.

As recently as 1914, Gen. Wotherspoon declared the Volunteer Army law, drawn by the department and passed by Congress in 1914, to be decidedly the best bill he had ever seen drafted, and, so far as he could see, met every requirement of the Government that could be anticipated.

Gen. Wood in 1916 had this to say about the national-defense act, another volunteer bill. Speaking for it, he said, "I believe the bill to be a thoroughly good bill and I recommend its approval."

Gen. Murray, Chief of the Coast Artillery and assistant to the Chief of Staff of the War Department, said that the bill was prepared first by the branch of the General Staff known as the War College Division, and later received approval of the Chief of the Staff of the Secretary of War. He said the bill, as a whole, was an excellent one and that it should be enacted into law.

Secretary Stimson, in his annual report for 1916, said:

I earnestly recommend the passage of the volunteer bill.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN, in his report submitting the volunteer plan in 1914 to the Senate said:

It has been pending before Congress for the last seven years. It has been universally recommended by every Secretary of War since the incumbency of Mr. Root. Our President went to the country speaking and begging for it a year ago. If a good thing then, why not now?

The answer is, Congress passed it. As a result we have a big army on paper, but few soldiers to fight our battles. Unfortunately, battles can not be fought and won without men and money. It is not sufficient or proper for Congress to declare war and provide for money and a paper army. This is no pink-tea affair. This is no paper army war. No; we started with a $7,000,000,000 bond issue. We have already passed bills appropriating more than $600,000,000. This bill carries $3,000,000,000. Nobody knows how many millions of men or billions of dollars will be required before we get through with it.

I did not believe a year ago that the maximum number of recruits authorized in the national-defense act could be had in the Regular Army by volunteer enlistments. I do not believe that the required number authorized in this bill can be had under that system. If so, the only way of raising an army is to draft. My contention then, as now, is that in time of peace, instead of depending altogether upon the volunteers for training we should give encouragement to the National Guard, young men in our universities, colleges, high schools, and citizens' training camps. But now that we are at war and have not the required number of men to fight, we must deal with the situation as best we can.

True, many volunteered immediately after Congress declared for war, but according to reports but few now. Another thing, according to reports the recruits are coming largely from the farm, the agricultural States, those that can be spared the least. The highest percentage of enlistments is from Iowa, and Illinois second. It hardly seems fair that the States furnishing solid votes for declaring war should furnish the smallest percentage of men to fight our battles. Besides food for the Army is quite as necessary as men and equipment. All recognize that battles can not be fought and won without men skilled in the art of war. Armies can not exist or fight without food. Farmers are expected to supply the food. They are the only ones to be relied on. Farming can not be successfully conducted without men skilled in the art of farming. So if our farmers are transferred from the farm to the trenches, where is the food supply to come from? It has been proposed to mobilize

young men and to supplant the practical farmer with young inexperienced men. I have had some experience in farming. I have employed a number of men, among them a number of young inexperienced men during their vacations. As a rule they are intelligent, industrious, and willing, but not practical. They have to be taught how to harness and drive the team, to hold the plow, to adjust the mower and harvester, and in many instances the time consumed in teaching and the expense incurred by runaways exceeds the service rendered, and in the end nothing is gained. So if we are to provide the Army and people with food, the industrious, experienced, and practical farmer must be permitted to farm our farms.

Much has been said about "standing by the President." Yes, always, when right; but never when wrong. If in doubt, give him the benefit of the doubt. Of course, consider always that the opinions of our President, his Cabinet, and Army officers, and those in possession of inside information and charged with grave responsibility, are worthy of the highest consideration; certainly now, when they are charged with the responsibility of prosecuting this war, it is our patriotic duty to yield much of our judgment to theirs.

Still, under my oath of office, I am under equal obligations to weigh the reasons and arguments of the people whom I have the honor to represent, so in the end not to serve simply as a "rubber-stamp Congressman" but to discharge my duty as my conscience and best judgment dictate.

I did not vote for the war resolution. I am not responsible for bringing on the war. This is not the time to discuss that question. That is behind us.

War is here. We went into it with our eyes open. The President, in advising Congress to declare war, made it clear as to his position and what war would cost. He told Congress it would be necessary to issue bonds. As before stated, the Congress has already authorized a $7,000,000,000 bond issue at 3½ per cent, "convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than the rate at which the same was issued, if any subsequent series of bonds shall be at a higher rate of interest before the termination of the war"; hence, to begin with, the annual interest on the $7,000,000,000 alone will be $245,000,000, in addition to our present interest account. We have already passed an appropriation for war aggregating more than $600,000,000. This bill carries an appropriation of $3,000,000,000.

The President told us that we will need more men. He told us that the volunteer system, which he went to the country with, pleading and begging for a year ago, must be abandoned. Now comes the administration and the committee admitting its failure. All agree that it shall go, and the only question seems to be how to dispose of it.

I have repeatedly said that if war is declared I shall consider it my patriotic duty to aid the President and those charged with the responsibility of carrying on the war in every honest and patriotic endeavor to successfully conduct the war. Inasmuch as the results to be attained under either of the two propositions will in the end be the same, I shall vote for the one submitted by the administration and those whose duty it will be to administer it.

Home Rule for Ireland.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 30, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me I desire to print a copy of a cablegram which was sent to the Right Hon. David Lloyd-George, M. P., London, England, on Saturday evening. This message was signed by approximately 140 Members of this House.

I may say that the reason for the action taken by those 140 Representatives was based on a speech delivered by the English premier Friday, on receiving the freedom of London. He said:

> We must convert Ireland from a suspicious, surly, dangerous neighbor to a cheerful, loyal comrade. Settlement of the Irish question is essential for the peace of the world and essential to a speedy victory in the war. I appeal to the patriotism of all men to sink everything for the one purpose of getting this question out of the way.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that if there is one certain way to do this, and that is to put the home-rule bill into operation at once, even persuading or compelling the few counties that oppose it to yield to the will of the majority. If Lloyd-George and his Government are strong enough to do that, the question is settled. I believe that Ireland should be given the same measure of self-government that is now enjoyed by Australia and Canada.

The message sent to Lloyd-George reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 28, 1917.*

The Right Hon. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, M. P.,
London, England:

You are quoted as saying that "the settlement of the Irish question is essential for the peace of the world and for a speedy victory in the war."

May we, Members of the American Congress, suggest that nothing will add more to the enthusiasm of America in this war than a settlement now of the Irish problem?

We believe that all Americans will be deeply stirred and their enthusiastic effort enlisted if the British Empire will now settle this problem in accordance with the principles announced by President Wilson in his address to Congress asking it to declare war on autocracy for the world-wide safety of democracy and of small nationalities.

Champ Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the American Congress; James A. Gallivan of Massachusetts, John J. Fitzgerald of New York, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, John F. Carew of New York, Daniel J. Griffin of New York, William C. Adamson of Georgia, William A. Ayres of Kansas, Eugene Black of Texas, Henry Bruckner of New York, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, Clement Brumbaugh of Ohio, Charles P. Caldwell of New York, Philip P. Campbell of Kansas, William H. Carter of Massachusetts, Walter M. Chandler of New York, Frank Clark of Florida, Charles P. Coady of Maryland, James W. Collier of Mississippi, Peter E. Costello of Pennsylvania, Harry H. Dale of New York, Perl D. Decker of Missouri, S. Wallace Dempsey of New York, Edward E. Denison of Illinois, A. G. Dewalt of Pennsylvania, Peter J. Dooling of New York, Dudley Doolittle of Kansas, H. G. Dupré of Louisiana, L. C. Dyer of Missouri, John J. Eagan of New Jersey, Joe H. Eagle of Texas, Henry I. Emerson of Ohio, John R. Farr of Pennsylvania, Simeon D. Fess of Ohio, H. F. Fisher of Tennessee, Joseph V. Flynn of New York, A. T. Fuller of Massachusetts, Thomas Gallagher of Illinois, Warren Gard of Ohio, M. M. Garland of Pennsylvania, James P. Glynn, of Connecticut, James A. Hamill of New Jersey, Rufus Hardy of Texas, Robert D. Heaton of Pennsylvania, J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama, Walter L. Hensley of Missouri, Benjamin C. Hilliard of Colorado, Edward E. Holland of Virginia, W. C. Houston of Tennessee, W. Schley Howard of Georgia, Murray Hulbert of New York, Benjamin G. Humphreys of Mississippi, William L. Igoe of Missouri, Edward Keating of Colorado, Walter Kehoe of Florida, Ambrose Kennedy of Rhode Island, Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, J. Charles Linthicum of Maryland, Meyer London of New York, Augustine Lonergan of Connecticut, George R. Lunn of New York, James McAndrews of Illinois, Medill McCormick of Illinois, Tom D. McKeown of Oklahoma, Joseph McLaughlin of Pennsylvania, Jeff: McLemore of Texas, Martin B. Madden of Illinois, James P. Maher of New York, Charles Martin of Illinois, William E. Mason of Illinois, Jacob E. Meeker of Missouri, Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming, Andrew J. Montague of Virginia, John M. Morin of Pennsylvania, Patrick D. Norton of North Dakota, George F. O'Shaunessy of Rhode Island, Arthur W. Overmyer of Ohio, Frank Park of Georgia, James S. Parker of New York, Michael F. Phelan of Massachusetts, Charles H. Randall of California, Daniel J. Riordan of New York, William A. Rodenberg of Illinois, Arthur B. Rouse of Kentucky, Frederick W. Rowe of New York, Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, Thomas J. Scully of New Jersey, Thetus W. Sims of Tennessee, Charles B. Smith of New York, Thomas F. Smith of New York, Homer P. Snyder of New York, Christopher D. Sullivan of New York, Peter F. Tague of Massachusetts, Charles B. Timberlake of Colorado, George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts, Carl C. Van Dyke of Minnesota, William S. Vare of Pennsylvania, Joseph Walsh of Massachusetts, Charles B. Ward of New York, Henry W. Watson of Pennsylvania, Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina, William W. Wilson of Illinois, William S. Greene of Massachusetts, Reuben L. Haskell of New York, F. H. LaGuardia of New York, Frank E. Doremus of Michigan, Fred A. Britten of Illinois, G. W. Templeton of Pennsylvania, Luther W. Mott of New York, Isaac Bacharach of New Jersey, John R. K. Scott of Pennsylvania, Charles H. Rowland of Pennsylvania, Henry A. Clark of Pennsylvania, Edgar R. Kiess of Pennsylvania, George P. Darrow of Pennsylvania, Aaron S. Kreider of Pennsylvania, Edwin E. Robbins of Pennsylvania, John M. Rose of Pennsylvania, Charles H. Sloan of Nebraska, Thomas S. Crago of Pennsylvania, Julius Kahn of California, William L. La Follette of Washington, Charles A. Kennedy of Iowa, Ebenezer J. Hill of Connecticut, Bejamin K. Focht of Pennsylvania, Charles C. Kearns of Ohio, George W. Edmonds of Pennsylvania, John W. Langley of Kentucky, Nathan L. Strong of Pennsylvania, J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, John J. Rogers of Massachusetts, Frederick W. Dallinger of Massachusetts, Calvin D. Paige of Massachusetts, John R. Ramsey of New Jersey, Ben Johnson of Kentucky, Riley J. Wilson of Louisiana, Isaac Siegel of New York.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. SNOOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Speaker, there has been much confusion in the minds of the Members of the House of Representatives and that of the public in general as to the provisions of the law under consideration.

This has no doubt been caused by newspaper articles written by men who have never read the text of the proposed law. From the letters I have been receiving I take it that many seem to think that the bill provides for a system of universal military training.

There is no foundation for such belief; it is purely a war measure, its sole object being to authorize the raising of an army; it has no application whatever to universal training; neither does it, as many think, apply the principle of universal liability on the part of the citizens to miltary service.

The persons liable to conscription are those between the ages of 20 and 40 years of age, while the law drafted and recommended by the War Department, which is now pending in the Senate, fixes the ages of those liable to draft at 19 to 25.

The bill further provides for many exemptions and confers authority to assign many of the persons who will be drafted to work in many civil callings rather than the military duty.

I have been surprised to learn that many intelligent men believe, from the notion they have acquired from reading the newspapers that this bill as reported by the majority of the Committee on Military Affairs provides that the army shall be raised solely by the volunteer system and do not know that it also authorizes the President, when he shall deem it necessary to do so, to raise such army by the selective-draft system.

Few men outside of the House of Representatives seem to know that the only thing proposed by the Members who favor conscription is to strike out of the bill as it now stands all provisions relating to raising the army by the volunteer method, except those relating to the Regular Army or the National Guard.

The bill first gives to the President authority to organize the Regular Army and the National Guard to their full war strength under existing law by calling for volunteers for service during the present war; it then authorizes the President to call for 500,000 volunteers, and in the event that it becomes necessary a second 500,000.

The volunteer army is to be apportioned among the States and Territories according to population, and is to be raised in regimental units or parts thereof from such States and Territories; that is to say, if the volunteer system is used, neighbors, friends, and acquaintances are to be kept together in companies and regiments.

The law then provides that in the event the President shall decide that a sufficient force has not been raised under the call for volunteers he may proceed to raise an army by selective draft, gives the details under which the draft shall be made, and provides for boards which shall pass upon the questions relating to selection and exemption.

It is evident that if this last method is to be applied it will result in many hardships and inequalities and that under it it will be possible to exercise great favoritism in making such selections and exemptions.

We are now actually at war. The time for talk is past; the time for action is at hand. There should be no delay in raising an army and putting it in actual training so that our enemy may understand that we mean to carry on that war immediately and with all the power and strength our Nation possesses.

In the hearings on this bill the War Department informed the committee that it will take from four to six months to take a census of the persons who will be subject to conscription and to organize the force of officers and men that it will be necessary to have in order to make the draft.

Therefore it is safe to say that it will take nearly six months before we can begin to raise an army under the draft system authorized in this law.

I know men are claiming in this debate that it is impossible to raise an army by the volunteer system. In answer to that I will say that the volunteer has fought all of our wars and that he has never yet failed to offer his services to his country in time of war.

We are certain that without any law authorizing a call for volunteers one man has already received offers from more than 120,000 American citizens to volunteer for immediate service at the front.

I believe that there is no one thing that this country could do that would so tend to arouse the patriotism of our citizens and give cheer to our allies as to accept the services at once of Col. Roosevelt and his volunteers.

There is no class of men in all American history that is so universally loved—yea, idolized—as the volunteer soldier; he sustains a record for courage, bravery, and efficiency equal to that of any soldier of any time. I therefore favor the raising of a volunteer army at once, while the machinery is being built up to carry out the draft if one should be necessary.

This will give the men who actually wish to become soldiers and take part in the war an opportunity to serve their country without being subject to draft, and will result in the raising and putting an army into training long before it can be raised under the conscription plan. This argument appeals to me with great force, and ought to have great weight in favor of retaining the provision for volunteer soldiers.

I know that there has been much criticism in the House and the newspapers of the volunteer method of raising an army, and that some, in their zeal for the conscriptive system, have gone so far as to even criticize the efficiency of the volunteer soldier.

I am old-fashioned enough to have not forgotten the wonderful things I have been hearing from my boyhood days of the prowess and heroism of the volunteer soldier on the battle fields of the Civil War. I believe that the words of Gen. William T. Sherman come to us at this time with great force and that they are now peculiarly applicable. He says:

> But the real difficulty was, and will be again, to obtain an adequate number of good soldiers. We tried almost every system known to modern nations, all with more or less success—volunteer enlistments, the draft, and bought substitutes—and I think that all officers of experience will confirm my assertion that the men who voluntarily enlisted at the outbreak of the war were the best—better than the conscript and far better than the bought substitute.

Some one has said during the course of the debate that the question involved should be considered purely in the light of reason and that sentiment should have nothing to do with our decision.

I deny the truth of that statement. At this time the one thing most needed in this country is to arouse the public spirit; we need a public conscience on fire with a spirit of patriotism.

We want the people to understand and believe that this is their war, that it is being undertaken to preserve their rights and the honor of their country.

The spirit that prompts a man to volunteer to fight and not to wait for conscription is the one that causes him to love his country and to offer her the very best that he has to give.

The volunteer is ready and willing to make any sacrifice that may be necessary in the interests of his country, and this is the spirit that will make a fighting, a conquering nation.

We need an army; we need the best army, and we need it now. The highest attribute of man is the right to exercise and control his own will.

This is the power that distinguishes man from the beast; take away that right and you are robbing him of the very thing that makes him a man.

The right to volunteer in the service of his country recognizes this principle; it animates the soul of the soldier and leaves him to serve his country without reserve and with every fiber of his being.

The recognition of this principle gives us a soldier and not a machine. If the question was not settled by tradition and history the meaning and the sense of the very words themselves, "volunteer" and "conscript," tell the whole story and ought to settle the controversy once and for all.

Even if it is so, as some men claim, that we will not be able to raise an army under the volunteer system, I believe it should be tried, for the reason that there are many men who believe that an army can be successfully raised in this way; and if it is demonstrated that this is impossible, then these men and the whole country would be prepared to accept the draft on the ground that it was necessary. The favorite argument used by those who favor conscription is that the volunteer system takes the flower of our manhood; that is, under it the Army gets the best and most patriotic men.

To my mind this is the most convincing of all the arguments in favor of the volunteer system.

We have been forced into this, the most gigantic struggle the world has ever known, against our wish; yet the result will

mean more to the cause of civilization the world over than that of any war that has ever been waged.

Some one has said, "Does a man want a thing? Let him pay the price and take it."

This thought applies with great force to the present situation and to the nations engaged in this war; the thing we and they are fighting for is of tremendous value to the world.

It is the cause of democracy. If we wish to enjoy liberty ourselves and to have it bless the nations of the world we must pay the price. If we win this conflict it means sacrifice. We can not win it unless we are willing to pay the price.

We need the best blood, the most chivalrous spirits, our bravest and most patriotic men.

We can not win with the laggards and slackers you talk about. If Belgium is to be restored and freedom is to become the heritage of all people we must be willing to sacrifice and undergo suffering and privation and even death. We will need soldiers whose conduct and action are animated by their own will, and who are willing and ready to make any sacrifice that may be necessary for the success of our cause.

I have listened during the course of this debate to the statement so often repeated that the conscript system is the only fair and just way of raising an army.

Yet no argument advanced has caused my mind, try as I may, to think otherwise than that there is something odious connected with the very word "conscription," and I still have the fear that many a boy who will be drafted will carry the same thought in his heart.

I shall do all I can to have this army raised under the volunteer system, which has hitherto been the system of honor to Americans. If, however, the provision for volunteers shall be stricken out of the bill by the vote of the majority of this House, then the necessity of my country to raise an army to protect the rights of her citizens will impel me to vote for it as it stands, with this provision stricken out, for I recognize that there is no other way in which I can join in authorizing the raising of such an army, and with me my country's cause and her necessity stand above and over all.

And if it so happen, as now it seems certain, that the Army will be raised under the conscriptive plan, I shall pray that somehow in His infinite wisdom and mercy God will cause this cruel war to be brought to a close in such a way that will vindicate the rights of our people and the honor of our Nation without compelling the mothers of our land to drink the bitter cup which we are about to press to their lips.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on the 5th day of April last, by a vote of 373 to 50, Congress recognized the existence of a state of war between this country and the Imperial German Government. This war resolution was the most solemn occasion which has ever occurred in this House in 50 years. It passed both branches of Congress, was signed by the Chief Executive of our Nation, and is an expression of the wishes of the majority of the people of this country.

We entered this war wholly because we were forced to defend the lives and liberties of our citizens. We are now at war and our opponents are recognized as the strongest military power on earth. For nearly half a century they have been perfecting a military system that is recognized as the greatest fighting machine in the history of the world.

It now becomes the duty of this Congress to take the necessary steps whereby we can cope successfully against this country. In my judgment, there are four great resources necessary for us to win a war—men, money, food, and ships. We must conserve all four in every way possible.

We have just passed an immense sum of money to carry on the expenses of this war, and the next question for us to decide is how we can best conserve our human resources. When this great war was started in Europe it was believed that it would last only a few months. It has now lasted over two years and a half, and to-day Germany has 5,000,000 trained soldiers fighting. Anyone who underestimates the fighting strength of the German nation is making a very serious mistake.

If this war is to be won it must be with fighters and not with words, so it is the solemn duty of Congress at this time to consider the best way for us to carry on this great war. The question now before us for consideration is just what is the best method of raising our Army. The majority of the members of the Military Affairs Committee have recommended that we should retain, for a while at least, the volunteer method.

The minority members of the committee, headed by that distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], have proposed a substitute in the form of a selected draft. This substitute is substantially the same proposition as has been recommended by the majority of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, with the exception of the age limits, upon which they do not agree. The draft system, or, as it is more commonly called, the universal military system, has been recommended by all of the military experts in this country. We are called upon now to decide which system we shall select.

I intend to register my vote in favor of the selective draft. In my opinion it is the only fair, just, democratic, and adequate policy for us to follow at this time. I believe that the volunteer system is antiquated, inadequate, unjust, and inefficient. The universal system proceeds in recognition of the first principle of universal liability to national military service and adopts the system which has proven to be adequate and effective.

While this bill provides for selective draft it allows the volunteer spirit also to exist, as men over the age limit can enlist and others who are not drafted may volunteer. I do not want to say anything against the volunteer, because he has proven his patriotism in every emergency. What I do say is that the whole volunteer system is at fault.

Under the volunteer system the patriotic, courageous, and high-spirited man goes out and in many cases gives up his life for his country. The coward and timid are permitted to shirk their duty. I do not believe that the burden should fall upon the former alone, but with universal obligation it would fall equally upon the shoulders of all the people.

A glance at the history of our own wars will show that it has not proven successful, and we were compelled to draft our men.

In the Revolutionary War the volunteer system proved a failure, and but for the help of the French nation it is doubtful if we could have brought it to a successful end. George Washington in a letter to Congress in 1789 said, in part:

> Regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defense as offense, and when a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous. No militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been a witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion, and it is most earnestly to be wished that the liberties of America may no longer be trusted, in a material degree, to so precarious a defense.

In 1792 Congress passed a militia bill, which provided that every free, able-bodied white male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 should be enrolled in the militia. This law gradually fell into disuse, owing to the fact that it was not enforced. However, the Congress of that time, after the experiences of the Revolutionary War, recognized the need of compulsory universal military training.

In the War of 1812 the volunteer system proved to be inefficient, and two States—Massachusetts and Connecticut—refused absolutely to furnish any troops for the war. As a result the burden was not distributed equally among all the States.

The Mexican War of 1846 was fought largely by men from a few States. Under the universal plan each State must furnish its full quota of men. In the Civil War the volunteer system proved to be a failure in raising a sufficiently large army. It has just been estimated that there was paid $289,900,000 for the various States in order to induce men to volunteer. In this war dozens of regiments went into battle with only a small percentage, as it was impossible to fill up their ranks under the volunteer system. I believe that had the selective-draft system been in force at the beginning of this war that it would have ended much sooner, and we would have saved thousands of lives and millions of dollars.

In the Spanish-American War the President called for 200,000 men, and but 163,000 volunteered. Many States sent far more than their quota, while others were permitted to send but a few. Was this fair? Under the selective-draft system each State would have to furnish her quota according to her population.

England has had her experiences with the volunteer system. She had, like this country, permitted that principle of govern-

ment which is fundamental with her as well as with us to drag into obscurity, so far as her army was concerned. See what happened in England during the first two years of the great war.

The young, patriotic, and high-minded men and boys went out and gave up their lives fighting for their country. Shoved to the brink of calamity and with defeat staring her in the face, she abandoned the volunteer system, and compulsory service was established instead.

On May 25, 1916, the British Parliament passed the most sweeping compulsory-service act ever known, and every male British subject of Great Britain between the ages of 18 and 41 was made a member of the regular force for general military service. Under this arrangement the Government selects at its will for active service such numbers as it deems necessary. The men who are not serving are working in the shops and factories, making the necessities in order to carry on the war.

In Canada it has taken from four to seven months to raise local battalions. Under the compulsory system this battalion could be raised in two weeks. A great deal has been said about the Australian troops and their splendid fighting qualifications. For years compulsory military training has been in vogue in that country. Look at the French Army. Paris would have been captured two years ago but for the fact that the French laws make it obligatory for their men to do service for their country in the time of need. It would be folly for this country not to profit by the mistakes of others at this time.

The volunteer system is undemocratic, because it shifts the burden of national defense from the masses, where it belongs, on the shoulders of a few men who are willing to accept the hardships of war for their country. I quite agree with the report of the Senate Military Committee, which says that the volunteer system is undemocratic, unreliable, extravagant, inefficient, and, above all, unsafe. This report further states:

The system established by the selective-draft bill will have one other effect greatly to be desired in this Nation, consisting as it does of varied elements of all races and tongues. It would directly and very effectually tend to the unification of our people by common association in a common cause in furtherance of the principle that it is the duty, as it should be the desire, of all citizens of whaetver race or origin to undergo all necessary sacrifice for the national good. It strikes down that opportunity, which the volunteer method deliberately induces, for the selfish and unpatriotic to remain at home in time of war and to profit out of the Nation's adversity at the expense of those whose patriotism has impelled them to perform a citizen's duty.

This is no time to tolerate uncertainty in the raising and the maintenance of the large numbers of men which the present emergency is likely to require, nor uncertainty in the methods to be adopted for the establishment of an adequate, efficient military service. The bill makes certain the raising and maintenance of the required forces with the utmost expedition. It establishes the principle that all arms-bearing citizens owe to the Nation the duty of defending it. It selects only those who by reason of their age and physical capacity are the best fitted to receive the training and withstand the actual hardship of a campaign, and, who, happily, can be taken with least disturbance of normal economic and industrial conditions.

In closing this report upon the measure under consideration it seems appropriate to refer to what President Lincoln had to say upon the subject of the draft at a critical stage of the Civil War. No one would have the temerity to doubt either his patriotism, his democracy, or his great ability as a lawyer and as a statesman. While opposition to the enforcement of the draft law was at its height he prepared an address to the American people, which, though never issued, has been published from the original manuscript in his own handwriting by those who were most intimately acquainted with him and who could speak with authority. In that address, which is a fitting conclusion to this report, he said amongst other things:

"It is at all times proper that misunderstanding between the public and the public servant should be avoided; and this is far more important now than in times of peace and tranquillity. I therefore address you without searching for a precedent upon which to do so. Some of you are sincerely devoted to the republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country, and yet are opposed to what is called the draft or conscription.

"At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing, some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would, or would not, voluntarily enter the service. Among these motives would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage, love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposite of some of these. We already have, and have had, in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law. This is natural, nor does it imply want of patriotism. Nothing can be so just and necessary as to make us like it if it is disagreeable to us. We are prone, too, to find false arguments with which to excuse ourselves for opposing such disagreeable things. In this case those who desire the Rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. * * *

"The republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country can not be maintained without the further raising and supporting of armies. There can be no army without men. Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription. If you dispute this fact and declare that men can still be had voluntarily in sufficient numbers, prove the assertion by yourselves volunteering in such numbers, and I shall gladly give up the draft. Or if not a sufficient number, but any one of you will volunteer, he for his single self will escape all the horrors of the draft and will thereby do only what each one of at least a million of his manly brethren have already done. Their toil and blood have been given as much for you as for themselves. Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part? *

"I do not say that all who would avoid serving in the war are unpatriotic; but I do think every patriot should willingly take his chance under a law, made with great care, in order to secure entire fairness. This law was considered, discussed, modified, and amended by Congress at great length and with much labor and was finally passed by both branches with a near approach to unanimity. At last it may not be exactly such as any one man out of Congress, or even in Congress, would have made it. It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the joint work of all and certainly the better that it was so. * * *

"The principle of draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practiced in all ages of the world. It was well known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies at the time they placed in that instrument the provisions that 'the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies.' It had been used just before in establishing our independence, and it was also used under the Constitution in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free Government which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerating? Has the manhood of our race run out?

"Again, a law may be both constitutional and expedient and yet may be administered in an unjust and unfair way. This law belongs to a class, which class is composed of those laws whose object is to distribute burdens or benefits on the principle of equality. No one of these laws can ever be practically administered with that exactness which can be conceived of in the mind. A tax law, the principle of which is that each owner shall pay in proportion to the value of his property, will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it can be shown that every other one will pay in precisely the same proportion, according to value; nay, even it will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it is certain that every other one will pay at all, even in unequal proportion.

"Again, the United States House of Representatives is constituted on the principle that each Member is sent by the same number of people that each other is sent by; and yet, in practice, no two of the whole number, much less the whole number, are ever sent by precisely the same number of constituents. The districts can not be made precisely equal in population at first, and if they could they would become unequal in a single day, and much more so in the 10 years which the districts, once made, are to continue. They can not be remodeled every day, nor, without too much expense and labor, even every year.

"This sort of difficulty applies in full force to the practical administration of the draft law. In fact, the difficulty is greater in the case of the draft law. First, it starts with all the inequality of the congressional districts; but these are based on entire population, while the draft is based upon those only who are fit for soldiers, and such may not bear the same proportion to the whole in one district that they do in another. Again, the facts must be ascertained and credit given for the unequal numbers of soldiers which have already gone from the several districts. In all these points errors will occur in spite of the utmost fidelity. The Government is bound to administer the law with such an approach to exactness as is usual in analogous cases and as entire good faith and fidelity will reach. If so great departures as to be inconsistent with such good faith and fidelity, or great departures occurring in any way, be pointed out they shall be corrected, and any agent shown to have caused such departures intentionally shall be dismissed.

"With these views, and on these principles, I feel bound to tell you it is my purpose to see the draft law faithfully executed."

The President and his war council have demanded this selective draft and have announced that they can not accept compromise. They believe that we should profit by the lesson from across the sea. I intend to vote to support the President as he must be relied upon at this time to do that which is best. He has taken the only course that will insure the future prosperity and safety of this Nation.

Under the selective-draft system this Nation can engage in this war in a large scale without disturbing its manufacturies, agricultural fields, and mines. By the selective draft the Government will only take those men of military age who can be spared for service. A great many patriotic men will want to enter the war who can do far more good for their country by remaining at home working on the farms, in the factories, and the mines.

Under the selective-draft plan the President and his representatives will determine which men shall remain at home and which men shall be called. At this time it would be folly for all of the farmers to go to war because their services are needed in raising the food for the armies.

It was announced a few days ago that we are to build 1,000 wooden ships. No man who is needed to build these ships should be allowed to enlist, and under the selective-draft system such a serious mistake would be prevented. This also applies to other industries.

The figures given out by the War Department, published from day to day, prove conclusively that no army of any size can be raised by the volunteer system. We have actually been at war for three weeks and the ranks of the National Guard and the Regular Army have not been filled up, as the volunteers are coming in slowly.

We voted for war and our country is now fighting the enemy. In the time of need our country has a right to demand the services of its men. It is the duty of every citizen to serve his country in some form at this time.

With a profound consciousness and willful appreciation of the results, I am going to cast my vote for the selective-draft bill. I will not put any obstacle in the way of the President in carrying out this war. I stand for the selective draft because I believe in it, and, second, because the President and War Department have asked for it. I am not afraid to assume my share of the responsibility of the people of my district that I represent on this question.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with an open mind to the splendid and able discussion now running through a number of days on this bill and I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to vote for the amendment which provides for the selective conscription to meet the emergency that now confronts us as a Nation. I have not been impressed or convinced with the argument that it possesses all of the merits that is claimed for it by those who have sung its praises. I have a good deal of sympathy with those who contend for the volunteer system. I believe that if the proponents of the war are right and the country is afire with the war idea, that there will come to the support of the flag enough men who will volunteer to carry this war to a successful termination. If their premises are right there can be no doubt as to the conclusion. But the war has been voted.

The Government has spoken, the die has been cast, and we must provide for the defense of our country and the prosecution of the war. I can not go the length that has been gone by some who have spoken and say that this will establish a permanent military system; I shall vote for it with no such conviction or with no such hopes. I shall vote for it because I want to give to the men who must conduct the war a very wide latitude in order that the war may be brought to a successful conclusion at the very earliest time and with the very least sacrifice. It is not the time, as I view it, to establish a permanent policy of the Government, but rather is it a time to stand a united people behind the men whose shoulders must carry the responsibility. There are those who argue that in establishing this policy at this time that we commit ourselves to it for all time as a national policy. These men, honest and sincere as they are, forget that this is still a Republic; that the policy, whatever it be, must at intervals be referred back to the people, and they will always have the last say through their chosen representatives in the years to come as to whether this will be the established policy of their Government or not. As I view it, this is not the time to establish permanent policies, this is not the time to wage internal battles when there is call for a united action in the face of a foreign foe. I was one of those who refused to vote for the war resolution, for I was not in my own mind and heart convinced that we had reached the time when we should cease to forbear. But the President of my country and the Congress of my country did not agree with me. They voted to go into the war, and all that we have and all that we hope to have in the future of life and property must now be placed upon the country's altar, if need be, to sustain the Government and make it a place where free men can continue to wage continued and constant contests for the supremacy of their ideals. Under other conditions I can not say what my course would be, but under the condition that now faces us as a Nation my mind is clear as to where my duty lies and I shall do that duty as I see it.

Mr. Speaker, I have received from many of the people whom I represent letters and telegrams, as have all who sit here as Representatives. Some have urged me to vote against the conscription plan of raising an army. I have said to these that I had not agreed to a vote for the war resolution, but I would not oppose those who must now be held responsible for the conduct of the war. Now that we are in, I believe that we should do everything in our power to win. The volunteer system is glorious in its accomplishments of the past. The valor that the American volunteer has shown on the battle fields of the Republic will remain a precious legacy of memory of the millions that are yet to be born and live under the flag that they raised in the sky. He would, indeed, be unmindful of the grateful respect and honor that these volunteers deserve who would say a sentence that would detract from their immortal renown. When I get to reflecting on the glorious deeds of the volunteer soldiers of the past in this Republic I can not but have much respect for those who allow their hearts to sway their judgments in the situation that we now find ourselves. I can not find it in my heart to question the motives or the patriotism of those who plead for the volunteer system and yet we must now be practical men. It was pointed out in a speech by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] on the floor of the House yesterday that while the War of 1812 was fought by volunteers, that two States in the Union—Massachusetts and Connecticut—refused or failed to send a soldier to help in that fight. This made it necessary for the other States of the Union to fight the battles which was the common cause of every State. I do not anticipate that any State or any community will refuse to do its share in this contest, but if every citizen and every State in the Union knows that every other State and citizen will be called upon to do equal service and make equal sacrifice that assurance will help to create a spirit of national unity that is essential at this time. No true patriot will complain of the sacrifice demanded if he knows that the same sacrifice is demanded of others who are like situated.

I shall vote for this method to raise the Army, and next week when the bill comes in to levy the taxes to pay the bills for the war, I hope to be able to vote for such a bill that will show that this Congress is as willing to conscript wealth as it is to conscript men. There must be no half-way plan on either. If it is right that we shall call upon those who are of a certain age and best able to fight to do all of the fighting, we should see to it that the fellow best able to pay should do most of the paying. I am willing to take the position that so far as it is possible that no man or set of men shall be allowed to retain a dollar of profit that can be directly traceable to this war. It is, in my opinion, absolute folly for men to hope and pray to be spared the horrors of war so long as any man or set of men are permitted to retain the unholy profits that come from war. It would be unfair and incorrect perhaps to say that it is the sole cause of war, but that it is a potent factor, no one who is entitled to be termed a casual reader of history would care to deny. If the lessons that we learn in this war enables the great masses of people to place the burden of paying for the war where it rightfully belongs it will in a small part at least compensate for the sacrifices that they will be called upon to make. In practically all the wars of the past that this country has fought the poor man has been the fellow who has marched away to fight the battles, and if he has been fortunate enough to come back at all, he has found the burden of taxation so arranged that his shoulders have borne the heavy part of it. If we permit this system to prevail here it will show that we have refused to accept the responsibility that is ours and that we have failed to measure up to the full stature of true representatives.

Mr. Speaker, in these days when it is not an uncommon thing for men to become unduly excited there is still a good deal of charity and forbearance in the world. I sometimes think that we give too much concern to the critic. The honest man in public life is necessarily sensitive to criticism, and sometimes he is liable to exaggerate the few letters that come to his desk expressing disapproval. While he knows that he can not act so as to avoid it, he never becomes so that he can entirely ignore it. While this is true, it only requires a little thought to show the average Representative here that the great majority of the people in his district are sensible and sane, and while they may many times disagree with their Representative, they are fair enough to know that to most questions there are different angles of vision. In the district that I have the honor to represent here there are more than 70,000 men and women who cast their votes last November. Less than 25 of that 70,000 have gone to the trouble to abuse me through letters for the vote that I cast on the war resolution. I do not flatter myself that there were not many good men and women who did not agree with the wisdom of that vote, but they are the class of people who realize that abuse of men who follow honest convictions is unworthy of fair people. The real man and woman in my district and in every other district in this country—that is, the people who are really worth the while—are not frothing at the mouth and yelling traitors at other men and women who fail to agree with them on matters where honest minds may differ. It is the fellow who does not amount to much in his own community who rushes into abusive print at this time when men of all parties and creeds are really seeking to know the best way to serve their country and humanity. I have never known a man who questioned the common honesty of his neighbors in general or who believed that practically all people who disagreed with him were crooks, whose integrity I would care to depend upon or whose advice I would

want to follow. We sometimes pay too much attention to the faultfinder and refuse to see the great heart of the ninety-and-nine who constitute the real citizenship of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that no one will be misled as to the seriousness of the step that we are taking now and have taken since this session of Congress convened. I hear the idea expressed by some that this is to be a short war, and that our enemies will be defeated before the winter comes. God knows how much I wish that should be the case, but to the average thinking mind how little there is to base such a hope upon. I think it is fair and honest not to deceive ourselves or those whom we represent here. Now that we are actually in war, how necessary that we tell our people that they must prepare for sacrifice. I know how sincerely every mother and every father and every brother, sister, and wife who are called upon to see their loved ones march away in the ranks of the country defenders will hope that in some way they may escape the supreme sacrifice that they are in their pride and patriotism offering to their country. In the summer of 1914, when the war broke out in Europe, how many of us believed that with its fearful destruction and cost it could grow to its present dimensions and involve the whole of the great nations of the earth? How certain to be disappointed are those who now hope that this country and this people shall escape serious sacrifice in blood and treasure.

Mr. Speaker, this Congress last week passed by unanimous vote a bill appropriating $7,000,000,000, the first increment of cost that will stagger the minds of men to grasp. Another tax bill taking from the people an annual tax of nearly $2,000,000,000 will come in for consideration next week, and if it appears that such a sum will be needed to prosecute the war there will not be a vote against it. The great Congress of the United States is a united body, so far as the prosecution of this war goes, and the country is a united country behind Congress. But that does not mean that Congressmen do not have a duty to perform in scanning every appropriation and sitting in quiet and uncoerced judgment upon matters that come before this body.

The next few months will try the souls of Members here. In times of peace there are always designing men who would cry patriotism for ulterior purposes, and they can always enlist that part of the great press of the country which has a purchasable influence. In times of war, when the minds of the people are inflamed and excited, we can hardly hope to escape the cry of this enlarged element who will take advantage of the conditions and under the pretense of patriotism try to advance their own selfish interest. The Member of Congress who in the next two years refuses to jeopardize his political life by opposing the wrongs that will be attempted here, has no right to claim common cause with the splendid young men of the Nation who will gladly lay down their physical lives in the forefront of the battle line. It will require courage of a high character to meet this test, but my association with the membership of this House gives me confidence that they will not fail.

Mr. Speaker, there is one hope that in common finds place in the heart of every true patriot at this hour. That hope is that in some way we may yet escape the full sacrifice that this hour portends. It is the hope that before the full sacrifice is demanded that reason will again become enthroned in the great heart of the world and love and mercy take the place of hate and revenge. But if the full test is required, may He who searches the hearts of men and women and finds there the gold and the dross when He looks into the heart of every patriot find only the pure gold of an honest desire to be true to the country and its best traditions and meet whatever test the times demand.

War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 7, 1917.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am bitterly opposed to war. Here are the exact words of Gen. Sherman about war:

WAR IS HELL.

I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. Even success, the most brilliant, is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentation of distant families appealing to me for missing sons, husbands, and fathers. It is only those who have not heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded and lacerated, that cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell!

DISARMAMENT ONLY REMEDY.

War does not necessarily settle any dispute on the right side. The most powerful enemy wins, whether right or wrong. Other means of settling disputes between nations will come when all nations are disarmed. If out of this war should come an international disarmament agreement, then peace will be established and justice will prevail throughout the world.

MANY WARS DISHONORABLE.

Wars are usually covered with a false raiment of glory, but most of the wars of history have been dishonorable wars.

The Mexican War of 1848 was denounced by both Lincoln and Grant as unjust and unconstitutional.

The Spanish-American War might have been avoided, because Spain had already agreed to withdraw from Cuba, and the document is on file in the Department of State. But newspaper hysteria plunged the Nation into that war, while our own representative at Madrid was begging by cablegram for a few more days in which to complete Spain's evacuation agreement.

LINCOLN ON THE MEXICAN WAR.

On January 3, 1848, Congress passed a resolution declaring that the War with Mexico, then in progress, was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. Abraham Lincoln, then a Member of the House of Representatives, voted for this resolution, and on February 14, 1848, he voted against a resolution to expunge the action from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Lincoln, speaking in the House on January 12, 1848, while the country was in a state of war, nevertheless stood upon his rights as a Representative of the people, and criticized the President in the following words:

Mr. Chairman, some, if not all, the gentlemen on the other side of the House have spoken rather complainingly of the vote given a week or 10 days ago declaring that the War with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. * * * The President, in his first message of May, 1846, declares that the soil was ours on which hostilities were commenced with Mexico. * * * Now, I propose to try to show that the whole of this—issue and evidence—is, from beginning to end, the sheerest deception. * * * Let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed. Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with facts, not arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and, so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation should not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation. * * * But if he can not or will not do this—if, on any pretense or no pretense he shall refuse or omit it—then I shall be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that he ordered Gen. Taylor into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement purposely to bring on a war; that originally having some strong motive—what I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning—to involve the two countries in war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood; that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it and has swept on and on till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where. How like the half insane mumbling of a fever dream is the whole war part of his late message!

Conscription.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES R. CRISP,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, I love peace and my soul abhors war, for war means tears, sorrows, sacrifice, suffering beyond description, and great loss of life. For over two years I hoped and prayed that our country would not be drawn into the conflict now destroying the brave and valiant of Europe, and as a Representative in Congress I have left nothing undone that I could do to maintain honorable peace for our beloved country.

President Wilson for more than two years, by his patience, watchful waiting, Christian forbearance, and marvelous wisdom in conducting our diplomatic affairs, kept us out of the awful carnage. The Imperial German Government, gone mad with Prussianism, obsessed with the idea that it was ruler of the universe, systematically began to make ruthless war on all mankind. German submarines, without warning, destroyed ships of friendly nations, consigning to a watery grave men, women, and children, citizens of friendly governments. President Wilson, the foremost man of all the world, the Chief Executive of the only great and powerful Nation not engaged in the awful conflict, speaking for humanity, called Germany to

task for her barbaric warfare. Germany agreed to abandon her unjustifiable and outrageous course and we all hoped and believed that the lives of noncombatants would be safeguarded and that the United States would not become involved. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of the Imperial German Government that in future it would observe the rules of international law, German submarines continued to sink without warning neutral ships, among them American ships, destroying American lives. Not content with this the Imperial German Government, through its accredited diplomats to the Government of the United States, sought to stir up within our borders riots, treason, and insurrection, trying to incite German-Americans to strike, to paralyze our manufacturing industries, and even to destroy the fortifications of our country. Nor did the German Government stop here, but, through its diplomatic ambassador, sought to induce Japan and Mexico to declare war against us. These facts were brought to the attention of Congress by President Wilson in a formal message.

Thus it is clearly seen that the Imperial German Government wantonly and willfully was waging war in every way possible against the United States. No self-respecting nation could longer submit to the willful murdering of its citizens, the destruction of their property, and insults to even its sovereignty, and maintain the respect of the nations of the earth.

With these facts before Congress, as an American Representative, I could not do otherwise than vote for the resolution, declaring that Germany had made war on the United States, and that a state of war exists between the two countries. I have had many duties to perform, but never in my life did I perform one that tore my heart as did the voting for the war resolution, for I knew the horrors, sacrifices, sorrows, tax burdens, and suffering it meant to the people of the United States, but from the depths of my soul I believed that the American people preferred war to dishonorable and cowardly peace.

The President has asked of Congress that legislation be enacted providing for the raising of an army of 2,000,000 men, or so many of them as may be necessary, to be used in prosecuting our war with Germany. The duty of Congress is plain; there is but one course open to it, to give the President all the money and men he may need to prosecute the war to the end that Germany may be speedily crushed and peace and happiness again restored to all the world. The War College, composed of Army officers, prepared for raising this army, the bill being known throughout the country as the "select conscription" plan. Let me briefly state the salient features of this bill.

The bill provides that the Regular Army shall be increased from 135,000 men, its present peace strength, to its war strength, 290,000 men; that this increase shall be secured by the President calling for volunteers, with the proviso that if volunteers can not be secured he was authorized to conscript men to bring the Army to its full war strength. The bill further provided that the President should have the right to draft the militia of the various States and to call for volunteers to recruit the militia to its full war complement, 625,000 men, with the provision if volunteers did not come forward the President could conscript men for this purpose also. The third proviso of the bill was that there should be conscripted from the males of the country, between the ages of 19 and 25, an army of 1,000,000 men, in two increments of 500,000 each, and no one should be permitted to volunteer for this army. The War College bill authorized no territorial recognition, but under it soldiers drafted in Georgia were not required to be put in the same regiment with soldiers drafted in their neighborhood but could be scattered throughout the army, wherever the Army officers saw fit to send them. The bill contains many other features to me objectionable, to which I shall refer later. This bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and, after weeks of hearings from Army officers and consideration by the committee, the majority of the committee reported the bill to the House with sundry material amendments.

The bill of the majority, known as the Dent or volunteer bill, contained the identical provisions of the War College bill for recruiting the standing army and the militia to full war strength, first by volunteers, and if the volunteer system failed, then by conscription. This bill carried the time-honored American principle of raising the additional army of 1,000,000 men by directing that the President should call for volunteers; if they could not be obtained, he was authorized to conscript an army; but the Dent bill fixed the ages for the select conscription from 21 to 40 years of age, instead of 19 to 25. The Dent bill also provided for territorial enlistment, requiring that all boys enlisting in any community be kept in the same company, so far as practicable. The War College bill contemplated that a military board, composed only of Army officers, should pass on who should go to the trench and who should remain at home, under the select conscription plan, while the Dent bill provided a board, the majority of whom should be civilians, to be the judges as to who should fight, and probably die, for their country, and who should remain at home to pursue their usual avocations and make money. The War College bill provided that the eight Army officers, the chiefs of the eight bureaus of the War Department, who would not go to the front but stay in Washington, who now draw salaries of $6,000 a year, should be raised to $9,300, and no provision was made for increasing the pay of those splendid young men who should give up remunerative employment and serve their country as privates in the trenches of France at $15 per month.

Being at war, it is the duty of Congress to give our country the best army possible, and to raise it in the quickest time, and that, in my judgment, will be done by the volunteer system. But the War College and the advocates of the conscription system say the volunteer soldiers are a failure. I deny this. I believe that the most valiant, bravest, the best soldiers who ever performed in any war during all the annals of time, were those brave, patriotic, self-sacrificing men who followed Gens. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, John B. Gordon, Sheridan, and Grant during the Civil War, and they were volunteers. All of the wars that have been fought by the United States—and all have been successful—were fought by volunteers. It was volunteers who composed the army of Washington, who gave us our independence; it was volunteers who fought the War of 1812 with England; it was volunteers who fought the War with Mexico; it was volunteers who fought the Civil War; and it was volunteers who fought the War with Spain. I am not for any law that insinuates that those splendid heroes, who suffered and died for liberty and what they believed to be right, in all of our wars, were failures.

A reference to history will disclose that in all the battles since the creation it was the volunteer who performed the most conspicuous and rendered the best service. A man forced into war by conscription fights unwillingly, is lacking in courage, and does not make as brave or efficient a soldier as one who, from patriotic motives and love of country, freely offers his life for his cause. Let me cite some instances of history relative to the conscript.

In the War of the Revolution the English Government brought over some Hessian conscripts, and in the Battle of Trenton they surrendered to the colonial forces without firing a gun. Gen. SHERWOOD, an honored Member of this House, who was a gallant general in the Union Army, in a speech a few days ago stated that he had 72 conscripts sent to his regiment during the Civil War, and that all but 2 deserted, and that they were worthless as soldiers. The general further stated that while he was commander of the Union Army in Tennessee that all of the deserters from the Confederate to the Union Army had been conscripted into the Confederate Army. Maj. W. C. Harllee, of the United States Marine Corps, who has served in that branch for 17 years, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, said:

> Unwilling men burden armies, eat its substance, retard its action, and give it panic. I am opposed to universal service or compulsory service, or any other kind of service than that rendered by willing men.

These instances give some idea as to the relative value of the conscript and the volunteer soldier.

But the advocates of conscription state that the volunteer system is inefficient, and that it is necessary to have select conscription before the patriots of America are even allowed an opportunity to volunteer in its defense. It is an interesting fact that the English Army now in Flanders, daily driving back the German troops, are volunteers. England, fighting for her very life, with the German Army a few miles away, did not provide for conscription until she had raised an army of 5,000,000 men by the volunteer system. Those brave Englishmen to-day fighting in Flanders are volunteers. England to-day has an army of about 6,500,000 men, and of this number only about 600,000 have been raised by conscription, and no conscript is yet at the front. England, a monarchy, allows her citizens, even in her present conscript law, before being formally conscripted, 30 days to volunteer, while in America, a Republic, where the people are supposed to be free, our War College would deny American patriots even this small opportunity to demonstrate their courage and patriotism. Up to this good hour England has not passed any conscription law applying to her great Provinces. There is no conscription in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or Ireland, and yet the American Congress is asked to raise its first army by conscription, a proceeding never before suggested in our beloved country, even when our land was invaded.

The advocates of select conscription state that the volunteer system will cause only the brave and patriotic to suffer, and

that the cowards and slackers will not volunteer. I admit that only the brave and patriotic will volunteer to lay down their lives for their country, but under the select conscription system proposed by the War College only the brave and valiant will be drafted, and the slackers and cowards will be granted immunity by law, and those slackers over 25 years of age who urge select conscription—advocating sending boys under 25 to fight the battles—will stay at home, pose as patriots, and continue to loaf or ply their avocation and make money. Why do I say only the brave will go into the army under the select conscription? Because when the name of a brave man is drawn out of the box he will go to the colors, and when the name of a slacker is drawn he will seek to be exempted, and will claim physical defects, business reasons, and every other excuse he can think of, and in my judgment most of the slackers, in one way or another, will escape the call to the colors.

War is horrible; war entails sacrifice; would to God war could be averted, but I know our glorious country would prefer to have an army upholding its honor in a foreign land made up of brave, patriotic men, men who are willing to lay down their lives for their country, rather than to be represented by conscripts. I believe it is un-American, undemocratic, unjustifiable, and destructive of a free government to conscript an army from a limited few without giving the patriots of the land an opportunity to enlist to defend it. Conscription is repugnant to free government and should only be resorted to in the last extremity. Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party and one of the greatest statesmen of our country, expressed himself on conscription in a letter to his friend John Adams, of Massachusetts, as follows:

> In Virginia draft was ever the most unpopular and impracticable thing that could be attempted. Our people even under the monarchial government had learned to consider it as the last of all oppressions.

In the year 1814 the President and Secretary of War were urging the raising of an army by conscription. On December 9, 1814, in the Hall of Congress, Daniel Webster, who compares favorably in intellect and patriotism with the statesmen of today advocating select conscription, said:

> Who shall describe to you the horror which your orders of conscription shall create in the once happy villages of this country? Who shall describe the anguish and distress which they will spread over those hills and valleys where men have heretofore been accustomed to labor and to rest in security and happiness? Anticipate the scene, sir, when the class shall assemble to stand its draft and to throw the dice for blood. What a group of wives and mothers and sisters of helpless age and helpless infancy shall gather around the theater of this horrible lottery as if the strokes of death were to fall from heaven before their eyes on a father, a brother, a son, or a husband! And in the majority of cases, sir, it will be the stroke of death.
>
> Laws, sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad, like the fabled serpent's teeth they will spring up into armed men. A military force can not be raised in this manner but by the means of a military force. If the administration has found that it can not form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it can not enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail, and having already thrown away our peace we may thereby throw away our Government.

Never in any war conducted by the United States has conscription been adopted until after the patriots had been given an opportunity to volunteer. The Confederate States in 1862 passed a conscription law. The Confederate Army, all told, mustered a little over 600,000 men, and, according to Gen. Preston, Records War of Rebellion, serial No. 129, page 1099, there were 81,993 conscripts, and they were the ones who furnished the deserters. The Union Army consisted of 2,200,000 men, and of this number 120,054 were raised by conscription, 73,607 sent substitutes, and only 46,347 conscripts ever reached the firing line, and, according to Gen. SHERWOOD, they were generally worthless. Conscription is odious to the American people, and in the Civil War, when the North was conscripting soldiers, there were riots throughout the North, and there were 35,000 Union troops withdrawn from the field to suppress riots in New York City, Buffalo, Indiana, Ohio, and other Northern States caused by the conscription of soldiers. I trust, if this law is put into effect, this country will not again witness such scenes.

We are at war, and I believe if the people of this country are given an opportunity they will volunteer. I have an abiding faith in the courage, virility, and patriotism of the American men of to-day. I believe they are as patriotic, as great lovers of humanity and liberty, and that they are just as willing to make any sacrifice for the honor and glory and perpetuity of our country as were our forbears. It is a matter of common knowledge that ex-President Roosevelt asked permission of the President to organize a division of volunteers to go to France. It has been repeatedly stated on this floor that he had a list of 150,000 volunteers who were anxious to serve under him. If 150,000 men in a few days will volunteer to go with one man, it is apparent that should the President issue a call for volunteers he could raise the needed men in a very short time. But the advocates of the conscription system say the volunteers are not trained. Neither are the conscripts trained; but whether a man goes into the Army by the volunteer or the select conscription system, he is under the same rules, regulations, and control, and I have no doubt that the brave man who volunteers can be trained in less time than one who is dragged in unwillingly to the service.

Our volunteer bill, in my opinion, will give the President an army quicker than the select conscription plan, for, according to the testimony of the Secretary of War, it will be some months before an army could be conscripted, whereas if volunteers should be called for they would be secured almost at once. The Navy is our first line of defense. The Navy Department and President Wilson have not asked for select conscription for the Navy. The chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee advised me that the Navy Department was receiving more volunteers for the Navy than they could take into the service. I am confident if the President would call for volunteers for the Army this same state of affairs would exist. We would get the bravest and the most valiant of our country, and America would have an army that would shed luster and renown upon her in the foreign field. But if I am mistaken, and we can not get an army by the volunteer system, the Dent bill authorized conscripting an army, but it provided that the army should be drawn from those eligible for military duty between the ages of 21 and 40. I can never give my consent to vote to conscript an army from the boys of the country between 19 and 25. To me it is unjust, unfair, undemocratic, is despotic, and savors of Prussianism. Boys under 21 have never had any voice in the affairs of government, are not permitted to vote, not authorized to enjoy the privileges of citizenship, and to ruthlessly conscript these boys and send them to the trenches in France is to me most horrible. I will never vote for such a law, let the consequences be to me what they may. These boys are inexperienced, their bodies not fully developed, their characters not yet formed, and to be conscripted and sent to a foreign country where they do not even speak the language is too awful to contemplate, and I do not believe Congress will pass such an unjust law. The Army officers and the War College are extremely anxious to have an army of boys under 20, and Hon. John Temple Graves, in an article published in the New York American over his signature, stated that the chairman of the War College told him, if their bill passed, it was their intention to organize an army of 500,000 men under 20 years of age. Subsequently to reading this article Mr. Graves told me that he was correctly quoted, and that the chairman of the War College made that statement to him. They will never do it with my vote.

I am confident if the President will call for volunteers he will receive more soldiers than he can equip, but if I am mistaken and the volunteers fail to come forward, as a last resort I will vote for conscription, but I want an equitable and fair conscription law. It is repugnant to my idea of a square deal to say that only males under 25 years of age, and a small per cent of them, should bear arms and many of them die, and all other male citizens of the country, slackers and otherwise, remain at home and say they desire to fight, but the country wouldn't permit them to do so; that the law forbade. I am especially opposed to the select conscription, for under the select conscription great injustice, partiality, and favoritism may be shown in selecting the Army. If we must have conscription, I favor making all male citizens between the military ages of 21 and 40 liable for this duty. I am opposed to special exemptions, and believe anyone physically fit, if the lot falls on him, should bear his burden. How would the select conscription of the War College be carried into effect? Their bill provides that boys between 19 and 25 should bear all the burden. The Secretary of War stated that he would require a census to be made of the boys within the military age, and would place their names in a box. That when the United States needed soldiers the number that should be furnished by each State should be apportioned according to population, and then each State should furnish its quota. That a board—and the War College desired a military board, and we all know how tyrannical a military board would be—should draw from the box in the various counties of the various States the number each should furnish. When the names were drawn this board should then say whether a person should go to the front or should be excused. The select-conscription bill exempts from military service United States and State officials, ministers of the Gospel, members of religious sects opposed to war, and those persons morally unfit for service, and it grants to the President the discretionary right to excuse from service those persons employed by the Government of the United States, those engaged in building ships, those engaged in industrial pursuits that are necessary to the suc-

cessful conduct of the war, and married men with dependent families, the discretion being absolutely in the President's hands whether a person drawn should go to the front or stay at home and continue to pursue his usual avocation. When a boy's name is drawn from the box, then this board would say whether he was physically sound and fit for the service, whether he should serve in the Army or be excused. Anyone reflecting a moment will see what great injustice may be done. There may be in the same town two boys, living across the street from each other; both may be drawn, both pass the physical examination, and the board decide to send one to the trenches and permit the other to stay at home. Is this fair? Is this universal military service? It is just the opposite of universal service.

Let me give an illustration of the injustice of it. Suppose two boys graduated from college at the same time, both 23 years old. One is engaged in teaching school and the other engaged as bookkeeper in some industrial plant, each earning $1,200 a year. Say, the names of both are drawn from the box and both found physically fit; the board, passing on the exemption, might say to the school-teacher, "You are not engaged in any business that is contributing to the success of the war, so you go to the front," and might say to the bookkeeper, "You are working for an industrial plant; you stay at home." Two young men, one practicing law, the other working in one of the departments at Washington; if the names of both were drawn, the board could say to the lawyer, "You go to the front at $15 per month pay," and to the Government clerk, "You remain in Washington and continue to draw an $1,800 salary." If drawn a young physician, dentist, clerk, bank cashier, or college student would doubtless be sent to the front, while the superintendent of some mill, a coal miner, a Government clerk, a mechanic in some ship-building yard or munitions factory, would be permitted to stay at home. Or two young farmers might be drawn, one a wheat, the other a cotton, farmer; one sent to the front, and the other kept at home.

"Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, the other left.

"Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left." Luke 17.

Let me quote from Senator REED:

Is the reason for selective draft to be that some military man shall go around and say to the wealthy son of a wealthy man, "You have a large fortune to manage; you shall not go, even though willing. We will lay our hand on some poor wretch who has had no advantage in life; he will make good cannon fodder"? Or, perhaps, the military gentleman, being actuated by a spirit of democracy and equality and fairness, will say to the machinist who has been drafted, "You had an opportunity to learn the trade, and therefore you shall not go. I will look around and find some one who never had a chance, who can only work with his arms, and say to him, 'You have no trade, and therefore it shall be your business to die in defense of the man who has the trade.'" That, sir, is democratic equality of the selective draft.

I am not in favor of any law that makes possible this great injustice. I believe that if conscription is to be enforced it should be uniform and apply to all alike. I believe that the only fair way of conscription would be that when the names are drawn out of the box, if a man passes the physical examination, no matter what his business or avocation, whether rich or poor, whether occupying a high or low station in his community, he should go to the front. This is universal; this is democratic; this treats all alike; but the War College's select-conscription bill is opposed to this plan. The advocates of select conscription say there should be a discretion left with the board to determine who should go and who should stay, for they might cripple industries by sending some men to the front, and that some other men were rendering better service by remaining at home. If we were drawing all the men in this country, there might be some reason for this argument. According to the military experts, there are between the ages of 21 and 40, 22,000,000 men within the United States, and if you raise an army of 1,000,000 you can only take 1 out of 22, and I am sure no one can intelligently sustain the proposition that taking 1 out of 22 will injure any industry. The vacancy thus made in the industry could be filled by boys under 21 or men over 40.

The advocates of the War College bill realize how repulsive to the American people the word "conscription" is, and they are attempting to sugar-coat it by calling it "select conscription." The press, with wonderful unanimity, is advocating the select-conscription bill, and certain interests in New York have been sending out telegrams throughout the country urging their correspondent to telegraph Members of Congress to support the select-conscription bill and stand by the President, but the public was not informed as to the terms of the bill. The impression has become prevalent throughout the country that the select draft means that they will select people to do the fighting who are loafing and not engaged in any lawful pursuit. When the law is put in operation and all citizens within the military age are required to register under penalty of being sent to the penitentiary, and their names are put in the box, and they are thus made liable for military service, and the sword of Damocles is kept suspended over their heads, many who now think they are for the select-conscription bill will suddenly change their opinion overnight. I can imagine, when the day of drawing comes, fathers and mothers will accompany their dear boys to town and will stand around and watch the "roulette wheel" as it spins to determine whether their dear son shall stay at home or shall be prepared possibly to become a victim to the German cannon. I can imagine the heart-rending agony of this father and mother when the lot falls upon their son. I can imagine how they will feel toward the Government when their beloved son and the boy across the street are drawn and their son is sent to the front and the neighbor's boy is left at home. This is what I fear will happen when this select conscription is put in operation. I am bitterly opposed to it.

I advocated an amendment to strike out the select part of the conscription law, to leave it so that if one is drawn and is physically fit he should go to the front, and no board should be permitted to pass upon whether he should stay at home or whether he was to go, thus giving all citizens of military age—between 21 and 40—an equal opportunity before the law. The advocates of the select draft say that there is a universal liability for military service to your country. I deny that it is carrying out universal military service to say that only a small per cent of men between 19 and 25 should perform military service and all others be exempt. It is also true that it is the duty of all citizens who own property to pay taxes to support the Government. There is not a Member of this House who would have the effrontery to vote for a law providing that only citizens owning property between the ages of 19 and 25 should pay taxes and let other citizens owning property be exempt. To me human life is more precious by far than money or property. I would not vote for a law so unjustly discriminating against the people of this country when it comes to paying taxes, and, as God is my judge, I will not vote for a law which confines the conscript for military service only to boys between 19 and 25.

The idea is common in some sections that all married men and farmers will be exempt from military service. This is not true, and when the law is put in operation many who now think they have immunity from conscription will wake up and find themselves in some training camp. The War College bill asks an appropriation of $140,000,000 for the purpose of caring for the dependent families of men in the Army. If married men and those having dependents are to be excused, why the need of this enormous sum of money to support their dependents? As to whether or not farmers, when drawn, will be required to serve, let me quote from the remarks of Secretary of War Baker before the Military Affairs Committee:

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Secretary, I believe it might be said to be common knowledge in this country now that the laborers engaged in agricultural pursuits have become distressingly limited, and many writers have charged the high cost of living to the fact that people have left the farm, and there is nobody there except a limited few to produce the foodstuffs of the country. Have you taken into consideration in your department the question of excluding or limiting the draft upon those that might be engaged in agricultural pursuits?

Secretary BAKER. So far as the present year is concerned, it seems entirely unlikely that our arrangements could be perfected so as to begin the drafting of men until after the season of planting has passed and the season of cultivating is well advanced. The season of harvest would therefore seem to be this year the one we have most to consider. The Council of National Defense would undoubtedly be constantly in touch with that situation through the Department of Agriculture and subordinate committees, and if it should turn out to be at all a necessary thing to do, some system of furloughing from the Army during the peak load of the harvest season might be adopted to relieve that situation.

Mr. KAHN. But if our troops were sent to the battle fronts of Europe, how would you furlough the men?

Secretary BAKER. Of course, it would be impossible under those circumstances.

The House bill provided for territorial enlistment, contrary to the wishes of the War Department and the War College. I do not believe anyone except the Army officers, upon reflection, will oppose territorial enlistment. Surely Germany is a good authority on military efficiency, and Germany recognizes territorial enlistment. We frequently read in the papers that the Bavarian troops, the Brandenburg Division, or some other Prussian division, or some English regiment like the Scotch Greys, Canadian Regulars, or Princess Pat's Regiment, had distinguished themselves in the horrible carnage now going on in Europe. You will recall in our Civil War how the Twelfth Georgia, or some Illinois, or New York, or Virginia regiment immortalized itself. The War College is opposed to territorial enlistment, and prefer to merge everything into a national

army. They desire, if three boys are enlisted in a town in Georgia, to grade them as to ages and sizes and send one possibly to some New York regiment, another to a Mississippi regiment, and another to an Iowa regiment, while territorial enlistment will require that, so far as possible, they be kept together.

I have no doubt but where boys from any locality, fighting for their country, are kept together, in the same company, they will be more contented and will make better soldiers. When they go into battle they will know that some lifelong friend is there who will be glad to minister to them if they are wounded, and if they are dying will be glad to receive their last message to their loved ones far away at home.

A soldier of the Legion lay dying in Algiers;
There was lack of woman's nursing, there was dearth of woman's tears;
But a comrade stood beside him, while his lifeblood ebb'd away,
And bent with pitying glances, to hear what he might say.
The dying soldier falter'd, as he took that comrade's hand,
And he said, "I never more shall see my own, my native land.
Take a message and a token to some distant friends of mine."
* * * * * * *
His voice grew faint and hoarser, his grasp was childish weak,
His eyes put on a dying look, he sighed and ceased to speak;
His comrade bent to lift him, but the spark of life had fled;
The soldier of the Legion in a foreign land was dead.

Conscription to me is contrary to the spirit of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, and I fought it in every way I could, but the overwhelming majority of the House defeated raising an army by the volunteer system.

We are at war, and when Congress decided that it would not raise an army by the volunteer system but that conscription should be applied, I opposed select conscription and did what I could to make conscription democratic and universal and apply to all, but again Congress decreed otherwise. We are at war, and the honor and glory and preservation of the American Government requires that we have an army at once to protect our rights. I could not get the Army the way I preferred and labored for, but, as an American Congressman, I believe I will be derelict in my duty if I vote against the only remaining method of providing an army for the defense of my country; and for this reason, and for this reason alone, I shall vote for the Dent bill with the volunteer provision eliminated, but materially changed from the War College bill. The Dent bill fixes the ages for conscription from 21 to 40, instead of 19 to 25; requires a civil, instead of a military, board to pass on exemptions; it directs that territorial enlistments shall be recognized; and it raises the salaries of the privates from $15 to $30 per month.

I am conscious of the abuse and criticism that the press heaps upon Members of Congress who have the courage to represent their people and to vote their honest convictions to adhere to the American principle of raising an army by the volunteer system. I regret that I find myself unable to support the select-conscription plan proposed by the War College. To me select conscription of only boys between 19 and 25 is unfair, unjust, and contrary to the principles of free government. After mature reflection, and I am not ashamed to say earnest prayer, I have decided my duty requires me to oppose it. My conscience disapproves it, my judgment condemns it, and my soul's convictions are against it, and I shall be true to my conscience and convictions. I am prepared to take whatever consequences may flow to me from having fearlessly performed my duty as God gave me the light to see it.

Address By E. J. Giddings.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. THOMPSON,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 8, 1917.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend remarks on the bill providing an army for the war with Germany, I present an address by E. J. Giddings, of the United Spanish War Veterans, Oklahoma City Camp, No. 3, at Oklahoma City, Okla., April 19, 1917.

The address is as follows:

My Countrymen, these are the times when we can lay aside all personal dislikes and other differences for the common good. From these and kindred meetings through patriotic interchange of views may come great benefit to the great Republic.

The peaceite, called the pacifist, theoretically talks peace when war is a grim reality. That will not do. Its absurdity does not appeal to the most comically inclined within the Union; it but encourages our enemies; it can not discourage the Government.

This is an occasion for heart to heart talks, and not for the exhibition of eloquence and of rhetoric for that exhibition's sake. Petty personal ambitions must quit. Individual and collective ambition to serve the country alone shall govern. We are one for one Republic and under One who will guide us well throughout it all; so discussions close and war begins and all conflicts of opinion are merged in efforts for a greater destiny.

And who shall go to this war of wars? Surely first only those who can best afford to go—the young man without an indigent parent to support; youth with golden dreams but not age with silver locks; the man who has no holy family ties; the sons of the rich, the workers, and the toilers whom duty beckons on; all those who are able, that they may do service in the holiest war that ever inspired hymnster and the harp. And, then, trooping in millions, if ever needed, fathers, husbands, and even old, lame, and halt will come if whole men give out through the vastness of the enterprise. What a glorious opportunity for young American manhood!

He who speaks upon these occasions should not ask others to do that which if able he will not do himself. We are here to urge enlistment. We are here—and elsewhere in the Union it is the same—to let all nations know that we are in earnest and able to support that earnestness with as willing and courageous men as ever cheered a flag or heard a cannon roar. Less than our duty we can not do. Should we fail in that duty we might become a vanquished and a pauper nation. Our duty calls for action and calls for service.

And how shall this great army be raised, meeting all conditions? Manifestly it must be raised by whatever means the Government may decide. What it decrees, to it we agree. Through the filling up of militia and Regular Army units, by selective conscription, choosing by wise and patriotic draft, if need be, the best in brain and brawn, with carefully picked proportions of each industry so as not to cripple business, labor, or the farm, and by volunteer organizations, we will let the Kaiser know we are coming 100,000,000 strong.

And what would the record of our country be without the immortal story of the American volunteer? From the time of the "old continentals in their ragged regimentals" he has carried us from victory unto victory, from glory unto glory. He has been our guide, our prop, our stay. He will be coequal with the Regulars of sturdy build and of purpose inflexible. Throughout the War between the States his star ever was effulgent. And in that conflict between the North and South it was American heroism and American genius on whatever side it was displayed. And so it shall be now, whether in the trenches of Europe, in the land of Mexico, in the units getting ready for service, or at home patriotically provident to pull puppets from their tottering thrones.

And what other courses are open than here suggested? Mark our complicated racial conditions. See Russia with her numerous different peoples, different in tongue, religion, and in slumbering ideals, with some meek and others strong, but nearly all of Slavonic origin. But here we have almost all the races, in goodly numbers, that are at each other's throats in Europe—Germans, British, Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Irish, Poles, Slavs, French, and many others from the other nations of the globe. To undertake to organize all these discordant elements into one army will be hazarded with prudence. What wisdom, what patience, what consecration to service thus are needed! Here are problems vaster than storming enemy positions and sinking submarines. Amid these conditions do you not think your Government should have the best in thought and action of all of you, loyal native and loyal foreign born? Think about it in the day and pray over it in the patient night!

And so we need an army—not an autocratic army. Are we not fighting autocracy in its most hideous forms? If there were one thought above another along these lines, it would be to say to the Government, "Democratize your Army and Navy." On duty there should be, of course, stern discipline, prompt work, and strict attention; off duty the same equality of the civil walks of life. In the past, in fear that this was not so, young America often has hesitated to enlist. He did not want to be a menial, but a soldier; he did not care to be a servant, but a warrior, willing to work and fight, but unwilling to shine an officer's boots or press his pantaloons. The truest service is rendered by those least subject to humiliating exactions. Waiting on the table is one thing, but it is another and a glorious thing to wait in the trenches or as a sentry beneath the stars. And so it has come to pass, under the gallant Hoffman and our other gallant officers, that Oklahoma boys have been and will be soldiers and not servants! Democratize your Army and your Navy as the surest means to unlimited enlistment and the most patriotic service.

We are living in the most stupendous period of history. All know that. Almost the whole map of the world may change ere peace blows his melodious bugle again. War is infectious, contagious, like a plague, taking not only the first born but killing the hopes and joys of those who went through the pangs and possibilities and dread of death to bring them into being.

And they will suffer most, these mothers, these fathers. They have a right to demand, and their demand will be obeyed, that the sons they give to their country shall be equipped and protected by the most perfect weapons of offensive and defensive warfare that genius can create. They have as well the right to require that those put over their boys shall be competent to command and to protect, where ignorance might lead to traps and butchery and death—officers chosen because of character and efficiency rather than on account of ability to control primaries or pack political conventions. And in this State and throughout this Union these wishes will be realities, for Columbia longs to come forth sun-kissed with victory in humanity's cause.

And when this army is raised, and raised it will be by the might of right, what shall it do and where shall it go? Divergent as may be the views of the press, against whom the charge of being subsidized by the money of the allies is so patently absurd as hardly to need denial, and whose very divergent views upon this subject are the best testimonials of not being subsidized, the American people want their Army in those places where it can do the most good in the shortest period, that war soon may end and peace return. Shall our efforts be confined to patrolling the seas, hunting submarines, protecting our passenger and freight-carrying vessels and our extensive coast lines, or shall we as well take common ground with the allies, fighting side by side with them, and stopping only when all unitedly agree to sheathe the swords and furl the flags? Obviously if we are the great people we think we are, and are, we wish to share the burdens (we care not for the mere glories) of those with whom we are now allied. And there

is a middle ground that suits the real American. Under our volunteer system let those volunteers go across the seas who wish, as suggested by that great jurist, but greater man, Judge Thomas Doyle. If you will let all of them go who so desire, you will flood the gory fields of Europe with as knightly soldiers as ever went full panoplied in courage into battle. There is your solution—there the jeweled key that unlocks the door of patriotism's palace. And if ever man, despite partisanship, bitter virility of language, and rancorous criticism, on any field deserved to lead an American division, or a multitude of divisions, it is the red-blooded Roosevelt!

Did we do less than all these things we would be the puny and dyspeptic Government of Christendom. Now that the American people have started they will not be satisfied until the Stars and Stripes float over the capitol of Mexico to bring order out of anarchy; until the flag, with the emblems of the entente, triumphantly waves over the citadels of Berlin.

And while all this is being prepared and is going on, as on it must, how shall we live and upon what shall we subsist? Here, then, the man behind the plow as much is needed as the man behind the gun. And whenever you think the American farmer is not as patriotic as you are you have greatly blundered. He does not wear his patriotism on his sleeve nor do you, but has it enshrined in his heart and mind at his fireside and wherever wanted. Did he not shoot defiance while at Lexington, and has he not done it through all our splendid conflicts? With him to-day we face a mighty problem. Besides ourselves, we must feed and clothe, or partly so, many teeming millions across the seas. With crop shortages there and crop shortages here we may confront dangers greater, lest we be careful, than all the fast dissolving guns of Germany.

By sad experience has that farmer learned that often the greater amount of a given product that he raised the less price therefor did he receive. By governmental supervision, by encouraging a diversified and abundant production of life's necessaries, and fixing for him the minimum price he shall get therefor, we protect him from want and wrong and aid to keep down the hunger of mankind.

Is that enough? It is not. For the protection of all of us, at home and abroad, a maximum price for foodstuffs and other necessities must be controlled by legislative enactment or by governmental interference. Under these conditions he who would seek to fix the price of commodities would be as great a traitor as he who would spit upon the flag! Public necessity is the highest law known to patriotic governments.

And public necessity requires that the rich pay for this war, for, largely on account of numbers, the poor will fill the Army's and the Navy's ranks. Through voluntary contributions, by big taxes upon the incomes of the rich, by cost-price bargains from the armor, steel, munitions, and other plants, by these and similar agencies the genius of good government requires that these burdens fall where they belong and where they can best be borne.

For other burdens are there for the others. The watchword for our home people is "Economize! Economize!" To say that to the average man is to give him a riddle he can hardly solve. But a little saving and wisdom here and a little saving and wisdom yonder ultimately will assist to work the wonders that for the public good must come.

Make gardens, gardens, and plant and raise in those gardens in all towns and cities as you require of the farmers in the fields. Flowers for your heroes are beautiful, but eatables for their stomachs are the thing!

Economize! Take notice of England! See her ordinary citizens, when war began, give scant attention to economy, and note now the price they pay. We can do it because we must, and "must" now sounds good to the good American. In doing it we not only help ourselves, but speed the day when peace will come back to us as if the Maytime had returned forever.

And so we have multifarious duties not only at the front but here at home. And those of you at home may be as patriotic as those of us who go. Upon you falls the pleasant task of bringing to justice the few defamers of your President and your Government. Remember for offenses like these, committed in your presence, even as private citizens, you have the power to arrest and to call on any officer or citizen for assistance. Do your duty there. Unfortunately, there are a few, and every country has them, who make necessary the observance of that duty. If such you hear mouth his treason, hit him with anything that is handy. Patriotic officers will not arrest you, and if they do, there is not an American lawyer but will defend you for nothing and acquit you.

Keep alive your patriotism, both externally and in your heads and hearts. Let there be flag emblems on your coats; flags, flags everywhere, and whenever possible "Dixie" and the "Star-Spangled Banner"! It is not that all these things are necessary, but that they may be companions to you should occasion call for action.

And how could it thus call? Nothing is impossible as against a people unprepared in sentiment and in arms. Picture to yourselves, and it could be were we not getting ready, the Mexicans and Germans marching forward through Texas and into Oklahoma on their way to the National Capital, with an immense army and powerful guns we are unable to withstand. They thunder at the gates of Oklahoma City. Their huge missiles crumble into ruins our churches and other magnificent edifices. The conquerors enter the bomb-riddled community to the mingled strains of the "Watch on the Rhine" and "La Paloma." Thus they control the capital and metropolis of the Commonwealth, leaving in command thereof the Mexican general, Chile Hot Tamales! As they depart, and as brutally they have done elsewhere, they take with them the chaste and virginal womanhood of the city as hostages and for other unspeakable purposes. Of course, it will not come to pass. Yet has it not come to others better prepared to withstand assault? May it never be with us! May the eyes of all of us be stricken blind before, in horror, they rest upon such awful sights!

Ah, yes; there is work for the home guard; there is need for the training of all; there is necessity for the protection of home industries and home concerns. With sentimental and substantial encouragement from employers to those who go, with measures of precaution and ample means for their continued existence, there are opportunities at home for as great a patriotism, in its way, as there are opportunities for those upon the firing lines, on the briny waters, or blood-stained fields.

And so they say that this is a rich man's war. They lie. No war for humanity can be a rich man's war. The aggregate of human kind is far from opulence, is of average means or poor. Freedom for all humanity is their freedom and their opportunity to get from under the groaning tyrannies of the Old World and to obtain further great blessings in the new.

Unpreparedness is the poor man's nemesis. With unpreparedness and the cutting off of our trade by the closing of our ports, with wheat going down to 30 cents thereby, and other commodities in like proportion, with factories closed and workshops idle, and thus with no employment standing like a blind Bartimeus at the gates of Jericho, the poor man would suffer while the rich would still have some luxury. How, then, can preparedness and this war be against the poor?

Nor were we plunged therein because only the rich took sea voyages when they were warned to stay at home. It was the poor, in numbers and thus in sorrow, who suffered most from the murderers of the seas—the stokers, firemen, deck hands, seamen, and the like, who had the same right to earn an honest livelihood in their chosen work upon the waters as their brothers had upon the land. For these we fight, and for the future. For the wrong done them and their loved ones and all murdered Americans and all mankind we raise war's standard, to remain until the seas from murder are as safe as the green-skirted paths of the peaceful countrysides.

And why should not this be so? That government, when able, which will not protect its citizens is not fit to live. By its very being it obligates itself to such protection. Directly, and indirectly, it imposes and receives taxes from its people for its support and is supposed to guarantee and give protection in return. And it can not measure whether it will give protection by the number and character of citizens assaulted and killed and property destroyed, for assault upon one citizen and his property is an assault upon all, whether on land or sea. Where is the difference? This is the basic theory of civilized government. Knowing war to be barbarous, and acting for the mass of our countrymen, yet unafraid, this Government humanely hoped to continue peace until hope vanished with the return of treachery and murder.

And they thought, these Teutons—meaning those in authority—on account of the patience hitherto exhibited, they could resume their murderous practices and go on interminably. Warned they were, with ample and emphatic warning. While asserting, in retaliation of our war declaration, they would not make war on us in return, they were making war and feigning noncombatancy in vain effort to stir up anti-war sentiment within the Union.

And have they not done enough to justify any warlike action against them? Aside from the murder of hundreds of American men, women, and children, whose sepulchers they have made the beds of oceans, in time of peace with us they have sought to create treason and sedition among our people; again, in times of peace with us they have planted spies in every nook and corner of our land; they have used the most heinous means to seek to foment rebellion among the negroes of the South with promises of glorious social and economic benefits for the future, but to no avail, for these negroes unitedly are loyal; while enjoying, in both official and individual capacities, the hospitality of our country, they have endeavored to create enmity against us in the breast of our stricken but sister Republic of Mexico; playing upon the supposed racial pride of the Japanese and blunderingly there seeking to manufacture resentment against us because of our alien laws, they have tried to gain a warlike combination with Japan, that war with that great power might follow friendship; ingloriously they have tried to impress our German citizens with only duty to the fatherland and with hate and action against their adopted country when the call should come; by secret agents and devious means they have attempted to get across the border as many Germans, residents and citizens of this country, as they could, that there they might organize combined German and Mexican armies for aggression against this Government. With unsurpassable stupidity upon their part, or believing it unsurpassable stupidity upon the part of Mexicans, and while at peace with this Republic, they have sought an alliance with all Mexican factions upon the promise to add to Mexico the State of Texas and other States of the Union, little dreaming perhaps that all the world together hardly could do that; they have dynamited our factories and blown up our industries; they have violated every principle and practice of national decency, canceled every pledge made unto us, assassinated our hospitality and our citizens, and practiced every foul fraud and shifty subterfuge interdicted by all the codes of international honor. They are the menace of mankind; the peace disturbers of the world; the damned and doomed imperialistic government of this convulsive age. They must go, this Kaiser and his kind!

With the President we say that we are not fighting the German people, but autocracy and all its wrongs. But we add to that immortal declaration when we say that not only are we not fighting the Geman people, but that we are fighting for the German people, that love and peace may follow hate and war and that henceforth all men shall be free and equal in every generation.

Before our entrance into this conflict we were unfortunate as a neutral nation, for, under such circumstances it is so easy for belligerents to misunderstand. While hostilities with the central powers may amount to little, or soon be over, or may be immense by other powers joining in and by the length of war, we now stand immeasurably higher in the estimation of civilization's vast majority. Uncle Sam has awakened with a mighty yawn and gone gloriously to work! We can not fail to benefit by increase in national defense, national spirit, and in national character. And this is worth the sacrifice we make.

Before each warring nation, ever and anon, had some grievance, spasmodically appearing in the public prints or finding utterance through the public tongue. Great Britain thought we should have joined with her because of kinship of language and of blood. Germany thought she, too, could claim unprecedented neutrality by having us cut off war shipments to the allies, forgetting she had done the same thing in making such shipments when other nations were at war and she at peace, and basing her claims of friendliness in these respects through the 8,000,000 of Germans here who were and are among our best, most loyal, most progressive citizens. France also came with hopes of active aid because of her help to us in Revolutionary times, given us to cripple her then ancient enemy. And so we stood not altogether friendly with any nation engaged in the death struggle of all death struggles history records.

How different is it now! We are in a positive position, with every Government knowing exactly where we stand and what we mean.

And have we lost thereby? More closely have we knit ties that bind us to Japan. By our entrance into this war we have assured that gallant little nation that never do we expect war with her, and she has responded in the same splendid and unconquerable spirit. After this war a single-handed contest with Germany is an impossibility. Have not these things their manifest and manifold advantages?

And now we let the whole world know how strong we are, and that pays the cost of war for all contingencies of the future. Concededly

we are the richest nation that exists. If need be, we can put 20,000,000 soldiers in the field and arm them for actual service in comparatively an incredible short period of time. That is something no other government can accomplish. You could build an impassible wall around us and easily we could live after an adjustment of conditions. When the War between the States ended, the Union had the greatest Army and greatest Navy, in point of numbers and of strength, in all the world. If, torn with internal strife, Americans could do that then, with the great increase of population and resources, infinitely more by them can now be accomplished.

Let us know our country's abilities as well as limitations. Certainly it does not divulge a secret to assert that your navy is the best in quality, and not very much lacking in quantity, as compared with that of any naval power, while the bravery of its men and the efficiency of its officers are denied by none; while the superiority of their marksmanship over all has been demonstrated by many scores in many contests. Your coast-defense guns are the biggest and most powerful in existence. Thus you now stand ready to command the respect of all mankind.

The percentage of illiteracy among real Americans is less than that of any people. The inventive genius of your country, put to the test, rivals that of all the world combined. In this age of the engines of destruction in war a multitude of men is needed less and a multitude of brains is needed more. And yet you have both!

Your Edison, who said two years ago that the weapons in use in the war were mere toys to what could be invented, and if his country needed it, and for no one else, he could invent something worth while, is now at work, inaccessible to all, possibly, as rumor has it, upon the bomb which, when it explodes, kills everything of animal life within 3 miles of the explosion! These are terrible things but necessary these awful times. Thank God for Edison as well as Wilson!

And watch the young American, Hammond, scarcely out of his teens, patriotic son of a rich but patriotic father. And though some may sneer, there are many rich these days who are richer far in patriotism than they are in material wealth, though that wealth may mount into the millions. And what of young Hammond? See his wireless torpedo, guided from the shore, and so scientifically and accurately that it hits even a reed in the ocean 15 miles away 14 out of 15 times! Is this not genius soaring to the topmost peak?

Your numerous other inventors all are at work. Do your part! The great men of Europe, as well as here, are expecting great things from America's creative sons. And they shall not be disappointed!

And why should they be disappointed? The iron and armor clads, successors to wooden ships, originally were American inventions. Do you not remember the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*? The submarine is an American invention. The airship is an American invention. The heavy artillery and guns of France that play havoc with Teutonic lines are American inventions. Numerous torpedoes, bombs, explosives, guns, and weapons of all kinds now in use upon the battle fields of Europe, are of American make or American invention. But why extend the list? If for others or for invention's rewards alone these things can be done by Americans, what can not be accomplished when the Republic calls her inventive sons to heed their country's needs with all the stimulant to talent and to genius that the patriotic heating of the blood by war creates? Here, then, are the tests of Americanism and of Christianity!

And they say that this war proves the failure of the Christian religion—these atheists, these infidels here and in other lands. Little do they know its greatness when they so declaim! Is it not the supreme test of the ages from which that religion shall emerge the eternal but peaceful victor of all the victors? Time alone can tell, but even now time points the way in that celestial direction. Is it not in accord with divine prophecy? For after this war shall come peace forever among the nations as their sons, true to biblical foretelling, beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. And was not this awful cataclysm needed to bring about that glorious consummation? Is it not so that everything everlastingly good comes after stupendous sacrifice?

What civilized nation has dared to invoke the wrath of Almighty God as its soldiers went into battle? And shall we not rid ourselves of the "Unspeakable Turk" and his Christian massacres? And, again, what civilized nation has failed to invoke His divine guidance? Men and nations must work out their own salvation until they reach that point where God is love and love is God.

See Russia emerge! See religious freedom ensue! Mark the liberation of the Jews in the interests of humanity and as a heavenly reward for their genius at every weighty council table and for their heroism on every bloody battle field. Mark it, too, as the beginning of civil and religious freedom forever and everywhere. And be just, and record it as not the failure but as the triumph of Christianity for all the coming, God-like ages!

I pull back the magic curtain that hides the future from the wistful view of expectant Love. I see all the nations of the world at peace. I see all armaments reduced to nothingness. The light and beautiful crown of human happiness has replaced the heavy iron one of hideous war. I hear the men and women singing in the fields where once there roared the guns and ran the blood of earth's best and bravest—the common people. Joy follows misery. The faces of women illumined are with ardent affection and with holy hope and crooning lullabies again become earth's litanies. God reigns! The reeling heads and forms of drunkenness are gone forever. Enlightenment fills all continents and everywhere all men and women read and write and talk in common language good and in thought of cleanest origin. Crime, as ever, still remains, but with his cohorts fast decreasing. Inventions multiply for the common weal. Luxuries have become the ordinary comforts of mankind. No longer tread vast armies while poverty pitifully pleads against the brutal burdens they impose. Arbitration has securely and everlastingly locked and barred the doors of war. Each man is a freeman; each family home owners—the surest guarantee of liberty and right of which human statesmanship can conceive. There are no subjects and no serfs, but citizens—citizens all in every land where Christian edifices almost kiss the fleecy clouds.

No longer do men rule by descent but by ascent; no longer are scepters handed down from sire to son, but men, and women, too, arise to grasp them through effort, worth, ability, courage, character, through all good things human, and by all things divine.

The dream's Utopian, you say? Ah, no; for thus is it written in all the tumultous tomes of Fate. The world's workers, comprising its vast majority, have their brotherhoods that will never brook aught but right and peace, and thus they work in perfect harmony with those of every other enterprise. Wages are gone and in their place a just proportion of that which toil and talent may produce. By the necromancy of universal edict all navies transformed have been into white vessels of 40 knots the hour, carrying human freight and the products of mankind to welcome ports throughout the world. Upon the land and in the air the ships of commerce hither and thither move with lightning speed and thus quickly and indissolubly band together all peoples of every land. Love rules the earth and seas!

War did it all—war brought to a close by the awakened and unconquerable giant of the West! One league of peace forever suppresses war and holds the world in perfect poise.

Thank God for America!

Then come on, you loyal sons of Oklahoma! Contribute your part to the welfare of the world. Remember those urging you are going with you to the front. Your country calls. You are not deaf. Oklahoma Cityans do your share! You can ill afford to be behind the other gallant towns and cities of the State for the capital and metropolis should blaze the way for Oklahoma's glory. Oklahomans, remember that we have been the favored child of our great Government!

There is no middle ground, for a citizen these times is either an American or a traitor. By the solemn and satisfactory words of those who know you will never have occasion for regret. There is no tonic for physical betterment equal to American military training in time of war, for vigor there is needed and obtained. If in any degree you are physically weak, you will come out strong. Such is the record of our Army and our Navy. If you are strong, you will come out stronger—stronger in mind, in morals, and physique. So far as the dramas of our physical lives are concerned, the caprices of fate play leading parts therein, so that should you die remember that in a hundred years or so it would not make any difference anyway, and this is said in all seriousness and affection.

Proudly you will be one who took part in the war of wars! Fill up your National Guard! When the war is ended, and if you wish, immediately you can come home to the open arms of a most gracious and most grateful citizenship. Honor your State militia as your State protects and honors you. Partly pay the debt of gratitude you owe your country for the blessings and the liberty you enjoy. And when it is over—and by all signs of the martial zodiac it can not last so long—in years to come your fondest and tenderest memories, memories that will ever keep you up to manhood's sturdiest stature, your surest passports to private and to public favor, your safest pathways to respect and to success, will be your service in the Army or Navy of your country—your country that needs you now and loves you always.

An Answer to the Secretary of the Cleveland Real Estate Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 7, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, embodying an answer to the secretary of the Cleveland Real Estate Board, in which he criticized my action upon the conscription bill:

MAY 3, 1917.

STANLEY M. MCMICHAEL,
Secretary the Cleveland Real Estate Board, Cleveland, Ohio.

SIR: I have your telegram of the 2d instant, advising me of the resolution of disapproval of my action adopted by your board, which I assume relates to my attitude on the conscription bill.

I do not know that I have any personal acquaintance with any of your members, but I understand you are all above 25 years of age, and that you strongly favor that figure as the maximum age limit for military service, and that your board members are especially enthusiastic for restricting the draft for the first million men to boys of 19 and 20 years of age, to the end that all of the rest of the man power of the Nation be exhausted before you are reached.

This inhuman zeal to rush the boys of 19 and 20 into the trenches indicates a national decadence and civic rottenness which is to-day the greatest menace that threatens the life of this Nation.

This letter is to advise you of the receipt of your telegram, and further, that I have derived more sincere satisfaction from the assistance I was able to render in defeating the un-American provision of the bill which provided for conscripting minors into the military service and the adoption of other wholesome amendments than from any other official act since I have been a Member of the American Congress.

Yours, truly,

WILLIAM GORDON.

A Common Language.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks I desire to print in the RECORD a letter from George B. Wrenn, 363 Union Street, Ashland, Ohio, favoring the adoption of a common language. This may be headed toward the millenium but is worthy of thought and consideration.

The letter is as follows:

APRIL 27, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM ASHBROOK, of Ohio,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: It seems to me that Congress has a great opportunity just now, along with preparation for war, to also make preparation for peace, and that by making a suggestion to the world of a universal language. To do it Congress should pass a resolution calling on the President of the United States to request all the parliaments of the world to adopt Esperanto or some other language as an international language, and that the parliaments require the language to be taught in public schools and universities, and that orders also be issued by the various parliaments requesting or commanding the newspapers of each country to print the vocabulary, rules, and instructions in the language at least once this year, that all people the world over may be in a position to take up the study.

Thoughtful people believe that after this great war is ended we will enter a new age—an age of democracy—when people will live at peace with one another. Then the barriers that separate nations will be largely broken down, and there will be as free intercourse between the peoples of the various nations as now between peoples of the various States in the United States. Then a common language will be absolutely necessary. The time that the world should begin to study it is now, in order that the language may be generally known by the time the new age really begins.

Naturally not just anyone could take the initiative in introducing such a novel suggestion. It will require a parliament that is daring enough to put the proposition up to the world, and that has influence enough that the world will take it up. Our Congress ought to be daring enough to start it, and just now, when nearly the whole world has suddenly looked with favor upon the United States, Congress would have influence enough to be able to receive favorable consideration for such a proposition. As you will understand, should Congress make the suggestion it would be talked about in every legislative hall on earth, now that the eyes of the world are on America, and should two or three big nations adopt it the rest of the world would immediately take it up and adopt it too. The proposition should meet with the favor of people of every nation, because thinking people would understand that hereafter it would be only necessary to learn two languages, the native tongue and Esperanto, or whatever language should be suggested.

Of course, no national language could be suggested as a universal language, because national pride would prevent people of one nation from taking up the language of another as the international language, and an artificial language would be absolutely necessary. Then, national languages are full of mistakes and irregularities, requiring several years of study, which is more time than can be expected of people to give to the cause.

I suggest Esperanto because it is the most practical of artificial languages. It is made up of root words such as are common to most European languages. To these are added endings to indicate the parts of speech. Then, some 8 prefixes and 24 suffixes are used, any one or more of which may be added to the roots, thus forming other words easily understood. The various combinations replace several thousand words that in any other language would need to be memorized word by word. Phonetic spelling is used and irregularities of all kinds are cut out. The consequence is that Esperanto is so simple that anyone of ordinary intelligence can learn the language within a few months and linguists in a few weeks.

Esperanto is already pretty well established throughout the world. Ten years ago the American consul at Breslau, Germany, warned American manufacturers and commercial men that they must learn Esperanto or lose their world trade to French and Germans, who are utilizing the language. Nearly all international congresses held this century have recommended Esperanto as the international language for their various societies. There is more literature published in Esperanto than in all other artificial languages combined, so I understand, and instructions in the language are not hard to obtain. Instruction books are to be found in most newspaper offices, or can be quickly obtained, from which to publish instructions for their subscribers, in case the nations adopt the language. Some 15,000,000 or more people in the world speak the language.

By recommending Esperanto, Congress would save much time that otherwise would be spent in selecting a language, so that people could begin studying it soon. Teachers could learn it in time to begin teaching it at the fall term of school, and every one, other than children, could be able to speak the language before the year is closed.

A world language is bound to be adopted eventually, and I am writing this to you, honorable sir, trusting you may be interested by the suggestion and find opportunity to introduce the resolution in the House during this session and make it possible for Congress to bring this great blessing to the world now. I do not believe you could do the world a greater service than to give its people a universal language that all men may be able to understand each other.

Should you be interested, you may feel at liberty to use this letter in any way you choose, should it be of any use to you.

Respectfully,

GEORGE B. WRENN.

Emergency Bond Issue.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE M. TOWNER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, the object of this amendment is not to prevent the United States rendering financial aid to the nations now engaged as we are in fighting Germany. It may be very important that we should do so. We certainly should do everything we can to win a complete and speedy victory. If we can by direct grant, by establishing credits, or by guaranties of bond issues aid those nations which with like purpose are now waging war against Germany, we should do so.

My objection is not to the fact that loans are to be made, but to the manner in which this bill provides they shall be made. An enormous sum—$3,000,000,000—a sum beyond comprehension, almost beyond computation, is placed in the hands of one man to dispose of practically without limitation or restriction—a thing never done before in the history of this or any other nation. The Secretary of the Treasury is given this immense, this transcendent power not because it is necessary, wise, or even expedient to do so. but because apparently Congress does not want to take the trouble to consider the matter itself. A more complete surrender of constitutional power, a more willing and even joyous abandonment of an imposed duty was never chronicled in the annals of Congress.

I have seen, as we all have seen, days spent in this Chamber on items of only a few hundred dollars. In this case we hand over billions to an official and say, "Spend this as you like; we do not want to be bothered further about it."

I have heard, as we all have heard, Members asseverate with passionate fervor the duty of Congress to carefully guard the interests of the people who must earn and pay every dollar we here spend; yet in this one item, with only casual consideration and almost without protest, we dispose of a sum equal to three times the total ordinary annual expenses of the Government and more than three times the amount of our entire national debt.

We have been told time and again how dangerous and unwise it was to make "lump-sum" appropriations by which heads of departments were tempted to spend a few thousands extravagantly or unnecessarily, yet here we place in one man's hands the largest sum ever committed to an individual in all the annals of time, and tell him to do with it as he pleases.

It is assumed in argument that this three billions of money is to be loaned to those nations now at war against Germany, but no such limitation is placed in the bill. The Secretary may loan to any "foreign government" whether against or with Germany in the war, whether belligereent or neutral. The only purpose stated, and the only limitation made in the bill is that the money is to be loaned "for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments." If any nation, anywhere, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or South America, would like to establish a credit in the United States for any purpose, and the Secretary thinks it would be a good thing, he can loan them any amount he chooses under the terms of this bill. No security is required, no date of payment specified, and we agree not to charge these foreign governments over 3½ per cent interest, no matter what their outstanding obligations now carry. In fact, as is well known, most of the nations now at war are paying 5 and 6 per cent, and some of their bonds are not worth now 50 cents on the dollar.

It is assumed that the money is to be used to carry on the war against Germany. But it is not so stated in the bill. The money may be used for any purpose. It may be used to fund outstanding obligations. It may be used to induce nations to either go out or stay in if belligerent, or to enter or remain out if neutral. It may be used to rehabilitate the war-stricken nations, to build up the waste places in Belgium and Serbia, or for any purpose that may appeal to the Secretary.

To place all foreign loans on the same basis is most unwise. Conditions are vastly different in different countries. For instance, we could wisely, as I think, place money without restrictions in the hands of France. We would be reasonably sure it would be wisely expended in the prosecution of the war. With some other countries it would be only ordinary prudence to give only credit in our country for war material and supplies. These matters should be separately considered and passed upon by Congress. There is no one man—and he presumably viewing all such transactions from a financial standpoint—sufficiently informed and wise to safely pass upon such important matters. The interests involved are not merely commercial transactions. Statesmanship, world politics of the most intricate and important character are involved. Military and naval questions of the most technical and vital character are involved. Is it to be supposed that our Secretary of the Treasury is qualified to pass upon and determine wisely all these questions?

It is not realized, I fear, into what intimate relations we enter when this Nation becomes the creditor of the foreign nations to which this money will be loaned. Of all "entangling alliances" the money alliance is the most close and embarrassing. It would be better in many respects to give rather than to loan.

In my opinion half the amount authorized in this bill would do more good to the nations receiving the aid if given as a

bounty than the whole given as a loan; and I am quite sure it would be vastly safer for us. Still more of benefit would go with it if given in the form of arms, ammunition, and supplies for the prosecution of the war. In any event, all these transactions should be considered; and not alone as they affect the present, their ultimate influence should be considered as well. Loans to one nation may be justifiable, bounty to another expedient; but let us have an opportunity to consider and if possible determine wisely and prudently what shall be done.

It seems to me conclusive that Congress should retain its power to pass upon these propositions separately. The selection of the nation to which this help shall be given; the amount to be loaned or the credit to be extended or the arms, ammunition and food products to be furnished; the terms and conditions—all these should be individually considered and passed upon.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman realizes, of course, that the suggestion involves that Congress should stay in session continuously from now until the end of the war.

Mr. TOWNER. Not necessarily. It is likely that loans now contemplated will be made within 60 days. They could be at least considered and authorized within that time. And I have no doubt, I will say to the gentleman from Ohio, that Congress will be in session as much time during the continuance of the war as may be necessary to consider and pass upon any number of loans.

Congress ought to reserve to itself the right to determine each individual case on its merits. And so I believe in this emergency we can best serve our interests if we do not abdicate our rights or shirk our duty, so that we can secure to our people the immense benefits that ought to be derived from this service. [Applause.]

A Refreshing Breeze From the Prairies.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted to me I desire to call attention to an article which appeared in the February 1 issue of the Dakota Farmer, prepared by Mrs. Mary Herring Hudson. The article is as follows:

RAISING BOYS FOR EVERY DUTY OF LIFE, TO BE SOLDIERS IF NEED BE.

[By Mrs. Mary Herring Hudson.]

Some time ago some one sent me a copy of a song entitled "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier." It was easy and had a catchy air, so the children began to play it on the piano. I had been too busy to even read it through and paid no attention to it until they began to sing the words. They fairly made me sick at heart, they were so selfishly sentimental and lacking in all principle.

You see, I have lived in North Dakota nearly 34 years, neighbored with the Indians, and roughed it from one end of the State to another, nearly, and I never found any good use for the tenderfoot spirit—the self-pitying, self-justifying selfishness of inefficiency. Sleeping on these trackless plains with your face to the stars or fairly wrapped in thunder and lightning or facing our fierce blizzards for miles and miles bring one in touch with primitive forces that tend to dispel all false ideas about living.

MOTHER'S PRIDE AND JOY.

The mother in the song says, "I brought him up to be my pride and joy." I've met several like that.

In those days it was earn your right to live—or die or get out (many "got"). There were no powder puffs or frills thrown into the bargain, either. There was not much to be proud of but conquest of these great forces all about and the joy of success in living and taming nature to our ways, and one had to be worthy of success to win it then. You must be able to play the game right to win from nature her secrets and her reward. You must be able to "think God's thought after Him," as my old teacher used to say.

SUCCESS THE HARDEST TRIAL OF ALL.

But now, success is the hardest trial of all. The stress removed, we are training our child in the easiest way we can (with money) to be our pride and our joy—regardless of what is best for him, right or wrong, or best for the other fellow, the community.

With all my roughing it and hardships of the early days it seems a snap compared with raising my own children as I would like them to be. I love them too intensely, too selfishly. It is so hard to make them suffer for their errors, or let them make errors that will cause them suffering. But that seems about the only way they care to learn to live—by living.

We talked the matter over, the children and I, and when they realized that some other mother's "pride and joy" was being raised to protect "my pride and joy" they decided they had rather be able to take care of themselves and others less fortunate, and so the song remains unsung in one home.

It has always been my greatest fear that I might not be able to rise to the occasion and be large enough mentally, morally, or spiritually to grasp the great laws of life and present them to my boy in such a way that he would live more than anything else to be a true-blue, manly man, with courage to face life's battles squarely on the level and not shirk or dodge them.

"JUST LIVING" IS A BIG PROPOSITION.

It would be much easier, it seems to me, for a man to wear a uniform and buttons and face a cannon under the excitement of war than it is for them to carry honor and justice about with them through all the day's work and play, and buckle into the everyday tasks and social problems involved in being a man—and vote. Just living is a big proposition. There is no need to look abroad for circumstances that require the soldier spirit to face—opportunities fall all over a man right here and now. He can prove his strength of character any old time. So I'm going to raise my boy to be a soldier, if I am equal to the task, it doesn't matter whether he ever wears a uniform or not, on the principle of "resist the devil and he will flee from thee" and the old Arabic motto that the knights of old had engraved in their shields, "The strength of the vanquished goes to the victor."

We can easily see how the effort to overcome an error in arithmetic or any other proposition strengthens us. To get the children to see it and enjoy the encounter is our task and a mighty hard one. It is so much easier to let things slide and just drift with the tide in the way of least resistance.

NOT ENOUGH BACKBONE.

We do hate to do anything that is hard, and we make everything so easy for our children that unconsciously we are training them to be selfish weaklings (all those who can). They simply wilt when they run up against any of the hard knocks in real life, or turn bitter against God, the Government, and the other fellow, or whatever else is at hand to hang the blame onto, not seeing it is their own lack of understanding and adjustment to the eternal laws that is losing the battle for them. Or else they adjust themselves to dodging issues, covering over disagreeable things instead of facing conditions and making them right.

They leave them like an old sore that is healed over on the outside and all drainage stopped; it simply keeps on festering until it breaks out with a terrible discharge in an effort to cleanse itself, as in the present war. God will not be mocked; we simply have got to be right to stand long.

The principle is the same in national as in personal affairs; as long as there are errors to be corrected in governments, so long must there be corrections made in some way, and the soldier spirit must fare forth to meet the demand whether through spiritual, mental, or physical means.

Through my years of teaching I found that there was a self-satisfied nature that required suffering before they would open up to the sunlight of love and truth and grow, and like the surgeon I must cut deep if I would do them good. It was love that gave me the courage to do the "cutting," and the sacrifice of my own pleasure in the matter was always justified by their increased respect and their own advancement. They always enjoyed the progress made later. And it is the same in larger affairs of the world, there must be suffering before the need for reform is seen very often, because we will be wise enough to see and seek our own good in good for others.

THE SWISS SYSTEM.

So it was with intense interest that I noticed recently an article in one of our leading magazines entitled, "Why I raise my boy to be a soldier." It was written by a Swiss mother to the mothers of America, and how I wish I might put it into the hands of every mother whether she has a son or daughter.

You all know how bravely Switzerland fought for her liberty and how for 600 years she has been a Republic. She calls us "sister Republic," but she comes nearer to being our mother, for many of our laws and institutions were copied from hers. We know how she has stood for peace and maintained it through all this last terrible conflict; or, perhaps, you do not know how she maintained it; I did not until I read this mother's story. You see, they were a poor country, unable to keep a standing army to back them in their stand and their efforts to keep the banner of freedom flying for humanity, so they worked out a plan that carries out their motto, "Each for all and all for each."

I believe it is this spiritual truth struggling to be expressed nationally that is at the bottom of this great unheaval—it is monarchs against the rule of the people.

The Swiss plan has stood the test so long, and through all this last terrible war they have been able to maintain their peace, that it seems to me it is worthy of our consideration. It must be right in motive and action or it would not have endured.

They assume that for the privileges of freedom, peace, and prosperity every man would be willing to give a certain per cent of his time to his country. So soon as a boy enters school he has, in connection with his other work, drills, hikes, and practice in teamwork. When he reaches a given age—I can not state exactly, as I have loaned the paper—he is given a uniform and light equipment, and the training takes on a more military aspect. This gives him the practice in teamwork, the erect carriage, and splendid physical development for which the Swiss are noted. After school is finished there is a year given to purely military training, and after this they are at liberty to go their individual ways, excepting a period of two weeks each year, when they meet for drills up to a certain age. It takes on the nature of an annual vacation when they get out their uniforms and equipment and report for duty. It was during one of these drills that the Kaiser of Germany and two of his staff visited Switzerland to watch them. When it was over the Kaiser said to one of the soldiers: "You are fine, husky fellows. Five hundred thousand, you say? What would you do if I brought an army of a million in here?" The soldier replied, "Why, Sire, that is easy; we would shoot ($2 \times 500{,}000 = 1{,}000{,}000$) twice."

A GREAT PEACE ARGUMENT.

And this is the sequel to the story: Two years later, when the Germans were considering which route to take to France, Belgium was chosen by 2 more votes than Switzerland, those two being given by the members of the staff who had watched the Swiss soldiers drill. And so this Swiss mother proves her argument that they were able to maintain peace by being able and prepared to stand by their principle and take

care of themselves. She says that they are an intensely peace-loving nation; that the very fact that everyone, every home, is touched the moment war is declared acts as a restraint in every way.

A paid standing army, when idle long, gets restless and eager for something to do. Their army is never idle, as they have their individual work at every moment they are off duty. They love their country devotedly, as their immediate response to the call to their colors showed at the beginning of this war. They came at once from all parts of the world. Their army was mobilized the quickest of any army in Europe, and their soldiers are noted for their health, strength, and manliness as well as their love of their country.

It seems to me that is the best peace argument I've heard.

LET'S PREPARE.

Our recruiting stations tell a sorry tale of the physical condition of most of our young men who are willing to enlist which spoils our comparison with the Swiss men.

The military records (not our school histories) show that in nearly every battle we ever fought we have sacrificed from two to three times the number of men we should by not being prepared to take care of ourselves. We are on advance ground trying to hold the light of freedom for all the rest of the world. As long as monarchs have the power to oppose our principles or are in need of our territory there is bound to be friction. We have to meet them in terms they will respect, like the schoolboy. We can not cast pearls before swine and get results. A government that still thinks physical force is highest must be met on that plane to reach them at our present state of development. They have no respect for our pearls—the principles upon which our Government is founded. They are bitterly opposed to them. If we are morally and physically able to support our ideals and keep the light of freedom burning, we may be able to win recognition for the pearls and unite the world on systems of free government.

We have a big job before us to knit into one all these different nationalities and their different ideas of government into "one country, one language, and one flag" ourselves.

It seems to me the only just and feasible way at the present time is for all of us to share equally in the moral and physical preparation for the protection of our principles as the Swiss have—rich and poor alike. Uniting in a common cause on common ground would perfect a feeling of brotherhood. Where it might be easier to see that when we are untrue to the best there is in us we are untrue to our country, and when untrue to our country we are untrue to our own best interests and the interests of posterity. It is not "our country" we stand for alone, but the advance in civilization it stands for that we must prove and maintain.

Wise men claim that "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Mothers, let us rock it so that it will bring forth the strong, wise, true men unafraid to loose themselves in a righteous cause.

Think of the price our fathers paid. Can we do less? Let us be as true and unselfish and think for posterity as they thought for us and help to usher in that time when—

"The might, with the right,
And the truth shall be,
And come what may
To stand in the way,
That day the world shall see."

And "peace on earth, good will toward men" as well.

Arms and Ammunition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,
OF CONNECTICUT,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, May 9, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last in the course of my remarks on arms and ammunition I was asked, very properly, whether the fact that our capacity for making the Springfield rifle was so sadly limited should be made public. I answered accurately that it was already well known. As a matter of fact, it has been discussed by military men, engineers, and manufacturers for the last year to my own knowledge. On February 29, 1916, I discussed the subject on the floor of this House and subsequently here and elsewhere I called attention to our distressing lack of preparedness in this direction.

Under leave granted by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD I here insert a letter received to-day from the associate editor of the Journal of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, together with the inclosure referred to in the letter, showing that at their meeting last year members of that learned society discussed the subject of the difficulties involved in increasing our rifle output. The letter and inclosure are as follows:

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS,
New York, May 8, 1917.

Hon. JOHN Q. TILSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I find from a report in the New York Times of this date that the matter of lack of gauges and fixtures as affecting the possible production of rifles for the American Army has formed one of the subjects discussed by you on the floor of the House, and the question as to the advisability of publishing such information broadcast has been touched upon among other matters.

In this connection I venture to bring to your attention the discussion of this very matter at the annual spring meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers a year ago in New Orleans.

From the brief passages inclosed with this letter, and especially from the complete report of the discussion which you will find in our journal (mailed under separate cover) you will see that the American engineers have long ago realized the difficulties which are facing the country to-day and have done their best to bring the matter to public attention while there was yet time to provide for the coming emergency.

Trusting that you may be interested in the above, I am,

Respectfully,

L. CAMMEN, *Associate Editor.*

[Inclosure.]

SURVEY NEWS ITEM, JUNE.

"MAY 8, 1917.

"At the meeting of the House of Representatives on May 7 (all quotations are taken from the New York Times of May 8), Representative JOHN Q. TILSON, of Connecticut, a Republican member of the Military Affairs Committee, discussed the manufacture of United States rifles, and, among other things, disclosed the fact that only a very limited amount of such rifles can be manufactured for the United States Government, because of the difficulty of procuring gauges.

"'Do you think that is good information to make public?' asked Representative ROBBINS, of Pennsylvania.

"'Everybody knows it except ourselves,' replied TILSON. 'All our enemies know it.'

"It may be useful to recall in this connection that the facts stated by Representative TILSON on May 7 had been forcibly brought forward more than a year ago by members of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers at the spring meeting of 1916 in New Orleans in the discussion of Mr. Spencer Miller's paper on Organizing for Industrial Preparedness.

"Among others, F. O. Hoagland, member American Society of Mechanical Engineers, in a written discussion, stated that, while the Government has at times placed small contracts for rifle ammunition manufacture, no private manufacturer has ever made the .30 Springfield rifle, nor has he any special tools, fixtures, or gauges necessary for making them.

"Judging from past experience and by the length of time it is now taking manufacturing establishments to get ready to fill orders for a product slightly different from their regular lines, quick service is not to be expected unless several of these concerns are placed in condition to meet the demand.

"In another part of the same communication Mr. Hoagland stated that it takes about 12 months to prepare the special equipment of fixtures, tools, and gauges necessary for the production of, say, 100 military rifles per working-day and about half that time to prepare for 100,000 cartridges per day, even when a factory has at the start a fair organization for similar work. The Government arsenals could be of great assistance in preparing the special equipment of fixtures, tools, and gauges, but a few leaders and workmen in each plant who are thoroughly familiar with the requirements are absolutely necessary in order to get quick and sure response.

"Two other members of the society, Frank O. Wells and Charles E. Smart, in a joint discussion of the same paper, forcibly brought forward the necessity to have our machine shops equipped to manufacture munitions of war at a moment's notice.

"That it can not be done in a hurry they showed by calling attention to the fact that, while for over two years all the machine shops in the United States have been working for the allies, yet even after that length of time new designs for jigs and fixtures were still upon the drawing boards, and new gauges and tools were being made in hundreds of shops all over the country.

"In fact, they pointed out, as a conservative estimate, it would require 50 engineers, designers, and draftsmen at least 50 weeks to prepare the drawings for the 17 sizes of shells now used by the United States Army, together with drawings for gauges, fixtures, and tools. To produce the latter would require probably 800 men well trained and in well-organized factories at least five years, calculating 300 working-days per year. And this does not cover the question of aeroplanes, rifles, battleships, or a large number of other important parts of equipment which also must be provided for.

"In particular, the manufacture of rifles discussed by Representative TILSON formed the subject of a communication by Fred E. Rogers (member Am. Soc. M. E.) luminously covering those very points which Representative ROBBINS was making public at the present time. 'The manufacture of rifles,' wrote Mr. Rogers, 'is a complete process, requiring special skill and experience, and with the exception of our Government arsenals, there was at the outbreak of the present war perhaps not one plant in the United States properly equipped and manned for manufacturing military arms. There are about 800 principal machine operations involved in making the parts of the simplest military arm, including the wood stock and

hand guard. Many of these operations require special machinery, and practically all the parts must be in jigs or fixtures while machining. When we consider the fact that to provide equipment for any army of 1,000,000 from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 rifles are required, the size of the task of equipping an army of 1,000,000 with shoulder guns alone becomes apparent. What the condition of this country would be in a sudden emergency we can only guess. Judging from the experience of some of our ill-advised manufacturers, who undertook to make shells, it would be of great confusion and enormous waste.'

"K. A. Juthe (member Am. Soc. M. E.), in discussing the experience of American manufacturers in the production of rifles for foreign Governments, stated that the gauge problem was one of the greatest magnitude, as it was found that it would take at least 300 first-class gauge makers to furnish the first working set, inspector's set, and the master set necessary for guns in quantities. And when 1,000 complete rifles per day is figured on, it means that the working sets would be increased from 1 to 10, and the inspectors' sets from 1 to 5, keeping the master set simply for reference. It was shown conclusively that among the total of practically 2,500 to 3,000 first-class gauge makers in the country there was no adequate means of tackling several different propositions at the same time.

"In regard to tool making, it was found that the jigs, fixtures, and small tools required would take a small army of toolmakers. It would take at least 1,000 toolmakers one year to furnish tools of this kind for the output of 1,000 rifles per day. Therefore, should our Government require, say, 500,000 or 1,000,000 rifles per year, our tool plants would be taxed to the utmost.

"It appears therefore that what Representative TILSON stated in Congress did not disclose any military secrets, but as J. H. Brophy said at the same meeting, 'I am under the impression that it will take years of pounding away at the facts to enlighten the people on this great undertaking of industrial preparedness.'"

Unfortunately, at the time I first called attention to our distressing lack of capacity for producing arms and ammunition and made the first appeal to Congress to supply the remedy, nearly a year and a half ago, the ears of the country were not open to hear my message. When the American Society of Mechanical Engineers were discussing this matter in their meeting a year ago, the country was too busy with other matters to give attention. Our entrance into a world war makes it a vital, burning question now. The people are awake to the situation, but too late to escape some of the unfortunate consequences against which some of us, at least, warned the country more than a year ago. It is too late to keep it secret now. Nor does it avail anything to indulge in harsh criticism of anyone in Congress, in the War Department, or elsewhere. The thing to do is to meet the situation squarely, and, without crimination or recrimination, set ourselves to the task of solving the problems arising. If we set about it in this spirit, we can not fail.

Volunteer System versus Conscription.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. BRAND,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. BRAND. Mr. Chairman, on April 8, six days after President Wilson delivered his memorable address to the American Congress, which he called into extraordinary session for the purpose of having it declare war against the Imperial Government of Germany, in an interview which I had at the request of Mr. John Corrigan, jr., Washington correspondent of the Atlanta Constitution and other Georgia dailies, I expressed the opinion I then entertained upon the subject of conscription, which he sent to his papers in the following language:

Judge BRAND is outspoken against conscription at present. He says he has an abiding faith in President Wilson, but until it is shown to his satisfaction by indisputable evidence that it is absolutely necessary for the defense of the country and its national honor and existence, he is opposed to sending any of his people to the trenches in Europe against their will. He insists that the Government should first call for volunteers, and that ample time should be given for the country to respond to this call and thus demonstrate this necessity before compulsory service is invoked.

This interview was published throughout my district. My purpose was, however, to keep an open mind upon this question, subject to change after reflection and study and after hearing the debate pro and con by the Members of the House, and after reading as many speeches of the Senators which I would have an opportunity of reading.

I have been much concerned in deciding rightly and wisely how I should cast my vote upon this paramount question. Whether right or wrong, I finally arrived at the conclusion that the position entertained by me, as set forth in this interview, is sound, and I feel it my duty to vote accordingly.

A Congressman under his oath of office should fearlessly do that which he considers to be his sworn duty, whatever may be the consequences of his vote. Whatever may be his attitude to the Chief Executive of his country, and however great may be his confidence in his patriotism and integrity, he should act in such a way as to meet the approval of his own conscience. If he does not he is unfit to occupy the position to which the people have elected him. I came to Congress to attend the special session with my mind made up to follow the President, and to vote in accordance with the suggestions which he might bring to the attention of Congress for its consideration. I decided to do this because of my confidence in Woodrow Wilson, whom I regard as one of the greatest Presidents who ever presided over the destinies of the people of this great Republic, and in many respects one of the greatest of living men.

At his request, and especially for the reasons outlined in his address, I voted for the resolution declaring war between the United States and the German Government, feeling it to be my sworn duty on this issue to follow my leader, though I did so reluctantly and with a sad and heavy heart.

I did this because all thinking men here believe that if England should be starved by reason of the submarine warfare, which is not wholly improbable, she would surrender, and the British Fleet would pass to the control of Germany, from which moment the United States would be at Germany's mercy.

I did this because Germany assumes the right to exclude the United States from the sea, and if she can successfully assert her predominance over this Nation on the ocean she can and will assert it over the United States.

I did this because President Wilson had done everything on the face of the earth he could to avoid war. He was, against his will, forced to recognize that a nation thought to be civilized had thrown off its disguise and with naked savagery, bomb in hand, was attacking his own Nation. He recognized that the war was between despotism and liberty, and enduring no longer, he drew the sword in behalf of liberty.

I did this because we are dealing with the arch enemy of the human race. The military rulers of the German Government have no pity or compassion for any human being. They have filled the ocean not only with ships of commerce of all neutral governments and hospital ships laden with the sick, wounded, and dying, but also with innocent and helpless men, women, and children of our own country, whose people longed to remain at peace with the German people, and whose President for two years tolerated with peaceful patience Germany's butchery upon the high seas.

At his request I voted for the $7,000,000,000 bond issue carrying with it provisions for the greatest amount of money ever voted by any legislative body of any nation in the history of the world. So far as I now know I shall continue to vote as he suggests and shall support him in every war measure which he submits for our favorable consideration.

My vote upon the conscription measure differs with him in only one particular. The Army bill submitted by the War College to him for his approval, and which he submitted to Congress for its approval, demands that this Government enter upon the raising of an army at once by conscription. The bill reported by the Military Committee, after hearing evidence upon the subject for nearly two weeks, provided that the volunteer system of raising an army be first given a trial, and if it failed, then to resort to conscription. While supporting the Military Committee's proposition, it is my purpose if the volunteer system shall be rejected by the House, on the final vote on the bill submitted by the President, to vote for it, as the country must have an army to meet the violent aggressions of the most merciless and powerful military machine ever organized by any province, state, country, or kingdom in the annals of time.

I do not want to argue the question at length, but I do want to take the liberty of briefly stating my reasons, or some of them at least, for the vote which I shall cast upon this important issue.

The difference between the War Department plan for raising an army and the committee plan, succinctly stated, is this: The War Department plan is to enlist a volunteer army of Regulars,

a volunteer army of National Guards, and a conscript army of 500,000 men at the same time, provided that whenever the President should determine that the men were not enlisting in the two volunteer systems as rapidly as the safety of the Nation requires, that all units should be filled by conscription. The Military Committee bill provided that all of the units of the National Guard, the Regular Army, and the 500,000 additional troops should be filled by volunteers, and whenever the President determined that the call for volunteers was not filling up the ranks of the 500,000 additional troops as rapidly as should be, then all should be filled by conscription. The committee plan placed all of the armies exactly upon the same footing. It recognized the right to volunteer, not only to bring up the National Guard and the Regular Army to war strength, but also to volunteer in the first 500,000 additional troops supposed to be required.

Under legislative enactment previous to this Congress, the American Government and this administration are committed to the volunteer system, otherwise provision would not have been made in the Army bill to bring up the National Guard and the Regular Army to full war strength by volunteer enlistment.

The full war strength of the National Guard is about 287,000 soldiers. The full war strength of the Regular Army is about 625,000 soldiers. Here is a provision of law already in existence, approved by the Army and the President, for raising an army of nearly 1,000,000, all that the President is now calling for, and it is my honest judgment that this million men should be raised in this way before resorting to conscription. The volunteer system has been approved by the President in the past. The truth is no English-speaking country on the face of the earth has ever drafted its citizens at the beginning of a war. No country on earth which ever went to war has failed first to call for volunteer enlistments. No country in Europe has any conscript law whereby soldiers may be sent across the seas to engage in a war except by special authority first being granted by its legislative body.

Besides, all the wars that this country has ever engaged in or ever won were won by volunteer soldiers. No European country, so far as I know, ever resorted at the beginning of a war to conscription to raise an army. It is currently reported in Washington that some of the Army officers were themselves opposed to conscription and were in favor of giving the volunteer system a trial before resorting to conscription.

Maj. W. C. Harllee, of the United States Marine Corps, who has served in that branch for 17 years, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, said:

> Unwilling men burden armies, eat its substance, retard its action, and give it panic. I am opposed to universal service or compulsory service, or any other kind of service than that rendered by willing men.

Some well-informed people in Congress charge that the conscription scheme is a pet of the General Staff of the Army, and that the War College finally persuaded the President to give it his approval.

The President and Secretary of War Garrison differed upon this very subject, which difference resulted in the latter's resigning from the Cabinet. On February 10, 1916, the President wrote Secretary Garrison, in part, as follows:

> As I have had occasion to say to you, I am not yet convinced that the measure of preparation for national defense which we deem necessary can be obtained through the instrumentality of the National Guard under Federal control and training. As you know, I do not at all agree with you in favoring compulsory enlistment for training, and I fear the advocacy of compulsion before the committee of the House, on the part of the representatives of the Department of War, has greatly prejudiced the House against the proposal for a continental army, little necessary connection as there is between the plan and the opinion of the Chief of Staff on compulsory enlistment.

On Memorial Day the President made a speech at Arlington, in which he made this statement:

> I have heard a great many people talk about universal training. Universal voluntary training with all my heart if you wish it, but America does not wish anything but compulsion of the spirit of America.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to his friend John Adams, expressed himself on conscription as follows:

> In Virginia draft was ever the most unpopular and impracticable thing that could be attempted, our people even under the monarchial government had learned to consider it as the last of all oppressions.

Daniel Webster, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers who ever sat in Congress, made a speech against conscription, contending that it was unconstitutional. During his time and during the War of 1812, the President and Secretary of War strongly urged drastic draft laws, and it was defeated on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and largely upon the speech of Mr. Webster. The House had under consideration a bill proposing to draft men for service in the War of 1812. In his speech he used this remarkable language:

> Where is it written in the Constitution that you may take children from their parents and compel them to fight the battles of any country which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage in?
>
> Who shall describe to you the horror which your orders of conscription shall create in the once happy villages of this country? Who shall describe the anguish and distress which they will spread over those hills and valleys where men have heretofore been accustomed to labor and to rest in security and happiness? Anticiptate the scene, sir, when the class shall assemble to stand its draft and to throw the dice for blood. What a group of wives and mothers and sisters of helpless age and helpless infancy shall gather around the theater of this horrible lottery as if the strokes of death were to fall from heaven before their eyes on a father, a brother, a son, or a husband! And in the majority of cases, sir, it will be the stroke of death.
>
> Laws sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad, like the fabled serpent's teeth they will spring up into armed men. A military force can not be raised in this manner but by the means of a military force. If the administration has found that it can not form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it can not enforce conscription without any army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail, and having already thrown away our peace we may thereby throw away our Government.

Hon. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, one time Speaker of this House and afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, then a citizen of my district and of the city of Athens, the city of my residence, on August 5, 1862, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War at Richmond, in which he used this language:

> I venture to intrude some suggestions which my observations in Georgia have brought to mind.
>
> This war must close in a few months, perhaps weeks, or else will be fought with an increased energy and malignancy on the part of our enemies. I look for the latter result, and at all events think it is the contingency for which we should prepare. That preparation requires a large increase of our Army. How is it to be effected? The conscript law has performed its work. It retained the 12 months' men in the service. Besides that, it compelled large numbers to volunteer and thus fill up the ranks of the regiments already in the field. These two results have been accomplished, and beyond that it will be unwise to calculate upon the conscript law as the means of furnishing troops for the Army. The number of conscripts will be very small—not worth considering in calculating the strength of our Army. Such, I am sure, is the case in Georgia.

Further along in this letter, in discussing the great unpopularity of the conscript law, he used this language:

> Why it is so is useless to inquire, though I may say, in passing, that the law is unpopular—almost odious. * * * I would, then, repeal the conscript law, so far as the future is concerned, retaining all that you have made by it, and then call upon the governors to furnish quotas or authorize the formation of companies, regiments, and even brigades and divisions, to be accepted by the President and to be officered by him. * * * It will relieve the new recruits from the odium of being conscripts.

Some of the Members of this House, after an investigation, stated that there were 2,000,000 volunteer Federal soldiers and over 1,000,000 volunteer Confederate soldiers in the Civil War. At that time we had only 30,000,000 people; now we have over 100,000,000. If we could raise a volunteer army of 3,000,000 men when we had a population of only 30,000,000 in the sixties, why can we not raise an army now of 1,000,000 men with a population of over 100,000,000? To my mind, it is a reflection upon the bravery and patriotism of the people of this country to answer this proposition in the negative.

During the Civil War most all of the battles during its long existence were fought on both sides almost exclusively by volunteers. On the Union side, from 1861 to 1865, there were 2,212,742 soldiers. Of this number, notwithstanding the drafts covering a period of two years, less than 62,000 drafted ever engaged in battles.

In the address of Hon. CHAMP CLARK against conscription, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is one of the ablest men in the House, and also one of the most distinguished citizens of this Republic, stated that in the Civil War the volunteer did nine-tenths of the fighting on both sides, and that there was no drafting by the North and South to raise about 2,000,000 men "the best soldiers that the sun had looked upon in 6,000 years of slaughter."

"That the American volunteer is one of the glories of the Republic. Under young George Washington he saved the remnants of Braddock's army from destruction. In the French and Indian War he fought side by side with the British regulars. From April 19, 1775, when on the village green of Lexington and at the Concord Bridge the embattled farmers and the Minute Men of Massachusetts fired the shot heard around the world down to the last shot in the Spanish-American War, the American volunteer has been a very present help in every time of trouble. He made Bunker Hill a name to conjure with forever. He captured Burgoyne at Saratoga. He upheld Washington amid the horrors of Valley Forge; he destroyed the Hessians at Trenton; he achieved the astounding victory at Kings Mountain against Ferguson's British regulars, thereby turning the tide of the Revolutionary War. On a hundred fields, sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated, hungry, naked, footsore, and

weary, he fought on with dogged pertinacity until he stood with the glorious and victorious Washington on the bloodstained heights of Yorktown, where Jefferson's declaration was made good and America was free indeed."

In my judgment if President Wilson on the morning after he delivered his address to the American Congress at 8 o'clock p. m., April 2, 1917, or on the day after the *Lusitania* was sunk, had issued a call for volunteers, an army of a million men would have volunteered within 48 hours in answer to his call.

No English speaking country has at the outset of any war ever drafted or conscripted men. This country never has at the outset of any war adopted the conscript system. Every war in which this Republic has ever engaged has been won by the volunteer system. No occasion has ever arisen in the history of this Republic in any of its wars to call for conscription at the beginning of a war. Every battle that American soldiers or sailors ever fought was fought by volunteers. Every victory ever won by the American Army or Navy was fought and won by volunteers. The volunteer principle of raising armies has never been surrendered by any English speaking nation in the history of the world.

While England has resorted to conscription, as a matter of fact there is not now a single conscript from England or any of her possessions fighting on any battle field in Europe. England's army at present consists of about 6,500,000 men. Over 5,000,000 of these are volunteers. They are the product of and raised by the system espoused by that matchless soldier of the English Army, Lord Kitchener, who lost his life on the high seas. While conscription has been put into operation, they have not as yet gone to the fighting line. Australia, New Zealand, and India has sent thousands upon thousands of soldiers to the battle fields of Europe, and not one of them is a conscript; all are volunteers.

New Zealand, with a population of 105,000 has sent 5,000 volunteers; Canada, with only 8,000,000 population, has sent across the seas 400,000 volunteers; Australia, with a population of 5,000,000 and 12,000 miles from the seat of war, has furnished without compulsion an army of over 260,000 men.

Not one British conscript from England or any of her possessions is fighting on the Continent now.

In the Speaker's address he quoted Col. Henderson, who wrote a book entitled "Stonewall Jackson in the American Civil War," wherein the author made the statement that the Confederates were, with few exceptions, volunteers who had become soldiers of their own choice, who had assumed arms deliberately and without compulsion, adding that this prompted the belief that this sense of moral obligation was one reason why the spirit of the southerners rose superior to human weakness and proved the old adage "that one volunteer is better than three pressed men."

The Athenians inscribed upon ten pillars, erected over their ashes, the names of those who fell at Marathon. Their valor were thus transmitted to posterity.

This honor was no greater than the tribute which immortalized the Confederate volunteer soldier found in the lines following, cut in stone on a shaft erected to their valor and patriotism in front of the old capitol building in Montgomery, Ala.:

Fame's temple boasts no higher name,
No king is grander on his throne;
No glory shines with brighter gleam,
The name of patriots stand alone.

When this historic shaft shall crumbling lie,
In ages hence, in woman's heart will be
A folded flag, a thrilling page unrolled,
A deathless song of southern chivalry.

The seamen of Confederate fame
Startled the wondering world,
For braver fight was never fought,
And fairer flag was never furled.

The knightliest of the knightly race,
Who since the days of old,
Have kept the lamp of chivalry
Alight in hearts of gold.

Conscription has never yet made a good soldier of a man who was opposed to war.

Legislative authority to conscript men does not supply patriotism and bravery when it is lacking.

You can not make a fighter of anyone by legislation.

The truth is that the volunteer system has become, by reason of use and age and the long recognition of the wisdom of its adoption by the people of our country, the law of the land. The volunteer system is the rule of raising an army by all the nations of the earth. Conscription is the exception, and when the exception is invoked a case of stern necessity and grave national peril should exist.

For the life of me I can not see at present any necessity, excuse or reason for sending an army of our boys against their will to Europe, as is contemplated to be done in the Army bill.

And yet the Army officers and the War College are bent on having an army of boys under 20 years of age. Hon. John Temple Graves, in an article in the New York American over his own signature, stated that the chairman of the War College told him if the bill passed it was their intention to organize an army of 500,000 men under 20 years of age. Bear in mind that they propose to conscript them to make up this great army. Unless a greater menace and necessity, and a more portentous peril than now appears should require it, I will never by my vote indorse such a monstrous proposition.

My view is that if the administration thinks it necessary to send an army to Europe at this time that it should be composed of those, and only those, who are willing to go.

In my judgment it is unwise to send any army to Europe at this time, whether composed of volunteers or conscripts; but to me this is immaterial if those only are sent who are willing to go.

These are some of the reasons which compel me to vote to give the volunteer system a trial.

In addition to these, the Army bill, which we are peremptorily demanded to vote for, is objectionable to me for several reasons, though by adopting amendment after amendment in the committee room and which we hope will be done on the floor of the House much of its sting and fangs will be removed.

It is said that the Army bill is a child of the War College and that it was prepared by the General Staff, and in doing so it is to be assumed that they were not unmindful of their own welfare and interest. Sooner or later the National Guard will be drafted into the Regular Army, and with a conscripted army of 500,000 additional men it will become necessary to have more officers. It is stated that 44,000 officers in the Regular Army will be advanced and promoted to higher and more lucrative positions and that subordinate officers in the Regular Army will take their places and in this way be advanced. Unless the Army bill is amended not a single officer of the National Guard will be the beneficiary of any of these promotions. They will be gobbled up by the officers of the Regular Army.

I am not only opposed to the Army bill for the reasons above stated, but I am likewise opposed to it because it is not what it purports to be. The bill proposed by the War Department is the opposite from universal military service, since it exempts 15,000,000 of the 20,000,000 men of military age in the United States from any liability for compulsory military service. The bill reported by the Military Committee recognizes the principle of universal liability for military service, since it makes every man of legal military age subject to compulsory service. The military age in the National Guard is from 18 to 45, and in the Regular Army from 18 to 35. The age fixed by the Army bill was between 19 and 25, and they positively refuse to accept any changes in these age limitations. The bill supported by the Military Committee makes the age limit from 21 to 40.

Boys too young to have a voice in the affairs of the Government, boys who are incapacitated to make a contract, and boys too young to vote should not be required to go to war against their will. Laboring under these restrictions, it is unfair, unjust, and undemocratic to draft them into service and force them to cross the ocean against their will to enter the trenches and fight the battles of Europe. It is not fair to require minors against their will or against the will of their parents or guardians to go to the bloody battle fields and trenches of Europe and leave every able-bodied man in the United States above the age of 25 absolutely relieved from liability to military service, as the Army bill does. I can not conscientiously support any measure which exempts all liability for service above 25 and compels only the boys of the country to do all the fighting for the Republic, when it is proposed to send them 3,000 miles from their homes, when there will be little probability that any of them will ever return alive, and I shall not do so at the suggestion or bidding of any man. No heartbroken mother whose boy was sent to Europe against his will shall have me or my vote in mind when she gets the sad news of his death and burial "somewhere in Europe." Not for me to remind her in her sorrow and mourning of a grave—

Unmarked by a name, unmarked by a stone,
Where only the voice of the wind maketh moan
O'er the mound where never a flower is strewn.

It seems to me that this war should, for the present, be confined to and fought out on the high seas. The submarine must be conquered, or else the war will not end. If we were to raise and send a million men to the firing line in Europe, it would not add a factor toward crushing the submarine. If the submarine warfare can be ended, all admit that the war will soon

end; and with the destruction of the submarine, no man contends that there would then be any necessity to send an army to Europe.

I am opposed to the Army bill because there is not a single line in it which exempts the farmer, whether landlord or tenant, though the Army bill supporters claim that this will be done. I shall vote for the committee bill because a distinct provision is made for the exemption of all people on the farm and in other avocations who can better serve the country at home than in Europe. Provision was made in the committee bill not to draft for service in the present Army any of those who are needed in any industry or business, including the agricultural interests. Provision was likewise made in the committee bill for releasing those already in the service and refusing those who should offer to volunteer who are needed on the farm, which was not in the Army bill. In this way the farming element of the country would be taken care of to the complete satisfaction of every farmer, whether landlord or tenant, and, besides that, in this way the negro situation is taken care of. The negro laborer or farmer could be kept on the farm when it was desirable and necessary for him to be kept there.

It is said that the Army bill will get the "slacker," the coward, the loafers, and the vagrant whites and negroes of the country. Nothing of the sort will happen. But few of this class will be accepted. All of us would favor such a proposition right at the beginning of the war, but it can not be done under the Army bill. The scheme is, as I understand it, to first have the registration of all persons between the ages of 19 and 25. On a certain day all between these ages will be required to appear at a voting precinct and register. Those who fail to do so will be arrested and on conviction sent to the chain gang from three to twelve months. Suppose these slackers, cowards, and vagrants above referred to do not go and register. What then? All you can do is to prosecute and convict them, and 90 out of every 100 will prefer to go to the chain gang for the maximum limit than to fight either on American soil or in the European trenches. The names of all those who register will be put in a box and their names will be drawn by officers to be appointed by the appointing officers of the State for service. It is utterly impossible to tell who will be drawn. It is a mere chance, a lottery. It is like drawing a jury to serve in the courts of the country. One does not know who is going to be drawn. The cowards and vagrants may not be drawn.

The War College or Army bill contemplated that a military board composed only of Army officers should pass on who should go to the trenches and who should remain at home under the select-conscription plan, while the committee bill provided that a majority of this board should be composed of civilians, and home people at that.

Under the Army bill the exempting officer representing the Government, whoever he may be, will decide who will go to war and who shall stay at home. This officer has the life, liberty, and freedom of every man drawn under his direction and control. He and those under him will decide who shall go to war and who shall remain at home. He can take a white man after being drawn from the box and leave a negro, and vice versa. In effect, one's liberty and freedom is in the hands of this officer the minute his name is drawn from the box.

The Army bill does not provide, as many believe, for the exemption of married men. It does not necessarily follow that because a man is married that he will not be sent to the war. Unless his family is absolutely dependent upon him—and the exempting officer is to be the judge of this—he will be given his marching orders.

I am opposed to the Army bill for another reason. It makes no provision for the boys drawn for service from the same county or community to go into the same companies. There is no provision for what is known as territorial recruitment. In the Army bill as submitted it makes it possible for one from any county in the district to be drafted and sent away from his neighbors and friends and go to the war beside a stranger from a different and distant State, and with no certainty from whom he will take orders. It is denied that this will happen, but there is nothing in the Army bill submitted for our vote to prevent this happening unless it is corrected by amendment. Under the provisions of the Army bill, boys grown up together as neighbors, friends, and kinfolks would be broken up into small squads and placed among strangers from different States of the Union.

In my judgment this Army bill, if enacted as proposed, means the beginning in this country in times of peace of a regular standing army. It means universal compulsory military service, and nothing short of it. A regular standing army in times of peace is contrary to all the cherished ideals of this great Republic, and repugnant to American institutions and democratic traditions. We should be careful lest in attempting to destroy militarism and autocracy abroad we will do those things which will have a tendency to destroy democracy at home. A great standing army in America involves the establishment of a military caste which is socially superior to any other caste and which is not amenable to the rules of conduct laid down for the civilian members of society. It discriminates between the walks of life, between the Army officer and soldier and the plain citizen in civil life.

The advocates of the Army bill say that if we adopt the volunteer system and fail to raise a sufficient army of a million men as is desired that it will have a bad effect upon the German people. My reply is that it will have a worse effect upon the German people to conscript at the beginning, because Germany could well say that our people are against war, and that it was precipitated by those who fatten and become rich by war; that we did not have patriotism enough to volunteer; and for this reason the American Government was afraid to try the volunteer system.

I believe it was Victor Emmanuel, whose last words to his son were "Live for Italy." As an humble American citizen, my last words, so far as this vote is concerned, would be "Live for America," and if need be, to live and die for American liberty.

Whatever may be the outcome of this measure, I trust that every man in this House and every human being in these United States may get behind the President and as one man back him up in his righteous efforts to bring this unholy war to a successful termination; that the entrance of America into this world-wide conflict, unparalleled in the history of the ages, may meet with the approval of the God of the Universe, and that it may be His will that this Christian Nation may be the ultimate means of destroying German militarism and autocracy forever and ever, and that peace, freedom, and liberty may be established eternally and everlastingly to all the peoples of the earth.

Letter Adopted By Friends of Irish Freedom at Los Angeles.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter adopted at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Friends of Irish Freedom, of Los Angeles.

The letter is as follows:

THE O'RAHILLY BRANCH,
FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM,
Los Angeles, Cal., May 4, 1917.

Hon. H. Z. OSBORNE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith to you the inclosed letter, which explains itself, adopted at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Friends of Irish Freedom, of this city, in Clunes Auditorium, this city, Sunday afternoon, April 29, and attended by fully 2,500 people. Hon. Joseph Scott was chairman of the meeting.

With best wishes for a successful session, I have the honor to remain,

Sincerely, yours, P. C. MULQUEENEY,
Secretary.

THE O'RAHILLY BRANCH,
FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM,
Los Angeles, Cal., May 4, 1917.

Hon. H. Z. OSBORNE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We, American citizens of Los Angeles County of Irish blood, greet you with respect and gratitude, and unreservedly pledge to the House of Representatives, through you, our support in whatever measures the House may take in the present crisis.

Ireland is the motherland of a large portion of our citizenship. Men of Irish blood hold positions of responsibility and trust in the industrial and social life, in the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary of every State in the Union. A glance at American history will show that ever since the days of Commodore Jack Barry, the father of the American Navy, they have held with honor and discharged with efficiency the duties of some of the highest positions in the Army and Navy of our Republic. They have been conspicuous by their numbers and their gallant achievements in the Wars of the Revolution, of 1812, and in the Civil War, the war for the freedom of Cuba, and a young Boston boy of our race was the first who fell in the recent expedition to Vera Cruz.

To-day we are as ready as ever to do deeds of daring and sacrifice for the life and honor of this Republic, for America is our home and the home of our children, and if the integrity of her boundaries or the sovereignty of her people were attacked or threatened by any power in the world we would fight for both, even to the last drop of our blood. This we consider nothing more than our duty as citizens.

Our beloved country has declared war in support of a group of European powers with the avowed purpose of upholding the ideals of democracy in the world and of giving to small nations the right to choose their own form of government. This program has our unqualified sympathy and support. But, while human nature remains human, those who unselfishly love Ireland as their ancestral home can not but have serious doubts as to the sincerity of a proposal which would place them in the ludicrously incongruous position of knights errant, fighting for the freedom of small nations, while little Ireland is held in bondage by a power now loudest in her profession of concern (and in her demand for our support) for oppressed peoples.

In view of the numbers and position of men of our race in this Republic, and of their indisputably large share in the establishment and maintenance of our democratic institutions, we think that we are justified in making appeal to the Congress and people of the United States in behalf of Ireland's freedom. We, therefore, appeal to you and to the Congress of the United States to take such action as will secure the independence of Ireland not at the end of the war, when "scraps of paper" may safely be torn up, but now, when America's intervention will count for more than at any time in the future, when her demands must receive consideration.

We cordially thank you personally for the splendid action already taken in espousing Ireland's just claim to freedom, and most respectfully request that this letter be read to the House of Representatives and placed in the records.

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH SCOTT, *Chairman.*
P. C. MULQUEENEY, *Secretary.*

War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 28, 1917.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, the most momentous event in a nation's history is its entrance into war. The responsibility for a declaration of war is placed by the Constitution on Congress. This is upon the theory that so important a step in a nation's life should be taken only with the consent of the people as expressed through their chosen representatives.

As a matter of practice and fact this view is superficial. The President in administering our foreign relations determines the question of peace or war. Congress has never declared war except upon the request of the President and has never refused to declare war when the President demanded it. This is the system under which Congress has always operated.

It is fortunate, so far as consistency is concerned, if the views of a particular Member of Congress as to a declaration of war happen to be the views also expressed by the President and coincide with the assurances given by that Member to his constituency. It is unfortunate if a Member of Congress has to repudiate his preelection statements so as to be with the President. It might be recalled, as illustrating our American system, that not six months ago many Members of Congress were on the stump arguing that Mr. Wilson should be reelected President and themselves elected to Congress not because we were going to war with Germany but because Mr. Wilson had "kept us out of war" with Germany.

My own opponent for Congress, for example, a most worthy and able man, did little else in the campaign than declaim upon the horrors of war, painting word pictures of weeping mothers and sorrowing fathers, attempting to establish the inference that a Democratic administration would not involve this country in war, but that a Republican administration would so involve it. How practically the entire Democratic membership of Congress could so soon vote for war illustrates how people, even Members of Congress, adjust themselves to new conditions in this most rapidly moving age. The calm assurances that such a change in position needs only a cursory apology and explanation, or none at all, is beyond both belief and precedent. This is a matter, however, of individual conscience.

So far as I am individually concerned, I voted for the declaration of war against Germany and am in favor of prosecuting the war with every resource we have available. Whether a different course on the part of our Government in its relation with Germany during the European war could have prevented war is of course open to serious question. Probably our entrance into war could have been longer averted, but soon or late the fight between what Germany demanded of the world and what the world would yield to her had to be made, and the United States had to become a party whether she would or no.

No one can project himself into the future and in retrospect see the currents or the forces operating in his own day. As best we can observe them, we see one nation with marvelous skill and energy build up a military system to which every individual in that nation is a contributing unit, announcing the doctrine that its own people should dominate the universe and that any war is to them justifiable which has their world domination as an inspiring cause. Against this policy the United States has entered the war, throwing into it the weight of its great resources. With my country's position, I most earnestly sympathize.

The war in which we are engaged is therefore now our war, and if truth be told has been our war from the beginning. We have technical grounds of warfare with Germany in her ruthless submarine policy and in her destruction of American lives and property in acknowledged defiance of international law; but in its larger aspect the question we are fighting about is, in its final analysis, whether this world shall be a fit place in which to live and whether a people in getting "their place in the sun" shall destroy any nation that crosses its path. If we yield to Germany in the present situation we should doubtless see either a victorious Germany or the flower of the human race destroy itself on the battlefield. If the improbable happens and Germany defeats the allies, it would be our turn next, for in the view of Germany we were not neutral during the European war, and believing thus Germany would make us pay her cost of the war if she could, and probably she could.

We have been living in fancied security because we are 3,000 miles from the scene of battle. But we are now within range of the submarine, and once we are without the protection of the British fleet, then even Germany's battleships could defeat our own fleet, then bombard our cities, and land armed forces on our coast, so that it was also to our self-interest to enter the struggle. It is a dreadful thing to engage in war; it is a more dreadful thing to see the men of this whole planet engaged in killing each other. The pain and suffering of the living and the burdens posterity will have to bear, are parts of the consequences of the world war. We ought to bear our sacrifices cheerfully, however, because we are fighting for the larger things, the larger ideals of life, expressed in the triumph of democracy. We are fighting, indeed, for the right of the people of any and every nation, so long as they keep within the bounds of justice and honor, to have the blessings of peace undisturbed by the ambitions or unholy desires of another nation.

Peace and tranquillity can not exist in the world so long as we have a marauder nation in the world, neither can we have such a condition so long as a nation exists in the world with a spy system that entirely encircles the earth, with which to further its ambitions and nefarious purposes, nor can we have such a happy state so long as we have a nation that believes it has the right to destroy all the nations of the earth so that it might establish its own system of culture.

When, therefore, the responsibility, in part, became mine to determine whether or not the United States should become a militant factor in this world struggle for the preservation of a cherished principle—that of human liberty—and for our own preservation as well, I cast my vote not aggressively for war but defensively against a state of war that already existed. In so doing I felt that I was discharging my duty to civilization, to the whole world, and to ourselves.

Behold The Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL R. ANTHONY, JR.,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1917.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I desire to insert in the RECORD a patriotic composition of a citizen of Kansas.

The composition is as follows:

BEHOLD THE FLAG.

[By Ignatius I. Murphy, of Topeka, Kans.]

Behold the flag, purest emblem of order, law, Christian civilization that ever saluted the dawn.

Behold the flag, immortalized by Washington, her beauteous folds spread from Gulf to coast by Jefferson, redeemed by blessed Lincoln in strife, momentous, victorious, that struck the shackle from the slave, and made our country one, preserving every star in the national banner, Old Glory shines in radiance o'er the finest expanse of God's earth.

Behold the flag, floating in the zephyrs of high heaven over the eternal Capital of the eternal Republic, symbolizing humanity's fondest, dearest hope, forever proclaiming justice, human brotherhood throughout the land.

Behold the flag, unstained, untarnished, bejeweled, gleaming in darkest night, her triumphant progress across the centuries a path of light. Who dare touch with profaning hand this sleepless, majestic guardian of an ardent people, brave, strong, free?

Behold the flag, inspiration of a mighty race, mingling in sentiment of her native-born children and liberty lovers from every clime, seeking naught but the common good, thirsting to serve all mankind 'neath the sheltering ægis of the Red, White, and Blue.

Behold the flag, ne'er drooped in dust of defeat, sired by revered fathers of the Revolution, their names imperishably written in letters of gold on the pages of Columbia's history, defying the ages.

Behold the flag, precious, sublime inheritance, benison of America's faith, power, unity; we consecrate anew our hearts, our souls, our eager, willing service of hand and brain to thy defense and greater glory. In the sunshine of thy glowing colors, in the proud record of thy past, in the bright promise of the future, may thou, by the Father's care, lead the nations to farther heights, more generous aims, nobler deeds, till the "sword is beaten into the plowshare" and peace, benign, hallowed peace, reigns among all the sons of men in a world republican.

Suggested Basis for a Just War-Tax Levy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 11, 1917.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the authority granted to me by the House I submit the following suggestions for a war-tax levy, adopted by the Kentucky Manufacturers and Shippers' Association. I regard these suggestions as logical and just and well worthy of the careful consideration of this body:

SUGGESTED BASIS FOR A JUST WAR-TAX LEVY.

In view of the fact that a vast increase in our national revenues is immediately demanded for the prosecution of the present war, it is recognized by the Kentucky Manufacturers and Shippers' Association that it is the duty of American business to make necessary sacrifices of income in order to execute the national purpose. It is, however, urged by this association that such taxes as are essential should be wisely levied so that the Government may secure a maximum of revenue with a minimum of injury to business.

The following principles are respectfully suggested as a sound basis of a just levy:

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully submit that these principles should be recognized as a sound basis of a just levy:

"First. That no tax should be retroactive for the year 1916. The income tax for that period has been in great part received and distributed, and therefore can not be recalled.

"Second. The exemption from personal income tax should be lowered to at least $1,500 annual net income as the basis of taxation for single persons and to $2,000 annual net income as the basis of taxation for heads of families, in order that the obligation to contribute to the support of the Government may be recognized as a general duty.

"Third. That no tax should be laid upon corporate forms of doing business that does not equally apply to other forms of business or wealth-producing agencies.

"Fourth. That corporations, both large and small, can be more successfully and equitably taxed by raising the normal tax to the necessary amount, rather than preserving the present normal rate and securing added revenue by progressively increasing the excess-profits tax which gives no due consideration to the differing risks of particular forms of business.

"Fifth. That no form of individual or business income should be taxed twice unless all forms of individual and business income are submitted to a like tax."

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote to allow Col. Roosevelt to organize a division for European service. I have listened to all the objections as detailed in the opposition. The chief objection is that it will interfere with the plans of the administration. Many Members declare it will interrupt the Government's policy.

Mr. Speaker, what every Member of this House, on either side of the Chamber, wants is a successful campaign against our enemy. It is not plan or policy that is demanded, but it is results in the field. Victories are not won by Members of Congress discussing policies. Defeats are not averted by political byplays here in Washington. What we must have is a fighting force at the front backed by a united people at home.

If we succeed in this war, it will be done by our soldiers in cooperation with those of our allies stirred by the spirit of patriotism.

Marshal Joffre declares our flag must appear in France for the moral effect it will have.

If that be true, it is also necessary that our own people must be linked up in sympathy with the purpose of the Army and Navy. If we proceed upon the basis that the people of the country should not be heard because they might interrupt the policy of the military organizations of the Nation, we will make an egregious mistake. The people must bear the burdens of war, and they will demand to know why this Congress denies to them the right to permit a great leader to organize a fighting force for the front.

The apathy of our people is in direct proportion to their lack of participation in the councils pertaining to the crisis at hand.

Mr. Roosevelt at the head of a fighting force will do more to arouse an Americanism than any other one thing. In the interest of success, rather than adherence to any particular policy, I shall vote to allow this leader to go to France.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, I strongly favor the incorporation in this bill of a provision authorizing Col. Roosevelt to raise a division and take it to France. I favor it because I am convinced that we would be recreant in our duty to the Nation if we discarded any asset placed at our disposal for the strengthening of America in war.

Col. Roosevelt is asking permission to fight for America. Shall that permission be denied him, when it was accorded by France to Lafayette, who wanted to fight for the United States?

There was no one who felt more strongly than I that selective service should be adopted as the military policy of the Nation. That policy was desirable because it eliminated discrimination, because it treated all alike, because it insured the fact that everyone must do his duty, regardless of financial or any other kind of standing a man might have. But it was not meant to exclude from serving those who, although above the conscription age, wanted to serve their country.

There is nothing inconsistent in authorizing this volunteer force to go to France. The men in the proposed Roosevelt division will be above conscription age. They are the men who, without Roosevelt's leadership, would be left out of the military plan. Mr. Roosevelt has stated clearly that every man in his division will be above conscription age. The fact that 200,000 Americans have applied for a place in the Roosevelt division shows what an appeal it has made to the patriotism of the American people.

Winning of the war may actually depend upon our answer to-day to the question whether we will grant or refuse Roosevelt's patriotic appeal to serve the country. The French commission, recently in Washington, has said that the moral effect of having American troops in France immediately would be tremendous; that it would hearten all the men in the trenches; that it would crush the spirit of the German soldiers who would realize that the advance guard would be followed by millions of other American soldiers.

The French commission has been frank in saying that American troops are desired immediately, that even 20,000 now would be of greater influence than 100,000 later on. This is the crucial period of the war. The French and British commission both want Col. Roosevelt. They have not made formal representations for the sending of Roosevelt, but those who have talked with the French and British commissions are well aware that they would welcome the arrival of Roosevelt in France as the best evidence of America's whole-souled participation in the war on the side of civilization.

As one of the two living ex-Presidents, as a former Commander in Chief of the American Army, as a colonel of Volun-

teers in the Spanish-American War, with actual military experience, it is doubtful whether there is any man in the country better fitted to head the first expeditionary force to France. Col. Roosevelt himself has specified that the force should be commanded by one of the Regular Army officers, to whom he would be subordinate. He is not seeking to exploit himself. He is seeking an opportunity to serve his country and the cause of humanity.

His personality is one around which the best fighting spirit of America will rally. If he is permitted to organize his division or divisions, it will be an impetus to patriotism. Instead of interfering with conscription, it will help conscription, because it will put the fire of patriotism into every young man's heart to see this former President of the United States leading the first expeditionary force to France.

The Roosevelt expedition can go to France within two months. It can be organized more quickly than the conscription forces. It can be in France fighting and quickening the patriotic pulse of America as well as heartening the allies, while we are preparing the larger forces at home. It will make the United States immediately effective in the war.

There is no reasonable excuse or justification for denying Col. Roosevelt the right to serve the Nation at the battle front. The public, which has demonstrated its approval of the project, will interpret congressional objection of it in only one way. They will say the party in power was influenced by political consideration; by the fear that Roosevelt would come home a hero. In answer to that, I say that he will come home a hero, but that it will reflect credit upon the red blood of America.

The Federal Farm-Loan Act Unjust to the Borrower.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 14, 1917.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, on May 11, 1917, I introduced House bill 4375, to amend section 22 of the Federal farm-loan act. The necessity for this amendment is forcefully presented by Hon. H. L. Loucks, of Watertown, S. Dak., in his valuable work, "The Great Conspiracy of the House of Morgan, and How to Defeat It," on page 175.

Section 12 of the Federal farm-loan act provides—

Funds transmitted to farm-loan associations by Federal land banks to be loaned to its members shall be in current funds, or farm-loan bonds, at the option of the borrower.

Section 22 provides:

Whenever any farm-loan bonds, or coupons or interest payments of such bonds, are due under their terms they shall be payable at the land bank by which they were issued in gold or lawful money.

Under the Federal reserve act the current funds in the future will be largely Federal reserve bank notes. Any money that will pass current in business transactions may be called current funds, yet the current funds may not be gold or lawful money. I can not see any just reason why the borrower on his loan should receive current funds and be compelled to repay in gold or lawful money. He ought to be permitted to repay with the same kind of money he receives.

It is unnecessary to discuss what is included in the term "lawful money," because the mortgage will be drawn with a provision for repayment in gold. When the law provides for repayment "in gold or lawful money," the parties to the contract will evidently provide that repayment shall be made in gold.

When an insurance company issues a policy it always provides favorable terms for the company and unfavorable terms for the insured. Likewise the lender takes no chances, and the mortgage usually provides for repayment in gold. The lender always has shifted the chances and burdens upon the borrowing debtor; and whenever the law provides for a payment in gold or lawful money the court will allow the parties to the contract to specify that the payment shall be in gold.

The practical workings of this act will require the payment of every mortgage to be made in gold coin, so the borrower will not be permitted to pay in current funds or in lawful money. It will not do to say that the borrower might insist on a provision in the contract to pay in current funds or lawful money, because he will be required to stipulate for a gold payment before he can secure any money.

It may be said that the Government will maintain the parity on all of its moneys, and hence the debtor will assume no risk in contracting to repay in gold. Yet no good reason exists for placing these chances and burdens on the borrower. We remember that in the Civil War gold went up to $2.85, and those who had the gold made tremendous profits during that period of our history. In 1907 there was not enough currency in circulation to transact current business. It was hoarded; and the Wall Street brokers refused to give up gold or currency without a premium. Again, in 1914 the rates for drafts and cables rose to prices which were equivalent to a substantial premium on gold.

It is common knowledge that practically all our farm mortgages are now payable in gold coin. Our loans to the allies will provide for repayment in gold. It is estimated that the debt now payable in gold will amount to billions of dollars. Gold coin has ceased to circulate in European countries and but little of it is now circulating in the United States. On account of the war the European countries can not maintain a parity on their moneys. No one can tell at what time it will be impossible for us to maintain a parity on our moneys.

The present tendency is to mobilize all the gold in the Federal reserve banks. Under the laws these central banks can reach out over the country and pull into their vaults the gold formerly distributed among the smaller banks and thus place in the hands of a few bankers a dangerous power. The Federal Reserve Board has been insistent that House bill 3673, to amend the Federal reserve act, should be passed. This bill has passed both Houses and is now in conference. The practical purpose of this amendment will be to put into control of the Federal Reserve System practically all the gold of the country.

The bill that I am proposing would do no one any injustice. It would allow repayment of loans made under the Federal farm-loan act to be made in the same funds as were received by the borrower. Certainly during this period the farmer ought not to be required to carry the burdens and chances of having to pay loans at a premium. If there should be a general demand for payment of loans in gold, there would be but one result; the borrower would have to pay a premium to obtain money to repay his loan.

Our Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 14, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article on "Our flag," its history and its anniversaries, together with a list of patriotic days and holidays, a calendar of American history, and the laws and etiquette of the flag.

The article is as follows:

OUR FLAG, ITS HISTORY AND ITS ANNIVERSARIES, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF PATRIOTIC DAYS AND HOLIDAYS—A CALENDAR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE LAWS AND ETIQUETTE OF THE FLAG—THE FLAG, THE COAT OF ARMS, AND THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

OUR FLAG.

In June, 1776, a committee of Congress, accompanied by Gen. Washington, called upon Betsy Ross, of Philadelphia, and engaged her to make a model flag from a rough drawing, which was modified by Gen. Washington in pencil, and who at Betsy Ross's suggestion substituted a five-pointed star for the star of six points which was in the original draft. The model made by Mrs. Ross was adopted as the official flag of the United States by act of Congress passed on June 14, 1777. It consisted of 13 stripes, alternate red and white, with 13 white stars in a blue field. The 13 stripes denote the 13 original Colonies; its red denotes courage; its white, purity; its blue, loyalty and devotion; and its stars, high aspirations and Federal union. It embodies the purpose and history of the Government itself. It records the achievements of its defenders upon land and sea. It heralds the heroism and sacrifices of our Revolutionary fathers, who planted free government on this continent and dedicated it to liberty forever. It attests the struggles of our Army and the valor of our citizens in all the wars of the Republic. It has been sanctified by the blood of our best and bravest. It records the glorious work of Washington and the martyrdom of Lincoln. It has been bathed in the tears of a sorrowing people. It has been glorified in the hearts of a freedom-loving people, not only at home but in every part of the world. Our flag expresses the will of a free people and pro-

claims that they are supreme and acknowledge no earthly sovereign other than themselves. Veterans, no wonder you love that flag! God give it to all of us in our hearts that we may share with you that love, that reverence, and that same spirit of willingness to die for the Star-Spangled Banner! (From an address by Channing H. Cox, speaker Massachusetts House of Representatives, delivered on Flag Day, 1916, at Haverhill, Mass.)

FLAG ANNIVERSARIES.

January 1–2, 1776: Grand Union Flag (British union and 13 stripes) hoisted over Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, Mass. This was the first real flag of the Colonies.

February 8, 1776: Colonial Congressional Committee accepted naval flag, consisting of 13 stripes, alternate red and white, with a rattlesnake diagonally across it.

March 17, 1776: The first display of the Grand Union Flag in Boston was on the day that town was evacuated by the British.

November 16, 1776: First foreign salute to an American flag. This was to the Grand Union Flag, and was given by the Dutch governor, De Graaff, at the island of St. Eustatius to the brig *Andrea Doria*, commanded by Capt. Robinson.

June 14, 1777: First strictly American flag decreed by Congress. This flag displaced the British union by 13 stars, and the first flag of this design was made by Betsy Ross, at her home in Philadelphia. It contained 13 stripes, alternate red and white, and 13 white stars upon a blue field.

June 14, 1777: Capt. John Paul Jones appointed to the command of the *Ranger*. It was Jones who first displayed the Stars and Stripes on a naval vessel. It was also he who had previously first hoisted "the flag of America" on board the naval vessel *Alfred* in 1775.

August 3, 1777: First display of the Stars and Stripes was over Fort Stanwix, N. Y.

September 11, 1777: The American flag first carried in battle at the Brandywine. This was the first great battle fought after its adoption by the Continental Congress.

January 28, 1778: First appearance on a foreign stronghold at Nassau, Bahama Islands. The Americans captured Fort Nassau from the British, and promptly raised the Stars and Stripes.

February 14, 1778: First foreign salute to the Stars and Stripes. John Paul Jones entered Quiberon Bay, near Brest, France, and received a salute of nine guns from the French fleet, under Admiral La Motte Piquet. Jones had previously saluted the French fleet with 21 guns.

April 24, 1778: John Paul Jones achieved the honor of being the first officer of the American Navy to compel a regular British man-of-war to strike her colors to the new flag.

February 3, 1783: First appearance of the American flag in a British port by the ship *Bedford*, of Massachusetts, which arrived in the River Thames on this date.

September 13, 1784: First displayed in China by Capt. John Green, of the *Empress*, in Canton River. The natives said it was as beautiful as a flower, and the Chinese continued to call it the "flower flag" for many years.

September 30, 1787–August 10, 1790: The American flag completed its first trip around the world, borne by the ship *Columbia*, sailing from Boston.

January 13, 1794: American flag changed by act of Congress, owing to two new States (Kentucky and Vermont) being admitted to the Union. The flag now had two stars and two stripes added to it, making 15 stripes and stars. This was the Star-Spangled Banner, and under this flag our country fought and won three wars to maintain her existence—the so-called naval war with France in 1798; that with the Barbary States in 1801–1805; and that with England in 1812–1815.

January 26, 1813: U. S. frigate *Essex*, first warship to fly the American flag in the Pacific, after rounding Cape Horn. The *Essex* destroyed British commerce in the Pacific to the amount of $6,000,000. Built at Salem, Mass., and launched September 30, 1799.

April 4, 1818: Congress by act decreed a return to the original 13 stripes and a star for every State in the Union, to be added to the flag on the July 4 following a State's admission to the Union. This is the present law in relation to the flag.

August 24, 1824: The Stars and Stripes were raised for the first time over the cupola of the Massachusetts Statehouse, on Beacon Hill, on the occasion of the visit of Lafayette to Boston.

August 10, 1831: The name "Old Glory" given to our national flag by Capt. William Driver, of the brig *Charles Doggert*. The flag was presented to the captain and contained 110 yards of bunting. It is now said to be in the Essex Institute, at Salem.

October 18, 1867: First official display of the American flag in Alaska. On this day, at Sitka, the capital, the Russian flag was hauled down and the American flag run up before the barracks and in the presence of both Russian and American troops.

PATRIOTIC DAYS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

February 12, Lincoln's Birthday.
February 22, Washington's Birthday.
March 17, Evacuation Day.
April 19, Patriot's Day.
April 27, Gen. Grant's Birthday.
May 30, Memorial Day.
June 14, Flag Day.
June 17, Bunker Hill Day.
July 4, Independence Day.

ANNIVERSARIES AND OTHER DAYS ON WHICH THE FLYING OF THE FLAG IS SUGGESTED.

Arbor and Bird Day, last Saturday in April.
Labor Day, first Monday in September.
January 1, 1863, emancipation proclamation.
January 8, 1815, battle near New Orleans.
January 15, 1865, capture of Fort Fisher.
February 8, 1862, capture of Roanoke Island.
February 16, 1862, capture of Fort Donelson.
February 18, 1865, capture of Charleston, S. C.
March 7–8, 1862, victory at Pea Ridge, Ark.
March 9, 1862, battle of the ironclads *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.
April 3, 1865, capture of Petersburg.
April 3, 1865, capture of Richmond.
April 6–7, 1862, victory at Shiloh, Tenn.
April 29, 1862, capture of New Orleans.
May 1, 1898, Battle of Manila.
May 5–7, 1864, Battle of the Wilderness.
May 30, 1862, evacuation of Corinth.
May 31–June 1, 1862, victory at Fair Oaks.
June 14, 1777, adoption of Stars and Stripes as national emblem.
June 19, 1864, battle between *Kearsarge* and *Alabama*.
July 1, 1898, Battle of El Caney.
July 3, 1898, destruction of Cervera's fleet at Santiago.
July 1–3, 1863, Battle of Gettysburg.
September 17, 1862, victory at Antietam.
October 12, 1492, Columbus discovered America.
October 19, 1864, Battle of Cedar Creek.
November 8, 1861, evacuation of Port Royal.
November 24, 1863, Battle of Lookout Mountain.
December 15–16, 1864, victory at Nashville.
December 20, 1864, evacuation of Savannah.
December 20, 1620, landing of the Pilgrims.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS IN MASSACHUSETTS, WITH YEARS OF FIRST OFFICIAL CELEBRATION.

January 1, New Year's Day; 1917.
February 22, Washington's Birthday; 1857.
April 19, Patriots' Day; 1894.
May 30, Memorial Day; 1881.
July 4, Independence Day; 1856.
September, first Monday in, Labor Day; 1887.
October 12, Columbus Day; 1910.
November, by proclamation, Thanksgiving Day, 1856.
December 25, Christmas Day; 1856.

FLAG HISTORY.

The Constitution is the basis of all law and the flag is its symbol.

The American flag, the emblem of our country, is the third oldest national flag in the world. It represents liberty, and liberty means obedience to law.

The flag contains 13 stripes, alternate red and white, representing the 13 original States; and a star for each State in the Union.

The field of the flag is the stripes, the Union is the blue and the stars. The colors of the flag are red, representing valor; white, representing hope, purity, and truth; blue, representing loyalty, sincerity, and justice; and its stars, high aspirations and Federal Union. The flag is known as Old Glory, Stars and Stripes, Star-Spangled Banner, and the Red, White, and Blue.

The arrangement of the stars on the flag is regulated by law and Executive order. An Executive order, issued October 26, 1912, provided for 48 stars to be arranged in six horizontal rows of eight stars each.

Starting in the upper left-hand corner and reading each row from left to right, gives the star of each State in the order of the State's ratification of the Constitution and admission to the Union, as follows:

First row: 1, Delaware; 2, Pennsylvania; 3, New Jersey; 4, Georgia; 5, Connecticut; 6, Massachusetts; 7, Maryland; 8, South Carolina.

Second row: 9, New Hampshire; 10, Virginia; 11, New York; 12, North Carolina; 13, Rhode Island; 14, Vermont; 15, Kentucky; 16, Tennessee.

Third row: 17, Ohio; 18, Louisiana; 19, Indiana; 20, Mississippi; 21, Illinois; 22, Alabama; 23, Maine; 24, Missouri.

Fourth row: 25, Arkansas; 26, Michigan; 27, Florida; 28, Texas; 29, Iowa; 30, Wisconsin; 31, California; 32, Minnesota.

Fifth row: 33, Oregon; 34, Kansas; 35, West Virginia; 36, Nevada; 37, Nebraska; 38, Colorado; 39, North Dakota; 40, South Dakota.

Sixth row: 41, Montana; 42, Washington; 43, Idaho; 44, Wyoming; 45, Utah; 46, Oklahoma; 47, New Mexico; 48, Arizona.

The dimensions of the flag are fixed by an Executive order issued May 26, 1916. Its length should be just 1.9 times its height.

The union, or part of the flag on which the stars appear, should be seven stripes high and its length 0.76 of the height of the flag. The stars are five-pointed, with one point directly upward.

When a new State is admitted the star is not added to the flag until the Fourth of July next succeeding the date of admission.

FLAG ETIQUETTE.

The flag should be raised at sunrise and lowered at sunset. It may be raised at other times, but should never be left out at night, except when it is under the fire of an enemy.

On Memorial Day the flag should be displayed at half-staff from sunrise until noon, and at the peak from noon until sunset.

In raising the flag to half-staff or half-mast, it should always be run to the peak and then lowered one breadth of the flag. In retiring it, it should first be run back to the peak and then retired. It should never be allowed to touch the ground.

When the Star-Spangled Banner is played or sung stand and remain standing, in silence, until it is finished.

When the flag is passing on parade, or in review, if you are walking, halt; if sitting, rise, stand at attention, and uncover.

The flag should never be worn as the whole or part of a costume. As a badge it should be worn over the left breast.

In decorating, the flag should never be festooned or draped; always hung flat.

If hung so stripes are horizontal, union should be in left upper corner.

If hung perpendicularly, union should be in right upper corner.

When the national flag and another flag fly from same pole there should be double halyards, one for each flag.

The flag should never be placed below a person sitting.

When carried in parade, or when crossed with other flags, the Stars and Stripes should always be at right.

When the flag is used in unveiling a statue or monument it should not be allowed to fall to the ground, but should be carried aloft to wave out, forming a distinctive feature during the remainder of the ceremony.

When the flag is placed over a bier or casket the blue field should be at the head.

As an altar covering, the union should be at the right as you face the altar, and nothing should be placed upon the flag except the Holy Bible.

The flag should never be reversed except in case of distress at sea.

FLAG LAWS.

THE FLAG OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The flag of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts shall bear on one side a representation of the coat of arms of the Commonwealth, as prescribed by section 1 of chapter 2 of the Revised Laws, upon a white field, and on the other side a blue shield bearing a representation of a green pine tree upon a white field. (Ch. 229, Acts of 1908, as amended by ch. 37, Acts of 1915.)

THE OBSERVANCE OF FLAG DAY.

Resolved, That the governor shall annually set apart the 14th day of June as flag day, that date being the anniversary of the adoption of the national flag by the Continental Congress in the year 1777, and shall issue his proclamation recommending that the day be observed by

the people of the Commonwealth in the display of the flag and in such other ways as will be in harmony with the general character of the day. (Ch. 5, Resolves of 1911.)

THE DISPLAY OF THE NATIONAL AND STATE FLAGS ON STATE BUILDINGS.

The flag of the United States and the flag of the Commonwealth shall be displayed on the main or administration building of each of the public institutions of the Commonwealth. The flags shall be of suitable dimensions and shall be flown every day when the weather permits. The cost of such flags and of the necessary means for their display shall be paid from the appropriations for the several institutions. Ch. 60, Acts of 1909.)

THE DISPLAY OF THE UNITED STATES FLAG ON SCHOOLHOUSES.

The school committee of every city and town shall provide for each schoolhouse in which a public school is maintained and which is not otherwise supplied a United States flag of silk or bunting not less than 4 feet in length, and suitable apparatus whereby the flag shall be displayed on the schoolhouse building or grounds every school day when the weather permits, and on the inside of the schoolhouse on other school days. Failure to observe this law for a period of five consecutive days upon the part of the master or principal in charge of the school at the time shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5 for each period of five days of such negligence, unless such failure is caused by the school committee in not providing the said master or principal with a flag, in which case the said penalty shall be imposed on those directly responsible for the failure so to supply the said master or principal. Said penalty shall be imposed by any court of competent jurisdiction within the Commonwealth. (Ch. 232, Acts of 1911.)

MISUSE OF NATIONAL OR STATE FLAGS.

Whoever publicly mutilates, tramples upon, defaces, or treats contemptuously the flag of the United States or of Massachusetts, whether such flag is public or private property, or whoever displays such flag or any representation thereof upon which are words, figures, advertisements, or designs, or who shall in this commonwealth expose to public view, manufacture, sell, expose for sale, give away or have in possession for sale or to give away or for use for any purpose, any article or substance, being an article of merchandise or a receptacle of merchandise or articles upon which shall be attached through a wrapping or otherwise, engraved or printed in any manner, a representation of the United States flag, shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten nor more than one hundred dollars; but a flag which belongs to a Grand Army post, to a camp of the Legion of Spanish War Veterans, or which is the property of or is used in the service of the United States or of this commonwealth may have the names of battles and the name and number of the organization to which such flag belongs inscribed thereon. Words, figures, advertisements, or designs attached to, or directly or indirectly connected with, the flag or any representation thereof in such manner that the flag or its representation is used to attract attention to or advertise such words, figures, advertisements, or designs, shall for the purposes of this act be deemed to be upon the flag. (Chap. 570, acts of 1914.) Not to apply to publications issued solely for the purpose of giving information in relation to the flag or to publications issued solely for the purpose of promoting patriotism or encouraging the study of American history; but no words, figures, designs or other marks of any kind shall be placed upon the flag or any representation thereof. (Chap. 36, general acts of 1916.)

MISUSE OF FOREIGN FLAGS.

Whoever publicly mutilates, tramples upon, defaces, or treats contemptuously the flag or emblem of a foreign country at peace with the United States, whether such flag or emblem is public or private property, or whoever displays such flag or emblem or any representation thereof upon which are words, figures, advertisements, or designs, shall be punished by a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars. (Chap. 197, acts of 1912.)

DISPLAY OF FOREIGN FLAGS OR EMBLEMS ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Whoever displays the flag or emblem of a foreign country upon the outside of a State, county, city, or town building or public schoolhouse shall be punished by a fine of not more than $20; but the provisions of this section shall not apply when a citizen of such foreign country becomes the guest of the United States or of this commonwealth, if the governor by proclamation authorizes the flag of the country of which such guest is a citizen to be displayed upon public buildings other than schoolhouses. (Sec. 6, chap. 206, revised laws.)

CALENDAR OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

[Arranged by Stephen F. Littleton.]

January 1, Emancipation Proclamation, 1863.
January 2, Georgia ratified Constitution of United States, 1788.
January 3, Battle of Princeton, 1777.
January 4, Clarksville, Tenn., taken by Federals, 1863.
January 5, Battle of the Kegs, 1778.
January 6, Federal expedition against Fort Fisher, 1865.
January 7, Israel Putnam, patriot, born, 1718.
January 8, Battle of New Orleans, 1815.
January 9, Connecticut ratified Constitution of United States, 1788.
January 10, Battle of Middle Creek, Ky., 1862.
January 11, Battle of Arkansas Post, 1863.
January 12, John Hancock, statesman, born, 1737.
January 13, Battle of Point Pierre, 1815.
January 14, Congress ratifies treaty of peace, 1784.
January 15, Federals take Fort Fisher, 1865.
January 16, treaty with Samoa ratified, 1900.
January 17, Benjamin Franklin, statesman, born, 1706.
January 18, Daniel Webster, statesman, born, 1782.
January 19, Battle of Mill Spring, 1862.
January 20, commercial treaty with Mexico, 1883.
January 21, Thomas J. Jackson, "Stonewall," born, 1824.
January 22, massacre River Raisin, 1813.
January 23, Battle of Encarnacion, 1847.
January 24, Benjamin Lincoln, military officer of Revolution, born, 1733.
January 25, Battle of Hawe Creek, Fla., 1842.
January 26, Virginia readmitted to Union, 1870.
January 27, battle at Camp Defiance, 1814.
January 28, Americans retire from Cowpens, 1781.
January 29, William McKinley, born, 1843.
January 30, Electoral Commission chosen by Congress, 1877.
January 31, thirteenth amendment to Constitution passes House of Representatives, 1865.
February 1, United States takes possession of Guam, 1899.
February 2, treaty of peace with Mexico, 1848.
February 3, battle at Port Royal Island, 1779.
February 4, peace congress at Washington, 1861.
February 5, battle at Hatcher's Run, 1865.
February 6, treaty of alliance with France, 1778.
February 7, Roanoke Island bombarded, 1862.
February 8, William T. Sherman born, 1820.
February 9, William Henry Harrison, President, born, 1773.
February 10, treaty of Paris ratified, 1763.
February 11, Alexander Hamilton Stephens born, 1812.
February 12, Abraham Lincoln, President, born, 1809.
February 13, Franklin argues in House of Commons, 1766.
February 14, battle at Anandale, 1863.
February 15, battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana Harbor, 1898.
February 16, surrender of Fort Donelson to Federals, 1862.
February 17, treaty of peace (War of 1812) ratified by Congress, 1815.
February 18, Federals enter Charleston, S. C., 1865.
February 19, Freedmen's Bureau bill vetoed, 1866.
February 20, battle at Olustee Station, 1864.
February 21, Battle of Valverde, 1862.
February 22, George Washington, President, born, 1732.
February 23, battle at Buena Vista, 1847.
February 24, *Hornet-Peacock* naval battle, 1813.
February 25, Denmark acknowledges independence of United States, 1783.
February 26, British ships sunk at Amboy, N. J., 1777.
February 27, battle at Moores Creek Bridge, 1776.
February 28, Battles of Chihuahua and Sacramento, 1847.
February 29, James Biddle, naval officer, born, 1783.
March 1. Texas annexation resolution approved, 1845.
March 2, battle at Fort Brooke, Fla., 1841.
March 3, United States declares war against Algiers, 1815.
March 4, Constitution of United States went into effect, 1789.
March 5, Boston massacre, 1770.
March 6, Philip Henry Sheridan born, 1831.
March 7, Battle of Pea Ridge, 1862.
March 8, *Congress* and *Cumberland* sunk by *Merrimac*, 1862.
March 9, *Monitor-Merrimac* naval battle, 1862.
March 10, treaty with Mexico ending war, ratified, 1848.
March 11, Congress passes act to establish a navy, 1794.
March 12, Federals take Jacksonville, Fla., 1862.
March 13, treaty with Great Britain to suppress slave trade, 1824.
March 14, battle at Newbern, S. C., 1862.
March 15, battle at Guilford Courthouse, 1781.
March 16, West Point Military Academy organized, 1802.
March 17, British evacuate Boston, 1776.
March 18, stamp act repealed by Parliament, 1766.
March 19, battle at Bentonville, N. C., 1865.
March 20, American Army enters Boston, 1776.
March 21, Ku-Klux investigating committee appointed, 1871.
March 22, stamp act passed by Parliament, 1765.
March 23, *Hornet-Penguin* naval battle, 1815.
March 24, Spain recognizes independence of United States, 1783.
March 25, battle at Fort Stedman, Va., 1865.
March 26, embargo laid on all shipping, 1794.
March 27, Battle of Tohopeka, 1814.
March 28, *Phœbe*, *Cherub*, and *Essex* naval battle, 1814.
March 29, John Tyler, President, born, 1790.
March 30, battle at LaColle Mills, 1814.
March 31, Battle of Five Forks, 1865.
April 1, battle at Woodstock, Va., 1862.
April 2, Richmond evacuated by Confederates, 1865.
April 3, Union troops occupy Petersburg and Richmond, 1865.
April 4, battle at Yorktown, Va., 1862.
April 5, Federal siege of Yorktown began, 1862.
April 6, first session of First Congress meets at New York, 1789.
April 7, Battle of Shiloh, 1862.
April 8, Battle of Sabine Cross Roads, 1864.
April 9, surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, Va., 1865.
April 10, British besiege Charleston, N. C., 1780.
April 11, Federals take Pulaski, 1862.
April 12, first shot fired on Fort Sumter, 1861.
April 13, Battle of Bound Brook, 1777.
April 14, Fort Sumter evacuated by Federals, 1861.
April 15, Bering Sea treaty, 1895.
April 16, Federals pass Confederate batteries at Vicksburg, 1863.
April 17, Virginia secedes from Union, 1861.
April 18, Battle of Cerro Gordo, 1847.
April 19, battles at Lexington and Concord, 1775.
April 20, war declared with Spain, 1898.
April 21, siege of Boston by Americans began, 1775.
April 22, Admiral Sampson's fleet sails for Cuba, 1898.
April 23, battle at Fort Watson, 1781.
April 24, British occupy Petersburg, Va., 1781.
April 25, Federals occupy New Orleans, 1862.
April 26, Confederate Army under Johnston surrenders, 1865.
April 27, Ulysses Simpson Grant, President, born, 1822.
April 28, Maryland ratified Constitution of United States, 1788.
April 29, battle at Grand Gulf, Miss., 1863.
April 30, Washington inaugurated first President of United States, 1789.
May 1, Battle of Manila Bay, 1898.
May 2, Battle of Chancellorsville, 1863.
May 3, Battle of Fort Brown, 1846.
May 4, Army of the Potomac crosses the Rapidan, 1864.
May 5, Battle of Wilderness began, 1864.
May 6, Americans abandon siege of Quebec, 1776.
May 7, day of thanksgiving at Valley Forge, 1778.
May 8, Battle of Palo Alto, 1847.
May 9, battles near Spottsylvania, 1864.
May 10, Fort Ticonderoga captured, 1775.
May 11, war declared with Mexico, 1846.
May 12, Crown Point captured, 1775.
May 13, Battle of Palo Pinto, Tex., 1865.
May 14, battle at Jackson, Miss., 1862.
May 15, battle at New Market, 1864.
May 16, *President-Little Belt* naval battle, 1811.
May 17, Battle of Big Black River, 1863.
May 18, Federals begin siege of Vicksburg, 1863.
May 19, American fleet sails for Algiers, 1815.
May 20, Articles of Union and Confederation agreed upon, 1775.
May 21, North Carolina secedes from Union, 1861.
May 22, Battle of Fort Ninety-six, 1781.

May 23, Washington–Rochambeau conference, 1781.
May 24, battle at Winchester, 1862.
May 25, Battle of Fort George, 1813.
May 26, Congress declares to fortify the Colonies, 1775.
May 27, assault on Port Hudson, 1863.
May 28, Congress authorizes a provisional army, 1798.
May 29, Battle of Sacketts Harbor, 1813.
May 30, Decoration or Memorial Day (flag halfstaff until noon and fullstaff until sunset).
May 31, Battle of Fair Oaks, 1862.
June 1, Battle of Cold Harbor began, 1864.
June 2, Philip Kearny, military officer, born, 1815.
June 3, Battle of Philippi, 1862.
June 4, treaty of peace with Tripoli, 1805.
June 5, Americans take Augusta, Ga., 1781.
June 6, Nathan Hale, patriot, born, 1755.
June 7, resolutions of independence adopted by Congress, 1776.
June 8, David D. Porter born, 1813.
June 9, Battle of Port Republic, 1862.
June 10, Battle of Big Bethel, 1861.
June 11, Committee appointed by Congress to draw up Declaration of Independence, 1776.
June 12, American army embarks for Cuba, 1898.
June 13, fugitive slave law repealed, 1864.
June 14, American flag decreed by Congress, 1777 (Flag Day).
June 15, Washington chosen commander in chief of Continental forces, 1775.
June 16, Petersburg assaulted by Federals, 1864.
June 17, Battle of Bunker Hill, 1775.
June 18, war declared with Great Britain, 1812.
June 19, *Kearsarge-Alabama* naval battle, 1864.
June 20, Battle of Stono Ferry, 1779.
June 21, Battle of Daiquiri, Cuba, 1898.
June 22, *Leopard-Chesapeake* naval battle, 1807.
June 23, Battle of Springfield, 1780.
June 24, battle at Las Guasimas, 1898.
June 25, first of Seven Days' Battles, 1862.
June 26, Army of the Potomac crosses the Potomac, 1863.
June 27, Battle of Kenesaw Mountain, 1864.
June 28, Battle of Monmouth, 1778.
June 29, battle at Savages Station, 1862.
June 30, Battle of Glendale (Frazers Farm), 1862.
July 1, Battle of Malvern Hill, 1862.
July 2, Battle of San Juan Hill, 1898.
July 3, Battle of Gettysburg, 1863.
July 4, Declaration of Independence adopted, 1776.
July 5, Battle of Chippewa, 1814.
July 6, John Paul Jones, naval officer, born, 1747.
July 7, Hawaii annexed to United States, 1898.
July 8, French fleet arrives, 1778.
July 9, surrender of Port Hudson, 1863.
July 10, Battle of Rich Mountain, 1861.
July 11, British evacuate Savannah, 1782.
July 12, battle at Fort Stevens, 1864.
July 13, "Ordinance of 1787" adopted, 1787.
July 14, battle at Fayetteville, 1862.
July 15, Georgia readmitted to Union, 1870.
July 16, Stony Point captured, 1779.
July 17, Santiago surrendered, 1898.
July 18, battle at Fort Wagner, 1863.
July 19, battle at Buffington Island, 1863.
July 20, battles before Atlanta, began, 1864.
July 21, battle at Bull Run, 1861.
July 22, battle at Decatur, Ga., 1864.
July 23, Battle of Carloosahatchee, 1839.
July 24, John A. Dix, military officer, born, 1798.
July 25, Battle of Lundys Lane, 1814.
July 26, "Association of Freemen of Maryland" adopted, 1775.
July 27, Atlantic telegraph completed, 1866.
July 28, Burlingame treaty with China, 1868.
July 29, battle at Sacketts Harbor, 1812.
July 30, assault upon Petersburg, 1864.
July 31, terms of Parliament rejected by Congress, 1775.
August 1, third battle at Kellys Ford, 1863.
August 2, engrossed Declaration of Independence signed, 1776.
August 3, Columbus sails from Palos, Spain, 1492.
August 4, Battle of Brownstown, 1812.
August 5, Battle of Mobile Bay, 1862.
August 6, Battle of Oriskany, 1777.
August 7, Battle of Cumberland Gap, 1862.
August 8, Grant assumes command in Missouri, 1861.
August 9, battle at Cedar Mountain, 1862.
August 10, battle at Wilsons Creek, 1861.
August 11, battle at Independence, Mo., 1862.
August 12, peace protocol signed (War with Spain), 1898.
August 13, *Essex-Alert* naval battle, 1812.
August 14, American army enters Manila, 1898.
August 15, battle at Fort Erie, 1814.
August 16, battle at Bennington, 1777.
August 17, Louisiana repeals ordinance of secession, 1868.
August 18, Federals seize Weldon Railroad, 1864.
August 19, *Constitution* captures *Guerrierere*, 1812.
August 20, battles at Contreras and Cherubusco, 1847.
August 21, battle at Chattanooga, 1863.
August 22, battle at Catletts Station, 1862.
August 23, Oliver Hazard Perry, naval officer, born, 1785.
August 24, battle at Bladensburg, 1814.
August 25, American and French fleet start for Yorktown, 1781.
August 26, Fort Hatteras expedition, 1861.
August 27, Battle of Long Island, 1776.
August 28, Battle of Centerville, 1862.
August 29, battle at Groveton, 1862.
August 30, second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), 1862.
August 31, Battle of Jonesboro, 1864.
September 1, Battle of Chantilly, 1862.
September 2, Union forces occupy Atlanta, 1864.
September 3, treaty of peace between United States and Great Britain, 1783.
September 4, battle at Fort Harrison, 1812.
September 5, First Continental Congress convenes, 1774.
September 6, Gen. Lafayette born, 1757.
September 7, bombardment of Fort Wagner, 1863.
September 8, Battle of Eutaw Springs, 1781.
September 9, Federals occupy Chattanooga, Tenn., 1863.
September 10, Battle of Lake Erie (Perry's victory), 1813.
September 11, Battle of Plattsburg Bay, 1814.
September 12, Battle of North Point, 1814.
September 13, Battle of Chapultepec, 1847.
September 14, Battle of South Mountain, 1862.
September 15, battle at Harpers Ferry, 1862.
September 16, battle at Harlem, 1776.
September 17, Battle of Antietam, 1862.
September 18, Washington and De Grasse plan siege of Yorktown, 1781.
September 19, Battle of Winchester, 1864.
September 20, battle at Chickamauga Creek, 1863.
September 21, battle near Monterey began, 1846.
September 22, Battle of Fishers Hill, 1864.
September 23, *Bon Homme Richard-Serapis* naval battle, 1779.
September 24, Zachary Taylor, President, born, 1784.
September 25, battle near Montreal, 1775.
September 26, Battle of Charlotte, N. C., 1780.
September 27, Samuel Adams born, 1722.
September 28, Fort Harrison captured, 1864.
September 29, Americans reoccupy Detroit, 1813.
September 30, siege of Yorktown, Va., began, 1781.
October 1, Provincial Congress meets at Salem, 1774.
October 2, Pan American Congress organized, 1889.
October 3, Battle of Corinth, 1862.
October 4, Battle of Germantown, 1777.
October 5, Battle of the Thames, 1813.
October 6, battle at La Vergne, Tenn., 1862.
October 7, Battle of Kings Mountain, 1780.
October 8, battle at Perryville, 1862.
October 9, Alaska transferred to United States, 1867.
October 10, battle at Blue Springs, 1863.
October 11, naval battle on Lake Champlain, 1776.
October 12, Columbus discovered America, 1492.
October 13, Battle of Queenstown Heights, 1812.
October 14, William Penn born, 1644.
October 15, battle at Bristow Station, 1863.
October 16, Brown's insurrection at Harpers Ferry, 1859.
October 17, battle at Saratoga, 1777.
October 18, *Wasp-Frolic* naval battle, 1812.
October 19, British surrender at Yorktown, Va., 1781; battle at Cedar Creek, 1864.
October 20, Louisiana purchase treaty ratified, 1803.
October 21, battle at Balls Bluff, 1861.
October 22, battle at Fort Mercer, 1777.
October 23, Battle of St. Regis, 1812.
October 24, Battle of Springfield, 1861.
October 25, *United States-Macedonian* naval battle, 1812.
October 26, Erie Canal completed, 1825.
October 27, Confederate ram *Albemarle* destroyed, 1864.
October 28, Battle of White Plains, 1776.
October 29, Port Royal expedition sails, 1861.
October 30, John Adams, President, born, 1735.
October 31, battle at Shell Mound, 1863.
November 1, Battle of French Creek, 1813.
November 2, St. Johns, Canada, surrenders, 1775.
November 3, American Army disbanded, 1783.
November 4, St. Clair's defeat by Indians, 1791.
November 5, last Continental Congress meets, 1787.
November 6, Pensacola, Fla., occupied by Americans, 1814.
November 7, Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811.
November 8, Bering Sea treaty signed, 1897.
November 9, Battle of Talladega, 1813.
November 10, New Netherlands delivered to the English, 1674.
November 11, Battle of Chryslers Field, 1813.
November 12, boundary treaty with Mexico, 1884.
November 13, Montreal surrendered, 1775.
November 14, Sherman begins march to sea from Atlanta, 1864.
November 15, Articles of Confederation adopted, 1777.
November 16, battle at Fort Washington, 1776.
November 17, Battle of Wahoo Swamp, 1836.
November 18, Battle of Fishdam Ford, 1780.
November 19, James A. Garfield, President, born, 1831.
November 20, Battle of Blackstocks, 1780.
November 21, Congress first meets at Washington, 1800.
November 22, battle at Griswold, Ga., 1864.
November 23, treaty with Japan, 1894.
November 24, Battle of Lookout Mountain, 1863.
November 25, battle at Missionary Ridge, 1863.
November 26, Ninth Continental Congress meets, 1783.
November 27, battles near Mine Run began, 1863.
November 28, tea ships reach Boston, 1773.
November 29, battle at Knoxville, Tenn., 1863.
November 30, battle at Franklin, 1864.
December 1, siege of Knoxville raised, 1863.
December 2, Monroe doctrine proclaimed, 1823.
December 3, Illinois admitted to Union, 1818.
December 4, Washingtons farewell address to his officers, 1783.
December 5, Battle of Coffeyville, Miss., 1862.
December 6, American Anti-Slavery Society organized, 1833.
December 7, Battle of Prairie Grove, 1862.
December 8, Washington crosses the Delaware River, 1776.
December 9, battle at Great Bidge, 1775.
December 10, Spanish-American peace treaty signed, 1898.
December 11, Federals cross the Rappahannock, 1862.
December 12, Pennsylvania ratifies Federal Constitution, 1787.
December 13, Battle of Fredericksburg, 1862.
December 14, Charleston, S. C., evacuated by the British, 1782.
December 15, Battle of Nashville, 1864.
December 16, Boston tea party, 1773.
December 17, Embargo established by Congress, 1813.
December 18, thirteenth amendment to Constitution ratified, 1865.
December 19, American Army goes into camp at Valley Forge, 1777.
December 20, Savannah, Ga., evacuated by Confederates, 1864.
December 21, Pilgrims land at Plymouth, 1620.
December 22, embargo law passed, 1807.
December 23, Battle of Econochaca, 1813.
December 24, treaty with Great Britain, 1814.
December 25, Battle of Okeechobee, 1837.
December 26, Battle of Trenton, 1776.
December 27, battle at Occoquan, 1862.
December 28, Battle of Chickasaw Bayou, 1862.
December 29, *Constitution* captures Java, 1812.
December 30, Gadsden treaty approved, 1853.
December 31, Battle of Stone River began, 1862.

SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

COUNCIL RECORDS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1780.

* * * * * * *

Ordered, That Nathan Cushing, Esq., be a committee to prepare a seal for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who reported a device for a seal for said Commonwealth as follows, viz: Sapphire, an Indian, dressed in his shirt, moccasins, belted proper, in his right hand a bow, topaz, in his left an arrow, its point toward the base; of the second, on the dexter side of the Indian's head, a star, pearl, for one of the United States of America.

Crest. On a wreath a dexter arm clothed and ruffled proper, grasping a broadsword, the pummel and hilt topaz, with this motto: Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem. And around the seal: Sigillum Reipublicæ Massachusettensis.

Advised that the said report be accepted as the arms of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

THE ARMS AND GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The arms of the Commonwealth shall consist of a shield having a blue field or surface with an Indian thereon, dressed in a shirt and moccasins, holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left hand an arrow, point downward, all of gold; and in the upper corner of the field, above his right arm, a silver star with five points. The crest shall be a wreath of blue and gold, whereon, in gold, shall be a right arm, bent at the elbow, clothed and ruffled, with the hand grasping a broadsword. The motto shall be "Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem."

(The motto is the second of two lines written about A. D. 1659 by Algernon Sydney, the famous English patriot, in the Book of Mottoes in the King's library at Copenhagen, Denmark. The complete phrase is: "Manus haec inimica tyrannis. Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem." It was adopted in 1775 by the Provincial Congress, when we were at war with England, and was intended as a message to England. It is a peaceful motto and means, "By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty.")

The coat of arms as drawn and emblazoned under the direction of the secretary of the Commonwealth in the year 1898 and deposited in his office shall be the official representation of the coat of arms of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and all designs of said coat of arms for official use shall conform strictly to said representation.

The great seal of the Commonwealth shall be circular in form, bearing upon its face a representation of the arms of the Commonwealth encircled with the inscription "Sigillum Reipublicæ Massachusettensis." The colors of the arms shall not be an essential part of said seal, but an impression from a seal engraved according to said design on any commission, paper, or document shall be valid without the use of such colors or the representation thereof by the customary heraldic lines or marks.

The seal of the Commonwealth in use in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth when this act takes effect shall be the authorized seal so long as its use may be continued. (Ch. 2, Rev. Laws.)

No person or private corporation shall use the arms or the great seal of the Commonwealth, nor any representation thereof, for any advertising or commercial purpose whatever. (Ch. 195, Acts of 1903.)

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

THE FLAG GOES BY.

[By permission of The Youth's Companion.]

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
A flash of color beneath the sky;
Hats off!
The flag is passing by.

Blue and crimson and white it shines,
Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines.
Hats off!
The colors before us fly;
But more than the flag is passing by.

Sea-fights and land-fights, grim and great,
Fought to make and to save the state;
Weary marches and sinking ships,
Cheers of victory on dying lips;

Days of plenty and days of peace,
March of a strong land's swift increase;
Equal justice, right, and law,
Stately honor and reverend awe.

Sign of a nation, great and strong,
To ward her people from foreign wrong;
Pride and glory and honor, all
Live in colors to stand or fall.

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
And loyal hearts are beating high.
Hats off!
The flag is passing by.

(Henry Holcomb Bennett.)

Petition of the Eastern Soda Bottlers' Association of Massachusetts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 14, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a petition of the Eastern Soda Bottlers' Association of Massachusetts.

The petition is as follows:

PETITION OF THE EASTERN SODA BOTTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, ADDRESSED TO HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE AND THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN: The following resolutions were adopted and signed by the Eastern Soda Bottlers' Association, which comprises all of the soda bottlers in the State of Massachusetts:

"*Resolved*, That the soft-drink bottlers of the State of Massachusetts, who have hard struggling to make both ends meet owing to the enormous increase in the price of sugar, which is the principal ingredient used in the soft-drink business, protest against the proposed tax of 1 cent per pound on sugar; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the soft-drink bottlers of the State of Massachusetts further protest against the unjust proposed tax of 2 cents per gallon for carbonated, which for the last 40 years has always been sold by the average store at 5 cents retail. This would aggregate to the manufacturers and bottlers a fraction over 2 cents per bottle, and, in view of the fact that practically 100 per cent of the bottlers' products are sold by dealers, there is no possibility of raising the price to dealers, as the dealers must have a fair profit for their trouble in the resale of the same, otherwise no sane business man will handle soft drinks, which in turn means that a large majority of the public are to be deprived of obtaining a bottle of soft drink at 5 cents per bottle. In order to resell any under this proposed tax it will mean that the average store will be forced to retail the same at 10 cents for a half-pint bottle, which will mean that the sale of all soft drinks will be curtailed, and means that only the few bottlers who are financially able will not be obliged to close up their bottling shops; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That according to section 308 of the Ways and Means Committee's report, that the tax of 1 cent per gallon on mineral and table waters is an uncalled-for tax, and, in view of the fact that in the cities and towns which have the largest sale of mineral and table waters, they are used to great extent, because the local city or town water supply is of a poor quality and very often the local physicians or hospitals absolutely refuse to allow their patients to use the same, prescribing in place thereof the bottled spring waters, and Massachusetts, with a larger proportion of springs than any other State of the Union, will be affected more by this than a great majority of the States put together; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the proposed tax of 8 cents per pound on gas put up in drums is considered by all soft-drink bottlers to be a further infliction and unjust to impose on the bottler when obliged to purchase this at the average price of 5 cents per pound, with the proposed tax would mean that the bottler would be forced to pay 13 cents per pound. If this is passed it will mean that the bottler who is financially able will be forced to go back to the method of making his own gas, but which would mean a heavy investment for generators, etc., which a great many could not afford, and those fortunate enough to be able to buy the same would not have to pay a tax thereon."

The Pureoxia Co., by H. E. Wilson, Boston, Mass.; Standard Bottling & Extract Co., Boston, Mass.; Dr. Sueth Root Beer Co., Boston, Mass.; New York Bottling Works, Waltham, Mass.; Apollo Spring Works, Cambridge, Mass.; P. Kelley & Co., Lowell, Mass.; Columbia Bottle Co., Boston, Mass.; Maynard Bottling Co., Maynard, Mass.; Pietro Talerni, Worcester, Mass.; Standard Bottling Co., Lowell, Mass.; Pallister Bottling & Extract Co., Boston, Mass.; Richmond Carbonating Beverage Co., Boston, Mass.; Goulding Bros. Co., Whitman, Mass.; Coleman Keating, Boston, Mass.; Goulding Bros. Co., Boston, Mass.; Chas. C. Copeland, Milton, Mass.; Farbens Co., Boston, Mass.; J. D. Queen, Worcester, Mass.; New York Water Bottling Co., Chelsea, Mass.; John F. Coneannon, Boston, Mass.; Witch City Bottling Works, Salem, Mass.; Lovers Leap Co., Lynn, Mass.; Daly & Co., Boston, Mass.; I. Giccesglas, Roxbury, Mass.; F. Strasburger, Cambridge, Mass., L. C. Co.; Metropolitan Bottling Co., East Boston, Mass.; M. C. Heald & Co., Lynn, Mass.; Peters Mineral Bottling Co., Roxbury, Mass.; Blatchford Bros., Gloucester, Mass.; Charles La Cruix, Millis, Mass.; Clark & Roberts, Boston, Mass.; Cadwell's Spring Water Co., Woburn, Mass.; Prospect Hill Bottling Co., Somerville, Mass.; Bunker Hill Bottling Co., Charlestown, Mass.; French Bros. Co., Woburn, Mass.; French Bros. Co., Medford, Mass.; Hugh J. McMackin Co., Boston, Mass.; Bellingham Bottling Works, Chelsea, Mass.; Julius Joffe, 719 Genesee St.; P. J. Cray, Holyoke, Mass.; Jameson Bottling Works, Holyoke, Mass.; Country Club Soda Co., Springfield, Mass.; Springfield Bottling Co., Springfield, Mass.; W. W. Boynton (Inc.), Northampton, Mass.

Increase of the Military Establishment by Allowing Col. Roosevelt to Raise Four Divisions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. SNOOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to the conferees to agree to the Senate amendment which permits Col. Theodore Roosevelt to raise four divisions of volunteers for service in France.

Talk as we may, the people of the country do not yet seem to fully realize the fact that we have declared war against the greatest military power in all the world, and that we should

now remember that our first duty and greatest necessity are thorough preparation to carry that war to a successful issue.

We must not hesitate; we must not delay; we must take advantage of every means at hand immediately. More than 120,000 men who want to go to the front have voluntarily offered their services to Col. Roosevelt; they are now asking for that opportunity; they are seasoned men; nearly all have had experience; they are courageous, daring spirits like their leader.

The country needs an awakening for the task before it. Our people are patriotic, but they need something to awaken that patriotism; to stir up the spirit that animated the Nation of '76 and '61. There is nothing that we can do that will so awaken and stir the country as the assembling and sending this force of men with Col. Roosevelt to the battle line in France.

He was once the President of this Nation. He has a loyal, enthusiastic, personal following, such as no other man in the country, aside from our President, can command. These followers are found in every city, town, and township in the country. At the very launching of this movement they will start a wave of enthusiasm for the war that will stir our people in every corner of the land.

I can not believe that there is any force to the argument that such a movement will destroy the system of conscription that we are about to establish for the raising of our Army. All of these men are to be more than 25 years of age, and so few of them are within the ages liable to conscription that the plan will not be affected. But, be that as it may, the benefit to be attained will far outweigh any imagined loss that we may sustain.

We will have a magnificent army of courageous and adventurous men, with not an unwilling soul in the whole organization. They will be mature men who will understand the cause for which they are fighting, who will know the reason which brought on the war, and who will realize that the issue is liberty and democracy not alone for ourselves but for the peoples of the world.

They will be inspired by the leader who has been preaching the course they are about to take when most men were timid and afraid to speak. Such an army is sure to arouse the slumbering patriotism of our people and to carry a message of hope and cheer to the soldiers in France.

I repeat what I have said at another time—the one thing that distinguishes man from the beast and from the machine is the power of will. Here you have a force of men exercising that power to the highest degree. They will all be men, from their leader down, who wish, above all things on earth, to be granted the privilege of having a part in this war.

They are men whose will is driving them to the course they are taking. I repeat, such a band of men must necessarily be an inspiration to our people at home and to the soldiers of England and France with whom they go to fight.

There is another thing which I believe is important, although all may not be of the same opinion. The first steps taken in this war need the greatest publicity possible. The newspapers have been doing their part and will continue to do good work. But, as I have said, Col. Roosevelt has been President of our country and except President Wilson is the most talked-of man in America.

His very temperament, his unique style, will add interest and publicity to the raising of our Army and the conduct of the war.

Then also there is an opportunity to meet the request of the English and French envoys to this country for American troops in France as soon as possible.

They tell us that it will be of the highest benefit to the cause of the allies, and that it will have a splendid effect on the morale of their armies.

Let us meet their appeal with a band of soldiers who are seeking with all the purpose of determined souls to carry on this struggle with the same spirit that has always animated the American soldier.

There is no force to the objection which has been made so many times in this debate that Col. Roosevelt has had no military training and is not therefore prepared to command so large a force of men. He does not ask to be the first in command. He wishes this place to be given to a Regular Army officer and asks only that he may be given the command of a brigade.

Then, too, it is provided by the terms of the Senate amendment itself that the officers for these soldiers shall be selected in the same manner as those of the soldiers selected under the draft.

It must be remembered, too, that Col. Roosevelt is a man who has acquired great information on every subject and who has made a close study of war and the manner in which it has been carried on in the past. His general information, his personal character, his courage, and his enthusiasm will compensate for his lack of military training.

There has been some suggestion that there is politics in the amendment. I am sure that no one who knows me well would ever suspect or accuse me of doing anything to boost the political fortunes of Col. Roosevelt. I do not believe there is any politics connected with this movement. It occurs to me, however, that one of the strongest reasons for adopting this motion is that there may not be a suspicion left in the minds of the people that political prejudice may have prevented Col. Roosevelt and his followers from taking part in the war.

I have heard it said so many times during the debates at this session of Congress that sentiment should have no part in this war that I have been moved to ask myself the question, Is this statement correct? Is sentiment dead? Does it no longer play a part in the affairs of men? Every man who has studied history at all knows what an important part sentiment played in bringing on the Revolutionary, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars, and how much more important an effect it had in raising the armies for these wars and in crowning such armies with victory.

I wonder if my colleagues of the South, many of them descendants of brave men who served in the Confederate Army as officers or as private soldiers, men whose hearts have so often been touched, and who to this very day tremble with emotion at the stories which recount the deeds of heroism of their ancestors, can say that sentiment had nothing to do with animating these heroes to display such bravery and undergo such hardship and sacrifice as the world has seldom seen. The pages of all history are illumed with the heroic deeds of men and women which utterly refute the statement that sentiment will have no part to play in this war.

Men may talk to me of the perfect work of the machine and extol the power of efficiency. I do not underrate the worth of either; but when the battle is on and the supreme test is at hand, justice and right, inspired by patriotism, have more than once wrested victory from efficiency commanded by tyranny.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN F. WELTY.

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. WELTY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, popular opinion again seems to demand that the country should follow persons whose names have more or less magic, no matter what their ability to lead.

There are certain gentlemen, for whom I hold the highest respect, who have seemingly forgotten that the stability of their country depends upon our devotion to the principles which alone can sustain it, after we have passed from the stage of active life. I am sorry that these gentlemen think that we must follow men regardless of the principle involved. They seem to become impatient because we do not cheer when they cheer and refuse to rush headlong into this war, pell-mell, regardless of preparations.

I admire the enthusiasm of these gentlemen, but their judgment does not appeal to me, especially when I remember that we have spent millions to educate men for the present emergency.

There are three classes of persons who want to send Mr. Roosevelt to France—those who admire him, those who want to get rid of him, and some who are glad he is willing to volunteer and save them from going.

Col. Roosevelt has many admirable qualifications, but he should be strong enough to subject himself and his ambitions in times like these and be able to stand aside and let men accept the center of the stage whom we have trained for war at the public expense—at least, to give these men a chance.

If we were in need of a surgical operation, we would not invite the butcher to the hospital, but we would trust only the most skilled surgeon. Why not apply a little common sense in conducting a war? Has Mr. Roosevelt any military experience save that which he received during the Spanish-American War?

Could he form a regiment and lead it into battle without months of training? Remember, there are those who will trust their lives in his keeping if we pass this resolution, because they have faith in us and believe we know. Would you trust your lives in the keeping of an inexperienced officer? Why not protect the man whose enthusiasm will tend to dethrone his judgment? We may need his help and should be careful not to sacrifice his life needlessly now.

The affairs of this world are headed and carried on largely by experts. We have them in every profession and look to them for authority. We expect to find nurses and surgeons in our hospitals, the man who knows all about flying in our Aviation Corps, expert engineers to build our bridges and ships and plant our mines—and why?—Mr. Roosevelt knows a little about everything and not much of anything, you say? But, laying all jokes aside, would it not be too bad to send him to France in order to get rid of him? The country needs and is entitled to his services, as well as to those of the men who would volunteer and expect to go to the trenches before they were prepared to go.

Think for a minute and apply the rule of common sense and you will never vote even to permit a single man to lose his life needlessly. We are going against the highest military trained forces in the world, and would you expect raw recruits to be a match for them? If not, then it must necessarily follow that they would disgrace the Stars and Stripes in their first engagement—and it might take millions to regain our prestige.

How long would you expect an untrained man to stand up against a skillful pugilist in a boxing match? Oh, you say, that is not a parallel. Why not, I pray you? A soldier's efficiency consists only in two things—knowledge of military affairs and a physical body able to fight and endure.

Do we want to go on record as granting a special privilege to any person? Can we afford to depart from the time-honored tradition of "equal rights to all, special privileges to none?" Mr. Speaker, we forget that this country does not consist of acres of land, plains, hills, and mountains, nor even of men and women and children, but of principles—principles which are eternal and live in the hearts and lives of the men and women and children—principles which hold us and enable us to forget and escape ourselves and make it a joy to live and die that they might be maintained.

The abiding question will remain with each who supports this resolution, not "Am I true to these principles?" but "Can I afford to abandon them by granting special privilege to one man after I have denied that privilege to other men?" We are told that France is calling for fighters; granted. But are we justified in throwing them into the trenches without any previous training? Can we afford to have them butchered because of their unpreparedness? We forget that a little more than a month ago we were at peace with all the world. We have had little time to beat our plowshares into swords and our pruning hooks into spears. Do we want to send an ex-President into the trenches to fight with his fists? Ah, I repeat, your enthusiasm I admire but your judgment does not appeal to me.

Again, we are told that we should send these raw recruits to cheer the French and British. You forget that enthusiasm must constantly be fed. The entente allies would cheer, because they would expect the Americans to rush into battle, carry all before them, cross the Rhine, continue their march to Berlin, and not stop fighting until they had scalped the Kaiser before his blood was cold. Do you think that the cheering of the French and British would continue from day to day at the mere sight of American troops? No, gentlemen, the scenes must be shifted from day to day in order to keep up the enthusiasm.

We are told that France and England are calling for our troops just as they called for the Russians. Will you consent to have them butchered as the Russians were butchered when they engaged the trained troops of the German Army while themselves unprepared? Gentlemen, let us go about this business in a sane manner, like men, and not like schoolboys carried away by enthusiasm. The country needs not only our best thoughts but our most earnest prayers in times when the old ship of state has left her moorings and we are drifting with the war tide. Have we lost our bearings, or is the needle of our compass deflected by personal magnetism? I hope not. I was not only surprised, but amazed, when a few days ago about one-third of this House voted to destroy the independence of our Government by submitting one of the coordinate branches of the Government to the absolute dictation of a second.

Let us be sober in our deliberations, and not vote to sustain our enthusiasm, but, I pray you, let that vote of yours be in harmony with your judgment and blend with the light that is within you.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, this bill should have had months instead of weeks for consideration in committee. In view of its tremendous importance to the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country, there should have been in the work of framing the tentative draft several subcommittees instead of one, and every member of every subcommittee should have had every possible assistance from experts and other men whose judgment, patriotism, and experience are unquestioned. It is not the size of the bill that staggers—it is its unfairness. However, the main criticism should fall upon the Treasury Department, where it properly belongs. The Ways and Means Committee was simply a medium through which the Secretary of the Treasury acted. What the Treasury Department said was law, and the bill under consideration is a McAdoo proposition from start to finish.

The Republicans made no minority report, and therefore I shall, to quote the language of our lord high executioner, Mr. KITCHIN, "close my eyes and vote for the bill." But I want the House and the public to know that I am doing so against my better judgment, and that this apology would not be necessary, in my opinion, had sufficient time been given our committee to consider carefully through subcommittee and individual investigation the direct application of every paragraph of the bill to the industry or interest or individual affected by it. Personally, I took the deepest interest in the deliberations of the Ways and Means Committee. As a manufacturer of broad experience, I felt that the knowledge I had gained in the development of a large manufacturing corporation, which has carried its business to every corner of the civilized globe, and has helped to show other countries what American inventive genius and American business methods can do, would be of some assistance to the committee. In the light of what followed I now conclude that I overestimated my usefulness. I am aware that protests and hypercriticism will avail nothing. Therefore I desire to impress upon the House these facts: That this bill came to us practically ready-made; that the work of the Ways and Means Committee was largely perfunctory; that there was no real emergency that required such disastrous haste; that months instead of weeks should have been used in preparing the bill; and that the Secretary of the Treasury, rather than the Ways and Means Committee, should be criticized by those who feel they have been unjustly hit. I realize that Congress is facing a most serious and difficult problem—the task of raising by taxation for an indefinite length of time, during the continuation of the war, a large proportion of the enormous amounts of money necessary to defray the extraordinary expenses of the Government, without in any way dislocating the wheels of commerce and industry. It is the general feeling that many of the proposals for raising the revenue needed by the Government are ill advised and radical in the extreme. Nothing excessive or confiscatory in nature or scope should be undertaken. Furthermore, all forms of taxation should be avoided which do not affect all alike or which can in any way be called unfair.

Taxes, however justifiable, are never popular—direct taxes still less than indirect taxes. For that reason care must be taken that the general dislike to them and the task of collecting them are not increased by any taint of unfairness or inequality. Taxes on the same source of income should bear equally and justly on all alike.

Of all the methods of raising war revenue, the most unfair and inequitable is the so-called excess profits tax law, which has already been enacted and which it is now desired to change to such an extent that it will be nothing else but an outright legalized premium on watered stock and inefficiency. The idea of this legislation has been taken from Europe, but the law as adopted here and the proposed confiscatory amplifications of it betray an absolute misunderstanding and misapplication of European tax laws on excess war profits. Excess profits, in the European meaning, are the profits which a company may have earned since and by reason of the war in excess of the average profits which the same company earned for a number of years before the war. In applying the term abroad, regard is had

solely to the comparative profits of one and the same company for the period before and since the war; in the United States the term "excess profits" is arbitrarily applied to the profits of corporations in general, regardless of whether the larger profits are due to favorable war-time conditions, without any special merit of the company or to the fact that the company showing the large earnings is capitalized conservatively, efficiently and modernly equipped, and capably managed. In Europe, for instance, a company whose average profits before the war were 6 per cent and since then 20 per cent would pay a larger excess profits tax than a company with the same capital which had for years before the war earned 25 per cent on its capital and since the war 30 per cent, although the latter's profits, from an absolute point of view, are higher. The so-called excess profits tax law, therefore, as now existing in the United States and still more so in the extreme forms proposed, has nothing in common with the European tax laws but its name, and is an arbitrarily fixed tax on efficiency, good management, and honest capitalization.

Excess profits taxes, in the sense understood in the present law and in the more extreme legislation proposed, are unsound in principle and would be absolutely arbitrary and unfair in practice. Corporations honestly capitalized, with at least one dollar or even more of assets for every dollar of capital stock, would be at a great disadvantage with those companies which are heavily overcapitalized. The latter could pay out dividends on all excessive capitalization before being liable to the excess profits tax, thus practically escaping that tax altogether.

Corporations differ widely in their nature. Some have a comparatively large capital stock and little indebtedness; others have a small capital stock and large indebtedness. In some the capital stock is small compared with the total assets; in others the capital stock has been inflated and watered out of all proportion to real values. Some corporations are managed with exceptional skill, others indifferently, others very poorly. Some corporations have a quick turnover, frequently repeated during the war; others have a slower, much less frequent turnover. It is absolutely impossible to arbitrarily fix uniform standards of profits for all.

Many shares of corporations have a market value far above their par value, due to the conservative policy, good management, and excellent earning capacity of the enterprise. In reliance on all these investors have bought such shares at the market value, and although the earnings and dividends of the corporation, as compared with the par value of its stock, are large, the actual yield to the investor is often no more than a fair return on his investment. Now, investors who have bought these shares at their enhanced value in good faith should not suddenly find their income abnormally and unjustly reduced by an excess tax on earnings, which while nominally large when only the par value of the capital stock is considered, are in reality but a fair return on the capital really invested.

Any internal taxation system adopted should obtain the desired revenue at the least injury to the industry or business of the country. The success of any scheme of taxation requires that industry be maintained at as high degree of production and commerce at as large a volume as possible; the chances of such success will be far greater if the tax is levied upon the entire profits of an undertaking rather than upon the profits in excess of any arbitrarily fixed percentage on capital. Everything possible should be done to stimulate and encourage business, not to discourage it. Efficiency and success and honest capitalization should not be penalized by a surtax on profits which exceed an arbitrarily fixed percentage. In many cases such extra profits represent years of careful and conservative policy and tireless energy, during which time earlier profits have been repeatedly put back into the business instead of being taken out and spent.

Of course, as much should be raised by immediate taxation as can be raised without hindering industry and commerce. Extremes should be avoided, however, which not only savor of confiscation of the property of corporations and individuals but also destroy the taxable basis itself and endanger the successful carrying out of the whole taxation program, especially by weakening the power and capacity of the Nation at large to absorb the huge bond issues planned.

While it may at first sight seem in accord with popular notions to squeeze everything possible out of corporations, yet the public will in the long run feel the full effects of any excess profits tax and sooner or later realize its unsoundness. Excess public will in the long run feel the full effects of any excess inequitable and uneconomic and are without parallel in the legislative experience of European belligerent countries.

Our excess profits tax directly discourages soundly capitalized and well-managed enterprises, reduces the market value of their stocks, places a heavy premium on watering of stock and overcapitalization, acts as a deterrent on commerce and industry, and weakens and lessens the powers of the people to invest in the bonds of their own Government. For these reasons there should not only be no attempt at further legislation of this kind but the present excess profits tax law should be immediately repealed.

Instead of an excess tax on all corporate profits over an arbitrary fixed percentage, the injustice and unfairness of which have been shown in the foregoing, there should be levied—

A flat and equitable war tax of from 3 per cent upon the net profits of all corporations and partnerships, in addition to the normal tax, whatever that may be. This tax should be high enough to raise the revenue expected from this source, but the tax rate should not be graded; that is, the rate should not increase as the profits in relation to the capital invested grow larger. In this way a corporation or partnership which has large earnings will pay a proportionately larger sum than a concern with the same capital but smaller earnings, but the former will only pay in direct proportion to its earnings and not in ascending arithmetical progression. There would be no surtax with a penalization of efficiency and honest capitalization. On the other hand, the normal tax itself, applicable to business and to individuals, may be increased as far as advisable, and so may the surtax on the higher incomes of individuals.

The following is an illustration showing how honest capitalization suffers from an excess profits tax, while watered-stock corporations escape:

Actual cash investment	$1,000,000	$1,000,000
Water or "good will"	None.	2,000,000
Capitalization	1,000,000	3,000,000
Net profit:		
20 per cent	200,000	
6⅔ per cent		200,000
Taxed 8 per cent on	120,000	Nothing.
Yield to Government	9,600	Nothing.
Yield to Government of 3 per cent tax on all profits	6,000	6,000
Total yield of method unfair to enterprise		9,600
Total yield of method fair to enterprise		12,000

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON A. ROMJUE,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, in the solution of any question it is always advisable to at least get some survey of the fundamental question, the basic proposition before us.

What is before us now?

A motion! What motion? A motion to recommit the conference report. If I recall my dates correctly, it is now just exactly two weeks since the House passed the bill providing for an army. At the same time, or a day before, the Senate passed a similar bill. There being some variance between these bills—among other matters the age limit of soldiers—the two bills went before the conference committee, composed of Members of both the House and Senate, with the customary directions to smooth out the points of difference, and report back for final adoption of a bill uniform in the House and Senate.

That conference committee, after a lapse of two weeks, reports back the bill with an agreement to recommend its passage. This bill is an important one; many of its features are of great magnitude. Our Nation is in a crisis. We should move as rapidly as possible with legislation, being cautious to be right and accurate.

The items in the bill have been thrashed out in Congress and approved in conference, with minor alterations, except the Roosevelt feature. If this motion to recommit carries, it means that the whole bill is held up. The wheels of war will be stopped, perhaps for several days. If the motion to recommit is defeated, it means the war policy, or Army program, is fixed and certain. Now, shall we block the whole bill to confer over the Roosevelt feature? I think we should not.

Let us vote down the motion to recommit the whole bill, thus letting it become an operative law, and then the War Department can go to work in the organization and mobilization of Uncle Sam's forces. Several days ago, when the matter of whether Roosevelt should go to France with troops was consid-

ered, I voted to let him go. We were defeated on that. He is a man of full age and supposed to be mature. I am still in favor of him being permitted to go with his troops, and will so vote if the matter is brought up before the House as a separate matter, without tying up this Army bill now before us; and it can be done to-morrow, if you desire, but I do believe we should not let that feature tie this whole bill up, perhaps for another week or 10 days.

I do not like dilatory tactics in legislation; I do not like back tracking on any legislative program. We can not always do just what we want to do. Let us do the best we can for our country and move the program along, and whatever we are to do, let us do it.

As I said before, to vote to recommit this bill means delay in our Government's progress. I shall vote against recommittal of the bill. This will mean, of course, to accept the report of the conferees and prevent the tying up of the legislative program.

Then independent of and without interfering with this bill, the question of Mr. Roosevelt or anyone else who wants to go to France may be taken up to-morrow or any other date, and when it does come up I will vote for it.

The Revenue Bill—Who Will Pay the Bills and Who Will Get the Money—Pay Day Is Coming and Tax Dodgers Are Beginning to Squeal—Shall the Little Fellow Pay the Bills and Fight the Battles?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 15, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, only a few days ago Congress, amidst the cheers and plaudits of floor and gallery, passed a $7,000,000,000 bond-issue bill. In big headlines the newspapers celebrated the merry performance, fought the war to a finish, and gloried in the optimistic view that we were going to keep all the money in this country. The stockjobbers, munition mongers, food speculators, and all the rest of the precious gang that thrive on trouble and get rich on misery fell over each other in a wild scramble to get first whack at the pot, and a general belief seemed to prevail amongst a lot of people that this country could perform an old and impossible stunt, and that is to "eat your cake and have it."

Now, we are up against the revenue bill—a gentle reminder that there is a pay day coming, and that even if you dance the dance of death there is always a fiddler to pay. And, oh, what a change has come over the spirit of the dream! Every Representative, every Senator is receiving letters and telegrams by the score, all singing the same sad song, all ending with the same plaintive refrain, "Don't tax me."

The newspapers and periodicals, who have clamored the loudest, are tearfully protesting against a raise in postage. The manufacturers of every sort and kind, who all had their eyes on at least a part of that seven billion, are vociferating against a tax on excess profits. The hotels of Washington, the lobbies of the Capitol, the corridors of the House and Senate Office Buildings are crowded with the attorneys of the big interests, each with a voluminous brief explaining why the interest he represents should be allowed to dodge his share of the burden.

In the meantime the little fellow, the mechanic, the small dealer, the farmer, the tradesman is not saying very much. He can not afford to hire a lawyer to lobby for him. The price of a telegram is the price of a few handfuls of potatoes, and his kiddies are hungry, and he is too busy just now to write letters. He is too busy trying to figure out how he is going to live during the next few years. He knows too well that everything he and his family needs from the shoes on his baby's feet to the cheap overcoat he wears himself is to be taxed. He knows that every morsel he eats, every drop he drinks, the fuel he burns, the life insurance his family gets when he is lying dead, all must pay a goodly share. And there is no way that the little fellow has of practicing the gentle art of "passing the buck."

When the tax collector goes after the Standard Oil crowd all they have to do is raise the price of oil. When the stock jobbers are hit they entice a few more lambs into the stock exchange and get enough fleece from their innocent backs to foot the bill. If the steel magnates can not get theirs any other way they get an extra appropriation through Congress for something that has an extra profit in it, and when it comes to the final analysis of this or any other revenue bill, it will always be found that the little fellow pays his full share and a little more, and the big fellow pays a small part of his share and a lot less.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to show concisely how the little fellow has to pay and what he gets to pay it with, I will insert here some figures on the increased cost of living:

War conditions and war prices have already placed the average American in a financial position where he can not decently be asked to pay for the war.

The "New York Times Annalist," of April 23, 1917, publishes a table showing "index numbers" of the increase in the cost of living in the last two years. It explains the table as follows: "'The Annalist' index number shows the fluctuations in the average wholesale price of 25 food commodities selected and arranged to represent a theoretical family's food budget." Here are the figures:

For April 24, 1915, index number is 154.
For April 22, 1916, index number is 166.
For April 21, 1917, index number is 270.

In other words, the 25 most common and necessary articles of family use have almost doubled in price in the last two years.

Dun's index figures show similar price increases, as follows:

Between April 1, 1914, and April 1, 1917, dairy and garden products increased 84 per cent, meat 46 per cent, clothing 49 per cent, metals 69 per cent, and foodstuffs 105 per cent.

A few days ago the Old Dutch Market (Inc.), of Washington, D. C., which operates a large string of stores, selling meats, canned goods, eggs, vegetables, etc., published a comparison of prices in April, 1914, and April, 1917. It deals in all with 60 table necessaries. The average increase on all items listed is 85.32 per cent during that period.

As a corollary to this we have the report issued on April 26 of the food committee, appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. "Interesting figures were obtained," says the committee, "from the proprietors of some of the smaller stores, whose business is with the poorer people. They show clearly that the poor have been compelled to resort to the strictest economy in order to provide food on account of high prices. Their purchases are of the cheapest possible articles and in smaller quantities than heretofore. The sale of ordinary cuts of meat in this class of stores seems to have been discontinued and the meat now purchased consists of hog livers, hog kidneys, neck bones, hog faces, etc."

Following the food riots in New York Miss Helen M. Todd was appointed to make an investigation of the effect on school children of the high cost of food. She reported last week that in the poorer districts diet has been so cut down that the children's scholarship has suffered materially through malnutrition, and that public-school teachers complain that the children are unable to maintain their grades.

The Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for April, 1917, tells the same story. In the four years from February 15, 1913, to February 15, 1917, flour increased in price 69 per cent, eggs 61 per cent, potatoes 224 per cent. A 16-ounce loaf of bread cost on February 15, 1914, $0.055; on February 15, 1915, $0.063; on February 15, 1916, $0.062; and on February 15, 1917, $0.071. Bread to-day is 10 cents a loaf. As this goes to press wheat is $3 a bushel in the western markets.

As to coal the Black Diamond Magazine and the Coal Trade Journal show that the average retail price of anthracite range coal in New York was $5 a ton in January, 1915, and $8.75 a ton in January, 1917. Soft coal at the mines was from 80 cents to $1.65 a ton in December, 1914, and from $4.75 to $6.50 a ton in January, 1917; this in the face of yearly increasing output.

Now, let us see what the wage earner gets to pay this staggering burden. I quote herewith an analysis published by the American Committee on War Finance of New York City:

WAGES.

The increase in wages and incomes has been insignificant in comparison to the enormous rise in prices. Undoubtedly wages have advanced sharply since the war began. In some industries they have risen in a spectacular manner, yet the average wage increase since 1912 has been small, even in union labor, when compared with the rise in the prices in necessaries of life. The index figures published in the April Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the large field of union labor there has been a rise of only 9 points from 1912 to 1916, inclusive. Index figures for 1917 are not yet available; but even if we were to assume that wages have risen as much in the first four months of 1917 as they rose in the whole period from 1912 to 1916, which would be a quite extravagant estimate, we should only have a rise of 18 per cent from 1912 to 1917, while according to Dun certain particularly important food products and necessaries have risen from 46 per cent to 105 per cent in the last three years, and according to the Times Annalist the cost of the food budget of the average American family has gone up 74 per cent in the last two years.

Keeping in mind these figures, we can not but accept the unwelcome fact that the average American has not in reality shared in the prosperity of the country during the war period. On the contrary, he has lost ground in the economic struggle, in spite of the Nation's advancing aggregate wealth. Wages and incomes have no doubt increased, but there has been at the same time such an inflation in the price of things people must buy in order to live that the average citizen's purchasing power has been steadily diminished. He has been handed more in his pay envelope; he has received a larger salary check, and made better earnings from his farm or his business, but in turning the money he has made into food, fuel, rent, household furnishings, etc., he has found that it does not go so far as in times when wages and earnings were much smaller.

You must always remember, too, that this very class is the one that will bear the brunt of the actual fighting that is to be done. A handful of sporty millionaires may possibly join some well-advertised expeditionary force that will take along a good staff of reporters and a motion-picture outfit, but the real, grim, and bitter fighting will be done by the sons of farmers and mechanics, as it always has been done, and it is they and their families who will have to make the supreme sacrifices that war entails, and I submit that they should not have to pay the bills as well. I will insert here an excerpt from a speech of mine on April 5, 1917, and also a resolution I introduced as soon as this session convened:

The poor man's wife will bear men children, work in a factory to support them, and then give them to the money junkers to send to slaughter while she keeps on working in the factory to pay the bills.

In the name of the common people of America, I enter my solemn protest. In the name of the mothers of fighting men, I insist that the men who call the tune shall pay for the music. I have introduced a resolution which I shall append to my remarks, and if we are to assume the debts of bankrupt nations let those who profit by the malodorous transaction foot the bill. If you are going to conscript the young manhood of America to fight in the trenches beside the minions of foreign kings, then let us conscript the ill-gotten wealth of the war-breeding gunmen of finance and save at least our children and children's children from a burden they do not deserve to bear.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 37) to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war.

Resolved, etc., That the following measures be taken to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war:

First. A graduated income tax levied by Congress upon all annual incomes above $5,000, which shall amount to conscription of all incomes in excess of $100,000 a year.

Second. Immediate conscription by the Government of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and their operation by the Government for public service without private profit.

Third. Immediate conscription by the Government of all natural resources, including mines and oil wells, and their operation under the Bureau of Mines without profit.

Fourth. The Government shall deal with the workers in any conscripted industry through the organizations formed by the workers, with due safeguards for the rights of unorganized workers. This will protect both the Government and the workers.

Fifth. Immediate conscription and operation by the Government of all food-storage warehouses for the service of the American people, and the passing of a law making speculation in food supplies an act of treason under the Articles of War.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe in making class distinctions nor in appealing to what is called class prejudice, but facts are stubborn things and mathematics is an exact science, and while I have always believed and hoped that in this great country of ours there were neither classes nor masses, but just one people, you can not go on making one set of human beings carry heavy burdens while others ride at ease without eventually creating that most deplorable state of mind known as "class consciousness," the rock on which every republic known to history has gone to wreck.

Now, I have stated briefly above how the little fellow has had to carry, and will continue to carry, the heaviest burdens of this unfortunate war, and I will now show how the class my resolution proposed to tax are faring in the great ledger of human life in America as it is written to-day. To show where a good slice of that seven billion we voted for will go I will insert the following estimate:

APRIL 4, 1917.

The following estimate was arrived at from figures given in the Financial Chronicle and from statements recently made by Mr. L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware & Hudson Co., and by the National City Bank of New York.

Debts which must have been contracted by Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates in order to finance the purchases of their European customers since the beginning of the war:

Visible merchandise balance in favor of the United States from July 1, 1914, until Feb. 28, 1917		$5,700,000,000
Paid for by—		
Net gold imports	$950,000,000	
Repurchase of American securities held abroad	1,550,000,000	
Buying of foreign issues	2,400,000,000	
		4,900,000,000
Leaving still to be settled		800,000,000

three-fourths of which about represent the unpaid-for balance of the war business handled through Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates, necessitating private debts of $600,000,000, which the American people are now being asked to assume. In addition, there may be in the hands of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates considerable amounts of unplaced foreign loans—possibly more than $400,000,000—forcing on them the contraction of still further debts, which it is also now proposed to liquidate with the money of the people.

Should not those who contracted these huge debts—$1,000,000,000 or more—carry their burden rather than the small taxpayer?

To show further where most of the lopsided prosperity of the last few years has drifted, let me quote some interesting figures which indicate the truth and explain the conditions which account for the fact reported by Prof. King, of the University of Wisconsin—that 2 per cent of the people of the United States own 65 per cent of the entire wealth of the Nation:

Net profits of American industrial corporations.

[Figures shown are the net profits earned for the stockholders, after deducting cost of materials, labor, depreciation, overhead, interest, and all other charges. All figures are official, having been taken from the companies' annual reports.]

Corporations.	1916	1915	1914	1913
American Can Co.	$7,962,982	$5,029,273	$2,916,339	$4,376,173
American Smelting and Refining Co.	23,252,248	14,402,732	9,271,565	9,756,540
American Hide & Leather Co.	1,643,265	959,974	107,205	475,518
American Beet Sugar Co.	2,445,189	1,424,654	452,074	881,055
American Locomotive Co.	10,769,429	[1]1,491,980	2,076,127	6,185,306
American Steel Foundries Co.	3,418,057	[1]219,574	[1]231,481	1,033,592
American Woolen Co.	5,863,819	4,080,865	2,788,602	[1]1,179,791

[1] Deficit.

Net profits of American industrial corporations—Continued.

Corporations.	1916	1915	1914	1913
American Writing Paper Co.	$2,524,378	[1]$126,955	[1]$108,310	[1]$229,190
Armour & Co.	20,100,000	11,000,000	[2]509,908	6,028,197
Atlas Powder Co.	2,939,790	1,671,762	294,150	322,838
Baldwin Locomotive Co.	5,982,517	2,827,816	350,230	4,017,800
Bethlehem Steel Corporation.	43,593,968	17,762,813	5,590,020	5,122,703
Barrett Co. (American Coal Products Co.)	4,247,858	2,482,235	1,280,476	1,835,811
Brown Shoe Co.	1,467,757	249,322	495,890	710,464
Central Leather Co.	15,489,201	5,624,97	4,876,924	4,386,345
Colorado Fuel & Iron Co.	2,201,171	[1]334,611	[1]905,958	1,727,192
Crucible Steel Co.	13,223,655	3,073,750	1,015,039	4,905,886
Cuban-American Sugar Co.	8,235,113	5,591,048	2,705,723	356,887
E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co.	82,107,693	57,257,308	4,831,793	4,582,075
General Chemical Co.	12,286,823	5,958,745	2,857,893	2,809,442
Hercules Powder Co.	16,658,873	4,885,102	1,247,255	1,017,212
International Agricultural Corporation.	1,279,832	[1]160,022	84,903	[1]161,493
International Nickel Co.	11,748,279	5,598,072	4,792,865	5,009,123
Lackawanna Steel Co.	12,218,234	2,409,108	[1]1,652,444	2,755,883
Morris & Co. (packers)	3,832,213	2,321,415	2,205,672	1,916,937
National Enameling & Stamping Co.	2,417,803	913,742	548,753	761,274
New York Air Brake Co.	8,214,962	1,343,285	641,043	654,513
Phelps Dodge Corporation.	21,974,263	9,720,475	6,661,833	7,907,710
Pittsburgh Steel Co.	4,564,068	858,160	416,551	1,193,653
Railway Steel Spring Co.	3,710,805	1,363,229	374,451	1,121,653
Republic Iron & Steel Co.	14,789,163	3,515,819	1,028,748	3,101,303
Sloss-Sheffield Iron & Steel Co.	1,912,624	522,383	490,119	678,463
Swift & Co.	20,465,000	14,087,500	9,450,000	9,250,000
Texas (Oil) Co.	13,898,881	6,393,327	6,185,734	6,663,123
United States Steel Corporation	271,531,730	75,833,833	23,498,768	81,218,985
United States Cast Iron Pipe Co.	1,308,641	[2]381,387	[1]59,864	564,427
United Fruit Co.	11,943,151	5,900,522	2,264,911	5,315,631
United States Industrial Alcohol	4,884,587	2,172,013	653,264	652,358
United States Smelting, Refining and Mining Co.	8,898,464	6,502,324	2,265,641	3,585,583
Westinghouse Air-Brake Co.	9,393,103	1,575,839	3,482,994	5,255,259
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.	9,663,789	2,009,744	4,058,800	3,164,082
Wilson & Co. (packers)	4,913,873	2,463,732	[2]1,511,528	1,334,245
Total	729,983,235	292,588,355	121,242,775	204,233,749

[1] Deficit. [2] 19 months. [3] 15 months.

Taking 24 of the principal companies listed above and comparing their earnings in 1914 and 1916, we find in these two years an increase of 500 per cent; and these increases may be expected to continue. For instance, the Steel Corporation's last quarter's earnings, just published, would indicate that; for, if the percentage is maintained for the whole year, the net sum applicable to dividends for 1917 should be about $450,000,000

Comparing the increased earnings and the increased stock values of two of these corporations, we get a still more concrete idea of the increased wealth which offers the country a ready source of war taxation:

UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION.

Net earnings, 1914	$23,495,768
Net earnings, 1916	271,531,730
Increase	248,034,962
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1914	682,648,282
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1916	961,181,378
Increase	278,533,096

BETHLEHEM STEEL CORPORATION.

Net earnings, 1914	5,590,020
Net earnings, 1916	43,593,968
Increase	38,003,948
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1914	17,536,690
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1916	106,112,130
Increase	88,575,440

RAILROADS.

Shareholders of railroads have also improved their position as investors since the war began.

In 1913 the net operating revenue ran approximately from $275 a mile in January to $300 a mile in December. In 1916 the net operating revenue ran, approximately, from $337 a mile in January to $550 in October.

The net revenue for railroads earning over a million dollars annually for the six months ending January 1, 1917, was practically $700,000,000, which is the largest profit in the history of American railroading.

We must, furthermore, remember that millions upon millions of the wealth quoted above was earned and the foundations of too many of these fortunes laid on transactions with the United States Government that were often malodorous and in nearly every case so close to out-and-out graft that it required all the powerful political whitewash and deodorizer that privileged wealth can buy to cover the deals up and a conscription of much of this wealth would only really mean the recovery of goods illegally obtained from Uncle Sam. How much money we might have saved in the past, how much better we might be off to-day, no one can figure, but I will quote here from a speech I delivered on December 16, 1915:

Every patriotic American believes to a certain extent in "preparedness." The people will undoubtedly be willing to spend a great deal of money to provide adequate defense, but, Mr. Speaker, I feel that I am entirely safe in asserting that they will rise in righteous wrath if the hard-earned money of the toilers of this country which they will be asked to place at the disposal of the National Government shall continue to be used to fatten the swollen fortunes of the Steel Trust, the Armor-plate Trust, or the Powder Trust, while the Army and Navy are neglected, mismanaged, or, what is worse, still controlled and ruled by bureaucrats who are either hidebound to old and obsolete methods or wedded to a very suspicious alliance with the moneyed corporations that control the supplies which the defensive forces of the country most need.

That this is neither idle rumor or sensational accusation has been abundantly proved by the actions of the departments of our Government in charge of defense.

That inventors have been rebuffed, discouraged, and disheartened by the bureaucrats is so well known that it is almost unnecessary to mention the specific cases, and that some of the most obnoxious trusts in this country have profited hugely by the complaisance of naval and military boards is beyond question.

During the Sixty-third Congress I introduced a bill and two resolutions, which I will insert here, and I can assure you that if the witnesses who would have testified could have been properly protected and given some reward as an incentive to testify there would be enough cash on hand to-day in the Treasury to make the imposition of this tax entirely unnecessary.

A bill (H. R. 7601) authorizing the Navy Department to offer and pay rewards for the detection of violations of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to offer and pay rewards to the person or persons who shall first furnish to the Government of the United States information which shall lead to the detection of violations of the antitrust act of July 2, 1890, in cases where such violations shall injuriously affect the Navy Department or any business connected with the national defense, or in cases where the Government has been defrauded in the character, quality, or price of the material furnished, and where, as a result of information or evidence so furnished, the Government succeeds in recovering money or property as fines, forfeitures, or otherwise, the reward shall be 20 per cent of the amount so recovered.

—

House resolution 506.

Whereas certain chiefs of the Bureau of Ordnance have made misleading reports to their superiors and to Congress; and

Whereas Chiefs of Ordnance have attempted to deceive Congress on the effect of high explosives; and

Whereas our Navy and coast defenses are being constructed as recommended by officers who are disloyal to their official oath; and

Whereas the Armor Trust is being favored by some misleading reports: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a committee of nine Members of the House, of which number five shall be of the majority and four of the minority. Said committee is hereby directed to make an investigation of the subject matter embraced, misleading Congress by false reports. Said committee is also directed to investigate if there has been a conspiracy between the United States officers and the armor manufacturers or other persons in defrauding the country or the Government.

Said committee is authorized to sit during sessions of Congress and recess of Congress, to compel the attendance of witnesses, to employ such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary, and to administer oaths to witnesses. The cost and expenses of said committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives. Said expenses shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said committee.

—

House resolution 544.

Whereas the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, has stated in testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House and in an official letter to the Senate that there exists a combination and conspiracy of armor manufacturers who are "holding up" the Government of the United States and forcing the Navy Department, by a monopoly combination, to pay extortionate prices which amount to a robbery of the Government of several million dollars each year: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby requested to inform this House what steps, if any, he has taken to have his colleague, the Attorney General, take action for the prosecution of this monopoly combine of armor manufacturers; and

Resolved further, That the Attorney General is hereby requested to inform this House what steps he has taken to prosecute civilly and criminally this Armor Trust above mentioned.

Why does the Secretary of the Navy submit to having the United States Government held up and robbed of millions of dollars by the Armor Trust every year when he has it in his power to take steps to put a stop to it at once? Everyone knows—and no one knows better than the Secretary of the Navy himself—that if he were to write one short letter to Congress asking for the passage of the bill to protect witnesses and pay rewards for convicting evidence of the frauds and robberies perpetrated on the Government by the Armor Trust which I introduced on August 22, 1913, that Congress would pass the bill at once, and the evidence would be produced and the robbery of the Government by the Armor Trust would be stopped for all future time, and millions of dollars of the money already stolen would be recovered from Carnegie and his Armor Trust crew and put back into the Public Treasury.

Neither the Secretary of the Navy nor the Attorney General of the United States have vouchsafed a reply to my House resolution No. 544. Why not? I will be able to answer the question if they give me the power asked for in my other resolution, No. 506, and if they pass my House bill 7601—all of which I have herein quoted—I will show by sworn testimony that a bureaucratic oligarchy corruptly controls these matters, and that if the Government collected the fines, penalties, and forfeitures from the armor plate and other criminal trusts they would not face the necessity of this tax, but would have millions to spare after paying the expenses of the Government.

Of course, nothing was ever done and I do not suppose anything ever will be done. We pass absurdly large appropriation bills, we then pass absurd and iniquitous revenue bills and apparently neither care where the money comes from or where it goes. A large part of the money we expect to raise by this bill will go for naval appropriations, and if it is to be spent the way it always has been spent it will take an enormous amount to put through any kind of an adequate naval program. Let me quote here from a speech of mine on the naval appropriation bill on June 2, 1916:

If we had received anything like an adequate return for money expended in naval construction during the last decade our Navy would be twice the size it is. Just let us examine the figures of the four great nations of the earth for a period of the last 12 years for naval construction:

Great Britain	$1,999,209,088
United States	1,331,721,206
Germany	354,053,078
France	791,244,187

We have spent in that time over $200,000,000 more than France and Germany combined. Does anybody in this House believe that our Navy is stronger than the navies of France and Germany combined or even as strong? Once more that old, old, sickening question arises, that never will down, "Where did the money go?"

If we could not guard expenditure better in times of peace, is it probable that a close watch will be kept in these days of critical emergency? I doubt it very much.

I think it very apparent therefore that a good share of these war expenditures should be paid by those who can best afford it, and it is gratifying indeed to see that a number of rich men have declared in favor of this proposition.

Along this line Mr. E. W. Scripps, the millionaire newspaper owner, of California, said in a memorandum which he sent to the Ways and Means Committee:

From the source which none of us have yet even dreamed—that of the infliction of a great war—we may draw the greatest reform and the greatest blessings to our people. * * *

Some of us have very large incomes, and we are prompted, and even by the opinions of society compelled, to indulge in great extravagances. We employ servants who produce nothing for the common good and only minister to our vices. We purchase costly and showy clothing, houses, food, furniture, automobiles, jewelry, etc., the production of which has taken the labor of many hundreds of thousands of men and women, who, if they were not so employed would be producing other commodities in such quantity as to cheapen them and make them more accessible to the poor.

An enormously high rate of income tax would have the effect of diverting all this labor that is given to practically useless things into other channels, where production would be useful to the whole people. * * *

In the case of the Government of the United States the income is so enormous that out of it could be paid double the amount that the war is costing England annually; and, except for the disturbances and readjustment, the people of the country would suffer not at all, while they would be greatly benefited by the discipline and the necessity of thinking hard and perhaps working harder.

Those who will have to pay this proposed supertax will not have to suffer much. A man with an income of $100,000 can still worry along quite comfortably, and what they may have to abstain from will in all probability be good for their health in this world and improve their chances of salvation in the world to come.

Let us therefore adopt some such plan as this and make equality real and enduring in this country. Let each do his bit cheerfully and patriotically and let us prove that we are in very truth fighting for equal rights and equal privileges to all men. I append herewith an estimate of the revenue that could be secured by this measure:

Estimated yield of the income tax rates suggested by the American Committee on War Finance, on basis of incomes reported in 1915.

Classifications of incomes.	Number of returns.	Mean gross aggregate taxable incomes.	Rate on whole income above $3,000.	Revenue.
			Per cent.	
$3,000 to $5,000	127,994	$505,928,100	2	$4,458,920
$5,000 to $10,000	120,402	903,015,000	4½	24,382,400
$10,000 to $15,000	34,102	426,275,000	7	22,677,830
$15,000 to $20,000	16,475	288,312,500	10	23,888,750
$20,000 to $25,000	9,707	218,407,500	15	28,392,975
$25,000 to $30,000	6,193	193,193,000	20	34,320,400
$30,000 to $40,000	7,005	245,175,000	25	56,040,000
$40,000 to $50,000	4,100	184,500,000	30	51,660,000
$50,000 to $75,000	4,791	299,337,500	40	113,985,800
$75,000 to $100,000	2,053	179,900,000	50	86,866,000
	332,823			446,673,075
Total over $100,000	3,824 net taxable income, all over $100,000, $1,193,650,000			721,250,000
Grand total revenue				1,167,923,075

The number of persons receiving a net taxable income of $2,000 to $3,000 can only be estimated, but it is safe to put

it at 200,000. Assuming an average income of $2,500, the income taxable at 2 per cent is $100,000,000, but the total yield would be only $2,000,000.

If the number of persons receiving incomes of $100,000 and over increased from 1915 to 1916 as much as from 1914 to 1915, the taking of all incomes over $100,000 would yield three or four hundred millions more than the above-estimated yield.

From 1914 to 1915 the number of persons who reported receiving a net taxable income of over $1,000,000 increased from 60 to 120, those reporting from $500,000 to $1,000,000 from 114 to 209, while the number reporting net taxable incomes over $100,000 increased from 2,348 to 3,824.

It is safe to estimate that the rates advocated will yield at least $1,500,000,000 next year, possibly $1,600,000,000.

Communication in Regard to Farm Labor and Fertilizers, Also Resolutions Relating to Food Prices.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT F. POLK,
OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by having printed therein a communication received from a committee appointed by a meeting of the citizens of Sussex County, Del., relative to farm labor and supply of fertilizers; also communication relating to farm labor; also resolutions of Peach Blossom Grange, of Middletown, Del., relating to control of food prices.

The communications are as follows:

SEAFORD, DEL., *May 12, 1917.*

Hon. ALBERT F. POLK,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a citizens' meeting held here on Friday, May 11, 1917, to consider food conservation and methods of increasing the food supply, it was brought out that one of the embarrassments to be encountered by the farmers is the difficulty in procuring fertilizer. It was further stated that the fertilizer men are complaining that so many boats have been taken over for war purposes, it is very difficult to secure boats for the transportation of raw material. A committee was appointed with instructions to lay these matters before you, as our Representative in Congress, with the request that you take the matter up with the proper department and, if possible, secure such concessions as will enable the farmers to obtain fertilizer at a reasonable cost, as our success in crop production depends very largely upon our securing fertilizer at a moderate cost.

The committee was also requested to call your attention to the urgent need of labor by the farmers and to ask if it is not possible to have such steps taken as will procure the postponement of extensive improvements of any nature not likely to be completed at an early day until after the close of the war or at least to provide for the suspension of such operations during the period when labor is most needed on the farms, in order that laborers may not be attracted from the farms by the flattering offer of possibly greater compensation to be paid by the corporations making the improvements.

If, by working in conjunction with the other Members of Congress from Delaware, you shall be able to provide for such action on the part of the proper authorities as will enable the farmers of our little State to successfully meet the difficulties herein referred to, we feel that you will thereby confer a great favor and a lasting benefit not only upon the farmers in question but also upon the thousands that will thereby be the better provided with life's necessities.

Very respectfully submitted.

THOS. M. RAWLINS,
B. L. ROSS,
EDWARD B. BROWN,
Committee.

At a recent meeting of farmers held in Sussex County to consider the question of growing more food in the present crisis, it developed that the large manufacturers from the northern part of the State and possibly from other States had their agents working among the farm labor of Sussex County trying to induce the labor to leave the farm, where they are so badly needed at this time, and accept work in the factories. After due consideration the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this gathering that it is working a great hardship on the farmers in their efforts to grow more food during the existing food shortage to have agents from the manufacturing plants using every means to induce their labor to leave the farm, and that it should be regarded as a misdemeanor, punishable by law, to have such agents disturbing the labor on the farm, which is very short at this time.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our two Senators and Representative with the request that they use their influence to enact a law that will prevent the manufacturers from taking farm labor during the continuance of the war."

HENRY A. HOUSTON,
Ex-Member House of Representatives.
I. L. LONG,
State Senator.
H. HAYWARD,
Dean of Department of Agriculture, Delaware College.

Whereas there is a bill before Congress in reference to fixing the price of food products: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Peach Blossom Grange, No. 3, Patrons of Husbandry, of Middletown, Del., goes on record as disapproving this bill unless there be inserted in this bill a similar provision for fixing the prices on manufactured products; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to our two United States Senators and Representative in Congress.

H. B. MCDOWELL, *Master.*
J. FLETCHER DEAKYNE,
Secretary.

"The Call to Arms."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. M. NEELY,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[Dedicated to President Woodrow Wilson.]

THE CALL TO ARMS.

(The Marseillaise of America.)

[Words by Emma Hamilton Bulloch.]

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
With thy starry flag unfurled
And thy shield of honor stainless,
Give this message to the world.
Lofty principles of justice,
Peace and freedom for mankind,
Do not mean a craven spirit,
As all traitors soon will find.

CHORUS.

Here we pledge to thee, our President,
Our unswerving loyalty;
We will give allegiance only
To our God, our flag, and thee.

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
For the cause of liberty;
Hold the torch of justice heav'nward
Till it flashes o'er the sea
And proclaims to all the nations
That on this they can depend.
We love peace, but not dishonor,
And the right we will defend.

To arms, to arms, beloved country,
With thy armor shining bright
And thy sword unsheathed and ready
To strike boldly for the right.
We love all mankind as brothers,
But 'tis best they understand
On the shores of this fair country
Hostile fleet must never land.

To arms, to arms, beloved country;
Duty calls, we must obey;
Freedom of the world imperiled
By a despot's iron sway
We must help to crush forever
Greed and tyranny and hate;
Love and liberty must triumph.
Strike, it is the hour of fate!

Increase of the Military Establishment—"Do Something, and Do It Now."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,
OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917,

On the conference report on H. R. 3545, to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, and upon a motion to recommit said bill with instructions to agree to the Senate amendment authorizing the President to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment and to organize and equip not to exceed four Infantry divisions.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey, under leave of the House, submits the following extension of remarks:

Mr. Speaker, I oppose any delay in the confirmation of this conference report and the passage of this bill. I protest against this delay.

It is time that we were filling up the ranks of the Regular Army and National Guard, in which recruits can be promptly trained under officers and with the aid of comrades who have had experience and who can give them speedy schooling as soldiers, so that they can be sent promptly to the battle lines of Europe which are the present lines of our national defense and the only final school of modern warfare. I hope that hundreds of thousands of men will be sent as soon as possible from these our organized forces, and that their recruiting will be aided by the appointment of our gallant ex-President to high command.

This recruiting and expedition of organized forces should not be hindered or delayed pending the organization of new divisions of raw volunteers who will have to perfect an organization that the Army and the guard already possess, and will draw away the patriotic men who ought to fill up our Army and National Guard.

The United States declared war early in April, over a month ago, and we still delay the passage of a bill to increase our Military Establishment and enable us to send men to France in the defense of our people against a power that is seeking to subjugate the world.

A correspondent writes me:

Keep up the fight to send men to France at once. If we are in this thing in earnest, we must admit that men must be sent. A division of 30,000 men requires shipping tonnage of 240,000 tons, and such a fleet has to be escorted, goes slowly, and will take a month for a round trip; thus it will take us 10 months to get 300,000 men to the other side.

While a force is being concentrated over there, those that go first will have an opportunity for training under the best conditions.

Shall we not face facts? This is as plain as the nose on your face. While we are sending forces over, a disaster or a tremendous loss of men to the allies may make the men that we shall have sent, even though it be only five months from now, a priceless stop-gap. Are we to wait until the allies are "licked" before we send men to France? The French and English say they are losing at the rate of 10 per cent a month. That looks almost like a 50 per cent reduction in 10 months. The French have used up their last reserves. It is not only cold-blooded folly but cold-blooded cruelty we are indulging in.

The allies have the artillery and we have the men. It is easy to combine the two.

War does not wait. Victory does not smile on laggards. Success is not achieved by councils of war that never fight.

Men must be got and trained and sent. This bill provides for doing so. It may not be perfect in detail; details can be perfected hereafter. We should have started the new and greater army over a month ago.

An old farmer, when asked to address a school, said only, "Children, do something. Do good if you can, but do something, and do it now."

Resolutions Adopted by the Slavic-American Patriotic League of the Mahoning Valley, of Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. COOPER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to include a resolution adopted at a patriotic mass meeting of the Slavic-American Patriotic League of the Mahoning Valley, of Ohio. The resolution is as follows:

Whereas we Slavs of the Mahoning Valley fully appreciate the liberties and the privileges enjoyed by us in these United States of America; and

Whereas we Slaves of the Mahoning Valley fully approve and indorse the decision of these United States of America to war not only for humanity and civilization but also for the liberation of the smaller European States from tyranny, despotism, and oppression, which instills our hearts with the new hope that at last our long-cherished dreams and aspirations, the national independence of the subjugated and downtrodden Slavic nations will again become a reality; and

Whereas in this hour of great national crisis we Slavs of the Mahoning Valley believe it the duty of each any every one of us to bear his full burden in upholding and supporting the President of the United States and the National Government in the step they have taken: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Slavs of the Mahoning Valley, numbering over 25,000 souls, That we pledge our continued and unconditional support of the President and the Congress of this Nation in their determination to protect its honor and its ideals of right and humanity; and to this great and holy cause we dedicate our lives and our fortunes; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President and to the House of Representatives and to the Senate of the United States of America.

JNO. A. WILLO, *Chairman.*

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include amendments to the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

The amendments are as follows:

Page 3, line 13: Fifty per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds $100,000 and does not exceed $200,000.

Page 3, line 16: Sixty per cent per annum upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds $200,000 and does not exceed $300,000.

Page 3, line 19: Seventy-five per cent upon the amount by which the total net income exceeds $300,000.

Page 6, line 16: Strike out "8 per cent" and insert "24 per cent."

This increases the excess profits tax.

Page 25, line 25: Strike out the word "five" and insert the word "one."

This reduces the sales tax from 5 to 1 per cent.

Page 51, lines 16 and 19: Strike out the word "one."

This takes off the excess charge upon first-class mail matter.

Joseph Hodges Choate, Lawyer, Diplomat, Patriot, and Statesman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 15, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, within 72 hours after Joseph H. Choate had remarked, "You younger men will have to take our places; this is my last day," he suddenly passed away in New York City, the scene of his greatest legal triumphs, at peace with the world and with the knowledge that he had rendered extraordinary services in a most thorough manner to his country.

Although in the midst of war, it is fitting and proper that there should be recorded for all time the story of his services to our Republic in order that the rising and future generations may thereby receive encouragement to do likewise.

The New York Times prints to-day a short biography of his life and the many tributes that America's greatest citizens have paid to him. I therefore insert the same at length, as follows:

TO PAY HIGH HONORS AT CHOATE FUNERAL—SERVICES WILL BE HELD AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH TO-MORROW MORNING—ENVOYS SEND MESSAGES—BALFOUR DEEPLY MOVED BY DEATH OF "OLD FRIEND"—VIVIANI SAYS FRANCE FEELS LOSS.

The funeral of Joseph H. Choate, the circumstances of whose death late Monday night were told in the later editions of the New York Times yesterday, will be held at 9.30 o'clock to-morrow morning from St. Bartholomew's Church, Madison Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, with the rector, the Rev. Dr. Leighton Parks, officiating. The list of pallbearers and other details of the funeral were not announced last night, but a great attendance of prominent men is expected. The burial will be at Stockbridge, Mass., Mr. Choate's summer home, and the services at that place will be conducted by the Rev. Dr. George Merrill.

Mr. Choate's death, according to Dr. William K. Draper, was due to heart trouble, induced by his great exertions last week. The last appearance of Mr. Choate in public was at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Sunday, less than 36 hours before his death. His last social function was a dinner which he gave Saturday night, at which there was much table talk by the host, Arthur J. Balfour, Nicholas Murray Butler, and Henri Bergson on the immortality of the soul.

Mrs. Choate had recovered somewhat yesterday from the first effects of the shock caused by her husband's death, and with her daughter, Mabel, and her sons, George and Joseph, jr., was able to receive a great number of messages of condolence that poured in all day.

Mr. Balfour, in addition to an official message from the British commission, sent the following personal telegram:

"Am most deeply moved by tragic news of my old friend's sudden death and greatly fear it was hastened by last week's splendid efforts for your country and for mine. Please accept heartfelt sympathy for you and yours."

The official message of the British delegates, signed by Ian Malcolm, Mr. Balfour's parliamentary secretary, read:

"Members of British commission desire to express deepest sympathy with you and yours. They will always cherish memories of the eloquence and kindly welcome given them by Mr. Choate on the occasion of the international visit to New York."

M. Viviani sent the condolences of the French commission, as follows:

"In the name of Marshal Joffre, Admiral Chocheprat, and the entire French mission, allow me to convey our deep condolences for the terrible loss you have just sustained, which also strikes France. We bow in deep regret before your grief."

Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador, wired:

"Deepest sympathy in your great sorrow. We all mourn the loss of our country's best of friends and can never forget his noble words in championing the allied cause."

Governor Whitman telegraphed:

"Please accept my most personal and heartfelt sympathy in the infinite sorrow which has come to you and to the Nation which loved and respected him."

Commander Evangeline Booth, of the Salvation Army, sent this message:

"My tender and loving sympathy is extended to you in this hour of your great bereavement in the passing away of your husband. Our country loses one of its foremost citizens, greatest patriots, brightest intellects, and noblest characters. One thousand Salvation Army officers assembled in congress in Philadelphia, representing all the Eastern States, have requested me to convey a message of condolence to yourself and family. The grace of God, upon which your illustrious husband lifted the great temple of his life's work, will not fail you. But in this hour, while the shadows fall, your way shall be full of light."

The following was sent by representatives of the Russian Zenesky Union:

"All the Russians who have had the honor and privilege of meeting your late husband, and all of them who knew him by his great name, beg leave to express their heartfelt sympathy and their deep sorrow for the irreparable loss of the great statesman."

Among the callers at the house were George L. Ingraham, Gen. Daniel Appleton, the Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, F. K. Sturgis, R. A. C. Smith, William D. Guthrie, Austin Fox, and George T. Wilson.

Flags were at half-mast on the city hall and other public buildings yesterday, on the great museums of the city, many banks, business houses, hotels, and apartment buildings. Courts took recess while judges praised the dead advocate and lawyers honored the man who had been regarded as the leader of their profession in the city and the Nation. The boards of educational, historical, patriotic, and civic organizations met to adopt resolutions on the death of a man who for many years had been their constant aid and supporter.

Hundreds of thousands of Mr. Choate's fellow citizens had seen him during the receptions last week when he acted as chairman of the mayor's committee to welcome the British and French war commissions. Many had heard him speak with the fire and enthusiasm of youth in the city hall at the merchants' association luncheon, at the chamber of commerce luncheon, and the mayor's dinner. Some had seen him at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine with Mr. Balfour on Sunday, and others knew that he was preparing to address the students of Columbia University yesterday afternoon. He had ignored his years for so long that the fact that he was really dead seemed impossible of realization.

To his friends and to those associated with him in his public activities there was the consoling reflection that, as the exertions of the last week had brought on the final illness which carried him so unexpectedly on Monday night, he had in effect died in the service. He had worn himself out in the cause that perhaps lay nearest to his heart—the bringing about of a closer harmony among the British, French, and American democracies in the struggle against the German power.

Some of those who heard his speech at the Union League Club in the last week of March, while it was still uncertain whether or not America would fight, remembered then his solemn statement that this might be his last public appearance, and that he regarded those words which might be his last as spoken in the actual service of his country; and they were comforted by the knowledge that if he had not lived to see the victory, as he had hopefully suggested to Mr. Balfour on Sunday, he had at least lived to see America take her place in line in the common cause.

LAWYER, STATESMAN, DIPLOMATIST.

As a lawyer, statesman, and diplomatist Mr. Choate was hardly less famous than his father's distinguished cousin, Rufus Choate, who was for decades regarded as the leader of the Massachusetts bar, and who was renowned as an orator when the eloquence of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Wendell Phillips stirred the country in the struggle over the ideal of "a free country for all, with bondage for none."

Rufus Choate, then a youth of 19, had been thrilled at hearing the eloquent argument of Daniel Webster in the famous Dartmouth College case, and he decided to enter the profession of law with the greatest barrister of that day as his ideal. Joseph Hodges Choate, born in Salem, Mass., on January 24, 1832, in turn took Rufus Choate as his example.

As lawyers and public men the careers of the two Choates were similar, each being rated as the best lawyer of his day. But the younger Choate brought more fame to the family name as ambassador to the Court of St. James. In 1899 President McKinley recalled John Hay from London to make him Secretary of State, and at the same time appointed Mr. Choate ambassador in his place.

He remained at this post until 1905, doing his utmost to bring the two branches of the English-speaking race closer together. When he left London to return to the United States English statesmen and writers described his stay there as "the abundant harvest and culmination of all that had gone before." It was said that he had more friends among statesmen abroad than any other envoy since Benjamin Franklin. His friendship with Mr. Balfour, head of the British commission recently sent to the United States, was of the strongest, and the efforts of the two to bring the two countries closer together were zealous and carried out in conjunction.

Only a few months before his death in 1859 Rufus Choate, struck by the promise of his young relative, gave him a letter to William M. Evarts, then one of the brightest figures at the American bar. After a few months in another law office in New York, the young man was invited to become a member of Mr. Evarts's law firm, and with the aid of brilliant associates Mr. Choate was able to make this coalition one of the most famous and successful in the country. When Mr. Choate was in the full flower of his success as a lawyer he paid his homage to his ideal, Rufus Choate, and, through him, to Daniel Webster, in these words:

"I owe more of my success to his example and inspiration, to his sympathy and his helping hand than I owe to any other man or men."

IN MANY FAMOUS CASES.

For the first few decades of his life in New York Mr. Choate gave his full energies to the practice of his profession, and there was hardly a famous case in the last half of the nineteenth century that he had not argued or been called in as an advisory counsel. One of the most spectacular of these cases was the defense of Brig. Gen. Fitz-Hugh Porter, who had been deprived of his rank in the Army because of charges arising from the retreat of the Union forces at the Battle of Bull Run. In preparing the case Mr. Choate had to master the military details of a campaign, and so well did he accomplish this that when he appeared before the Hayes Commission in 1879 he not only established Gen. Porter's innocence but caused the President to restore that officer's rank.

Perhaps Mr. Choate's most bitterly contested case was a suit for damages brought by W. R. Laidlaw, a clerk, against the late Russell Sage for $50,000. Laidlaw was in Sage's office when a bomb was thrown, killing two men and injuring the former. The suit for damages was based upon the alleged fact that Mr. Sage had seized the clerk and used him as a shield when the explosion came. The first trial brought a verdict of $25,000. Mr. Sage's lawyers appealed, and Mr. Choate then got a verdict for $43,000. Again an appeal was taken and the verdict was set aside, but the case was never again brought to trial. Mr. Choate said that the cross-examination of Mr. Sage was like "skinning an intellectual eel."

In another case Mr. Choate was forced to become an expert in archæology, and he successfully defended the genuineness of the Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He argued in the Credit Mobilier case, involving the contract for the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the case against Collis P. Huntington for the recovery of money due on the contract for the purchase of stock and involving the operations of the builders of the Central Pacific. In 1891 he argued in the New York election-fraud cases. Following this he was counsel in a score of famous will-contest cases involving hundreds of millions of dollars, among them being the Commodore Vanderbilt case, the A. T. Stewart case, and the Tilden, Hoyt, Cruger, and Drake cases.

Even before he had successfully argued before the United States Supreme Court against the income tax of 1894 he had won fame as a great constitutional lawyer. Following the tax case he attacked the constitutionality of the Texas antitrust law.

NEVER HELD POLITICAL OFFICE.

Mr. Choate never held a political office. In 1897 he opposed Thomas C. Platt for the United States Senatorship, but he received only 7 votes to Platt's 142. It was said of Mr. Choate by his associates that he was too broad-minded to be a successful politician. He could see both sides of a controversy, and for that reason did not have blind devotion to small causes. Consequently, they contended, he was a statesman. It was not until the nineties that Mr. Choate gave much of his energy to politics, although he had always aided in measures of great public service. He assisted in smashing the Tweed ring, and in many other struggles he showed great animosity for the Tammany organization.

Mr. Choate was a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, and had received honorary degrees from his alma mater, as well as from Yale, Amherst, Williams, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. He was also an honorary bencher of the Inner Temple of London.

FLOOD OF TRIBUTES TO CHOATE'S WORK—HUGHES CALLS "HEROIC" HIS PATRIOTIC SERVICES IN HIS LAST DAYS OF LIFE—BELOVED, SAYS ROOSEVELT—WICKERSHAM EMPHASIZES "GREAT PERSONALITY"—STETSON CONSIDERED HIM HEAD AND HEART OF BAR.

Praise of the life and public services of Joseph H. Choate came yesterday in unstinted measure from leading men of New York. Among the legal profession in the city there was deep personal mourning for the passing of the man whom Francis Lynde Stetson called "not only the head but the heart of the New York bar." National, State, and city officials and men prominent in many activities expressed their sense of the loss which the country felt in his death.

Many spoke of the deep and abiding value of the work of Mr. Choate's years in public life, and of the fact that he had died as he might have wished—in the full tide of energy, working hard for a cause near his heart.

The courts of the city, almost without exception, paid formal tribute, either by special exercises held at their opening or by early adjournment. Following are some of the testimonials by judges and lawyers to Mr. Choate's life and labors:

Charles E. Hughes: "No words that we can utter can express our love and admiration for Mr. Choate. He was not only the leader of the American bar, but he was the finest flower of American culture. In the truest sense he died in the service of his country.

"It is inexpressibly sad to think that he is gone, but nothing in his brilliant career did him more credit than his heroic service in these last days when at the most serious risk he so eloquently voiced the patriotic sentiment of our country."

Theodore Roosevelt: "In common with everyone else, I was very greatly shocked at the death of Mr. Choate. He had become not only the most distinguished citizen of New York City but also that man for whom his fellow citizens felt a particular affection. Probably the death of no other man in this city would be felt in such a peculiarly personal manner."

Elihu Root: "Mr. Choate was a very great man of the noblest quality, an extraordinary combination of distinguished ability, intellectual power, mediation, combined with a fund of wit and humor, and the highest courage. He was absolutely fearless, and he had the frankness and openness that goes with high courage. At the same time he had the most unselfish and devoted public spirit, and had a great capacity for friendship and warmth of heart. Taken all in all, he was one of the greatest men I ever knew."

George W. Wickersham: "I suppose that the simple announcement of the death of Mr. Choate has reached the hearts of more lawyers throughout the land than the passing away of any member of our profession within the recollection of living men, because no other man so filled the place in our hearts which we fondly assigned to the leader of the American bar. He was the leader in many different directions, for years the foremost advocate at this bar, for years the best voice at the bar in all matters which pertain to the dignity, advancement, and discharge of the high responsibilities of the bar.

"He went as the representative of the bar into the wider field of public service at an age when many men close their professional careers. Beginning at the age of 67 with an ever-widening activity, with an ever-growing ability, he filled larger and larger places in the activities of the world and with a magnificence of old age seldom equaled. Growing in stature, growing in moral suggestiveness, Mr. Choate came to fill a greater place in the eyes of the world.

"So he passed away, leaving to the bar the memory of a great career, of a great personality, of a kindly nature, and of that quality of humor without which learning is in vain."

Francis Lynde Stetson: "To refer to Mr. Choate as the head of the New York bar is not enough. Ever since his return from England he has been its heart not less than its head. He has won our affection as well as our respect.

"If I were to select the particular qualities to which he owed his preeminent professional success, I should mention his capacity for prolonged and intense study and labor, his ability to maintain close and critical attention to every event or incident in the courtroom, whether at the counsel table or in the jury box or on the bench; his ever-surprising readiness to observe and instantly to conform to any revelation on the part of the court, counsel, jury, or witness; his comprehension of humanity and his wit. During nearly 50 years at this bar I have known hardly more than four leaders who were remarkable for their wit—Mr. Evarts, whose lambent humor trickled and illuminated, but never scorched; Mr. Francis N. Bangs, whose brilliant thrusts flashed like a meteor with a train of burning sparks; Frederic R. Coudert, whose Gallic wit charmed and entertained; and Mr. Choate, the fun maker. His fun was a veritable bonfire around which all his hearers gathered and warmed themselves, and in the fire was his point, which they then felt, whether or not they saw it. He was the most dangerous adversary at the American bar of later days, although the late John G. Johnson, of Philadelphia, was the most formidable.

"But Mr. Choate was the head and the heart of more than the bar. There was no worthy cause to which he was not quick to respond, and the world struggle dominated him as powerfully as the passion of early youth. He was zealous for justice and for the good of his country and of the world.

"As a writer and speaker his fame would be secure had he written only his addresses on Abraham Lincoln and Rufus Choate. This last I consider his masterpiece, and when I said so to him he answered, 'Yes; that is the best. I never worked so hard on any speech as on that one.' And herein lay an explanation. The finished, flowing, easy, self-speaking address, in this case as in the others, was not something that had merely happened. It was, and most others were, the sum of painstaking labor and earnest reflection.

"His ending was an apotheosis. I watched him Sunday morning at that glorious service at the cathedral. Full of honors, crowned with love, carrying dignity and reverence in his presence, he was in his beautiful old age, uttering a nunc dimittis without precedent since the days of the ancient Simeon. All of us honored him, and those of us admitted to his intimacy loved him. His friendship and his portrait given to me by him and inscribed "With much affection" have been and are sufficient rewards for the labors of nearly 50 years at this bar."

Henry W. Taft: "Mr. Choate's death makes a void in this community, which will not soon be filled. It was not alone that he was a great orator, yet none surpassed him in his power to sway a multitude, especially where some great moral issue evoked his eloquent denunciation of the wrong and his fearless advocacy of the right; nor was it merely that he was a great, versatile, and resourceful advocate—and yet he was in more ways than any other lawyer of the country at the head of his profession; nor, again, was it that he was a great statesman and diplomat, and yet in the field of international law and negotiation his fame was surpassed by few Americans, and, finally, his eminence did not rest on the fact that he was a great citizen, and yet he lived to be the grand old man of this community. It was the combination of all his qualities and of all the achievements of his distinguished career that made him one of the foremost men of his time.

"His unusual and engaging personality, coupled with his great and varied abilities, made him the most conspicuous individual in our city life, and the most recent evidence of that fact was his selection before all others, and at the age of 85, to represent this city at the numerous functions recently given in honor of the French and English commissions.

"I saw much of Mr. Choate in his later years, and had a warm affection for him. His simplicity, his candor, his gay humor, his cheery philosophy, and his freedom from even a tinge of self-sufficiency or self-righteousness made him the most approachable of men, and the most agreeable of companions."

Samuel Untermyer: "Notwithstanding his ripe old age, the death of Mr. Choate comes as a distinct shock to the country. It is an irreparable loss and a deep grief to the American bar. We have not been accustomed to think of this great nestor of our bar as an old man. With his giant intellect, so well preserved to the last, his eloquence and delightful wit, his melodious voice, the like of which I never knew, his simple, genial, unaffected, and courtly manner, that have been a joy to us all for half a century or more, it seems hard to visualize us as getting along without him. He was a great world figure and will be severely missed. No one can quite take his place.

"I have tried cases with him and against him, extending over the last 30 years, and I know how considerate and yet how dangerous an adversary he was. He told me at one time, perhaps 25 years ago, when I congratulated him upon a particularly felicitous speech filled with humor, that he was sorry he had ever been recognized as able to make a witty speech, because the people always expected him to make them laugh and would not take him seriously. He was utterly wrong, for no man in our day has been able so completely to hold his audience spell-bound by his flights of eloquence.

"The reputation of a lawyer as a lawyer is an evanescent thing. He can not leave behind him many of the evidences of his wit or learning, but I believe that Mr. Choate's memory will live beyond that of any man in the last 100 years, and that his fame as a scholar, diplomat, and stateman will long outlive his reputation as a lawyer."

De Lancey Nicoll: "Mr. Choate had a combination of qualities not possessed by any lawyer whom I have ever known. He was not only a profound jurist, an accomplished student, an author gifted with a delightful style, but he was also a great orator, who shone alike in the forum and in all public assemblies. He possessed a fountain of humor, which never ran dry, and a magnetism which fascinated all who came in contact with him. He was a great statesman and diplomatist, and, above all, a patriot, who gave his life to his country as clearly as any soldier ever did in the firing line. His death in the present crisis is an irreparable loss. No one can just take his place."

Paul D. Cravath: "For years Mr. Choate was recognized as the leader of the New York bar and for years, by common consent, the leading citizen of our city. That he so long held this dual leadership is due to that remarkable combination of ability, character, high purpose, and magnificent personality, which placed him in the minds of all of us in a class by himself."

Former Senator John C. Spooner: "It is quite impossible to pay adequate tribute to Mr. Choate's long, brilliant, and useful career. His sudden death came as a shock not only to our people but to many in other countries. His oratory under all circumstances was charming. It seemed to me impossible for any orator, under any circumstances, to excel his speech at the city hall welcoming Mr. Balfour. There was a fascination in his voice, manner, and speech which could not be surpassed. All things considered, it is not to be expected that there will come another so gifted in wisdom, learning, oratory, and exquisite humor as he."

Nicholas Murray Butler: "Mr. Choate died as a happy warrior. He fell quite literally on the field of battle where the contest was for the ideals of human liberty and of civil government in which he so profoundly believed.

"Two incidents of the last few days will never be forgotten by those who witnessed them. Sitting in his own library after dinner on Saturday evening last, surrounded by a small group of intimate friends, he enlisted Mr. Balfour, Prof. Bergson, and some of the rest of us in a discussion of immortality. His question was half quizzical, half serious, but it drew out an interchange of brilliant thought and sparkling wit that will always be memorable.

"Again, on leaving the Cathedral of St. John the Divine after the stately service on Sunday morning, Mr. Choate bade farewell to Mr. Balfour with these last words, 'Remember, we shall meet again to celebrate the victory.'"

Frank A. Vanderlip: "Mr. Choate was certainly our grand old man. For a long lifetime he had been one of the leading figures of New York and of the Nation. Those people who were fortunate enough to sit under the spell of his voice at the several meetings last week while the international delegates were entertained felt that he had never been more powerful mentally than he was at that time.

"His statement of what we are fighting for, made at the Merchants' Association luncheon, was one of the finest utterances that has been made in regard to the true reasons underlying the world conflict and might well be reread and fixed in everyone's mind."

Elbert H. Gary: "Joseph H. Choate, all in all, was one of the greatest of great men of his time. As a lawyer, diplomat, public speaker, patriotic citizen, none outranked him. His natural talents, profound learning, wide experience, breadth of view, keen perception, honesty of purpose, consideration for the rights and feelings of others, enabled him to exert a pronounced influence in public affairs, concerning which he took an active part. As an orator he was earnest, sincere, eloquent, and persuasive. He charmed and convinced his audiences. His wit and his logic were superb."

Robert Bacon: "The cause of national preparedness and defense in this country has lost its great leader. The loss is, indeed, a personal one to all of us who have been associated with Mr. Choate in the National Security League. He was one of its organizers and most earnest workers. His active interest in the league continued to the very end."

LEE S. OVERMAN: "I admired Mr. Choate as a great lawyer, for his eloquence and his conversation, and for his wonderful power and experience. The country has had few greater diplomats in a century."

James A. O'Gorman: "Every lawyer, and indeed every citizen, deplores Mr. Choate's death. For more than a generation he was the dean of his profession in the State, and he endeared himself to everyone by his delightful personality. He was a man of versatile accomplishments, and his place can not readily be filled."

JUDGES PAY HONOR TO CHOATE—COURTS ADJOURN EARLY OUT OF RESPECT TO HIS MEMORY.

Justice Bissell in opening the criminal branch of the supreme court and Judges Crain, Nott, Wadhams, Rosalky, and McIntyre in general sessions paid their tributes to Mr. Choate before proceeding with the business before their tribunals. Judge Wadhams referred to this remark which Mr. Choate made to him at the Battery last Friday afternoon, while they were waiting to receive the British commission:

"You younger men will have to take our places. This is my last day."

Federal Judge Cushman adjourned the United States district court, in which Capt. Franz von Rintelen and his codefendants were being tried, half an hour earlier than usual on motion of former Senator Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas, counsel for Frank Buchanan. Mr. Bailey said:

"Last night the American bar lost that great man who for many years had been one of its leaders. It seems to me to be a fitting recognition of his high place that the minutes of this court should show that out of respect for his memory this session was adjourned."

Presiding Justice John Proctor Clarke, in convening the appellate division of the supreme court of the first department, said:

"Mr. Choate was above all a lawyer, a great advocate—long the leader of the bar in this community. It is fitting that we should take note of his passing, and an appropriate minute will be entered on our records."

Supreme Justices Bijur, Platzek, Giegerich, and Newburger ordered early adjournment out of respect to Mr. Choate. Justice Bijur said:

"As I knew Mr. Choate from my early entry into the profession, I can not emphasize too strongly his activities for the young men in the legal profession. Not only the profession but the great public of the United States has suffered one of its greatest losses."

Justice Platzek said:

"Mr. Choate had a sense of duty and a mission in life. He was a patriot, a public-spirited citizen, a philanthropist. He belonged to the world rather than to us."

Justice Giegerich called Mr. Choate "the acknowledged leader of the bar of this country."

MAYOR EXPRESSES CITY'S LOSS—ALDERMEN ADOPT RESOLUTIONS—TRIBUTES ORDERED IN SCHOOLS.

Mayor Mitchel wrote this letter to Mrs. Choate yesterday:

"Will you let me express to you on behalf of the people of the city of New York the sorrow that we feel for the death of your husband?

"Our grief is the more keen and our sense of loss the greater because his passing comes at a moment following close upon one of the most conspicuous acts of splendid service which has marked his long and valued life. I mean the leading part which he took as our foremost citizen in the welcome by this city to the special missions sent to this country by France and Great Britain. In the various functions incident to the city official welcome Mr. Choate stood as the representative of the great citizenship of New York—the most respected, the most revered, the most loved of New Yorkers. To those who knew him intimately, to those who felt themselves his friends, and to the great mass of our citizens who saw and heard him it was a consideration of great satisfaction and of pride that with each succeeding public appearance he seemed to grow in vigor, his voice seemed to gain in clarity and

strength. The virility of his thought and the beauty of his phrases were impressive as seldom before. It was a very great compliment to the city's distinguished visitors that he should have been the head of the committee to receive them. As for the city—it was appropriately honored in this service which he performed in its behalf.

"Mr. Choate's death at this critical hour in his country's life should serve to bring into bold relief all the rare, unselfish service of his life as an object lesson of especial value to all of us. His fellow citizens know him now as a man who was right in all his instincts, his purposes, and his counsel, as one whose vigorous Americanism and fighting spirit were an inspiring example to the young men of America.

"Will you let me tell you how deep is my own sense of personal loss? I knew Mr. Choate to be my friend; his counsel and help were of great value to me during many trying days in the past three years."

Resolutions presented by President Frank L. Dowling to the board of aldermen were unanimously adopted by that body. They read:

"Joseph Hodges Choate, New York's foremost citizen, is dead. Lawyer, scholar, and diplomat, courtly gentleman, the world suffers a great loss. Leader at the bar, master of forensic eloquence, he commanded the respect and attention not alone of the people of his native land, but the people of the world. Grim death marked him for its own after he had lived to the eighth decade of his life, which he so beautifully said is 'far the best.'

"*Resolved*, By the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York, sincerely deploring the death of this distinguished, loving, and well-beloved man, that profound sympathy be, and the same is hereby, tendered to the family of Joseph Hodges Choate in this the hour of their mourning.

"*Resolved further*, That a copy hereof, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated by the mayor and the city clerk, be transmitted to the family."

President William G. Willcox, of the board of education, and Superintendent of Schools William H. Maxwell sent the following notice to public-school principals:

"In view of the sudden death of New York's most distinguished citizen, the Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, it is highly appropriate that the attention of the children in the public schools should be called to his career, as containing elements which all would do well to admire and, if possible, to imitate.

"Special stress should be laid upon the fact that Mr. Choate received his preparation for Harvard University in the public schools of Salem, Mass., where he was born, and the fact should be dwelt upon that the public schools of New York City provide for every boy and girl who will take advantage of them opportunities for training, culture, and refinement which will enable them to tread in the footsteps, even though at a great distance, of the distinguished citizen who has just breathed his last. Appropriate exercises should be held in every school in the city on the day of Mr. Choate's funeral."

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the trustees of the American Museum of Natural History, of the founders of which institution Mr. Choate was the last survivor, both adopted resolutions of sorrow and tribute. At the museum the flags were placed at half-mast, and Mr. Choate's portrait was taken from the members' room and, wreathed, was hung in the memorial hall above the tablet bearing the names of the founders.

DEEP REGRET IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, *May 15*.

News of the death of Joseph H. Choate was received with the deepest regret in England, where during his six years as ambassador he became the most popular of diplomats. The evening newspapers publish long obituaries and appreciations of Mr. Choate's work as ambassador, and more recently in advocating the cause of the allies in America.

Editorially the New York Times says:

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE.

The long, fortunate life of Mr. Choate was happy also in its close. He was unsparing of himself at fourscore and five. His fine, gallant, undaunted, unaging spirit spent itself at last in the service of his country. For two generations what work of patriotism, of humanity, what cause of better government and the public good, lacked his fruitful aid?

Two brothers of his were likewise eminent in the law. As Mr. Lowell said of the Rossettis, genius ran by a sort of gavelkind in the family.

Of that sound and strong Essex County stock, his father's cousin, Rufus, had seemed, seems still, perhaps, the most brilliant flower. There was something strong, exotic, oriental in his personality, a distinction so commanding that Thackeray, quizzing everybody else that entered into the public hall in Boston where he was to lecture, dared make no comment on Rufus Choate. An eloquence a little florid, an instant piercing to the heart of the case, an unexcelled expertness in the psychology of petit juries were his. He had a marvelous and hypnotic eye. Sailors on remote seas were persuaded to scuttle ships on the ground that "old Choate" would get them off when they returned to Boston. It was complained that a defendant had no chance when Rufus Choate was attorney general of the State.

A magician of the jury room, he is become almost a legend, though chapter and verse can be shown in proof of many of his miracles. His scholarship, his love of history and literature, and especially of the classics, his wit, luminous intelligence, and social charm were gifts of Joseph Choate also, perhaps the last survivor of an ancient race of lawyers, "all-round" men, and not specialists, inheriting the honorable traditions of their profession, practicing it as a liberal art and not as a mere business. Lawyers like Mr. Evarts and the Choates were a kind of patriciate at the bar. To think of them and their training is to recall old offices where the Year Books and Yelverton, Bracton, Glanville, much crabbed Latin and fusty Norman French, the brave pedantries of the beginnings, are on the shelves with the marshaled companies of English and American reports. On the walls are pictures of bland, sheeplike lord chancellors, barons of the exchequer, lord chief justices, and advocates like Scarlett and Erskine, Wirt and Pinckney, English and American magnates of the bench and bar. Urbanity, wit, the art of quotation, the art of the agreeable, are practiced. What would happen now to a lawyer who quoted Cicero? Would he be disbarred?

Rufus Choate was about 35, if we remember, when he shook off the dust of Danvers and Ipswich and set up his office in Boston. Joseph Choate was 23 when, gracile and comely, with a sound classical and legal education, he invaded New York. He soon became a partner in a law firm once as well known as the Battery. In its later shape of Evarts, Choate & Beaman it had three principal partners famed for wit; and yet they were as successful as if they had been the most precise, matter-of-fact solemnities.

Rufus Choate, in his smaller theater at Boston, never had, of course, anything like the number of famous cases that fell to the younger man; and Rufus Choate was cut off at 59. Joseph Choate was on all the celebrated cases, one might almost say. There was no branch of the law in which he did not shine. He argued learnedly and persuasively before the Supreme Court, as in the monumental case of the income-tax law in 1894. In the Fitz-John Porter case he helped reverse an unjust verdict, a historical injustice, a bitter, unreasoning public prejudice. He bored into strategy and tactics, mastered military science, had at his fingers' ends a mass of obscure and wearisome minute detail. So as to yachting or naval discipline or archæology, or whatever the subject was, Mr. Choate acquired a marvelous working knowledge. He was a hard worker. He had the gift of concentration. The insides of witnesses and juries were almost transparent to him. He was good-natured, quiet; he led on; he sprang suddenly out of a covert; he was never taken aback. Some of his cases—notably his pursuit of Russell Sage and Feuardent *v.* Di Cesnola—were public delights, nor has Paris ever seen anything so Parisian, so Attic.

His presence and his voice made anything that Mr. Choate was pleased to say grateful to his audience. There was nothing cut and dried about his usual oratory. In the days when there were giants of after-dinner speakers and to the last he made no formal preparation. His alert intelligence, his sleepless wit, his fine ready irony, his perfect command of English, the great unconscious stores of his mind could always be drawn upon, and only on the most stately occasions, and not always then, did he surrender his gift of improvisation, his impromptu charm.

A fitter ambassador to Great Britain there could not be. That part of his career is in fresh remembrance, as is the force which he displayed at The Hague 10 years ago. This generation has largely forgotten his strong, active hand as a member of the Committee of Seventy in the downfall of the Tweed ring. It is an irony worthy of Mr. Choate's choicest ironical vein that 20 years ago he got only 7 votes for Senator in the Republican caucus at Albany.

But what was public office to so great a public character, to our chief New York citizen, in republica princeps? In his last days he showed memorably the high magnanimity of his nature. He had been a severe critic of Mr. Wilson. From the beginning of the war his sympathies had gone ardently to the allies. He was impatient, like so many others. He judged the feeling of the country by his own. He came to see that Mr. Wilson had been patiently wise in waiting; that he had waited until the country was of one mind. Mr. Choate frankly admitted that Mr. Wilson had been right. So, busied in a hundred patriotic activities, full of a noble passion for the future of democracy, giving his last strength to his country, this gracious and venerable figure, crowned with honors, departs.

Some time ago Laura Simmons desired to express her lasting sentiments in behalf of a dear friend of hers, and I know of no words that are as applicable on the present occasion as those that she wrote. They are as follows:

Lord, grant him still some task for heart and brain—
A man's rich day of usefulness again!
Eager, yet all unhurried—poised to meet
All fate holds forth of triumph or defeat.

O God most wise, who deftly takes away
The tools and playthings of our little day,
Take youth and hope and dreams surpassing fair,
But not the work we love!

Somehow, somewhere,
The master mind moves toward the goal it sought!
Spare him his splendid quest, his crystal thought,
His vision sure, that was our all delight
Till dusk enwrapped him and the long, long night.

The scene—where shifted? Where at Thy behest
That board of priceless lore made manifest?
What service for the restless hand and heart,
So lavish of the wealth they could impart?
Surely Thy blessed vineyard can not spare
Such craftsman, but must hold him dear and rare!

Some day, in Thy good time, shall we once more
About him press and marvel as before?
Shall we of lesser mold behold him still
On Thy high tasks intent, dauntless of will,
And in his work the old-time matchless skill?

—Laura Simmons.

On Motion to Recommit Army Bill With Instructions to Report Amendment Authorizing Four Divisions of Volunteers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, we are facing a critical situation at the beginning of the war in which our Government is now engaged. That war found us utterly unprepared with land forces for foreign service. We have neither guns, equipment, or needed ammunition for use, nor an army of size commensurate with the proposal to send troops to Europe. Statements from the Army Staff, according to the press, are to the effect that, although it will take nearly a year to conscript, equip, and properly train a new army of 1,000,000 men, in response to demands from across the sea American troops will soon be sent to the front in France, there to train with seasoned veterans. According to

similar reports, the Army Staff opposes sending troops abroad from the Regular Army or National Guard, because these men are needed to help train the new army to be raised by conscription. It has been repeatedly stated in this debate that the administration and Army Staff are opposed to letting Roosevelt or any volunteer organization go to the front, as is proposed by this amendment. If an army is to be sent abroad, will that army be composed of raw conscripts to be trained in Europe, or from what service will it be taken? What influence is to-day opposing the amendment under discussion which authorizes four divisions of volunteers to compose an advance army? It will be remembered that throughout the Civil War Regular Army officers were bitterly opposed to the volunteer service, and that such opposition has never ceased. Why is the Army Staff opposed to volunteers, and what weight should be given that opposition?

Every proposal now coming before Congress is supported by a claim that either the Army Staff or War Department or the President favors it. Whenever war officials are quoted in its favor we are expected to pass every bill, wherever prepared and whatever its character. That is the present legislative situation.

A FEW MISTAKES OF WAR OFFICIALS.

In time of war the President should have the undivided support of Congress in carrying on that war, but this does not mean that every subordinate, irresponsible understrapper, or other minor official should control the action of Congress because he assumes to speak in the name of the President. We may well remember that it was not long ago when some war officials sent an American fleet to Vera Cruz, with lamentable results. Somebody then blundered. Not long ago some war officials sent Pershing into Mexico to get Villa, and after American troops were shot down by Carranza's orders our boys came back with drooping colors. Again somebody blundered. Very recently war officials directed Congress to authorize by law the arming of merchantmen in order to destroy submarines. The resolution drawn by them so provided. Yet within 30 days thereafter we learned from the President's own lips that any such proposed law would be useless and of no avail. Very recently some war officials determined that an even $3,000,000,000 must be given the Secretary of War immediately for practically unrestricted use. The bill prepared by the War Department so provided. The House investigated conditions and, without affecting the needs of any military interest, reduced the amount approximately $700,000,000 in round numbers.

Within several weeks the War Department has prepared and sent to Congress a bill carrying about $27,000,000 for "emergency" expenditures on waterways. This amount is in addition to over $30,000,000 on hand March 1, 1917, under control of the War Department for waterways. The bill as presented was declared to have the approval of the President, yet a strong minority of the committee, composed of Republicans and Democrats, have declared the bill wasteful and inexcusable at this time and when reached a vigorous effort will be made to secure its defeat. Less than two weeks ago war officials, in the name of the President, as usual, sent a proposed bill for Congress to enact into law permitting censorship of the press. The usual arguments of "stand by the President" were repeated here, but the House rejected the proposal to permit the President to be lawgiver, judge, jury, and executioner, while the Senate, believing the cure worse than the disease, repudiated any press censorship whatever by war officials.

Mistakes of judgment go with all human agencies, including the War Department, and Congress can not avoid its own official responsibility for intelligent action by assuming that the opinions of the Army Staff are invulnerable. I will not surrender my own judgment or convictions due to any such specious arguments.

TRYING TO IMPROVE THE CONSCRIPT BILL.

Recently the War Department prepared an indefensible conscript bill, supported by a powerful press and business propaganda which demanded its passage immediately, even before the bill was reported to Congress. That bill provided for an army of 1,000,000 conscripts 19 to 25 years of age and carried an Army Staff plan for making up this new army of boys of 19 and 20 years of age, as was disclosed in my speech of April 26, 1917. Under that proposed conscript law no right to review exemptions was given to any civil authority. Sole power was vested in the President, acting through the War Department, and thus through subordinate Army officials. No right to accept volunteers was permitted. An army of just "kids" was to be selected by the Regular Army Staff to fight our battles in European trenches at $15 per month. Constituents in Wisconsin who had never seen the bill and could not by any possibility know its contents wired me to support the Army Staff bill and to "stand by the President." The sources of that propaganda, which extended throughout the country, have been exposed in debate.

That Army Staff bill was not accepted by Congress. Boys of 19 and 20 years of age will not be conscripted and sent to France to make up the army of 1,000,000 as proposed by the Army Staff. Men from 21 years to 30 years of age instead of youths from 19 to 25 years will be subject to draft, although the age limit in practically every other country, whether it be an autocracy or democracy, reaches to 40 years or over.

Congress further insisted that the right of habeas corpus and to review exemptions by civil tribunals should be preserved. Congress further materially increased the pay of enlisted men by that same bill, although the volunteer provision was finally stricken out by the Kahn amendment. I voted for the bill which provided that the volunteer system should be tried before conscription would ensue. Canada and Australia voted down conscription; England raised 5,000,000 troops before adopting conscription; Balfour, England's leading statesman, and Gen. Miles and Gen. Wood, of the American Army, supported the volunteer system; and I believed that the experience of nearly a century and a half in our country's history should not be wiped out at the demand of the Army Staff.

Speaker CLARK, ex-Speaker CANNON, Gen. SHERWOOD, hero of 40 battles during the Civil War; Leader KITCHIN, Representatives MASON, CRISP, ANTHONY, and over 100 other Members of this House voted for that volunteer system, but it was stricken from the bill and conscription was substituted therefor. Men having the courage of their convictions have been denounced by a discredited propaganda because of that vote. Let the future determine their judgment.

THIS WAR WILL TEST THE WISDOM OF CONSCRIPTION.

Whether the draft law is wise or not this war will demonstrate. Now that it has become law we must support its provisions, but if this war is to be fought by men instead of by dollars alone, if the appeal from Europe for American soldiers on the firing line is to be met, it will be well for Congress to overrule the prejudices or jealousies of war officials particularly, as their judgment has been shown to be notoriously imperfect in the past.

If this amendment permitting four divisions of volunteers is passed, and the President or Army Staff refuses to send Roosevelt or other volunteers to France, responsibility should rest on those who care to assume it. I did not vote for this war, but now that war has been declared I want to see this Government use all its resources in bringing the conflict to an early and successful conclusion. Active, vigorous, patriotic support is due his country from every American to-day, and every resource of the country should be made available. I have voted all the money and men asked for by the administration, and I shall vote to permit volunteers to go to the front; whether officered by Roosevelt or by other military men is not the issue. Troops are urged for the battle line. If it is a question of sending green conscripts or volunteers to the front to get their training in France, I would rather send those whose example will be an inspiration to patriotism both at home and abroad, men who will fight with a determination shown by volunteers since the days of Marathon and Bunker Hill down to the Battles of the Somme and Arras; volunteers who will fight valiantly, because they believe in their cause, and that is an inspiration needed in this or any other war.

Several items of interest, all taken from a single issue of a Washington paper of May 15, are appended. The advice may be of value to those responsible for national legislation, and is here repeated.

THE GENERAL STAFF MAY VETO THE LAW—FATE OF T. R. ARMY PUT UP TO WILSON—ACTION TO-DAY COMES AS SURPRISE TO CERTAIN OFFICIALS.

The "Roosevelt division" amendment is now a clause in the selective service Army bill. * * *

The measure should go before President Wilson for his signature or veto some time to-morrow unless there is another unexpected hitch. The General Staff of the Army is said to favor veto of the measure as it now stands, but it was pointed out at the Capitol to-day that there is nothing in the bill which makes it compulsory that the President should raise the divisions authorized. He may avoid the section entirely if he desires.

It is probable the Army officials will urge that nothing be done about raising the picked volunteers until after the other machinery of selective service has been put into operation and the 1,600,000 men authorized under the bill secured.

The President, some say, may follow the advice of the War Department in the matter, and the General Staff is known to oppose the Roosevelt idea.

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GENERAL STAFF DUE FOR A SHAKE-UP—REGULAR ARMY EXPERTS ARE TRANSITORY—TALK OF SHAKE-UP IN ARMY PERSISTS.

Rumors of a forthcoming shake-up in the Army persists. * * * Undoubtedly in the expansion of the military organization of the country called for in the new Army bill the machinery of the General Staff will have to be altered, and in the altering of the machinery there are many Army officers who believe that some alterations will have to take place in the personnel.

While it is thought that the present War Department may last several months longer as it now is, there are few officers who believe that it will survive beyond the period of preparation, if that long. Owing to the fact that the United States has never since the Spanish-American War attempted to operate large bodies of men in action, there is a dearth of men in the Army accustomed to the handling of such problems as are bound to arise with the mobilization, training, transportation, and direction of an Army of a million men. * * * What administration there was of this force (on Mexican border) fell largely on Maj. Gen. Funston, who is now dead.

"VAN AMBERG IS THE MAN"—WILSON TO USE WHIP TO HURRY CONGRESS—PLANS TO PUT STOP TO DILLYDALLYING TACTICS ON THE HILL.

President Wilson to-day decided to apply the whip to Congress.

He is said by close advisers to be out of patience with the dilatory lagging, dragging methods of Congress during the past six weeks. He is particularly displeased with injection of wholly extraneous matters into the various pieces of war legislation which the administration has decided, after consultation, must be put through if America is really to aid her allies and not blunder and muddle along at the start, as Great Britain did.

President Wilson feels that Congress has merely muddled and dilly-dallied for the six weeks that this Nation has been at war with Germany.

The first step to speed matters at the Capitol will be a series of conferences with leaders of both parties and both Houses. The President's closest advisers say he intends to speak plainly and mince no words when he talks to the legislative leaders.

RINGMASTERS AND WHIPS—PRESIDENT ON GOLF LINKS.

The President played golf this morning, motoring to a near-by country club for an early round of the links. The President attended the circus last evening.

LEGISLATION ENACTED UNDER WHIP—AS THE WORLD VIEWS CONSCRIPTION—"ENLIST AND AVOID CONSCRIPTION" CRY—FEW CAPITAL YOUTHS EXEMPT, OFFICERS DECLARE—VOLUNTEERS TO GET BEST—NATURAL RESENTMENT AGAINST MEN SERVING ONLY BECAUSE FORCED.

"Enlist now! Avoid being conscripted!"

This is the cry of recruiting officers for every branch of the service to-day.

"There are but few young men in Washington who will be exempt under the provisions of the conscription bill," declared Lieut. Robert Boyd, in charge of National Guard recruiting, to-day.

"Many think they will be left out, but with the call yesterday issued by the President for 183,000 more Regulars, there will be a large number of men needed to fill that gap, which, no doubt, will be exclusive of the new army of 500,000."

"I should think the young men of Washington would seek to join the service before they had to, and gain considerable more prestige," said Lieut. L. E. Morgan, in charge of the Navy recruiting station at 306 Ninth Street NW., to-day.

"LET GEORGE DO IT."

"Why should they wait? They will be taken anyway. It seems to be a case of 'let George do it.'"

Recruiting officers generally are of the opinion that the volunteer will receive more consideration, in every way, than the conscript. This is to be expected, they say, because there is a natural resentment against the man who will not volunteer when his country needs him, depending on another to take his place.

THE SELECTIVE DRAFT AND THE WHIP—EDITORIAL VIEWS ON CONSCRIPTION—VOLUNTEERS AND CONSCRIPTS.

Some one in authority should issue promptly an order calling down recruiting officers who are urging men to enlist with the threat that they will wear the name of "conscripts" if they do not. The fact that the officers are making this appeal is unquestioned. The War Department urged upon Congress the passage of the selective-draft measure instead of a volunteer bill, with the argument that the former was the only fair and wise thing to do, and the press of the country echoed this argument until Congress acted accordingly. Now, for uniformed underlings to be talking about the disgrace of being "conscripted" is to make their superiors ridiculous.

The thing should not be tolerated longer if the administration wishes the great new army to be composed of self-respecting men who are waiting their country's call and anxious to serve in whatever capacity the proper authorities decide.

NERO FIDDLED, CONGRESS PALAVERS—A "PATRIOT" SENDS ADVICE.

Nearly two months of actual war and no army yet organized. Nearly two months of war and during that time the headlines of the press daily announce that certain things "will be done" or the department is "preparing" to take up certain questions for discussion among the experts. Two months of such headlines when the impatient, patriotic people back home are looking for something actually done.

If the patriotic people of Russia could appreciate the feelings of the average American as he contemplates the lethargy of our Congress in the present crisis, they would think twice before trusting the destinies of that country to a duma or congress.

Think of it, nearly two months of war, such as this country has never seen—and, pray God, may never see again—and Congress fiddling over who shall go to the front, what the age limit shall be for the enlisted man, and whether prohibition shall be written into the Army bill.

Nero fiddled; Congress palavers among its conferees when there should be no question to discuss except the one to get ready the earliest.

Meanwhile the American patriot sits at home and spends the time between work hours cussing popular government, and at this particular time the most unpopular part of that popular government—Congress.

PRINCETON, W. VA.

A SMALL LEGISLATIVE TASK, FOR PATRIOTIC CRITICS BACK HOME—WORLD'S GREATEST WAR BUDGET READY—TOTAL OF $3,396,381.12 CARRIED IN BILL BEFORE SENATE—ARMY AND NAVY PROVIDED WITH PRACTICALLY UNLIMITED FUNDS.

The greatest appropriation bill in the history of the United States or any other nation was ordered favorably reported to the Senate this afternoon by the Appropriations Committee.

The bill is known as the war budget and includes a huge emergency shipping fund amounting to $405,000,000. The total of the bill as reported to the Senate is $3,396,945,381.12. This is an increase of $563,392,600.04 over the House bill.

Senator MARTIN, chairman of the Appropriation Committee, reported the bill with its startling and unprecedented totals to the Senate this afternoon. It has already passed the House, and will be taken up by the Senate in a short time.

FUNDS WITHOUT LIMIT.

Once it is passed, the War and Navy Departments will have at their disposal funds which are practically unlimited. In addition, provision will have been made for the construction of an enormous merchant fleet.

SWEEPING POWERS GRANTED.

In addition to authorizing the enormous total of $750,000,000 for emergency shipping purposes the bill contains legislation conferring sweeping powers upon the President for the purpose of enabling him to place orders for ships with private shipyards and compel fulfillment of such orders ahead of all others.

It provides, furthermore, that the President shall have sweeping powers to take possession of factories and establishments in which ships and materials for shipping are built or produced, and to obtain the output of such establishments for the Government.

PROVIDING A TAX OF $1,800,000,000, ANOTHER EASY LEGISLATIVE JOB FOR CRITICS—HOUSE LEADERS AGREE TO END TAX DEBATE—BILL UNDER SHARP CRITICISM NOT LIKELY TO PASS BEFORE SATURDAY.

An informal agreement to end general debate on the war-taxation bill late this afternoon was reached to-day by House leaders. The reading of the bill for amendment will begin immediately upon the conclusion of the general discussion, but there is little prospect that the bill can be passed before Saturday next. Criticism has been made against practically every section of the measure and scores of amendments probably will be suggested and discussed.

The warning of Congressman HILL, of Connecticut, a Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee, that the pending bill is but a start and other taxation bills are certain to follow, resulted in further demands to-day that the first bill be a model one.

AIMS AT EXCESS PROFITS TAX.

The 16 per cent tax on excess profits promised to-day to be a principal object of attack when the bill is read for amendment.

Congressmen GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD, of New York, and MARTIN B. MADDEN, of Illinois, are scheduled to lead the fight for an amendment of the excess-profits section, which it is claimed favor overcapitalized concerns with watered stock, and hits hard the honestly capitalized business.

One of the large business concerns of the country advised its Washington representative to-day that companies are already being reorganized to evade the capital-invested provision of the tax.

The foregoing items are taken from a single issue of one local paper. Speaker CLARK recently said in debate that legislation was easy to enact by those without legislative experience, yet, by a strange anomaly, while able to pass laws overnight such men are rarely chosen to assume that responsibility. Those who are chosen for the service are notified to again respond to the whip. "Theirs not to reason why."

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. STEAGALL,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate as well as unfair that attempt should be made to inject partisan politics into the discussion of the proposal to authorize Col. Roosevelt to raise a division of troops. It is only natural that Members of the House should differ on this proposal when considered on its merits. Such is the situation among the Democrats of the House that the injection of partisan politics will not change any votes on the Democratic side, for the reason that, as a rule, they could not expect to gain votes by favoritism toward Col. Roosevelt. On the other hand, he has a large following among the constituents of almost every Republican Member of the House, a following inside the party that must determine the political fortunes of every Republican Member of this body. So it is easy to see that opponents of the proposed change in this bill are not responsible for dragging politics into this controversy. Certain it is that no such motive governs me. Before the passage of this bill the House, by a substantial majority, rejected a proposal which the motion to recommit is designed to secure, and it is at least remarkable now that the conferees have succeeded in eliminating such a provision passed by the Senate that Members of the House should now insist seriously upon repudiating the work of the committee in order that the Senate amendment may be incorporated in the bill.

Notwithstanding my party affiliations, I have always been an ardent admirer of Col. Roosevelt, and I am now. He is a most

remarkable man, the strongest and most powerful personality in the ranks of his party—if not in the Nation. I admire his ability; I admire his honesty; and I admire his courage. It might not be an exaggeration to say that he is responsible for the entrance of the United States into this war. It is at least doubtful that without his efforts we should have entered the conflict. And I pay tribute to him because he is about the only one of those so clamorous to drag the United States into that contest who is really willing to take part in the fighting. I regret that the Congress can not consistently authorize him to have the part he desires. But what is the situation?

It it practically settled that we are to adopt the conscription method of raising an army, and, contradictory as it is, we are to fight for liberty and democracy. How, then, can we make any pretense at consistency if we begin by adopting conscription and at the same time pass a law the avowed purpose of which is in recognition of the fitness and claims of one individual? It is no answer to say that he is a man of great force and prestige, because we are to fight for the doctrine that all men shall be equal before the law. If we pass a law resting upon the claims of one American citizen, we stand in the attitude of repudiating one of the fundamental principles of democratic government, and as confessing that this great Nation has only one man worthy to raise a division of troops in accordance with the honored custom that has obtained since the foundation of the Republic. It violates the inmost spirit of the provision of the Constitution, which says "that no title of nobility shall be granted."

We have had dinned into our ears for weeks and weeks that the representatives of the people are not competent to raise an army; that, although the Constitution by specific provision places that duty and responsibility upon us, we shall forget our oaths and abdicate the functions placed in us by the Constitution, confess the failure of the democratic system of government which we are to fight to establish throughout the world, and follow blindly the lead of the military coterie in whom all wisdom regarding this subject is supposed to be centered. Aye, more than this, we are to be denounced as ignorant and disloyal unless we close our mouths and accept their view. Yet before the passage of the bill, in the discussion of which this contention is made, we are called upon to abandon the new doctrine and select even an officer for the Army, the plain and avowed purpose of the plan for which we are called upon to vote being to allow Col. Roosevelt to raise a division. At one stage we are called upon to surrender our independence as the legislative branch of Government, and next to throw to the winds the last vestige of claim to consistency. For my part I will not do it.

When the war resolution was before the House I voted for the substitute offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN], the purpose of which was to assert our independence, to repudiate the outrages committed by the Imperial German Government against our rights and our sovereignty, and to prepare to protect our ships and our citizens in the right to traverse the high seas, unhurt and unhindered, and for the defense of our shores against invasion. When the substitute was lost I cast my vote for the other resolution, though I did so with hesitation and regret. I am willing to bear my part of the responsibility and to support the Government in the assertion of its power and prestige, and I am willing to vote to raise an army.

I favor the volunteer system. I favored the plan offered by a majority of the Committee on Military Affairs, to authorize the President to call for volunteers, following the traditional policy of the Nation and the sacred custom of free people in all ages of the world, and to authorize a resort to conscription only in case of necessity. If a majority of the Representatives of the people prefer the conscription plan, I bow to the will of the majority. But I will not support in the same measure the inconsistent and undemocratic proposal to make an exception of the rule intended solely to gratify the ambition of one man no matter how great his prestige or how laudable his purpose. It is no answer to tell me that it is the strategic thing to do. It were better to stay out of the war or lose it than surrender the fundamental principles of democratic government. So far as I am concerned, I do not believe in the wisdom of the policy. Such a course will discredit our purposes before the world and disappoint and dishearten the masses of our own people, without whose sympathy and support all we may do will be in vain. The first indispensable step to bring the war to a successful and speedy end is to arouse the hearts and consciences of the American people to a realization that it is a fight for American rights and lasting liberty, and this can not be done unless we are true to the ideals which they have been taught to revere.

I am not able to see the wisdom in repudiating the principle of volunteer military service which has become so deeply embedded in the thought and custom of our people. This principle inheres in that very freedom, the benefits of which we are to fight to impress upon others. Through the ages involuntary service has been the handmaiden of despotism and autocracy, and since the birth of our independence it has been our boast that all men are free and equal and every citizen a soldier. The Constitution declares that a "well-regulated militia" is "necessary to the security of a free state," and this truth was set up in contradistinction to the idea that safety may be found in standing armies or enforced military service. When we were only a few millions of people in a comparative wilderness, our Army of Volunteers found the means and courage to repel an invading army of trained soldiers, and by their fortitude and heroism established the Republic under which we live.

American democracy was born of the courage of that brave band of Volunteers and baptized in their blood and set up as a blessing to mankind. In every war in which that democracy has been imperiled from that good day until this the blood and bayonet of the volunteer has been its reliance. By this system we won the War of 1812. By this system we won the War with Mexico. When the perpetuity of the Union was at stake it was the volunteers' heroism and courage that preserved the Union. I know it is said there had to be a resort to conscription, but only about 50,000 conscripts ever saw service in the Union Army, and it is established beyond question by the records that it took almost as many Regular troops to suppress riots and enforce the order for conscription. It is really doubtful whether either side in that great conflict gained anything by the resort to conscription. There were riots in New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana which necessitated the use of about 35,000 Regular troops in the effort to enforce the order for conscription. And after all, out of a total of more than 2,000,000 men sent to the front in the Union Army, only about 50,000 conscripts ever saw actual service.

We listened with great interest to Gen. SHERWOOD, an honored and revered Member of this body, and a brave and fearless officer in the Union Army, as he told us of his experience with his command, in which he says he had 72 conscripts sent to his regiment and that all but 2 deserted, and that they were worthless as soldiers. The general further added that while he was commander of the Union Army in Tennessee that all the deserters from the Confederate to the Union Army were conscripts. This has been true of conscripts everywhere, not in all instances, but to such an extent that it has become an adage universally accepted, that "one volunteer is worth three conscripts."

In the War with Spain there was intelligence, patriotism, and courage enough in the country to conduct that contest in a way not discreditable to American honor and American arms, and it was the volunteer system by which we brought that conflict to a speedy and successful conclusion. Why, then, the sudden demand for the reversal of our long-established policy? No one insists that an army can not be raised by the volunteer system. No man will seriously charge such a lack of patriotism. If it were true that there is not enough sentiment favorable to the action we have taken to insure the successful raising of an army of volunteers it would prove that the country has been plunged into a war disapproved by the people, and that is the very sort of thing against which it is proposed we shall fight.

It is agreed by those who favor the conscription plan that the situation is such as to demand speedy action. Yet it is admitted that it will take four or five months to complete the registration. If a volunteer army can be secured at all, of course it can be done in less time than this. The truth is we could have raised by the volunteer plan the number desired by the War Department during the time we have consumed debating the method to be adopted.

Again, we are told that the volunteer plan will remove from industrial ranks those whose toil is necessary to produce the food and other materials essential to the proper conduct of the war. This is one of the main arguments on which are based the appeals with which Congressmen are being urged to support the conscription plan. And yet the bill as offered by the committee contains every provision in this regard applicable to the volunteer system as well as the conscription plan. This could be more easily done under the volunteer plan than it could in carrying out conscription, because the latter plan involves the work of summoning and exempting five times the number to be accepted. Under the former plan it would only be necessary to exempt those offering whose services might be considered more valuable elsewhere. The argument made is simply absurd to an intelligent man who is informed of the facts.

Again, we are told the conscription plan secures equality. This is perhaps the most colossal misrepresentation being indulged. Let us see what foundation exists for the claim. The

population of the United States is something over 100,000,000. About half of these are females, who must be excluded. There are about 32,000,000 males who are over 19 and under 45 years of age. This leaves about 20,000,000 men of military age. The bill submitted to the committee by the War Department exempts all except those between the ages of 19 and 25, so it will be seen that the conscription plan would apply to about 6,000,000 out of a total population of more than 100,000,000. What an absurdity to claim that this system bears on all alike! But even when we get down to the 6,000,000 who are liable it is not proposed to place the burden on all equally. It is proposed to use only about one-sixth of that number. At this point the result is to be determined by chance, but not finally. The fellow who has the gambler's luck may nevertheless turn out loser, because somebody is to determine who out of the six will be required to serve. No man can tell in advance who in his community will have to go. No Member in this House, when the bill is passed, can give definite answers to his constituents as to its meaning in hundreds of specific cases that are likely to be presented to each Member. But the confusion and uncertainty will disturb almost every home and fireside in this broad land.

The most shocking provision in the entire proposal is that that contemplates drafting schoolboys under 21, and it has been said in the public press and reasserted on this floor as coming from those in authority, that it is the intention of the department to take the first increment of 500,000 from the schoolboys. No wonder it has been easy to manufacture sentiment in support of this proposal when it exempts four out of every five, and when it is contemplated that the system will be so handled that schoolboys of the country will be the first to serve! John Temple Graves, the gifted correspondent, known throughout the country, and whose word none will doubt, says that the chairman of the War College told him, if the original bill passed, it was intended that the first increment of 500,000 should be composed of boys under 20. This statement has been published and quoted broadly on the floor of the House and never denied. It would seem there would be scarcely anybody left for the present at least to express any formidable resentment at the ballot box. The impression seems to have been that this plan would commend itself to Congress because those to be drafted have no vote. If the majority of the Military Committee can accomplish nothing else, they deserve and will receive the sincere thanks of fair-minded people for securing the abandonment of the arbitrary and unjust scheme to have the heaviest burden of this war placed on the schoolboys of the country.

It is estimated by those in position to know that there are more than 1,000,000 men in this country who have had valuable military training in the colleges of the country, or from service in the State militia, or in the Regular Army, and who are not now in the regular service. Probably a large majority of them are over the age of 25, so under the bill proposed by the War College their services can not be obtained through the conscription system. Would there be anything unscientific in a plan that would utilize these men in preference to the untrained schoolboys of the country? Let some of the adherents of the conscription plan who talk incessantly of training and efficiency answer this. For my part, I will never vote for any plan to conscript the schoolboys of the country to fight on foreign soil or across the sea in a war in the inauguration of which they are allowed neither voice nor vote.

A member of the Committee on Military Affairs told us in this debate that when the representatives of the War College first appeared before that committee they stated it was only desired to raise an army of 1,000,000 men; but when it was pointed out that under existing laws the Regular Army and National Guard could be recruited approximately to that number, they came back next day admitting that the committee was correct in their construction of the law, but answered that they had decided it was necessary to raise an army of a million and a half, 500,000 of whom should be gotten under the conscription plan. They had asked for an appropriation of $3,000,000,000 based on an army of 1,000,000 men, and when they changed to 1,500,000 they did not change the amount of the appropriation to be carried in the bill. I guess this is to be accounted for by the fact that we are going so fast with expenditures that a discrepancy of one or two billions of dollars hardly attracts attention.

The conscription plan furnishes a fertile field for promotion among the officers of the Regular Army. The War College plan provided that the eight Army officers of the War Department who are to remain in Washington be raised from $6,000 to $9,300 each but contained no provision for an increase of the pay of the privates to be conscripted, who under existing laws are to receive only $15 per month, though they may be sent to die in the trenches.

The majority of the Committee on Military Affairs have rendered a great service in rejecting the plan of the War College to destroy territorial identity in enlistment. Even Germany is not so autocratic or obsessed with the spirit of militarism as to adopt such a system. It takes a boy and separates him from friends and kindred and those associated by sectional ties and sends him to fight and die among strangers. When young men from the same State serve together they find in one another companionships that soften the hardships of the service. The young man who is sick has a friend or a relative to administer to his needs, and if death be his lot there will be some survivor to tell the loved ones back home of his fortitude and courage and bear to them his parting message to hand down as an inspiration from generation to generation.

It is going far enough in this free country to enforce involuntary servitude even in case of necessity. It is too much to ask any man of democratic ideals and purposes to support such a plan in the absence of such necessity.

We are told that we must follow the example of Great Britain and profit by her mistakes. But Great Britain, with her very existence imperilled, with Germans dropping bombs on helpless women and children in her cities, and the boom of German guns being heard on her shores, did not resort to conscription until 5,000,000 men had volunteered. Canada, with a population of only about 8,000,000, a loyal subject to the mother country, raised 400,000 volunteers to fight in the cause and has refused to adopt conscription. Australia and New Zealand have about 400,000 soldiers in the field and have not thought of abandoning the volunteer system. In Australia a conscription measure submitted to the people by referendum was overwhelmingly voted down. Not a conscript to-day fights in the cause to which we are pledged. Such is the policy of Great Britain, a monarchy, with millions of her volunteers offering and losing their lives in the trenches, with her cities under constant bombardment, and with the war at her doors, with her very existence hanging in the balance. Yet we in the most democratic government on earth, with no invading force on our shores and separated by the great ocean from the scene of conflict, are told that we must resort to conscription at the very beginning.

Will not such a policy, so at variance with our history and so suddenly set up, create the impression that our people are being forced into the war against their will?

The supporters of conscription, unable to withstand the arguments against them, resort invariably to the assertion that the President wants it, and seek to substitute a eulogy of him for a defense of their plan. I shall not be influenced by such fallacious argument. I deem it my duty under the oath I have taken to vote my honest convictions on the real merits of the question. I am at all times ready to accord to the counsel of the President as the head of the Nation and the leader of my party the consideration it should command. I recognize that in legislative work compromises are sometimes indispensable to the passage of beneficent legislation, and when it is proper to do so I am ready always to yield something of my individual views. But there are times when the issues involved are so vast and vital that each Representative owes it to the country to cast his vote in accordance with his own convictions, guided by his own judgment. Such, as I view it, are the issues in this bill. I favor the volunteer system proposed by the Committee on Military Affairs, but if we are to adopt the conscription method I will not stultify myself by making an exception the confessed purpose of which is to gratify the ambition of one man.

Keep Business Going for Our Country's Sake.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include report of an editorial from John Wanamaker's advertisement published in the New York Post April 21.

The report is as follows:

[Report of editorial from John Wanamaker's advertisement published in New York Post Apr. 21.]

KEEP BUSINESS GOING FOR OUR COUNTRY'S SAKE.

Our country prosperous can pay our war costs as they come and have enough left over to aid our allies.

Our country unprosperous, with business halting, money hoarded through fear or false economy, will be hard pressed to keep food on the table and clothing on the back.

"Keep business going" is a patriotic slogan. Keep money in circulation. Keep employment for everybody. Keep wages good. Keep on making money that we may have money to spend for war sacrifices.

The worst thing that could happen to the world these days would be a business depression in our United States.

War in itself does not cause business depression.

The billions of dollars of money to be expended in war preparations will be put into circulation in our own country, and this in itself will create new wealth for use in the world struggle for humanity.

The one thing that might halt business now is an unpatriotic psychological feeling of panic and a false idea of patriotic economy.

PATRIOTIC ECONOMY.

Patriotic economy means the elimination of waste and extravagance. It means the conservation of our food products, our natural wealth, our health, our energies, our labor, our very lives. It means putting more efficiency in everything we do so that each unit of money, energy, and intelligence may accomplish the utmost.

Patriotic economy does not mean the lowering of America's standard of living, which would make us less efficient physically and mentally, nationally and individually, and would kill the spirit and the will to do the truly self-sacrificing things to be done.

Cities and communities must go on with their civic improvements. Road building and public works must proceed. Railroads must renew their equipment. Factories must be kept going to their full capacity. Labor must be employed. Homes must be kept up. Merchandise must be produced, distributed, and used. War duties and war expenditures must be in addition to peace duties and peace expenditures. The more we do the more we can do. The more money we spend the more we will have in our pockets to spend. Money creates money.

In a word, the natural sane life of the country must proceed as though we were not at war, in order that we may have the necessary prosperity to promote the war to a quick and successful conclusion.

President Wilson sounds the keynote in this sentence: "It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farm, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient."

Our industries can be made more prolific only if the people buy and use the merchandise produced by our industries. Manufacturing slackens when business slackens. Manufacturing grows in a prolific way when business grows. And business can grow and remain healthful only when the people buy and keep money in circulation.

BUSINESS IS GOING STRONG.

Business is going—in the East, the West, the North, the South. The country is prosperous. Last month's increase in business was very large. Banks may wait in their operations until the Government bonds are assimilated. People may pause temporarily in their outfitting to arrange to meet the new conditions. But the unloosing of billions of dollars will unloose a flow of prosperity absolutely necessary to sustain the world's burden.

GOVERNMENTS SET THE PACE IN THEIR EXPENDITURES.

Individuals must not lag behind. Seven billions of dollars to pay is only $70 per capita in the United States. Yet seven billions of dollars put into work at 6 per cent—a fair estimate of the producing power of money—will create four hundred and twenty millions of new wealth.

The income tax we pay will not be a tax on prosperity, but a spur to prosperity. Every dollar the individual pays out will come back to him with interest in the general prosperity of the people.

Keep business going—for our country's sake. War can not be waged and won without the sinews of war.

Senior Service Corps.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, the net result of all the legislation we have been called into extra session to enact is to lay heavy burdens upon the people. The Army-increase bill places the burden of fighting the war upon the younger men. The $7,000,000,000 bond bill properly places upon posterity a portion of the burden of paying for the war. The $2,000,000,000 revenue bill now being considered levies upon those now living tax burdens that are grievous to be borne. The poor who are not affected directly by the imposition of taxes or are not of the sex or age to become soldiers nevertheless are burdened by the increase in the cost of living caused by the war. The burden of everyone has grown heavier, and the end is not yet.

In order to sustain the weight of the burdens thus imposed it is necessary to carefully conserve every possible resource. The most important of all our resources is man power. The young men are needed for the battle line. The older men are just as necessary to provide money, food, and material. Too little attention has been given to conserving the power of these older men.

It is a well-known fact that the most efficient and productive years of the life of a business or professional man are after he passes 45. To lose unnecessarily a single year of a life of ripened efficiency is an economic crime. One has only to look at the death notices of a newspaper to have brought home to him the distressing fact that too many men are dropping out between 45 and 65. It ought not to be so. A man who reaches 45 in a fair degree of bodily health should be good for 25 years more at least, barring accident, if he takes only reasonable care of himself.

It was thinking along this line in connection with the great demand being made upon the manhood of the country on account of the war that brought the great football authority, Walter Camp, to a consideration of this subject. As is well known, Walter Camp is not only the father and one of the natural guardians of football, but he is also a man of large business affairs, with a wide knowledge of business men. By reason of his close relationship to Yale University athletics he has observed at close range the physical development and perfection of youthful manhood. He has seen the same men grow older, many of them slowly or rapidly neutralizing or reversing the process of their development. In his association with other business or professional men of approximately his own age he has had abundant opportunity to observe their physical condition and too often premature decay.

As the war in Europe progressed and it became more and more apparent that there was grave danger of our becoming involved in it, Mr. Camp came to the conclusion that it would be a work well worth while to set about the task of attempting to lengthen and strengthen the effective years of mature men. All his life he had made a study of physical training and the handling of men. He believed the time would come when the physical condition of our more mature manhood would call for the introduction in government and civil life of a definite plan for meeting this problem. As his initial contribution to the working out of the problem he established in my home city, New Haven, an experimental school, giving it the name of the Senior Service Corps. It is based upon a number of fundamental propositions. Here are a few of them:

This country can ill afford to lose any of its most effective executives, either in the Government or among the manufacturing, transportation, and commercial interests, who are now, from a sense of public duty, offering their services to the Government in this emergency.

A large proportion of our most valuable men "behind the lines" at this time are 45 years of age or older. This is the climacteric with men as with women. These men upon whom the Government depends should be made fit and kept at the maximum of their efficiency.

It is unscientific and economically wasteful to treat men of 45 and over in the same way as men of military age. That is the reason why so many of the various attempts at misplaced enthusiasm are breaking down. There is a still more serious side to it. In many places men of 45 to 65 have been sent out on wild "hikes" of 10 miles or so with men of 25 to 35. Some of these older men have dropped out permanently injured.

Men of 45 and over are loyal and eager to be of service, whether they be men of large affairs or not.

A scientific conservation of this energy and a definite plan to bring it up and keep it at the highest point of efficiency is as necessary in this emergency as the development and training of troops, the production of food supplies, or the manufacture of ships and munitions, and should be carried along at the same time.

Upon the physical condition and fitness of such men depends the efficiency of every department of our Government, as well as the net value, over a continued period of time of those leaders in civil life who have so generously placed themselves and their energies in the service of the Government.

If some of these men sacrifice what has been their sole salvation against the health inroads of the last two years of commercial strain by still further giving up their relaxation and physical exercise, they will last scarcely six months.

The human machine is like any other machine, except that with the man physical exercise and relaxation is the lubricant.

If we run a machine faster or more hours, we must give it more oil; and if we make added calls upon the man, we surely can not expect to give him less physical exercise and relaxation if he is to last.

For this reason the Government should be deeply concerned in bringing about some method of conserving the energies and health of men over 45. The time was ripe for an experiment of this kind, and Mr. Camp's senior service corps was a success from the beginning. Over 100 men have been handled through a carefully prepared and considered course of training, which has in no way interfered with their business or professional pursuits. A list of the men upon whom this experiment has been tried demonstrates conclusively its scope, for in this squad of over 100 subjects the ages varied from 45 to 73, heights from 5 feet 4 inches to 6 feet 4 inches, and the weights from 116 pounds to

265 pounds. Without exception the men have become what the trainer calls "fit"; in other words, added to their physical well being, have performed all their tasks more easily, have reduced their waist measurements while increasing their chest measurements, are so much more erect in their bearing that their families and friends comment freely upon it, and, finally, while they are signed up for 90 days they now say they will keep it up indefinitely, even should peace be declared to-morrow.

Among those who have engaged and are now trying out this interesting experiment are such prominent leaders of New Haven as ex-President Taft; Col. I. M. Ullman, president chamber of commerce; Prof. Henry W. Farnam, of Yale University; Dean Frederick S. Jones, of Yale University; Henry B. Sargent, president of Sargent & Co.; ex-Mayor Fred B. Farnsworth; ex-Judge Livingston W. Cleaveland, and others. Secretary of War Baker has given it his unqualified approval as a means of putting in physical condition men past the military age. The General Electric Co. has applied for 100 of the books of instruction to start a squad there, and there are many other applications. It is being daily brought home to many communities that there must be some distinction between men under and over military age as to the method of training and drill, and this has been thoroughly recognized by the war departments of every country.

Mr. Camp contributes the result of a method already thoroughly tested and recommends that our Government take up this matter and correlate the many efforts, some well directed and others partially wasted, along one definite and tried-out line, upon which, as in a laboratory, a scientific test has been applied. The detail of this method is herewith appended:

First. The name. (For upon this depends the cumulative effect of united work throughout the country and the general recognition of a system, as such.)

The Senior Service Corps describes the organization as composed of men:

1. Above military age.
2. Who wish to be of service and will give time.
3. Who will act as a body not merely as individuals.

Second. The qualification.

1. Over 45 years of age.
2. Citizenship in United States of America.
3. Simple physical examination.
4. Willingness to devote an hour a day three days a week.

Third. The organization.

Must include among other officers:

1. A surgeon or physician to watch the condition of men.
2. A leader to direct the work.

Fourth. The detail of the work.

1. Ten to fifteen minutes' setting up drill or gymnastic work.
2. Forty-five to fifty minutes' outdoor work.

Of the former no part is severe, the results being accomplished by bringing gradually into play the forgotten or partially atrophied muscles, the strengthening of the muscles that produce an erect carriage, the increase of the resistive forces of the body, the opening up and deepening of the chest, the strengthening of the heart's action, the overcoming of the dropping of the abdominal viscera and the renewal of the response of the whole muscular system to will control.

The outdoor work is especially designed to supplement all this by giving plenty of fresh air for the increased lung capacity and the toning up of the heart action through walking, and the relief to the work of the kidneys by inducing moderate action of the skin. As the time is limited it is not possible to increase very materially the distance to be covered in a walk or march. The work can be increased through two satisfactory means, namely, a moderate amount of hill climbing and the carrying of weights. The latter is very simply arranged for and at slight expense. This is accomplished by giving each man in the later stages of the work a 3-foot long, 1 inch in diameter, iron bar to carry. Such a bar weighs 8 pounds—a little less than a service rifle. Perspiration is easily induced by means of this hill climbing and carrying of weights; and, if desired, a man of 45 in good condition can carry two of these bars all the way, while a man of greater age or in poorer condition can carry one bar only part way and then transfer it to another man of the same grade.

Fifth. The mental attitude.

This is of very vital importance, and has been made a distinct part of the system through the distribution to every man of the corps of cards.

It was found that the men came back for more of these cards whenever they were distributed, as other members of their families wished them in order to follow out the same regimen.

SUMMARY.

In summing up it should be said that this work is group patriotism of the highest kind, and is found far more effective than that of the individual. It is true that any one man could go through all these exercises and marching and carrying of weights. But it is a matter of common knowledge that, no matter how determined a single individual might be to keep it up, no man ever does by himself. The more groups there are carrying on such work the more the enthusiasm and high spirit of service increases. Finally, the force of the example of mature men following determinedly such a course of training is of incalculable value in developing the patriotism of the entire community, old and young alike, until the spirit of service and loyalty reaches an ideal height.

In a long letter giving, at my request, the details of his experiment, Mr. Camp closes with the following:

It may seem to go beyond the unique and trespass upon the extraordinary when I presume to make the following suggestion, but it would take but a single hour of the time of these gentlemen and would convince them how they themselves may better stand the strain of the trying days that are coming upon them. The suggestion is as follows:

Permit me to come to Washington and let me have as my football squad for one hour of a prearranged day—from 8 to 9 o'clock a. m.—President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Baker, Attorney General Gregory, Postmaster General Burleson, Secretary Daniels, Secretary Lane, Secretary Houston, Secretary Redfield, and Secretary Wilson.

I will promise not to "scrimmage" them, but to take them through the hour's work. They will not make "touchdowns," but will shoulder again the burdens of state with renewed vigor. What they do they can then ask any man of 45 and over to do. It is not as nazardous as testing a submarine or an aeroplane, but it might prove as great a gain for our country in the long run.

Yours, very truly, WALTER CAMP.

In further extension of my remarks there are inserted the very brief constitution and by-laws, with a list of charter members, of the Senior Service Corps and sample cards of instruction and helpful suggestions.

The matter inserted is as follows:

SENIOR SERVICE CORPS.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

NAME.

The organization shall be known as the Senior Service Corps of New Haven.

Article II.

OBJECT.

The object of its formation is to provide that citizens whose age is beyond that of active military service or not by law subject to military duty, but who desire to be of aid to their Government, may be made as physically fit as possible.

In order to accomplish this, these gentlemen have bound themselves together and agree to follow a certain designated course of training for that purpose.

Article III.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of this organization shall be limited to citizens of the United States of America over 45 years of age.

Each member must sometime within a month previous to application have passed a physical examination.

Article IV.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Any citizen desiring to join the organization shall send to the secretary an application for membership in writing; said application to be submitted to the membership committee.

Article V.

OBLIGATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

Each member agrees to accept the rules of the organization.

Article VI.

GOVERNMENT.

This organization shall be governed entirely by its own constitution.

Article VII.

MANAGEMENT.

The management of this organization shall be entrusted to an executive committee, consisting of three members and the president (ex officio). They shall be elected for a term of 90 days. Vacancies in office may be filled by the executive committee.

Article VIII.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

A special meeting may be called at the written request of any 10 members, provided that a notice be sent to every member at least 10 days before the date assigned for such meeting.

Article IX.

REPRESENTATION AT MEETINGS.

At all meetings each member shall be entitled to only one vote. No voting by proxy shall be allowed.

Article X.

AMENDMENTS.

No addition, alteration, or amendment shall be made to this constitution at any meeting, except by a two-thirds vote of those present. At least five days' notice of any such proposed change must be given to the secretary, of which due notice shall at once be sent to the members.

BY-LAWS.

Article I.

The officers of this organization shall be a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, a surgeon, and the following committees: Executive committee, finance committee, publicity committee, member-

ship committee. They shall hold office for 90 days and shall be elected by a majority vote of all members present at first meeting.

Article II.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The president shall preside at all meetings of the organization and of the executive committee, appoint all subcommittees, audit and approve all bills, and order meetings of the executive committee or organizations whenever in his judgment he may deem it necessary.

SEC. 2. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the organization and of the executive committee, and shall conduct the correspondence, and shall have charge of and be responsible for all books and papers except those of the treasurer.

SEC. 3. The treasurer shall collect and have charge of all moneys belonging to the organization, shall pay all bills when properly approved, and submit a report thereof to the organization every 30 days, or whenever called upon to do so.

SEC. 4. All bills shall be presented by the president and shall be audited by him; in case of approval, he shall affix his signature and date of approval. After such approval the treasurer shall be authorized to pay by check.

SEC. 5. The surgeon shall have oversight over the physical condition of all the members so far as the amount and quality of the work are concerned and shall have final authority in discontinuing the work of any member.

Article III.

The executive committee shall assume entire control of the general detail of the work.

Article IV.

SECTION 1. All members shall be subject to the orders of the officers.

SEC. 2. Members shall not absent themselves from roll call without sending excuse.

SEC. 3. Members shall be ready for roll call at the Yale gymnasium at 8 o'clock a. m. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

ROSTER OF CHARTER MEMBERS.

G. B. Adams, F. M. Adler, C. M. Andrews, F. Atwater, C. M. Bakewell, A. H. Barclay, G. S. Barnum, C. J Barr, G. J. Bassett, T. G. Bennett, C. Bigelow, C. Blakeslee, T. R. Blakeslee, H. Bottomley, J. J. Brennan, F. W. Brown, F. B. Bunnell, G. F. Burgess, W. Camp, L. J. Carmalt, J. B. Carrington, M. E. Chatfield, L. W. Cleaveland, C. C. Coleman, P. F. Connelly, R. N. Corwin, A. W. Crosby, L. M. Daggett, C. B. Doolittle, W. S. Eames, W. F. Ellis, C. C. Elwell, L. H English, H. W. Farnam, F. B. Farnsworth, B. Fenn, F. Ferrari, E. E. Field, C. C. Ford, M. W. Frank, I. Freedman, J. T. Gill, A. H. Goodenough, J. P. Goodhart, E. A. Harriman, W. T. Hart, G. F. Healey, H. B. Hedrick, J. E. Heyke, F. G. Hotchkiss, L. C. Hull, E. B. Hunn, J. D. Jackson, J. C. J hnson, D. W. Johnston, F. S. Jones, M. J. Keane, C. F. Kent, A. Keogh, B. La Farge, F. R. Langdale, G. H. Langzettel, L. T. Law, H. Lee, F. L. Leighton, T. C. Lewis, C. A. Magill, W. E. Malley, L. D. Mann, A. H. Mattoon, G. S. McLaren, A. K. Merritt, H. R. Miles, J. H. Parish, S. G. Pease, S. Z. Poli, P. Pond, W. W. Porter, G. G. Powning, H. Rapaport, E. P. Root, G. A. Root, L. Sanderson, R. L. Sanderson, E. R. Sargent, H. B. Sargent, G. D. Seymour, R. L. Smith, E. H. Sneath, R. Steinert, G. C. Stock, L. Storrs, E. S. Swift, William Howard Taft, C. B. Tiley, G. L. Tooker, R. Trowbridge, J. B. Tuttle, I. M. Ullman, L. M. Ullman, A. L. Underwood, W. A. Warner, S. G. Weed, L. S. Welch, H. White, A. B. Woodford, W. A. Wright.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR TRAINING.

Clothing: All wear what you would ordinarily wear for walking. No tight collars, however.

Shoes and stockings: Wear those you are accustomed to. Do not put on extra thick ones just because you are going to train. With the moderate amount of walking in the first week or so there is no call for any change in footwear.

Smoking: Don't smoke anything till after your morning's walk.

Water: Drink all you like half an hour before breakfast but no drinking with meals. Drink half an hour before any meal or two hours after.

Eating: Eat as you are accustomed to, but gradually cut down on rich foods.

Alcohol in any form: Preferably none, but at any rate cut out all cocktails.

Rub down: If convenient, a shower and rub down, but this is not necessary. If a man goes direct to work after walking, he should keep a dry undershirt at the office and a rough bath towel. Rub down on return and put on the dry undershirt. This will not occupy more than four or five minutes.

Keep a pair of dry socks and an extra pair of shoes at the office and put on the dry socks and shoes when you come in.

Blister: If you should get a blister, put a corn plaster or bunion plaster over it with the opening over the blister and fasten it firmly with two strips of surgeon's plaster over the ends but not covering the opening.

SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO BE FIT.

Drink without eating and eat without drinking.

Five glasses of water a day, none with meals, will make you free of the doctors.

Warm feet and a cool head need no physician.

A bath, cold if you please, hot if you must, with a good rub, starts the day right.

If you will save your smoke till after luncheon, you'll never have smoker's heart.

Wearing the same weight underclothing the year around will save you a lot of colds.

Dress cool when you walk and warm when you ride.

Your nose, not your mouth, was given you to breathe through.

Clean skin, clean socks, clean underwear every day.

Don't sit still with wet feet. Walk until you have a chance to change.

Never let a day pass without covering 4 miles on foot.

See how high you can hold your head and how deeply you can breathe whenever you are out of doors.

Hot water quick is the best thing for a sprain.

Short shoes and shoes that don't fit cost a lot in the long run.

Getting mad makes black marks on the health.

Envy, jealousy, and wrath will ruin any digestion.

When you rob the trolley company of a nickel by walking you add a dime to your deposit of health.

You'll never get the gout from walking.

Sleep woos the physically tired man, she flouts the mentally exhausted.

The best record in golf is the record she has made of restored health to the middle aged.

Tennis up to the thirties, but golf after forty.

Nature never punished a man for getting his legs tired. She has punished many for getting their nerves exhausted.

Two hours of outdoor exercise by the master never yet made him overcritical of the cook.

Don't ask the heart to pump extra blood to the brain all day and then to an overloaded stomach all night.

Tight shoes have sent many a man to bed with a cold.

Leg weariness never yet produced brain fag.

Loose clothes, loose gloves, easy shoes spell comfort and health.

No wise athlete stands still after exercise without putting something over him.

Open windows don't make half as many colds as closed ones do.

Too many drinks at the nineteenth hole undo all the good of the other 18.

The best way to use the Sunday supplement is to stick it under your vest while you walk an hour against the wind and then come home and read it.

Blood pressure does not come to the men who walk a lot out of doors; instead it looks for those who sit and eat a lot indoors.

Many a man finds too late that his motor car has cost him more in health and legs than it has in tires and gasoline.

A four or five mile walk daily makes your credit at the bank of health mount up steadily.

Nature won't stand for overdrafts any more than your bank.

The men who chase the golf ball don't have to pursue the doctor.

You never saw a dog fill his mouth with food and then take a drink to wash it down.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

Ten corps dont's: Dont shirk, don't talk, don't worry, don't explain, don't knock, don't kick, don't quit, don't loaf, don't lag, and don't rush.

You can be: Prompt, alert, quiet, determined, steady, helpful, unselfish, considerate, gracious, observant, brave, and clean.

You can own: A clean body, a clean mind, fresh air, and good water.

You can't be taxed on: Cleanliness, perspiration, walking, and deep breathing.

You can do without: Profanity, obscenity, anger, and envy.

You don't need money to be: Happy, healthy, hopeful, and hearty.

You can be master of: Self-control, self-respect, self-belief, and self-restraint.

HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS.

Vacillation and doubt are poison to the nerves.

Two men in an eight-oared shell may be able to go faster than the other six, but they never win the race that way.

Don't disgrace the uniform.

"Eyes in the boat" is as good a maxim at drill as in a shell.

Success comes from service.

The leader may be no better man than you, but some one must give the orders and set the pace.

Don't make excuses. Make good.

Stand straight, think straight, march straight, and the rest will take care of itself.

Worry makes cowards.

If you feel tired, remember so does the other man.

Fear is the forerunner of illness.

Coordination in the individual means cooperation in the squad.

Happiness comes from health, not from money.

In a squad it is the job of each individual to make himself fit, for it is his example that helps the rest.

After a hearty meal stand up straight for 15 minutes.

Cooperation with others is the life of a squad.

When drinking a glass of water stand erect and take a full breath first, then drink with chest out and hips back and head up.

Your squad is only as good as the poorer ones. Don't be one of those.

Whenever you walk, stand up with chin in, hips back, and chest out, and think how tall you are.

The success of any drill depends upon the concentration of each man of the squad.

If you have a stake in life it is worth playing the game for all there is in it.

Drill is a mental as well as a physical discipline.

Courage and concentration will conquer most obstacles.

The man who gets things is the one who pulls up his belt a hole tighter and goes out after them.

Work will take your mind off most of your ills.

The hurry of half a squad never brought the whole troop home.

Two things are essential to a clean skin; one is bathing and a rub down, but the other is still more important, and that is perspiration.

Washing out the impurities from within through the pores of the skin takes the undue load of work off the kidneys.

An army must have legs and a good stomach quite as much as arms and ammunition.

Preparedness is nine-tenths physical strength and endurance.

Food, water, and oxygen are the fuel for running the human machine.

Obesity comes from overloading the stomach and underworking the body.

Nature said, "You must earn your living by the sweat of your brow," and if you earn that living in some other way you must get the sweat or she will make you pay.

If you take more food than the digestion can handle you not only tire the stomach but the whole system.

Nine-tenths of "the blues" come from a bad liver and lack of outdoor exercise.

Full, deep breathing, drinking plenty of water, and keeping the skin active will keep most people out of the doctors' hands.

Sample letter sent in response to numerous inquiries:

SENIOR SERVICE CORPS,
New Haven, Conn., ——— ———, 1917.

I most heartily appreciate your interest and cooperation, and I am glad to give you the information you ask. The course of training will take about 90 days and will not materially interfere with the business of the candidates.

The plan as outlined is to put in operation the system at one point, New Haven, and as soon as possible thereafter to make distribution of schedules of the work to other points. If you will organize at once a local committee and send the names of the committee and its secretary and surgeon to me, your section will be placed upon a list to receive as early as possible the detail of the method, which will be a reasonable course of training, leading with careful graduations to physical fitness. Each section or division will be expected to choose its own leaders, we from here furnishing detail of the work only, all organization plans to be left to local men.

Immediate action is essential in order to expedite the work of distributing the details as to the course of training. As soon as you send the names of the committee your secretary will be put upon the list to receive the forms. Meantime you will not need to delay the work of enrollment and the collection of the following data:

Name of candidate_____
Age_____. Height_____. Weight_____
Birthplace _____
Citizenship _____
Physical condition_____
Address _____
Post-office address_____
Telephone _____

Statement of Amos Pinchot Before Senate Finance Committee.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the statement of Amos Pinchot before the Senate Finance Committee on May 15, 1917, representing the American Committee on War Finance.

The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT OF AMOS PINCHOT BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE ON MAY 15, 1917, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON WAR FINANCE.

Senator SIMMONS and gentlemen, I represent the American Committee on War Finance. Our object is to get you gentlemen to have this war paid for as it goes along largely by a tax on surplus incomes.

This committee is, as you know, a recent organization. It was formed just before war was declared. We issued a declaration of principles and a pledge, advertised a little in the newspapers, and wrote letters to some prominent people. In a few days we got together a group, including lawyers, editors, writers, civic and business men's associations, labor and farm organizations and leaders, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board bank, the chairman of the New York Civil Service Commission, and so on. To-day, I think I am well within the facts when I say, that the organizations, which have already passed resolutions indorsing our plan and offering cooperation and support, contain several million people.

Since our committee was formed, we have had each day an enormous mail, letters from prominent people and people less prominent, from all over the country. They have expressed their belief that the war can not be either justly or efficiently carried on unless people who do not fight but have plenty of money are made to realize their responsibility and forced to give to the Government the use of their wealth, at least to the extent of a heavy tax on large incomes.

We have had little organization; the main work of the committee has been conducted from my office at 60 Broadway, New York City. Our funds have been very limited, as we have found, strange as it may appear, that most rich people are not enthusiastic about backing a project that means heavier taxation on themselves. Yet we have had an overwhelming response and, if we have another month to work in, I believe we will get, to indorse our demand upon you gentlemen for equitable financing of this war, all the labor and farm organizations in the country, three-fourths of the civic and business associations; in fact, the demand for a pay-as-you-go war, financed by the people who can do so without great sacrifice, will become not merely what it is now, a broad national demand, but a literally universal one. The people, Mr. Chairman, are solidly behind the movement.

In the last few days we have had resolutions from business, political, and labor organizations, composed of some 500,000 people of good standing. I refer particularly to the resolutions of the four railroad brotherhoods passed on Saturday afternoon, and to those of the city council of Cleveland, Ohio, and to a large number of scattered industrial unions that have sent us the record of their indorsement.

Mr. Chairman, I want to protest quite vigorously against some of the tariff taxation contained in the Ways and Means Committee bill. The ordinary people of the United States are not in a position to be further taxed. They should not be further taxed, and they can not be without their feeling dissatisfied with the Government, and especially with this Congress.

Let me show you what I mean. In 1914 I had made for me by statisticians in New York and Washington a comparison between the incomes of ordinary people and the cost of living from 1900 to 1914. I found that in that time incomes—I mean by this wages, salaries, the earnings of small people—had gone up about 27 per cent. The cost of living, figured out in food, fuel, clothing, rent, and household utensils, had gone up in the same years about 40 per cent. In other words, from 1900 up to the outbreak of the war, the average man's income was certainly increasing; but, notwithstanding this fact, he was actually growing poorer. He received more money for his work or from his business or for his services, but with that money he could buy less of the necessaries of life.

This, Mr. Chairman, is not a matter of speculation. It is a matter of mathematical certainty. Not long ago I was talking with the general counsel of one of our very large industrial corporations. I told him about my investigation of wages and the cost of living, and asked him what he thought about it. He told me that he had just completed a survey of wages and cost of living among his thousands of employees for the last 10 years. He said the result of his survey was precisely the same as the one my statisticians had arrived at. He said that his employees, though they did not realize it themselves on account of getting a fatter pay envelope, had grown steadily poorer in purchasing power and were still growing poorer.

Since the war this situation has grown acute. The cost of living has gone up much faster than ever before. No doubt it will go on going up. Since the war the average man's expense account has still more rapidly outstripped his earning power. Increases in wages and small incomes have been insignificant compared to the rise in prices. That is why our committee protests against the House bill, which intends to raise a thousand millions of dollars this year from taxes taken out of the pocket of the consumer. I will refer you later to figures which prove in detail what I have said generally.

Mr. Chairman, something is happening in the United States that can not help having a serious influence upon the country. While the country is getting rich, the people are getting poor. The average American is steadily losing his purchasing power. In other words, wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a comparatively few rich people. In other words again, the great genius and energy of the Nation has not during the last few years, benefited the average citizen. We have had a class as opposed to a popular prosperity.

We have got to face this. You have got to face it. You ought to face it now, when you are making up your budget to raise money to carry on the war. The people of the United States have become informed on this subject, and they know what they are up against. They want you as their representatives to help them out.

The revenue bill which you are considering does not seem to me to be a measure representing the necessities of the situation. There is no reason for burdening the consumer, who is already overburdened. It is estimated that the income tax in Great Britain will yield at least $1,000,000,000, which is about $750,000,000 more than it yielded before the war. In the year ending March 31, 1916, the huge sum of £205,033,000 was raised by income taxes. Your bill only intends to raise $532,000,000 in new income taxes. It is estimated that the British excess-profits tax will yield $700,000,000 this year. You only intend to raise $200,000,000 in that way. The population of Great Britain is about 46,000,000; its total wealth, including Ireland, is about $85,000,000,000. Our population is 100,000,000 and our total wealth is estimated from $187,000,000,000 to $230,000,000,000. Certainly it seems as if we ought to be able to raise as much by an income tax, when we are strong and unexhausted, as England can in the third year of the war.

It is true that England does not tax her largest incomes adequately, although through the profits tax and income tax together the percentage is far higher than anything contemplated in the House bill. But England distinguishes between earned and unearned incomes and taxes the latter very heavily. She also taxes medium incomes much more than the House bill provides, which I think is unwise.

It seems to me that the House bill is undemocratic, unjust to the poor, and unbusinesslike. It bears on the wrong man, discourages the people who must fight the war, and it throws barbed wire into the business machine and taxes it at the wrong end. If Great Britain can raise $1,000,000,000 from incomes without disturbing business, the United States ought to be able to raise $1,500,000,000 or $2,000,000,000 in that way without disturbing business. If Great Britain can put on a $700,000,000 excess-profits tax without disturbing business, we ought to be able to put on a $1,400,000,000 excess-profits tax without disturbing business. What is the matter with American business that it should be disturbed so much more easily than British business by income and profits taxes? And, on the other hand, why should we impose on American business an unscientific and haphazard horizontal increase in the raw materials that industry uses?

Mr. CLAUDE KITCHIN, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, confessed that he would vote for the revenue bill with his eyes shut, and that the horizontal increase of 10 per cent on imports already paying a tariff tax and on all articles now on the free list was unscientific and indefensible.

Before the revenue bill becomes a law there should be ability enough in the House and the Senate to make it scientific and defensible, for it will have to be defended on the stump by those who impose this tax in their effort to secure reelection from those upon whom its burden falls.

Evidently the Ways and Means Committee underestimates the patriotism of the business men of the country in considering them unwilling to pay heavy income taxes. It is true the protests have been most bitter at the unscientific tinkering with present productive enterprises, especially in this horizontal increase of tariff rates, including taxes on raw materials. But in my opinion the patriotic business men of the country are willing to contribute heavily from profits and incomes as long as his productive energies are allowed to function properly. He is willing to be milked if you don't kill the cow.

Take the single item of a 10 per cent tax on hides, now on the free list. Shoe manufacturers contend that this will produce a comparatively small revenue for the Government, while enabling the Beef Trust to raise their prices on hides automatically 10 per cent; and that the export shoe business will be brought to an end, thus crippling an enterprise which would produce large revenues directly to the Government through taxes on incomes and excess profits. At the other end of the line the consumer, who is already paying in the neighborhood of 100 per cent more for shoes, must add not only the 10 per cent increase on hides but an additional increment of taxation for every stage of handling between the manufacturer and the consumer.

The 3 per cent increase in freight rates again automatically makes a readjustment of all business contracts necessary, and by the time the increase reaches the consumer it will have multiplied itself several times, thus making a horizontal raising of the cost of living, already mountain high. Again, a 10 per cent tax on passenger rates will, of course, be felt by the man who has to travel for business or chooses to do so for pleasure; but it means a tremendous increase in the expenses of the business man with drummers upon the road.

The same thing is true in the increase in postal rates. To increase the cost of sending letters one-third, when everyone knows that the 2-cent postage on letters already more than pays the cost of distribution, tends again to decrease production.

It is to be hoped that the House, through independent action, or if the House should weakly consent to pass the compromise measure because it received a unanimous report from the Ways and Means Committee, that the Senate will lift the burden of taxation from consumption and place it upon large incomes and profits.

A curious plexus of circumstances lies immediately before us, Mr. Chairman. The public is going to be subjected to conscription. We are going to confiscate the lives of our young men for this war, and at the same time that this confiscation goes on the public is going to be pinched by poverty, probably by hunger, in the near future. We are up against a very serious crisis, that demands extraordinarily careful and wise action.

The poor man who goes to the front is not going to be happy or easy in his mind if he realizes that the rich man, who is too old to fight or in a position so important that he will not be asked to fight, is only going to make a mighty small and insignificant sacrifice. Mr. Chairman, it is more for a man to give his life than it is to give all his money, capital as well as interest. It is more for a man with a family to give $40 from his $3,000 income than it is for a man with a million dollars a year to give all of that million dollars and some of his capital to boot. Why? Because when the $3,000 a year man gives some of his income he gives the meat and bread, the shoes and clothes of his children, the coal and rent, his wife's dress, the movie show, and the little luxury that makes life a little less hard on him and those he loves. But the millionaire does not have to give those things, not even if you split his fortune in two. Mr. REAVIS put it well debating the bill in the House last week. He said:

"You are taking a great deal, so far as actual dollars and cents are concerned, but in the proportionate sacrifice that the men who pay it will make, you are taking a great deal more from the married man with $2,000 who has a family to support than you are from the $10,000,000 man.

"The man with an income of $2,000 whom you tax has to pay this tax from the very necessities of life, while the man with the income of $10,000,000 is paying that income out of funds that he can use only in the way of investment. The relative sacrifice is not to be compared."

Mr. Chairman, I think that we are inclined to underestimate the determination of the people to have this war justly financed. I also think you overestimate the opposition that a real income and a real excess-profits tax would develop on the part of rich people. Rich people will soon realize, if they haven't already, that we are in war, and that war is neither a tea party nor a directors' meeting. They will see men and boys go to the front to die, and they will be ashamed of ever having had a thought or a wish to oppose giving every cent they can raise to back up those men and boys. They will see women and children starving in the next year and men, too. And they will have to go the whole way in giving their money to fight war abroad and suffering at home. They should and must be taxed to pay for the war simply because they have money and can part with a lot of it without acute physical or mental suffering. God knows the sacrifice of those of us who have money will be trivial enough when compared with that of the vast majority of the public who will do the fighting, make the supplies, raise the food, and be the Nation's backbone until the war is over and afterwards. They are the people that this bill should consider; they are the people that this Government in all its branches should represent; they are the people, in fact, who maintain the Government; and we must remember that they do not maintain it for the purpose of being governed by it, but in order to govern themselves through it.

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call your attention to the fact that extreme poverty caused by the war, joining with the additional rise in the cost of living which this bill will bring about, will precipitate a situation where the proceeds from taxation on the consumer may seriously disappoint you. The House bill may not raise a thousand millions or anything like it. People won't spend money unless they have it. They won't spend it to buy things at prohibitive prices. But you can always tax the people who have money. Their incomes are a sure and safe source of war revenue. England has learned this. We will learn it. Why not learn it now?

The fact is that we have been rather extravagant here in America. Our people have maintained, apparently for social or ornamental purposes, a very large number of multimillionaires. This past year, according to tax returns, there were twice as many people with an income of over a million dollars a year as there were the year before.

Two per cent of the people in the United States own 65 per cent of the wealth. But of those who will fight in this war probably much less than one in a hundred will be men of means. For less than one-half of 1 per cent of our people have, up to date, been rich enough to pay an income tax. If our wealthy classes are to make a substantial contribution, it must be through paying very large income and profit taxes.

WAR, PRICES AND INCOMES.

Index figures published in the April Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that even in the field of organized labor there has not been a large raise in wages compared to the raise in the cost of living. The Review says:

"The index numbers appear in the following table, where it will be seen that, while wage rates have increased materially and hours of labor have slightly decreased since 1907, the retail prices of food have advanced to a much greater extent, especially in 1916, thus reducing the purchasing power of wages."

In the general field of organized labor between 1912 and 1917 an estimate that wages had increased 18 per cent would be an extravagant one. I have found no estimate as high as that. The Review of Labor Statistics for April, 1917, says that wages increased nine points from 1912 to 1916, while retail food prices went up 20 points. As to the incomes of professional people—teachers, clerks, shopkeepers, farmers, etc., I could not get any broad or definite statistics; there are none. But from such as there are, and from talking with them, it seems pretty evident that there has been a fairly small increase in their incomes in the last few years. Since I have been working on the Committee on War Finance we have had numberless letters from teachers, professors in universities, and men and women in salaried positions, small-business men, stating that they have practically had no increase in income during the last few years and that being taxed to pay for the war will be a very serious hardship.

Let us look at the other side of the shield and see how the cost of living has gone up.

War conditions and war prices have already placed the average American in a financial position where he can not decently be asked to pay for the war.

The New York Times Annalist of April 23, 1917, publishes a table showing "index numbers" of the increase in the cost of living in the last two years. It explains the table as follows: "The Annalist index number shows the fluctuations in the average wholesale price of 25 food commodities selected and arranged to represent a theoretical family's food budget." Here are the figures:

For April 24, 1915, index number is 154.
For April 22, 1916, index number is 166.
For April 21, 1917, index number is 270.

In other words, the 25 most common and necessary articles of family use have almost doubled in price in the last two years.

Dun's index figures show similar price increases, as follows:

Between April 1, 1914, and April 1, 1917, dairy and garden products increased 84 per cent; meat, 46 per cent; clothing, 49 per cent; metals, 69 per cent; and foodstuffs, 105 per cent.

A few days ago the Old Dutch Market Co. (Inc.), of Washington, D. C., which operates a large string of stores, selling meats, canned goods, eggs, vegetables, etc., published a comparison of prices in April, 1914, and April, 1917. It deals in all with 60 table necessaries. The average increase on all items listed is 85.32 per cent during that period.

As a corollary to this we have the report issued on April 26 of the food committee appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. "Interesting figures were obtained," says the committee, "from the proprietors of some of the smaller stores, whose business is with the poorer people. They show clearly that the poor have been compelled to resort to the strictest economy in order to provide food on account of high prices. Their purchases are of the cheapest possible articles and in smaller quantities than heretofore. The sale of ordinary cuts of meat in this class of stores seems to have been discontinued, and the meat now purchased consists of hog livers, hog kidneys, neck bones, hog faces, etc."

Following the food riots in New York, Miss Helen M. Todd was appointed to make an investigation of the effect on school children of the high cost of food. She reported last week that in the poorer districts diet has been so cut down that the children's scholarship has suffered materially through malnutrition, and that public-school teachers complain that the children are unable to maintain their grades.

The Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for April, 1917, tells the same story. In the four years from February 15, 1913, to February 15, 1917, flour increased in price 69 per cent, eggs 61 per cent, potatoes 224 per cent. A 16-ounce loaf of bread cost on February 15, 1914, $0.055; on February 15, 1915, $0.063; on February 15, 1916, $0.062, and on February 15, 1917, $0.071. Bread to-day is 10 cents a loaf. As this goes to press wheat is $3 a bushel in the western markets.

As to coal, the Black Diamond Magazine and the Coal Trade Journal show that the average retail price of anthracite range coal in New York was $5 a ton in January, 1915, and $8.75 a ton in January, 1917. Soft coal at the mines was from $0.80 to $1.65 a ton in December, 1914, and from $4.75 to $6.50 a ton in January, 1917; this in the face of yearly increasing output.

Take one particular item—shoes. I could give you quite definite statistics on shoes. I will quote from the Shoe Retailer, the leading periodical of the shoe trade. Its issue of March 24 contains a symposium on the subject from leading manufacturers throughout the country. I will hand in a copy of excerpts from it. Mr. James Coward, of the great retail store of New York, says, "A staple shoe that we sold at $3.95 two years ago sells to-day for $6.50." Mr. Coward said that the increase in price within the next year would be even greater and would begin to climb at once. He said that kid skin that sold a year ago for 32 cents a foot now sells at 80 cents.

Where, then, has the Nation's prosperity gone since the world-war began—into whose pockets? And, above all, where may we find the accumulations of wealth which may now be taxed to pay for the war with the least hardship or injustice to the public?

The following figures, selected almost at random from the great list of industrial corporations that have profited by war times may suggest the answers to the above questions. They may also indicate the economic conditions which lie below the fact, reported by Prof. King, of the University of Wisconsin, that 2 per cent of the people of the United States own 65 per cent of the country's total wealth.

Net profits of American industrial corporations.

[Figures shown are the net profits earned for the stockholders, after deducting cost of materials, labor, depreciation, overhead, interest, and all other charges. All figures are official, having been taken from the companies' annual reports.]

Corporations.	1916	1915	1914	1913
American Can Co	$7,962,982	$5,029,273	$2,916,339	$4,376,173
American Smelting & Refining Co.	23,252,248	14,402,732	9,271,565	9,756,540
American Hide & Leather Co	1,643,266	959,974	107,205	475,518
American Beet Sugar Co	2,445,189	1,424,654	452,074	881,055
American Locomotive Co	10,769,429	[1] 1,491,980	2,076,127	6,185,306
American Steel Foundries Co	3,418,057	[1] 219,574	[1] 231,481	1,033,592
American Woolen Co	5,863,819	4,080,865	2,788,602	[1] 1,179,791
American Writing Paper Co	2,524,378	[1] 126,956	[1] 108,310	[1] 229,190
Armour & Co	20,100,000	11,000,000	7,509,908	6,028,197
Atlas Powder Co	2,939,790	1,671,762	294,150	322,838
Baldwin Locomotive Co	5,982,517	2,827,816	350,230	4,017,800
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	43,593,968	17,762,813	5,590,020	5,122,703
Barrett Co. (American Coal Products Co.)	4,247,858	2,482,236	1,280,476	1,835,811
Brown Shoe Co	1,467,757	240,322	495,890	710,464
Central Leather Co	15,489,201	5,626,897	4,876,924	4,386,345
Colorado Fuel & Iron Co	2,201,171	[1] 334,611	[1] 905,968	1,727,192
Crucible Steel Co	13,223,655	3,073,750	1,015,039	4,905,886
Cuban-American Sugar Co	8,235,113	5,594,048	2,705,723	356,887
E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co	82,107,693	57,257,308	4,831,793	4,582,075
General Chemical Co	12,286,826	5,958,746	2,857,898	2,809,442
Hercules Powder Co	16,658,873	4,886,102	1,247,255	1,017,212
International Agricultural Corporation	1,279,832	[1] 160,022	84,908	[1] 161,493
International Nickel Co	11,748,279	5,598,072	4,792,665	5,009,120
Lackawanna Steel Co	12,218,234	2,409,108	[1] 1,652,444	2,755,883
Morris & Co. (packers)	3,832,213	2,321,415	2,205,672	1,916,997
National Enameling & Stamping Co	2,417,803	913,742	548,756	761,274

[1] Deficit.

Net profits of American industrial corporations—Continued.

Corporations.	1916	1915	1914	1913
New York Air Brake Co.	$8,214,962	$1,343,285	$641,046	$654,512
Phelps-Dodge Corporation	21,974,263	9,720,475	6,664,839	7,907,710
Pittsburgh Steel Co.	4,564,068	858,160	416,551	1,193,669
Railway Steel Spring Co.	3,719,805	1,363,229	374,454	1,121,660
Republic Iron & Steel Co.	14,789,163	3,515,819	1,028,748	3,101,300
Sloss-Sheffield Iron & Steel Co.	1,912,624	522,388	490,139	678,468
Swift & Co.	20,465,000	14,087,500	9,450,000	9,250,000
Texas (Oil) Co.	13,898,861	6,393,327	6,185,974	6,663,123
United States Steel Corporation.	271,531,730	75,833,833	23,496,768	81,216,985
United States Cast Iron Pipe Co.	1,308,641	[1] 381,387	[2] 59,868	564,427
United Fruit Co.	11,943,151	5,900,522	2,264,911	5,315,631
United States Industrial Alcohol Co.	4,884,587	2,172,013	653,264	652,358
United States Smelting, Refining, & Mining Co.	8,898,464	6,592,324	2,265,641	3,585,588
Westinghouse Air-Brake Co.	9,396,103	1,575,839	3,482,994	5,255,259
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.	9,666,789	2,009,744	4,058,809	3,164,032
Wilson & Co. (packers)	4,913,873	2,463,732	[3] 1,511,528	1,364,245

[1] 19 months. [2] Deficit. [3] 15 months.

Taking 24 of the principal companies listed above and comparing their earnings in 1914 and 1916, we find in these two years an increase of 500 per cent, and these increases may be expected to continue. For instance, the steel corporations' last quarter's earnings, just published, would indicate that; for, if the percentage is maintained for the whole year, the net sum applicable to dividends for 1917 should be about $450,000,000.

Comparing the increased earnings and the increased stock values of two of these corporations, we get a still more concrete idea of the increased wealth which offers the country a ready source of war taxation:

United States Steel Corporation.

Net earnings, 1914	$23,496,768
Net earnings, 1916	271,531,730
Increase	248,034,962
Average market value of outsanding stock in 1914	682,648,282
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1916	961,181,378
Increase	278,533,096

Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Net earnings, 1914	$5,590,020
Net earnings, 1916	43,593,968
Increase	38,003,948
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1914	17,536,690
Average market value of outstanding stock in 1916	106,112,130
Increase	88,575,440

RAILROADS.

Shareholders of railroads have also improved their position as investors since the war began.

In 1913 the net operating revenue ran approximately from $275 a mile in January to $300 a mile in December. In 1916 the net operating revenue ran approximately from $337 a mile in January to $550 in October.

The net revenue for railroads earning over a million dollars annually for the six months ending January 1, 1917, was practically $700,000,000, which is the largest profit in the history of American railroading.

COST OF SHOES.

Under the heading "Serious situation in children's shoes," the Shoe Retailer, the leading periodical of the shoe trade, runs in its issue of March 24, 1917, a symposium of the subject from leading manufacturers throughout the country.

A Pennsylvania producer writes:

"In other words, to give a practical illustration, we will take the misses' run of sizes; we sold, a year ago, misses' Goodyear welt shoes at $1.85. That shoe last season, that is, six months later, was advanced to $2.25 and is now $2.50. We had a cheaper grade in a welt that we sold at $1.60; that shoe was advanced last season to $1.80, and in December to $2, and is now $2.25. In other words, our better shoe was formerly sold by the retailer at $2.50 and now sells at $3.50, an advance of $1 a pair. The cheaper shoe was sold in some instances by the retailer as low as $2, but more generally at $2.25; that shoe now sells at $3, so there is an advance to the consumer of from 75 cents to $1 a pair.

"On McKay shoes there is about the same advance. Our $1.50 McKay shoe, which was the price a year ago, has been advanced at various intervals until now the price is $2.25. Last season the price was $2. Our cheaper grade of shoes, the one we sold for $1.20, we are selling to-day at $1.75, an advance of 55 cents per pair.

"On the growing girls' sizes, the advance is a little more than it is on the misses'. On the children's it is a little less, and on the 5–8 or small children's it is still less.

"We have made no radical changes in the use of materials. While we used a large quantity of composition soles, they have not been in all cases satisfactory. Of course, we are using a very large amount of horn-fiber counters and inner soles and various compositions are also used in the heels."

A New England manufacturer of children's cheap and medium-priced shoes writes, as follows:

"We think if retailers have been buying misses' and children's shoes that have been satisfactory from a point of service it would be much better for them and their customers to continue buying the same lines, paying the advance, and charging their customers in proportion to the advance over the cost. This we realize is going to be a great hardship for parents with four or five children, because it means an advance of fully $1.50 a pair over what they used to pay for the same grade of shoes. But at the same time there have been, and are being made to-day, a great many misses' and children's shoes that never should be allowed to be sold, because the people who buy them do not understand what to expect of their service by simply looking at them. The consequence is that where parents buy shoes for children made from sheepskin either in the top or vamp they are practically throwing so much money away, because the sheepskin will not give service."

Concerning the increases still to be expected, the same general article in the Shoe Retailer contained the following:

A Pennsylvania manufacturer writes:

"The increase in cost of our line will run 20 per cent to 25 per cent beyond our prices for spring, and at that they are lower than will be the case later on, as these figures are based on materials bought some time ago. As soon as these materials are exhausted, we will have to go into the market for more, and there is no doubt but we will have to advance our selling prices considerably."

From Ohio a manufacturer writes:

"In regard to our selling plans and ideas for fall we will say that our salesmen are on their territories with instructions to see all their regular customers first, not to permit any of them to overbuy, and to distribute the fall shoes from June 15 to August 1. They were also informed that we feel the prices, while high, will be considerably higher before the season advances many weeks."

On another page of the same number of the Shoe Retailer appeared this item:

"EVEN BABY SHOES ARE HIGH PRICED.

"Babies wear two kinds of shoes. First, moccasins and soft soles, not intended for wear when a baby is learning to walk, however. Next, the turn cack. The latter costs so much to make that a cack which formerly retailed at $1.25 must now sell for $2.50 to $3. The old $4.50 soft sole, of kid, patent, or lambskin, now wholesales at $6 to $8 a dozen pairs."

The following relative prices of this time and a year ago were procured to-day from James Coward, of James C. Coward, the great retail store of New York City:

"Men's and women's strong, serviceable shoes that sold for $6 a year ago retail now at $8.50, although we make them ourselves and sell at small retailer's profit.

"A stable shoe that we sold at $3.95 two years ago sells to-day for $6.50."

Mr. Coward said that the increases in prices within the next year would be even greater, and would begin to climb steadily at once.

Among interesting "side-light" facts Mr. Coward gave were these:

There are orders in this country now for 10,000,000 pairs of shoes to Europe.

It takes four cows to upholster one limousine.

Kid skin that sold a year ago at 32 cents a foot now sells at 80 cents, and it requires 5 feet to make one pair of men's shoes.

The Roosevelt Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the burden of half that has been said to-day on this "Roosevelt resolution" seems to be centered on keeping the record of Members consistent with their past voting. This does not trouble me in the least. We may as well cease to expect consistency in its ordinary sense on the great questions involved in the present world's upheaval, kaleidoscopic in its changing from day to day. The jewel of consistency, to my mind, is simply acting in good faith all the time according to existing facts and an honest conviction of right and duty when called upon to act on any particular subject.

The President himself has set us an illuminating example of this kind. No one doubts his honesty; no one doubts his lofty ideals. And yet what a zigzag course of thought this Nation has followed since American volunteers in Mexico were ruthlessly shot down like dogs, and are still unavenged and the Government without an apology therefor, to our present condition of uncertainty, where, under other terms of the bill, we have abandoned the time-honored volunteer system of America and propose to raise an army of a half million by arbitrary conscription, and force them, willing or unwilling, to join in the trench fighting of far-away Europe to avenge wrongs not solely directed against our own beloved land and people. It is a humiliating reflection for red-blooded Americans.

And if this resolution be adopted to-day, judging from the many changes of mind and purpose on vital questions of public policy on the part of our honored President, it is quite within the range of possibility, and it would be perfectly consistent with his broad statesmanlike methods for him to again change his attitude on the subject of conscription without requiring the citizen, willing and anxious to volunteer in defense of his country, to wait for the iron hand of conscription to be laid upon him.

Evidently there has been a marked change in public sentiment on this subject; evidently, judging from the tenor of a number of patriotic speeches made here to-day by Members who have heretofore supported the conscriptive system, but now propose to vote for this resolution, there has been an awakening in this House. It is admittedly unique and excep-

tional, but Roosevelt himself is an exception. Outside of official position he is far and away the biggest figure in American life to-day. Radical conscription leaders are getting their eyes open and are beginning to look with toleration upon the proposal to send Col. Roosevelt to Europe backed by an army of American volunteers, real soldiers, none under the age of 25 years, and all anxious and willing to follow him as an ideal leader. No one suggests a conscript army for this expedition. Everyone realizes that it is a work for men, not for civic slackers or army shirks.

And yet, strange inconsistency, under other provisions of this bill conscription is to become the future permanent policy of the Republic. Nothing but a presidential veto can now prevent this basic change in our governmental policy. It has the O. K. stamp of the General Staff, and nothing short of a miracle, such as brought a change of heart to Saul of Tarsus, can be expected to divert the present head of the War Department from his purpose.

And suggestions against carrying out this resolution, if adopted, have been made on the floor of the House by one of the ablest leaders on the Democratic side, Mr. FITZGERALD, of New York, who expresses a hope that the President will ignore the Roosevelt resolution entirely and go on with conscription, overriding not only the expressed will of Congress, if it shall adopt it, but the plain wishes of the plain people of America, who hope yet to avert the destruction of their cherished ideals of government by the abandonment on the part of their officials, high and low, of all militaristic leanings.

I have more faith in President Wilson than to think of him trying thus to usurp the powers of Congress and the people, although, led by the General Staff of the Army and by a civilian Secretary of War, his changing attitude on military questions since his reelection on the plea that he kept us out of war has been most strange and remarkable. I believe he wishes, in good faith, to stand with the plain people, and it is possible if this resolution be adopted he will heed the warning as a danger signal to stop, look, and listen as though approaching a dangerous railroad crossing, and thus save the Republic from disaster and government of, by, and for the people from perishing from the earth.

But, whether so or not, I feel it to be my duty, from every angle of reasoning, to vote for this resolution. It will preserve the volunteer system from total abandonment. It will keep before the American people the distinction between a volunteer and a conscript army; yea, more, when the war closes and the armies of the Republic face disbandment, the superiority of the former over the latter will have been so emphasized by achievements under Col. Roosevelt that in the calm which follows war conditions there may be ready acquiescence in a safe, sane, and sensible return to the traditions and ideals of the Republic, from which I fear we are now dangerously drifting.

I shall vote for the resolution because I believe in the right of every citizen of proper age and health to volunteer in defense of his country, without being compelled to submit to the haphazard chance of being drafted with unwilling shirks and slackers.

I shall vote for it because I believe Col. Roosevelt to be the one incomparable character among the big men of the Nation, who unselfishly offers his services to the country in a war for which he is in no wise responsible by acts of commission or omission on his part.

I shall vote for him because he is a man among men, a leader of leaders, one whom neither slackers nor shirks can deceive. He knows men, and in accepting volunteers knows how to winnow the chaff from the grain, separate the thoroughbred from the cob. A slacker at home will be a shirk in the Army; like an unruly horse, you can force him to the trough but you can not make him drink. Roosevelt has no use for such men in or out of the Army.

On the other hand, a willing citizen, alert at home to all the duties of good citizenship, will, if permitted to volunteer in defense of his country, carry with him all his manly, self-respecting attributes, and in the Army will take pride in being at his post of duty all the time without slacking or shirking. Such is the ideal soldier of Col. Roosevelt. Very little training is needed for such men; instinctively they seem to know what is expected of them, and if this resolution be adopted and Col. Roosevelt's wishes be respected, I predict the people will cease complaining of the slowness of Congress and the War Department and the Roosevelt volunteer divisions will be on the firing line fighting, like intelligent American volunteer soldiers always do, long before the red-tape drafting machinery gets started, and, in my judgment, the war will be over before any drafted man ever gets to see a German in arms.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am for Col. Roosevelt and a volunteer army.

Increase of Military Establishment by Allowing Col. Roosevelt to Raise Four Divisions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. VESTAL,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. VESTAL. Mr. Speaker, the first great national character who lifted his voice for preparedness in this country was Theodore Roosevelt. To-day everyone admits if the Nation had heeded the warning sounded by him we would find ourselves in a much better position to wage a successful war. But, being at war with a powerful nation, we ought to act, and act as quickly as possible, in a manner best calculated to produce results, vindicate our rights upon the high seas, and prove to the world that American citizens must be protected in their lives and property everywhere.

When the President spoke to this body at the beginning of this session of Congress and told us how American property had been destroyed by the Imperial German Government in its ruthless submarine warfare, how American ships, no matter what the kind or character or what the destination or mission, were sunk without warning, destroying the lives of American citizens, men, women, and children; when he depicted to us how he had striven, by diplomacy, to avoid war and failed; and when he asked this Congress to declare that a state of war existed, the great majority of the people of this country said to us, "Stand by the President," and we did.

Then again, when we began to raise an army to make good our declaration, the President insisted that we should discard the traditional policy of our country in the raising of an army, the volunteer system, and inaugurate a new system called the selective draft, and the people again said, "Stand by the President," and many Members, against their better judgment, voted to give the President what he desired.

Then the President insisted that we appropriate billions of dollars, not only to equip and finance our own Army, but said we must have enough to loan our allies what they need. The people again said, "Stand by the President," and we did.

Like patriotic citizens we have stood by the President and sustained him in every proposition he has proposed. But to-day, this very hour, the American people are asking us to stand by the Republic and to vote to permit Col. Roosevelt to go to the front with the brave men who have enlisted under him, and I for one propose to support the wishes of the American people.

And why should not Col. Roosevelt be permitted to go? Will the opposition pin their protest to the flimsy argument that it shows favoritism? Or do they say it will interfere with the system of a selective draft? What the United States needs is an army of fighting men. A month has elapsed since we solemnly declared that a state of war existed between this country and Germany, yet Germany pursues her course of almost uninterrupted submarine warfare, sinking ships at a greater rate than they can be built, and making declarations, at least, that her battle lines are invincible, regardless of the fierce assaults made against them by the French and English.

While we have been trying in every conceivable way to get volunteers for the National Guard and the Regular Army, over in New York, without extensive advertising, without the aid of recruiting officers, Col. Roosevelt, because of his well-known, red-blooded Americanism, his personal magnetism, and his undaunted courage, has recruited an army of more than 200,000 men, equipped and financed without a dollar's expense to the Government, and is ready at a moment's notice to lead or go with that army of volunteers to the battle fields of France, to fight alongside the descendants of the immortal Lafayette for the rights of American citizens.

Furthermore, there is not a single man signed with Col. Roosevelt and accepted but who is without the age of the draft, and every man so signed and accepted having an annual income of from $2,500 to $50,000.

Do you charge favoritism in permitting an ex-President of the United States to recruit an army of 200,000 such men, equip and finance them, and go to the front to give his life, if need be, for his country?

I believe that upon these great questions this body is free from politics; I believe that every Member acts only for the best interests of his country as he sees it. God forbid that I should cast a vote upon any proposition in this great crisis except for the good of my country.

My judgment is that no single act of this Congress would create the enthusiasm or arouse American patriotism as much as would a resolution permitting Col. Roosevelt to lead his volunteer army to France.

To have such a force on the battle front of France, with Old Glory entwined with the French and English flags, led by an ex-President of the greatest Republic God ever let live, would not only encourage the men who have been fighting for more than two years in the trenches, but would strike terror to the heart of the Kaiser himself, and would, in my opinion, hasten the end of this terrible conflict.

It is the wish of the American people this hour. Shall we, as their Representatives, execute the will of the people, or bow to the demand of the Executive?

We are all patriotic, but some gentlemen have argued that sentiment plays no part in the success of armies in the field. In my judgment, sentiment plays an important part and has played an important part in every successful war that has been waged on either continent.

We need some sentiment to-day. We are engaged in a war with a nation 3,000 miles away. We are not being invaded at home. To protect our standing as a Nation, to vindicate our rights, to protect our property and the lives of our citizens upon the high seas, it will become necessary to transport troops across the ocean. Nothing, as I have said before, can or will awaken the American people to a sense of their patriotic duty so much as to have an ex-President of these United States lead a volunteer force on the battle field.

We need encouragement at home as much as the French and English need encouragement on the battle front. I am satisfied that this motion to recommit will pass and the Senate amendment be put back in the bill, and when it is I feel sure the President of the United States is big enough and patriotic enough to listen to the voice of the American people, through the Congress of the United States, and permit Col. Roosevelt to lead a division to France. If he does not heed the wishes of the American people he will receive their condemnation.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MEDILL McCORMICK,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

CHICAGO, *May 16, 1917.*

To Hon. MEDILL MCCORMICK:

In reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday I noticed that in your speech on the revenue bill you say that none of the Chicago papers has protested to you against the increase in second-class postal rates or have expressed an opinion that even if they were imposed they would be unbearable.

I personally appeared before the Senate Finance Committee yesterday and protested against this proposed unjust and inequitable taxation. I showed that the Chicago Herald, for instance, under the provisions of the bill would pay thousands of dollars in new taxes to the United States Government. The increase in first-class postage would cost us between $4,000 and $5,000; on postal cards, over $1,000; on drafts, notes, checks, etc., $3,500; on insurance, over $100; the 3 per cent increase on freight bills, nearly $2,000; the 5 per cent on electricity, etc., $500; and the tax on telephone and telegraph messages, $1,500.

We will pay, in addition, 10 per cent more for all imported materials. The paper in which we wrap the Herald is up 300 per cent. The sisal rope with which we tie the bundles 90 per cent. Chemicals used in various processes from 25 to 430 per cent.

The proposed increase of 15 per cent in railroad charges also would be borne by us.

On top of this terrific increase in manufacturing cost the proposed increase in second-class postal rates would add a burden of $152,000, without taking into consideration the possibility that if the postal rates are advanced other transportation companies might follow suit. My paper bill for this year will be $400,000 in excess of last year, and if the 10 per cent duty on white print paper is imposed that will mean another $100,000, approximately. It is true the Chicago papers have recently raised their price to 2 cents in common with the newspapers of practically every city of any importance in America, with the exception of New York, but this increase barely takes care of the terrific burden we have been under in the last two years. To-day advertising is decreasing.

I think with your experience in the newspaper business you can easily see that the postal burden sought to be imposed will be the last straw on many a camel's back. And do not forget that the Herald, for instance, has contracts with 56,000 mail subscribers who have paid in advance, and the price we received was based on a 1-cent postal rate. We must supply these customers with the papers. If the proposed rate goes into effect, the postage on a thousand will be in excess of amount we have received for our product.

This is my personal protest. The other Chicago papers were represented in protest before the Senate Finance Committee in the person of Don Seitz, chairman of the postal rate committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to which all the Chicago newspapers belong. Mr. Seitz spoke for every member of the association, and protested vigorously. I have talked to over 100 publishers in the last week. Their unanimous point of view, to which I subscribe, is this: Let the Government take any proportion or all of our profits, if necessary, but do not seriously cripple and put out of business a large proportion of this important industry. The proposed second-class postal increase is not a revenue-producing measure. It is a revenue-destroying measure.

I sincerely hope that you can give this statement publicity in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

JAMES KEELEY.

Resolutions Adopted By the Westchester County Commission of General Safety.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. HUSTED,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions adopted at a meeting of the executive committee of the Westchester County Commission of General Safety held Monday, May 7.

The resolutions are as follows:

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Westchester County Commission of General Safety held Monday, May 7, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas the Westchester County Commission of General Safety, recognizing the importance of increasing agricultural production, has through its committee on increased food supply been endeavoring to get all available acreage cultivated, but has fallen far short of what the exigencies of the times require; and

"Whereas it has been demonstrated by careful inquiries of the chairman of the executive committee that the farmers will not plant more land on account of the cost of labor and seeds and the fear that overproduction or a sudden ending of the war will cause a fall in prices entailing heavy loss; and

"Whereas it is realized that unusual situations need unusual measures to cope with them, and that abnormal conditions make abnormal prices, which may be expected to fluctuate widely, and it has been made clear that the farmers will extend their planting to the highest point if the assurance is given that prices will be remunerative for the crops raised on additional acreage cultivated: Therefore it was

"*Resolved*, That this commission demonstrate its confidence in this as a solution of the problem of production by authorizing the executive committee to create a corporation which shall guarantee minimum prices upon all crops raised on this additional acreage in Westchester County, and that these facts should be laid before the President and the Congress with the request that immediate action be taken by the Congress to establish minimum prices at which all imperishable agricultural products, enumerating the same, and all raw materials from the soil will be purchased by the Government of the United States, as this would stimulate production in this country to meet the demands which are being made upon it by the people of our own country and the allied nations engaged with us in the war.

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President and the Members of Congress, and that V. Everit Macy, Esq., of Ossining, be appointed a committee of one to urge the measure upon the administration, the Congress, and all officials, boards, and organizations dealing with this matter."

Gross Sales of Manufactures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, May 17, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the profits of large industrial institutions. Vaguely and indiscriminately various Members of the House have cited instances of abnormal profits, some without exact information. We, Mr. Speaker, are here to legislate for the whole country and should act with that same care and full information in legislation that affects the country that we would exact from others in matters that might pertain to a business that we have a personal interest in. To cast a vote that would hurt the manufacturers of the country would be harming the wage earner also. There is in the proposed revenue act now under consideration in the House

one provision that puts a tax upon the gross net sales of automobile and other manufacturing companies. The profits of the Ford Motor Co., of Detroit, Mich., has been cited here as reason for such a tax, as I believe they are conceded to be the most successful automobile manufacturing concern in the world.

So, Mr. Speaker, I have taken the time to investigate their last annual statement, and, for the information of the House, I am printing it as a part of my remarks. It will be observed that while they made a profit of $59,994,118.01 for the year ending July 31, 1916, that that profit was made on a sale price 15 per cent greater than the price of their car for the current year. The statement shows that they reduced by this action their profits $40,000,000, which they gave to the purchasers of their cars this year. Now, with prices of all material going up, I see by statements from Detroit also that since the declaration of war sales have fallen off 25 to 35 per cent. Considering these facts, how can any sane man expect them to show large profits for the coming year, if any profit, unless they cut the wages of their employees? All know that Henry Ford was the pioneer in the advance of wages to labor and the reduction of the hours of day labor; that Mr. Ford spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in an effort to put a stop to this slaughter in Europe; that he now will be called upon to pay millions of dollars to the Government to sustain this war, and I am told he is willing to do so and is not protesting; but, Mr. Speaker, there are others to be considered. You surely do not desire to close a single plant on account of unjust tax legislation; and if, as I believe, the Ford motor plant will be crippled, then what would be the fate of the balance of automobile manufacturers or other manufacturers that this tax would apply to? I think we can not afford to adopt a policy of a tax on the gross sales of manufactures of any kind instead of net profits. There will be few who in these war times will show any net profits whatever, and we would therefore legislate them into bankruptcy instead of more properly taxing the actual existing dollar wealth of the country. It is a wrong system of taxation and I think indefensible in peace or war.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE FORD MOTOR CO. FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JULY 31, 1916.

Ford balance sheet, July 31, 1916.

ASSETS.

Cash on hand and in banks	$52,550,771.92
Michigan municipal bonds, at cost	1,259,029.01
Accounts receivable	8,292,778.41
Merchandise inventory, at cost	31,895,434.69
Outside investments	9,200.00
Prepaid expenses	434,055.19
Real estate	5,232,156.10
Buildings and building fixtures	17,293,293.40
Factory equipment	3,868,261.02
Furniture and fixtures	431,249.37
Machinery and power plant	8,896,342.31
Tools	1,690,688.54
Patterns	170,619.77
Patents	64,339.85
	132,088,219.58

LIABILITIES.

Accounts payable, not due	$7,680,866.17
Contract deposits	1,519,296.40
Accrued pay rolls	847,953.68
Accrued salaries	338,268.86
Accrued expenses	1,175,070.72
Contract rebates	2,248,087.00
Reserve for depreciation of fixed assets	4,195,935.48
Reserve for depreciation of patents	64,339.85
Fire insurance reserve	57,493.89
Surplus	111,960,907.53
Capital stock	2,000,000.00
	132,088,219.58

[Being the report as expressed by the Detroit News, Aug. 31, 1916, commenting upon the annual statement of the Ford Motor Co., for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1916.]

Most of the profit earned by the Ford Motor Co. goes back into the business to create more jobs for another army of men. Forty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy are employed; 36,626 of them are on the company's profit-sharing basis, receiving $5 a day or more.

SOME STARTLING FORD FACTS.

Total business done	$206,867,347.46
Profit for the year	$59,994,118.01
Cash on hand and in banks	$52,550,771.92
Materials on hand	$31,895,434.69
Number of cars made in Detroit, 1915–16	508,000
Employed at home plant	34,489
Employed at home offices	1,028
Total in Detroit plant receiving $5 a day or more	27,002
Employed at 74 branch plants	14,355
Total employees (all plants)	49,870
Total employees receiving $5 a day or more	36,626

All employees are on eight-hour basis.

Henry Ford said: "If you expect a man to give you his time and energy, you must fix his wages so he will have no financial worries. It pays. Our profits this year, after giving our employees a big share in them, show that to pay good wages is the most profitable way to do business."

After a three-hour talk with Mr. Ford one comes away with the conclusion that he has two great objects in life: To give employment to the greatest possible army of men in works of peace at the highest wages paid in the world, so they may live in comfort and peace; and to do all in his power to induce the military armies of the world to stop killing each other and bringing suffering on themselves and those dependent on them.

"The bigger our business gets, the easier it is to run," said Mr. Ford.

The price of the touring car was reduced $80 on August 1, which, on the basis of last year's output, would reduce the company's profit $40,000,000 this year.

In that regard Treasurer Klingensmith said: "The present year we expect to make not an equivalent amount of profit to last year, but a substantial amount because of efficiency; that efficiency is due to an honest day's work for an honest day's wages."

HOW THE CASH PILE GREW.

The marvelous growth of the Ford company's cash balance during the past four years (1912 to 1916) is shown as follows:

1912 cash on hand and in banks	$6,400,100
1913 cash on hand and in banks	13,225,710
1914 cash on hand and in banks	27,441,468
1915 cash on hand and in banks	43,788,151
1916 cash on hand and in banks	52,550,771

Besides that, their materials on hand were increased in the same time from $6,629,533 to $31,895,434, and their investment in buildings grew from $2,596,115 to $17,293,293.

The net gain in these three items alone over four years ago is $86,113,750—that is, where the Ford Co. had $15,625,748 in cash, in materials, and in buildings in 1912, it has $101,739,498 in the three items now.

The largest contract ever made by the company was recently signed for $34,000,000 worth of rubber tires; being one-half of the company's three-year supply. It was signed by Edsel Ford, secretary of the company, and was perhaps the largest contract ever signed by a young man of 22 years.

Henry Ford plans to open at the plant a school for boys from 14 to 18 years old; they will be given the training boys get at the technical schools, will be taught mechanical work on light parts, and will be paid for what they do as well, also having time for the regular studies they get at public schools.

If a man can show the company how to save 10 cents on a car, it means a saving of over $50,000 a year to the company and places the man where he will not have to worry the rest of his life. Suggestions for improvements on the car are valued as highly as suggestions for saving money.

The Ford Motor Co. made a profit of $59,994,118 in the fiscal year ending July 31, or over $1,000,000 a week—and paid its workmen the highest wages known in the industrial world.

If the company had sold 46 more cars its profits would have just passed the $60,000,000 mark. As it was it manufactured over 508,000 automobiles, and did a gross business of $206,867,347.46.

Seventy-four per cent of the 49,870 employees of the Ford Co., working eight hours a day, shared in the great profits which they helped to make, and left this enormous balance for the company.

"The recompense for doing good is the fact that you are able to do more," declared Henry Ford, in reviewing the statement of the year's business.

"We have had a wonderful year and it will enable us to give employment to a steadily increasing number of men. It's our reward for treating our men right and for sharing our profits with them.

"When we announced our profit-sharing plan there were hundreds of manufacturers who said it couldn't be done. They declared it wouldn't work. They assailed it from all angles. Our statement shows whether it has worked or not. It shows that we have made a profit of about $60,000,000 and at the same time have paid our men the very highest industrial wages.

"About 74 per cent of our workers enjoy the advantages of the plan. The remainder are mostly beginners who work on

fixed rates according to skill, and who receive the benefits of the advanced rate after the expiration of six months."

PROFIT-SHARING EMPLOYEES IN FACTORY.

The number of shopmen participating in the profit-sharing plan of the Ford Co. is shown by the following table, taken from the books of the company:

Employees and rate of pay.

21,313	$5.00
907	5.25
592	5.50
306	5.75
1,055	6.00
124	6.25
142	6.50
39	6.75
334	7.00
73	7.50
1	8.00
2	7.30
14 (special)	5.00
7 (special)	6.00

OFFICE EMPLOYEES.

The profit-sharing plan extends to the office as well as the shop, and the following table shows the scale of daily wages, from the books of the company.

Number of employees and daily rate salary.

135 (exceeding $200 month).	
15	$7.00
4	6.75
33	6.50
11	6.25
64	6.00
30	5.75
89	5.50
150	5.25
159	5.00
5	4.88
28	4.32
49	3.84
9	3.44
139	3.04
72	2.72
21	2.08
15	1.60

NOT YET IN PROFIT SHARING.

The wages paid those in the factory who do not yet share in the profit-sharing plan are also set forth in a similar table. This list includes beginners, messenger boys, and others:

Number of employees and rate per hour.

26	$0.26
7,915	.34
724	.38
390	.43
345	.48
143	.54
12	.61
24	.68
1	.73

EMPLOYEES IN 74 BRANCH PLANTS.

To complete the list of Ford employees the number of men employed in the various branches are listed in the same manner as those of the home plant.

The number and the wages paid each follow:

Number of employees and daily wage salary.

751 (over $175 a month).	
38	$7.00
6	6.75
25	6.50
5	6.25
144	6.00
17	5.75
298	5.50
560	5.25
7,782	5.00
11	4.88
10	4.50
8	4.32
52	4.00
24	3.84
90	3.50
34	3.44
278	3.04
3,713	$2.72
52	2.50
401	2.08
50	2.00
4	1.60

The Ford Motor Co., of Manchester, England, employs 2,000 shop men at rates ranging from 30 cents to 50 cents an hour and 80 office employees on salary.

The Ford Motor Co., of Paris and Bordeaux, France, employs about 100 men.

The Ford Motor Co., of Canada (Ltd.), employs at the factory and the branches 2,515 shop men and 490 office men. Shop rates are from 30 cents to 75 cents an hour.

IMMENSE CASH RESERVE.

The financial statement of the Ford Motor Co., when read alone, is a marvelous financial statement, but when compared with the statements of other years it produces figures which stagger the intellect.

In 1912 the cash balance was $6,400,000. In 1913 it had grown to $13,225,710. The following year saw this increased to $27,441,468, and in 1915 there followed another advance, which placed the balance at $43,788,151. Finally the 1916 figures, showing cash on hand and in banks to the total of $52,550,771. But more impressive, even, than the figures of the cash balances are those of the total assets of the company for the same years, 1912–1916. In 1912 the total assets of the company were $20,815,785. In 1913 they were $35,033,919. In 1914 they grew to $61,632,257, increasing in 1915 to $88,535,840, and in 1916 they stood at the tremendous sum of $132,088,219.

With regards to dividends, the company paid 60 per cent on its capitalization of $2,000,000, or $1,200,000, leaving over $58,500,000 to reinvest for the growth of the company. This is Mr. Ford's policy at the present, and it is understood that other stockholders cheerfully accede to his plan.

WOULD EMPLOY MORE MEN.

"My ambition," declares Mr. Ford, "is to employ still more men; to spread the benefits of this industrial system to the greatest possible number; to help them build up their lives and their homes. To do this we are putting the greatest share of our profits back into the business."

Despite the tremendous record of the last 12 months there is no feeling in the offices of the Ford Motor Co. that the limit of achievement is close at hand. On the contrary, plans in all stages are being developed for an increase in capacity, for an improvement in the product, and for the refinement of the organization.

"The bigger the business is the easier it runs," declared Mr. Ford in discussing the intentions of the company. "With a closely knit organization, fired by the right spirit, there is no size which is impracticable.

"Believing that we have the organization and the spirit, we are going ahead steadily. We are preparing to turn from the retail method of handling cars to the wholesale plan. We plan to ship cars to our 74 branches, where they will be disposed of in wholesale lots to dealers.

"In this connection it is not out of place to state that we are introducing a new phase in the work of organization building at this time. A corps of men will visit each of the 74 branches. They will instruct the branch managers and their corps of workers in Ford policies. They will teach them that the idol of the Ford plant is its car, and that the ideal of every man must be to make that car good.

"No matter how engrossed we may be in building plants, we will never forget to build character, spirit, and organization."

NEW BLAST FURNACES AT ONCE.

Mr. Ford confirmed the report that work will begin upon the new blast furnaces which the company is to erect in the immediate future.

Julian Kenendy, the foremost designer of blast furnaces in this country, has been retained by the Ford Co. to design and superintend the construction of two furnaces on the company's River Rouge property, west of Detroit. The drawings are now under way, and construction work will begin as soon as they are completed. One hundred and thirty-four acres of ground will be necessary to accommodate the furnaces, docks, coke ovens, and buildings of the plant which will furnish all the iron used in the company's products. The loading docks will be 2,400 feet long, and the furnaces will have a combined capacity of 1,000 tons a day. The total cost of the entire works is estimated at $3,500,000.

In an endeavor to warn the public against real estate speculators the company announces that only 500 men will be employed in this plant. The nature of the work, together with the fact that only the most modern or labor-saving machinery is to

be installed, precludes the necessity for a large number of workmen.

NEW BUILDING AT HIGHLAND PARK.

At their Highland Park plant the company has constructed within the last six months one 6-story building, costing $900,000, with a floor space of 910,000 square feet, and three buildings one story high, 1,200 feet long, and 75 feet wide. The capacity of the foundry has also been doubled, making possible the production of 800 tons of castings a day.

There is under construction at the present time additions to the main buildings which will cost approximately $2,500,000. Upon the drawing board there are plans for another addition costing approximately $2,000,000 and containing 2,000,000 square feet of floor space, also an addition to the power house costing, with the engines, approximately $1,000,000. The cost of the new machinery and equipment at the Highland Park plant alone is in excess of $6,000,000.

The new buildings and their equipment will be utilized not only in the production of cars for the coming season, which number is estimated at 650,000, but in the manufacture of the 1-ton truck announced some time ago by Mr. Ford. Mr. Klingensmith, vice president of the company, stated that the truck would sell for less than $500 and would be put on the market about the first of the year.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

Not the least of the company's plans for the coming year is the one which includes a training school for boys—a school for the boys who have never had a chance. It will be opened in the plant at Highland Park and its object will be to make skilled workmen of the lads who outgrow their occupations and are thrown on the world without a trade.

Fifteen hundred boys, between the ages of 14 and 18 years, will be enrolled when the first term opens, and after the new departure is in full operation it is hoped that 2,000 pupils will graduate every year.

The course will consist of two hours in the schoolroom and five in mechanical training, and for every hour spent at the bench or the machine the boy will be paid for his labor. It is part of Mr. Ford's plan to make the boy see, by utilizing his products, that the work of skilled hands commands a high value.

"The trouble with most manual-training schools, or technical schools," said Mr. Ford, in discussing his plan, "is that the boy never gets into the heart of his work, because he knows that in the end it is not used. The products of his hands have no real market value after they are finished, the boy knows it, and consequently he loses the most valuable part of the lesson.

"I want to take these boys, teach them to make small parts, instruct them in the operation of machines, and while doing it give them a sense of responsibility by utilizing their product. I want them to be able to see a definite purpose in their labor.

"They can not, of course, do heavy work. But there are numberless operations which they are capable of performing that will give them skill and fit them for jobs which will bring them the wages of an artisan.

"We do not intend to overlook their school work. Some of them will probably need to be taught to read and write and spell. Wherever we find that this is necessary we will give them such a course. Those who are ready will be given courses in mathematics and drawing, specially chosen with the idea of assisting them in their work."

The plan has been discussed with the heads of Detroit's public-school system and with other educators. It meets with their approval and commendation. The boys it will reach are, for the most part, the ones the public schools lose entirely.

Competent instructors will be employed in all branches of work taught, both in the schoolroom and the technical-training shops. The course will be varied in each case with particular attention to the capabilities of the student. Individual instruction will be one of its strongest points and no boy will leave the school with a knowledge of merely one or two mechanical operations. The benchwork is to be diversified in such a manner that every student will receive general training.

The school is to be incorporated under the name of "The Henry Ford Trade School." It will become an integral part of the activities of the Ford Motor Co. and will be watched with the keenest interest by the heads of the concern. Both Mr. Ford and his associates expect great things from it.

"I hope," said Mr. Ford, "that the future heads of our departments may come from this school. We like to develop our own stars, you know. We have found it is the only successful way. We promote men from the ranks, as the roll of the managers of this concern will show. We hope to be able to do that with these boys. There will be no limit to the success which they attain if they are capable and energetic. We will try to bring out the best that is in them.

"It's going to be worth-while work and I shall watch it with great interest."

THE REDUCED PRICE OF THE CAR.

The recent reduction in the price of the Ford car is a step of which Mr. Ford and his associates are very proud. It is one which, on the value of last year's production, would mean a loss in revenue of $40,000,000. But this is a subject to which neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Klingensmith devoted more than passing attention in discussing the future of the company. To them it seemed to be of minor importance when compared with the fact that they had been able to bring all ends of their endeavors to a point where the price of the product could be lowered more than 15 per cent.

"We may not make an amount equivalent to this year's profits in the next 12 months," declared Mr. Klingensmith, "but we will certainly make a substantial amount. Our profits are going back into the car. We are refining our methods of production, as the erection of the blast furnaces and the increase in foundry facilities will show. We are perfecting our organization to a still higher degree than the one attained. When we have done these things we will have increased efficiency and when we increase efficiency we make for a greater production at a less cost, and consequently we can supply a better product.

"The cut in prices assures us of new territory. Every time the price of an automobile is lowered, it is placed in reach of a certain class which was never before able to enjoy the advantages of a car and a totally new field is opened.

"Spirit and organization are the great factors in our success. Every man in our employ knows that we are willing and anxious to recognize merit. Every man knows that if he can study out a method of improving the product and reducing the cost of operations he is sure of appreciation.

"The best proof of that fact lies in the record of advancement made by men who have stayed with us, studied the product and the methods of production, not to speak of the thousands who are drawing an honest day's wage for an honest day's work.

"Besides Mr. C. H. Wills we have four men with us who began work with Mr. Ford when he was building his first car on Mack Avenue. They are John Wandersee, Edward Martin, Frank Kulick, and August Degner, all in good positions.

DEVELOP OWN STARS.

"We never have brought a man in from the outside to take over important work who proved to be a star. Now we develop our own stars. We have not hired an outside man for our offices now for three years. We have advanced the men in line. We could do it, because every man in our office employ is expected to be able to fill the place just above him."

In the opinion of Mr. Klingensmith, the basis of the Ford Motor Co.'s great growth and prosperity rests on the foundation of organization and service, and these in turn he believes to be the result of the Ford profit-sharing plan.

"We have nearly 50,000 men at work making and marketing this car," he said. "This does not include the thousands employed by other concerns who furnish us with material. These thousands of employees are working, calculating, planning for one thing, namely, the improvement of their product and the simplification of the work of production. We have their loyalty and their good will. This means that we have among these 50,000 the brains of many thousand working to make our product better all the time. It's a tremendous power. It's the power which has made the Ford Motor Co."

Authorizing the President to Organize Four Divisions of Infantry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, gentlemen in this debate have repeatedly characterized this resolution as a Roosevelt resolution. That is not true. The name of Roosevelt does not appear in it at all. It reads as follows:

The President is further authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment, to organize, and equip not to exceed four Infantry divisions, the officers of which shall be selected in the manner provided by paragraph 3 of section 1 of this act.

Paragraph 3 of section 1 referred to authorizes the President to appoint the officers. So what is there in this resolution to cause men to go into a frenzy either for or against Roosevelt? It merely gives the President authority to raise 100,000 men by the volunteer system and to appoint such officers as he may see proper. Only this and nothing more. He is neither compelled to raise the divisions nor to appoint any particular man as an officer.

Mr. Speaker, I am for the resolution because it permits volunteering and is right in line with my insistence ever since this bill was presented. Many gentlemen who raved for the draft system are now just as frantic for this. In that somersault they have made an abject surrender of their position in favor of the draft. There is no escape from that conclusion. One day they spoke and voted for the draft; to-day they are voting to permit volunteering.

But, Mr. Speaker, these are the same kind of acrobatics that we witnessed while this bill was before the House two weeks ago. We then had the ludicrous exhibition of gentlemen one day being loud for the volunteer system and the next clamoring for the draft. Some even made speeches on both sides within two days.

I voted then to permit volunteering, and I am now going to consistently do the same.

I believed then that I was right, and I have not run away from that position.

The attitude of my able friend and colleague from Alabama [Mr. DENT] is very different from my own.

When this resolution was before the House two weeks ago, offered as an amendment to this bill, it was defeated by 170 to 106. The Senate inserted it as an amendment to the House bill, and that put it in conference.

Chairman DENT and the other House conferees properly regarded the action of the House as instructions to them and forced the Senate conferees to recede. As fair and honest men they could not do otherwise. My colleague, Mr. DENT, and other members of the conference committee who voted for the volunteer system have been twitted on this floor with inconsistently changing their positions. As to these conferees that is not true, for the reasons I have just shown. They could have done nothing else and been true to the instructions of this House, and I resent any such charge against them.

God never made a braver, truer man than my good friend and colleague from Alabama, Mr. DENT.

I saw him stand in this fight for what he thought was right when weaker men, who had promised to stand by him, were deserting him by the score.

I saw him stand for the volunteer system when mass meetings and boards of trade in his own district were bombarding him with telegrams and resolutions urging him to abandon what he believed to be right and just.

I saw him when his lifelong friends and supporters back home were urging him to stand by the President, even by violating his sworn obligation to do his duty. But he stood like some mountain peak, steady and unshaken, while the winds of calumny and abuse were howling about his devoted head.

The cause of his people will always be safe in the hands of a man like that, and to-day even those in his district who thought him wrong have cause to be prouder of him than ever before.

Mr. Speaker, the hardest thing that I now have to face is to cast my vote on this resolution against the views of a man like Mr. DENT. During this debate I have almost been shaken from my purpose to vote for this resolution on account of my love for this noble son of Alabama. I have faltered "'twixt love and duty," and with a sad heart I am forced to dissent from his views now.

While, as I have said, his duty as a conferee was to stand by the instructions of the House, my path of duty is clear to vote for volunteers, just as I have done before.

I have no special regard for Roosevelt, but I do care for the principle for which I have fought, and which is now about to win.

Gentlemen have prated about sending untrained men to die on foreign soil. Under this resolution we do not send them but only authorize the President to permit them to volunteer to go.

They will not go into the trenches untrained men. That great French chieftain, Marshal Jeffre, to-day the honored guest of this Nation, said only a few days ago that such a force as he desired could be quickly organized in this country, and that with a month or two of preliminary training here can be sent to their great training camps in France, and with four months' training there just behind the trenches could be made the best fighting soldiers to be found on the battle lines. He believes that such a force would inspire courage and hope in the hearts of the soldiers of the allies and strike terror to the armed hosts arrayed against us.

Gentlemen, let them go. I want to see this war won and won quickly, and such an expedition of fearless volunteers may save the lives of thousands of America's brave sons.

Let no political expediency stand in the way.

President Wilson, in his speech at the Red Cross dedication this very day, said in reference to our going into the war:

> We have gone in with no special grievance of our own, because we have always said that we were the friends and servants of mankind.

Strange words! No grievance of our own, but sacrificing billions of treasure and thousands of lives in a war as servants of mankind. I thought we had a grievance against Germany of our own, and so stated in my speech on the war resolution, when I urged that the grievance was our own and that our war should be alone to avenge that grievance.

But since the President has made that declaration there is greater reason why those should be permitted to volunteer who think it America's duty to enter this war as "friends and servants of mankind."

When the draft was up for discussion, Members on this floor declared with vehemence that the selection would be a badge of honor and not of disgrace. It was then shown by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] that advertisements for recruits to the Regular Army and National Guard were being posted over this city, urging young men to volunteer and escape the odium of conscription.

The following appears in the Washington times: "Enlist now! Avoid being conscripted!" This is the cry of recruiting officers for every branch of the service to-day.

"I should think the young men of Washington would seek to join the service before they had to and gain considerably more prestige," said Lieut. L. E. Morgan, in charge of the Navy recruiting station at 506 Ninth Street NW. to-day.

This right under the shadow of the White House and of the War Department and presumably with the assent of that department.

Right under the shadow of the Dome of the Capitol, where gentlemen were two weeks ago proclaiming the glories of the selective draft.

Surely, gentlemen, we ought to let this resolution pass and get more volunteers when the Army officials are even now casting slurs at those who will go under the selective draft.

Exempting Mining Claimants and Desert-Land Entrymen From Assessment Work During the Present War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to state that on April 18, 1917, I introduced H. R. 3331, a bill for the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war. The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 3331) for the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of section 2324 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which require that on each mining claim located after the 10th day of May, 1872, and until patent has been issued therefor, not less than $100 worth of labor shall be performed or improvements made during each year, shall not apply to claims or parts of claim owned or held by officers or enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Organized Militia of the United States from April 1, 1917, to and including the termination of the existing war, or until six months after such owner or claimant is mustered out of service, or until six months after his death in the service: *Provided*, That the claimant of any such mining location in order to obtain the benefits of this act, shall file or cause to be filed in the office where the location notice or certificate is recorded within six months from and after the date of this act, or within six months after he is mustered into the service, a notice of his muster into the service of the United States and of his desire to hold said mining claim under this act.

SEC. 2. That no desert-land entry made or held under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1877, as amended by the act of March 3, 1891, by an officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Organized Militia of the United States shall, after April 1, 1917, be subject to contest or cancellation for failure to make or expend the sum of $1 per acre per year in improvements upon such claim, or to effect the reclamation thereof, so long as said entryman or his successor in

interest is engaged in the military service of the United States, and the time within which such entryman or claimant is required to make such expenditures and effect reclamation of the land shall include four years, exclusive of the time of his actual service in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Organized Militia of the United States: *Provided*, That each such entryman or claimant shall, within six months after the passage of this act, or within six months after he is mustered into the service, file in the local land office of the district wherein his claim is situate a notice of his muster into the service of the United States and of his desire to hold said desert claim under this act.

Similar legislation in regard to mining claims was passed during the Spanish-American War for the years 1893–94, and worked very successfully. Mr. J. W. Phillips, a mining engineer of Lewiston, Cal., of wide experience in mining matters, under date of April 17, 1917, writes me as follows:

Owing to the state of war existing between this country and Germany and the necessity of devoting our unrestricted efforts to bring it to an early termination, I believe it will be to the best interest of our country if an act is passed exempting quartz and placer locators from the performance of annual assessment work required by section 2344, chapter 6, Title 32, Revised Statutes. You will recall that this was done during the Spanish-American War for the years 1893–94, and worked very successfully. There are many young men prospecting for gold who will join the military service of the country, and they should be protected.

Mr. Wright S. Curless, of Blocksburg, Cal., a man of experience in mining matters, writes, among other things, as follows:

They (the mining claimants) would like to have something done to protect their mines and water rights from persons who would try to jump their claims.

This applies to the time they are in the service of the United States in the Army or Navy.

Mr. Fletcher McN. Hamilton, State mineralogist of California, telegraphs me under date of May 4, 1917, as follows:

I heartily indorse your measure providing for the exemption of the payment of annual labor on mining claims and desert entries by those who enter the military or naval service of the United States in the time of war.

Mr. Hamilton is in close touch with the general needs and conditions of the mineral interests of the West.

Hon. Crittenden Hampton, of Sonora, Tuolumne County, Cal., under date of May 8, 1917, writes me as follows:

Would like to see an act passed to relieve during the war prospectors and quartz and placer claimants on unpatented lands of the United States from doing assessment or annual work. That work does not bring any Federal aid to our country, and is for the purpose of showing good faith and not playing dog in the manger with mineral claims. This would release a lot of labor needful to the Nation. Also an enlisted man need have no apprehension while away serving his country that $100 worth of work would go toward other employment, and the claims could wait, without injury to our country. Then the prospectors could work in the mine producing chrome, iron, and other necessaries for general purposes. I think this will be an act that would meet with hearty approval by the committee at Washington on mining industries.

Mr. Hampton is an experienced mining man, as well as an attorney of wide experience.

In addition to relieving mining claimants on unpatented locations, the bill has for its purpose the relief of entrymen on desert-land entries of the expenditure of $1 per acre who are like situated as mine locators.

There are about 20,000 desert-land entries now pending for which patent has not been issued, and upon which final proof has not been made, and which require expenditure of $1 per acre per annum in improvements on the land. There are many mining claims upon which the law requires expenditure of $100 per annum; they run into the thousands.

There will be a large percentage of these mining claimants and desert-land entrymen who will enter the services of the United States either in the Army or Navy, or Marine Corps, or Organized Militia. Their rights should be protected while they are thus in the service of the Government. It can be of no possible disadvantage to the Government to thus protect them, but will be the saving of large sums of money which under present need can be better expended.

The bill (H. R. 3331) was submitted to Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, for consideration and report by the Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands, and thereafter on May 11, 1917, Mr. Lane made favorable report thereon, recommending that the bill be enacted, which report is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, May 11, 1917.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
Chairman Committee on the Public Lands,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. FERRIS: H. R. 3331 was referred by you under date of April 21, 1917 for consideration and report.

The bill would exempt unpatented locations held by officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Organized Militia of the United States from the requirement of section 2324, Revised Statutes, that not less than $100 worth of labor shall be performed or improvements made during each year in order to prevent a relocation of the land by others; and desert-land entries made or held by such officers or enlisted men from the requirements of the act of March 3, 1877, as amended by act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat., 1095), that the entryman shall expend the sum of $1 per acre per year in improvements on the land, or to effect the reclamation thereof, such exemptions to begin April 1, 1917, and to continue to and including the termination of the existing war, or until six months after the claimant is mustered out of the service, or after his death in the service. In order to be entitled to the exemption, the mineral claimant must file in the office where his location certificate is of record a notice of his muster into the service and of his desire to hold the claim, and the desert-land claimant must file a similar notice in the local land office.

Exemption from residence and cultivation required under the homestead laws is given to homestead claimants enlisted in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during any war in which the United States is engaged by the act of June 16, 1898 (30 Stat., 473), and similar protection should be afforded such mining and desert-land claimants. No rights of third persons will be affected adversely nor will any of the requirements of the laws necessary to be made in order to secure patent to the public lands be waived by making the proposed exemptions. The bill is general in its terms and would apply to claimants of the character desired wherever situated, including the Territory of Alaska. I favor such legislation and accordingly recommend that the bill be enacted.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE, *Secretary.*

The bill was likewise referred to the Hon. David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, who on May 27, 1917, made favorable report thereon, which report is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 27, 1917.*

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
Chairman Committee on the Public Lands,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FERRIS: Receipt is acknowledged of a copy of the bill (H. R. 3331) for the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war, with request that your committee be sent such suggestions as this department may desire to make.

The bill proposes, in substance, that the annual labor now required upon mining locations need not be performed by such locators from April 1, 1917, during the period of the war, or until six months after such owner or claimant is mustered out of the service, or until six months after his death in the service. Section 2 provides that desert-land entries shall not be canceled because of failure to make or expend the sum of $1 per acre per year in improvements of such claims, or for failure to reclaim the lands so long as the claimant is engaged in military service for the United States.

Because of the rough, broken surface of the national forests, very few desert-land entries are located within the forest boundaries. Desert-land entries can not be made within a national forest after the lands are once withdrawn for national-forest purposes.

The act of June 4, 1897 (30 Stat., 11), authorizes prospecting, locating, and developing of mineral resources within the national forests. The mining laws require that before a location can be made a mineral discovery shall exist. Those laws also require that $100 worth of development work shall be performed or improvements made during each year. If bona fide mineral locations have been made and the locators or owners are called from their usual work to perform military duties for the Government, it is believed that they should not forfeit their locations. The administration of the mining laws, however, is a matter which comes under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior. While this department has no objection to the passage of the bill, it is suggested that your committee may desire to obtain the views of the Secretary of the Interior.

Very truly, yours,

D. F. HOUSTON, *Secretary.*

This bill should be enacted at an early date, so as to relieve the men who are mining claimants or desert-land entrymen from any anxiety or worry when they tender their services to the Government in these war times, so that their rights will be guarded and protected while they are in the service of their country.

I am convinced that this legislation is fundamentally right and that it will be passed expeditiously.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE F. LEA,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. LEA of California. Mr. Speaker, the question presented to-day is not whether or not our country shall avail itself of the services of Mr. Roosevelt. It is my judgment that it should. Mr. Roosevelt is a strong character in our country and in the world. He has those human magnetic qualities that inspire and attract loyal adherence and support. No one will question his enthusiasm or his courage, and it seems to me that those qualities should be capitalized for the use of our country in the approaching time of conflict.

Roosevelt has a rank that entitles him to appointment to a command in the Regular Army. He is qualified for appointment into the National Guard of the State of New York, whose governor has declared his willingness to appoint him to any position in that body. The way for him to serve his country is open. Personally I believe those in charge of our military

affairs should welcome his services. But I believe that they should do so according to the same rules by which other men secure appointments to Army positions of leadership, honor, and responsibility. We should not be asked to repudiate the system of selective draft we have so recently provided, create distinctions in our Army among those who shall serve with equal sacrifice, and make the same service more honorable in one than in another.

Recently the Military Committee reported in favor of raising an army by a volunteer system and to authorize the President, in case that failed, to raise the remainder of the army required by conscription. The plan reported by the committee, after exhaustive consideration, was rejected by an overwhelming vote, and this House adopted a uniform plan of selective conscription. It was determined that if we established both a volunteer system and a draft system for raising an army, we would provide one honor for the volunteer and a less honor, a stigma in fact, for the man drafted. One of the greatest things that can be said in favor of the system we established is that all who are selected shall go to war with equal honor.

To-day it is proposed to break down the wholesome uniformity of that system for raising an army. It is proposed to make distinctions between those who shall serve the flag of our country with equal sacrifice. It is proposed to make a special class or caste by permitting special volunteers for only four divisions and thus giving them an honor that shall be denied to all who shall be conscripted to serve in the great special army we are now about to raise. These four divisions, consisting of about 80,000 men, are not suggested on account of the 80,000 but on account of the one who it is proposed shall lead them. In fact, nothing is urged as to the fitness or prowess of the 80,000 proposed volunteers, whose names are yet unknown. All favoring this proposition have directed their discussion to the one man who shall lead the 80,000. The proposed army would have more than 3,000 officers. Those officers are not to be selected by training and tests such as are required of our other officers in order that the men whom they are to command shall have the protection of their training and proven skill. But nothing is heard of the qualifications of these thousands of officers or the likelihood of their harmonious cooperation with the rest of the great army we are to raise.

At the present time we have a seasoned army of trained men, from which sufficient numbers could be immediately assembled and shortly dispatched to Europe, led by a general like Pershing, to carry the banner of our country through the streets of Paris, and at an early date to the trenches of France. They can be prepared to go sooner than any other division can possibly be so prepared. I believe some should be sent, so that the heart of America can follow them to France, so that we can bear our full share and play a man's part in this war. Other soldiers to follow them should go when prepared but not before.

The President is the Commander in Chief of our Army. A regularly constituted War Department has long been established to direct, organize, and control that Army. The leadership and responsibility of conducting the war must be in the War Department. It is well known that the proposal of to-day does not have the approval of the Army Staff. The particular selection and appointment of the officers of our Army should be left to the executive department to which that function belongs. Ours is the legislative function to raise and maintain armies. The selections and assignment of those in command throughout the history of this country, with unbroken precedent, have been left to the executive department of the Government. I might differ, you might differ, from the General Staff as to whom should be appointed; but, as for me, I believe it to be my duty to leave that executive function to those upon whom the responsibility rests according to the unbroken history of our country and the laws of the land. It seems to me unwise that at the very beginning of this mighty undertaking we should seek to impose upon those upon whom the responsibility for its conduct rests, arrangements and administrative plans not of their approval, and which constitute an infringement of their powers and responsibilities.

We have long delayed in passing this bill and providing for the very army that is necessary to protect, defend, and advance the cause of this country. Daily our allies in Europe grapple in a life and death struggle fighting for what is now our cause. Only yesterday we read the Macedonian cry of Marshal Joffre, appealing in behalf of our sister Republic, France, "Come over and help us." If some of these days that cry should become more insistent, if the wearied arms of our allies should fail, and an increasing responsibility of this war should fall upon us, if Germany should by any possibility become master of the sea, and we should hear her guns and torpedoes thundering at our gates, who can then justify sending this bill again back to conference for further debate and delay and for a further postponement of the time when we shall have a larger and more efficient army with which to cope with our enemies? Even this day I understand the President has written a letter expressing the hope that the conference committee's report may be immediately adopted and declaring that a delay of one day, of one hour, may jeopardize the interests of our country.

I propose to vote against recommitting this Army bill for further debate and delay. In so doing I do not intend and am not casting any reflection or in the least detracting from Theodore Roosevelt. Only to-day we are told that the son of one of the most prominent of our public men has enlisted in the United States Army as a private. Members of this House have offered to do that, sons of Members of this House have offered to do that, and I believe that course is just as patriotic, just as glorious, and reflects just as much credit as any man could gain by offering to be a general to lead an army. I entirely agree that the willing services of Theodore Roosevelt should be accepted in this great contest for the good of our country, but in my judgment he would be performing a more useful and a more glorious service by offering to serve in our Army as it is, as it has been provided by law, instead of asking us for a private army and to destroy the harmony of our system of selection; to create odious distinctions and honors of different degrees among those who serve our country with equal loyalty and equal sacrifice.

As this debate has proceeded, I have listened to a number of men of high intelligence and common sense, of unquestioned patriotism and unquestioned Republicanism, who are against recommitting this bill. In voting with them against what is supposed to be or claimed to be the interest of one who is a Republican, I am doing what they, too, believe best for the country. On this measure I take a pleasure in voting with Mr. KAHN, that Republican who faithfully, tenaciously, and brilliantly, through days and weeks, with credit to himself and with honor to my own State, has led the fight for this law, which calls our country at the beginning of this war to adopt a modern system of selecting our Army in accordance with the wisdom gained from the history and sad experiences of the last three years.

Increase of the Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, there are many provisions in this conference report that to my mind are manifestly unfair and of which I do not approve, and wish that they could be eliminated, but that is now impossible. However, I shall not criticize the House conferees, believing that they have done their duty in trying to comply with the views expressed by the House. But I realize the position they were placed in on many of these provisions, and, taking everything into consideration, I am of the opinion that they have done fairly well in eliminating some of the objectionable provisions and amendments inserted in the bill by the Senate.

The objection is raised to the conference report that the House conferees have forced the Senate to recede on the so-called "volunteers division" amendment. In that they have carried out the expression of the House. But some of the Members who were loudest in demanding the elimination of the volunteer system and who favored and succeeded in having the House adopt the universal draft or service plan, are now found to be the main objectors, and cry out that the conferees should have disobeyed the House and agreed to that political Senate amendment. The excuses for the change of front they are making are ridiculous. If they were right before, they are wrong now, and if they are right now they could not have been right before. To me it is inconceivable how some of these gentlemen can and do change front. I have voted for the draft because all our military experts advised and pleaded for that plan, and I shall stand by their recommendations now. This is no time to play politics. This is no time for personal publicity and advertising. We are at war, and it is high time that some of you professed patriots should realize that fact.

You, on the Republican side, charge that politics is responsible for the refusal of sending Col. Roosevelt to France. If politics

has been injected into this, it has been by you. Everyone must realize that sending twenty or forty or even eighty thousand untrained men will not help. What is needed by the allies is an ammunition supply for their guns and not targets for the enemy's guns.

The amendment eliminated on the part of the conferees:

The President is further authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment, to organize, and equip, not to exceed four Infantry divisions, the officers of which shall be selected in the manner provided by paragraph 3 of section 1 of this act: *Provided*, That the organization of said force shall be the same as that of the corresponding organization of the Regular Army: *And provided further*, That there shall be no enlistments in said force of men under 25 years of age at time of enlisting: *And provided further*, That no such volunteer force shall be accepted in any unit smaller than a division.

This gives the President the authority to raise four Infantry divisions, but there is nothing to indicate that Col. Roosevelt is to be made the chief of that division, and I feel that he could not expect to be appointed and intrusted with a responsibility involving thousands of lives, considering that he has not had any experience in the present-day military operations.

Furthermore, I do not know, and, in fact, no one can tell what effect his going may have upon the present harmonious cooperation that exists in the Army to-day. What would be his position if he were subjected to all rules and regulations of the combined forces? Would he not, with his strong will, try to domineer the Staff, which is just now progressing so splendidly, and thereby disorganize that body? I am afraid.

Now, as to the fact that 200,000 have volunteered to enlist and go to France under his command, and that their services would be lost otherwise, is to be, indeed, deplored. If they think more of one man than they do of their country, I am forced to doubt their sincerity and patriotism.

If Col. Roosevelt were a man of vast military experience and knowledge and was willing to cooperate and not dominate, he, no doubt, could render the cause valuable service.

The letter of Mr. Joseph Leiter, the president of the Army League, sent to Col. Roosevelt, expresses the views of a majority of honest, sincere, and well-meaning American citizens who have the interests of our country at heart.

MY DEAR COL. ROOSEVELT: Your letter of May 8 resigning your office in this organization, in reply to mine of May 2, I have received. The executive council at its next meeting will take action upon it. While you seem to think my letter indefinite, you have grasped the point which I wanted to convey—I am opposed to the Harding amendment.

The charge that I am using the Army League to the detriment of the Army and the country is personal. To this charge let me reply as an individual. Because I do not agree with you, you can see nothing in my attitude but the betrayal of a trust. Do you think that you alone can think correctly? Did the Almighty constitute you the sole arbiter of what is right or wrong? Has no one else the right to an opinion? I can imagine such a state of affairs in Germany alone.

Do you think that you are the most competent person in the United States to head the first expeditionary force sent to Europe?

Candidly, do you think you have had sufficient military experience to in any way qualify you for this position?

Why not leave the business to competent people who have been trained to it instead of injecting yourself into the situation without the desire of any of the authorities who must be responsible for the success or failure of the conduct of the war.

I thought at first that your intentions were inspired by patriotism. I am now constrained to believe that your own schemes of political and personal aggrandizement lie at the bottom of your agitation.

The early disasters of the Civil War came from those who had received military rank as the result of possessing the political influence to put them in commands for which they were not fitted. Let us hope that in this war this can be avoided. Do your part to this end Make a sacrifice of your personal ambitions on the altar of efficiency, and as an act of real patriotism put an end to the political storm which has been caused by the Harding amendment.

Very truly, yours, JOSEPH LEITER, *President*.

I repeat, do not play politics or try to secure political publicity and advantage at the expense of our country.

Our concern first, last, and all the time shall be our country and not that of a party or individual, no matter who he may be.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROSE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, May 15, 1917.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, it has been freely admitted that the present bill is full of inequalities, and it is but fair to say that its sponsors admit that it can be defended only upon the ground that "we need the money." The members of the Ways and Means Committee applied themselves to a very difficult task, and since they were obliged to frame a measure without the formality of public hearings, our criticism should be tempered with mercy. In any event it is a measure which should not be acted upon hastily and without due consideration, as the passage of any bill relating to the levying of heavy additional burdens upon the people should be carefully scrutinized, so as to properly divide the burdens upon a basis which will result in justice to all concerned. The exemptions as recommended by the committee seem to me unduly burdensome to the laboring man and should be raised materially, as the price of foodstuffs and the necessaries of life now exceed the earning power of many of our unskilled workmen, and since it seems to be conceded that taxes should be levied upon the class best able to pay, I submit that we are departing from that rule in the light of existing conditions.

My judgment is that the poorer classes, upon whom the greatest burdens fall in times of war, should be relieved in a great measure from contributing to the enormous fund necessary to meet the extraordinary conditions aroused by a state of war. I trust that before the revenue bill is enacted into law that amendments will be adopted which will prevent the confiscation of any industry, a condition now so much feared by many opponents of the present measure. I can not expect that a revenue bill can be framed which will not work a hardship upon some industries or certain classes of individuals, but we shall do well to carefully and thoughtfully consider every phase of a bill of so great an importance.

I am in receipt of a number of complaints from the publishers of newspapers, and as a sample I desire to quote the following from the Altoona Tribune Co., publishers of the Altoona Tribune, Altoona, Pa.:

ALTOONA, PA., *May 14, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. ROSE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The postal section in the war-revenue bill as relating to newspapers, with which you are no doubt familiar, will, if enacted as a law, be a great burden to all newspapers, and we therefore ask that when the bill comes before your body for action that you will use your influence and vote toward the defeat of the bill in its present form.

As you are no doubt well aware, newspapers are at present burdened beyond all reason, and it would be an injustice to increase this burden by enacting this legislation.

We thank you for the many past favors and trust you will comply with our request in this particular instance and do what you can toward the defeat of said bill. We remain,

Very courteously, yours,

THE ALTOONA TRIBUNE CO.,
A. D. HOUCK.

Also the following from the Grit Publishing Co., of Williamsport, Pa.:

WILLIAMSPORT, PA., *May 14, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. ROSE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ROSE: Believing you desire to vote on any measure in full possession of all information relating to the subject matter, we desire to call your attention to the proposed second-class mail rates as they affect newspapers of general circulation, including Grit.

Under the present rate of 1 cent a pound Grit is paying $40,000 a year in second-class postage. As a war tax Grit could pay $40,000 a year more; that is a rate of 2 cents a pound. Grit would be unable, however, to pay a higher rate, whatever the plan or system, as it would practically confiscate this paper's business.

Only the urgency of the prospect compels this company to ask you to give consideration to newspapers of general circulation, of which Grit is one, and which bind the country together in common thought and action at a time when education and diffusion of intelligence are so vital to the welfare of the Nation.

Very truly, yours,

DIETRICK LAMADE,
President and General Manager.

The Proposed Tax On Automobiles.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. NICHOLS,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, May 18, 1917.

Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks I submit for the consideration of Members of the House statements made by representatives of automobile manufacturers before the Finance Committee of the Senate. In view of the fact that no opportunity was given representatives of this great industry to present testimony to the Ways and Means Committee, I feel justified in asking the membership of the House to peruse the following statements before voting to cripple one of the greatest of American manufacturing interests.

STATEMENT OF MR. ALFRED REEVES.

Mr. Chairman, automobile manufacturers, without exception, desire to pay their full fair share of the Government's expense, and they ask to be taxed fully and in proportion to all other industries.

They do, however, consider it unfair to subject them to double taxation or to any form of taxation that may make for monopoly by the elimination of scores of companies that can not afford to carry the proposed burden.

12 MAKERS PRODUCE 80 PER CENT AND 438 MAKERS 20 PER CENT OF CARS.

There are 450 listed automobile manufacturers in the United States (Automobile Trade Director, April, 1917), of which 12 makers produce 80 per cent and 438 makers 20 per cent of the whole. The 12 have been prosperous, while the bulk of the others are able to exist only in good times. Prosperity in the motor-car trade is due to increasing volume, and the reverse occurs when the volume shrinks.

It is the prosperity of a few of the very big companies which makes it appear that every one is prosperous in the motor-car trade and that it can stand the special tax.

In truth, the making and marketing of motor cars is an industry of many hazards. Purchases of supplies have to be made more than a year ahead, and in the assembling of a car the failure to be supplied with one or two parts has been known to hold up production for weeks.

Last year the trade was the best that the industry ever enjoyed, but with the declaration of war the volume of sales has been seriously affected. The automobile business is one of big units, and profits come only with volume.

This industry has been obliged to increase its cost for labor 25 per cent and material a great deal more, as indicated in the appended list of recent increases:

	Per cent.
Sheet aluminum	40
Steel castings	30
Bearings	35
Aluminum castings	50
Leather	30
Stampings	75
Sheet steel	65
Tungsten steel	400
Steel tubing	40
Iron castings	35
Forgings	75

By the increased volume of sales, these material and labor costs have been overcome to some degree, although last year almost all makers were obliged to increase their list prices in a good market. To attempt any increase now, however, with a falling market, would be certain to seriously curtail sales and production.

NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN THOUSAND WAGE EARNERS.

Although not generally known, because of the giant strides of 10 or 15 of the bigger companies, the automobile industry comprises approximately 450 manufacturers of motor cars, located in 32 States, 825 makers of parts and accessories, located in almost every State of the Union, besides 25,924 dealers and 23,686 garages throughout the country, all depending on the products of the motor-car manufacturers. Fourteen companies employ 145,000 men. Figuring an average of only 300 men for each of the others gives 135,000, or a total of 280,000 wage earners.

Body, parts, material, accessory, and supply plants employ 350,000. The 25,724 automobile dealers, with an average of only 6 employees, indicates 150,000.

The 23,686 garages, with 3 people each, is 75,000, while there are approximately 50,000 employees in the 12,171 machine shops and not less than 10,000 employees in the 2,500 supply houses. These figures show 66,443 concerns or plants directly or indirectly associated with the industry, employing 915,000 wage earners, with total dependents of almost 3,000,000. These figures are considered very conservative.

EXPORT TRADE LOST THIS YEAR.

Another very serious fact that faces the automobile industry is the falling off of exports, these exports amounting last year to 61,941 passenger cars and 18,903 trucks, with a total valuation of $96,000,000. Because of embargoes, shipping conditions, and other reasons exports have already largely fallen off, and for 1917 will no doubt be less than half the previous year.

PROFITS OF MAKERS SMALL ON VOLUME.

Few of the 450 manufacturers are, we believe, averaging to exceed 12 per cent on their turnover. The 5 per cent tax would, therefore, take five-twelfths of their profits (assuming the tax can not be passed on to the consumer), which would equal five-twelfths of the profits of the trade as a whole. It would be equivalent to a tax of 41.5 per cent on the profits of companies that make profits, and would, of course, entail a serious loss for a great many others.

Profits have been small per unit, because the trade depends on volume. An average of 12 per cent is much lower than in most other industries.

Overland made 10 per cent on $80,000,000, car sales.
Hupmobile made 1.1 per cent on $10,000,000 sales.
Chandler made 11.4 per cent on $12,860,000.
Winton made 4.4 per cent on $9,150,000.
Chalmers made 2.1 per cent on $18,500,000.
Packard made 11 per cent on $35,000,000.
Saxon made 8 per cent on $15,000,000.

It is worth noting that these are all prominent companies. The Winton Co. is next to the oldest in this country and has been in business for 20 years, yet it made only a little over 4 per cent. In 1915, on more than $5,000,000, it made only a little over 3 per cent, while in 1914 on $3,821,000 sales it made a little more than 6 per cent. The records of all companies are available and will show figures of a similar character.

It can be readily seen from this low margin of profits on the volume of sales how confiscatory would be the proposed 5 per cent tax.

INDUSTRY NOW SUFFERING IN SALES.

The motor-car industry is suffering from the war, makers showing any number of cancellations and a general slowing of demands. If added to this general slowing down there is a 5 per cent tax the future of the industry is certainly menaced.

The Pierce Co. reports 40 orders last month for passenger cars and 76 cancellations.

Mercer cut production schedule from 1,250 cars to 800.

Hudson reduced from 30,000 to 20,000.

Overland's cancellations reduced shipping orders from 30,000 to 16,500 cars.

From 12 dealers Packard, since April 1, has had cancellation of 199 passenger cars and 33 trucks.

Cadillac reports that 42 per cent of dealers have cancelled orders of $1,207,000 worth of cars.

Scores of other companies report similar conditions.

DIFFICULTIES OF A FALLING MARKET.

The 5 per cent tax can not generally be passed with any success to the consumer because of the impossibility of advancing prices on a falling market. If attempted, and some may attempt it, it will decrease demand and, of course, the volume of business, on which profits depend.

Very few manufacturers if obliged to pay this tax would not have anything to pay under the excess-profits tax and their profits remaining, if any, would be less than 8 per cent on their investments. In many cases it would entail a substantial loss.

Such condition would curtail sales and production and decrease any excess profit which the Government might ordinarily receive.

SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS FAIL OR RETIRE FROM BUSINESS IN FIVE YEARS.

There can probably be no greater indication of the difficulties than to note the failures that have strewn the path of the past five years. The business has been extremely hazardous and the difficulties of many have been overshadowed by the glittering successes of a few great concerns whose organizations and facilities were such that they would have made probably as great a success in any other line. The mortality has been greater than in any other industry of which we have record.

The official records of the Automobile Trade Directory gives the names and addresses of 718 companies that failed or went out of business since 1912, and of this number, 133 car manufacturers failed during the past two years.

Motor Age, February 8, 1917, prints a list of 241 orphan cars; that is, cars made by companies that have gone out of business. The Puritan Machine Co. has blue prints and parts of 105 companies that have ceased making motor cars.

MANY PROMINENT NAMES AMONG FAILURES.

Not all of these companies were small, for in the list we find such names as Alco, which the American Locomotive Co. ceased making after losing several million dollars; Pope, Herreschoff, Thomas, Brush, Maxwell-Briscoe, Stoddard-Dayton, Stevens-Duryea, Owen, Acme, Knox, Columbus, Columbia, Cleveland, Garford, Elmore, Welch, Krit, Midland, Parry, U. S. Motor, Rainier, Republic, Sterling, Warren, Yale, Cutting, American, Bergdoll, and others equally well known.

We believe that not more than one-half of our automobile manufacturers are breaking even, and certainly very few are making in excess of 10 per cent on their turnover.

MANY INVESTORS IN MOTOR COMPANIES.

Stockholders in some instances have had very substantial returns from their investments in motor-car companies, while in many other cases the returns have been little or nothing. Some companies now have from 1,500 to 5,000 stockholders, while one company—the Harroun Motors, of Wayne, Mich.—has been getting under way for a year and has more than 15,000 stockholders awaiting the results of a business which is just now beginning to produce cars. The average holding is 18 shares of $10 par value stock.

The automobile industry is anxious to supply its share of revenue to the Government, and feels that with a fair chance to do business and to keep its industry stable it can supply a substantial amount. If the volume of trade falls off, however, this result will be disappointing.

FOUR OUT OF FIVE SALES WITH A TRADE.

During the past year, excluding Ford, 80 per cent, or four-fifths, of all new cars were sold to people who already owned cars and traded them in. If any effort is made to impose a 5 per cent tax on them they will largely keep their old cars instead of replacing them with new, and thus prevent the industry producing any great revenue for the Government.

While some makers may try to add such a tax to the consumer price, the makers generally agree that on the falling market such an attempt would curtail buying to the detriment of the trade as a whole. With materials bought and schedule of cars under way, a congestion of the market might result.

POSSIBILITY OF INCREASING MONOPOLY FOR BIG COMPANIES.

If one or two of the big makers decided to absorb this tax themselves the result would be an increasing monopoly for them and certain failure for many of the smaller ones.

MOTOR CARS IN GENERAL USE.

It is estimated that more than 40 per cent of the cars registered in this country are owned by farmers, who have been the biggest buyers of cars for the past two years.

State records showed 3,541,738 cars and trucks registered in the United States on January 1, 1917. There is 1 motor car for every 13 people in Iowa and Nebraska, 1 for every 19 people in Arizona and Montana, and 1 for every 22 people in Texas. New York State and Pennsylvania have only 1 for every 37 people. (Reprint from Automobile, Mar. 15, 1917.)

ADVERTISING THE AUTOMOBILE.

The advertising expense of motor-car makers based on the volume of business is about the same as in other lines of manufactured and trade-marked articles. The Hudson Co.'s advertising expense last year was 1.3 per cent on the volume of their sales; the Studebaker Co. spent only nine-tenths of 1 per cent, while the Maxwell spent 2 per cent for advertising and Overland 3 per cent. Printers' Ink of May 10, 1917, says the average for 40 advertisers of various lines was 4½ per cent.

CARS ARE MADE EVERYWHERE.

So many cars are produced in Michigan and Indiana that statements made indicate the belief that only those States are interested in motor-car manufacture.

While the great majority of the cars are put together or assembled in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, New York, and Illinois, the parts for these cars are made in a score of States throughout the country.

There are automobile factories in 32 States. (The Automobile, Mar. 15, 1917.) There are 825 makers of parts and accessories dealing directly and more than 1,100 other companies dealing indirectly with the trade to supply the needs of car makers, and these companies are from almost every State in the country.

The Chilton Trade Directory lists 465 articles sold to automobile makers, including leather, cotton, lumber, steel, copper, paint, glass, rubber, brass, and parts (complete), ranging from air gauges, ammeters, and axles to windshields, wrenches, and wheels.

POSITION OF MANUFACTURERS OF PARTS AND ACCESSORIES.

Parts and accessory manufacturers call attention to the fact that any great falling off in the industry, curtailing production and with possible failures, would leave them with many articles manufactured for a special purpose but unavailable for general use. Parts like axles, steering gears, frames, and bodies are designed especially for certain cars and are of little use for other cars of different design and weights.

DEALERS AND GARAGES EVERYWHERE.

Even after motor cars are sold they must be rehandled by 25,000 or more dealers in every city and hamlet, stored by 23,000 garage-owners, and repaired when necessary by 12,000 machine shops.

THE DEALER'S POSITION AND RISK.

The dealer's position in connection with this tax warrants careful consideration. He maintains salesrooms, under lease, with certain fixed expenses all dependent on the sale of certain types of motor car. If a dealer can not obtain cars from his own company, he suffers a loss, because most other lines are represented in his own city and he is left with nothing to sell.

Reports show that not more than half of the motor-car dealers are making more than a living. The dealer buys his cars at 15 to 25 per cent from the list price (on 60 per cent of the cars it is 18 per cent or less) and out of that margin he is obliged to pay rent, commissions to salesmen, heat, light, and power, furnish a certain amount of free service on all cars sold, and because of his using gasoline and having his cars driven by demonstrators he is obliged to pay high rates for fire and liability insurance.

To make sales dealers are obliged to take in the second-hand cars of their customers, which are invariably sold at cost and in many cases at a loss. In general, it may be said that the average dealer has to make two sales to get one profit, because, with the exception of Fords, four out of five sales of new cars involve the trading of an old car.

UNFAIR TO TAX CARS IN HANDS OF DEALERS.

Because of the trade practice of buying motor cars in advance, the plan to apply the tax on cars held by other than manufacturers at time the law becomes effective would entail a severe hardship upon the dealers.

It is customary for dealers to take cars from the manufacturers during the winter for selling during the spring months. Dealers now have millions of dollars worth of new and second-hand cars on hand; they have accepted contracts from subdealers for future delivery and retail buyers at published prices, and payment of the tax would mean substantial losses. If an attempt is made to change the retail buyers' orders, it will result in many cancellations. The second-hand cars in the hands of the dealers have been taken in at their full worth, and in most cases will be sold without profit. To tax these used cars when cars in the hands of users are not taxed is wholly unfair, and will certainly result in large losses to the dealers.

In selling to customers the dealer has to overcome the prejudice which the former has in connection with the general taxing of automobiles, involving as it does in some States a car tax, a driver's license tax, a wheel tax, a personal tax, and in some cases, as in the District of Columbia, a double registration required by the District and by the adjacent States.

Then, too, in some States, as in North Carolina, $500 must be paid for a license to sell any make of motor car in the State.

MOTOR TRUCKS NOT A LUXURY.

It seems very unfair to class motor trucks in the bill as a luxury. Passenger cars have almost entirely ceased to be a luxury, while motor trucks never were. Truck makers are supplying a vehicle for the transportation of goods that is aiding the railroads and helping to keep down the cost of almost everything that is used by the American family.

The 300,000 commercial cars now in use in the country give an annual service of 4,500,000,000 ton-miles. At the average railroad freight rate of seven-tenths of a cent per ton-mile this is worth $31,500,000, and at the rate of 20 cents per ton-mile for haulage by wagon road is worth $900,000,000 a year.

Certainly the motor truck has no place under any heading that carries with it the idea of luxury. On the contrary, the truck is to be considered a great and growing necessity in our industrial, military, and commercial life.

People will not freely buy automobiles in war times or under heavy tax conditions, and the greatest kind of economy must be practiced and energetic business methods followed to maintain a fair selling average this year.

If makers have to begin curtailing output to any substantial extent it will mean increased manufacturing cost. Reduction of output does not correspondingly save overhead, which, next to material, is the largest element entering into the manufacture of cars and trucks.

Automobile manufacturers are proud of the advancement of their industry, and the service of the motor car has supplied and added to the facilities for the transportation of men and materials.

The automobile makers asked to be recorded in their desire to cooperate with the Government needs in every way. They simply ask to be treated like all other industries, and in the long run believe such treatment will furnish greater financial and greater industrial support to the Government, and with an even chance of maintaining themselves under the very trying conditions which beset all lines of endeavor in this crisis.

Our effort has been to give in a most concise form a statement of the position of the industry, and we are ready to supply further information and details regarding any of the statements made herein.

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STATEMENT OF DR. E. C. CROW, OF THE CROW-ELKHART CO.

Dr. CROW. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we have thought it wise to give you a concrete statement of an individual concern, which of course is embarrassing to me.

We have been manufacturing automobiles for eight years in the State of Indiana, at Elkhart, and did not make much progress until last year for the reason that overhead expense was too great, and our volume was too small. Last year, however, we turned out approximately 3,000 cars and made a little money. In view of the advancing cost of all sorts of material, with which everybody is familiar, we found about the first of this year that we were not making any money on our cars. Our net profit last year per car was $49.89, but after the first of the year we found we were not making any money at all. We were compelled to advance the price of that car $50. We sold the car last year at $795 and this year for $845, and the advance has taken care of the advance in materials up to the present time, but if material continues to advance we will have to increase the price of the car again or quit, even if this tax is not imposed If this tax is imposed, our commercial life, I believe, is limited.

We are employing now about 500 people. We have approximately 500 dealers, big, little, and all kinds, scattered throughout the United States. But we do not believe, in view of the fact that we have recently raised the price of our car, that we can add this tax to the price of the car when we sell it to the distributor or dealer, and we know beyond any doubt that we can not absorb it and live. We are too familiar with our costs, and so forth, to try to fool ourselves in regard to that.

Then, if we approximate our output at 3,000 cars at the selling price, after the 20 per cent is taken out which is about what we give our dealers, it would leave a tax of $31.50, approximately, to be paid by us or by the consumer, and we do not think we can possibly pass it on, and we know that we can not absorb it ourselves. That would amount to $94,000, and that is 33⅓ per cent of our capitalization. In three years, if we could live that long, we would be done; we would be down and out absolutely, because the tax we would pay, as I say, would be one-third of our entire capitalization of $250,000.

Senator MCCUMBER. Let me ask a question to elucidate what you are saying. Is it not absolutely true in the automobile business that there are a large number of manufacturers of medium-priced cars which are in intense competition with cars selling just a little lower, and on those medium-priced cars the companies are not making more than 5 per cent, and if they attempt to raise them they destroy their sales entirely and lose them to the lower-priced cars, even though the lower class of car may be making 100 per cent, like Ford?

Dr. CROW. That is quite true, absolutely true. I had overlooked that point. I am glad you called it to my attention. That is very true. If we lower the price, we go broke; if we raise the price, we can not sell the car and will go broke; so it looks like we are up against a stone wall.

STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS HENDERSON, OF THE WINTON CO.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am here to represent the 400 or more makers who make 20 per cent of all the cars made in the United States, and I was asked to come here and make this presentation because of the fact that the Winton Co. is one of the oldest, perhaps the first company, that was advertising and selling from a standard model, automobiles in the United States. We have had some experience, if we do not have much money.

We had, to begin with, to hew the car out of the whole, to forge the gears on the anvil and turn them upon the lathe, and to forge our own axles and everything else, to make even our own electrical apparatus as best we could, and develop that and everything else about it, because there was no one to go to; and yet we managed to live on and build up a business for over 20 years, and in that time we made some money. We made enough money to build up quite a sizeable business, but none of us got rich out of it. Some years we made no money, some years we lost money; but taking one year with another, especially when competition was not so keen, we managed to come out on the right side of the ledger. But with all our economical management, that the whole trade knows and has looked to and commented on, the fact that Mr. Winton, myself, and our treasurer, Mr. Brown, worked there for very small salaries in that company—and we worked, and worked all the time in the management of the company—perhaps accounts for the slight success we have had. We have no high-priced man around there. With all our efforts we to-day can not afford to pay 5 per cent on our product and come out whole at all.

I have the figures on that. Just the main facts of the case were taken by the public accountants in Cleveland, whose reports will show exactly this:

In 1914 our whole business was $381,000, and we made 6 per cent. In 1915 we had about $5,000,000 and made 3 per cent. You will notice, then, that the price of material and the cost of labor was going up very fast. We made a slight increase in the price of our car, and in 1916 we turned out $9,000,000 worth of business, the largest business we ever did in our history, but the net profit on that large business was just 4⅝ per cent. We have to turn out quite a large number of cars and sell them at the full price before we break even. During the years that we did not make money, they were years that for some one reason or another we did not get enough cars together or did not sell enough. We made money on every car we sold, but we did not make enough to pay overhead and to come out on the right side of the ledger at the end of the year.

Our condition is the reason why I have consented to make this personal revelation of the condition of this old company, of which I am so proud, and to tell you the sad fact that, with all our experience, we are not making any more money than that, where many people who came into the business after all the detail of it was developed and who had the genius to go ahead and finance it in a big way and work rapidly to large production, have made these fabulous millions. We were the people who laid the foundation of this business for them. Mr. Haynes, who is present, started out the very year we started, and began buiness in the same way. When, with all our vast experience, we were not able to see any better than that, I want to tell you that we know there are hundreds of companies that can not make up this increase in the form of 5 per cent tax on all their output and live, for the reason that those who are better situated—those who have made these great successes and whose balance sheets show millions of cash and surplus—can go on the market, "We will absorb that tax, and we do not need to raise our price," but all these other companies will be forced to add that tax. By so doing they will have that many less sales, and any sales made will go to the larger and more wealthy companies, and the smaller ones will be the sufferers. We are here to make this revelation and to plead for those which are worse off than ourselves.

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STATEMENT OF MR. A. B. C. HARDY, OF THE CHEVROLET MOTOR CO.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that the committees of Congress understand how dependent a business the automobile business is. Each man can use his own figures if he knows they are right. I have no plea to make for the Chevrolet Co. Those things which we can do we will work out in the most patriotic way. The company will do what it has to do. We hope that it will be asked to do it in the same way that all other lines of business will be asked, and will go the limit. We shall be in at the finish; but there is this element in this, and I will have to use our own figures for illustration.

The product which we build is priced at $550. That price was made upon the basis of estimates made 18 months ago. Into the frame of the automobile enters what is called frame steel. Ours will be a lower class of stock than that contained in the higher-priced cars. It takes 120 pounds of metal, including the waste in cutting and fabricating. Eighteen months ago that metal stood us $1.35 per hundred pounds. To-day the most favorable contract we can get is $5.15 to $5.25. It will take 250 pounds of thin sheet metal, of a very high grade, to make what you see on the outside of the body, the fenders, the running-board shields, and the hood of the motor car. In the costs we figured upon this car 18 months ago the average price of that metal was $2.75 per hundred pounds. We would be very glad to get a more favorable contract to-day than $8.15 per hundred pounds. The cheap stuff that is under the body of the car, in the muffler, and things that do not have to show but simply have to hold something, is the ordinary black stovepipe iron. Eighteen months ago $1.75 per hundred pounds was a good, high price on that metal. A contract made 90 days ago called for $5.75 per hundred pounds on that same material. There are 131 pounds of cheap malleable iron in a cheap car sold at $550 that cost us $3.90 per hundred pounds 18 months ago, and it is now $6.70, and July 1 it must go far, far, above that. There are 350 pounds of ordinary gray iron castings involved in the motor in that particular car, and it does not differ in that very much from other cars of like or better class. That is based on standard northern pig iron, which 18 months ago was selling for $13.35 a ton. An exceedingly favorable contract made four months ago is $43 a ton. The average amount of lumber that

goes into a cheap car is not great It will figure $16 on cars made six months ago. After all, it is an item. Throwing in the materials used in loading these cars and all, the average price of that lumber 14 months ago was $27.50 a thousand, and it is now from $42 to $47.50. Cotton fabrics inside of the tire, in a cheap tire, in the top, in the so-called imitation leather, and similar places, has raised in price over 100 per cent.

These are simply indications that these automobile people, not us—do not think of us in the matter at all—have absorbed and absorbed and absorbed, and have not raised their prices—and why? They are trying to hold this industry alive, trying to have it not react upon the sales and thus stop these plants. I believe that we have fairly well bought our materials by buying 12 or 14 or 16 months ahead, if possible. We make our motor; we make our transmission; we make our axles; we make our universal joints and many other parts, and we have considered ourselves as manufacturers. I will swear on the stand that 70 per cent of the money value in a cheap car, such as a $550 car, is completely finished and fabricated in other men's plants, and they are all specialists. When you get back and figure on that question, really they are absolutely dependent upon getting their material wrapped up and on the market. The automobile business is only the stopping place to wrap the material into a package that the public will take away and pay their money for

When I started off the other day we had received within the past three days 700 cancellations because of this threatened condition. Our profit in January, February, and March, on $11,000,000 worth of business, was far less than 8 per cent, and the books are open to you and the statements ready. If on that volume of business nothing more than that can be realized, I do not know what the situation is with the smaller concerns who can not command their merchandise. We have come to a point where we can not absorb any more. We have got to get a little more money for the product, anyway. If a tax is to be tied on top of all that we have now got to bear, we must come out and ask for a double raise. The raise we were compelled to make recently has already stopped sales with us, and this tax will paralyze this industry. Behind that cheap car that I have been telling you about are 135 different concerns who have invested their money and their talent. They are specialists. We have been telling them to "go ahead; we will get an outlet for you." They have strained their resources, and we know it, and we feel a moral responsibility about it. We have engaged more machinery that is coming in a little at a time. The condition is certainly very serious. We ask you, gentlemen, to give it most careful consideration before you apply this large tax to our business.

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STATEMENT OF MR. ELWOOD HAYNES, OF THE HAYNES AUTOMOBILE CO.

Mr. HAYNES. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Mr. Henderson and I started into the automobile business at a very early date, and it has now been about 24 years since we commenced to build the first car. I will say in regard to the industry that it has not been a bed of roses by any manner of means. Those who started earlier perhaps had a harder time than those who came in later years, because, as Mr. Henderson has already explained, we had to make nearly everything that went into the construction of the car.

For 20 years in our business I think we declared one 6 per cent dividend, and we felt as though we could hardly afford to do that. I must admit that within the last two or three years we have done pretty well. We have made more money in that period than ever before, but considering the business as a whole it has not been more remunerative than any other legitimate business up to the present time. I think the public is making a mistake and I think the committee is making a mistake when they put the automobile into a class along with things that are of no utility at all—for instance, with chewing gum and moving pictures. If there is an accident of any kind to a train, you get your automobile down there and if there is a wreck you bring those people home and take care of them. If somebody is sick in your family you call for your physician and he has an automobile and is able to get to you quickly. Suburban residences have become possible for people who formerly lived in congested parts of the large cities and who are now enabled to live in the suburbs because of the automobile, even where they are within or without the reach of the trolley lines.

I do not want to take your valuable time further than this, but I can assure you that so far as our own company is concerned, the business has not been at all remunerative. It has been a menace to everything that we had for 15 or 20 years, and with the exception of the last 2 or 3 years it has not paid us at all. We have done well in the last 2 or 3 years, but our business for the month of March this year was about 20 per cent greater than it was in April. That is an alarming condition, for the reason that usually April deliveries are very much better than March. This was on account of the war itself, not the war tax. It caused people to hesitate to purchase. The people do not know what may happen, and they hesitate to buy an automobile under those conditions. Of course, this committee and nobody else is responsible for that, but it is a serious condition that we in the business have to face.

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STATEMENT OF MR. FREDERICK I. BARROWS, OF THE LEXINGTON-HOWARD CO., LEXINGTON, IND.

Mr. BARROWS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am going to speak about three things I conceive to be important in this situation as regards our car. It has been manufactured since 1908, and up to 1914 the net results of all those labors had been a loss of $180,000, for the reason that no automobile concern can live until it is doing a business of at least a million dollars a year. I think that even a genius like Ford could not make an automobile business a success unless he did a million dollars of business a year, unless they were in some subsidiary manufacturing business that brought in the revenue some other way. Our business has to be big. We can not sell merely a dollar's worth of automobile. We must sell something like $500 or $1,000 or $2,000 worth of automobile.

It seems to me the levying of this tax will disorganize the business. It will ruin some people who are not appearing here to-day as automobile men. It will prevent us from doing our share, which we are truly anxious to do in this war. It will not bring the revenue that you gentlemen desire and that the people expect. We are perfectly ready to do our share. I think the automobile people were among the first to tender their services in any way they could help, and they are just as ready to-day to do their full duty. We are ready to pay our full share of taxation. We will not whimper on the proposition of paying our full share of taxation, but we want to be in with the other fellows, and incidentally the thing that stumps our business will not make it possible for us to pay our taxes.

You may say that the fire insurance man can add his taxes. We can not, because when we add anything more how are you going to get a market? If you will say in your bill that we may add this tax to the cost of the automobiles, it will be all right if you will then say they shall buy them. If you would say that we might be for this proposition, but as it stands we have 36 distributing districts in the United States, and we have got a stop order from each and every one of them since this proposition has been under discussion. I do not know what did it. I do not know whether the weather did it or the talk of conditions did it, but I know it was done. I know that we have been way, way behind in our orders. I know we are now right up, and we reduced our schedule for the coming month from 650 to 400, and we are one of the little fellows.

We did what you might think was a big business last month of $403,000, but that is a little thing in the automobile business, because on that amount of business you can just hardly get by. If we were to make 10 per cent on that, we would be so tickled that I don't know what we would be willing to do. We would be willing to pay some big taxes, I assure you. We have never seen anything like 10 per cent on our turnover since 1908. We are getting better and stronger. We are getting toward the point where we have volume, and when you get volume you can do something. We are merely assemblers. A lot of companies are closely associated with us. They depend on us, and while we have a capital of only $500,000, we have on contract, on positive, definite orders, the most of which are started to be performed, $5,000,000 worth of material. I wonder how in the world a $500,000 company is going to buy five millions worth of material, with the market going down for automobiles and people saying, "I guess the Government does not want us to use automobiles because it is not patriotic to use them." I do not believe the Congress of the United States will tell the people that this necessity for health and for business purposes is in the same class with whisky. I do not know but what I like whisky—I would not say—but I will say this, that I do not think that we are on a par with that. Here is a business where there are 250 or 300 men who are putting together the stuff that 5,000 men are building in different parts of the country. Down in Mississippi they saw up the wood for our frames; other parts are made in Pennsylvania and some of them in Connecticut. We buy a lot of stuff there. There are 450 different classes of material go into our little automobile, and if we are shy one of them—bingo, we can not ship!

My main business is not to talk, but I do know how to get this stuff together and get it matched up, and to turn this stuff over to the extent of the amount of our capital stock of $500,000

about once a month, and if we could make 5 per cent during the coming year on what I can turnover, I would be tickled to death. I do not know much about selling, but I do know that when they telegraph us from all over the country to hold up their orders until they know what is happening that it means a very serious condition for us to handle.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps a lot of people have decided to stop using automobiles and are going to get Fords.

Mr. BARROWS. That might be so. If the Senate wants us to do something else besides make automobiles, and let them ride in wheelbarrows, just let us know. We do not want to stand back on any proposition of that kind.

When the first news of this war came we telegraphed a positive offer of our services to this Government. If you think tax is not high enough, we are not standing back on that, but we do want to be treated as other manufacturers, and we do want you to recognize this product of ours as a necessity, a useful thing, and not a harmful thing.

Payment of Second-Class Postage According to Rate of Subscription Price and Number of Copies Circulated Through the Mails.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 19, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, during consideration of H. R. 4280, a bill to provide revenue to defray war expenses, which bill carries a zone system of second-class postage rates, which system is thought by many publishers to be unfair, I have in connection with a number of my colleagues prepared a bill which seeks to place on an absolutely fair basis all circulation of second-class matter through the mails. The system is based on the collection per annual average circulation and the price per annum of the publication, and is so arranged that small dailies and weeklies with limited circulations pay a small sum in addition to the 1 cent per pound for the privilege of mail circulation. Large papers pay in proportion to their large circulations, and in proportion to their subscription price. All papers pay the present rate of 1 cent per pound, and the "free-in-county" privilege is left to those papers now enjoying it.

The rates I have suggested begin at one-fourth of a cent for papers selling at 50 cents a year and having a circulation of less than 20,000. Such a paper, with 1,000 subscribers, pays a war tax of $1.25. If it has 100,000 subscribers it pays $1,000, the rate having increased when the paper passed 20,000 mailed subscriptions.

A $1 paper with 1,000 subscribers would pay $5 war tax, with 10,000 subscribers that paper would pay $50, and with 20,000 mail subscribers $200; or, if it should reach 100,000 subscribers, it would pay $2,000.

If the Saturday Evening Post, selling for $1.50 per year, has 1,000,000 subscribers, it would pay $80,000 in addition to the 1-cent-a-pound rate now prevailing. This is not an exorbitant tax and yet it is enough. The scale fixes permanently the overhead charge that a newspaper at a certain price must pay on reaching a certain circulation.

The Weekly Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis, with 85,000 subscribers, if all are sent through the mails, would pay $425 and 1 cent per pound.

The Calvert Gazette, published in Prince Frederick County, Md., has 500 subscribers at $1 per year. It would have its circulation in county free, pay 1 cent a pound for papers sent outside the county, and would pay $2.50 war tax. Should this paper reach 1,000 copies it would pay $5.

The Iron Age, published at $5 a year, is reported to have 11,924 subscribers. It would pay 2 cents for each subscriber, or $450, and the regular pound rate of 1 cent.

Comfort, with 1,276,800 subscribers, at 25 cents each, would pay 1 cent per annual subscription, or $12,768, and the pound rate in addition.

The plan if carried out will produce an enormous sum in revenue, remove all complaint of undercharge in second-class mail matter, and will give the newspapers an opportunity to help finance the war in exact proportion to their circulation and ability to pay a war tax.

The following table shows the graduated scale, commencing with a tax rate of one-quarter of a cent on 50-cent papers with a circulation of 1,000, and running up to a tax of 12 cents per average annual mail subscription for newspapers or magazines selling at $6 per year and having in excess of 100,000 subscribers.

Tax rate.	Subscription rate.	1,000	5,000	10,000	20,000	100,000
¼ cent	$0.50 or less	$2.50	$12.50	$25.00		
½ cent					$100	
1 cent						$1,000
½ cent	$1	5.00	25.00	50.00		
1 cent					200	
2 cents						2,000
1 cent	$2	20.00	100.00	200.00		
2 cents					800	
4 cents						8,000
1½ cents	$3	45.00	225.00	450.00		
3 cents					1,800	
6 cents						18,000
2 cents	$4	80.00	400.00	800.00		
4 cents					3,200	
8 cents						32,000
2½ cents	$5	125.00	625.00	1,250.00		
5 cents					5,000	
10 cents						50,000
3 cents	$6	180.00	900.00	1,800.00		
6 cents					7,200	
12 cents						72,000

In order not to discourage the securing of subscriptions but three divisions providing different charges for a number of subscribers are made.

The first fixes one rate for all papers circulated through the mails up to 20,000. The second makes a rate for all papers up to 100,000. The third rate is for papers in excess of 100,000. The largest rate is applied to every mail subscription and does not permit the first 20,000 to be at a lower rate than the other subscriptions which have placed the paper in the 20,000 subscription class.

The machinery for setting up this plan of taxation is already in operation. Newspapers now have to certify to the true circulation. They can be asked to divide the circulation into mail circulation and other circulation.

The plan is incorporated in a bill which I am introducing. The bill is as follows:

A bill providing a graduated rate for payment of second-class postage on newspapers and periodicals according to rate of subscription price, and number of copies circulated through the mails.

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after June 1, 1917, the rate of postage on all mail matter of the second class shall be, in addition to the existing rate of 1 cent for each pound or fraction thereof, as follows:

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is 50 cents or less per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, one-fourth of 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is 50 cents or less per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies but less than 100,000 copies per issue, one-half of 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is 50 cents or less per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than 50 cents, but less than $1.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, one-half of 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than 50 cents, but less than $1.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies per issue, but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than 50 cents but less than $1.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 2 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $1 but less than $2.01 per year and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 1 cent for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $1 but less than $2.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 2 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $1 but less than $2.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 4 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $2 but less than $3.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 1½ cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $2 but less than $3.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 3 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $2 but less than $3.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 6 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $3 but less than $4.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 2 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $3 but less than $4.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 4 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $3 but less than $4.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 8 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $4 but less than $5.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 2½ cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $4 but less than $5.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 5 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $4 but less than $5.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 10 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $5 but less than $6.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 3 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $5 but less than $6.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies but less than 100,000 copies per issue, 6 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $5 but less than $6.01 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 100,000 copies per issue, 12 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $6 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is less than 20,000 copies per issue, 5 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

For newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals whose subscription price is more than $6 per year, and whose circulation through the mails is more than 20,000 copies per year, 10 cents for each annual subscription circulated through the mails.

SEC. 2. That the additional postage charge provided for in section 1 hereof shall be due and payable quarterly, on the 1st days of September, December, March, and June, and shall be collected by the postmaster of the office at which such newspaper, magazine, or other periodical is presented for mailing under the provisions of the general law.

SEC. 3. That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the proper computation of charges as provided in section 1 hereof, and for the collection thereof.

Drunkenness in Russia Said to Be Growing—British Workers Must Drink Beer, Says Food Chief.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 19, 1917.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert, first, the following article taken from the New York Tribune of Thursday, May 17, 1917, in regard to the reported increase of drunkenness in Russia:

DRUNKENNESS IN RUSSIA SAID TO BE GROWING—SECRET DISTILLERIES ARE MAKING GREAT QUANTITIES OF VODKA.

PETROGRAD, *May 2.*

Prohibition of traffic in vodka, which went into effect at the beginning of the war, while reducing to a minimum the percentage of drunkenness in cities throughout the Empire, has met with less flattering results in the villages, according to reports recently received. In these rural communities secret distilleries have sprung up and a "new scourge" has taken the place of the vodka of other days. This is especially true of Siberian villages, says Ryetch. A Siberian deputy is quoted to the effect that the peasants, instead of bringing corn to the towns to sell, are engaged in buying the small stocks remaining in such towns for sale to secret distilleries of vodka at fancy prices, sometimes paying as high as 14 cents a pound.

"This communication," continues Ryetch, "is confirmed by the Siberian press. Nearly every village now has its own distillery. Consumption of this homemade product is increasing the number of hooligans in the villages and the latter are suffering in consequence. And this evil is not confined to Siberia. In the middle Provinces the same conditions exist." The Tambovsky Zemsky Vestnik says of these Provinces: "Homemade vodka is consumed in enormous quantities, in spite of its high cost. The peasants have plenty of money, and, with few distractions in the villages, drinking is on the increase." The latter article concludes with the significant observation: "Perhaps those who are afraid of an educated peasant are secretly condoning this drunkenness."

The advocates of governmental prohibition of the distillation of alcoholic liquors if they be sincere in their desire to minimize drunkenness should ask themselves this very practical question: "What sort of a spy system will be necessary to prevent such distillation of spirits should legal prohibition become a fact?" The second item I insert is from the New York Herald of Friday, May 18, 1917, headed "British workers must drink beer." This interview is given by Mr. Kennedy Jones, director of food economy of Great Britain, and is submitted for what it is worth from a man of such intimate knowledge of conditions there:

BRITISH WORKERS MUST DRINK BEER, SAYS FOOD CHIEF—"A PRACTICAL, SCIENTIFIC FACT," HE DECLARES, DEFENDING USE OF CEREALS.

LONDON, *May 17, 1917.*

Influential representations have been made to the ministry of food that the continuation of brewing in Great Britain is likely to make it more difficult to get increased export of cereals from America. Kennedy Jones, director of food economy, gave the Associated Press an authoritative statement in regard to the restrictions already imposed on brewing and the complexities of the problem. He said:

"We quite realize that misapprehension may exist in the United States regarding our beer consumption. That is only natural. We are daily receiving letters from numbers in this country who consider that they are absolved from the necessity of saving bread because other people drink beer and who demand that, as a first step in food economy, all brewing should cease.

"As things stand no more barley will be malted in this country except a small quantity for use as coloring matter. The last barley was malted in February. Therefore the only question is, Would there be a very valuable saving in food by mixing the malt which exists with flour and making it into bread rather than by using it for the brewing of beer? A strong body of scientific opinion holds that beer has its food value. Apart from that it is a fact that only a small percentage of malt—not more than 5 per cent—can be mixed with flour in bread making or it produces a sticky and unpalatable loaf.

"Whether the brewing of beer shall be stopped at once and the barley already malted used for mixing with flour is a question of policy, and hinges on the point whether the malt in bread or in beer will secure the most efficient prosecution of the war. Unlike America, beer has been for centuries a part of the daily diet of our working classes. The first duty and the first effort of those responsible for the ordering of public affairs is to secure a maximum output of work for the prosecution of the war from all workers. A great number of men engaged in very heavy manual labor—as for example, men working at blast furnaces—must drink considerable malty liquid. This is not only a practical fact, it is a scientific fact. The bulk of these men are in the habit of taking that liquid in the form of beer. The question is not whether cold tea would be better for them, but what would be the effect on the output of work by suddenly cutting off their supply of beer.

"It it be found advisable to stop beer altogether—upon which point there is a considerable difference of opinion—it would be simple common sense to allow the workers time to adapt themselves to the change gradually, by a gradual reduction of the supply, rather than by checking or stopping the brewing of beer at once. Also it is well to bear in mind that if the worker is not deriving part of his energy, as has been his habit, from beer, he may require more bread, so that practically no actual saving of bread could be effected.

"Moreover, we may well take a leaf out of Germany's book in this matter. That country—which again is unlike the United States, in that beer is part of its normal diet—is in the matter of food now scientifically organized with a view to supplying its workers with a maximum of energy for the prosecution of the war. South Germany is still brewing 35 per cent of its prewar quantity of beer against our 27½ per cent, yet no one would suggest that the food situation in Germany has not been serious for the last 12 months.

"Of course there may arrive the point at which it is considered necessary on review of all the circumstances, to stop all brewing, but until this point is reached, and in view of the drastic restrictions already imposed, it is scarcely fair to let the impression get abroad that we are blind to the considerations involved or determined to continue beer drinking regardless of its effect upon the war. It should be clearly understood that because of its relation to daily life and the output of munitions beer occupies a very different status in this country as compared with its relation to the life of the American people."

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 19, 1917.

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing more to the dislike of the taxpayer than the annoyance occasioned by the multiplicity of taxes now in operation by municipal, State, and National Government, and it is now proposed by this bill, known as the war-revenue bill, to add to the burden.

The taxpayer does not object to paying his fair share of the necessary funds for the operations of the Government, but he does object to being placed under the necessity of preparing many reports and to collecting and returning numerous funds from different channels, entailing annoyances and expenses which bring him no return and consumes his time and attention which should be in the natural course of business applied to his customary employment.

In the bill proposed to us the committee has failed to recognize the unfairness of enlarging the different lines of taxation, particularly when they have in the lines of taxation already established the means of collecting sufficient funds for all the necessary portion of the increase of the public debt it should be considered proper to be raised at this time. These channels of income are now well established and workable, and an increase in the amount will not increase the collection expenses appreciably, which is of considerable advantage to the Government, and certainly will save the taxpayer the expense of the numerous Government employees necessary for the collection of the taxes proposed.

Any tax on what are now public necessities, such as are contained in several of the sections and which are passed on to the consumer as a tax, will be unpopular; they will continuously call to his attention the imposition of the tax and cause doubt in his mind as to how much he is really paying; he would far rather pay once or twice a lump sum and be relieved of the recounting made necessary by the numerous smaller sums.

Again, if these taxes are not passed on to the consumer as a direct charge, the absorption of them by the various activities they will pass through will lead to an increase in prices which, of course, will be liberal enough to cover all expenses. For instance, if the freight rate on a certain commodity should be $1.25 to a given point the tax would be 3.75 cents, the middle man would, of course, not advance his price to the consumer the exact sum but would raise his price an even amount, say, at least 5 cents or possibly 10 cents. The effect of taxes of this character would be to raise the cost of living, already high enough.

The burden placed on the corporations to collect these taxes, such as on electric lights, telephones, and advertising charges, and so forth, will result in reducing their earning capacity, and consequently the amount now paid as a corporation tax, these companies send out thousands of small bills annually to each of which the additional charge will have to be made.

It is undoubtedly unfair to the first-class mail that it should pay any increase of rate, and it is just as unfair to the service that the Government should continue to carry the second-class mail at such an enormous loss. A fairer system than the zone system could be evolved by making a pound charge for postage based upon the number of pieces in a pound, as the great cost of carrying this mail is in the actual delivery.

For the present, and until a thorough investigation can be made, I would advocate an increase per pound of at least 1 or 2 cents on the second-class matter, such increase to include all matter, excluding none for any reason whatever.

As drawn by the committee, the bill does not meet with my approval. I feel that the circumstances do not justify the continued annoyance to the taxpayers, as proposed in its numerous items, and I trust the House will return it to have it redrawn on larger and more liberal lines.

Resolutions Adopted by the Knox County Bar Association.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR E. BLAND,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 19, 1917.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution adopted by the Knox County Bar Association in reference to the war with the Imperial German Government.

The resolution is as follows:

Mr. President, your committee heretofore appointed to prepare and submit resolutions expressing the attitude of the Knox County Bar Association in reference to the war which the Imperial German Government has begun against the Government of the United States of America by denying it the unmolested right to use the high seas for transportation of persons and property, by sinking our ships engaged in lawful pursuits, destroying the lives of our citizens and their properties without provocation or justification, calls upon every loyal American citizen to avenge the wrong, resent the uncalled-for attack, and defend at all hazard and with every resource at our command the lives and property of our people, their rights, the honor and dignity of our Nation. The attack made is a challenge to our patriotism, a deadly stroke at our liberties: Therefore be it

Resolved—

First. That we hereby declare our unwavering belief in the wholesome doctrine announced by President Wilson in his masterly presentation of our grievances and the unprovoked assaults on our national rights, the uncalled-for attack upon and destruction of American lives and property on the high seas, the common highway of all the world, the willful and intentional disregard and persistent violation of the principles of international law for safeguarding of persons and property by the Imperial German Government when he said in his recent message: "The world must be made safe for democracy; its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty." The maintenance of this doctrine requires that the rights of persons, property, and lawful commerce shall be upheld and free from piratical menace. We most earnestly indorse his courageous and patriotic stand for the preservation of American rights, both on land and sea, and the safeguarding of political liberty, and his determination to defend the lives and property of American citizens at home and abroad and repel all invasion of the same, whether by foreign or domestic foe.

We congratulate the National Congress on its prompt, liberal, and generous action in complying with the requests of the President for all necessary legislation and appropriations to prepare this country with both means and men and other resources to defend it against the attack which has been made on it without provocation or justification, and we pledge both the President and Congress our whole hearted cooperation and assistance in all measures required to sustain the Nation in the hour of its peril and prosecuting the defense of our citizens, our property, and our rights to a victorious termination, in order that American rights, life, property, and honor shall be preserved while engaged in lawful pursuits, and shall not be menaced or jeopardized at home or abroad. That Americans now are as loyal as to the cause of liberty as they were in 1776 and in 1861, and are determined that the principles then established by the sacrifice of life, property, and treasure "shall not perish from the earth," but shall live and be spread to all the peoples of the world, and we most ardently command the President in his patriotic stand for the preservation of these great American principles and his determination for their extension to other nations, the inspiration for a greater and better civilization.

Second. We most cordially indorse the patriotic and untiring efforts of Gov. James P. Goodrich to prepare Indiana for the performance of the full measure of her duty in the great conflict in which the Nation has now entered and pledge him our faithful cooperation in successfully consummating the great work he has undertaken in order that Indiana shall do in this as it has always done when the life of the Nation was in jeopardy or its honor and dignity assaulted. We believe it to be the duty of every loyal citizen of the State to assist him in every necessary and essential way to equip our State, so it can efficiently discharge every responsibility devolving upon it, whether by means, men, or other essentials, to the end that it can and may continue to occupy the position to which it has always been entitled in the sisterhood of States, in sustaining the Nations honor and defending the lives and property of the people, and thereby contributing its full measure to the upbuilding of a broader and more enduring civilization.

Third. We further believe it to be the duty of the members of this bar to look after and care for the business, without compensation, of any members of the bar who may respond to their country's call to do battle for it, and we recommend this be done in order that all such will be assured their business will not suffer because of their absence.

Respectfully submitted.

W. A. CULLOP.
J. P. L. WEEMS.
JAMES W. EMISON.

Business as Usual—Prosperity Ahead—War to Aid Business.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 21, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I believe at this period in our history it will be rendering a service to the country to give publicity through the medium of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to the interesting and valuable opinions of Messrs. J. Ogden Armour, of Chicago; Frank A. Vanderlip, of New York, and N. T. Folwell, of Philadelphia, on some of the questions affecting the interest of the American people. The high positions these gentlemen hold in the business world, the eminent success they have achieved, entitle them to be heard, and their wise advice the thoughtful consideration of those who are seeking light and are anxious to advance and promote the public good.

Mr. Armour is at the head of the greatest business plant of the kind in the world. Mr. Vanderlip represents the leading bank in the richest country in all the world. Mr. Folwell is president of the leading manufacturing club in the United States.

No better or more useful information has been presented in either branch of Congress to the American people than is carried in the following statements:

"BUSINESS AS USUAL."

[By Mr. Armour.]

CHICAGO, *May 16.*

Continuation of the prosperity of the country, in spite of the war, without any temporary depression, will follow the adoption of a "business-as-usual" program.

This is the opinion of J. Ogden Armour, Chicago meat packer and member of the advisory committee of the Council for National Defense.

"The prompt adoption by the American people of the 'business-as-usual' idea is going to enable this Nation to prosecute war without experiencing a temporary depression such as England and France have

recently recovered from," Mr. Armour said, discussing the economic condition of the country.

"Modern war," he said, "requires the expenditure of huge sums of money. It means maximum employment and high wages for all workers. Other conditions peculiar to this war make it certain the Nation will enjoy a period of business and industrial activity the like of which has never been seen. This is assured, whether the war last several months or several years."

Speaking of the possibility that overcaution might result from war-economy suggestions, Mr. Armour said:

"Conditions are such that the people will soon see there is no occasion for them to become alarmed. They will have more money to spend than before. They will not find the things they want disappearing from the market.

"There is an abnormal demand for everything the workers of this country can grow or manufacture. There is work at high wages for every man and woman who wants work."

Of the billions to be lent to the allies, Mr. Armour said:

"It is a misnomer to call it a loan to our allies. We are primarily extending them credit. Instead of sending billions of dollars out of the country, the transaction means that billions of dollars will actually be freed for circulation in this country, through purchases of our products.

"In this connection remember the Government of the United States is a buyer for war purposes. The dollars of Uncle Sam have already begun to pour forth to stores, factories, and farms, to pay for the expense of mobilizing, drilling, equipping, and feeding the Army and Navy.

"Under civilian boards created by the President, this Nation is going ahead, fortified against delay and mistakes through the intelligent application of lessons learned in England and in France. This applies to industry as well as war.

"There is abundant evidence that we are profiting from the experience of Europe. Our President and his advisers will prevent such an industrial hitch as preceded the prosperous business conditions now prevailing in the British Isles and in France.

"I consider the present the most auspicious period, from the standpoint of national prosperity, in my memory. There is not one good reason why the business of this country should not proceed in its normal course. There is not one reason why people should fear for the future or should permit themselves to be swayed from the certainty that they are on a sound financial basis.

"The per capita wealth of Americans is greater than ever before—greater than that of any nation at any time in the past or present. Our national wealth is past the wildest dreams of a few years back.

"Labor is satisfactorily employed and at record wages. Every day the war lasts will find a greater demand for the labor and the brains of the wage and salary earners of the United States. Certainty of work and certainty of wages are the prime factors of prosperity. They make prosperity certain.

"Whether the war ends to-morrow or whether it lasts indefinitely, this much is certain: The United States, having possession of approximately 40 per cent of the world's supply of gold, the greatest natural resources and geographical isolation, is certain to suffer less than any other nation in the war or in the whole world.

"The Nation has been advised to economize on food. Economy means the intelligent use without waste. It does not call for self-denial Economy was recommended to stop the waste of the $700,000,000 worth of food which goes into the garbage pail each year.

"Patriotism should not seize upon parsimonious economy. There is no need for persons to cease purchasing. There is need only for the elimination of extravagances and waste. There is no reason for curtailment of the use of things ordinarily needed. There is need that everything be put to use.

"As patriots, it is our duty to stop the wastage of food. As patriots, it is equally important we do not stop the ordinary purchasing on which business and industry of the country are founded. Hysterical economy is as much a menace to the Nation as is prodigal waste.

"If I were asked to give a message to the American people it would be: Be strong in your faith that nature will reward the efforts being made to produce big crops, and cooperate with our President, Woodrow Wilson, in his efforts to keep the Nation composed and so organized as most efficiently to prosecute war.

"Be confident and live your normal lives as far as possible. Make business proceed as usual."

—

"PROSPERITY AHEAD."

[By Mr. Vanderlip.]

NEW YORK, *May 18.*

Different business but better business during the war is predicted by Frank A. Vanderlip, banker and member of the labor committee of the Council of National Defense's advisory commission.

Mr. Vanderlip said the war will call for readjustments, but not for diminution in volume of business; that times will be better than ever before, and that the people should be getting ready for top-speed production that will utilize every energy.

"The sooner the public gets over the idea that we want 'business as usual,' or can have 'business as usual' during this great war the better for all," he said. "We want to stop all unnecessary work and unnecessary expenditures short off and concentrate on the immense volume of work which has to be done. Business men should get rid of any foolish fears that economy will bring on a general paralysis of industry or trade.

"There is no danger of not having work for everybody; the trouble is that there is more work in sight than can possibly be done, and the question is whether we shall cut off luxuries or necessities. It is absurd under these conditions to talk of the danger of unemployment and to urge what they do not actually need in order to keep labor from unemployment or to maintain business as usual.

"How is labor to be had to make uniforms unless it is released from making other clothes; how are looms to be had for blankets unless released from something else; how is steel to be had for ships, tin cans, and agricultural implements unless other consumption is curtailed; how are women to be had for offices unless released elsewhere? And, finally, how are we to put $7,000,000,000 or $8,000,000,000 of purchasing power at the disposal of the Government unless we curtail our individual expenditures?

"The country should immediately awake to the fact that it has a great task in hand, and that it can not carry on a war like this with one hand and continue to do all the business it did before with the other.

"Most of the argument against economy assumes that the people who economize will hoard their money. That, of course, would be foolish, but if they lend their savings to the Government it will find its way directly back into circulation in providing for the Government's needs.

"These bond issues will necessitate more taxation in the future than in the past, but the person who practices self-denial now in order to buy a bond not only aids the Government, but provides an offset to future taxation on this account. The individual who takes his share of the bonds will pay in his taxes into his own pocket.

"Every community should be closely organized for subscriptions to these loans. Once the habit of saving to buy a bond is established it will not be abandoned when the war is over, but a million new springs of wealth will be developed to help on the development of industry and the progress of society in the future. Parents should buy for their children, and employers should join hands with their employees in the name of a common patriotism and to bring an end to the world's last great war."

—

"WAR TO AID BUSINESS."

[By Mr. Folwell.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May 19.*

Booming business in all lines of industry in this country for the next five years, regardless of the war against Germany, is predicted by Nathan T. Folwell, head of the firm of Folwell Bros. & Co. (Inc.) and president of the Manufacturers' Club.

Mr. Folwell declared yesterday that expenditure in this country of huge sums to be lent to our allies in the war for democracy will make it possible for the general advance in wages to keep pace with increased costs. Despite the high cost of living, he expressed the opinion that the entire country is entering into the most prosperous period in its entire history.

"Even a campaign of economy that is carried too far and that induces people temporarily to postpone buying can have no material effect upon business in this country," said Mr. Folwell. "With $7,000,000,000 to be spent in this country, every working person will get his or her share of it, and it is not the nature of Americans to hoard needlessly.

DEALERS BUYING STOCK.

"The best brains of the country's big retail business houses recognize this. They have foreseen a demand that will be absolutely without precedent, and they are now in the markets of the world laying in supplies to meet it.

"Dress goods, to cite but one commodity, are costing to-day about 100 per cent more than they did before the war. Goods being sold now for retailing in the fall are 25 per cent higher than the material now being disposed of over the counters of retail stores.

"But in spite of this condition, in the face of rising costs of living and a national campaign of economy, people are buying as freely as ever. If in some few lines there has been a slight let-up it is nothing to worry about. At the worst it is a temporary condition due to the fact that the people have become cautious and in some instances may be carrying the campaign against extravagance too far.

"America to-day is in for the greatest industrial boom in her history. There is no line of industry that will not be strengthened by the impetus of an expenditure of $7,000,000,000 in the country. Even the sums loaned to foreign nations out of this war fund must be spent here, and every dollar of it means increased prosperity for America.

WORK FOR EVERYONE.

"I am of the opinion that wage increases as a whole have kept pace fairly well with advances in other lines, so that the working man and woman to-day have more to spend than ever before. But considering the population as a whole, the most important feature of the situation that is confronting us is that it promises to eliminate nonemployment.

"There is to-day work for everyone who wants to work. As a Nation we are called on to make the greatest effort in our history, and it will be imperative for all to work. This can not mean anything but good business, bigger business than ever before in our history.

"Even farm labor, which has been receiving rather low pay, is to get better wages as a result of the campaign for more food. Prices are now at a point where it will be necessary for the farmer to spend more in wages for his labor. I believe every class of workers in the country will benefit through the increased prosperity that is certain to be ours within the next few years."

Letter From the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Co., of Cleveland, Ohio.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 18, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Co., of Cleveland, Ohio.

The letter is as follows:

THE HYDRAULIC PRESSED STEEL CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, May 16, 1917.

Mr. H. I. EMERSON,
Representative from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Here is a letter similar to the one I forwarded you last week from another one of our largest customers, a concern with an investment of approximately $10,000,000 in their business:

MAY 14, 1917.

The HYDRAULIC PRESSED STEEL CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: Please hold up until further notice all shipments of frames to us. It is necessary for us to issue these instructions due to uncertain conditions throughout the country brought on by the heavy tax

burdens and conscriptions. The demand for automobiles has fallen off, and it is necessary for us to hold up our production, and must therefore pass the word along to you.

We ask that you discontinue shipments of our product at once, this holdup to take immediate effect, and no further shipments to be made without our permission.

Yours, very truly, ———.

I personally am afraid that a 5 per cent tax on new automobile productions will kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The Government might receive a larger income from automobile taxation if they would tax each automobile owner 1 or 2 per cent of a fair value of his car, and such a tax would not have the disastrous effect upon automobile production that the contemplated 5 per cent tax has already shown in the industry.

I can give you the names of 25 different automobile companies in confidence, if you wish them, whose production has fallen off in the last two months to an alarming degree.

Please do your utmost to help defeat the 5 per cent tax law as at present drawn.

Very truly, yours,

THE HYDRAULIC PRESSED STEEL COMPANY,
Per R. D. MOCK, *Treasurer and Assistant Secretary.*

Income-Tax Rates.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND PLATT,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
May 22, 1917.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, it is clear that there are a good many Members of this great legislative body who ought to go back into the fourth grade of the public schools and learn a little elementary arithmetic. On Thursday last 26 Members of this House voted, in Committee of the Whole, for the Keating amendment to "conscript" all incomes above $150,000. The idea was not original with the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING]. He got this brilliant scheme from Amos Pinchot who like himself was opposed to the war, opposed to an adequate plan for raising an army to prosecute it, and is opposed to a rational, workable plan for financing it. Take this wonderful plan to your boy or girl in the fourth grade and have it figured out for you how it would work, let us say, with an income of $1,000,000 returned for the calendar year 1917. If you start with a tax of 85 per cent on this income and collect $850,000 from it in June, 1918, what will be the income return of this individual for the calendar year 1918, the net income that is taxable, bearing in mind that under the law all taxes paid, State or National, are deducted? Any fourth-grade schoolboy can tell you offhand, but it does not seem to have occurred to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING], or to the astute gentlemen who voted with him, that you would have only $150,000 left on which a tax would be paid in June, 1919. What would be the effect of this brilliant financing on the revenues of the United States when the income-tax bills were due in June, 1919? You have stepped your millionaire's income way down into a lower class where you can tax it only at a much lower percentage. Simple enough to a fourth-class schoolboy; but would it not be a good idea to have the names of the Members of this House who voted for this great idea taken down and preserved on an honor roll for downright stupidity?

And what shall we say of the Lenroot amendment, so ardently and eloquently advocated by the able and astute gentleman from Wisconsin and by other able and astute gentlemen? Will that stand the test of the fourth-grade schoolboy? It is not so crassly stupid as the Keating amendment. It sounded very plausible indeed in the arguments presented, but it will be remembered that they were chiefly sentimental—"the rich man can afford to pay," and so forth. It was, in fact, so plausible that it carried a majority of the Members then present, and even for a time swept the chairman of the great Committee on Ways and Means, the eloquent gentleman from North Carolina, off his feet. He went so far as to say that he believed it ought to be adopted, but afterwards, to his credit, he saw the meaning of it and pulled himself together in time to vote against it. The Lenroot amendment raises the rates on the highest incomes to 65 per cent. With the progressive exemptions it will work out somewhat lower on whole incomes than that; so let us take it at 60 per cent and ask our fourth-grade youngster to apply it to an income of $1,000,000 and see how it works out over a period of two years. Sixty per cent of this income would be $600,000—quite a neat sum for the internal revenue—payable in June, 1918; but what of the next year? The net income returnable for the calendar year 1918 would be but $400,000, which again is taxable at a much lower rate, because it steps down into a lower class, and your revenues for 1919 from big incomes would be so much reduced that you would be forced to find some new sources of taxation to make up the losses. That being true, how can anybody vote for the Lenroot amendment who understands it? Did the gentleman from Wisconsin understand how it would work himself? I have carefully read his speech and have read the speeches of the other astute gentlemen—lawyers, most of them—who advocated its adoption, and I have found no indication that they knew anything about what they were talking about. Their speeches were almost wholly sentimental, with a few interjected guesses as to the revenue that could be raised by the 25 per cent increases of the supertaxes proposed. Apparently not one of them looked ahead to the year after next.

Now it ought to be obvious that there is a point beyond which you can not push income tax rates if you desire a steady revenue from this important source year after year, and if you want an increasing revenue you should put the rates low enough for the first year so that you can increase them the next year. That is what England did. It is not a matter of sentiment nor of any tenderness for the man with the big income, but a matter of cold, calculating common sense and science. Just exactly what the right figure is for the highest surtax I will not undertake to say, but I think that few students of taxation would put it above 30 to start with. The rate in England today in the highest surtax is 41¼ per cent, which amounts to only about 34 per cent, when all allowances are made for exemptions, on the largest incomes, and that has been reached only after several advances from year to year. If we are going to make this bill at all rational and conserve our incomes so that we can get as much or more for them another year, we must defeat the Lenroot amendment, and we probably ought to cut down somewhat the highest surtaxes in the bill. The bill itself goes to the limit of safety and probably beyond it, unless we are sure that the war is going to last only one year.

Now, Mr. Chairman, so far as I can find out, this brilliant idea of "conscripting" incomes originated from an article in the New Republic of February 24, by Prof. O. M. W. Sprague, of Harvard, whose specialty is banking. He wrote one of the best monographs in the series of publications issued under the auspices of the National Monetary Commission, "The History of Crises," and is the author of many other studies in banking and finance. But none of those radicals who caught the words "conscripting incomes" from the title of his article in the New Republic seem to have read the article in full or to have grasped the idea he was driving at. His whole thesis was directed to the development of the idea of holding down war prices by taking away from the people as much as possible of their purchasing power, and by financing the war with the revenue so raised instead of financing it by selling bonds. He advocated a tax of 10 per cent on all incomes above $1,200. I do not see that in the Lenroot amendment or in the Keating amendment. Then he advocated, besides the increasing surtaxes, certain taxes on consumption, including a tax of 25 cents a gallon on gasoline. I do not see that in the Keating amendment or in the Lenroot amendment. Prof. Sprague did not undertake to work out his progressive surtaxes, which resulted in "conscripting" all incomes above $100,000 over a series of years, but he probably saw some of the difficulties, for he mentions the fact that great changes would have to be made in the administrative features, and he suggests that the taxes might be paid monthly instead of yearly—but this was chiefly for the purpose of taking steadily from the people their purchasing power, so that "war prosperity" would not cause them to pay high prices for things not really needed. His article was ingenious and interesting, but I doubt if any statesman would undertake seriously to carry out its ideas at the beginning of a war. The whole thing was predicated on the theory that bond issues create inflation by increasing the purchasing power of the people—a theory which he seems to admit at times not wholly sound—while taxation reduces purchasing power.

Mr. Chairman, I have not gone into the effect which the "conscripting" of incomes would have on the business development of the country, but everybody who has given any attention to the study of finance and economics knows that if you put your income tax rates so high as to stop reinvestment and the taking of business risks you will stop the development of industries. I have not undertaken to show that income returns would steadily be reduced if you put the rates too high, but everybody knows that they would be reduced, and that without any effort to conceal any returns, because many large incomes depend upon individual effort, which would certainly be diminished when the incentive for it was taken away. There is

much else that might be said—with regard, for instance, to the support of the charities and educational institutions of the country—but I think I have said enough to show clearly that the Lenroot amendment should be eliminated from the bill.

War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORDELL HULL,

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1917.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the greatest problem with which the Government of the United States has ever had to deal confronts it now. It is the tremendous task of devising the soundest and most effective methods of financing the present world war—financing not only our own Government but in substantial measure several of the leading Governments of Europe jointly prosecuting the war with us. A war, of course, may be financed by either or all of three methods—(1) by taxation, (2) by borrowing, and (3) by issuing paper money. For the present, at least, it is deemed wise to consider only the first two methods. The facts, conditions, and questions constituting material factors to be considered in formulating a broad and comprehensive policy of war finance are entirely too numerous to be referred to in the course of a short discussion of this subject. It is a conspicuous and outstanding fact, however, that the tremendous burden the United States is shouldering and the vast range of operations and activities it is undertaking, both in a financial and a military way—burdens and undertakings far beyond the dreams of even the last generation, and on a scale so colossal as not to admit of comparison as to scope and extent with similar operations by this Government in the past—will find us without tried or established precedents and will tax the wisdom and judgment of our ablest statesmen and financiers. We at times will have to embark on unchartered fiscal seas; we will have to conceive and adopt many new policies which have been but little tested by past experiences; we will have to launch many new movements in finance, commerce, and industry in the course of and following the war in our efforts to promote the general welfare. Great opportunities for constructive thought and action in every important line will be offered. I have the firm belief and the unwavering confidence, however, that the people of this generation, like the people of former generations, when confronted with a grave crisis, will rise to the occasion and meet every responsibility of citizenship, every problem of government, and every requirement of duty in whatsoever line engaged.

Perhaps no two persons will agree on all the important phases of a suitable system of war finance. Probably no individual, therefore, will be correct in all his views. In the course of the efforts of Congress and the executive department to ascertain and apply the fundamentals of finance, each person should have respect for the views of others. To determine the relative amount of money to be raised for war purposes by taxation and by bonds is the first question that arises. The second question now confronting Congress is how best to impose the amount of taxes deemed necessary to be laid at this time. With reference to the first question, I think no fixed rule can be applied to different countries or permanently to any one country, for the reason that many different conditions and considerations exist in each instance and in connection with each war that might arise.

The magnitude, as well as the probable duration of the war, are important factors; the probable cost of the war both to the home Government and the foreign Governments which it is helping to finance and the extent of its aid to them are necessary to consider; our general business and economic conditions and prospects, both national and international, should receive consideration; the amount of our prewar indebtedness and taxation, the country's resources, and our consequent ability to raise money from bonds and taxes is still another factor. The question of inflation also arises. At the outbreak of the European war the countries engaging in it held investments in foreign countries to the extent of about $30,000,000,000; Great Britain alone held about twenty billions of such securities. These immense foreign holdings placed such Governments as those of England and France in a strong position to maintain their international exchange rates and, by converting these securities, to float enormous amounts of bonds and otherwise negotiate loans to much greater advantage than they otherwise could possibly have hoped to do. Business conditions in these old countries were fixed and long established, with the result that the hazards and uncertainties of new developments of natural and other resources did not exist. Furthermore, they had large accumulations of surplus profits and earnings. The United States, on the other hand, being newer and more undeveloped as a country, constantly requires more or less new capital for the development and expansion of its financial, industrial, and commercial affairs. Besides, its diversified businesses require the use of a large portion of surplus profits and earnings.

The United States Government is issuing or preparing to issue from time to time bonds and Treasury certificates aggregating $7,000,000,000. I think this step is justifiable and sound. Bond issues are always necessary at the outbreak of a war, because money is needed quickly and in large amounts. The wisdom of the proposed loan of $3,000,000,000 to the allies is unassailable. Every citizen having surplus profits or earnings in amounts large or small is under the highest obligation of patriotism and duty to contribute to the success of the present and future bond proposals. Those who enlist as soldiers are expected to offer or hazard their lives, while those who purchase bonds are only requested to make a profitable loan of their money. The masses have more than $5,000,000,000 of deposits in savings banks and $100,000,000 in postal savings banks. The great majority of them have surpluses in banks subject to check. The banks of the country have a loaning power of over $10,000,000,000 at present. Comparing our present ability to float loans with the amount of bonds floated during the Civil War, this country is well able to handle a loan of at least $30,000,000,000.

When all taxes and existing money rates are considered the terms of this loan are slightly below the money market, but there will undoubtedly be an appreciation of the values of bonds now floated after the conclusion of the war. European Governments generally impose reasonable taxes on their bonds. I believe it will later be deemed better policy to place a fair tax rate upon our Government bonds. I realize that at present the fear of investors of possible high war taxation might constitute an impediment to the sale of taxed bonds. When the proposed $7,000,000,000 bonds are floated the country will have more than $20,000,000,000 of property exempt from all taxation. This includes near four billions of State, county, and municipal bonds. It has been demonstrated that the purchasers of bonds, tax free, avoid in a measure their full share of tax contributions to the Government, because the lower rate of interest does not make it up. The country will soon reach a stage at which it will be deemed good fiscal policy to impose probably a fixed and stable rate of taxation on all bonds. This, of course, should be done gradually in order not to upset or dislocate bonds security conditions. It would be preferable for the States to adopt uniform tax rates with respect to their bonds. If, however, they should fail to take this course, but should continue annually to turn over to the investing public tens and hundreds of millions of tax-free bonds, the Federal Government may feel itself forced again to grapple with the doubtful legal question as to its right to tax the bonds of the States and their subdivisions. I submitted some remarks April 17 on the bond question.

There has been discussion as to when the bonds issued to defray the expenses of the war should be paid off. Some persons suggest a short period; others 20 or 30 years. It would seem that the best interests of the country would require the wiping out of this bonded indebtedness as rapidly and at a date as early as the undertaking could be accomplished without tax levies unduly burdensome or oppressive. I think, therefore, that the period within which such indebtedness can be met would depend both on the amount contracted and the ability of the people to pay taxes to meet it. The serial bond method, which would require a fixed percentage of our bonded indebtedness to be paid off annually, could best be adopted after the war and when the aggregate amount of indebtedness is ascertained. The sinking-fund method, unless the law contains some very mandatory provisions, often results in delay and postponement of the payment of public indebtedness.

What amount of taxes should the Government impose for war purposes at the present stage? There is some difference of opinion among our ablest business men and financiers on this point. A consensus of view is, however, that as large an amount as can be levied without materially injuring or seriously handicapping any important phase of our commercial, financial, and business affairs would be justifiable. This, rather than arbitrary figures, should be the criterion. If all taxation in this country were judiciously and equitably imposed, the country could bear even a larger tax burden than that carried in the pending revenue bill. Unfortunately, our State and local tax systems are in many respects inequitable.

The proposed levy of $1,800,000,000 is in existing circumstances the maximum levy that should be made, in my judgment, formed after some investigation and deliberation. It is probably a little high. A large tax levy at present touching most classes of important business will both help and hurt the bond flotations now and hereafter proposed by the Government. Unless the tax levy should be made too great its ultimate effect will be materially to strengthen the power and ability of the Government to float its loans on satisfactory terms. England has raised a larger proportion of her war expenses from taxation than any other country, about 26 per cent, while France has thus raised less than 20 per cent, and Canada 16⅔ per cent. The fact that England was spending almost as much on her navy prior to the war as since, whereas the United States is required to make immense expenditures on the Navy for the first time, is important to keep in mind. The tax levies for preparedness contained in the revenue measures of September 8, 1916, and March 3, 1917, estimated to aggregate $425,000,000, and which have not yet been paid, are practically a part of our actual war levy now under consideration.

I append to my remarks an analysis and statement of the entire policy of England in financing the present war. Unfortunately, I have not the space to insert similar statements relative to the war finances of France and Germany, which I have before me.

After the recent declaration of war by Congress I expressed the earnest hope that the Ways and Means Committee would feel justified in devoting at least a month, and preferably six weeks, in the careful investigation, study, and preparation of a revenue bill of the magnitude of $1,800,000,000. In view of the fact that we may be entering a somewhat long war, too much careful investigation and consideration of the principles of sound taxation and all phases of each item proposed to be taxed and the formulation of an equitable and comprehensive initial revenue measure can not well be given. This is the one war measure that we need not rush. With a basis of taxation thus established on lines broad and sound, one story after another of taxation could be added, if necessary, as the war progresses and our revenue needs increased without disturbance of business or economic conditions and without the necessity of constantly readjusting or patching up our tax structure.

When future tax bills of importance and magnitude are to be prepared I shall favor reasonably brief hearings, not so much for those who have axes to grind in the way of seeking release as for persons who are high authorities on taxation and also persons who have a wide and practical knowledge of business conditions and can furnish unbiased business facts which would enable the committee to measure and apply rates fairly and equitably.

Another subject which I desire most strongly to emphasize at this preliminary stage is that of economy—sane, practical economy—not only on the part of the citizenship of the country but in every department, bureau, and division of the Federal, State, and local Governments. There has been a considerable economy cry going out over the country during the past few weeks for the benefit of the individual citizen, but I have detected but slight signs or symptoms of economy in connection with the ordinary expenditures of the Federal Government. I think the Government should set the example to the citizen; Congress should do its part; the different departmental heads should do their part. A systematic effort on the part of each branch should be to locate and restrict all expenditures for normal and internal purposes which are not actually necessary until the conclusion of the war. The Government is not in a good attitude to urge reasonable economy on the people until it first shows its good faith and intention by doing what every intelligent person knows can be done—curbing and restricting substantial amounts of present and proposed expenditures not urgent and not immediately related to the war.

While commissions, councils, and different kinds of joint organizations are being created and utilized for important purposes in connection with the war, I think a most important joint commission would be a commission on appropriations and expenditures to serve during the war and which could comprise suitable Members of the House and Senate, the Secretary of the Treasury, and any other suitable officials in the executive department.

Another consideration in the enactment of tax and other legislation affecting our economic conditions relates to the encouragement of our foreign commerce. It would be difficult to underestimate the importance to our internal growth and development in the future of a large foreign trade. Our international commerce has risen to near $8,000,000,000. It should receive such legitimate consideration to the extent that revenue and similar legislation affects it as will aid in increasing and extending it each year in the future. We should continue to sell far more than we buy. Such course on the part of a great producing country like the United States, together with the immense international credit this country will maintain, will place it in a wonderfully strong position during the trying period that will follow the war, as well as during the war.

The amount of revenue proposed in the pending measure, $1,800,000,000, which added to our Federal revenues provided for by existing laws aggregated near $3,000,000,000 raised and proposed to be raised by taxation for normal and war expenditures. This sum added to the tax revenues of the States, counties, and municipalities aggregates more than $4,500,000,000 of taxes now annually imposed or about to be imposed upon the American people for combined war and peace purposes.

The first problem confronting the committee in its work of framing this measure was to determine upon what lines or principles of taxation the new levy should be made. The committee wisely, in my judgment, decided that the chief portion of the new taxes should come off of wealth, luxuries, and pleasure. I am in the heartiest accord with these general principles which the committee adopted for its guidance, as I am with the committee in this general course of policy it has consistently pursued. It is not my purpose to discuss the various items contained in the bill, because elaborate discussion of them has already been had. I feel constrained, however, to express my individual disapproval of two or three fundamental features of this omnibus revenue measure. I do so with due deference to the views of my colleagues, realizing also that ample room exists for differences of opinion with respect to some phase of almost every item in the bill. My chief concern has been to see this tax measure drafted along the most equitable lines. We have heard and now hear constant complaint about high taxation. I have long been impressed with a fact which I can not here emphasize too strongly—the fact that the real and chief ground of complaint against past and present tax laws is not due to high taxation but to *inequitable* taxation. I unhesitatingly assert that if our Federal, State, and local tax laws were thoroughly equitable we would scarcely hear a murmur against excessive taxation. This is the chief ground of criticism I feel that I should offer with respect to two or three items in the bill before the House.

The income tax is the greatest engine of fiscal power which this country or England or any other first-class commercial country has in time of emergency. Its elasticity and abundant revenue-producing capacity make it the backbone of any country's system of taxation in time of war. This tax offers the largest source of revenue the country has. It is with some pride that I contemplate the fact that this tax in which I have taken a keen personal interest during my 10 years' incumbency here is now ready to bring to the Federal Treasury a billion dollars annually, and more when necessary, for the prosecution of the war against Germany. Frankly, I have seriously doubted the policy of this Government in its preliminary war-tax levy undertaking to make the higher supertax rates at beyond 33⅓ to 40 per cent. They have heretofore been around 15 per cent. The present House provision would jump them to more than 60 per cent. No country has ever tested the revenue effects of such an enormous jump in these top rates at one time. Two or three possible effects of such action which can not be forecasted may result. One effect would be to greatly reduce this top-tax yield the second year. The English Government has raised its income-tax rates three times since the outbreak of the war. The present rates in their effects now range from 11¼ per cent normal tax on the lower incomes to 42½ per cent supertax on the higher incomes. Her rates on incomes of $10,000, up to and including the middle class of incomes, are much higher than those now proposed in our bill. In developing income taxation in this country to its highest state of efficiency I think it would have been much wiser to have raised some of the rates more gradually, a course which the revenue needs of a somewhat protracted war would make entirely wise and justifiable. I should deeply regret to see a tax which possesses so many superior qualities as such crippled or partially broken down by rash, inconsiderate action. The question of not allowing deductions of income taxes paid the previous year arises when the rates are made real high. We should not by extreme high rates exhaust our biggest and most elastic source of revenue at the very beginning of the war.

When the normal tax on individuals and corporations was at a low rate, a slightly graduated tax on corporations holding stock in other corporations was deemed justifiable on account of the superior business advantages arising therefrom. This provision was intended to relate chiefly to holding companies. Now that it is proposed to raise this rate to 4 per cent, we can not justify the double taxation of corporations to the extent

of the dividends derived from stock held in other corporations, especially those which are not holding companies. I therefore deplore the action of the House thus far in declining to relieve such dividends of double taxation in certain cases at least. This constitutes a gross and grievous inequity which should have no place in a law carrying high rates of taxes, and which can not be justified on any ground of sound or equitable taxation. It is my individual judgment that the exemptions should at present have been fixed at $1,500 for single persons and $2,000 for married persons. During this era of high prices and still higher cost of living the person who earns a small income of from $1,000 to $2,000 is obliged to expend nine-tenths or all of it on an average for the maintenance of his family and schooling of his children. Furthermore, it would be much wiser to impose certain war taxes on such subjects as tea, coffee, and sugar, every dollar of which would go into the Treasury, than to undertake to embrace small salaries and wages in the income-tax law at this stage. However, since the House has lowered these exemptions to $1,000 and $2,000 it is manifest that the provisions of the income-tax law providing for collection at the source should be stricken out except as to nonresidents and corporate interests, and provisions for information at the source substituted. Under the existing provisions the law has two alleged normal taxes, and has collection at the source applicable to less than 400,000 taxpayers to the exclusion of perhaps 2,000,000 of the smaller taxpayers. I do not know any good or logical ground on which to justify these provisions; I can only express my earnest hostility to them in their present form. When the original income-tax law was enacted it was deemed wise to insert the provision for collection at the source solely from the administrative standpoint of the Government. Without any concern or purpose on the part of Congress this provision of law put into operation certain individual contracts existing between corporations and their bondholders under the terms of which the corporation agreed to pay for the bondholders any taxes they might be required to retain out of interest due the bondholders and pay to the Government.

In my judgment, if the income-tax provisions of the pending measure should be modified and made equitable as I have heretofore suggested, and a further provision should be inserted which would only require the corporations to withhold such tax on a normal rate of 2 per cent, leaving the bondholders to take care of the remainder, we could, without any undue burden or serious complaint from any individual or corporation, impose a normal tax rate of either 5 per cent or 6 per cent on both. This would contemplate the allowance of abatements to the small individual taxpayers so as to reduce the rate of tax. Before leaving the subject of the income tax I desire to express the opinion that the large and other substantial income-tax payers have resorted to much less evasion thus far than those subject to any other law in any other country during its early stages.

I recently took some official figures which showed the aggregate amount of taxes a select number of corporations pay to the Federal Government, the States, counties, and municipalities, and computed the percentage which these taxes bore to the total annual net income of such corporations. I found that this percentage ranged from 2.01 to 4.79—a very small burden. A normal tax of 6 per cent on a corporation with a capital of $100,000, which earns 8 per cent thereon, would amount to less than one-half of 1 per cent on its capital and would leave a net income of more than 7½ per cent to the corporation. These figures but emphasize my statement heretofore made to the effect that thoroughly equitable taxation is most important and will always produce a much greater revenue yield with far less complaint. With the new high rates several important amendments should be made to the income-tax law.

During last summer when the preparedness program was being adopted I procured and carefully examined all the excess profits tax laws then in operation. The conclusion was clear that a prewar standard of profits provided for in a manner similar to the provisions in virtually all the European laws should be adopted in any law Congress might enact. In March last the Committee on Ways and Means, however, reported to the House a measure containing the so-called "capital invested" basis, which bill became a law on March 3. I earnestly opposed this particular provision in the bill, notwithstanding I had for many months strongly favored an excess profits tax law carrying stiff rates. I have constantly antagonized this "capital invested" provision, upon the unshaken belief that because of its inequitable and unworkable nature the law will be the source of general complaint and irritation and will probably fall short of the revenue yield predicted for it. The normal or peace profits of individuals and corporations can be properly and justly dealt with by a graduated income tax. The immense profits of an abnormal character derived almost directly from the war can well bear a substantial portion of our war expenses in return. By every rule of equitable and sound taxation, therefore, the Government should easily derive $500,000,000 or $600,000,000 of these excess war profits through the agency of an equitable excess profits law. An immense portion of the large corporations in this country are so organized and capitalized as not to earn much, if any, in excess of 8 per cent.

The proposed method places a premium on corporations having watered stock and to the same extent a penalty on those honestly capitalized. I could cite several pages of instances revealing the inequitable provisions of this "capital-invested" provision. In my opinion it would be impossible to administer with any accuracy or fairness all the provisions defining "capital invested." The net profits of corporations subject to the income tax for the year 1916 were about $8,100,000,000, while the average net profits of such corporations for the prewar period of three years could not have exceeded one-half this amount. A prewar standard of profits similar to that contained in the European laws, with suitable modifications to apply to business conditions in the United States, would afford the basis for an equitable law which, in my judgment, would raise a substantially larger amount of revenue with far less complaint or criticism. Corporate business conditions in the United States, the methods of organization and capitalization, are in many respects exceedingly intricate and complicated, while those of Canada are simplified very greatly in comparison. The so-called "capital-invested" basis might operate one way there and a very different way here. Canada only derived $12,500,000 from her law last year and only estimates $20,000,000 for the present fiscal year.

I trust that before it becomes a law this feature of our revenue bill may be radically improved. Why should not individuals be included?

The proposed increase of the estate-tax rates marks the third increase since the enactment of the estate-tax law on September 8, 1916. Virtually one-half of the amount of property passing annually by death comprises estates of less than $50,000. The estate-tax law, therefore, originally contemplated a tax applicable only to the larger estates passing by death. Under the present and proposed rates and classifications the estate tax will not yield a revenue greater than the estate tax of England during peace times. The English rates and classifications, however, are applied differently and with a view to getting larger revenue. The States, more than 40 of which now have inheritance-tax laws, have been deriving a little in excess of $30,000,000 from this source. Some of the States impose rates as high as 40 per cent on collaterals. The argument often advanced that the inheritance tax should belong to the States is really not applicable in time of war and not wholly applicable in time of peace. The total tax revenues of the States for the year 1913, not including counties and municipalities, were $307,000,000, whereas the Federal Government must now levy near $3,000,000,000 annually. The present Federal estate tax could, in my opinion, be extended and made more comprehensive in its application to certain estates which may now escape it, and a system of rates and classifications and exemptions devised and prescribed which would enable it to yield $200,000,000 annually without injury or injustice to any person. This should continue until the chief war burdens have been met. In the meantime the States could continue to avail themselves of even an increased revenue from this source. An amendment of the present law more clearly defining the status of curtesy and dower should be considered.

With respect to the different gross-receipts taxes carried in the revenue bill I have not sufficient knowledge of the facts pertaining to the expenses and the gross income of each class of business affected to offer an intelligent opinion. A gross-receipts tax is the easiest tax administered that can probably be imposed. It is extremely difficult and practically impossible, however, to apply a fixed rate to the gross receipts of business generally, because of the gross inequities and hardships that would result. The cost of production or expenses of one class of business may constitute 90 per cent of the gross receipts, whereas the cost of production or expenses of another will be 30 per cent, and so on. Some businesses have several turnovers during the year and others only one or two. The conclusion is clear that a substantial gross-receipts tax can not with any practicability be imposed on business generally without careful discrimination as to rates. The States have wrestled with this problem for many years, and the final outcome has been that about 30 States impose a gross-receipts tax in some form on public utilities. The taxation of this class of business is naturally more feasible because of the extensive information which public-utility com-

missions supervising them gather and furnish the State legislatures for guidance. The costs of operation and other necessary expenditures common to most public utilities have such a fixed ratio to their receipts or earnings as to make a tax levy reasonably fair. It is not contended, however, that even these gross-receipts taxes of the States are entirely equitable. I believe only Delaware and Louisiana undertake to impose a gross-receipts tax on business generally, and their rates are exceedingly small, the Delaware rate being a fraction of 1 per cent.

I feel constrained to record my most earnest opposition to the provision of the revenue bill which imposes horizontal rates of 10 per cent on both dutiable imports and those not dutiable. I regard this dragnet method of levying taxes as grossly unscientific, unsound, and unjustifiable even in time of war. This method is unprecedented, with the exception of the Canadian act imposing similar rates of 7½ per cent. Immediately after the war broke out even the high-protective tariff countries proceeded to remove many import duties and to create large free lists. Canada derived only $2,000,000 from the imposition of the flat 7½ per cent rate on her dutiable imports; she derived $19,000,000 from a like rate on her free imports.

On September 17, 1914, Germany suspended the customs duties on a large list of articles, including virtually all foodstuffs. On March 18, 1915, another German proclamation was issued suspending the customs duties on a large number of other articles. Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Switzerland, and other countries hastened to take similar action.

The economic results of the proposed haphazard and flat tax of 10 per cent on both our dutiable and free imports will necessarily be disconcerting and productive of much injury. It will have the effect of jacking up our present plane of costs of production much higher than the present sound but already too high basis. Business conditions generally will be badly disarranged and confused under the operation of this provision. The high cost of living affords general complaint; price fixing is being urged; professed opposition to a consumption tax is loud, yet this customs proposal would do the unprecedented thing of taxing all foodstuffs coming through the customhouses 10 per cent; it would tax all raw materials which we do not even produce in this country 10 per cent; and so on through the long list of hitherto free imports, including coal and the necessities of life. The inevitable result would be to raise prices to a still higher and more artificial plane. I can see no consistency nor sound policy in trying to raise the prices of foodstuffs and all other articles of general use and universal consumption by levying this import tax and at the same time endeavoring to put into operation a price-fixing system in this country. Surely the judgment and experience of all the first-class commercial countries during the war as to this policy should be given weight by Congress in dealing with this subject. To analyze the effect of these proposed customs rates on the immense number of articles imported into this country would show many startling developments in a commercial way. From an economic standpoint this 10 per cent flat increase even for war purposes is almost monstrous.

In conclusion, it is my opinion that in the circumstances the Committee on Ways and Means did the best it could in the preparation of this bill, considering, too, the brief time consumed. The committee was practically unanimous in the general policy to be pursued. Each member, perhaps, was grievously disappointed at the inclusion or exclusion of certain items or subjects of taxation. The logic, in the present parliamentary situation, is that the membership of the House should, in my judgment, support the bill in the form in which it is found when a final vote is reached, with the paramount object of affording revenues as speedily as possible for the prosecution and maintenance of the present war. Desirable amendments will probably be made at future stages of the bill on its way to final enactment into law.

I have felt justified in offering objections to certain features at this time, not with a view of antagonizing the final passage of the bill through the House but in the hope that at a later stage, and, if necessary, at a later session of Congress, the defects complained of may be remedied. It is useless now to speculate or suggest as to substitute provisions for some of the tax items in the bill most complained of. The fact that many of us believe that the income and excess profits measures could be so amended and adjusted as to secure in a more equitable way a much greater amount of revenue than is now proposed, and that a limited number of select customhouse articles such as silk, rubber, coffee, tea, and sugar, along with a substantial excise tax on sugar, and readjusted estate tax rates, would have made it possible to dispense with the flat 10 per cent tariff tax and some of the more objectionable internal taxes is not now necessary to discuss. It will be found necessary in any event to consider a provision disallowing the deduction of income taxes paid during the preceding year in accordance with the English practice and also the true theory of the tax. It will doubtless be found desirable also to insert in the estate tax law a provision that the same estate passing more than once within a given number of years shall not, at least, be subject to the full tax the second time, now that the rates are materially raised. But I shall not elaborate further.

APPENDIX.

GREAT BRITAIN'S MEASURES FOR FINANCING THE WAR.

[Commercial Attaché Pierce C. Williams, Apr. 12.]

There are three ways of financing the war: (1) By taxation; (2) by borrowing; (3) by issuing paper money. All these methods have been employed by Great Britain during the present war, and in view of the importance of proper war finance to the United States at this time it may be of value to show what proportion of the total cost of the war Great Britain has been able to pay by taxation; what taxes have been the most productive; how, when, and at what rate of interest loans have been raised to pay the remainder of the cost.

First, as to taxation: In the last peace year, namely, the fiscal year ended March 31, 1914, the revenue of the British Government amounted to £198,242,000, derived chiefly from the following sources: Customs, £35,450,000, or 18 per cent; excise, £39,590,000, or 20 per cent; estate, etc., duties, £27,359,000, or 14 per cent; property and income tax, £47,249,000, or 24 per cent.

CHARACTER OF DUTIES AND TAXES BEFORE THE WAR.

Prior to the war import duties in the United Kingdom were collected on the following articles: Tobacco, tea, rum, brandy and other spirits, wines, currants, raisins, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, etc., sugar, glucose, etc., motor spirit (gasoline), and a few other articles.

Excise duties were collected on spirits and beer. In addition, there were some license duties and some unimportant taxes on railway profits and patent medicines.

The estate duty is an inheritance tax collected out of the estates of deceased persons.

The stamp tax applies to deeds, receipts, drafts, bills of exchange, contract notes, etc.

The property and income tax, until April, 1914, was levied on the following basis: Earned income, where the total income did not exceed £2,000 per annum, at 9d. in the pound; where the total income was between £2,000 and £3,000 per annum, at 1s. in the pound; unearned incomes, at 14d. in the pound. A supertax was levied on incomes of £5,000 a year of 6d. per pound on amounts by which incomes exceeded £3,000. An abatement of the tax on £10 of income for each child living and under 16 years of age was allowed in the case of incomes under £500 per annum.

INCOME-TAX PROVISIONS IN 1914 BUDGET.

By the finance act of 1914 (the regular budget passed by Parliament prior to the breaking out of the war), the general rate of income tax was fixed at 1s. 3d., but for incomes between £160 and £300 it was 1s. and for those between £300 and £500 it was 1s. 2d. If the total income did not exceed £2,500, the rate on the earned part of such income was: 9d., if the total income did not exceed £1,000; 10½d., if the total income did not exceed £1,500; 1s., if the total income did not exceed £2,000; 1s. 2d., if the total income did not exceed £2,500.

The relief in respect to children under 16 years of age was an abatement of tax on £20 of income for each such child. A supertax was levied on incomes above £3,000 at the following rates: For the first £500 of the excess above £2,500, 5d. in the pound; for the next £1,000 of the excess above £2,500, 7d. in the pound; for the next £1,000, 9d. in the pound; for the next £1,000, 11d. in the pound; for the next £1,000, 13d. in the pound; for the next £1,000, 15d. in the pound; for the remainder, 16d. in the pound.

The first war budget was introduced in November, 1914; the income and supertaxes mentioned above were doubled and the duties on beer and tea increased.

FISCAL CONDITIONS AFTER EIGHT MONTHS OF WAR—SECOND WAR BUDGET.

By the end of March 31, 1915, England had been at war eight months and the expenditure had increased £360,000,000, bringing the total for all purposes up to £498,359,980. The total revenue raised during the year ended March 31, 1915, was £226,694,000, an increase of £28,452,000 over the preceding year of peace. In other words, 46 per cent of the total cost was paid out of revenue. This increase was distributed as follows: Customs, £3,212,000; excise, £2,723,000; estate, etc., duties, £1,023,000; income tax, £22,150,000. It will be observed that the income and property tax was responsible for 75 per cent of the entire increase. The remarkable buoyancy of this tax has been demonstrated all through the war.

When, on May 1, 1915, the budget was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd-George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was based on 6 months more of warfare or, at the outside, not more than 12 months. Mr. Lloyd-George proposed no new taxes.

The second war budget was introduced by Mr. McKenna, Mr. Lloyd-George's successor, in September, 1915. The income tax and supertax were again increased, a tax of 50 per cent was imposed on war profits, and many indirect duties were imposed.

SOURCES OF REVENUE DURING FISCAL YEAR 1916.

When the time came to add up the bill for the 12 months ended March 31, 1916, it was found that the war had cost £1,559,158,377. The amount paid out of revenue was £336,766,824, or 22 per cent of the total cost. The bulk of the increase in revenue, as compared with the preceding year, came from the following taxes: Property and income tax, including supertax, increase of £58,921,000; customs, increase of £20,944,000; excise, increase of £18,897,000; estate, etc., duties, increase of £2,653,000. Here again one sees the income tax standing for more than one-half of the total increase in revenue. Customs duties and excise together represented only 36 per cent of the increase. The excess profits duty, which at the beginning was fixed at 50 per cent, brought in during this year only £140,000. It really did not get into full swing until the succeeding year.

In spite of the enormous increase in revenue, only one-fifth of the cost of the second year of war could be defrayed from taxation.

During the year ended March 31, 1916, the income tax stood at 2s. to 3s. 6d. in the pound and the supertax at 2s. 10d. on incomes of from £8,000 to £9,000; 3s. 2d. on incomes from £9,000 to £10,000; and 3s. 6d. on all exceeding £10,000 per annum.

TAX RATES INCREASED.

With the introduction of the war budget for the year commencing April 1, 1916, the taxes were further increased. The income tax was revised so that earned incomes up to £500 were to pay 2s. 3d. in the pound; those between £500 and £1,000 were to pay 2s. 6d. in the pound; and the tax was to be carried up by successive stages, the maximum being 5s. in the pound (or 25 per cent) for all earned incomes of £2,500 per annum. The supertax remained unchanged.

Excise taxes were increased as follows: Sugar, from 9s. 4d. to 14s. per hundredweight; cocoa, from 1½d. to 4½d. per pound; coffee and chicory, from 3d. to 4½d. per pound; tea, to 1s. per pound.

The excess profits tax was increased from 50 per cent to 60 per cent and the Government now takes all profits in excess of 20 per cent over normal gains made by "controlled establishments."

Other taxes were levied on amusements, railway tickets, matches, mineral waters and cider, motor cars, and motorcycles.

SECOND FULL YEAR UNDER WAR CONDITIONS.

The second year under war conditions ended on March 31, 1917. The cost had mounted steadily during the year, reaching the sum of £2,198,112,710 and exceeding the budget estimate by £240,000,000. The revenue amounted to £573,427,582, an increase of £71,000,000 over the estimate.

The increase in revenue over the year ended March 31, 1916, was £236,660,758, the principal sources showing the following changes: Excess-profits duty, increase of £139,920,000; property and income tax, including supertax, increase of £76,713,000; customs, increase of £10,955,000; excise, decrease of £4,830,000. In other words, 60 per cent of the increase came from the new excess-profits duty, which had not really got under way during the previous year, and over 32 per cent of the increase came from the income tax. Less than 5 per cent of the increase came from customs, and the excise revenue actually decreased, indicating that the tax was bearing so heavily on the articles affected that people reduced their consumption of them. Although the revenue collected was two and one-half times that collected in the last normal peace year, it paid for only one-fourth the cost of the war.

MONEY RAISED BY BORROWING.

To sum up: The total cost of the war from August 4, 1914, to March 31, 1917, was £4,277,006,538, of which £1,081,953,150, or about one-fourth, was paid from taxes. The remainder was obtained by borrowing, the net amount so obtained each year being as follows: Eight months ended March 31, 1915, £404,991,800; year ended March 31, 1916, £1,164,515,607; year ended March 31, 1917, £1,625,545,981; total, £3,195,053,388.

The record of the borrowing is as follows: Eight months ended March 31, 1915—Treasury bills, £64,150,000; 3 per cent exchequer bonds, 1920, £47,700,000; 3½ per cent war loan, 1925–1928, £296,000,000; total (disregarding credit balances), £407,850,000. The 3½ per cent loan was the first internal war loan and was issued in November, 1914, at 95. It therefore yielded 4.10 per cent.

Year ended March 31, 1916—Treasury bills, £488,818,000; 3½ per cent war loan, 1925–1928 (see above), £35,798,000; 4½ per cent war loan, 1925–1945, £586,639,000; American loan, £50,820,000; 5 per cent excise bonds, 1920, £153,689,000; other debt, £10,250,000; ways and means advances, £19,896,000; total, £1,345,910,064. (Note: £160,427,623 repaid to the Bank of England.) The 4½ per cent internal war loan offered in June, 1915, was issued at par. The previous 3½ per cent loan was accepted in exchange for this loan.

Year ended March 31, 1917—Five per cent exchequer bonds, 1919, £31,255,000; 5 per cent exchequer bonds, 1920, £83,038,000; 5 per cent exchequer bonds, 1921, £62,495,000; 6 per cent exchequer bonds, 1920, £160,951,000; war-expenditure certificates, £23,561,000; war-savings certificates, £72,750,000; other debt, £313,290,000; 4 per cent war loan, 1929–1942, and 5 per cent war loan, 1929–1947 (up to Mar. 10, 1917), £780,376,000; temporary advances, £197,630,000; total (disregarding credit balances), £1,725,346,000. The third internal war loan, issued in January, 1917, was a tremendous success. Altogether there were 8,000,000 subscribers. This loan was issued in two portions. One bore interest at 4 per cent, with an issue price of par, known as the "income tax compounded"; this portion was free of British taxation. The other portion bore interest at 5 per cent, was issued at 95, and these bonds were subject to tax. It is of interest to note that out of the vast total subscribed only a little more than £22,000,000 called for the tax exemption.

EXPANSION OF BANK CREDIT.

The effect of this borrowing is reflected in the expansion of bank credit. The statement of the Bank of England on April 4, 1917, as compared with April 8, 1914, gives one evidence of this inflation. Here are the figures:

	Apr. 8, 1914.	Apr. 4, 1917.
Liabilities:		
Circulation	£29,471,000	£38,900,000
Government deposits	19,630,000	50,123,000
Other deposits	42,330,000	128,968,000
Assets:		
Reserve notes and coin	25,000,000	34,234,000
Coin and bullion	36,000,000	54,690,000
Government securities	11,151,000	39,444,000
Other securities	43,500,000	123,307,000
Proportion of reserve to liabilities, per cent	40.34	19.12

A combined statement of the 28 joint-stock banks of the United Kingdom on June 30, 1916, shows the following increases as compared with June 30, 1914 (a month before war broke out):

Liabilities:	
Deposits	£206,163,000
Assets:	
Cash in hand and in the Bank of England	72,611,000
Investments	177,629,000

This enormous expansion in bank credit is responsible for part of the 70 per cent increase in prices of commodities.

ISSUE OF CURRENCY NOTES.

It was said at the beginning of this report that Great Britain has financed part of the cost of the war by the issuance of paper currency. The Bank of England can not issue notes except against gold, but the issue of currency notes may be increased without restriction. When war broke out, in order to meet the demand for small currency, the Government issued £10 and 10s. notes, and these are payable on demand in gold at the Bank of England. The issue of these notes has been increased at the rate of about £1,000,000 per week since war began. The increase in note circulation during the war is shown by the following statement:

	June 30, 1914.	Apr. 4, 1917.
Bank of England notes	£29,000,000	£38,900,000
Currency notes (gold cover, £28,500,000)		130,497,000
Notes of private and joint-stock banks	16,000,000	34,000,000
Total	45,000,000	203,397,000

Letter and Memorial on War Finance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 21, 1917.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit for the consideration of the Members of Congress the following letter and memorial on war finance, signed by the professors of Northwestern University, one of the great educational institutions of the country, located at Evanston, Ill., in my congressional district:

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS,
Evanston, Ill., May 17, 1917.

Congressman GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Under date of April 17 I sent you Northwestern's contribution to the memorial of American Economists to Congress regarding war finance. I desire again to urge upon you, as our Representative, the importance of Congress adhering to the program of taxation, as the chief reliance for financing the war. I am particularly in sympathy with the broadening of the income tax and of the democratic consequence which will follow from it. I think Congress should scrutinize very carefully the opinions of and the reasoning employed by business interests, which seek to diminish the importance of taxation.

The relation between borrowing and price inflation is unmistakable and the deferment of taxation is wasteful and inequitable. The chief sources of taxation which are available are excess profits, incomes, and inheritances. These should be fully utilized, and the taxes imposed upon them made to conform to the fundamental principles of equality in taxation, and to the economic consequences which will result. Indirect taxation in the form of licenses, customs duties, etc., should not be utilized further than is absolutely necessary. The consequences are regressive, and the burdens fall heaviest upon those least able to bear them. Direct taxation should be the norm, which all taxation approaches.

I sincerely hope that the "conscription" agitation will not be used as a device for sidetracking taxation in favor of loans. No single narrow program of direct taxation should be allowed to defeat the main proposition. Taxation is wise, may be made just, and is the only logical method for financing a large portion of the cost of the war. It will bring the necessary savings as no other scheme will. England's experience has demonstrated this fact, and the moment the other belligerent nations realize the impossibility of assessing a huge indemnity, they will appreciate this fact, too.

Business interests are making the claim that heavy taxation will "kill the goose that lays the golden egg." To the economist there is no basis for this opinion. Heavy taxation in England has not had this effect and there is no reason for believing that America's experience would be different.

I sincerely hope that you will be active in urging upon Congress the wisdom of using taxation rather than loans as the main reliance, and that you will use your influence to keep Congress from being stampeded by the baseless claims of certain business interests.

Very truly, yours,

HORACE SECRIST.

MEMORIAL OF AMERICAN ECONOMISTS TO CONGRESS REGARDING WAR FINANCE.

We, the undersigned, teachers of political economy, public finance, and political science in American universities and colleges, respectfully urge upon Congress to adopt the policy of taxation rather than that of bond issues as the principal means of financing the expenditures of our own country in the war on which it has embarked.

The taxation policy is practicable. It will prevent the price inflation which must result from large bond issues. It is demanded by social justice. It will increase the efficiency of the Nation in the conduct of the war.

The argument in support of these statements is briefly as follows:

THE TAXATION PLAN IS PRACTICABLE.

The taxation policy is practicable, because the current income of the people in any case must pay the war expenditures. The choice between bond issues and taxation is merely a choice whether the Government shall take income with a promise to repay those who furnish it or take income without such promise. The actual arms, munitions, and other equipment and supplies for use in the war, except to the small extent that they have been stored up in the past, must be produced now, during the war itself, not after the war, and moreover must be produced by our own people. The policy of borrowing within the country itself does not shift any part of the Nation's burden of war expenditures from the present to the future. All it does is to make possible a different distribution of the burden among individuals and social classes, to permit repayment to certain persons, who have contributed income during the war, by other persons after the war. If the people can support the war at all, they can do it on a cash basis. Borrowing creates nothing. Except by borrowing abroad, which we can not do, we can get nothing which we do not ourselves produce.

It may be necessary for a month or two at the outset to issue a limited amount of bonds, pending the collection of increased taxes, but beyond these, which might well be made repayable within a year, no necessity for bonds exists.

TAXATION PREVENTS PRICE INFLATION.

The taxation policy and no other will enable the country to escape the enormous evils of further inflation. The present high level of prices in Europe and America is primarily due to the war bonds and the paper money issued abroad. If the United States joins on a huge scale in this policy of borrowing, prices are bound to become far higher still.

Price inflation is harmful even in times of peace. During a war it is disastrous. It increases the cost of conducting the war. It postpones victory and thus adds to the war's toll of lives as well as to its money expenditures. By every bond issue the Government enhances the prices it must pay, and thus creates the need of more bonds. The policy works against itself.

Moreover, inflation of prices works injustice between different classes of society. The burden rests chiefly upon wage earners and salary receivers, whose pay never rises as fast as prices, and upon those who receive fixed or contractual incomes. The hardship which millions of our people are already suffering from the increased cost of living will be made many fold greater if the Government issues billions of dollars of bonds to finance the war.

The manner in which bond issues inflate prices may be briefly explained. The bond policy increases the amount of bank credit, which is equivalent in effect to an increase in the currency.

For example, if the Government takes $1,000 from a man in taxes, his credit or purchasing power is lessened to the same extent as the Government's is increased. On the other hand, if the Government borrows $1,000 from him, the quantity of purchasing power in existence is greatly increased. He now has a bond worth $1,000 on which he can and very often will borrow at the bank. Say he borrows $800; to lend him $800 the bank does not have to give up 800 actual dollars. Instead, it gives him a deposit account of $800 and, inasmuch as most of those who present checks do not ask for actual cash, but have their checks credited to their deposit accounts, the bank can keep this $800 in checks floating by setting aside, say, only $200 of actual cash. In other words, this bond-issue transaction has resulted in increasing the Government's credit by $1,000, in decreasing the man's credit by only $200 and in decreasing the bank's money by only $200; that is, there has been a net increase of credit currency (checking deposit accounts) of $600, in contrast with no net increase if taxes had been adopted instead of bonds.

If the man had given up his money in taxes, he would have ceased to compete with the Government and other buyers of commodities and labor to the extent of $1,000; but when the Government gives him a bond for his payment, he is still enabled to compete to the extent of $800. The purchasing power of society as a whole has increased by $600. This inevitably forces up prices.

The above illustrates the result of a bond issue that is taken by the public. As a matter of fact, if bonds are issued, a large part of them will be taken by banks. It is likely that the Federal reserve banks will buy these bonds wholesale by giving the Government checking accounts to the extent of the bonds. This causes immediate inflation to the full amount of the checking accounts thus created; that is, inflation to 100 per cent instead of to 60 per cent of the bond issue, as outlined in the illustration above.

As the Government draws checks on these bank accounts to meet its requirements, the banks will try to recoup themselves by retailing the bonds to the public. To the extent that they succeed the bonds get bonds get into the hands of the ultimate investor with the resulting inflation already described. In so far as the banks are unsuccessful in this distribution, they are almost certain to issue bank notes on the basis of bonds left in their hands, and these notes will cause inflation even worse than that due to the checking accounts of the public based on bond collateral.

JUSTICE DEMANDS THE TAX POLICY.

The policy of taxation for war expenditures is demanded by justice. Apart from the injustice arising from price inflation, the policy of paying for the war by bond issues gives property a preference over life; it deals unjustly as between citizen and citizen. The question of taxation versus bonds is not merely one of economics, it is one of morals, of right against wrong.

This war is a great social enterprise. The American people have undertaken it as a people. The future welfare of the country as a whole is involved; the future welfare of every citizen is involved. It is the duty, therefore, of every citizen to share in war's burdens to his utmost. For some the duty is to fight; for others to furnish money. For all the duty is without limit of amount. The citizen who contributes even his entire income, beyond what is necessary to subsistence itself, does less than the citizen who contributes himself to the Nation.

The man who goes to the front can not be paid back the life or the limb he may lose. The man who stays at home should contribute his just share of the money cost without expectation of repayment. That the soldier or sailor who gives himself to his country should, if he be so fortunate as to return, be taxed to pay interest and repay principal to him who has contributed the lesser thing—money—is a crying injustice. If conscription of men is just and right, conscription of income is the more so; conscription of both is just and right when the Nation's life and honor are at stake.

TAXATION WILL INCREASE WAR EFFICIENCY.

The policy of taxation for war expenditures will increase the efficiency of the Nation in the war. Its effect in keeping down the cost of the war has already been pointed out. Its effect on the spirit of the people is still more important. The general recognition of the justice of requiring everyone, according to his ability, to share the burdens of war, will bind the people together; the sense of injustice in the policy of borrowing will tend to drive them apart, to array class against class. Our soldiers and sailors will fight loyally in any case, but their spirit will be the more indomitable if they feel that every man who stays at home is serving the country to the utmost with his substance. An America in which every citizen without discrimination is called upon to do and to give all that he can, all that his powers permit, will be a united America, and as united America is bound to be victorious.

SUGGESTED FORMS OF TAXATION.

Without entering into details, concerning which opinions may differ, we recommend that among the tax measures to be adopted for the war period the following should be included:

(1) A tax which will take substantially all of special war profits.
(2) A material lowering of the present income-tax exemption.
(3) A drastic increase in the rates of the income tax, with a sharper progression in rates as incomes become larger.
(4) High consumption taxes on luxuries.

Horace Secrist, associate professor of economics; F. S. Diebler, professor of economics; F. E. Richter, associate professor of banking; R. E. Heilman, professor of economics and social science; Thomas R. Taylor, instructor in geography and trade; P. O. Ray, professor of political science; D. Himmelblau, assistant professor of accounting; Alfred W. Bays, professor of law; W. E. Hotchkiss, professor of economics; Homer B. Vanderblue, associate professor; Walter E. Lagerquist, associate professor; Arthur E. Swanson, associate professor; Henry P. Dutton, instructor of factory management.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the fairest, most just, and most easily defended provision of this bill is the income-tax provision. A tax on incomes needs no defense. The just tax is levied on one's ability to pay. The income tax is a tax on excess earnings. It is a tax on the amount a citizen makes over and above the exemptions provided in the bill. I heartily favor this form of taxation.

I voted for the Sherley amendment to increase the tax from 1 to 2 per cent on incomes between $5,000 and $7,500. This increase would have been in addition to that levied under existing law. I voted for the Lenroot amendments raising the rate from 8 to 10 per cent upon incomes in excess of $40,000 up to $60,000, and raising the other rates in the bill by 25 per cent. I voted against the amendment seeking to raise the exemption from $1,000 to $1,500 on unmarried men and from $2,000 to $2,500 on married men. If an unmarried man has an income of $1,500 he would pay only 2 per cent on the $500, or the amount in excess of $1,000, which would be a tax of $10. It will be remembered that this is a war measure, and I have no patience with an unmarried man making $1,500 per year who is not willing to contribute $10 of that amount to the support of the Government which guarantees protection to him. Nor do I have sympathy with the head of a family, husband or wife, who earns $2,500 per year and who is unwilling to economize and give 2 per cent of the $500 in excess of $2,000, or a tax of $10.

I voted against the confiscation of the larger incomes, because I agree with the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] that while more money might be raised the first year in this way, I believe it would have a tendency to cause the very wealthy to protect themselves by investing their money in stocks or bonds or less hazardous business ventures. This would result in their making less money and the Government, therefore, would derive less from that kind of an income tax than from the one we have adopted. The suggestion has been made that business men would not withdraw capital from these large business enterprises for two reasons: First, that it would be to their interest to keep their business going in the hope that the war would soon end and that the tax then would be reduced; and second, that they would exert themselves to make as large profits as possible and turn them over to the Government out of pure patriotism. Two answers occur to me for the first suggestion. One is that business men can not foresee how long the present war is likely to last and how long the present revenue bill or one exacting more taxes will continue. This would discourage their continuance in business and have a tendency to make business men with large capital seek less hazardous investments with smaller and safer returns. The other answer is that business men would not develop and build up a new business from which incomes could be derived taxable under the provisions of this bill. Answering the suggestion that patriotism would cause the larger investors to continue in business for the purpose of earning incomes to give the Government, permit me to say that I have yet to hear of a single case where any citizen of this Republic, however public spirited, gave to the Government his check for a single cent of taxes in excess of the amount required by law; or, if he went in person to pay his taxes did not wait for the exact change to be handed to him.

I earnestly believe in the income-tax provisions of this bill. It has been stated that we will derive $1,030,000,000 by means

of the income tax under them and other income-tax provisions under existing law. This amount will be materially increased because of the amendments added to the bill hereinabove referred to. I do not favor and did not vote for the retroactive provision in the bill. In my judgment, it is not scientific and is not justified. I believe all taxes should be prospective and not retroactive. It permits a citizen to figure with some degree of certainty upon investments. It would be as fair to collect double the amount of income tax for the past year as it is to collect one-third of the amount as provided in this bill, and I do not see any reason why it is not as fair to go back over a period of three years—or, for that matter, over any number of years—as it is to go back over the past year. The committee reporting the bill does not attempt to justify it for any reason, except that this is a war measure and the Government needs the money. About $110,000,000 will be collected by this provision. Inasmuch as last year's exemptions were $3,000 for an unmarried man and $4,000 for the head of a family, there is not the same criticism against it as we would have if the exemptions were lower, and a vote for it can much more easily be defended than for some of the other provisions in the bill. It at least complies with the sound principle of taxation by placing the burden upon people who are able to bear it.

The next division in the bill deals with the excess-profits tax. In addition to the 8 per cent collected, after exempting 8 per cent, a tax of 8 per cent additional is levied, so that under the present bill and existing law 16 per cent of the excess profits are gathered in by the taxgatherer. This tax may be defended on the ground that it is an easy way to get the money, but let me invite your attention to the fact that the taxgatherer has already been to this class of citizens under the income-tax provisions of this bill, under which all incomes over $1,000 per year are taxed. Now, a person with a few shares of stock may derive but a small income from it, much less than $1,000. Although exempt from the payment of an income tax, he is required under this provision to contribute taxes to the Government.

The next division in the bill deals with the tax on beverages. I do not have any difficulty in deciding for the provisions under this heading. I voted against striking them from the bill. To strike them from the bill would not give us prohibition. I favor prohibition, local, state, and national, and will vote for it at every opportunity. I do not believe we should continue the whisky traffic because of the revenue derived from it, but if I can not get prohibition I am willing to tax distilled spirits to the point of confiscation. If I can not get to vote for straight prohibition and whisky is permitted to be sold under the law and men are permitted to squander money belonging to their families, I am willing that part of this money should fall into the hands of the internal-revenue collector rather than into the pockets of the saloon keeper.

I do not have much difficulty with the next division of the bill dealing with the tax on cigars, tobacco, and cigarettes. Their use could be avoided. They have always been a source of revenue, and when our country is in peril I do not have any objection to an additional tax being collected on them.

My difficulties increase when we come to the fifth division of the bill, containing the provisions for a tax on facilities furnished by public utilities, and I take this occasion to invite attention to some of the objections. I am opposed to a tax of 3 per cent on transportation by rail or water; to the 10 per cent tax on transportation by express companies; to the tax of 10 per cent upon passenger fares; to the tax of 5 per cent on amount paid for electric power for domestic uses; to the 5 per cent tax on telephone service of subscribers; to the tax of 5 per cent for each dispatch or message or conversation over any telegraph or telephone line, where a charge of 15 cents or more is imposed. I am also opposed to the insurance taxes provided for under this division. All these taxes, of course, will be paid by the individual citizens paying for the service or facilities rendered.

Under the first division in the bill an income tax is provided for, with an exemption of $1,000 to a single person and $2,000 to the head of a family. Under the second division, if any investments are made, no matter how small, a tax is levied upon the dividends in excess of 8 per cent, although the holder of the stock may have an annual income much less than the $1,000 exempt; and it makes no difference how poor a person is, he is taxed under the several provisions of the excess profits section. My contention is that the tax is unjust if the person paying it is poor; and if he is wealthy, he has already paid twice by means of the income tax and the excess profits tax. I do not see how any of these provisions can be justified in principle. Certainly the only excuse that can be offered is that the money is needed to pay the expenses of the war. Instead of collecting money in this way and in various other ways provided in the bill I would prefer to lower the exemption in the income-tax division, beginning at first with a small per cent and gradually raising the amount, so that a much larger share might be collected.

Division 5 of this bill provides for a tax on manufactures, including automobiles, musical instruments, and a large number of similar items, as well as drugs and medicines. Some of these products I regard as luxuries and the same objections do not lie against a tax on them as to others. I do not see how we are going to defend all of these provisions of the bill. It is inconsistent to say that the poor man should be exempt $1,000 from the income tax if single or $2,000 if the head of a family, and tax all the medicines 5 per cent that he buys.

The provisions under division 7 are equally as inconsistent. I do not believe a man with a family earning an income under $2,000 per year when he takes his wife and children to a place of amusement should be required to pay 1 cent extra for each 10-cent ticket of admission, or a maximum of 5 cents at more expensive places of amusement.

Division 8 deals with war stamp taxes. All of them are annoying, and I do not favor any of them. I want to particularly call attention to the stamps required to be placed on notes to the amount of 2 cents on each $100 when made, or when the time for payment is extended. Of course the borrower pays this tax. He ought to be exempt, and I am opposed to the provision, because it is not only unjust to tax the poor and not tax according to one's ability to pay but it is annoying as well.

I do not have any objection to the tax collected under division 9. I think the amount collected is small and reasonable, and as a war tax it is entirely justified. It provides for a tax on estates and meets with my hearty approval. I think it would be better for this country if a larger per cent were collected from the largest estates. It would have a tendency to redistribute fortunes in our Nation. I shall be glad to support amendments giving even larger amounts of these estates to the Government, particularly in time of war.

The tax collector under division 10 secures 10 per cent ad valorem on all goods imported, in addition to existing duties. These duties can only be defended as a war measure. There should be a provision added to it providing that such duties should not continue longer than a stated period, say two years from the end of the fiscal year after the close of the war, or otherwise they will not be repealed for a generation.

I do not favor the tax upon coffee and tea provided in section 1001 of this bill. It is a tax upon the breakfast table of every poor man in the country. We exempted the poor under the income-tax provision, and the same thing should be done under every provision of this or any other revenue bill.

Division 12 of the bill attempts to collect a revenue through the Postal Service. I believe the Postal Service should be self-sustaining, and do not think it should be a means through which excess revenues should be derived. I think the question of postal rates should be carefully considered by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, charged with the duty of investigating the entire service, and that each part of the service should pay its fair proportionate share. I do not believe that a penalty should be placed upon the distribution of educational matter, although I would be perfectly willing to vote an increase in postal rates up to the amount the Government spends for carrying that part of magazines and periodicals devoted to advertising. I do not believe that our Government is called upon to transport advertising matter from which publishers derive large amounts at a loss and that this burden should be borne by the people. I am opposed to the increase of letter postage to 3 cents. I do not think the washerwoman should be compelled to place a 3-cent stamp upon a letter she sends to her boy in the Army unless it costs the Government this amount to carry it. I feel that the proper committee should thoroughly investigate this subject, and that no excess revenue should be derived from the Postal Service, but that the revenue secured in this manner should all be used to lessen instead of increase rates, increase the number of rural routes, and give the people additional mail facilities.

In this connection, I think it is only fair to say that I have not had a single protest from any newspaper published in my district, but every one, without exception, is loyally, enthusiastically and patriotically supporting the administration in its efforts to carry on this war to a successful conclusion and is willing to make all necessary sacrifices.

The press of the country is daily carrying through its columns information free which would cost the Government thousands of dollars if paid for as advertising matter and which the people depend upon. Column after column, with attractive headlines, is published upon every conceivable subject, including regula-

tions with reference to registration for enlistment in the Army, the sale of liberty loan bonds, for the conservation of food supplies, the stimulation of agriculture, and innumerable other questions of the very deepest interest to the people of the Nation. The subscription for and circulation of newspapers should be encouraged in every possible way.

The answer in each instance, when a motion is made to strike out any of these provisions, is not that they are defensible, not that they are justified, but that the Government needs the money in order to properly carry on the war. In argument the Ways and Means Committee always asks what substitute is offered to supply the deficiency, and insists that the Government needs to raise $1,800,000,000 by this bill. In the first place, let me say no sufficient reason has been assigned why this amount should be raised, although I subscribe to the theory that a large part of the expenses of this war should be borne by the present generation.

It must be remembered that food prices are exceptionally high; that larger taxes are being assessed, and that additional burdens are being placed upon the people. At the same time families may be called upon to give some of their members to Army service, thus lessening their productive capacity. If, however, we agree that the full amount should be raised, as stated before, I would lower the exemptions and collect a larger part through the income tax. By doing so I would place the burden upon people able to bear it, lessen the expense of collecting it, and relieve the country from many annoyances.

We have engaged in a great war. We must all make sacrifices and endure hardships. We can not write a revenue bill satisfactory to all. This bill no doubt contains many compromises of opinion of members of the Ways and Means Committee and will contain many provisions to which all Members do not agree, but it will represent the best thought and judgment of the combined membership of both branches of Congress.

I voted for the resolution declaring that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany. I voted for the $7,000,000,000 bond issue with which to finance the war. I voted for the Army bill, and, while I do not agree with all the provisions of this bill, I am going to vote for it, because it provides for the raising of necessary revenue to carry this war to a successful conclusion.

Here Lies a Big Mistake.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY C. WOODYARD,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. WOODYARD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a leading editorial from the Huntington (W. Va.) Herald-Dispatch, not only one of the biggest and best daily newspapers in the district which I have the honor to represent but one of the largest and best newspapers published in the State of West Virginia. Its policy is of such high, idealistic, independent, and outspoken character, and it is edited throughout with such superior ability and sound judgment as to enable it to wield a widespread influence in its extensive field, and to enjoy the moral satisfaction and material prosperity which are bound to follow on the heels of such conscientious and commendable journalistic conduct. I make this explanation that my colleagues in this House and others who may read the RECORD may know the high standing of the Herald-Dispatch in West Virginia, and that great importance is to be attached to whatever it may say, especially as to conditions of public sentiment in West Virginia and to whatever other affairs there which may occasion observation and comment from it.

And I wish to add a few observations and comments of my own on this editorial, which I shall append to my remarks. The inspiration of this able article was the frustration by the President of the emphatically recorded wishes of the Congress that Col. Roosevelt should be sent to France at the head of a volunteer command, which he offered to raise at once, or in a commission slightly lower than the highest command. The action of the President was a dampening disappointment to the martial spirit of the country, decidedly discouraging to it, and at a time when it appeared greatly to need bolstering up, and the injection of vigor and enthusiasm into our people over the plans and purposes of this war in which we are engaged.

The Herald-Dispatch records with forcefulness and clarity the effect of that, to me, disastrous blunder on the thousands of people with whom it is in touch. These people, Mr. Speaker, are typical Americans, native born for far the greater part, with a high average of intelligence, and an inheritance of patriotism and fighting blood from ancestors who fought off the Indians from their new homes beyond the Alleghenies, who fought with Washington to establish this great Republic and with Grant to maintain it, and with Lee for an independent sovereignty in which many of them so devoutly believed at the time that they cheerfully offered up their lives and their worldly possessions that it might prevail. Such people are neither cowardly nor unpatriotic, but they are jealous of their rights, strong and outspoken in their beliefs. They can not be led nor driven against their hearts and their judgments and their intelligence.

Knowing these people as well as I do—I was born and reared among them, and I love and revere them beyond any poor words of mine to express—I feel sure that the Herald-Dispatch has accurately and conservatively reflected their thoughts and feelings. I will say, further, that I believe from investigations I have made that practically the same condition exists generally throughout the State among what I may term the rank and file of our citizens. I also believe, from what various Members of Congress have told me as to their own constituents, that much the same condition covers a far greater area of the country at large than is good for this enterprise of war upon which our Government has entered.

What is to be done in the face of a condition of this kind, I do not pretend to say, nor have I any suggestion to make. That something should be done is as plainly obvious to other people as it is to me. It would seem to call for action upon the part of an expert psychologist, or a commission or advisory committee of psychologists. It is the duty of the Government to arouse the people, to stir them up, to martial enthusiasm, but it is plain that it can not be done by bluntly going against their wishes and desires, withholding confidences from them, and autocratically crushing their sentiment as expressed by their Representatives in the National Congress. And that was what was done by a stroke of the pen and a few classic samples of pure, limpid, and unalloyed English.

Mr. Speaker, it is not the Roosevelt mistake, which stimulated the clear thinking and able writing of the editor of the Huntington Herald-Dispatch, that is the interesting part of the editorial in question to me. It is the outspoken, correlated observations accompanying it. It is the fact, too, that up till this time here is a powerful and influential newspaper in my district and in my State which has stood squarely by the President in everything he has asked for and done since the declaration of war. Never once has it indicated in its attitude toward the President and the war that it was and is a Republican journal. When war came all indications were that politics had been brushed aside and patriotism was the guiding star of the editorial bark. To some who disagreed with its position upon several questions its treatment of their views seemed intolerant and impatient but, in the main, just, I am glad to say. On the issue of volunteerism versus conscription it was vigorous and plausible in its advocacy of that method of raising an army, and it criticized my position as an advocate of the volunteer method frequently, forcefully, and, I may say, legitimately and with fairness.

In the circumstances, then, what it now says strikes me with peculiar interest as decidedly important. If that is the frame of the mind of the people in its locality, what, may we ask, are the plain people elsewhere thinking of? If there is any widespread dormancy of public sentiment, it is plain that the Government should know it and proceed accordingly without delay. If this thing is general, or if it prevails in spots, the President should know it—Congress should know it. There should be no hiding this condition of affairs, if it exists to any considerable extent, from the President of the United States. Any adviser of his who should withhold from the President knowledge of such a condition if it prevails anywhere is recreant in his duty to the very point of high treason.

It is because I believe that such a lethargic, disinterested, and dormant condition should be known by the President and by officials generally wherever it exists—that it should be inspected under the rays of "pitiless publicity"—that I have created the opportunity to spread the following excerpt upon the pages of the RECORD:

HERE LIES A BIG MISTAKE.

In making the rebuff to Col. Roosevelt's patriotic aspirations a matter of personal heraldry in which vindictiveness was not entirely hidden President Wilson committed a grave error. There may be, and doubtless there are, some good technical reasons to be urged against such an expedition as that which Col. Roosevelt proposed to lead.

But in weighing the good results to be derived from such a course against the worst that could possibly come of it the case is overwhelmingly in favor of the colonel's plan.

President Wilson and many more of the leading men at Washington do not seem to realize that there is something lacking—a vital something, an indispensable something—without which we will be able to cut but a slothful and sorry figure in the war. It is a fact, though President Wilson and his advisers may not know it, that the people are not interested in the war. That is to say, they do not feel that it is their war. They look upon it either as something removed from them or as something unwelcome obtruded across their way of life. To say it briefly and bluntly, the war is unpopular. There may be enthusiasm in Washington, where the glamour of uniforms and prescience of fat jobs to come permeate their atmosphere, and the President may be deceived by this enthusiasm. But that condition, if it exist, as it probably does, is local to Washington and to the few other centers where similar conditions prevail. It does not exist in the smaller cities nor in the towns and rural communities where the masses of the producing people of the Nation live.

Demonstrations of patriotic fervor are practically unknown outside the larger cities, where pageants have been spread for distinguished visitors from abroad. The people elsewhere are for the most part calmly loyal, and, as a rule, uncomplaining. But there is no enthusiasm. There were but two things that could have kindled in the hearts of the people the spark of patriotic fervor and enthusiasm. One of these was the creation of a volunteer army under Roosevelt. This possibility has been dispelled by presidential proclamation. The other remains. It is remote, and could come only after horrors of which we dare not even dream—an armed invasion of American soil by German enemies.

Next to an armed invasion the leadership of Roosevelt would have inspired the greatest degree of popular interest and enthusiasm. Next to an armed invasion it was the only thing at all calculated to arouse the spirit of the people.

Mr. Wilson and his cabinets, advisory and otherwise, will soon find the truth of what is here stated. There is a remarkable coldness toward the liberty bonds. This is not because the people as a rule do not know what the bonds are, nor that they do not know the bonds to be a good investment. It is because they have no feeling of personal interest in the war; because the war is not popular with them. They didn't want it, and now that it is here they look upon it not with patriotic fervor or enthusiasm, but with indifference or resentment.

The slap at Col. Roosevelt, however thoroughly it may have been justified from the standpoint of the military technician, will tend further to repress the noble rage of American patriotism.

If Mr. Wilson had reversed himself on this proposition, even at the expense of personal prejudice, and in defiance of the Army Staff if necessary, the country to-day would have been singing a far different tune. It would, we confess, have placed a popular figure in the limelight. It would have centered a large measure of public interest upon the personality of Theodore Roosevelt. But Wilson himself would have been looked upon as a broad-minded statesman, capable of doing a magnanimous act even to an acknowledged political foe, and the whole Nation would have felt that the grim spirit of war had been glorified by generous compact between two of the country's greatest leaders; that it is not the administration's war, not a war that is being conducted by a Democratic President, but the people's war, conducted upon a high and righteous plane far above the level of the littleness of partisan politics.

No matter how Mr. Wilson may feel about it; no matter how sincere or intelligently conceived his motives, many people, already indifferent to the war, have had their indifference embittered, and it is going to be henceforth much harder to rally the force of public opinion and secure the cooperation of all the elements of American citizenship than it would have been if this mistake had not been made.

The thrill of genuine enthusiasm is lacking. It is needed, how badly the next few weeks will tell. The President missed the only opportunity that has presented for obtaining that thrill.

There was a widespread and persistent sentiment in favor of sending Col. Roosevelt to France. This sentiment was spontaneous. It was not sectional, nor was it political. It was intelligent and determined. It had weighed the possible objections that might be interposed, and had dismissed them as insufficient to bar the magnificent adventure. There must be some keen appeal to the imagination of the people, something to enlist their admiration, something of the pomp and circumstance and glory of war as it used to be to sustain a nation such as ours, or it will not lend itself in full efficiency to the support of any war that does not thrust armed and bloodthirsty enemies through the very gates of our country to slay our people and burn our homes. The Roosevelt expedition was rich in possibilities for the creation of this sentiment.

It is a mistake—a costly one. But in charity we bury it, for our own part, and will continue to urge the people to support the Government, not only as a patriotic duty but as a necessity which involves our very existence.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, at the close of a week's debate on this bill by leaders on both sides of the House I believe it would be rendering a service to the country to include under leave to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following remarkable editorial in this morning's Washington Post, the leading independent journal of the Capital, from which so many Members draw inspiration:

KILL THE TAX BILL.

The tax bill framed by the House is an unnecessary load upon the people, who are suffering from extortionate food prices and the shock of disorganized business resulting from the entry of the United States into the war.

It is unnecessary to raise $1,800,000,000 by taxes during this year. It is unnecessary to violate the Constitution by trying to pass an ex post facto law. It is unnecessary to frighten industry by the prospect of crushing taxes, just at the time when industry must gather strength for the greatest expansion in its history if it is to help win the war.

It is utterly unnecessary to tax foodstuffs that are already overtaxed by unregulated and unhung food pirates.

If the United States were hard pressed by its creditors and its credit were in danger, there would be a necessity for heavy taxes. But the creditors of the United States are not asking for the small amount that may be due them. On the contrary, they are willing to buy more of the Government's bonds. The credit of the United States is higher than that of any other nation in the world. Its own people are ready to lend it billions of money on long time and at lower interest than is paid by any other government.

Instead of taxing the people unnecessarily at this time Congress should raise money by long-time bonds. With this threat of ruinous taxation out of the way the liberty bonds would go like hot cakes. A big blunder was made when the taxation bill was rushed into the House before the bonds were sold. Individuals and industries are frightened out of their wits. They will not buy bonds when they fear they may have to pay excessive taxes. They are wondering whether they will be able to remain in business. That is not the spirit that Congress should cultivate among the people. It should reassure them that the Government's financial burden will be distributed over a series of years; that no discriminating taxes will be levied; and that no section or industry is to be penalized or favored for any reason whatever.

The taxation bill in the House is a wet blanket upon Secretary McAdoo's campaign for the sale of the liberty bonds. As soon as possible the Senate should make known to the country that this bill will never pass. Then the people will take heart again. Wheels will begin to turn and plans will be made to expand industry to meet the needs of the Government for fighting the war. Then the bonds will be bought up by rich and poor.

Let the Senate give the country to understand that the war is to be fought for all time, the end being the triumph of our democracy against the strongest assault that could be made against it. Let the people know that the immense cost of the war will be borne by those receiving the benefit of victory, as well as by those who endure the burden and shed the blood needful for victory. As the benefit will run to posterity, let posterity pay part of the cost. It can not pay in blood, but it can pay part of the money cost. And since the greater and more populous and richer United States will be better able to pay its share, posterity will still be under a deep debt to the patriots of this day who pay more than money for victory.

This Nation can not fight this war out of current revenues increased by taxation. It must go into debt. The sooner this fact is understood the better. The debt should be apportioned to the taxpayers over at least 30 years. Fifty years would be better, since the taxpayers 50 years hence will be enjoying far greater benefits than those of the immediate future, who will inherit the blood tax as well as the money tax.

The Daylight-Saving Plan as a War Measure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following data:

THE DAYLIGHT-SAVING PLAN AS A WAR MEASURE.

I.

The daylight-saving plan was adopted as a war measure by Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Australia, and Iceland.

The year 1916 was the first year of operation of the plan in all but the last two countries, which adopted the plan this year.

A committee of the House of Commons which made a preliminary study of the question in 1908 and 1909 reported favorably a daylight saving bill, stating the results would be:

"To promote the greater use of daylight for recreative purposes.

"To lessen the use of houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

"To facilitate the training of the territorial force.

"To benefit the physique, general health, and welfare of all classes of the community.

"To reduce the industrial, commercial, and domestic expenditure on artificial light.

"That the object of the bill, which is desirable and would benefit the community, can not be attained without legislation.

"And that an alteration of the clock of one hour in April and a similar alteration of one hour in September is the best mode of attaining the object of the bill."

II.

REASONS WHY DAYLIGHT SAVING WAS ADOPTED AS A WAR MEASURE.

(A) Economy: In consumption of coal, oil, gas, light, and so forth.

ENGLAND.

1. The savings in the use of artificial light and fuel to produce this in England were estimated as $2,500,000 for the summer months alone. (Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, vol. 82, no. 39, p. 304.)

2. Mr. Hanbury Thomas, of the Seffield United Gas Co., has suggested that a general estimate for the whole country can be arrived at from the figures of actual saving in coal given in the replies from those undertakings who use coal and no other fuel on the following plan: The amount of coal stated by such undertaking—28 in number—to have been saved as a direct result of summer time works out in the aggregate at 1.449 per cent of the total annual quantity carbonized by them. The total quantity of coal used by all gas undertakings in the United Kingdom in 1915 was, in round figures, 18,000,000 tons. Reckoning 1.449 per cent of those figures, therefore, the saving in coal affected by gas undertakings in the United Kingdom as a result of the 4½ months of summer time may be put at about 260,000 tons.

Further, applying the same percentage to the total annual sum spent by consumers on gas—reckoned on the total annual sales of gas undertakings at 3 shillings per 1,000 cubic feet—the saving in expenditures to consumers works out at about £475,000.

These estimates can not of course be regarded as anything but conjectural, but they represent the best that can be done with the figures and are not perhaps very far wide of the mark.

(Report summer-time committee, England, February, 1917, page 12.)

3. The parliamentary committee heard from over 80 municipal electrical light undertakings, from 50 to 60 private companies, and from 11 electric power companies.

The estimates of the reduction in consumption of electric light vary very widely, from 1.25 per cent, in one case, to 55 per cent.

The returns of the power companies give a mean reduction of 20 per cent for lighting purposes.

Thirty-eight private companies furnished figures giving an estimate of reduction varying from 10 to 41 per cent, the mean for the 38 being 23 per cent.

Sixty-four municipal undertakings give a mean reduction of 18.3 per cent in units used for lighting.

(Report summer-time committee, England, February, 1917, page 10.)

4. According to E. Houghton Fry, secretary of committee for regulation of petroleum supplies the economy affected by the daylight-saving act in consumption of illuminating oils in England was 2¼ per cent of the consumption for the year; that is, about 11,500 tons.

This seems to be a very modest proportion, but it should be remembered that 11,500 tons represent two journeys by an oil tanker, which would occupy approximately four months, and this saving therefore can by no means be regarded as negligible. In fact, owing to the shortage that is at present being experienced in these vessels the result is a very welcome one.

5. The following data are taken from the report, association of chamber of commerce, United Kingdom, on the summer-time act of 1916. These statements are significant in view of the large amount of daylight which England ordinarily has.

All the chambers report that the operation of the act has resulted in a considerable saving in artificial light. The saving has been somewhat reduced by the fact that overtime has been worked in all centers, while the lighting restriction has probably increased it. Notwithstanding these factors the chambers are of the opinion that there has been considerable saving. In a few cases figures have been given as follows:

Belfast: Resulted in very appreciable saving of artificial light. This has been proved by decreased revenue of municipal-lighting authorities. In Belfast the consumption of gas was less by 5½ per cent than in the same months of 1915, while in electricity there was a saving of 2 per cent.

Blackburn: Decrease in gas consumption in Blackburn 8.19 per cent, as compared with similar period in previous years. This is equal to a saving in coal of 1,710 tons. Consumption of electricity decreased by 20 per cent, or 25 per cent in the case of large shops.

Edinburgh: Saving in city of Edinburgh considerably exceeded £10,000.

The following savings are given:

(a) Large printing establishment, working all night, 13½ per cent.

(b) Large hotel, 9 per cent.

(c) Another large hotel, 6 per cent.

(d) Consumption of gas reduced by 8 per cent, equal in money to over £6,000.

(e) Electric light used, decrease by 3 per cent, though this to some extent may have been due to police regulations.

Manchester: The act did result in a saving of the consumption of gas in Manchester. The decrease between 6 p. m. and 1 a. m. amounted to 134,000,000 cubic feet, equal to 2 per cent, on the annual consumption, or equivalent to 11,000 tons of coal. In residential districts the electric light used was decreased by about 15 per cent on a previous year.

Newport: Saving estimated at from 15 to 25 per cent.

Nottingham: The saving is put at 10 to 15 per cent.

Oldham: Returns by corporation showed good reduction in quantity of gas and electricity used.

Portsmouth: The saving is put at 25 per cent.

6. Mr. Herbert Samuel in the House of Commons May 8, 1916, said:

The Government would not have dreamt of favoring this measure or of inviting the House to consider it unless it had reason to think that it was essentially advantageous for war purposes.

The question of our coal supply is one which is giving us serious concern.

We are casting about in every direction for means to increase our coal supplies, and when a proposal is made which we believe, and indeed are convinced, would lead to a large economy of certainly many hundreds of thousands of tons of coal in the course of a year, we can not regard that as a matter of indifference.

7. The question was first brought to notice by the expert committee appointed to advise the Government on the disposal of the coal output.

This central committee for the disposal of coal unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government to adopt the daylight saving plan in order to conserve the coal resources of the nation.

8. The board of trade found it necessary to urge upon all gas and electric light companies a reduction in their consumption of coal.

9. The railway executive committee managing the railways on behalf of the Government favored the proposal. (Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, May 8, 1916, p. 345.)

FRANCE.

[From summary, report of M. Mallavalle (Deputy) on behalf "Commission de l'Enseignment et des Beaux Arts" on bill for renewal of summer time in 1917 and subsequent years.]

1. The committee record two sets of estimates of the total saving in coal for the whole country as follows:

(1) The total quantity of coal consumed by gas undertakings in France annually being put at 5,000,000 tons and by electrical undertakings at 2,000,000—7,000,000 tons in all—an economy of 10 per cent on this amount—which the committee think it fair to take as result of summer time—gives about 60,000 tons over one month, 200,000 tons over three and one-half months—length of summer-time period in France in 1916—360,000 tons over six months, 410,000 tons over seven months.

If a 15 per cent economy is reckoned the savings are estimated at about 87,500 tons over one month, 306,000 tons over three and one-half months, 525,000 tons over six months, 612,000 tons over seven months.

Reckoning a mean between these two calculations, the saving over six months is put at 442,500 tons and over seven months at 511,000 tons, representing a saving in cost (estimating £1,750,000) and 51,000,000 (£2,030,000), respectively. "Chiffres moyens qui pourraient approcher davantage de la vérité."

2. The director of inventions affecting the national defense, after studying figures of output of gas during the periods preceding and following the introduction of summer time and the restoration of normal time, concluded that the saving in coal or gaslight might be put at 1 kilogram—somewhat over 2 pounds—per person, or 1 ton for each 1,000 persons per month.

There are said to be 18,000,000 persons in France "eclaires par le gaz," so that the economy of coal on this basis would amount to 18,000 tons per month, or more than 200,000 over the whole year.

The figure for electricity undertakings is estimated as 100,000, giving a total of 300,000 tons—30,000,000 francs or £1,190,000—for gas and electricity combined. Half this amount would be saved for the summer-time period.

3. At the Calais Docks there was an increase in unloading capacity of 250 tons each day of summer.

4. At Marseille it was found possible to deal with an extra quantity of goods estimated at between 12,000 and 31,000 tons from July to September—2¼ per cent to 4 per cent of the total tonnage unloaded.

GERMANY.

The municipal gas works at Berlin reported a decrease during May and June, 1916, of 508,500 cubic meters, in spite of the fact that 18,000 new gas meters were put up during the first

six months of 1916, and the records from January to April showed an increase of 2,400,000 cubic meters output of gas as compared with 1915.

The other countries of Europe are investigating the results of last year's operation of the daylight-saving plan. (Report English Commission, p. 17.)

III.

DAYLIGHT SAVING AS A WAR MEASURE IN THE UNITED STATES.

(A) THE FOOD PROBLEM.

1. This country is facing a very serious food problem the solution of which, in part at least, lies in increased, intensive cultivation of the soil. All agricultural operations must cease at sunset.

2. The daylight-saving plan offers opportunity to over 20,000,000 workers engaged in trade, transportation, and other pursuits outside the field of agriculture for an extra hour of daylight after their workday is over for work on the land.

Prof. Y. N. Carver, Harvard University, and former Chief of the Rural Organization Service of the United States Government, says:

It would be a great help to the movement for the increase of the production of food if workingmen had an extra hour of daylight in the evening for work in their gardens. An hour's work a day in a garden, if wisely directed, will produce an amazing amount of food.

I believe this to be of the utmost importance. Unless something unforeseen happens, the world is going to experience the greatest food shortage within the next year that it has known since the Napoleonic wars. The chances are that there will be many hungry people in our large cities before another winter is over, not because there is not enough work for them to do, not because money wages will not be high, but because food will be hard to get at any price. Anything which will enable workingmen to produce a part of their own food is, therefore, of the utmost importance.

3. The national emergency food-garden commission is inspiring and aiding the planting of 1,000,000 food gardens in cities, towns, and villages. The product of these gardens will supply food valued at $250,000,000. (See American Forestry, April, 1917.) Daylight saving will give tremendous impetus to this movement through the additional daylight hour it offers workers and others.

(B) CONSERVATION OF COAL AND OTHER MATERIAL RESOURCES.

1. There is no doubt but what this country will achieve the savings that the European nations have experienced.

(a) Robert L. Brunet, of the Rhode Island committee on public safety, estimated that Providence will save $60,000 yearly in lighting and fuel, and the country would save $40,000,000 annually.

(b) The special committee of the Boston Chamber of Commerce estimates that the country would save $100,000,000 annually in the use of artificial light, on basis of plan for operation entire year.

(c) Cleveland saved $200,000 during the first six months' operation of the plan.

(C) INCREASED EFFICIENCY OF WORKERS.

1. In the summer a cool hour of the morning will be substituted for a warm one of the afternoon. The strength of the workers will thereby be better conserved.

2. There will be less danger from accident.

(a) Artificial light will not be necessary at the end of the workday.

(b) It is a well-known fact that industrial accidents occur most frequently in the late afternoon, the time when fatigue is great and efficiency low. An hour of this period will be shifted to the morning period.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor recently passed the following resolution:

Resolved by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, That we urge the inauguration of a "daylight-saving" project for the conservation of time and opportunity for great leisure and open-air exercise for the masses of the people, and we insist that in order that the change may be beneficial it must have its general application throughout the United States. We will gratefully receive from and actively give to any groups the fullest support in the attainment of the "daylight-saving" project so long as it shall be utilized for the purpose herein declared.

It is the sincere hope that the movement to inaugurate the "daylight saving" may be entirely successful and it will be our pleasure to contribute whatever may be in our power to that end.

(D) HEALTH, MORALS, AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

Workers will be able to spend more time outdoors after the workday is over, owing to the additional hour of daylight.

(a) More work in gardens.

(b) Better use of recreational facilities.

(c) Lessened eyestrain for workers due to use of artificial light.

(d) Increase in health of workers and their families.

(e) The "rush" hour will come during daylight and lessen the risk of accident.

W. T. Sedgwick, professor of public health, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and member Advisory Board, Hygienic Laboratory, United States Public Health Service, says:

I am strongly in favor of the daylight-saving movement both for reasons of thrift and economy and because of its importance for the public health.

By increasing the period of sleep in darkness, it would tend to promote rest and diminish fatigue, since that sleep is best which falls in darkness and quietness. And by increasing by an hour a day the daylight time available for play and pleasure it would tend to promote outdoor life and exercise, both greatly needed in our increasingly sedentary modern life.

The adoption of the daylight-saving plan is being urged as a war measure by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, representing over 800 trade and commercial bodies. Many other associations are urging immediate action.

The advisory commission to the National Council of Defense passed a resolution indorsing the plan.

Action on the plan as a war measure is urged by Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, Maine Committee on Public Safety, Vermont Committee on Public Safety, New Hampshire Committee on Public Safety, Rhode Island Committee on Public Safety, and Connecticut Committee on Public Safety.

Many cities, towns, organizations, and individuals throughout the country are urging immediate action.

The Army Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, now that the Army bill, containing selective conscription, has finally passed, we shall have the two systems, volunteer and conscription—draft—in full operation, side by side. In the Navy and in the Marine Corps the volunteer system prevails exclusively. In the National Guard and Regular Army the volunteer system prevails, except that if the required number is not obtained the draft will be applied to fill these organizations up to the required strength. There does not seem to be any question of principle involved, but only one of expediency. Most people now concede that there is a universal obligation to render military service resting upon all able-bodied men when the country's vital needs require it. But they are not agreed upon the wisdom or expediency of resorting to this extreme measure before the necessity for doing so has appeared. Many of us believed that we should first give those willing to go a chance to do so, and that under the volunteer system we could get all the men required and more than we could use. After the bill passed the House and was pending in the Senate, I received a letter from the editor of The Record, Mr. L. Benshoof, of Detroit, Minn., inquiring as to my reasons for my votes and attitude on the main provisions of the bill, to which I replied, in substance, as follows:

In order to understand the questions presented in the consideration of the Army bill it should be recalled that under existing law the President is authorized to increase our military forces to about 1,000,000 men, first, by utilizing the volunteer enlistment system, and, second, by draft if necessary. The bill proposed by the War Department contemplated raising, first, half a million, and then such additional forces as to bring the total strength up to about 2,000,000 men by selective conscription. It was not a question of universal liability to military service at all. The bill presented by the War Department proposed to select from the male citizens of the country every person between the ages of 19 and 25 years, and then exempt certain members of that class physically defective or who had religious scruples against war, and so forth. The male population between the ages of 19 and 25 years is estimated at 7,000,000, 42 per cent of which would be exempt from one cause or another, so there would remain about 4,000,000 between the ages mentioned from whom to select the additional forces of 1,000,000 men.

That the burden of raising this army should fall exclusively upon the young men between the ages of 19 and 25 years seemed unfair. Why a young man of the age of 19 or 20, who can not vote, should be compelled to serve in the Army at $15 per month

when those of 26 or over should be exempted and privileged to enjoy their earnings of four or five times that of the conscript was never explained. Universal military service has always been understood to embrace all able-bodied men of military age. While we recognize the right of conscription as a last resort, it has never in this or any other English-speaking country been considered the best method of raising an army. Every war in which we have ever engaged, from the Revolutionary War to the present time, has been fought by volunteers. The 5,000,000 or more men raised by England, now in the field, are volunteers, and it was only when necessity seemed to require that conscription should be resorted to that it was adopted to raise the additional forces now in training. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have raised their forces by the volunteer system. The Army bill, while in Committee of the Whole, was so amended as to raise the age of conscripts so as to embrace all between the ages of 21 and 40 years and the pay of the enlisted man was raised from $15 to $30 per month. After these amendments had been agreed to, although I believed that by the volunteer system we could have raised the forces more quickly and gotten better men, I yielded my judgment to the judgment of the majority and voted for the bill.

The arguments for conscription in preference to the volunteer system are based upon theory and not upon experience. Let us hope that it will be a success; but I believed, and now believe, that it would have been safer and wiser to have followed the light of experience of the past. In spite of the military critics, the wars we have waged in the past brought us victory and glory, and the mistakes they point out were not due to the volunteer system but to sending men into action before they were trained and disciplined in the arts of war. Had they been drafted men their failure would probably have been worse. That, at least, is the opinion of Gen. SHERWOOD, a Representative from Ohio in this Congress, who rose from a private to a brigadier general in the Civil War, and who fought in 43 battles of that war, and who had command of both volunteers and drafted men. Here are extracts from his very able speech on this subject, delivered in this House April 26, 1917, to wit:

"Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman who has just taken his seat says that the volunteer system was a failure during the Civil War. I deny it. History proves that that is not so. I claim that the conscript system during the war was a failure, and I am going to prove it before I take my seat. I have here an official report that will be presented for the first time on this floor of the draft riots throughout this country during the Civil War. And I am going to print it in the RECORD for the benefit of the "conscript fathers" on this floor [applause] and throw some enlightenment on this question.

"The advocates of conscription seem to lose sight of the fact that the vital question of the hour is not what is the most equitable way to raise an army, but the vital question is what is the best and speediest way to raise the most reliable and efficient army. There is no doubt the volunteer always is and always has been and always will be a better soldier than the so-called slacker. [Applause.] Another grave mistake the devotees of conscription make, and that is that conscription takes the rich and the poor all alike. As the family is the unit of society, let us see. I have recently been reading a very valuable pamphlet by Prof. George Nasmyth, a noted writer on sociology, author of a book on social progress, and another valuable book—'A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations.' This pamphlet deals with the question of universal military training or conscription, whichever you may call it. The argument for universal military service is that it treats the rich and the poor alike. This argument is not sound. Let me quote from Prof. Nasmyth a paragraph that goes to the root of the whole question:

"Does universal military service involve equal sacrifice on the part of rich and poor alike? If both are killed, of course both have made the last great sacrifice. But for the families of the two men the difference is very great. For the family of the poor man the loss of the bread-winner means that the widow must go out to work; that the children must be deprived of an opportunity for education. For the rich man, on the contrary, no such sacrifice on the part of his family is involved. His wife is not compelled to go out and work; his children are not deprived of the opportunity of receiving a liberal education.

"To that poor woman and her children life is a burden without hope.

"As all our wars have been successful, all fought by volunteers, I am for the volunteer system for raising a patriotic and effective army. As forcing unwilling men into the Army, even to fight for the life of the Republic, resulted in riots and rebellion and bloodshed, and was a conceded failure in our greatest and longest enduring war, I am opposed to conscription now. The statement, so often repeated on this floor, that the volunteer system is a failure rests solely upon the assertions of those who have had no experience in war and who have presented no argument to sustain their statements. When I state that the draft system has always proved a disastrous failure in this country I do not propose to rest the statement on mere assertion. I am going to prove it.

"During our great Civil War, which was fought on both sides almost exclusively by volunteers, we had in the armies of the Union from 1861 to 1865, 2,212,742 soldiers. Of this number, notwithstanding the drafts, covering a period of almost two years, less than 62,000 drafted men ever got in battle array at the front. [Applause.] The talk heard so often on this floor that an unwilling soldier, forced into the Army against his will and against his convictions, will make as serviceable or as valuable a soldier as a volunteer, who offers his services because of an all-prevailing sense of duty to his country or his country's cause, is not only absurd but absolutely foolish. During my four years' service in the Civil War I was never sick and never off duty, hence I was always at the front of observation. [Applause.] I was a member of three regiments and had as much experience, I believe, with both volunteers and drafted men as any ex-soldier now living. During the Atlanta campaign of 110 days, every day under fire, I had sent to my regiment 72 drafted men from northwestern Ohio, but of that 72 men only 2 proved of any value, only 2 out of the 72. [Laughter.] And you can not find a surviving soldier of the Civil War to-day in any part of the United States who will admit that he was forced into the Army as a drafted man.

"I could give you more proofs of the failure of conscription in the time that tried men's souls, and women's souls, too. These are memories of trial and travail burnt into my soul—indelibly as long as life and memory shall last."

There is a moral and psychological foundation for giving as much play to the will and individual choice as possible.

Modern war is not only a struggle on the battle field, but a contest of all the industrial, intellectual, and economic forces of a nation. The efforts of those on the farm, in the factory, forest, or mine, the chemist in his laboratory, the scientist in his study, are all as necessary as those of the soldiers in the field, but it is the task of the soldier that involves a direct risk of human life. It has always been customary when extremely dangerous tasks confront, either in peace or war, to call for volunteers. No one desires to bear the responsibility for the death of a fellow human being if it can be avoided.

When it was desired to block the channel of Santiago Bay so as to bottle up Cervera's fleet by sinking the collier *Merrimac* right under the Spanish guns, it seemed to be a task involving certain death of those engaged, and they called for volunteers, and Hobson and his heroic comrades came forth.

When Sir Ernest Shackleton and his crew of 52 were marooned last year on Elephant Island, facing starvation in 60 days unless word for help could be sent in an open boat across the Antarctic Sea 800 miles, he called for volunteers, and every man offered himself, although the chance of life seemed to be as 1 in 100. He chose five of the best sailormen to go with him, and he added, in telling the story, "it was a sort of selective draft, you know." The successful rescue of the explorers touched the heart of the world and will be an incentive to heroic effort in time to come. The idea of compulsion takes away the glory and incentive to such effort, both in peace and war. Let us hope, therefore, that when the new system of selective draft is put into effect we can overlook this aspect of the case, and that all the patriotic young men registered and fit for service will offer themselves willingly, so that all chosen can truly be called volunteers, to fight and to die, if need be, for our country's cause and that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The Revenue Bill—Is It a Legislative Joke?—Taxing Business Out of Business—Why Not Go After Money Where It Is Instead of Looking For It Where It Won't Be?—Can We Never Be Consistent?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress is making history every day. Beautiful history! If the epoch we are living in were not so deeply serious, if the issues confronting us were not so ghastly and tragic, one might almost be tempted as the days go by and one proposition after another is introduced—each a little more absurd than the one preceding it—I repeat if the issue were not so tragic—one

might almost be tempted to remark in the language of vaudeville, "it is to laugh!"

But the days for laughter or even smiles are over and we will soon be confronted by a situation that will compel even the most frivolous to pause in his frivolity. Grave events in the history of mankind are impending, and while we are wasting precious time, splitting hairs over trivialities the mills of God are grinding, and—

Tho' the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small;
Tho' with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all.

There is a heavy, heavy responsibility resting on us all in these days, and the sooner we get away from the dreary, foolish vagaries that are filling each idle hour we spend and awake to a realization of what we are up against, the better it will be for the country; aye, the world; the better for our constituents, and I am of the opinion that it will also be better for our relatively unimportant selves.

The various distinguished members of the Ways and Means Committee have finished apologizing for the revenue bill, various other Members have been offering all kinds of amendments, and still other Members have introduced propositions for the raising of more revenue and the conservation of our resources.

In the meantime, judging by the reports in the press the big loan is being subscribed to in a manner just about as leisurely as the manner in which Congress is passing war measures, and all kinds of publicity campaigns are being suggested to make the people cough up for the Liberty Loan.

The optimistic members of the Ways and Means Committee have figured out almost to a penny what a lot of money the bill is going to produce, but if the various sections are examined carefully and their ultimate effect on business considered, I am afraid a time of disappointment is at hand, and there will be a deficit in many cases where a revenue is expected.

A learned judge once said, "The power to tax is the power to destroy," and I am very much inclined to believe that in the process of taxation we are proposing we are going to tax a lot of our industries out of business and kill the goose that lays the golden egg. It is not my intention to go into a detailed analysis of the bill, or the various amendments and other propositions. What is the use? We will patch up some kind of a bill and the Senate will pull it to pieces, snip some corners from our patches, add a few choice patches of their own, and then it will go to conference and after a weary wait a bill will be passed and the public will have to put up or shut up.

And in cases where the revenue promises and probably would produce a substantial revenue there have already been introduced in both Houses of Congress measures and resolutions that would lop off a goodly part of the possible revenue.

Several propositions are now pending in Congress which give the President certain extraordinary powers—powers that never before in the history of mankind were conferred upon the head of a nation by the legislative body thereof. I very much doubt the constitutionality of the proposed legislation, but, as we all know, in war times right gives way to might. Among the powers to be given the President by this proposed legislation is that of either prohibiting entirely, or at least partially, the use of any cereals for the manufacture of malt or spirituous liquors. In other words, as a war measure, he can declare the whole country "bone dry" without the consent of the individual States or of the people living in these States. Every thinking man will understand at a glance the absurdity of such a proposition, and I have sufficient faith in the common sense of President Woodrow Wilson not to believe that he would exercise such power even if the prohibitionists in and out of Congress should succeed in giving him such power. Outside of some insignificant local successes our prohibition friends have not been very successful of recent dates.

Congress, through the Committee on Rules, and also through the Committee on the Judiciary, has halted the prohibition amendment to the Constitution; and the Committee on Ways and Means, in formulating a bill by means of which it is hoped to raise a large part of the cost of the war in which we are now engaged, has almost doubled the tax now paid on malt and alcoholic liquors. And in doing so the committee felt that it would have the patriotic cooperation of the American brewers and distillers. Instead of protesting against any increase in the Federal taxes now paid by the distillers, they themselves made the suggestion that during the war their taxes should be doubled. I have before me a letter written by the president of the Distillers' Securities Corporation, of New York, dated May 2, 1917, in which he says:

On behalf of the Distillers' Securities Corporation I desire to submit the following facts, which have been collated after very careful investigation. These facts are submitted for the purpose of enabling the Congress of the United States to determine what tax should during the continuance of the war be levied upon spirits, alcohol, and whisky, all embraced in the general term "distilled spirits." This is the first time that this company has undertaken to present its views in connection with the pending tax question. No committee and no attorney and no agent and no person has had any authority to speak for this company or to present its views. We do not know that any such representation has been made, but in order to clear the atmosphere we make this statement so that our views shall not be confused with any ideas or arguments heretofore presented.

This company owns or controls distilleries located in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, and elsewhere. The capacity of its distilleries is nearly 50 per cent of the total grain distillery capacity of the United States. As it is the duty of everyone in the United States to render every possible service to our Government, we are prepared and anxious to contribute our share. In accordance with this determination we, on February 7, 1917, tendered to the Government the use of all our distillery facilities for war purposes.

The present internal-revenue tax is $1.10 per proof gallon on all distilled spirits used for beverage purposes. The total tax collected from this source during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, was $148,565,963.45.

We are in favor of increasing during the period that the present war continues the tax from $1.10 to $2.20 per proof gallon. This increase of $1.10 per proof gallon over the present tax will, upon the basis of last year's withdrawals, yield to the Government during the present fiscal year $148,565,963.45 in excess of the revenue derived from this industry during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, or a total of $293,131,926.90.

Now, this may be regarded as a very patriotic and generous offer. I am not aware that the brewers have made a similar offer to the Government, but I do know, as the Representative, in part, of a city wherein the brewing business is one of the chief industries, that the brewers have not protested against the tax on beer being raised from $1.50 to $2.50 a barrel, as I understand is the intention of the Committee on Ways and Means. This increase of $1.25 a barrel will give to the Government the sum of $500,000,000 at least, including the increase revenue from distilled spirits. Now, half a billion dollars annually is a sum that is beyond the comprehension of the average professional prohibitionist, and it is nearly one-third of the amount we must raise annually by taxation for the prosecution of the war. Are the prohibitionists willing to guarantee to raise this sum by some other way of taxation if the President should comply with their wishes and prohibit the manufacture of distilled and malt beverages during the period of the war? I admit that as long as this manufacture is going on men will drink, and if the manufacture is stopped some of them, even professional prohibitionists, will manufacture whisky or some alcoholic product under that name—will make it themselves and not pay one cent to the Government.

Let me remind my friends the professional prohibitionists that the prohibition of the manufacture of alcohol—and as long as alcohol is produced alcoholic liquors will be consumed—would nullify all of our preparations for war and would make this country as helpless as a newborn baby. No smokeless powder can be made without alcohol, and every time one of our big guns speaks at least 50 pounds of alcohol are destroyed. This fact alone shows the absurdity of the demand of the prohibitionists. Of course, they will say that it is not the intention to stop the manufacture of alcohol for industrial or scientific purposes. Of course not; but, as far as I am concerned, I would not have a professional prohibitionist about any plant manufacturing alcohol.

Our prohibition friends favor the suggestion to give the President the power to prohibit the use of cereals for the manufacture of spirituous and malt liquors on two grounds. One is that thereby alcohol would be kept from our soldiers in the field and the other is that thereby a possible shortage of breadstuffs in the country may be averted. That sounds all right, but it is not. By a ukase of the late Czar the Russian soldier may have been deprived of his vodka, although I believe that their officers still get more than they can carry comfortably and safely; but we all know that Tommy Atkins get his drink of something decidedly stronger than water, and a French soldier without his wine would be like a German soldier without his beer or an American soldier without his gun. Now, there is no immediate danger that our boys will come in contact with the compulsory sober Russians, but they are very apt to come in contact with the English and the French, and, like true comrades, they will "drink from the same canteen." Even if we grant the absurd claim that prohibition is necessary for the protection of our soldiers, why should the people be affected thereby who are not soldiers? Even if we raise an army of 2,000,000 men, it would contain not 2 per cent of the population of the country, and why should 98 per cent be deprived of something they have been accustomed to in order to prevent 2 per cent from getting it? That part of the question is not only absurd but ridiculous. Now, as to a possible shortage of breadstuffs in this country. Some of our prohibition friends are not only sincere and conscientious, but they state

their case in an admirable manner and compel even the attention of those who differ with them. One of these men is Mr. Clinton N. Howard, of Rochester, N. Y., who is now on a lecture tour against the saloon and in favor of prohibition, under the auspices of an organization known as the International Bureau of Reform. I am afraid that much of the good Mr. Howard can do is lost by reason of the company he keeps in his lecture tour.

I have read with much interest the speech he delivered here in Washington on April 15, in which he advocated very earnestly prohibition as a war measure. Of course he quoted statistics by the ton, but, unfortunately for his argument, his statistics were all exaggerated and wrong. For instance, Mr. Howard said that 110,000,000 bushels of grain were used annually in the production of whisky and beer; that this quantity of grain made 2,000,000,000 gallons of beer and 140,000,000 gallons of whisky; and that if this grain had been ground into flour and baked into bread, it would have furnished a loaf of bread every day in the year for 15,000,000 families. If Mr. Howard, in the interest of truth, had consulted the official reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and if he knew that between 40 and 60 per cent of all the grain used by the distiller and the brewer is returned to the farmer—especially to the dairy farmer—in the shape of the most nutritious feed for cattle, he might have modified his statements. Now, let us have the correct statistics on the materials used for distilled spirits, based on the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. For the year 1916 the amount of grain used consisted of the following:

	Bushels.
Corn	32,009,542
Rye	3,116,612
Malt	4,480,588
Wheat	3,373
Barley	148
Oats	9,807
Other materials	68,882
Total	39,688,952
	Gallons.
With an estimated yield of 4.63 would give	183,759,847.76
Molasses used in distillation	152,142,232.00
With an estimated yield of .753, resulting in	114,563,110.69

Of the 39,688,952 bushels of grain used in distilling, at a low calculation, over 30 per cent, or over 15,000,000 bushels are conserved in the shape of valuable feed for cattle. The fiscal year 1916 was an abnormal one in the distilling industry. The total production of spirits was over 249,000,000 gallons. Of this over 84,000,000 gallons were used in the making of ammunition in this country and 37,000,000 gallons were exported for use in making ammunition abroad. The total amount of grain in 1915 used in distillation was only 14,259,842 bushels. In 1914 the figures were 21,315,699 bushels.

Now, for the brewers. They used in the same year for brewing 48,000,000 bushels of barley, 15,000,000 bushels of corn grits, and 2,000,000 bushels of rice. Total 65,000,000 bushels. Of this quantity, 57,142,657 bushels were recovered for utilization as dairy feed and horse rations. This leaves but a loss of a little less than 8,000,000 bushels of grain in the brewing business, and the financial loss is more than made up by the value of the cattle feed which is far greater than that of the raw grain. Now, compare these official figures with those of Mr. NORTON, and it will be seen that Mr. NORTON, in the interest of prohibition, and I presume in the interest of truth, exaggerates to the tune of eighty-seven and one-half million bushels.

Brewers and distillers used together 104,688,952 bushels of grain. Of these 57,142,657 bushels were recovered by the brewers and about 15,000,000 bushels by the distillers, not accounting for the grain used for the manufacture of alcohol for the ammunition makers. This makes a total of 72,142,657 bushels recovered at a greater value and a combined consumption of 32,546,295 bushels of grain by the brewers and distillers. Mr. NORTON, however, claims the consumption of 110,000,000 bushels of grain by the brewing and distilling interests and does not appear to be worried at all by the little discrepancy of eighty-seven and one-half millions. And so it is with all the statistics our prohibition friends bring forward to bolster up their case.

The brewers used but 1.382 per cent of the total grain crop of 1916, and the distillers only about eight-tenths of 1 per cent, making no allowance whatever for the grain recovered as feed.

Now, consider what grain is principally used by the brewers and then figure out the correctness of the claim of the prohibitionists that the grain used by the brewers and distillers would furnish bread for 15,000,000 people for a whole year. Of the 65,000,000 bushels of grain used by the brewers not a single kernel was wheat, but 48,000,000 bushels were barley. Who has ever heard of barley as a breadstuff in the United States? A little barley is used in soups, but the quantity used in this way is infinitesimal. However, the brewers used 15,000,000 bushels of corn and the distillers used 32,000,000 bushels of corn, together with a little over 3,000,000 bushels of rye and 145 bushels of wheat. Now, out of the products of these 50,000,000 bushels of breadstuffs the Government of the United States is to derive the sum of $500,000,000 in taxation. I think that they are the highest-priced breadstuffs the world has ever seen, and the Government of the United States would be almost criminally foolish to reject such an income from such a small commodity.

If I am opposed to prohibition in times of peace on the ground that it interferes with the personal liberty of the citizen and should never be enacted unless approved by a referendum vote of the people, I am equally opposed to prohibition in war times, not only for the same reason but for the additional reason that it would close a source of revenue the Government is now more in need of than ever before. As to the proposition to give the President the power to prohibit the use of cereals in the manufacture of beer and liquors, I do not hesitate to say that I will not vote for it and will combat it with all my strength. I do not believe in giving the President any more power than is given him by the Constitution. Congress has gone too far in this direction already, and if we continue that way we may as well turn over the whole Government—executive, legislative, and judicial—to the President and say good-by to the American Republic.

I will insert here several telegrams bearing on this subject, which contain valuable information stated briefly and concisely:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *May 1½, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully ask that you consider carefully the effect that the proposed legislation contemplating the withdrawal of grains from the manufacture of malt beverages would have if made effective. It would be diametrically opposed to the interests of dairymen and would restrict the production of milk and increase the cost of same to the consumer. At this and future times the production of milk should be encouraged, and if brewers' dried grains and malt sprouts are eliminated it would certainly decrease economic milk production, as brewers' dried grains and malt sprouts are rich in protein. Over 900,000,000 pounds of dried grains and 100,000,000 pounds of malt sprouts are produced, or in all about 1,000,000,000 pounds are produced and fed annually in the United States. This represents the by-product of the brewing industries. We therefore respectfully urge the full consideration to this question, which vitally affects the interests of every milk producer and consumer.

PENN GRAIN & FEED CO., *Philadelphia, Pa.*
MILWAUKEE GRAIN & FEED CO., *Milwaukee, Wis.*

—

NEW YORK, *May 1½, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

In considering withdrawal of the use of grains from manufacture of malt beverages we urge that you examine carefully the effect upon the dairy industry by discontinued usage of dried brewers' grains and other by-products. Over 12,000 cars of dried brewers' grains are fed annually to dairy cattle in the Eastern States where the grains are manufactured, and about 13,000 additional cars of grain are manufactured and used annually as cattle food in the remainder of the United States. These grains are rich in protein, which the eastern farmers can not grow, but which are essential to economic milk production.

WALKER GORDON LABORATORY CO.,
Milk Producers, Plainsboro, N. J.

—

NEW YORK, *May 1½, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The proposed legislation contemplating the withdrawal of the use of grains from malt beverages if made effective, will be diametrically opposed to the interests of the dairymen and stock raisers in this crisis. The production of milk should be encouraged, and if brewers' dried grains and malt sprouts are eliminated a grain rich in protein and essential to economic milk production will be removed and a shortage in dairy feed experienced. About 450,000 tons of dried brewers' grains and 50,000 tons of malt sprouts are produced annually in the United States, representing the by-products of the brewing industry; and we respectfully urge the greatest consideration to this question, which vitally affects the interest of every milk producer.

FARMERS' FEED CO. OF NEW YORK.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate what I have contended since this session of Congress began. We will need money, and lots of it. We will need it quickly, and we will keep on needing it as long as the war lasts. There is but one place to get cash, and that is the place where the cash exists. You are going to draft manhood wherever you find it available. Now, be consistent, and draft cash where it is most available, and adopt the resolution I introduced on April 4, 1917, and which I will append to my remarks:

Joint resolution to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war.

Resolved, etc., That the following measures be taken to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war:

First. A graduated income tax levied by Congress upon all annual incomes above $5,000, which shall amount to conscription of all incomes in excess of $100,000 a year.

Second. Immediate conscription by the Government of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and their operation by the Government for public service without private profit.

Third. Immediate conscription by the Government of all natural resources, including mines and oil wells, and their operation under the Bureau of Mines without profit.

Fourth. The Government shall deal with the workers in any conscripted industry through the organizations formed by the workers, with due safeguards for the right of unorganized workers. This will protect both the Government and the workers.

Fifth. Immediate conscription and operation by the Government of all food storage warehouses for the service of the American people, and the passing of a law making speculation in food supplies an act of treason under the Articles of War.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, while the revenue bill, which has to-day passed the House, was pending in Committee of the Whole, I moved to strike out section 502, because of its imperfections. In my remarks at that time, on page 2618 of the RECORD of May 19, I pointed out those imperfections. Since then I have given the matter further consideration, and suggest to those in charge of the measure the following amendment, which, I believe, will correct the defects, obviate endless controversy in the operation of section 502, recognize in the law itself the exemption which the courts will assure State or local governments, and avoid exempting many public officers from the tax when the circumstances are such that they should not be exempted.

The following is the suggested amendment:

Strike out—

SEC. 502. That no tax shall be imposed under section 500 upon any payment received for services rendered to officers or employees of the United States, or of any State or political subdivision thereof, in the course of their official business.

And insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 502. That no tax shall be imposed under section 500 upon any payment received for services rendered to the United States, or to any State or political subdivision thereof, or to officers or employees of the United States, or of any State or political subdivision thereof, in the course of their official business: *Provided*, That such exemption from tax upon payments for such services rendered to such officers or employees shall only be allowed in the event there is presented by such officer or employee, at the time of such payment, a certificate issued by the Federal, State, or local government, as the case may be, of which he is an officer or employee, identifying him as such and certifying that the service in question as required in the discharge of his official duties and that the expense thereof is to be borne by such Federal, State, or local government.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. WALDOW,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. WALDOW. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I realize the fact that this revenue bill, which provides for raising the vast sum of over $2,000,000,000 of revenue, is a war measure, and war demands a sacrifice or it should demand a sacrifice from every individual who has had the protection and all the privileges of a free country, and I feel certain that every American is ready to perform his part and is ready to accept his share of this sacrifice and will cheerfully bear his just portion of this burden necessary for the operations of the Government. No patriotic man is unwilling to contribute to the Government and contribute generously. But to do so he must have something to contribute. Tax his business to the verge of bankruptcy, demand contribution from industries that border on confiscation, and nothing but destruction can follow, and destruction of business and of industry means destruction of sources of Government incomes. We should insist at this time upon the reestablishment of a respectable protective tariff, which will not only be invaluable after the war, but would immediately produce hundreds of millions of dollars for the war treasury. This bill will produce little, if any, immediate revenue.

Our Nation's experience in the past reveals the fact that taxes levied upon the people in times of war are not always repealed in times of peace. In fact, an extra war tax of about a hundred million dollars was raised for the purpose of carrying on the Spanish-American War, and while some items in this bill were repealed there was very little decrease in the amount of revenue collected several years after peace had been declared. In view of this fact, I believe we want to use our very best methods and our very best judgment in spreading this tax in such a way so if necessity arises we will not be called upon to repeal many of its provisions.

My personal regard for all of the members of the Ways and Means Committee is the very highest. I admire and admit their ability. I am certain of their integrity and I do not believe there is a single member of that powerful committee who would attempt to support or ask his follow colleagues to support and pass this bill unless he himself felt certain that it was a fair and wise measure and would spread this taxation in a just and equitable manner throughout our Nation.

Having this deep personal regard for the members of that committee, I regret my inability to support this bill in its present form. I have many reasons which seem to justify my position for casting my vote against this bill. When we consider the sluggish, uncertain business conditions which prevail in almost every section of this country, these same conditions having been brought about largely by the lack of man power and a sufficient amount of help not being available in the past few years, not only in our large cities with their many large and various manufacturing industries; when you take into consideration our intention to add to this shortage of man power by raising an army of a million men, and added to that million men an immense amount of labor needed to provide for all of the necessities of that immense army, we need not wonder at our business men being at sea, particularly when the general impression that prevails throughout this Nation is an opinion that the Government is going to conscript and select all available and necessary labor for various enterprises that are needed for the carrying on of this war.

What I have said about the shortage of man power in our manufacturing industries is also true in regard to the agricultural districts; in fact, the farmer is in more trouble than the manufacturer. There is no doubt in my mind but what the farmer is anxious and ready to plant every available inch of ground on his farm, but he has many handicaps to contend with. He is confronted with a nation-wide shortage of seed, and owing to the unusual short and poor crops of last year many farmers find themselves without sufficient funds to purchase the few available seeds at the high price asked for this seed. Added to this is a question, in his mind, will he have sufficient help to harvest a large crop if he has the good fortune to sow a large tract of land.

Now, gentlemen, considering from a business viewpoint this feeling of depression and uncertainty which prevails throughout our land, I believe it unwise to attempt to raise this vast amount of revenue by taxation at this time. This war is not fought merely for present-day peace but for a peace which will extend for the years throughout to come. I am in favor of this generation paying for this war, and we can do so. I know that the various departments have asked for a revenue bill that will raise $2,200,000,000 to prepare this country for carrying on this war, but it is only proper and just to allow the people an opportunity to prepare to pay for it. Part of this vast sum can be and should be raised by bonds. I desire to give the individual an opportunity to familiarize himself with this new condition of affairs that has suddenly been thrust upon us. I want him to have an opportunity to readjust his former mode of living and his former way of thinking and spending. I want to give the business man an opportunity to complete some of his contracts entered upon under conditions of peace. I want him to pay his share of this burden, and I know he is ready to do so. Right now, Mr. Speaker, I want to commend and congratulate many of the big business men of my district for their patriotism, many of them having expressed a willingness; yes, even a desire to give the United States all of their profits during the period of this war, but they protest, and they are justified in protesting against the enactment of laws that will confiscate and bankrupt them, and I am certain if this bill in its present form becomes a law it will decrease instead of increasing revenues in many of its provisions.

There is no question in my mind that it will demoralize many manufacturing industries and be the means of bankrupting many of them, causing a loss of revenue from manufacturing plants who under a fair moderate tax would be able to pay an excess profits tax, and many of their officers and other workmen

would pay an income tax. If this bill becomes a law, it will be the means of closing many manufactories and forcing many men out of employment. You will not only lose an immense amount of revenue but will inflict a hardship and an injustice upon the workingman in every phase of his life. This is also true of our farmers, who will be unable to find markets for their products if you destroy and demoralize business in general. I believe the section containing the retroactive tax is unconstitutional. I believe taxing the gross receipts of any industry not only unjust but in this case discriminating. Many of the articles you propose to tax are taxed four or five times before reaching the consumer. In fact, the passage of this bill will do more toward increasing the high cost of living with less chance of earning a living than any other one thing I know of.

After reading this bill, section after section, item by item, and after a long careful study of every individual item, I most heartily agree with your chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in his statement "that he will have to close his eyes in voting for certain sections of it," and also agree with him that the best excuse he can find for presenting this bill in its present form for our consideration is the excuse, "We need the money." I do not believe we need it bad enough at this time to sidetrack all fairness and justice. I do not believe it just to single out individual industries and impose and duplicate over and over again a tax that can not fail to destroy and ruin by virtue of its immense burden any industry so taxed. I can not imagine this Congress passing a law so truly un-American. I will not have to close my eyes in voting against it.

Message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to All Christian People of the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 25, 1917.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert herewith a part of a message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to all the Christian people of the Nation. This message was drafted at a special session of the council held at Washington May 7. It should be read, pondered, and heeded by every man, woman, and child in our Nation. The message is as follows:

We enter the war without haste or passion, not for private or national gain, with no hatred or bitterness against those with whom we contend.

No man can foresee the issue of the struggle. It will call for all the strength and heroism of which the Nation is capable. What is the mission of the church in this hour of crisis and danger? It is to bring all that is done or planned in the Nation's name to the test of the mind of Christ.

That mind upon one point we do not all interpret alike. With sincere conviction some of us believe that it is forbidden the disciple of Christ to engage in war under any circumstances. Most of us believe that the love of all men which Christ enjoins demands that we defend with all the power given us the sacred rights of humanity. But we are all as one in loyalty to our country and in steadfast and wholehearted devotion to her service.

As members of the Church of Christ the hour lays upon us special duties.

To purge our own hearts clean of arrogance and unselfishness.

To steady and inspire the Nation.

To keep ever before the eyes of ourselves and of our allies the ends for which we fight.

To hold our own Nation true to its professed aims of justice, liberty, and brotherhood.

To testify to our fellow Christians in every land, most of all to those from whom for the time we are estranged, our consciousness of unbroken unity in Christ.

To unite in the fellowship of service multitudes who love their enemies and are ready to join with them in rebuilding the waste places as soon as peace shall come.

To be diligent in works of relief and mercy, not forgetting those ministries of the spirit, to which as Christians we are especially committed.

To keep alive the spirit of prayer, that in these times of strain and sorrow, men may be sustained by the consciousness of the presence and power of God.

To hearten those who go to the front, and to comfort their loved ones at home.

To care for the welfare of our young men in the Army and Navy, that they may be fortified in character and made strong to resist temptation.

To be vigilant against every attempt to arouse the spirit of vengeance and unjust suspicion toward those of foreign birth or sympathies.

To protect the rights of conscience against every attempt to invade them.

To maintain our Christian institutions and activities unimpaired, that the soul of our Nation may be nourished and renewed through the worship and service of Almighty God.

To guard the gains of education and of social progress and economic freedom, won at so great a cost, and to make full use of the occasion to set them still further forward, even by and through the war.

To keep the open mind and the forward look, that the lessons learned in war may not be forgotten when comes that just and sacred peace for which we pray.

Above all, to call men everywhere to new obedience to the will of our Father, God, who in Christ has given Himself in supreme self-sacrifice for the redemption of the world, and who invited us to share with Him His ministry of reconciliation.

To such service we would summon our fellow Christians of every name. In this spirit we would dedicate ourselves and all that we have to the Nation's cause. With this hope we would join hands with all men of good will of every land and race to rebuild on this war-ridden and desolated earth the commonwealth of mankind, and make of the kingdom of the world the kingdom of the Christ.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting herewith a patriotic editorial taken from the Times-Democrat, a daily paper published at Muskogee, Okla., in my district, advocating that everyone should do something in this emergency in support of the Government and recognizing that a successful war can not be conducted without the payment of special taxes. The editorial is entitled "Pay your war tax and don't whine," and is as follows:

PAY YOUR WAR TAX AND DON'T WHINE.

The Times-Democrat does not like to hear opposition talk from this industry or that on proposed war taxes.

It may be a hardship on some industries, but what if it is?

This is war!

And war means sacrifice.

Your sacrifice may come in the form of a tax.

If so, pay it and don't whine. Certainly no man is unwilling to make some sacrifice. It may be true that some industries, some individuals, may have to pay more in proportion than others. But what if you do?

The man who gets killed on the firing line pays more than the man who does not get killed yet what would happen if there should be objection from one division of soldiers to going to a dangerous point because some other division was not ordered to an equally dangerous position?

Every man must be a soldier in this war, whether he is on the battle fields or manning an industry. This is no time to shirk or cavil.

President Wilson, Congress, and the Council of National Defense are doing what seems to be best to protect the citizens of this country. They may make some mistakes, but that is neither for you nor I to say when duty calls and the command is given. If we do not follow intelligently and willingly what must the inevitable result be? It is proposed that newspapers bear their share in the war by paying increased postage rates. There is no way to pass this tax along to the reader.

Whatever that tax is, the Times-Democrat is going to pay it, just as long as its revenues are enough to make the payment, and it's going to be the first money paid. And if this war situation should demand and the tax is doubled, still this newspaper proposes to pay without a word.

For this is war.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 25, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, this revenue bill, according to estimates, will raise $1,800,000,000, or about one-third of the estimated expenditures for Government purposes to June 30, 1918. Financial authorities in the House say the Nation's credit will be injured and bonds at present interest rates will become a drug on the market unless this proportion of our expenditures can be raised by direct tax. That is based on the past experience of our own and all other Governments. The tax is to carry on the war in which we are now engaged. The bill comes to us unanimously supported by every member of the committee, 23 in number, and I can not agree with those who say that they

will vote against the only revenue bill because of some items or provisions it contains.

Men honestly disagreed on the resolution committing our country to enter the European war. A casualty list of over 40,000,000 men and a mortality loss of 7,000,000 through battle and sickness is only one chapter taken from the most frightful conflict of all history—a war in which at one time it seemed possible this country might eventually become the agency in bringing about an honorable and lasting peace for the world. We are now engaged in that war with every Government resource and every citizen pledged to its winning. Again, men honestly differed not as to the size of our Army but over the question of volunteers or conscription alone for an army of 1,000,000 men. Congress decided against the volunteer system in favor of conscription, and that is now the law. On the $7,000,000,000 appropriation for war purposes we unanimously agreed to expend that amount of money. With this record of legislation covering the war and armies and money pledged to the war, I can not understand how any man will vote against the only revenue bill before us with which to meet these obligations, imperfect though the bill may be.

I have voted for many specific and I believe worthy amendments which were defeated. However, it must be remembered that every owner of a shop, office, farm, or home must pay taxes on his property whether he be prosperous or not, and that thousands of fathers and mothers would give down to the last dollar if thereby a safe return could be secured for some member of their family called to the front, even though the service is voluntary. "All our resources" have been pledged by the President, and that means every man and every dollar. War means sacrifice, and when we say certain ones shall fight our battles we also say that every dollar, if need be, will be given to maintain our armies at the front. I wish this bill could be changed in some particulars, but it is the only revenue bill before us, has the unanimous support of the committee, and if the motion to recommit for needed amendments fails, I shall vote for the bill.

Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the leave to print I attach hereto resolutions adopted by the public-defense organizations of my home county, wherein is set forth in patriotic terms the loyal support of that people to the successful prosecution of the war, and I am sure the resolutions speak the sentiments of all the people of the State which I have the honor in part to represent:

Whereas the greater part of the civilized world is now engaged in the throes of war in which all of the devices of destruction which have been produced by modern inventive genius and scientific research are being employed; and

Whereas our Government and our people, rather than to resort to arms, have long and patiently suffered indignities, including the murder of our citizens, ruthlessly imposed upon us by the German autocratic and military government in its endeavor to extend its power over peoples enjoying representative government; and

Whereas said German Government and its allies, acting under its dominating influence, have, during almost three years, stubbornly refused to respect the appeals of neutrals to observe the laws of nations and have ruthlessly destroyed the property and lives of neutrals, including those of this Nation, and have carried on their barbarous acts to such an extent that we, as a self-respecting and liberty-loving people, could no longer endure the same, and by reason thereof our President and Congress have, in obedience to the conscience and will of our people, been obliged to declare that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany; and

Whereas the war into which we have been drawn evidently is to be a final test of whether or not the people of the various nations may set up and maintain for themselves governments of the people, for the people, and by the people, which governments shall derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, or whether they shall be obliged to submit to the dictates and commands of an autocratic and military government, at the head of which sits a monarch with an inherited crown and with inherited authority to drive his subjects into war for the purpose of extending his sceptral power over other realms; and

Whereas our President, by proclamation, has appealed to all our citizens to meet the ultimate tests of democracy, and to prove to the world that a government by the people is worthy to exist: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the citizens of St. Croix County in public assembly, That we respond to the President's appeal, as becomes free men, who love our institutions and hope for the happiness and general welfare of future generations; that we recognize the principle of universal responsibility and therefore assume our full share of the burdens to secure the future peace and tranquillity of the world;

Resolved further, That there be, and is hereby, organized the St. Croix Council of Defense, the aims and purposes of which are as follows:

To assist and cooperate with the Government of the United States and the government of the State of Wisconsin, and with all civil and military officers and agents thereof for the purpose of securing to the public the safety and aiding in the prosecution of the present war; to do all acts necessary and proper for the protection of life and property; to aid in securing the most efficient development and application of the agricultural, industrial, military, and civil resources of our country and each community thereof to the end that the same may strengthen the defense of the Nation and aid in the successful prosecution of the war; to develop among all of the people of the county and among the various lines of industry therein a spirit of mutual cooperation and helpfulness, so that all will contribute of their time and talents in aiding in any line of industry as far as such aid is needed; to foster and inspire patriotism and loyalty; to promote the maximum production of food products; to give aid and comfort to those dependent upon men of this country who are serving, or may hereafter be called to serve, in the military and naval forces of the State and Nation; and generally to do from time to time what shall be necessary to protect and promote the interests and welfare of our beloved country, the United States of America;

Resolved further, That the direction and management of the affairs and purposes of this council shall be vested in a general committee of 12 citizens of the county, who shall meet and organize at the earliest possible date and elect from their own members a president, vice president, and an executive committee of five, and also elect a secretary and treasurer, and such other officers as necessity may require. Said general committee shall also have power to appoint such subcommittees from citizens of the county as may be necessary for carrying on the work of this council, and the organization of each municipality in the county, and may prescribe the power and duties of such subcommittees.

Resolved further, That we urge our people to bear constantly in mind that our Nation, together with its allies, is now engaged in a war, the final issues of which shall determine whether might or right shall rule. Before the strife is ended we may be called upon to endure hardships and make sacrifices greater than we now realize, and possibly greater than any Nation has ever known before. Whatever of trial or sacrifice awaits us we must stand as a united people, upholding every branch of government and aiding each other in the discharge of every duty. We face the trials ahead of us with a firm resolve to do our full, patriotic duty, upholding our President and ready for any sacrifice.

We therefore call upon all people of this county, without regard to political affiliations or religious faith, to indorse the principles for which this council of defense is organized and to consider themselves as active members thereof, and to contribute of their time, talent, and substance in furtherance of its objects and purposes as may be requested of them from time to time by the executive committee.

Respectfully submitted.

N. O. VARNUM.
W. T. DOAR.
J. G. BAKULA.
L. E. NELSON.
PAUL SALSCHEIDER.

An Indefensible Abuse.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. COX,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 25, 1917.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following editorial from the Muncie Evening Press:

AN INDEFENSIBLE ABUSE.

The flat second-class postal rate of 1 cent per pound, regardless of the cost of the service to the Government, both actual and comparative, is absolutely dishonest, and the newspapers which are objecting to the zone system of postal-rate revision or are attempting to perpetuate the flat second-class rate in any form are engaged in a course both unpatriotic and unjust.

The flat second-class postage rate—1 cent per pound, whether for local delivery, local delivery plus a rail haul, or local delivery plus a much longer rail haul, all of which must be paid for by the Government in proportion to the railway mileage, is a discriminatory rate which subsidizes the metropolitan paper and magazine against the local paper. It is a practice which, if engaged in by a common carrier, would be prosecuted by the Government as a criminal example of discrimination. The existence of such a discriminatory flat rate, and the effort in Congress to continue it either in whole or in part, is evidence of an undue influence over Congress and public opinion by the big papers and magazines, and of the use of that power for selfish purposes.

The second-class postage rate is 1 cent a pound. The local newspaper delivered through any office having rural or city delivery is charged 1 cent per pound for the distribution of the paper by the rural carriers of the office or by box or window delivery. City carriers are not permitted to distribute dailies in the city of origin at the second-class rate. For instance, they may distribute a Chicago or Indianapolis paper to Muncie addresses, mailed at Indianapolis at 1 cent per pound, but they may not distribute a Muncie paper, mailed at the Muncie office, at that rate.

A daily paper mailed at Chicago is hauled from the Chicago office to the railway station, hauled by rail nearly 200 miles from Chicago to Muncie, a service for which the Government must pay at a weight and mileage rate, hauled from the station in Muncie to the local post office and from the Muncie office distributed over the city or rural routes or put in local post-office boxes for the same price per pound charged a local paper delivered at the Muncie office for local distribution, with this discrimination against the local paper, that it is not permitted to mail a paper to any Muncie address at the second-class rate. This latter rule may be necessary to prevent papers from using the post office for local delivery, but if such delivery be denied the local paper at the second-class rate, it should be denied the outside paper. Yet the most radical step in the direction of a fair second-class postal rate is a proposal in House resolution 4280 that a 2-cent flat rate shall apply to all papers within the first and second zone. This would not end the abuse whereby Chicago and Indianapolis papers are subsidized out of the Government Treasury in competition with the local publications. It would only intensify the discrimination against the local papers.

Why should the Government utilize the postal rates in an effort to crush out the local papers as compared with the metropolitan papers and magazines, as it has been doing for years? Is it explained by the space given some of the statesmen who fight in the trenches for these abuses—and this includes most of those who are always posing in the limelight as the people's special friends at Washington and are always getting free reading notices in the magazines, the agricultural periodicals, and in the metropolitan press?

Not as a war measure but as a measure of common honesty the discriminating flat postage rate whereby the Government pours $80,000,000 per year into the coffers of great publishing interests in payment for personal and political press-agency work, thus enabling them to compete unfairly with the local newspapers of the country, should be terminated, and if it be not terminated the local papers should get together and retire the politicians who stand in the way. These great magazines and papers compete directly with the local papers. In national advertising they sell their circulation in the territory to which they get such easy access by the subsidy route in unfair competition with the local publisher. They put their publications out below white-paper cost to the detriment of local publishing interests. Thus Congress contributes to the centralization process in trade, industry, and even in public opinion, which is one of the most dangerous tendencies in American life. They help kill the local distributing centers, and coupled with an inequitable parcel-post rate established in the interests of the mail-order concerns they build up the already swollen financial and commercial influence of the big centers of population. And they do this by taking money out of the people's pockets and putting it in the pockets of the publishers who, in exchange for this graft, portray them as people's friends and humanity's apostles.

For Free Speech—Petition to Congress Opposing the Espionage Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 24, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a copy of the petition that has been sent me to-day, signed by nearly 5,000 citizens of the State of Ohio, opposing the espionage bill and in favor of free speech. I believe this expresses the sentiment of a large majority of the people of the United States:

FOR FREE SPEECH—PETITION TO CONGRESS OPPOSING THE ESPIONAGE BILL.

To the Congress of the United States:

Your petitioners earnestly and respectfully ask the Congress not to pass any censorship act that shall extend beyond the military and naval news of value to the enemy.

The whole country is engaged in the war and the whole country should be permitted to know the truth about the war.

It is always dangerous in a republic to withhold from the people full knowledge of their affairs or to deprive the press of the right freely to express public opinion.

The censorship provision of the espionage bill now pending in Congress is an assault upon the very foundation of our free institutions—freedom of thought and speech.

It is un American, because it tends to put in full effect for the first time in the life of this Republic regulations for the suppression of news and free public discussion, a suppression practiced only under monarchies and autocracies.

It is undemocratic, in that it violates the principle enunciated by Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, who declared that government without laws would be better than government without a free press.

It is unrepublican, in that it violates the principle of Abraham Lincoln, who said that it was better that public officials should be criticized unjustly than that they should not be criticized at all.

It is unpatriotic, in that it violates the spirit if not the letter of our Constitution, which provides that "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

We therefore urge that Congress shall take no step to withhold from the people that full information of the progress and conduct of the war which is necessary for their proper enlightenment or to deny to the people their fundamental American liberties of free speech, free publication, and a free expression of opinion.

Concealment of military plans and operations during their execution is always necessary; but concealment of the result of those operations, of failures or reverses or past mistakes, or of incompetence or dishonesty is inexcusable in a republic, where the people govern and must know the truth in order to govern wisely and well.

The Conscription of Men and of Wealth.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the war-revenue bill by inserting an article recently written by Otto H. Kahn, of New York, and published in the New York Times of May 21, 1917.

I do not desire to insert this article because I agree with Mr. Kahn's arguments or conclusions, but many of my constituents do agree with him, and I believe that as his particular revenue plan has not yet been presented to Congress, it should be brought to the attention of this body. The article is as follows:

THE CONSCRIPTION OF MEN AND OF WEALTH.

[By Otto H. Kahn.]

[This article was written before the recommendations of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives were reported.]

In a time of patriotic exaltation and of universal obligation and readiness to make great sacrifices to bring a most just and righteous war to a successful conclusion, the voice of sober argument and matter of fact considerations is apt to grate upon the ears of the people. That voice is all the less likely to be popular when the arguments it puts forth may easily lend themselves to the interpretation of being actuated by solicitous care for selfish interests.

The writer is fully aware that by publishing the following observations he is exposing himself to that interpretation and to criticism of and attack upon his motives; yet, seeing that certain measures now under consideration threaten to take shape in a way which, from his practical business experience and after mature deliberation, he is bound to regard as faulty and as, indeed, harmful to the country, he believes it to be right and proper to contribute his views to the public discussion of the subject for whatever they may be worth.

I can only hope, then, that in what I am going to say I shall be given credit for endeavoring to speak conscientiously and to the best of my knowledge and judgment from the point of view of the welfare of the entire country and not of the welfare merely of the well-to-do. I shall address myself to the practical aspect and to a few phases only of the question and shall not attempt to enter into the economic theories and the broader and deeper considerations involved.

I shall assume in my argument that what Congress is seeking to accomplish is to impose taxes soundly, effectively, and scientifically, with the desire to disturb the country's trade and commerce as little as possible and to avoid as much as may be the evils of financial dislocation. I shall assume that it is not the purpose and intent of Congress, under the guise of the necessities of the war situation, to embrace the doctrines of socialism. Our present economic system, our present method of wealth distribution may or may not stand in need of change; the fact remains that Congress has no mandate to effect a fundamental change. The consequence of such a change would be so immensely far-reaching that no Government has the right to sanction steps to bring it about until the subject has been fully discussed before the people in all its bearings and the people have pronounced judgment through a presidential or other election.

I will first state what in my opinion ought not to be done:

(1) I take it that not many words need be used to expose the fallacy of the argument, heard even in the halls of Congress: "If men are to be conscripted, wealth also must be conscripted."

Men will be conscripted to the extent that it is wise and just and needful. So, and no other, should wealth and the country's resources in general be conscripted.

And are not the children of the well-to-do conscripted equally with the children of the poor? Indeed, the proportion of the sons of the well-to-do on the actual fighting line is bound to be a predominating one, because vast numbers of wage workers in the industries and on the farms will necessarily have to be retained at their accustomed vocations in order to maintain the output of our factories and farms.

(2) There appears to prevail among not a few people the strange delusion that America's entrance into the war was fomented by moneyed men, in part, at least, from the motive and for the purpose of gain. Were there any such men no public condemnation of them could be too severe, no punishment would be adequate. I am absolutely certain that no such hideous and dastardly calculation found lodgment in the brain of any American, rich or poor.

Moreover, is it not perfectly manifest that any rich man in his senses must have known that his selfish interest was best promoted by the continuance of the conditions of the last three years in which America furnished funds and supplies to Europe at huge profits, while our entering the war was bound to diminish those profits very largely—indeed, to entirely eliminate some of them—to interfere with business activity in many lines and to compel the imposition of heavy taxes on wealth? It is to the credit of our rich men that, though fully realizing the extent of the monetary loss and sacrifices which war between this country and Germany must necessarily bring to them, there were but very few of them who supported the peace-at-any-price party or favored the avoidance of America entering into the war when it had become plain that our participation in that war could not be avoided with honor and with a due regard for our duty to our own country, or to the cause of right and liberty throughout the world.

Yet, somehow, the pacifists seem to have singled out the rich as mainly responsible for the war. It may be due, consciously or unconsciously, to a resulting feeling of resentment that the proposal to confiscate during the war all incomes beyond a certain figure is actively promoted by leading pacifists—a proposal based upon ignorance of, or disregard for, the laws of economics, teachings of history, and practical considerations. If any such scheme were to be adopted, the consequences to the country at large would be far more serious than to the victims of the proposed confiscation.

Capital would go into hiding. It might even take wing to other countries, for instance to the country at our very door, Canada, where there is no Federal income tax at all and hardly any State income tax. It would certainly cease flowing into constructive use and would instead confine itself largely to municipal, State, and Federal tax-exempt securities. Enterprise would be seriously hampered and in some respects brought to a standstill entirely. Many thousands of workmen would be thrown out of employment. Many businesses and shops would close.

There would ensue, as a natural consequence and without any conscious determination, a Nation-wide strike of constructive activity and enterprise in commerce and finance, because men will not look upon it as a "square deal" if they are to take all the risk and responsibility, all the hard work and ceaseless strain and care of business effort, while the Government would needlessly take from them an unduly large share of the fruit of their labor, let alone all of it except an arbitrarily fixed sum.

I say "needlessly" because were it really needed business men would willingly sacrifice their entire income for the country's cause. They would work for patriotism, without any recompense whatever, just as hard and harder than they do for gain or for ambition, if the occasion required it.

But of course everyone knows that nothing remotely approaching such drastic taxation is required in this country.

It is absolutely right to proclaim and to enforce by legislation that no man, as far as it is possible to prevent it, shall make money out of a war in which his country is engaged, but there is all the difference in the world between this just and moral doctrine and between the unjust and immoral doctrine that no man must be permitted to have more than an arbitrarily fixed income during a war.

If $100,000 or any fixed sum is the limit of what may be permissible income during war time, why not by and by a lesser sum? If the principle is once admitted, where will its application stop, even in time of peace? Why is not the proposed plan, or anything in the nature of that plan, simply license for the unsuccessful to despoil the successful? History shows more than one instance of where this road inevitably leads when once entered upon.

And who are our successful men? The vast majority of them are self-made men who started at the bottom of the ladder. It is trite to say that inequality of endowment, and therefore inequality of results in human beings, as well as in inanimate things, is a law of nature. The capacity for creating, organizing, leading, etc., in short, the possession of those qualities of brain and disposition which beget success, is rare. It is in the interest of the community, while carefully guarding and fostering the rights, the opportunities, and the well-being of all of its members, to give liberal incentives to men possessing those gifts to put them to active and intensive use. It is hardly open to doubt that, generally speaking, the work of able men, engaged in serious and legitimate business (I am not speaking of gamblers and parasites), while naturally benefiting them, benefits the community a great deal more.

The income of hospitals, institutions of learning and of art, and many other altruistic enterprises depends largely upon the voluntary taxation, aggregating a great many millions annually, to which those men in America who have attained financial success have always willingly submitted themselves—more so, probably, than in any other country. Who is to take care of all of those institutions if extreme taxation compels the rich to cease their contributions?

(3) The arguments above set forth apply equally to the proposal of levying an income tax rising to an excessively high level, as, for instance, the suggested tax of 50 per cent on incomes over $500,000. There, again, the test should be whether so radical a tax is wise and required by the necessities of the country.

The nations in Europe have been fighting for nearly three years and have been under an infinitely greater financial strain than our country is or will be, yet none of these nations has resorted to extreme taxation of income. Even in Great Britain, whose financial burden is the heaviest of all, whose debt is many times the total of ours and who has loaned about $5,000,000,000 to her allies, the income tax on maximum incomes is to-day no more than approximately 40 per cent. In the last budget, introduced a couple of weeks ago, the British chancellor of the exchequer declined to consider an increase in the income-tax rate, because of the damaging effect which such increase would have on the country's business.

In France and Germany the burden laid on incomes is much lower than in England. In Canada, where war loans have been raised equivalent on the basis of comparative population to what would be more than $10,000,000,000 for America, no Federal income tax exists at all.

I doubt whether this latter fact is generally known in this country and whether its significance is receiving the measure of serious consideration which it deserves. I understand that it is the deliberate policy of the Dominion Government not to impose an income tax, in order to attract capital to Canada. There can be little question that if our income taxation is fixed at unduly and unnecessarily high rates, while Canada has no or only a very moderate income tax, men of enterprise will seek that country and there will be a large outflow to it of capital—a development which can not be without effect upon our own prosperity, resources, and economic power.

The financial dislocation, the discouragement, and the apprehension caused by unduly heavy taxation of incomes will not only act as a drag on enterprise and constructive activity, but it will make it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for corporations to sell securities and thus to obtain funds to conduct their business—especially also as investors will be fearful that high rates of taxation once established will not easily be reduced to normal levels, even when the present emergency is passed.

Extravagance, log-rolling, the unwise and inefficient expenditure of money by governmental bodies are among the besetting sins of democracy; the formula once found, the machinery once employed for the raising of huge revenues, are apt to make the way of wasteful governmental spending all too temptingly easy. It must not be forgotten that taxation must necessarily by that much diminish the surplus income fund of the individual and that both theoretically and actually the spending of money by the Government can not and does not have the same effect upon the country's prosperity and enterprise as productive use of his surplus funds by the individual.

The sentimental, and thereby the actual, effect of extreme taxation will not be confined to the relatively small number of people in possession of very large incomes. The disturbance and fear caused by the contemplation of an excessively high ratio of taxation, even when applied to a relatively few, is bound to spread to those also of more moderate incomes. Capital is proverbially timid. It will not take risks, except in the expectation of commensurate reward, and if it sees the danger of its reward being unduly infringed upon by taxation, it will anticipate that menace by withdrawing from the field of constructive investment to the greatest extent possible and find means to avoid the extreme rigor of taxation.

So much is this the case that I incline to the belief that a maximum taxation of, say, 33⅓ per cent would produce as great a revenue as a maximum taxation of 50 per cent, if not a greater one.

The flood of securities which would be coming for sale in order to escape extreme income taxation would create a grave condition of demoralization in the investment markets of the country, with the resulting inevitable effect upon the country's general business.

(4) The tax recently enacted by Congress imposing a burden of 8 per cent on business profits over and above 8 per cent on the capital employed, regardless of whether such profits have any relation to war conditions or not, is unscientific and unsound (Incidentally it is a strange provision of that law that it applies only to copartnerships and corporations, while an individual engaged in business, however profitable, is not taxed.) The law should be repealed, or rather modified, instead of the rate being augmented as is proposed.

It is unquestionably right and in accordance with both good morals and good economics to prevent, as far as possible, the enrichment of business and business men through the calamity of war. But the recently enacted and now contemplated so-called excess profits tax does not accomplish that. It taxes not merely the exceptional profit, i. e., the war profit. It lays a burden not on business due to war, but on all business. It does this at a time when it is more than ever necessary that energy, enterprise, efficiency, the commercial and financial brain and work power of the Nation be stimulated to their utmost in order to make good, so far as possible, the waste and destruction which goes with war. Any scheme of taxation which imposes an unnecessary burden upon commercial enterprise and thereby handicaps the Nation in its business activities—especially in world competition with other nations—is unsound and bound to be gravely detrimental, both to the business man and still more to the wageworker; in fact, to every element of the population.

It is worth noting that England, the conduct of whose finances, based upon the experience of many generations as the leading financial power, has always been a model for other nations to follow, has imposed an excess profits tax on business during the war merely to the extent that such profits are attributable to the war, i. e., to the extent that they exceed the profits of normal years.

In principle, direct taxation of business activities should be avoided as much as possible. Apart from a war-profit excess tax, business profits should be taxed in the main not through an impost on business itself, but through the income tax on the individual beneficiaries. Care should be taken lest the wealthy man least entitled to preferential consideration, i. e., he who neither works nor takes business risks or business responsibilities, be favored as against the man who puts his brains, his capacities, and his money to constructive use in active business.

(5) It seems to me so manifest as to hardly require argument that a retroactive income tax, such as has been suggested, is wrong both in morals and in economics.

If the foregoing reasoning is correct, these conclusions would seem to follow:

1. There ought to be a substantial and progressive increase in the rate of income taxation during the war, together with a lowering of the existing limit of income-tax exemption. I believe that in practice the best result would be obtained if the maximum rate of taxation were not to exceed, say, 33⅓ per cent, certainly for the first year of the war. A higher rate would not, in my opinion, yield a higher aggregate of revenue to the Government, while at the same time, if only for sentimental reasons, and even though only applied to very large incomes, it would be apt to cause financial dislocation and retard business activity and enterprise.

It would seem advisable that such portion of a person's income as is devoted to charitable purposes should be, if not entirely free from income tax, at least subject to a reduced tax only, so as to counteract the tendency which experience has shown to follow in the wake of heavy taxation, of greatly diminishing charitable contributions.

2. There ought to be an excess profit tax, which might well be at a higher rate than the present 8 per cent, or even the proposed 16 per cent, but it should only be applicable to the extent that business profits exceed the profits of, say, a five-year average period before the war, and thus may justly be held to be attributable to war conditions. An offset which might be fixed at, say, 10 per cent per annum ought to be allowed on all new capital invested in business since the beginning of the war.

3. There are very numerous forms of taxes—stamp taxes, etc., such as, for instance, a 2-cent tax on checks—which, while they would mainly fall on the well to do, would be in no way burdensome and would produce a very large aggregate of revenue. What seems to me in principle a very sensible tax has been suggested, namely, a tax on sales (i. e., each single sale) of all kinds of merchandise, excepting foodstuffs and probably raw material, of 1 cent for each dollar or greater part thereof, exempting sales of less than, say, $5. This tax, which should be paid by the purchaser, would produce a very large revenue. It would be more widely distributed than almost any other form of taxation and would be felt but very little. It would be easily and cheaply collected and would begin to accrue much sooner than most other taxes.

4. I am not convinced that the total amount which needs to be spent or which, as a matter of fact, can be spent in the course of the year requires so huge a sum to be raised by taxation as our legislators appear to contemplate. The policy of raising a large portion of war expenditures by taxation is wise and sound. But to be iconoclastic in applying that policy, to make that portion so large as to chill the spirit and lame the enterprise of the country, is neither good politics nor good economics. The present has its rights as well as the future. Sacrifices should be reasonably averaged.

5. In determining upon the scheme and detail of taxation it should be borne in mind that the intent of taxation is not punitive; neither is it to apply practical socialism under the guise of war finance. Congress might well ponder the advice recently cabled here by one of the leading financial writers in England: "You should go slow in your tax plans. Too violent a financial dislocation would be caused unless taxation is most judiciously and scientifically apportioned." The desire to place the financial burden incident to war preponderantly upon the wealthy is just and right, but even in doing things from entirely praiseworthy motives it is well to remember the old French saying that virtue is apt to be more dangerous than vice, because it is not subject to the restraint of conscience.

The Working of Income Taxation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 25, 1917.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, I find since the passage of the revenue bill that many people do not understand the way income taxes work out—they seem to be confused by the fact that the payment for taxation on the income of the current year is paid next year. They seem to think of an income as a fixed amount, susceptible of a fairly stable assessment, like real estate, and

taxable each year at a fixed rate. But an income is a fluctuating amount, and under our law it includes, for individuals, profits on sales of land, on speculation of any kind, or from business. A man's income one year may be twice what it was the year before, dependent upon his activities or his success in those activities. In determining net income, of course, all taxes paid are deducted. Certainly the Government could not fairly tax as net income a sum it had already subtracted from that income. So if you tax an income of $100,000 50 per cent, taking half of it, there is only $50,000 left, and the next payment will be on $50,000, and, because of the graduation of rates, at a lower rate, let us say, at 30 per cent. Now, 30 per cent of $50,000 is $15,000, a big and dangerous decrease of revenue. The third year, supposing returns from business or investments to remain constant, the $15,000 of tax subtracted from $100,000 will leave $85,000 for taxation, and the revenues will be partly restored, but this is a very unscientific and unsatisfactory way to raise revenue, shifting up and down without any relation to actual needs, to say nothing of the certainty that the high initial rate would discourage effort, cut off reinvestment, and lower returns. The scientific way is to start with rates not above 25 per cent, raise them the next year to about 33⅓ per cent, at which you will obtain a fairly constant flow of revenue and without discouraging effort—$25,000 from $100,000 leaves $75,000, and 33⅓ per cent of that is again $25,000, which subtracted from $100,000 leaves again $75,000. If effort has been stimulated instead of being retarded, an increase to 40 per cent might be justified the third year, but that would be about the limit of safety as spread over a whole income, though perhaps not quite the limit of the highest surtax.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, on April 6, immediately upon the convening of the present session of Congress and upon the passage of the resolution declaring that a state of war existed with Germany, recognizing that a very large amount of revenue in addition to that heretofore collected would be necessary to pay the expenses of this war, ex-Gov. Haskell, of Oklahoma, wrote a letter submitting his views as to how the additional revenue should be raised, a copy of which I am herewith submitting for the consideration of Congress and the country. It is as follows:

APRIL 6, 1917.

Mr. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The recent address of the President to Congress was such as to win the enthusiastic support of many who had heretofore been passive only. I was especially pleased at the distinction drawn between the mass of the German people on the one hand and the governing element of the German Empire on the other, and I congratulate our country on the patriotic, democratic sentiment of our President.

The conditions require enlarging the revenues of the Government, and I merely express a thought to you, although I presume that it has or at least will receive consideration by those in authority; but our Government must have a much larger revenue, and I submit that a percentage levy on the gross earnings of all the interstate transportation and transmission companies—as large as Government necessities may require; no matter how large—is worthy of consideration as being the means to this important end from every standpoint.

First. It would be equitable, as your income would be derived from the commerce of the country, and the items of commerce the most prosperous would be the items paying the greater share of the revenue, and no item of transportation or transmission could possibly avoid its proportionate share of every other similar item. There would be no tax dodgers. When the corporation or individual buys his railroad ticket, pays his freight bill, or express bill, or his sleeping-car fare, or for his telegram or long-distance telephone communication he would pay his revenue to the Government. Such a tax would be absolutely equal in proportion and would fall heaviest, of course on the most active items of commerce stimulated by abnormal prosperity and profits.

Second. It would be automatic in that it would collect itself, free from the necessity of the Government creating and maintaining a vast force of skilled accountants and collectors not only to make the collections from those who honestly report their obligations to the Government but to search for those who evade payment. The Government would be at practically no expense at all, as all this class of reports are already made at short intervals to some Government department or commission for other governmental purposes. It would simply require, based on an act of Congress making the levy, that when this periodical report is made by such transportation or transmission company that such report be accompanied with a check covering the established per cent due to the Government, and thus find its way into the United States Treasury with no expense except the slight addition in the Treasury Department resulting from bookkeeping. Of course, this would necessitate an increase to be authorized by the proper governmental authorities in the rates to be charged the public for such transportation and transmission service, but something of that kind is doubtless contemplated already in order to give these companies an equitable income to meet the demands of increased cost of service, higher wages, etc. Therefore when these boards have figured the increase in charges that these companies are entitled to have for their own treasury, add 20 per cent, or whatever other sum the Government needs for its revenue, and this percentage of these gross earnings will be a governmental revenue, to be paid over to the Government by each of these companies with their periodical earnings report. Thus, assuming that in the beginning each large acquisition of money will be through the medium of a temporary or long-time Government bond issue, you immediately begin raising the current interest fund for such bonds and the amortization fund for all such bonds or notes.

Third. While these companies will do the collecting of this Government fund, you have not burdened them with a single cent of additional expense. It will cost them no more to sell a sleeping-bar berth for $2.50 than it does to sell it for $2, or to sell a telegram privilege for 60 cents than it does to sell it for 50 cents, or to write a waybill for a ton of freight at $2 than it does now to write it at the rate of $1.50 per ton The Government gets these monthly reports in some of its departments of the gross earnings of such corporations just the same as it does now for other purposes. It will simply mean, in addition to getting these monthly reports, getting a check from the corporation for the proper percentage of the gross earnings so shown. Thus, nobody has been able to dodge taxes and there is practically not one cent of expense to the Government in making the collection. Again, you will not wait months, or possibly one year, before the income begins to be realized, but if such a law is passed in April the June report and each succeeding month's will bring in such an amount as the Government has called for.

Fourth. The law should provide that the President may suspend its operations at such time in the future as in his judgment it is no longer required, or may decrease the percentage, and of course at that time the boards and commissions having charge of rate making would see to it that the rates for this transmission and transportation service were proportionately decreased.

Mr. Tumulty, in the vast demands upon your time, none of us have a right to expect to divert your attention even to the point of what some might expect as courteous; therefore give this as much or as little thought as you think it is worth. If there is a grain of good sense in it, in your judgment, get it to headquarters. If you don't so find it throw it into the waste basket and forget the whole business; but the merit of it is an absolute equality on the commerce of the whole country according to the prosperity enjoyed by the different classes of people.

Its immediate results, its automatic self-collecting character, and, again, from the very nature of it, nobody objects to, because it is not a direct payment and accompanied by an inquisitorial process which is really the cause of more criticism than the amount of money the individual would actually pay, and it relieves the objection so many people have to buying and licking revenue stamps and putting them on all sorts of contracts, papers, etc.

Sincerely, yours,

C. N. HASKELL.

To the Women of St. Louis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. IGOE,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD, under the permission granted, an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of May 9, 1917, containing a portion of an address by the Rev. John A. McClorey, S. J., of St. Louis University. The editorial is as follows:

TO THE WOMEN OF ST. LOUIS.

In a talk to Catholic mothers at the Convent of the Little Helpers, Father John A. McClorey, S. J., of St. Louis University, made a stirring appeal to mothers to prove their devotion to their country by sending their sons to war. The address touches the heart of loyalty; it thrills the pulses of patriotism; it presents vividly that glorious vision of loving sacrifice which every American should be eager to make for the country. Moreover, it is an example of moving eloquence, elevated in thought, apt and forceful in expression. In order that it might have wider distribution, Father McClorey, by request, has sent that part of his address relating to the duty and privilege of American mothers to the Post-Dispatch for publication.

"DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI.

"Now is the hour of testing. A crisis is at hand in your lives. Peace has gone. War is here. Your souls must change with this change; for better or for worse. Middling virtue which can get by unchallenged in time of peace can not survive in time of war. It must either expand into heroism or sink into baseness. The alternative presents itself to many of you now. It is an inspiring alternative, fraught with the grand possibility of patriotic self-sacrifice. It is a fear-compelling alternative, carrying with it the other possibility of failure to rise to the occasion. You have the choice. Will you be worthy of the women of the Revolution and Civil War, who gave their sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers, weeping yet smiling through their tears, broken-hearted yet grand-hearted, grieving to lose a man, yet proud of gaining a soldier?

"The women of Europe are gazing at you. Will you measure up to their heroic proportions? Their patriotic sufferings have been a splendor to your eyes. Will you radiate back to them a like splendor? The answer to this question rests with you.

"It has become a truism that the blood of martyrs must moisten the roots of Faith before fruit can glow upon the tree of Religion. Is not the same true of the blood of soldiers, of the roots of a nation and the fruit of a genuine national greatness? The blood at the root gives the glow to the fruit. Suffering and greatness have seldom, if ever, been mutually dissevered either in the individual or the State.

"For instance, will not our imperfect sense of nationality be made perfect by the trials of this war? Will not doubtful loyalty be made to blush, repent, and transform itself radiantly?

"In religion, martyrdom is not a slaughter but a triumph. In the State, patriotism unto the shedding of blood is not a calamity but an apotheosis. The mother of the seven Machabee martyrs urged them to encounter death for their palms. Will any of our mothers hold back their sons from glory?

"Let tenderness yield to magnanimity. You are a mother. But so is Columbia, and she has rights to the son as well as you. She has been in labor with us all that we might see the light of liberty; and what pangs! Do we owe her no return? We have been living on the fat of her land; some of us proscribed from our own land beyond the sea. Shall we have received without being willing to give?

"Besides, a dead backer of his country is a greater comfort to his mother than a live slacker. The one is a glorious memory for her, the other an inglorious reality.

"And what is there in the average life of a man, with its 'to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow creeping in its petty pace from day to day, often full of sound and fury signifying nothing'—what is there that should make a mother prefer it for her son to the splendor of a youthful military death for country? On the one hand she sees only a career of labor, amusement, trouble, grief, perhaps wrongdoing, ending in decrepit old age; on the other hand an heroic oblation upon which 'the gods themselves throw incense.'

"Were this a war of conquest, you well might hesitate; but it is a war of honor and self-defense. We have a right to course the seas. To maintain that right we ought to be willing to die. A barrier has been raised to obstruct us We shall break through it, or at least be broken in the attempt. Our honor requires this much of us. Our fellow countrymen have been sunk; they cry to us for reparation from the deep. More of them will run the same risk; they ask Columbia to clear a path. And are we so secure at home from foreign aggression? Germany is by no means a conquered nation. We may soon become one at her hands, if we sleep on. She has held England, France, and Russia for nearly three years. Let us not exaggerate the importance of the late allied successes. And the submarine! And the possible defection of Russia; at least her disorganized condition! And Germany's united persistency! We must take the initiative now or probably rue our negligence later. If England had waked up in time, prospects would be better. Let us learn from her that safety lies in immediate action.

"We are paying a debt of gratitude to France, the land of Lafayette. We are fighting to restore heroic Belgium and Poland. We may hope that Ireland will profit by our arms. In a word, the lessening of human suffering, the restoration and conservation of smaller States, the course of popular governments, our own rights, honor, and safety are the motives of our entrance into the war. For this we have the solemn statement of our President. His word lends weight to the personal views of the case which we may have entertained. He has issued the call to arms. His authority is from God. We are safe in obeying. We are in the wrong if we do not. The President is weighted with a terrific responsibility; let us lessen its pressure by our loyalty. He prefers loyalty even to success. Your church urges you, your archbishops encourage you, your own sense of honor urges you.

"Do not say, 'War is terrible.' Lost honor is worse. Do not say, 'How can we fight if we can not eat?' For the President has promised to whip food robbers into line. These ghouls who follow in the wake of war to plunder the brave will feel the iron hand of government. Therefore give your sons. Nineteen hundred years ago One died for you. When He marched to the battle field of Calvary, His mother, though broken hearted, did not say, 'Stay with me.' Your son goes to-day, probably to die for his country. Can you summon enough courage to say, 'Go'?"

Training Camp for Colored Officers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following correspondence in regard to training camps for colored officers:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 8, 1917.

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: My understanding is that—

(a) Fourteen training camps are to be opened on May 14, to provide officers for the Army to be organized under the selective-draft bill now pending in conference.

(b) No officers are to be commissioned unless they receive training in one of these 14 camps.

(c) The War Department has stated that it is impracticable to admit negroes to the 14 established camps.

Representing a constituency nearly one-third of whose population are members of the Negro race, to whom the right of franchise is not denied, may I inquire:

(1) Whether the negro is expected to furnish his proportionate quota in this Army?

(2) Whether recognition will not be given to the principle that competent and intelligent negroes should have the opportunity to lead troops of their own race?

One thousand negro college students and graduates have already pledged themselves to enter such a training camp immediately.

In addition, men in the medical profession desire to qualify for service in the Medical Corps, and there are other competent men ready to qualify for other specialized corps provided for.

When your attention was called to H. R. 17183, introduced in the last Congress, to prevent the enlistment of negroes in the military service of the United States, you expressed yourself with respect thereto in part as follows:

"Any such bill would receive the disapproval and adverse recommendation of this department.

"Those who are familiar with the history of our country, from the armies organized by George Washington in the American Revolution down to the present day, know that brave and often conspicuously gallant service has been rendered by the colored troops. In the most recent instance, at Carrizal, in Mexico, these colored troops conducted themselves with the greatest intrepidity and reflected nothing but honor upon the uniform they wore."

I submit that the records of negro officers and troops warrant the provision for negro officers to lead negro troops, and beg to inquire whether some provision can not be made for their reception at one of the 14 training camps already provided for, or, if that be impracticable, if you will not by order establish an additional training camp for colored citizens who desire to obtain commissions in the Officers' Reserve Corps?

Very truly, yours,

MURRAY HULBERT.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, May 15, 1917.

Hon. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives:

The question of the organization of training camps for negro candidates for the Officers' Reserve Corps is now under consideration.

The number and location of these camps will be announced as soon as decision is reached.

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

(Memorandum.)

The following letter to the Chief of Staff Departments of the Army gives a brief outline of the provisions made for training camps for colored citizens:

"1. You are advised that training camps for colored citizens will be established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, under section 54, national-defense act, and the regulations prescribed for present training camps, except as modified herein and hereafter. The camp is under the control of the department commander, Central Department, who will prepare and conduct the same. The total attendance will be 1,250, of whom 250 will be noncommissioned officers of colored regiments of the Regular Army, to be sent on detached-service status, and 1,000 citizens, either enlisted under section 54, national-defense act, for three months beginning June 18, with agreement to accept appointment tendered, or members of National Guard, whose status will be as in the case of National Guardsmen now in training camps.

"2. The contingents of citizens and National Guardsmen from the various departments is as follows: Northeastern Department, 40; Eastern Department, 240; Southeastern Department, 430; Central Department, 195; Southern Department, 75 plus contingent from Twenty-fourth Infantry, 84, and Tenth Cavalry, 57; Western Department, 20.

"3. As far as consistent with the character of applicants, it is desired that men selected shall be not less than 30 years of age. Local distribution as between various States and cities and between citizens and National Guardsmen is left to the discretion of department commanders. From all applicants department commanders will select their contingent so that definite notice to proceed to the training camps may be given the selected men not later than June 9. The training camps will be ready to receive the noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army June 5, and all others June 15. The course of instruction begins June 18."

In addition to the contingents mentioned above 84 men will be sent from the Twenty-fifth Infantry in Hawaii and 25 men from the Ninth Cavalry in the Philippines.

Applications should be addressed to the commanding generals of departments as follows: Northeastern Department, Boston, Mass.; Eastern Department, Governors Island, N. Y.; Southeastern Department, Charleston, S. C.; Southern Department, Fort Sam Houston, Tex.; Central Department, Chicago, Ill.; Western Department, San Francisco, Cal.

The contingent from each department will be as follows: Northeastern, 40; Eastern, 240; Southeastern, 430; Central, 195; Southern, 75; Western, 20. The remaining 250 will be noncommissioned officers from regiments as indicated above.

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

MAY 23, 1917.

War-Revenue Measure.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, this measure clearly reveals the crisis before us as viewed by the committee. It contains features condemned by everybody, defended by nobody, but demanded, we are told, by the exigencies of a war that must be ended in the shortest possible time, with the least possible loss of life and treasure.

The proponents of this measure remind us that we have conscripted the young men, the flower of the present generation, and we must not hesitate to place the necessary burden upon the business of the country.

This statement has much force. There is not a Member in the House who will withhold his indorsement of that principle. But effectiveness at the front must depend largely upon the effectiveness at home. The danger confronting us is that in our attempt to provide the revenue we may dry up our resources by laws that will prevent raising money. We must guard against that sort of law that so greatly penalizes wealth that it ceases to produce. John Marshall made a famous statement when he said, "The power to tax is the power to destroy." While that has become a truism, we do not seem here to regard it with much force.

In this bill we propose to place a 5 per cent tax on gross sales of a long list of articles. This proposal is based on the proposition that the business is not only profitable but can afford a 5 per cent tax.

The most patent fact in this proposal is that only the large business can survive it, which probably would make up 10 per cent of the business if all businesses are considered, while the 90 per cent which are small businesses may be absorbed by the few large concerns. This possibility of itself is dangerous. This tendency to concentrate into the hands of a few the business of any particular line is to be avoided if possible.

A tax too high will not only destroy business but will defeat revenue as well. That danger lurks in this proposed measure. No gross-sales tax should be levied without allowing at least an exemption of a small profit before the tax is to be applied.

This bill has one very dangerous feature in it, not defensible on any principle of taxation. I refer to the retroactive feature in which is added one-third of the income tax of last year. The unscientific character of the measure is revealed by the committee's explanation of the adoption of this un-American principle. We were told that when the bill was finished it was found that the estimates fell short $110.000,000 required by the Treasury Department. Not knowing what else to do, the committee decided to go back to last year and lay an additional tax of one-third or 33⅓ per cent of last year's income.

It is not the amount of this burden that I object to, but it is the vitally dangerous precedent proposed. If we can go back one year, why not two, or five? So far as the principle is concerned, retroaction is not limited to a 12-month period. If we can go back to apply it to incomes, why not to all other sources or forms of taxation?

Mr. Speaker, this step is so dangerous that I am sure it will go out of the bill; if not by vote of this body, it will at the other end of the Capitol. The frightful possible consequences under the strain of war are seen in this sort of proposals. We attempt to justify acts wholly unjustifiable, and offer a defense for our defenseless positions in the cry of war.

Another most dangerous item of this bill, vital to our national thought, is the proposal to sectionalize our reading matter by the proposed zone system.

I agree with the committee that magazines should be required to pay more postage to cover an equitable charge for the vast advertising matter that goes through the mails. No one will hesitate to make that change if proposed upon an equitable and practical basis.

If we could separate the reading from the advertising matter so that we could pro rate the cost and compel profitable advertising to pay its share of transportation, I should gladly support it. But I am seriously opposed to applying the zone basis to our reading matter. It is our present system to which we owe our great national periodicals, which while edited in one place circulate throughout the entire Union. The greatest single value of this feature is the nationalization of our people. It is the sure proof against a dangerous provincialism inevitable if we adopt a zone system which makes a piece of mail matter cost eight times in one section what it costs in another. The simple result will be a restrictive circulation and a hurtful loss of a great nationalizing force among our people.

Upon the present basis our publishing houses have made their contracts, some of them extending two or three years ahead. Here we now propose by the vote of this House to ignore all contractual rights and wipe out of existence hundreds of publishing houses, built up under the laws now existing, without the slightest regard for obligations authorized.

The very threat of this legislation has already forced many receiverships. I just received the following letter from a distinguished judge of my own district which explains itself. Continuing, the judge said:

This afternoon I appointed a receiver of a heretofore prosperous publishing house, who base their petition for a receiver largely upon the threatened increase of the postal rates, which will practically exhaust any profits they have heretofore made. Publishers have been greatly burdened by the increase in the cost of white paper until the burden has almost reached the breaking point with many meritorious publications, and if Congress, in addition to those, imposed a greatly increased postal rate it will mean the ruin of many publications that have heretofore been able to bear the burden of the increased cost of the raw materials. Magazines are dependent upon their advertising for their support, the comparatively small income that is derived from circulation being insignificant in comparison to the income from advertisements, and if the burden of the circulation is increased the narrow margins of profits in many publications will be entirely wiped out. The big magazines no doubt can bear this burden, but those having a comparatively small subscription price can not bear it. A great many people seem to think that because second-class mail matter does not pay for itself and the expense of it is carried by the surplus derived from first-class mail matter that if the rate for the first-class mail is increased that for second-class should be increased also, but the burden of first-class mail matter is more widely distributed and will be of less consequence than that borne by the publications. This city has many publications that will suffer immeasurably from a burdensome increase in this postal rate. Trusting that you will realize the seriousness of this matter and be able to check it in a measure, I am,

Yours, very truly,

FRANK W. GEIGER.

Scores of letters have come to my desk from men who are willing to share the burdens of the war.

One of the largest publishing houses of the country is located at Springfield, in my own district, a city of 60,000 people, one-tenth of whom are in one way of another connected with the firm. I have been urged to place before the Congress the effects of this proposed legislation on this firm alone. I am told that it is simply impossible to meet the requirements of this proposed legislation. This firm offers the Government for the period of the war its entire profits. I know the people of this firm, and when they say to me that they would be willing to give the Government their profits entire, but pray that the business be not destroyed, I know it is the spirit of patriotism, such as will compel a father and mother to give their sons.

It is no answer to ridicule this offer by saying, "Oh, yes; they offer their profits, but we offer our sons," because many business people also offer their sons in addition to their profit.

Their ability to support the Government will not be increased by a destruction of property. Every sane man knows it will be destroyed so far as revenue is concerned if legislation creating an additional expenditure of over three-fourths of a billion dollars a year is enacted. Such legislation will defeat its proposed ends.

While we propose to exempt certain classes of publications not run for profit, we do include hundreds of periodicals privately edited, and some of them privately owned but rendering most valuable service. I have a letter from one of the country's best editors in the educational field, in which he says:

I hesitate to trouble you in these days when we are all worn out with troubles of so many kinds. Permit me to say, however, that I do hope you can do something to have the proposed increase in postal rates so modified as to omit educational journals. I need not say to you that with the price of paper as it is at present, and with the increased cost of everything that enters into the make-up of an educational journal, practically all the profits have been used up. A number of educational journals have been compelled to stop publication. I am going to do everything in my power to continue the publication of this journal, whatever happens It is on its sixty-sixth year, and has never missed a monthly issue since it began. It does seem to me that something ought to be done to make some distinction between small educational papers and the big magazines which carry millions of dollars' worth of advertising. If second-class rates has to be increased, can not something be done to relieve the situation with educational journals, whose revenues are limited even under the best conditions? I am sure that you will do all you can to help in this.

I have another letter from the managing editor of one of the greatest religious publications in the country, but, unhappily, not included by the wording of this bill in the exempted classes. The editor, who happens to be a personal friend of mine, and who would not write me unless he felt it a serious matter, continues as follows:

I feel it necessary to trouble you with a communication in regard to the proposed increase of postage on periodicals. Our own paper would be wiped out of existence by it. The Christian Endeavor World is the international organ of Christian Endeavor societies, having a constituency in this country of nearly 3,000,000. It is not run for profit, and during the past 10 years we have been barely able to pay our expenses, never having a surplus, and usually having a very large deficit. The increased cost of paper means to us an additional expense of $25,000 a year, to meet which we have increased the price of the paper all it will stand, and perhaps more than it will stand. On top of this comes the proposal of an increase in postage that will, we fear, make it necessary for our paper to cease publication.

The proposed advance in postal rates for periodicals, coming at this juncture, will certainly defeat its own ends, destroying in many cases the source of postal revenues, so that the great loss to general intelligence and to the promotion of religious and philanthropic causes will be brought about without any profit to the Government at all.

Very respectfully,

AMOS R. WELLS.

To destroy this character of publication is little short of wicked.

I have urged the committee to accept an amendment which would exempt this character of journal. I offered such an

amendment, but it was modified in such a way I fear it will not exempt such valuable publications.

Mr. Speaker, I can not believe that the country will indorse such proposed legislation, notwithstanding the arguments of the committee. I would prefer to place the burdens upon the excess profits basis. England took two or three years preceding the war to average the profits of business. Then on that average as a basis she levied at first 50 per cent of the excess profits above the average. In 1916 she raised it to 60 per cent. This year she raised it to 80 per cent.

This tax has not greatly disturbed business in England because normal profits were first assured.

That would seem to me to be a sane proposal. But we here propose to lay the tax on sales whether profitable or not. We have no assurance whatever against business disintegration.

I voted to increase the rates on incomes for the reason that if we do not go too high we will secure needed revenue and will not seriously disturb business. However, there is danger that we may defeat our ends by too high rate. That period is not reached in this bill on incomes, in my opinion at least.

All will agree the customs tax is unscientific, but this administration will not allow itself to be embarrassed by a tariff discussion. The Underwood bill must not be in any form modified.

Millions of revenue could be raised by tariff duties if it were not for the Democratic opposition to protective duties.

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote to recommit this bill to the Ways and Means Committee. It ought to be rewritten and brought back here with the retroactive feature omitted, the gross-sales tax feature eliminated, the postal provisions rewritten, and the customs tax made scientific, as well as many items omitted should be inserted.

If the House refuses to recommit the bill, and it is presented with those features in it, I am left to the alternative of either voting for it or against a bill to raise revenue to prosecute the war, since all such measures must originate in this House. Of course I can not vote against prosecuting the war, and in case the House refuses to recommit I will have no other recourse than to join members of the committee, and with them shut my eyes and swallow the dose. But when I do it I am quite sure it is done only to satisfy the constitutional requirements, so that the Senate may take it, rewrite and draft it, and send it back to us in a form that we may all support.

This is one of the very greatest dangers of our times. Under the pressure of war we will be asked to do unheard-of things. The Congress must beware of that danger. We must not be carried off our feet by an intolerant as well as unthinking press demanding enactment of laws without due consideration. We will best render public service when every measure proposed is scanned under the light of constitutional sanction. The fashion now is to ignore the powers of the Constitution to accept the laws of necessity. This will face us constantly, and I here warn my colleagues and the country of this danger. The highest type of a statesman is not ratifying mere Executive orders or granting departmental requests, but it lies in a deliberate consideration of every measure here proposed, from whatever source, so as to conserve the future as well as provide for the immediate present.

Age Limits in the Army Plan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARVIN JONES,

OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, if we are to have the system of selective drafting I do not believe the minimum and maximum age limits should be 19 and 25 years. It is neither right nor just to place the entire burden of facing fire upon the young men of this country. It may be fair as between the young men who were born in those fatal years, 1892 to 1898, inasmuch as it summons all of them as liable to the call to the colors. But is it fair to them? It takes the man who is 24 and leaves the man who is 26, though they are both young men. The age limits as designated take in a body a vast number of young men who are in the prime and bloom of life and exempts the others, when there are many strong men of all ages who should assume their fair share of the duties of citizenship.

I am persuaded that if this method is used men should be chosen at all ages, ranging from the average time when men enter the business world to the average time when they begin to slow up in their activity. I therefore favor the selection to cover the ages 21 to 45 instead of 19 to 25.

Young men form an essential part of the productive force of this country—different phases of work from the older perhaps, but essential, nevertheless. There are few industries, whether the factory, the field, or the farm, that do not use men of practically all active ages, each doing a particular line of work. It is estimated that there are some 20,000,000 men in this country between 21 and 45 years of age. If such is true, only about 1 in 20 would be necessary to constitute an army of 1,000,000 men. Scattered over these ages the industries would not be severely crippled, nor would any particular line of productive force be depleted. Whereas if any particular ages are taken out in a body, some portions of the work would suffer. If an army making a charge in the old-fashioned way lost 1 man in 20 scattered over its entire front, the ranks could close up in more or less perfect order; but if the entire loss were sustained at one place the lines would be broken and confusion would result. Likewise where men of different ages are doing different lines of work in the same industry a distributed loss would not materially cripple, but otherwise where you take them out in a body having certain parts of the work accomplished.

If selection we must have, I believe some fair method should be devised, such as that by which our jurors are selected, so that a man would have his even chance to go or to stay. Then no one could complain. Any other process would give rise to favoritism and consequent dissatisfaction and complaint. But if everyone is placed upon an equal basis, no one can complain.

I do not believe young men should fight the battles of all men, but that all men should have a part in the honors and the burdens, share and share alike. From 19 to 25 is just as important as any other period of a man's life. It is the beginning, the formative period. In the crucial make-up of these terrible times there is no place for a slacker or quitter. If we are going to preach democracy, let us live it and enforce it.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY W. WATSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 26, 1917.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the members of the Ways and Means Committee were constrained in a very short period to prepare the most critical bill of all legislation to meet the exigency of the times.

It is only natural that the citizens of our country, after a century of international peace, should be disturbed, yet fail to realize that the United States is now at war with one of the strongest nations of the world, and that our people will be conscripted to fill the foreign trenches in order to maintain the principles of our Government.

The American people do not realize the seriousness of the hour, nor are they imbued with the meaning of war. They have not reflected on the revenue required to meet its expenses, their responsibility, the taxes to be levied—potent questions which now confront them.

It is impossible to frame a revenue bill to meet the applause of all men in their various professional, commercial, and industrial pursuits.

Taxes should be distributed in equal proportion, relative to the wealth of each individual, and no person exempted save the indigent.

Patriotism is as pronounced in the cabin as it is in the palace. Every wage earner will do his part and pay his share of the taxes to preserve the tradition of his home and the honor of his country as truly and patriotically as the one who employs him, but I do not believe that the United States should place an additional burden upon their sources of information.

I am therefore not in accord with the postal rates reported in this bill. They should be amended in order that newspapers in time of war may be transmitted through the mails to their subscribers in whatever part of the United States or its Territories they may be domiciled without increased postage.

It is the duty of a government to assist rather than to retard the distribution of news to its subjects wherever they may be.

The President of the United States publishes the State proclamations through the newspapers, and they in turn impart them

to the public—in many cases the only source of information open for many of our people.

The newspaper arouses patriotism in the hearts of those where it is dormant and imparts to the world thoughts of a higher and a nobler condition for mankind.

Publishing houses should be taxed in harmony with all of the industries of our country but not be compelled to pay excessive toll where others do not. A cheap postal rate effectuates spreading of knowledge to the people, strengthening their intellectual energy, enlightening those beyond the realms of news, and unifies the policies of the Government.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to invite attention to the following editorial from the Phoenix, a daily paper published at Muskogee, Okla., in my district. It is entitled "A discreditable spectacle," and criticizes in a highly patriotic manner the persons, companies, and corporations attempting to evade payment of their pro rata share of the expenses of this war. It strongly advocates the payment of a large part of these expenses by taxation rather than leaving them to be paid by posterity. I commend the editorial to the country, and particularly to the newspaper fraternity in Washington. It is as follows:

A DISCREDITABLE SPECTACLE.

While we have reasons so many and so great for being proud of our country, one exhibition at Washington fills us all with shame and anger.

This is the descent upon the National Capital of a horde of interests and individuals, all bent upon having themselves partially or wholly exempted from the provisions of the new tax law.

There is as fierce a struggle to avoid paying the cost of the war as there is on the battle field to win it.

And the very men who have been howling for months about the need of preparedness and who sent telegrams to Senators and Representatives to vote billions for the war are now vociferously and angrily and threateningly demanding that the people shall pay the bill.

It is like nothing so much as the bad old days when a new tariff act was in preparation and dozens of lobbies were pulling this way and that to secure special exemptions on special increases of duties for the financial advantages of this or that greedy interest.

The main lines of the financial policy that ought to be pursued, that must be followed if we are not to disgrace ourselves, are as simple and plain as they could well be. We should give to the war unstintedly whatever sum is needed.

To spare now would be to lose incalculably later. We should, as far as possible, pay these costs as we go.

The "posterity" argument is a mean and mercenary lie. Posterity will have its own charges to meet, and we have no right to pledge the property of those who can not speak for themselves beyond a reasonable limit.

The bulk of the money should be raised from taxes on incomes above a reasonable minimum and upon all profits of business in excess of a certain rate on capital already invested, as represented by securities already issued.

Then the balance should be distributed as widely as possible over all activities and the whole body of the people.

This is substantially what has been proposed.

Let the whiners, those who seek exemption at the cost of their neighbors, be treated as if they were military deserters.

For that, in effect, is what they are.

Revenue Bill—Rates of Postage on Newspapers and Periodicals—A New Plan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 28, 1917.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the revenue bill I said that I had a plan to adjust postage rates on newspapers and periodicals on circulation. Since then I have prepared a new bill on this subject, which is as follows:

That the rates of postage on newspapers and other periodicals admitted to the mail as second-class matter shall hereafter be as follows: "On all mail circulation not exceeding 20,000 copies, 1½ cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 20,000 and not exceeding 100,000 copies, 2 cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 100,000 and not exceeding 200,000 copies, 2½ cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 200,000 and not exceeding 300,000 copies, 3 cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 300,000 and not exceeding 400,000 copies, 3½ cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 400,000 and not exceeding 500,000 copies, 4 cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 500,000 and not exceeding 600,000 copies, 4½ cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 600,000 and not exceeding 700,000 copies, 5 cents per pound; on all mail circulation of more than 700,000 and not exceeding 800,000 copies, 5½ cents per pound; and on all mail circulation of more than 800,000 copies, 6 cents per pound: *Provided*, That the rate of postage on daily newspapers, when the same are deposited in a letter-carrier office for delivery by its carriers, shall be the same as now provided by law: *Provided further*, That nothing herein shall affect existing law as to free circulation and existing rates on second-class mail matter within the county of publication.

"SEC. 2. That hereafter advertising catalogues and similar publications shall be classified as third-class mail matter and pay postage as such."

My plan, while it contemplates a flat rate to every section of the country and thus overcomes the objections to the zone plan, adjusts the rates of postage to cost of service even more closely than any zone rate yet proposed, and is much more easily administered. The circulation of every paper is known and the proposed rate can readily be ascertained. It is free from discrimination, for everyone is charged the same rate for the same amount of circulation. It is based upon the wholesale principle reversed. The wholesale plan is to charge less per unit when quantity sold is large; that is, where business is done for profit. But where business is done either at a loss or without profit this rule is properly reversed. The Government is and has been doing this second-class mail business at a loss. No one claims anything else. The Hughes commission found it cost 5½ cents per pound. I contend that since those figures were gathered the cost has gone down and that it does not now exceed 4 cents. When I propose to carry every newspaper and periodical of a circulation less than 20,000 copies for 1½ cents per pound I propose to charge the large paper the same rate on its first 20,000 copies. Seeing this work is done at a loss, no one should complain if we limit him to the same quantity. The paper with small circulation is the one which, as a rule, is carried the shortest distance, and the paper with the largest circulation, having subscribers in every city, county, village, and hamlet in the land, is carried the farthest. I submit, therefore, that these rates will be adjusted more closely to cost of service than any zone system yet proposed.

The paper with a mail circulation of 800,000 copies can not complain that 6 cents is more than it costs, because on their whole shipment they only will pay an average of 3¾ cents, which does not exceed the actual cost of the service.

It is the purpose of this plan to reduce the loss on this class of mail to a minimum, or make it self-sustaining, and to place the increased rates on the shoulders that can bear them. The paper or magazine with less than 20,000 circulation can not command very remunerative advertising rates, and really earns no excessive profit. When you get up to 100,000 circulation we find prosperity more general. Where circulation reaches the hundreds of thousands or million mark, the business is very profitable. The usual advertising rates are one-half cent per agate line per thousand circulation, which, for a paper like the Saturday Evening Post, with a circulation of over a million, runs up over $6,000 per page.

There can be no argument in favor of the Government carrying such a paper at a loss. It is a profitable institution, and can afford to pay its way. The objection to the rates adopted the other day came mostly from the West and central portions of the country, because the people there would have to pay a higher subscription price under the zone plan. Under my plan the postage remains the same to every part of the country.

The total revenue that will be raised under the plan will be about $36,000,000, or more than the estimated increase under the proposed zone rates.

Catalogues are now carried in the first and second zones, 150 miles, for 5 cents first pound and 1 cent per pound for each additional pound. For a 5-pound catalogue this is 1.8 cents per pound. If they are sent in a 20-pound package to one address, it will be only 24 cents, or 1½ cents per pound. It is less than the rates provided for in the House bill. After March 1 next these will be 1½ cents first zone, 2 cents second zone, and so forth. Why should we carry catalogues for a less rate than newspapers? The one is wholly devoted to advertising the merchant's goods who lives at a distance, the other advertises the home merchant's goods.

Is there any reason why there should be a discrimination against the newspaper and in favor of the mail-order catalogue? Even supposing it to be the policy of this Government to favor the mail-order trust, yet should not a periodical which contains news and intelligence, in addition to advertising matter, be at least given the same rates as the purely advertising catalogue?

My bill proposes to put catalogues back into third-class mail, where they belong and where they pay 1 cent for every 2

ounces, or a rate of 8 cents per pound. This will bring a gross additional postal revenue of at least $12,000,000 and a net profit of about $5,000,000, making a total increased revenue of $41,000,000, or nearly sufficient to pay the cost of the service.

The rates proposed are tentative only, but the principle upon which this sliding scale of rates is based is fair.

Table showing rates per pound of postage proposed on mail circulations indicated.

	Cents.
Up to 20,000	1½
20,000 to 100,000	2
100,000 to 200,000	2½
200,000 to 300,000	3
300,000 to 400,000	3½
400,000 to 500,000	4
500,000 to 600,000	4½
600,000 to 700,000	5
700,000 to 800,000	5½
800,000 and all over	6

Statement of circulation and postage with respect to the following publications.

Name of publication.	Frequency of issue.	Total circulation.	Circulation by mail.	Postage paid during fiscal year 1916.
Christian Herald	Weekly	302,889	302,000	$40,175.02
Collier's Weekly	do	842,126	729,032	189,548.40
Literary Digest	do	448,816	278,891	92,731.27
Saturday Evening Post	do	1,825,205	747,228	383,356.70
Country Gentleman	do	319,085	181,338	50,095.00
Youth's Companion	do	401,087	401,087	40,396.63
Ladies' Home Journal	Monthly	1,543,048	976,478	159,448.95
American Magazine	do	520,896	363,497	36,785.96
The Delineator	do	817,480	444,833	52,534.85
Everybody's	do	505,744	358,314	34,938.56
Farm Journal	do	1,038,602	1,000,050	38,601.88
Good Housekeeping	do	389,773	264,744	37,328.99
McClure's	do	559,513	304,123	25,851.01
Metropolitan	do	416,553	347,549	28,777.07
Modern Priscilla	do	599,929	388,393	23,303.63
Mother's Magazine	do	572,044	468,864	31,085.71
American Review of Reviews	do	223,162	209,617	22,722.46
Scribner's	do	109,000	67,572	8,426.30
Woman's Home Companion	do	1,023,939	760,422	100,147.58
World's Work	do	125,039	105,688	12,481.53
Iron Age	Weekly	11,924	10,194	11,214.02
Engineering Record	do	17,863	15,288	13,759.38
Total				1,443,020.60

Speech of Representative James L. Slayden at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 28, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech by Representative JAMES L. SLAYDEN at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa., April 20, 1917.

The speech is as follows:

DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COURTS PREREQUISITES TO A DURABLE PEACE.

Four, five, or possibly six years ago I read a great speech by the member of the House of Commons for the division of Carnarvon, Wales. It was an eloquent plea for arbitration and the settlement of international disputes by the method of courts, and a specially strong and convincing argument for an agreed reduction of national armaments. That great democrat and advocate of peace is now the premier of the British Empire. His wonderful speech in London on the 12th shows that he holds the same views still. I shall refer to them later.

I am not one of that class of pacifists which believes it possible entirely to prevent war, at least not just yet, and refuses to discuss it except from the point of view of its absolute and immediate ending. But I do believe that it is possible, by arrangements between governments that now thoroughly appreciate the cost of wars and are beginning to understand their stupidity and futility, to make them comparatively harmless.

PULL THE FANGS.

Out in the Southwest I once knew a man who called himself a snake merchant. His chief article of trade was that dangerous and repulsive reptile, the rattlesnake. He would handle his merchandise in a way that made the onlooker shiver; but he knew what they did not—that he had made the snakes harmless by pulling their fangs. Now, that is precisely what I would like to do to aggressive and belligerent governments that covet the lands and sovereignties of other nations. I would pull their fangs by taking away from them nearly all the military forces that foolish and confiding people have put at the command of kings. Ambitious monarchs can be made comparatively harmless by reducing the size of armies so much that they will cease to be anything more than a police force. Then they will serve a useful purpose at home and cease to be a menace abroad.

One soldier to each 1,000 people in any country is enough to keep internal peace in a just government, and if governments are not just the sooner they are overturned the better. But if one soldier to each 1,000 is not enough, two surely will be, and international agreement should prevent any government from going beyond that.

HOW IT WOULD HAVE FARED WITH BELGIUM.

Suppose the federated German Empire had only controlled an army of 75,000 men in 1914, or, taking the larger figure I have suggested, 150,000; would there have been an invasion of Belgium, whose chief offense was that she lay in the highway between Berlin and Paris? Would Liege, Louvain, Dinant, Ypres, and Rheims now be in ruins and their priceless treasures of books, pictures, and architecture forever lost to the world? Armies of the size I suggest could not have done all that mischief, yet they would be large enough to keep the criminal classes under control, while utterly unable to thwart democracy's right to break the shackles of oppression, which is always imposed from above by the aid of the autocrat's military arm.

Thomas Jefferson, who lived in a less democratic era than ours, believed, and declared his belief, that revolutions were necessary once in a generation if the people were not to lose their blood-bought liberties. We may not think them necessary as often as Jefferson suggested, but we will all agree, I assume, that the opportunity to assert the right to liberty and independence should not be denied by a huge army at the command of an autocrat. The way to peace, to a just and durable peace is through democracy, and it is necessary to peace and democracy that the preponderance of power should never be taken from the people and given to the soldier. My faith in the people and in their supremacy in the domain of government has been greatly strengthened by recent events in Russia.

GRATITUDE TO NICHOLAS, THE CZAR.

Russia and the world may well spare Nicholas Romanoff from the field of political activity, but justice to his memory compels the admission that during his reign he did one thing for which he is entitled to the gratitude of the whole world, which we now know may be drawn into disaster by the machinations of a few men.

Whether the inspiration of an aroused conscience or the difficulty of financing military projects caused it we may never know, but the great epochal fact remains that governments began the serious consideration of reducing armaments on his motion. It is one of three or four good and statesmanlike deeds of an otherwise commonplace and inglorious reign. The historian of the future may in charity emphasize this great reform that Nicholas proposed and give only passing attention to pogroms, Siberian exiles, and other things that damn the political administration of Russia. If I may be permitted indulgence in slang I will say that when Nicholas, the last of the autocrats of the house of Romanoff, called the first Hague conference to disarm the nations in the interest of peace he "started something."

WILL GOVERNMENTS CONSENT?

Can we ever get the consent of governments to a general disarmament? I believe so; and I furthermore believe that never in the history of the world has there been such an opportunity for this greatest of all reforms as we will see at the close of the war in Europe.

The cost of modern war will plead for it and will finally compel it. Great Britain is now spending $10,000,000 more each day in the prosecution of war than the Army of the United States cost in any one of the 24 years from 1875 down to and including 1899.

The belligerent powers of Europe are spending more money each day than the average annual cost of the whole Government of the United States between 1800 and 1861.

In 1865 the total cost of our Government, outside the Post Office Department, was $1,295,099,290, and the cost per capita in that most expensive year of the Civil War was $37.27.

Last year, when we were at peace with everybody but Pancho Villa, and, perhaps, on occasions, with Carranza, our taxes per capita were nearly $15.

Contrast that with the $4.43 per head paid during Cleveland's administration for all expenses outside the Post Office Department and contrast it with the $85 per head you will have to pay for the next year and charge the increased cost to war and excessive preparation for war.

We in America may stand such burdens a few years more, but Europe can not. All these vast sums, both in Europe and America, must come out of the sweat and toil of the man who works. But even that long-suffering class is beginning to think and assert its rights; even the patient, long-suffering mujik has revolted at last.

A little while ago an officer of the United States Navy of high rank, a frank and capable man, who was testifying before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, said that if the policy of competition in armaments continued it could only have one of two endings—bankruptcy or war.

Mr. HENSLEY, of Missouri, on another occasion asked Capt. McKean, of the Navy, what would be the consequence if two individuals "became apprehensive of each other and began to arm themselves," to which the naval officer replied that it would lead "to the hospital or the cemetery."

Mr. HENSLEY then asked him if the same thing would not happen to nations under like circumstances. Capt. McKean replied that society would compel disarmament in the case of individuals and that the society of nations might do the same thing as to particular nations under such circumstances.

Another naval officer of high rank said that it was the policy of our Government to be either the first or second naval power in the world. I think he really meant that that was the policy our naval officers wanted. When reminded of the fact that other nations might object to our being the first or second naval power of the world his reply was, "We have the power and the money to protect ourselves, and I think we could do it."

What, let me ask you, will become of the rights of small nations under such a policy? Is it not a return to the rule of the tooth and claw, and can there be any just peace under such conditions, any hope for the small country, however just and peaceful, which has not the money and power?

REPUDIATION A POSSIBILITY.

Already there is talk of repudiation in Europe, but not, of course, by officials of the contending powers, for they are still trying to borrow, but by students of the world-wide madness, who realize that there is a limit to the burdens that men can bear. That outcome would be hard on those who have put their earnings into the notes of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, but in the long run it might not be bad for the mass of men. If excessive armaments and war credits should both be abolished it will lead to a long period of peace. Some people believe that it is this threat of repudiation hanging over them that has caused the owners of such securities to demand that the taxpayers of the United States shall underwrite the war loans of belligerent Europe.

BIG ARMIES DO NOT INSURE PEACE.

The theory that huge military preparation assures peace exploded in 1914. At that time Russia, Germany, and Austria had the greatest armies in the world, and they were the first countries to enter the war. I don't understand, in view of what has happened, how any man can keep a straight face and make that argument. Nations are like the men who compose them. Given a hostile feeling and weapons and they will use the weapons. It is perfectly clear that if we are to have a lasting and just peace after the great war the insane policy of competitive arming must be abandoned. I believe that must have been the President's thought when he used the phrase "peace without victory" in his speech to the Senate in January. The President knows, as every thoughtful person must know, that if either side in the European war should win an overwhelming military victory its faith in the efficacy of arms in the settlement of international disputes will be renewed and strengthened, and that it would not agree to the policy of reduced armaments. If neither side should have such a victory, the folly and futility of war will be plain to the dullest mind. Its very horrors and inconclusiveness would illuminate the argument and hasten the substitution of the court and board of arbitration for the sword.

COURTS AND ARBITRATION WILL FOLLOW.

I am convinced that if we can persuade, or compel, Governments to reduce their military and naval establishments every other step in the plan for a just and lasting peace will follow easily and naturally. Heads of Governments who are not inclined to quiet reasoning when they command great fleets and armies would then take a different view. The setting for war is complete when two heads of quarrelsome governments are heavily armed, but if either realizes that while his army is the best of its size in the world it is still not large enough to overrun and destroy a neighbor, he will incline to talk it over and settle differences some other way.

Abolish overgrown armies and navies and there will at once be an opening for the Council of Conciliation, the Court for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and the Board of Arbitration. If we can take away from the heads of governments, from the heads of all governments, the power to make war, or to make conditions that compel war, and take it so far away that they will forget that they ever had any connection with such things, the people will do the rest. The people, I believe, may be relied on not to condemn themselves to destruction. They will not put themselves into the hell of Verdun or Gallipoli.

From this you may surmise that I am pleading for democracy, and so I am, for I believe that democracy spells peace.

If the Republic of Russia really has been set up on a firm foundation, if the people of that country are to have a real voice in disposing of their own lives and fortunes, the "Bear that walks like a man" will cease to be a menace to Europe.

Already the republicans of Russia have spoken a sympathetic word to the Poles in whom a century of oppression has not stifled the hope of independence. For the first time since the Grand Duchy of Finland fell victim to the rapacity of the Romanoffs, there is a sympathetic feeling in Helsingfors for what is being done in Petrograd.

I do not sympathize with the suggestion that the Russians should not try for a republic, that they are not yet ripe for such complete freedom. It may be that all the people in the world are not yet sufficiently advanced for self-government, but all are advanced beyond the need of despotism; all are entitled to have a try at free, representative government. It is better to have democracy with occasional disorder than autocracy with unremitting oppression.

EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF WAR.

The wars that are begotten by huge military preparations put all sorts of financial and social burdens on the people. Modern wars, these huge scientific, mechanical wars, mean bankruptcy to nations that engage in them. They postpone indefinitely projects for the social betterment of the people. They mean inferior houses for the family, less vigorous children, thus passing on their miseries to the innocent unborn, inferior schools, undernourishing for women and children and the physically less fit men who have not been sent to the trenches. They mean increasing contributions from the earnings of labor to meet interest charges and to prepare for other wars that ambitious monarchs look forward to. They engender hatred between peoples that holds back civilization and prepares for other calamities, for be it remembered that "wars still other wars do breed." They break friendly relations between neighbors in a country like ours, where the citizens are contributions from all branches of the human family.

If we would not disturb the peace of the world with internal dissension, we must be tolerant and patient. Good American citizens who were "Saxon and Norman and Dane," Teuton, Celt, or Frank, each with a lingering interest in and affection for the country of his origin live side by side in our Republic. Their diverse origin makes it more difficult to keep the peace than among an absolutely homogeneous people. The situation calls for a wide tolerance for great wisdom and patience.

Suspicion of the loyalty of a citizen just because he was born in Germany, or is the son of a man who was born in Germany, is unworthy the great Republic and grossly unjust in nearly every case. By unjust suspicions and persecution men of spirit who are loyal may be made rebellious in time. All citizens have a right to be judged by their previous conduct and character. Suspicion, sensationalism, and intolerance are the worst features of the war psychology and we have it now in an exaggerated form.

In the American Revolution of 1776 there were many earnest supporters of the Colonies who were born in Great Britain. Many sons of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen whose relatives in the old country wore the uniform of King George followed Washington from the beginning in Massachusetts to the ending at Yorktown. We have monuments to the memory of von Steuben, Kosciusko, and Lafayette, all in one small square in Washington. I do not doubt for a moment that in the war with Germany many German-born men and their sons will loyally and effectively support the American Republic, and they ought not to be insulted by unjust suspicion or worried by the

unthinking who show their patriotism in violence. Let us try to protect them from a suspicion that is so frequently insulting, and from the nagging and annoyance that espionage bills and such un-American legislation will make possible.

We must live with these people after the war and it will contribute to the cause of internal and external peace if we will remember their embarrassing situation and treat them as Americans should be treated.

May I in closing quote two or three sentences from the great speech made in London a few days ago by the great little Welshman, now the real head of the British Government? Take these words of David Lloyd-George home with you:

I am the last man in the world to say that the succor which is given from America is not in itself something to rejoice at greatly. But I also say that I can see more in the knowledge that America is going to win a right to sit at a conference table when the terms of peace are discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations and the course of human life for God knows how many ages. It would have been a tragedy, a tragedy for mankind, if America had not been heard there and with all her influence and her power.

I can see peace, not a peace to be a beginning of war, not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed, but a real peace. Europe has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Now it is the other way about, and democracy means peace.

Many strange things have happened in this war—aye, and stranger things will come and are coming rapidly. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy; she now is one of the most advanced democracies in the world.

To-day we are waging the most devastating war the world has ever seen. To-morrow, to-morrow, not perhaps distant to-morrows, war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1917.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, the bill before the House, known as the revenue bill, proposes to raise the sum of $1,800,000,000 by direct taxation. It is the purpose of a law already passed to raise and expend $2,000,000,000 additional through a bond issue. The amount to be raised through taxation for carrying on the war is therefore about equal to the amount to be raised through the sale of bonds. In other words, if we pass this bill we, ourselves, pay cash for one half the expense of the war and borrow the other half, which latter half will be paid by posterity. It seems to me that this imposes too great a burden on those living to-day.

The war in which we are engaged is more in the interest of future generations than in the interest of those now living. President Wilson laid down the doctrine that we were fighting for the right of the people of all nations to control their own Governments and to make the world "safe for democracy" for all time, which obviously relates to the future more than to the present. There is no way to make any scientific or sure statement on the portion that should be paid by those living to-day and the portion to be borne by future generations, but the action of other nations may be some guide.

England, a nation of financiers, has raised through taxation only 25 per cent of her war expenditures; France, that has fully preserved her national credit, has raised by taxation only 22 per cent of her war expenditures; and Germany only 16 per cent of her war expenditures, as against our proposal to raise 50 per cent of our war expenditures through taxation.

I have no fixed percentage in my mind as the proper proportion. I should prefer to be governed by the principle that no industry should be destroyed by this taxation bill, that the production of articles necessary for the allies should not be curtailed by the effect of the bill, and that the purchasing power of the public for bonds should not be so impaired that we could not secure through the sale of bonds the money necessary for the allies and for ourselves. I should think, also, that we should be governed by the attitude that this war is a war for all mankind, for the peace of the world now and hereafter, and therefore that we should not be too sensitive as to the attitude of future generations as to the bonds we propose to issue. Our boys will shed their blood and lose their lives now. This will be compensation to some extent to the descendants of those living in the future for any possible error of judgment by the present generation.

Now, I favor the income tax and the excess profits provisions, though I would vote for a graduated excess profits tax similar to the provisions of the income tax. I shall vote against any retroactive taxation features. I shall vote for an amendment providing for the rates in second-class matter to be based on the advertising as opposed to the educational matter they contain. I shall vote against the advertising feature in the bill. It is discriminatory. I shall vote to modify the soft-drink item as confiscatory to small producers. I shall vote to readjust the tariff provisions and for a committee to report on a revision of the entire subject by December next. The provisions in the bill are unscientific. Suddenly to impose a 10 per cent horizontal duty on articles now on the free list, many of which are noncompetitive and which enter largely into manufactures for export, to say nothing of its effect on foodstuffs, would be revolutionary in, and detrimental to business, probably impairing and disarranging contracts already made.

I think it would be better policy if we raise not more than $1,250,000,000 through taxation, which is about 33⅓ per cent of the estimated expenditures for the first year of the war, which is 7 per cent in excess of England's rate. Apparently this amount can be raised without seriously disturbing business in this country, and in my judgment, as shown by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], this is more than is needed at this time by the Government from the source of taxation.

Revenue to Defray War Expenses.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 23, 1917.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, to raise revenue in an equitable manner to maintain Government in time of peace is a gigantic task rarely ever accomplished by legislative bodies. To equitably distribute the burden of taxation to defray the expenses of this war upon a 50 per cent basis is almost a superhuman task. If we knew that this would be the only revenue measure to defray war expenses the solution would be easier, but as men of common sense we must anticipate that this measure is but one of several to follow. We would like to believe that it would be the only one, but we are face to face with cold facts and not theories.

I feel that incomes and excess profits should bear their share of this taxation, and the tax should be sufficiently large to preclude the making of excessive profits out of this war. I would not go beyond the point where industries would become unable to increase the wages of their employees and keep up the efficiency of their plants. To go beyond that place would work a great hardship upon the men who labor in the industries of the country. During the war the prices of necessities will be high and a corresponding increase in wages should follow.

The inheritance tax in times of war should be greatly increased, and when we shall return to pursuits of peace the inheritance tax should remain upon the statute books of the Nation and provide for a rate of 98 per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $25,000,000. The amount of taxation received would be a small part of the benefit derived from such legislation. The real benefit would be the prevention of multimillionaires from entailing their great fortunes upon their descendants. The accumulation of enormous wealth in the hands of a few, no matter how legitimate the accumulation may be, is a great detriment to the welfare of a people who have a democratic form of government. Peoples who have such form of government must necessarily act through representatives in parliaments or congresses. If enormous wealth should accumulate in the hands of a few selfish persons, then these persons could, if they desired, use the influence and power incident to their fortunes in securing legislation in their favor, while the less fortunate, though more numerous, would often find themselves discriminated against. Every nation owes itself the duty to preserve its own life.

The money to defray the necessary expenses of this war should be raised as fast as the same shall be needed, but excessive sums over present needs should not be raised and collected to lay idle until the day they can be spent. Such a practice will encourage extravagance. While every department charged with

the duty to expend the taxes raised by this bill should exert every energy to push the war to a successful termination, yet there ought not to be such haste as to cause waste. We are urging the conservation of food and the raw products of field and mine, to the end that the evil day will not come when if our children shall ask for bread we shall be compelled to give them a stone. It is not amiss to urge that the departments that are to spend this money should see to it that this tax money shall not be wasted, and that the United States Government should receive a dollar in value for every dollar expended.

I hope that not a dollar of this tax money shall ever reach the pocket of any man or woman disloyal to the flag of this country.

I hope that not a dollar of the revenue raised by this bill shall be paid to any employee of this Government who sought his position or holds the same now for the purpose of evading service under the draft bill. Any able-bodied man within the draft age in the employ of the United States Government who would seek to evade service for his country because of his employment is not worthy of employment by this Government, and the sooner such kind, if there be such, are driven out of the employment of the Government the better it will be for the service.

There are several provisions in the bill that I am not wholly in accord with, but we are confronted with the question of how to raise the amount of money requested to carry on the war. For myself, I would not increase the first-class postage rate. On second-class mail I would increase the rate on the basis of the amount of advertising compared to the amount of news matter carried. Purely advertising schemes should pay the full cost of transportation and distribution. In other words, the person who sends purely advertising matter through the mail should pay the full cost, just as the billposter has to pay full cost to erect his boards and procure his license.

Only a last resort to raise the revenue required should warrant the tax upon freight, express, light, heat, and telephone bills. The emergency alone can justify the tariff increase.

Protest has come from every industry mentioned in the bill, and if one were to judge the patriotism of the American people by the number of protests entered against the many provisions of this bill he would reach the conclusion that it was at a low ebb; however, in my opinion the protests are not evidence of a lack of patriotism, but have their origin in the fear or belief that the particular business is being taxed inequitably and that other business is not paying its just share, and for the further reason that many of the people do not understand the pressing needs of the Government nor the necessity to stop thinking of self and give their country and its destiny some serious consideration.

It is urged that the automobile is a necessity and for that reason the industry should not bear the heavy burden placed upon luxuries. It is true that the automobile has come to be necessary in many instances, but it is still a semiluxury, and those who use them and those who manufacture them are to pay a reasonable tax. If the ownership of the automobile was confined to those who are really able to purchase them, there would be more debts paid to local creditors and less necessities of life purchased upon time.

It is suggested by some who favor national prohibition that no war tax should be levied upon liquor in this measure on the ground that it is inconsistent with their policy. This is a revenue measure and taxes everything that could be discovered by an astute committee. I am not in favor of letting the chance pass to double the tax on liquor, on the theory that I may have an opportunity to vote it out at an early date. I am unwilling to tax legitimate industries and omit the tax on liquor on account of some sentimental reason.

The exemptions under the income-tax chapter should have been scaled according to the number of dependents cared for by a person liable to taxation. In other words, the married man who has five children to support and educate should have a greater exemption than the married man who has only to provide for his wife. The single person who has no one dependent upon him should not have the same exemption that the single man who has a mother or sisters to support.

The bill is not perfect, but there never can be a perfect measure written by men. The press of the country is not justified in its assault upon the Ways and Means Committee concerning this revenue bill. One day it lashes Congress on account of alleged delay, and when the committee in order to expedite business did not sit for six months to hear every man who had an idea as to how it ought to be drawn, the next day we are reminded that the Ways and Means Committee and the House of Representatives hastened to report and press the bill in such a haste that it will necessitate the Senate to rewrite the bill.

It is possible that the disclosure upon the floor of the House by members of the committee and other Members of the House that the United States Government is losing over $80,000,000 annually on second-class rates, while certain large and influential papers and periodicals were receiving enormous incomes from their advertising space, had something to do with these ridiculous inconsistencies.

No Member who listened to the able speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] upon the subject of second-class mail rates can bring himself to believe that present rates and abuses should continue. We should take immediate steps to separate the wheat from the chaff.

One can not at this time prophesy in what form the bill will finally become a law, and I hope that upon its final passage that it will require only sufficient tax to meet the necessary expenditures for the present, to the end that the income, excess profits and inheritance tax, together with the tax laid upon luxuries and semiluxuries, shall be sufficient without taxing directly any of the necessities of life.

Every member of the Ways and Means Committee has impressed the House with his sincerity in presenting the measure, and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] has demonstrated beyond peradventure his wonderful leadership in piloting the bill thus far, with the assistance of the able men of the committee on both sides of the House.

No citizen can feel that he has been slighted by being overlooked by this bill. It reaches every industry and business in the land. It is a monument to the sagacity and ability of the committee in this particular.

Although containing provisions that I am opposed to, yet I shall vote for the measure, because I can not conscientiously refuse to support a measure to raise revenue to carry on the war for the reason alone that all of the provisions do not meet my personal approval. I hope that the American people will accept the bill with the same patriotic feeling that actuates the Congress in its passage.

Grain Used in Manufacture of Beer, etc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 28, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, in answer to some of the remarks made concerning the necessity of conserving the grain now used in the manufacture of beer, and so forth, I beg to call the attention of the Members of the House to the following letter:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *May 24, 1917.*

Hon. LEONIDAS C. DYER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The brewing industry of the United States is threatened with destruction through the efforts of fanatics and theorists to force your honorable body to pass a nation-wide prohibition bill in order (as they claim) to conserve for food the grain used in the manufacture of alcoholic stimulants.

Wildly exaggerated figures as to the amount of grain to be saved by this proposed measure have been put out for the consumption of the unthinking public by prohibition leaders.

The claim was recently made in the daily press that the saving of grain would amount to 600,000,000 bushels per annum. This is about as close as the average prohibitionist comes to the truth when dealing with this subject, the solution of which has baffled mankind since the beginning of the race, but which these fanatics pretend to believe they can solve overnight.

Permit me to say that this movement being backed by the same old Anti-Saloon League lobby in Washington as has for years tried by coercion and intimidation to force Congress to wipe out our industry, and no more heartless, un-Christian, and unscrupulous lobby ever infested the halls of Congress.

We know that their statement that they desire prohibition only during the war for the grain it will save to be absolutely false, and if they are strong enough to inflict this crime on the people we will never be allowed to go back into business.

It has been proven from the figures of the Internal-Revenue Department at Washington, that during the year 1916 the brewers of the country used 52,439,973 bushels of barley, 15,711,515 bushels of corn products, 2,354,000 bushels of rice, or a total of 70,505,488 bushels of cereals.

They returned in spent grains to the farmer for cattle feed 24,676,920 bushels, making the net amount used, 45,828,568 bushels.

Very little barley is used for human food, consequently the closing down of our plants would save practically nothing in the way of food products.

The barley crop has already been sown, so that the acreage will not be available this year for the growing of food crops.

Under the proposed law it will still be permissible to ship barley to England, where it is only used for making beer. Why discriminate against us in favor of the foreign brewer?

The brewers in 1916 paid revenue to the amount of $87,950,000, which is equal to about $1.90 per bushel for the grain used.

The revenue collected by the Federal Government alone on alcoholic stimulants for the year 1916 amounted to approximately $250,000,000. If the increase proposed by the Ways and Means Committee of the House is made effective, this amount will be increased to from $400,000,000 to $450,000,000.

National prohibition will wipe out at least 75 per cent of approximately $1,300,000,000 invested in the liquor industry.

The workers employed in the industry will lose approximately $450,000,000 in wages a year.

The Cummins amendment to the espionage bill as presented to the Senate on May 12 would permit the manufacture of wine, which Senator PHELAN says, according to press reports, is not intoxicating. The lightest wines contain double the amount of alcohol as the average beer. Consequently under the proposed law the rich would still get their wine, while the poor man would be deprived of his beer.

The experience of every Government in Europe proves the necessity of beer or other alcoholic stimulants for our Army and Navy, and it remains to be seen whether our men can get along without them.

Scarcity and short crops are not altogether responsible for high prices. Stop speculation in food products and there will be plenty for all and at reasonable prices.

Many millions are invested in what is known as the "English Brewing Syndicates," located in many of our big cities. These Englishmen invested their millions relying on the justice of our Government to protect them in their property rights.

There has been no thought in their country of confiscation of any branch of the liquor traffic without compensation. Should our Government be any less moral than the English Government?

We rail against the Prussian autocracy, but the property rights of the poorest peasant of Prussia are sacred against the encroachment of even the Kaiser himself; and the same is true as regards every civilized country on the globe but our own.

Property values in each of the large cities will depreciate to the extent of many millions.

In St. Louis alone over 10,000 people are employed in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages; 5,000 more are engaged in the retailing of same.

The majority of these men are married and have families to support, and have worked at their calling too long and are too old to do other work which would yield them a wage sufficient to support themselves and families.

There are about 3,000 properties in St. Louis alone leased for saloons and restaurants, which would be closed in the event of prohibition.

These stupendous losses would absolutely demoralize financial conditions in the larger cities and upset the fiscal system of many of the State governments and make it necessary to revise their tax system from top to bottom.

Missouri, in spite of the immense revenue collected from the liquor industry, is practically bankrupt. What will she do if she loses these revenues? Would you expect her to help the Federal Government under such conditions?

The immense quantities of alcoholic stimulants consumed by the people of the United States prove absolutely that the vast majority of our fellow citizens are not in favor of prohibition, and if you will take the trouble to add up the total majority for prohibition in the States which have voted dry you will find these majorities to be very small indeed.

Since starting this letter this evening's Post-Dispatch has come to hand, and I attach hereto a clipping from same, giving the views of Kennedy Jones, director of food economy of England. They are evidently approaching the question from a sane and thoughtful standpoint, and will refuse to be stampeded into denying their working people their beer at the behest of the fanatics of their country.

The most powerful man in Britain—Lloyd-George, who is a prohibitionist—has been unable to induce the British people to surrender their personal liberty, which they prize more highly than life itself, for the doubtful benefits of prohibition; and if the masses of our country are wise they will follow their example, provided they are allowed a voice in the matter.

I trust that, in the spirit of justice and fair play and for the sake of the thousands of your fellow citizens in Missouri interested in the liquor traffic, you will give this question, which is of national importance, the consideration it deserves and vote against any measure seeking to deprive the people of their personal liberty and thousands of your fellow citizens their property rights.

Yours, very truly,

H. R. WILLIAMS,
Manager the Independent Breweries Co.

The War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1917.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, now that the war-revenue bill has passed the House, and that I have voted for it and, in the main, supported it as to amendments, I feel free to offer a few observations as to the policy involved, which might have been regarded as dilatory or obstructive when the bill was under consideration.

The question may be asked, Why were these suggestions not made when the bill was in the House? My answer is that what I am about to say is intended for consideration when providing war revenues at future sessions rather than this one. I mean that the proportion of cash required to be raised by the pending revenue bill as passed by the House to the amount of bonds issued shall not be taken as a binding criterion for the amount of cash in proportion to bonds provided for at the next or at other future sessions. As it is uncertain how long the war will last, what I propose is essentially tentative.

I am in favor of the pay-as-you-go policy as far as it can be made to prove truly economic and wise, but we must not forget that there are limits to which we can safely go in taxing productive industries. To go beyond the proper limit would be to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. It seems plain to me that our financiering should be so conducted as to permit every industry to continue to thrive and at the same time not to overburden any individual or business concern when relief may be afforded by the sale of bonds. Neither should we overload ourselves at the start, for the reason that we do not know how long the war will last or can not now estimate the limit of expenditure that will be required. We must remember, too, that instead of lending to us, as might be the case in normal times, the allied nations are borrowing from us. The United States has no nation from which to borrow; it must borrow from its own citizens.

Now, it is plain that with the vast accumulation of wealth of recent years we can pay more cash right at the start of the war, after having enjoyed such a long period of peace and plenty, than will be the case a year hence, when money has been drained from the country and when, by reason of the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of our best manhood to engage in the world conflict, our accumulations will have decreased. And this untoward tendency must become essentially accelerated as the war shall continue and the number of men to help with production shall decrease.

I regard it as too Spartanlike for this generation to continue to carry half the expense of the war in cash as the war proceeds. It is illogical that prosperity and adversity can lock arms so successfully as mutually to thrive.

It has been suggested that it is unfair and inequitable to place the burden of the war on the next generation, but why limit the burden merely to the present and to the next generation? The principles for which we are fighting are to be enduring and the victory to be achieved must be lasting. Why is it not equitable to distribute the burden over several generations? Dependent on the duration of the war and the magnitude of the expenditures, from 20 to 50 years would not be an unreasonable period over which to extend the time of payment.

It should not be lost sight of that we are not only carrying our own expenses but we are financing several allied nations. As I have pointed out, all our borrowing must be from our own citizens. Not only that but we are to prevent famine by succoring the starving, and thus we double and quadruple the need of production at a time when all labor resources will be greatly diminished.

On its face it is absurd as a physical and an economic proposition that when we are in the throes of war we should try to raise three or four times as much money as we raise annually in time of peace. It is like saying that a man with his hands tied shall reap extraordinary harvests from half-tilled fields. When the Nation is placed at the greatest disadvantage it is called on to yield more than any other nation has ever been asked to contribute. No other nation in the world has ever undertaken such a Herculean task; no other country has ever been so altruistic.

We are in the war and victory must be achieved, and to this end we must not overburden ourselves at the beginning of the struggle. We must conserve our strength for the greater possible tests of the future, for we do not know what may be exacted of us. Why not provide revenues from the same point of view that would guide the individual in providing for himself? For instance, the farm-loan act provides for loans for the maximum time of 40 years, which renders it practicable to hold and secure a home in cases where the pay-as-you-go plan, or short-period loans, would make this desirable end prohibitive.

So, Mr. Speaker, if the war indebtedness be made to extend over a long period the prodigious burden will be lightened so much that citizens need hardly be conscious of the weight they carry, and, in fact, they would forget it except when reminded by the redemption of war bonds from time to time. The facility with which indebtedness extended over a long period of years could be met would be aided by the natural increase of population and wealth makers, their accumulations thus diminishing the rate to be paid by each individual.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in a high rate of taxes on surplus wealth and on war profits, thus preventing persons of small means from being deprived from the necessaries and the com-

forts of life. If the producers and wage earners are overloaded now there may be serious business depression, which, with increased cost of living and the many depressing circumstances accompanying a state of war, will tend toward discouragement in the very hour when the valiant spirit of America has dared to accept the great task which may exact its most supreme power to endure and to prevail.

How Every Man May Serve.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURTON L. FRENCH,
OF IDAHO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, May 29, 1917.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the Lewiston (Idaho) Commercial Club, entitled "How Every Man May Serve."

HOW EVERY MAN MAY SERVE.

The existence of the United States is at stake. Responsibility for the conduct of the war rests mainly on the President. In war the President is not only the Chief Executive; he is, under the Constitution, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. To advise him in war he has a General Staff, composed of the ablest and most experienced military and naval experts, organized like the general staffs of all the warring nations. The President and the General Staff must not only organize and direct the energies of the people in war, but in this war they must coordinate our efforts with those of our allies in all the novel, complex, and intricate business of a struggle that involves the whole world. The marvelous military efficiency of our chief adversary, Germany, is due to the rigid direction of the affairs of the nation in war by the Emperor and the general staff, and the whole-hearted acceptance of that direction by the German people.

Men who desire to serve our country must adjust their minds to a situation that is new and strange to us all. The ways and habits of democracy must be abandoned for a time in order that democracy may not perish. Our own history, the experience of other nations, and our native good sense and patriotism alike dictate that the President and the staff be given immediately powers adequate to their responsibilities. For a time our accustomed rights and privileges as citizens and freemen must be subordinated to the duties and obligations of citizenship. War is a servitude that of our free will we accept temporarily to escape a more lasting and terrible slavery.

We hold it to be the first duty of every citizen at this time to support promptly and uncomplainingly such measures as the President and the staff advise are necessary to the safety of the country and the effective conduct of the war; to forego criticism and contention; to notice blunders and mistakes only for the purpose of repairing or correcting them; to stand ready to serve, without reservation or condition, where the Government may direct and not where the citizen himself would choose; to seek earnestly to understand the supreme necessity of organization; to adapt himself to the general plan; and to find his place and fit himself into the general organization, waiving his personal rights and private opinions for the public good.

During this initial period, while the Nation is striving for comprehension of the task before it and for organization and unity, each man may test his loyalty and measure his patriotism by his willingness to support such measures as the President recommends, whole-heartedly to obey the Government, to serve where he is directed, and to refrain from every comment, criticism, or suggestion which is not definitely and beyond question helpful and constructive.

This is a war of whole nations. By our entrance into it we have become a nation of soldiers. The prime virtues of the citizen now are the virtues of soldiers, promptness, obedience, fortitude, and unfaltering loyalty. The first need of the Nation is organization and the first essential in preparation is preparedness of the spirit. By accepting these plain and simple principles and by helping his neighbors to accept and understand them every man may render to his country the service that is immediately necessary.

LEWISTON COMMERCIAL CLUB.

LEWISTON, IDAHO, *May 22, 1917.*

Resolutions Adopted By the Board of County Commissioners of Lincoln County, Idaho.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURTON L. FRENCH,
OF IDAHO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, May 29, 1917.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for printing in the RECORD a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting held on the 21st day of May, 1917, at Shoshone, Idaho, by the Board of County Commissioners of Lincoln County, Idaho, and the war production committee of said county. The resolutions are not extensive but indicate a serious problem confronting the farmers of the Northwest.

The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas a joint meeting was held on the 21st day of May, 1917, at Shoshone, Idaho, by and between the board of county commissioners of Lincoln County, Idaho, and the war production committee of said county, and that said meeting was called for the purpose of devising ways and means for procuring more farm laborers to assist in the irrigation, cultivation, and harvesting of the farm crops of said Lincoln County; and

Whereas after hearing reports from numerous well-posted farmers from said county and after a full and complete discussion of the subject it was the sense of said meeting that a very great and grave danger is now threatening not only the crops of Lincoln County but also the crops all over southern Idaho by reason of the fact that there are not sufficient farm laborers available for the proper handling of the crops in question; that a large number of the farmers of this county are at the present time suffering for a lack of help, and that as soon as irrigation season gets under way it will be utterly impossible for many of the crops to be saved without additional help, that owing to the scarcity of farm laborers their wages have been rapidly increasing, and many of the farm laborers are taking advantage of the absolute necessity of the farmers to secure exorbitant wages, much in excess of the amount the farmers are justified in paying for such help, and that there is a constant demand for still further increase in said wages; that by reason of said conditions there is a feeling of unrest on the part of the farm laborer for fear that he may not be obtaining as much money as some other farmer in another part of the community is paying. Under such fluctuating prices it is a common occurrence for the farm laborer to leave his employer without notice, in the almost certain belief that he can obtain at least as much, if not more, from some one else.

The more serious result of the above condition is that the substantial farmers, who have a considerable area under cultivation, are placed upon such uncertain basis that they dare not go further along the line of additional food production, and that although the farmers of this community have loyally answered President Wilson's and Gov. Alexander's call in using their utmost endeavor to obtain a large food production during the war, their energies along this line will prove a detriment rather than a benefit unless some action is taken to relieve the scarcity of farm labor in this vicinity.

It was also the sense of said meeting that steps should be taken by the Federal Government to aid the farming vicinity of the country, and especially the irrigated section of southern Idaho in procuring men to work on the farms, and, although no recommendation was definitely made, two plans were suggested at said meeting, one being that a draft of the idle men of the country be made for farm laborers, to be organized and under the direction of the Federal authorities, and that their wages should be fixed at some reasonable figure; that anyone so drafted who refused to so work should then be drafted into the Army and sent to the front. The second suggestion was that a sufficient number of Chinese be imported into the country to supply the temporary shortage of help during the period of the war.

It was the further sense of the meeting that the farm-labor conditions of the country are gradually growing worse and will continue to grow worse as more and more men join the Army, and unless relief is given along these lines, it will be impossible for the farmers in southern Idaho to perform the full amount of service along the lines of food supply that they might otherwise be able to produce: Wherefore be it

Resolved, That our Representatives in Congress be requested to take any action which, in their judgment, they might deem to be to the best interest for the purpose of procuring an adequate supply of farm laborers for southern Idaho, and that the governor and the other State officials of Idaho be requested to assist in any movement along this line that may to them seem practical; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress and a copy to the governor of the State of Idaho.

[SEAL.]

BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
By J. W. LUNDIN, *Clerk.*
WAR PRODUCTION COMMITTEE,
By PAUL S. HADDOCK, *Chairman.*

United States Did Not Seek War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, May 29, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, the Associated Press on the 26th instant carried a brief account of a remarkable speech delivered by Judge E. H. Gary at the annual meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York City, May 25. I think I am rendering a public service by having this speech published in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is full of wisdom, of good advice, of true patriotism, of fairness to those charged with the prosecution of the war and responsible for legislation. Our case against Germany—our reasons for entering the world war—could not be better stated.

This splendid speech of Judge Gary's goes well in hand with the recent war address delivered to the American Congress by President Wilson. The speech is as follows:

UNITED STATES DID NOT SEEK WAR.

The people of the United States constitute a peace-loving Nation. They abhor war and would go, have gone, great lengths

to avoid it. They are considerate, reasonable, and forbearing. They are not envious of their national neighbors. They neither seek nor desire anything that belongs to any other country. If they had an advantage over other nations in any department of human endeavor they would not unjustly profit by it. Their ambition is to cultivate good will and friendship and their hope is to avoid enmities. Their consistent purpose and effort have been to occupy an independent position amongst nations, unentangled and uncomplicated with alliances or associations that might interrupt the policy of aiding and never antagonizing others.

These observations are based on history. The record has been written and can not be changed by any who may impugn the motives or conduct of our people. Such a citizenship when driven to self-defense by a barbarous despotism is apt to be the most terrible, even though civilized and human, in its combativeness. This country is largely made up of men and women who come here to live in peace and tranquillity, or the descendents of such; they wish to progress and prosper as the result of privileges which the exclusion of war always permits. The great majority, if not the total, of our inhabitants appreciate what our Republic, with its protective institutions and manifold opportunities, means to every citizen, and with noble impulses they will in every emergency rally around and follow the Stars and Stripes, their emblem of honor, of liberty, and of justice.

We did not desire, we persistently and consistently sought to avoid, trouble with Germany and her allies. We had always been the true friends of the Teutons until the ruling powers, for reasons not comprehended by us, forced us into the position of self-defense. We believed, as indeed it was admitted by the invaders, that they were reckless, lawless, and cruel in their treatment of their neutral and unoffending neighbors, but as a Nation we refrained from interference or even criticism. As human beings we suffered intensely as we learned of the outrages perpetrated upon the innocent victims of force and brutality; and still our Nation, not for lack of sympathy but rather on legal grounds, stood aloof. We were neither indifferent nor selfish, but our President, after full and careful consideration of all the facts and the construction of the rules of international law as determined by the best legal talent, decided he was obligated to remain silent and inactive. For one, I think his conclusions were warranted.

Even after the central powers trespassed upon the well-established rights of the persons and property of individual American citizens our Government was patient and unmoved to action, accepting the excuses and promises of the aggressors. As a Nation we exercised more restraint than any large and powerful people ever before practiced under provocation so great. Our Chief Executive indulged the hope for long and weary and suffering days that our entry into the pending war might be avoided. The wish was father to the thought, and this sentiment filled the minds of the majority of the people of the United States.

At last war was forced upon us. The President was compelled to conclude that we were intentionally attacked, that the honor and integrity of our country could no longer be maintained unless the gage of battle was accepted; and in this decision he was supported by the whole country. His clear, powerful, convincing, and eloquent statement of the case and impeachment of the enemy will stand out in history as one of the greatest official declarations and also as fully justified by the existing facts and circumstances.

A COLOSSAL UNDERTAKING.

But we have entered upon a colossal undertaking, justified only by the necessities of the case and on the highest moral grounds. It is doubtful if any of us fully realizes the strength of the enemy, even though we know his grim determination. His numbers, his preparedness, resources, devices, creative ability, methods, protective barriers, means of rapid mobilization and transfer of troops and supplies are further advanced in effectiveness than any other army or armies have ever been. This concentration and perfection of the utilities of military strength should not be underrated. Years of steady, active, and studious, though secret, effort have brought about the creation of a giant, powerful, remorseless, conscienceless; and up to the present this kind of a government, armed to this extent, seems to have an abiding conviction that it can overcome all opposition and sooner or later pursue a war of aggression and conquest.

RIGHT MAKES MIGHT VERSUS MIGHT MAKES RIGHT.

And yet the allies possess an element of strength not appreciated—if it could under any circumstances be understood—by those who are in control of the armies of the central powers. The allies are contending that right makes might; their enemies that might makes right. We are of the opinion that we possess a weapon that must prove all powerful. With this as the foundation and inspiration of our armies, they are better able to utilize all the forces at their command. It will require time, skill, numbers, sacrifices, and large sums of money; but nothing that we do not possess in abundance. For the reason that we are right and the enemy is wrong, we shall probably see other nations of strength and importance, now neutral in attitude, join the allies if the war shall be protracted. Some or all of the South and Central American Republics, China, Spain, Scandinavia, Holland, and Switzerland ought to come in and probably will before the central powers are allowed to accomplish what they attempt. These countries could not afford to permit their people to become subject to the dominance of a nation which considers force as the only consideration for aggression and expansion.

With the unprecedented and increasing wealth and the vast resources of the United States she is able to assist materially in providing the financial necessities for equipping multitudes of soldiers from other countries; and, if necessary, all these must be mobilized in the defense of a common and righteous cause. And as to equipment, the brains of the allies, ourselves included, will in time be sufficient to match and overmatch the best talent that is possessed by our adversaries after many years of constant thought and study. Among other things it is conceivable that if the allies had the best and most effective types of aircraft, outnumbering those of the other side five or ten to one, they could obtain and hold control of the air and in this way destroy the productive works, transports of troops and supplies, storage warehouses, and other facilities for offensive and defensive warfare of the enemy, and thus materially increase the advantage now held by reason of numbers and resources. We may be sure our experts are giving due consideration to all the possibilities for improved machines and methods.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

What are we fighting for? This question is asked and answered, in one form or another, by millions of people. I give an answer that seems to me to underlie all others: We are fighting to firmly establish and permanently maintain a basis whereby every international question in dispute must be determined in accordance with the principles of justice.

To bring this about, other questions which are obvious must be determined; but if the above-mentioned basis is secured, everything else necessary will have been or will be disposed of.

ALL SHOULD BE WILLING TO SACRIFICE.

The task which confronts the country is not confined to the Army and Navy, although they will be entitled to the larger part of the credit and glory if we succeed. They offer their bodies as a sacrifice, and they must have the undivided, unqualified support of all outside their ranks. The time, money, and prayers of all civilians must be given for the soldiers. They bear the brunt; they are the shield for our safety. All of us are fighting in self-defense. This is our land and the flag is ours. The administrators of the country, from President Wilson down, are no more interested than each of us. Life would not be worth living if our flag were to be permanently furled; if our country were subjugated by an alien enemy, especially such a one as we now defend ourselves against.

The pecuniary burdens to be imposed upon us will be very great. We knew in advance such would be the case. We must pay the enormous cost of mobilizing, equipping, supplying, and moving our own armies, and we must advance money and provide supplies to our allies in accordance with their necessities and our resources. We could not decline if we were disposed, for they are now fighting our battles and we are, with them, under the whole burden. We must never falter nor retrace our steps. Wherever or whenever the end is we must press forward with all our strength, might, minds, and souls. The more vigorously we proceed within the limits of intelligence the sooner will the end be reached.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF TAX BURDENS.

Some of us are complaining or criticizing because of the enormous taxes that are likely to be imposed. We are apt to consider ourselves as opposed by the legislative or executive departments of the Government, as if they were partisans, seeking to punish or at least unfairly treat the private individual. We do ourselves an injustice by harboring such thoughts. We can rightfully claim that the burden of taxation be equitably distributed; that all the people, after exempting the necessities of life, shall be compelled to contribute; and that there shall be no waste or extravagance in making expenditures. If possible taxes ought to be so levied and distributed as to avoid clogging the channels of business prosperity. All this we may properly demand. Equitable distribution is fair and reasonable,

and it makes all pecuniarily interested in the subject, including both the collection and the expenditure of the taxes levied. Less than this would tend to create classes—the worst thing for any country.

Now is the time to unite the whole country in a common cause. The soldiers are on a level as they ought to be. All others should be on a level. Classes should be obliterated and also politics, localities, and religious differences during war times at least. Opportunity should be open to all; governmental burdens should be borne by all. With such an administration of governmental affairs we should be satisfied, however severe the drafts which are made upon us or upon the larger interests which we represent.

I lately spent a few days in Washington, and it was my privilege to meet a number of men who in legislative halls or executive departments are serving their country; and it is certain that all are actuated by the motive to fairly represent and protect the best interests of the country and all the people. Individuals are not influenced by politics. There are and will be differences of opinion concerning the various questions presented, as a matter of course, but these will be adjusted and the legislation finally passed will represent an honest endeavor to do what is proper.

GOVERNMENT IS COOPERATING WITH BUSINESS.

You have heard some criticism concerning the conduct of the Government's business affairs. It has been said that confusion or at least lack of system or cooperation sometimes appears; but it must be remembered that there has been suddenly thrust upon the Government officials an enormous amount of business, extraordinary in volume and character, and the strength and capacity of all are taxed to the utmost and often beyond physical endurance. Besides, rules of law or of departments established to fit other conditions sometimes appear and prevent the exercise of judgment which would bring better results if more latitude were permitted. Officials in Washington are entitled to credit and praise for their management under existing circumstances, and so far I believe there is no just ground for severe criticism.

And then there is a disposition on the part of Government officials to cooperate with the business men in promoting the welfare of the country. This is what all of us have desired and advocated, and now we will probably have as much opportunity in this direction as we have ever desired. Just what will be the result in all the ramifications of the business involved remains to be seen. To the extent that the directors of this institute have been personally connected with these matters they have been well satisfied, except perhaps as to some of the prices in question.

Mr. B. M. Baruch, chairman committee on raw materials, minerals, and metals of the advisory commission of the Counsel of National Defense, writing for himself and the Secretary of War, and also representing the Secretary of the Navy, requested your president to act as chairman and to appoint other members of a committee on steel and steel products to cooperate with the Government; whereupon the matter was brought before the directors of this institute, and such a committee was designated, consisting of the following:

Elbert H. Gary (chairman), James A. Farrell (vice chairman), James A. Burden, E. A. S. Clarke, Alva C. Dinkey, Willis L. King, Charles M. Schwab, and John A. Topping.

The general committee has appointed subcommittees as follows:

For ascertaining capacities and supervising allotments of orders to manufacturers: James A. Farrell, E. A. S. Clarke, J. A. Topping, and E. H. Gary, ex officio.

On alloys: J. A. Farrell, E. A. S. Clarke, A. A. Fowler, E. G. Grace, E. J. Lavino, and E. H. Gary, ex officio.

On iron ore, pig iron, and transportation: H. G. Dalton, Frank Richards, Harry Coulby, George T. Dyer, W. T. Shepard, A. H. Woodward, Leonard Peckitt, Frank Billings, and Amos Mather, secretary.

On sheet steel: W. S. Horner, Charles Hadley, and Walter Carroll.

On scrap iron and steel: Eli Joseph, Samuel Deutsch, Vernon Phillips, and Joseph Michaels.

On pig tin: John Hughes, E. R. Crawford, and Edwin Groves.

On tin plate: J. I. Andrews, E. R. Crawford, and E. T. Weir.

On tubular products: James A. Campbell (chairman). Other members to be appointed. Possibly other committees.

The committees meet regularly and are devoting much time to the work involved.

They have, with other work, been engaged in mobilizing the resources of the different producers of steel, such as the Government requires for its purposes, and the statistics are in the possession of the secretary of this institute.

The Secretary of the Navy submitted a program for 1917 for plates, structural shapes, and bars needed for ships, and after considerable negotiation contracts were closed in behalf of the producers on the basis of $2.90 for plates and $2.50 for structural shapes and bars. We were of the opinion that in view of present costs and other conditions we should receive larger prices, but in the spirit I have referred to the proposition of the Government was accepted. As costs of production are advancing on account of increases in wages, taxes, prices of certain raw materials, and so forth, it is expected the Government will be willing to increase its purchasing prices accordingly.

IRON AND STEEL FRATERNITY PATRIOTIC.

The iron and steel fraternity, represented by this institute, will be actuated by the highest conception of patriotic duty with respect to the requirements of the Government. We will cheerfully bear our full share of the load which must be carried until there is realized a complete triumph over the hosts of aggressive, desperate, and inhuman autocracy. Personal interests will yield to the necessities of the country we love.

Free Speech and Free Press.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 31, 1917.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, I am a firm believer in freedom of speech and of the press. Free speech and freedom of the press are essential to democracy. I am opposed to section 4 of this bill, because I believe it to be an unjustifiable assault upon the rights and integrity of the press and the American people. Freedom of speech and of the press was realized after years of valiant fighting. In England King James denied the right of freedom of speech even in the Parliament. The American Colonies were denied freedom of speech, which was one of their greatest grievances against the English Government.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH GUARANTEED.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed at the first session of the First Congress, on March 4, 1789, reads as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

The makers of the Constitution regarded freedom of speech and of the press as of such great importance to a free people in the maintenance of their freedom that they placed the right of freedom of speech and of the press beside the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. If we give the President of the United States the right to interfere with one of these great fundamental rights, what assurance have we that some other Congress will not give some other President the right to interfere with freedom of worship?

NO PERSON SHOULD BE GIVEN THE POWER OF CENSORING THE PRESS.

No man, in my opinion, is great enough, wise enough, or just enough to say how 100,000,000 free people shall speak or write. Since I have been a Member of this Congress I have consistently voted against every measure that in the slightest way interfered with freedom of speech or of the press, these great bulwarks of liberty. Under existing laws any man that writes or speaks falsely about another can be punished, imprisoned, or made to respond in damages, but the truth can always be pleaded as a defense.

EXECUTIVE NOW HAS SUFFICIENT POWER.

In times of war the President, by Executive order, can suppress news or facts concerning the position of our troops and the movement of our fleets. This was repeatedly done during the War between the States. In 1835 there was an attempt to exclude abolitionist literature from the mails by the Postmaster General, but the Postmaster General's orders were quickly set aside as conflicting with the provision of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and of the press. It is well settled that war does not suspend the provisions of the Constitution. In times of war freedom of the press is of more importance than in times of peace.

FREEDOM OF PRESS IN TIMES OF WAR.

In times of war the powers of the Government are necessarily centralized and placed in the hands of a few persons. The President of the United States has already been given the right to conscript or take any male citizen between the ages of 21 and 31 years of age and send him to the trenches of Europe. The President and the Secretary of the Treasury have already been given $7,000,000,000 in bonds of the United States to carry on the war. The President will soon be given the power to fix prices, take over food supplies, warehouses, manufacturing plants, and any other business that he may deem necessary to successfully carry on the war. All the resources of the United States are at the disposal of the President. The President can personally exercise only a comparatively small number of the powers delegated to him. He will, of course, have to delegate these powers to others and they in turn will have to delegate these powers to subordinates. The President will do his very best to delegate these powers to able, wise, honest, and capable men. Human judgment, however, is not infallible, and some of these men and their subordinates who are given great power may be inefficient, may not be honest, may not be men of sound judgment. Is it wise to place in the hands of any man such tremendous powers and then be prevented on penalty of severe punishment from discussing or commenting upon his policies or his acts? True, President Wilson wrote in his letter to Arthur Brisbane. of the New York Evening Journal, "that he does not intend to curb patriotic criticism." What is patriotic criticism? What facts should be disclosed would always be a question of doubt and a great portion of the press of the country would not dare to state the facts. The press would be intimidated from fear of criminal prosecution by the Government.

Already the Official Bulletin, a daily publication, is being issued, authorized under the Executive order of the President, edited by George Creel, chairman of a committee composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy. Whether it is the intention that this Bulletin should take the place, so far as official news is concerned, of our great free press, and whether the newspapers of the United States will be limited in the publication of the war news and matters pertaining to the way the Government is being administered to what appears in this Bulletin, published by the Executive order of the President, we have not yet been informed. We can only infer when we consider this new venture of the Government in the newspaper business in connection with the proposed bill, which limits and circumscribes the freedom of the press.

CENSORSHIP A WEAPON OF AUTOCRACY.

It has been truthfully said, "The cure for the weakness of democracy is more democracy." A republic flourishes on criticism, while a monarchy withers. President Wilson has said, "We are in this war to make the world safe for democracy." Press censorship under provost guard is the ancient and highly prized weapon of autocracy. If this bill should become a law, place holders and bureaucrats will determine what is and what is not a crime in this country. This is a people's Government. The people are furnishing the men and the money and making the sacrifices that must be made to wage a successful war. The people have a right to know in every detail what their servants, what those in authority, are doing. If a transport carrying troops across the Atlantic is sunk, if a campaign is successful or unsuccessful, the people should know it. Any attempt to prevent criticism in the public press on the momentous issues at stake can not but result disastrously.

Public opinion is always the greatest safeguard to a nation in a crisis. A sound public opinion can not be formed unless the people have access to the facts as they exist. If any government acts upon facts that have been molded or shaped by those in power, its judgment is worthless. Inefficiency and incompetency can hide with complacency behind censorship laws. There can be no harm in the public having the right to criticize military operations that are a failure, or officials who have made mistakes, for it is through honest and just criticism that mistakes are remedied and frequently turned to victories.

ENGLAND'S MISTAKE.

Are we to profit by the mistakes of England? Lord Northcliffe, one of the ablest English statesmen, has denounced the censorship law of England, and says:

It has been a grave mischief maker, it has delayed preparedness, covered up disasters, shielded incompetent leaders, and caused England defeats on the battle field.

Lord Beresford declares:

The censorship of the press has concealed from the people of England the extent of their shipping losses and has kept the nation from practicing food economy, and is wholly responsible for the food situation.

Shall we repeat England's most disastrous blunder?

British censorship delayed the manufacture of high explosives many months. Russian censorship concealed the defective ammunitions and lack of ammunitions which led to the early defeats of Russia and the loss of over 1,000,000 men. It also concealed the intrigue of the Czar and his treachery to the Russian cause.

Democratic form of government is based upon the doctrine that the combined intellect, wisdom, and honesty of the whole people is greater and more trustworthy than that of any one individual or coterie of individuals. If this is true in times of peace, it is equally true in times of war. If the American people are unable to obtain, on account of the censorship of the press, the facts, it will be impossible for them to exercise their combined wisdom and good judgment.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

The alien and sedition laws provided that the President could, unrestrained, order out of the country any foreign-born person he might consider dangerous, and it was made a crime, punishable by imprisonment, to publish any scandalous or malicious criticism of the Government of the United States or the Congress or the President of the United States. This was not very much more drastic than the law proposed here. The alien and sedition laws were passed by the Federalist Party, and this party was swept from power forever by the indignant people and these tyrannical laws were repealed.

From the time of the Reformation until the Commonwealth, the English press was subject to censorship under direction of the Crown. Upon restoration of the Stuarts the old censorship was again restored. Steel and Defoe were punished for violating the law censoring the press. Until 1729 newspaper reports of parliamentary proceedings were unknown. The House of Commons held that it was a breach of privilege as it tended to make members answerable to their constituencies. The real liberty of the English press dates from the passage of the Fox Libel Act of 1792, which enacted that the decision in all libel suits belonged to the jury and not to the judge. This reversed the rule which the courts had acted upon for many years.

If we pass this bill we will strike a blow at a great fundamental right, a right that all freemen believed in even before bills of rights or written constitutions were promulgated.

Memorial Day Address of Gen. Isaac R. Sherwood at Arlington National Cemetery May 30, 1917.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 31, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the patriotic, poetic, and eloquent oration of our distinguished colleague, Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, of Ohio, delivered at the Memorial Day exercises at Arlington National Cemetery on May 30, 1917.

Delivered from the same platform from which the President of the United States made his memorable address, this remarkable oration, made by a man who may be regarded as a type of the highest class of American citizenship, who in his young manhood performed four long years of arduous war-like service, choosing for himself the humble station of a private soldier and successively advanced by his superior officers by reason of his fidelity, intelligence, and courage, grade by grade, to the rank of brigadier general of the United States Army, is well deserving of a public and permanent record. It is an expression of high and lofty patriotism. In future years we and our successors may refer to this oration as one of the many gems of patriotic thought, emanating from a soldier, a patriot, and a statesman beloved by his comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, venerated and respected by the people of the country, and held in sincere affection and high esteem by all his colleagues of the House of Representative, Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, of Ohio.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GEN. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD IN ARLINGTON CEMETERY, MAY 30, 1917.

Let me express my deep appreciation of the honor in the call to follow our great President in this sacred memorial service. Especially do I appreciate the gracious privilege of facing this

magnificent audience in this beautiful sylvan temple in immortal Arlington.

We are to-day a great continental Republic, the strongest and most commanding around the world. We have demonstrated during a century and a quarter of memorable history the potency for universal good of a realized democracy. We are now in the midst of the greatest and most destructive war the world has ever witnessed. What the end will be we do not know. But as the leading factor of Christian civilization, we owe it to ourselves and to those warring millions across the steely seas to do our part to lead and light the way to a world-wide democracy and a world-wide enduring peace.

Our own home poet, Justice Wendell Phillips Stafford, of the District of Columbia, has given us an inspiration in heroic verse. I quote three couplets from his poem of April 29 last:

Hail, France, whose bloody travail
Has brought again to birth
The soul that made the Marseillaise
The trumpet of the earth!

Hail to the starry banner
Above Westminster walls,
And her anthem, rolled with the prayers of old
Through the arches of St. Paul's!

Fight on, free lands, for freedom—
Freedom in every blow—
The freedom we bear they too will share
Against whose gates we go.

And every veteran of our great war from 1861 to 1865 will hope and pray that our flag, invincible, of the 48 shining stars of States, will become the beacon light and hope to all the smuggled souls, yearning for a realized liberty, across the Atlantic.

It is timely here to quote from that valiant soldier, the most eloquent orator of the great Civil War, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll:

A vision of the future rises. I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. I see empires where the aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth. As I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.

It is the mission of our armies to-day to make the European world safe for all peoples struggling for democracy.

I do not forget that we stand in the sacred presence of Arlington, the greatest silent city of the heroics on this continent. As we look over this spreading sea of graves let us not forget the sacrifice, the valor, the all-pervading patriotism that symbolizes the glorious mission of Arlington. Silent Arlington, but vocal to-day with the alluring songs of a heroic epoch.

Six years ago the poet of the Grand Army, Kate Brownlee Sherwood, dedicated a poem to Arlington. I quote three couplets:

O, age of voiceless miracles! of sentient thought that brings
The angels of diviner force with healing on their wings!
And snowy fleets that sail the seas and ships that sail the air,
Bear witness that the rule of right is coming everywhere.

Ah, you whose eyes are wet with tears, who move with solemn tread,
To crown with flowers of memory your dear remembered dead;
Not on the piercing monoliths, nor craven tomb, nor crest,
But o'er the sea of nameless graves let pity, lingering, rest.

A pity kin to victory! lo, grateful millions come
Like pilgrims to a holy shrine, with choral chant and drum;
Their sentinels keep watch and ward from rising sun to sun,
And guard with reverent care the flag that floats o'er Arlington.

Everywhere to-day throughout this land Memorial Day is celebrated with more sentiment, more pathos, than any day since Appomattox. We strew the most fragrant flowers of ripened May in Arlington. Not only in Arlington but everywhere throughout this broad land to-day are tender hands in the pathos of an all-pervading love, strewing the choicest flowers of spring over the graves of our hero dead. And yet there are hundreds of secluded spots in the far-off South where a forward soldier fell on the picket line or in the advance who sleeps in an uncoffined grave. But even here gentle nature is kindly, and in some secluded nook where a brave comrade turned the last green sod with a bayonet over his unshrouded form, the snowy magnolia will diffuse a sweeter balm and the wild passion flower, winding its sweet tendrils in the waving grasses, will gather tears beneath the Stars and shed them in the sunlight.

Nothing new can be said of the great war that made Arlington possible. History has said its last word.

But the thought comes to me that there are ideas of that war that no orator or prophet of human destiny has ever exploited on Memorial Day. I refer to the heroic literature that the war inspired. It is far different in tone and flavor from any other war in all history. To illustrate: Ours is the only war in all history where the men behind the guns, on the march, in camps, or around the fires of the bivouac sang patriotic songs of their own composition. When the storm burst, the finger of God dropped the plummet into the dead sea of all past endeavors, and with the overflow came new hopes and new ambitions. The genius of the Nation rose above the level plane of prose, into the higher altitudes of inspired song. This is why our chief heroic literature of value is our war songs. This accounts for the fact that aside from Lincoln's Gettysburg oration and Edward Everett Hale's "A Man Without a Country," and a few notable efforts by Henry Ward Beecher and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, our war poets have made the deepest and most lasting impression upon the heroic history of the conflict. These heart-stirring songs, inspired and put into melody by the boys in blue behind the guns were sung in chorus of fife and drum to lift the gloom of the dark night camps from rocky-face mountain to Atlanta and from Atlanta to the Sea, from Washington to Richmond and Appomattox, and from Savannah up through the piney woods of North Carolina to the final surrender at Raleigh.

Is it not worthy of mention that over a half century has elapsed since the war and not one stirring patriotic song of national import has been written in all these eventful years? In a Republic like ours it seems incredible that no poet has given to the world an epic of the great conflict—the fiercest and longest enduring of modern times. And it is still more incredible that none of the famous antislavery poets of the decade of fierce contention preceding the war, except Whittier, wrote any of our stirring war songs. And yet no war ever afflicted any country where the patriotic song writers were so potent in creating martial fervor.

To-day when the Nation is stirred to its profoundest depths by the presence of impending war, we are going back for half a century and beyond to find one song of stirring patriotism. And I must say it, because it is true, that the country owes a debt of the deepest gratitude to the Grand Army of the Republic and the Loyal Legion for keeping alive and aflame these old war songs. At every soldiers' reunion, at every camp fire, in every post room, and in every State and National encampment of the Grand Army, and every local and State and National commandery of the Loyal Legion we have been singing these old war songs. Nothing has been written for a half century to be worthy of comparison with Sheridan's Ride, by our Ohio poet Thomas Buchanan Read. It has more dash and spirit than Lord Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade. No lyric with the inspiration and high ethical quality of Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn of the Republic has ever thrilled the Nation in all the years since the war. No song was ever sung in camp or bivouac or concert hall with the deep pathos and plaintive sentiment of Tenting To-night on the Old Camp Ground, written by a private soldier one lonesome night on the Chickahominy River—Arthur Kettridge, of New Hampshire. No song has been written or sung since the war that has enlivened lurid memory with prophecy as the musical gem John Brown's Body, adapted by Col. Fletcher Webster, of the Twelfth Massachusetts regiment in 1861, son of the great ante bellum statesman, Daniel Webster. No rallying war song was ever written equal to We are Coming Father Abraham Three Hundred Thousand More, by Stephen J. Adams, of Massachusetts. No poet has ever written a poem of equal dramatic power as Walt Whitman's Bugle Call to Arms, the greatest of the war period. No war poet ever wrote a braver poem than Edmund C. Stedham wrote in 1862, when the country was looking for a successful general to command the Army of the Potomac. The title Give Us a Man. Lincoln was deeply impressed with this poem and read it at a formal meeting of his Cabinet. No soldier or patriot or poet ever wrote a war ode so full of human sympathy and genuine soldier spirit as We Have Drunk from the Same Canteen, by Col. Charles G. Halpine, who commanded the Irish Brigade of the Army of the Potomac.

Some of the most pathetic poems of the war came from the South. They became current in the North without the singers knowing their southern origin. Among the most beautiful is Somebody's Darling, written by Marie La Costa, of Virginia. It is so universal in sentiment that it may well serve as the mother cry of all war-cursed peoples.

Three other dramatic poems of fervid eloquence and power are worthy a place in heroic history—The Conquered Banner, by Father Ryan, of Mobile, Ala., and Maryland, My Maryland, by James R. Randall, of Maryland and Louisiana.

On Memorial Day in 1867 a patriotic group of splendid southern women at Columbus, Miss., scattered flowers upon the graves of Confederate and Union soldiers alike. This was the inspiration for one of the finest poetic gems in the literature of patriotism. It is entitled "The Blue and the Gray," by Francis Miles Finch. I quote the last couplet:

No more shall the war cry sever
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead.
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day—
Under the roses the Blue,
Under the lilies the Gray.

And what have we been singing since the war? Hundreds of frivolous songs, popular for a time, and then forgotten. Not one with a moral worth a bar of soap or a bar of music; not one with the tone and flavor of an enduring patriotic sentiment; not one that lived a year in public favor; not one worth singing now. Let me mention a few:

Captain Jinks and the Horse Marines.
There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night.
How Dry I Am.
Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here.
O, You Beautiful Doll.
Don't Make Those Goo-Goo Eyes at Me.
When I Walk with Billy.

Not only must we go back a half century to find an inspiration for heroic deeds in the poetic literature of patriotism, but a hundred years to find its most thrilling and commanding expression. I refer to the Star-Spangled Banner, written by Francis Scott Key, a local lawyer of Frederick, Md., in 1814. The music is from Anacreon in Heaven, written by John Stafford Smith, of London, England, in 1772, first sung in a Baltimore tavern by Ferdinand Durang, a Scotch actor.

It was poems like these lyrics of war that gave hope and courage to the boys in the trenches and around the flickering lights of the bivouac fires, when grief and anguish sat speechless around every northern and southern fireside.

There never was a war like our great four years' war, and there never will be another. There never was a war that produced the tone and flavor and quality of its literature. There never was a war where the people, the men and women at home and behind the army, were so fierce and aglow with fervent and all-pervading patriotism. There never was a war where so many war songs were inspired and where so many soldiers voiced in song the inspiration of the war poets.

It is Mazzini, the greatest of Italian patriots, who says:

The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers. The one looks up from earth and the other looks down from heaven, and it is only from epoch to epoch that their glance meets between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life and a people arises evangelist or prophet from the cradle or the tomb.

Was not this a grander epoch for us and for all humanity when the war clouds lifted above the last crimson battle field and the angel of peace came forth in robes of white to greet the angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory?

A great historic poem is now due. Some near-by day, let us hope and pray, some prescient genius of America will arise and sing of this, the most memorable struggle for national unity of all the ages, linking Vicksburg and Gettysburg, Atlanta and Chickamauga, Nashville and Appomattox into a grand epic.

This beautiful flag that floats over Arlington to-day and streams in triumph and glory over a hundred millions of people has a desperate history. A half century ago nearly half its stars were shot out of the blue canton and its tattered folds were dripping and crimsoned with the best blood of the Nation; but when the struggle ended the angel of peace sat crowned in light above its bronze-tipped pinion and liberty had thrown aside her crown of thorns and stood radiant and beautiful beside her.

Triumphant, immortal Arlington, vocal to-day with the songs of patriotism and fragrant with the most gracious floral tributes of loving hearts! We are here to pay reverent and grateful homage to the gallant soldiers and wisely imbued statesmen who a half century ago in the battle front and councils, sage and prophetic, made possible the greatest Republic around the world.

International Confederation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. CLYDE KELLY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received a letter from the secretary of the late Dr. J. Leonard Levy, of Pittsburgh, who was for many years pastor of the Rodef Shalom Congregation of that city. With the letter was inclosed one written by Dr. Levy some days before his death and addressed to myself. The letter was as follows:

The Hon. M. CLYDE KELLY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KELLY: Inclosed you will find an article by the Hon. David Lubin, on a subject exceedingly interesting and timely. Will you oblige me and present this for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it may be issued as a public document?

You probably know of Mr. Lubin and his work, and you therefore realize how interesting such a subject as an International Confederation, coming from his pen, is likely to prove to many millions of our fellow citizens. I am entirely innocent of the method of procedure and I shall thank you to add such introductory words as may be necessary to put the article in such form as shall secure for it the right to be printed as a public document. As soon as you have received leave to print, I shall feel greatly obliged to you if you will drop me a line so that I may apprise Mr. Lubin of your courteous action.

Very truly, yours, J. LEONARD LEVY.

Mr. Speaker, within a few days after that letter was written, the entire Pittsburgh community, which knew and loved Rabbi Levy, was shocked by the announcement of his death from pneumonia after an illness of but a few days.

It is with sadness that I carry out his request and print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this article on the subject closest to the heart of this gifted, sympathetic champion of universal brotherhood and lasting peace. I was fortunate in having his friendship. To know him was to understand why he was loved with an intensity of affection seldom accorded to any man. Many times I have heard him earnestly pleading the cause of the humble and distressed. Many times I have seen him give generously of his time and means for the uplift of the helpless and downtrodden.

Dr. Levy had a strength of character, a broadness of vision, a power of eloquent expression which made him a power not only in his local field but throughout the Nation. Besides his religious duties he was a lecturer, an author, a linguist, a civic champion, and a world traveler.

In two continents Dr. Levy worked and prayed and hoped for the freedom of humanity. He abhorred war with its cruelty and waste and horrors, and he cherished peace with all the power of his great heart and soul.

But when America entered the war for democracy, this champion of freedom showed his patriotism, true and undivided. He flung himself into the needed welfare work for America at war, and he gave himself unsparingly, prodigally. While cherishing peace, he cherished democracy and justice more. More than he hated war he hated the autocracy which makes lasting peace impossible. And he gave himself a martyr to the cause of America and world freedom.

In his death Jewry has been bereft of a magnificent leader, America has lost an exemplary citizen, and the world has lost a brilliant champion of the rights of humanity.

It is significant of the life of this devoted, unselfish friend of man, regardless of race or nation or creed, that his last request, perhaps, was for the publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of a plan for the world-wide brotherhood for which he labored faithfully, but whose fruition he could not live to see.

The article by David Lubin is as follows:

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION—PERMANENT PEACE UNDER A CONSTITUTION.

ROME, ITALY, *February 14, 1917.*

Dr. J. LEONARD LEVY,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of December 13, in which you ask me for an article on the peace question has been received. Your request is, no doubt, prompted by our conversations on the subject during my summer vacation last year.

First of all, I am reminded of the fact that some nine years ago I attended an international peace conference held in London. At one of the sessions I was introduced to two charming people, prominent peace advocates of Boston. It was in the early days of the International Institute of Agriculture, and I wished them to see in the institute and in the idea it stood for the nucleus of an international economic parliament, the germ whence a future world peace confederation might arise.

During the intervals of the session we talked over these matters, and in the evening we met again. My friends suggested that I should accompany them on a visit to the noted pacifist, Mr. William Stead, to which I gladly assented. This led to an exchange of views on the means likely to insure an enduring world peace.

I will now endeavor to set forth the substance of this and of similar conversations and correspondence which I have had from time to time, and I will do so in the form of a dialogue. I believe this form will best lend itself to the presentation I wish to make. With this explanation as a preliminary, I will begin my paper by introducing the speakers: Smith, an advocate of disarmament; Jones, an opponent; and White, a critic.

JONES. Am I to understand, Mr. Smith, that your proposed disarmament is to bring about permanent peace?

SMITH. Yes; disarmament and the peace tribunal.

JONES. How would you bring this disarmament about? What should be the mode of procedure?

SMITH. It is largely a matter of education. We peace advocates of the United States, for instance, have a strong propaganda under way for the disarmament of the United States, to begin with. Peace advocates are doing the same kind of work in other countries, and so, in the course of time, there will be a sufficient number of nations won over to form a preponderating world force in favor of an international treaty for world disarmament.

JONES. Primarily, though, you start by an endeavor to disarm this country. Can you get that done?

SMITH. We are very hopeful; in fact, up to the beginning of the present European war we had made considerable headway in that direction.

JONES. Yes; I know you had. But is it not possible that in proportion as this propaganda was making greater headway here than in other countries you were to that extent weakening the United States and strengthening those other countries?

SMITH. There could be but one answer to that question, an affirmative, were it not so patent that the rest of the world was as anxiously seeking peace as was the United States, for witness the eagerness of the nations to hurry their adherence to The Hague Peace Tribunal.

JONES. Yes; the adherence was prompt enough. But that answers nothing, for right upon the heels of this adherence were they not arming and drilling on a greater scale than ever before in the history of the world? Does it not therefore follow that this disarmament propaganda is impracticable, in fact, mischievous?

SMITH. What plan would you then propose?

JONES. I have no plan; I do not think that any scheme for permanent international peace is practicable.

WHITE. I am inclined to believe that such a conclusion is too dogmatic. We see that there is progressive development in human affairs, so why should there not be progress on the lines of international peace relations?

JONES. Am I to understand, then, that you favor the disarmament program of Mr. Smith?

WHITE. By no means; I believe with you that the disarmament program is impracticable and mischievous. It seems to me that its main defect consists in mistaking an effect for a cause. It takes armament to be a cause instead of taking it as an effect. I think that the first practical step should be the formation by the democracies of the world of an international confederation, a confederation for the maintenance of permanent international peace.

SMITH. This seems to me like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Would it not be more practicable to attain the end in view by disarmament rather than by attempting the formation of an international confederation?

WHITE. Well, let us see. At first glance it would seem that armaments are the cause of the war and that disarmament, by removing the cause, would result in peace. But is this the case? Is not armament an effect rather than a cause, an effect of a state of mind? But what mind, whose mind? Clearly the mind of governments, for have not governments minds? Do not these minds run through the whole gamut of political qualities? Do not the forms of government vary from a pure democracy, when the mind of the government is formed and directed by the collective will of the people, down to the extremes of autocracy, when its mind is the will of the individual at the head of the state?

In a democracy the government is formed and directed by the people; in an autocracy the autocrat claims to be sovereign. And what is an autocratic sovereign? The dictionary tells us that a sovereign is one who exercises supreme authority, absolute control. He is the supreme power in the state; the original, absolute, and universal power by which all persons and things in a state are controlled and determined. He exercises supreme jurisdiction and power, he claims to be subject to none.

JONES. Subject to none? Do you mean to say that there are no qualifications: that he exercises supreme authority, absolute control: that he is subject to no one? Are these not the qualities which we attribute to God?

WHITE. Yes; and more; for while God is all powerful for good, this autocratic sovereign is, besides, all powerful for evil. This assumption of omnipotence is graphically imaged in the Bible when it ironically places in the mouth of such a sovereign the words: "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High." Now, what concerted effort for disarmament can there be between powers of this kind and democracies? Are they not essentially incongruous and incompatible? Can such fundamentally incongruous forces be lastingly welded under treaties for disarmament?

SMITH. Why not, pray?

WHITE. Well, let us see; let us first take up the stand of autocracy. Here are a few quotations from well-known authors which I have noted down. Apply them to past and present day experiences; then judge whether there be ground for my statement.

The first is from Hegel: "Not only must the State be obeyed; it must be venerated as a God." "Success insured by might is the measure of right."

Treitschke says: "Weak nations have no right to existence, and must be absorbed by powerful nations." "The essence of a State is power. Nothing exists or can exist which is superior to the State."

Again, Adolphus Lassen declares: "The State can do no wrong." "The observance of treaties is not a matter of duty but of advantage."

And von Bernhardi says. "Love God above all things, and 'thy neighbor as thyself.' This law can claim no significance for the relations of one country to another." "There never has been, and never will be, universal rights of men."

Annston Chamberlain says: "Militarism is the indispensable instrument of German culture; it builds its brightest hopes of supremacy on the extermination of others."

And Nietzsche says: "Morality is a symptom of decadence." "War is as necessary to the State as slavery is to society." "Might is the source of right." "There is no right other than that of theft, usurpation, and violence."

How radically different the words of Scripture:

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees and that write grievousness which they have prescribed."

"Thus saith the Lord: Keep ye judgment, and do justice."

"And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and assurance forever."

Now let us take up the stand of democracy. The President aptly sets forth this stand in his speech of January 23 to the Senate, when he says:

"Inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples."

"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guaranties exchanged must either recognize or imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak."

"Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We thus see that conciliatory efforts for permanent peace through disarmament between such incongruous and incompatible factors as democracies and autocracies must not alone be futile but highly dangerous to democracies. It seems that a clearly marked dividing line must be drawn between these two factors, between democracies on the one hand, and autocracies on the other. The day for measuring strength, the day for lining up forces has come, and the first practical step toward permanent international peace will be taken whenever the democracies shall make a united effort toward that end.

JONES. What you have just said, Mr. White, reminds me of the following Scripture text:

"And before Him shall be gathered all nations, and He shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.

"And He shall set the sheep on the right hand but the goats on the left."

WHITE. Yes; that is it; the democracies on the one hand and the autocracies on the other.

SMITH. But what should be the mode of procedure? Have you a plan?

WHITE. No; at present nothing more definite than what has been brought out by our discussion—a confederation of the democracies. I would, however, suggest that we continue and see whether the logic of the case does not point to such a confederation as the most practical means of securing and maintaining permanent international peace.

SMITH. I believe we should all be pleased to have you proceed.

WHITE. As I see it now, I would say that the first thing to be done will be to issue a call for an international convention of the democracies for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for an international confederation. This constitution should be on simple and elemental lines, with limited powers, all for the purpose of maintaining permanent international peace. When the constitution thus drawn up shall have been ratified by the nations concerned, delegates would be designated who would proceed to the place of meeting to begin their labor as an international body.

JONES. What would be the powers and functions of the delegates?

WHITE. Their powers would be specified and limited by the constitution. Their functions could be of threefold character—legislative, executive, and juridical.

SMITH. Why an international constitution? Do you not mean a treaty?

WHITE. No; I do not mean a treaty; I mean a constitution, for a constitution would provide for a permanent international body for international action. Moreover, a constitution voted on by the people and ratified by the Government of an adhering nation would be more binding than a treaty.

JONES. Are we to understand that this international confederation would stand for disarmament?

WHITE. No; not for disarmament. On the contrary, there would be a normal average armament, which the adhering nations would be required to keep up, and under certain conditions this normal would be increased.

JONES. What would this increase be for? Would it be for purposes of defense against members of the confederation?

WHITE. As a rule, no. The increase would be for protection against militantly aggressive nations outside of the confederation.

JONES. But supposing the nations outside the confederation were much more powerful than the confederated?

WHITE. In that event it would indicate that the time had not yet come for the proposed confederation.

JONES. Supposing we grant that a sufficient number of nations are ready to adhere; among them, on the one hand, Great Britain with her navy and the United States with its military resources and financial strength, and, on the other hand, countries less efficient from a military standpoint, countries such as the South American Republics and China. Would not the burdens and the benefits of such a confederation be unequally distributed?

WHITE. As just stated by you, yes. But the case need not stand thus. Each of the adhering nations could contribute a just and adequate quota to the total military strength of the confederation, partly in money, partly in territorial strategic advantages, partly in man power, and partly in actual and potential military and industrial resources. In this manner there could be a systematic, adequate, and just contribution by all the nations concerned.

Let us take China, for instance. Of late years we have heard much talk of the "yellow peril," seemingly a formidable cry, but one which deserves qualification. From remote times China has selected the units forming her governing body on qualifications of learning. This has rendered China by temper and inclination one of the world's great apostles of peace. In fact, China has always been, as it were, a democracy in the making. But the fact should not be overlooked that China possesses the elements that go to make military strength of a high order, potential strength, which is now dormant, but which could be awakened and brought into play. She is strong in man power, perhaps stronger than any other nation. This man power alone should be sufficient contribution by China for her share of the military strength of the confederation.

JONES. I am inclined to agree with what has just been said; indeed, it occurs to me that an additional consideration may be added. The present war has made plain that military unpreparedness is a costly luxury, doubling, trebling, and quadrupling what the cost of a scientific preparedness would be during times of peace. The proposed confederation, as I understand it, is intended to provide a continuous, systematic, scientific, and efficient mode of adequate military preparation. Such preparation would entail very much less expenditure in money and effort on the part of each of the units of the confederation than heretofore, and yet would be much more effective for the purposes of any combat which might arise than would be possible otherwise.

SMITH. Would there be any disadvantage in not being a member?

WHITE. Yes; for the confederation would standardize the character and degree of armament. It would determine a normal ratio of armament for each nation, whether in the confederation or not. When that normal would be exceeded the offending country would be subject to certain penalties to be imposed by the confederation. These penalties would be of a restrictive and coercive nature, mainly in the form of special duties on imports from the offending country, special harbor dues, special taxes on persons and property, etc.

The funds thus obtained would be employed to increase the armament of the confederation up to a fixed relative standard. In other words, offending nations outside of the confederation would thus be made to contribute to the cost of such forced increase.

JONES. Would autocracies be permitted to join the confederation?

WHITE. Yes; indeed, their adherence should be welcomed, for by having its people vote for and its government ratify the international constitution, by joining the confederation an autocracy would thereby cease to be an autocracy in so far as its relations to the other adhering States were concerned.

SMITH. By what means could adherents be made to comply with the provisions of the constitution?

WHITE. Well, that could be done by requiring each of the adhering nations, on joining, to deposit in the treasury of the confederation a guaranty for good faith, said guaranty to be in the shape of a negotiable

bond for a given amount which would vary according to the rank of the nation. Charges of failure to comply with the provisions of the constitution would be brought before the juridical body of the confederation, which would decide on the equities of the case and determine the amount of the penalty to be deducted from the bonds held on deposit. Said bonds would then be sold in the open market and would begin to bear interest from the day on which the verdict would be rendered.

JONES. But would such countries as the United States, France, or Great Britain consent to deposit bonds as a guaranty of their good faith? Would not their mere ratification be sufficient?

WHITE. It appears to me that nations of the standing just named would rather insist upon the deposit of bonds in order to have them serve as a guaranty to insure the good faith of all the other adherents.

JONES. But supposing trouble arose and there was a refusal on the part of some adherents to pay, what means would there be for forcing payment?

WHITE. The bonds, in the first place, could be of such a nature, so secured by collateral, as to insure their interest and principal, thus rendering them negotiable the world over at any time, whether before, during, or after a war. Their negotiable character would render them the guaranty that they are intended to be.

SMITH. But why should the labors of such a confederation be confined to armaments? Why could it not also have under its administrative board departments like those of a national government? In addition to armaments, foreign affairs, war, and the navy, which have already been outlined as within the sphere of the labors of the confederation, why could there not also be international departments of the treasury, of the post office, of agriculture, of commerce, of labor, of transports? Would there not be room for departments like these to deal with the international phases of production and distribution?

WHITE. I think there would be. For instance, the reduced outlay on armaments, rendered possible under the confederation, might permit the formation of a federal or international reserve bank under the department of the treasury of the confederation. In this case each of the adherents could periodically deposit in this bank a sum equivalent to a given proportion of the excess amount of its former military and war expenditure. The funds of this bank could then be used for moving crops, for obviating panics, for regulating international exchanges, for constructing international canals, for reclaiming waste lands, and for other purposes of international public utility.

The International Institute of Agriculture and the International Postal Union are already here, ready to serve the purposes of the confederation, perhaps with added powers and increased duties. Similarly, departments could be formed to deal with the international phases of commerce and of labor, when reciprocal commercial and industrial treaty measures could be placed in their hands, while the department of transports could be intrusted with the international phases of ocean carriage.

However, it might be more advantageous to have the confederation start its work in a very simple and elementary form, so that its routine duties might be more readily mastered. As the work would proceed onward, the capacity for additional service and the benefits to be derived therefrom would become so apparent as to justify expansion, until in time its labors would attain a higher and wider efficiency.

JONES. So, then, with a wave of the hand, as it were, we separate the celestial sheep from the plutonic goats, we line up a united democracy for mortal combat with a disunited autocracy, a democracy united under an international constitution, united not merely by the devices of war but also by the polite arts of law. This united democracy is to set up a normal standard of armament and to give notice to all the world to line up to this normal under penalties for disobedience, penalties so irksome and costly as to cause autocracy to shrink, shrivel, and perish from off the face of the earth.

But wait. Have we not forgotten something? We talk of sovereignty as the attribute of autocracy, but is it not also claimed as the attribute of democracy? Will imperial England ratify a constitution for a confederation of nations? Will she permit the delegates to the legislative body of the confederation to have the final say as to the strength and disposition of her navy? Shall the powerful American Republic be swayed by the delegates of Cuba, of Montenegro, or Peru, or Portugal? A glorious ambition surely, but from a practical approach it is, alas, but a poetical will-o'-the-wisp, a mirage in the desert.

WHITE. It appears to me, Mr. Jones, that you have overlooked the fact that democracies are really autonomous political bodies rather than sovereignties. In a democracy sovereignty is supposed to reside in the people, whereas in autocracy it is vested in the head of the Government; and this makes all the difference in the world.

As for the danger that the delegations of the many minor countries might sway those of the major countries, I think this could be obviated, for the legislative functions of the confederation could be vested in two houses, a house of representatives with a plural vote proportionate to the importance of the country and a senate with a fixed voted for each autonomous power.

JONES. And now that all arguments against the proposal have seemingly been overcome, we are presumably ready to put it into operation. The millenium is here; we are at the outer gate; there is nothing to be done but to knock and enter. But wait a moment, a long moment; yes, wait an age, perhaps several ages before the good time will be here. "A place to stand upon, a rest for a fulcrum, a lever long enough," said Archimedes, "and I will lift the earth." And it is just as difficult to move the world of ideas along at a bound as it would be to find a lever long enough to move the earth. Ideas are shot forth by the hundred, by the thousand, by the million; and yet this staid, old, old, stupid world refuses to change its course. It prefers to keep the slow, even tenor of its ways, as a respectable world should, rather than to jump forward on the spur of the moment toward a prescribed goal, no matter how earnestly it may be argued, coerced, or coaxed to do so.

There is Christianity, for instance, with its beneficent character, its incessant exhortations, its superhuman efforts, and yet its 2,000 years of striving still falls short of the goal, for we are still waiting for the kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven. Surely all this should teach us to be most modest in putting forth ambitious schemes for the uplifting of the world.

SMITH. Is there not undue stress in your criticism of Mr. White's statement? You tell us that in spite of the millions of ideas that are shot forth, "this staid, old, stupid world refuses to change its course." Is this the case? I think not; for as we see development is a weaver employing ideas as warp and woof in weaving the cloth of progress. Now, then, instead of volunteering his presentation as a full-fledged plan, it seems to me that Mr. White's proposal for a confederation of the democracies is rather along the line of a logical outcome, a corollary of our discussion. It would therefore follow that our time may be well spent in continuing our inquiry.

JONES. Well, I must confess that Mr. White's proposed confederation seems reasonable and even logical as an academic proposition; might read well in essay form. This, however, is one thing; but the adoption by the nations is quite another. The world has been jogging along these thousands of years without any such confederation, and we soberly suppose that it would all of a sudden be willing to have forced upon it the thousand and one new and untried problems and precedents to which the adoption of this proposal would be sure to give rise.

SMITH. It seems to me that if your question had been asked in the first half of 1914 the answer would have been a decided "no"; the nations would not have been willing to have these new problems and precedents forced upon them. But can nations give this same answer now, in 1917? I think not, for during this interval has not the world had a most empnatic object lesson?

We talk of the danger of anarchists; we employ skilled detectives to hunt them from hiding place to hiding place; and when ferreted out we forthwith clap them into jail. But what of those archanarchists, the nations, who, armed to the teeth, and through their claim of sovereignty acknowledging no law but their own will, are such an infinitely greater menace to the peace, the welfare, the security of the people of the whole world?

As I have told you, I am one among a large number of advocates of peace through disarmament. Our propaganda, as you know, was much more in evidence before the war. I confess, however, that the war has, as we see, thrown into clear relief many new and perplexing viewpoints important enough to warrant modifications of opinion. I would therefore feel under obligations to Mr. White if he would resume the thread of the discussion.

WHITE. It has been truly pointed out that the proposals for permanent peace which seemed tenable in 1914 are not tenable in 1917. The new and startling events which have occurred demand new solutions. It is obvious to all that the world is no longer what it then was; that time has passed never to return. The problems of 1914 are no longer the problems which confront us in 1917. The world to-day has had an object lesson, as plain as a kindergarten lesson, a lesson understood not merely by the learned but also by the unlearned.

The millions of dead, the hundreds of millions who suffer and who are to suffer, the destruction of the wealth of nations totaling up to hundreds of billions of dollars, all of these and more besides are the bitter fruits, the direct results of uncontrolled, autocratic sovereignty. And all this is by no means the end, for the war is still going on. And supposing the war were to end right now, would that restore conditions as there were? Let us see.

Much surprise was manifested when our Congress had its first billion-dollar session, and, let us bear in mind, that billion dollars was to be expended for the current and peaceful needs of the country. How will it be with the nations after the war, with nations of much more limited financial resource than those of the United States, with nations who will be compelled to provide in their budgets for a billion dollars a year for interest on their war debts before they will be able to set aside a single dollar for their current administrative needs? Will they repudiate? That would lead to trouble. Will they pile tax upon tax? That also would lead to trouble. Will the worker and the peasant rest content to have their unit of wage cut in half or less as the result of taxation and of reduced purchasing power of money?

Such forced reductions may have been accepted by the worker and the peasant of past destructive wars—of the past when worker and peasant had no books to study, no papers to read, when they lived in hovels and were considered to have no spirit and no soul; when the normal dress of the man was an overall, a sheepskin coat, and wooden shoes; when the women wore a one-piece smock dress, went barefooted, and with a kerchief on their heads. But that time has gone, and gone forever. Schools, books, newspapers, travel, and the general freedom of the twentieth century have put an end, a final end, to all that.

Who, then, can say that the mere cessation of the war will bring peace, permanent peace?

And even if sufficient power could be exerted to force a return to the old régime, how long, under such conditions, could peace be maintained? There would then be no more guaranty for peace in the future than there has been in the past.

It therefore seems to me that the formation of a confederation, something on the lines we have been discussing, would mark a new era; would, in fact, make permanent peace possible.

JONES. I am inclined to admit, Mr. White, that the facts in the case justify your generalizations, however gloomy and foreboding they may be. In fact, there is warrant for supplementing them. It is easy to foresee that the evils you speak of will not merely be confined to the theater of war; they will be explosively scattered to the four ends of the earth in the form of violent trade disturbances, panics, bankruptcies, and ruin. Now, it is this phase of the question that is of interest to the American people. Limiting your reply to this point for the moment, I should like you to tell us, Mr. White, how these evils could be averted or brushed aside by the formation of the proposed confederation. If you can show that it would avert them, I have surely been won over.

SMITH. I concur in what has just been said by Mr. Jones.

WHITE. Very good. And now let us first consider what is the underlying basis of financial, commercial, and industrial stability. Is it not credit? Are not the terms of credit, its state of mobility, determined by confidences? And is not this confidence determined by present and forecasted conditions? At this juncture it is to be noted the public mind is concentrated upon the current events of the great struggle now going on. Will it not presently be concentrated upon its probable resultant effects? And if the forecast warrant the weakening of confidence, will this not tend to bring about radical and unfavorable changes in the terms and in the state of mobility of credit? And if it brings about these unfavorable changes, as it is bound to do, will this not gravely endanger the financial, commercial, and industrial stability of the whole world?

If we are to assent to all this—and how can assent be denied?—does it not follow that the first thing to be done to avert the full brunt of the evils which loom ahead is to stabilize confidence and thereby stabilize credit? And what better means for doing this can be shown than the proposed confederation? By banding the democracies together to checkmate autocratic sovereignty, would not the confederation insure peace? Would it not thereby tend to restore public confidence and thus insure the stability of credit?

JONES. It seems to me, Mr. White, that your statements are fairly tenable.

SMITH. I am inclined to agree with you, Mr. Jones, although I do not think that we should narrow the case down to the mere question of stability of credit.

WHITE. No; we should not: the question is one of much deeper, more far-reaching concern than the stability of credit. It is a question of the greatest importance to the political freedom of the individual and of the Nation. We have to pay too great a price in this century of progress for quiet acquiescence in the destructive, reactionary effects of the dynamic activity of autocratic sovereignty. As we have seen, the cause of the present struggle, as well as of the many struggles of the past, can be unerringly traced to the operation of such sovereignty. Would it not therefore follow that if its dynamic action on the political life of the nations were neutralized, the evil inherent in such sovereignty would be removed? Would this not remove the great spoke in the wheel of the progress and peace of the world? And could not this be done by a militant confederation of the democracies?

And this great battle of democracy against autocracy is not new. It is as old as the history of man. It is the age-long struggle of law, of equity, of freedom, against anarchy, injustice, and slavery. It is the index finger pointing the way on the one hand, and the savage, spiked club raised to strike, on the other. It stands for liberty, equality, fraternity, as against tyranny, inequality, and enmity. It stands for intelligence and light on the one hand, and for ignorance and darkness on the other. The first stands for abundance, for a blessing; the second stands for deprivation, for a curse. The first stands for humanity, the second stands for savagery. And so have these two always stood and fought, with the former seemingly the vanquished in many a fight. Yet, notwithstanding, there has been advance, and the advance has been by the former, by democracy, for so it was planned in the Divine comedy. And presently the combat shall cease, and there shall be but one combatant left, and that combatant shall be Triumphant Democracy, and he shall be left free to build up the kingdom on earth as it is in heaven.

JONES. May that day soon come!

SMITH. Amen.

Therefore it is written, "Our Father and our King, we have no Sovereign but Thee."

DAVID LUBIN.

ROME, *February, 1917.*

We're Bound To See It Through.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

MR. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, in his eloquent memorial address at Arlington our veteran colleague, Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, deplored the lack of patriotic songs written in recent years. In his address he is reported to have said:

Is it not worthy of mention that over a half century has elapsed since the war and not one stirring patriotic song of national import has been written in all those years?

To-day, when the Nation is stirred to its profoundest depths by the presence of war, we are going back a half century and beyond to find one song of stirring patriotism.

In this connection I desire to submit one of exceptional merit recently written by a former Member of this House, the Hon. Henry Sherman Boutell, who served here for 14 years with great distinction and later was appointed by President Taft as our minister to Switzerland, where he rendered faithful and honorable service to the United States.

[First published in Washington Star May 25, 1917.]

WE'RE BOUND TO SEE IT THROUGH.

(Recruiting song and march. Air: Benny Havens or Wearing of the Green.)

I.

O fathers, give your sons with pride,
With joy, O mothers true;
A hundred million voices ask
Your help to see us through.
Your help to see us through, strong hearts,
Your help to see us through;
Our country needs your last, best gift;
Your sons must see us through!

II.

O brothers of our blood and laws,
Our hearts are one with you;
One hundred million voices shout,
We're bound to see you through!
We're bound to see you through, brave kin,
We're bound to see you through;
So signal Haig we're on the way,
We're bound to see him through!

III.

O friends who helped when we were weak,
Who always have been true,
Now we're a hundred million strong,
We're going to help you through.
We're glad to help you through, old friends,
We're glad to help you through;
Wire Papa Joffre we'll soon be there,
We're going to help him through!

IV.

O valiant fighters at the front
Against the vandal crew,
A hundred million voices call,
Our sons will come to you!
Our sons will come to you, brave boys,
Our sons are all for you;
We've got the money and the will
To send our sons to you!

V.

We're fighting freedom's battle, all,
The Old World and the New;
A hundred million voices ask,
Who fails to see it through?
Who fails to see is through, dear sons,
Who fails to see it through?
Let traitor be our name for him
Who fails to see it through!

VI.

Stir up, O God, our ancient faith,
Our hearts with strength endue;
A hundred million voices pray
Help us to see it through!
Help us to see it through, O Lord,
Help us to see it through;
Great God of all the unconquered just,
To victory lead us through!

HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 21, 1917.*

America!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, Rollin J. Wells, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., has written many poems of great merit. I present one of his recent patriotic poems, which ranks as one of his best.

AMERICA!

America! America! The world's aflame to-day,
And thou art called to do thy part and walk the bloody way;
So gird thy loins and draw thy sword, march gloriously and brave,
For where thy starry banner floats no man may be a slave.

America! America! Thou hast been grandly blest;
On thee is laid a sacred charge, to be and do the best;
So let thy every act and deed be singly for the right,
And then no foemen can withstand thy legions in the fight.

America! America! Thy blows should fall like rain,
Until the fires of strife have ceased, and then assuage the pain,
Bind us the wounds and purge the hearts of hatred and of strife,
And lift the nations that have warred unto a better life.

America! America! Thy treasures are untold;
The greatest of thy treasures, still, is not thy hoards of gold;
But goodly, gracious, kindly deeds, that help mankind to see
That peace and charity and love are emblems of the free.

—Rollin J. Wells.

The Daily Argus Leader, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., under date of May 28, 1917, printed this poem at the head of its editorial column and made the following comment:

At the head of the editorial columns to-day we print a fine poem from the pen of Rollin J. Wells, of this city. This splendid contribution to the patriotic literature of the year was first published in the New York Times on May 16. Since then Mr. Wells has received many letters of congratulation. One writer suggests its publication as a poster and another writes for the courtesy of an autograph copy. In the judgment of this newspaper the poem ranks with Mr. Wells's best.

Distribution of Agricultural Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY A. CLARK,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for many reasons it is apparent to me that legislation along the lines of this bill is necessary. Its essential features are securing and furnishing of seed, supplying labor, prevention of waste, increasing food production, dissemination of information, and elimination of disease and destruction of pests. All of these are important, but not in the same degree.

Without seed and labor increased production can not be secured.

The committee held several meetings and before it appeared men of national reputation, equipped by years of experience, and gave to the committee the benefit of their knowledge. I particularly refer to the officials and assistants of the Department of Agriculture. They understand the agricultural conditions of the country and are qualified to speak with authority.

From the statements made before the committee and the exercise of its own judgment this bill was framed. I rely upon some of these statements and this judgment, together with my own investigations, in support of this bill in the main. Personally I believe something might have been added to it.

Some facts are beyond controversy. There is a present shortage of food products and also a prospective one. Prices have increased and are now increasing, and this faster than a corresponding increase in wages. The farmer needs seed and labor. Continued academic discussion will not accomplish much; action is needed. The farms have been stripped of laborers by the high wages of munition factories.

Increased acreage, seed, and labor problems can in large measure be solved by county organizations, subdivided into township agencies, through which the wants of any locality can be ascertained and made known to the county organization, through it to the State departments of agriculture or public safety committees, and thence placed before the United States Department of Agriculture.

Many of the local wants will be met locally; the owner of the seed and the would-be purchaser can be brought together. An organized force of laborers and of farmers who are willing to assist one another, constituting a movable squad, can be secured in each township. There must be some directing agency to supervise all this.

The United States Department of Agriculture seems to me the established organization to undertake this work.

It will take time, intelligence, and money; the latter this House ought to supply, and that liberally.

As to present prices of food, I quote from the Farmers' Open Forum of April, 1917:

The New York Times Annalist of April 23, 1917, publishes a table showing index numbers of the increase in the cost of living in the last two years. It explains the table as follows: The Annalist index number shows the fluctuations in the average wholesale price of 25 food commodities selected and arranged to represent a theoretical family's food budget. Here are the figures:

For April 24, 1915, index number is 154.
For April 22, 1916, index number is 166.
For April 21, 1917, index number is 270.

In other words, the 25 most common and necessary articles of family use have almost doubled in price in the last two years.

Dun's index figures show similar price increases, as follows:

Between April 1, 1914, and April 1, 1917, dairy and garden products increased 84 per cent, meat 46 per cent, clothing 49 per cent, metals 69 per cent, and foodstuffs 105 per cent.

A few days ago the Old Dutch Market (Inc.), of Washington, D. C., which operates a large string of stores selling meats, canned goods, eggs, vegetables, etc., published a comparison of prices of April, 1914, and April, 1917. It deals in all with 60 table necessities. The average increase on all items listed is 85.32 per cent during that period.

As a corollary to this, we have the report issued on April 26 of the food committee appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. "Interesting figures were obtained," says the committee, "from the proprietors of some of the smaller stores, whose business is with the poorer people. They show clearly that the poor have been compelled to resort to the strictest economy in order to provide food, on account of high prices. Their purchases are of the cheapest possible articles and in smaller quantities than heretofore. The sale of ordinary cuts of meat in this class of stores seems to have been discontinued and the meat now purchased consists of hog livers, hog kidneys, neck bones, hog faces, etc."

Following the food riots in New York, Miss Helen M. Todd was appointed to make an investigation of the effect on school children of the high cost of food. She reported last week that in the poorer districts diet has been so cut down that the children's scholarship has suffered materially through malnutrition, and that public-school teachers complain that the children are unable to maintain their grades.

The Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for April, 1917, tells the same story. In the four years from February 15, 1913, to February 15, 1917, flour increased in price 69 per cent, eggs 61 per cent, potatoes 224 per cent. A 16-ounce loaf of bread cost on February 15, 1914, $0.055; on February 15, 1915, $0.063; on February 15, 1916, $0.062; and on February 15, 1917, $0.071. Bread to-day is 10 cents a loaf. As this goes to press wheat is $3 a bushel in the western markets.

As to coal, the Black Diamond Magazine and the Coal Trade Journal show that the average retail price of anthracite range coal in New York was $5 a ton in January, 1915, and $8.75 a ton in January, 1917. Soft coal at the mines was from $0.80 to $1.65 a ton in December, 1914, and from $4.75 to $6.50 a ton in January, 1917; this in the face of yearly increasing output.

Everybody is aware of the shortage conditions. No quotations or citations are needed to prove the fact. We have already made huge appropriations for different objects. Some of the money realized out of the contributions to other nations may be intended for the purchase of food, but we have got to first get the food, and we have to raise it from our own farm land.

The total value of all farm lands in Pennsylvania, by the census of 1910, was $1,253,274,862; that State ranks twelfth in the value of its agricultural products, and the value of farm lands in the United States was $40,991,449,090.

In one bill we voted $7,000,000,000 for war measures, approximately six times the entire value of all the farm lands in Pennsylvania and more than one-sixth of the value of all the farm lands in the United States. Out of these farm lands we have got to produce that without which bullets and bayonets, swords and cannon, munitions and sacrifice are useless.

There are more men under arms in Europe than there were men, women, and children in the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War. This force is not a creating but a consuming one. They have been taken away from the fields of production, and now it is proposed to send more from our own country; this can only accentuate the conditions now existing of high prices and shortage of food.

In the passage of this bill we can afford to aid the Department of Agriculture in a work that must be done, can not be deferred, and in the hope that it will be successfully performed; failure means disaster.

Speech of Hon. Frederick C. Hicks, of Long Island.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech of Hon. FREDERICK C. HICKS, of Long Island, delivered at Port Washington, Long Island, on May 30, 1917.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS, OF LONG ISLAND, DELIVERED AT PORT WASHINGTON, LONG ISLAND, ON MAY 30, 1917.

It is a keen pleasure for me to participate with you in the program of the day, and I appreciate to the fullest the courtesy of the invitation and the warmth of your generous welcome.

Those who witnessed at Mineola a few hours ago the inspiring review of the Defense Guard of Nassau County must have been deeply impressed by those splendid bodies of men which so signally express the spirit, the purpose, and the determination of the times. In Suffolk County and in Queens the same fervent patriotism and unqualified loyalty is made manifest by similar organizations, all responding to the Nation's needs. In this crisis let none but Americans be on guard on the ramparts of American freedom, with loyalty to country and to flag the watchword of the hour.

This public park is dedicated to education, which through all the ages has been the impelling force of civilization, the impregnable bulwark of enlightenment, the very foundation upon which rests the mighty structures of free democracies; the security for all time for free thought, free speech, and free action. We place to-day on this consecrated spot a cannon which we dedicate to the patriotism of this and future generations of our boys and girls. May it be a silent reminder to them of the heroic deeds of our past and instill into their minds and hearts and souls the same high conception of self-sacrifice, the same steadfast adherence to duty which inspired their fathers and their fathers' fathers in every trying hour in the history of the Republic.

Fifty-two years have passed away since Grant met Lee at Appomattox. The rejoicings which swept over the northland on the termination of that terrible conflict are now but a memory. The hatred and bitterness between those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray have faded away. Most of those old heroes of the Grand Army have passed to the great unknown. Those who survive live in the conscious pride that a grateful people still pay them reverence for their deeds of a half century ago. For the old veterans of sixty-one the twilight shadows are lengthening. Soon darkness will fall, and they will sleep the eternal sleep, but the record of their bravery and of

their achievements will forever remain a standard of undaunted courage and self-sacrifice for others to emulate. While time has obliterated the old animosities and thinned the ranks of the survivors of that great struggle, the lesson which they taught, the example which they set by their life's blood, lives on. Their work is done; ours has just begun. Their triumph has been achieved; ours must be won. We accept the responsibility, old fighters of yesterday, and pledge our lives to the trust. Again the bugle has sounded the call that never knows retreat and the flag marches onward. It is a call to duty that comes from every battle field of the Revolution and from every cemetery where sleep the soldiers whose graves number the pages of this country's history. Its voice rises out of the depths of the sea as the waves echo the shouts of the victors in the War of 1812. The strident note sounds clear as it comes to us from Gettysburg and Antietam, Atlanta, and the Wilderness. It comes to us from the roar of cannon in far-off Manila Bay. It is the spirit of America calling to her sons and daughters in this crucial hour when the destinies of civilization hang in the balance.

It is an appeal to sacrifice, to manhood, to all that we cherish and hold most dear in life; a command to duty, demanding of everyone, regardless of race or creed or birth or color, full and absolute service to his country. Heed the call, O my countrymen, in this hour of the Nation's peril. Respond with all your splendid courage, with all your determination, with all your faith, and thus will the great Republic go onward bearing aloft, undimmed by the clouds of war, the torch of freedom, of religious toleration, of representative democracy, and of opportunity for our children and the generations yet to come.

This is no time for the coward, the weakling, or the carping critic. Faultfinding and discontent unfortunately will come as an incident to the war. When the grumblings of the faint-hearted and the criticisms of the "copperheads" are heard, then is the time of all times for the stout-hearted, courageous men and women to demonstrate their patriotism anew by increased support of the Government and those charged with the direction of its affairs. Then is the time for the strong and fearless to say to the weak and timid, "We will stand by the country and the flag no matter what the cost." Come what may, there must be no dillydallying, no halfway measures, no faltering. This war was not of our choosing; we committed no act of hostility, we broke no treaty, we violated no right. The Imperial German Government was the aggressor and the trespasser, forcing war upon us. However loath we may have been to take up arms, we are now equally determined not to lay them down until this war ends with victory, complete and absolute, resting upon our banner.

"The call to arms has sounded,
And the echo of the cry
Is answered by God's country
As our soldier boys go by.

Our flag floats proudly o'er them;
'Tis the emblem of the free;
'Tis the flag our fathers fought for
On the land and on the sea."

America stands forth to-day as a participant in the greatest conflict of all history and has thrown her mighty resources in the scales against German aggression. For two years and more we have been silent witnesses of the terrible war across the seas, praying that "on earth peace, good will toward men" might become an actuality—a precept for the future guidance of nations. May the sunrise of that day hasten in its coming and in the fullness of its righteousness see established a peace so permanent that forevermore mankind will enjoy its blessings.

In the midst of trials and provocations we have been patient and forbearing. We have condoned insults to our flag and ignored the ruthless destruction of the lives and property of our citizens; we have endured the abrogation of our rights as a neutral Nation and remained passive when the laws of humanity and of nations have been violated. We appealed to justice, to international law, and to the humane instincts of civilization, but our appeals were made in vain. Protest and remonstrance have been futile. Continued patience and forbearance cease to be a virtue when arrogant and despotic power demands submission to brute force. Instead they become a confession of timidity and weakness—evidence that this Nation supinely submits to injury and insult. No longer can a great self-respecting Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the cause of human rights, continue unmindful of the disregard of those rights and of the principles of law and justice.

Cherishing our traditions and our ideals, determined to preserve all that civilization has acquired in its centuries of advancement up through the ages, America draws the sword for humanity against despotism. We wage battle for defense of our national existence, for the maintenance of our rights, for the reestablishment of law and order. We join in the conflict to prevent arrogant military power and autocratic political creeds from strangling free governments and to stop for all time the violation of treaties and of national obligations. We enter the war not for conquest or territorial aggrandizement, not for trade expansion or commercial development, not for any indemnity or political advantage which peace may bring. There is no hatred in our hearts for the German people. Our quarrel is not with them, only sympathy that they have been misled; victims crushed under the iron heel of the Prussian military oligarchy.

To-day representative democracy and military autocracy are in a death struggle on the plains of Europe. One or the other will prevail and become the standard of government for the future. The American people take their stand on the side of democracy and place their faith in divine Providence, confident that the star of destiny will guide the great Republic onward to victory and to glory.

THE FLAG.

"Stars of the early dawning, set in a field of blue;
Stripes of the sunrise splendor, crimson and white of hue;
Flag of our fathers' fathers born on the field of strife,
Phœnix of fiery battle risen from human life;
Given for God and freedom; sacred, indeed, the trust
Left by the countless thousands returned to the silent dust.

Flag of a mighty nation waving aloft unfurled,
Kissed by the sun of heaven, caressed by the winds o' the world;
Greater than kingly power, greater than all mankind;
Conceived in the need of the hour, inspired by the Master Mind;
Over the living children, over the laureled grave,
Streaming on high in the cloudless sky, banner our fathers gave.

Flag of a new-born era, token of every right
Wrung from a tyrant power, unawed by a tyrant's might;
Facing again the menace outflung from a foreign shore,
Meeting again the challenge as met in the years before;
Under thy spangled folds thy children await to give
All that they have or are that the flag they love shall live."

"Shall School Children Beg?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent given me, I desire to call attention to some unfortunate features of the school system of the District of Columbia. I think it is demoralizing to permit little girls to solicit money from strangers. It is reprehensible for teachers or other public employees to attempt to increase their emoluments at the expense of the morals and education of the school children. I insert here a rather remarkable circular letter and my answer thereto:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 29, 1917.*

To the parents of the pupils of the Force School:

Last year, by the efforts of teachers and pupils, $400 was raised for the playground fund. Seventy-five dollars was given to the general fund and $200 was spent in keeping open our school playground and coaching school for six weeks during the summer. The remaining $150 was kept for current expenses.

Thirty-one boys and girls, fifth to eighth grades, attended the coaching class; 8 of these were enabled to skip a grade; 3 of the 8 skipped another grade in February, thus saving one year of school work; 9 were able to make up deficiencies, and thus gain promotion; 14 others were helped to keep their standing. Doesn't such work seem worth while?

The work done was of such benefit to the children, and they were so eager to do the work, that the teachers feel the same opportunity should be open to others this summer. There should be two classes, one for the primary grades and one for the intermediate. To do this and carry on the playground work $300 is needed.

Congress has appropriated for some schools, but the demand is so great we feel that we, in our neighborhood, must take care of our own. Will you help?

Please answer the following:

1. Do you approve of the children raising the money by their own efforts?
2. Do you prefer voluntary contributions by the parents?
3. If so, how much will you give?
4. Do you desire to have a parent-teacher association organized for the Force School?

Respectfully, yours, JANET MCWILLIAM, *Principal.*

—

JUNE 1, 1917.

MISS JANET MCWILLIAM,
Principal Force School, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MISS MCWILLIAM: Your circular letter of May 29 brought home by the children yesterday calls attention to the efforts which you made last year to raise money through the work of the school children for certain undefined activities connected with the playgrounds and the summer schools. I kept your circular letter because I wanted to answer it more definitely and concisely.

I do not approve of the methods which were pursued last year in raising money through the efforts of school children, and I trust the plan will be abandoned before it is necessary to stop it by positive legislation. Nothing of this kind is permitted in the best-regulated schools throughout the country. The method is reprehensible, even though the purpose in raising the money is of the very highest order. It is degrading and demoralizing to permit little girls to sell tickets except to members of their immediate family, and it can hardly be recommended even in the case of boys. During the last year, I have been surprised to find that the children were being instructed to sell tickets for various moving-picture shows. The shows were the price of the ordinary 5-cent variety and not educational in character, and on the special day when part of the proceeds went to the school fund the price of the tickets was 10 cents. I have bought these tickets from my children in order that their feelings might not be hurt by a failure to sell the tickets given to them, but I have refused to permit them to sell them or attempt to sell them to strangers. Mrs. Borland visited one of these entertainments and found, as I say, that the show given was the ordinary 5-cent show of a very inferior character.

Of course, the children can not be compelled to sell the tickets, and no person connected with the school has authority to give the children any such instructions, but it is hard to make the child's mind understand the difference between orders which the teacher has the power to give and enforce and such instructions as the teacher is giving without authority of law, the compliance with which is within the discretion and control of the parents. The child very naturally gets the idea that what the teacher asks him to do is compulsory. This is another of the many evils connected with the sale of tickets and soliciting money in public schools.

I also object seriously, in common with a great many other parents with whom I have talked, to the excessive number of holidays in the lower grades of the Washington schools. Each time one of these picture shows is given there is a holiday or a half holiday. School is dismissed also for every circus and every parade of any kind. As public displays of various kinds are numerous in Washington, the result is that there are more holidays than in any place outside of Old Mexico. If there were fewer holidays in the lower grades, there would be less need for these summer schools to coach the delinquent students. I have found it necessary with my two children to conduct a coaching school of my own in order that they might learn with some thoroughness arithmetic and the ordinary primary subjects. I often wonder what other parents do who do not have the time to devote to their children's education outside of school hours.

The management of the Washington schools has been so lax in recent years as to give little cause for pride, although Congress has endeavored by an extremely liberal method of appropriation to provide a way for the very best character of public education.

Having expressed my views upon the evil effects of the collection of money through the efforts of the children, let me say further that all experience demonstrates the evils connected with the unregulated and unaudited illegal collection and disbursement of funds for public purposes. It is very easy under a plausible pretext such as summer schools or playgrounds to break down the safeguards of law in public matters. No collection of money for public purposes should be made except by authority of law and with the safeguards of supervising and auditing which must show exactly how much money is received, who is responsible for it, to whom it is paid out, and for what purposes. Nothing could be more lax or more certain to invite suspicion than the collection of money through school children without authority of law and without proper accounting.

Let me say further that Congress, through its proper committees, has repeatedly considered in the most careful and painstaking manner the needs of the public schools of the District and the needs of the playgrounds, and has appropriated liberally for this purpose. It must be assumed that Congress has given all the money that it felt was needed or could be wisely expended for these purposes. To solicit money from the individual patrons of the school implies in the strongest possible way that Congress has not appropriated properly or sufficiently for the purpose. I am very much opposed to any money being expended for this purpose without the proper estimate and the publicity which surrounds a regular appropriation.

As to the playgrounds, there has unfortunately been a scandal connected with this very worthy and necessary object. Congress found a few years ago that an excessive amount of money was being expended in salaries of people who were supposed to teach the children how to play. The number of employees who were drawing compensation was vastly in excess of the amount that was really spent upon the playgrounds, and a very necessary check was put upon the matter by law. I assume that the plan was then conceived of keeping these employees still on the pay roll by requiring the school children to sell tickets and otherwise solicit money. If this is the case and if the persons are being employed out of these voluntary subscriptions whose employment has been discountenanced by Congress it indicates one of the many evils connected with this practice.

As to the summer schools, the public ought to know that the teachers in the Washington schools are paid by the year, which is the case in very few school districts in the United States. The time of the teachers, therefore, for 12 months in the year belongs to the public, and if it were desirable to hold summer schools certain teachers should be designated by the school director to conduct such schools without extra cost to the taxpayers. The teachers in the District of Columbia are paid much better than the teachers in the same class throughout the United States and have various special privileges, such as longevity pay, which do not exist elsewhere. It is not always true that high pay and easy work gives superior services in public affairs, although, in common with most Members of Congress, I am a believer in paying wages which are fully up to the best pay elsewhere.

The management of the Washington schools has been very lax, but so many of these petty evils have occurred in the last few years that I very much hoped that a change would be made in the personnel of the management, but unfortunately the change did not take place.

To sum up the matter, I consider the collection of money through the school children reprehensible in every respect. I consider the voluntary contributions by patrons of the schools unnecessary and indefensible. I consider the handling of extra funds by school officials without authority or the safeguards of law as extremely objectionable. I regard the giving of entertainments by the school or for the benefit of its teachers to the detriment of school work as an injustice upon the patrons of the school. I regard the payment of extra compensation to teachers, who are already employed by the year, as illegal and unwarranted. I am quite certain that when publicity is given to this matter in Congress and among the taxpayers of the District a very decided objection to this method will be made.

Yours, truly,

WM. P. BORLAND.

Address of Hon. W. Frank James, of Michigan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

BY

HON. PATRICK H. KELLEY,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Hon. W. FRANK JAMES, of Michigan, delivered at Arlington National Cemetery on Memorial Day, May 30, 1917.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. W. FRANK JAMES, OF MICHIGAN.

We have gathered here to-day to pay a memorial tribute to our brave comrades of '98 who went down in Habana Harbor in the *Maine*.

"He has come back home, asleep,
With the flag above his face;
With the starry fold to keep
Guard above his resting place;
And beneath blue summer skies,
Where he dreams below the sod,
But a single rosebud lies
Now between his heart and God!"

They have gone to join the heroes who fought at Bunker Hill!
They have gone to clasp the hands of those who suffered at Valley Forge!
They have gone to live with those who fell at Monterey!
They have gone to meet those who died at Gettysburg!

This is not a new bereavement, but one which time, the healer of even the most severe grief, has softened. These are not new-made graves we garland, for over them all nature has already spread the memorials of her love. They have received the benediction of her sunshine and her tears, and above them her vines and grasses have spread the mantle of immortality.

Memorial Day is America's most sacred holiday, dedicated to the memory of those veterans who were willing to offer up their lives upon the battle fields or on the seven seas that their country might live.

This sacred day of memory is the one day of the three hundred and sixty-five upon which the busy, bustling Americans lay aside all labor to pay a heartfelt tribute to the "raw recruit of 1861," to those sturdy "boys" who joined in the glad chorus, "We are Coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand Strong," and also to the "Rookie of 1898," who enlisted in the Spanish-American War at the call of another martyred President—William McKinley.

Of the nearly 3,000,000 soldiers who "tented on the old camp grounds" in 1861 there now remains but a corporal's guard. The ranks of the brave boys in blue of 1861 who fought so gloriously at Mission Ridge, at Chickamauga, at Gettysburg, and hundreds of other glorious battlefields are now being rapidly thinned by Father Time; 20,000 or more have passed over the great divide to answer to the last "roll call" during the past year.

Their marching line is now thinned to color bearers and file leaders; It is now only a spectre army of gray-haired men, who once a year on Memorial Day keep step to the shrill of the old fife and the taps of the muffled war drums. To-day the worn blue line closes up the gap made upon it by another year; again it is marching to the "Bivouac of the Dead" to pay tribute to their old comrades, and beside the worn line of blue marches the thin line of the gray.

Those in the robings of glory,
These in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet.
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day,
Under the laurel the blue,
Under the willow the gray.

From the silence of sorrowful hours
The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly laden with flowers,
Alike for the friend and the foe.
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day,
Under the roses the blue,
Under the lilies the gray.

As we attend each successive Memorial Day exercises we see fewer and fewer of the old familiar faces, and it will only be the space of a few short years when we will be called upon to attend the last rites of the last hero of the Civil War and hear our chaplain repeat these solemn words: "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, and dust to dust."

When the last hero of 1861 has passed to his reward the veterans of 1898 will carry the good work onward, until they, too, pass over the great divide; but until that time Memorial Day will be to us who were lucky or unlucky enough to have

taken part in the Spanish-American War a sacred trust, bequeathed to us by the immortal heroes of the Civil War.

My fellow citizens, our duty is not done by simply observing Memorial Day, or by building monuments to the memories of our departed heroes. You must see to it, you who fought in 1861 and in 1898 so gallantly for your country, and you who reap to-day the harvest of their heroism, that your influence goes abroad for pure morals, and guard as you would your life the liberties handed to you.

The future of America lies in what our citizens make it to-day. The entire world is looking to America; there are no new continents.

Friends, we are still in the "broad field of battle"; we are still in the "bivouac of life." Whether or not you are a true American will be answered by the courage and the sincerity with which you defend the institutions and the liberties of your citizenship. Bare your heads beneath the folds of the flag, "bathed in the blood of your fathers and your countrymen."

"The beat of the drum and the call of the bugle" are hushed, but to-day this Nation needs the same daring, the same fearlessness, the same courage that inspired the boys in blue in 1861 and 1898.

If this country is worth living in, it is worth dying for. If the time shall ever come when the youth of our Nation are not willing to die for their country if need be, then comes the day when this Nation shall cease to exist.

It is better to die for the flag,
For its red and its white and its blue,
Than to hang back and shirk and to lag,
And let the flag sink out of view.

It is better to give up this life,
In the heat and thick of the strife,
Than to live out your days 'neath a sky
Where Old Glory shall never more fly.
—Edward A. Guest.

I have never been a peace-at-any-price man, and I have always believed that the best way to keep out of trouble was to be prepared. In speeches on Memorial Day at Ironwood and Bessemer, Mich., two years ago to-day, I said, in part:

I believe in peace; I am a man of peace, but am not a peace-at-any-price man. Peace is a wonderful thing. It is the very climax of a nation's joy.

There can be no argument over what a glorious thing peace is; neither can there be any argument over the horrors of war. But there is a vast difference between "peace with honor" and "peace-at-any-price." Peace-at-any-price is the Chinese kind of peace. Peace-at-any-price is a temporary physical safety at the expense of moral courage to fight. The believers in peace-at-any-price would have licked the hand of George the Third; the believers in peace-at-any-price would have allowed Jeff Davis and his followers to have disrupted the Union. Peace-at-any-price is an unfailing sign of national decay. No nation, no matter how mighty it may be, can long endure that either refuses to protect its citizens or its honor.

There is no good American patriot who does not believe in peace and who will not strive for honorable peace until such a time as peace shall cease to be a virtue and become abject cowardice.

Instead of forming societies for the advancement of peace we need more societies that shall advocate patriotism as a primary ideal; yes, patriotism even ahead of peace.

There is no need for us to waste time in talking about the horrors of a war—we all admit their horror. Why not spend some time in "discussing the horrors of a war which unpreparedness for war begets."?

Inability of self-defense is a perpetual invitation to assault. I do not believe in the militarism of the great powers of Europe, but better that even than the abject spectacle of a mighty China before a tiny Japan—one prepared and the other clamoring for peace-at-any-price.

I would rather see this great Nation of ours to perish from the face of the earth than to have it lose its honor, its manhood, or its self-respect.

In these days that try men's souls let us pray to God that President Wilson shall speak the words befitting each occasion—speak them firmly and with the assurance that he has the sentiments and faith of all patriotic Americans behind him.

These are no days for British-Americans, German-Americans, French-Americans, or any other kind of a hyphenated American.

We only want the kind of Americans who are proud that Old Glory is our standard. As patriotic Americans we stand for national honor and for national protection. We stand for a united people. We are a humane people; we are a God-fearing people; we hate no other nation; we have no envy of any other nation; we have no desire for any quarrel with any other nation. We only insist upon our divine right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Those were my ideas two years ago, and they are my ideas now. Much as we hoped for peace with honor, it was not to be. We have been forced into war by a great nation, and it is our duty now to do all that we can to bring this war to a successful issue and as quickly as possible.

I am not one of those who believe that Germany is nearly beaten. On the contrary, I am firmly of the opinion that if we did not enter the war now the allies would be defeated. We have entered the war at this time, in my opinion, not only to protect the lives of our people but because we realized that if the allies were defeated we would be "easy picking" for the central powers.

We alone of all the nations are financially able to pay an indemnity, and the central powers would collect from us billions and billions of dollars.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It is no little "skirmish" for which we are preparing, but a war to the death with the greatest military nation of all times. Either German militarism must be defeated or else the greatest Republic of all times will pay an indemnity that will keep our children and our children's children poor to pay. We will be fortunate, if we lose, if we escape paying a large indemnity of land as well.

Let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that while we are raising an army of 1,000,000 men that they will not have to go to France to fight. We will be lucky, indeed, if we do not have to send 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 men to France. If Russia should have civil war or conclude a separate peace, then our lot would be harder still.

Standing on the street corners stating we "never have been licked and never will be" will not win this war. This is no "talk fest," but the greatest war of this or any other time. Let us hope that "young America" will wake to the realization that this war is a real war before it is too late.

Standing on the street corner telling how much "you love your country" is not patriotism. All talk and no action is not patriotism. When a man says, "I love my country, but I can not fight," that is not patriotism—that is the cry of the weakling and the coward. But when a man says, "I love my country and I am ready to fight and, if need be, die for it," that is patriotism.

No one but a most arrant coward would say that we should do our share by merely loaning money to the allies. Were we to do that and that alone, we would be just as contemptible as the man who, too cowardly to fight for his country, hired a substitute.

This is a man's war, and we must do a man's part. Poor, plucky, brave France is bleeding to death. Are we going to forget that were it not for France there would be no United States? Are we going to forget De Grasse, Rochambeau, and the immortal Lafayette? I can not believe that America is not willing to pay the debt of gratitude we owe France. We must get men over to France at once, not only for the help they might be but because we want to have our allies know that we have entered this war not with money alone but with men—millions of men—as well.

I want to see the American flag in the trenches in Europe at once, and for that reason I voted for the so-called Roosevelt amendment in the selective-draft bill. What more inspiring sight to our allies, and what more depressing news to the central powers than the news that a former President of the United States was on his way with 80,000 to 100,000 men? Whether we love "Teddy" or hate him, we must admit that he is no "slacker," no "mollycoddle," but a fighting man through and through.

As the little parody on Kipling's "Tommy Atkins" runs:

TEDDY.

It's "Teddy this" and "Teddy that," and "Teddy 'ow's yer soul?"
But it's "Way for Mr. Roosevelt!" when the country's in a hole;
When the Nation's in a hole, my friends, and the war cloud's rising black,
Then it's "Room for Col. Roosevelt!" for our Teddy's coming back.
It's "Traitor to his party," and it's "Not the people's choice,"
But it's "Citizen and patriot" when they hear the cannon's voice;
When they scent the smoke of battle, boys, and need a million men,
It's "Rah for Gen. Roosevelt!" and who's the "traitor" then?

Some people say, "Why should we send our boys to the trenches of France?" The answer is easy—our liberty is just as much at stake as the liberty of France. We are going to send an American Army to France to fight the battles of America, for the liberty of America, and the democracy of America. It is better to keep the "hell" over there—the raping, burning, and destruction of all kinds—than to wait until too late, and then have the "hell" over here. If our allies with our assistance can not defeat the central powers now, of what avail would our feeble efforts be a little later? Now is the time to strike, and to strike hard.

Not only are we fighting for liberty, but France and her allies are doing the same. The patriotic Viviani well expressed it the other day:

Why do all these people fight?
They fought to elevate all the peoples of the world toward the ideal and toward liberty; they fought to make the world a place in which men could breathe freely, and they did not fail.
I salute the hour of victory, with the pious hope that the spirit of Washington will become your spirit.
Lift your heads, citizens of America, lift them as high as your flag.

Seeing that we are at war, we expect absolute loyalty from all—native Americans as well as those adopted Americans who swore a solemn oath that they renounced all other lands for this land. Being born here does not give one any especial privilege to be disloyal or treasonable. On the contrary, it only makes the act the more outrageous and damnable. Benedict Arnold was a native born, but I do not remember any monuments being erected to his memory. Neither have I heard of anyone "boasting" of the fact that he is a descendant of Benedict Arnold. Some people do not seem to realize the difference between liberty and treason.

This is not the time to mince words, my friends.

Every man living in the United States may just as well understand now as a little later that no matter where he was born or from where his ancestors came, that he can not wear the American flag on his sleeve and the flag of another country across his heart.

Most of the people here—or their ancestors—came here to avoid oppression or to better their condition. Any time they do not like this country, or our policies, they are free to go, but so long as they are here we expect from them absolute loyalty. We expect them to shed their blood with ours for the preservation of these United States.

America has been compelled to go to war because a great nation did not heed our command to cease killing American men, women, and children. We were very patient about it; many of us would have gone to war long before.

Now that we have gone to war, we say to every man living here:

"Are you an American citizen or a subject of some foreign government?"

"Are you with us or against us?" If against us, "Here's your hat; what's your hurry?"

You can not call yourself an American and be against American policy and preach and plan and conspire against our well-being.

It is a show-down, and the lines are going to be drawn tighter and tighter from now on. You are either with us or against us; there is no being "neutral" in this war.

Some people seem to think that we ought to be satisfied if they are "neutral" in this fight. Why, you can not be neutral in a fight between your country and the enemy.

You are either with it heart and soul or you are against it—a traitor.

Quit talking and writing rank treason,
While under Old Glory you stand,
Or break with us fairly and squarely,
And *Go* with your heart in your hand.
We honor a gallant opponent,
Respect a conviction sincere,
But damned be the man with two faces,
Let him get the blazes out of here!

As I told a man from Philadelphia the other day who wrote me complaining of my vote on increasing the Army:

It occurs to me, sir, that you do not like this country. You seem to want to neither fight for it yourself nor to allow anyone else to fight for it. If your own Congressman is too busy to get you a passport to the country that you seem to prefer to this, I will gladly secure the same for you.

We have decided by an overwhelming vote that wherever an American goes "lawfully and observing the law, there the flag goes with him, and there it must ever go."

Of course some native Americans, in whom the blood of their forefathers who fought at Bunker Hill, the Alamo, Chickamauga, Gettysburg, and Santiago has begun to run so thin that it shows a lemon tinge, do not agree with this splendid American policy.

Neither will some of our adopted Americans, whose only patriotic thrills come on pay day, when they are paid off in good American money according to the American wage scale, or on election day, when they help to swell the majority at some close election precinct.

But, thank God, out of our more than 100,000,000 people there are few, very few, of these, else there were no United States.

It is not only the duty of every American citizen to be loyal and patriotic himself but it is his duty to instill the same patriotism in his children. Let us consider it is just as much our duty to teach our children to love their country as it is our duty to teach them to love their God.

WE TALK OF THE FLAG.

"Tell me about the flag," he said,
As I was putting him to bed,
"And why men wave their hats and cheer
Whenever it is drawing near."
And so we stopped undressing then
To talk about the time when men
Were facing cannon shot and shell
To serve the flag we love so well.

I told him of the men who died
In frozen wood and countryside
Long years ago in battles grim
To keep a flag like that for him,
I told him all about the stars,
The spotless white and crimson bars,
And what they dreamed of and they sought
As bitterly they bled and fought.

"Let no one tell you as you grow
That nothing to the flag you owe.
Let no one whisper that it means
But pleasant days and peaceful scenes,
And merely calls to mind a land
Where wealth abounds on every hand,
Because no more that flag will fly
When men for it refuse to die.

"And it may be," said I, "that you
Must some day serve that banner, too;
And then if such a day should come
That sounds again the stirring drum
And blows once more the martial fife,
Be not a slave to peaceful life.
As they were men, you be a man
And give that flag the best you can.

—Edward A. Guest.

And while we honor those who fought in 1861 and 1898 and while we cheer those who are to fight for us now, let us not forget that the mother is entitled to all honor and respect as well. While her part is a "silent" part, it is a very important part in the play after all.

You may boast men's deeds of glory, you may tell their courage great,
But to die is easier service than alone to sit and wait;
And I hail the little mother with the tear-stained face and grave
Who has given the flag a soldier—she's the bravest of the brave
And the banner we are proud of, with its red and blue and white,
Is a lasting tribute holy to all mothers' love of right.

—Edward A. Guest.

And we owe just as much honor and respect to the wife who has to stay home and raise her boys to be manly men like the father. Hers is as heroic a part as the part of her "man" who does the fighting:

I only pray that while he is away
You guard and guide him day by day.
And give me strength to tend his little ones
Until he comes.
On land or sea,
Wherever he may be,
God bless my man for me.

Talk about love of country and love of the flag—why, my friends, you can no more love your flag or your country too much, any more than you can give too much love to the mother who bore you.

No honor for our country can be too deep; no love can be too pure; no patriotism can be too true and too steadfast.

No one who has not enlisted to follow the colors can appreciate the love of the soldier for the flag:

Love of the flag? Well, what do they know of it?
What do the men of their kind ever know of it,
Who stand on their legs when the colors go by
And yelp with the others and never know why?
What do they know who dodge all the wars
And don't know the colors except at bazaars?

If you want to love the flag with a love beyond all understanding, a love as strong as the love of a mother for her child, enlist and march behind it, and then you will know what "love of the flag" means.

It is said that when the French Army was in full retreat from Moscow, and when the French soldiers, frozen by the cold and exhausted by hunger, dropped by the hundreds along the wayside, they would rise up as Napoleon went by, and cry out, "Long live the Emperor!" and then drop back in the snow as their winding sheet. What was it the French soldier cheered as Napoleon passed by? Was it the man who had crossed the bridge at Lodi? Was it he who had annihilated the Russians at Austerlitz; or was it the man who had crossed the Alps and won the lost Battle of Marengo? Ah, no; they cheered because they saw in that gray coat and that cocked hat, the visions of the vine-covered cottage on the banks of the Seine or the Loire—the gray-haired father, the yearning eyes of the mother, the little brothers and sisters, and all the delights of home.

So to-day when we see the American soldier going by, carrying the red, white, and blue of Old Glory we cheer. And what do we cheer? Not an aggregation of khaki-clothed men, but we

cheer because we see in the Stars and Stripes the vision of a reunited country of the Blue and the Gray that knows no North or no South; we cheer because we see in that flag the vision of a great race formed by the melting of former Germans, former Austrians, former British, former French, former Italians into one great American race; a race that knows no other land than this land; a race that knows no other flag but the Stars and Stripes; and a race that knows no other motto than "United we stand, divided we fall."

Newspaper Censorship.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 2, 1917.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent having been given me to extend my remarks upon the clause submitted by the conferees providing for a censorship of the newspapers of the country, I desire to say that in my opinion the real purpose of this measure is not so much for the prevention of the publication of information that would be of comfort to our enemies or detrimental to our own Army as it is to shield the inefficiency of those who will be in high places in the conduct of the affairs of the Nation during the present crisis.

As proof of this assertion, I wish to call attention to the recent exposure with reference to the Commonwealth Pier matter, where a great many Naval Reserves were quartered without sufficient accommodation. Also, to the *Mongolia* tragedy, where two Red Cross nurses were killed. When the newspapers of the country called the attention of the public to this last affair and insisted that a thorough investigation be made as to the real causes leading up to the death of these nurses, and that the excuse offered by the Navy ordnance experts that certain shells fabricated prior to 1900 were defective would not satisfy the American public, the chairman of the committee on public information, Mr. George Creel, who it is generally understood would have charge of the censorship of all news matters if this bill becomes a law, took these newspapers to task and intimated, if he did not directly state, that further criticism of this character would not be tolerated.

That the voluntary censorship imposed upon themselves by the newspapers is quite sufficient for all necessary protection, so far as information useful to the enemy is concerned, has been strikingly illustrated by many important events that have occurred since this war commenced. A few days ago the French commission left this Capital in a special car. Every newspaper reporter in the city knew of their going and of the time of their arrival in New York. There the individual members of the commission were taken from a public pier to their ship, upon which they were to sail to their homes. Yet not one word of their departure was published in any newspaper in this country, and the first information that the public had of their leaving our shores was the news of their safe arrival in France. Since their arrival, however, it has become known that, through some means or other, the German Government was apprised of their departure from our shores, and German submarines were placed in the path of their ship. Fortunately the wireless apprised those in command of the danger ahead of them, and the course of the ship was changed, and the danger thus avoided. But this information was not conveyed to the German Government by any newspaper publication in the United States. Again, our submarine destroyers sailed away from this country to the danger zones of Europe, and not one word of their departure was mentioned in any paper in the United States, and the first intimation that the public had of this event came from Great Britain, through whom we learned that Germany had been apprised of their coming and had sent her submarines out to meet them. But this information was imparted to the enemy by some source other than the newspapers.

In passing, I want to call attention to the ridiculous position in which some critics have placed themselves with reference to this last event. These United States submarine destroyers were dispatched to the danger zones for the purpose of apprehending and destroying German submarines. The German submarines, apprised of the coming of these destroyers, according to statements coming from Great Britain, went out to meet them; and if the reports we receive from Great Britain are true, our destroyers, having information of this fact through wireless messages, changed their course and evaded these submarines. Why did they do this, may well be asked. If their purpose was to destroy the German submarines, why did they not take advantage of this opportunity and commence doing the work that they were sent over to do?

What this administration needs at this time more than anything else is to be protected from its own folly. It is constantly boasting of its desire for the searchlight of publicity, yet it is constantly bringing all the influence that it has at its command to suppress publicity and to suppress the truth with reference to its many glaring mistakes.

The people do not want anything made public that will give aid to the enemy or which will in the least interfere in the proper conduct of the war. Any newspaper that violates this sentiment of the people would immediately receive their condemnation, and knowing this sentiment and knowing the condemnation that would follow its violation is a sufficient guaranty of the proper conduct of the public press.

There is no need of this provision in this measure. It is an insult to the intelligence of the people and violative of their sacred rights.

The people of the United States want to stand by the administration in this crisis as they have done in every other crisis, but they want to do it intelligently. They want to see the path that they are called upon to tread. They are furnishing the money to pay the bills and they will furnish the lives to be sacrificed on our country's altar, and they have a right to know what is going on.

If this is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, in order that it may not perish from the earth, we, the representatives of the people, should unitedly stand in opposition to this attempt at the destruction of one of the fundamental principles on which this Government is founded—freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. Let us not kill our democracy in an attempt to establish a democracy for the world. Let us be careful not to tie the stone of autocracy to our necks while endeavoring to untie it from the necks of the peoples of Europe.

Let us call a halt in the hysteria of the hour long enough to reflect that the lifeblood of every Republic that has preceded ours has been sapped by a viper born of the so-called necessities of war. If we are wise we will profit by their example and kill this viper in the borning.

Letters in Regard to a Loan By the United States to Mexico.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM.
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, June 1, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include copy of my letter to the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, dated May 28, 1917, and his reply thereto, regarding a loan by the United States to Mexico, together with a copy of certain excerpts from the new Mexican constitution:

MAY 28, 1917.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, State Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I respectfully request to be informed whether it is proposed, or even considered remotely possible, that a loan be made to the de jure government of Mexico by the United States Government, or by bankers in the United States, with encouragement or upon guaranty emanating from the United States Government?

Members of Congress have learned that a certain amount of discussion is engaged in in this matter by newspaper men and others; the report now current involving a payment of from $50,000,000 to $100,000,00 by the United States to Mexico, or by American bankers to Mexico.

I realize that this is a matter about which the Congress probably will not be consulted; yet, although the matter lies wholly within the discretion of the executive, it may—even in these times—be permitted that the legislative branch of the Government receive an intimation of the policy to be followed and the reasons determining its adoption. What is more, I am hopeful that in so important a matter the Departments of State and of the Treasury would entertain the views of a Member of Congress, should it appear that there were a basis of truth in the report to which I refer, in which case that Member of Congress would feel it his clear duty to protest against such a plan.

The gravity of the situation in Mexico is so great that I am led to speak with unreserved frankness and earnestness. I sincerely trust that the report is wholly without basis, as indeed one would expect if

one considered only what has been the attitude of the de jure government of Mexico toward the policy of this Government, and what President Wilson felt constrained to say to the Mexican ambassador at the time of his official reception, April 17, as given by the official Mexican organ in the United States, The Mexican Review, May, 1917, page 2.

Did it appear, however, that the Executive was really considering the matter, I should deplore the fact most profoundly. Nothing in the exigencies of the tremendous war in which we have engaged, nor in the long and lofty course of our foreign relations can be found as a basis for a transaction of this character. We can not forswear our traditions by sealing the closest possible bond with a government deliberately dedicated to a program that is wholly repugnant to the principles and institutions of the American people. A great Government loan to the Government of Mexico as now constituted, or official assistance, however informal, to the Mexican Government in securing such a loan from United States bankers, would simply mean that the United States had at last reconciled itself to indorse a program of social, economic, and religious persecution forced upon a neighboring people, which it is unthinkable would be proposed or tolerated at home. I can not square with the apparently high purposes of the President in this war, nor with the historic program of the Nation, any attempt to consolidate or finance a Government cynically frank in the declaration of its purpose to exterminate the foreign investor, the agricultural landowner, and the Christian church of all denominations. All the more is this incredible in view of the report that the Department of State has urged certain American investors not to waive their rights of appeal to their own Government, as insisted upon by the new Mexican constitution, article 27, part 1.

I append certain excerpts from the new Mexican constitution, which I believe amply to illustrate what I have ventured to express in the foregoing, and which themselves require no commentary.

I realize how little time you can give to these matters, but I venture to hope for a reply at your earliest convenience, as I contemplate publishing the present correspondence in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Yours, very truly,

GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, May 29, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. TINKHAM: I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th relative to a loan to the Mexican Government, and beg to inform you that the matter has not been a subject of discussion with this department by any representative of the Mexican Government or by any person or persons having in contemplation the making of such a loan.

Very sincerely, yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1917.

Title 1, chapter 1, article 3. Instruction is free; that given in public institutions of learning shall be secular. Primary instruction, whether higher or lower, given in private institutions shall likewise be secular.

No religious corporation nor minister of any religious creed shall establish or direct schools of primary instruction.

Private primary schools may be established only subject to official supervision.

Primary instruction in public institutions shall be gratuitous.

Title 1, chapter 1, article 27. The ownership of lands and waters comprised within the limits of the national territory is vested originally in the nation, which has had, and has, the right to transmit title thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property.

Private property shall not be expropriated except for reasons of public utilities and by means of indemnification.

The nation shall have at all times the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand as well as the right to regulate the development of natural resources, which are susceptible of appropriation, in order to conserve them and equitably to distribute the public wealth. For this purpose necessary measures shall be taken to divide large landed estates; to develop small landed holdings; to establish new centers of rural population with such lands and waters as may be indispensable to them; to encourage agriculture and to prevent the destruction of natural resources, and to protect property from damage detrimental to society. Settlements, hamlets situated on private property, and communes which lack lands or water or do not possess them in sufficient quantities for their needs shall have the right to be provided with them from the adjoining properties, always having due regard for small landed holdings. Wherefore, all grants of lands made up to the present time under the decree of January 6, 1915, are confirmed. Private property acquired for the said purposes shall be considered as taken for public utility.

In the nation is vested direct ownership of all minerals or substances which in veins, layers, masses, or beds constitute deposits whose nature is different from the components of the land, such as minerals from which metals and metaloids used for industrial purposes are extracted; beds of precious stones, rock salt, and salt lakes formed directly by marine waters, products derived from the decomposition of rocks, when their exploitation requires underground work; phosphates which may be used for fertilizers; solid mineral fuels; petroleum and all hydrocarbons—solid, liquid, or gaseous.

In the nation is likewise vested the ownership of the waters of territorial seas to the extent and in the terms fixed by the law of nations; those of lakes and inlets of bays; those of interior lakes of natural formation which are directly connected with flowing waters; those of principal rivers or tributaries from the points at which there is a permanent current of water in their beds to their mouths, whether they flow to the sea or cross two or more States; those of intermittent streams which traverse two or more States in their main body; the waters of rivers, streams, or ravines, when they bound the national territory or that of the States; waters extracted from mines; and the beds and banks of the lakes and streams hereinbefore mentioned, to the extent fixed by law. Any other stream of water not comprised within the foregoing enumeration shall be considered as an integral part of the private property through which it flows; but the development of the waters when they pass from one landed property to another shall be considered of public utility and shall be subject to the provisions prescribed by the States.

In the cases to which the two foregoing paragraphs refer, the ownership of the nation is inalienable and may not be lost by proscription; concessions shall be granted by the Federal Government to private parties or civil or commercial corporations organized under the laws of Mexico, only on condition that said resources be regularly developed, and on the further condition that the legal provisions be observed.

Legal capacity to acquire ownership of lands and waters of the nation shall be governed by the following provisions:

1. Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the department of foreign affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired. Within a zone of 100 kilometers from the frontiers and of 50 kilometers from the seacoast no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters.

2. The religious institutions known as churches, irrespective of creed, shall in no case have legal capacity to acquire, hold, or administer real property, or loans made on such real property; all such real property or loans as may be at present held by the said religious institutions, either on their own behalf or through third parties, shall vest in the nation, and any one shall have the right to denounce property so held. Presumptive proof shall be sufficient to declare the denunciation well founded. Places of public worship are the property of the nation, as represented by the federal government, which shall determine which of them may continue to be devoted to their present purposes. Episcopal residences, rectories, seminaries, orphan asylumns, or collegiate establishments of religious institutions, convents, or any other buildings built or designed for the administration, propaganda, or teaching of the tenets of any religious creed, shall forthwith vest, as of full right, directly in the nation, to be used exclusively for the public services of the federation or of the States within their respective jurisdictions. All places of public worship which shall later be erected shall be the property of the nation.

3. Public and private charitable institutions for the sick and needy, for scientific research, or for the diffusion of knowledge, mutual-aid societies or organizations formed for any other lawful purpose shall in no case acquire, hold, or administer loans made on real property, unless the mortgage terms do not exceed 10 years. In no case shall institutions of this character be under the patronage, direction, administration, charge, or supervision of religious corporations or institutions, nor of ministers of any religious creed or of their dependents, even though either the former or the latter shall not be in active service.

7. (a) In each State and Territory there shall be fixed the maximum area of land which any one individual or legally organized corporation may own.

(b) The excess of the area thus fixed shall be subdivided by the owner within the period set by the laws of the respective locality, and these subdivisions shall be offered for sale on such conditions as the respective governments shall approve, in accordance with the said laws.

(c) If the owner shall refuse to make the subdivision, this shall be carried out by the local government, by means of expropriation proceedings.

(d) The value of the subdivisions shall be paid in annual amounts sufficient to amortize the principal and interest within a period of not less than 20 years, during which the person acquiring them may not alienate them. The rate of interest shall not exceed 5 per cent per annum.

(e) The owner shall be bound to receive bonds of a special issue to guarantee the payment of the property expropriated. With this end in view the Congress shall issue a law authorizing the States to issue bonds to meet their agrarian obligations.

(f) The local laws shall govern the extent of the family patrimony, and determine what property shall constitute the same on the basis of its inalienability: it shall not be subject to attachment nor to any charge whatever.

All contracts and concessions made by former governments from and after the year 1876 which shall have resulted in the monopoly of lands, waters, and natural resources of the nation by a single individual or corporation are declared subject to revision, and the Executive is authorized to declare those null and void which seriously prejudice the public interest.

Chapter 3, article 33: Of aliens. Aliens are those who do not possess the qualifications prescribed by article 30. They shall be entitled to the guaranties granted by chapter 1, title 1, of the present constitution; but the Executive shall have the exclusive right to expel from the Republic forthwith, and without judicial process, any foreigner whose presence he may deem inexpedient.

No foreigner shall meddle in any way whatsoever in the political affairs of the country.

Title 7, article 130: The law recognizes no judicial personality in the religious institutions known as churches.

Ministers of religious creeds shall be considered as persons exercising a profession, and shall be directly subject to the laws enacted on the matter.

The State legislatures shall have the exclusive power of determining the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds, according to the needs of each locality. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

No ministers of religious creeds shall, either in public or private meetings, or in acts of worship or religious propaganda, criticize the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in particular, or the Government in general; they shall have no vote, nor be eligible to office, nor shall they be entitled to assemble for political purposes.

Before dedicating new temples of worship for public use permission shall be obtained from the department of the interior (Gobernacion); the opinion of the governor of the respective State shall be previously heard on the subject. Every place of worship shall have a person charged with its care and maintenance, who shall be legally responsible for the faithful performance of the laws on religious observances within the said place of worship and for all the objects used for purposes of worship.

The caretaker of each place of public worship, together with 10 citizens of the place, shall promptly advise the municipal authorities as to the person charged with the care of the said place of worship. The outgoing minister shall in every instance give notice of any change, for which purpose he shall be accompanied by the incoming minister and 10 other citizens of the place. The municipal authorities, under penalty of dismissal and fine, not exceeding 1,000 pesos for each breach, shall be responsible for the exact performance of this provision; they shall keep a register of the places of worship and another of the caretakers thereof, subject to the same penalty as above provided. The municipal authorities shall likewise give notice to the department of the interior through the State government of any permission to open to the public

use a new place of worship, as well as of any change in the caretakers. Gifts of personalty may be received in the interior of places of public worship.

Under no conditions shall studies carried on in institutions devoted to the professional training of ministers of religious creeds be given credit or granted any other dispensation of privilege which shall have for its purpose the accrediting of the said studies in official institutions. Any authority violating this provision shall be punished criminally, and all such dispensation of privilege be null and void, and shall invalidate wholly and entirely the professional degree toward the obtaining of which the infraction of this provision may in any way have contributed.

No periodical publication which, either by reason of its program, its title, or merely by its general tendencies is of a religious character, shall comment upon any political affairs of the nation, nor publish any information regarding the acts of the authorities of the country or of private individuals in so far as the latter have to do with public affairs.

Every kind of political association whose name shall bear any word or any indication relating to any religious belief is hereby strictly forbidden. No assemblies of any political character shall be held within places of public worship.

No minister of any religious creed may inherit, either on his own behalf or by means of a trustee or otherwise, any real property occupied by any association of religious propaganda or religious or charitable purposes. Ministers of religious creeds are incapable legally of inheriting by will from ministers of the same religious creed or from any private individual to whom they are not related by blood within the fourth degree.

All real and personal property pertaining to the clergy or to religious institutions shall be governed, in so far as their acquisition by private parties is concerned, in conformity with article 27 of this constitution.

No trial by jury shall ever be granted for the infraction of any of the preceding provisions.

Address of President Wilson Delivered at the Confederate Reunion in This City June 5, 1917.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL F. PHELAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks I insert the address of President Wilson delivered at the Confederate reunion in this city June 5, 1917.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERED AT THE CONFEDERATE REUNION IN THIS CITY JUNE 5, 1917.

Mr. Commander, ladies, and gentlemen, I esteem it a very great pleasure and a real privilege to extend to the men who are attending this reunion the very cordial greetings of the Government of the United States.

I suppose that as you mix with one another you chiefly find these to be days of memory, when your thoughts go back and recall those days of struggle in which your hearts were strained, in which the whole Nation seemed in grapple, and I dare say that you are thrilled as you remember the heroic things that were then done. You are glad to remember that heroic things were done on both sides, and that men in those days fought in something like the old spirit of chivalric gallantry. There are many memories of the Civil War that thrill along the blood and make one proud to have been sprung of a race that could produce such bravery and constancy; and yet the world does not live on memories. The world is constantly making its toilsome way forward into new and different days, and I believe that one of the things that contributes satisfaction to a reunion like this and a welcome like this is that this is also a day of oblivion. There are some things that we have thankfully buried, and among them are the great passions of division which once threatened to rend this Nation in twain. The passion of admiration we still entertain for the heroic figures of those old days, but the passion of separation, the passion of difference of principle, is gone—gone out of our minds, gone out of our hearts; and one of the things that will thrill this country as it reads of this reunion is that it will read also of a rededication on the part of all of us to the great Nation which we serve in common.

These are days of oblivion as well as of memory, for we are forgetting the things that once held us asunder. Not only that, but they are days of rejoicing, because we now at last see why this great Nation was kept united, for we are beginning to see the great world purpose which it was meant to serve. Many men I know, particularly of your own generation, have wondered at some of the dealings of Providence, but the wise heart never questions the dealings of Providence, because the great long plan as it unfolds has a majesty about it and a definiteness of purpose, an elevation of ideal, which we were incapable of conceiving as we tried to work things out with our own short sight and weak strength. And now that we see ourselves part of a Nation united, powerful, great in spirit and in purpose, we know the great ends which God in his mysterious Providence wrought through our instrumentality, because at the heart of the men of the North and of the South there was the same love of self-government and of liberty, and now we are to be an instrument in the hands of God to see liberty is made secure for mankind. At the day of our greatest division there was one common passion amongst us, and that was the passion for human freedom. We did not know that God was working out in his own way the method by which we should best serve human freedom—by making this Nation a great united, indivisible, indestructible instrument in His hands for the accomplishment of these great things.

As I came along the streets a few minutes ago my heart was full of the thought that this is registration day. Will you not support me in feeling that there is some significance in this coincidence, that this day, when I come to welcome you to the National Capital, is a day when men young as you were in those old days, when you gathered together to fight, are now registering their names as evidence of this great idea, that in a democracy the duty to serve and the privilege to serve falls upon all alike? There is something very fine, my fellow citizens, in the spirit of the volunteer, but deeper than the volunteer spirit is the spirit of obligation. There is not a man of us who must not hold himself ready to be summoned to the duty of supporting the great Government under which we live. No really thoughtful and patriotic man is jealous of that obligation. No man who really understands the privilege and the dignity of being an American citizen quarrels for a moment with the idea that the Congress of the United States has the right to call upon whom it will to serve the Nation. These solemn lines of young men going to-day all over the Union to the places of registration ought to be a signal to the world, to those who dare flout the dignity and honor and rights of the United States, that all her manhood will flock to that standard under which we all delight to serve, and that he who challenges the rights and principles of the United States challenges the united strength and devotion of a Nation.

There are not many things that one desires about war, my fellow citizens, but you have come through war, you know how you have been chastened by it, and there comes a time when it is good for a Nation to know that it must sacrifice, if need be, everything that it has to vindicate the principles which it professes. We have prospered with a sort of heedless and irresponsible prosperity. Now we are going to lay all our wealth, if necessary, and spend all our blood, if need be, to show that we were not accumulating that wealth selfishly but were accumulating it for the service of mankind. Men all over the world have thought of the United States as a trading and money-getting people, whereas we who have lived at home know the ideals with which the hearts of this people have thrilled; we know the sober convictions which have lain at the basis of our life all the time, and we know the power and devotion which can be spent in heroic wise for the service of those ideals that we have treasured. We have been allowed to become strong in the providence of God that our strength might be used to prove not our selfishness but our greatness; and if there is any ground for thankfulness in a day like this, I am thankful for the privilege of self-sacrifice, which is the only privilege that lends dignity to the human spirit.

And so it seems to me that we may regard this as a very happy day, because a day of reunion, a day of noble memories, a day of dedication, a day of the renewal of the spirit which has made America great among the peoples of the world.

The Minnesota Way.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to incorporate a clipping taken from the Bertha (Minn.) Herald of May 31 as showing Minnesota's way of doing things.

The district which I have the honor to represent has already contributed two full divisions of naval militia to the fighting forces of our country—one hailing from the city of Bemidji, the

other from the cities of Crosby, Ironton, and Deerwood, which their superior officers have assured me are the peers of any division received at the navy yard wherein they are at present quartered. Aside from this, my district, the sixth Minnesota, has furnished its full quota to the Army and Marine, Aviation, Medical, and Hospital Corps—and what holds good of the sixth district also is true of the entire State.

Her broad and fertile acres will yield forth their usual bountiful crops for the sustenance of the human family. Her creameries will provide the Nation with butter, and her 10,000 lakes and streams will supply fish to help solve the serious food problem now confronting the world. Her mighty forests will contribute largely toward the building of the merchant fleet which will form an important item in preventing starvation among our allies.

The great North Star State, which made the first tender of troops to President Lincoln in the dark and stormy days of '61, will live up to her best traditions in the great struggle in which we are now engaged. She will give with a lavish hand not alone of those who are nearest and dearest to her, but of her treasure as well, that the Republic may march on unhindered toward the glorious destiny that has been decreed shall be ours.

The clipping is as follows:

[Bertha (Minn.) Herald.]

LIBERTY LOAN.

To the EDITOR:

A campaign has been organized for an automobile tour visiting every village in Todd County to advertise the liberty loan. A representative of the Government will accompany the party and addresses in the German language and Swedish language, as well as in the American language, explaining the liberty loan will be made. A band will also accompany the party. The purpose is to arouse the people to a realization of the fact that our Government is at war and needs the loyal cooperation and assistance of every citizen.

The good people of the county are respectfully requested and earnestly urged to give an hour of their time to attend these meetings; they will not only learn much about the Government bonds, but will get valuable information as to the real questions involved in the present war and the necessity of having every loyal citizen contribute his full share to bring about its early termination. The following is the itinerary:

The party will leave Long Prairie Monday morning, June 4, reach Burtrum at 10 a. m., Grey Eagle at 11.30 a. m., will stop at Sauk Center for luncheon and reach West Union at 3 p. m., Round Prairie at 5.30 p. m., and return to Long Prairie for an evening meeting.

It will leave Long Prairie Tuesday morning, June 5, and hold a meeting at Browerville at 10 a. m., Clarissa at 11.30 a. m., Eagle Bend at 1 p. m., Bertha at 3 p. m., Hewitt at 5 p. m., and Staples for an evening meeting.

By order of the committee.

WM. E. LEE, *Chairman.*

LONG PRAIRIE, MINN.

Funeral Oration of Judge John F. Philips Over Ex-Senator Francis Marion Cockrell.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting the funeral oration of Judge John F. Philips, of Kansas City, Mo., delivered more than a year ago at the funeral of the late Francis Marion Cockrell, who for 30 years ably and faithfully represented Missouri in the United States Senate, where he rendered distinguished services for his State and his country.

Judge Philips was formerly a Member of this House, and was a lifetime personal friend of Senator Cockrell.

My attention was not called to this beautiful and touching eulogy upon the life of Senator Cockrell until now, otherwise I would have asked this permission at an earlier date.

The oration is as follows:

FUNERAL ORATION OF JUDGE JOHN F. PHILIPS OVER EX-SENATOR FRANCIS MARION COCKRELL, DELIVERED AT WARRENSBURG, MO., DECEMBER, 1915.

Friends, when the telegram came urging my presence here, I was at a farmhouse down in Pettis County, where I had just arrived, to visit some old-time friends. But how could I refuse to deny myself and come here by night to pay tribute to such a man and friend as lies pulseless in that casket?

The last time I saw him was not long ago at Washington City, when he almost dragged his feeble body around to render me a most gracious and needful service in behalf of a friend. Such was the respect and esteem in which he was held at all the departments of the Government that his card immediately admitted him to audience. And the success of the charitable mission in which I was enlisted was largely due to his commendation of me, and the matter in hand.

When his and my licenses as attorneys at law were yet new, back in 1858, we met as antagonists in a lawsuit in his county. Fired with ambition, with the zeal and impetuosity and self-assertion of a virile young manhood, we grappled like athletes, as if our lives depended on the one fall. And while I was the victor he displayed the gladiatorial spirit, in knowing how to yield gracefully; for he warmly congratulated me. And there began a friendship that in all the coming years lost nothing of its sweetness, but grew in strength. We lived in adjoining counties, and term after term of court we met either as adversaries or associates in the trial of all manner of cases. He was a foeman worthy of any lawyer's metal. While he made no pretensions to ornamental oratory he had the eloquence of earnestness and the force of logic. He was masterful in the marshaling of facts and analyzing of testimony. And such was the moral power of his character and his influence in the community that it required a powerful prize to break a jury away from him.

When the war clouds overspread us in 1861 he was among the first in central Missouri to organize a company for the Confederate Army; there our lines diverged, as I followed the old flag into the Union Army. Our good angel so directed our course that we never converged in hostile array to give occasion for personal estrangement.

He was an enthusiast. He displayed the zeal and impassioned eloquence in calling men to his standard, of Peter the Hermit in preaching the Crusades. And what a splendid soldier he was. He was not a severe disciplinarian, but his example made every soldier in his command willing to do or die to follow his standard. He is said to have always marched on foot at the head of his infantry column, carrying in one pocket the New Testament and in another a copy of Hardee's Tactics; and on his broad shoulders he carried his own equipment. He fought always in the front ranks, and never ordered his men to go where he would not lead. It is also said of him that he never knew when he was whipped nor admitted defeat. When compelled to retreat it was only a strategem. Days after Gen. Lee had surrendered, the news of which had not reached Gen. Cockrell in his remote field of action, he was still marching at the head of his brigade in quest of the enemy. When wounded he never quit the field so long as he could quench the flow of blood.

Had promotion stood to merit he should have retired from military service a major general instead of a brigadier. He was so consumed with the ambition to win victories for the Army he thought not of honors for himself.

When the flag of the Stars and Bars was furled, he sheathed his sword, to rust, and turned his face resolutely toward home and took up with courage and hope the duties of private life with unreserved allegiance to the Union and the Constitution. No man who had served the cause of the Confederacy, contributed more than he to close over the chasm the ruthless ploughshare of civil strife had run through the land, on either side of which had sprung up the rankest growth of hate and reprisal. He became the great conservator and pacificator of Missouri. So considerate and chivalrous was he that in all the supervening years of our intercourse and fraternizing, I never heard him utter a word calculated to stir up the tiger that lay dormant in the breast of a Union soldier. He was a templar knight, on whose frontal blazed the words "Courtesy and chivalry."

It was not strange when such a man came out of retirement and cast his glove into the political arena for office that he should have proved to be quite invincible. The Confederate soldiers, who knew him, rallied to his standard as they did on the stricken field of Franklin, while the Union men so admired his conservatism and nobility of soul that they, too, supported him in large numbers. When he went to the Senate, just as I entered the House of Representatives, he carried with him into the public service of the Nation the same energy, indefatigable industry, and unapproachable integrity that characterized his former life.

He presents an apt illustration of what Emerson said: "The world's great men have not commonly been great scholars, nor its great scholars great men."

Be it conceded that Missouri may have sent to the Senate men who excelled him in erudition, statesmanship, and in debate, but no one surpassed him in fidelity to his trust, and serviceableness to his constituents. He fastened upon himself the respect and confidence of the entire Senate. So thorough and painstaking were his investigations into the merits of every claim

and demand submitted to him that his reports, as to the conclusions reached, as a rule, passed nem. con. His retirement from the Senate brought regrets from all sides and from every officer and clerk who knew him, and they all knew him. Such was the respect in which he was held by President and Cabinet that after his retirement from the Senate he was assigned to important work for the Government. So that he died with his harness on as a trusted public servant.

He was a serious man, rarely indulging in levity or badinage. But there was not in his nature an atom of fanaticism. So simple was he in manner, so gentle in intercourse, and so warm in salutation that no good man could come in contact with him without feeling that he had met a friend. With all of his native dignity of character and honors upon his brow, to you and me he was simply "Frank Cockrell."

If genius be the faculty of appreciation, he had it. His eye was quick to perceive the emergent occasion, and his hand was ever ready to grasp opportunity when it knocked at his door. No man I ever knew in the profession or in public life worked more intensely and discriminatingly than he. And no fitter epitaph could be chiseled on his monument or tomb than the words of Longfellow: "The nobility of labor, the long pedigree of toil." How his heart beat with sympathy! No hand of want was ever uplifted to him that went away empty if he had a dollar in his pocket. And had his means been commensurate with his generosity, he would be known as a philanthropist.

It is most fit that his body should lie in state in this church, whose faith he embraced, and at whose altar he worshiped; and how touching it is that the last lingering look at his face should be by the neighbors and friends who knew him so well and loved him so dearly. These flowers that embower his casket, decorate that pulpit, and garnish these walls with beauty are bedewed with the tears of affectionate regard. As I stand by his bier, in the presence of his unseeing eyes and his unspeaking mouth, I can but feel that such a man does not cease to live when he ceases to breathe. These flowers will wither and perish. Not so his deeds and virtues. Such a life puts in motion waves of influences that can never cease to vibrate. His deeds of valor, his honor and truth will never die. They will live on in the soul of the people. The strain of his blood and the forces of his character will tell on future generations in this community.

As matter is indestructible, and no atom that floats in the air is ever lost; as the seasons come and go only to return; as no winter is ever so bleak and drear that the springtime does not come again and all nature is ever performing the sacred mystery of reproductive growth, it is inconceivable to me that these intellects and spirits of ours, that dominate the animal and vegetable kingdom and harness the electrical elements and subjects them to the will of man, are to vanish into airy nothingness. There is something within us that bids us believe in a resurrection morn for the race. The life of such a man as Francis Marion Cockrell is a protest against utter annihilation and is an eloquent sermon for immortality. I have the faith to believe that when the light of the resurrection morn shall flash over the little mound above his body in the cemetery out yonder, in some form, clothed with celestial habiliments, he will arise to greet its gladness and its glory.

Correspondence in Regard to Mr. G. H. Thompson and His Three Patriotic Sons.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted, I insert in the RECORD the following correspondence between Mr. G. H. Thompson, of Estes Park, Colo., and myself, and the acknowledgment by the President of the service rendered to the United States by Mr. Thompson and his three patriotic sons:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., April 27, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. THOMPSON: I have just read in the Loveland Reporter of your noble and patriotic act in giving three of your sons to the service of the United States and wish to extend to you my heartiest congratulations for this most unselfish action.

In the last one-half century of nonresistance and almost continuous material prosperity, we as a Nation have grown careless and unappreciative of our liberty as citizens of the United States; patriotic fiber of our national life has grown flabby. The keen appreciation of personal liberty growing out of and made possible only by national freedom has been dulled, but it does my heart good to know that there still remains some mothers and fathers who are willing to sacrifice their all in the interests of our wonderful Nation.

Again, Mr. Thompson, I congratulate you.

Very sincerely,

CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE.

ESTES PARK, COLO., *May 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. TIMBERLAKE: I desire to thank you for your letter of "congratulations," yet I only did my duty. I did not send my boys, for they were of age and settled the matter for themselves, but they knew that if I was of their age I should not hesitate for a moment as to my duty at a time when our Nation is in need of men.

There is not a case on record where a member of the Thompson family shirked duty at a time of this kind or where they disgraced the flag after enlisting.

We only have three boys, and they are all the children which we have. The two older ones are twins, and they are at Mare Island in training. The younger one would have been with them, but he has made a specialty of chemistry at the Denver University, and the Government chemist in the Federal service wired his professor to hold all of his students back from enlisting at the present time, for they were needed more as chemists than they were at the front and could serve their country better in that way, but he stands ready to go at any time.

I do not know who gave the matter to the Loveland Reporter, but I have been hearing from it from many sources.

It seems hard in one way to give all you have, but am glad that I have three that were ready when the call came.

I truly hope that this trouble may be settled without an open conflict, but if it comes we shall meet it and the victory will be ours.

I am glad that the President declared war, even though it has taken all we have, and if I had the opportunity of doing so I would gladly take his hand and tell him that we stand back of him in this trouble. I shall do all I can here at home, and the boys will take their stand at the front lines. While I say "I" I mean Mrs. Thompson also; we both stand together at this time.

If you have the opportunity of doing so, kindly tell President Wilson that we are praying for him daily, for at such a time as this he needs that help which can only be had from that higher power which rules us all as a Christian Nation. We are also praying that Congress may stand back of the President and give him the support which he should have by all true Americans. I would a thousand times rather be the superintendent of the Estes Park fish hatchery than to stand where some of the Members of Congress stand to-night before the world.

Again thanking you for your kindness, and remember that we are standing back of you through all of this trouble,

Yours, for our country and flag,

G. H. THOMPSON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 15, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. THOMPSON: I beg to inclose herewith a letter from the Secretary to the President, acknowledging receipt of my letter of May 11, inclosing therewith your letter to me of recent date, relative to the enlistment of your three sons in the Army of the United States. Thinking that this might be gratifying to you it is with pleasure that I inclose the same.

Very sincerely,

CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., May 13, 1917.

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. TIMBERLAKE: The President asks me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 11 and to thank you for your courtesy in letting him see the inclosure from Mr. G. H. Thompson.

Will you not assure Mr. Thompson that the President deeply appreciates his patriotic sentiments and his good will.

Sincerely, yours,

J. B. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

Right and Might, the Weapons of Liberty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, in exercising the privilege granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I can think of nothing I could insert that would add greater value to it or contribute more to the edification of its readers than the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post on registration morning. I have read a great many editorials and other articles on the present war and I have heard and read many speeches during this extra session on the same subject, but I have not heard or read anything which could be couched in the same amount of space which embodies more of the real essence of the situation than does this editorial. Its comprehensiveness,

its diction, its thorough grasp of historic detail, and its conciseness of statement are, in my judgment, unsurpassed, and when the impartial historian writes the history of this war I predict that it will be but an elaboration of this rather remarkable epitome of its causes, progress, and results, written by the versatile and scholarly editor of this great newspaper.

RIGHT AND MIGHT, THE WEAPONS OF LIBERTY.

This day will be forever memorable in the history of democracy. It celebrates the decision of a mighty Nation devoted to peace to place the weapon of death in the hands of every citizen, if need be, to defend its liberty. Ten millons of these citizens of military age will enroll their names to-day. This register is a roll of honor at home and an evidence to the world that government by the people was not born to perish.

The armies of Americans about to be organized will be as large as necessary. The numbers have not been determined. They will be determined partly by the enemy. Germany will share in the decision as to the size and strength of the American forces. But the forces will be sufficient.

When the United States entered into this war it did not go in as a loser. There can be only one result, now that Liberty and Absolutism are face to face. Absolutism will die.

No American should or can speak in a boastful spirit when he declares from his heart that America will win this war. It is not for the glorification of America that the sword is drawn. Americans are not dazzled by the glint of helmets or misled by the pomp and circumstance of war. They enter into it because of necessity, and for one purpose only. When Absolutism has been struck down and Liberty is triumphant, Americans will return to their daily tasks as promptly as they now take up the sword. They will not return until the task is finished.

The world is in convulsions as a result of Germany's assault upon mankind. Russia and China are rocking with anarchy; the belligerents are bleeding; the neutrals are beginning to starve. Conditions will be worse before they are better. The neutrals who escape war will suffer even more than they would if they should go to war. But the tumult does not mean that tyranny is gaining control of humanity. It indicates, rather, that mankind is clubbing and hacking and blundering toward liberty. Every convulsion is a birth pang of freedom. If man were endowed with divine wisdom, he would not need to fall into bloody struggles in order to attain his own liberty and concede liberty to his neighbor. Being what he is, and stirred as he is by the unquenchable thirst for freedom, he goes through blood to get it. Perhaps more than half of the disorder in Russia and China is due to misunderstanding among men who are striving for the same thing and who would clasp hands and march all one way if they understood.

So far as America is concerned, however, the cause of the tumult is not obscure; it is nakedly clear. It is the attack made by Germany upon the sovereignty, independence, and liberty of America that compels America to fight. The world's confusion does not confuse Americans as to the issue, nor does the universal turmoil deter America one instant in taking up the sword to set Germany right. Russia and China may stagger like drunken men, but America will go forward to its goal. Neutrals may fight Germany or not, as their interests dictate, but from the hour that Germany struck at America the result of the war was foreordained.

Late or soon, the war will end when the German system crashes into ruins under the blows of a Nation that is armed with both right and might.

"Buy a Liberty Bond."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT SANDERS,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I desire to quote a poem entitled "Buy a Liberty Bond," written by Mr. William K. Hamilton, of Terre Haute, Ind. This poem was artistically printed and distributed in that vicinity by the United States Trust Co., of Terre Haute, of which Mr. Hamilton is an officer. It not only happily illustrates the interest that all the financial institutions of that city and the fifth district of Indiana are taking in the war loan but typifies the wide-awake spirit of the Middle West in regard to the great war in which we are engaged. The poem is as follows:

BUY A "LIBERTY" BOND.

If you want to do your part,
Buy a bond,
So they'll know it's from the heart,
'Cross the pond,
And they'll know that as we're in it
We are bound to fight and win it,
So you must not lose a minute.
Buy a bond.

If you love your native land,
Buy a bond.
It will show them where we stand,
'Cross the pond.
If you are one not fighting fit,
Or your age lets you out of it,
You can surely do your bit."
Buy a bond.

For the honor of our land
Buy a bond,
So they all will understand
'Cross the pond.
Though we may have differed before
About the European war,
We're American to the core.
Buy a bond.

Men of many kinds and types,
Buy a bond,
Will follow the Stars and Stripes
'Cross the pond,
Feeling civilization's need,
"Universal peace guaranteed,"
They will know no class or creed.
Buy a bond.

Dear "Old Glory" seems to say
"Buy a bond,
And we're bound to win the day
'Cross the pond.
Finance the men who follow me
On the battle fields 'cross the sea,
To fight for peace and humanity."
Buy a bond.

Don't forget the debt we owe,
Buy a bond,
To the years of long ago
'Cross the pond.
Our freedom stopped, could not advance,
Independence had little chance,
Until the money came from France.
Buy a bond.

Food Production.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks on the question of food production, I know of no better matter to present to the House and the country than the report of the resolutions committee of California Practical Farmers, held in San Francisco, May 21 and 22, 1917.

This may be considered as the first practical convention of farmers held in California, if not in the United States, where every delegate had to qualify as a practical operating farmer. The result of the labor of this convention is voiced in the set of resolutions adopted on above-named date and contains much food for thought and consideration. The resolutions above referred to and thus adopted read as follows:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE OF THE CONVENTION OF CALIFORNIA PRACTICAL FARMERS, HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO MAY 21 AND 22.

Whereas the United States of America has entered into war with little or no food reserve; and

Whereas the President of the United States has issued a patriotic appeal to farmers of America to speed up food production; and

Whereas the limiting elements of increased food production are the inseparable uncertainties of farming as an occupation, such as too much or too little rainfall, indefinite seasons, inferior seed, an uncertain supply of labor, poor distribution, lack of emergency money at low rates of interest, speculation and exchange practices; and

Whereas farmers have not been made members of important national conferences called for the purpose of preparing for defensive or aggressive warfare; and

Whereas the production of food is the most necessary and important industry in which mankind may engage: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, actual farmers in California in convention assembled, hold ourselves in readiness to assist the President of the United States in restoring agriculture to the importance to which it once held so that production will keep pace with the increase in population, and to a position which will render impossible the present serious shortage of farm products, which he can do by lending the weight of his great influence to organizations of practical farmers who are seeking to carry out his desires in solving the food problem.

Resolved, That we recommend that the emergency now existing warrants action by the Government of the United States in extending credit to farmers at low rates of interest necessary for them to undertake increased production, and that in placing such loans, in view of the hazardous character of the work undertaken by the farmers, an arrangement be made for extensions in the event of inability, by means of crop shortage or lower markets, to repay same within one year.

Resolved, That we recommend that legislation shall be made effective guaranteeing minimum prices to farmers for their products during the war period to justify unusual efforts in production.

Resolved, That we recommend immediate legislation that will eliminate the hoarding of food products beyond such storage as is necessary to care for the needs of the people between crops.

Resolved, That we recommend immediate legislation putting into effect a pure-seed law modeled after the pure-food law.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the practical farmers here assembled that this is not the time to try new and uncertain crops and processes.

Resolved, That we urge upon our fellow farmers that patriotic duty, as well as profitable enterprise, renders it important that steps should be taken to increase the numbers of swine, cattle, sheep, and poultry, and improve the quality of breeding animals on the farm.

Resolved, That we recommend that special effort be made to control and prevent injury to crops and animals by disease and insect pests.

Resolved, That in view of the many chimerical visionary plans advanced by theorists that there be included in the National Council of Defense one or more practical farmers.

—

Whereas it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates here present that a greatly increased food production is retarded by reason of a pronounced labor shortage now existing; and

Whereas this shortage will become more acute during the harvest season, and if the farmers of the State have not sufficient labor to harvest this season's crops it will seriously impair and discourage the planting of the 1918 crops: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That full opportunity be given and earnest effort be expended to make the available California labor supply meet the demand; therefore be it further

Resolved, That the executive committee cooperate with the State council of defense in making representation to the Federal Government of the labor requirements of the State for agricultural and allied interests as indicated by this meeting and by its resolutions, and that they be urged to take such action as is necessary to bring in from time to time a sufficient number of farm laborers from the Philippine Islands or from some other source to meet the growing requirements of the State and Nation.

—

Whereas the State of California has established a commission having in view the improvement of the marketing conditions, both to the producer and the consumer; and

Whereas we believe that an information bureau should be established with this commission where producers and consumers could register their wants and be furnished quotations and prices: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we strongly recommend the National Government to forbid the use of grains in the production of whisky and other distilled spirits; and that we look upon the saloon in agricultural counties and districts as a distinct menace to the production of food.

—

Whereas this convention was called for the specific purpose of devising ways and means to increase farm production; and

Whereas the California Development Board and representatives of the California Wholesale Grocers' Association have patriotically cooperated in responding to the call of the President of the United States for such increased production: Now, be it

Resolved, That in order that this convention be made operative and effective for the period of this war, the chairman of the convention is hereby authorized to appoint an executive committee of 11, of which he is to be a member and all of whom are to be actual operating farmers except two members, one of whom shall be selected from the California Development Board and the other from the California Wholesale Grocers' Association; and be it

Resolved, That said executive committee be, and is hereby, authorized to take such steps and make such appointments to elect its secretary and other officers necessary to carry out the purposes of this convention.

—

Whereas this convention was conceived by the California Development Board and made possible by the liberality and patriotism of representatives of the California Wholesale Grocers' Association: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That as an expression of the appreciation and gratitude of the farmers of California, we hereby tender to each of these organizations our most sincere thanks.

—

Whereas this convention is organized to carry out a patriotic purpose: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive committee be, and is hereby, instructed to cooperate with the President of the United States and the governor of California, and notify them to that effect.

Respectfully submitted.

A. L. SAURE,
P. S. DORRIS,
A. MONECURE,
VOLNEY H. CRAIG,
FRANK T. BOGGS,
Committee on Resolutions.

Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, our good prohibitionist friends having up to date failed in persuading the people of the United States to adopt nation-wide prohibition by vote are now endeavoring to force the dose upon an unwilling people by various roundabout methods, and especially just at the present time they are trying every devious device that their most ingenious legislative experts can frame to put over some form of prohibitive law.

So much utter absurdity is fulminated by the devotees of this ridiculous propaganda, so much downright falsehood is uttered in the name of science, and there is such a general and abundant fund of misinformation being spread broadcast that I think a little sane and honest knowledge will be welcomed by the great mass of thinking people who wish to form a clear idea of the subject.

I take pleasure therefore in inserting the appended:

[Address of Mr. Julius Liebmann, of Liebmann Sons Brewing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., delivered before the spring meeting of the National Institute of Social Sciences, at the Academy of Medicine, New York City, May 11, 1917. Mr. Liebmann is a member of the advisory counsel on alcohol, of the committee of the department of health of the city of New York.]

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, in 1907 the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences awarded the first and second prize for the best essay on "The Struggle Against Alcoholism," to Dr. L. Viaud and H. A. Vasnier. These two essays were published in one book to which Mr. Cheysson, president of the French league against alcoholism, wrote an appreciative preface highly recommending it.

There is no way of understanding better the difference of views prevailing in this country as against those held abroad, than by reading this French book.

In the very first chapter the author says: "The attack must not be made on the use, but exclusively on the abuse of alcoholic beverages, and above all others on distilled liquors." And he says in the same chapter, "It is even reasonable not to consider the consumption of wine, cider, and beer as a necessary evil and without remedy, but rather to regard the wine habit as an antidote to alcoholism. Being an advocate of wine, I must necessarily be so of cider and beer."

The second chapter of the book is devoted to "Boissons Hygieniques," meaning wholesome beverages, and under this heading the author takes the classification of the French Government which includes among the healthful beverages having slight stimulating quality, wine, beer, cider, coffee, and tea.

In this country the most authoritative work on the drink problem was published by the well-known committee of 50. Last November, during a prohibition fight in the city of Baltimore, one of the five great medical men who wrote the "Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem" for the committee, namely Dr. William H. Welch, together with three other physicians of the Johns Hopkins University, signed a statement against prohibition.

In his autobiography, Mr. Andrew D. White, formerly president of Cornell and ex-ambassador to Russia and Germany, devotes a lengthy chapter comparing the drinking habits of the United States to those prevailing abroad. In it occurs this sentence: "The best temperance workers that I know are the men who brew light, pure beer, and the wine growers of California who raise and sell at a very low price wines pleasant and salutary—if wines can be so."

In 1914, I had some correspondence with Dr. White and in a letter which he wrote to me he says: "Far from having changed my opinions, my experience and thought since my former publication of them have only confirmed me in the soundness of the view then presented by me."

I am a brewer and stand for temperance, but I prefer to quote Mr. White before I make the statement myself that the brewing industry in this country has been a factor to promote sobriety.

The best proof that brewing has promoted sobriety can be gleaned from the records of the Internal Revenue Department, which show that in 1860 the per capita consumption of distilled spirits was 2.86 gallons in the United States, which steadily declined up to 1896 to just a fraction of one one-hundredth over 1 gallon. During all this time—from 1860 to 1896—there was no increase of prohibition States in the Union, with the exception of Kansas, for Maine had been under prohibition prior to 1860, and there were few localities made dry under local or county option.

But since the organization of the Anti-Saloon League, in about 1894, and due to its success in making a large portion of the United States dry (they claim 40 per cent is dry now), the per capita consumption of whisky, instead of continuing its downward course, has been increased, so that, because of the addition of many prohibition States, we consume 50 per cent of distilled liquors more per capita than we did in 1896.

In the brewing of beer, alcohol is an incident and is not sought for by the brewer. On the contrary, the brewer is the only purveyor of an alcoholic beverage who has consistently tried and succeeded in reducing its alcoholic strength. The cider maker sometimes adds sugar to his apple juice in order to produce more alcohol for the purpose of preserving the cider. The same is done by the vintner who sells fortified wines and puts in alcohol to help them. The distiller takes the alcohol which is in diluted form in the fermented mash and concentrates it before he presents it to the consumer. The American brewer brews beer of half the alcoholic strength of British beer. The modern brewer needs no alcoholic strength to preserve his beer. He relies upon pure yeast culture, refrigerating machinery, and pasteurization of his unfinished product to produce the most wholesome of all alcoholic beverages.

In all license States we have our choice between fermented beverages like beer, containing on an average of 3½ per cent of alcohol with 96½ per cent of water and malt extract, or we may choose distilled liquors with 35 to 40 per cent of alcohol. Prohibition abolishes this choice, for when breweries are shut down there will be no beer. Beer such as the American people have been accustomed to can only be produced in a well-equipped brewery. But whisky can easily and secretly be made by anyone. Thus national prohibition would place the United States on a whisky basis. You have all heard of a moonshine still but never of a moonshine brewery. [Applause.]

State prohibition has been a failure in this country, and the demand for national prohibition is a confession that State prohibition is unsuccessful. For this reason there has been a demand to amend the Constitution by what is known as the Hobson resolution to obtain national prohibition. Now that the chance for amending the Constitution and thus obtaining national prohibition in a hurry is waning, this war and the necessity for supplying our allies with food furnishes a pretext for demanding national prohibition as a war measure. Some weeks ago a statement was made by the head of an important agricultural station in a western State, that 625,000,000 bushels of grain were used for brewing and distilling. The distillers used less than 40,000,000 bushels of grain and half of what they used was to produce alcohol for industry and munitions and not for alcoholic beverages. Of this amount 35 per cent was returned to the farmer for feeding cattle.

When we brewers showed that we actually used only 70,000,000 bushels of grain, of which 24,000,000 bushels were returned to the farmer as a better milk-producing food than in its original state, we

were accused of inconsistency, because we have heretofore emphasized the value of brewing in farming, and we still emphasize it, because we do take a large part, about one-fourth, of the barley that is raised and on account of the high price we pay, we advanced the general price that the farmer gets for his barley. We are not minimizing; we are simply correcting a willfully exaggerated statement. The facts regarding the quantity of grain consumed in brewing and distilling are so readily obtainable from the United States Department of Internal Revenue, to which brewers make monthly reports, that the failure to produce them points to a deliberate suppression of the truth. [Applause.]

As to the necessity of curtailing the use of grain for brewing, we do not propose to set up our judgment above that of the authorities of our Government. But the most competent authority, the Agricultural Department, has refused to make a definite statement before it has all the facts, and it has now received an appropriation of $25,000,000 for the purpose of investigation. It is also asking to obtain unlimited power to control food supplies as may be necessary in any way that the facts warrant. None of us object to that, but we do object to having the facts prejudged by a self-constituted unofficial body of prohibition enthusiasts who are trying to commit the Government to a premature conclusion and to tie its hands irrevocably.

In this week's bulletin of the Health Department occurs a statement about the use of grain. The amount of the grain is exaggerated, but I will pass that. Speaking of protein there occurs this sentence: "No amount of sophistry can overcome the fact of this absolute waste of the essential constituent of food."

I deny this statement, and I base my denial on the evidence of the father of agricultural chemistry—the great Von Liebig—and further on the recent researches of Sorensen on this very question of waste. I doubt very much that anyone in our board of health would care to contradict so noted a scientist. Sorensen, the great Danish physiological chemist, shows that 100 kilograms of barley have an energy value of 371,000 calories. He shows that when barley is fed to cattle for producing beef for human food there is an ultimate loss of 181,000 calories, or 49 per cent of the food value. On the other hand, the food values lost from barley used in beer amounts to 144,000 calories, or only 39 per cent, besides which the ingredients in beer are in the most digestible form.

In other words, the food value of barley used in brewing is not thrown away. It is absorbed by the consumer of beer. If he did not get this food value in beer, he would have to replace it with some other food.

The other reason assigned for the desirability of prohibition in war times is that of promoting efficiency. In this connection the European nations at war are often cited as examples for us to follow. I deny the constant assertion that European nations are practicing what prohibitionists preach. In fact, not one European country, neutral or belligerent, has ever tried the kind of prohibition that prevails in our country—which indiscriminately places in the same category distilled with fermented liquors. All of them make a broad discrimination in favor of wine and the nutritious beverage beer as against distilled liquor.

Some countries, like Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which in consumption of wine next to France are at the head of the list, but lowest as to alcoholism, have no restrictive laws. I doubt if any of you ladies or gentlemen on your travels in these countries just named saw any drunken men. Other States, like Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, restrict the use of spirits, but encourage the use of beer and wine. Beer in Switzerland is tax free. In Denmark and Norway those below an alcoholic content are tax free, and the others pay the regular tax.

None of the belligerent nations, even after two and one-half years of war, has entirely prohibited brewing. Great Britain during the last year (1916) used for brewing 44,000,000 bushels of malt, besides other cereals, and in its Government-controlled canteens beer is sold. It permits the manufacture of light teetotal beer containing less than 2 per cent of alcohol, which may be sold after nondrinking hours.

The French Government encourages the use of beer, and has recently remitted the "octroi" duties, formerly a large source of revenue. As a result there has been a large increase in the consumption of malt liquors. The war ministry of France requisitioned 132,000,000 gallons of wine for use of its troops in 1916, and has already requisitioned 200,000,000 of this year's wine, besides 40,000,000 gallons of the Algerian crop, for the same purpose, and has taken over special warehouse accommodations for its storage. The French Government classes beer with wine and cider as hygienic beverages, and issues a daily ration to every French soldier of one-third liter (nearly two-thirds of a pint) of wine.

Russia, which upon order of the council of ministers published on December 3, 1914, prohibited the sale of spirits and vodka until the end of the war, did not prohibit the brewing of beer. It empowered local communities to regulate or prohibit its sale. The excise duty on beer has been increased (from 1 ruble and 70 copecks per pood of malt extract to 6 rubles) and the percentage of alcohol has been ordered reduced from 9 per cent to 3.7 per cent. This new beer of low alcoholic content is about the same as American beer; in fact, the average alcoholic strength of American is still lower.

Germany has requisitioned 20 per cent of the total output of its breweries for the soldiers at the front and in an order issued by the army department on January 12, 1916, the central barley purchasing agency has been requested "in order to continue the uninterrupted supply of beer to the troops in the field, the breweries which supply the army with beer are to have the preference in receiving their supply of barley."

In our neighboring Dominion of Canada brewers are permitted to brew beer provided it contains not more than 2½ per cent of proof spirit, and from the United States consular reports just issued the manufacture of beer of greater strength is not interfered with—but the brewers may not deliver it to dealers but only directly to the consumer.

In France and other countries the word alcohol is applied only to distilled spirits. Most continental nations in Europe would no more class beer as an intoxicant on account of its small percentage of alcohol than they would class coffee as a dangerous drug because of its small percentage of caffeine that is in it.

All of the European armies have their medical advisers. Prohibition is difficult to enforce in civil life. It can easily be enforced in an army, particularly at the front.

There have been two and one-half years of war. Certainly if the efficiency of the soldiers could be increased by depriving them of their wine and beer and spirits, the medical men would have recommended prohibition long ago.

Beer and wine have been used by European nations and their ancestry for over 5,000 years. Whisky, on the other hand, is a comparatively modern drink. Columbus could not have used it on his ships. If alcohol diluted in wine and beer is as injurious as so many prohibitionists claim, the countries of the civilized world would be populated by degenerate weaklings. The countries at war prove that the virile fighting men have as much courage, as much stamina and intelligence as was ever shown in any previous war. [Applause.]

I will also insert the following extract from the Sacramento (Cal.) Bee of May 19, 1917, which is well worth reading just at the present time:

CLAMORING FOR A DRY BASIS FOR THE WAR.

The rabid prohibitionists who clamor that this Nation must go to a prohibition basis during the continuance of the war, if the war is to be won, seem to forget that French soldiers are fighting largely on wine, Germany is battling considerably on beer, while England's soldiers are given daily rations of rum.

And while this is being done the United States is asked to decree that while she is sending soldiers into the field as the avowed champions of human liberty and human rights, against Kaiserism and intolerance, she is at the same time to take from each and every man every vestige of his own personal liberty.

These prohibitionists are all for prohibition first and patriotism in the "also ran" class.

They are holding up their hands in holy horror at the sight of drunken soldiers now and then on the streets of San Francisco and San Antonio. And they will be shocked more and more by such sights as the days go on.

It is their own fault and the fault of those who were with them in abolishing the Army canteen. Fully 85 per cent of the Christian race, it is estimated, take alcoholic beverages, at least, occasionally.

It is not to be expected therefore that simply because a man elects to become a soldier and risks his life for the flag he loves that he should forever forswear even light wine or beer. He is going to get it somewhere and somehow, and if he does not get it honestly and fairly and legally in his canteen he is going to take stronger drink on the outside.

That is human nature and all the prohibitive laws from here to the hereafter can not unmake or remake or overmake human nature.

The United States Army, as an army, and the United States Navy as well, are composed of comparatively sober men. But when they get into Presidios in big cities and are treated as though they were little children in a reformatory a goodly number of them are apt to break loose and go beyond the bounds of sobriety.

You don't see sailors from Italian men-of-war or French men-of-war or German men-of-war reeling around the streets of cities they visit. And why not?

Simply because the sailors of the war vessels of Italy and France, instead of being treated as though they were convicts, are encouraged in the temperate use of light wines and beers, and they remain sober throughout the years.

On the other hand, the American sailor, hounded by Secretary Daniels and his fellows in authority, looked upon as a felon if he even takes a glass of wine or beer, treated not as a human being at all, gets a shore leave from his penitentiary ship and it is little wonder if in numerous instances he gets drunk.

There are a great many people that never get drunk who, if treated as the American sailor or marine is treated in our Navy, would do the very same thing occasionally.

I will also append a letter from Mr. T. M. Gilmore, the president of the National Model License League, which contains some very valuable truths plainly if somewhat frankly expressed, and I commend this letter to my prohibitionist friends.

NATIONAL MODEL LICENSE LEAGUE,
Louisville, Ky., June 1, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CARY: I appreciate very highly your letter of the 30th, and I regret that the average Member of Congress does not exhibit the moderation and the sanity that is being exhibited by such men as yourself.

It would be just about as easy, in my opinion, to run a dam across the Atlantic Ocean and change the Gulf and other streams as to prohibit the manufacture and use of alcoholic beverages in this country.

Ninety per cent of the people who advocate prohibition are users of alcohol in one form or another, and if national prohibition should be adopted by the General Government it would require an enormous standing army to suppress illicit manufacture, even in part.

Without such an army the moonshiner will flourish like the green-bay tree.

This Government, in my opinion, could not successfully collect a tax of $2 per gallon in the years gone by, and I think it would be a difficult matter in the years to come, but if all competition should be taken from the moonshiner then we shall see moonshine distilleries erected all along the Hudson River, I imagine, and there will doubtless be found very large plants in cellars along Broadway.

Robert Peel expressed the limitations of law when he said in Parliament at one time: "If England makes her tariff too high, the smugglers will underbid her."

Human nature is a curious problem, and the more I see of it the less I know of it. A man takes offense because I express the opinion in a letter to him that the Government should not say to a private citizen or to a soldier, "You shall not have a glass of beer or a glass of wine or an old-fashioned toddy." And, then, perhaps, he whispers to his nearest neighbor or to himself, "As soon as this House adjourns I am going out and get me a drink."

I have known a vast number of prohibitionists, but I have not found one up to the present time—and I have been trailing for 35 years—who would refuse a bottle of good old whisky if I offered it to him properly wrapped up.

Getting away, however, from the question of the demand for alcohol being persistent, it would seem to me that the wealthy men of the East—the Rockefellers and the like—are playing with fire in urging the confiscation, without compensation, of the hundreds of millions that have been invested under the sanction of law by the distillers, brewers, and wine men of the country.

This idea of confiscation is becoming popular in this country, just as it is becoming popular in European countries, and especially in Russia.

If the liquor man's property can be confiscated without any compensation on the ground that liquors are believed by many people to be detrimental to the public welfare, then, why not confiscate the tobacco man's property, and the coca-cola man's property, and also the multimillionaire's property, the latter on the ground that great fortunes are detrimental to the public welfare?

Thanking you again for your letter, I beg to remain,

Very truly, yours,

T. M. GILMORE,
President National Model License League.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I think it is about time that all who believe in real and effective temperance work should get together and stop this everlasting playing at cross-purposes on a vital subject. Liquor will be made as long as the sunshine and rain ripen the grape and bring the grain to mellow harvest. Men will drink of some form of stimulating beverage as long as they have a thirst to quench and a throat to swallow, and the wise legislator, the true moralist, is he who leads the tastes of man in safe and moderate pathways.

There is no use repeating the old statement that prohibition does not prohibit. Everybody who knows anything knows that it does not. Let us therefore take the advice of St. Paul, who said, "Be ye therefore temperate in all things," and pass laws that will make our boys and men temperate and moderate not only in the using of beverages but in every other function of human life.

Address of Hon. Frank Clark, of Florida, at Arlington National Cemetery on Sunday, June 3, 1917.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I insert in the RECORD the address of Hon. FRANK CLARK, of Florida, a Member of the House of Representatives, delivered at Arlington National Cemetery on Sunday, June 3, 1917.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANK CLARK, OF FLORIDA, AT ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY ON SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1917.

Commander and members of Camp No. 171 of Confederate Veterans, ladies, and gentlemen, I esteem this opportunity to address you as the proudest privilege of my life. This is the anniversary of the birth of Jefferson Davis, the beloved President of the Southern Confederacy, and to-morrow will be the beginning of what in all human probability will prove to be the last great reunion of the survivors of those who followed the banner of what is sometimes called the "lost cause." While it is not the purpose of the veterans of the Southern Confederacy, the Daughters of the Confederacy, or the Sons of the Confederacy to keep alive any of the animosities which were engendered during the four years of fratricidal strife, it is our purpose to preserve for posterity the truth with reference to the motives which actuated the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy and the principles for which they contended during that stupendous struggle. The issues which unhappily divided the two great sections of our common country for so many years having culminated in an appeal to arms in 1861, were settled by the stern arbitrament of war in 1865, and the people of the South have no desire to resurrect those issues for further disputation, but having in good faith accepted the result, prefer to contemplate in brotherly love the glories of a reunited, happy, and contented country, while indulging the fervent hope that this great Republic shall forever remain an inestimable blessing to mankind.

While we love the one country and the one flag, we of the South do not need to apologize for the action of the veterans of the Southern Confederacy and their comrades of the sixties. No true son of the South would apologize, and no brave son of the North would respect him if he did. It would serve no good purpose at this time to enter into any extended discussion of the causes which plunged our country into the War between the States in 1861. It is sufficient to say that the country for many years had been divided into two schools of political thought, each contending for the mastery and each endeavoring to have its construction of the Constitution written into the law of the land. Northern statesmen contended that supreme absolute power was vested in the Federal Government; that no State had the right to withdraw from the compact of union; and that the Federal Government had the right to restrain or coerce a State. Southern statesmen took the position that the States were sovereign; that the Federal Government had no power other than such as had been delegated to it by the respective States in the Constitution; and that any State had the right to withdraw from the Federal Union. This discussion raged on the hustings, in the press, and in both Houses of Congress until, by the elections of 1860, Mr. Lincoln, recognized throughout the South as a bitter partisan of the northern idea, was elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. Believing that the election of Mr. Lincoln and the coming into control of the extreme advocates of absolute power centralized in the Federal Government meant the destruction of State sovereignty, the people of South Carolina shortly afterwards sought to peaceably withdraw from the Federal compact into which they had voluntarily entered. The action of South Carolina was soon emulated by 10 other southern Commonwealths, and these 11 States formed the "Confederate States of America." But these Southern States were not to be allowed to peaceably dissolve their connection with a Government which had become odious to them. The governor of South Carolina demanded of Mr. Lincoln, then President of the United States, that Federal troops vacate Forts Moultrie and Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, and in answer to this demand he started a steamer, the *Star of the West*, with large reenforcements to Maj. Anderson, then in command at Sumter. The South Carolina State troops demanded of Maj. Anderson the surrender of the fort, and upon his refusal opened fire and soon reduced it, and thus the great struggle began. President Lincoln immediately issued a call for 75,000 volunteers with which to coerce these Southern States, and then the war, destined to be the most fearful the world had ever previously known, was on in earnest.

During the years of discussion of the momentous questions which led to the war, in the thick of the heated debates in the Senate was the tall, slender form of Jefferson Davis, the peer of any man who ever occupied a seat in that historic Chamber. It is a strange coincidence that the two mightiest figures of that greatest military drama of the ages—Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis—were both born in the State of Kentucky and that neither of them entered this contest from his native State.

Jefferson Davis, although born in Kentucky, was transplanted to Mississippi at an early age, and his life's work is closely linked with the history of his adopted State. He was educated at West Point and served in the Regular Army of the United States, but when quite a young man became a planter of Mississippi, eventually drifting into politics. In 1844 he was a presidential elector, and shortly thereafter became a Representative in Congress, from which he resigned in 1846 and went into the Mexican War as colonel of the Mississippi Rifles. In his brief career in the Mexican War Jefferson Davis and his Mississippi Rifles shed new luster on American arms and carried the Stars and Stripes into the very halls of the Montezumas. Shortly after his return from Mexico he was appointed United States Senator from Mississippi by the governor, and then elected by the legislature to fill out an unexpired term. In this great forum he ably and faithfully represented his State, taking part in all the great debates and measuring up intellectually with the giants who adorned the Senate in that day.

In 1853 Franklin Pierce, who had become President, called Mr. Davis into his official family as Secretary of War. In this exalted station he again measured up to the duties of the hour and left in indelible characters the impress of his genius on that great governmental department. Mr. Davis while Secretary of War not only attended diligently to the routine of the department but established improved methods which are still in use, and at the Cabinet table was regarded as the chief adviser of the President. That magnificent structure known as Cabin John Bridge was built under his direction and stands to-day as a silent testimonial to his great abilities; the annex to the Capitol Building was constructed under his supervision, and unborn millions while gazing with wonder and admiration upon that grand Capitol of the greatest Republic on the earth will remember that the genius of Jefferson Davis was the directing force which rounded out and completed the magnificent edifice. His great mind was first to conceive the idea of building as a military necessity a transcontinental railway connecting the East with the Pacific Ocean, and he strongly advocated this, at that time, colossal scheme.

After his brilliant and valuable service as Secretary of War the people of Mississippi again called on Mr. Davis to serve them in the Senate, and for the second time he took his seat in that great legislative body at the most critical period of the country's history. Equipped with both military and civil experience and a broad knowledge of affairs, he was easily the peer

of any man in that body of exceptionally brilliant and brainy men. He plunged at once into the debates, not, as his enemies have so often charged, with the purpose of disrupting the Union, but for the purpose of saving constitutional government and preserving the Union. In every speech delivered by Mr. Davis on the floor of the Senate he plead for the Union, the Union of our fathers, the Union under the Constitution. Even in his farewell address, when leaving the Senate forever, he spoke with wonderful tenderness and love for the Union of the "fathers of the Republic." On January 20, 1861, the day before he took leave of the Senate, in a letter to his devoted friend, former President Franklin Pierce, he said, "Mississippi not as a choice but of necessity has resolved to enter on the trial of secession." Again in the same letter he said, "Civil war has only horror for me, but whatever circumstances demand shall be met as a duty," and so forth. Jefferson Davis desired to preserve the Union, but he desired to preserve it as it had been established, on a Constitution which recognized and respected the sacred sovereignty of the respective States. He loved the Union and he loved the flag. He had been brought up to love, honor, and revere the starry emblem of the Republic, and had followed it across the sandy plains of Mexico, offering his life a willing sacrifice upon the altar of his country.

When the delegates from the 11 Southern States met in convention to organize the Confederate States of America, all eyes were turned toward Jefferson Davis as the one man to safely pilot the new government at the beginning of its career, and he was chosen as the first and, as it proved to be, the last president of the Southern Confederacy. No man was ever beset with greater difficulties than he encountered during his chief magistracy of the storm-tossed and battle-rent republic. With no army and no navy, with no munition plants, with no manufacturing establishments, with an empty treasury, without recognition by any government on earth, with practically all our ports blockaded from the very beginning, Jefferson Davis and his associates organized a government and for four long years held at bay a rich and powerful Government, with unlimited supplies, inexhaustible credit, and an army of five or six times the strength of the army of the South. My countrymen, the world can show no parallel to this amazing achievement, and when the last vestige of partisan rancor and sectional hate shall have passed away, and the impartial historian of the future shall come to record the story of the War between the States he will say that the followers of Lee, Jackson, Stuart, and the other immortals of the Confederacy were the bravest men and the most unselfish patriots the world has ever known.

When Robert E. Lee, with the remnants of the proud Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered to Grant at Appomattox the star of the Southern Confederacy went down in gloom, and the "bonnie blue flag" was furled forever. Throughout the southland gaunt poverty stalked where wealth had reigned; disaster was on every hand; blackened chimneys stood as silent sentinels over the ruins of once happy homes; homeless wanderers aimlessly walked through deserted streets; and every home was a house of mourning. Amid the wreck and ruin of this black night of our despair unscrupulous political adventurers from the North swooped down upon our prostrate forms like a horde of hungry vultures and soon intrenched themselves in the places of power. I need not at this time rehearse the story of how these carpetbaggers, with the lately freed and now enfranchised negro as their pliant tool, took possession of our State governments and conducted their carnivals of crime in every southern capital. Our people were disfranchised and helpless, but the God of our fathers had not forgotten us, and soon an invisible government sprang into being, and in a little while the vultures had taken flight, the heel of the negro was lifted from the white man's neck, and the Confederate veteran and his children again came into their own. While all the South suffered, Jefferson Davis, the matchless chieftain of the Confederacy, suffered more than all. When Gen. Lee surrendered, Mr. Davis left Richmond with his Cabinet and archives of the government with the intention of making a stand with the army of Joseph E. Johnston somewhere in North Carolina. He reached Gen. Johnston's headquarters near Greensboro, but after consultation with him it was decided best for Johnston to surrender to Sherman; and then, realizing that this was the end, Mr. Davis decided to try to reach Cuba and then Europe. He felt, and his friends felt, that he would be arrested, probably given a drumhead court-martial, and summarily executed. He was captured near Irwinsville, Ga., transported to and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe. He was incarcerated in this prison and kept there for more than two years charged with being implicated in the murder of President Lincoln and with treason against the United States.

Happily, the brave and patriotic people of the North, when they learned of the cruelties inflicted upon Mr. Davis, did not approve of them, and finally Horace Greeley and other big-hearted, broad-minded Americans became surety on his bond for his appearance in court to answer the charges against him, and once more Jefferson Davis was a free man.

Whether serving his country in the Army of the United States, whether pursuing the peaceful life of a planter on his Mississippi plantation, whether contending for the rights of his people in the Senate of the United States, whether as Chief Magistrate of a great and noble people, or whether suffering the tortures of incarceration in a prison, Jefferson Davis was always the same gentle, able, brave, and chivalric southern gentleman and patriot. He attended the Federal court in Richmond to answer the charges, and the Federal authorities, not daring to go to trial, dismissed the charges, and he walked forth thoroughly vindicated in the eyes of the world. Standing in this presence, here at the old home of the immortal Lee, here in sight of the great Capitol of my country, I solemnly declare to you that Jefferson Davis was not a traitor to his country, and his enemies did not dare put him on trial for treason, because they knew that it would result in a judicial determination by the Supreme Court of the United States that no treason had ever stained his garments.

It has been charged that he and his associates were conspirators engaged in a conspiracy against the United States. I denounce this charge as utterly false. One of the chief elements of conspiracy is secrecy, and the southern leaders proclaimed their intentions and purposes from the floor of the House and Senate, on the hustings, and in the press. Every step was made public, and absolutely nothing was concealed. Let us then hear no more of treason, of conspiracy, and of rebellion. Our people were loyal to the Constitution as they saw it; they were open in all they did; and they engaged in no rebellion. It was a war between the States of this Republic, brought about by reason of a difference of opinion as to the rights of the individual States, which could not be amicably adjusted in the civil forums.

The issue having, by force of arms, been decided against us, we are now again one people, with one country and one flag.

The people of the South to-day need give no guaranty of their loyalty to "Old Glory." No foreign war has ever been fought in which the blood of the South was not freely spilled on every battle field. No battle with a foreign foe was ever pitched but that the sons of the South were found where "thickest fell the red rain of human slaughter," and the time will never come when the descendants of those who "wore the gray" in the sixties will fail to answer the call to defend the flag of this Republic.

We are to-day confronted with danger from the strongest military power in all the world. United as one beneath the ample folds of the Stars and Stripes, the descendants of those who "wore the blue" and those who "wore the gray" in solid phalanx, will soon move across the mighty Atlantic to meet in battle array the legions of the Kaiser, the war lord of the civilized world. While democracies like ours have been pursuing the paths of peace, without a thought of war, this mighty monarch has been preparing for this awful day. His traps have been set, his nets spread, and everything made ready to appease his gluttonous appetite by devouring and absorbing and bringing under his dominion the peaceful countries of the world. James Whitcomb Riley, in what I shall designate as "Riley's Vision of the Spider of Berlin," describes with great accuracy the present situation. He says:

I dreamed I was a spider,
A big, fat, hungry spider,
A lusty, rusty spider
With a dozen palsied limbs.

With a dozen limbs that dangled
Where three wretched flies were tangled
And their buzzing wings were strangled
In the middle of their hymns.

And I mocked them like a demon,
A demoniacal demon,
Who delights to be a demon
For the sake of sin alone.

And with fondly false embraces
Did I weave my mystic laces
Round their horror-stricken faces
Till I strangled every groan.

And I smiled to see them weeping,
For to see an insect weeping,
Sadly, sorrowfully weeping,
Fattens every spider's mirth.

And to see a fly's heart quaking
And with anguish ever aching
Till you see it slowly breaking
Is the sweetest thing on earth.

I experienced a pleasure,
Such a highly-flavored pleasure,
Such intoxicating pleasure,
That I drank of it like wine.

And my mortal soul engaged
That no spider in the pages
Of the history of ages
Felt a rapture more divine.

I careened around and capered,
Madly, mystically capered,
For three days and nights I capered
Round my web in wild delight.

Then with fierce ambition burning
And an awful thirst and yearning
I hastened my returning
With a fiendish appetite.

And I found my victims dying,
"Ha!" they whispered "We are dying";
Faintly whispered "We are dying,
And our earthly course is run."

And the scene was so impressing
That I breathed a special blessing
As I killed them with caressing
And devoured them one by one.

If republics are to survive, if democracies are still to live and bless the people, the webs of the great German spider must be destroyed, and the spiders must be killed. The American people did not want war. The American people do not now desire war, but war has been forced upon us, and if we will hand down to posterity the blessings of this Government we must destroy the enemies of republican institutions, and I feel that when the descendants of the heroes of the sixties set sail for the battle fields of Europe, determined to maintain the honor and the glory of our flag in those distant lands, Davis and Lincoln, leaning over the balustrade of heaven, will smile approvingly on the inspiring scene.

Speech of Hon. Isaac Siegel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL] in New York City, May 30, Memorial Day.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The speech is as follows:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE ISAAC SIEGEL, OF THE TWENTIETH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, AT STAR CASINO, NEW YORK CITY, ON MAY 30, 1917.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, gentlemen, and children of the public schools of Harlem, on June 14 of this year we will celebrate the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the birth of Old Glory. During all these years it has stood for liberty and justice. It has been the emblem of religious freedom. It has been the symbol of equal opportunity to all men, whether native or foreign born. It is the sign of free speech and a free press. It represents humanity's hope, for to-day we are engaged in the world's greatest and bitterest struggle. We fought for our independence in 1776, and in 1917 we are fighting for the freedom and independence of the whole world's peoples.

It is a fight for God, for humanity, and for our country. Regardless of the cost, we are going to win this war. Success is bound to crown our efforts, for it is a struggle against the autocracies of the world. With justice and right on our side, we live in the devout hope of achieving the ends which we seek. We are not fighting to obtain either land or treasure. We are not battling for material or commercial gain. We are not seeking anything for ourselves, but we are seeking the freedom of the seas and the freedom of mankind everywhere. We are looking forward to the day when the peace of the world can be deemed assured. It can not come and it will not come until we have consecrated ourselves to the great work that is before us. We must go forward with courage and determination to fight the battle, lining up shoulder to shoulder and standing by your President and my President, Woodrow Wilson. Let us in these trying times always remember that when he speaks he expresses the mandate of 103,000,000 people, for this is, indeed, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

All over this great Republic, whether in the Philippines, or in the lately acquired Virgin Islands, in Porto Rico, or Alaska, a free people are standing together ready to make those sacrifices of wealth and life itself in behalf of your America and my America, our common country.

Every citizen of the United States is in one of two classes—either he is loyal to our country or he is a traitor to it. There can not and there must not be another classification. Either a man is for America, which has placed him on the same plane as his fellow men, or is with its enemy. If loyal, he need but be reminded of his duty or obligation to serve her, and he will respond; he will join with all other law-abiding and patriotic citizens in doing his bit. If he can not fight, he will do his share by buying a liberty bond. He will help spread the doctrine of real patriotism and loyalty everywhere. He will denounce with all the vigor at his command those who have temporarily forgotten what citizenship means and who are now engaged by pen and by tongue in creating dissension amongst our people when unity is absolutely necessary for our success.

Let us then appraise and appreciate the value of our citizenship in this critical hour, and let us then learn that the individual must now efface himself and become part of the great entity known as the American Nation, with one thought in his mind, namely, that the old tradition of the United States shall be upheld at all hazards. As in the past so now brave and red-blooded men, women, and children are ready to sacrifice on the altar of liberty all their possessions so that our flag may continue to fly, indicative of the equal rights of all men, regardless of race, creed, or color. Let us then be imbued with the same spirit that actuated Nathan Hale in uttering those ever memorable words, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." Let us recall the famous utterance of John Dix, "If any man attempts to haul down that flag, shoot him on the spot." Let us ever retain in sacred memory the words of James A. Garfield on the morning of April 15, 1865, when, at City Hall, New York, he said, "God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives." Let there be burned into our memories the words of Edward Everett Hale, who, in the story A Man Without a Country, closes it with this paragraph:

Remember, boy, that behind all these men you have to do with, behind officers and Government and people even, there is the country itself—your country—and that you belong to her as you belong to your own mother.

You are each receiving to-night at my hands, for your respective schools, this flag Remember to guard, protect, keep, and respect it, and, when the time comes for your graduation, hand it down to succeeding classes, pledged not only by sacred memories of the past which it awakens but by all that you cherish and admire to see that it receives the same tender care that you have received from your parents.

Take it, then, and may you be true to it as the generations past have been.

May God grant that it may never again become necessary to defend it with the sword, but if the hour does come I am confident you will do your full duty, the same as the honored dead that we remember here to-day performed theirs.

"Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to insert a modest poem in memory of a modest soldier and statesman on this occasion, during the week beginning June 4, 1917, which, judging from the daily press of Washington and the speeches and remarks already authorized to be printed in the RECORD of to-day's proceedings, would seem to be a time of general jubilee for the Southern Confederacy, a final renaissance of southern thought and sentiment at Washington, and of restoration of control of the Government of the United States, long hoped for and prayed for and schemed for by those who stacked their arms at Appomattox after four years of war to destroy the Government, and accepted from this modest soldier and

victor terms of surrender more generous than ever given to a vanquished foe on the field of honor.

Besides his great fame as a soldier, he was twice elected President of the Republic, and yet we have seen, during the last few days, pointed out with illy concealed satisfaction an unfinished foundation for a monument to his memory, commenced many years ago and in its present neglected condition a disgrace to the Nation, but in sight of which on to-morrow we are told his ancient foes are to march as if in triumph amid the plaudits of all Washington.

The following poem in tribute to Gen. U. S. Grant, by Dr. Thomas Calver, was read by the author at the exercises celebrating Grant's birthday at the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, C Street and John Marshall Place, Washington:

GRANT.

When history uplifts her scroll
  Within the beams of Glory's blaze,
Few names are seen upon the roll
  Reflecting fully all the rays;
The stain of selfish thirst for fame,
  Undue ambition's fatal blight,
The itching palm's enclouding shame
  Too often dim the golden light.

But when the shining name appears
  Of one whose strength was truth and worth;
Who no ambition knew, nor fears,
  Save for the country of his birth;
Who had no thought of selfish ends,
  But fought to win his country's fight
And change her foes to loyal friends—
  That name shows full effulgence bright.

The youthful soldier's laurels green;
  The citizen's plain, useful ways;
The victor's glad, yet modest mien,
  When honored with a nation's praise;
The manly heart that could but feel
  Compassion for a fallen foe;
The statesman's patriotic zeal—
  All on his name their glory throw.

The soldier of immortal fame—
  The grandest chieftain of his day—
What title can precede his name
  And not due honors take away?
Oh, may that name throughout all time,
  Desire in youthful hearts implant
To emulate, in worth sublime,
  The soldier and the statesman, Grant!

Correspondence in Regard to the Temperance Question.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. MANN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following correspondence:

CHICAGO LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE,
Chicago, May 29, 1917.

To the honorable, the House of Representatives,
Care Hon. JAMES R. MANN,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I have been interested in the temperance question in Chicago since 1873; in one contest in Hyde Park (now a part of Chicago), against gambling, liquor, or vice for nearly 27 years. In 1906, representing the Hyde Park Protective Association, we recommended the raising of the license for saloons in the city of Chicago from $500 to $1,000 a year. Several years ago I recognized that I had made a mistake. I believe to-day the city of Chicago, State of Illinois, and the United States of America ought not to license the sale of liquor. We ought not to take care of the expenses of the city, the State, and the Nation by any tax upon that which is doing the harm that intoxicating liquor does; therefore I beg to petition your honorable body and to urge the Representatives from the State of Illinois not to increase the tax upon intoxicating liquor, but to wipe it out entirely, believing there was never such a time in the history of the Nation when this is not only feasible but in every way desirable, and I trust that the House will see the wisdom of voting for a "bone-dry" Nation, and striking the heaviest blow possible at the social evil not only as a war measure but as a measure of service to every individual in the Nation.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR BURRAGE FARWELL,
President.

CHICAGO LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE,
Chicago, May 29, 1917.

Hon. JAMES R. MANN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MANN: If it is possible I would be glad to have you arrange that this request shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and if this is done will you kindly send me a copy.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR BURRAGE FARWELL,
President.

The 1917 River and Harbor War Measure Is Practically the 1917 Short-Session Bill Defeated in the Senate Last Spring.—A few Statistics Concerning Rivers, Many of Which Are Cared For in This Bill, and an Analysis of the Mississippi River Commerce on Which $150,000,000 Has Been Expended.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 11, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, in response to predictions and promises of increased river transportation which are now urged in the war measure, I append a few statistics that approximately indicate the public use of waterways furnished free by the Government and particularly the Mississippi River, which has been discussed to-day in general debate.

Over $250,000,000 has been spent on several river and canal projects by the Government in an effort to resuscitate a lost commerce. Deducting floatable timber and sand that floated a half century ago in larger quantities than to-day and do not require expensive waterways, several of these projects are reported to have floated in 1913 approximately as follows:

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi (average upper Mississippi haul, 26 miles, or less than 7,000 tons average continuous haul)	170,000
Lower Mississippi (excluding coal)	200,000
Ohio (95 per cent coal)	2,000,000
Tennessee (includes on Tennessee 78,000 tons coal hauled 16 miles)	200,000
Tombigbee and Warrior (includes on Warrior 32,000 tons coal, distance not stated), average	56,000
Beaufort Canal	65,000
Cumberland	53,000
Missouri	24,000
Hennepin Canal	11,850
Muscle Shoals Canal	5,887
Red River	1,694

Aside from soft coal, as near as can be estimated the average haul was from 30 to 100 miles on the various rivers. The same coal is repeatedly recounted.

THE ABOVE RIVERS GENERALLY RECEIVE 50 PER CENT OF EVERY BILL.

During 1914, 1915, and 1916 approximately one-half of the entire amount given to all waterways was for these few river and canal projects. The balance was divided among about 270 or more projects, of which 20 genuine waterways disclosed 1913 traffic as follows:

10 ocean harbors.	Tons.	10 lake harbors.	Tons.
New York (estimated)	100,000,000	Superior-Duluth	46,875,000
Philadelphia	26,267,335	Chicago-Calumet	13,275,000
Boston (estimated)	20,000,000	Milwaukee	8,647,000
Baltimore	14,781,942	Ashland	5,623,309
Norfolk	17,349,942	Ashtabula	15,743,375
Savannah	3,154,089	Cleveland	16,488,083
New Orleans	6,442,932	Buffalo	18,920,851
Galveston	4,445,088	Erie	3,340,071
San Francisco	9,353,530	Marquette	1,852,229
Portland, Oreg.	7,923,902	Soo Canal	79,714,341

Approximately 200,000,000 tons of waterway commerce was handled at the 10 ocean ports, and, allowing for duplications, one-half that amount at the 10 lake ports. Presumably the commerce was carried on the average 200 to 500 miles, counting ocean and lake traffic, but, like some other waterway statistics, no definite figures are available.

The significance of the comparisons will not be overlooked. Ten ocean ports handled fifty times the actual commerce carried on 10 river projects that annually receive about half of the average waterway bill, and these same rivers floated only about 4 per cent of the commerce counted at 10 lake ports.

COST TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR FLOATING COMMERCE.

The cost to the Government for furnishing a waterway for inland commerce per ton is not definitely settled as to method of computation, and only approximate results can be reached, because the amount properly chargeable to investment interest is variously estimated, although annual maintenance is sure and certain. Excluding floatable timber and sand, usually hauled short distances, the following estimates have been made on the several rivers and canals noted:

	Per ton.
Ohio River (excluding coal, $40 per ton)	$3.00
Ouachita	8.00
Warrior and Tombigbee	12.00
Upper Mississippi	12.00

	Per ton.
Lower Mississippi	$35.00
Arkansas	20.00
Hennepin	36.75
Missouri	40.00
Muscle Shoals (Tennessee)	40.00
Aransas Pass Canal	80.00
Brazos	80.00
Red	100.00
Muscle Shoals (proposed)	150.00
Big Sandy, Ky	350.00

It is interesting to note that in round numbers the following estimate of expenditures per mile have been made by the Government on three waterways with a continued loss in commerce:

	Per mile.
Lower Mississippi, 1,000 miles, at	$100,000
Ohio River to Missouri River, 200 miles, at	86,000
Upper Mississippi, 600 miles, at	40,000
Ohio River 1,000 miles, at	60,000
Lower Missouri, 400 miles, at	40,000

Government canal investments, all indorsed by the Chief of Engineers, are proportionately wasteful:

	Per mile.
Hennepin Canal, 60 miles, at	$126,000
Muscle Shoals, 26 miles, at	175,000
Muscle Shoals, proposed, 26 miles, at	560,000
Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, proposed, 13 miles, at	1,530,000

The above river and canal projects are small waterways that float an insignificant commerce compared with the investment. Can any condemnation of our wasteful, purposeless waterway policy compare with a brief statement of expenditures, past, present, and prospective?

I have set forth statistics heretofore offered on this same subject and here repeated briefly based on an analysis of "commerce reports" contained in the Army engineers' reports. I desire, however, particularly to discuss the commerce carried on the Mississippi River and submit statistics taken from the engineers' reports or as otherwise noted.

THE MISSISSIPPI COMMERCE.

About $18,000,000 of Government funds have been dumped into the 200-mile stretch of the Mississippi reaching from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Ohio. After spending over $86,000 per mile on this part of the river, Senator Burton, the greatest waterway authority in the country, says we had spent more money on this 200 miles of river than the Prussian Government had spent on the entire length of the River Rhine during all the centuries that have passed. Traffic on the Rhine ordinarily reaches 45,000,000 tons annually, or many hundred times the traffic reported on this 200 miles of the Mississippi.

All the faith of waterway lobbyists and river enthusiasts in recent years has been pinned to J. H. Bernhard, the boat builder, who has predicted a rejuvenation of river traffic. Every citizen devoutly hopes Bernhard's prophecy will be realized, but in a discussion by Mr. Bernhard, found in the proceedings of the American Society of Engineers for 1915, occurs this remarkable statement, that is respectfully dedicated to the horn of plenty controlled by Chief Kingman:

To-day the Mississippi from St. Louis to its mouth affords a channel which is the best to be found in any stream in the world * * * and see its emptiness. An 8-foot channel is all that the most efficient service requires. The Government works unremittingly to develop waterways only to see the water-borne traffic grow less as the years go by.

Still the average river man will insist the poor condition of the channels keeps our inland waters idle. This is preposterous; the Rhine could never compare with the Mississippi in its advantages for transportation; its channel is narrower and shallower, more changeable, the current is swifter, and ice is known in the winter over its entire navigable length, yet in 1913 more than 97,000 vessels passed the Dutch and German frontier on the Rhine.

Further along Bernhard submits from official reports a statement of 37,529,153 tons carried on the Rhine in 1913, and it is safe to say this did not include sand, gravel, rock, and brush used in river work or automobiles and cattle ferried across the river, as reported by our own official Government statistician, Chief Kingman.

Senator Burton and Bernhard agree that you can not get commerce on water by idly wasting money in digging shifting, deeper channels. It takes men with freight to make commerce, and they obstinately refuse to ship by water. Yet we are spending $3,000 per mile on this 200 miles in 1915 by virtue of Chief Kingman's allotment.

AN $80,000,000 ARGUMENT.

Seven hundred and eighty thousand acres of land are to be reclaimed between Rock Island and Cape Girardeau. When reclaimed it will be worth from $50 to $150 per acre, according to estimates. That is a plum worth striving for, and the Govment is now being strenuously urged by powerful influences to do the job. It beats "navigation."

A ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION INVESTMENT.

In order that a clear understanding may be had of startling conditions on the Mississippi River, where we are now annually dumping from seven to ten million dollars, I offer three tables taken from official records of river freight handled at the largest river port on the Mississippi. No through lines run on the river either above or below St. Louis. The absolute worthlessness of Army engineers' reports on "commerce" will be further demonstrated, but the Merchants' Exchange report, at least distantly, relates to actual commerce. After making allowance for duplications resulting from reshipments and observing that the bulk of all freight was presumably soft coal received from the Ohio River, it will be well for the country to ascertain what we are getting for $150,000,000 already spent on the Mississippi, with an annual interest charge of about $5,000,000, apart from seven to ten millions more in annual gifts of new, crisp Government currency for dredgers and contractors, raised in part by direct war-tax assessments.

COL. TOWNSEND'S CONFIRMATION—A REMARKABLE STATEMENT THAT COMMANDS ATTENTION.

Before presenting the Merchants' Exchange illuminating table of commerce I desire to quote briefly from a speech made by Col. C. McD. Townsend, Army engineer and president of the Mississippi River Commission. Incidentally the address was delivered before the $50,000,000 annual river lobby that recently held its annual round-up in this city. He said, page 215, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sixty-fourth Congress:

St. Louis for the past 50 years has been the principal origin or terminus of the traffic on our western rivers, and its records summarize their tendencies. Its river commerce attained its maximum of 2,120,000 tons in 1880, and has since steadily declined to 153,000 tons in 1914. In contrast it may be stated that the commerce at Sault Ste. Marie, the outlet to Lake Superior, in 1880 was 1,300,000 tons, and attained a maximum of 79,000,000 tons in 1913. The commerce of New York Harbor exceeds 125,000,000 tons.

Shipments and receipts of freight at St. Louis by rail and specified rivers, 1890–1913.

[Compiled from the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange reports.]

SHIPMENTS.

Year.	Upper Mississippi River.	Lower Mississippi River.	Missouri River.	Ohio River.[1]	Total by river.	Total by rail.	Grand total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1890	22,547	543,805	10,035	.....	601,862	5,270,850	5,872,712
1891	18,630	445,150	19,280	.....	512,930	5,216,228	5,729,158
1892	51,595	392,635	29,455	1,000	502,215	5,969,754	6,471,969
1893	54,230	342,785	12,775	.....	436,900	[2]5,554,593	5,991,493
1894	52,190	281,635	4,075	.....	363,080	4,780,256	5,143,338
1895	30,780	241,155	5,505	.....	303,355	5,349,327	5,652,682
1896	31,510	508,960	1,355	.....	572,410	5,400,728	5,973,138
1897	36,225	406,315	.....	.....	469,365	6,137,265	6,606,630
1898	33,805	339,435	300	.....	399,583	7,079,319	7,478,902
1899	33,675	151,135	.....	.....	203,205	[2]8,266,393	8,469,598
1900	36,675	187,385	1,225	.....	245,580	9,180,309	9,425,889
1901	23,392	158,493	7,185	.....	209,271	10,653,065	10,862,336
1902	23,130	174,517	4,840	.....	[2]224,266	11,035,583	[2]11,259,852
1903	44,855	146,498	2,345	.....	212,207	12,971,173	13,183,380
1904	21,775	46,320	2,620	.....	82,565	13,731,194	13,813,759
1905	25,730	35,295	4,705	.....	80,575	15,225,973	15,306,548
1906	36,000	34,905	3,565	.....	89,185	17,672,003	17,761,191
1907	25,155	35,550	3,095	14,700	78,500	18,296,416	18,874,916
1908	27,280	30,285	5,320	9,855	72,740	15,700,158	15,772,898
1909	16,695	21,140	.....	10,170	48,005	17,153,097	17,201,102
1910	12,510	24,815	.....	11,100	48,425	20,187,270	20,235,695
1911	11,270	38,150	415	17,630	67,465	17,974,337	18,041,802
1912	9,025	24,330	.....	9,940	43,295	20,368,613	20,411,908
1913	8,830	20,000	7,284	11,470	47,584	22,129,175	22,176,759

[1] From 1907 to 1913, inclusive, the tonnage given under the head of the Ohio River includes the Illinois, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers also.
[2] Corrected.

RECEIPTS.

Year.	Upper Mississippi River.	Lower Mississippi River.	Missouri River.	Ohio River.[1]	Total by river.	Total by rail.	Grand total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1890	128,960	222,075	21,350	102,500	663,730	9,969,291	10,633,021
1891	90,865	209,095	25,065	63,890	592,140	10,098,729	10,690,869
1892	135,435	212,545	13,065	96,930	687,200	11,229,005	11,916,205
1893	111,710	216,300	8,000	33,490	599,405	10,408,039	11,007,444
1894	111,400	219,195	5,480	35,375	583,510	9,512,910	10,096,420
1895	78,170	239,690	3,270	35,440	508,830	10,489,344	10,998,174
1896	61,165	345,105	1,245	62,640	671,765	10,763,116	11,434,881
1897	51,435	311,540	250	26,915	576,670	11,921,279	12,497,949
1898	33,910	311,915	790	37,130	506,586	12,962,850	13,469,435
1899	45,410	238,140	565	39,440	466,619	14,805,872	15,272,482
1900	50,070	274,445	2,725	2,700	512,010	15,375,441	15,887,451
1901	68,470	233,885	3,860	57,315	462,805	17,433,523	17,896,328
1902	38,005	248,905	6,030	59,890	416,920	18,060,809	18,477,729
1903	32,705	160,085	1,415	111,435	340,410	21,580,403	21,920,813
1904	26,405	132,585	2,685	102,400	295,370	23,319,871	23,615,241
1905	31,190	107,520	3,580	125,755	289,850	23,915,690	24,205,540
1906	31,140	106,670	2,485	160,120	327,670	27,292,617	27,620,287
1907	21,440	91,325	3,655	173,155	289,575	29,156,091	29,445,666
1908	19,245	70,165	4,365	199,405	293,180	23,577,922	23,871,102

[1] From 1907 to 1913, inclusive, the tonnage given under the head of the Ohio River includes the Illinois, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers also.

Shipments and receipts of freight at St. Louis, etc.—Continued.

RECEIPTS—continued.

Year.	Upper Mississippi River.	Lower Mississippi River.	Missouri River.	Ohio River.	Total by river.	Total by rail.	Grand total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1909	24,305	67,395	160	159,730	251,590	27,075,248	27,326,838
1910	13,390	54,450	240	75,410	143,540	31,538,865	31,682,405
1911	37,480	62,060	490	201,800	301,830	28,965,658	29,267,488
1912	24,060	45,875	910	151,580	222,425	31,108,026	31,330,451
1913	27,735	11,275	5,380	166,735	211,125	32,221,676	32,432,801

Total receipts and shipments at St. Louis by rail and by water for years given.

[From reports of the Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis.]

Year.	Total by water.	Total by rail.	Grand total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1880	1,831,385	8,852,204	10,783,589
1890	1,265,592	15,240,141	16,505,733
1900	757,590	24,555,750	25,313,340
1905	370,425	39,141,663	39,512,088
1910	191,965	51,726,135	51,918,100
1911	369,295	46,939,995	47,309,290
1912	265,720	51,476,639	51,742,359
1913	258,709	54,350,851	54,609,560

FOUR MILLION WANTED FOR MORE LAND RECLAMATION.

To show what Missouri and Illinois Members are up against I quote briefly from proceedings of the Upper Mississippi Drainage Association as reported in the Globe Democrat of November 9 last:

The chief topic under discussion was a plan to obtain Government aid in completing levees between Rock Island and Cairo. This can be done, according to statements made at the meeting, with $4,000,000. It was pointed out that $60,000,000 has been appropriated by the Government for work scuth of Cairo and a very small amount for the river north of Cairo. It was decided to ask the next session of Congress to appropriate $1,000,000 a year for this work.

Sure. But why stop at $1,000,000 or $4,000,000, when the lower Mississippi has had more than $60,000,000 and nearer $100,000,000 from the Government largely for land reclamation? Why not demand that for every dollar spent on the lower river reclamation work and every dollar spent on the Missouri River reclamation work an equal amount should be spent on the upper river? In short, why not throw open the Federal Treasury doors and take over every land reclamation and private water-power project in the country? If one gets a grab, why not all? Incidentally this is the 780,000-acre reclamation project covered by the resolution just offered.

IS NOT COL. TOWNSEND'S JUDGMENT SOUND?—IT CALLS A HALT ON 58 RIVER PROJECTS. WHY NOT?

Again, I quote from Col. Townsend's remarkable address before the river and harbor lobby which was extended in the RECORD of December 11, 1915. Therein he says:

Specifically the writer would not abandon any navigable stream in the Mississippi Valley that has been partially improved, but would leave 58 of them in their statu quo, confining operations to snagging and the maintenance of existing works and would concentrate appropriations on opening up a channel of the capacity of that existing on the lower and middle Mississippi to Chicago and Pittsburgh * * *.

If the facilities thus afforded by the Government are utilized, the upper Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers should then receive attention.

Col. Townsend calls a halt on the upper Mississippi and the Missouri River improvements until the $100,000,000 Ohio and $275,000,000 lower Mississippi projects are finished, and if these streams are ever utilized (?) then go on with the remaining 58 projects, including the Missouri and upper Mississippi. He is amply sustained in his demand for a halt on the 58 projects.

OFFICIAL STATISTICS.

In order to show how unreliable are statements uttered in debate, boosting the average waterway, I append some striking statistics taken from the Engineers official report of "commerce" on the upper Mississippi, which show the enormous extravagance and waste of money on that part of the river.

Keeping in mind that actual commerce on the river has probably decreased 95 per cent during the past few years, during which time $28,000,000 of Government funds has been dumped into this 600-mile stretch during that period, let us see how the Chief of Engineers excuses an allotment in 1917 of over $1,000,000 in addition to the balance on hand and in addition to approximately $30,000 per mile already spent on this project. Examine his statement of commerce, taken from page 2437 of the Chief Engineer's report for 1914. It will not be found easily in the index.

The report says the quantity of freight carried by all boats, including the rock and brush used in Government work and also including logs and lumber floated down the stream, is as follows, and then follows a table, of which 772,392 tons hauled 9,445,576 ton-miles, valued at $781,897, is for material used by the Government in improving the river.

Upper Mississippi River freight statement for 1913.

Designation.	Short tons.	Ton-miles.	Valuation.
Logs	64,489	30,245,340	$315,271
Rafted lumber, shingles, etc	13,570	4,400,147	190,001
Miscellaneous freight	1,294,864	12,229,310	31,417,968
United States material	772,392	9,445,576	781,897
Total	2,145,315	56,320,373	32,705,137

Classified freight traffic, 1913.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.	Ton-miles.
	Costumary units.	Short tons.			
				Miles.	
Apples	160,090 barrels	11,505	$200,218	34.4	395,959
Automobiles	5,703	6,034	9,545,950	3.8	23,014
Brick	192,190 pieces	981	3,052	7.3	7,157
Brush	656,644 cubic yards	82,450	170,191	20.6	1,700,694
Cement	4,305 tons	4,305	34,378	9.9	425,790
Coal	26,236 tons	26,236	90,400	13.5	354,401
Corn	119,090 bushels	3,463	77,431	6.4	22,144
Farm produce	13,565 tons	13,565	359,319	23.5	318,900
Fish	6,539 tons	6,539	666,600	9.8	62,486
Gravel	268,103 cubic yards	398,179	195,242	9.1	3,621,435
Hay	2,615 tons	2,615	44,269	5.4	14,122
Lath	3,056,000 pieces	1,018	10,575	317.2	322,989
Live stock	58,954 head	28,713	5,218,730	6.6	190,202
Logs	8,904,380 feet b. m	98,268	463,631	316.2	31,074,221
Lumber	19,167,689 feet b. m	30,408	467,775	138.0	4,195,827
Merchandise	17,101 tons	17,101	2,107,830	126.9	217,089
Oats	3,550 bushels	55	1,775	1.0	55
Rock	535,143 cubic yards	708,066	562,077	11.3	7,976,674
Sand	430,173 cubic yards	562,040	209,143	4.7	2,653,545
Shells	11,428 tons	11,428	246,229	42.9	490,801
Shingles	622,000 pieces	65	1,866	1.3	85
Teams	23,501	26,609	6,540,900	1.7	46,537
Wheat	11,500 bushels	382	12,347	7.9	3,015
Wood	21,847 cords	34,248	108,213	16.4	560,865
Miscellaneous	71,042 tons	71,042	5,366,996	231.0	1,642,366
Total		2,145,315	32,705,137	26.2	56,322,373

Referring to the 1913 statement, let us briefly examine the items, which show some remarkable facts.

ENGINEER'S STATISTICS OF COMMERCE (?).

"Commerce" reached 2,145,315 tons in 1913, so the Chief of Engineers reports. Tons of what? Let us see:

	Tons.
Brush for river construction work	82,450
Gravel dredged from river	398,178
Rock for river work	708,000
Sand dredged from river	562,000
Logs that have floated for 50 years	98,268
Lumber and wood barged	64,408
Animals ferried across river	55,322
Automobiles ferried across river	6,034
Total	1,974,660

All could be floated in 2 or 3 feet of water, leaving 170,335 tons of questionable commerce remaining, which was hauled on an average of 26 miles or thereabouts.

What a legislative travesty when eleven-twelfths of the commerce for which $1,000,000 was allotted by the Chief of Engineers is of that character. Who weighed the brush? Who weighed the logs? Who weighed the rocks, gravel, sand, and so forth, used in the river work? Where was it carried and for what purpose? Was it floated 1 mile or 10 miles? Who knows? Why measure Government material for river work, anyway?

A WONDERFUL SYSTEM IN VALUING "COMMERCE."

The Chief of Engineers says that 26,609 tons of horses were carried a mile and a half across the river and their value was $6,540,900, or one-fifth of the total. Other live stock carried across the river, he says, was valued at $5,218,730; and then, to cap the climax, this report adds that 6,034 tons of automobiles ferried across the river were valued at $9,545,950.

Nearly two-thirds of all the glowing commerce valuations on the upper Mississippi, including Government sand, rock, and

gravel, turns out to be animals and automobiles ferried across the river.

Again, how much of the remaining 170,000 tons was repair material or Government supplies out of a total 772,000 tons reported? How much was duplicated before it could boost a million-dollar allotment for the upper river?

LOSS IN 1915 COMMERCE.

Last session I inserted in the RECORD a statement of conditions on the upper Mississippi showing that nine-tenths of the money now spent on the river is being wasted, according to the judgment of pilots and captains of boats on the river. I will not repeat that testimony, but for fear it may be construed that the analysis of freight on the river above submitted was an exceptional year, I offer the commerce statement on page 2623 of the last Engineer's Report (1916), wherein the same condition exists, excepting that the so-called commerce on this deserted river decreased about 15 per cent within three years, while the average haul on this 700-mile stretch of river decreased from 26 miles in 1913 to 18 miles in 1915, or nearly 30 per cent.

What can more fully disclose the extravagance of our waterway pork barrel than this project, and it is only one of many heretofore disclosed. Appended is the 1915 commerce report on the upper Mississippi, page 2623, Engineer's Report (1916).

Upper Mississippi River freight statement for 1915.

Designation.	Short tons.	Ton-miles.	Value.
Rafted lumber and lath	7,612	3,434,700	$108,800
Miscellaneous freight	1,247,981	23,535,175	52,226,135
United States material	628,075	6,590,415	450,183
Total	1,883,668	33,560,290	52,785,118

There is an increase from 1894 of 115,407 short tons in miscellaneous freight. The ton-miles increased 11,489,183 and the value $11,461,077.

Classified freight traffic, 1915.

Articles.	Amount in customary units.	Amount in short tons.	Value.	Average haul.	Ton-miles.
				Miles.	
Brick	5,219,500 pieces	15,333	$501,947	10.0	$153,560
Brush	525,429 cubic yards	35,675	153,584	27.4	1,802,242
Cement	1,602 tons	1,602	7,919	8.2	13,102
Coal	27,803 tons	27,833	90,283	13.8	384,104
Corn	110,451 bushels	3,633	70,325	7.0	25,491
Farm produce	3,324 tons	3,324	119,686	5.93	19,831
Fish	7,357 tons	7,357	854,520	6.3	46,600
Gravel	314,614 cubic yards	471,070	162,492	8.1	3,803,416
Hay	3,186 tons	3,186	43,771	4.95	15,785
Lath	5,297,300 pieces	1,831	25,410	287.3	526,160
Live stock	79,805 head	39,968	6,338,657	1.4	56,035
Logs	2,128,000 feet b. m.	9,820	56,458	20.0	196,733
Lumber	12,420,696 feet b. m.	18,624	224,590	325.6	6,064,888
Merchandise	102,544 tons	102,544	15,329,035	74.3	7,619,286
Oats	26,276 bushels	421	11,421	2.9	1,212
Rock	288,325 cubic yards	407,051	255,831	12.8	5,216,141
Sand	287,127 cubic yards	430,391	140,548	4.1	1,775,618
Shells	6,771 tons	6,771	149,323	15.3	103,553
Shingles	1,131,000 pieces	116	3,393	1.2	144
Teams	17,597	24,105	5,574,300	1.1	26,139
Wheat	97,405 bushels	2,573	98,148	3.6	9,282
Wood	20,012 cords	31,418	100,837	18.1	567,690
Miscellaneous	209,052 tons	209,052	22,472,640	24.5	5,133,278
Total		1,883,668	52,785,118	17.8	33,560,290

Analyze this so-called commerce, which is made up of 1,300,000 tons of gravel, rock, and sand, hauled from 4 to 12 miles, and ferriage with over 200,000 tons lumped as "miscellaneous," compared to 71,000 three years before, hauled 24 miles.

And for that we have already paid out or appropriated $28,000,000; and $605,000 balance, uncontracted for and unexpended was in the hands of the engineers on March 1 last for this part of the river.

I have heretofore offered an analysis of official statistics on the Missouri, Cumberland, Tennessee, Ohio, and other rivers. On no single river can any appreciable commerce be shown through improvements, but on the Mississippi and some other rivers the commerce has steadily decreased while fabulous amounts have been placed in the rivers.

How any defense of this wasteful practice can be defended in this period of unexampled high taxes is beyond comprehension. This is the time, if ever, to stop waste, and the best way to stop a small part of it is by defeating the pending river and harbor bill, which covers items that carry over $30,000,000 remaining in balances unexpended.

Food-Shortage Warning.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 8, 1917.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago, at Chicago April 26, 1917, on the food question.

The article is as follows:

FOOD-SHORTAGE WARNING.

[By William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago.]

CHICAGO, *April 26, 1917.*

To the People of Chicago:

In view of the constantly increasing seriousness of the food situation I deem it my duty, as your mayor, to call public attention not only to the present scant supply of foods for domestic consumption, their increasing cost, and diminishing quantity, but also to the more serious danger which, to my mind, the future holds, viz, that hunger and starvation will visit the homes of Chicago before the next winter is over unless provision is forthwith made against such dire calamity.

At the city of Aurora, Ill., August 7, 1915, at a public mass meeting, in an address which I delivered, among other things I said:

"In discussing conditions which are essentially local to the United States and concern our internal policies, I want it distinctly understood that I am not criticizing the foreign war policy of the President. In times like these it is the plain duty of every American citizen to support his Government as against the government of any other country. The course of the administration in adopting and advising a course of strict neutrality is very commendable, and has the approval of every right-thinking American. It is with the utmost respect for the attitude of our Chief Executive and a desire to support the foreign war policy of the administration that I venture to suggest that we have not gone far enough into the middle of the road. This enlightened Nation should take a broader ground and a more advanced position than we have as yet taken or any other nation has heretofore taken.

"There have been times in our history when our people have felt injured because other governments have extended aid and comfort to the enemies of this Republic, although it was clearly within the legal rights of the citizens of such other nations to furnish arms and ammunition for use against us.

"The occasion of the present war in Europe furnishes us a splendid opportunity for a practical application of the Golden Rule to show the civilized world that we are willing to do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

"There is no question in law that our citizens have a right to sell munitions of war to any or all the nations engaged in the mighty conflict; but think what the effect of the action would be if our citizens, voluntarily, and as a contribution to the peace of the world, should say to the war-crazed nations of Europe, 'We will sell you food; we will sell you clothing; we will sell you medicines and hospital supplies; we will sell you anything out of our bursting granaries, enormous warehouses, and depots that would tend to relieve human suffering or distress, but we will not sell you death-dealing implements of war with which to kill, maim, or wound your fellow human beings.' That attitude, I believe, would tend to discourage the dreadful carnage which has drenched the soil of Europe with human blood, brought misery and agony of mind and body to untold millions, and put the blush of shame on the cheek of outraged civilization.

"My plea is to American citizens in their individual capacities—not collectively as the Government—to stop shipments of arms and ammunitions intended for killing and maiming human beings. It matters not to me who may for the time being be in the ascendancy in Europe, and it matters not to me whether one brand or another of the many revolutionary parties in Mexico be the under dog in that fight. There are no exceptions to the divine commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.'"

My words on that occasion were inspired by the sincere belief that if commercial America continued in its policy of furnishing ammunition and implements of war to some of the belligerents in Europe that we would ultimately be involved in a war with those countries against which our death-dealing supplies were used.

We are now in the great war. Questions and discussions now of how we got in or why we got in are too late, because of the fact that the Congress of the United States, at the solicitation of the President, has formally declared that we are at war with the most formidable military power of history. That fact alone should impel us to pause for contemplation. If America, as is generally believed, has become intoxicated by the unprecedented prosperity which the European war has brought to us it is now time to get sober. Let us chart our present position and lay our course for the immediate future.

Ours is a great country. Speaking approximately, we have 100,000,000 people, a total wealth of twenty-five hundred billion dollars, and $4,000,000,000 in money available for circulation, which equals $40 for every man, woman, and child in the country. Our crop of grains is about five and a half billion bushels per annum.

In normal times there is plenty for all our people and some to spare, but these times are not normal. Since August, 1914, the able-bodied men of Europe have been taken out of the ranks of the producers and placed under arms, with the result that it has fallen to our lot to furnish food not only for millions in arms but largely also to the noncombatant population. In this way we have exchanged our foodstuffs for money and securities until we now find ourselves as a people very wealthy but short of food. Reliable statistics collected by the Government and by private agencies show that an alarming shortage now exists, and this condition is reflected by the soaring prices in the food markets. In 1915, when our granaries were bursting under their golden load, flour was selling at about $6 per barrel; now those granaries are depleted and flour is selling at $14 per barrel. There has been a profound change in the situation.

It was very significant to me that on Sunday, April 22, when lake navigation formally opened, there were four and a half million bushels of wheat taken out of our elevators in 24 hours for shipment to the Atlantic seaboard. That one day's shipment from this market represented the yield in 1916 from 265,000 acres, or 400 square miles.

Congress, at the request of the President, signalized our entry into the war by authorizing a bond issue of $7,000,000,000, the greatest amount of money ever dedicated at one time to war purposes in the history of the world. This first installment of the cost of the war to the people of this country may be appreciated when we stop to consider that it means incurring a debt of $70, with interest, for every man, woman, and child in this country, and the interest alone on it will be $245,000,000 per year, or $2.45 per capita! This is the first step in a financial way; others will probably follow.

In the words of the present Speaker of the National House of Representatives, an attempt is now being made "to bulldoze Congress" into passing the administration bill, under which the young manhood of America could be forced or drafted into the Army and sent into the trenches on the battle fields of Europe. The proposed plan to raise an army of 2,000,000 men in this manner would permit the drafting of 10 per cent of the adult male population of the United States, or one out of every three men amenable to military service, and to us in Chicago it would mean that 50,000 of our young men would be impressed for service. The history of conscription or draft is that it leads to trouble, and it is a drastic measure which should never be invoked until the life of the Republic is threatened. I am unalterably opposed to a draft for the purpose of forcing our young men into the trenches of Europe.

In all this feverish preparation which has for its avowed object the settlement of the trouble in Europe, there is little or nothing said or done about preparing our own country for the problems and situation we must meet. American humanity should be no less dear to us than European humanity! We have 100,000,000 of our own people right here at home, and it is our sacred duty to safeguard them before we go abroad to rescue others. While all patriots agree that the American flag, American rights, and American citizenship should be respected the world over, and should be protected by our Government, let us not forget that our first and paramount duty is to our own citizens at their firesides. It is just as important that American citizens and their property be safe on our Mexican border as on the high seas.

Those who are most enthusiastic in their desire to recruit an army to send to Europe wonder why their efforts have not met with better success. To my mind, the answer is obvious. The American people do not believe that their greatest menace lies beyond the Atlantic Ocean. It comes from other directions and is perhaps now at our very doors. American soldiers have been shot down by Mexicans on American soil; our citizens have been murdered in Mexico, their property destroyed, their treaty rights invaded, our women outraged, and our flag trampled in the dirt. It is for these reasons that I am now raising my voice in opposition to a policy of depleting this country of its men, food, and money and exposing us to a situation more dangerous and more imminent.

Hunger will stalk through our fair land and grim want will visit the homes of Chicago unless Congress puts into effect a policy of conservation under which the exportation of food will be restricted to make it certain that our own people shall not suffer the agonies of starvation and from the disease and pestilence which follow in its wake. A curb must be put upon our export of foodstuffs, which now seems to be limited only by the capacity of the ships that are carrying our food abroad.

In view of the grave situation which confronts this great industrial community of Chicago, and in order to bring it to the attention of our people so that we might relieve to some extent the conditions which seem to be rushing upon us, I joined in the movement known as the municipal garden bureau, which now has its headquarters in the mayor's office, to encourage and assist the people of Chicago to produce all the food possible in all available places. The movement has become widespread, but is pitiably inadequate, although several thousand have taken up the work in an effort to minimize the danger which confronts us.

Therefore, I deem it my duty solemnly to urge the people of Chicago to raise as much foodstuff as possible in our city. Everyone who has a tillable back yard should spade it up and plant it without delay. Community centers should be organized. Vacant lots and other pieces of ground that can not be obtained by citizens themselves may be had through the garden bureau operating in the mayor's office. This bureau will render such other assistance as it can, but this work should be done by the individuals independently wherever practicable on account of the shortness of time in which to organize.

I have issued orders to all department heads, ward superintendents, and other employees of the city of Chicago to cooperate and assist the citizens in every way. Each passing day lessens the opportunity to provide for the future.

Espionage Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, 1917.

Mr. KINKAID. While the United States is making war in behalf of the political liberty of foreign nations I can not understand how the cause will be advanced by tearing down a principal bulwark of free government in our own Republic.

If it is not the purpose of section 4 of this bill to override Article I of the Constitution, I respectfully challenge its sponsors to tell what its object may be. In my judgment, viewed in the light of the constitutional inhibition, it carries on its face its own condemnation. Absurd as it seems to me, it is an attempt to enact into law that which the Constitution expressly forbids. If it does not abridge freedom of speech or the rights of the press, it accomplishes nothing; if it does abridge either, it fails to become a law, because expressly forbidden by the Constitution.

The first clause of section 4 reads:

SEC. 4. When the United States is at war, the publishing willfully of information with respect to the movement, numbers, description or disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States in naval or military operations, or with respect to any of the works intended for the fortification or defense of any place, which information is useful to the enemy, is hereby prohibited.

It seems not to be disputed that the full scope of this clause is covered by other sections of the bill; neither is it gainsaid that the law on treason fully covers such cases, so the enactment of this clause would be superfluous. But the second clause, which completes the sentence, is very objectionable to me and, in my judgment, very vulnerable. I am frank to say that it is too new and original, as well as exceptional, for its intended or peculiar province to have been heretofore provided for, as it has been with the first clause.

This second clause reads:

And the President may from time to time, by proclamation, declare the character of such above-described information which in his opinion is not useful to the enemy, and thereupon it shall be lawful to publish the same.

These two clauses, comprising one sentence, are in direct conflict with Article I of the Constitution, which reads:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Section 4 of the bill is intended to accomplish no other purpose than to abridge the freedom of speech and of the press; hence its absurdity and futility, because the result must be essentially that, if we shall pretend to pass such an act, it will be "no law," because, as I have pointed out before, expressly forbidden by the Constitution.

We observe that the first clause prohibits the publication of such matter concerning military operations as "is useful to the enemy." This is very desirable, but, as I have said before, this evil is already amply provided against. But the second clause, to which I earnestly object, prohibits also the publication of what is "not useful to the enemy." Thus the two clauses, taken together, prohibit both what will be useful to the enemy and what will not be useful to the enemy; hence, both what will be harmful and harmless. Further than this, the two clauses, taken together, prohibit the publishing of anything whatever on the subject matter covered. The only justification for making two classes and providing for each separately is contained in the second clause with reference to publishing what "will not be useful" to the enemy in the provision therein that "the President may from time to time, by proclamation, declare the character of such above-described information which in his opinion is not useful to the enemy, and thereupon it shall be lawful to publish the same."

Mark you, it will not be lawful to publish what "is not useful to the enemy" until the President by proclamation permits this to be done. In other words, a citizen shall not orally mention nor a newspaper publish in its columns even what would not be useful to the enemy unless and until the President by proclamation shall grant permission so to do.

But it will be observed that, while the making of such a proclamation is authorized or permitted, it is not obligatory; it is not required to be made and need not be made at all, but nevertheless it will not be lawful to publish even what is not useful to the enemy until such license be granted.

Let it not be forgotten that the "publishing" which is prohibited includes oral as well as written means of disseminating information. Webster defines "to publish," "to make public or known, either by words, writing, or printing, what before was private or unknown." The consequence is that no individual would be allowed even to mention publicly or in private conversation what would not be useful to the enemy until permission be gained by proclamation duly made. It is every individual as well as all the newspapers in the land who would thus be restrained.

We have noticed that in the first clause of section 4 the publication of what "will be useful to the enemy" is unqualifiedly prohibited. On the other hand, very appropriately, the publishing of what is "not useful to the enemy" is not expressly prohibited, but it is prohibited by implication. The question presents itself: If what is not useful to the enemy is to be prohibited, why not say so in language just as direct as that employed in the first clause? Should not the Congress deal fairly

with the people in passing penal laws by making the laws so plain that he who runs may read? But to be clearly understood the second clause reads:

> And the President may from time to time by proclamation declare the character of such above-described information which, in his opinion, is not useful to the enemy, and thereupon it shall be lawful to publish the same.

It will be observed that it is nowhere expressly stated that it shall be unlawful to publish what is not useful to the enemy until the proclamation has been made. But the last line states "and thereupon it shall be lawful to publish the same," meaning after such proclamation shall have been made.

For further comment on this phase of the make-up of the second clause I deem it sufficient to quote from a distinguished author, when writing of the progress made in freedom of speech and press during our Colonial period, at the stage when even the laws by which people were to be governed and condemned were not made known to the people, and yet the inexorable legal requirement then obtained, as it does now, that everyone must know the law at his own peril. This author says:

> Even the laws were not at first published for general circulation, and it seemed to be thought desirable by the magistrates to keep the people in ignorance of the precise boundary between that which was lawful and that which was prohibited, as more likely to make them avoid doubtful actions.

It goes without saying that such a governmental condition constituted rank tyranny, which, thanks to the freedom of speech and of the press, has been overcome. The people now not only read the laws when they are made but participate actively in making them by keeping the Congress and legislatures advised as to their sentiments and wishes, and in a number of States, by the process of the referendum vote, actually become the legislators themselves.

In passing it is interesting to note that the first open debate in our Senate took place in 1793; previous to this the Members having observed the injunction of secrecy. In contrast to the Senate the House of Representatives sat with open doors from the first, and it is fitting, in view of this fine tradition, that its Members of to-day stand loyally for this principle of free speech and a free press.

A wonderful evolution has taken place since the seventeenth century, when the people were kept in ignorance of everything that concerned their welfare. The first printers were considered outlaws, and were treated as such, but step by step the rights to free speech and a free press have been gained. Many a record of this progress has been printed in blood, but these records have taught democracy that the press is a power for good, to be fostered and encouraged.

But it is not for the sake of the press that freedom of the word spoken, written, and printed is to be protected; it is for the good of the institution of democracy, for the advancement of education, and the dissemination of knowledge.

It should not be lost sight of that, contained in this same Article I, and coupled with the clauses safeguarding freedom of speech and the press, is the clause intended to insure religious liberty. The clause reads:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

It necessarily follows that if free speech can be abridged by legislative enactment the Congress may supplant the faiths we have now by new-fangled cults or even decree an established religion.

It must be remembered that this very article safeguarding freedom of speech and the press is the first amendment ever made to the Constitution of the United States, an amendment which testifies to the persistent battle for this privilege universally regarded as essential to the existence and perpetuity of free government.

The States have always guarded this privilege with jealous care, as evidenced by their constitutions, a few lines from several of which I shall here quote:

> Maine: Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty.
>
> New Hampshire: The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved.
>
> Massachusetts: The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Commonwealth.
>
> Connecticut: No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.
>
> New York: Every person may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press.
>
> Pennsylvania: That the printing press shall be free to every person who may undertake to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of the government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof.
>
> Nebraska: Every person may freely speak, write, and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

It ought to be very plain that the exigencies of war should not permit us to override the guaranties of our constitutions, National and State. In fact, it is during great crises that the necessity is more likely to arise for invoking constitutional guaranties. The case of Ex parte Milligan, reported in the Seventy-first Wallace, United States Supreme Court Reports, page 2, presents an instance in point. This case involved the question of the jurisdiction of a military court during the Civil War to try Milligan under circumstances when it was claimed that the United States courts possessed exclusive jurisdiction in such cases. I shall let it suffice here to quote the words used by the very learned and preeminent jurist, Jeremiah Black, counsel for Milligan, who said:

> It is precisely, in time of war and civil commotion that we should double the guards upon the Constitution. If the sanitary regulations which defend the health of a city are ever to be relaxed, it ought certainly not to be done when pestilence is abroad.
>
> When the Mississippi shrinks within its natural channel and creeps lazily along the bottom the inhabitants of the adjoining shore have no need of a dike to save them from inundation, but when the booming flood comes down from above and swells into a volume which rises high above the plain on either side, then a crevasse in the levee becomes a most serious thing. So in peaceable and quiet times our legal rights are in little danger of being overborne, but when the wave of arbitrary power lashes itself into violence and rage and goes surging up against the barriers which were made to confine it, then we need the whole strength of an unbroken Constitution to save us from destruction.

To abridge the press at this juncture would be to strike down one of our strongest weapons for the war. Think what a wonderful service the newspapers are performing, and gratuitously, in advertising for sale the liberty bonds, and every issue of every newspaper contains a longer or shorter article tending to inculcate and to solidify loyalty to the Stars and Stripes.

History proves that the rate of advancement of civilization and political liberty has been in proportion to the degree of freedom of speech and the press exercised in their behalf, and that without these principal factors we should not have attained democracy or a republican form of government.

The crux of the question is whether we shall preserve our institutions by firmly maintaining the freedom of speech and the press, as safeguarded by both National and State constitutions, or surrender the same and thereby repudiate government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Address of Hon. David H. Mercer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 8, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with permission granted me I insert in the RECORD an address delivered at Fullerton, Nebr., on Saturday, May 12, by Hon. David H. Mercer; I also insert a reference to the program of that day as published in the Nebraska State Journal:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF NEBRASKA STATEHOOD—HISTORICAL PAGEANT STAGED—180 INDIANS TOOK PART IN FULLERTON CELEBRATION.

FULLERTON, NEBR., *May 15.*

Ninety historical and patriotic floats, depicting the progress and history of Nebraska, were presented in a grand pageant Saturday led by the Fullerton Band and 180 Indians from the Genoa Indian School and a real Pawnee scout, John Williamson, of Genoa. The town schools and country schools in the entire county, lodges, clubs, churches, and pioneers cooperated under the leadership of County Supt. Chloe C. Baldridge, and succeeded in making this the greatest celebration in this part of the State. The pageant was followed by a folk dance, flag drill, and prairie fire pageant presented by the Fullerton pupils, after which a historical program was staged. David H. Mercer, of Omaha, delivered the main address on the history and progress of Nebraska. The Indian school orchestra of 11 members, under the direction of N. S. Nelson furnished music. J. H. Kemp gave an address on Nance County reminiscences. Mrs. E. B. Penney, one of Nebraska's three school-teacher heroines, told of the blizzard of 1888. Reminiscences of Pawnee Scout John Williamson was read by Mrs. Matson, daughter of Mr. Williamson and the first white girl born in Nance County. Supt. S. B. Davis gave an address on "The Indian of to-day and yesterday," and the delegation of the 180 Indian boys and girls in their school uniforms and their trained orchestra demonstrated the progress of the Indian. Eight primary Indian tots danced the minuet. Twelve hundred men, women, boys, and girls took part in the pageants and program.

ADDRESS OF EX-CONGRESSMAN DAVID H. MERCER.

File 113, by Gaboriau, is the most interesting detective story I ever read. Events in the lives of Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and our own Buffalo Bill (William Cody) have often thrilled me through and through. To read of the deeds of

John Paul Jones, Farragut, Dewey, and other heroes of the sea is to hasten the blood through my veins a little bit faster, while the names of Mollie Pitcher, Nathan Hale, and Joan of Arc excite my patriotic impulses to greater emotions. The monoplane in the air, the submarine under the sea, and the locomotive on land each tell of the genius of man; but most wonderful of all is the earth, the planetary system, and man himself—all the creation of God Almighty.

Once upon a time Nebraska was the arm of a great sea—a salted sea—and it throbbed with animal life. Mollusks, relative to the oyster, were abundant. Shells of large size and great beauty decorated the shore line. Bird life was prolific—all sizes and hues—some as large as an ostrich, and they could fly and swim. Crocodiles of enormous proportions, reptiles, big and little; and many of them could fly. Land lizards 100 feet long and 30 feet tall stalked through the forests. All nature seemed to live in the superlative degree. In the course of time great upheavals of the earth's surface occurred. Mountains and valleys were created, and with them came a radical change in climate and in animal and vegetable life. The sea disappeared, new land formed, and what we now call Nebraska became part of a fresh-water lake over 120,000 square miles in area—a lake much larger than the combined areas of the Great Lakes of America. A semitropical climate then prevailed. Large forests of Sequoias—same as the gigantic trees of California—lined the shores of this lake and nodded their tops to the sun and moon, the tallest ones seeming to woo the stars. The fig, the palm, and the magnolia graced the scene, while the sassafras, oak, linden, pine, and cottonwood thrived in abundance. Eight species of monkeys chattered in the trees, and countless herds of horses fed upon the grasses. The elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and camel had each a place; and a very large animal, part elephant and part rhinoceros, with four fierce-looking horns—two over its nose and one over each eye—roamed through the forests at will. Wild hogs, in size from the raccoon to a small elk, were as plentiful as jack rabbits in Nebraska 50 years ago. One and three toed horses, otherwise like your Nance County horses, galloped through the country. Much of this life disappeared when earthquakes shook the earth to its very center and volcanoes belched forth lava in places 3,000 feet deep. At this time the plains of Nebraska were lowered many feet, the direction of drainage changed, land became mountains, and lakes were converted into land. Then followed the glacial period, with enormous glaciers, mountainous in proportions, moving a few inches or a few feet per day, crushing everything before them. Huge icebergs floated upon the surface of lakes, and the climate became frigid. Our Nebraska lake filled with mud and similar débris, and the Missouri, Platte, and other rivers drained the country to the ocean. New Rivers, like the Loup, Beaver, and Cedar, were formed, and here and there a lake survived. All these transformations in Nebraska, or what we now call Nebraska, consumed ages of time, and I have only referred to them to show you how interesting the study of this State is and that you may be encouraged to make further investigations. The potash deposits in the lakes of northern Nebraska belong to the story.

In celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Nebraska statehood we are paying respect to the noble women and men of the nineteenth century who builded better than they knew when they settled here, for by so doing they not only converted a wilderness of prairie into a panorama of gardens, but they transplanted from their various homes to our soil the acme of culture and refinement and laid the foundation of statehood so substantial and enduring that the Nebraska of to-day is one of our foremost Commonwealths in education, morality, agriculture, commerce, and quality of citizenship. While we are only 50 years old as a State, we can boast great antiquity in the field of romantic discovery. Goethe said that tradition ends with the third generation. That may be true, but an historic fact lives forever. To establish the historic fact—"aye, there's the rub." The native races of northern Asia and the Indians of North and South America are classed as of the Mongolian variety of the human race. I have been in China and Alaska and the resemblance of the people one to the other is very marked. At some time in the misty past Bering Sea was land and travel between Asia and America was uninterrupted by water. When Columbus observed land in the Atlantic Ocean in 1492 he thought he had arrived in India, and hence the name "Indian" which he gave to the newly discovered inhabitant—a name that stuck. Long before Christopher Columbus came this way the Western Hemisphere was peopled by aboriginals, who gave way to the Indians. Seafaring Chinese during the fifth century sailed the Atlantic Ocean and touched the shores of North America. Irish monks settled Iceland in the eighth century and 100 years later the Norsemen came. In the year 1000 Norwegians saw the coast of Newfoundland and camped upon land now known as Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and Thorwald, an ancestor of Thorwaldsen, the famous Danish sculptor, was buried on the shores of a Massachusetts bay. In 1492 Columbus, a native of Genoa, Italy, but representing King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, landed in Cuba and Haiti and the following year discovered Porto Rico. The Cabots came in 1497 and explored the North American coast for hundreds of miles. When the discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots reached Spain the people throughout the kingdom were enthused to explore the New Eldorado. "The life of a Spanish discoverer," says Prescott, "was one long daydream. Illusion after illusion chased one another, like the bubbles which the child throws off from his pipe, as bright, as beautiful, as empty. They lived in a world of enchantment." Spanish expeditions to the New World followed each other in rapid succession. In 1519 Hernando Cortez, with 800 men, lands in Mexico, founds Vera Cruz, and conquers the entire country. In 1539–1543 Fernando de Soto and 600 others journey through what are now Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and Mississippi, and when near the present site of Natchez the intrepid De Soto, discoverer of the Mississippi River, contracts a fever, dies, and the Father of Waters becomes his tomb. The survivors of this expedition, 300 in all, finally arrive in Mexico, and, for aught we know, some of them may have been the first of the Caucasian race to feast their eyes upon these broad and fertile prairies, because we learn from history that 80 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, 68 years before Hudson discovered the beautiful river which bears his name, 66 years before the first settlement of Jamestown, Va., and 23 years before Shakespeare was born Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, a Spanish cavalier, born in Salamanaca, Spain, and in 1540 governor of a province in northern Mexico, gathered unto himself 300 Spaniards and 800 natives and, mounted upon the best horses that gold could buy, started in this direction seeking the seven cities of Cibola in the land of Quivira—cities where the streets blazed with the shops of gold and silver smiths, where rare and precious stones were abundant and without price, where people attired themselves in rich raiment and lived a life of luxury.

Passing through the towns of the Hopi Indians in what is now called Arizona and New Mexico Coronado entered the Valley of the Rio Grande. Here he found many Indian villages, but the people were poor. The expedition tarried in this valley during the winter. The seven cities vanished in gloom, for the winter was very severe. The Indian villages were destroyed and most of the Indians killed. One of the surviving Indians, who received the nickname "Turk" because he wore a turban and otherwise dressed himself to resemble a native of Turkey, informed Coronado that he had visited the land of Quivira, that it was all that had been said of it, and that King Tartarrax ruled its rich and contented people. In the spring of 1541 the quest for gold and splendor was resumed, with Turk serving as official guide. After hundreds of miles of travel through waste and wilderness the expedition reached the banks of the Arkansas and halted. Coronado was so discouraged that he divided his forces. He and 30 of his bravest companions proceeded north, the rest of the party returning to the Rio Grande. Thus far they had seen vast herds of bison or buffalo, which supplied them with food, raiment, and tents, but no Quivira. During the hot days of July Coronado and his brave band ambled along, and 77 days after leaving the Valley of the Rio Grande they crossed the fortieth degree of latitude, which is the present southern boundary of Nebraska, and to quote the late Judge Savage, of Omaha, "Here along the Republican River they found Quivira; here was Tartarrax, the hoary-headed old ruler of the land, but alas for the vanity of human expectations, the only precious metals they saw was a copper plate hanging on the old chief's breast; there was no musical bells, no gilded eagle, no silver dishes, no rosary, no image of the Virgin, no cross, no crown," and I might add that the old king wore fewer clothes than are usually seen on an Hawaiian dancer. The seven cities of Cibola went the way of all air castles; Quivira returned to dreamland and Coronado appeased his wrath by hanging Turk to a wild plum tree. For 25 days the Coronado party traveled the country between the Republican River and the Loups, giving special attention to its flora and fauna. They report many Indian villages along the way, which leads me to believe that at one time they may have dined upon buffalo steak not far from where we now stand. Coronado returned to Mexico a disappointed man, but he misjudged his discovery, for in reality he had found Quivira when he traversed what is now Nebraska, because our gold and silver are in the soil and not in mines, as last year we

produced more wealth from our soil than was taken from all the gold, silver, and diamond mines in the world. One-half our people live on farms and the value thereof is almost $3,000,000,000—equal to the present gold supply in America. Last year we received over $8,000,000 for our dairy products, and our poultry and eggs brought in as much more. We raised over 200,000,000 bushels of corn, 70,000,000 bushels of wheat, and the same amount of oats. In acreage Nebraska is first in wild grasses, second in alfalfa, third in hay, and eighth in sugar beets. She stands fourth among the States in the number of cattle and hogs and sixth in the number of horses. Verily, this is Quivira, and the Coronado dream was true.

In 1682, 141 years after the Spanish cavalier left this beautiful country, 150 years after De Soto discovered the Mississippi River, and only 9 years after Joliet, a fur trader, and Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, had paddled their canoes down our greatest river to the mouth of the Arkansas, another famous explorer, La Salle, appeared upon the Mississippi, and he and party floated in their canoes to its mouth. La Salle, like the other representatives of France, entered this country by way of the St. Lawrence, while the Spaniards came from the Mexican frontier or via Cuba. La Salle, in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV, immediately made claim to the vast empire drained by the Mississippi and to the west of it, and in honor of his king named the new possessions, Louisiana, a domain extending westward to the summit of the Rockies. Prior to this event Louis XIV had achieved a reputation as a "land grabber," but this La Salle deal made him "King of the craft." In 1762, France and England being at war, the former country ceded Louisiana to Spain, the formal treaty being signed by England, France, and Spain in February, 1763. In the same treaty France ceded to England Canada and all her territory east of the Mississippi, and Spain gave Florida to England in exchange for Habana. In 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte, who had overthrown the Directory, settled the existing differences between the United States and France, and in 1800 secured from Spain the retransfer of Louisiana to France.

You will remember that the kings and queens of Europe have always been in the real estate business, and at no time have they been particular about title or consideration. In fact, the awful and inexcusable war now going on is founded upon inordinate greed for land and commerce. The downfall of all kings is about due. Hasten the day.

In 1803 England was making it uncomfortable for France, and Napoleon, rather than lose Louisiana to an enemy, sold it to the United States for $15,000,000—a bargain price, for we gave $5,000,000 for Florida, $7,200,000 for Alaska, and $25,000,000 for the Danish West Indies. The purchase of Alaska really represents our gratitude to Russia for the aid she gave us during the Civil War, the $7,200,000 just about covering the expense of the Russian fleets in Atlantic and Pacific waters. Alaska was then considered worthless. She has turned out to be priceless. When Napoleon concluded the sale of Louisiana to us he said, "I now give England a maritime rival which sooner or later will humble her pride." Prophetic words, for the War of 1812 followed, and to-day, without our assistance, both England and France would be vanquished instead of victors. Thomas Jefferson was President when the Louisiana deal was negotiated, and desiring to know something of the land we had bought "sight unseen," he organized the Lewis and Clark expedition, and instructed it to navigate the Missouri River to its source and hence find a waterway to the Pacific Ocean, making excursions or explorations inland as seemed advisable to Lewis and Clark, who were officers in the Regular Army and competent surveyors. In July, 1804, this expedition was at the mouth of the Platte River, sojourned a few days at Belleview, held a council with the Indians at what is now Fort Calhoun, and made a pilgrimage almost to Nance County.

John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, sent Maj. Long on an exploring expedition through this country in 1819. At Belleview he made treaties with various Indian tribes, one of which, the Pawnee, then numbered 6,000 people. Long ascended the Platte to the confluence of the North and South Loups, and most likely tramped across a part of what we now call Nance County. In 1834 Congress declared this part of the west "Indian country," and made a treaty with the Pawnees that thereafter they should reside north of the Platte River, since which time they resided in this vicinity until their removal to Oklahoma. In 1842 John C. Fremont, then 29 years of age, accompanied by Kit Carson as guide, led the first of his five expeditions across the continent, little dreaming that some day he would be a major general in the United States Army, a United States Senator from the State of California, and the first nominee of the Republican Party for President. I remember him well, for he was the guest of Nebraska at the Republican national convention at Chicago in 1888, and in my charge. He was then 75 years of age, but his mind was active and he delighted us with what he saw and did in this wonderful West long before Nebraska was even dreamed of as a State. On this expedition Fremont ascended the Missouri River from St. Louis, thence up the Big and Little Blue, until he turned north toward a large island in the Platte to the westward of the present site of the city of Grand Island. The Fremont expeditions were all interesting, and each one is a story by itself. While he may not have visited this spot in 1842, two years afterwards, where Fullerton now stands or very near here, a real Fourth of July celebration took place, for Mrs. Elvira G. Platt, who was a participant, writes:

> That a settlement of white men with their wives and children went out, accompanied by a school, with banner and song to celebrate the day. We of Plum Creek were off early in the morning for a ride to the Mather's farm for breakfast; the picnic ground was Cedar Bluffs, overlooking the Willow (Cedar), where Fullerton now stands. L. M. Platt read the Declaration of Independence; Long, "America"; an oration by James Mather; an original poem and prayer completed the program.

Thus you see that the seed of patriotism was planted in this soil long before Nance County was born, and your magnificent parade and pageant to-day shows that the seed still blooms most profusely. In the same year the Mormons were driven out of Nauvoo, Ill., and they then began those remarkable pilgrimages to the West, which finally terminated in the Great Salt Lake country. For many months over 15,000 of these venturesome people dwelled where Fort Atkinson once stood and now known as Fort Calhoun, while another large colony was at Kanesville (Council Bluffs), Iowa. Brigham Young was of this settlement. In 1847 the Mormons left their homes along the Missouri River and joined other disciples westward, bound to the promised land in far-off Utah.

The Platte Valley was the only natural highway leading from the "Big Muddy" to the great West, and it was thronged with Mormons in 1847, followed two years later by an army of adventurers seeking gold in California. Over 100,000 men and women traveled the California or Mormon Trail along the north side of the Platte and the Oregon Trail, which extended along the other bank of this interesting river. This vicinity was not on those beaten paths and only a few stragglers came here, but when the gold fever subsided and people sought soil instead of mines your immigration began, and, strange to relate, your first permanent settlement was made by a Mormon colony of 100 people in 1857. These people first located in what we now call Platte County, but the land selected being claimed by Leander Gerard and his friends, they gave up their "squatter rights" and settled near the present site of Genoa, occupied 2,000 acres of land, 1,200 of which was cultivated, the entire tract being surrounded by ditches and sod fences. This colony, after months of deprivation and destitution, began to prosper. Then the Pawnees came. For three years these brave, industrious Mormons "held on," but the incessant fighting between the Pawnees and quarrelsome Sioux so terrified them that they moved away. Had I the time I could describe in detail the expeditions of Lieuts. Pike, Warren, and other officers of the United States Army, beginning in 1806 and ending in the sixties; the explorations and commercial ventures of the John Jacob Astor Fur Co.; the romantic careers of Manuel Lisa, Peter Sarpy, and Logan Fontenelle; the heroic and self-sacrificing deeds of a host of missionaries like Moses Merrill, Samuel Parker, and Father Pierre Jean De Smet, all doing their "bit" in a territory which afterwards became the State whose fiftieth anniversary we are celebrating to-day, for the benefit of civilization and the upbuilding of an ideal Republic. I also regret that I can not refer at length to the acts and deeds of that noble band of pioneers who came here in the fifties and sixties, for what they did has never been excelled here or elsewhere. God bless the pioneers of Nebraska.

When Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854 and President Pierce approved it on May 30 slavery in America was given a death blow, the Whig Party as a political organization was disrupted, the Republican Party was born, and a Civil War was assured. This act made null and void the so-called Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had held the North and South from each other's throats for several decades; it killed the presidential chances of Stephen A. Douglas, sent his senatorial rival, Abraham Lincoln, to the White House, and paved the way for the emancipation proclamation, which liberated 4,000,000 slaves. This act was productive of more benefits to mankind—indirectly rather than directly—than any other piece of legislation given to the people by Congress. The Kansas-Nebraska bill passed the Senate by 35 to 13 and went through the House of Representatives by 113 to 100, and gave the Territory of Nebraska 351,558

square miles—an empire, extending from the present southern boundary to British possessions on the north and from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, an empire out of which has been carved the two Dakotas, most of Montana, nearly all of Wyoming, and a large part of Colorado and Idaho; an empire larger than the combined areas of Germany and Japan.

Francis Burt was our first Territorial governor, and he came from South Carolina. He arrived at Belleview October 7, 1854, and 11 days later, died. He was succeeded by the secretary of the Territory, Thomas Cuming, of Iowa—a change in office that made Omaha and not Belleview the metropolis of Nebraska. The official headquarters of the Territory remained at Belleview until the legislature convened in Omaha January, 1855, when that city was declared to be the capital. There were eight counties in the Territory, to wit: Burt, Washington, Dodge, Douglas, Cass, Pierce (Otoe), Forney (Nemaha), and Richardson. Napoleon Bonaparte Giddings was the first Territorial Delegate to Congress. In 1857 the legislature passed a bill moving the capital from Omaha, but Gov. Izard vetoed it. On March 5, 1860, the people voted against statehood by 2,094 yes to 2,372 no, and those were stormy times. Every family had a politician and a row. On April 19, 1864, Abraham Lincoln approved an act of Congress enabling the people of Nebraska to form a State constitution and government, and on June 2, 1866, the vote for statehood carried by 100 majority. The campaign was bitterly contested and left so many sore spots that they were not healed in a generation. The first governor of the State, David Butler, was declared elected over J. Sterling Morton by 45 majority, and Lorenzo Crounse had 6 majority for the office of supreme judge. Thomas Warren Tipton and John Milton Thayer became our first United States Senators and Turner Martin Marquette our first Congressman, although he served but two days. To quote Marquette, "I ran twice for Congress in one year, was elected both times, and served two days and really two nights, but I never charged anything for that." In this hotly contested election the vote in Rock Bluff precinct, Cass County, was not counted, because the election officials, in violation of the law, had not remained in sight of the ballot box from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. on election day, hunger having tempted them to dinner 1 mile away. The vote in this precinct was Democratic 107, Republican 49. Those were straight-ticket days. The majority in Rock Bluff precinct against the adoption of a State constitution was large enough to offset the majority given it in the entire State. Had this vote been counted J. Sterling Morton and the rest of the Democratic candidates would have been elected. Thayer and Tipton would not have gone to the United States Senate and the early history of the State would have been radically changed.

In July, 1866, Congress voted statehood to Nebraska, but President Andrew Johnson blocked the legislation with a pocket veto. On January 9, 1867, statehood won in the United States Senate by a vote of 34 to 15, and one week later passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 103 to 55. On January 29 President Johnson vetoed this bill, but Congress passed it "over his head" by a vote in the Senate on February 8 of 31 to 9, and in the House on February 9 by a vote of 120 to 43. One of the conditions of statehood was that the word "white" should not remain in the constitution as adopted by the people on June 2, 1866. Alvin Saunders, our last Territorial governor, summoned the legislature in special session at Omaha February 20, 1867, and on that date all conditions for statehood prescribed by Congress were complied with.

President Johnson, on March 1, 1867, issued a proclamation declaring Nebraska a State. Its star was added to the flag July 4, 1867, the thirty-seventh in the constellation. Thus, during a period of 325 years the land now constituting Nebraska was claimed by Spain and England in the sixteenth century, although the latter country never assumed ownership; by France in 1682; ceded to Spain in 1762; receded to France in 1800; sold to the United States in 1803; attached to the Territory of Indiana in 1812; had no government from 1821 to 1854; then became a Territory in her own right and arrived at statehood March 1, 1867, just 50 years ago March 1, 1917; and during these 325 years only the flags of Spain, France, and the United States floated over our soil. The union jack, so familiar to our forebears east of the Mississippi for so many years, was never a badge of dominion and authority "in these parts." I have given you the history of Nebraska in a very brief form from the time it was "no man's land" to a period when everybody is hungry for any part of it, and, in conclusion, I desire to call your attention to a few salient facts that should not be overlooked, my only regret being that I can not, for lack of time, cover all the interesting history of Nebraska. The subject is too large. I have a fund of information relating to Nance County, but I will leave that recital to your distinguished citizen, Hon. J. H. Kemp, who, some day, will make history for this Commonwealth as its governor, for he, like your very efficient county superintendent, Miss Chloe Baldridge, is competent for any service to which either may be called. Miss Baldridge by her work to-day has demonstrated beyond cavil that woman has a place in the sun; that her domain is in the field of man; and that there should be no limitations in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness under God's heavens because of sex. Miss Baldridge, our hats are off to you, and the State superintendency of schools should be your next goal; and permit me to say in this connection that the veterans of the Civil War seated upon this platform remind me that Nebraska, both as a Territory and as a State, has always been foremost in patriotism and love of country, and freely gave of her sons and daughters in times of stress. She successfully defended herself against the Indians; her record in the Civil and Spanish Wars is equal to that of any State in the Union; and to-day she is offering more than her quota of men and women for service in the world war in order that our national honor may be preserved and that democracy may prevail over autocracy and that liberty and freedom may have an abiding place forever and a day among all the peoples of the earth.

Our first newspaper was the Nebraska Palladium, at Belleview, November 14, 1854, the issue of this date being No. 16, the previous 15 numbers having been printed at St. Marys, Iowa. The Omaha Arrow was printed in the Bugle office at Council Bluffs, Iowa, until November 28, 1854, when its Omaha issue appeared. The Arrow survived until near Christmas, 1854, while the Palladium died in April, 1855, to be succeeded by the Nebraskan, which lived until 1863. At one time the Arrow received for services rendered—nature of service not stated—a deed to the second lot on Douglas Street west of Sixteenth, facing north, and now part of the land occupied by the great Brandeis stores. That lot to-day is worth over $100,000. The Nebraskan was founded by Bird B. Chapman, a Delegate in Congress from this State, 1855–1857. The Nebraska City News came from Sidney, Iowa, where its first Nebraska issue was set up and printed on November 14, 1854, the same date carried by the Palladium in its first issue west of the Missouri River. In my opinion, the News of Nebraska City, which survives and shines to-day, is entitled to the honor of being Nebraska's first newspaper. It is also entitled to the honor of being a first-class newspaper from 1854 to 1917. The Mortons, Thomas and J. Sterling, E. D. Marnell, J. Stilson Porter, and others made it first class.

The legislature of 1855 gave the Territory a very drastic prohibition law, which remained upon the statute books until 1858, when high license came. We have returned to the status of 1855, so far as the flowing bowl is concerned.

On the suffrage question, we started with the word "white" in our constitution. We eliminated that to save statehood, then we refused votes to women by popular vote more than once, but the present legislature has broken down a few of the barriers in the way of equal suffrage and the remaining ones will fall at the next election, for our women have so decided and the men are too gallant and sensible to say them nay.

We secured our first railroad when the great Union Pacific came. On July 1, 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Union Pacific act and later located the eastern terminus at Council Bluffs. The first shovel of dirt was thrown in Omaha, December 2, 1863, and the first rails laid in that city on July 13, 1865. The road was finished to the Great Salt Lake May 10, 1869. When cars began running it took 19 hours to go from Omaha to the present site of Kearney and the fare was $19. By the way, Abraham Lincoln, after whom our State capital was named and who had so much to do with our early history, never paid us a visit. He came west as far as Council Bluffs, were he delivered a speech in Bayliss Park.

In 1858 the State board of agriculture began as a Territorial organization, the first Territorial fair being held in Nebraska City in 1859, and the first State fair in the same city in 1868.

In 1859 the Nebraska City News, Brownville Advertiser, Plattsmouth Sentinel, Falls City Broadaxe, and Omaha Republican formed a press association, the forerunner of our present State press association.

August 29, 1860, the first telegram ever sent to or from Nebraska went from Brownville to the Associated Press of America.

In 1867 we adopted a seal of State. Pupils in our schools should study it. Every line has a meaning. In the same year, on July 29, the capital was moved from Omaha to Lincoln.

In 1868 the State Medical Society was organized and in 1869 came the State Horticultural Society. In 1871 we held our

first constitutional convention, but the people refused to ratify its work by 641 majority. In 1874 Gov. R. W. Furnas issued an Arbor Day proclamation, the first of its kind in any State. In 1875 a second constitutional convention, duplicating most of the work of the 1871 convention, submitted to the people our present constitution, and it was ratified by 24,728 majority. The State Bar Association came in 1876 and the State Historical Association in 1878, while in 1895, in the face of sneezing opposition from hay-fever victims, the golden rod was made our State flower; but to my mind one of the most important and beneficent acts of our State solons was the establishment of Arbor Day in 1885, and making that day a holiday. State after State has followed this precedent, and the idea leaped two oceans to find a lodgment in many foreign countries. J. Sterling Morton is the founder and father of Arbor Day, and the legislature recognized this fact by designating April 22 the anniversary of Morton's birthday, as Arbor Day in Nebraska. For this idea Morton will live in the memory of man long after his associates, their children and grandchildren will have passed away; and we owe it to Morton and to posterity that Arbor Day be observed as Morton, were he here, would have it observed, by the planting of trees. Each boy and girl in Nebraska should plant a tree on this day and each tree should be tagged with the name of the planter and date of planting.

The free-homestead act was of incalculable benefit, for it accelerated settlements in Nebraska; but that act concerns you indirectly, as Nance is the only county in the State where the homestead right was not exercised, as your land was sold. Not a homestead, tree-claim, or preemption right was secured here. You had squatters, but they were obliged to protect their claims by purchase.

On May 20, 1862, Abraham Lincoln approved the free homestead act, to take effect January 1, 1863, and Daniel Freeman, a Nebraska soldier, obtained claim No. 1. He selected 160 acres near Beatrice. This patent is numbered 1 and is recorded in volume 1 on page 1 of the records of the General Land Office at Washington, D. C. Freeman attended a dance at Brownville on the night of December 31, 1862, and expected to join his regiment next day. A Government land office was at Brownville, but the officials intended to observe New Year's Day as a holiday. When Freeman explained his status the land-office officials came to his rescue, and, with claim No. 1 in his hand, Freeman returned to the dance shortly after midnight for a Virginia reel. Before sunrise January 1 he left for his regiment.

Nebraska has six Congressmen, her representation having doubled after the census of 1890. Hon. DAN V. STEPHENS ably represents this, the third district, consisting of 18 counties.

Last, but not least, whence the name "Nebraska"? In 1738 two brothers, Paul and Pierre Mallet, Frenchmen from New Orleans, came up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to what is now Dakota County, and they then traveled overland diagonally across what is now called Nebraska to Santa Fe. When they arrived at a very wide river they gave it the French name "Platt," meaning "broad." Fremont, in 1842, called the same river "Nebraska," and in 1844 William Wilkins, Secretary of War in the Tyler administration, said, "The Platt or Nebraska, being the central stream leading into or from the great South Pass, would very properly furnish a name for the territory which I propose suggesting to be erected into a Territorial government." The first bill introduced in Congress named the new Territory "Platt." This was in 1851. Subsequently another bill was introduced, and when the Territory was legally organized it received the name "Nebraska," thus preserving Indian nomenclature, for Nebraska is a Sioux word meaning "broad water"—"ne" or "ni" meaning "water"—hence Nebraska, "broad water"; Niobrara, "running water"; and Niagara, "falling water." The Sioux Indians and the Mallet brothers looked upon the Platte River as broad water, and the names given it had the same meaning. Platt in French and Nebraska in Sioux. The Platte River went by the name of "Nebraska" for a great many years, but when the Territory was organized and took the name "Nebraska" the river had the name "Platte" fastened upon it.

Who can prophesy the future of Nebraska? Our climate is of the best, because our range of latitude and longitude, together with our elevation above sea level, running from 800 feet to over a mile in height, makes it so. Our topography and climate, with a sufficient annual rainfall and almost continuous sunshine, insure bountiful crops. We have more square miles within our boundaries than can be found in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Serbia combined, and those countries have a population of 23,000,000. God certainly smiled upon Nebraska.

In Opposition to the Espionage Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, May 31, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, when Gutenberg invented movable type, nearly five centuries ago, a revolution in the dissemination of knowledge was inaugurated. Since that day the discussion of public questions through the medium of the press has gradually, and in later years with increased rapidity, superseded in a large measure the more costly and difficult distribution of pamphlets and circulars and the restricted agency of public meetings.

In every treatise on government no greater emphasis is laid upon any factor which contributes to the maintenance and perpetuity of representative democracy than upon the right of freedom of discussion—comprehending freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. De Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America," gave utterance to a truth which can not be denied. "In countries where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people prevails, the censorship of the press is not only dangerous but absurd. When the right of every citizen to a share in the government of society is acknowledged, everyone must be presumed to be able to choose between the various opinions of his contemporaries and to appreciate the different facts from which inferences may be drawn. The sovereignty of the people and the liberty of the press may therefore be regarded as correlative, just as the censorship of the press and universal suffrage are two things which are irreconcilably opposed, and which can not be long retained among institutions of the same people." When our forefathers, after seven years of war for freedom, promulgated that great charter of democracy to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," they ordained in the first amendment to the Constitution that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

In this time of stress and danger, Mr. Speaker, let us harken to the mandate of that covenant of human rights; let us hold steadfast to the principles embodied in that immortal document. For a century and a quarter the Constitution has been equal to every emergency which has confronted the Republic. Maintaining our course true to its doctrines, we have repelled foes from without and upheld its sanctity when secession thundered within our borders. Under its beneficent provisions every citizen has enjoyed the freedom of voice and pen, every hamlet the opportunity of assembly, while from forum and pulpit and press has come the expression of public opinion emancipated from fear and restraint. Free speech and a free press are the bulwarks of civil and religious liberty—the fundamentals of all republics. While we are battling to extend the blessings of democracy in the Old World, we should not destroy the principles of democracy in the New by undermining the very foundations upon which rest all representative governments.

Freedom of discussion does not mean and can never mean unbridled license to speak or print that which will endanger the public welfare or violate the rights of others, and any newspaper that divulges information which would give aid to the enemy should be suppressed and its editors punished to the full extent of the law.

When this Nation was calling forth all the resources of the North for the preservation of the Union, President Lincoln was urged, on the ground of extreme military necessity, to set aside temporarily the constitutional guaranty of free speech. Despite the fact that a considerable portion of the press was disloyal, our martyred President even in that time of national peril would not consent to violate the mandates of the Constitution. President Wilson, in his memorable war address to Congress last April, said, in discussing the spy system of Germany: "Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover, and where no one has the right to ask questions. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the Nation's affairs."

The enactment of such a law as here proposed would be without precedent. It would be unwise, unjust, and dangerous. It would vitally effect the liberties of the people, for the press is but the agent of the people—the established and convenient method for the exchange of facts and opinions. It is not the publisher or the editor who would suffer under a rigid censorship but those who have the right to know and discuss the facts of Government and criticize their own public officials. The hand of the Government is made infinitely stronger when sustained by the enlightened thought of the people, and this cooperation can not be given unless the people have knowledge of the facts. The Government can not carry on this war successfully without the constant support and sympathy of its citizens, and their enthusiasm and assistance can only be secured by taking them into the confidence of the Government. To do otherwise would be tantamount to saying that they can not be trusted with knowledge of their own affairs.

The people are entitled to know what their Government is doing. Give them the truth; it is the only way to obtain united action. Mystery and concealment engender suspicion and lead to discontent and distrust. "War is not entirely a matter of armed force. Public opinion is a factor in victory no less than ships and guns, and the creation and stimulation of a healthy, ardent national sentiment is the kind of fighting that the press can do." The people of the United States intend to stand by the administration in this crisis, but they want to do it intelligently. They do not want published anything that will handicap the Government in the proper and successful prosecution of the war or which will aid the enemy.

The press is patriotic and I have such faith in the loyalty of the newspapers of America that I am confident they will act as their own censors and prohibit the publication of any information which would profit our enemies or jeopardize the national welfare. The service being rendered the country by the press is incalculable. They have given effective support to the administration in its war measures; they have placed their columns at the disposal of the Government in its appeal for subscriptions to the liberty loan and for the dissemination of information which will conserve and foster our resources; they have awakened us from a false sense of security and inspired our people with the spirit of national obligation.

The huge appropriations we have placed at the disposal of the administration should be expended economically and with strict business integrity, but unfortunately war breeds recklessness and waste. In its wake stalks greed and avarice, venality and corruption. The press of the Nation will perform a great service to the country by bringing to the light for public censure and condemnation dishonest contracts, graft, extravagance, and unfair practices, should they exist, and only a press free and independent, aggressive and uncensored, can render such service.

Registration Results In Milwaukee County—No Slackers In Milwaukee—Time to Quit Slandering Loyal Citizens—Registration Results In Milwaukee County Prove Know-Nothing Charges False.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that it is necessary to call attention to a most detestable and vicious form of know-nothingism that has reared its ugly head within the last few days. I am somewhat tired of repelling the unwarranted charges of disloyalty that have so frequently been made against Americans of German birth or descent, and I would not now go into the subject again, but when a Senator from Wisconsin and an editor from Milwaukee seek to cast reflections on the State I am a citizen of and the city of my birth; when they attack the patriotism of the people I have lived amongst all my life; when they spew the vicious venom of malicious spite on my friends and neighbors, I think it is high time to call the bluff and require the "ill birds that foul their own nest" to furnish a bill of particulars, and I have therefore introduced the following resolution:

Whereas a Bulletin, a publication issued daily in the city of Washington, contained on Thursday, June 7, 1917, the following item: "L. W. Nieman, editor of the Milwaukee Journal, and Senator HUSTING laid before the President this afternoon evidences of German intrigue in Wisconsin"; and

Whereas said publication implies grave charges against the people of the State of Wisconsin and reflects upon the fair fame of the State; and

Whereas on June 5, 1917, the people of the State of Wisconsin, and especially of the city of Milwaukee, demonstrated their loyalty to the country of their birth or adoption by responding gallantly and overwhelmingly to the call of the President for the defenders of our flag; and

Whereas the so-called liberty loan of the United States will be largely oversubscribed in the city of Milwaukee and State of Wisconsin: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the House of Representatives such information as he may have in his possession relating to the charges implied in the above-mentioned publication, if not incompatible with the public interests.

"By their works ye shall know them." There has been a lot of cheap talk all over the country. There have been big parades, meetings galore, and speeches a plenty, and there has also been a whole lot of superficial twaddle and bombastic buncombe about plots and conspiracies in some sections of the country, especially Wisconsin, and more especially Milwaukee County; and now, when the test comes, what do the results show?

Here is the Milwaukee county record:

Registration results in Milwaukee County.

Wards and towns:	
First	1,773
Second	2,312
Third	2,385
Fourth	2,803
Fifth	2,422
Sixth	2,160
Seventh	1,915
Eighth	2,383
Ninth	1,939
Tenth	1,493
Eleventh	1,986
Twelfth	2,155
Thirteenth	1,928
Fourteenth	2,371
Fifteenth	1,096
Sixteenth	1,035
Seventeenth	2,010
Eighteenth	1,040
Nineteenth	1,551
Twentieth	2,275
Twenty-first	1,613
Twenty-second	2,131
Twenty-third	2,102
Twenty-fourth	1,667
Twenty-fifth	1,859
City total	48,424
Cudahy	841
South Milwaukee	907
Wauwatosa	510
West Allis	1,499
Franklin	146
Granville	256
Greenfield	429
Lake	823
Town of Milwaukee	263
Oak Creek	317
Town of Wauwatosa	1,034
East Milwaukee	116
North Milwaukee	273
West Milwaukee	197
Whitefish Bay	46
Grand total	56,081

Here is the record throughout the State:

Returns by counties.

Counties.	Whites claiming exemption.	Whites registered.	Aliens.	Alien enemies.
Adams	443	756	16	5
Ashland	1,449	2,102	533	25
Barron	1,355	2,467	126	15
Bayfield	916	1,441	213	9
Brown	1,222	2,208	37	7
Buffalo	648	1,364	20	3
Burnett	471	808	33	6
Calumet	912	1,546	54	11
Chippewa	1,541	2,776	162	12
Clark	1,205	2,437	94	30
Columbia	1,222	2,398	81	28
Crawford	718	1,349	29	15
Dane	1,904	4,174	263	39
Dodge	2,503	4,159	302	75
Door	919	1,575	22	4
Douglas	355	640	74	4
Dunn	1,114	1,981	45	6

Returns by counties—Continued.

Counties	Whites claiming exemption.	Whites registered.	Aliens.	Alien enemies.
Eau Claire	1,221	2,794	76	24
Florence	130	310	46	6
Fond du Lac	2,575	4,679	322	58
Forest	369	669	220	61
Grant	1,795	3,163	83	21
Green	1,052	1,950	169	17
Green Lake	643	1,129	30	17
Iowa	895	1,960	193	18
Iron	405	741	583	3
Jackson	873	1,377	4	59
Jefferson	1,636	2,900	67	58
Juneau	851	1,358	27	29
Kenosha	461	853	138	15
Kewaunee	697	1,239	7	2
La Crosse	502	1,210	19	10
Lafayette	1,013	1,832	341	26
Langlade	764	1,724	106	11
Lincoln	785	1,474	100	18
Manitowoc	2,368	3,946	178	53
Marathon	2,736	4,903	168	65
Marinette	1,322	2,586	183	54
Marquette	504	816	5	4
Milwaukee	3,281	5,970	1,483	191
Monroe	1,256	2,295	59	7
Oconto	1,007	1,871	100	15
Oneida	589	1,139	136	14
Outagamie	2,320	4,515	177	48
Ozaukee	724	1,255	92	12
Pepin	151	594	5	5
Pierce	712	1,806	30	9
Polk	990	1,869	79	9
Portage	1,432	2,595	47	20
Price	643	1,299	188	45
Racine	841	1,563	405	17
Richland	993	1,583	17	3
Rock	2,970	5,681	792	61
Rusk	508	1,041	55	7
St. Croix	1,170	2,269	95	18
Sauk	1,358	2,601	60	49
Sawyer	268	509	42	2
Shawano	1,360	2,644	42	28
Sheboygan	3,021	5,338	732	88
Taylor	671	1,084	91	17
Trempealeau	923	1,969	64	10
Vernon	1,302	2,275	62	5
Vilas	173	360	105	3
Walworth	1,329	2,417	143	57
Washburn	521	871	29	2
Washington	1,138	2,355	69	28
Waukesha	1,769	3,610	313	108
Waupaca	1,642	2,864	58	18
Waushara	710	1,286	104	5
Winnebago	1,331	2,492	98	45
Wood	1,568	2,764	72	44
Cities over 30,000:				
Green Bay	1,246	2,278	69	13
Kenosha	2,081	2,970	1,437	1,504
La Crosse	1,364	2,608	21	88
Madison	2,109	4,080	332	24
Milwaukee	21,366	38,055	8,120	1,227
Oshkosh	1,536	2,598	114	33
Racine	2,459	4,725	1,544	73
Superior	1,569	3,019	671	713
Total	114,882	210,897	23,124	5,888

Here is a telegram I received from one of the most prominent citizens of Milwaukee, a man of reputation and of unimpeachable character, whose word has always been as good as his bond:

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *June 6, 1917.*

Congressman WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The press for months has been questioning loyalty of Milwaukee. Eastern papers and some ignorant speakers have been especially abusive. Total registration Milwaukee County last presidential election, 77,691; registration on duty day, 55,969; no arrest; no trouble, except overenthusiasm and crowding of booths. Press reports riots in New York and trouble at various points all over the United States. New York beats Milwaukee in preparedness parade, waving flags and shouting, but Milwaukee will do more than its share with fighting men ready to go to the front just as stated in my Times-Picayune (New Orleans) interview of April 7. Ask the Associated Press to give equal publicity to Milwaukee's honorable record on June 5 as they have given to scurrilous statements against us. Liberty loan will be oversubscribed here.

GEO. H. RUSSEL.

I also insert here a clipping from the New York American of June 8, 1917, which is somewhat amusing when you compare the charges in the beginning with the results as described toward the end:

Charges of an organized plot in the State of Wisconsin to defeat the draft were laid before President Wilson by L. W. Nieman, editor of a Milwaukee newspaper. He declared influences were at work to overthrow the entire military program of the Nation.

The Wisconsin plot, as disclosed by Editor Nieman, included the use of pro-German newspapers in carrying on the propaganda against the draft. He was introduced to President Wilson by Senator HUSTING, of Wisconsin, and presented for the President's inspection a list of charges and evidence to bear them out.

WISCONSIN FIGURES LARGE.

The plot, according to Nieman, went beyond the mere urging of men not to register; it is designed to render the United States powerless and impotent in the war.

Agents of the Department of Justice and United States Secret Service already are working on the case, it was indicated at the Department of Justice, and early arrests are likely.

It was pointed out, however, that in Wisconsin itself the alleged plot apparently did not gain much headway, so far as registration was concerned, as complete figures for that State received at the War Department to-day showed it to have exceeded the census estimate by 15,000 names, or 7 per cent. The total State registration was 245,758, against an estimate of 229,597.

Compare these results with the figures from other States. Compare them especially with some of the States and cities that have been the most blatant shouters for war. I am willing to stake my reputation for veracity on an unqualified challenge that the State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, and the district I represent will furnish as good a quota of husky, patriotic soldiers as any section of the country and will go a lot of sections some better.

We still sing the Star-Spangled Banner out my way; we still celebrate the Fourth of July and believe every line of the Declaration of Independence, and in spite of all that slanderous tongues may say or evil minds imagine the "boys of the Badger State" will give the same good account of themselves in 1917 as they did in 1861 and in 1898.

Conservation of Our Food Supply.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADDISON T. SMITH,

OF IDAHO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks on the importance of the conservation of our food supply and the necessity of enacting legislation to prohibit the use of foodstuffs in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors, I submit for the information of the Members of this House a paper which has been carefully prepared by Mr. Deets Pickett, research secretary of the board of temperance, containing the opinion of noted authorities in this and foreign countries on the injurious effects, both mental and physical, upon those who are in the habit of drinking beer:

BEER CAUSES THE CONSUMPTION OF MORE ALCOHOL THAN DOES WHISKY—IT HAS NO APPRECIABLE FOOD VALUE—ITS RAVAGES UPON THE BODY ARE FEARFUL—IT PRODUCES THE "BEER PHILISTINISM" WHICH IS THE BLIGHT OF GERMANY—IT HAS ALWAYS FAILED AS A SOLVER OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM—IT CAUSES MORE DRUNKENNESS THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE LIQUOR.

The growth of the beer habit is cursing the world with a very flood of poisonous liquor.

It is estimated that the production of beer in the world in 1913 was 282,078,000 barrels, which is equivalent to approximately 8,750,000,000 gallons. The immensity of these figures is not intelligible until we begin to compare this volume of beer with other large aggregations of liquid.

The world's production of beer would make a river 6 feet deep, 10 feet wide, and as long as the Mississippi. It would fill the Panama Canal or keep Niagara Falls going for several hours. In Scotland it would fill Loch Lomond, or it would keep the many fountains of the city of Paris running six months.

It required 27,648 breweries to manufacture this flood of liquid refreshment, producing on an average 10,200 barrels. The United States leads the world in the production of beer, being responsible for slightly more than one-fifth of the world's output.

HOW BEER CONSUMPTION HAS GROWN.

The period of the greatest increase in the consumption of liquors has corresponded closely with the period of greatest growth in the use of beer. In 1850, when practically no beer was used in America, the consumption of spirituous liquors in the United States was 2.24 gallons per capita, and in 1910 this had been reduced to 1.42 gallons. But the per capita consumption of absolute alcohol has increased, since 1850, 37 per cent. In other words, the amount of alcohol contributed to individual consumption by spirits decreased 35 per cent, but the amount contributed by beer increased 1,000 per cent, so that at the end of the period the average American was using 37 per cent more of pure alcohol than before beer drinking became common in America.

A VICE OF THE CITIES.

The vice of beer drinking is peculiarly a city vice in the United States. "Probably nine-tenths of the beer is consumed by the adult male population in urban communities," said President Edward A. Schmidt, of the United States Brewers' Association, in speaking to the convention held in New Orleans. Inadvertently, in this statement President Schmidt admitted that nine-tenths of the beer is consumed in

BEER NOT WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE.

A great effort is being made in America just at the present time to convince the people that beer is not an alcoholic beverage in the sense that whisky and other spirituous liquors are, that its so-called "moderate" use is harmless, that it has food value and that a permanent solution of the drink habit can be found in the prohibition of whisky and similar drinks and the encouragement of beer and light wines.

These statements are not supported by the facts as established by the experience of America and Germany, by the medical and chemical professions, and by the records of "keep-beer-prohibition" experiments.

"The result of extolling beer as the mightiest enemy of whisky and brandy has been that the consumption of the distilled liquors has changed very little while to these liquors has been added beer, the use of which has led to a great and still increasing beer alcoholism. The brutalizing effect of beer-alcoholism is shown most clearly by the fact that in Germany crimes of personal violence, particularly dangerous bodily injuries, occur most frequently in Bavaria where there is the highest consumption of beer," said Dr. Hugo Hoppe, the famous nerve specialist of Konigsberg, Germany, and Dr. Charles Gilbert Davis, of Chicago, evidently agrees with him, for he arraigns beer in the following vigorous language:

"It is my professional opinion, after observation of many years in the practice of medicine, that beer is doing more harm to humanity than all other alcoholics.

"Beer produces disease of the stomach, kidneys, heart, and blood vessels. Owing to the diuretic effect of the hops, the alcohol in the beer is diverted toward the kidneys, which probably accounts for its destructive action on those organs. It causes a deposit of morbid fat in the body, especially around the heart, enlarges that organ, and increases the work of the heart and blood vessels, manifested by the fatigue and shortness of breath of all beer drinkers.

"A man can not use beer daily for any great length of time and not manifest some physiological deficiency.

"Prof. Stengel, in his great work, a translation from Jügensen, of Tübingen, and Schrötter, of Vienna, draws attention to what he calls the 'beer heart.' He says: 'Bavaria, especially Munich, is its home par excellence, and the people in that country in every class of society fall victims to this form of heart disease.'

"Beer deposits fat around the heart, weakens the muscular walls, thickens and enlarges the ventricles, and, if continued, ultimately cuts short the life of the individual.

"All of this has been proven time and again by the post mortems of Bollinger, who has examined and weighed the hearts of many beer drinkers. This is a terrible scientific arraignment of beer, but it is the truth, and truth is the voice of God."

Dr. John M. Dodson, dean of the medical department of the University of Chicago, gave as his opinion that beer is even more deleterious to health than the stronger drinks.

Dr. Struempell, a German physiologist of high standing, does not tolerate for a moment the suggestion that beer is less of a social enemy than other liquors, for he says:

"Nothing is more erroneous from the physician's standpoint than to think of diminishing the destructive effects of alcoholism by substituting beer for other alcoholic drinks, or that the victims of drink are found only in those countries where whisky helps the people of a low grade of culture to forget their poverty and misery."

THE BEER DRINKER GETS MORE ALCOHOL.

The belief that beer should not come under the condemnation so frequently meted out to whisky is traceable to the common impression that beer drinkers consume much less alcohol than whisky drinkers. But those who believe this overlook the fact that the man who drinks four per cent beer usually takes ten times as much as a man who takes 40 per cent whisky. The United States Internal Revenue Commissioner, on page 675 of the Statistical Abstract, gives the per capita consumption of distilled spirits and beer in 1914 and their respective alcoholic contents as follows:

	Gallons used.	Gallons of alcohol.
Distilled spirits	1.45	0.584
Malt liquors	20.51	.820

It will be seen from this that the per capita consumption of alcohol by beer drinkers in 1914 was 40 per cent greater than that by whisky drinkers.

Prof. Kraepelin, of the University of Munich, says that at one banquet of professional men in Berlin there was consumed during the evening, by 4,000 persons, 15,382 bottles of wine, 4,646 pints of beer, and 300 bottles of cognac. Prof. Kraepelin has also stated that 13,000 persons become victims of alcohol each year in Germany, and that one-fifth of all mental disorders are attributable to alcoholic liquors.

Nor must it be thought that the less concentration of alcohol in beer makes that beverage less dangerous. During a recent court trial in Chicago a medical witness was asked:

"Does the rate or degree of oxidation depend upon the concentration of alcohol?" He answered: "Not at all on the concentration." To the further question, "Would the stimulant and narcotic action of 48 drops of alcohol be greater or less if given in 20 per cent or 55 per cent dilution?" "It would be indistinguishable," he answered, "just as the narcotic and stimulant effect of the same dose of alcohol is indistinguishable whether it is given in the form of whisky or in the form of beer."

BEER VALUELESS AS A FOOD.

An extensive beer advertising campaign is under way, designed to create the impression that it is an article of food and that it is always "pure." As a matter of fact it has no appreciable food value. The statement so often attributed to the famous German chemist, Baron Von Liebig, "Beer is liquid bread," can not be located in any of Von Liebig's scientific works, and in Letter VI of his Letters on Chemistry, to be found on page 22 of his Complete Works on Chemistry, he says:

"Beer, wine, and spirits furnish no elements capable of entering into the composition of the blood, muscular fiber, or any part that is a vital principle."

And he says:

"Nine quarts of the best ale contain as much nourishment as would lie on the end of a table knife."

And still again:

"If a man drinks daily 8 or 10 quarts of the best Bavarian beer, in the course of 12 months he will have taken into his stomach the nutritive constituents of a five-pound loaf of bread."

Prof. G. O. Higley, of the department of chemistry, Ohio Wesleyan University, published a very elaborate study of the food value of flour and of beer. He found the ratio of proteids in beer to proteid in flour as 1 to 80, of carbohydrates as 1 to 61, and of fats 0.0 to 0.28. To furnish a hard-working man with the amount of proteid needed each day it would be necessary to give him 108 glasses of beer, costing $5.40, as compared to 37.9 ounces of flour, costing 6.8 cents. To supply him with the carbohydrates needed for his daily ration it would be necessary to give him 52 glasses of beer, costing $2.60, or of flour, costing 4.3 cents.

The same money expended for beer and flour would yield 94.05 calories in the case of beer, and 2,785.84 calories in the case of flour. The calorie is the unit of measure of nutritive value.

Prof. Higley made a similar comparison between milk and beer with similar conclusions.

THE "PHILISTINISM" OF THE BEER DRINKER.

Prof. Rudolph Eucken, possibly the greatest philosopher Germany has produced, declares that his country must give up beer, which "breeds the wretched type of beer Philistine with which everyone is familiar."

The term "Philistinism," as describing the intellectual desolation and brutalization resulting from the beer habit, is now universal. The Scientific American says:

"The most dangerous classes of ruffians in our large cities are beer drinkers. Intellectually a stupor amounting almost to paralysis arrests the reason, changing all the higher faculties into a mere animalism, sensual, selfish, sluggish, varied only with paroxysms of anger, senseless and brutal," and it also continues its unflattering remarks as follows:

"In appearance the beer drinker may be the picture of health, but in reality he is most incapable of resisting disease. A slight injury, a severe cold, or a shock to the body or mind will commonly provoke acute disease, ending fatally. Compared with other inebriates who use different kinds of alcohol, he is more incurable and more generally diseased. It is our observation that beer drinking in this country produces the very lowest kind of inebriety, closely allied to criminal insanity."

Dr. Flessinger, editor of a Paris medical periodical, declares that "Beer makes people ferocious and beastly."

The Pacific Medical Journal of this country supplements this testimony: "Of all intoxicating drinks, beer is the most animalizing; beyond all others it qualifies for deliberate and unprovoked crime."

The fact is generally acknowledged. Said one wife, "When my husband drinks whisky, he soon gets stupid; but when he drinks beer, he runs after me with a knife."

A woman of 45, with an 11-year-old boy, was found by the police, near Hoboken, N. J., nearly dead from exposure. There was a hotel near by where she might have had shelter, but she refused it because there was beer on the premises. This illustrates in a striking way the popular recognition of the beastly qualities imparted by constant use of beer.

THE EXPERIENCE OF GERMANY.

Kraepelin, one of the best known of German scientists, in speaking of Munich, says: "The daily amount of beer there runs from 4 to 8 quarts, and about 40 per cent of these beer drinkers add small amounts of distilled liquors, and some men drink daily 10, 15, and 20 quarts." This certainly does not indicate that beer tends to create "temperance" in that Province.

Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, in the Survey for February 24, 1917, calls attention to the fact that beer has been found to be the chief alcoholic cause of disease in Germany. She says:

"Noted investigators of this disease maker were Bauer and Bollinger. They found that out of 5,700 autopsies conducted in a series of years in the Pathological Institute, of Munich, only six women (the more temperate sex) had died of that enlargement of the heart afterwards called beer heart. But 1 out of every 16 males had died of it. Sendtner, following up these researches, found that while the general death rate elsewhere (according to the Gothaer Life Insurance) was 5.8 from heart disease, in beer-soaked Munich it was 11.9. He also found that brewery hands in Munich had an even higher death rate from heart disease than did the Munich population in general."

Prof. Von Struempell, above quoted, expresses himself at greater length, thus:

"Formerly whisky and brandy were the universal evil-doers, the only despised drinks as against 'noble' wine and 'harmless' beer. At present we know that in practice the injurious effects of beer are at least as frequent, if not, indeed, more frequent, than those of distilled liquor.

"For although the percentage of alcohol (beer 2 to 4 per cent) is not especially high, yet this low percentage is counteracted by the great quantity drunk; 100 cubic centimeters of beer contain only 3 grams pure alcohol, but a liter contains 30 grams. A moderate beer drinker who daily drinks his 5 liters thus gets every day 150 grams of absolute alcohol into his body. Finally, it must be noted that perhaps beer contains besides alcohol other injurious substances from the hops, whose effect is also to be taken into account."

Other eminent European scientists and doctors speak as follows:

Prof. Emil Kraepelin: "In the production of alcoholism in Germany beer undoubtedly plays the chief rôle. It must be conceded that beer is capable of producing typical delirium tremens."

Prof. Gustav von Bunge: "No other drink (referring to beer) is so insidious. It has been in Germany worse than the whisky pest, because more apt to lead to immoderate drinking."

Prof. Möbius, Leipsic: "I know little of whisky and wine drinkers. With us it is beer that ruins the people."

Dr. Johannes Leonhart, a distinguished scientist: "The question concerning alcohol is not whether Smith or Jones believes that he can take two or three glasses a day without harm, but how is it possible to diminish the immense amount of injury from it that the whole German people suffer?"

Prof. Forel in the American Journal of Insanity (1900):

"One only needs to study in Germany the 'beer jokes,' beer conversation, and beer literature. They have stifled in young Germany the idealism, the taste for the classics and the finer mental pleasures throughout broad parts of the nation and in both sexes, to an extent that makes one cry for help. Among the academic youth of Germany the drinking of beer has truly killed ideals and ethics and has produced an incredible vulgarity."

Similar opinions are held in other countries where they consume beer and "light liquors." Sully-Prudhomme is responsible for this statement, which hardly jibes with what the brewers tell us:

"All in all, my opinion as to alcohol in all its forms is that it is fitted, thanks to the devastation it brings about in the nervous system, to animalize people in all grades of society and, sooner or later, to annihilate the superiority which man has slowly acquired over the anthropoid ape."

And Prof. Nothnagel, of Vienna, says:

"It is a sin to give children wine or beer. It is criminal to teach that wine nourishes. The dreadful neurasthenia of our day is due just to this early use of alcohol. Those who say that alcohol is a poison are wholly right."

A recent testimonial comes from a source that can by no means be said to be prejudiced to prohibition. England found soon after the outbreak of war that she must curb the ravages of the liquor traffic, so the Government put the entire matter into the hands of the British Board of Control, of which Lord D'Abernon is chairman. In October, 1916, he made this statement:

"In London at various periods in the early part of 1916 a total number of 903 cases of drunkenness were analyzed, of whom 566 were men and 337 women. Dividing the cases according to cause of drunkenness, it was found that 40 per cent had become drunk on beer or stout, 35 per cent on spirits, excluding rum, 8 per cent on rum, 10 per cent on spirits and beer, 4 per cent on other drinks. The remaining 17 per cent did not know the nature of their drink.

WHY BEER IS STUPEFYING.

Beer derives from hops a bitter-tasting, sticky substance which forms the active element of the oriental narcotic—hasheesh. This discovery, credited to Prof. Reinitzer, of the Polytechnic at Graz, is declared by other European scientists to account for the "undoubted stupefying effects of beer."

Judge Lang, of Zurich, says: "Brandy makes a man sick, but beer makes him stupid"; and Dr. Delbrueck declares that all civilization must send for the slogan, "War on beer."

Hasheesh is a narcotic made by the natives of India, Turkey, and other countries from the leaves, flowers, and stalks of the hemp plant. Long ago it was the custom of eastern despots, when assigning to servants the duty of assassination, to intoxicate them with hasheesh, and from the similar sound we are said to derive our word "assassin." The drug has a peculiar, brutalizing effect. It pulls in the nerves from the finger tips to the inner recesses as a cat draws in its claws. The victim is left unperceptive, unresponsive, and in time is degraded to the level of the grunting hog.

Hops is very closely related to hemp. Says Prof. Reinitzer, "In the female blossom of the Indian plant, as in the female blossom of the hops, we find glands holding a narcotic, bitter-tasting, sticky substance which forms the active element of the hasheesh from Indian hemp. This is used by the various Mohammedan people of South and West Africa as opium elsewhere for narcotic purposes."

THE "PHILISTINISM" OF THE BEER DRINKER.

To the hops rather than to alcohol Prof. Reinitzer attributes "that stupefaction which marks the 'beer Philistine.'" He further says, "Such an expression as wine or whisky Philistine is inconceivable. Beer drinking has apparently a special action on the nervous system which leads to that clumsy, provincial heaviness of mind one can observe most strikingly in the beer drinker. Also, the hops contributes to the pathological, burning thirst of the beer drinker and to the injurious effects on the kidneys."

The now benighted ones who still imagine that in Europe, and especially in Germany, there is no prejudice against the use of "light drinks" may read with very great profit the above expressions from eminent Germans.

American medical opinion is well expressed by Dr. Howard A. Kelly, of Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Kelly is one of the most eminent surgeons of the United States, and he makes this statement: "I consider, with eminent German authorities of enormous experience, that beer is exceedingly injurious and dangerous as a beverage. It has no scientific medical indorsements of which I know."

THE PROGRAM OF MODERATION.

The brewers and saloon keepers tell us that beer will make Americans "moderate-drinking people." The St. Louis Star has located a saloon advertisement in that city which tells how they intend to do it. Here it is:

"Free! Free Free! To introduce our large beers we will give one free to anyone who buys and drinks four bar beers in 10 minutes. Our beers hold 40 ounces, or three 5-cent bottles. No glasses are large enough to hold one of our beers. The capacity of the human stomach is 1 gallon. You can have your capacity filled best at the New Home Liquor Store, 1525 Market Street."

The former editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate says that recently while sitting beside a police judge whose court was in session he asked that each one appearing on the charge of drunkenness, or assault due to drunkenness, should be questioned as to what he had been drinking. Out of 18 cases 15 said they had been drinking beer. Three old topers had been using whisky. About half of the beer cases involved assault and battery or destruction of property.

It is suggested that the next time anyone points to beer drinking in Germany as a solution of the liquor problem this quotation from Dr. Von Bunge, of the University of Basel, Switzerland, be submitted for further discussion:

"Such horrors as a great modern joint-stock brewery perpetrates are unrivaled in the whole world's history. Men in past centuries were made chattel slaves. But the slaves kept their health. Men have been killed by thousands, but the children of the murdered remained strong. Now they make slaves of them and murder them at the same time. They kill them, together with their children and children's children. They kill them slowly; they torture them slowly to death."

The quotation is from "Alkoivergiftung und Degeneration" and seems to evidence a lack of appreciation of this "temperance" beverage.

"KEEP-BEER-PROHIBITION" EXPERIMENTS.

Mrs. Tilton, already quoted, discusses thoroughly "keep-beer-prohibition" in her Survey article in a most illuminating way:

"In 1830 England decided to woo men, if possible, from drinking distilled liquors by allowing beer saloons without license fee. These sprang up like mushrooms, the result being (Delbrück, Alcohol and Hygiene, p. 542) that beer consumption rose 25 per cent in the next five years, while at the same time spirits consumption rose 8 per cent. England found that temperance in drugs was an impossibility, and the whole scheme was finally pronounced a fiasco. Early in the history of the bill, Sydney Smith wrote: 'The new beer bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state.'

"A beer experiment was also tried in Iowa. In 1855–1858 Iowa was under prohibition. In 1858 the law was amended to allow beer and certain wines. The great trouble was that the beer saloons would sell whisky under the guise of beer, and there seemed no betterment in it. (Canadian Sessional Papers, No. 21, p. 255.)

"Massachusetts tried a beer experiment between 1870–1873. In 1869 Massachusetts was under prohibition. In 1870 the law was amended to allow ales, porter, beer, and cider. Records of the increase of drinking in places where the beer saloons were opened may be found in the report of the (Canadian) commissioners to inquire into the workings of the prohibitory law, Ottawa, 1875. Drunkenness and crime increased, and everywhere we hear the complaint that the beer saloon would sell whisky under the guise of beer. In New Bedford, 1872, the year in which beer saloons were opened, the number of crimes increased over 68 per cent and cases of drunkenness over 120 per cent."

Georgia's recent experience is too well known to need comment.

Decoration Day Oration by Hon. Ernest Lundeen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the Memorial Day oration by Congressman ERNEST LUNDEEN, of the Twelfth Minnesota Volunteers, at Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D. C., on May 30, 1917.

The oration is as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY ORATION BY HON. ERNEST LUNDEEN, OF THE TWELFTH MINNESOTA VOLUNTEERS.

Mr. Chairman, comrades, and you, my fellow citizens: Comrade Comstock, of the Grand Army, was chosen to deliver your Memorial oration to-day. He was my colleague in the House of Representatives—a true American, always on guard with lessons of patriotism. To-night he sleeps beneath the stars. I am only a soldier of a little war—his supernumerary. A record of courage and loyalty makes fragrant his memory.

In the midst of world war we pause to honor our heroic dead. This day is sacred by the tears of a million mothers—hallowed by the sacrifice of unnumbered lives.

The horizon is red with the fire of conflict. The soldiers of the sea add new terrors to the deep. "The nations' airy navies" are "grappling in the central blue." Man is mad with war. Plowshares and pruning hooks are hurriedly beaten into swords. Nation struggles with nation; peoples against peoples; race against race—in one seething, reeling caldron of death and destruction.

Into this great world war we plunge ourselves. Where others grow weak and weary we are called on to hold high their standards. The Nation is about to be tried and tested as never before.

Our banners have never suffered a final defeat. In the end in every war Providence has protected and prepared us for the day of victory. And now, as we go forth to new and fiery trials, the Nation breathes again the prayer:

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

THE VETERANS OF TO-DAY.

The finest example of devotion, of self-sacrifice ever given to the world was made by you of the Grand Army, the veterans of an hundred battle fields. In a lesser but equally loyal way the veterans of the Spanish-American War proved up their patriotism. In war the Nation had its birth; in war it was preserved and grew greater; in war the pure gold shall be separated from the dross.

The men who cemented our noble structure of ideals and of patriotism into the world's finest and best temple of liberty remain immortals in the halls of time. For them we have tears and gratitude—"the fairest flower of the human heart."

Our fathers before us solved every problem confronting them. They feared God and loved liberty. To them we turn for advice and inspiration to-day. Though they sleep in the narrow trenches of death, their spirit lives in the American of to-day and of all future years.

They fought and died that we might be free; that our flag might be unspotted and unstained; that all men underneath its folds should bear no chains nor sigh for freedom while a single star still shines in the heavens.

As long as the firmament domes the sky there is one debt the Nation can never cancel, and that is the debt we owe our defenders.

For you, the living, we have cheers and never-ending praise. You are the living symbols of patriotism, a guide by day and by night in these strenuous times. The fires of liberty will never die on the altars of our country while yet one brave soul among you remains to bless our land.

The little bronze button is not so often seen to-day, but it still stirs our hearts. We take off our hats to you, our comrades of the Grand Army, as you pass. No finer sight in all the world than your regiments marching to martial music—strong, erect, fearless, practical patriots, who took orders only from a free Government.

The American volunteer was the most heroic soldier the world has ever known. Their blazing swords were unconquerable, and they were volunteers. Were the world to-day to follow in your footsteps there would be no kings, no czars, no emperors, but only a sturdy citizenry where every man is a citizen king.

Comrades you are! On earth there is, there can be no stronger word from man to man than "comrade." Once in war, now we are comrades in the great army of citizens. We dedicate ourselves anew to America in this hour. When for us the roll of drums shall come, we stand ready.

A tide of tender memories is ours to-day. Business halts. The American people everywhere pay tribute to the men who saved the Republic. Our "deathless dead" are a lesson in patriotism for present and future generations. Every forward step they trod among thorns and every sigh was "jeweled with a tear." My friends, our sleeping heroes paid in full the price of progress. The last of that great army is now silhouetted against the evening sky. One by one they drop out of sight. Soon all will sleep beneath the stars "on fame's eternal camping ground."

THE SOLDIER'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

The soldier holds the foremost place in history. Constitutions, laws, and forms of government are carried forward on the bayonets of patriots.

Statesmen and Presidents! What are they beside the soldier? The soldier's sword carved liberty out of the mountains of despair. Many mottoes are abroad in the land to-day. None surpass "Our Army, our Navy, and our country forever."

WOMEN IN WAR.

The widow and the orphan is our special charge; they helped in an evil day. The splendid women of America never stand back in a crisis. They steadied the temple of liberty; they march in the front rank of patriotic activity. To-day, again, they are called to the colors, to take up many a burden where their brothers left them; to bind up the wounds; to cheer the lonely; to pray over the fallen. Their touch of tenderness brings a smile to the dying and happiness to the weary. They are our better angels in every land and in every clime.

THOSE WHO SLEEP BENEATH THE STARS.

These hallowed dead who rest about us were men of heart as well as brain. It is the heart that marks a man. They were men of courage and of good cheer. They marched, and as they marched they sang the songs of jubilee. They cheered and stormed the battlements. They knew how to die, and no one can say they feared to go.

They battled through the Revolution, through a second war with the world's greatest empire, through the Mexican War to Chapultepec. They saved the Union.

On the anvil of civil strife was hammered out our national destiny. In what a heat, in what a fire, was welded our fate. Now one evermore before all the world, we stand humble before God, equal to our rightful tasks.

Again and again our ideals were tested in fire. We made war in ninety-eight that liberty might be recognized fully and completely in the Western Hemisphere. We remembered the *Maine*, as the Grand Army before us remembered America.

And in all these wars all endured, all suffered privation, placing America before all. The blue and the gray are one; the Nation stands supreme; the triumph of national unity is complete.

Standing here upon sacred ground, in the presence of the dead, we feel our limitations keenly. You who died for liberty, you who faced death without fear, you who placed the Nation first, you who with living deeds gave to the future the best motto of to-day—America first—in your presence we renew our faith in democracy, we place our trust in God, and pledge anew our lives and our fortunes to the land we love. The world's greatest epitaph is yours—"He died that the Nation might live." We strew earth's fairest flowers upon your graves and go away, but you are enshrined in our hearts forever. "The end of the road is a door to God."

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA.

The Vikings of old tell the story of a soldier, a color bearer, who fought with might and main for home and country until sorely wounded, and as he fell he thrust his standard into the ground, saying to his comrades, "I may go down, but my country's flag shall never go down!" That, my friends, is the spirit of America to-day. Whatever our fortunes, whatever our fate may be, our country, even though we go down, shall survive all the terrors of war. It can not be otherwise. On a thousand battle fields the American soldier has gone down, but his comrades, invincible in free America, kept the flag flying in victory, sun kissed and liberty crowned.

A Hundred Thousand Aeroplanes Are Needed From America for the Western Front.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. H. LaGUARDIA,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by Frank A. Munsey which appeared in the New York Evening Sun of June 8, 1917, entitled "A hundred thousand aeroplanes are needed from America for the western front." This appeal is so timely and well founded that I feel it should be brought to the knowledge of this Congress and the American people.

The article is as follows:

A HUNDRED THOUSAND AEROPLANES ARE NEEDED FROM AMERICA FOR THE WESTERN FRONT—WITH 100,000 MACHINES ADDED TO THEIR OWN OUTPUT THE ALLIES CAN DESTROY THE ENEMY AIR SQUADRON, AND WITHOUT AEROPLANES GERMANY WOULD BE WITOUT MILITARY EYES—AMERICA HAS THE GENIUS AND THE MONEY TO MEET THIS CALL, AND SHOULD MEET IT.

France needs 100,000 aeroplanes from us far more than she needs our soldiers at the present time, even as France needs our engineers, our artisans, our captains of industry, far more than she needs our soldiers at the present time. Indeed, France and England are not now suffering from a shortage of men on the battle front. In both England and France the pinch for men in the industries, in the munition shops, in aeroplane factories, in shipyards, in engineering fields, is much greater than on the battle front.

This is the situation to-day; a year from to-day it may be entirely different. Then our men may be needed to strengthen the decimated and worn forces of France and England.

But the men in the trenches and the big guns back of them can not alone win this war. After finding herself forced to the defensive by the allies on the western front Germany turned to the submarine, staking her hopes of triumph on it. Meanwhile the aeroplane has come to be a bigger factor in the war than the submarine.

The submarine, our own devilish creation, will be and must be neutralized and eliminated by America. And with 100,000 aeroplanes added within the next 12 months to the British and French squadrons of aircraft we can crush another of our inventions now doing deadly work in the hands of the enemy.

France and England combined have in operation on the western front approximately 4,000 aeroplanes. Back of the lines they have in reserve and ready for the front, and also for training purposes, 3 machines to every 2 on the front. The best advices are that Germany's numerical strength in aeroplanes is just about equal to that of France and England combined, and some reports indicate that Germany has so far improved her machines that they are again superior to those of the allies.

In the early part of the war Germany was immeasurably stronger in aeroplanes than France and England. Gradually the latter so improved this branch of their service that their aircraft were superior to those of the Germans. Lately the Germans have applied themselves with redoubled force to the production of aeroplanes and their higher development in speed and other respects.

The average life of an aeroplane on the front is about two months. This would mean a mortality on the western front alone, in English and French aircraft, of 24,000 machines in a year. Of course not all this mortality is due to destruction by the enemy. It comes from many causes—breakage, wear and tear, imperfections in material, and from the loss due to the natural hazards of aviation.

I have not been able to learn the measure of loss to the aeroplanes back of the lines, those used for training, but it must be large, especially as they are operated by green men. If this back-of-the-lines mortality were to aggregate, say, 6,000 machines a year, the total mortality on the present scale of aerial operations would be 30,000 machines.

While England and France are steadily increasing their output, they are not increasing faster than Germany, so if they are to become strong enough to gain control of the air, to subdue or destroy the enemy fleet, the allies must have a minimum of three machines, and better, five, to every German aeroplane.

So, if America were to add within the next 12 months 100,000 aeroplanes to the production of England and France, they would be equipped to wipe out the German air squadrons, without which Germany couldn't hold her own in the trenches.

And this is something that America can do within the next year for the western front. We have the genius for organization; we have the trained artisans in our automobile factories and machine shops, and if the Government were to go at the job with a will, commandeering all these resources, human and otherwise, necessary to the production of 100,000 machines within the next 12 months, they could be built and delivered.

France and England, I repeat, need these machines more than they need our soldiers on the front just now—need these machines as they need our money, our foodstuffs, our munitions, our materials from which to make munitions and other products that they can not now produce for themselves in sufficient quantities. Let us furnish these machines, and furnish the money and the munitions, the foodstuffs, and all that, and in addition drive out the submarine, and we shall have struck hard for the freedom of the world, shall have sent home a blow to Germany that will mean the end of this unspeakably horrible carnage.

FRANK A. MUNSEY.

Prussia Crushed German Liberty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article from the Louisville Evening Post of June 7 entitled "Prussia crushed German liberty."

The article is as follows:

PRUSSIA CRUSHED GERMAN LIBERTY—BISMARCK, BUILDER OF THE WAR MACHINE, SCORNED "WHAT IS THE GERMAN FATHERLAND?"

If there still remain among the naturalized citizens of this country men whose patriotism is diluted by memories of the River Rhine or the Danube, and who find apology for their lukewarmness in what they deem are natural sentiments of affections for the Vaterland, let them but turn back again the pages of history and read, in the afterlights of a half century or more, the story of the struggles of the German people for a government of, for, and by the people, and how their own hopes and aspirations were crushed by the militaristic blood-and-iron policy of the Prussian dynasty. Then, perhaps, they will be less inclined to mingle their love for their native land with a fancied obligation of loyalty or duty to the war lords who are now exploiting the German nation in the furtherance of a ruthless absolutism that is as little in harmony with the true spirit of the home-loving German people as would be the gladiatorial contests of ancient Rome. And that history and all that it implied may be read in the life, letters, and speeches of one man—Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck, more familiarly known as Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor.

It is not difficult to conceive how the Teuton whose native land, or that of his forebears, was within the confines of the original Prussian Kingdom may be moved to keep alive his hero worship of the name of Bismarck, as the greatest exemplar of Prussian ideals of government, but it is a little hard to understand how the descendants in this country of Germans native to the countries outside of Prussia that now comprise the German Empire can expend any sympathy for the achievements or the fate of the military machine that precipitated the present world war and opened the floodgates of peaceful nations to a deluge of blood. It was Bismarck that built up that military machine and infused it with the spirit of autocracy. And it was Germans themselves who first felt the remorseless force of it. German readers of the pages of their own country's history that record the various stages of Bismarck's career will find much, perhaps, that will command their respect for his ability as a diplomat and the great dynamic intellectual power of the man, but if they look to him for a basis for their sentiments for the Vaterland, they will be reckoning without their host. The Germany of Bismarck was not the Germany of Goethe, of Schiller, or Arndt, or the "plain people" of the Vaterland.

BELIEVED IN "BLOOD AND IRON."

For the non-Prussian German ideals Bismarck had nothing in his heart but contempt. He was of the military nation of Prussia, bred from his cradle to its traditions of arms and conquest—of might as the main reliance of nations—of blood and iron as the most convincing arguments for the people To him the present Kaiser owes the establishment of the partnership between the Prussian State and God—to him he owes that propaganda of hatred of foreign peoples, which evolved the doctrine that "Germany is a nation entirely surrounded by enemies." Bismarck was the greatest of the junkers and rejoiced openly and avowedly in being one. Away back in the republican days of 1848, when the German people were struggling to establish a constitutional government and Bismarck was a member of the first Parliament that assembled at Frankfurt, he sounded the keynote of his future policy and incidentally gave the German people to understand what he thought of the Vaterland sentiment He said:

"The army has no enthusiasm for the tri-color (the emblem of republicanism). In it, as in the rest of our people, will be found no longing for national regeneration. The name of Prussia is all sufficient for it. The accents of the Prussian national anthem, the strains of the Dessau and the Hohenfriedberg March are well known and beloved among them; but I have never yet heard a Prussian soldier sing 'What is the German Fatherland?' The nation whence this army has sprung and of which the army is the truest representative, in the happy and accurate words of the president of the first chamber, Rudolf von Auerswald, does not need to see the Prussian monarchy melt away in the filthy ferment of south German immorality. We are Prussians, and Prussians we desire to remain. I know that in these words I utter the creed of the Prussian Army, the creed of a majority of my fellow countrymen, and I hope to God that we shall continue Prussians when this bit of paper that I hold in my hand is forgotten like the withered leaf of autumn."

And perhaps his hope was a prophecy. With Bismarck the Prussian nation and Prussian ideals were all sufficient, they had nothing in common with foreign nations or foreign ideals. The only German Empire that he would take a hand in molding must be an empire based upon Prussian ideals or not at all. In another of his speeches of that early formative period of imperial history he said:

"BY THE GRACE OF GOD."

"Parallels with foreign countries have always something disagreeable. At the revolution the English people were in a very different condition from that of Prussia to-day; after a century of revolution and civil war, it was in a position to give away a crown and add conditions which William of Orange accepted. On the other hand, we are in possession of a crown whose rights are unlimited, a crown held by the grace of God and not by the grace of the people, and which of its own free will has given away to the people a portion of its rights—an example rare in history."

The repudiation by Bismarck of the sentiments expressed in Arndt's famous patriotic song, "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" meant much in the day that it was uttered. It was the song of the patriots of '48, who were striving for a united Germany governed, like England, by a king and a Parliament of the people, and the burden of the song was that not Suabia or Prussia, not Austria or Bavaria was the Fatherland of Germans, but it was the whole of Germany, wherever the German language was spoken. From this sentiment Bismarck deliberately and unequivocally disassociated himself, and he brought about his ears a storm of intense indignation and protest. He was referred to as the "Prodigal son of the German Fatherland." But he met this charge with his usual imperturbability.

"I am not a prodigal son," he said. "My father's house is Prussia, and I have never left it."

This idea of molding the German nation upon Prussian models and by means of the Prussian Army, was never absent from Bismarck's far-seeing policy, it is the red line that runs clearly through all his statesmanship. Away back in the early sixties, a short time before he made his famous "blood-and-iron" speech, he outlined his policy frankly to Disraeli, then leader of the English opposition, at a dinner given by the Russian ambassador to the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, so frankly that Disraeli was moved to warn the Saxon envoy, Count Vitzhum, who was present, to "take care of that man; he means what he says." On this occasion Bismarck said:

"I shall soon be compelled to undertake the leadership of the Prussian Government. My first care will be, with or without the help of Parliament, to reorganize the army. The king has rightly set himself this task, but he can not carry it through with his present councilors. When the army has been brought to such a stage as to command respect, then I shall take the first opportunity to declare war with Austria, burst asunder the German confederation, and bring the smaller States into subjection, and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia."

How well he carried out that program history faithfully records. He rolled that Prussian military machine over the little unprepared German States and gave each of them in turn their dose of blood and iron. In due time he turned it against Denmark, on one of his ready-made pretexts of war, and grabbed Schleswig-Holstein. To carry out this phase of his imperialistic policy he made an active dupe of German Austria and a passive one of the then imperial France. When taxed with recognizing a "son of the revolution" by his alliance with Napoleon III, he waived the criticism aside by saying:

"It is true that we can not make an alliance with France without a certain degree of meanness, but very admirable people, even German princes, in the Middle Ages, have used sewers to make their escape rather than be beaten or throttled."

He wanted it always understood—at least obviously—that he did not make wars through malice or alliances through friendship. It was all in the Prussian game.

"I should be glad to fight against Bonaparte till the dogs lick up the blood," he avowed, "but with no more malice than against Croats, Bohemians, and Bamberger fellow countrymen," the clear inference being that if the blood of his countrymen stood in the way of Prussian domination, it would have to be shed, but "without malice." And it was.

EASY TO FIND WAR PRETEXTS.

He had no compunctions against civil war, with Germans arrayed against Germans, if necessary to the game, and one of his "long suits" was the manufacture of pretexts—good ones that would stand the moral tests. He prided himself upon his ability in this department of warcraft. At one time when the King of Prussia became involved in a dispute with the Elector of Hesse, the King sent the latter a peremptory autograph letter, which the elector, in the presence of the messenger, threw upon his table without opening. It was an act of grave discourtesy, bordering upon lese majesty. Bernstorff, at that time the King's minister, asked Bismarck's advice upon the matter, and Bismarck said:

"The fact that the elector has thrown a royal letter on the table is not a clever casus belli. But if you want war, make me your undersecretary and I will engage to provide a German civil war of the best quality in a few weeks."

Two years after his war with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein he turned his military machine, then in the pink of condition, against his German-speaking ally, Austria, and by the bloody battle of Sadowa, in 1866, he forever settled the question of which of the two Teutonic nations was to be dominant in Germany, and again, by blood and iron, fixed deeper the foundations of the Prussian autocracy, which from that time on held the destinies of the German nations fast in a grip of steel. This war with Austria was Bismarck's own particular job. He undertook it deliberately as the only means of assuring Prussian ascendancy in Germany.

The time had come, he thought, for a "show-down" on the pretensions of Austria, and again he was ready with his pretext—he made the Schleswig-Holstein stand duty again for a pretext this time—it was right ready to his hand and under his astute manipulation it furnished forth in a very excellent casus belli. Again he was assisted by the tacit support of Napoleon the Little—a gentleman very much after his own imperialistic kidney, but much his inferior in diplomatic astuteness. He secured Napoleon's assistance with the assurance that he would help him a little later on "to extend the frontiers of France." This war with Austria was the big event of Bismarck's career—the culmination, in reality, of the policy foreshadowed in his speeches, that of uniting Germany by the power of the Prussian sword rather than by a revolution of the people, expressed in parliamentary speeches and constitutional enactments. He now set about the task of building up the new Germany, but first he had that little matter of repaying his ally, Napoleon, to attend to. He didn't like to rest under such obligations. But, unfortunately, it occurred to the empire builder that he needed those two little Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in his business. They fitted in exactly in one corner of the new empire.

HOW HE REPAID FRANCE.

He devoted the next four years to organization and preparedness, and along about 1870 his machine was again on edge for new business. But this time he was a little hard put for a pretext. He was really under many obligations to Napoleon. So he kept on sparring diplomatically for an opening, and the fatuity of Napoleon finally furnished it for him. The king job in Spain fell vacant, and Bismarck knew the psychological moment had come. He backed a Hohenzollern for the place, which, of course, Napoleon opposed. One Hohenzollern in front of him was enough; he did not care to put another behind him. Napoleonized France assumed the grim visage of war, aided and abetted by Bismarck's agents at the French court, and notes and ultimatums began to fly back and forth between Berlin and Paris. And the world now knows that war might have been avoided had a certain telegram, dated at Ems, and written personally by the German Emperor, been

sent to Napoleon as it was originally written, couched in pacific terms. But Bismarck, the pretext expert, attended to that. He censored the Emperor's telegram, cut out the "soft stuff," and sent it through as a defiance. A few days later Moltke asked his secretary to hand him that famous portfolio that contained the plans for the mobilization of the machine "if necessary for defense," and, of course, everybody is familiar with what happened at Sedan and how Bismarck was finally able to discharge all his little obligations to Napoleon by relieving him of Alsace and Lorraine and a few other things.

A great man was Bismarck, beyond a doubt, but one is prone to wonder whether some of his admirers who still love the Fatherland have forgotten that he would not let his Prussian soldiers sing that song, "Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?"

Collecting Taxes on Liquor is Buying Nickels at 37 Cents Each.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 7, 1917.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, under the proposed schedules of alcoholic-liquor revenue the United States presents the ridiculous spectacle of buying its own nickels from the liquor traffic at the rate of $4.49 per dozen, or 37 cents each! It is needless to say that I am opposed to the transaction and that every Member of this House, wet or dry, should unite against such financial idiocy. There is nothing morally or financially sound in drawing revenue from any traffic or institution that brings disease, death, debauchery, or any other harm to the people. It is repugnant to every moral and financial sense. But if the liquor traffic actually paid one single little lonesome tinker's tin tirzy of net revenue that would be both holy and wise compared with the criminal folly which we commit in the pending revenue bill, for we submit to a national loss of $7.56 in good, clean, wholesome money for every polluted, blood-blistered, crime-cankered, tear-stained dollar that the traffic covers into the Treasury. Let us face the facts and forget custom, habit, prejudice, and politics and do business for the people of these United States on a business basis.

On page 189 of the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1916 the total amount received from internal revenue on spirits, including the per gallon tax on fruit, grain, and spirits, on distilled wines, the special taxes on retail and wholesale dealers, rectifiers, and manufacturers, and on worms, stills, and on every other item of internal revenue connected with the wine and spirit trade, is shown to aggregate a total of $158,682,439. On page 46 of the same report the total tax on fermented liquors, including the barrel tax, brewers' special tax, and special taxes upon retail and wholesale dealers, was $88,771,194. The special report (H. Rept. No. 45, 65th Cong., 1st sess.) proposes an additional tax totaling the sum of $151,000,000 on spirits, fermented liquors, and wines. The future annual revenue during the life of present and proposed revenue measures, the consumption assumed to remain unchanged, will be, therefore, as follows:

Receipts from spirits	$158,682,439
Receipts from fermented liquors	88,771,194
Estimated additional	151,000,000
Total	398,453,633

The liquor press and apologists have been mouthing the round sum of $500,000,000. I am quite willing to take that as the figure, though with the decreased consumption which will result from patriotic abstinence and with the added number of dry States it is not probable that actual experience will exceed a total of $300,000,000. But the liquor people have grief enough these days, and I am willing to join in tickling their vanity, and we will call their total annual contributions to the National Government an even half billion.

The tangible offsets against this sum make it look like two lead nickels.

1. With the world starving, and with 20,000,000 producers called to the trenches in Europe, the liquor traffic withdraws 107,000,000 bushels from the bread supply. This, by the authority of the best economists, would make 11,000,000 pounds of bread a day, or enough to supply the bread ration to more than 22,000,000 men. It is equal in nutritive value to the entire food demands of 7,000,000 people. Let me here introduce calculations, made within a month, by men in no way personally interested in the liquor question except as every patriot is interested in the measures that will contribute to the earliest possible victory for our arms and peace for our country:

According to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the year ended June 30, 1916 (p. 138), there were used during that year for the production of distilled spirits in the United States the following materials:

Corn	bushels	32,069,542
Rye	do	3,116,612
Malt	do	4,480,588
Wheat	do	3,373
Barley	do	148
Oats	do	9,807
Other materials	do	68,822
Molasses	gallons	152,142,232

Omitting wheat, oats, barley, and "other materials," and reducing corn, rye, malt, and molasses to pounds, we get a total of 3,603,911,916 pounds of grain and molasses.

The census for 1900, volume 9, page 602, gives the following figures as to materials used in the manufacture of fermented liquors:

Corn	pounds	483,998,984
Malt	bushels	36,385,365
Barley	do	11,232,599
This amounts to a total of	pounds	2,260,266,146

These seem to be the latest positive figures available. The materials used in 1916 may be estimated as follows, though there is a possible margin of error: The production of fermented liquors for the year 1900 was 38,664,584 barrels. By 1916 it had risen to 58,633,624 barrels. (See Report of Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1916, p. 145.) The production increased 51.6 per cent. Assuming an increase of at least 50 per cent in the materials used, we get 3,390,399,219 pounds.

Combining the figures for the manufacture of fermented liquors and distilled spirits, we get a total of 6,994,311,135 pounds of grain and molasses.

This omits all minor ingredients and says nothing about the fruit and glucose used in the production of various other alcoholic beverages.

In a time of food shortage, when conservation of foodstuffs is an important public question, the 7,000,000,000 pounds of food materials which are used in these industries form an item which is worth considering.

T. N. CARVER,
EDMUND E. DAY,
WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY,
EDWIN T. GAY,
Professors in Department of Economics, Harvard University.
IRVING FISHER,
Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.

We have reviewed the statistics submitted in regard to the 7,000,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs used in the manufacture of malt and distilled liquors in the United States. It is probable that as much as one-sixth of the total may be necessary for the production of denatured alcohol. At a low estimate of its calorific or fuel value the remaining five-sixths would supply the energy requirement of 7,000,000 men for a year.

WALTER B. CANNON,
George Higginson Professor of Physiology in Harvard University.
PERCY G. STILES,
Assistant Professor of Physiology in Harvard University.
IRVING FISHER,
Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.

The liquor interests have spread double-page advertisements blazoning the fact that the percentage of grain consumed is but 1 per cent of the total production—an amount so small as to be negligible. This is in marked contrast with their former boasts as great consumers of grain. In the Year Book of the United States Brewers' Association for the year 1914, page 156, the following claim is set forth:

In the course of the fiscal year 1913 grain and other farm products to the value of $113,513,971 were used in the manufacture of liquors. The full significance of this amount can best be appreciated if we compare it with the reports of the last United States census on the total value of the crops in certain typical States, which show that it exceeded the total combined crop values in the census year of Vermont, Maryland, and West Virginia; of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Florida; of Louisiana (with its great cotton and sugar interests), New Hampshire, and Utah, or of Maine, Connecticut, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming.

I venture to suggest that there is not an economist who would despise as negligible in the present situation the value of the entire agricultural output of any of these several groups of States. The patriotic "plant-the-plot" slogan robs childhood of play and age of rest, though their combined efforts will not approach the food value that the liquor traffic now admits that it absorbs in making a narcotic, habit-forming drug that gives neither strength nor health to any, but brings debauchery, death, and the pinch of hunger to hundreds of thousands of its users and their dependents. If some one would open up new acreage equal to that of any of these groups, he would be hailed as a national benefactor. But out of their own mouths shall they be judged.

The National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association makes even larger claims on page 21 of their Antiprohibition Manual for 1916, just last year:

According to the United States Statistical Abstract there are 300,000 farmers raising corn, barley, rye, hops, and fruits that go into the production of liquor. They receive in prices from the liquor interests of the country $200,000,000 annually. Destroy this market and you reduce their purchasing power by $200,000,000 a year. This means a corresponding reduction in the volume of all business—the output of the mines, mills, and factories. When you hear a prohibition speech you will imagine that only corn and only a small per cent of that is used in the production of liquor. They do not tell you the whole truth.

They never intimated that barley, rye, hops, and fruits go into the production of liquor. We are not afraid of the whole truth. The brewers and distillers of Peoria alone consume the entire surplus crop of Iowa and Illinois.

The Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association say they are not afraid of the whole truth. Well, are they brave enough to publish the fact that the net grain they destroy is equal to 5½ per cent of the total food units consumed by the people of the United States? Dare they put in the double-page advertisements that they use more than 10 per cent of the consumption of breadstuffs used in this country, or the equal of 13 per cent of the wheat we consume, or 25 per cent of the wheat we exported during 1916 when the foreign demand was unprecedented? They claim to be brave—I dare them—I double dare them to print these facts! And that is not the whole truth! The liquid narcotic poison which they make out of the grain destroys the physical tissues, mental acumen, industrial capacity, and moral integrity of hundreds of thousands of their customers to the untold material and moral loss to the Nation. That is truth. They know it is truth. I challenge and dare them to print it. They have the money to buy large space in the press, but they dare not tell the whole truth therein, in spite of their boasted bravery.

It is set forth that a part of the foodstuffs used by the traffic is recovered in the protein in the beer and the feeding of brewers' and distillers' grain and slops to live stock. The food value of the protein in the beer is of most doubtful character. To secure that protein the drinker must also ingest alcohol. And alcohol is a poison. It paralyzes and impairs physical functions to a degree that more than offsets any food value that would otherwise be derived from the protein. But making full allowance for it, and for the stock feed from slops and dried grain, the actual loss remains at nearly 8,000,000 pounds of bread daily. Calculating conservatively, call it only 7,500,000 pounds, the annual loss represented, counting the bread at 5 cents per pound, which is less than present retail cost, is $146,000,000. Please set that down as item 1 against the $500,000,000 revenue.

2. We need men as well as money. Possibly we need men the more. It might be possible to win a war without money, but not without men. The alcoholic liquor traffic destroys some men. There have been many wild guesses and some very careful estimates of the number. But here is an accurate calculation. It is neither a guess nor an estimate, but a thoroughly scientific conclusion. Mr. Arthur Hunter, the actuary of the New York Life Insurance Co. and the president of the American Actuarial Association, states that it has been mathematically demonstrated that the death rate among moderate drinkers is 80 per cent higher than among total abstainers of the same class.

In other words, where 100 total abstainers would die within the year, 180 moderate drinkers would die in the same time. Let me emphasize the totally impartial and highly scientific character of these findings. The actuaries who under Mr. Hunter made the exhaustive studies of the causes of death were not seeking to establish a theory. They were not "prohibitionists" nor "temperance men," but scientists. They sought the causes that hasten death. The purpose was not ethical or civic—it was wholly economic. They gathered accurate data for the more scientific selection of life risks. They were men trained and skilled in collecting of facts and in their scientific interpretation.

The total deaths in the United States during 1916 were 1,350,000. If one adult in five drinks moderately—taking no account of the hard drinkers—then of this number one-fifth, or 270,000, were drinkers or the children of drinkers. The excessive death rate among children of drinkers is higher than among their drinking parents. Apply the actuarial percentage to 270,000 and it reveals that the number of deaths due to moderate drinking in the United States is 120,000 annually.

Does $500,000,000 in revenue constitute a fair money equivalent for the commercial value of 120,000 lives? The commercial value of a human life is a moot question. Not a few States have set the value to be paid as damages in the cases of accidental death under circumstances that permit of the assessment of damages. None have made the figure less than $5,000. Some have set $5,000 as a minimum, while the maximum reaches $25,000 or is without limit. A few days ago there appeared a news item stating that a girl who lost half her arm in a railroad accident was awarded $15,000 damages by the jury. A man whose net earning capacity is $1,000 per year is worth $16,666, less depreciation, on a 6 per cent basis. On an assumed productive life of 30 years depreciation would be $555 annually, leaving the net commercial value of a man earning $1,000 net at $16,111. To be safely conservative let us count the net earning power of the average man at $500 per year. Then his commercial value on a 6 per cent basis is $8,333, and counting his productive life at 30 years. Depreciation brings his value to $8,056. It follows that the 120,000 lost annually through moderate drinking represents an extinction of $966,720,000 in commercial values annually.

Kindly mark that down as item 2 against the $500,000,000 revenue.

3. The liquor traffic absorbs the energy of labor. On page 21 of the Antiprohibition Manual for 1916, already quoted, the claim is made that the traffic consumes the products of 300,000 farmers. If it consumes their products it also consumes their time and brawn. At present prices the time of these men certainly is worth not less than $500 per year. The traffic also employs laborers, salesmen, managers, brewers, malsters, and such like. Prof. Irving Fisher, the political economist of Yale University, places the number of such employees at 289,000. That means that a total of 589,000 men were withdrawn from the useful arts and industries and their time, skill, and ability were absorbed to manufacture a harmful poison while the world faces starvation. That they labor with ardor and diligence is no factor. The thief does that. That they mean well and are honest does not bear upon the case. The dentist who pulled the wrong tooth was honest and well-meaning. It is self-evident that a man might better do nothing than to do harm. The financial, social, and moral result of the beverage liquor traffic is financial, social, and moral harm. Let everything be admitted that its friends and supporters claim for the good that comes from social, occasional, and temperate drinking, it still remains the undisputed and undisputable fact that on the whole the traffic works havoc to everything that is precious or worth while in life. Therefore, those engaged in it are worse than idle—they are harmfully industrious. The idle axman who receives wages is a parasite, living off the industry in which he has no share. But economically he is vastly better than an honest and industrious axman who fells productive orchards, makes kindling wood of mahogany furniture, or otherwise destroys the comforts or necessities of life. Those who make liquor for beverage purposes or who produce the materials from which it is made are destructively engaged. The less they do the better for society, and the more they accomplish by their destructive labors the greater is society's financial, social, and moral ruin.

Counting the 300,000 farmers at $500 each per year, and the 289,000 salary and wage earners at $1,000 each per year, the aggregate is $539,000,000. Please mark down $539,000,000 as the third count against the $500,000,000 revenue.

4. I repeat—we need men. The State of Massachusetts, in an official investigation, discovered the fact that the loss of time on account of arrests for drunkenness alone, counting no other crime or misdemeanor growing out of drink, aggregated 600,000 days per year in that State. Remember, this made no count of the men who lay off on account of drunkenness or who lost their position for that reason. It is only the time spent in jail, and an official estimate of the time required after getting out to connect with a new job. The population of Massachusetts is to that of the United States as 1 to 27. If the same ratio holds throughout the Union, the total loss would aggregate 32,400,000 days per year. With no insinuation against Massachusetts, but in the interest of conservatism, let it be supposed that the rest of the Nation experiences but half as much proportionate loss, the reckoning is the equal of 27,000 men for the entire year, representing, at $500, a money loss of $13,500,000. There is beyond question a much greater loss of valuable man power resulting from liquor-made tramps and idlers and from men demoted from positions of trust to menial and poorly paid jobs. In the absence of any reliable data no count will be made of these lost millions. And liquor also plays an important part in major crimes. A recent inquiry which covered every judge and every sheriff in several States brought an average estimate from these men, who are not as a rule prohibitionists in the usual use of the term, that over 65 per cent of all crime would not be committed but for liquor. A hundred such surveys have been made always with similar results. But I am not trying to make a case. I am willing to give the liquor business the benefit of every doubt. No observer would doubt that more than one-third of crime is a result of the use of drink and the environs of the traffic.

The Supreme Court of the United States, the most distinguished judicial body in the world, bound by the caution of that dignified office and the reserve of their judicial minds, recognize that more than half of the crime of the Nation finds its origin in drink.

The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these liquor saloons than to any other source. (137 U. S., 86.)

We can not shut out of view the facts within the knowledge of all that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor the fact established by statistics accessible to everyone that the idleness, disorder pauperism, and crime existing in the country are in some degree at least traceable to this evil. (127 U. S., 205.)

I presume to say that there is not a supreme court in any State of the Union that has not given expression to similar sentiments, but I shall quote but one from the North and one from the South. The Supreme Court of South Carolina (26 L. R. A., 353) said:

We do not suppose there is a more potent factor in keeping up the necessity for asylums, penitentiaries, and jails, and in producing pauperism and immorality throughout the entire country than liquor, and yet it is argued that it is to be placed on the same footing with breadstuffs and other ordinary commodities of life.

The Supreme Court of Indiana (6 Ind., 542) said:

That its legitimate consequences are disease and destruction to the mind and body will also be granted. That it produces from four-fifths to nine-tenths of all the crime committed is the united testimony of those judges, prison keepers, sheriffs, and others engaged in the administration of the criminal law who have investigated the subject. That taxation to meet the expenses of pauperism and crime falls upon and is borne by the people follows as a matter of course. That its tendency is to destroy the peace, safety, and well-being of the people, to secure which the first article in the Bill of Rights declares all free governments are instituted, is too obvious to be denied.

I might continue without end, but the traffic itself admits its guilt. Let their witnesses be sworn. Out of their own mouths will we judge them.

The Wholesalers and Retailers' Review, of San Francisco, the leading liquor paper of the Pacific coast, in its issue of September, 1907, said:

Any man who knows the saloon well can honestly say that most of them have forfeited their right to live. The model saloon exists chiefly in the minds of the editors of liquor journals, in the imaginations of a certain type of ministers, and in the mythical stories sometimes rehearsed at saloon men's camp fires. Unfortunately the average tippling house is a place of ill fame, a place of debauchery. With comparatively few exceptions, our saloons are houses of drunken men, profanity, and obscenity of the vilest possible type.

The Wine and Spirit Gazette, of New York, a leading eastern liquor paper, said editorially in its issue of August 25, 1902:

The saloon as conducted is a nuisance and a loafing place for the idle and vicious. It is generally on a prominent street and is usually run by a sport who cares only for the almighty dollar. From this resort the drunken man starts reeling home. At this resort the local fights are indulged in. It is a stench in the nostrils of society.

Charity for its offspring is the warrant for this "soft impeachment" of and sweet-voiced apology for the saloon.

But even the saloon, its guilty soul calling for the solace of confession, in a burst of frankness admits some few of its minor offenses. The following first appeared in the advertisement of a saloon keeper in Tombstone, Ariz. The State knew it was but half the truth, and voted dry. Then a saloon keeper in Sioux Falls, S. Dak., printed it, and South Dakota voted dry:

I am grateful for past favors, and, having supplied my store with a line of choice liquors, allow me to inform you that I shall continue to make drunkards, paupers, and beggars for the sober, industrious, respectable part of the community to support. My liquors will excite riot, robbery. and bloodshed. They will diminish your comforts, increase your expenses, and shorten life. I shall confidently recommend them as sure to multiply fatal accidents and incurable diseases. They will deprive some of life, others of reason, many of character, and all of peace. They will make fathers fiends, wives widows, children orphans, and all poor. I shall train your sons in infidelity, dissipation, ignorance, lewdness, and every other vice. I will corrupt the ministers of religion, obstruct the gospel, defile the church, and cause as much temporal and eternal death as I can. I shall therefore carry on my business with energy and do my best to diminish the wealth of the nation and endanger the safety of the State. As my business flourishes in proportion to your sensuality and ignorance, I will do my best to pervert moral purity and intellectual wholesomeness. Should you doubt my ability, I refer you to the pawnshops, the poorhouse, the police court, the hospital, the penitentiary, and the gallows, where you will find many of the best customers have gone.

Census Bulletin 121, the latest statement available, on page 8, shows that the population of the penitentiaries, jails, and workhouses on January 1, 1910, was 111,498. There were committed during the year 479,787 and there were discharged 454,389, showing 25,398 increase for the year. If one-half this annual increase has continued during the succeeding six years, it would bring the present total prison population to 187,692. If one-third of this number is charged to the liquor traffic at an annual wage of $500 each, the total is $31,282,000. And there remains to be charged a third of the cost of our criminal courts, the expense of our constabulary, including sheriffs, policemen, detectives, and secret-service officers. Criminals are like rats—it costs more to catch them than they are worth after they are caught. I shall not burden you with the process of finding this figure, but put it so low that the most conservative will raise no question. I estimate from official figures the total cost of these items at $108,000,000 per year, $36,000,000, or one-third, of which would be charged to the traffic. And I call attention to the fact that I have made no calculation for the cost and maintenance of penal and reformatory buildings, nor equipment, nor for the salaries of wardens and other attendants. Let that go in for good measure.

Every observer, including the Supreme Court of the United States and the liquor interests both hereinbefore quoted, admit that the liquor traffic is responsible for a large proportion of these items. The last available figures are found in Census Bulletins 119 and 120.

The total population confined in insane and pauper institutions is 290,974. The largest cost of poverty is not in the almshouses. But again, to be doubly conservative, charge but one-third of this number against the traffic, making no count for other paupers or insane than are confined in institutions, and making no charge for the cost, equipment, or care of the buildings, and only $500 per year for the loss of the productive labor and the public expense of that third, which makes a total of $48,495,500 annually. The items under this head: For drunkenness, $13,500,000; for crimes, $31,282,000; expenses of criminal courts, etc., $36,000,000; for insanity and pauperism, $48,495,500; making a total of $129,377,500. That is item 4 against the traffic's $500,000,000 revenue.

5. Prof. Aschaffenburg, the German scientist, in exhaustive tests found that a single glass of beer or its equivalent, taken with each meal, reduced the efficiency of typesetters by from 9 to 15 per cent. Tests in the Swedish Army, under Staff Surg. Mernetsch, developed the fact that the ingestion of 1½ ounces of brandy, or the equivalent of less than one glass of beer, with each meal, reduced the accuracy of marksmen by 30 per cent. The minister of finance of Russia found that prohibition increased the output in the mines by over 30 per cent. Manufacturers in this country have estimated, from actual experience, from 20 to 30 per cent increase of productivity under prohibition. Certainly, to count the lost production occasioned by drink at 10 per cent of the total annual national wealth produced would be conservative. I think no Member of this House would question it.

Irving Fisher, professor of political economy in Yale, places our total national production at $40,000,000,000 per year, and adds:

Prohibition, by keeping sober 100,000 or 200,000 men now incapacitated each day by drunkenness and by increasing the productive power of those who, while not drunk, are "slowed down" by alcohol, would speed up production probably at least 10 per cent (a manufacturer estimates it, from actual records, as over 20 per cent in his factory), which 10 per cent, if applied to the more than half of our national dividends now produced in "wet" territory, would add over $2,000,000,000 to our national dividends. It follows that the more than $2,000,000,000 now spent on alcohol and the more than $2,000,000,000 of national income which prohibition would bring could all be paid in taxes without making the people one cent poorer.

Dr. Fisher's figures show a loss of over $4,000,000,000 on the items of saving and increased production. I have no doubt that his figures are conservative. He is a conservative scientist of a conservative school. But through all of these calculations I have discounted even the most conclusive and unquestioned figures that I might raise no question of doubt in the minds of those in this House who are most devoted to the interests of the liquor traffic. And I respect their opinions. They look upon the traffic as a legitimate but much-abused business. I have sought to meet them on grounds that could not be dedebatable. Hence I will take but half of the amount named by Prof. Fisher and call this loss only $2,000,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, I have not covered all even of the important financial items, but will close. Mark down as item 5 the sum of $2,000,000,000 against the $500,000,000 paid in revenue by the traffic.

The account then stands:

PROFIT.	
Revenue paid by the traffic	$500,000,000
LOSS.	
Item 1. Loss on foodstuffs	146,000,000
Item 2. Loss of commercial value of 120,000 lives	966,720,000
Item 3. Lost time of 589,000 farmers and wage earners	539,000,000
Item 4. Loss through crime and insanity and poverty	129,377,500
Item 5. Loss in production of wealth	2,000,000,000
	3,781,097,500

Mr. Speaker, this traffic stands ready with willing hands to pay a half a billion, more or less, into the Treasury. It is the ransom of a life which it confesses and all the wide world knows is forfeit. And, sir, this Congress may receive their jingling gold with equal satisfaction. But as surely as we make the unholy bargain the traffic's wolfish teeth will gnaw from the gaunt loins of this Nation, waxed lean through war, seven pounds for every one that it restores. I do not here speak of the unnatural crime of bartering the hearts and souls of our sons and

daughters for the cankered gold. That is a story to parch the tongue of Lucifer himself. I speak in the cold metallic syllables of economic sense. The witless heathen who on the Ganges covered his black limbs with leeches and ate them when they had fattened on his blood was wise. He took back into his body all they had taken from it. We fasten on the lank limbs of our body politic the lecherous traffic, and give fawning thanks when it returns one drop of poisoned blood from seven it had sucked from our wholesome civic veins.

Gentlemen, we must not, surely we will not, continue this mad and tragic folly. In times of peace we are rich. Now there is war. Those who know conditions best say all must want and some must starve before we see its end. Till the war is done let this traffic that steals $3,745,097,500 a year stand aside, and let this Congress "without fear and with manly hearts" face the facts and do brave business for the people.

The Men in Gray—The Men From Dixie.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SEARS,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include two editorials, one appearing in the Evening Star, of Washington, of June 7, 1917, entitled "The men in gray," and one appearing in the Washington Times of the same date on "The men from Dixie."

The editorials are as follows:

THE MEN IN GRAY.

To-day's parade of the Confederate veterans was an inspiring sight to all the younger citizens. These men fought bravely and unflaggingly in the cause they espoused for a political principle that they believed to be right. They sacrificed everything for that cause, and when the war ended with defeat for them they accepted the verdict manfully and with a determination to work for the welfare of the whole country through a reunion of the States.

These men who march to-day, a pitiful remnant of the army in gray, were active, vigorous, and tireless over 50 years ago. There was no difference in quality between the troops of the North and those of the South. They were the same race, the same stock. They fought often hand to hand with mutual respect for one another, and yet with a determination to conquer. Now they are friends, the men of the two armies, and they often march shoulder to shoulder in fraternity, rejoicing in their reunion, but each cherishing the memories of the respective armies of which they were members.

Year by year the ranks of the veterans grow thinner as age claims its victims. The survivors of the fighting forces of the sixties are now but a few thousand and next year the number will be smaller, and so from year to year the line of those who march will grow shorter until in a painfully short time the last of the Confederate soldiers will remain alone and he, too, will answer the final muster.

This parade to-day comes appropriately immediately following the registration of the younger Americans for service in the greatest of all wars, a war that will tax the American resources as it has already taxed the resources of the most powerful nations of Europe, a war that will call for sacrifices as great, perhaps, as those made by the men who march to-day, or even greater. This procession of veterans in gray, escorted by men in blue and by troops representing the reunited country, in the Capital of the Nation whose existence was at stake when their war was raging, is a patriotic inspiration.

THE MEN FROM DIXIE.

To the strains of "Dixie," to "Maryland, My Maryland," to all the old, old tunes, the veterans of the Confederacy marched to-day in grand review.

Their souls swelled with pride of conquest, the conquest of love. Their steps quickened to heartbeats of gratitude, gratitude that in losing they had won, for the country was one country, and that one theirs.

There was not one of the gray-coated men but would have in the sixties willingly given his life if his cause might have been triumphant; if the forces of Dixie might have marched victorious up the Avenue. But now, 50 years afterwards, loving his cause as much as ever, no less devoted to the stars and bars than in the days gone by, he rejoiced that after all the country was not broken, that he was a citizen of united States and a part of a united people.

The Capital has never welcomed a parade so tumultuously. One continuous cheer rang from the Peace Monument to the White House. The rebel yell resounded from the throats of spectators thrilled by the wonderful showing of the veterans. Great roars of applause greeted every well-known officer, many of whom rode bareheaded, so continuous was the demonstration.

Never before, never again, in all probability, will the veterans of the Confederacy march in the Capital, but certainly every one of them will remember the wonderful reception that was given them, and everyone who saw them as they marched past will cherish a new sensation of supreme emotion and reestablished or renewed affections.

Old men in gray, you made a noble show. Hail, and farewell.

Why Do We Fight Germany?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. C. DILL,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to insert in the RECORD the address of Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, before the Home Club, Washington, D. C., on June 4, 1917. It constitutes the best answer to the question, Why do we fight Germany? which I have read.

The address is as follows:

"To-morrow is registration day. It is the duty of all, their legal as well as their patriotic duty, to register if within the class called. There are some who have not clearly seen the reason for that call. To these I would speak a word.

"Why are we fighting Germany? The brief answer is that ours is a war of self-defense. We did not wish to fight Germany. She made the attack upon us; not on our shores, but on our ships, our lives, our rights, our future. For two years and more we held to a neutrality that made us apologists for things which outraged man's common sense of fair play and humanity. At each new offense—the invasion of Belgium, the killing of civilian Belgians, the attacks on Scarborough and other defenseless towns, the laying of mines in neutral waters, the fencing off of the seas—and on and on through the months we said: 'This is war—archaic, uncivilized war, but war! All rules have been thrown away; all nobility; man has come down to the primitive brute. And while we can not justify we will not intervene. It is not our war.'

"Then why are we in? Because we could not keep out. The invasion of Belgium, which opened the war, led to the invasion of the United States by slow, steady, logical steps. Our sympathies evolved into a conviction of self-interest. Our love of fair play ripened into alarm at our own peril.

"We talked in the language and in the spirit of good faith and sincerity, as honest men should talk, until we discovered that our talk was construed as cowardice. And Mexico was called upon to cow us. We talked as men would talk who cared alone for peace and the advancement of their own material interests, until we discovered that we were thought to be a nation of mere money makers, devoid of all character; until, indeed, we were told that we could not walk the highways of the world without permission of a Prussian soldier; that our ships might not sail without wearing a striped uniform of humiliation upon a narrow path of national subservience. We talked as men talk who hope for honest agreement, not for war, until we found that the treaty torn to pieces at Liege was but the symbol of a policy that made agreements worthless against a purpose that knew no word but success.

"And so we came into this war for ourselves. It is a war to save America; to preserve self-respect; to justify our right to live as we have lived, not as some one else wishes us to live. In the name of Freedom we challenge with ships and men, money and an undaunted spirit, that word 'Verboten,' which Germany has written upon the sea and upon the land. For America is not the name of so much territory. It is a living spirit, born in travail, grown in the rough school of bitter experiences, a living spirit which has purpose and pride and conscience; knows why it wishes to live and to what end; knows how it comes to be respected of the world, and hopes to retain that respect by living on with the light of Lincoln's love of man as its old and new testament. It is more precious that this America should live than that we Americans should live. And this America, as we now see, has been challenged from the first of this war by the strong arm of a power that has no sympathy with our purpose and will not hesitate to destroy us if the law that we respect, the rights that are to us sacred, or the spirit that we have stand across her set will to make this world bow before her policies, backed by her organized and scientific military system. A world of Christ—a neglected but not a rejected Christ—has come again face to face with the world of Mahomet, who willed to win by force.

"With this background of history and in this sense, then, we fight Germany:

"Because of Belgium—invaded, outraged, enslaved, impoverished Belgium. We can not forget Liege, Louvain, and Cardinal

Mercier. Translated into terms of American history these names stand for Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Patrick Henry.

"Because of France—invaded, desecrated France, a million of whose heroic sons have died to save the land of Lafayette. Glorious, golden France, the preserver of the arts, the land of noble spirit. The first land to follow our lead into republican liberty.

"Because of England—from whom came the laws, traditions, standards of life, and inherent love of liberty which we call Anglo-Saxon civilization. We defeated her once upon the land and once upon the sea. But Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Canada are free because of what we did. And they are with us in the fight for the freedom of the seas.

"Because of Russia—new Russia. She must not be overwhelmed now! Not now, surely, when she is just born into freedom. Her peasants must have their chance; they must go to school to Washington, to Jefferson, and to Lincoln, until they know their way about in this new, strange world—of government by the popular will.

"Because of other peoples, with their rising hope that the world may be freed from government by the soldier.

"We are fighting Germany because she sought to terrorize us and then to fool us. We could not believe that Germany would do what she said she would do upon the seas.

"We still hear the piteous cries of children coming up out of the sea where the *Lusitania* went down. And Germany has never asked forgiveness of the world.

"We saw the *Sussex* sunk, crowded with the sons and daughters of neutral nations.

"We saw ship after ship sent to the bottom—ships of mercy bound out of America for the Belgian starving—ships carrying the Red Cross and laden with the wounded of all nations—ships carrying food and clothing to friendly, harmless, terrorized peoples; ships flying the Stars and Stripes sent to the bottom hundreds of miles from shore, manned by American seamen, murdered against all law, without warning.

"We believed Germany's promise that she would respect the neutral flag and the rights of neutrals, and we held our anger and outrage in check. But now we see that she was holding us off with fair promises until she could build her huge fleet of submarines. For when spring came she blew her promise into the air, just as at the beginning she had torn up that 'scrap of paper.' Then we saw clearly that there was but one law for Germany—her will to rule.

"We are fighting Germany because she violated our confidence. Paid German spies filled our cities. Officials of her Government, received as the guests of this Nation, lived with us to bribe and terrorize, defying our law and the law of nations.

"We are fighting Germany because while we were yet her friends—the only great power that still held hands off—she sent the Zimmermann note, calling to her aid Mexico, our southern neighbor, and hoping to lure Japan, our western neighbor, into war against this Nation of peace.

"The Nation that would do these things proclaims the gospel that government has no conscience. And this doctrine can not live, or else democracy must die! For the nations of the world must keep faith. There can be no living for us in a world where the State has no conscience, no reverence for the things of the spirit, no respect for international law, no mercy for those who fall before its force. What an unordered world! Anarchy! The anarchy of rival wolf packs!

"We are fighting Germany because in this war feudalism is making its last stand against on-coming democracy. We see it now. This is a war against an old spirit, an ancient, outworn spirit. It is a war against feudalism—the right of the castle on the hill to rule the village below. It is a war for democracy—the right of all to be their own masters. Let Germany be feudal if she will. But she must not spread her system over a world that has outgrown it. Feudalism plus science, thirteenth century plus twentieth—this is the religion of the mistaken Germany that has linked itself with the Turk—that has, too, adopted the method of Mahomet. 'The State has no conscience.' 'The State can do no wrong.' With the spirit of the fanatic she believes this gospel and that it is her duty to spread it by force. With poison gas that makes living a hell, with submarines that sneak through the seas to slyly murder noncombatants, with dirigibles that bombard men and women while they sleep, with a perfected system of terrorization that the modern world first heard of when German troops entered China—German feudalism is making war upon mankind. Let this old spirit of evil have its way and no man will live in America without paying toll to it, in manhood and in money. This spirit might demand Canada from a defeated, navyless England, and then our dream of peace on the north would be at an end. We would live, as France has lived for 40 years—in haunting terror.

"America speaks for the world in fighting Germany. Mark on a map those countries which are Germany's allies, and you will mark but four, running from the Baltic through Austria and Bulgaria to Turkey. All the other nations, the whole globe around, are in arms against her or are unable to move. There is deep meaning in this. We fight with the world for an honest world, in which nations keep their word, for a world in which nations do not live by swagger or by threat, for a world in which men think of the ways in which they can conquer the common cruelties of nature instead of inventing more horrible cruelties to inflict upon the spirit and body of man, for a world in which the ambition of the philosophy of a few shall not make miserable all mankind, for a world in which the man is held more precious than the machine, the system, or the State."

Resolutions Adopted By the Fraternal Order of Eagles Recommending the Purchase of $1,000,000 Worth of Liberty Bonds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY E. CAMPBELL,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 7, 1917.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution adopted by the Fraternal Order of Eagles recommending the purchase of $1,000,000 worth of liberty bonds.

The resolution is as follows:

[Official circular No. 106.]

SAN BERNARDINO, CAL., *June 1, 1917.*

To all officers and members of the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

BROTHERS: The executive officers and board of grand trustees met at Kansas City, Mo., May 29 and 30. Love of country and protection of home are fundamental workings of our fraternity. Our country is today passing through the greatest crisis of its history. It is engaged in a war "to keep safe the world for democracy." The underlying reasons which caused our country to engage in the present great struggle find support in every precept of our order. No man who has learned even the rudiments of the lessons taught by our fraternity can do aught else than give his unqualified support to our country at this time.

We believe that every Eagle wants to do his part as an Eagle, a man, and a citizen. The only question is how best can his part be done. We can not all go into the trenches and fight for our country and humanity. We can, by working unitedly together, relieve the burdens of those who are doing the actual fighting and assist our Government in the conservation and production of things which are necessary to the prosecution of the war to a successful issue. With this end in view, your grand aerie officers adopted the following resolution:

"The Fraternal Order of Eagles is preeminently patriotic in its purposes and teachings. Desireus of stimulating its membership to the highest ideals of citizenship and loyalty to country, its executive officers and grand trustees, in meeting assembled, promise and pledge its membership of nearly one-half million men to the accomplishment of the following objects:

"1. To subscribe for $1,000,000 of the liberty loan.

"2. To urge our members everywhere immediately to register for service and in every way to promote the efforts and support the officers having charge of enrollment for military service.

"3. To unite our membership and their families in serving our Government in its prosecution of a successful war and to lighten the burdens of our sons and brothers engaged therein, in order that the blessings of liberty, justice, equality, and human rights may be enjoyed by all men everywhere, to the end that true democracy and fraternalism may be enthroned in the hearts of men.

"4. To assume the dues of our members while in service and guarantee their benefits during the war.

"5. To create a patriotic fund, to be subscribed by our entire membership, from which shall be paid the premium upon a life-insurance policy of $1,000, payable as an additional death benefit to members losing their lives in any branch of the military service, and generally to recommend to the grand aerie the enactment of such laws as will generously and patriotically provide for the care of the families of our members who are serving their country."

As your grand worthy president, I indorse the foregoing resolution and call upon each member of our order to do his part toward the full accomplishment of the pledges contained therein. Subscribe, individually and as an aerie, as liberally as you possibly can to the liberty loan. Your aerie subscription may be made from the benefit fund.

We are loyal, true, patriotic American citizens. We stand stanchly behind our country in its war for the preservation of human rights and liberty.

Secretary will please read this circular at first two meetings of his aerie after receipt of same.

Yours, fraternally, in L., T., J., and E.,

REX B. GOODSELL,
Grand Worthy President.

Attest:

J. S. PARRY,
Grand Secretary.

A Sad War Monologue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. CHANDLER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 6, 1917.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted I insert in the RECORD the following poem written by Gen. SHERWOOD, our beloved and distinguished colleague, a veteran of the Civil War and chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions:

A SAD WAR MONOLOGUE.

[By Gen. I. R. SHERWOOD.]

It was in the wan war days of '64
That a young man who served in the Twenty-third Corps
Concluded to veteran a year or two more;
And as he had fought some battles before,
He did not fear danger, at least, he so swore.
Then he reenlisted in Joe Hooker's corps.
'Way down in Georgia, he went to the door
Of a planter to gorge his stomach some more,
When a bloodhound jumped at him and ruthlessly tore
The calf of his leg, so that bleeding in gore
He, limping, went back to the camp of his corps,
With his leg, as well as his pants, badly tore,
Which caused him his soldier life to deplore,
And to call back the lingering memories of yore,
Of the old district school with a girl to adore;
When he had a sweet time and gathered some lore,
And at night slept at home in the old country store.
Then his heart, like his leg got awfully sore,
And he made up his mind to soldier no more.
Then he picked up his traps, and his body he bore,
With his haversack filled with rations galore,
And, while his comrades were in a deep snore,
He left for the home of his boy days of yore;
Right home to his ma and the old country store.
And now his three orphans are sick and heartsore,
For his name has been borne for years a full score
As a deserter from Hooker's Old Twentieth Corps!

The Lakewood (Ohio) Idea—The Public School Industrial Preparedness League.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 7, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting some excellent suggestions made by Paul J. Bast, of Lakewood, Ohio, as to how the school children could be used to help the country in this war:

THE LAKEWOOD (OHIO) IDEA—THE PUBLIC SCHOOL INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS LEAGUE.

The public schools of the land have been called "the backbone of the Nation." If they deserve this title in more than a theoretical sense they can now submit themselves to the acid test. They can now prove that the great school system of our land is an active and positive force in supplementing the country's endeavor to cope with the unusual situation in which the land now finds itself. It surely is not asking too much of the school to call upon it at this time to help bear the burden that is placed upon the Nation's shoulders now. Can the schools adapt themselves to the new situation and rise to help meet the industrial needs of the hour? Have the authorities vision enough to see the vast productive force which is bound up in school buildings, teaching force, and the millions of school children which compose our public-school system? Can the Government, the chambers of commerce, and the public be made to see the real significance of the hundreds of thousands of school boys and girls at work for the Nation? If this can be done, we will have forged a strong link in the chain of national preparedness. Young America will thus get a lesson in cooperation which will continue into the days of peace following this war. The boys and girls will begin to realize that their destinies are inseparably united with the welfare of the State and that the watchword is "service for service." That by serving the city, State, and the Nation they are serving themselves, and that the only pure-gold brand of patriotism is that kind which meets the need of the State at the cost of some personal sacrifice. Instill the nationalistic spirit into our industrial efforts, educate the worker to keep the common good in mind, and this country will ride on the crest of the wave to the markets of the world.

Give our school boys and girls an opportunity to feel that they are an integral part of our industrial life, and that upon them rests a responsibility which can only be discharged by unselfish devotion and service to the State. We must foster pride in production, both in quality and quantity, and when we stamp an article "Made in U. S. A." it should compare favorably with the best in the world. The earlier in the child's life this idea can be inculcated the more surely will this idea take root and grow. And to do this work under conditions that will not harm the child physically we set him to work in the school building, where the shorter working hours will be made up for by having a large number engaged in the work. It will be the proper kind of initiation to the sterner realities of life, and should the country have to make a last-ditch stand its young people will then be better prepared to step into the industrial life of the Nation and help carry on its work.

The object of the league is to mobilize the school children of the country for such industrial work as they can do, and school shops and domestic-science rooms and such equipment as the schools possess are to be placed at the disposal of the State and the Nation. Boys and girls from the ages of 12 to 18 years not otherwise employed could thus be employed to serve in the general scheme of national preparedness. Through this work we can help reduce to a minimum the serious interruption of industrial activities in our national life. The work was at first meant to be carried on during the summer vacation period, but there is no reason why the work could not be made a regular part of the school work if necessity demanded such a step.

The articles that at first suggest themselves are tents, cots, stretchers, crutches, splints, first-aid kits, hospital appliances, khaki suits, etc. As the work progressed other articles could be added. Parts of articles might be made at different places and assembled at a common storehouse.

The school boards would throw open the necessary building and arrange for the services of those who will supervise the work.

The chamber of commerce will lend its aid in equipping the shops with needed machinery and help in the industrial organization of the work.

The work must be carried on more or less on the basis of a small industrial plant, with its executives, office force, and shop force. Books would necessarily have to be kept and a strict account of all incoming and outgoing products must be had. Costs could be figured as to what a saving was being made to the Government, and would be the basis of making comparisons with other communities that were doing the same work. With the aid of a national sheet which would publish facts and figures about the work, a rivalry would spring up to keep the cost of production as low as possible. This paper would also disseminate new ideas and methods to help stimulate the work.

School-teachers with industrial sense who understand children should supervise the industrial establishment. These teachers could enlist the aid of trained workers, who for a short time would instruct the youthful worker in the practical technique of the work. Then for every district counting a certain number of schools a Government officer would act as inspector, thus putting the official stamp of approval on work well done. He would see that the specifications were being lived up to and his presence would give an air of authority and inspire respect.

The chamber of commerce of each community should give itself whole-heartedly to this work and cooperate with the school board in carrying out the plan. If the machinery and equipment is not given outright, the chamber should see that funds are raised for the purchase of the same. The interest the men and women show and the support they give to the cause will impress the young workers. The sense of father and son and mother and daughter standing shoulder to shoulder in a common work would give the community a feeling of solidarity that will be the finest asset of which the Nation can boast.

The work in any community would fall into three divisions:

1. Work in the shop.
2. Work in the sewing room.
3. Work in the domestic-science room.

The articles which could be made in the shop would be limited only by the equipment the schools possess and other machines that might be installed. With such automatic machinery as we now have much may be done.

The sewing room would not only take care of Red Cross work, but also do the sewing necessary to make cots, stretchers, tents, shirts, khaki uniforms, etc. Both boys and girls could be employed in this work.

In the domestic-science departments equipped with pressure cookers great quantities of vegetables and fruits might be canned. The gathering of such vegetables and fruit would be done by pupils in private automobiles and wagons. Pupils might even help orchardists and truck farmers gather their crops and for compensation be given a share of what they pick, which would be turned into the canning department of the school they represent. The growers, stirred by patriotic impulse, would surely contribute a small share of what they raised for such a purpose. Both boys and girls could be employed in this department.

The women of the community could be a real help and inspiration to the girls by supervising and helping in both the sewing and domestic-science rooms. In fact, the Red Cross work could be more effectively carried under such auspices than in any other way. The men in spare moments might come around to give the boys a word of encouragement and help out wherever they could. Under these conditions the spirit of enterprise and work would take hold of a community in a way that would be a revelation to its inhabitants.

For the active shopwork two shifts of four hours each would be employed, say, 20 boys to the shift—the shifts to work from 8 a. m. till 12 and from 12.30 to 4.30. These shifts could alternate on morning and afternoon work every other week. The number that could be handled in a shift would, of course, depend upon the kind of work, the size of the shop, and the amount of supervision.

In recognizing the work of the pupils, school credit should be given for the time they spend on this work. Recognition by the Government should be accorded by presenting each juvenile worker with an insignia to show that he has volunteered for service. This will make him a member of the governmental service, in which he will enlist and from which he will get his honorable discharge when no longer needed for such service. This should be done so that the organization of the work could not suffer through too many changes in the personnel of these working groups.

But attractive as the plan may appear, nothing definite can be done until the chambers of commerce and the school boards can get the cooperation of the War and Navy Departments. These departments will have to determine what is most needed and in what quantities. This information, along with specifications, would be given to a bureau with an office in Washington, D. C., which bureau would then get in touch with the communities which were undertaking such work. Of course, the details of furnishing the raw materials and other questions of organization must be left for the time when the organizations primarily concerned can come to some kind of an understanding. The greatest

obstacle to be overcome is to convince the governmental authorities that this is no trifling movement, but that a great potential force can be set in motion if only the proper agencies will cooperate.

The criticism has been made that articles manufactured by boys and girls from 12 to 16 years old would not be high enough in quality to be acceptable. The industrial world has utilized such youthful workers in the past before it became illegal to do so, and what the industries have done the schools, at least in a measure, can do, but under conditions that will not impair the child's health. If we can not under proper supervision do in a school what we expect the pupil to do when he enters the industrial life, then the sooner we find it out the better. If we are not developing a high-grade adaptability in the pupil to meet conditions after he leaves school the sooner we face ourselves with that shortcoming the better.

But above all material considerations will this plan build for the future. Forgetting self for the time being and enlisting under the colors to do some service for the State will give the boy or girl a viewpoint and a vision of civic duty that will leave a lasting impression. Having got the idea that his interest as a worker is bound up in the interest of all, we shall begin to rally around the standard a unified army of workers and producers which will be the best insurance the United States can have for the industrial supremacy of the future. Let us hope that our patriotism will be of a kind that will brush aside our prejudices and that will weld us into a coherent industrial unit. Let us fashion and shape our work-a-day life so that it will be a living monument to the genius and common sense of the people of these United States. May the future find us linked to one another in a kindly spirit of industrial companionship Let everybody help in the reconstruction who has vision enough to comprehend.

PAUL J. BAST.

LAKEWOOD, OHIO, *May 22, 1917.*

"Kick Congress, It's Down," Says L. Y. Sherman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 12, 1917.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a copy of a letter written by Senator SHERMAN to the editor of the Chicago Tribune on what this Congress has done and what the press and others try to do to Congress.

The letter is as follows:

"KICK CONGRESS, IT'S DOWN," SAYS L. Y. SHERMAN—WRITES CRITICISM OF PRESS, THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY, AND LAWMAKING.

An editor of the Tribune yesterday received a letter from Senator LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN containing some candid comments on Government, newspapers, Congress, despotism, the Constitution of the United States, etc.

The letter follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., June 5, 1917.

DEAR SIR: There is considerable current criticism about superabundant talk in Congress. It is quite fashionable now to take it out on Congress whenever anything happens. One can not blame most critics for doing so when it begins at the White House. Whenever anything goes wrong, the President shovels it off on to Congress. If Congress does not obey his directions, charge it with incompetency. If it does obey his directions and calamities result, jump on Congress for not having enough sense to have detected the error while the bill was being railroaded through.

Just now nothing is so fashionable in Washington as a presidential dictatorship. Nothing is so needless as an investigation of anything the President orders Congress to do. Congress was not intended to be a deliberative body, it was designed by the fathers to be a parliamentary rubber stamp to register either the directions of the Executive or precipitately to run to cover every time a clamor stirs in some part of the country.

FROM PILLAR TO POST.

Between the vocal activities of orators with inflamed throats and editors with brain storm, Congress will spend its time jumping from pillar to post and keeping its ear glued to Mother Earth listening. It is not to be presumed that a Member of Congress has any sense. Presumably, appearances are against him, of course. If he had any sense he never would have run for Congress. No Representative or Senator ought to exercise any independent thought or talk more than 10 minutes per session on any given subject.

Congress convened April 2. Since that time more actual legislation, measured by the gravity of the questions involved, the lives of men affected, or appropriations made, has been passed than in any other like period in American history. The declaration of war passed. There was no undue debate preceding it. It was largely a condition presented by the President and uncontroverted by most Members of Congress.

THE ARMY ACT.

The army act followed. It contains a conscription provision. It is the substance of the law. Whatever may have been our traditions, our history, and our practices in past wars, we turned our backs on it all. I do not wish to discuss this question save to remind my friends that we were told all of our former wars were failures, that the volunteer was not a good soldier, it might possibly be granted he was a patriot, but he could not fight. So, following the President and most of the metropolitan press, the draft law was passed. It was natural it should provoke some discussion not only in the House but longer in the Senate.

Many editors were intensely provoked at the delay. The President could scarcely contain his indignation. Certain Regular Army officers were vociferous, although they are not supposed to attempt to instruct Congress in its purely civil duties. Nearly all of those so vociferous in their outbursts were mainly desk generals who fight the country's wars in the departments here. There were many good Regular Army officers who favored conscription, but they did not make themselves offensive in urging their views, and for whom no criticism is intended here.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION.

Then came the deficiency appropriation bill with something like $3,500,000,000. The allies came also. The French commission aroused the sympathy and manly impulses of our countrymen. They are fighting for their country and their homes.

Some of the appropriations have gone to France. The British came through Mr. Balfour and his associates, and while they did not arouse the sympathy they reached the deliberate judgment of those in authority, and in addition reached the Public Treasury for many millions. The Italians arrived. They, too, have been loaned some money. The Russian Government came in for a liberal check. We seem to be financing the allies right along. We all hope that the Russian check will not fall upon barren ground and a separate peace follow with Germany.

A bond issue of $5,000,000,000 3½ per cent bonds and $200,000,000 3½ per cent certificates was provided for. Food-control legislation was demanded. The consumer was much in evidence. High prices were oppressing him. There remains out of all the volume of war legislation but two important measures, the creation of a food dictatorship (presumably Mr. Hoover) and the revenue bill to lay taxes to meet the tremendous expenditures referred to.

TAX POWER ALONE REMAINS.

All the other legislation has been enacted since April 2 last, some of it, I think, inconsiderately and unwisely. Some of it has been railroaded through under Executive whip and spur. If anything remains to complete the abdication of its powers by Congress, it is the delegation of the power of taxation to the Executive or some subordinate. This is the only thing left, as it is conceded Mr. Hoover will be food dictator.

I submit that with appropriations running into billions, with a conscription act that may take every man of fighting age before peace is concluded, with a declaration of war preceding it all, that two months of congressional legislation surpasses in parliamentary activity any other creative period in the history of our country. Of course Congress has talked some. It has had 60 days in which to commit this country to war and provide for at least 12 months' supplies to sustain it. It has committed the country further to the greatest war in history. It committed us into the abandonment of American policy and entangled us with the feuds and rivalries of a thousand years of European controversy. The end no one but the Deity knows.

NOT CRITICIZING THE WAR.

I am not criticizing the war. I shall support it in all reasonable ways by my vote here. I submit, however, that Congress in two months has done a good deal more than talk. I think it might well have talked more and done less and served the country better at last. Still Congress is now and has been since April 2 the butt of every agitator on the platform and nearly every metropolitan editorial writer. Why not insist that Congress be abolished? Abrogate the Constitution. It is obsolete by nonuse in this administration, anyhow.

Let us join with the allies who have no written constitution. England's constitution is an act of parliament. It is omnipotent. The king's veto power has not been exercised for 300 years. If we are aping royalty and loaning our money this way, we have got it wrong end foremost. When we bought into a bankrupt concern, if stories from across the sea are to be credited, we ought to have committed more power to Congress instead of having Congress delegate all its powers to the President.

THE PRESS CENSORSHIP.

When Congress was holding up the press-censorship feature it was engaged in a highly laudable pursuit. No Member could talk too much on that hated measure. Was not a free press the very corner stone of popular government? We would shed our blood, indeed, as freely as newspapers shed printer's ink for the liberty of the press and of free speech.

Don Quixote became a piker alongside of the clamorous outburst against the President's demand to curb the press. I failed in a single newspaper to notice that Congress was talking too much on that subject. For once all the editors, from the metropolis to the crossroads, agreed that Congress was doing its duty. Its Members, too, were astonished to see their names in print, and to read that they were the noble apostles of liberty.

Now that this danger affecting the fourth estate is passed Congress is wasting time. It exasperates the editors exceedingly to have them talk about a few billion dollar bonds and appropriations, about fixing prices of food, about confiscating everything the farmer, stock raiser, and market gardener produces.

ASSAILS FOOD AGITATION.

"Speed up" is the demand. Fix a maximum price for human nourishment. Compel a farmer to produce. Compel him to work 24 hours a day instead of 16, which he is now working. Compel him to sell at a certain price. If he refuses, take it away from him, but still make him produce. What is a farmer anyhow but a rube to raise grub for the dwellers in cities to consume? Nobody needs any consideration but the consumer. Everybody now is patting the ultimate consumer on the back. The average consumer whose clamorous voice is heard at the Capitol never produced enough foodstuff to keep his pet poodle in average canine health. It makes me weary to hear agricultural experts who do not know a goat from a cow talk about speeding up production of foodstuffs. It is about as sensible, though, as the vast clamor about speeding up Congress.

I am ready to turn prophet on one thing. The Members of Congress know more about public sentiment than the members of the Cabinet and the President. Not meaning to be personal, many of them know more about it than those who write the criticisms invoking maledictions on Congress for not running amuck and looking wild eyed every time the President says anything.

ONE AUTHENTIC RECORD.

For my part, I would vote to abolish the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if that were all there was to it. At present it is about the only place that a printer puts in cold type the truth about Congress. Without it the newspapers, which have just escaped through Congress having Uncle Sam choke them into silence, could print what they please about Congress. There would be nothing of record to deny it. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD serves the useful purpose of actually recording what happens in Congress, together with keeping dates, roll calls,

hours of continual work, and committee responsibility where they can be proven.

If executive satellites were to be heeded and the President obeyed, civil government would end. We would delegate all power to the President and an uncensored press. The President would become the sole governing power, to be regulated only by a free press. The rest of the people could take the chances and Congress could go home. What's the use of it, anyhow? If we are to be destroyed, I would prefer destruction at the hands of a foreign invader rather than domestic usurpation or inability for self-government.

GIVES OWN STAND.

I shall vote to continue here the rule of law under the Constitution. I shall vest proper war powers in the military and naval authorities to use those branches of the public defense. To raise armies, however, is a purely civil congressional power. It is not military. I shall reserve the right to use my judgment on a civil question as a Member of Congress in accordance with my lights.

If you get tired of reading this letter before you reach the end, consign it to oblivion or the wastebasket. I am writing you of actual conditions here. If this country is to be preserved, I think Congress is about as likely to have a hand in it as any other governmental authorities outside of the people of our country. I have had this in my system for some time. If I could have visited Chicago I would have talked it out to you at much more length even, if you had survived long enough. I am now writing a small portion of it.

Our revenue bill is not out of committee. When it gets into the Senate there is more talking to do. The writer expects to disturb the atmosphere and consume some time unless the bill is very materially amended.

Very truly, yours, L. Y. SHERMAN.

Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RILEY J. WILSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 12, 1917,

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, when this amendment was under discussion in the Senate the question was several times asked as to what provision had been made and as to what steps had been taken by the States and other local interests affected to meet the provisions of the flood-control law in the way of providing the funds required of such interests. It was shown that the State of California, through its legislature, had already authorized the expenditure of $500,000 for the present fiscal year, this being the amount required of that State in accordance with the estimate made by the War Department.

While I have not endeavored to obtain the exact data, except as to my own State, I understand that all the local interests have made like provisions to meet the terms of this law.

The flood-control bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the 17th day of May, 1916. The Legislature of the State of Louisiana was then in session, and following the passage of that act the following additional bond issues were promptly provided for in that State through its various levee boards, viz:

The Tensas Basin levee district, by act approved June 19, 1916	$350,000
New Orleans levee district, by act approved July 6, 1916	1,000,000
Red River, Atchafalaya, and Bœuf River district, by act approved July 16, 1916	250,000
La Fourche Basin levee district, by act approved July 6, 1916	250,000
The fifth Louisiana levee district, by act aproved July 5, 1916	1,000,000
Atchafalaya Basin levee district, by act approved July 5, 1916	1,000,000
Making a total additional bond issue of these various leevee districts of	3,850,000

This speaks well for the wisdom and foresight of the Louisiana General Assembly and for the present State administration. The promptness with which the terms of the flood-control act were amply met serves to illustrate how necessary was this legislation and indicates the intense interest of our people in this problem.

In addition to the funds provided for above under law already existing, the State of Louisiana pays directly for levee construction annually seventeen-twentieths of a mill on the assessed valuation of all the property of the State, which will provide an annual revenue of $600,000, or a total during the five-year period covered by the flood-control act of $3,000,000, making a grand total, already authorized and provided for in that State, of $6,850,000.

So, Mr. Speaker, the appropriations authorized under the provisions of the flood-control act should not be for one moment delayed on the assumption that the local authorities in the Mississippi Valley will in any respect fail to discharge the burdens placed upon them under the requirements of this law. While the weight of taxation will bear heavily throughout that section, this is the opportunity which our people have long sought, and I want to assure this House that while it will be a herculean task, they are now meeting, and will in the future continue to meet, promptly and gladly every provision and requirement in this law.

It must indeed be most gratifying to the country, and especially to the people of the Mississippi Valley States and the State of California, that the Congress is proceeding immediately to appropriate under the provisions of this law for the all-important work for which it provides.

Although this is an extra session of the Congress, the work of which is limited to war measures, and while this has not been discussed as a war appropriation, yet we all know that no wiser step has been taken toward fundamental preparedness, for there is no region in the world of like area capable of producing in such quantity the raw products for food and clothing as the alluvial valley of the Mississippi River; neither is any waterway on the globe capable of rendering greater service to commerce.

The Proposed Nathan Hale Monument in Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1917.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, 1917, I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill asking for an appropriation of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be needed, to pay for the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a suitable memorial to Nathan Hale, the Revolutionary patriot.

He is a product of Connecticut, having been born at Coventry, in that State, June 6, 1755, and I incorporate in my remarks a news article and editorials from a few Connecticut newspapers:

[Article from the Hartford Daily Times of Wednesday, June 6, 1917.]

Nathan Hale, native of Connecticut, martyr spy of the Revolution and Yankee schoolmaster, was born 162 years ago to-day. He has often been called Connecticut's noblest son. The schoolhouse in which he taught in East Haddam has been preserved to history, chiefly through the efforts of former United States Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley, of that town, and is the shrine of the Connecticut Society, Sons of the American Revolution. Near by it, on the bank of the Connecticut River, is the monument to the memory of Gen. Joseph Spencer, also of Revolutionary fame, and over all are flying every day, rain or shine, the Stars and Stripes.

A call to the young men of the Revolutionary patriot's native State to rally to the colors is made in Hale's memory by William Howard Taft, former President of the United States.

[Editorial from the Hartford Daily Times of Wednesday, June 6, 1917.]

NATHAN HALE—AND OTHER COLLEGIANS.

To-day marks the anniversay of the birth of Nathan Hale—the Nathan Hale whose regret was that he had but one life to give for his country. He was a Yale man.

To-day sees hundreds of other Yale men animated by the same spirit which moved Hale to take up arms for his country and for liberty. They serve their country and liberty gladly and proudly and well. To-day also sees some other Yale men of a different kidney. The opprobrium bestowed upon the Collegiate Antimilitaristic League ought not to be visited in too large measure upon Yale. Yale contributes in only small degree to its pernicious activity. But here in Connecticut where, in spite of the institution's national character, we feel Yale particularly our own dear possession, the smallest taint in its traditionally splendid spirit causes us distress acute and intense.

The right of the individual to think for himself and to be true to himself is one of the principles most valuably taught and most valuably maintained by our institutions of true culture. The conscientious objector to war is not to be hotly condemned because of a war's popularity. At Yale or elsewhere, he is a serious problem demanding serious and sober condemnation. We can not justly or wisely trample over him with a preparedness parade or smother him in a burst of bitter condemnation born of our exalted devotion to the cause in which we believe. Until we know otherwise we must believe him honest.

Such being the case we must take sober thought on how we shall deal with him, remembering that for our sake we must preserve to him liberty of conscience just as we must prevent him from working detriment to the public weal. We must, of course, insist that he behave logically. If we discover him selfishly false or actuated by mere hysteria or sentimentality we need have no consideration for him. We may even, in movements of just indignation, bestow upon him all those penalties of excoriation and discipline of which he stands in prima facie desert.

The young pacifists of Yale and elsewhere are in a peculiarly susceptible and impulsive stage of life. They take to odd notions just as they take to odd fashions in clothing. Privately we suspect most of

them who figure in the present mess of being little fools rather than lunatics or traitors. They think they are horrified by the thought of killing in war. Those of us who are older know we are horrified by the thought of killing in war. Also we know that the near 2,000 years which have passed since the Divine Apostle of love and justice came among us have not brought us to that proper stage of spiritual development where we can work all the great remedies which must be worked for the advancement of man without the horrible thing of killing in war. We know that there are things more horrible than killing in war. We know that killing in war can stop them. We know, in our ignorance, no other way of stopping them. So we go about the horror of killing in war. We have no confidence that the tiny group of intellectually unstable college undergraduates, unwashed opponents of all government, and eerie sentimentalists can show us a righteous way for its avoidance. We kill or are killed for a faith, for the good of those that come after us, to make the world increase in righteousness.

All that is good in most of us tells us now that we must fight and kill. We can not permit that our task shall fail of accomplishment because of opposition by the few whose enlightenment differs from ours. To permit failure would be to abandon conscience. With the "conscientious" objector we must deal in rigor when he is mendacious, in pity when he is hysterical, in understanding when he is sincere, but at all times in firmness and in resolve that he shall not harm the great purpose at which we have put our hand.

It must be with regret that we see the college of Nathan Hale and other colleges producing in their undergraduate ranks products of what must seem to most of us distorted mentality. When we see preceptors whose activity seems to contribute toward this product we must consider very gravely the wisdom of permitting them to remain at large. Prof. William Lyon Phelps, of Yale, may have been done something of an injustice. Charges have been made against him which are not literally true. But we must remember Prof. Phelps's avowed attitude, as so strikingly voiced in his remarks at the time of Dr. David Starr Jordan's visit to New Haven. And with Yale and the rest of the United States of America at war we must question whether Prof. William Lyon Phelps, as an accredited representative of Yale instruction, does not retard the progress of the United States of America and of Yale.

[Editorial from the Hartford Evening Post of Wednesday, June 6, 1917.]

NATHAN HALE DAY.

This is Nathan Hale Day. On June 6, 1755, was born the child to become the schoolmaster who declared at the gallows where he was executed as a British spy on September 22, 1776, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

It is by no means inappropriate that on this day when we are checking up our response to America's call upon her young men for aid in a time of stress similar to that in which Nathan Hale lived and died we should pause to give attention to the fact that this is the anniversary of his birth.

Nathan Hale lived a short 21 years and achieved immortality. The one hundred and sixty-second anniversary of his birth has inspired ex-President Taft, who is an instructor at the institution where Hale was graduated, to sound a call to the colors for the patriotic young men of Hale's native State:

"The Prussian autocracy by its ruthless and defiant violation of the rights of our citizens upon the high seas left no course open to us as a self-respecting Nation but war. Being in, we find ourselves necessarily in league with England, France, Italy, and Russia to strike down the military autocracies of the world whose continuance in power will be a constant threat to the future peace of the world," says the ex-President.

"We are thus engaged in a gigantic struggle to make the world safe for democracy, as President Wilson says, and to secure a just and permanent peace.

"For no higher cause did a nation or a league of nations ever wage war.

"We hope for speedy success through a collapse of the autocracies and the coming into their own of the German, Austrian, and Hungarian peoples; but the war may continue. We must win it. We must prepare, therefore, for a long, hard struggle. We must lay immediate foundations for an army of a million men over and above the projected 750,000 of the Regular Army and the National Guard.

"The war must be fought by our young men. They must constitute a very large part of our armies. To them our great cause must appeal. In their hearts must love of country prompt to great deeds of courage and sacrifice.

"No other character in our history glows with the inspiring fervor for American young men like that of Nathan Hale. During the darkest hours of our struggle for independence Hale came forward and 'resigned his life as a sacrifice to his country's liberty.'

"His last words, 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,' should be on the lips of every young man of our country to-day. No one knows where his dust lies buried, but his spirit speaks from his unknown grave and calls every man to the service of the flag.

"Hale's last words have become immortal. Every schoolboy knows them. He left another message, little known but timely, for us. His intimate friend and companion in arms, Capt. William Hull, urged him by every possible argument not to hazard his life by going into the lines of the enemy. Hale listened quietly. When his friend had finished, he said:

"'I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation, * * * yet I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious.'

"Born of his self-reliance and consecration to the service of his country, those few words, 'I wish to be useful,' should be taken to heart by every young man who is hesitating to-day to join the colors.

"Military necessity knows nothing of what is labeled dangerous or disgraceful. If a thing has to be done in war it has to be done, and some brave and capable soldier has to do it. This young Hale died for duty's sake, for his country's sake, but he still lives in his buoyant and immortal youth."

Upon this day of all days it can do no harm for Americans to pause for a moment and consider the short career of Nathan Hale, who, by an ignominious death, was translated from a mere patriot into a national hero.

[Editorial from the Rockville Journal of Thursday, June 7, 1917.]

NATHAN HALE.

Yesterday, on the one hundred and sixty-second anniversary of the birth of Nathan Hale, Connecticut's noblest son, who was born in Coventry, Tolland County, June 6, 1755, a notable tribute was made by William H. Taft, which is printed by permission of the New York Sun. Said ex-President Taft:

"No other character in our history glows with the inspiring fervor for American young men like that of Nathan Hale. During the darkest hours of our struggle for independence Hale came forward and 'resigned his life as a sacrifice to his country's liberty.'

"His last words, 'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country,' should be on the lips of every young man of our country to-day. No one knows where his dust lie buried, but his spirit speaks from his unknown grave and calls every man to the service of the flag.

"What manner of man was he? He was of medium height, well built, and of fair coloring. He excelled in contests of running, leaping, wrestling, firing at a mark, throwing and playing ball; he was fond of hunting and fishing; he was clever with his hands. It is recorded by Stuart that he once said in jest that 'he could do everything but spin.'

"Such accounts as we have of Hale bring before us a handsome, frank, and lively fellow of winning naturalness. He belonged to the epic age of homespun; he came from sturdy stock; he was country bred; there is no reason for believing that he was in any way different in appearance or breeding from the average country boy brought up on a farm by God-fearing, hard-working parents.

"Nathan Hale was born at Coventry, Conn., June 6, 1755, the fourth son and sixth child of the 12 children of Deacon Richard Hale, an energetic farmer, a man of sturdy character and public spirit. On both sides the inheritance was of the best old New England stock.

"He was prepared for college by the village minister and entered Yale in 1769 with the class of 1773. It is plain from the evidence at hand that he was one of the foremost figures in his class. His energetic personality, serious-mindedness, skill as an athlete, and his ardent temperament made him a marked man.

"After graduation in 1773 he taught school in East Haddam for a few months; leaving there in March, 1774, became a preceptor of the Union Grammar School in New London, where he was teaching when the war broke out. Ardently patriotic, he enlisted and served as first lieutenant in a Connecticut regiment throughout the siege of Boston.

"In March, 1776, he went with his regiment to New York and served there until his untimely end, meanwhile having been commissioned a captain in the Continental Army. In September, 1776, Washington had called on Hale's colonel for information of the enemy's strength and position and the colonel called on Hale. He started on his hazardous mission about September 12, crossing the Sound at Norwalk.

"Nothing is known of his experiences in the enemy's lines. He was executed in New York somewhere about Third Avenue and Sixty-fifth Street on Sunday, September 22, 1776, 141 years ago.

"Hale's last words have become immortal. Every schoolboy knows them. He left another message little known, but timely for us. His intimate friend and companion in arms, Capt. William Hull, urged him by every possible argument not to hazard his life by going into the lines of the enemy. Hale listened quietly. When his friend had finished he said:

"'I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation, * * * yet I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious.'

"Born of his self-reliance and consecration to the service of his country those few words, "I wish to be useful," should be taken to heart by every young man who is hesitating to-day to join the colors. Hale did not wait to have this and that question decided for him. He did not ask what Washington's policy was. He did not consult his family and friends. He decided for himself. He had enlisted in the service of his country, and anything pertaining to that service he felt was in his day's work.

"Military necessity knows nothing of what is labeled dangerous or disgraceful. If a thing has to be done in war, it has to be done, and some brave and capable soul has to do it. This young Hale died for duty's sake, for his country's sake, but he still lives in his buoyant and immortal youth.

"From the supreme moment in the orchard on that September morning Hale passed from an engaging and capable personality into an ever-living hero. He calls to all young men to do their part as he did his. The lesson of his life is not that he was hanged as a spy, but that he saw his duty manfully and stepped bravely forward with no other thought in his heart than to be true to his country and to his God.

"To drum beat and heart beat
A soldier marches by;
There is color in his cheek,
There is courage in his eye;
Yet to drum beat and heart beat
In a moment he must die.

"From fame's leaf and angel's leaf,
From monument and urn,
The sad of earth, the glad of heaven,
His tragic fate shall learn,
And on fame's leaf and angel's leaf
The name of Hale shall burn."

Letters of A. B. Thornhill, President of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of the State of Virginia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 11, 1917.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD a letter from Mr. A. B. Thornhill, president of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of the State of Virginia, and

also a letter addressed to him by the Virginia Agricultural Council of Safety. The letters are as follows:

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., June 7, 1917.

Hon. HENRY D. FLOOD,
House of Representatives.

DEAR HAL: I am handing you herein inclosed copy of a letter of which I have the original, delivered to me yesterday by the Virginia Agricultural Council of Safety at a meeting held in Richmond, with instructions to deliver you a copy.

We have held a conference here in this city to-day of the Farmers' Union, in which some 15 States are represented, and before whom Mr. Hoover appeared last night giving an outline of the method of the administration in handling the food problem, which is in most respects entirely satisfactory to the conference.

We are being called upon to produce more largely than ever before of the food products, and I believe it is the earnest determination of every member of our organization to do his best for an increased production of food products, but we are handicapped more seriously than probably you can imagine by the uncertain and unsatisfactory condition of the fertilizer situation. We are also confronted by the disorganized, restless, and unsatisfactory condition of the labor, having lost at least 300,000 of the colored laborers from the South, from the farms, within the last year, and we must do intensified farming if we are to meet the obligation imposed upon us by the administration, the chief element of which you will readily see is a higher-grade fertilizer at a more economical cost.

About a year ago a bill was passed making appropriation and provision for the extraction of nitrates from the atmosphere, which would give us a 60 per cent plant food at a greatly reduced cost; in fact, it has been developed before the committees in hearings on this subject, that it would cut the fertilizer bill of the country in half. There was also a provision made in the way of an appropriation of $11,000,000 for an armor-plate plant about the same time, and that has been established. So far as I am able to learn, practically nothing has been done for the establishment of this nitrate plant.

The farmers of the country are very much in earnest about this matter and are eager to know what we may expect along this line. I am writing to ask that you use your best influences with the interdepartmental board for immediate action on this matter. I am writing to you because I do not feel like taking up your time for a personal call now, which I propose to make at a later date, hoping at that time to be able to ascertain what the farmers may expect as to when and where something will be done, that I may have something to take back at that time to the Virginia farmers in the way of definite data as to the status of the situation.

I am glad to be able to say to you that in all of my meetings with the farmers over the country I am sure that no other class of citizenship will prove themselves more patriotic in this great crisis, and I have been assuring them that our public men will give their best energies to giving them all needed relief in this stress. We have instructed a committee to present ourselves before the President, offering our utmost efforts of service to the Government at this crisis.

With the danger of gambling with the food products removed, and a fertilizer of proper grade and at reasonable cost, we promise as farmers to feed the world.

Yours, sincerely,

A. B. THORNHILL.

P. S.—I inclose you a copy of the nitrate provision.

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FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND
COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
Richmond, Va., June 6, 1917.

To the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from the State of Virginia.

GENTLEMEN: At a meeting of the Virginia Agricultural Council of Safety of the State of Virginia at Richmond to-day Mr. A. B. Thornhill, the president of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of the State of Virginia, has discussed with us some very important phases of the fertilizer needs of the country, and we have been so impressed that the undersigned most respectfully urge each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia to aid in every possible way they can, that the farmers of the country be relieved as far as possible from their fertilizer burdens, in the location of the Government nitrate plant and the selection of a process that will give fertilizers of higher grade and at cheaper prices in times of peace and at the same time furnish the Government needed nitric acid for explosives.

The provision for a Government nitrate plant that would produce materials for explosives and useful in manufacturing fertilizers was passed and became a law more than a year ago.

At the end of the Civil War there was a labor revolution in the Southern States. Fortunately its solution was found, for the most part by the introduction and use of commercial fertilizers, and economists can not now find, in the light of facts since the Civil War, neither can they imagine or conjecture just how the economic question of labor after the Civil War for growing crops in the Southern States, especially cotton, would have been solved but for fertilizers that started to be used in increasing quantities in the early seventies.

At the present time there is the most serious farm-labor problem in the Southern States since the Civil War. Negro farm labor is leaving the South by thousands and going to railroads and factories in the Eastern and Middle Western States where the labor wage is higher than negro labor can earn on farms in the Southern States. Statistics gathered by the Colored Citizens' Virginia Patriotic League of Richmond, Va., show that some 309,000 negroes left the South between September 1, 1916, and May 1, 1917. The Pennsylvania Railroad has brought over 40,000 colored laborers for employment on its lines from the Southern States in the last 16 months. Southern negro farm labor is becoming seriously disorganized, demoralized, and restless. The solution of this serious question of the withdrawal of colored help from southern farms is to be found by these farms receiving higher grade, cheaper fertilizers, and there is no other solution for it.

Therefore, if the Government nitrate plant can be located where it will in the largest degree serve the fertilizer-using farmers of the country, and if a process for producing nitrogen can be selected and the farmers can receive higher grade, cheaper fertilizers compounded of nitrogen and phosphorus, then the result will be increased yields per acre on farming lands in the South and in the other fertilizer-using sections of the country, and finally a reduction in the high cost of food.

The Government has appropriated $11,000,000 to free itself from the domination and monopoly of the Armor Plate Trust, and already an armor-plate plant location has been made. We submit to you that it is more necessary to have cheaper fertilizers and cheaper food crops than it is to have cheaper armor plate, and it will be far more in the interest of public welfare that the farmers of this country be freed from the Fertilizer Trust than that the Government can be freed from the Armor Plate Trust.

The real significance in the use of fertilizers is seen only when we translate its use into terms of labor efficiency, and the history of the use of fertilizers, especially in the South, demonstrates how more fertilizers instead of more labor is one of the greatest economic needs of the present time.

We believe that you who represent the farmers of Virginia can perform for Virginia no greater service at the present time than to take an interest, as we respectfully urge you, in the location of the Government nitrate plant and the best process that will most highly serve the farming interests of the country with a supply of cheaper and higher grade fertilizers. We have requested Mr. Thornhill to show each of you this statement signed by us, and to leave a copy of the same with you. We most respectfully appeal for as immediate action on your part as you can possibly give.

The magnitude and importance of this subject we ask your assistance about can not be, we feel, more forcibly impressed upon you than for us to remind you that, according to Government crop reports, the total fertilizer bill of the country for 1914 amounted to $185,000,000. Of this total, $86,395,000 was for nitrogen, $69,005,000 for phosphoric acid, and $29,600,000 for potash, the total for nitrogen and phosphoric acid amounting to $155,400,000. Mr. Thornhill has shown us that in hearings before the Military and Agricultural Committees of the House it was stated by authorities upon the subject that if certain plans could be carried out in cooperation with the Government fertilizers compounded of nitrogen and phosphoric acid could be produced and sold at one-half what the farmers have been paying for them. If such a great result could be accomplished, it would revolutionize agriculture in the Southern States, for of the total bill for fertilizers in 1914 of $185,000,000 the Southern States paid between $80,000,000 and $100,000,000 of this bill.

With such a statement of facts as these, we have every confidence that you will make every effort to secure this result.

Yours, truly,

JESSE M. JONES, *Chairman.*
B. C. MOORMAN, Jr., *Secretary.*
BENJ. F. PURCELL.
B. MORGAN SHEPHERD.
T. O. SANDY.
MARY COOKE BRANCH MUNFORD.
R. C. STEARNES.

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[Public, No. 85—64th Cong., H. R. 12766.]

An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes.

SEC. 124. Nitrate supply: The President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to make, or cause to be made, such investigation as in his judgment is necessary to determine the best, cheapest, and most available means for the production of nitrates and other products for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products by water power or any other power as in his judgment is the best and cheapest to use; and is also hereby authorized and empowered to designate for the exclusive use of the United States, if in his judgment such means is best and cheapest, such site or sites, upon any navigable or nonnavigable river or rivers or upon the public lands, as in his opinion will be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act; and is further authorized to construct, maintain, and operate, at or on any site or sites so designated, dams, locks, improvements to navigation, power houses, and other plants and equipment or other means than water power as in his judgment is the best and cheapest, necessary or convenient for the generation of electrical or other power and for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products.

The President is authorized to lease, purchase, or acquire, by condemnation, gift, grant, or devise, such lands and rights of way as may be necessary for the construction and operation of such plants, and to take from any lands of the United States, or to purchase or acquire by condemnation materials, minerals, and processes, patented or otherwise, necessary for the construction and operation of such plants and for the manufacture of such products.

The products of such plants shall be used by the President for military and naval purposes to the extent that he may deem necessary, and any surplus which he shall determine is not required shall be sold and disposed of by him under such regulations as he may prescribe.

The President is hereby authorized and empowered to employ such officers, agents, or agencies as may in his discretion be necessary to enable him to carry out the purposes herein specified, and to authorize and require such officers, agents, or agencies to perform any and all of the duties imposed upon him by the provisions hereof.

The sum of $20,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, available until expended, to enable the President of the United States to carry out the purposes herein provided for.

The plant or plants provided for under this act shall be constructed and operated solely by the Government and not in conjunction with any other industry or enterprise carried on by private capital.

In order to raise the money appropriated by this act and necessary to carry its provisions into effect, the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the request of the President of the United States, may issue and sell, or use for such purpose or construction hereinabove authorized, any of the bonds of the United States now available in the Treasury of the United States under the act of August 5, 1909; the act of February 4, 1910; and the act of March 2, 1911, relating to the issue of bonds for the construction of the Panama Canal, to a total amount not to exceed $20,000,000: *Provided*, That any Panama Canal bonds issued and sold or used under the provisions of this section may be made payable at such time after issue as the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may deem advisable, and fix, instead of 50 years after date of issue, as in said act of August 5, 1909, not exceeding 50 years.

The Dehydration of Fruits and Vegetables.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 11, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1917, I brought the fact to the attention of this House that, under the authority conferred by H. R. 4188, known as the food-survey bill, the Department of Agriculture proposed to use 20 or 30 experts in the Bureau of Plant Industry in dehydration, in which connection the Bureau of Chemistry would cooperate very closely, and an appropriation of $50,000 was authorized for the purpose of doing that class of work.

The New York Globe has been rendering a great patriotic service as an agency for the dissemination of information upon the subject of pure foods, having secured the able services of Alfred W. McCann, who is a recognized authority and a noted publicist and writer upon the subject of pure foods.

The Globe has opened its columns to the discussion of the subject of dehydration, and Mr. McCann has received hundreds of letters daily from all parts of the United States, showing the widespread interest in this subject. It would take a great many columns of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to print all of these communications, which, however, with his permission, I propose to submit to the Committee on Agriculture for their information.

Under leave granted me on June 6, I insert a communication received by me, which is typical of the thousands that have been addressed to the Globe:

30 SOUTH THIRTEENTH AVENUE,
Mount Vernon, N. Y., June 6, 1917.

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We must have whole-wheat flour and dehydration—not sulphur drying, which is harmful, but genuine dehydration. Heretofore, on account of slowness and cost of transportation, millions of tons of good foods have rotted. For the sake of the starving world we must have it. Schools are teaching it to the pupils.

Very truly, yours,
S. M. WYLIE,
High-School Teacher.

Unlike the necessity for preparedness, the increase of the Navy, the reorganization of the Army, the development of aeronautics, the upbuilding of the merchant marine, and a food survey, and the Federal control of food products, I hope that Congress will not be the last to realize the importance and the necessity for the development of dehydration as a means of food conservation.

The Ohio and Missouri Rivers—Enormous Waste for a Delusive Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 12, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, for four years I have endeavored to expose the farcical river and harbor omnibus bill. Members of the House have been importuned by their constituents to vote for this bill simply because of some local project in which the people of his State are interested. A Member showed me, yesterday, some 20 telegrams from leading political and business people of his State, demanding that he vote for the entire bill because of one project located within his State. Other Members on the floor have said to me that they must support the bill because of some project in which the people of their district or State are primarily interested. That is why the bill is called a "pork-barrel" bill and that is why Congress must get away from the system if we would avoid the criticism which justly comes from the support of the annual "pork-barrel" measure.

I have placed in the RECORD some statistics regarding the Mississippi River in order to show where a vast amount of money has been wasted in the past and will be wasted by the passage of this bill through unbusinesslike expenditures of public money by Army engineers. Because of matters discussed in general debate I desire to submit statistics regarding two further projects, one of which—the Ohio River—carries $5,000,000 in the bill before us, and the other—the Missouri River—carries $1,000,000 on one particular project.

On June 8, in response to my statement that the Ohio River formerly carried 13,000,000 tons of commerce, based on engineers' reports, whereas now it only carries 4,000,000 tons, so far as can be ascertained from the same reports, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SWITZER] objected to the statement because of the fact that ferriage statistics were now deducted by the engineers from the total river traffic. I have always favored open-channel work in order to accommodate local river traffic, but the enormous waste of public moneys through the annual river and harbor bill can only be brought to public attention through the constant presentation of facts, based on official statistics instead of on the judgment of waterway theorists, and in order to learn what return the Government receives for its vast expenditures on the Ohio I submit some official statistics.

Briefly, the Ohio River has had appropriated for it to December 1, 1916, irrespective of the sundry civil bills since that time, $59,377,395, or nearly $60,000,000, and in order to build the remaining locks provided for in the original act, presumably from $35,000,000 to $50,000,000 more will be needed, based on past and increasing expenditures. Construction costs are doubling and this may be a moderate estimate of future expenditures on the Ohio River. There is not an old riverman on the Ohio, so far as I am informed—and I have discussed the matter with many persons—who will not bear witness to the statement that the Ohio River's actual commerce of to-day is less than one-half and possibly not one-tenth of what is was 40 years and more ago, prior to the beginning of the Ohio River improvement by the Government. Statistics are not available, but I desire to offer a brief statement of the Ohio River traffic for the year 1915, as found on page 2815 of the Engineers' Report for 1916. I also append a brief statement of the cost of labor at locks and the commerce statistics, as follows:

Statement of expenditures for operating and care of locks and dams, Ohio River, Pa., W. Va., and Ohio, during the fiscal year 1916.

Salaries and wages of regular hired labor force	$148,553.97
Miscellaneous supplies and services	23,864.46
Miscellaneous repairs	32,469.33
Contingencies	4,586.33
Total	209,474.09

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS—CLASSIFIED STATEMENT OF THE TRAFFIC ON THE OHIO RIVER FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR 1915.

[Commerce is estimated by taking the tonnage which passed Lock and Dam No. 1 and the tonnage originating between Locks Nos. 1 and 10 which did not pass Lock and Dam No. 1.]

Items.	Short tons.	Ton-miles.	Value.
Barges, steel	7,800	142,800	$232,000
Boats, steel	235	11,985	21,150
Coal	2,353,365	98,676,594	4,706,730
Gravel	1,181,590	9,955,030	472,636
Iron and steel products	23,150	1,527,900	1,157,500
Molasses	1,457	96,162	145,700
Lumber	5,870	387,552	117,400
Sand	1,184,359	10,114,426	473,744
Waste material	28,840	144,200	4,326
Miscellaneous	32,851	2,168,100	3,285,100
Total	4,814,517	123,224,749	10,636,286

Total passengers, 70,796.
Average value per ton, $2.209.
Average distance transported, 25.6 miles.

From the above it will be noted that the commerce transported through the locks reached 25.9 miles average distance, and that the total commerce reached 4,814,517 tons. It is interesting to note that the following items of "commerce" are included in the above statement:

	Tons.
Gravel	1,181,590
Sand	1,184,359
Waste	28,840

Practically 50 per cent of the Ohio River commerce was sand, gravel, and waste, hauled 26 miles on a river of 1,000 miles in length. Of the remaining 2,419,728 tons, coal reached 2,353,365 tons, leaving a balance of about 55,000 tons of miscellaneous products, all of which was hauled less than 26 miles. However, it must be borne in mind that coal was floated down the river in greater quantities long before the construction of this system of locks was undertaken by Army engineers. In order that accurate information may be had in regard to the character of lock tonnage on this river, I quote briefly from the character of tonnage floated through several locks. In 1914 an analysis was made of this general commerce passing through the locks, and that analysis is resubmitted in order that a better under-

standing may be had of the kind of traffic carried by the Ohio River.

Approaching 2,000,000 tons at one or two different points, over 95 per cent of which is soft coal, sand, and gravel, a traffic rapidly diminishing in quantity and value, leaves the mouth of the Ohio River at less than a million tons of soft coal, so far as can be ascertained, and then drifts slowly down the Mississippi to be recounted at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans. In other words, a few tons of soft coal that reach New Orleans are first counted at a dozen locks on the Monongahela, then at the locks on the Ohio, and then the same coal, used to swell senseless quadrupled statistics, is sent down and recounted at Cairo, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, on the Father of Waters.

It is an interesting system; one that only an able engineer could gravely put across with a wealth of misleading statistics and one that is frequently used for duplicating and quadruplicating commerce on other rivers and canals.

In order that a better understanding of Chief Kingman's letter may be had, let us take the tables from which he draws deductions.

OHIO RIVER TRAFFIC AT LOCK 1.

Lock 1 is given 1,982,257 tons. But page 2711 says that is commerce which passed through the lock—"and open river"—at that point. The table further shows that of the impressive tonnage reported, including duplications, 1,946,119 tons consisted of soft coal, sand, and gravel that was always floated down the "open river," leaving a commerce of 36,135 tons, including 11,240 tons of floatable logs and ties, or less than 25,000 tons, that may or may not have required the services of this $100,000,000 lock system.

OHIO RIVER TRAFFIC AT LOCK 8.

Lock 8 and "open river" is given 224,080 tons by Chief Kingman, page 2712. Of that traffic, so reported, soft coal and railroad ties, that for a half century were floated down the open river, reached 207,429 tons, leaving 16,651 tons of cement and other reported freight at that point for which a $100,000,000 lock system is being built under the recommendation of Army engineers.

OHIO RIVER TRAFFIC AT LOCK 18.

Other lock statistics are of the same character. For fear this statement may not be accepted, as based on investigation, I will take the next lock. Chief Kingman's next lock, 18, and "open river" statistics are found on page 2713. He reports a total "commerce" of 374,945 tons, whereas out of an even 50 items reported, 2 items of soft coal and logs reached 342,836 tons. Just what method was taken for shipping some 7,000 tons of oil and 2,500 tons of lumber, found in the remaining 48 items, the report fails to disclose. One thing is certain amid all this attempt to impress Congress with inflated statistics of open-river and lock traffic, the Government is annually paying bills reaching, with the regular and sundry civil bills, from $5,000,000 to $8,000,000 for the Ohio River alone, for a comparatively insignificant commerce average along the river, apart from soft coal, sand, and gravel, of less than 50,000 tons at given points, as shown by the official reports.

Similar conclusions were reached in the record of April 10, 1914, when other lock statements were analyzed.

WHAT WILL BE THE EVENTUAL COST?—CANALIZED SCIENCE V. COMMON SENSE.

In the debate preceding the defeat of the 1915 bill a prominent Senator called the Ohio River project the "worst of all." It received $1,769,000 from the first allotment, $3,200,000 in the 1915 sundry civil bill, and $3,915,000 allotment from the Chief of Army Engineers April 1, 1915, or $7,115,000 for 1915, in addition to cash on hand—twenty times the amount that was allotted to New York's inner harbor, which handles fifty times the Ohio's actual commerce.

When a $100,000,000 Ohio canalization system has been fastened upon us with its annual interest burden of $3,000,000, and a reasonable maintenance and deterioration charge of $4,000,000 more annually for sixty-odd locks and dams, if the diminishing coal commerce is retained—a violent assumption—the Government will have little tangible traffic to show for its $100,000,000 investment and the annual $7,000,000 charge properly lodged against it.

It is again well to ponder over this extravagance into which we have been led by Army engineers, who seek to defend enormous waste by fictitious commerce statistics. The 45,000,000 tons commerce of the Rhine is probably twenty times the actual commerce of the Ohio, and it appears 95 per cent of the latter is cheap coal, sand, and gravel that requires no special depth of channel, yet seven or eight times the amount spent on the Rhine is spent for a project of no more value to this country than Egypt's pyramids. Does it reduce the price of a ton of coal to a single consumer? Where does it accommodate any actual navigation need apart from floating a few political prospects and fantastic engineering schemes at Government expense? If any commercial house indulged in such investments its officials would be promptly lodged in an asylum to sober off. Is it not about time Congress sobered off and drove out of its counting house those who have persuaded us to adopt such propositions as the lock-and-dam project on the Ohio River?

While it is difficult to separate the duplications in freight and the commerce carried on the open river and through locks, a brief examination of the reports disclose the fact that the continuous haul for the 1,000 mile length of the river averages extremely small compared with the impressive statistics tabulated by Army engineers, while the tonnage floated upon the open river is practically of the same character, although far less in amount compared with that which was carried on the same stream 40 years ago. The question of making enormous annual expenditures on this river to carry out a fantastic dream of Army engineers is one that is brought forcibly to the public mind in a year of stress when Government expenditures and taxation have reached the highest limit in the history of the country.

THE MISSOURI RIVER, ANOTHER VICIOUS WATERWAY PROJECT.

The Missouri River is another harebrained product of engineering wisdom carrying $1,000,000 in the pending bill, notwithstanding over $1,500,000 balance remained to the credit of this river on March 1, 1917.

In like manner, let us briefly analyze what we are receiving after an expenditure of over $20,000,000 on the Missouri River.

A NAVIGATION COMEDY IN THE LOWER MISSOURI.

A remarkable illustration of advanced mathematics is found on the Missouri River, which Col. Deakyne condemns and which Col. Townsend, of the Army engineers, asks to have left in statu quo. While passing this deserted waterway, we are permitted to revel in "commerce" delusions. Attention is given this project, because after spending $20,000,000 of Government money during 50 years, on the recommendation of Army engineers, on the different sections of the Missouri River down to the mouth, they have launched us into an additional twenty-million-dollar expenditure, or thirty millions, in a game that has no limit, but now reaches $35,800,000 on the Missouri. Let us see what we are to get for $75,000 per mile for 400 miles. I quote from the Chief of Engineer's 1914 report, page 2513:

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS—LOWER MISSOURI RIVER (MOUTH TO KANSAS CITY).

Season of navigation, year 1913: Open March 15; closed November 30.

Vessel classification.

Classes.	Number.	Net registered tonnage.
Registered:		
Steamer	6	554
Gasoline	4	114
Total	10	668
Unregistered barges	5	2,350

Freight traffic.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.	Rate per ton-mile.
	Customary units.	Short tons.			
				Miles.	
Grain	253,940 bushels	6,701	$195,303.38	123	$0.0091
Hay		114	2,049.66	106	.0156
Feed and flour		334	9,538.88	8	.0670
Oil	46 barrels	12	345.00	8	.0483
Manufactured iron and steel		1,655	897,790.50	291	.0089
Live stock	4,800 head	945	137,039.20	21	.0403
Salt	148 barrels	22	250.00	9	.0510
Sand and gravel	1,735 cubic yards.	2,513	1,646.00	9	.0557
Brick	4,800	15	56.90	9	.0349
Cement	534 barrels	107	1,152.90	26	.0346
Lumber	75,360 feet b. m	183	2,976.60	13	.0333
Other building material		15	1,088.00	10	.0415
Railroad ties	128,908	10,312	62,697.50	14	.0085
Produce		196	22,370.40	125	.0114
Wood	591 cords	847	2,135.60	9	.1002
Miscellaneous		13,579	2,520,734.80	237	.0093
Logs and lumber rafted	43,000 feet b. m.	107	473.00	150	(1)
Sand and gravel barged	238,136 cubic yards.	303,577	71,555.00	1	(1)
Total		347,235	3,929,212.32		

[1] Owner.

Total ton-miles, 5,173,170.

Of this imposing commerce over 312,000 tons of "sand" was hauled about 1 mile in 1913. Nine-tenths of the "traffic" was barged 1 mile. Study the table in order to get a fair understanding of humbug statistics handed Congress by Army engineers and of a vanished river traffic.

In January, 1915, Senate Document No. 953, the engineers had on hand for this project $1,290,048. On April 1, 1915, the river and harbor lobby sent to the press the Chief Engineer's allotment, wherein $1,000,000 more was given for this 400-mile stretch on the Missouri. Instead of a 6-foot channel being required, a 2-foot channel will float the insignificant commerce, according to experienced river men, and for that river's commerce $2,050,000 was allotted by Chief Kingman out of the $50,000,000 turned over to him by Congress.

Deducting from the above table sand and 11,159 tons of ties and wood barged about 10 miles, leaves 24,000 tons of questionable commerce for which the Chief of Engineers gives $1,000,000 in 1915, or over $40 per ton 1913 expense for the waterway, including maintenance and interest on prior expenditures. Speaking of this Missouri River project on March 2, 1915, one month before the allotment was made, Senator Burton said:

You may spend $20,000,000—yes, $30,000,000—on this project, and in spite of that enormous amount the traffic will diminish, because you are facing a condition that no policy of river improvement can reverse—the loss of that class of river traffic and the utilization of other agencies for the carrying of freight. I wish it were not so, * * * but I am tired of "rainbow chasing," and that is what this is. It is much worse than "rainbow chasing"; it is pure, bald, unmitigated waste.

After this remarkable denunciation of a bald, wasteful project shouldered onto taxpayers by "rainbow chasing" engineers, and after positive legislative notice directing a resurvey of this "pure, bald, unmitigated waste," and with a million dollars balance on hand to throw into the mud, our Chief of Engineers dumped in another million on April 1, 1915. Two jitney busses would have carried all the actual commerce and saved $998,000 of war-tax revenues during 1914.

Was TILLMAN to blame when he said the bill is a "humbug and a steal"? We know it is farcical and we do more than wink at it. With positive knowledge that the waste is twice as large as in the days when TILLMAN exposed the humbug, we approve it, Mississippi, Missouri, and all, with every other worthless project that the bill contains.

Concerning this waterway mockery I quote from a Minneapolis paper's editorial of August 21, 1915, this significant statement:

A BREEZE IN RIVER IMPROVEMENT CIRCLES.

The Missouri River cities and especially Kansas City, are very much agitated over the adverse report of Col. Herbert Deakyne, of the Engineer Corps of the Army, on the expenditure of more money to improve navigation on that river. Col. Deakyne is the Government engineer in charge. He has made his surveys and reports that it is entirely feasible to provide a 6-foot channel from the mouth of the Missouri to Kansas City and that the expense will not overrun the estimate of $20,000,000. But attached to his report as an engineer is his recommendation to the Government that further work on the Missouri be discontinued, because in his opinion the railroads are now so well regulated through the Interstate Commerce Commission that river navigation is not necessary.

What has happened as to the Missouri might happen as to any other navigable stream. Col. Deakyne might be transferred to the upper Mississippi some day and decide that there was not business enough existing or prospective to justify river improvement.

KINGMAN WASTE VERSUS COMMON SENSE.

For fear the engineers may awaken to a like farce perpetrated on the upper river near Minneapolis, we are advised Col. Deakyne will not be welcomed on the Minneapolis lock-and-dam project. This possibility need not cause idle fears. Whatever belated intelligence was exercised by Col. Deakyne in reporting what everyone on the Missouri has known for years Chief Kingman will set aside his report. That is the power and custom of Chiefs of Enginers, including especially Gen. Bixby, as disclosed by their own reports. The Missouri was pronounced of doubtful value by the 1915 bill, passed March 3, 1915.

Gen. Kingman on April 1 gave $1,000,000 for the questionable project which Col. Deakyne condemned 22 days thereafter. Is not that food for thought on the part of every disinterested man who must verify Deakyne's conclusions after glancing over the engineer's reports for recent years?

WHERE THE MONEY GOES.

To show specifically why $1,552,650 was recommended by Col. Deakyne for land-reclamation purposes in 1915, and $1,000,000 paid by Chief Kingman, I quote from page 2510, report 1914, on this 400 miles of the Missouri, along which Army engineers estimate 500,000 acres will be saved, valued at $100 to $125 per acre—land belonging to private interests deeply interested in this $20,000,000 project:

During the coming fiscal year it is proposed to carry on work with the funds for which allotments have been approved in the completion of contracts now in force and in work by day labor and Government plant, as follows:

97,500 linear feet standard revetment, at $10	$975,000
11,000 linear feet concrete revetment, at $10	110,000
21,950 linear feet 3-row standard dike, at $15	329,250
Maintenance of improvement	25,000
New plant	13,400
Snagging and repairs to plant	50,000
Surveys and superintendence	50,000

Other work will be done if appropriations are made.

This work is expected to result in greater permanence and depth of channel in the improved sections and greater ease of navigation.

APPROPRIATIONS AND ALLOTMENTS (ON THIS PRESENT PROJECT).

June 25, 1910	$1,000,000
July 25, 1912	800,000
Aug. 24, 1912	600,000
Mar. 4, 1913	2,000,000
Oct. 2, 1914	850,000
Total of appropriations	5,250,000

A $60,000,000 LAND-RECLAMATION PROJECT.

One million four hundred thousand dollars was demanded for 25 miles of revetment and diking in 1915, and $1,000,000 was given by Gen. Kingman to confine a mile-wide river in places to a 1,200-foot channel, and incidentally to reclaim private land valued at sixty-odd million dollars.

Maj. Schulz disclosed an Army engineer's secret troubles along the Missouri when he said, according to the official record—

If I get a small amount of money, $50,000 to $60,000, for that stretch of river, every locality and almost every Congressman writes for the work right on their particular spot, and there I am.

The mental strain is easier when $1,414,250 is distributed "for that stretch" annually. Schulz is gone and Deakyne, who recommended nearly a million and a half for 1915, and then recanted—he, too, is gone, banished. A half million acres is to be saved at Government expense, according to the reports. What do you think of the system?

Apart from the fact that actual commerce on the Missouri River is reported to have decreased in sympathy with the Mississippi River over 90 per cent during the past half century, it is notable that the insignificant commerce in recent years and reported for 1913 (p. 2513, 1914 report) decreased 30 per cent during the last year reported (see p. 2811, 1915 report). My analysis and comparisons have been based on the 1914 report, but from the last one just handed me I note in defense of Col. Deakyne's prophecy the following significant loss in an insignificant commerce out of over 10,000,000 tons alleged to have been handled by Kansas City in 1914:

Tons of reported commerce.

1905	343,435
1913	347,235
1914	240,550
Loss (30 per cent)	104,685

Actual commerce.

1905	18,182
1913	24,000
1914	19,000
Loss (20 per cent)	5,000

A loss of 30 per cent in officially reported commerce and of 20 per cent in actual commerce, deducting sand and flotable timber, during the last year reported is more convincing than voluminous briefs. Col. Deakyne was a prophet, although 19,000 tons, or ten times that amount, is a pitiable showing on a $20,000,000 investment during the last 30 years. Deakyne urges us to drop the $20,000,000 new project. Why not do so?

COMMERCE.(?)

I have given a full table reported by the engineers for the 1913 commerce and will give the principal items of deduction for 1914, taken from page 2811, 1915 report:

			Tons.
Total tonnage reported			240,550
Sand and gravel barged one-half mile	tons	211,421	
Sand and gravel, 9 miles	do	2,286	
Railroad ties rafted 18 miles	do	6,041	
Railroad ties, 9 miles	do	334	
Wood, 12 miles		1,091	
			221,173
Excluding sand, gravel, ties, and wood			19,377

It takes a courageous man to count as commerce 213,707 tons of sand barged less than a mile, but an Army engineer can do it. A significant part of this statement is that the average grain haul for 1914 was 115 miles, showing conclusively that the much-boasted grain traffic between Kansas City and St. Louis after an expenditure of over $20,000,000 is pure gammon. The distance between these cities is 400 miles in round numbers, and apparently not one ton was shipped from Kansas City to St. Louis. An insignificant amount, 5,290 tons, is reported with an average haul of 115 miles; but what under heavens permitted engineers to recommend a $35,000,000 expenditure for this river

to accommodate a little local freight, hauled a few miles, when Kansas City claims it has been shipping 10,000,000 tons of commerce annually by rail? Again, an S. O. S. call for a keeper from some feeble-minded establishment is momentarily expected.

HOW MUCH IS THE COST?

I understand there is a difference in understanding as to the amount that has been expended on the Missouri River by the Government. I am free to confess that the average engineer's report is as clear and intelligible as a Chinese puzzle, but after considerable digging into ponderous records there has been reported to the River and Harbor Committee by its assistants the following items:

For general improvements	$15,450,000
Appropriated under new project	6,250,000
Balance due on new project	14,100,000
Total when the present project is completed	35,800,000

The Missouri River has cost the Government over $21,000,000, and when the present project is completed the Government will have spent $35,800,000 for that deserted river.

THIRTY-SIX MILLIONS FOR WHAT?

In support of my statement of expenditures on the Missouri River by the Government I refer to pages 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825 of the 1915 report, which shows expenditures on the Missouri to June 30, 1915, reach $19,789,104. I believe this includes several duplications, but these are the figures to which my attention has been called as the correct statement of expenditures already made on the Missouri River. To this should be added $2,236,907, balance unexpended (p. 1065, 1915 report) and $14,100,000 balance of the $20,000,000 unappropriated. If these figures are correct, the project will reach over $36,000,000, as disclosed by the tables.

Whether or not the statement is just exact, what a miserable, paltry showing is made on the river where 19,377 tons is all that was carried less than a couple of hundred miles, on the average, out of 10,000,000 tons handled at Kansas City in 1914. And what a tragic tale of waste when $19,789,104 has been poured into the rat hole by these Army engineers who, with $2,236,907 on hand, overruling Deakyne, demand $14,100,000 more for finishing the project. Is it not awful?

The only man who smiles during this war-tax-paying season is the Missourian who owns a few of those 500,000 acres, worth $60,000,000, that the Government is reclaiming.

I have not verified appropriations down to date, but in order that no misunderstanding may exist regarding the ratio of commerce decrease compared to increase in appropriations, I call attention to the fact that by a comparison of page 2668 of the Engineers' Report for 1916, it will be found that the total "commerce" on the Missouri River for 1915, the latest date obtainable, reached 216,490 tons compared with 347,235 tons in 1913, or a loss of 33 per cent, in round numbers, after two years further improvement.

THE GREAT GRAIN WATERWAY.(?)

Every speech made on the Missouri project predicts that the river will some day relieve railway congestion. If this was possible, there might be some excuse for vast expenditures, but on page 2668 of the 1916 report it appears that after spending over $20,000,000 on the Missouri River for navigation all the grain hauled in 1915 by boats and barges reached just 2,339 tons hauled 43 miles. It is 400 miles from Kansas City to St. Louis, on which section of railway systems the congestion was to be relieved, and yet after spending over $20,000,000 on the river all the grain carried in 1915 would not have filled a dozen box cars, and that was only hauled about one-tenth of the distance. Again, it is proper to say, an ounce of official statistics discredits all the eloquent pleadings for "pork" which Congress has entertained on this project year after year.

These statistics are submitted because of a desire to call a halt on waterway waste on hundreds of projects throughout the country, of which three of the most promising—the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri—are found in this bill to carry $7,350,000, for which the people will pay taxes annually on increasing rates.

MANY OTHER WASTEFUL PROJECTS.

The large rivers have returned an insignificant commerce for enormous expenditures by the Government, but before concluding this brief record of a carnival of waste carried on under the pretense of waterway improvements I desire to add several other streams that indicate insignificant commerce returns after huge investments.

On the Cumberland River, which Col. Townsend includes in his recommendation for halting present waste, Congress appropriated prior to 1917, $6,466,767. The commerce showing on the lower river, after deducting sand and gravel hauled 8 miles and logs, ties, and so forth, reached 16,354 tons in 1915, according to the engineers' reports (p. 2691). The upper-river commerce was about the same, and the average haul along the entire river was comparatively insignificant. In order to show the wisdom of Townsend's advice to stop short in this carnival of engineering extravagance, I call attention to other projects showing investments by the Government prior to 1917 and actual commerce returns, all on a par with the Cumberland River, counting average traffic throughout:

Projects.	Appropriated.	1915 actual commerce.
		Tons.
Upper Missouri	$3,234,083	487
Big Sandy, W. Va.	1,655,295	1,039
Cumberland River, Tenn.	6,466,767	16,354
Red River, Ark., below Fulton	2,874,687	14,275
Trinity, Tex.	2,492,287	1,571
Brazos, Tex.	1,990,000	.....
Arkansas, Ark.	3,823,333	12,143
Ouachita, Ark.	4,212,863	14,890
Muscle Shoals Canal, Ala.	4,032,975	7,932
Hennepin Canal, Ill.	7,657,803	7,655
Muscle Shoals Canal	4,550,000	5,887

These few "projects" have absorbed nearly $45,000,000 under the advice of Army engineers, in order to produce an aggregate actual commerce of a little more than 80,000 tons, or practically 1 per cent of the 1915 waterway commerce handled at the harbor of Ashland, Wis., on less than one-half of 1 per cent of the commerce handled at any one of several lake ports that may be named.

It is impossible in a few words to fitly describe the waste involved in the 1917 bill before us, but practically the same bill was defeated by the Senate last session, and we ought to anticipate Senate action now by squarely meeting our responsibility.

Memorial Address on Roscoe Conkling.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP P. CAMPBELL,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the memorial address on Roscoe Conkling, by Robert G. Ingersoll, delivered before the New York State Legislature at Albany, N. Y.

The address is as follows:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS ON ROSCOE CONKLING.

[By Robert G. Ingersoll, delivered before the New York State Legislature, at Albany, N. Y.]

Roscoe Conkling—a great man, an orator, a statesman, a lawyer, a distinguished citizen of the Republic, in the zenith of his fame and power has reached his journey's end, and we are met, here in the city of his birth, to pay our tribute to his worth and work. He earned and held a proud position in the public thought. He stood for independence, for courage, and, above all, for absolute integrity, and his name was known and honored by many millions of his fellow men.

The literature of many lands is rich with the tributes that gratitude, admiration, and love have paid to the great and honored dead. These tributes disclose the character of nations, the ideals of the human race. In them we find the estimates of greatness—the deeds and lives that challenged praise and thrilled the hearts of men.

In the presence of death the good man judges as he would be judged. He knows that men are only fragments—that the greatest walk in shadow, and that faults and failures mingle with the lives of all.

In the grave should be buried the prejudices and passions born of conflict. Charity should hold the scales in which are weighed the deeds of men. Peculiarities, traits born of locality and surroundings—these are but the dust of the race—these are accidents, drapery, clothes, fashions, that have nothing to do with the man except to hide his character. They are the clouds that cling to mountains. Time gives us clearer vision. That which was merely local fades away. The words of envy are forgotten, and all there is of sterling worth remains. He who was called a partisan is a patriot. The revolutionist and the outlaw are the founders of nations, and he who was regarded

as a scheming, selfish politician becomes a statesman, a philosopher, whose words and deeds shed light.

Fortunate is that nation great enough to know the great. When a great man dies—one who has nobly fought the battle of life, who has been faithful to every trust, and has uttered his highest, noblest thought—one who has stood proudly by the right in spite of jeer and taunt, neither stopped by foe nor swerved by friend—in honoring him, in speaking words of praise and love above his dust, we pay a tribute to ourselves.

How poor this world would be without its graves, without the memories of its mighty dead. Only the voiceless speak forever.

Intelligence, integrity, and courage are the great pillars that support the State.

Above all, the citizens of a free nation should honor the brave and independent man—the man of stainless integrity, of will and intellectual force. Such men are the Atlases on whose mighty shoulders rest the great fabric of the Republic. Flatterers, cringers, crawlers, time servers are the dangerous citizens of a democracy. They who gain applause and power by pandering to the mistakes, the prejudices and passions of the multitude are the enemies of liberty.

When the intelligent submit to the clamor of the many anarchy begins and the Republic reaches the edge of chaos. Mediocrity, touched with ambition, flatters the base and calumniates the great, while the true patriot, who will do neither, is often sacrificed.

In a government of the people a leader should be a teacher—he should carry the torch of truth.

Most people are the slaves of habit—followers of custom—believers in the wisdom of the past; and were it not for brave and splendid souls "the dust of antique time would lie unswept, and mountainous error be too highly heaped for truth to overpeer." Custom is a prison, locked and barred by those who long ago were dust, the keys of which are in the keeping of the dead.

Nothing is grander than when a strong, intrepid man breaks chains, levels walls, and breasts the many-headed mob like some great cliff that meets and mocks the innumerable billows of the sea.

The politician hastens to agree with the majority—insists that their prejudice is patriotism, that their ignorance is wisdom; not that he loves them, but because he loves himself. The statesman, the real reformer, points out the mistakes of the multitude, attacks the prejudices of his countrymen, laughs at their follies, denounces their cruelties, enlightens and enlarges their minds, and educates the conscience—not because he loves himself, but because he loves and serves the right and wishes to make his country great and free.

With him defeat is but a spur to further effort. He who refuses to stoop, who can not be bribed by the promise of success or the fear of failure, who walks the highway of the right, and in disaster stands erect, is the only victor. Nothing is more despicable than to reach fame by crawling—position by cringing.

When real history shall be written by the truthful and the wise, these men, these kneelers at the shrines of chance and fraud, these brazen idols worshiped once as gods, will be the very food of scorn, while those who bore the burden of defeat, who earned and kept their self-respect, who would not bow to man or men for place or power, will wear upon their brows the laurel mingled with the oak.

Roscoe Conkling was a man of superb courage.

He not only acted without fear but he had that fortitude of soul that bears the consequences of the course pursued without complaint. He was charged with being proud. The charge was true—he was proud. His knees were as inflexible as the "unwedgeable and gnarled oak," but he was not vain. Vanity rests on the opinion of others; pride, on our own. The source of vanity is from without; of pride, from within. Vanity is a vane that turns, a willow that bends with every breeze; pride is the oak that defies the storm. One is cloud, the other rock. One is weakness, the other strength.

This imperious man entered public life in the dawn of the reformation—at a time when the country needed men of pride, of principle and courage. The institution of slavery had poisoned all the springs of power. Before this crime ambition fell upon its knees—politicians, judges, clergymen, and merchant princes bowed low and humbly, with their hats in their hands. The real friend of man was denounced as the enemy of his country; the real enemy of the human race was called a statesman and a patriot. Slavery was the bond and pledge of peace, of union, and national greatness. The temple of American liberty was finished; the auction block was the corner stone.

It is hard to conceive of the utter demoralization, of the political blindness and immorality, of the patriotic dishonesty, of the cruelty and degradation of a people who supplemented the incomparable Declaration of Independence with the fugitive-slave law.

Think of the honored statesmen of that ignoble time who wallowed in this mire, and who, decorated with dripping filth, received the plaudits of their fellow men. The noble, the really patriotic, were the victims of mobs, and the shameless were clad in the robes of office.

But let us speak no word of blame; let us feel that each one acted according to his light—according to his darkness.

At last the conflict came. The hosts of light and darkness prepared to meet upon the fields of war. The question was presented, Shall the Republic be slave or free? The Republican Party had triumphed at the polls. The greatest man in our history was President elect. The victors were appalled; they shrank from the great responsibility of success. In the presence of rebellion they hesitated; they offered to return the fruits of victory. Hoping to avert war, they were willing that slavery should become immortal. An amendment to the Constitution was proposed, to the effect that no subsequent amendment should ever be made that in any way should interfere with the right of man to steal his fellow men.

This, the most marvelous proposition ever submitted to a congress of civilized men, received in the House an overwhelming majority, and the necessary two-thirds in the Senate. The Republican Party in the moment of its triumph deserted every principle for which it had so gallantly contended, and with the trembling hands of fear laid its convictions on the altar of compromise.

The old guard, numbering but 65 in the House, stood as firm as the 300 at Thermopylæ. Thaddeus Stevens—as maliciously right as any other man was ever wrong—refused to kneel. Owen Lovejoy, remembering his brother's noble blood, refused to surrender, and on the edge of disunion, in the shadow of civil war, with the air filled with sounds of dreadful preparation, while the Republican Party was retracing its steps, Roscoe Conkling voted "no." This puts a wreath of glory on his tomb. From that vote to the last moment of his life he was a champion of equal right, stanch and stalwart.

From that moment he stood in the front rank. He never wavered and he never swerved. By his devotion to principle, his courage, the splendor of his diction—by his varied and profound knowledge, his conscientious devotion to the great cause, and by his intellectual scope and grasp he won and held the admiration of his fellow men.

Disasters in the field, reverses at the polls, did not and could not shake his courage or his faith. He knew the ghastly meaning of defeat. He knew that the great ship that slavery sought to strand and wreck was freighted with the world's sublimest hope.

He gladly, proudly, grasped the hands of colored men who dignity of labor, and the liberty of all. He guarded with a father's care the rights of the hunted, the hated, and despised. He attacked the savage statutes of the reconstructed States with a torrent of invective, scorn, and execration. He was not satisfied until the freedman was an American citizen, clothed with every civil right—until the Constitution was his shield, until the ballot was his sword.

And long after we are dead the colored man in this and other lands will speak his name in reverence and love. Others wavered, but he stood firm; some were false, but he was proudly true—fearlessly faithful unto death.

He gladly, proudly grasped the hands of colored men who stood with him as makers of our laws, and treated them as equals and as friends. The cry of "social equality," coined and uttered by the cruel and the base, was to him the expression of a great and splendid truth. He knew that no man can be the equal of one he robs—that the intelligent and unjust are not the superiors of the ignorant and honest—and he also felt, and proudly felt, that if he were not too great to reach the hand of help and recognition to the slave, no other Senator could rightfully refuse.

We rise by raising others, and he who stoops above the fallen stands erect.

Nothing can be grander than to sow the seeds of noble thoughts and virtuous deeds, to liberate the bodies and the souls of men, to earn the grateful homage of a race, and then in life's last shadowy hour to know that the historian of liberty will be compelled to write your name.

There are no words intense enough—with heart enough—to express my admiration for the great and gallant souls who have in every age and every land upheld the right, and who have lived and died for freedom's sake.

In our lives have been the grandest years that man has lived, that time has measured by the flight of worlds.

The history of that great party that let the oppressed go free—that lifted our Nation from the depths of savagery to freedom's cloudless heights, and tore with holy hands from every law the words that sanctified the cruelty of man—is the most glorious in the annals of our race. Never before was there such a moral exaltation—never a party with a purpose so pure and high. It was the embodied conscience of a nation. the enthusiasm of a people guided by wisdom, the impersonation of justice, and the sublime victory achieved loaded even the conquered with all the rights that freedom can bestow.

Roscoe Conkling was an absolutely honest man.

Honesty is the oak around which all other virtues cling. Without that they fall, and groveling die in weeds and dust. He believed that a nation should discharge its obligations. He knew that a promise could not be made often enough, or emphatic enough, to take the place of payment. He felt that the promise of the Government was the promise of every citizen; that a national obligation was a personal debt, and that no possible combination of words and pictures could take the place of coin. He uttered the splendid truth that "the higher obligations among men are not set down in writing signed and sealed, but reside in honor." He knew that repudiation was the sacrifice of honor—the death of the national soul. He knew that without character, without integrity, there is no wealth, and that below poverty, below bankruptcy, is the rayless abyss of repudiation. He upheld the sacredness of contracts, of plighted national faith, and helped to save and keep the honor of his native land. This adds another laurel to his brow.

He was the ideal representative, faithful and incorruptible. He believed that his constituents and his country were entitled to the fruit of his experience, to his best and highest thought. No man ever held the standard of responsibility higher than he. He voted according to his judgment, his conscience. He made no bargains—he neither bought nor sold.

To correct evils, abolish abuses, and inaugurate reforms he believed was not only the duty but the privilege of a legislator. He neither sold nor mortgaged himself. He was in Congress during the years of vast expenditure, of war and waste—when the credit of the Nation was loaned to individuals, when claims were thick as leaves in June; when the amendment of a statute, the change of a single word, meant millions, and when empires were given to corporations. He stood at the summit of his power, peer of the greatest, a leader tried and trusted. He had the tastes of a prince, the fortune of a peasant, and yet he never swerved. No corporation was great enough or rich enough to purchase him. His vote could not be bought "for all the sun sees, or the close earth wombs, or the profound seas hide." His hand was never touched by any bribe, and on his soul there never was a sordid stain. Poverty was his priceless crown.

Above his marvelous intellectual gifts, above all place he ever reached, above the ermine he refused, rises his integrity like some great mountain peak, and there it stands, firm as the earth beneath, pure as the stars above.

He was a great lawyer. He understood the framework, the anatomy, the foundations of law; was familiar with the great streams and currents and tides of authority.

He knew the history of legislation—the principles that have been settled upon the fields of war. He knew the maxims, those crystallizations of common sense, those hand grenades of argument. He was not a case lawyer—a decision index, or an echo; he was original, thoughtful, and profound. He had breadth and scope, resource, learning, logic, and, above all, a sense of justice. He was painstaking and conscientious—anxious to know the facts; preparing for every attack, ready for every defense. He rested only when the end was reached. During the contest he neither sent nor received a flag of truce. He was true to his clients, making their case his. Feeling responsibility, he listened patiently to details, and to his industry there were only the limits of time and strength. He was a student of the Constitution. He knew the boundaries of State and Federal jurisdiction, and no man was more familiar with those great decisions that are the peaks and promontories, the headlands and the beacons, of the law.

He was an orator—earnest, logical, intense, and picturesque. He laid the foundation with care, with accuracy and skill, and rose by "cold gradation and well-balanced form" from the corner stone of statement to the domed conclusion. He filled the stage. He satisfied the eye; the audience was his. He had that indefinable thing called presence. Tall, commanding, erect; ample in speech, graceful in compliment, titanic in denunciation, rich in illustration, prodigal of comparison and metaphor—and his sentences, measured and rhythmical, fell like music on the enraptured throng.

He abhorred the Pharisee, and loathed all conscientious fraud. He had a profound aversion for those who insist on putting base motives back of the good deeds of others. He wore no mask. He knew his friends; his enemies knew him.

He had no patience with pretense—with patriotic reasons for unmanly acts. He did his work and bravely spoke his thought.

Sensitive to the last degree, he keenly felt the blows and stabs of the envious and obscure—of the smallest, of the weakest—but the greatest could not drive him from conviction's field. He would not stoop to ask or give an explanation. He left his words and deeds to justify themselves.

He held in light esteem a friend who heard with half-believing ears the slander of a foe. He walked a highway of his own, and kept the company of his self-respect. He would not turn aside to avoid a foe—to greet or gain a friend.

In his nature there was no compromise. To him there were but two paths—the right and wrong. He was maligned, misrepresented, and misunderstood; but he would not answer. He knew that character speaks louder far than any words. He was as silent then as he is now, and his silence, better than any form of speech, refuted every charge.

He was an American. proud of his country, that was and ever will be proud of him. He did not find perfection only in other lands. He did not grow small and shrunken, withered and apologetic, in the presence of those upon whom greatness had been thrust by chance. He could not be overawed by dukes or lords, nor flattered into vertebrateless subserviency by the patronizing smiles of kings. In the midst of conventionalities he had the feeling of suffocation. He believed in the royalty of man, in the sovereignty of the citizen, and in the matchless greatness of this Republic.

He was of the classic mold—a figure from the antique world. He had the pose of the great statues; the pride and bearing of the intellectual Greek, of the conquering Roman, and he stood in the wide free air as though within his veins there flowed the blood of a hundred kings.

And as he lived he died. Proudly he entered the darkness—or the dawn—that we call death. Unshrinkingly he passed beyond our horizon, beyond the twilight's purple hills, beyond the utmost reach of human harm or help, to that vast realm of silence or of joy, where the innumerable dwell, and he has left with us his wealth of thought and deed—the memory of a brave, imperious, honest man, who bowed alone to death.

Political Preaching.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF. McLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter written by the late Jeremiah S. Black on the subject of "Political preaching." And I will add, Mr. Speaker, that Justice Black, himself a very religious man, was selected by the church people to reply to the late Robert G. Ingersoll, and which he did with very great effect. His letter follows:

"POLITICAL PREACHING"—REPLY TO DR. NEVIN.

YORK, *July 25, 1866.*

To the Rev. ALFRED NEVIN, D. D.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter addressed to me through the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin disappoints me, because I did not expect it to come in that way, and because it does not cover the subject in issue between us; but if I am silent your friends will say, with some show of reason, that you have vindicated "political preaching" so triumphantly that all opposition is confounded. I must, therefore, speak freely in reply. In doing so I mean to say nothing inconsistent with my great respect for your high character in the church and in the world. The admirable style and temper of your own communication deserve to be imitated.

I fully concede the right you claim for clergymen to select their own themes and handle them as they please. You say truly that neither lawyers nor physicians, nor any order of men, have the least authority to control you in these particulars. But you will not deny that this is a privilege which may be abused. You expressly admit that some clergymen have abused it, "and by doing so did more than any other class of men to commence and continue the late rebellion." While, therefore, we can assert no power to dictate your conduct, much less to force you, we are surely not wrong when we entreat you to impose upon yourselves those restrictions which reason and revelation have shown to be necessary for the good of the church and the safety of civil society.

I acknowledge that your commission is a very hard and broad one. You must "declare the whole counsel of God," to the end that sinners may be convinced and converts built up in their most holy faith. Truth,

justice, temperance, humility, mercy, peace, brotherly kindness, charity—the whole circle of the Christian virtues—must be assiduously taught to your hearers; and if any of them be inclined to the opposite vices, you are to denounce them without fear, by private admonition, by open rebuke, or by a general delivery of the law which condemns them. You are not bound to pause in the performance of this duty because it may offend a powerful ruler or a strong political party. Nor should you shrink from it when bad men, for their own purposes, approve what you do. Elevate the moral character, enlighten the darkness, and purify the hearts of those who are under your spiritual charge at all hazards, for this is the work which your great Taskmaster has given you to do, and he will admit no excuse for neglecting it.

But this is precisely what the political preacher is not in the habit of doing. He directs the attention of his hearers away from their own sins to the sins—real or imputed—of other people. By teaching his congregation that they are better than other men he fills their hearts with self-conceit, bigotry, spiritual pride, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Instead of the exhortation, which they need, to take the beam out of their own eye, he incites them to pluck the mote from their brother's. He does not tell them what they shall do to be saved, but he instructs them very carefully how they shall act for the destruction of others. He rouses and encourages to the utmost of his ability those brutal passions which result in riot, bloodshed, spoliation, civil war, and general corruption of morals.

You commit a grievous error in supposing that politics and religion are so mingled together that you can not preach one without introducing the other. Christ and his Apostles kept them perfectly separate. They announced the great facts of the Gospel to each individual whom they addressed. When these were accepted the believer was told to repent and be baptized for the remission of his sins, and afterwards to regulate his own life by the rules of a pure and perfect morality. They expressed no preference for one form of government over another. They provoked no political revolution, and they proposed no legal reforms. If they had done so, they would have flatly contradicted the declaration that Christ's kingdom was not of this world, and Christianity itself would have died out in half a century. But they accepted the relations which were created by human law, and exhorted their disciples to discharge faithfully the duties which arose out of them. Though the laws which defined the authority of husbands, parents, masters, and magistrates were as bad as human perversity could make them, yet the early Christians contented themselves with teaching moderation in the exercise of legal power, and uniformly inculcated the virtues of obedience and fidelity upon wives, children, slaves, and subjects. They joined in no clamors for or against any administration, but simply testified against sin before the only tribunal which Christ ever erected on earth—that is to say, the conscience of the sinner himself. The vice of political preaching was wholly unknown to the primitive church.

It is true Paul counseled obedience to the government of Nero, and I am aware that modern clergymen interpret his words as a justification of the doctrine that support of an existing administration is "part of their allegiance to God." Several synods and other ecclesiastical bodies have solemnly resolved something to that effect. But they forget that what Paul advised was simple submission, not active assistance, to Nero. The Christians of that day did not indorse his atrocities merely because he was "the administration duly placed in power." They did not go with him to the theater, applaud his acting, or praise him in the churches when he kidnapped their brethren, set fire to a city, or desolated a Province. Nor did they assist at his apotheosis after his death, or pronounce funeral sermons to show that he was greater than Scipio, more virtuous than Cato, and more eloquent than Cicero. Political preachers would have done this, but Paul and Peter did no such thing.

There is nothing in the Scriptures to justify the church in applying its discipline to any member for offenses purely political, much less for his mere opinion or feelings on public affairs. The clergy are without authority, as they are often without fitness, to decide for their congregation what is right or what is wrong in the legislation of the country. They are not called or sent to propagate any kind of political doctrine. The church and the state are entirely separate and distinct in their origin, their object, and the sphere of their action, insomuch that the organism of one can never be used for any purpose of the other without injury to both.

Do I, therefore, say that the Christian religion is to have no influence on the political destiny of man? Far from it. Notwithstanding the unfaithfulness of many professors, it has already changed the face of human society, and it will yet accomplish its mission by spreading peace, independence, truth, justice, and liberty, regulated by law "from the sea to the uttermost ends of the earth." But this will be accomplished only by reforming and elevating the individuals of whom society is composed, not by exasperating communities against each other; not by any alliance with the governments of the world; not by any vulgar partnership with politicians to kill and plunder their enemies.

Every time you reform a bad man and bring his character up to the standard of Christian morality you make an addition, greater or less, to that righteousness which exalteth a nation and subtract an equal sum from the sin which is a reproach to any people. Sometimes a single conversion is extremely important in its immediate effect upon the public interests of a whole nation. No doubt the acceptance of the truth by Dionysius, the Areopagite, had much to do in molding the subsequent laws and customs of Athens. The conversion of Constantine was followed by the instant abrogation of all laws which fettered the conscience. In the reign of Theodosius the people of Thessalonica rose against the Roman garrison and killed its commander. For this act of rebellion the Emperor decreed against them the curse of an indiscriminate war, in which the guilty and the innocent were confounded together in one general slaughter. His spiritual "guide, philosopher, and friend" at the time was Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, who boldly denounced his cruelty, refused to give him the sacrament, or even to administer it in his presence, compelled him to take his seat among the penitents on the portico of the church, and induced him to humble his diadem in the dust for eight months in succession. The conscience of the Emperor was thoroughly awakened; his subsequent reign was distinguished by justice and mercy, the integrity of the Empire was preserved in peace, and the great "Theodosian Code," the product of that bitter repentance, is still read and quoted for its admirable union of humanity and policy. Ambrose produced these consequences by acting in the true capacity of a Christian minister, for he reformed the criminal by a direct appeal to his own heart. A political preacher, in the same circumstances, would have inflamed the sanguinary passions of the monarch by exaggerating the treason of the Thessalonians and counseling the military execution of all who presumed to sympathize in their sufferings.

You will see, I think, the distinction I would make. A good preacher addresses the conscience of his hearers for the honest purpose of converting them from the error of their ways; a political preacher speaks to one community one party, or one sect, and his theme is the wickedness of another. The latter effects no religious purposes whatever, but the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that he excites the bad passions of those who are present, while he slanders the absent and undefended. Both classes of preachers frequently speak upon the same or similar subjects, but they do so with different objects and aims.

I will make my meaning more clear by taking your own illustrations. You believe in the first day of the week as a Sabbath, and, so believing, your duty undoubtedly is to exhort all persons under your charge to observe it strictly; but you have no right to preach a crusade against the Jews and Seventh-day Baptists, to get intolerant laws enacted against them for keeping Saturday as a day of rest. If drunkenness be a sin which easily besets your congregation, you may warn them against it; and inasmuch as abstinence is always easier than moderation, you should advise them to taste not, touch not, and handle not; but your position gives you no authority to provoke violent hostilities against tavern keepers, liquor dealers, or distillers. If any of your hearers be ignorant or coarse enough to desire more wives than one apiece, you should certainly teach them that polygamy is the worst feature of Asiatic manners, inconsistent with Christianity, and dangerous to domestic happiness; but you can not lawfully urge them to carry fire and sword into the territory of the Mormons merely because some of the Mormons are in this respect less holy than you. If the holding of slaves or bond servants be a practical question among the members of your church, I know of nothing which forbids you to teach whatever you conscientiously believe to be true on that subject. But in a community where slavery is not only unknown but impossible, why should any preacher make it the subject of his weekly vituperation? You do not improve the religion of the slaveholder by traducing his character, nor mend the spiritual condition of your own people by making them thirst for the blood of their fellow men.

If any person, to whom the service of another is due by the laws of the State in which he lives shall need your instructions to regulate his personal conduct toward the slave, you are bound in the first place to tell him that as long as that relation exists he should behave with the utmost humanity and kindness; for this you have the clear warrant of the apostolic example and precept. In dealing with such a person you may go as much further as your own conscientious interpretation of the Bible will carry you. If you are sure that the divine law does under all circumstances make the mere existence of such a relation sinful on the part of the master, you should induce him to dissolve it by the immediate emancipation of his slaves, for that is truth to you which you believe to be true. But where is the authority for preaching hatred of those who understand the Scripture differently? What privilege can you show for exciting servile insurrection? Who gave you the right to say that John Brown was better than any other thief or murderer merely because his crimes were committed against proslavery men?

I think the minister in his pulpit discourses is forbidden to touch at all upon that class of subjects which are purely political; such, for instance, as the banking law, tariff, railroad charters, State rights, the naturalization laws, and negro suffrage. These are questions of mere political expediency; religion takes no cognizance of them, and the church has no more right to take sides upon them than the civil government has to use its legislative, judicial, or executive power for the purpose of enforcing principles wholly religious.

In short, if I am not entirely mistaken, a Christian minister has no authority to preach upon any subjects except those in which divine revelation has given him an infallible rule of faith and practice, and even upon them he must speak always for the edification of his own hearers, "rightly dividing the word of truth" so as to lead them in the way of all righteousness. When he does more than this he goes beyond his commission, he becomes a scurvy politician, and his influence is altogether pernicious.

The use of the clerical office for the purpose of propagating political doctrines under any circumstances, or with any excuse, is, in my judgment, not only without authority, but it is the highest crime that can be committed against the government of God or man. Perhaps I ought not to make this broad assertion without giving some additional reasons for it.

In the first place, it is grossly dishonest. I employ you as a minister, pay your salary, and build you a church because I have confidence in your theological doctrines, but you may be at the same time wholly unfit for my political leader. Now, you are guilty of a base fraud upon me if, instead of preaching religion, you take advantage of the position I have given you to ventilate your crude and ignorant notions on State affairs. I have asked for bread and you give me a stone; instead of the fish I bargained for, you put into my hands a serpent that stings and poisons me.

It destroys the unity of the church. There is no room for rational dispute about the great truths of Christianity, but men will never agree upon political subjects, for human government is at best but a compromise of selfish interests and conflicting passions. When you mix the two together you break the church into fragments, and, instead of "one God, one faith, and one baptism," you create a thousand warring sects and substitute the proverbial bitterness of the odium theologicum for the "charity which thinketh no evil."

No one will deny that the union of church and state is always the cause of bad government, perverted religion, and corrupt morals. I do not mean merely that legal union which exists in European countries. That is bad enough, but you have less common sense than I give you credit for if you do not see that this adulterous connection assumes the most polluting form when the church is voluntarily prostituted by her own ministers to a political party in a popular government.

The evil influence of such connections upon church and state is easily accounted for. Both of them in combination will do what either would recoil from if standing alone. A politician backed by the promise of the clergy to sustain him can safely defy honesty and trample upon the law, for, do what he may, he is assured of a clerical support here and of heaven hereafter. The clergy, on the other hand, and those who are under their influence, easily acquire the habit of praising indiscriminately whatever is done by their public men. Acting and reacting on one another, they go down together in the directions of the pit that is bottomless, and both are found to have "a strange alacrity at sinking."

No man can serve two masters faithfully, for he must hate one if he loves the other. A minister who admires and follows such men as those who have lately ruled and ruined this country must necessarily despise the character of Christ. If he glorifies the cruelty, rapacity, and falsehood of his party leaders, he is compelled, by an inflexible law of human nature, to "deny the Lord who brought him."

The experience of 15 centuries proves that political preachers are the great curse of the world. More than half the bloody wars which, at different periods, have desolated Christendom were produced by their

direct instigation; and wherever they have thrust themselves into a contest commenced by others they always envenomed the strife and made it more cruel, savage, and uncompromising. The religious wars, so called, had nothing religious about them except that they were hissed up by the clergy. Look back and see if this be not true.

The Arian controversy (the first great schism) was followed by wars in which millions of lives were lost. Do you suppose the real quarrel was for the insertion or omission of filioque in that part of the creed which describes the procession of the Holy Ghost? Did a homoousian slaughter his brother because he was a homoiousian? No; it was not the difference of a diphthong, but the plunder of an empire that they fought for. It was the politics of the church, not her religion, that furnished the parties and converted men into demons.

The Thirty Years' War in Germany is often supposed to have been a fair, stand-up fight between the two leading forms of Christianity. It was not so. The religious difference was the false pretense of the political preachers for the promotion of their own schemes. There was not a man in all the Continent who would have felt himself impelled by motives merely religious to murder his brother for believing or disbelieving in transsubstantiation. If proof of this were wanting, it might be found in the fact that long before the war ended the sectarian cries were abandoned, and Catholics as well at Protestants were fighting on both sides.

It is utterly impossible to believe that the clergy of England and Scotland, if they had not been politicians, would have thought of waging bloody wars to settle questions of election and reprobation, fate, foreknowledge, free will, and other points of metaphysical theology; nor would they, apart from their politics, have encouraged and committed the other horrid crimes of which they were guilty in the name of religion.

Can you think the Irish were invaded and conquered and oppressed and murdered and robbed for centuries, merely because the English loved and believed in the Protestant religions? I suppose you know that those brutal atrocities were carried on for the purpose of giving to political preachers in England possession of the churches, cathedrals, glebelands, and titles which belonged to the Irish Catholics. The soldier was also rewarded by confiscation and plunder. The church and the state hunted in couples, and Ireland was the prey which they ran down together.

Coming to our own country, you find Massachusetts and Connecticut, in colonial times, under the sole domination of political preachers. Their treacherous wars upon the Indians for purposes wholly mercenary; their enslaving of white persons, as well as red ones, and selling them abroad, or "swapping them for blackamoors"; their whipping, imprisoning, and killing Quakers and Baptists for their conscientious opinions; and their base treatment of such men as Roger Williams and his friends will mark their government through all time as one of the cruelest and meanest that ever existed.

Political preachers have not behaved any better since the Revolution than before. About the commencement of the present century they were busy in their vile vocation all over New England, and continued it for many years. The willful and deliberate slanders habitually uttered from the pulpit against Jefferson, Madison, and the friends who supported them were a disgrace to human nature. The immediate effect of this was the Yankee plot to secede from the Union, followed by corrupt combination with a foreign enemy to betray the liberties of the country. Its remoter consequences are seen in the shameless rapacity and bitter malignity which, even at this moment, are howling for the property and blood of an unarmed and defenseless people.

You and I both remember the political preaching which ushered in and supported the reign of the Know-Nothings, Blood-Tubs, and Plug-Uglies; when Maria Monk was a saint and Joe Barker was mayor of Pittsburgh; when pulpits resounded every Sunday with the most injurious falsehoods against Catholics; when the public mind was debauched by the inculcation of hypocrisy and deception; when ministers met their political allies in sworn secrecy to plot against the rights of their fellow citizens. You can not forget what came of this—riot, murder, church-burning, lawless violence all over the land, and the subjugation of several great States to the political rule of a party destitute alike of principle and capacity.

I could easily prove that these clerical politicians, who have tied their churches to the tail of the Abolition Party, are criminals on a grander scale than any of their predecessors. But I forbear, partly because I have no time, and partly because it may, for aught I know, be a sore subject with you. I would not excite your wrath, but rather "provoke you to good works."

Apart from the general subject, there are two or three special ideas expressed in your letter from which I venture to dissent.

You think that, though a minister may speak from the pulpit on politics, he ought not to indicate what party he belongs to. It strikes me that, if he has a party, and wants to give it ecclesiastical aid or comfort, he should boldly avow himself to be what he is, so that all men may know him. Sincerity is the first of virtues. It is bad to be a wolf, but a wolf in sheep's clothing is infinitely worse.

You represent the church as an unfinished structure, and the state as its scaffolding. I think the church came perfect from the hand of its Divine Architect—built upon a rock, established, finished, complete—and everyone who comes into it by the right door will find a mansion prepared for him. It needs no scaffold. Its founder refused all connection with human governments for scaffolding or any other purpose.

You say (in substance) that, without sometimes taking political subjects, a minister is in danger of falling into a "vague, indefinite, and noncommittal style," which will do no good and bring him no respect. The gospel is not vague, indefinite, or noncommittal upon the subjects of which it takes jurisdiction, and upon them you may preach as loudly as you please. But I admit that in times of great public excitement—an important election or a civil war—men listen impatiently to the teachings of faith and repentance. A sermon which tells them to do justice, love, mercy, and walk humbly before God is not an entertainment to which they willingly invite themselves. At such a time a clergyman can vastly increase his personal consequence and win golden opinions from his audience by pampering their passions with a highly seasoned discourse on politics. The temptation to gratify them often becomes too strong for the virtue of the preacher. I fear that you yourself are yielding to it. As a mere layman I have no right to advise a doctor of divinity, but I hope I am not overpresumptuous when I warn you against this specious allurement of satan. All thoughts of putting the gospel aside because it does not suit the depraved tastes of the day and making political harangues to win popularity in a bad world should be sternly trampled down as the suggestions of that evil one "who was a liar and a murderer from the beginning."

Faithfully, yours, etc.,

J. S. BLACK.

The Food Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. H. LaGUARDIA,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to include a résumé of the food situation containing statistics and data pertaining to this very important question. This information has been gathered and collated by the committee on the high cost of living, of which Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll is chairman, and Benjamin C. Marsh, executive secretary. The committee numbers among its members men who are authorities on the subject and who have actual knowledge of the situation and are directly concerned with the raising and growing of food, as well as men and women who are directly connected with its distribution and consumption.

Inasmuch as this House is about to take up the food-control bill, I believe that the information contained in this paper will be of interest and useful to the Members in the consideration of that bill.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE FOOD SITUATION.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

An inquiry into the prices and supply of food and foodstuffs will necessarily include ascertaining whether hoarders and distributors thereof are making too large profits, and, if so, what measures are necessary to prevent such unpatriotic, because antisocial, action.

Such inquiry must also ascertain:

1. What the prospective food needs of this country and of our allies and others dependent upon us will be during the present year and in the ensuing two or three years.

2. Whether if the method of distribution were perfected, our method of production is such as to ensure an adequate food supply at prices within the resources of the working people of this and other countries to which we should export food.

We urge that it be considered whether it would not be more economical from the broadest point of view of the nations battling to secure democracy, to have this country chiefly contribute money and food at reasonable prices, which exclude profits to any monopoly, so as to release more of the trained men of our allies for fighting. In much of England, France, and Italy the law of diminishing returns in agriculture is apparent because of the necessity of intensive farming. It involves a larger outlay of man power per unit of food production in those countries than in the United States, with our vast areas of practically unscratched, but fertile land.

The Secretary of Agriculture in a bulletin issued in April stated: "The American farmer has long shown his ability to produce more food per man and at lower cost per unit than any other farmer in the world, but he has never had to do his best. He needs to do his best now."

The conservation of men in producing food is as essential as the conservation of men in fighting.

We wish to demonstrate to the commission that our present methods of production are utterly inefficient and wasteful, and that whatever methods of distribution may be adopted, and however effectively the middleman's profits may be reduced, the consumer of farm products will be paying too high a price—even though the farmer makes practically no profit—if that price includes, as to-day, enormous unearned profits to speculators in farm lands. The cause of too high prices for farm products is also the cause of small crops.

From present indications and estimates as to the food supply of the world the nations of Europe would be glad to buy from us 600,000,000 to 700,000,000 bushels of grain, even if the war should be ended this year, and nearly that amount annually if it should continue for two or three years. We may say that there is no danger of our producing too much foodstuffs in this country for at least two or three years.

SOME FACTS REGARDING FARMS AND FARMERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. LESS THAN THREE-FIFTHS OF THE LAND IN FARMS IS IMPROVED.

In 1910 only a little over half of the land in farms in the United States was improved—478,451,750 acres out of a total of 878,798,325 acres. In 1910 the proportion of land in farms improved was 10.8 per cent less in the New England States and 4.8 per cent less in the Middle Atlantic States than in 1900.

The increase in the acreage of improved land in farms during the decade was only 63,953,263, or 15.4 per cent.

There are about 350,000,000 acres of idle land in the farms of the United States to-day.

2. THE SELLING PRICE OF FARM LAND IS INCREASING VERY RAPIDLY.

In the decade 1900 to 1910 the selling price of farm land in the United States increased from $13,475,674,169 to $28,475,674,169, or 118.1 per cent.

The Secretary of Agriculture reported April, 1916: "The value of farm lands in the United States is estimated at $45.55 per acre, compared with $36.23 four years ago. The census reported the value of lands in 1910 as $32.40, and in 1900 as $15.57 per acre."

This increase is not due to the activity of the owners alone, but to the higher prices secured and the work done by the tillers. Tenant farmers, nearly half of the total, not only do not secure any of the increase in the value of land they use, but have to pay higher rent as a result of their industry.

3. MONOPOLY OF FARM LANDS IS VERY MARKED.

Nineteen per cent of the farm land in the United States, or about 170,000,000 acres was in 1910 in tracts of 1,000 acres or over, and 9½ per cent was in tracts of 500 to 999 acres, about 85,000,000 acres, a total of approximately 255,000,000 acres.

There were such holdings in every State in the Union. There are many tracts of 200,000 acres to over 1,000,000 acres.

4. TENANT FARMERS ARE IN A DEPLORABLE CONDITION.

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations reports: "More than four-fifths of the area of the large holdings is being kept out of active use by their 50,000 owners, while 2,250,000 farmers are struggling for a bare existence on farms of less than 50 acres.

5. FARMERS NOW PAY VERY HIGH PRICES OR RENT FOR FARM LANDS.

The Department of Agriculture in its April, 1916, bulletin gives the following average value per acre of farm lands in 1916, exclusive of improvements, for various sections of the country: North Atlantic, $36.71; South Atlantic, $23.79; North Central, east of the Mississippi River, $74.95; North Central, west of the Mississippi River, $59.68; South Central, $24.09; and far Western, $58.40; for the United States, $45.55.

The average cost of a 100-acre farm, exclusive of any improvements, is, therefore, from $2,379 to $7,495. Relatively few farms that are fertile, equipped with buildings, and accessible to markets, can be purchased for less than $2,500, while if the value of farm land and farm improvements increased as rapidly from 1910 to 1917 as from 1900 to 1910 the average value of a farm, land and buildings alone, is now about $7,121.

It is true that there are nearly 280,000,000 acres of free public land, but most of it is arid or rocky and not available for farming without large outlay of capital. To use even the farms on which irrigation works must be provided requires a large outlay. Prof. Elwood Mead, a recognized authority on farm management, rural credits, etc., and a member of the State Commission on Colonization and Rural Credits of California, stated last December before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives:

"Experience has shown that to reclaim desert public lands, including payment for the water right, will cost from $100 to $150 an acre. The following estimate is regarded as a low average for 50 acres:

Leveling land, building checks and small ditches	$2,000
House and barn	1,000
Live stock and implements	1,000
Living expenses, one year	500
Taxes, operation, and maintenance—charges and incidentals	200
Initial payment on water right	100
Dairy herd of 15 cows or other live stock to eat fodder crops	1,500
Total	6,300

"To this must be added the remaining payments of the water right, which will be between $40 and $50 an acre.

"While all this money will be needed, settlers who are willing to face hardships and self-denial can start with less. Half the land could be left unleveled. The dairy herd could be cut down to 10 cows. At a sacrifice of comfort the cost of the house could be reduced, but all these reductions mean loss of income and entail added risk, hardship, and privation. They do not make for efficiency, economy, or any early development of the project or the prosperity of the settler. It is possible that a majority of settlers having industry and thrift who could bring $5,000 cash would succeed, but what is the prospect of the settler who brings $2,000, the average capital of the past? He will need money, but in many cases he will not be able to borrow it locally. When it comes to borrowing money from a distance, the security which a settler can offer can not be considered satisfactory. The government of the canal company or the irrigation district holds a first mortgage on the land to secure payment for a water right. In its wild state this land has no productive value, and if the settler has not money enough of his own to put it in condition for cultivation, he has no commercial security to offer. Settlers depend largely on friends in the East for money borrowed. Where loans are made locally the interest rates are high and the time short."

6. A LARGE PROPORTION OF FARM LAND IN THE BEST FARMING STATES IS UNIMPROVED.

In 1910 the proportion of land in farms not improved was: In New York, 32.6 per cent; New Jersey, 29.9 per cent; Pennsylvania, 31.8 per cent; Ohio, 20.2 per cent; Indiana, 20.5 per cent; Illinois, 13.8 per cent; Michigan, 32.2 per cent; Wisconsin, 43.5 per cent; Minnesota, 29 per cent; Iowa, 12.1 per cent; Missouri, 28.9 per cent; North Dakota, 28 per cent; South Dakota, 39.2 per cent; Nebraska, 36.9 per cent; Kansas, 31.1 per cent; Virginia, 49.4 per cent; West Virginia, 44.9 per cent.

The number of acres of unimproved land in farms in these 17 States was, in 1910: New York, 7,186,321 acres; New Jersey, 770,521 acres; Pennsylvania, 5,913,313 acres; Ohio, 4,877,738 acres; Indiana, 4,368,571 acres; Illinois, 4,474,614 acres; Michigan, 6,108,536 acres; Wisconsin, 9,092,454 acres; Minnesota, 8,032,290 acres; Iowa, 4,439,481 acres; Missouri, 10,010,062 acres; North Dakota, 7,971,558 acres; South Dakota, 10,189,684 acres; Nebraska, 14,239,444 acres; Kansas, 13,480,732 acres; Virginia, 9,625,578 acres; West Virginia, 4,504,685 acres; a total of 125,285,590 acres, or about 14.2 per cent of the total of 878,798,325 acres in farms in the United States that year

In 1916 the estimated value of farm land per acre in those States, exclusive of any improvements, was: New York, $42; New Jersey, $55; Pennsylvania, $41; Ohio, $67; Indiana, $78; Illinois, $106; Michigan, $42; Wisconsin, $62; Minnesota, $54; Iowa, $125; Missouri, $50; North Dakota, $29; South Dakota, $47; Nebraska, $62; Kansas, $45; Virginia, $28; West Virginia, $27.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF HIGH PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCE WITHOUT FAIR PROFITS TO FARMERS.

Hoarding of food supplies, manipulation of food prices by speculators, and extortionate charges of poor service can be stopped in a short time. The continuing cause of high prices for food without fair profit to farmers is our system of taxation, which encourages holding farm land and all other land idle for speculation, and to enable the owner to secure the increase in the value of land due to industry and the growth of population. The semi or near urban farm land within a radius of 25 miles of great cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, though only a small proportion of the acreage of the States, represents a large proportion of the value of all the farm lands of the State, while the value of improvements on such land is usually only a small part of the value of the land itself. Most of this land is held idle, though it could raise an appreciable supply of garden truck for the cities near by.

The total net ground rent or potential ground rent of the farm land of the United States, calculated at only 5 per cent on the value, is approximately $2,105,000,000.

While it is true that a large part—perhaps one-third, or at least one-fourth—of the value of farm land is not being used, and is therefore not producing any revenue currently, yet the increase in the selling price of the land accrues to the owner ultimately. All this land could be producing some revenue currently were it used, and the responsibility for holding it idle rests upon the owner. His conduct is antisocial, and in the present food emergency must be stigmatized as unpatriotic.

If the relative value of farm land in each State is this year even approximately what it was in 1910 the owners of farm land in 13 States—one-fourth of the total number—New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, and California—receive over two-thirds of this total net ground rent from farm lands in the United States, or approximately $1,400,000,000.

There were in 1910 in these 13 States 2,673,681 farms, of which 646,936 comprised over 174 acres; 27,116, 1,000 acres or over. A large proportion of the acreage of farm land in each of these States was held in large tracts, few of which were then, and in all probability are now, thoroughly, hence economically, used.

The value of these large holdings, running up to several million acres, owned by Lux & Miller in California, and many of them ranging from 100,000 to 500,000 acres, and the value of the suburban land classified as farm land, in these States aggregate a large proportion of the value of farm lands, most of it concentrated in a few owners, who secure most of the ground rent.

On a small farm used as such the bare land value represents only a small part of the total value of farm property. The census for 1910, which does not give the complete facts, because in many States there are many country estates of 5 to 50 acres with very valuable improvements and equipment classified as farms, shows that the proportion of land improved steadily decreases as the size of the farm increases, and that land values represent an increasing proportion of the value of all farm property on farms of large acreage, being over three-quarters of the total value of farms of over 500 acres, and nearly three-quarters of the total of farms containing from 175 to 499 acres. The following table shows these facts:

TABLE A.

	Number of farms.	Per cent.	Acreage.	Per cent of farm land.	Acreage improved.	Per cent.	Value of farm land.	Per cent of land value.	Value of all farm property.	Per cent land value constitutes of total value of farm property.
Total for United States	6,361,502	100.0	878,798,325	100.0	478,451,750	54.4	$28,475,674,169	100.0	$40,991,449,090	69.4
Under 20 acres	839,166	13.2	8,793,820	1.0	7,991,543	90.9	802,210,953	2.8	1,520,384,193	52.7
20 to 49 acres	1,414,376	22.2	45,378,449	5.2	36,596,032	80.6	1,815,363,083	5.1	2,974,490,664	61.0
50 to 99 acres	1,438,069	22.6	103,120,868	11.7	71,155,246	69.0	3,809,362,679	13.3	6,003,926,775	63.4
100 to 174 acres	1,516,286	23.8	205,480,585	23.4	128,853,538	62.7	7,613,104,371	26.7	11,089,188,836	69.4
175 to 499 acres	978,175	15.4	265,289,069	30.2	161,775,502	61.0	10,066,760,353	35.0	13,650,063,506	73.7
500 to 999 acres	125,295	2.0	83,653,487	9.5	40,817,118	48.8	2,210,728,394	7.7	2,907,900,770	75.1
1,000 acres and over	50,135	.8	167,082,047	19.0	31,262,771	18.7	2,158,144,336	7.5	2,845,494,346	75.7

The relatively large proportion which land constitutes of the total value of farm-land property of farms up to 99 acres—approximately one-half—has already been explained to be due to the value of small farms and country estates.

The present tax rate on land values does not average over 1.25 per cent—it is probably nearer 1 per cent—but if estimated at 1.25 per cent, the total agricultural or farm ground rent secured for the maintenance of government by a direct tax, State and local, does not exceed $525,000,000—it is probably nearer $425,000,000—while the net ground rent is, as shown above, about $2,105,000,000.

The total current cost of government—National, State, and local—is this year approximately $4,800,000,000, if the press reports be correct, owing to the extraordinary expenditures for war, and the ordinary current cost is only about $3,000,000,000.

The present selling price of urban land is approximately $30,000,000,000; the total net ground rent thereof, calculated at 5 per cent, is $1,500,000,000. The tax rate on full land values exceeds 2 per cent in only a few cities, like New York; in most cities it is 1.5 per cent or less. The total ground rent secured from urban land by a direct tax on land values for State and local government does not exceed $400,000,000, and is probably much less.

The current cost of government in the United States for the year 1917—approximately $4,800,000,000—is to be raised substantially as follows:

Taxes on land values	$825,000,000
Personal taxes on incomes, National and State	750,000,000
Excess-profits taxes	500,000,000
Corporation income taxes, National and State	250,000,000
Inheritance taxes, State	45,000,000
Taxes on labor and the products of labor, such as taxes on buildings, improvements, live stock, machinery, bank stock, mortgages, food, clothing, stamp, and excise taxes	2,430,000,000
Total	4,800,000,000

Economists agree that all taxes, except taxes on land values, incomes, and inheritances can be shifted to the user of the article or the service taxed. Taxes on excess profits are a form of income tax.

To meet the cost of government this year, a cost which will be greatly increased next year, it is proposed to raise approximately $2,500,000,000 through taxes which must be paid by every family in the country, and which averages nearly $25 per capita, or $150 for a family of six, while reducing the exemption for the income tax to $800, as is done in Wisconsin for the State tax, and to $1,500 or $2,000 as is suggested for the Federal income tax, will compel many families to contribute even more.

Under our existing system of indirect taxes farmers, both owners of small farms and tenant farmers, will be hit very hard by the war. A few illustrations will suffice to demonstrate this.

A farmer who owns a small farm of 50 acres, worth with equipment, live stock, etc., $5,000, pays on the average about $75 to $100 a year taxes for local and State purposes.

Of the $3,000,000,000, which is the least the Federal Government must now secure annually by current taxation, about $1,500,000,000 will be secured by taxes on incomes, personal and corporate, and on excess profits, and the same sum by indirect taxes. This means an average per family contribution of about $75.

Indirect taxes are more costly to the ultimate consumer than direct taxes because the person who advances them always adds a profit thereon, which is always paid by the ultimate consumer. The tax burden of the average small farm owner, under war conditions, will be therefore from $175 to $200.

The condition of the tenant farmer is even worse. If the value of the farm and buildings he rents is only $3,000, he pays at 6 per cent $180 a year rent, or the equivalent in crops on the share system. The Federal taxes will also cost him $75 to $100 a year—a total of $250 to $280.

ADVANTAGES OF TAXING LAND VALUES INSTEAD OF LABOR VALUES.

If instead of taxing labor and the products of labor, Government should levy a tax of 5 per cent upon the full value of urban and agricultural land, $3,600,000,000 revenue would be secured with the utmost advantage to everyone except the few landowners, urban and agricultural, who now secure, or prevent others from securing, ground rent from the land they own.

Ricardo, in "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation," says: "A tax on rent would affect rent only; it would fall wholly on landlords, and could not be shifted." Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, in "Incidence of Taxation," states: "The incidence of the ground tax, in other words, is on the landlord * * *. The tax simply diminishes his profits."

The following would be among the chief advantages:

First. All taxes on labor and the products of labor, aggregating about $2,430,000,000, would be removed.

Second. The tenant farmers would be relieved of the more than $1,000,000,000 ground rent which they pay annually now to the owners of farms which tenants operate directly.

Third. The cost of food would be reduced by the saving in ground rent for farm land paid the owners of farm land, or the income secured by such owners before they regard the business as profitable. The prices for food products would be reduced without diminishing the net earned profits of farmers, by about $2,000,000,000—nearly four-fifths of the value of the corn and wheat crops of the country last year.

The ground rent of an acre of land selling for $50 calculated at 6 per cent is only $3. The ground rent of an acre selling for $300 on the same basis is $18. The same crop may be produced on each acre. If that crop is 40 bushels of wheat, for which the farmer gets $1.25 per bushel or $50, the ground rent in the first case amounts to only 6 per cent of the value of the product, in the second place it amounts to 36 per cent of the value of the product—nearly two-fifths. The difference makes farming unprofitable and always makes the price of food on a commercial basis higher to the consumer without any benefit to anyone except the owner of the land who reaps what he has not sown.

4. The farmer who owns his small farm, instead of paying direct and indirect taxes of about $175 to $200 a year, would pay on a farm valued at $5,000 only about $75, as the land represents only approximately one-quarter of the total value of the farm property as a whole.

5. The tenant farmer on the average small farm would similarly find that the cost of government to him would be reduced by $125 to $150 a year.

6. More intensive and economic use of land would be insured by taxing it more heavily, as suggested. The Secretary of Agriculture recently stated that only about 12 per cent of the farm land under cultivation in the United States was producing all which it is capable of producing.

7. The acquisition of farms with corresponding improvement of the status of the workers would be facilitated. The report of the Department of Agriculture on the census of 1910 states:

"It will be seen (from tables presented) that, at least since 1880, and probably even earlier, farms operated by tenants have increased in number faster than those operated by their owners. Tenant farms constituted 25.6 per cent of all farms in 1880, 28.4 per cent in 1890, 35.3 per cent in 1900, and 37 per cent in 1910. During the 30 years from 1880 to 1910 the number of tenant farms increased 1,330,075, or 129.8 per cent, while farms operated by their owners and by managers increased 1,022,520, or 34.3 per cent.

"The change indicated by these figures is what might be expected. In a new country, where land can be obtained cheaply, or even obtained from the Government without cost, it is but natural that most persons who wish to conduct agricultural operations should become owners of land. As the country becomes more settled, and as free land disappears and the values of land rise, it becomes increasingly difficult to acquire land, while, conversely, those who have already acquired it often find it possible to cease active labor and obtain an income by leasing their land to others, or prefer to enter some other occupation, but to retain their land as an investment."

8. The increase in selling price of farm land, largely speculative, would be stopped. This increase amounts to $1,500,000,000 or more annually and is a waste and impediment to the country's development, constituting a direct liability on industry instead of increasing the wealth of the country.

9. The money that is now loaned to enable producers to acquire farms would be released from such unproductive investment and made available for real, productive investment or for Government loans.

That this proposal is not theoretical or academic is shown by the fact that many farmers' organizations have recommended it. At their annual session, June, 1916, the Washington State Grange adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved by the Washington State Grange, That this body go on record as favoring the adoption of a system of taxation whereby personal property and all improvements would be exempt from taxation and the burden of taxation be borne by land values only."

In order to really solve the food problem land must be free for use, and this can be done only by the Government taking most of the ground rent, thereby enabling it to remit taxes now hampering and limiting production.

Effective action to prevent speculation in farm lands and to compel owners of large or small tracts now held idle to use their land by taxing land values heavily and untaxing improvements and other products of labor must be taken by the States because of the provision of the Federal Constitution prohibiting Congress from levying any capitation or other direct tax except according to population.

The following 28 States can, at the next session of their legislatures, amend their tax systems and bring about this change completely, or by transferring most of the taxes now levied on improvements and other labor products by land values can materially improve the situation and help solve the food problem: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Most of these States have a regular session of the legislature next January. The governor of every one of them, recognizing the seriousness of our food problem, can summon the legislatures in special session to enact such legislation.

They could also levy a special tax upon land values to meet the need for additional revenue for the war, and such action would indicate highest patriotic motives, not only from a fiscal, but as well from an economic point of view.

The importance of forcing all farm land in these 28 States into full productive use at once is evident from the figures of the last census. The total acreage in farms in these States was 430,815,650 acres, while of this only 250,875,988 acres were improved, while 179,939,662 acres were unimproved.

These 28 States contained 49 per cent of the land in farms in the United States, and 44 per cent of the unimproved land in farms, including much of the most fertile land—particularly in some of the Western States.

Of the 3,260,376 farms in these States, 1,119,285 were operated, in 1910, by tenants, with a total acreage of 109,456,334 acres.

The value of farm property in these States was, in 1910, $22,234,233,947 distributed as follows: Land, $15,086,272,974; improvements, $3,754,414,797; live stock, $2,630,537,782; implements and machinery, $763,008,394. Value of farm property on farms operated by tenants in these States was $5,582,849,318; of the land of such farms, $4,197,018,502. Of course, these values have increased materially during the past seven years

It is evident that the unimproved land in these 28 States forms a considerable acreage, and that the complete utilization of this land and of all farm land in these States can be achieved through the proposed change in the tax system, which would materially improve the food situation in the United States within a year.

CHARLES E. INGERSOLL,
Chairman.
BENJAMIN C. MARSH,
Executive Secretary.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a resolution by the members of the Centennial Chapter, No. 58, Order of the Eastern Star, of Colorado Springs, in favor of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the United States having entered into an international war to fight for "democracy," and also for "the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments," it is imperative that we first establish democracy in our own country by giving political freedom to our women citizens; and

Whereas women are now being called to aid the Government in the prosecution of war in defense of the Nation's interests, and without their aid and patriotism this war could not be conducted: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Centennial Chapter, No. 58, O. E. S., of Colorado Springs, Colo., urge a prompt and favorable report by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of the Susan B. Anthony amendment and immediate passage of that amendment as a war measure during this session of Congress.

Resolved also, That a copy of this resolution be sent to EDWIN Y. WEBB, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and to the President, Speaker CLARK, the Vice President, Senator JACOB H. GALLINGER, Senator THOMAS S. MARTIN, Representative CLAUDE KITCHIN, Representative JAMES R. MANN, and to the Colorado delegation, with the request to Representative TIMBERLAKE, of the House, and to Senator SHAFROTH, of the Senate, that the resolution be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Waterways and War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an address by Brig. Gen. William M. Black, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, at St. Louis, Tuesday, May 8, last, is so pertinent to the question of the utilization of water ways in times of war that I believe it will be helpful to Members in the consideration of the pending river and harbor bill. Gen. Black attended the St. Louis conference by direct request of the Secretary of War.

What he had to say about the value of our inland waterways at the present time, therefore, may be regarded as coming with authority from the head of the War Department:

ADDRESS OF BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM M. BLACK, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES ARMY, AT ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1917.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is to me a very great honor to appear before you this morning, appearing, as I do, with a message from the National Government in a time of great emergency. I have met many of you before. I have been at various points on our interior waterways. I have been at various of the conventions of those interested in waterways. You have never seen me in this costume before, and yet I am here to-day in this costume for a purpose, by the direct request of the Secretary of War. I am going to address you on exactly the subject for which you have come together. I am going to talk of the same thing of which we have talked before together, but I am doing it now to-day under an entirely different object. I am going to address you on this subject to-day that you have at heart and that you want to foster, not only because it is necessary commercially, but it is necessary to our Nation to-day as a war measure. [Prolonged applause.] And, being a war measure, it is fitting and proper that I should come in my uniform, as a representative of the military arm of the Government.

Our country is at war. It is participating in a war unexampled in the history of the ages for the magnitude of the armies, for the world-wide limits of the fighting nations, for unparalleled potencies of the destructive agencies employed, for the areas of conflict—on the earth's surface, in the air, on the water, and under the water—and for such a complete utilization of all of the resources of the belligerent peoples as has never been dreamed of in the past. No longer does the actual war affect only the armies engaged—noncombatants, men, women, and children, have been ruthlessly destroyed or compelled to turn all their bodily powers to combatant uses.

We have entered into the war for the defense of the laws painfully evolved through centuries for the purpose of mitigating the horrors of war, for the defense of the principles of equal opportunity for all men, for the defense of the rights of the weak to live and enjoy their own, even though that "own" may be coveted by the powerful—and, in truth, to the end that nations "of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth."

WE WERE UNPREPARED FOR WAR.

Our enemy has long prepared for this struggle by every means which could be devised and with wonderful ingenuity and wisdom. We are unprepared, not only in a strictly military sense, but also economically. No war has reached our shores, no fighting force of the United States is facing the enemy, yet food has become scarce and dear, and largely increased prices are asked for all articles which enter into our daily needs. If this be true to-day, how much worse may be our case when the effects of war are brought more nearly home to us—when we are doing our full part in the struggle for humanity, and our own men must be drawn from the pursuits of peace and be engaged actively in the war which has been forced upon us.

REMEDY: COOPERATE FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

The remedy is neither novel nor difficult. If we all but work together to a common end—the good of the Nation—difficulties will be smoothed away and the Nation's strength can be exerted for the right without undue stress. This means organization for cooperation in all lines of our activities.

One of the results of advancing civilization is the decrease of the independence of communities. More and more each becomes dependent on the other. Greater and greater becomes the necessity for full and free intercommunication, and thus the subject of transportation becomes of increased and increasing importance; the organization and cooperation of all of the means of transportation becomes essential.

Your movement to promote a revival of river traffic comes when it is publicly well known that the railroads of our country are exceedingly congested, with consequent delay in delivering much-needed freight, and with a resulting enormous increase in the cost of food and materials. This increase in cost bears with particular hardship upon the ultimate consumer, and involves loss to the producers who find themselves unable to get their goods to market at the time of most urgent demand. It is reported by the railroads that on the 1st of February there was a shortage of 110,000 freight cars, which by March 1 had grown to over 120,000, and on April 1 it had become over 145,000. Assuming an average load of about 20 tons, this represents nearly 3,000,000 tons of freight-car capacity needed by the business interests of this country in excess of that now available.

REVIVAL OF WATER TRAFFIC A PATRIOTIC DUTY.

In view of the present emergency in our national existence it is a patriotic duty to cooperate to our utmost in relieving this stringency. Any success which your conference may have in reviving river traffic will contribute toward assuring the efficiency of the purposes, both military and naval, to which our Government is now bending its every effort.

To illustrate: It is well known to you that the United States Shipping Board is about to embark upon a plan for constructing seagoing vessels, which, due to the condition of the steel business, the board believes can be built much more rapidly of timber than of steel. It therefore becomes urgently necessary to insure prompt deliveries of sawmill products, and yet on indisputable authority it is known that one of the largest sawmills in the South, situated but a short distance from New Orleans, now has stored in its yards nearly 100,000,000 feet board measure of lumber, which has accumulated in this enormous quantity simply because of a lack of cars to ship it, so that at a time when it is most desirable that this sawmill and others of corresponding importance shall remain in operation the owners of this property are seriously considering a suspension of operations with a resultant dislocation of its working forces. Such a situation could not have come into existence had it been economically possible to ship this material—most of which is destined for the North—by way of New Orleans up the Mississippi, with perhaps a transfer by rail to its ultimate destination from the river terminal point at the north end of the line. Similarly, a prominent miller from Detroit, Mich., recently testified before the Agricultural Committee of the United States Senate that the grain shortage, which has recently lead to such an enormous advance in the price of flour, was due largely to insufficient transportation facilities, and that he had knowledge that grain actually existed in the hands of farmers who were unable to get it to market. The result is, as you know, that the price of wheat and flour have reached points unknown in our history since the close of the Civil War. Corresponding conditions probably exist at many points where relief could be afforded by an effective use of our internal waterways, and it is therefore desirable to consider in what form preferably the movement for the revival of river traffic shall be organized, the agency through which the necessary steps shall be taken, and the best program under which the entire problem shall be treated.

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The emergency which confronts our Government and which must be met affords an opportunity for patriotic service which is directly in line with your desires. The good which you can do in reorganizing and reviving the commerce of the Mississippi River and its tributaries can be made a national asset of increased value by coordinating your work with that of others. Fortunately an agency for this purpose actually exists, having been brought into being by the legislation incorporated in section 2 of the act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes. This section of the above act establishes a Council of National Defense "for the coordination of industries and resources for the national security and welfare." The council consists of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, and it is authorized to nominate to the President an advisory commission, consisting of not more than seven persons, "each of whom shall have special knowledge of some industry, public utility, or the development of some natural resource, or be otherwise specially qualified" for making investigations and recommendations concerning:

* * * the location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense; the coordination of mili-

tary, industrial, and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railroads; the utilization of waterways; the mobilization of military and naval resources for defense; the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and of the people during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of seagoing transportation; data as to amounts, location, method and means of production, and availability of military supplies; the giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the Government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation.

The council is further authorized to "organize subordinate bodies for its assistance in special investigations, either by the employment of experts or by the creation of committees of specially qualified persons."

The advisory commission of the Council of National Defense has been duly organized and one of its seven members is charged with all matters pertaining to transportation and communications. This member is Mr. Daniel Willard, the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and he has organized his branch of this work by the designation of a number of committees, each dealing with some separate phase of the problems involved in transportation and communication. There is one such committee on railroads and another on steamships, but up to the present time, unfortunately, no committee on internal waterways has been organized. It is my belief that such a committee, serving under the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense, is the suitable and appropriate agency, by means of which the revival of traffic upon our rivers should be furthered and this traffic so coordinated with that of the railways as to produce the maximum benefits to the Nation.

On April 14 I submitted to the Secretary of War the following memorandum, which is sufficiently pertinent to justify quoting it in full:

UTILIZATION OF WATERWAYS.

Memorandum by the Chief of Engineers for the Secretary of War, on utilization of waterways as an element of national transportation service.

It is understood that much thought is being given by the Advisory Commission for National Defense to such coordination of railroad transportation systems as will afford the most efficient transportation service to meet the public and private needs which have been gravely threatened by congestion, car shortage, etc. It does not appear, in so far as these matters have come to my attention, that much, if any, consideration has been given to the possibility of coordinating waterway means of transportation with rail service. There is available, for instance, from St. Louis to New Orleans a channel that could be made very efficient in handling traffic that now requires the service of many cars on the north and south rail lines serving that general region. Similarly, on the Hudson River from Troy and Albany to New York there is an almost unlimited capacity for movement of freight by water which might be developed so as to relieve the great congestion of the railroad terminals at New York. These are instances of numerous places where advantage might be taken of water transportation to a greater or less extent in order to relieve the railroads of a part of their burden.

It is not known to what extent boats already in existence could be made to serve traffic diverted in this way from the rail lines. Any considerable movement of this character would doubtless require the construction of many additional barges suited for such traffic. Fortunately, these boats are of comparatively simple construction and can be rapidly built if the Government and private boat yards are fully utilized for this purpose. In fact, these barges could be built at innumerable points along the streams and launched without accumulation of expensive machinery or plant, as it is practically a question of supplying the relatively simple materials and the labor required in actual construction of the boats. Tonnage capacity can doubtless be created by such barge construction much more rapidly than by car construction.

It is suggested that consideration be given to this phase of the question by those who are engaged in the task of increasing the efficiency of our general transportation service.

W. M. BLACK,
Brigadier General, Chief of Engineers.

You will perceive, therefore, that the matter which your conference was called to consider has been in my mind for some time and that I personally was doing my utmost to procure action.

TOWBOATS AND BARGES TO BE LISTED.

In advance of the appointment of this committee, a first step which you can take is to list all the available towboats and barges of the Mississippi River and its tributaries with sufficient detail concerning each to show its condition, location, capacity, ownership, and peculiar availability. A corresponding enumeration should be made of all the boat-building facilities of their waterways and this should, with reference to each boat-building establishment, give all the details necessary to permit an estimate to be formed of the rate at which towboats and barges can be constructed. As my contribution to this general end, I am prepared to give corresponding information concerning all Government boats and boat-building establishments in the same territory. The next step should be a study of the territory which these waterways serve or can be made to serve and an estimate, as closely as can be made, as to the quantities of commodities now being carried by the various lines of railroads paralleling these waterways which can with equal advantage be carried upon the waterways themselves, and a final estimate of the approximate number of cars that will thereby be released for use elsewhere. Finally, definite plans should be worked out for utilizing the existing towboats and barges and for supplementing them by as many as may be necessary under a definite plan for relieving the railroads of the traffic just referred to.

REESTABLISHING THE WATERWAYS.

Undoubtedly the question of reestablishing the waterways is one that will involve considerable difficulty as to details, particularly in regard to the making of joint traffic arrangements with connecting railroads at the various terminal points. The situation in this regard has not in the past been satisfactory or equitable, since it is well known that hitherto the railroads have been permitted to make rates which in one way or another discriminated against the waterways, although not always against communities situated on those waterways. Thus the practice, so common, of charging less for a rail haul along a waterway than for one of corresponding length to interior points has had the natural effect of diverting traffic from the waterways because, in part at least, it neutralized the superior economy of the waterway, which therefore had correspondingly less to offer as compensation for the inconvenience and expense of the terminal truck hauls that have accompanied the shipment of freight on one of our rivers. Similarly railroads have refused to receive and distribute freight for water lines, and in accepting transfers of freight from them they have refused to make through bills of lading and to favor the water lines with the same charges that prevail when freight is transferred to them over other rail lines. A quotation from an address delivered by Mr. Edward F. Murray, president of the Merchants' Line, of Troy, before the New York State Waterways Association on October 5, 1916, is a definite illustration of the point that I am endeavoring to make. In his address he says:

RATE DISCRIMINATION.

One of our railroad connections charges us and other water lines connecting with them more for carrying the same classes of freight over identically the same rails with identically the same service that they charge our all-rail competitors. To show what I mean and what the water lines are up against in this case I will use only the first-class rates as a basis, the percentage being the same in the other classes, the tariff rates being the same by the all-rail lines and the steamboats.

To points where the first-class through rate from New York is 36.8 cents the connecting railroad exacts 20.2 cents per 100 pounds from the steamboats and only 16.3 cents from their railroad connection, and where the first-class rate from New York is 47.3 cents per 100 pounds the connecting line exacts 26 1 cents per 100 pounds from the steamboats and only 23.8 cents per 100 pounds from the railroad connection, and substantially the same discriminations apply to and from all points on their road, and one of the railroads withdrew the tariffs with the water line because the water line would not consent to a reduction of their divisions and revenue to below the railroad-connection revenue.

The boat lines have to pay for loading, unloading, and stowing of all freight in the cars out of their proportion of the through rates. Our barge line rates are 3 cents per 100 pounds less on first and second classes, 2 cents per 100 pounds less on third and fourth classes, and 1 cent per 100 pounds less on fifth and sixth classes than the all-rail and steamboat rates, and the differential comes entirely out of the barge line proportion.

If the railroads would carry the freight of the water lines on the same terms as they carry the freight of the railroads, the water lines could give the shippers the benefit of the excess freight charged them by the shippers the benefit of the excess freight charged them by the railroads and get as much revenue out of the business as they do now, and their all-rail connections would get the same proportion from the water lines business as they do now from their all-rail connection. The reduction in rates would bring additional business to the water lines.

DECISION OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

Similar conditions have prevailed on other waterways and similar difficulties are encountered everywhere by water carriers who do a class of business which renders it desirable for them to establish mutually profitable relations with their connecting railroads. It is evident that if the waterways and the railroads could work together, each to receive and distribute freight for the other, the business of the entire country would be greatly benefited. Unless this state of affairs can be brought about, it may render our effort to reestablish water traffic comparatively unsuccessful. Some hope of an ultimately equitable adjustment of the situation is, however, found in a recent decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the case—

of the Inland Navigation Co. *v.* The Wabash Railway, in which the complainant, operating a barge line on the Mississippi River between St. Louis, Mo., and Memphis, Tenn., and New Orleans, La., sought the establishment of through routes and joint rates with the defendant on classes and commodities betwen certain points on their respective lines and Memphis and New Orleans. The commission held as follows: "1. By refusing to establish through routes in connection with the navigation company and joint rates applicable thereto not higher than the joint all-rail rates between the same points in which they participate, defendant unjustly discriminates against complainant and subjects traffic routed via the barge line to unreasonable prejudice and disadvantage. 2. If the carriers are permitted to apply higher rates for the same service on traffic routed over connecting water lines than on traffic routed all rail, they will be in a position to destroy water competition, and to deprive communities and shippers of the advantages of location upon navigable waters. 3. Defendants should establish through

routes and joint rates with the navigation company via St. Louis, such rates to be no higher than those in which defendants participate, on traffic routed all rail via St. Louis or East St. Louis between the same points."

Apparently this decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission is general in character, and should therefore be applicable to the problem which we to-day have under discussion. On the other hand, in defense of the railroads it should be said that hitherto apparently the transportation business upon our internal waterways has not, as a rule, been upon so stable, businesslike, and permanent a basis as to justify the railroad companies in expending much effort or money in seeking to coordinate water transportation with railroad traffic. The obligation to organize the business of water transportation properly and promptly, to see that it is endowed with sufficient capital and with a businesslike management at least as competent as that which prevails among the railroads, is one which those who called this conference voluntarily imposed upon themselves, and unless they recognize this obligation and discharge it properly all other efforts will probably be in vain.

There has been much discussion as to the cause of the decline of traffic on our western rivers. While the rate and rebate practices of the railroads account in part for this decline, other powerful causes cooperated in its virtual extinguishment, and the railroads alone can not be held to be responsible. For example, railroads parallel the Rhine and the Great Lakes, where the water traffic is enormous, and the railroads are probably more efficient along the Lakes than along our western rivers; yet on the Lakes traffic has not only prospered but it has grown at an almost incredible rate. The depth of our rivers has not been a controlling factor, since the depth of 9 feet available on the lower Mississippi, 8 feet on the middle Mississippi, and 4½ feet, or slightly more, on the upper Mississippi all exceed the depths available upon corresponding portions of the Rhine and other rivers of Europe. Moreover, great depth of channel is not as essential on rivers as it is on the Great Lakes and on the high seas, and it has been held with authority that a depth of 8 feet on the rivers permits the attainment of economies as great as does a depth of 20 feet on the Lakes.

WATERWAYS AGAIN MUST BE UTILIZED FOR TRAFFIC.

Whatever may have been the causes for the partial abandonment of our waterways as traffic carriers, it is certain that the time has come when again they must be utilized. As in an unused machine, rust forms which must be removed before smooth and effective running can be had, so conditions have arisen which must be changed before traffic by our inland waters can play its normal part in our industrial life.

The water fronts of our river cities must be freed from their incumbrances and restored for use as water terminals and factory and elevator sites.

RELIEF FOR RAILWAYS IN WATER SHIPMENT.

Terminals and terminal approaches must be prepared so that the transfer of freight between warehouses and water carriers and between them and the railway can be effected economically. Water-carrying lines must be organized and operated with the same thoughtful care as is given to railways.

Some of these water lines must be devoted to through traffic with but few stops. Auxiliary lines with smaller boats must be organized for local service and for the collection and distribution of cargoes for the through boats.

Where a convenient distribution and collection service by rail does not exist, such a service must be established with automobile or horse-drawn trucks.

In this existing emergency every effort must be made, as a patriotic duty, to relieve the railways by making all the shipments possible by water, and, if necessary, to create and organize the facilities for so doing. Can not the existing river lines be better utilized? Can not they and any new lines which may be formed be coordinated so as to afford a more perfect service for the entire river?

My remarks have perhaps already extended to great length, yet the matter is, to my mind, so vital that I can not forbear further discussion, even though it may, perhaps, be at the expense of your patience and good nature. If in the midst of war at this time the commercial bodies of Germany are urging another enlargement of the canals extending eastward from Berlin to the Oder and westward to the Elbe River, the first enlargement of which was followed by such remarkable results, it must be because the canals are now used to their maximum capacity, and that the increase of canal capacity is more economical than the increase of railway capacity. With us the extension of waterway facilities and their logical and intensive utilization have become urgently important, because, in addition to the railroad congestion previously discussed, the cost of rail transportation has recently manifested a tendency to increase.

All other things being equal, as between railroads and waterways, the freight rate will be controlling in deciding which route is to be used, and while the present national emergency may contribute toward greater use of the waterways, eventually the only prospect of their continued use will reside in the introduction of improvements and economies which will render it advantageous for the merchant and farmer to use the waterways rather than the railroad. Lower rates alone, however, will not be conclusive, for shippers can not incur possible obligations unless contracts for deliveries for extended continuous periods can be guaranteed; in other words, our rivers must be made to respond to our modern business methods.

The old style of packet transportation on the rivers, a thing that is now practically a legend of the past, was extremely inefficient, thus the railroads show that—

0.066 pound fuel is expended per ton-mile of freight transported and 2.5 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles. The Great Lakes carriers expend 0.029 pound of fuel per ton-mile, with 0.9 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles. So it is perfectly evident why lake traffic is cheaper and more profitable than by rail for the same distance. Then again, for an Ohio River towboat pushing a large tow, which it can do in that very broad stream, and carrying an enormous amount of freight with a minimum crew, the figures were 0.021 pound of fuel per ton-mile and 1.31 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles

At the same time that those figures were arrived at an investigation was made of the cost of running a Mississippi River boat of the old kind, stopping at any place that a man wanted a stop made. They used to run the railroads that way, but they do so no longer. It was found that for a Mississippi River packet there had to be expended 1.129 pounds of coal per ton-mile of freight transported, and 65.64 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles Is it any great wonder that this type of navigation on the Mississippi has died out, has become obsolete? It is out of date, it was bound to go, and there is no hope of its ever being revived. But, as I told you, right on that same Mississippi, by another system by means of boats adapted to the river, with economical management, men are to-day carrying freight and making a profit at rates that are 80 per cent of the railroad rates for exactly the same service.

If this conference evolves an efficient plan and pursues it aggressively, it should be unnecessary for the United States to do more than to lend to the movement the sympathetic support and advice of those governmental agencies that can best cooperate in it and we need not contemplate the necessity of following the example of France and of Germany which compelled the State railroads to favor the waterways by applying arbitrarily higher rates for rail transportation of such traffic as might ordinarily use either the waterway or the railroad.

OLD COMPETITIVE SYSTEM BEING ABANDONED.

That you may approach your task with some reasonable hope of success is to be inferred from the fact that the railroads of the United States have in connection with the advisory commission of the National Defense Council determined upon very radical changes from the old competitive system of handling traffic, the object of these changes being to coordinate the railroad facilities of the country and to obtain the maximum efficiency of service, both for public needs and for private shippers. To this end the railroads have agreed to pool their cars and to distribute them impartially wherever they are most needed regardless of the effect of this course of action upon the interests and revenues of any individual railroad. This movement on the part of the railroads is so patriotic as to justify the hope that when there is presented to the advisory commission a thoroughly digested plan for coordinating rail and water transportation, the railroads will do their share in helping to put the plan into operation.

MORE EFFICIENT METHODS TO BE EMPLOYED.

To sum up, it is necessary to employ more efficient methods upon our rivers, to establish good terminals, the simpler and cheaper the better, and to assimilate river traffic to that of the railroads, making transfers and deliveries at both ends of the line, possibly by auto truck, in connection with the river service. Boat lines must be adequate and dependable. They must give a through service, with only a limited number of stops, and such local service as is required must be articulated with the through service. The local service would gather up traffic and take it to terminal points for shipment by the through carriers, and would conversely take freight at terminals of the through lines for distribution at the local points.

While ultimately assistance from the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense may be expected, in the first instance it devolves upon the interests represented at this conference to take the preliminary steps necessary for placing river traffic upon a substantial basis. Just what these steps are to be is more or less generally described in the remarks that I have made. Briefly, they will consist in the organization of an authoritative committee equipped with the funds and the technical and business talent necessary for a thorough investigation of the situation, and a precise statement of the plan that it is proposed to adopt. If these details are forthcoming, and if your final scheme has such technical, financial, and business support

as to warrant being seriously entertained, you need not doubt that the United States will do its utmost in contributing toward eventual success, and it may even be expected that the United States Shipping Board, created by the act of September 7, 1916, "for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes," will do its share. Under this act it would seem that the board has authority to engage in the construction of vessels for use upon our internal rivers, and if in its judgment such action is necessary it may engage in their operation. In short, every condition necessary for the efficient and generous cooperation of the national authorities now exist, but it remains with your conference to develop a workable plan, and to show that it would be to our advantage to further it.

SHALL WE NOT EQUAL GERMANY?

The German nation is showing to-day what a people organized under an autocratic head can do. In this life and death struggle between autocracy and democracy, shall we not show that a self-governing and self-governed people is capable of equal effort and results, and that a democratic nation is as formidable in defending its rights in war as it is enviable in its enjoyment of its privileges in peace?

Men of the Middle West, now is your opportunity for service. Here is a chance for doing your bit. Will you not respond?

Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RILEY J. WILSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 12, 1917.

Favoring amendment to sundry civil appropriation bill carrying $6,000,000 under the provisions of the flood-control act of March 1, 1917, for the Mississippi and Sacramento River.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, when this amendment was under discussion in the Senate the question was several times asked as to what provision had been made and as to what steps had been taken by the States and other local interests affected to meet the provisions of the flood-control law in the way of providing the funds required of such interests. It was shown that the State of California, through its legislature, had already authorized the expenditure of $500,000 for the present fiscal year, this being the amount required of that State in accordance with the estimate made by the War Department.

While I have not endeavored to obtain the exact data, except as to my own State, I understand that all the local interests have made like provisions to meet the terms of this law.

The flood-control bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the 17th day of May, 1916. The Legislature of the State of Louisiana was then in session, and following the passage of that act the following additional bond issues were promptly provided for in that State through its various levee boards, viz:

The Tensas Basin levee district, by act approved June 19, 1916	$350,000
New Orleans levee district, by act approved July 6, 1916	1,000,000
Red River, Atchafalava, and Bœuf River district, by act approved July 16, 1916	250,000
La Fourche Basin levee district, by act approved July 6, 1916	250,000
The fifth Louisiana levee district, by act approved July 5, 1916	1,000,000
Atchafalava Basin levee district, by act approved July 5, 1916	1,000,000
Making a total additional bond issue of these various levee districts of	3,850,000

This speaks well for the wisdom and foresight of the Louisiana General Assembly and for the present State administration. The promptness with which the terms of the flood-control act were amply met serves to illustrate how necessary was this legislation and indicates the intense interest of our people in this problem.

In addition to the funds provided for above under law already existing, the State of Louisiana pays directly for levee construction annually seventeen-twentieths of a mill on the assessed valuation of all the property of the State, which will provide an annual revenue of $600,000, or a total during the five-year period covered by the flood-control act of $3,000,000, making a grand total, already authorized and provided for in that State, of $6,850,000.

So, Mr. Speaker, the appropriation authorized under the provisions of the flood-control act should not be far one moment delayed on the assumption that the local authorities in the Mississippi Valley will in any respect fail to discharge the burdens placed upon them under the requirements of this law. While the weight of taxation will bear heavily throughout that section, this is the opportunity which our people have long sought, and I want to assure this House that while it will be a herculean task, they are now meeting, and will in the future continue to meet, promptly and gladly every provision and requirement in this law.

It must indeed be most gratifying to the country, and especially to the people of the Mississippi Valley States and the State of California, that the Congress is proceeding immediately to appropriate under the provisions of this law for the all-important work for which it provides.

Although this is an extra session of the Congress, the work of which is limited to war measures, and while this has not been discussed as a war appropriation, yet we all know that no wiser step has been taken toward fundamental preparedness, for there is no region in the world or like area capable of producing in such quantity the raw products for food and clothing as the alluvial valley of the Mississippi River; neither is any waterway on the globe capable of rendering greater service to commerce.

Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the House I believe the following list of labor organizations opposed to prohibition should be inserted in the RECORD:

TWO MILLION EIGHTY-TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVEN WORKINGMEN PETITION THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS AGAINST CUTTING OFF A HABITUAL TEMPERATE BEVERAGE.

A few days ago the workingmen of America, represented by their own unions and central labor unions, presented to President Wilson, to Congress, and to the Council of National Defense one of the largest petitions ever offered as representing the opinion of American citizens on any public question. These men have the fullest realization of the problems which the war has developed and the heartiest desire to assist in their solution. They have evidenced this by the fact that hundreds of thousands of them have registered for service. They do, however, ask that until necessity shall render it imperative they shall not be deprived of the use of beer, which is recognized by our allies as a temperate beverage, and up to this time not the subject of prohibitory restriction by any belligerent nation.

The nation-wide organizations and the number of individuals represented by this petition are as follows, to which list many other unions have since added their names:

CALIFORNIA.

Los Angeles:	
Building Trades Council	1,500
Federal Trades Council	2,250
Stationary Firemen, No. 220	29
Motor Bus Operators, No. 300	300
Ice Wagon Drivers, No. 351	50
Bill Posters, No. 32	40
Sign Writers, No. 831	61
Iron Workers, No. 51	50
Bartenders, No. 284	551
Engineers, No. 72	115
Bakers, No. 37	300
Plasterers, No. 2	139
Egg Inspectors, No. 14934	50
Building Trades Laborers, No. 1	80
Santa Clara County:	
Central Labor Council	1,700
Sacramento:	
Cigarmakers, No. 238	120
Stationary Firemen, No. 149	30
San Jose:	
Federal Labor Union	459
Cigarmakers, No. 291	67
Bartenders, No. 603	200
Stationary Firemen, No. 149	30

CONNECTICUT.

Bridgeport:	
Central Labor Union	12,000
Electrical Workers, No. 488	135
Meriden:	
Central Labor Union	1,700
Danbury:	
Bartenders, No. 255	73

Hartford:	
Central Labor Union	3,000
Building Trades Council	200
Street and Electric Railway Employees	625
Bartenders, No. 200	300
Cigarmakers' Union, No. 42	300
Workmen's Sick Benefit Fund	295
Bakers, No. 8	112
Horseshoers, No. 14	25
Machinists, No. 354	200
Typographical Union, No. 127	200
New Haven:	
Trades Council	10,000
Cigarmakers' Union, No. 39	761
Bartenders, No. 117	300
Waterbury:	
Central Labor Union	4,200
Barbers, No. 732	118
Machinists, No. 322	40
Street and Electric Railway Employees	225
Stage Employees, No. 88	59
Moving Picture Operators, No. 384	22
Bakery and Confectionery Workers	80
Painters, No. 491	200
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 199	50
Cigarmakers, No. 395	75
Bartenders, No. 254	112
FLORIDA.	
Jacksonville:	
Central Trades Council	5,000
Railway Carmen's Union, No. 303	200
ILLINOIS.	
Cairo:	
Bartenders, No. 627	100
Chicago:	
Chicago Federation of Labor	350,000
Soft Drink Workers, No. 301	33
Collinsville:	
Collinsville Trade Council	3,000
Bartenders, No. 227	33
Danville:	
Danville Trades Council	8,000
Machinists, No. 473	340
Barbers, No. 121	43
Bartenders, No. 543	210
Plumbers, No. 293	20
Horseshoers No. 108	40
General Teamsters, No. 524	125
East St. Louis:	
Trades and Labor Union	6,000
General Teamsters, No. 729	752
Tri-City Central Labor Union	15,000
Kewanee:	
United Mine Workers, No. 58	42
Cigarmakers, No. 409	18
Morris:	
Federated Labor Unions	200
Carpenters, No. 1161	30
Cigarmakers, No. 191	25
Peoria:	
Trades and Labor Assembly	7,675
Ice Handlers, No. 166	150
Bartenders, No. 286	325
Cigarmakers, No. 118	160
Bricklayers, No. 3	195
Machinists, No. 360	458
Stationary Firemen, No. 8	75
Painters and Paper Hangers, No. 157	170
Quincy:	
Building Trades Council	1,500
Trades and Labor Assembly	2,000
Labor Temple Association	1,800
Bricklayers, No. 1	38
Carpenters, No. 189	148
Cigarmakers, No. 47	71
Foundry Employees, No. 39	154
Machinists, No. 822	50
Painters, No. 66	150
Plumbers, Steam and Gas Fitters, No. 161	35
Printing Pressmen, No. 171	45
Bartenders, No. 153	147
Teamsters, No. 188	20
Teamsters, No. 80	75
Typographical Union, No. 59	66
Stone Cutters, No. 1	11
Springfield:	
Stationary Firemen, No. 19	30
Bartenders, No. 373	200
INDIANA.	
Indianapolis:	
Central Labor Union	14,000
Evansville:	
Central Labor Union	7,000
Bartenders, No. 200	387
Bricklayers, No. 1	110
Carpenters, No. 90	372
Cigarmakers, No. 54	130
Coopers, No. 12	69
Electrical Workers, No. 535	61
Horseshoers, No. 110	13
Ice Wagon Drivers, No. 582	41
Lathers, No. 44	19
Musicians, No. 35	130
Paper Hangers, No. 454	43
Painters, No. 156	175
Plasterers, No. 27	38
Plasterers, No. 72	110
Retail Clerks, No. 142	160
Soft Drink Bottlers, No. 153	25
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 96	60
Stone Cutters' Union	22
Lafayette:	
Butchers' Union	23
Bartenders, No. 800	92
Barbers, No. 86	53
Painters and Paper Hangers, No. 80	147
Longansport:	
Trades and Labor Assembly	2,000
Cigarmakers, No. 215	45
Michigan City:	
Cigarmakers, No. 300	25
Plumbers, No. 502	11
Richmond:	
Central Labor Union	1,600
Carpenters, No. 912	102
KENTUCKY.	
Paducah:	
Central Labor Union	1,000
Lexington:	
Bartenders, No. 508	35
Painters, No. 768	35
LOUISIANA.	
New Orleans:	
Central Trades and Labor Council	20,000
United Labor Organization League	4,000
MARYLAND.	
Baltimore:	
Federation of Labor	40,000
Personal Liberty League (trades-unionists exclusively)	92,000
Bookbinders, No. 123	135
Clothing Cutters, No. 15	600
Firemen, No. 177	98
MASSACHUSETTS.	
Boston:	
Bakers, No. 7	287
Bartenders, No. 77	2,000
German Workers' Association	400
Machinists, No. 264	957
Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund	490
Lowell:	
Loom Fixers, No. 734	440
Painters, No. 39	148
Stationary Firemen, No. 14	140
Woolen Spinners, No. 959	150
Bricklayers, No. 31	85
Team Drivers, No. 72	65
Die Polishers and Grinders, No. 104	250
Millmen, No. 1468	166
Stationary Engineers, No. 352	55
Springfield:	
Central Labor Union	20,000
Cooks and Waiters, No 273	300
MICHIGAN.	
Detroit:	
Federation of Labor	30,000
Bottle Sorters, No. 14842	30
Bartenders, No. 562	550
Cigarmakers, No. 22	900
Iron Molders, No. 317	350
Asbestos Workers, No. 25	90
Reinforced Ironworkers, No. 192	200
Tile Layers, No. 85	75
Tile Layers and Helpers, No. 95	75
Ice Wagon Drivers, No. 376	1,200
Grand Rapids:	
Building Trades Council	5,000
Cigarmakers, No. 46	100
Electrical Workers, No. 107	80
Plumbers, No. 70	65
Cabinetmakers, No. 1369	150
Boiler Makers, No. 84	34
Machine Hands, No. 1352	200
Steam Fitters, No. 301	35
Carpenters, No. 335	125
Painters, No. 119	140
Woodworkers, No. 1330	55
Menominee:	
Menominee and Marinette Trades and Labor Council	3,000
General Longshoremen, No. 69	20
Bartenders, No. 819	20
MINNESOTA.	
Red Wing:	
Trades and Labor Council	1,000
Cigarmakers, No. 400	18
Stone Potters, No. 8302	40
MISSOURI.	
Missouri State Federation of Labor	50,000
Kansas City:	
Building Trades Council	4,000
Carpenters' District Council	2,500
Boiler Makers, No. 32	140
Bakers, No. 218	300
Bartenders, No. 420	700
Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, No. 10	160
Bottle Sorters, No. 11759	17
Building Laborers, No. 264	1,660
Chauffeurs, No. 253	280
Cigarmakers, No. 102	125
Electrical Workers, No. 356	27
Hardwood Finishers, No. 776	35
Iron Molders, No. 162	125
Lathers, No. 27	50
Plasterers, No. 17	280
Plasterers, No. 36	115
Plasterers, No. 569	45
Plasterers' Hod Carriers, No. 205	187
Machinists, No. 92	334
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 2	33
Stonecutters, No. —	49
Paperhangers, No. 348	60
Waiters, No. 19	225
Barbers, No. 192	230
Roofers, No. 10	70
Carpenters, No. 774	20
Barbers, No. 669	10

Cape Girardeau:	
Carpenters, No. 1770	40
Joplin:	
Joplin Trades Council	2,000
Electrical Workers, No. 95	87
Bartenders, No. 827	114
Painters, No. 126	39
Theatrical Stage Employees, No. 176	26
Lexington:	
Central Labor Union	1,800
Mine Workers, No. 171	1,200
St. Joseph:	
Central Labor Council	25,000
Boiler Makers, No. 31	25
Bartenders, No. 422	209
Painters, No. 98	128
St. Louis:	
Central Trades and Labor Union	65,000
Carpenters' District Council	4,000
Painters' District Council	2,200
Awning Makers, No. 14667	45
Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 338	1,100
Bindery Women, No. 55	500
Book Finishers, No. 41	25
Bookbinders, No. 18	237
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, No. 18	600
Box Makers and Sawyers, No. 795	300
Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 90	400
Butchers and Meat Cutters, No. 88	863
Bakers, No. 4	900
Bartenders, No. 51	750
Barbers, No. 102	700
Bartenders, No. 332	605
Carpenters, No. 578	300
Colored Waiters' Alliance, No. 353	83
Cigarmakers, No. 281	26
Carpenters, No. 5	275
Coopers, No. 37	175
Carpenters, No. 1596	500
Cigarmakers, No. 44	900
Carpenters, No. 47	280
Chauffeurs, No. 405	350
Carpenters, No. 738	169
Electrical Workers, No. 1	400
Franklin Association, No. 43	450
Glass Bottle Blowers, No. 5	125
Garment Workers, No. 26	200
Garment Workers, No. 238	600
Ice Wagon Drivers, No. 606	1,600
Machinists, No. 688	50
Moving Picture Operators, No. 143	124
Mailers, No. 3	78
Musicians, No. 100	53
Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association	1,200
Metal Polishers, No. 13	175
Ornamental Glass Workers, No. 562	125
Pile Drivers, No. 43	131
Photo Engravers, No. 10	135
Pressmen, No. 6	375
Painters, No. 137	350
Painters, No. 46	354
Paperhangers, No. 341	400
Painters, No. 116	550
Railway Carmen	67
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 36	231
Stove Mounters, No. 34	190
Stationary Firemen, No. 6	278
Stove Mounters, No. 86	165
Stereotypers, No. 8	72
Stove Molders, No. 10	400
Sign Painters, No. 774	126
Tailors, No. 11	640
Teamsters, No. 709	300
Typographical, No. 8	1,240
Tobacco Workers, No. 1	100
Web Pressmen, No. 2	155
Waiters, No. 20	700
Waiters, No. 332	605
MONTANA.	
Lewiston:	
Lewiston Trades Council	500
NEBRASKA.	
Omaha:	
Central Labor Union	15,000
Art Glass Workers, No. 598	25
Bricklayers, No. 1	400
Cigarmakers, No. 93	60
Cooks and Waiters, No. 143	170
Machinists, No. 31	150
Painters, No. 109	326
Plasterers, No. 4	125
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 3	77
NEW YORK.	
Auburn:	
Cigarmakers, No. 311	55
Engineers, No. 82	20
Brooklyn:	
Central Labor Union	80,000
Stationary Engineers' Joint Board	3,300
Butchers, No. 211	415
Bartenders, No. 70	550
Bakers, No. 3	800
Bricklayers, No. 9	800
Cigarmakers, No. 149	300
Cigarmakers, No. 132	280
Engineers, No. 56	700
Labor Lyceum	500
Lathers, No. 6	400
Metal Polishers, No. 5	450
Metal Polishers, No. 12	280
Meat Cutters, No. 342	340
Brooklyn—Continued.	
Plumbers, No. 447	50
Painters, No. 570	388
Plasterers, No. 30	800
Waiters, No. 2	400
Troy:	
Building Trades Council	15,000
Federation of Labor	10,000
Carpenters, No. 78	580
Engineers and Firemen, No. 274	86
Hudson:	
Central Labor Union	400
Bartenders, No. 548	25
Jamestown:	
Central Labor Union	1,500
Bartenders, No. 199	87
Kingston:	
Central Trades and Labor Union	1,500
Meat Cutters, No. 325	45
Typographical, No. 322	20
Barbers, No. 534	50
Painters, No. 255	35
New York City.	
Amalgamated Meat Cutters' District Council	5,000
Butcher Workmen's District Council	5,000
Central Federated Union	350,000
Cigarmakers' Label Committee	5,500
Actors, No. 1	1,800
Bartenders, No. 12	2,612
Butcher Workmen, No. 104	1,500
Butcher Workmen, No. 108	1,000
Cloak and Suit Makers, No. 31	3,000
Cigarmakers, No. 90	1,900
Carvers and Modelers' Association	500
Cigar Packers, No. 213	100
Cigarmakers, No. 141	1,294
Cloakmakers' Joint Board	50,000
Cigarmakers, No. 144	1,674
Carpenters, No. 697	1,375
Inside Iron and Bronze Workers, No. 164	2,000
Plate Printers, No. 5	516
Painters, No. 499	800
Typographical, No. 7	280
Upholsterers, No. 44	950
Workers' Educational Association	600
Poughkeepsie:	
Trades and Labor Council	1,400
Bricklayers, No. 44	125
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 233	35
Rochester:	
Metal Trades Council	3,000
Bakers, No. 14	220
Bartenders, No 17	450
Cigarmakers, No. 5	256
Glass Bottle Blowers, No. 26	8,000
Lithographers, No. 11	113
Stove Mounters, No. 39	25
Stationary Firemen, No. 37	150
Teamsters and Chauffeurs, No. 304	550
Dunkirk:	
United Trades and Labor Council	1,000
Electrical Workers, No. 299	20
NEW JERSEY.	
Hudson County:	
Bakers, No. 192	75
Bartenders, No. 4	300
Milk Route Salesmen, No. 147	250
Harrison: Stationary Engineers, No. 403A	150
Jersey City:	
Waiters, No. 575	87
Bartenders, No. 488	400
Painters, No. 169	135
Newark: Mineral Water Bottlers, No. 300	40
Paterson:	
United Trade and Labor Council	7,000
Butcher Workmen, No. 454	86
Bakers, No. 165	110
Princeton: Hod Carriers and Laborers, No. 50	325
Trenton:	
Mercer County Central Labor Union	7,000
Carpenters, No. 31	500
Bartenders, No. 124	225
Iron Workers, No. 68	50
Machinists, No. 398	329
Union Hill: Engineers, No. 256	42
OHIO.	
Akron: Electrical Workers	135
Mansfield:	
Molders, No. 198	250
Plumbers and Fitters, No. 637	30
Painters, No. 406	50
Teamsters, No. 486	33
Carpenters, No. 735	250
Toledo:	
Central Labor Union	12,000
Boiler Makers, No. 85	90
Bartenders, No. 216	600
Electrical Workers, No. 8	200
Electrical Workers, No. 245	250
Federal Labor Union, No. 14566	230
Horseshoers, No. 10	20
Ice Handlers, No. 27	350
Longshoremen, No. 5	25
Lathers, No. 24	60
Pile Drivers and Dock Workers, No. 1519	80
Pressmen, No. 55	65
Painters, No. 7	200
Reed and Wood Workers, No. 1940	144
Stereotypers, No. 39	20
Teamsters, No. 20	650
Tile Layers, No. 93	40

Cleveland:	
Miscellaneous Trades' Council	10,000
Federation of Labor	45,000
Cigarmakers, No. 17	600
Bartenders, No. 108	700
Electrical Workers, No. 39	225
Ice Wagon Drivers, No. 422	500
Metal Polishers, No. 3	485
Typographical, No. 6	30
Waiters, No. 106	760
Hamilton:	
Cooperative Trades and Labor Council	10,000
Bakers, No. 81	23
Bartenders, No. 169	102
Barbers, No. 132	41
Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 347	10
City Firemen, No. 15399	39
Carpenters, No. 637	140
Cigarmakers, No. 23	40
Iron Molders, No. 68	622
Iron Molders, No. 283	143
Meat Cutters, No. 621	24
Machinists, No. 241	490
Metal Polishers, No. 43	77
Musicians, No. 31	69
Painters and Decorators, No. 135	72
Plumbers, No. 108	32
Printing Pressmen, No. 235	15
Retail Clerks, No. 119	98
Stove Mounters, No. 8	44
Stage Employees, No. 136	18
Steam Engineers, No. 91	54
Stationary Firemen, No. 98	25
Typographical, No. 290	14
Teamsters, No. 175	45
Tailors, No. 358	20
Newark:	
Trades and Labor Assembly	7,500
Mansfield:	
Women's Union Label League	500
Trades Council	1,000
Dayton:	
Allied Printing Trades' Council	354
Building Trades Council	1,500
Central Labor Union	5,000
Engineers and Firemen, No. 255	37
Cincinnati:	
Building Trades Council	8,000
Central Labor Union	35,000
Painters' District Council	2,000
Bakers, No. 213	450
Bartenders, No. 68	523
Barbers, No. 49	450
Cigarmakers, No. 4	1,000
Leather Workers, No. 49	124
Paperhangers, No. 553	175
Steam Fitters, No. 392	200
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 141	800
PENNSYLVANIA.	
Braddock:	
Hod Carriers, No. 26	200
Brownsville:	
United Trades Council	15,000
Bartenders, No. 739	45
Easton:	
Central Labor Union	1,500
Textile Workers, No. 40	400
Waiters and Cooks, No. 718	42
Nanticoke:	
Central Labor Union	3,000
Mine Workers, No. 898	211
Philadelphia:	
Central Labor Union	70,000
Union Label Trades Department	50,000
Bakers, No. 6	500
Butchers' Workmen, No. 106	200
Engineers, No. 289	140
Elevator Constructors, No. 5	580
Electrical Workers, No. 98	650
Pittsburgh:	
Iron City Central Trades' Council	75,000
Barbers, No. 20	400
Bartenders, No. 188	1,500
Bakers, No. 12	400
Bakers, No. 204	70
Bottle Blowers, No. 1	100
Blacksmiths' District Council	200
Carriage and Wagon Workers, No. 268	160
Coopers, No. 101	60
Engineers, No. 66	100
Metal Polishers, No. 177	100
Waiters, No. 209	700
Sharpsburg:	
Bottle Blowers, No. 76	50
Smithtown:	
Miners, No. 2271	90
Miners, No. 2597	46
Sharon:	
Barbers, No. 225	30
Wilkes-Barre:	
Central Labor Union	40,000
Horseshoers, No. 85	24
RHODE ISLAND.	
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor	30,000
Providence:	
Bartenders, No. 285	437
Culinary Alliance, No. 307	350
Teamsters, No. 180	250
Teamsters, No. 189	100
TEXAS.	
Dallas:	
Central Labor Council	8,000
Houston:	
Labor Council	7,000
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, No. 84	46
Coopers, No. 90	47
Electrical Workers, No. 66	100
Electrical Workers, No. 716	74
Elevator Constructors, No. 16	50
Ice Drivers, No. 587	24
Machinists, No. 12	125
Plumbers, No. 68	40
Plasterers, No. 79	62
Soda Dispensers, No. 103	42
San Antonio:	
Carpenters, No. 14	250
Flour and Cereal Workers, No. 13206	20
Switchmen, No. 138	32
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 67	31
Tailors, No. 214	42
Waco:	
Bartenders, No. 744	68
WASHINGTON.	
Seattle:	
Butchers, No. 81	300
Teamsters, No. 174	1,500
WISCONSIN.	
Appleton:	
Plumbers and Steam Fitters, No. 458	25
Pulp Workers, No. 81	300
Chippewa Falls:	
Cigarmakers, No. 34	43
Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 368	225
Electrical Workers, No. 310	28
Eau Claire:	
Cigarmakers, No. 85	50
Bartenders, No. 685	40
Stage Employees, No. 475	17
Milwaukee:	
Federated Trades' Council	20,000
Barbers, No. 50	330
Bartenders, No. 64	310
Coopers, No. 30	207
Cigarmakers, No. 25	600
Engineers and Firemen, No. 25	210
Hod Carriers, No. 113	780
Iron Workers, No. 8	180
Roofers, No. 40	30
Steam Fitters, No. 601	150
Steam Engineers, No. 189	60
Sheet Metal Workers, No. 24	200
Waiters, No. 59	200
Marinette:	
Timber Workmen, No. 15089	1,000
Wausau:	
Central Labor Union	500
Retail Clerks, No. 949	34
Bartenders, No. 215	40
International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America (exclusive of Canadian members) approximately	45,000
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Alliance of America (exclusive of Canadian members) approximately	55,000
	100,000
Total number of men and women wage earners holding membership in above unions	2,082,637

Buy a Liberty Bond.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT A. CURRIE,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. CURRIE of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following poem written by Hon. T. W. Crissey, of Midland, Mich.:

BUY A LIBERTY BOND.

A bond to bind you to your country's life—
To show that you were with her in the strife;
To link you to the men who stand between
Your land and dangers dire though yet unseen.

They brave the bullet, bomb, and bayonet;
Hell's poisonous gases round them fiercely fret;
So do your bit, and do your bit with speed,
That men may know you've felt your country's need.

Then shoulders all up to the heavy wheel!
We all must in this strife the burden feel;
We each must take our load with sturdy grace;
For Freedom must not lose on earth her place!

Certain Remarks of a Partisan Nature.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to insert a portion of a speech delivered by the Hon. FRANKLIN F. ELLSWORTH, Member of Congress from Minnesota, at Tilton, N. H., on the evening of Saturday, May 26, 1917, as well as an editorial. These articles deal with important questions of the day and effectually answer certain remarks of a partisan nature that were made in New Hampshire recently:

[Portion of the speech of Hon. FRANKLIN F. ELLSWORTH, Member of Congress from Minnesota, delivered at Tilton, N. H., on Saturday, May 26, 1917.]

The eloquent Illinois Senator, JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, comes to New Hampshire to appeal to the voters to throw away their partisanship, but to elect a Democrat for the lower House of Congress, because that Democrat is a partisan and of the same political faith as the executive head of this Nation, and that such choice is indispensable for the support of our Government in its struggle to maintain a war for democracy and for justice.

I want to repeat his eloquent appeal for patriotic, upstanding, unswerving loyalty to the civil head of this Nation in the present crisis, but in the cause of a painstaking and intelligent exercise of your inviolable right of suffrage I appeal to you to scrutinize the delicate tinge of an argument which ignores the signal service of Republican leaders in Congress who have upheld the President in every measure which makes for the vigorous prosecution of the war and to contrast red-blooded patriotism shown by these leaders with the bleached and anemic action of Democratic leaders in that same body.

I ask you to blend into the eloquent Senator's appeal to abandon your politics and support a Democrat for Congress the plain fact that Republicans have been unholding the administration measures with loyalty and patriotism; that many of them could not have been passed without Republican aid; that always that patriotic action was in evidence; and that finally conscription, the President's plan for making good America's challenge to the autocratic governments of the world, was provided by the ranking Republican member of the Military Affairs Committee of the House and passed by Republicans and championed by Republican leaders over the bitterest opposition of the Democratic chairman of the Military Committee, the Democratic committee members, and the Democratic leaders.

KAHN, ranking Republican member of the Military Committee, supported Woodrow Wilson; DENT, Democratic chairman of that committee, opposed Woodrow Wilson. MANN, Republican floor leader, supported Woodrow Wilson in this national crisis; KITCHIN, Democratic leader, opposed Woodrow Wilson. Nearly every Democratic leader in the House stood stolidly against it, although their President demanded it; every Republican leader supported the President loyally and patriotically. The Speaker of the House, a Democrat, in a ringing speech opposed the President. Upon the bill's final passage more Republicans voted for the bill in which conscription had been included than Democrats, and outdid their Democratic colleagues in the official acts which our Democratic opponents now tell us constitute the standard for this campaign.

I indorse the standard, but I deny the innuendo. On every measure which has had to do with providing for a vigorous prosecution of the war Republicans of the lower House have come to the rescue of, and exceeded, the Democratic Members of that body in loyalty.

Viewed in the light of eloquence without substance, reason might be found for election of a Democrat from New Hampshire, but in the calm, careful consideration of the deepest motives of loyalty and patriotism to country I maintain that it can not be based upon any national necessity shown to exist by past events.

[Editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Evening Times, June 8, 1917.]

FALSE TEST FAILS.

The first test to which the administration has subjected itself, politically speaking, since the declaration of war against Germany was in the recent special election to fill a vacancy in Congress from New Hampshire. The district was normally Republican. Only once in 27 years—and that in the year of Republican division—has it sent a Democrat to Washington. Last fall it reelected the late Congressman Sulloway by a plurality of more than 2,000. It went for the Republican candidate for governor by nearly 4,000. Although Wilson carried New Hampshire by 56, this district went for Hughes by 22. It was Republican territory.

The President, who is pleading for nonpartisanship—and getting it as far as Republicans are concerned—was unwilling, apparently, to let this normally Republican district pursue its political way in peace. Washington raised a partisan issue and partisan agents were sent into the district. The administration's spokesmen, alleging that they spoke by the President's authority, made the astounding assertion that a vote for the Republican candidate would be reckoned as a vote "for Prussianism and the Kaiser." In the face of the record of opposition to the President's war program which the leaders of his own party have made in Congress, these emissaries of the administration had the effrontery to plead with the New Hampshire Republicans to desert their own party as a means of displaying their loyalty to the Nation and to send another Democrat to Washington to "stand by the President."

The specious argument failed. The district failed to respond to the plea that it was "unsafe" to elect a Republican to represent a Republican constituency. Although the vote was light, the percentage of Republican preponderance was maintained. In the first test which the Democratic Party, at the administration's instigation, sought to make upon a false issue since the last presidential campaign, its failure was unmistakable. The first attempt to capitalize the war for partisan uses has met with disaster. It is a good omen.

Flag-Day Celebration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to have printed the speech made by Hon. M. CLYDE KELLY, Member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, before 2,500 high-school students at the Central High School of this city, in connection with the celebration of Flag Day, June 14. The exercises were held under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the speech is full of patriotic inspiration to every American, young and old. It is as follows:

THE MEANING OF FLAG DAY.

This is a sacred day. It is a day of memory and of hope. It awakens thoughts of by-gone time and the time that is yet to be. As we look upon the starry banner that gleams so proudly in our sight, we see America and the principles for which she stands.

Woven durably into the texture of the flag are the ideas for which Americans have struggled and fought and lived and died. For America is ruled to-day and always has been ruled by ideas. We call our country "Land of liberty," the "Land of opportunity," and other names which serve as inspirations to all true citizens.

We might well call America the "Land of consuming ideas." Of all the great countries of the earth, none have witnessed the origin and development of so many ideas of human progress and advancement. The power of a burning idea that takes possession of the heart of a single man and whose flame spreads to thousands has been felt many times in the history of this country.

Because the American flag is the symbol of the American spirit, each of these great ideas has been wrought into its web and woof. When we look upon the flag to-day we see the embodiment of these ideas and they give it meaning and value.

Washington's consuming idea was "Independence," and the Star-Spangled Banner floated triumphantly over a new nation to signify to all the world that that idea had been made a reality.

Lincoln's consuming idea was "Union," and its flame burned brightly in his heart during all the years of fratricidal strife; burned there until it was transferred by universal consent to the flag which waved over a nation, one and inseparable.

William Lloyd Garrison was one of those who knew both the pain and the joy of a consuming idea for human betterment. His life of storm and stress was devoted to the idea "Freedom," and its urge eternal drove him through difficulty and danger, dauntless and unafraid. Then, when the shackles had been stricken from the limbs of every chattel slave in America, that idea, too, became a part of the fiber of the Stars and Stripes.

Other great Americans have cherished consuming ideas with all their hearts. Cleaving to it only, with no divided allegiance, they have suffered and struggled and endured. Finally came the one triumph they craved, the weaving of their ideas of justice and righteousness into the standard of their nation, to be seen and acknowledged of all men.

So, the flag is ever growing in grandeur. It is greater and grander by every impulse of noble kind in the hearts of Americans. It does not mean to-day what it meant yesterday. In this throbbing and dynamic day it means more than it has ever meant since the deaf old bellman in Philadelphia pulled the rope and sounded out the strains of independence to all the world and the inhabitants thereof.

That was 141 years ago. Only a short time and fleeting in the annals of earth's peoples, and yet, strange to say, the flag that has floated for that period as the emblem of America is the oldest flag in the world.

John Paul Jones was the first to raise the new banner. With delight that hardy hero hoisted the new flag, with its 13 red and white stripes and its stars in the blue field, over his vessel. With delight he saw the colors of the new Nation saluted with respect in foreign ports. It was the pride of his valiant heart, and no man ever loved it more than he. Paul Jones it was who, when his vessel was sinking under a murderous fire from enemy ships, was asked if he had surrendered. He glanced toward his flagstaff, saw his starry emblem still flying proudly in spite of gashes and rents, and thundered out his immortal response, "I have just begun to fight." Little wonder that such irresistible courage won the day and that the *Bon Homme Richard*, though itself a wreck, was the victor and that its commander took his place among the kings of the sea.

On land the American flag was first given to the breezes when it was hoisted over Fort Stanwix, in New York, August, 1777, during that momentous campaign which ended with the surrender of Burgoyne and marked the turning point in the War of the Revolution

The oldest flag in the world; that flag, typifying the great Republic of the West, outdates all the other banners swung aloft by present-day nations. It is older than the British flag, which was adopted in 1801. It is older than the French tricolor, which first saw the light in 1794. It is older than the flag of Spain, which was born in 1785; older, even, than the emblems of the ancient Empires of China and Japan.

The Star-Spangled Banner is much older than the flag of the Imperial German Government, which was adopted in 1870. One thing is assured—the German flag is too young and too immature to demand obedience to insulting demands from that strong old banner of the red, white, and blue.

One hundred and forty years of growth and development. Yet in all the changeful circumstances which have marked those years that flag has never bowed conquered before any foe. Its history is all on one side—victory. Though bent by some of the blasts, it has weathered every gale, floating out in new strength and new splendor in the sunshine that follows storm.

It waved over Washington and his Continentals. Before it Burgoyne laid down his arms. It was the inspiring beacon light amid the horrors of Valley Forge. It was the conquering banner at Yorktown when the brothers in arms, Washington and Lafayette, clasped hands in the final struggle for national liberty.

That flag went through the storm of Lundy's Lane and waved from the new-made ship from which Commodore Perry sent his message, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." It floated defiantly over the ramparts at New Orleans, where "Old Hickory" beat back the veterans of the "Iron Duke," Wellington.

That flag waved victoriously in the halls of the Montezumas in Mexico City. It was crowned triumphant at Cerro Gordo and Buena Vista. It was at the head of the triumphal march to the Golden Gate and the snow-clad Sierra Nevadas.

That flag endured the shot and shell of civil strife and came forth in new vigor and virility. From Fort Sumter to the apple tree at Appomattox, upheld by Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and a host of other gallant leaders, it came victoriously, not a single stripe dimmed nor a single star lost.

That flag floated from the ship from which Dewey sent his orders at the Battle of Manila Bay. It led the way for the reunited fighters from North and South up the hill at San Juan. It was the inspiration of Hobson and his daring associates at Santiago.

These records of victory, all of them, have been written into the fabric of the flag, never to be removed. Not less surely have been woven the victories of peace, the achievements of material kind during that century and more of history.

But these have not made the flag complete and unchangeable. The making of that flag is never completed. Lincoln spoke of the Nation's unfinished task at Gettysburg. So to-day we speak of unfinished tasks, and those which await the makers of the flag in this generation are greater than ever before.

Some of you here to-day without doubt have wished that you could have lived in the days when Washington and the founders of this Republic were performing their splendid tasks. Perhaps you have wished that you could have had a part in the great struggle of Abraham Lincoln in the sixties.

Let me say that you need have no fear as to the magnitude and the importance of the tasks awaiting you here and now. You live in a more vital epoch than any Americans who have gone before. The whole future of all the world is in the molding of the hands of to-day. Here, in this living present, is a pivotal point in the world's history, more far-reaching than any in the past. And it is upon America that the destiny of the world hangs trembling. The history of unborn ages depends upon the answer of America to the problems confronting her. I believe with all my heart that the work of America during the next five years will determine the world's history for the next five centuries.

In the shadow of such a heavy responsibility, with such fates hanging in the balance, we must have the consuming idea great enough and vital enough for the day and age. It must merit the devotion of men and women who will live for it, work for it, fight for it, die for it, if need be, so that it may be woven into the enduring texture of the starry emblem of America.

There is just one idea in all the world big enough for this moment of world crisis. That idea is "democracy." Thank God, it has been burning in the hearts of individuals long enough to make it flame out as a national ideal; yes; a world ideal; one sure abiding spot in this welter of a world in conflict. This Nation to-day has faith in democracy and whenever that time comes to a nation its history is sure to be soul stirring. It will write history in blazing figures for all the world to read.

Democracy—government of the people, for the people, and by the people. That is the idea which we of this generation are privileged to weave by faith into this flag we honor here to-day.

Our task is twofold in appearance, yet it is one task after all. It is to make the world safe for democracy and to make America sure for democracy.

That flag to-day stands for democracy around the world. Last Flag Day it carried no such meaning, but never again will it be without it. While its bright colors gleam bravely on high in the future, the world will read in them the doom of dynasties and the downfall of thrones.

That is a new meaning, indeed. In fact, we had become rather skeptical ourselves about democracy prior to August, 1914. Revolutions in South American countries occurring in quick succession made us argue that some peoples were unfit to rule themselves. Our sway in the Philippines started us to looking with favor upon the exercise of arbitrary power under certain circumstances. The idea of a Republic in China was cause for ridicule on every hand. Limitless disturbances in Mexico made us long for a leader who could rule with an iron hand. Above all, the glowing reports of German efficiency made us wonder whether rigid discipline might not be the solution of many vexing problems. Insidiously, subtly, the poison was working, and we were departing from the faith of our fathers.

Then, suddenly came this greatest and most terrible of world wars, and we were brought face to face with vital truths. We saw a mighty conflict forced upon nations not because their peoples desired it, nor because it could not have been prevented by peaceful arbitration, but because irresponsible rulers were consumed with vanity and were lustful for conquest.

The autocratic nations are responsible for this war. The central powers brought it about simply because there was no check to the power of their rulers, no authority in the people to say them nay even on the brink of such a frightful catastrophe as world war.

Germany is the foremost exemplar of autocracy in government. As represented by her rulers, the German Empire has long repudiated democracy. The Kaiser holds firm to the doctrine of the divine rights of kings. The Imperial Government is built on the idea that the ruler should take care of his people, but failing to do so he can be called to account only by Almighty God himself.

Franz Josef of Austro-Hungary, who was ruler when this war broke out, was, above all else, a believer in absolutism. Early in his reign, he was compelled to cede certain Italian Provinces to United Italy. The declaration of cession stated that the Provinces were to be permitted to choose the form of government the people desired. The Emperor refused to sign such a paper, saying: "The people have no right to choose their own form of government. The principle is immoral, and I will lose my Kingdom rather than consent to it." I am almost sorry that the old Emperor could not have lived to lose his throne for that very reason. Finally, to escape this "immoral" principle of the right of the people to choose their own government, Franz Josef handed the Provinces over to Napoleon III of France, and he in turn handed them over to the people.

Turkey is an absolute monarchy, and its entire history is a bloody record of the disregard of popular rights. Its very religion is a natural foe of democracy. Bulgaria, too, is firm in its adherence to the divinity of kings. These four nations make up the quadruple alliance, which represents but one idea, the idea of autocracy and the doctrine that might is right.

The spirit of the nations opposed to this alliance is democratic; and when the Russian people rose up in their might and deposed the Czar and his bureaucrats, the line at once became clear-cut and undeniable to any save a willful distorter of the facts.

Here in America we watched the conflict rage for two years and more. At first the stupendous struggle confused us, and our sympathies were dictated by many and unrelated causes. Then one outstanding fact raised itself above the smoke and fog and grew clearer with every passing month. It was that the war is a gigantic struggle between the principle of government by a despot and the principle of government by the people. The German efficiency which we had admired was shown to be the by-product of tyrannical power, to be used, if desired, in murderous assault upon the freedom of the world and the rights of humanity. The faults and wastes of people's rule were seen to be of small consequence, if liberty were secured.

As the situation developed we began to realize that America, the oldest democracy in the world, was vitally concerned in the final outcome of the struggle which raged in Europe. Some of us had seen it from the day of the desecration of Belgium, and hoped and desired that America would stride to the defense of the imperilled ideas of liberty in the world. But those who did not then see the issue were given abundant reasons by the tactics of Germany. Our own ships were sunk without warning, our citizens murdered, protests went unheeded or were answered with promises meant only for breaking. Barred zones were established, within which we were insultingly told destruction awaited our commerce. High officials from Germany organized conspiracies against our welfare, seeking to embroil us in war with friendly nations. Spies and plotters sought to destroy factories and bridges in dastardly attack upon national rights and national security.

All these brought more clearly than ever to the intelligence and feeling of Americans that this Nation's future welfare was in dire danger before an autocratic power seeking world dominion and recognizing no rules of civilized warfare. We began to realize that the world can not exist half autocratic and half democratic. We saw that as long as one man's will is supreme in Berlin the people's will is in danger of nullification in New York.

With that fact seen, there could be no hesitation. America seized the sword and plunged into the fray for the rescue of liberty. There was nothing else that could be done. Had we refused we would have been traitors to our history of the past, the need of the present, and the hope of the future. Had we refused, those stripes would have been turned to saffron-colored hues and those stars would have sunk in shame behind the dark clouds of a world's disdain.

To-day, with America in this war to the finish and with all its men and resources pledged for victory, we may well look upon the flag with new reverence and obtain from it new inspiration. It stands for a new day in the history of the world.

When the news of the fall of the Czar reached the German capital the chancellor announced it to the Reichstag and remarked, "Woe to the statesman that can not read the signs of the times." I would change it slightly and say, "Woe to the statesman that can not read the signs in time."

It is too late for the Kaiser of Germany, the Sultan of Turkey, the Emperors of Austria and Bulgaria, and every other absolute ruler in the wide world. The dynasties are doomed. Thrones and tyrannical power are forfeit to the idea for which Old Glory stands. They flung down their challenge to democracy. America has taken it up and marches forth to battle in a holy cause. They started the war; America will finish it.

To-day, wherever the American flag waves in the breeze, on schoolhouse, home, or Capitol, at the head of valiant fighters on the battle lines of Europe, or from the masts of gallant ships in the seven seas it is a blazing symbol that every Government on the face of the earth must be built on the consent of the governed. All America and whatever it possesses in men and resources are under requisition to carry out that determination. This war will not be ended until that high emprise has been accomplished.

We will make the world safe for democracy. But that is not all; we must make America sure for democracy, and perhaps it is the more difficult task after all.

That flag must stand for democracy at home. The Government that lives under its shining folds must be in the hands of the people and have but one aim—the advancement of the common good.

Democracy, in order to live, must make war against every individual and every social movement that stifles justice and crushes truth. It matters not who or what they may be, if they are protecting unjust privileges and vested wrongs, if they profit from the exploitation of the people, they are enemies, and their power to injure must be destroyed.

For the welfare of any people there must be production of the commodities that mean life, comfort, and happiness for human beings. This problem of production has been largely solved. The best brains, the finest appliances, the most marvelous machines have been devoted to that task. Great cities have sprung up, with almost their entire citizenship occupied in producing a certain commodity. The land, tilled with mighty implements and stimulated by every method known to science, has poured out its fruitful gifts with a lavishness never known before.

But, alas, while production of wealth is but half of the human problem, it has been regarded as the whole. Men forgot that equally important is the just distribution of wealth. And because they did, a few men piled up fortunes of wondrous size while a great host of men and women and children lacked even the necessities of life. In the midst of abundant wealth, poverty stalked unheeded and claimed its victims on every side. While producing wealth wonderfully we were distributing it infamously.

That situation has long been one of the danger points in America. To-day, in the midst of war, it is the biggest home problem with which we have to deal.

One phase of it is seen in the food situation in America. With abundant production of food supplies prices have been forced to such a height that many thousands of families have felt the sting of privation and suffering. Food gamblers and speculators, by juggling prices and cornering food supplies, have robbed both the producer and the consumer. Out in Chicago a few men in a gambling grain exchange are able to send the price of wheat down when they desire to buy and up when they desire to sell. By a series of chalk marks on a blackboard in a gambling den they are able to levy tribute on every dining table in the land. Every time they change the price of a bushel of grain by a single cent they change values in this country $50,000,000. When you remember that prices have jumped 40 cents a bushel in a single day in these grain pits you can understand the tax being levied by these pirates of commerce.

In a little different way by equally guilty methods the food cornerers are working. With their storehouses bursting with food supplies these manipulators refuse to put them on the market in order to keep prices at the highest notch. They let carloads of unspoiled fruit rot in cars on a railroad siding. They throw cargoes of food overboard in harbors. They contract in advance for great fields of potatoes and great orchards of fruit and then refuse to allow the potatoes to be dug or the fruit to be picked, so that prices may be kept high by such criminal methods.

Did I say criminal? The word is too weak. I believe that such food gamblers and food speculators are guilty of blackest treason to America. They are the ablest allies of the Kaiser. They are using tactics more dangerous than German submarines. With all my heart I would favor lining them up in front of a firing squad to meet the penalties of treason. If hanging be advocated, I would insist that it should be by reversing the usual method, so that they might be hung with feet upward and see their crime-stained gold running from their pockets.

Such conditions of injustice and crime in distribution must not exist longer under the folds of the flag that stands for democracy. These "wheat" kings and "food" kings of all kinds are upholding the very autocracy and irresponsible power against which we are waging war across the sea. America must say to these gamblers "you can not gamble with the people's bread under the protection of the Stars and Stripes." We must say to these cornerers of food "the flag which floats above the building in which your heaped-up food is stored will not permit you to retain possession for your evil purposes."

I am confident that such commands will be given in the near future. The American Congress dare not permit such injustice to continue. The food-control bill under consideration in Congress is framed to deal with the situation. In the stress and storm of war, with all the world depending upon America, we must realize that the people's Government is under obligation to put its hands upon the food supplies of the Nation and see that they are distributed fairly and justly without any interference on the part of business highwaymen.

It will be a great victory for democracy when control of prices by gamblers is changed to control of prices by the Government as agent for all the people. The joint interest of 100,000,000 Americans in a common storehouse will be an inspiring thing and it will mean justice in the distribution of those supplies which are essential to the life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness of every American citizen.

That is but one phase of the question, but the flag stands for every phase of just distribution of wealth. It stands for that system of distribution under which no man shall take from the mouth of his fellow the bread he has earned, nor any man get more than he earns from those who earn more than they get.

Now, these two great tasks of to-day require the best efforts of the best brain and blood and brawn in the land. To make democracy safe in the world requires the united efforts of all Americans in this war in which we are engaged. The man who for any reason whatever now hinders the prompt and efficient prosecution of this war is fighting against the flag and everything for which it stands. It is no time to deal gently with any anti-American, whether he be a cowardly slacker, a selfish politician, or a peace-at-any-price pacifist. We must see this war through to complete victory.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow.
Brand the craven on his brow.
Freedom's soil hath only place,
For a free and fearless race;
None for traitors false and base.
Perish party, perish clan,
Strike together while we can
Like the arm of one strong man.

Those ten million and more Americans who registered on June 5 under the selective-draft law typified the spirit demanded. That was one of the greatest sights in all the history of this country. The young manhood of America stepping forward in solid phalanx, answering to the Nation's call, "Here I am; send me," was a sight to bring joy to every patriot, living or dead.

Thus were forever silenced the sneers of foemen that America could not act with efficiency and with united purpose; that her heroism had turned to cowardice and her manhood to weakness. Thus was proven once again that there are valiant hearts now, as always, to defend America and her flag on any land or sea.

The challenge of armed autocracy demands red-blooded courage, and America will not fail to meet that test. From those long lines of young men before every schoolhouse in America on June 5, as from the record of sacred ground everywhere, from hillside and seaside, from mountain crest and rye field and the decks of battered ships, may be gleamed one golden truth. "Greater than any terrible machine of destruction that the mind of man can conceive is the courage of American manhood, fighting for the American flag."

There need be no doubt as to the outcome of this war in which we are engaged. Before we lay down our arms the world will be safe for every nation where the people govern, to pursue its way in peace, unmenaced by the mailed fist of ruthless despotism.

I wish I could say that the task of making America sure for democracy is as simple and as certain of speedy accomplishment with finality. I can not say it for it is not true. To secure real democracy in America requires a struggle everlasting. It can not be won by cannon and battleships and aircraft. It must be wrought in the heart; in that eternal battle between greed and brotherhood, which has been raging since the beginning of time.

We must, all of us, come to see that simple justice is most profitable to each of us in the end and that an injury done the weakest, humblest citizen in America is an injury done to all.

To reach that conclusion we must break down barriers of creed and race and wealth and get together. We must know each other better. We must find our common mind and speak it in our common voice. We must recognize that the wisdom of all of us is greater than the wisdom of some of us. We must develop the kindness and courage of comrades, which is the highest type in the world.

How are we to accomplish this end and build this together spirit? No need to go far afield to find the means; it is right at hand at this moment. I believe it is to be found in the public-school building, which can be made the key to American brotherhood.

The schoolhouse has been the moving force in the past. Out from it have come the men and women who have molded American history and made the American flag. To-day it typifies a system of public education where 16,000,000 children are enrolled in the army of enlightenment and progress.

But I look further than the education of the coming generation. I look to the use of every public-school building as a social center where neighbors may meet for common counsel. I believe it is destined to become the very center of American life, the gathering place of all the citizens of the community to consider the questions which affect the common welfare, and to decide upon concerted action. I hope to live to see the day when the American flag over the schoolhouse marks the building which is the head-and-heart quarters of the entire citizenship of the community. I want to see the schoolhouse made the place where the people, regardless of all lines of creed or opinion or income meet in regular session, with proper organization, to consider and act upon every question which affects them as American citizens.

Then we shall have the means for making democracy sure in America. Then citizens will meet as sovereigns to consider the public interest, not their own selfish interests. They will meet, not as members of a political party but as associates in a noble enterprise which deserves their best efforts. Then we may be sure that the eternal struggle which is the price of democracy may at least be marked by eternal victory over every force that would despoil or destroy.

By all means let us have the flag afloat over the city hall, where the council meets; over the State capitol, where the legislature convenes; over the great dome of the Capitol here in Washington, where laws for the Nation are made. But grander and greater still, because it is the place from which all these others get their dignity and their power, let us have the flag over the schoolhouse, which marks the heart of American sovereignty, sure token that the will of the people shall be the law of the land.

Friends, let us be seers indeed when we look upon that flag. It is the oldest, strongest, most glorious, over all victorious banner in the world. It carries a potent meaning in this year of 1917, all it has meant in the past and more besides.

It is an omen of despair to autocrats trembling on their tottering thrones. It carries grim message to the hearts of Kaiser and Czar and Emperor and King who put the divine rights of rulers above the divine rights of men. Its colors spell out the doom of dynasties built upon the wrecked rights of the people.

It is a sinister sight, too, in the eyes of those who prey upon the people in business realms. Its Stars and Stripes gleam menacingly in the eyes of the exploiter and the traitor to the common good. It stands the embodiment of the power that will end the plots and conspiracies of greed, the power of the man called million, who shall yet make of government an agent to do his bidding in the struggle for justice.

But the flag, while grim omen to these, is to others a bow of promise, shining in brave colors against the storm clouds that had well nigh blotted out mankind's remembrance of the sun behind them.

It is hailed with joy by the motherland across the sea and her great daughters in every part of the globe; by glorious France, whose sons battled with us for independence in the heroic days of old; by Russia, new-born democracy, torn and convulsed, but struggling nobly toward the light; by valiant Belgium, rent and dismembered by barbarous foe, with everything lost but her own unconquerable soul; by all these and more—every nation on the globe that vests power in its citizenship and regards the rights of the people as more sacred than the rights of kings.

The flag is a harbinger of hope to all in America who battle against wrong where it is strong and who have faith to believe that this Government of ours must be one for the people, of the people, and by the people.

Above all our flag is a gleaming promise to all those who long for and hope for and pray for the lasting brotherhood of nations and enduring peace among men. Even on the black clouds of war may be seen the beautiful bow of freedom and peace for the peoples of the earth.

For we have learned through this mighty conflict that national organization and national cooperation can not be the last stage in the evolution of civilized society. No nation can live entirely out of relations with other nations, and the evil deeds of one brings danger and distress to all. The march of twentieth century civilization has changed the planet into a neighborhood, and in very self-defense all must support a fraternity of nations, its members bound together by such ties of mutual respect and good will that never again shall such a deadly war as that which rages to-day be possible. Upon Americans today rests solemn responsibility to lead in that sublime enterprise which has been the theme of dreamers, seers, and prophets down the centuries—to help greatly in developing the institutions which will bring to pass the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

Will you young men and women, who are just coming into responsibility in this greatest of all world epochs, not catch the vision of that beautiful banner, all it means, and all it may mean?

My best wish for you is a magnificent unrest in your blood and a sublime lack of repose in your hearts until the bugle call to service has been nobly answered. May you hear the call of liberty across the seas and stand supremely loyal in your devotion to America in this hour of her noblest effort for world democracy.

May you hear the call to make America sure for democracy, a land where faithful service receives its just reward, where honor rules the market, a nation whose one ambition is to serve the common good of mankind by securing enduring peace and welding all nations into a fraternity, each for all, all for each, and all together for a common cause.

That is the spirit of democracy, the consuming idea of the age. Nobler challenge never came to men or women in all the æons of the past. Shall we not here and now highly resolve to follow the gleam of that high emprise, never faltering nor doubting, whatever gales may blow, until we have written that idea into the fabric of the flag, never to be erased nor removed as long as there shall be a nation known as America and a flag of stars and stripes to stand as its symbol.

A Message from the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland to the Baptists of the United States of America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a message from the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland to the Baptists of the United States of America.

The message is as follows:

A MESSAGE FROM THE BAPTIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND TO THE BAPTISTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND FELLOW BAPTISTS:

"Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."

First, we thank God in Christ for you all, that your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world; and with full and grateful hearts we praise Him that at this crisis in the life of mankind you are led by His spirit to join us, your brethren in the faith of the Gospel of Christ, in the fight for freedom and justice, for democracy and brotherhood, for good will and progress in all the world.

We know full well that all through this painful struggle we have had a large place in your sympathies and prayers. Not for one moment have we doubted that. We could not. You have watched us from afar, but your hearts have been with us. Your interest has been keen and sustained, and your desires for the victory of the soldiers of the people over the despots of Europe strong. You have aided us by your generous ministry to the imprisoned and the imperiled. From the beginning we have felt the reality and comfort of your companionship with us in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. But now your President has proclaimed your breach with Germany and taken his stand by our side, with all your vast resources i faith and devotion, in enthusiasm for humanity and zeal for self-government, in care for the rights of small communities of men, and n inexhaustible materials of war, we feel that the wide seas no longer separate us, but we are marching in step to the God-given goal of universal liberty and universal peace.

It is natural and inevitable to us as Baptists that we should come together in this dark and cloudy day. It could not be otherwise. We are members one of another; we are one; one in our faith and ideals, aims, and spirit, thought and deeds. We are hewn out of the same rock; we share the same spiritual heritage from some of the greatest souls of the past. Our predecessors were yours. Their distinctive principles, noble, arduous, and fruitful service we share alike. We are one in our deepest convictions of truth and right, in our estimate of the incomparable virtues of the soul, one in our devotion to what our fathers called the "common man," to man as he is in the sight of God, and apart from all the separable accidents of his condition; one in our interpretation of the aims and functions and limitations of States, in the enthusiasms that sway our souls and constrain us to seek first and foremost the kingdom of God and His righteousness. A common faith in the absolute and exclusive sovereignty of the redeeming Christ over souls set us in the right path, and despotic persecutors kept our feet in the way we had to go, and at the same time heightened the value of our fellowship both for ourselves and for others.

As you never forget the courage and insight of John Smyth, the consummate genius and noble devotion of John Milton, and the heroism of the men of the Commonwealth who overcame the tyranny of the Stuarts just as "Free Russia" has got rid of the autocratic Czar, so we delight to recall Roger Williams, the champion of freedom of conscience, the legislative Moses of Rhode Island, and the father and founder of the Baptist churches of the States. Fidelity to conscience is in the soul of us. The democratic faith is yours and ours. Our churches have practiced self-government for three centuries. We have been and must be, anticlerical and antisacerdotal; for "one is our Master even Christ, and we are brothers," equal in the sight of the Eternal, and indwelt and enriched by the Holy Ghost for the work of His church.

Through all our history there shines clear and strong our common devotion to peace. Although we never accepted the absolute "non-resistance" theory of the teaching of Christ, we have always been advocates of peace. In the world we have had tribulation, and we have endured it for the sake of peace. We have fought against despots, but it has been for peace. We are the subjects of the Prince of Peace. We never met in congress, European or world-wide, without asserting our desire for the cessation of all war, the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, and the universal reign of peace. One of our primary interests when we met in Berlin was to "Ingeminate peace," for already we were shadowed by fears and misgivings. The same purpose stood out in our proceedings in Stockholm; and the memorable gatherings in London and in Philadelphia were dominated by the same passionate yearning for brotherhood and good will.

Through these meetings and through the interchange of denominational literature and of ministries our fellowship has developed a strong sense of solidarity, created a conviction that we stand for truths and principles necessary for the welfare of all communities of men, and especially for the peoples of Europe. For years you have been enriching us by your missionary zeal. Sweden, for example, has had some of her leaders trained in your schools, and many of her children domiciled in your midst have shown their attachment to their fatherland by sending help to the churches. For Russia you have labored much in the Lord. You have sustained her heroic preachers, and undertaken to aid in training their successors. Germany has many witnesses to your love. Indeed, the whole of Europe is in your debt; and by your union with us in the present contest "with principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places" you are preparing for the day when we may afresh and in a freer world carry forward our great enterprise of giving to the whole of Europe the Gospel of Christ in its original clearness and fullness of power.

But now, to our unspeakable sorrow, our fellowship and common service have been rudely interrupted by this disastrous and distressful war.

Like you, we British Baptists hate and loathe all war. We are and have always been advocates of peace. Many of us, at great cost, opposed the Boer War. Indeed, we have never unsheathed the sword whilst it was possible to keep it in its scabbard, and if any other way had been possible for us we should not have taken it out in August, 1914. But there was no other way. As your President says, "we could do no other."

It is indisputable that not only was Germany preparing for this world war in her own boundaries, but was always endeavoring to create occasions of war with a persistence and a subtlety that filled all lovers of peace with apprehension and despondency.

The story of the provocation of France is one of the most pathetic chapters in the history of that brave people. The more pacific they became the more Germany thrust in its goads, the more abundant were her traps and snares; and whilst Sabatier and Saillens were rejoicing over the spiritual regeneration of France and commending her unwonted self-restraint and patience the more Germany goaded the Government of France to begin the attack. For over 40 years the policy of provocation was carried on. Bismarck began it, declaring the purpose "to bleed her white." He mutilated the Ems dispatch. He was constantly meddling with the internal affairs of the French people, and threatened war on the ground of their internal policy. He encircled them with suspicion and hostility through the press he controlled. The Kaiser followed on. The triple alliance was formed to complete the isolation of France. In 1896 the Kaiser formed his alliance with Abdul Hamid, the cruel murderer of the Armenians, arranged for the Bagdad Railroad, and took the Moslem world under his protection.

All through these years our Government was doing whatever it could to avoid war. At The Hague conference England labored most strenuously to secure a limitation of armaments. We saw the peril of the increase that was going on from year to year, and our people backed the appeal in every way they could. But no; Germany would have none of it. On the contrary, the appeals for reduction were met by an enormous extension of shipbuilding on the one hand and a vast increase of the land forces on the other.

In defense of her action Germany complained that she wanted "a place in the sun" and that the "powers" were setting up barriers against her advance, and yet from 1884 she had acquired 1,800,000 square miles of territory, i. e., an area larger than Germany and France, Austria and Hungary, Italy and Serbia, Portugal and Bulgaria, and had done so with the consent of the powers alleged to be thwarting her. The real situation was summed up by the general staff in 1914 in the words, "We shall smash France in three weeks, then wheel about and deliver a knockdown blow to Russia before she has time to complete her mobilization. Belgium will offer only the resistance of sullenness. England will not come in at all." Thus they planned to subjugate Europe to the German sceptre. It was with that temper that our Government had to deal, and it is undeniably certain that Viscount Grey strove with the utmost sincerity and with persistent energy for the pacification of Europe. He strained every fiber to keep the peace. Again and again he proposed conferences with a view to peace. At the very last moment, on July 31, four days before the declaration of war—but when Germany was already mobilizing her forces and directing them toward Belgium—he made a new effort for the maintenance of peace. He said to the German ambassador that "if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were trying to preserve European peace and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris and go to the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences, but otherwise I told the German ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in."

Russia also had already sought to persuade Italy to mediate at Vienna in favor of peace, and Italy parted company with her allies, Germany and Austria, and declared that the triple alliance lapsed because the central powers had been aggressive. But Italy's action was in vain. The Czar was still anxious for peace and begged the Kaiser to help him "to prevent such a calamity as a European war."

It is an indisputable fact that our Government did all that it could to allay the storm and preserve the peace of the world. But the German Government had made up its mind, and the neutrality of Belgium was deliberately violated in the face of the treaty of London made on April 19, 1893, between England, Austria, France, Russia, and Prussia on the one hand and the Netherlands on the other.

That action swept us at once over the barriers between peace and war. It was a flagrant violation of law. It was a wrong done to the soul and to the homes of a small nation, a scornful and contemptuous tearing up of a solemn compact in the face of Europe, cynically described by the German Chancellor as "a scrap of paper." Like the shot that rang around the world, and roused the farmers of New England to the defense of their rights, so this calculated and deliberate defiance of an inter-

national compact stirred the spirit of Britain to rise and defend the Belgian people. A wave of moral indignation spread through the land. We were compelled to act, and to act in one way. It was the one duty. It was the will of God. We dared not hold back. England would have lost its soul if it had allowed the brave "little one" to be crushed out of existence by the perfidious Kaiser and his military lords.

Immediately we were a united people as we rarely have been before in our long history. There has been nothing like it in the churches; certainly not among our own people. Thousands of the young men of our churches rose with spontaneity and resolute daring to offer the great sacrifice of their lives for the cause. Our workers, Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, deacons, and leaders rallied to the flag as to a most holy task. Many of our ministers volunteered as chaplains and are acting as such. Our Young Men's Christian Associations rendered a magnificent service. The women of our churches were as keen and eager as the men. In short, the nation is one. Five million and forty-one thousand men voluntarily enrolled themselves in the Army before conscription. They could not hold back; the call was of God, and they must respond It was a question of conscience. We are fighting for Christianity against Paganism, for right against cruel might, for liberty against tyranny, for humanity against the works of the devil.

And the course of the war, in spite of our unreadiness to meet its demands, and our mistakes and errors, has completely vindicated the solemn responsibilities we accepted nearly three years ago. Nothing has so completely, so scarifyingly exhibited to us the awful, tragic, tremendous, unaccountable, and unimaginable horror of war. Had it not been demonstrated to the world how the Germans have made war during the last two years and nine months, we should have said it could never have happened, men could not be so debased, so brutal, so absolutely diabolical as they have been. But it has happened. The record before us is an unveiling of war such as has not been seen since the sack of Antwerp and Magdeburg. We might even go much further back than that and say such a revelation on the part of individuals supposed to have some culture, some training, some humanity, men never saw. Germany has aroused the abhorrence of the whole of the civilized world. She began by trampling law and treaty under foot in the violation of the soil of Belgium; then staggered humanity in the destruction of Louvain and Rheims; aroused indignation by slaying noncombatants, women and children, at Scarborough; sent out a cold-blooded decree that made the killing of noncombatants not an incident of heated warfare, not an accident, no, but a regular method of obtaining military advantage, and sent a thousand innocent people to death in the *Lusitania*. Lord Bryce's report consists of sifted evidence. We had difficulty in believing what is found in our papers. We said there must be exaggeration. This and that could not be true; but here you have the proofs set out by one of the most important and most responsible committees that ever sat on any international question. That committee says:

"It is proved—

"1. That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.'

"2. That in the conduct of war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered.

"3. That looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German Army. That elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burnings and destruction were frequent where no military necessity could be alleged, being, indeed, part of a system of general terrorization.

"4. That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by the killing and wounding of prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag."

Add to that the sinking of hospital ships at sight, the murder of Capt. Fryatt, the execution of Nurse Cavell, the cruel deportations of men and women from Belgium and France; these and other atrocities have opened the eyes of the world to the corrupted soul of Germany, and compelled a united and universal condemnation of its aims and policy, its ambitions, and spirit.

Now, it is because we are seeking to bring this calamitous reign of barbarism and savagery to an immediate end that we hail with profound thankfulness and boundless hope the entrance of America into this European war. It is a mighty event for you and for us. We are inclined to say of it what Charles James Fox exclaimed of the fall of the Bastille, "How much the greatest event in the history of the world, and the best!" The revolution of 1789 has been wonderfully reproductive in its fruitfulness; but the revolution in the policy of the United States in 1917 will abound immeasurably more in the sum of good that will issue from it to the whole world.

Already it has fed our faith in the justice of our choice and the purity of our motives. Our faith is confirmed. We were sure that we were in the one and only right way at the beginning, but your action has developed and perfected our confidence, renewed our patience, and inspired us to further sacrifices on behalf of the vital human causes at stake. As our prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George, said: "The Americans coming into the war give the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy through the world."

How gladly we read the noble testimony of President Wilson. For what he says of you he says of us. "There is not a single selfish element in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the right of mankind, and the future peace and security of the world." And Dr. Page, your distinguished ambassador to Britain, says, with equal trust: "We have set out to help as best we can in the enterprise of saving the earth as a place worth living in, not for any material reward, not for territory, not for indemnity, not for conquest nor for anything save only the high duty to succor democracy when it is desperately and villainously assailed. We come with a clear conscience only for an ideal—that is the Republic." We are stronger for that witness. We go forward with a stouter heart and a bolder step, resolved not to submit or yield until the foe is overcome.

Nor can we fail to see that your intervention has burnished and brightened our ideals, set out as they are in language of lofty eloquence and crystal clearness by your President, and sent us forward assured that we are not only on the right path, but that we are going to victory, righteousness, and peace.

Moreover, the peace we seek is all the nearer for your action; it is certain that you will shorten the period of the war, for you bring to our aid the greatest resources of power left in the world, and that in the critical hour of our need. Your help is practical and wise. It offers exactly what we most want—food and ships—and what meets our material as well as our spiritual necessities. The President's appeal is a model of perfect wisdom. It is an appeal to all, and solicits "a great international service army," a notable host engaged in the service of the Nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of freemen everywhere; praying them to meet the supreme test of the Nation, the test in which we must all speak, act, and serve together. "We must supply ships," he says, "by hundreds; submarines or no submarines, food supplies must be carried across the seas, no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom." All that is as brave as it is generous, and as sane as it is strong, and can not fail of a mighty response.

Nor can we doubt that the presence of America will be a guaranty for a real and abiding peace and for the abolition of war once and for all from the category of human crimes. It will translate us from the diplomatic atmosphere and the doctrine of "the balance of power" to a "league of nations," based on the final extinction of absolutist autocracies and the cooperation and partnership of nations. America is intensely pacific. With unflagging zeal your leaders have taken a foremost place amongst the men who make peace on earth. Great sums of money have been invested in the interests of peace. Year by year its advocates—lawyers, statesmen, professors, preachers—have gathered at Mohonk; and we are sure the whole influence of America will be concentrated on the task of obtaining a constructive and continuous peace, based on just and wise foundations, not to be broken up by the ambitions and plottings of the few, but framed to abide as long as the sun and moon endure.

Thus your entrance into this war feeds the conviction that, in spite of all that is disastrous, it will achieve great and lasting benefits for mankind and add to the moral health and happiness not only of America and the allies, but of Germany and of all other peoples. It will check the growth of militarism and secure the reduction of armaments. It will make the world, in the fine phrase of your President, "safe for democracy"; secure the ideal of Lincoln, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people; and establish the rights of the individual to a free and full expression of his nature. It will lead to an Areopagus of the nations, which will frustrate the attempts of individuals and cliques with 'interests" to serve and work out plans for social reconstruction in every country, for Poles and Serbs, for Roumanians and Britons; provide for the natural expansion of peoples as well as the settlement of disputes; maintain good faith and uphold public law amongst the nations.

Dear brethren, we know not when this day of strife will end, but however long it may last and however checkered may be its course, our fellowship with one another will be an increasing satisfaction and the assurance of our unity in faith and aim, in effort and in hope, will be an unfailing fountain of strength and joy. We are stronger because you are at our side, and we shall march with surer feet and braver heart because we march together to the new heavens and the new earth in which righteousness and peace shall dwell, not as occasional visitors, but as perpetual guests.

One luminous fact shines like a bright star in the sky of our life. For more than a hundred years America and Canada have dwelt together in peace. The sword was sheathed. An agreement was signed that forts and guns and all the implements of war should disappear from the frontiers of Canadians and Americans. They did. For the first time in the experience of democratic nations it was affirmed that war is not the way to settle the disputes of nations. For the first time an act of disarmament took place, war was repudiated, and arbitration established as the right cause. Half a century later the *Alabama* arbitration sealed the contract first of all made and justified the hopes entertained of it.

It is a prophecy and a promise.

Praying that the God of righteousness and peace may lead us and enable us to work out His holy will, and hasten the day when Christ our Savior shall be universally acknowledged as King of kings and Lord of lords.

We are, sincerely, yours in the love and service of Christ and His Gospel,

W. W. FULLERTON,
President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
JOHN CLIFFORD,
Ex-President of the Baptist World Alliance.
J. H. SHAKESPEARE,
Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland and European Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance.

LONDON, *May 2, 1917.*

American Patriotism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a very brief business visit to my home town of New Haven. I found the people as usual, filled with patriotism and the desire to manifest it in practical and helpful service. The military registration had been completed, the number registering having exceeded the Government estimate. One big-hearted, broad-backed citizen, always taking a helpful part in every benevolent work, informed me that New Haven was already in sight of the city's allotment of the $100,000,000 for Red Cross work. The

cashier of the largest bank in the city showed me a single subscription made by one of our youngest, yet one of our most progressive, manufacturing corporations for $1,000,000 of liberty bonds. Others were doing as well according to financial ability, and all seemed to have the most perfect confidence that the city would subscribe its full allotment.

In fact, everyone seemed disposed to "do his bit" in the great crisis through which the Nation is now passing. Nothing, however, impressed me as much as the subscription made by Admiral Foote Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of New Haven, for a $500 liberty bond. It is, indeed, inspiring to see this small and rapidly diminishing band of the gallant survivors of the great Army that fought the battles of the Republic more than 50 years ago now again responding to the call of their country by investing of their limited post funds in a loan to aid the Government they risked their lives to save in the days of their youth. Awaiting my return to Washington was a brief letter from the acting adjutant of Admiral Foote Post informing me of their action, which I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The letter referred to is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ADMIRAL FOOTE POST, NO. 17,
DEPARTMENT OF CONNECTICUT,
New Haven, Conn., June 9, 1917.

Hon JOHN Q. TILSON, M. C.

DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in informing you that Admiral Foote Post, in their meeting this evening, voted to subscribe for $500 liberty bond.

With our great esteem for you and your good will for us, shown on many occasions, I felt that you should be informed of this action.

Very truly, yours,

D. W. SHARPE, *Acting Adjutant.*

River and Harbor Bill.

Hon. W. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, submits to the American people an illuminating communication on "The Need for the Use of Our Interior Waterways."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. SMALL,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD I have great pleasure in appending a most interesting and timely communication from Hon. W. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, to the press of the country, and released for publication on the 14th instant. Secretary Redfield convincingly points out the inability of the railroads of the country to meet the present demands for the movement of traffic, which incapacity will be accentuated with the movement of the fall crops and the increasing demands upon the railroads by reason of the progress of the war.

The Secretary further demonstrates a fact which is apparent to every observant citizen that the only other instrumentality of transportation upon which we can rely with any hope of meeting this congestion of traffic are the interior waterways of the country. He appropriately asserts that it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to cooperate for the improvement of our waterways and for the establishment of additional water carriers.

While these facts are obvious, nevertheless, Secretary Redfield discharged a very essential public service in impressing these economic truths upon the public mind. The most obvious deduction arising out of the present world war is the necessity of every nation engaged in the conflict to mobilize all its resources. While the training of an army and the manufacture of arms and munitions with all the other equipment of war are the primary essentials, yet all these are useless without the production and distribution of the necessary supplies of food and clothing and the numerous other products necessary for the prosecution of modern war. Transportation is a corollary of production, without which industry would be useless. Congress has realized this condition by appropriating millions of money with which to build ships for trans-Atlantic service for the purpose of transporting supplies to our own Army and to our allies. But we must first transport these supplies to our ports. Neither the railroad tracks nor the available cars can meet the demands upon them. As the Secretary so cogently observes, "Where shall we turn for relief except to our waterways?" There is no other recourse.

It must seem strange to intelligent citizens that in the face of this crisis some Members of Congress are contending that we should suspend the maintenance and improvement of our waterways during the period of the war, and are indulging in facetious and unfounded criticism of our waterways. Such opposition can not find defense at the bar of public opinion and will be justly rebuked.

The communication of Secretary Redfield is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington.

THE NEED FOR THE USE OF OUR INTERIOR WATERWAYS.

The president of one of our leading railways has recently said: "The railroads of the United States operated as one system are carrying more freight than ever before in the history of the country, but when they have carried traffic up to 100 per cent of their capacity there still remains 15, 25, perhaps 30 per cent in traffic which it is impossible for them to carry at all." Another prominent railway president stated early in June, 1917: "If the war goes on the total amount of transportation now available will not be enough."

No one who knows the facts will question that the railways of the country are overwhelmed by the present traffic. There is said to be a shortage of 150,000 cars. Radical measures are being taken in an effort to meet the situation. One railway has canceled 200 passenger trains from its summer schedule. Another has withdrawn 40 such trains. Special trains are refused and convention traffic is disapproved. Suggestions are made by railway managers looking toward the more effective use of locomotives and cars. Since the first of last November over 900 new engines and more than 44,000 new cars have been placed in service, and on April 1 orders were outstanding for over 2,000 locomotives and over 100,000 cars. Yet even with these the facilities of the railroads are insufficient for the task laid upon them. As we look toward the future conditions are found to exist which seem certain to make the problem even more serious than it is to-day. It will not be long before large bodies of troops must be moved with their equipment in this country. We shall soon have our own Army in France and shall add to it from time to time, and this will mean an insistent demand for the regular uninterrupted flow of munitions and supplies from our industries to our seaports. Each of the 16 new cantonments for troops, which must be ready by September 1, will require over 1,300 carloads of lumber. Already in the Southwest the harvest has begun. If all kinds of crops—cereals and vegetables—are taken into consideration, a much greater acreage has been planted than ever before, and this increase is largely in perishable foods which must be moved quickly to be available. The demand upon our canning and preserving industries is greater than ever before and likely to increase. The season upon the Great Lakes has been late, with less than the usual time available for transporting the large bodies of ore waiting to be moved and the masses of coal required in our Northern Central States. The congestion upon our railroads is not likely to diminish, and only the ablest management and the largest available equipment will make it possible for them to conduct the national traffic without serious delays. To this a railroad officer points in saying: "It will be absolutely necessary to use such transportation as there is for essential things. The public should willingly give up the nonessentials."

It is, of course, true that the utmost cooperation must prevail between shippers and carriers to keep things moving. To this end a circular letter was issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, addressed to the 7,000 trade organizations in the country, urging the maximum capacity loading of freight cars by users and the elimination of delays in unloading. This has met with an encouraging response, but it is not sufficient and can not be made sufficient to solve the serious transportation problem which confronts the country. The condition is such that our railway plant used to its utmost is insufficient for the work, and likely to become still more so as demands upon it increase. Under these circumstances it is necessary that every possible use be made both for local and through freight of all interior waterways, canals, rivers, and lakes; and this must be done not only as generally but as quickly as possible if we are to escape serious congestion.

There is more than sufficient business for both railway and waterway for many months to come. Wherever, therefore, throughout the country a barge or a boat, a scow, a lighter, or a motor vessel can be made to take the place of a railway car it ought to be done. Such arrangements as are practical should be made along all our great waterways to develop promptly methods for using the water as a means of transportation. This is the time to get idle barges and scows into use, to repair old barges, to build new ones, and to take advantage of a patriotic duty of water transit in every practicable way. The Chief of Engineers, United States Army, states:

"Fortunately these boats are of comparatively simple construction and can be rapidly built if all boat yards are fully utilized for this purpose. In fact, these barges could be built at innumerable points along the streams and launched without accumulation of expensive machinery or plant, as it is practically a question of supplying the relatively simple materials and the labor required in actual construction of the boats. Tonnage capacity can doubtless be created by such barge construction much more rapidly than by car construction."

Cities and towns on waterways ought in their own interests to take steps to encourage water transit and to extemporize, if needs be, means for bringing it quickly into service. Public bodies like chambers of commerce and boards of trade should also take the matter up actively where conditions make it possible to do so and give their support to the men who endeavor to develop transportation by water on a temporary or permanent basis. It is encouraging to note the proposed formation of companies to conduct transportation on the Mississippi River. Such organizations to-day do a patriotic and most helpful service. They should be helped forward wherever they may be started in every reasonable way.

If, as is quite possible, the war shall last more than a year, our Nation may find itself a year hence with its industries of all kinds driven to the full and with special energy devoted to more extensive as well as more intensive cultivation. At the same time our troops will have to be moved and the regular flow of supplies maintained for the armies abroad. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to expand the railroad system in time to meet the additional demands upon it which these circumstances may bring. Many of the great waterways of the land, however, are almost unused, and a great opportunity for national service is open by means of them to those who have the energy and foresight to take the matter up and develop water transportation

into a practical fact. Every river, lake, and canal should be used. Every enterprise, large or small, looking toward their practical use should have encouragement. The president of one of our greatest railway systems has recently said, "So long as the war lasts the railroads of the United States will cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the waterways of the country in order that the needs of the country may be served.

It must be evident to reflecting men that nothing which advances the interests of the country as a whole can be permanently hurtful to the great transportation systems of the land. There is no reasonable basis for antagonism between the railway and the waterway. Each is the servant of the other, and the success of each is in the long run helpful to the other. It is not to the final and the largest interest of the railway that the waterway should be neglected. Each has its own place in the national economy, and the highest success of each depends in no small measure upon the success of the other. It is at this time a matter of national duty to develop the interior waterway and to give it that part in the Nation's economic life to which its extent and variety entitles it, and this should be done as promptly and as thoroughly as possible by temporary means if need be in order to get the traffic moving, and then by permanent means in order to make the movement a solid part of our national life. This process can only be helpful in the long run to everyone concerned and to the country as a whole.

This circular should be a call to the patriotic citizen who can help along. It means that he who has an available barge or scow or motor boat should use it; that the small yards where these can be built should get busy and repair old ones and build new ones. It is a call to those who insure merchandise moving by water to do so at reasonable rates, lest by excessive charges they become obstructors to the public good. It is a call to those who perform such services as towing to do the work at a reasonable charge, lest they in their turn stand in the Nation's way. No financial reward compensates for holding back the movement which the country needs. We have a wonderful national endowment in the Mississippi River and the great streams that flow into it, in the rivers of the South, the West, the East. That endowment lies largely idle, but now is the time which calls for its use. The problem is, of course, an economic one, but it is more than that—it is a patriotic one. Let him that can come to help, thinking first of his country and second of himself.

A committee under the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense has been formed to advise in promoting the immediate use of all our waterways. As at present constituted it consists of George E. Bartol, president of the Philadelphia Bourse; Brig. Gen. William M. Black, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, Washington; Capt. J. F. Ellison, Cincinnati, Ohio, former secretary of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and late general manager of the Amazon Navigation Co.; Joy Morton, Chicago, Ill., a director in many financial, mercantile, and transportation companies; James E. Smith, St. Louis, Mo., president of the newly formed Mississippi Valley Waterways Association; Walter S. Dickey, Kansas City, Mo., manufacturer of clay products and president of the Kansas City Missouri River Navigation Co.; and M. J. Sanders, president of the New Orleans Board of Trade and representative for many years of the Leyland Line of steamers. The address of the committee is Room 1042, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

The effort to promote the use of our waterways has the approval of the War Department, the Commerce Department, and the Shipping Board, and so far as they can these will cooperate in the work. The Department of Commerce, therefore, issues this statement to indicate on behalf of our commerce how grave the situation is, and to ask from business and commercial organizations everywhere that the practical help to be given in this emergency by water transportation have their early and thorough consideration.

The Webb Export Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, on June 4, 1917, appeared in the Economic World an article that in clear and convincing fashion points out what seems to me some fundamental objection to the policy sought to be established by the passage of the so-called Webb export bill. To call attention to these objections I submit the article for insertion in the RECORD under leave to print. The following is the article:

COOPERATIVE SELLING V. THE MIDDLEMAN IN THE UPBUILDING OF OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE—CAN THE MIDDLEMAN ADVANTAGEOUSLY BE ELIMINATED FROM FOREIGN TRADE?

[By W. P. Goemann.]

I. THE COMMONLY ACCEPTED PICTURE OF EXISTING CONDITIONS.

Business leaders have of late set up the claim that our existing system of exporting through either a direct selling organization or by middlemen—importers, exporters, commission houses, or manufacturers' agents—is inefficient, wasteful, and therefore an insurmountable obstacle to the expansion of our foreign trade. In their opinion, the future of our overseas commerce demands that the Sherman law be amended so as to permit manufacturers to combine for the purpose of handling foreign sales on a cooperative basis. This contention has been indorsed by almost every important chamber of commerce and trade association in the country. President Wilson has repeatedly urged Congress to legalize such combines. The Federal Trade Commission has officially stamped them with its approval and submitted a voluminous report to Congress for the purpose of proving that cooperative selling is sound in theory and workable in practice.

America's handicap: What does this report prove? It vividly outlines the handicaps under which the American exporter labors. It shows how European transportation costs from factory to shipboard are lower than American charges, because or special export rates and of shorter hauls. The lack of an American merchant marine and the resulting slow and irregular shipments at artificially high rates are clearly established. For example: The American prices of both coal and cement are lower than those quoted in Europe; yet our producers of both commodities are undersold by European producers in the South American market because of the discrimination by the shipping combine against traffic originating in American ports. The commission points out how trade is hampered by the absence of American banks in foreign countries, able to supply dollar exchange, discount notes, collect drafts, furnish credit to American exporters and the importers of American goods, and willing to give reliable information on local business conditions and ratings. The small overseas investments of the United States are cited, and it is shown how trade "follows the loan." Thus, when Messrs. M. Samuel & Co., of London, loaned $50,000,000 for the development of Hankow, China, they specified that all materials required must be purchased through their London office. The report proves also that the sale of American goods is made difficult, if not impossible, by the fact that the public utilities and industries of half the world are controlled by European capital and managed by European engineers and superintendents. Again, the report brings out the fact that the American manufacturer does not study the customs, needs, or prejudices of foreign consumers—being kept busy by the home market. All of the foregoing are very real obstacles to America's commerce, but they can not be removed by an amendment to the Sherman law, which does not affect them in the slightest degree.

These are the handicaps under which importers and exporters of American products have been compelled to fight the country's commercial battles. In spite of them, however, they have not only held past gains but have increased American exports year by year. In 1900 United States exports were valued at $1,370,763,571; in 1905 they had grown to $1,491,744,641; while in 1913, the last year before the war, they amounted to $2,428,506,358. Wholly or partly manufactured goods, the most desirable class of exports, are also being sold abroad in increasing volume; in 1900 they constituted 58.70 per cent of the total exports; in 1905, 60 per cent; while in 1913, 62.03 per cent of American goods purchased by foreign countries came under this classification. Can the economic organization which has done this with inadequate facilities be called a failure?

Economics of cooperation: The Federal Trade Commission believes that cooperative selling would result in better service, do away with needless expense, and enable the small manufacturer to compete on equal terms with foreign rivals. But it does not attempt to furnish proof of these claims. On page 13 of the commission's report it declares: "The report is limited in that no detailed description is given of the agencies by which American export trade and that of other countries is carried on." The commission would establish the inadequacy of an institution which it does not analyze. This task it leaves to the business men and publicists whose opinions the commission prints. The advantages they claim for cooperation are primarily two: First, general advantages; second, an improved selling system. In the first group would be placed: The ability of a combine to study the needs of foreign markets; to hire efficiency experts capable of advising members as to how these requirements can be met; to conduct extensive advertising and educational campaigns for the purpose of creating a demand for American products; to maintain a joint credit bureau. In the second group would be found: The elimination of competition between American exporters by fixing price, limiting supply, standardizing products, dividing territory, and establishing rigid terms and conditions of sale; the maintaining of foreign offices and warehouses in charge of a staff of experts; the handling and financing of orders which are too large for the individual manufacturer; the lowering of transportation costs by shipping in shipload lots; the development of trade which can not be profitably carried on at present; the securing of all of these advantages, while lowering selling costs by dividing the expenses among many exporters.

Manufacturers or exporters who believe that the benefits outlined in the first group would justify the necessary outlay can at present legally combine to further these objects. Countless trade associations in all parts of the United States are doing all these things without violating the law. A consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that the first group is, as salesmen say, "a talking point."

The question of standardization of prices, products, and trade practices can not be gone into in detail, but it should be carefully considered whether the rapid progress which American industry has made in the past can be continued if the inefficient are protected, while the efficient are hampered by agreements. Superior service, lower prices, and increased sales have always followed the ceaseless trying out of new methods and products and the instant adoption of improvements which are the results of keen competition. It is well known that a wide variety of products stimulates consumption.

II. THE FUNCTION OF THE MIDDLEMAN.

Foreign trade and the middleman: In regard to the improved selling methods possible under cooperation all of the discussion is devoted to cooperation versus direct selling. The importers, exporters, commission houses, and manufacturers' agents are not considered; therefore, their inefficiency is not established. It is not shown how or why cooperation would result in better service or lower costs—and service and cost are the basis of all trade. Thirty-five United States consuls prepared special reports for the Federal Trade Commission on the influence of foreign combinations on American trade. It is significant that not a single consul believed that combination of American exporters was necessary, while many expressed the opinion that it would not prove practical. These men, who are studying the methods of successful exporters in all parts of the world, stated that if banking and shipping facilities are provided the middleman can dispose of all goods that are adapted to foreign markets, into which entry is allowed by tariff provisions.

The importance of the middleman as a trade factor is shown by the fact that before the war Great Britain, with 590 large firms doing business in China, controlled 56 per cent of its imports; Japan, with 1,269 concerns, most of which were small merchants, transacted 20 per cent of the business; the 131 American firms were able to secure 6 per cent of the trade; while Germany's 296 merchants handled 5 per cent. English textiles are known all over the world; in 1913 Great Britain's textile exports amounted to $885,000,000, against Germany's $280,000,000 and $75,000,000 for the United States. This huge trade has been built up by the middlemen who market England's woolens and cottons. Prof. O. M. W. Sprague, of Harvard University, testified: "Practically all British export trade has been developed by export houses, not by combinations of producers, and not by means of direct representation of single producers." On page 95 of its report the Fed-

eral Trade Commission also comments on this well-known fact, declaring that "British export trade has been built up in general by merchants men not concerned with manufacturing, but with buying and selling only."

The middleman as a specialist: It is not generally known that the middleman won this important place in world commerce in direct competition with huge combines. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great chartered companies, of which the Hudson Bay and East India companies are the most familiar, "eliminated the wastes of competition" by dividing the world into trading zones. These companies were given a legal monopoly. They were favored by the Government in every possible way. They enjoyed every advantage peculiar to big business. Still they were displaced by individual traders, who succeeded where they had failed, by concentrating on a limited territory, by a quicker turnover of a smaller capital, by freedom from hampering regulations, by instant adjustment to local conditions, by their expert knowledge of all phases of the business. They were specialists. Modern business is controlled by the specialists. Experience has shown that the best results can be obtained and financial stability increased by distributing the risks of commerce over a wide area.

The degree of concentration and freedom permitted by this system increases efficiency and penalizes the inefficient. This is of peculiar importance in exporting which can not be standardized, as every market must be handled differently. Therefore, trade can reach its maximum only if each market is developed by independent traders able and willing to accept full responsibility in regard to credits, present demands, and future needs. This is best shown by reprinting the qualifications which the Federal Trade Commission believes a successful textile exporter must possess: "The merchant exporter must know every detailed requirement of every country to which he would export, the weight and fineness of cloths required by the consuming public, the colors, the class of pattern demanded by the fashions of the respective countries, the customs and requirements as to credits, the tariff imposed upon each class of goods, the port charges, the kind of packing required, the size of package to which dealers are accustomed, length of piece required by purchaser, the color of paper in which the package should be wrapped to conform to the custom of the trade, and all of the other minute details which form so large a factor in determining success or failure in foreign markets."

These are a few of the services rendered by the middlemen. The competition among them is very keen, so that the manufacturer whose goods can satisfy a local demand at a reasonable price can always find houses eager to handle the same. Their inability to sell goods which can not meet the acid tests of price, quality, and adaptation to local needs is viewed by many manufacturers as an unncessary limitation on their sales, and is, therefore, advanced as an argument for cooperative selling, which would, it is said, be able to develop trade that can not be carried on under existing conditions. An attempt of this kind to change the customs of an importing nation is not business but benevolent gambling. At the present time all reasonable possibilities are quickly developed by the importers and exporters who are found wherever goods are bought and sold.

A world-wide organization: Although each individual trader is absolutely independent and financially responsible, the importers of different countries handle each other's goods, so that, viewed as a whole, they form a world-wide sales organization. No matter how insignificant a country's commercial life may appear, no matter how small its volume of trade may be, individual traders by acting as distributors for a wide variety of commodities will be able to do a profitable business. Thus, in the most inaccessible regions of the Congo traders are found who purchase and export rubber, ivory, gum copal, cocoa, and copper; while acting as importers and distributors of textiles, hardware, foodstuffs, etc. Individually, traders of this type may not appear to warrant serious notice; but they are found by the thousands in all parts of the world so that, collectively, they transact a trade which yearly runs into the hundreds of millions.

At the other extreme, of course, are found the giant importers and exporters, like the Japanese firm of Mitsui & Co., which has 1,525 employees and a combined capital and reserve of 35,000,000 yen ($17,000,000); or Jardine, Mathson & Co., with headquarters in Shanghai, who control and manage steamships, railroads, banks, cotton mills, and other enterprises. Trading houses of this size are not confined to the Orient; they are found all over the world.

No matter what the size or character of these traders they are all firmly established as part of the economic life of the country and community in which they do business. Their heads are respected citizens and influential in business circles—often having an interest in or controlling local enterprises. At all times they can obtain the willing cooperation and support of the local financial and political powers.

Can the middleman be displaced? Could a so-called cooperative system displace these traders, or would it merely create a new set of middlemen? No organization, however large, could displace or ignore the small local traders through whose hands the commerce of the world passes. Their overhead expenses are so widely distributed that there is not the slightest reason for believing that the costs for this service could be lowered. The combines' success would depend on the maintenance of the most cordial relations with them. Therefore, the dissension which would be caused by an arbitrary attempt to fix terms and price or to limit supply would merely play into the hands of trade rivals of other countries, who would make every effort to capture this trade by offering satisfactory terms.

But the small trader is merely a secondary consideration in the great cooperative scheme, the foundation of which is the establishment in leading commercial ports of showrooms, offices, and warehouses to permit the carrying on of a direct wholesale business. In this case the middlemen are the rich and powerful importers and exporters who at present control this trade. They would accept the entrance of the combine as an open challenge and would fight it by every means in their power. Would a conflict of this kind benefit American commerce? Mr. F. Johnston, of the American Exporter, believes that serious damage to American trade would follow, as "elaborate foreign selling organization for the average manufacturer would not only be unnecessary, generally speaking, but positively detrimental because the important distributing factors would be antagonized at the start and be in a well entrenched position to retaliate." The fight between these two selling systems will be a battle to the death. Which will triumph?

III. MIDDLEMAN OR COOPERATION?

Hundreds of independent traders in both the importing and the exporting countries will be opposing a few huge, unwieldy combines controlled by distant managements. Under these circumstances the individual has many advantages.

Technical knowledge and incentive: Every importer and exporter has a specialized knowledge of the commercial and industrial conditions of the district in which he does business. He has first-hand knowledge of the country's distributing methods. He has studied and knows how to satisfy the local prejudices. He knows which habits peculiar to the people can be made the basis of a profitable trade; he is expert in cultivating business of this character. The financial, commercial, and political customs and requirements are clear to him. He knows which laws must be obeyed, which commercial requirements must be met, which business formalities of a semisocial character can not be disregarded. He is perfectly free at all times to take advantage of any opportunity which may present itself—ready instantly to change his methods. He is forced to this attitude of mind by the fact that he has assumed heavy financial responsibilities. His energy and enterprise arise from the fact that his income depends absolutely on business transacted; while incentive is supplied by the knowledge of the rich rewards won by the successful middleman. This combination of knowledge, freedom, responsibility, and incentive has won many a commercial battle. It is enabling Japanese merchants to drive the cotton goods of other countries out of the great Chinese market.

It is a first principle of trade that knowledge of local trade conditions is so valuable as to be almost priceless, for it can only be acquired by long residence and experience. Any attempt to standardize the needs of different markets would result in serious loss of trade. Therefore, there is every reason to suppose that the individual will always be able to maintain this advantage. Little improvement would result from the employment of resident managers whose knowledge and experience would be of little value if they were hampered by inflexible rules. Besides this quick adjustment to new conditions, initiative, energy, and incentive would all be lacking.

Connections and public opinion: Through years of service the middlemen have built up the closest financial and commercial connections in the worth-while importing countries, and have acquired that all-important asset, the good will of the trade there. They have financed the retailers by extension of credits. They are experienced in handling their customers; in many cases their relations have been continued for so long a time that the personal element figures largely. The men who have built these connections are skilled in maintaining them and would strongly resist any attempt to break them up. Could this be done by an American combine?

It is likely that the established middleman would be assisted by local legislation or political action, while he would be strongly supported by public opinion. A combine of foreign manufacturers would be looked upon as a foreign trust trying to drive domestic business men out of business. This is shown by our own agitation against the German potash cartel in 1905, by our antidumping law of 1916, and by the antitrust suit of the United States against the Mexican Sisal Combine. Thus, if popular feeling did not lead to political action, the middleman would still be able to capitalize the prejudice against the "foreign monopolist."

Finance and credits: A large part of foreign trade is financed by the middlemen, who either purchase on a cash basis or by acceptances which can be freely discounted by the manufacturers. The middleman extends credit to his customers on his own responsibility. A combine would be compelled to assume this vast burden. To protect itself it would necessarily maintain rigid credit standards, which would act as a restriction on trade. The trader can take chances which could not be safely taken by representatives whose authority was limited by an arbitrary credit system, for the trader's liability is individual and is limited to a certain territory, the business conditions and possibilities of which are fully known to him. He is in close touch with his customers. As a consequence the credits he gives are always in harmony with the demands of trade, as all possibilities are eagerly financed by opposing traders. The flexibility and widespread distribution of commercial hazards made possible by this system permits trade to be developed to the maximum at the minimum of cost and risk to the manufacturer. If the manufacturer who sells through the middleman himself extends credit to foreign customers, the middleman can supply information based on experience and make collections.

Service and claims: Good will can only be maintained if the many disagreements which are continually arising in business are instantly and completely adjusted to the satisfaction of the customer. The individual engaged in keen competition tries to avoid friction and to clear away misunderstandings as rapidly as possible; he can do this because he is acting on his own responsibility and protecting his own interests. Experience has taught him that dissatisfied customers are a liability which can wreck any business, and that a concession which errs on the side of liberality is often the best policy.

This can not be done by the representative of a combine, who is bound hand and foot by detailed regulations which are drawn up to protect the manufacturer by reducing claims to the minimum. No matter how liberal these allowances may be, they could only be collected after endless "red tape," which would make the customer feel that, after much discussion, he was being given as a favor that which he believed to be a right. One of the objects of cooperation is to lessen the power of the customer, as it is said that "competition only benefits the foreign consumer." True; but the foreign customer pays the bills, and permanent business can only be based on benefit to the consumer. The representatives of powerful organizations are apt to feel that the business is too large to warrant consideration of the "fads" of individual customers—wherein lies the middleman's opportunity.

Expenses: During business depressions the middleman maintains his organization on his own resources; and he is paid solely for results, exports are charged only with expenses actually incurred in making sales. These charges are kept at the lowest possible level by competition. The members of a combine, on the other hand, would have to maintain a complete organization at all times and to provide its running expenses irrespective of the amount of goods sold. In addition, the combine would be forced to spend large sums annually on an elaborate system of supervision. This is an expense which the middleman escapes entirely. Therefore, it is likely that the selling expenses under the "cooperative system" would at least equal the present charges, while there is a strong probability that they would be ultimately increased by high salaries and by attempts to develop unprofitable markets or to change trade customs.

It is doubtful whether a combine could cut transportation charges. At present the middlemen ship in large lots to important distributing points, where shipments are broken up and divided between the various local markets. Goods are also sent in shipload cargoes whenever this is possible, but the volume of trade between two ports does not often justify shipments of this size. Besides this, many middlemen operate or are interested in tramp steamers.

Capital investment: Millions and hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in the aggregate in the innumerable concerns now engaged in the world's foreign trade. Each of these concerns is a financial unit. If a unit of capital is poorly managed or wrongly invested it is swiftly eliminated without loss or danger to trade as a whole. On the contrary, business benefits by this process, as it is only burdened with the carrying charges of capital which is successfully invested. The manufacturer who sells through middlemen derives the benefits of their investment without assuming the slightest liability.

All this would be changed by cooperative associations. The manufacturer would not only be compelled to furnish the capital to duplicate existing facilities, but he would be called upon to make good all losses. The success of the combine would depend on its showing as a whole. A large part of the profits earned by self-supporting trade would be absorbed by the high fixed charges resulting from failure in some markets or semifailure in others. "A chain is as strong as its weakest link." These high carrying charges become a serious handicap when it is considered that the combine would be compelled to compete with capital, every unit of which was self-supporting.

Danger of dissension: How could an expert combine divide orders and allot expenses so as to satisfy all? Every member would have capital invested and would claim "equal rights." Some goods would sell with little effort. Others would be sold with great difficulty; still others would be unsalable. It would be almost impossible to make the manufacturer whose goods did not sell believe that they were "being pushed."

As Mr. C. H. Jones, of the Commonwealth Shoe Leather Co., declares: "If a salesman were carrying my goods and another manufacturer's shoes, and if he did not sell my shoes I would be pretty sure to say he was improperly influenced by the other man." The manufacturer whose goods "sold themselves" would refuse before long to pay high charges so as to finance a campaign to create a market for others' goods. The adoption of a sales and advertising policy would be a source of contention and inside politics. The middleman would surely keep a close watch for the least sign of dissension, and by offering favorable terms to disgruntled members would attempt to break up the combine.

Selling specialities: Again, there are goods which sell because of their perfect adaptation to a limited field. These goods sell on quality, on workmanship, on the results they produce. They can only be marketed by men who are willing to devote time and energy to pushing the product and who have a thorough knowledge of its technical uses. There are four methods by which this class of trade can be handled: First, by direct selling; second, through manufacturers' agents; third, through importers or exporters; and fourth, by cooperation. The first method is used by the Standard Oil Co., the Singer Sewing Machine Co., and the International Harvester Corporation. The second is believed by many to be the ideal method for a small manufacturer to handle foreign sales, as the manufacturers' agent furnishes his own capital, pays his own expenses, is sole agent for a limited field, and is paid only for goods sold. Therefore he produces results. Thus, although the International Harvester Corporation maintains its own selling force in Algeria, the United States consul at Algeria reports that an American competitor, the Walter A Wood Co., whose machines are sold through a local jobber, is steadily gaining a larger share of the business. Many importers and exporters also act as manufacturers' agents. The Federal Trade Commission rightly believes that the small manufacturer can not afford to maintain a foreign selling organization. It also holds that both manufacturers' agents and importers can not properly develop this class of business, as the interest and incentive are lacking—"their profits come from the total, and it is the total with which they are chiefly concerned." Therefore it advances "cooperation" as the only solution. This argument could be used with greater force against a combine, whose representatives assume no financial responsibility and whose income is not dependent on business transacted.

Large orders: It is a debatable question whether it is sound economic policy for combines of manufacturers to finance orders for material for use in enterprises of a constructive kind, which are too large for the individual manufacturer. Is this not the function of the banker and investor? Should not this business be handled by local branches of American banks which can dispose of securities to American investors? Again, many believe that these orders must be handled directly by the manufacturers' own engineers, as machinery of this character is manufactured according to specifications.

Cartels and other combines: It is said that the success of foreign cartels and combines proves that the plan of "cooperation" is workable. The commission's report presents all the evidence favoring cartels in the most favorable light. It must be remembered that the operations of German cartels are a close State secret. Their failures are never permitted to reach the public, while success is proclaimed in all parts of the world. It is admitted that the most successful combine in the world is the German steel cartel. In common with all other German cartels it was formed to maintain domestic prices at an artificially high level. In the course of time it was found that this could only be done if the surplus was instantly removed from the home market. As a means of attaining this end it adopted the policy of selling in foreign markets at any price the goods would bring—German steel has been sold abroad at $7 per ton below the German price—and of paying high export bounties. It can not be said that this trade is negligible, as in 1913, 38 per cent of the total German steel production was marketed by the cartel. Can a sales organization which can only make "sales" by giving goods away be called successful? On page 28 of Part II of the commission's report, Consul General J. G. Lay states that in spite of the strong opposition of the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate—the all-powerful coal cartel of which the Government is a member—English coal has displaced German fuel in parts of the German home market. The same authority states that the German cement cartel is being rapidly driven out of foreign markets. The only cartels which have been able to secure a fair price are the potash cartel and the chemical and dyestuff combines. They have done this because the world needed their products, not because their selling methods were better than their competitors. Before the war there were no competitors—potash being a natural monopoly and chemicals an acquired monopoly resting on patent control and the skill of Germany's chemists.

The commission has gone through English industry with a fine comb for the purpose of proving its contention that foreign trade can only be developed by combines. It cites many instances. Most of these are trade associations of the type commonly found in the United States. It gives three isolated examples of the maintenance of a common engineering staff by noncompeting manufacturers—the Egyptian Engineering Co., the Anglo-Chinese Engineers' Association, and the Representation for British Manufacturers—all of which operate in one market, represent a limited number of manufacturers, and do not standardize products, restrict supply, or fix price. The commission does not show that sales have been increased, costs lowered, service bettered, or middle men displaced by these "combines."

The commission devotes a great deal of space to a group of English coal operators, who, it believes, are able to prevent the sale of American coal. To prove this it shows that American New River and Pocahontas coals cost from $2.85 to $2.90 at Hampton Roads, while an English coal of corresponding quality—"best admiralty large"—sells for from $4.62 to $4.74 at Cardiff. American costs are further reduced by the fact that a 6,000-ton cargo can, with the use of automatic machinery, be loaded at Hampton Roads in from six to eight hours, whereas the same operation consumes from six to eight days at a Welsh port. These advantages, which ought to assure a world-wide sale for American coal, are, in the commission's opinion, nullified by a combine of Englishmen who control the coaling stations of the world. But doubt is thrown on this by a few facts contained in Exhibit VI of the report, which show that 7 of the most important members of the English combine act as selling agents for 11 producers of American coal, and by the admission that "apart from the quality of her coal and her geographical situation, England's position in coal export trade may be definitely ascribed to an adequate and cheap supply of marine transportation."

Mr. P. S. Heintzleman, formerly American consul at Mukden, recounts the history of the Japanese Cotton Export Syndicate, which made use of all "economies" claimed for the cartel. In addition, it was granted bank credits at specially low rates as the result of a government guaranty, and was allowed large rebates by the transportation interests. This unfair competition, together with the fact that Mitsui & Co.—one of the world's largest exporters—acted as its selling agent, did not enable the syndicate to displace the independent importer and exporter in the cotton-goods trade of Manchuria. On the contrary, the combine was driven out of business in 1912 after a career of six years. This is but one of the many examples of the failure of "cooperation" in a great country's export trade.

Flag-Day Address of President Wilson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks, I desire to incorporate an address made by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, on Flag Day, June 14, 1917, as follows:

FLAG-DAY ADDRESS MADE BY PRESIDENT WILSON AT THE CELEBRATION ON THE MONUMENT GROUNDS.

My fellow citizens, we meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a Nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war.

And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth, and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life, worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies.

THOUSANDS ABOUT TO GO FORTH.

We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men—the young, the strong, the capable men of the Nation—to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what?

For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now?

For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battle field upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral.

They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not

do that their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance—and some of those agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital.

They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the foreign office in Berlin.

DENIED USE OF HIGH SEAS.

They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk.

What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause—as they will some day see it—as well as our own.

IN GRIP OF SAME SINISTER POWER.

They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life.

They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller States, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination.

PURPOSE HAS LONG BEEN AVOWED.

Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan States with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her Government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia.

The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

WOULD THROW BELT OF POWER ACROSS SEA.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia, and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey, or the ponderous States of the East.

Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German States themselves.

The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else. It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud States of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East,

DID NOT WISH TO BE UNITED.

These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men.

They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution. Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation, ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but can not have it until leave is granted from Berlin.

ARE IN FACT BUT SINGLE POWER.

The so-called central powers are in fact but a single power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will and Roumania is overrun.

The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

EAGERNESS EASY TO UNDERSTAND.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her foreign office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private.

Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That Government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It can not go farther; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

SEE POINT WHICH FATE BROUGHT.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet, and deep fear has entered their hearts.

They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power, or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it—an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities.

WILL THRUST THEM ASIDE.

Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany.

If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail, Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

AIM TO DECEIVE MANY PEOPLES.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise.

They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using

them for their own destruction—socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or cooperation in western Europe and a counter-revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next and final struggle.

INTRIGUE NO LESS ACTIVELY CONDUCTED.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion.

They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

WILL MAKE NO HEADWAY.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties.

The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a peoples' war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

Address of Hon. Dick T. Morgan, of Oklahoma, at the Commencement of Union Christian College, Merom, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I insert an address delivered by our colleague, the Hon. DICK T. MORGAN, of Oklahoma, June 6, 1917, at the commencement of Union Christian College, Merom, Ind. Mr. MORGAN graduated at this institution in 1876, and on the forty-first anniversary of his graduation was called to deliver the graduation oration, which follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. DICK T. MORGAN, OF OKLAHOMA, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, MEROM, IND., JUNE 6, 1917.

The four decades which have just passed cover nearly one-third of the history of the United States under the Constitution. If these years were measured by the progress that has been made and by the changes that have been wrought, they would constitute two-thirds of the history of the Nation. The United States of 1917 is not the United States of 1877. In the period spanned by these years there have been marked and marvelous changes—changes in the occupations and pursuits of the people, changes in the methods and instrumentalities of business, changes in the mode of transportation and communication, changes in the industrial, political, and social forces of the Nation; changes in the spirit of the church, in the character of the school, and in the power of the press, and changes in national problems, in national duties and responsibilities, and in national dangers.

In these years the unerring and invincible hand of time has made alterations and transformations in our national structure. The Great Sculptor of human events has conceived and carved a more imposing statue of the Nation, and the master artist of history has painted a more beautiful, attractive, and inspiring portrait of the American Republic. Silently and yet as irresistibly as the universe rolls through unbounded space these changes have been wrought. In them, through them, and by them the old nation has been buried in the silent tomb of the past and a new nation has been born into the world.

DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE.

Forty years ago agriculture was the chief occupation of our people. Two-thirds of our people resided on the farm. To-day two-thirds of our people reside in our towns and cities.

The sun of agriculture is no longer the center of our industrial universe. Like an immense magnet, the city has drawn the people of the country to it. The tide of our population has poured into our towns and cities like the waters of the Mississippi Valley have flowed into the Gulf. Urban interests dominate rural forces. Factories, mills, and manufacturing plants, stores, mercantile establishments, and commercial houses, trade, transportation, and financial institutions overshadow agriculture. The country which God made is an adjunct of the city which man made, into which for a full century the country has sent the flower of its population and the cream of its wealth.

In these years our population has increased from about 40,000,000 to 100,000,000. Our population has not only grown in numbers but changed its character. Since 1860, 27,000,000 immigrants have come to our shores. These people and their descendants constitute more than one-third of our population. This influx of foreign-born citizens has put new blood in the veins of our people, changed their ideals and aspirations, modified our institutions, and developed new moral, social, political, and economic forces, which have influenced the life of our people, changed the character of our citizenship, and written a new chapter in the history of the Nation.

OUR WEALTH HAS INCREASED.

Within four decades our wealth has increased from $25,000,000,000 to $200,000,000,000. In that wealth there is national strength, national efficiency, and national prestige. In it there may be national peril and national danger. Dollar signs may multiply until they become danger signals.

Within the last 10 years Congress has enacted laws which have to do with the conservation of wealth, the taxation of wealth, the regulation of wealth, the dissemination of wealth, and the creation of wealth. At the present time the measures before Congress attracting the greatest attention are those pertaining to wealth. Wealth presents two main problems: How to produce it successfully and how to distribute it equitably.

Our economic policies have been favorable to the production of wealth. We have not succeeded so well in its equitable distribution. Official records show that we have 120 persons each of whom have a net annual income in excess of $1,000,000; 329 persons each of whom have a net annual income in excess of $500,000; and 3,824 persons each of whom have a net annual income in excess of $100,000. These records show that 336,662 persons have an aggregate net annual income of $6,794,359,400, a sum larger in amount than the value of the annual crops produced by the 6,000,000 farmers of the United States and a sum double in amount the total wages paid in 1910 to more than 7,000,000 persons employed by our manufacturing establishments.

The college graduate of 1917 will be confronted with this wealth. Its influence permeates society, business, and politics, affects every calling, profession, and avocation of life, touches every avenue of human activity, extends to every portion and section of the country, and is felt around every fireside and in every home in the land.

I am not here to denounce wealth, to criticize those who possess it, to belittle its importance to the Nation, or to underestimate its benefits and blessings.

I am here to express my earnest hope that this great wealth shall not become a menace to the Nation; that it shall not be made an instrument of oppression, but that it shall be used for the glory of our country and for the good of mankind.

THE NEW BUSINESS WORLD.

We have had a revolution in the methods and instrumentalities of business. The modern business corporation has been invented. It has become the chief instrumentality in the business world. Our great industrial corporations possess immense capital, employ large numbers of men, control a large per-

centage of the business in their respective lines, and, combined, they dominate the business interests of the Nation.

The rise of the big business corporation has been the source of political agitation. I shall not enter upon a discussion of the trust question. I will say that our large industrial corporations should be the servants and not the masters of the people. More and more the sentiment prevails that our great industrial corporations are "impressed with a public use"; that the owners and managers should regard themselves, in a way, as trustees for the public; and that, in the administration of this trust they should have in view the rights of the public, the prosperity of the country, and the welfare of the millions of men they employ.

THE LABOR WORLD.

Concentration in business has had its counterpart in the organization of labor. The American Federation of Labor has a membership of more than 2,000,000 persons. It is a national organization of great activity and influence. Under it are State and local organizations. Our labor organizations have not attained the zenith of their power. Neither have we determined how we shall settle controversies between capital and labor.

Public sentiment, the great arbiter in labor disputes, recognizes that both capital and labor have rights, and that justice should be done both. It demands that capital shall be protected and rewarded, and that wage earners shall have adequate compensation, favorable working conditions, reasonable hours of labor, and such other advantages and opportunities as comport with the rights and dignity of American citizenship.

INVENTIONS HAVE INFLUENCE.

The human mind can not comprehend the influence which modern inventions have exerted. In the earlier days came the cotton gin, the steamboat, the railway, the telegraph, the sewing machine, and the reaper. In later years we have added the typewriter, the telephone, the phonograph, the electric light, the electric railway, wireless telegraphy, the linotype, the automobile, the aeroplane, and thousands of other inventions which have many times multiplied the man power of the Nation.

In their combined influence these inventions have revolutionized trade, transportation, and commerce, changed the habits, customs, and occupations of our people, opened new fields of employment, made new opportunities for our people, and contributed in a thousand ways to the building of the new nation of 1917.

POLITICAL WORLD CHANGES.

The political atmosphere has been modified and purified. Corruption in politics has diminished. Fraud in elections has decreased. A higher standard of morals is demanded of public officials. Candidates are limited in the use of money. Publicity of campaign expenditures is required. A secret ballot is in the hand of the voter. The old-fashioned nominating conventions have been abolished. Primary elections are in vogue. The initiative and referendum are in use. The recall is being tested. United States Senators are elected by direct vote of the people. And many other reforms have been adopted.

All along the line our political machinery has been remodeled, improved, liberalized, modernized, and perfected. The tallow candle and the kerosene lamp have ceased to be the lights of our poltical highways. In their stead electric lights have been installed. Now, as never before, political maneuvers are conducted in the bright light of the noonday sun.

On the whole, these changes have been for the better. There is still room for improvement. The rising generation should go forth into the world imbued with the spirit of political reform, determined that in this free country we shall have decent politics, honest elections, a free ballot, and a fair count.

THE PRESS KEEPS PACE.

The press has kept pace with the progress of the world. It constitutes one of the great educational forces of the Nation. Newspapers and magazines have multiplied in number, improved in character, and grown in influence. They disseminate information and knowledge, publish the news of the day, record the events of the world, print editorial comment and criticism, discuss the questions of the hour, and are welcomed as friends and companions in practically every home in the land. They are all powerful in the political world; they mold public sentiment, and public sentiment rules the world. The press has contributed largely to the progress of the Nation and has been one of the great lights which has guided the American people to higher attainments, to greater achievements, and to a loftier civilization.

THE RELIGIOUS WORLD.

In these years the religious world has changed. Our churches are more liberal toward each other. The spirit of Christian union prevails. The missionary spirit is more pronounced. The men and mission movement has been nation wide in its influence. Christian colleges and universities have multiplied, their equipment has been enlarged and improved, and vast millions have been given for their endowment. A philanthropic wave swept over the country and touched the hearts of many men possessed of great wealth.

During the last 25 years more than $3,000,000,000 have been given for educational, religious, and philanthropic purposes. In the centuries to come these gifts will be a perpetual power for the extension of Christianity, for the promotion of Christian education, and for the enlargement of the influence of our benevolent and philanthropic institutions.

GREATER NATION DEVELOPED.

In all our marvelous changes a greater and better Nation has been produced. Our population is greater than the combined population of England and France, and a little less than the combined population of Germany and France. Our wealth is greater than the combined wealth of England and France and greater than the combined wealth of German and France. A high English authority recently estimated that the annual savings of our people were $4,000,000,000—an amount almost equal to the combined annual savings of all the people of England, Germany, and France.

We lead all other nations in agriculture, in mining, in manufacturing, in our means of transportation and communication and in our internal commerce. Our resources surpass by far those of any other nation. Our educational facilities are of the highest character. We have attained eminence in art, science, and literature. Our people excel all others in inventive genius and our citizens are the most intelligent and progressive in the world.

WHAT MADE US GREAT?

The question arises, What made this country great? It may be asserted that the building of this new Nation has been due to climatic conditions, to the extent of our area, to the fertility of our soil, to the wealth of our mineral deposits, to the gold and silver hidden in the mountains of the West, to the vastness of our forests, to our Great Lakes, our mighty rivers, and our splendid harbors. But all these things were here throughout the centuries of the past, while this continent remained a wilderness inhabited by an uncivilized race. All these things were here during the 300 years following the discovery of America, and still there was no great nation on the American Continent.

Our reliance in the future should not be placed in our natural resources, in our great wealth, nor in the strength of our Naval and Military Establishments. Our safety is in our citizenship. Should the time unhappily ever come when this citizenship shall materially deteriorate in physical strength, in intellectual vigor, or in moral stamina the American Republic will decline, its power will recede, its strength will weaken, its influence will wane, and its glory will fade.

DUTIES OF CITIZENS.

On March 4, 1909, for the first time in my life, I witnessed the inauguration of a President. I saw William Howard Taft hold out his hand and touch the Holy Bible held by the Chief Justice of the United States. I heard him repeat the solemn oath of office which made him the Chief Executive of the Nation and placed in his keeping the welfare of 100,000,000 American citizens. This oath gave to one man immense power, placed upon him tremendous responsibility, imposed upon him the most arduous duties, and placed him in a position where his influence would be felt throughout the world.

A few days later I saw the Representatives elect assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives. I saw them, in groups by States, march down in front of the Speaker, hold up their hands, and take the oath of office which gave to each of them power in the National Government, and gave to them new duties to perform and additional responsibilities to bear.

The President and Senators and Representatives in Congress should be true to the trust reposed in them and should faithfully and diligently discharge the duties of their offices. It should be borne in mind, however, that the same Constitution and laws which give power to these high public officials also give power to every voter and impose duties and responsibilities upon every citizen. The voter and the citizen are under the same obligation to perform their duties as the President is to perform his duties. Fundamentally it is not the public officer but the citizen who holds the destiny of the Nation in his hands.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

Good citizenship is the basis of good government. Good laws contribute to good government, but good laws do not necessarily make good government. With good citizens and bad laws there will be better government than with bad citizens and good laws. The laws do not make the citizen—the citizen makes the laws. Then, what are some of the chief characteristics of good citizenship?

Industry is one of the elements of good citizenship. No one can be a good citizen who is not industrious. Every citizen should have some useful and honorable business or profession or engage in some work which will contribute to the good of society.

The selection of a calling for life is sometimes a difficult problem for young people. As a matter of fact, it is not so important what you do as how you do it.

I saw a Representative resign his seat in Congress rather than face charges which had been filed against him. I saw a United States Senator expelled from the Senate—said to be the greatest legislative body in the world—on account of alleged fraud in his election. I saw a United States judge impeached by the House of Representatives. I witnessed his trial before the Senate, sitting as a high court of impeachment, under the Constitution, and I heard the judgment of conviction which drove him from his exalted position, robbed him of his power, and sent him out into the world in disgrace and dishonor. These incidents, and others like them which might be mentioned, show that it is not the office one holds, but the conduct of the incumbent in office, which brings distinction, credit, and honor. So it is in private life. It is not what you do, but how you do it, that brings success in life, recognition in the world, and earns for you the gratitude of your country.

When a life work is selected it should be pursued with industry, energy, and persistence. There can be no national success, there can be no individual success, without industry. Industry is the master key which unlocks the door of success for the nation as well as for the individual. Failure is the inevitable penalty which idleness imposes; success is the reward, the golden crown of life, which industry bestows. There is no demand in any business, calling, or profession for the idle, indolent, lazy man. He is a dead-weight to his community and country, a stumbling block in the way of progress, and a promoter of disorder, mischief, immorality, and crime.

MORALITY IS GREAT FORCE.

Morality is an element of good citizenship. There are two great forces in the world—good and evil. They are antagonistic in their nature. Between these forces there can be no "peace without victory"—no compromise, armistice, or truce. You can not be neutral between these forces. You must align yourself on one side or the other. It is your duty to enlist under the banner of righteousness and resist evil in all its forms, phases, and aspects. There are many ways this may be done.

We may resist evil, first, by our words, by what we say, by the wrong we denounce and the right we uphold; second, we may resist evil by the lives we live, by the deeds we do, and by the examples we set; third, we may resist evil by giving our time, talent, and money for the advancement of every good cause; fourth, we may resist evil by cooperation with others—by cooperating in the building and supporting of churches, in the founding and maintaining of Christian colleges and universities, and in organizing and promoting various kinds of societies, institutions, and movements which will uplift the world and increase the sum of human happiness.

RIGHTS OF OTHERS.

Regard the rights of others. The Government, which imposes duties, also confers rights and privileges. These rights are valuable. Under our free Government the rights and privileges of citizenship are sacred and priceless. Under no conditions should a citizen be deprived of these rights and privileges. To do so violates the fundamental principles upon which organized society is based and upon which civil government is founded. Young people make it a rule to regard the rights of others. By doing so you will add to your personal popularity, promote your success in business, contribute to the peace and good order of your community, and illustrate by your conduct one of the most valuable traits of citizenship.

In our National Capital, there are many statues, monuments, and memorials erected in honor of American citizens who have rendered conspicuous service for their country. Two of these monuments tower above all others. One is the Washington Monument, the other is the Lincoln Memorial. Washington and Lincoln did not live for themselves alone; they did not die for themselves alone. Washington was the founder of this Republic; Lincoln was its preserver. We can not be Washingtons; we can be Lincolns. We can be preservers of this Republic. We can live unselfish lives. If we have wealth, we can use it in the service of others. If we have talent, we can use it for the benefit of humanity. If we hold high positions in life, we can render patriotic service to our country and our fellow citizens. Whether we have little or much we can contribute something for the good of others.

RESPECT THE LAW.

It is the duty of every citizen to respect the law. There can be no organized society, no civil government, without law. We have nearly 100,000 men and women in our Federal and State penitentiaries; we have double this number in our minor prisons; and we have a still larger number of criminals who have escaped arrest, conviction, and imprisonment. We spend more money on our criminals than we do in educating our children. There is no limit to the supply of our criminals. Drought, floods, and insects may destroy our crops, but the annual harvest of criminals never fails.

But these are the criminal classes. Among our citizens generally there should be a higher respect for the law. Too many so-called respectable people do not have the proper regard for the law. This condition should be corrected. Respect for the law should be taught in our homes, in our schools, in our churches, on the rostrum, and in the press.

I appeal to the young people in this audience to go forth into the world determined in your hearts, first, that you will respect the law; second, that you will recognize its supremacy; third, that you will render true and faithful obedience thereto; fourth, that in every appropriate way you will aid in its enforcement; and fifth, that at all times and under all circumstances, you will uphold the law and order, good government, and civic righteousness.

There are two kinds of laws—human and divine. Respect for the human law meets the requirements of good citizenship. The ideal citizen, however, respects the divine law. He selects the Book of all Books for his guide, conforms his life to its teachings and principles, and takes the Chief Character therein revealed—the lowly Nazarene—as his friend, companion, and Savior.

PATRIOTISM MUST RULE.

Patriotism is one of the essential elements of good citizenship. It is the duty of every citizen to revere the flag. The flag is the emblem of our country. The Stars and Stripes symbolize the Nation—with all its people, with all its power, with all its wealth, with all its resources, and with all its institutions. Any insult to the flag is an insult to the Nation and to all its citizens, individually and collectively.

Reverence for the flag means patriotism. Patriotism is the supreme test of citizenship. It has been said, "Love of country is one of the loftiest virtues." It matters not what other virtues a man may have; he is not a good citizen if he does not love his country. The flag should have a place in the home, in the school, in the church, and in the heart of every American citizen.

The unexpected has come to our Nation. We are engaged in war with the foremost military power of the world.

Our Navy is already on the high seas participating in the contest. Thousands have volunteered for service, and are now wearing the uniform of their country. Everywhere our people are responding nobly to the call of our country. No one can foretell the end of the war, or the conditions upon which peace will finally come. In this crisis I put my faith in the character of American citizenship. Hitherto dark clouds have hovered over the national horizon. The American people have always been equal to the occasion. They have met every emergency. They will not fail now. Our people will make any sacrifice that is necessary to conduct this war to a successful conclusion. Abraham Lincoln in his immortal Gettysburg speech expressed the hope "that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." May it be the earnest prayer of all our hearts that through this war all the nations of the world shall have a new birth of freedom, and that forever thereafter peace shall reign among them.

Democracy of the World.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRA G. HERSEY,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 18, 1917.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the address of the Hon. Elihu Root, chairman of the United States Commission to the Russian people Friday, June 15, 1917:

PETROGRAD, FRIDAY, VIA LONDON, SATURDAY.

"The Russian people consider war inevitable and will continue it. The Russians have no imperialistic wishes. We know that you have none. We shall fight together to secure liberty, freedom, and happiness for all

the world. I am happy to say that I do not see any moral idea or factor between America and Russia to divide us. The two peoples—Russia fighting tyranny and America standing as the oldest democracy—hand in hand will show the way to happiness to nations great and small."

These ringing words, expressing the attitude of the Russian Government toward America and the American mission, headed by Elihu Root, were voiced to-night by Mr. Tereschtenko, minister of foreign affairs, responding for the Council of Ministers to Mr. Root's address of sympathy and good will on the part of the American Government.

The American ambassador, David R. Francis, presented the Root mission to the ministers in the Marinsky Palace, explaining that the mission had come to Russia to discover how America can best cooperate with its ally in forwarding the fight against the common enemy. The presentation was very informal, only a few Russian officials and the members of the American embassy attending. Mr. Kerensky, the youthful minister of war, just back from the front, wore the khaki blouse of a common soldier.

The ministers listened with rapt attention to Mr. Root's address, which was a powerful utterance, both in substance and manner.

Mr. Tereschtenko rose from a sick bed to attend the presentation, and responded without notes, expressing great joy in welcoming the commission from America. He said Russia's revolution was based on the wonderful words uttered by America in 1776. He read part of the Declaration of Independence and exclaimed, "Russia holds with the United States that all men are created free and equal."

Mr. Tereschtenko sketched the history of the Russian revolution briefly, saying that the Russians, enslaved for centuries, threw off all the old order just as the wind blows autumn leaves from the forest. Russia now faces two problems, said the minister, the necessity of creating a strong democratic force within its boundaries and the fighting of an external foe. Then he declared for war and expressed an unbounded confidence in the power of Russia to meet the situation.

MR. ROOT SPEAKS FOR DEMOCRACY.

"Mr. President and members of the council of ministers," said Mr. Root, "the mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and people of the United States of America with a message to the Government and people of Russia. The mission comes from a democratic Republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a President who holds his high office as chief executive of more than 100,000,000 free people by virtue of popular election, in which more than 18,000,000 votes were freely cast and fairly counted pursuant to law by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.

"For 140 years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we still have maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence. Under the security of our own laws we have grown in strength and prosperity. But we value our freedom more than wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed, that America might be free.

"We believe in the competence of the power of democracy, and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world, in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

"The news of Russia's new-found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land sympathy and hope went out to the new sister in the circle of democracies. And the mission is sent to express that feeling.

"The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia a greeting of sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, Godspeed. Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life which must give form to the government and laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life.

"As we look across the sea we distinguish no party, no class. We see great Russia as a whole, as one mighty, striving, aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, essential kindliness, strong common sense, courage, and noble idealism of the Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessing upon you all. We believe you will solve your problems, that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order everywhere has passed away and the world is free.

FEARFUL DANGER THREATENS.

"One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of a military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and the allies.

"The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight for it now, when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union, and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

"So, America sends another message to Russia—that we are going to fight, and have already begun to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours and our cause yours, and, with a common purpose and mutual helpfulness of a firm alliance, make sure of victory over our common foe.

"You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress when, on the 2d of April last, he advised a declaration of war against Germany. He said:

"'We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government (the German Government), following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.'

"'The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundation of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.'

AGAIN QUOTES THE PRESIDENT.

"And you will see the feeling toward Russia with which America has entered the great war in another clause of the same address. President Wilson further declared:

"'Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose, and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naïve majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honor.

"That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest. Practical and specific methods and the possibilities of our allies' cooperation, the members of the mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia."

Italy and the Italian Mission.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 13, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the South has been welcoming the Italian war mission, which arrived here on May 23, and wherever its members have come they have been acclaimed by all of our citizens. It has, indeed, been a triumphal progress which has been awaiting them wherever they have journeyed throughout the United States, and within a few days the people of New York City will extend to them a reception which will equal that which has been bestowed unto Gen. Joffre and Mr. Balfour. It is, indeed, a remarkable change that has occurred in the state of mind of many of our people. Newspapers and others that had in the past plastered the Italian immigrant that has come here with charges and insinuations which those who have come in contact with the Italian people have known to be untrue are now engaged in singing their praises. It has taken this war to awaken many of our people to the realization that the men who have come from Italy have worked here by the sweat of their brow, performing the most arduous kind of labor in all kinds of weather, and many times for small wages. They are commencing now to recognize the fact that whatever may have been said against the Italian immigrant was not expressed after careful thought or deep study. It was the off-handed expression of men who had reached hasty conclusions without thorough investigation. Many things may be said against the city of New York by those who do not know its fullness of heart and its depth of soul. Nowhere in this country is merit more quickly appreciated, regardless of race, creed, or color.

Many people have said of New York that it was a self-satisfied municipality, devoid of real patriotism, and given over to gross materiality. Others have said that it was not an American community, and yet during the past week it has not only subscribed but more than subscribed the amount of liberty-loan bonds that it was expected that its people would take. It presents a lesson to be emulated by all other cities throughout the country, and it points with pride that within its gates are to be found men, women, and children who have come from all over the world and from every part of the United States, proud and happy to be part of it, ready to do their duty to the country, and amongst these is the greatest Italian population to be found in any city of the world.

They are making good progress in every line of endeavor, whether in education, art, or music. They are taking an active interest in civic matters in the city of New York, and the boys of Italian descent can be found in our Army and Navy equal in proportion to the ratio of their population to that of the rest of the country.

The coming of the Italian Mission to the United States is bound to increase our respect for the men who have come from Italy, and when people commence to read, to study, and learn more about those who are in their midst and the country from

whence they have come the usual result of knowledge follows, namely, greater respect for neighbors and a feeling of gratitude as well as appreciation for their coming. No words of mine can give adequate praise to the invention of the wireless by one of the members of this mission, Senator William Marconi, and if Italy was only entitled to the admiration of the world for giving to it Marconi and his invention, then posterity would gladly bestow it, but Italy has done more in this war than is generally known.

Italy entered the conflict with the idea of having paid back to her the Provinces along the Trentino and Trieste fronts and has spent about $400,000,000 each year since. It is a remarkable fact that in 20 years' time Italy had so reduced her national debt that at the time when it became one of the belligerents it had only 5 per cent of it due and owing to foreign nations, or, in other words, in a score of years Italy had been able to redeem 45 per cent of its national debt.

The following editorial from the New York Times of May 24, 1917, has this to say about Italy:

ITALY.

It is of good augury that the Italian war mission arrived in Washington yesterday. On May 23, 1915, the Italian Government informed Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, that Italy would regard herself as at war the next day; and the first blood in the war between the two nations was shed on May 24. Memorable and splendid were those days and nights of popular emotion in May. At last the great net of German intrigue was torn apart by an angry democracy. From the Villa Malta, on the Pincian Hill, Prince Von Buelow, the sometime chancellor, cleverest of German diplomatists and men of the world, married to a patrician Italian woman, familiar with the Italian language and Italian politics, German special ambassador since the preceding December, had brought to bear all the arts of persuasion, intimidation, corruption.

The great Roman families, the plutocrats, the industrialists, the Vatican, and the "blacks," every class was wheedled; and every class had seemed content with neutrality. Socialists and the bourgeoisie, the army to a considerable extent, the docile, obedient politicians of the Italian Chamber, experts in the gospel of the spoils and machine politics, practiced to perfection for years by the great boss, in or out of office, Giovanni Giolitti; finance, a host of intellectuals, had sworn by Germany. Bismarck had driven Italy into the triple alliance, sowed hatred between her and France by encouraging the latter to take Tunis, "an Italian colony guarded by French soldiers," as some Italian statesman has called it, just as Italy was reaching for it. Bismarck, too, had played the Vatican against the Quirinal. Italy had nowhere else to go. If Austria was her old foe and oppressor, to Prussia she owed the recovery of Venetia, to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, Rome.

Germany had "penetrated" the peninsula. The country was prosperous, but the Banca Commerciale, a German institution with an Italian name, had come in 20 years largely to control industry, finance, business. It had money and jobs a manifold clientage, retainers of all sorts, a powerful press, strong, numerous friends in city and national government. It was the boss behind the boss. It was the director and intimate of Giolitti.

Let us remember these things. Let us remember the high generous passion that swept all the Germanophile obstructions away. Belgium and the *Lusitania*, Ypres and Rheims had stirred the multitudes, though the sleek parliamentarians did not know it. There had been riots in the cities in the early spring, demonstrations at the embassies of the allies. Giolittists had been attacked in the streets. The King had shown his wish as far as he could. On May 5, 1860, Garibaldi and The Thousand left Quarto, near Genoa, on that strange, romantic expedition to free Sicily. There was to be a celebration on May 5, 1915. The King, King "by the grace of God and the will of the people," wrote of Garibaldi's setting forth "with an immortal daring toward an immortal goal."

How d'Annunzio, no longer an Apuleian or a Petronian novelist, but a patriot-poet, wearing the laurel of Carducci, spoke nobly for "Greater Italy" at Genoa and Rome, spoke in the Forum to multitudes, denouncing Giolitti as a criminal and a traitor, denouncing "the lackeys of the Villa Malta"; how in all the cities there were great popular proally demonstrations; how Giolitti's parliamentary majority melted away, the Salandra-Sonnino Ministry was sustained, and war was voted by both chambers, only a few Socialists and bitter clericals opposing; how the Romans, 200,000 strong, a Colonna, Syndic of Rome, at the head, marched in torchlight procession to the Quirinal; how Giolitti fled to Piedmont—if we have forgotten these things, it is right now to recall them.

It is right to recall that in the spring of 1915 every omen pointed to German victory. Since the Marne and the Aisne the British and French had done nothing. The Russian armies had begun their long retreat with incredible loss and slaughter. A Teutonic movement on Kieff or Odessa was looked for by many. Separate peace offers to Russia by Austria and Germany were reported to the Italian foreign office. In dark days, to be followed by dark days, the Italian democracy came into the war for democracy. And after Montenegro and Serbia fell, after the Gallipoli fiasco, while the ferocious German assault was thundering against Verdun and Russia was rebuilding her shattered military machine, what would have happened if Austria could have thrown her whole strength on the eastern front?

For 400 to 450 miles, from the rock of the Carso, past the Carnia and the strange, monstrous red-stained Dolomites, past the Trentino to the Tonale Pass and Stelvio, the eternal snows of the Ortler and Adamello, everywhere Austria is ramparted by ranges, everywhere Italy has to fight uphill. Wonderfully, with surpassing skill and courage, have her troops under her great chief of staff, Cadorna, fought their difficult fight.

The Italian war mission is headed by a member of the House of Savoy. One of its members is a king of science. We salute in them and that mission the gifted, strong, and generous democratic nation whose name is dear to the civilized world.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

SERVICES NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN.

Italy as a country is as well known to Americans as any in Europe because of the great number of them that have visited it, and its history, up to recent years, forms no small part of our textbooks for secondary and advanced education. We are, however, strangely and, considering the size of our Italian population, rather mysteriously out of touch with modern Italy, and concerning its living men of eminence not many of us know more than a few of their names. So, too, the part which Italy has played in the war is not generally understood and appreciated here, though in proportion to her resources she has probably done at least as much for the good cause as any of its other supporters, and her accomplishments have been neither small nor unimportant.

To the military achievements of Italy Il Cittadino, of this city, calls deserved attention, its motive being, of course, to gain for the members of the Italian mission, who have just arrived, recognition in some degree comparable to that which has made so notable the welcome accorded to the representatives of Great Britain and France.

Even at the beginning of the war, it reminds us, Italy's carefully reasoned and fully justified abandonment of the Central Empires, with which she had been in alliance, was of enormous service, in that it relieved France from what otherwise would have been the task of guarding her Italian frontier. After some months of comprehensible delay, Italy entered actively into the war on the side of the allies, timing her declaration of belligerency so that it stopped the German rush into Russia and compelled Germany and Austria to use against Italy great numbers of troops drawn from the eastern and western fronts. At Durazzo Italy saved the remnant of the Serbian Army—the men now fighting in Macedonia—and she captured Monastir, the only allied victory in that sector.

And Italy can claim the credit of being the only one of the allies to carry the war into enemy territory on a really large scale, and thereby she has given anxious occupation to large forces of both Germans and Austrians—forces which, but for her courage and efficiency, would have been available for employment elsewhere and might have affected seriously the course of events.

"Two Wrongs Do Not Make One Right."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. H. LaGUARDIA,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I want to include a letter written by a resident of my city to my colleague from Minnesota, the Hon. HAROLD KNUTSON. It is indeed gratifying that the gentleman's efforts and activities on the floor of this House are not only known and recognized in his own State but also in the East and in the great State of New York. In the short time that he has been a Member of this House he has on several occasions taken an active part in the debates on important measures before the House. It seems that the old custom of the first-term man not actively participating in the affairs of the House has found an exception in the case of the Hon. HAROLD KNUTSON, of Minnesota.

The letter follows:

262 STANTON STREET,
New York City, June 13, 1917.

Hon. HAROLD KNUTSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: At a recent declamation contest held at the Alfred Corning Clark House in this city I entered as one of the contestants. For my recitation I chose your speech delivered on April 5 entitled "Two Wrongs Do Not Make One Right" and was chosen first-prize winner. The judges and many in the audience afterwards complimented me upon the subject.

Though I may not possess the speaking ability that you have, still it was the contents of the speech that decided in my favor. I chose your speech because I felt the same way as you did on the subject matter, and that made me put much more feeling in my talk.

I thought it my duty to write and inform you of my success and also to thank and congratulate you for that speech.

Very truly, yours,

SAMUEL B. REIMAN.

The Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT F. POLK,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, in view of the many thorough examinations, surveys, and reports made by the highest military engineering authorities of this Government, and the reports of commissions appointed by the President of the United States under authority of Congress, upon the project of uniting the great Delaware and Chesapeake Bays by canal, all of which

said reports are matters of public record in the shape of Senate or House documents, and all of which have recommended either the construction of such canal or the acquisition of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, it would seem unnecessary at this time to go into detail either as to the facts or merits of the project; but as the minority members of the committee state that "they feel the House should have a thorough understanding of what the condemnation of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal really means," and as that is just what those who favor the project want and there is nothing to conceal, for if the spotlight of publicity and investigation has ever been turned upon any proposed governmental project this project has had such light directed upon it for a period of upward of 40 years, and not once in that time has there been an adverse report by any commission, committee, or board of military engineers, I propose to state only the facts ascertained and the conclusions reached by those who have, officially and unofficially, made a thorough and impartial study of the project.

In Senate Document No. 215, second session Fifty-ninth Congress, there appears a full report of the hearings, proceedings, and conclusions of the commission appointed by the President of the United States in 1906, under authority of joint resolution No. 37, approved June 28, 1906, to examine and report upon a route for the construction of a free and open waterway to connect the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, of which commission Gen. Felix Agnus, of Baltimore, was chairman. In this report the following is the conclusion of said commission with respect to the commercial, military, and naval advantages of such canal, which sets forth these advantages more clearly than I could hope to do:

The distance from Baltimore to Philadelphia will be shortened by 323 miles, from Baltimore to the mouth of the Delaware Bay by 184 miles, by the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. Vessels can proceed from Baltimore to the mouth of the Delaware with full protection in weather when it would be hazardous to venture into the open sea.

The history of this canal project across the Maryland and Delaware Peninsula has been a constant emphasis of its advantage to commerce.

At each of the public hearings in Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia, the business organizations of the city were represented by committees of leading citizens and speakers, including Representatives in Congress, members of the judiciary, and officers of the city and State. The commission found in these great cities—and elsewhere also—a remarkably efficient and practically unopposed demand for the ship canal.

So many forceful speeches were made at the hearings that it is difficult to choose from them, but because of his well-known conservatism and his high standing with the American people, these words from the distinguished jurist, Hon. George Gray, at the Wilmington meeting, seemed to be especially pertinent:

Anyone who looks at the map or, indeed, any map of this region can understand why as early as 200 years ago it occurred to the intelligent voyagers to this country that a canal across this narrow neck of land would be a necessity of the future. It was talked about 150 years before it was accomplished, and across that upper narrow portion of the peninsula a canal was at last put which has served largely to promote the commerce of our country and this region. No one can overestimate the advantage it has been between the North and the South. The coal, lumber, and general merchandise which has found a cheap passage has been a considerable advantage.

Now that the country has grown in wealth and population it is a natural sequence that attention should be called to its important relation to the country at large. A great deal of the commerce of the Chesapeake Bay from Baltimore, from Washington, and all the affluents of the Chesapeake Bay go up that canal. Now, if it was a ship canal it would connect the two geographical divisions of the country—all that country east of the Hudson—with the country that lies west and south of the Chesapeake. That little obstruction compels an ocean voyage of several hundred miles, and there is to be considered not only the distance, but the expense. The plan for the canal should commend itself to the Representatives of all the country. You could not contradict the propositions which these simple facts support. It would be of immense importance. Whether you are in favor of liberal appropriations or not, it has every argument that it would be for the better support of the National Government.

Even stronger testimony may be found in the action of the commercial bodies and other public organizations of the cities and towns along the Atlantic seaboard, the more important of which are contained in the records of public hearings on file with the proceedings of the commission.

The significant development of the public hearings was the conviction of leading business and transportation experts that the railroads of the Atlantic seaboard were having great difficulty in handling freights and that the extraordinary growth of the country's business had already taxed them to the limit of their facilities. In the Eastern States the freight congestion has become a serious embarrassment to business.

The rise of the railway caused the decline of the canal until recently, when the railway could not meet all the public demands.

It is very unfortunate that there are no satisfactory statistics of our coastwise trade, although it represents many times the value of our foreign commerce.

The fact that vessels engaged in coastwise trade are not required to file copies of their manifests at the customhouses makes the record difficult.

The projected canal across the Maryland-Delaware Peninsula would unquestionably be a great convenience to foreign shipping. The view that it would not be used by ocean-going ships is the same contention that arose when the other great ship canals were built, but their history has shown that when the channel is cut the ships will always take the shortest course.

The Delaware and Chesapeake Bays have a shore line of 2,500 miles, with 500 tributary streams and more than 10,000 registered vessels.

The commerce of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, registered and otherwise, has been estimated all the way from 50,000,000 to 90,000,000 tons annually. This is much larger than the tonnage of the entire annual foreign commerce of the United States.

Of the registered tonnage traffic in a recent compilation, 25,873,167 were on Delaware Bay points and 24,151,932 on Chesapeake Bay points. These figures, however, do not include the undocumented and unregistered tonnage traffic, which would add nearly 100 per cent to the total.

Considerably less than one-tenth of the traffic on the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and their various points belongs to foreign commerce. The great value of the proposed canal would be in facilitating the coastwise trade.

It is estimated that at least 2,000,000 tons of coal would go through this canal to consumers farther north. Under the present conditions much of this coal has to make a detour by way of the Capes, and often the vessels must lie at Hampton Roads 10 or 12 days, and even 2 weeks, waiting a shift of wind.

The experts who appeared before the commission believe that the canal would cheapen coal for the New England points. Lumber will be an important item. Its movement northward from the Carolinas and other Southern States is much hampered by the inadequacy of the present canal. With a free canal the coast would be about half the present rate, according to the experience of the lumber trade on the Great Lakes.

Coal and lumber have been mentioned, but they are only two of the numerous products, among which may be counted cotton, corn, staves, hog products, poultry, and vegetables, live stock, hay, fisheries, tobacco, coke, wool, potatoes, peanuts, phosphate, turpentine and resin, zinc, and stone.

It is estimated that the South each year has over $2,000,000,000 worth of raw materials. A very considerable part of all this seeks northern markets, and in return the North sends machinery and supplies of all kinds. All this movement would be aided by the proposed canal. The manufacturing interests touched by waterways, which this canal would connect, and of which it would become part, have an annual total production of considerably more than $1,000,000,000.

Many of the great industrial concerns have located on the seaboard, so as to have the advantage of cheap transportation.

It is the commission's opinion that the deep-water canal across the upper end of the peninsula would be of very great advantage to commerce. It would give the West a seaboard more than 100 miles nearer the ocean than it now has. It would relieve hundreds of vessels of the necessity of a dangerous sea route, which in years gone by has cost tens of millions of dollars in wrecks. It would save time and expense to the trade movements of the whole country. It would immediately affect the 11,000,000 people upon the two bays and their tributaries, and would contribute to the interests of all the population, it would stimulate production, and be of direct financial benefit to American industries. The commission believes the commercial advantage will fully justify the expenditure of the funds necessary to complete the work.

In a general strategic sense the military advantages of the proposed ship canal appear most prominently in the channel offered for the rapid transit of naval vessels from one bay to the other to concentrate against hostile naval fleets or for the breaking of blockades.

To make the canal thus available at all times its termini must be thoroughly protected by sufficient coast defenses to render its passage at all times open. This is at present secured on the Delaware for the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal route by existing defense and on the Chesapeake by the defenses of Washington, Baltimore, and Hampton Roads, which an attacking naval force would hesitate to leave in its rear, sheltering cruisers that could demolish its boats of communication and supply. But full strategic use of the canal would be secured only by adequate coast defense at each terminus. It is not considered that a project for the defense of the Chesapeake terminus lies within the scope of this report, as such project should receive careful consideration by competent board of military engineers. The cost would be practically the same for either route.

Assuming, however, that both termini are to be properly defended, the canal itself offers many advantages to such defense by the ready means of intercommunication afforded. The canal would permit the prompt interchange of troops and munitions between the coast batteries, and particularly of the submarines, scout boats, and coast-defense monitors, that now form an important factor in seacoast defense, thus minimizing the number required for a complete defense.

Another important feature of the canal would be the obstacle presented by it as an adjunct for land defenses. These would serve as a base for troops operating to break up military occupation of the peninsula or to check advances therefrom without reembarcation, should such occupation become effective. A geographical study of the Atlantic coast of the United States as at present defended shows the peninsula of Maryland and Delaware as the most vulnerable and suitable place for the location of a base for land operations, should our Navy be driven from the seas. This was demonstrated by history in the War of 1812.

The line of the canal property defended would also prevent the closing of land communications to the coast forts on the Delaware in case their reduction by siege should be attempted with a view to opening the way for a naval advance on Philadelphia. Should the proposed Sassafras route be selected for the route of the canal, additional defenses would be required on the Delaware to protect the entrance and prevent distant bombardment of vessels in the canal. Such defense would require the expenditure of over $2,000,000 for the abandonment of the present defenses of the Delaware and their reestablishment at a point farther down the river, probably in the vicinity of Listons Point.

The Civil War developed the enormous value of the present canal as a means of transportation of troops, supplies, and prisoners. While our railroad facilities have greatly increased since that time, it is easily conceivable that in future wars or internal disturbances the proposed ship canal would very likely prove an important adjunct to rail transportation and possibly a vital factor in campaigns, should rail transportation be interrupted by accidents, strikes, or hostile raids.

The experts of the present Naval General Board would be satisfied for the canal to pass vessels of 16-foot draft and 60-foot beam; in other words, monitors, torpedo boats, and destroyers. The commis-

sion fully agrees that the principal naval uses of the proposed canal would probably be as stated and is inclined to think that for the present purposes a canal of 30-foot or perhaps of even 27-foot draft would be ample. It further believes that just as many battleships will be required with as without the canal, as it would plainly not be within the province of the heaviest of the fighting units to remain in harbor entrance for local defense.

However, it is the opinion of the commission that the experts look too much to victory and ignore such conditions as defeat or at least heavy punishment in battle.

While the General Board of the Navy may not recognize the probability of transference of the battle fleet as a whole through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, it is not difficult to conceive of that fleet, badly crippled in a general engagement at sea, limping home in detail to be divided for repairs among several such navy yards as Norfolk, League Island, and New York. When repairs are finished the safer and better way to assemble would be by way of the ship canal, either to the Delaware or the Chesapeake.

It is the opinion of the commission that aside from commercial uses the construction of the proposed canal will be of great strategic value as an adjunct to our land and naval forces.

I would like to read part of a statement made before the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association in 1915 by a gentleman who has given years of study of this project, Hon. WILLARD SAULSBURY, a Senator from the State of Delaware and now President pro tempore of the United States Senate:

I have gone into this question of the acquisition of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal as I would examine the most important law case I ever had, where clients of mine might become interested to the extent of millions of dollars. I have acted, so far as I could volunteer my services in this examination, as the counsel of the Government, and every word I have said I believe would be approved by any open-minded man who will exhaustively examine the reports of Government engineers, of commissions, and committees of Congress. They are many in number and extend over a period of 42 years, beginning in 1872 and ending last April.

Let me give you as briefly as I can some of the undisputed facts about the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. It is a little less than 14 miles long from the entrance at Delaware City to the outlet at Chesapeake City. The distance from Philadelphia to Delaware City by water is 42 miles, from Chesapeake City to Baltimore 56 miles, making a total distance between these two great cities by water 112 miles. The canal will pass vessels 220 feet long, having 9 feet draft and 24 feet beam. The distance by water compared with rail between Baltimore and Philadelphia is 96 miles by rail against 112 by water. Freight delivered in Philadelphia to the small boats plying through the canal at 5 o'clock in the afternoon is landed at Baltimore at 7 o'clock the next morning, while the average time for freight deliveries by rail is something like two to three days.

The gross earnings of the canal from tolls on vessels passing through it for the past four years have averaged about $175,000 annually; its cost of operation has averaged $65,000, leaving a net annual income from operation of $110,000. The interest on its bonded indebtedness of $2,602,950 at 4 per cent is $104,118, leaving a net annual income above all charges of about $6,000. The interest on its bonds was some years ago decreased from 5 per cent to 4 per cent and has been earned and paid.

Its average annual gross earnings between the years 1864 and 1874 approximated $400,000, and during the same period its average annual operating cost was about $130,000, leaving $270,000 for charges and dividends.

There are 10,000 boats engaged in the commerce of the two great bays and their tributaries, which have a shore line of 2,500 miles, and the commerce of these waters is over 100,000,000 tons annually.

On the Delaware Bay and tributaries and on Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries we have a combined traffic, as shown by the report of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, exceeding 50,000,000 tons annually; and if to this the undocumented and unregistered tonnage is added, which includes the vast amount handled daily by thousands of local trading boats, the tonnage is estimated to exceed 100,000,000 tons; and this tonnage is almost equally divided between the two bays—the tonnage of Delaware Bay and River and tributaries for 1912, as I compile it from the engineer's report, aggregating 26,267,355 short tons, while the tonnage on the Chesapeake Bay and tributaries, which I am not sure is as accurate as the other figures, and in some respects is possibly duplicated, amounts to 36,333,489 tons.

In 1904 (H. Rept. No. 2725, 58th Cong., 2d sess.) the combined tonnage of the two bays and tributaries was stated to be almost exactly 50,000,000 tons, and from a statement of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Navigation, the registered tonnage, represented by 4,391 sailing vessels, steam vessels, and barges, was six hundred and ninety-two thousand and some hundred tons.

The population of the States to be immediately benefited by the canal is about one-sixth of the total population of the United States, and estimated at 14,092,627 people.

Last year—1913—5,778 boats passed through the canal, carrying 908,689 tons of freight, an average of less than 200 tons to each vessel, boat, or barge. This is not a small traffic, but the Government engineers have estimated, declaring their estimates to be conservative, that this tonnage on a 12-foot canal such as now recommended would be 2,537,000 tons, and the annual saving to commerce, as estimated by the Board of Engineers, if the Government shall take over the canal, widen it to 90 feet and deepen it to 12 feet, will be $1,414,000. The cost, including the acquisition of the canal at a reasonable figure, will be between seven and eight millions of dollars, which provides for a purchase price of the canal of $2,514,000. It is believed that the canal can be condemned for this figure, although the various boards of engineers have estimated that the Government, to duplicate the canal, would have to expend $3,700,000. This estimate as to the cost of reproduction is itemized in Senate Document No. 215, Fifty-ninth Congress, second session, page 18. Government engineers have consistently and uniformly recommended its purchase for $2,514,000. The approaches to the canal at its Delaware end are defended by the forts on the Delaware and New Jersey shores as well as an old fortification in midstream, and the Chesapeake end is above the important defenses of the whole of the Chesapeake Bay. There are no difficulties in the deepening and enlargement of the canal; indeed, no rock work even will be necessary.

Ten lives is the average death toll taken by the sea on the rough outside passage between the Delaware and Virginia Capes. One of my colleagues asked me when I was urging this matter in the Senate, what the Atlantic Ocean was there for if not to sail boats on, and I told him 10 lives could be saved annually and proved it by official reports, and then I showed him that this canal shortened the water passage between Baltimore and Philadelphia by 308 miles, and between Baltimore and New York, by going out the Delaware Capes instead of the Virginia Capes, by 180 miles. Indeed it will materially shorten the distance from Baltimore to Europe.

Believing as I do in the great utility this canal would be to the commerce of the country with even the small improvement its deepening to 12 feet would make, believing as I do that a demonstration of this canal at that depth will prove absolutely to the Government the great desirability that it should be made a ship canal through which our warships may be concentrated for the defense of our country in time of war, I feel that I would be unpatriotic if I did not urge that this work should be taken up by the Government. I believe it is now in a position where we will soon have the last word on this project so far as the able engineers of the Army and Navy can say that word. When after the most careful study and consideration of all the reports which have been made on this project by skilled engineers of the Army engaged in work on waterways to the committees of both Houses of Congress made by commissions, in the membership of which civilians were included, one becomes convinced that there can not be two opinions on a proposition by men who have sufficient intelligence and industry to learn the facts, one is inclined to be somewhat impatient with the trifling and almost unintelligent criticism or questions raised concerning it.

When it became impossible in the last Congress to start this great project by an appropriation, feeling absolutely confident that no capable engineer could make an unfavorable report on this project, I offered and secured the passage in the Senate of a resolution directing the Secretary of War to secure, prepare, and report to the Senate summaries of the reports of the Government commissions, officers, and engineers heretofore made, and such facts, information, and opinions of boards or officers of the Army and Navy as he may deem proper or pertinent as to the advantages or disadvantages, commercial, naval, or military, of the acquisition of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal by the United States, with such information as he can secure as to the price at which the property can be purchased.

In my judgment, gentlemen, when the Secretary responds to that resolution in a report setting out the facts known to the Government regarding the canal, its great possibilities for good to commerce and the national defense, there will be no popular criticism or objection to the action of the Government in taking over this property and making it available in the broadest sense and in the biggest way for commercial, naval, and military purposes.

I believe in this great work. I believe its greatness will be demonstrated and its benefits certified to by the best engineers and the highest officials in this branch of the Government service, and on the report which will be made pursuant to that resolution I pin my faith that there will be a start made by this Government in the development of that waterway for commerce and defense. I believe this waterway will come to be used by the great ships of the United States; I believe its usefulness will be so proven that the Government will soon proceed, after its practical development has shown the people of this country

its great advantages, to extend northward a canal which may be similarly used between deep water in the Delaware River and New York Bay.

I do not believe that anyone should advocate this latter work until the small and less expensive work is done and demonstrates its usefulness and success, but when the two are completed then the enormous advantages to this country will be self-evident. The whole fleet of the United States without knowledge of an attacking force could be concentrated anywhere on our Atlantic seaboard from Narragansett Bay to the Virginia Capes. Should such concentration ever be needed for defense the value of such a passageway would be incalculable. Can anyone to-day compute the value to the German Empire, either in money or for defense, of the great but less important military canal at Kiel?

Our greatest warships last only a few years. At the end of 10 years they go into the second line of defense, I believe, because they have become partially obsolete and outclassed. For less than the cost of one warship this great project may be demonstrated. For the cost of a few warships the whole great project may be accomplished with a saving to the commerce of the country of 20 per cent on this investment, and 1,000 per cent advantage for the military and naval defense of this country over that of Germany's great military canal at Kiel.

The Secretary of War, in response to the resolution referred to by Senator SAULSBURY, transmitted to the United States Senate at the first session Sixty-fourth Congress, certain information relative to the proposed acquisition of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, the probable cost thereof, and as to the advantages and disadvantages, commercial, naval, and military of the acquisition of said canal by the United States, and that report fully justified the faith expressed by Senator SAULSBURY above quoted, and the judgment of those who have for years been advocating this project as a means of national defense and commercial expansion. I desire to read the report of the War College Division of the General Staff upon the question of the military advantages of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, it having been referred to said division by the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, February 27, 1915.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff.

Subject: Military advantages of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

1. There is returned herewith a memorandum, with attached papers, on the above subject, dated February 24, 1915, from the Secretary of War to the Chief of Staff, wherein three questions are submitted:

(a) The military advantage, if any, of the existence of this canal.

(b) Whether a canal along this line would be of any military advantage; and if so, what?

(c) What character and size the canal would have to be in order to be of any advantage?

These questions apparently refer both to the present and contemplated canal along this line.

2. In answer to 1 (a), it is believed that the existing canal has some value as it exists to-day as an obstacle to the advance of a hostile expedition landing on the west bank of Delaware Bay and advancing against Wilmington and Philadelphia. The fine, undefended harbor at Lewes, Del., makes such a landing a probability. The canal, especially at the locks, is so narrow, only 24 feet at the locks, as to form an obstacle not very formidable. The canal is too small for the passage of submarines or other naval craft that would be used for preventing the landing of troops from hostile transports, and too small and obstructed by locks for rapid transport of troops and material from one bay to the other.

3. As to 1 (b), a sea-level canal along this same line would be of very great military importance from the following points of view:

(a) For the movement of submarines and other craft that must constitute an important part of our coast defense system.

(b) As forming an almost impassable obstacle to the passage of troops advancing to attack Wilmington or Philadelphia from the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

(c) For the transport of men and material of the Coast Artillery and the Coast Artillery support from one bay to the other.

4. The first of the points enumerated in paragraph 3 is a military one, because submarines and other small craft are believed to be at present an integral part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors but in a still more important sense against transports attempting to land a hostile force on our shores in case of the defeat of our Navy. Seacoast defenses reach no farther than the range of their guns, and it is impossible to distribute mobile army troops at all possible landing places to prevent the landing of troops without so frittering away the army in small detachments as to render it almost impossible to collect them for united action. A canal such as proposed would allow the whole force of submarines, etc., to be held in one of the two bays and used with equal efficiency in either. Without the canal the force of submarines, etc., must be divided between the two bays, and to reinforce one another they must attempt a passage by the outside, a distance of over 200 miles as against about 15 miles by the canal.

A canal along this line and one from Delaware Bay to New York Harbor would make a landing of hostile troops almost impossible between Narragansett Bay and Chesapeake Bay, and the construction of this canal is an important step toward the accomplishment of this result.

5. As an obstacle and a part of the land defense of Wilmington and Philadelphia, a canal suited for other commercial and naval purposes would be of great importance. Defended by a few troops and small gunboats, such an obstacle (of the size recommended below) would hardly be crossed, and it is not believed that it would be attempted.

6. As a means of transport it has a measure of value for the easy transportation of men and material between the fortifications of Delaware Bay and of Baltimore.

7. As to 1 (c), the objects set forth in paragraph 3 above can be obtained by a sea-level canal having a depth of 18 feet at mean low water and a bottom width of about 150 feet. While tides of 6 feet to 10 feet prevail in the waters at the ends of the canal, investigation has shown that guard locks will not be necessary and that an open canal will be entirely feasible.

M. M. MACOMB,
Brigadier General, Chief of War College Division.

I concur.

TASKER H. BLISS,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Acting Chief of Staff.

I concur.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

The history of the past has proven the value of this canal as a means of defense. During the Civil War the part it played was a most important one. It kept the Army of the Potomac in the field; it fed it; it clothed it; and furnished it with ammunition. Capt. Philip Reybold, in an address before the commission, whose report I have referred to and read portions of, set forth its extraordinary value to the Government during the Civil War in the following account:

Just look over to Bermuda, only 600 miles off your coast, with its harbors, coaling stations, and dry docks, and to Halifax, where the same conditions exist near your main border—harbor bases to harbor great fleets of battleships, cruisers, and armor clads—bases from which they can be sent out to scour our coast. We are taught from earliest boyhood that history repeats itself, and there is some history that we want this Government to take steps to prevent its ever being repeated. On the 24th day of August, 1814, the Battle of Bladensburg was fought, and the British, under Gen. Ross and Admiral Cockburn, captured Washington, burning the Capitol, White House, and all the public buildings. The American people do not want that repeated. Suppose to-morrow that the lookout at Cape Hatteras or Kittyhawk should send a message flying over the wires that a foreign fleet was heading for the Chesapeake Capes with their battle flags flying, would not a ship canal, then, along the line of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal be worth $20,000,000 to the Government, through which battleships from League Island could be rushed and stop that fleet before it reached the mouth of the Potomac? It was this disaster that resulted in the building of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, and that is why the Government contributed $450,000 toward its construction.

Now, sir, as you sit in that chair, do you realize what an important part this little canal, with its locks only 24 feet wide and only 10 feet of water over its sills, has played in the history of this country? Do you realize that if that canal had not existed in April, 1861, that the session of the Congress of the Confederacy that convened in Richmond would not have been held there? They would have been sitting in the same hall where Dr. Burton sits to-day, with so much honor to his State, and the same flag would have floated over the dome of the building. Now, let us see: On Wednesday, the 17th day of April, Virginia seceded from the Union, and was starting her troops north to go to Washington. There was not a handful of troops in that city nor a breastwork thrown up, and the Federal Government started its troops south. You know what happened in Baltimore on Friday, the 19th of April, as the Sixth Massachusetts passed through, and that night every bridge on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington Railroad was burned from Baltimore to the Susquehanna River and totally destroyed, and the Federal Government had absolutely no means of transporting troops along the seaboard by rail to Washington. In fact, all land communication was severed.

On Saturday, the 20th, the Government seized all the propeller steamers in Philadelphia that could pass through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, and how well I remember that Saturday night as they steamed down the Delaware River and passed through the canal, and before daylight in the morning they were at Perryville, and just as the sun was peeping up over the horizon the trains arrived at Baltimore with the troops, where they were rushed on board of steamers and hurried away down the Chesapeake to Annapolis, and by way of Annapolis Junction to Washington, and when that body of troops arrived at the Capital the Confederate outposts were at the Virginia end of the Long Bridge, and for the next 60 days this Chesapeake & Delaware Canal was the key to the whole Federal situation.

The Potomac was closed by a series of batteries from Aquia Creek to its mouth and its waters were patrolled by a steamer called the *Page*, which the Confederates had converted into a gunboat. Suppose there had been no canal, what then would have happened? You would have never heard the cry of "All quiet on the Delaware," and the blood that soaked into Virginia soil would have been poured out in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and reconstruction would have taken place in the North instead of the South. This canal throughout the whole war played a most important part; it kept the Army of the Potomac in the field, it fed them, it clothed them, and furnished them with their ammunition and all other stores.

Now, sir, if this little canal, with locks only 24 feet wide and only 10 feet of water over its sills, was so vital then, what would a ship canal be along its course if a foreign fleet was on our coast? Take the Kiel Ship Canal it is 64 miles long and cost Germany $40,000,000, but it saves just two days steaming around the peninsula of Denmark. Experts estimate that canal as being equal to 15 battleships to Germany as a means of defense. Take this peninsula of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, it takes 48 hours to steam from the Delaware end around to the Chesapeake end, and if you had a ship canal cutting through those 14 miles of peninsula it would be worth a whole fleet to the United States, as one fleet would be able to do the work of two; and it seems to me, sir, taking that side of the question and the commercial side, that the shorter the canal and more directly north and south it runs the better it will be for both the commercial and military interests.

When this great chain of canals, if completed, and the Erie Canal finished, then you can load your coal barge in Baltimore and send her through to Duluth, and when the coal is discharged you can reload with iron ore, carry it back to Sparrows Point, and there fashion it into a steamship to carry the products of the Baltimore mills by way of the Panama Canal to Valparaiso or China.

Mr. CROZIER. As we are making a public record, I do not think that we ought to allow Capt. Reybold's modesty to stand in the way of having it placed on record that it was his father, Capt. Reybold, who suggested to the Federal Government seizing these boats and utilizing the canal.

Now, Mr. Speaker, having presented a true and accurate statement of facts relative to this project, I am willing to leave to the fair judgment of this House whether the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is a "rotten, obsolete canal," or whether it is a meritorious project from both a commercial and military point of view.

There was a time when abuse was mistaken for argument, but not so now, and I do not believe the membership of this House will permit its judgment to be warped by such means.

The acquisition and development of this canal by the United States as a free and open waterway to connect the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays has been recommended time and time again by the highest military engineers of the Government, among them being Gen. Thomas L. Casey, Col. Craighill, Gen. Bixby, Col. Black, Col. Flagler, Capt. Turtle, Gen. Humphreys, and Admiral Dewey, because of its value in promoting commercial expansion and as a means of defense. Do you believe these gentlemen would recommend that the Government acquire, either by purchase or condemnation, "a rotten, obsolete, canal"?

Do you believe Judge Gray, than whom no man enjoys to a greater extent the confidence of his fellow citizens of the entire country, would advocate the Government taking over "a rotten, obsolete canal" to give "a splendid opportunity for owners of worthless stock and depreciated bonds to dispose of them to the Government," as stated in the minority report?

Do you believe that Senator SAULSBURY, who has been so honored by his native State as to elect him to the United States Senate and by his colleagues elected President pro tempore of the Senate, would stand sponsor for a scheme to unload on the Government "a rotten and obsolete canal"?

You know as well as I do that they would not.

In consideration of these facts, can you doubt the merit of this project? It is meritorious, and it should have been acquired and developed by the Government years ago. Had this been done four years ago, when it was so strongly urged, it would have been completed and in full operation to-day, and we would have had provided, as a means of defense of Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, and the Nation's Capital City, and the country of the Middle States lying back of them, "such an obstacle, defended by a few troops and small gunboats, as would hardly be crossed, and it is not believed would be attempted," as is aptly stated by Gen. Macomb in his report to the Secretary of War.

I know it has been argued that this project is not a war emergency measure, but I believe it is, and a very important one at that, for in case of attempted invasion the attempt in all probability would be made at a point where a means of defense such as this would be necessary to prevent attacks upon the large cities of the middle Atlantic seaboard and check any attempted invasion of the interior by a foreign enemy. That part of the coast which would most likely be selected by an enemy for such purpose would probably be the west bank of the Delaware Bay, and, as Gen. Macomb says, "the fine, undefended harbor at Lewes, Del., makes such a landing a probability." This very part of the coast is the key to an invasion of the interior. Shall we go on in the future as we have in the past, without making any effort at preparedness to defend ourselves against such an obvious danger, resting secure in the thought that no such attempt would be made? If we do, I am afraid we will have a rude awakening when it is too late.

What really constitutes a war-emergency measure? Merely provision for raising an army and building a navy, issuing bonds, providing for revenue, food control, and conservation, or must we, in order to carry into effect successfully these things, also provide for supplying the Army and Navy with the necessary means of transportation, with food and clothing, and to effectually carry out any scheme of food control and conservation provide the means necessary for its proper distribution, and to put the country into such a shape of defensive preparedness as to meet any contingency which might present itself?

If this is the correct and sensible view of it, I believe it absolutely necessary as a war measure that the rivers and harbors of the country should be put and kept in a state of usefulness in view of the serious situation with regard to congestion of freight traffic on the railroads of the country, and the seriousness of the situation can not be overestimated, for all over the country railroad terminals are overwhelmed and thousands of cars loaded with nonperishable freight are standing idle in the yards and on the sidings of the railroads.

I know personally that this condition exists in my own State and I doubt not the same condition exists elsewhere. We will have to use all available means of transportation this year to handle the foodstuffs, munitions, and so forth, and I believe it will present a very troublesome problem, but give the country the increased facilities that the proposed rivers and harbors projects contemplate and provide for, at the earliest possible moment, and no matter what difficulties we may have to meet in the immediate future by reason of the stress of war, we will be in the best shape possible to handle such problems as may be presented.

Of course, if we had the power to know how long the war will continue, and what the outcome of it would be, and assurance of no further hostilities which we would be called upon to meet, we might view all these things in a different light. We all hope—we all believe that the ingenuity and the indomitable spirit of the American people, in conjunction with those who are our allies in the present struggle, will win this war. But do we know? What would happen if the allied forces in France should not be successful? Do any of you doubt that in such an event the United States would have to defend its coast from invasion by the most ruthless and inhuman force that the civilized world has ever known, an enemy who stops at no brutality and to whom the word "humanity" has been lost in the lust for power.

Then why is not every effort made for every sort of preparedness a war emergency measure? Why delay until we are face to face with such a contingency.

Why should not a project that is an effort to make for immediate future preparedness be a war emergency measure?

That is just what the project for the acquisition by the Government of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal means—a present effort for immediate future preparedness.

It is meritorious, it is not a scheme to give stockholders and bondholders of "a rotten, obsolete canal" an opportunity to unload on the Government, as is intimated in the minority report, as is evidenced by the support of the best thought and cleanest public men of the Nation, who have given it study; would make for commercial expansion; and from a military and naval point of view is of great strategic value as a means of defense of the National Capital, the large commercial cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Wilmington, the greatest powder-making plant in the world, upon which our Government, to a large extent, must depend for explosives and munitions in time of war; and the key to the interior of the Middle States.

I have tried to confine this statement to ascertained facts the truth and correctness of which can not be disputed or disproved. It is a plain business proposition for national preparedness and security from foreign invasion within the area that would be protected by this project.

Is such a proposition worthy of your support? I believe in it, and I believe it is. I leave it with you for your decision, and I have all confidence that such decision will be reached by calm and unbiased consideration, uninfluenced by unwarranted misstatement of facts and abuse.

Old Glory, The Banner of Democracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent given to me I desire to insert an address delivered by my colleague [Mr. BORLAND] before the Elks Lodge in Washington on Flag Day, June 14, 1917:

OLD GLORY, THE BANNER OF DEMOCRACY.

[An address delivered by Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, Representative in Congress from Missouri, before Washington Lodge, No. 15, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, at Washington, D. C., June 14, 1917.]

Brother Elks and friends, you have commemorated to-night with these beautiful and appropriate ceremonies the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the birth of Old Glory. We are surely entitled at this time to call the starry emblem of our Nation by the affectionate title of Old Glory, because, with some possible obscure exception, it is the oldest national flag afloat to-day. We are accustomed to think and speak of our country as a young Nation and our flag as the flag of a new people, and it would startle most of us to recall that in the 140 years which have elapsed since the Stars and Stripes first kissed the breezes of the Western World, the flags of almost all the great nations which greeted it on June 14,

1777, have disappeared and new ones have taken their places. Ours is the oldest flag afloat, and our Government is the oldest unchanged form of government in the civilized world.

When this flag was given to the breezes, the flag of France was the fleur de lis. The flag of old England was not the present ensign of the British Empire, but only that of the union of England and Scotland. The black, white, and red of united Germany had not come into existence, for Germany itself was but a scattered collection of fragmentary feudal States. United Italy had not been born. There is no flag in the world that I now recall which has survived unchanged those momentous years, and the governments of the world have changed with even greater rapidity. France has been three times a republic and twice an empire. Spain, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Austria, and Portugal have been subdivided and reunited. Persia and Turkey have yielded to democratic tendencies. The flag of Japan is but little more than half a century old, and in the last days even Russia and China, the oldest and most absolute of monarchies, have changed to republics.

Let us not forget in our rejoicings over this auspicious day what stability and success have attended this great experiment of the Western World for government by the people. While our thoughts are busy with the wonderful conception of the perpetuity and dignity of our institutions, let us not forget that our people are to-day the most homogeneous Nation gathered under a single banner. When this old banner floated out in the early years of our struggle for national life it sheltered beneath its folds less than 3,000,000 immigrant pioneers, crowded in a narrow strip of land on the storm-tossed coast of the Atlantic. To-day it has been carried across a continent 3,000 miles in width, and protects a Nation of a hundred million people—the strongest, richest, and one of the largest Nations the world has ever seen. It has been planted by the blue waters of the Pacific and carried beyond to the perfumed isles of Hawaii and to the rice fields of Manila. It gathers to-day beneath its folds a mighty Nation of a hundred million people, yet more uniform, more homogeneous, and more united in their ideals of national life than any other nation of the globe.

We have been accustomed to hear from some of the sensational writers of the magazine world that this Nation of ours was a mere melting pot filled with turgid streams from every quarter of Europe, who carried with them and retained all their racial prejudices and traditional animosities; that we were a mere patchwork of a Nation, held together by no bond of national feeling, but faultily and hastily stitched up by some high-sounding political phrase of political equality. We were told that as a nation we must still find ourselves, must develop and establish national ideals and national aspirations, and that then, and only then, could we hope to have such a thing as a national spirit. No falser statements ever escaped from the unguarded tongue of the sensation monger. There is no nation on the globe to-day so closely united in thought and feeling as ours. There is no country where the common ideals are so uniform and so universal, where the standard of living is so nearly alike, nor where the spirit of a united nation is so strong.

Commerce knows no State lines. Political thought is much the same in every part of the Union, and the moral standards of the people do not vary with localities. From Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate there stretches 3,000 miles of territory inhabited by a restless and progressive people, sharing one civilization, with one language, one literature, and one law. Still in the more crowded quarters of our great cities may be found what is known as the foreign element, but how rapidly do they mingle with the great ocean of Americanism around them. No foreign quarter can remain long isolated from the general influence of democracy. The first generation born on American soil has abandoned forever the crowded, narrow foreign quarter and has mingled in the great flood of American people, so that it can no longer be identified. In leaving behind the squalid poverty of the foreign quarter, with its privations and its hardships, its isolation from the differences of race, religion, and tongue, the immigrant's son has left behind him also the narrow and cramped ideals and the petty prejudices, the heritage of centuries of repression and misrule.

If one look to-day into the faces of the average American audience in any place except the crowded sections peopled by the newest immigrants it will be impossible for him to tell the child of a foreign-born citizen from the child of the native son. He may read the list of names of those present in the audience and find in that list the flavor of the history and the struggles of every obscure and feudal State in Europe, and yet when he comes to compare the list with the men before him he can not select out the owners of the names by any distinguishing characteristic of race, creed, or birth. The truth is, the people of America are more nearly alike than the people of any other great nation. Germany is the most unified of the greater countries, and yet it is easy to tell the flaxen-haired Prussian of the north from the square-shouldered, black-browed Bavarian of the south. Great Britain is itself a collection of little kingdoms, and no man mistakes a Scotchman for an Irishman or either for a Welshman. In Italy it is not difficult for the experienced observer to tell the Florentine and the Genoese from the Neapolitan or the Sicilian. The Austrian Empire is a collection of 17 warring nationalities, who speak alien tongues and resent all suggestion of a common interest. Russia has so many peoples beneath her flag that it is said there are some nations there who do not know that other nations belong to the Russian Empire. Even little Switzerland, which we love to think of as the Mountain Republic, closely knit together by its heroic struggles, has its money and its laws printed in three languages, Italian, French, and German. Yet to-day it is almost impossible for any but the well-traveled American to tell a Massachusetts Yankee from a Texan. No foreigner has ever been able to discriminate between Americans by the locality in which they were born.

And our ideals are the same. Wherever we find a community of Americans, whether in staid old New England or upon the plains of Texas, upon the shore of Florida, in the mountains of Idaho or Montana, or on the genial coast of California, or in far-off frozen Alaska, there springs up immediately by spontaneous growth the American ideals of equal rights and fair play, of the fundamental necessity of public education, of the establishment of law and order, the toleration of religious feelings, and the sanctity of the home.

Nay, more; we may take a group of plain American lads from commonplace American homes, who have had no special opportunities in life except to absorb in the air they breathe the universal principles of American democracy. We can put them down into the jungles of the far-off Philippines, or in revolution-torn Cuba or plague-infested Panama, and they will begin with unerring certainty the reconstruction of American life. By the first dawn of the next day they will begin to clean up the community in which they live and make it safe, sanitary, and American.

In this presence I may give utterance to another thought which has been borne in upon me with increasing force as I have studied the causes of this growth of Americanism. Among the factors which have brought about this unity of sentiment and loyalty to the flag there has been no more potent force than the influence of the great fraternities, and notably the distinctively American institution, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. This order teaches patriotism and a love and reverence for the flag as part of its tenets. The thousands of members throughout the land have learned that lesson upon their initiation into the lodge. They hear it repeated in all the beautiful ceremonies and rituals, such as that in which we have just taken part. The Elks cherish the flag as one of the cardinal principles of their order. They never fail to commemorate its special day and to keep before the people the blessing of its influence. Proudly, yet lovingly, they place it in the pinnacle of power. It is enshrined in their hearts and finds expression in the public and private acts of their lives. To the Elks, with their widespread influence in every State and city in our land, belongs very justly a large measure of the credit for the feeling of loyalty and devotion to the flag so spontaneously exhibited by the American people in the last few days. To them belongs the glory of having made Americanism a living reality.

The very existence of fraternities is a strong bond of democracy. They tend to unite all men everywhere before a common altar in the acknowledgment of a common set of moral truths. They banish sectionalism, prejudice, and distrust, and make us realize that the things which divide us are accidental and temporary, while the things which unite us are eternal. These common aspirations are like a golden chain to link our hearts together.

We look into the hearts of our brothers and feel that they acknowledge the same moral truth that we ourselves acknowledge; that they seek to be guided by the same principles by which we hope to govern our lives. The man who has stood upon the level floor of the lodge has learned two lessons: The equality of all and the dignity and worth of each individual. He had drunk deep at the very wellspring of democracy. He has learned both charity and justice. Hereafter he can not feel the same selfish isolation from his fellow or the same contempt for the defects or misfortunes of others. The teachings of fraternalism are directly opposite from the cult of feudalism. Fraternalism is democracy, feudalism is brutal discrimination and injustice. Hence under the all-prevailing influence of fraternalism the power of feudalism and class distinction has disappeared. Men have come to love democracy with a passionate devotion very much different from the mere intellectual belief

in equal rights which prevailed among the advanced thinkers when Old Glory was first kissed by the sun. And to-day democracy is able to show to the world that it has taken root in men's hearts as that old flag has stood erect through all its successive birthdays.

We have been told that this country had no national life, no real national unity, no national ideals; that it had no principles worth fighting for; that its so-called democracy was simply political indolence and national squalor; that it lacked all sense of honor founded upon patriotic devotion; that because it had no feudal rank, no aristocratic class, it possessed no chivalry; that its whole sense of life was sordid and greedy; and that it reveled in money getting and in the idle and vulgar display of wealth. We realize that it has been the taunt of the years gone by that democracy could not defend principle; that it was but another name for low aims and unworthy purposes. This is the eternal conflict between democracy and feudalism, a feudalism which has long outlived all sense of honor, all feelings of humanity, and all usefulness to society, and yet this fetid feudalism has taunted democracy that it could not and would not defend either its people of its principles.

To those who gave such taunts and who hold such views, a final and crushing answer was given on June 5, 1917, when 11,000,000 young Americans stepped forth from the ranks of the people on the same day and enrolled themselves to defend the same flag. As the sun in his course rolled across the Western Hemisphere that day, he awakened in every village the self-same spirit of Americanism, the self-same response to the call of the common country, the self-same devotion to the banner so affectionately termed Old Glory. Such an event never happened in any country of the globe, and it could not happen to-day in any country except our own. It is impossible to conceive that it should even be tried. So stupendous an event was hailed as incredible by the wise men of the East. It was said that it would take an army to raise an army in the United States, and therefore the United States would never have an army.

I trust that these critics of democracy have had their final answer; that they have had an adequate lesson in the binding force of free government and the principles of democracy.

Our flag is the symbol of equality. It bears in its glorious folds no mark which is not emblematic of equal rights. It was born upon the field of struggle for the rights of man. It was baptized with the blood of the heroes who sacrificed themselves to the principle of self-government and home rule. It was the first flag to fly the skies which contained no feudal emblem, no insignia of a royal house. From the earliest dawn of history, flags have represented the power of kings and nobles, and have been graced and adorned with all of the beauty of heraldry and the marks and distinctions and trappings of royalty. Men have fought for centuries under flags which represented some kind of political or spiritual lordship, but when our flag was given to the breeze for the first time, men fought under the flag of the free.

Its stripes alternate red and white, representing the blood and treasure of 13 revolting Colonies, and its stars, which have grown in number upon the blue field representing the self-governing States of the perpetual Union. Everywhere and through all its design equality and self-government and great principles of democracy are emblazoned before the world. There is a striking absence of the lions or dragons or the fabulous beasts which have marked the feudal banners, and their place has been taken by the equal stripes and the equal stars. Since that dawn of democracy's day when the Starry Banner of freedom and equality was given to the breeze we have seen the feudal ensigns disappear slowly but surely from the earth. First, the flag of France displaced the lilies of the Bourbons with the tricolor of the Republic, and each step in the progress of the world has been marked by advancement of democracy and the defeat of feudalism. When the ancient Empire of China was shaken to its foundations, the yellow dragon disappeared from the flag and its place was taken by the six plain stripes representing the Provinces of the Celestial Empire. Emblematic is this of the growth of democracy throughout the earth and the power of liberty to enlighten the world. Emblematic is it also of the final triumph of the principles of humanity where every man's rights are as equal and his interest as sacred in the eyes of his country as they are in the eye of his God. The shelter of democracy falls equally upon the humble and the great, the powerful and the weak. It spurns the distinction of rank and the tyranny of the strong. It has adopted long since the teachings of Sacred Writ that not a sparrow falls but the Creator of the universe takes note of its fate. In the eyes of a democracy the life, the hopes, and the destiny of the humblest of its citizens are sacred.

We have followed Old Glory through 140 years of its history, and what it means to us we want it to mean to all the world. We have seen it carried through the struggle of the infant colonies, through all the dark days of national disaster, through the bitterness of defeat, through privation and peril until the black midnight of Valley Forge broke into the cloudless dawn at Yorktown. We have seen it wave above the victory of Perry on Lake Erie and the deathless achievement of Jackson behind his cotton bales at New Orleans. We have seen it triumph at Buena Vista, at Monterey, at Cerro Gordo, and Chapultepec. We have seen it sway back and forth in the mighty storm of the Civil War. We have seen it at the high-water mark of that great struggle upon the field of Gettysburg, where for three long days under the burning sun of July the brothers who wore the blue and the brothers who wore the gray hurled themselves against each other in fratricidal strife until they proved to themselves and all of the world that they were one in courage, one in race, and one in destiny. We have seen it with Dewey in Manila Bay and with Sampson and Schley at Santiago, and we shall see it carried in triumph across the bleeding fields of France and Belgium, a beacon of hope to the suffering world. Before it we shall see rolled back the age-old tyranny of rank and privilege until the banner of democracy shall wave in victory above the last stronghold of feudalism on earth.

Forty Feet at Hell Gate.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for deepening the New York Harbor at Hell Gate to 40 feet is shown by the editorial from the World, of New York, May 18, 1917:

FORTY FEET AT HELL GATE.

To provide Cuxhaven and the Elbe with a back door at Kiel, Prussia engaged in an infamous war of conquest upon Denmark, and Germany has since poured out millions upon the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. To provide the immense naval and merchant shipping of New York, the world's greatest port, with a back door through Long Island Sound, Congress has until now refused the expenditure of a comparatively trivial sum.

A 40-foot channel to the navy yard is provided for in the new rivers and harbors appropriation bill, which takes the place of that beaten by filibustering in the last session. Only a 35-foot depth is provided for Hell Gate, the back door. Navy experts are emphatic in urging that Hell Gate be no exception. The 40-foot channel throughout is strongly advocated by Representative MURRAY HULBERT, the New York member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee. It takes so long to get any Government project started that it is important to start right. Compared with the margin of efficiency the difference in cost is trivial.

The improvement of the East River as an alternative outlet of New York is a proper war emergency measure. The improvement of the East River as a time-saving means of expediting commerce is a peace economy. On both grounds the 40-foot channel should be provided.

Aeronautics.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, on April 2, 1917, I introduced House bill 3, to establish a Department of Aeronautics, and for other purposes.

This bill provides for the creation of a Department of Aeronautics, with a secretary, who shall be the head thereof, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

To the Department of Aeronautics there shall be transferred the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps of the War Department and the Office of Naval Aeronautics of the Department of the Navy, and the President is further authorized to transfer to the Department of Aeronautics at any time any bureau, division, or other branch of the Government engaged in work pertaining to aeronautics, which, of course, would authorize the transfer of the aeronautical service in the Post Office Department.

Within the Department of Aeronautics there shall be the following bureaus:

(a) Bureau of Land Operations.
(b) Bureau of Naval Operations.
(c) Bureau of Radio Communications.
(d) Bureau of Construction.
(e) Bureau of Aeronautic Research.
(f) Bureau of Motor Power.
(g) Bureau of Personnel and Accounts.

For the purpose of efficient organization at the outset, officers and enlisted men of the War Department and Navy Department, who are now detailed in the aeronautical services, shall be transferred into the service of the department of aeronautics.

An appropriation of $1,000,000 for administrative purposes is provided for.

The counterpart of this bill was introduced in the Senate by the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD], and is known as S. 80.

Hearings upon this bill were begun before a subcommittee—of which Senator SHEPPARD is chairman—of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, on Tuesday, June 12, 1917, and Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, Lieut. Col. L. W. B. Rees, of the Royal Flying Corps, British Army, and Mr. Howard E. Coffin, chairman of the aircraft production bureau of the Council of National Defense, have already appeared before that committee and been heard.

Rear Admiral Peary will resume his testimony on Monday, June 18, and will be followed by Mr. J. Bernard Walker, editor in chief, Scientific American, Gen. George W. Goethals, and other noted authorities upon the subject of aeronautics.

Under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I submit for the information of the House an article from the Washington Star of June 16, 1917:

AIRMEN OF THE ALLIES TO BE TRAINED IN THE UNITED STATES—AMERICAN TO CONSTRUCT PRACTICE MACHINES AND LEAVE EUROPEAN PLANTS FREE TO MAKE BATTLE PLANES.

As United States manufacturers of aircraft are not at this time equipped for making battle planes, and must develop a type, but are in a situation to supply all the training aeroplanes needed, it is now contemplated that the United States shall be the great training field for aviators of all the allied nations. The aircraft production board of the Council of National Defense has formulated such plans.

Battle craft construction would then occupy the French and British plants exclusively. In the meanwhile, the development of an American type of battle craft would permit the United States to provide by next spring a formidable and steadily increasing addition to the French and British air squadrons.

"Our plan contemplates nothing less than driving the German fliers out of the air and maintaining a constant raiding patrol over territory for 50 miles back of the fighting lines," said Chairman Howard E. Coffin, of the board, in a statement. "If we carry through our program to produce the thousands of machines planned, the permanent supremacy of the allies in the air is assured. What we need is the money to carry the program through."

The American training machine has already been made the standard for all the allies, in order that parts may be interchangeable. While existing American plants are said to be able to supply only 10 per cent of the number of machines wanted, arrangements have been made for the conversion of numerous automobile and other factories for airplane building.

EUROPE TO SEND AVIATORS HERE.

If European aviators are sent to the United States for elementary training, the number of training fields will be increased to a score or more and additional universities will be designated to give technical aviation courses. Thousands could be given a degree of knowledge and skill on this side of the water, and that would make it only a matter for a few weeks at most after their arrival in France before they could join the active squadrons at the front. Their machines and equipment would be furnished to them in France

Mr. Coffin's statement was prompted by a report from Paris that Germany expected to put 3,500 additional planes at the front by next spring.

"Compared with the number of airplanes on which both groups of belligerents so far have been able to rely," he said, "a new force of 3,500 planes next spring might well prove discouraging to the allies. The French and British alone probably can not more than hold their own against Germany's output. Pitted against America's added resources, properly organized, the situation immediately changes. If we can carry through our program to produce the thousands of machines planned, the permanent supremacy of the allies in the air is assured.

"The allies so far have not been able to develop the use of bombing machines to the needed extent because they could not secure enough airplanes to carry out this work upon a great scale. We should furnish them the necessary number of airmen to drive all hostile machines to the ground and carry out the bombing as well as the observation work unhindered."

WANTS UNITED STATES AIR SERVICE PLACED UNDER ONE HEAD.

Coordination of the aeronautical activities of the Government under one head is necessary to have the resources of America fully utilized in building the navy of the air and getting supremacy there, just as Germany has developed her submarines. Howard E. Coffin, chairman of the aircraft production board of the Council of National Defense, told the subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee at a hearing on the Sheppard-Hulbert bill to create a department of aeronautics in the Cabinet. The United States, he said, can develop this industry without interfering with the resources of preparing the Army and Navy.

"It's a question of material, time, and organization which face us to-day in developing this industry," Mr. Coffin said. It is a comparatively easy matter for the Army and Navy, from the experience of the allies, he said, to decide on the type of machines which are needed, but the production is the great question, and the industrial forces must be organized and many plants converted into turning out the parts which go into the machines.

He said the manufacturing resources of Germany were already strained and they could not meet the competition with America in air activity without weakening in some other sphere.

America, he declared, is the great reservoir of men who will make good airmen and contains the resources for producing the machines, but it is necessary to assemble and coordinate these activities so as to turn out the large number of aircraft which will be needed.

Training schools are being established and good progress made in beginning the production of the machines, Mr. Coffin said, but some appropriations will be necessary.

Representatives of America, Canada, and Great Britain have agreed on a standard machine, which will be used in training the airmen, and types of the heavier and speedy machine of the French are available, and will be standardized for use by this Government, he said, explaining, however, that it was necessary for beginners to train with the slower and easier controlled machine.

The United States, Mr. Coffin stated, should follow the example of Great Britain and create a board to deal with the after-war development of aircraft.

Mr. Coffin suggested that manufacturing of machines for obtaining the control of the air was the very best help which America can give the allies.

The importance of this bill is particularly emphasized by Brig. Gen. George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer, United States Army, who, in an interview on June 15, 1917, discussing the great aeroplane program, which, if passed by Congress, will involve an appropriation of something like $600,000,000, said:

Aeroplanes are the logical fighting machines for Americans, because we are an imaginative people, and when our imagination strikes fire nothing can stop us. The game ideally suits the American temperament, and every young American worthy of the name should be keen to join our flying army.

An army in the air, regiments and brigades of winged cavalry, mounted on gas-driven flying horses, could blind the eyes of Germany until her gunners, absolutely deprived of range finders, would be put out of business by the allied artillery. The magnificently obvious thing is to knock out Germany's eyes by a thrust through the air. But my idea would be something vastly larger than a thrust. An inundation of airplanes would better express the idea in its magnitude.

Sweep the Germans from the sky, blind the Prussian cannon, and the time would be ripe to release an enormous flock of flying fighters to raid and destroy military camps, ammunition depots, and military establishments of all kinds. The firing upon troops by machine guns from airplanes is becoming commoner and more accurate. Once given an upper hand, the flying machine becomes a frightful engine of destruction.

During peace times the machinery of this House provided three committees, of 21 members each, to consider legislation and appropriations for the entire military and naval affairs of the United States, which amount, in the aggregate, was less than the amount which we can reasonably expect we shall soon be asked to appropriate for the building up of our aeronautical service, so that the importance of having a separate and independent committee to deal with this paramount service is at once apparent. I have therefore introduced a resolution providing for the creation of such a committee, to be known as the Committee on Aeronautics, consisting of 21 Members of the House, which resolution has been referred to the Committee on Rules, to whom I propose to apply immediately for a hearing.

In conclusion, I desire to insert a very able editorial from the New York Globe of June 15, 1917:

THE AIR STAGE OF THE WAR.

First came the infantry phase of the war. Huge bodies of marching men, screened by cavalry, were hurled into France to smash their way by mass attack to Paris.

Next, after the stalemate of the trenches, was developed the idea that artillery, capable of pulverizing field defenses, gave the recipe for winning the war. The way the Russian lines along the Dunajec were pierced seemed to establish the thesis that superior weight of metal destroyed the advantages of defense. In the Champagne, at Verdun, in the Somme region, in front of Arras, and the Messines ridge the method has been used—is still being used.

Then Germany discovered that the submarine provided an answer to the great riddle. Ravaging undersea craft could and would break the sea communications of Great Britain and France and deliver them to her hand. German hope beat high when she unloosed her piratical craft and the sinkings became numerous. News came to Berlin that Great Britain was in semipanic.

Infantry, artillery, and submarines, while vital factors, have so far brought no decisive results. Mass attacks against prepared positions bristling with machine guns are now admitted to be futile. The artillery is able to provide openings through which an advance can be made, but the process is slow. The heavy guns are not easily moved. Ground gains come only by inching forward. Since the Dunajec surprise neither side has been able to break the line of its adversary over a front wide enough to permit a flanking army to pass through.

We approach a further phase of the war—the air stage; not a period of the lumbering Zeppelin, but of the airplane. The opinion is hardening into conviction that the set of belligerents that gains and holds a command of the air similar to the command of the seas possessed by the allies is to win a military victory.

At first the airplane was thought of merely as the eyes of an army. The machines were light, fast, and practically unprotected. They were merely to see and report. But the development of antiaircraft guns and of armored fighting machines capable of chasing away observers compelled the building of answering air fighters to protect the reconnoiters. The air service became specialized—some airplanes were only to see and others to make certain their chance to see.

A further differentiation occurred. The machine suitable for low observation was different in type from that suitable for reconnaissance far behind the lines. Then came the light and rapidly climbing airplanes to pester the heavy fighter. Finally, there is now the bomb carrier, in which everything is sacrificed to the ability to carry a weight of explosives to be dropped on railroads and depots and troop concentrations. Experience has shown that it takes eight hours to reopen an interrupted railroad, and one can imagine what a sufficient number of bomb carriers could do if able to wing their way unmolested to

points above the German communications. Given airplanes enough of the several types and the army of the allies, with the artillery and their brave infantry, have victory in sight.

This is the doctrine now in vogue among the ally commanders. Not neglecting shells and other things, they are asking for a speeding up of airplane factories and a vast increase in the number of aviators. Great Britain proposes to spend a billion on her air service within a year. France is equally busy. Germany, not to be behind, is rushing construction and training with feverish speed.

And it is everywhere agreed that the direct aid that the United States can most rapidly give to her allies is by providing airplanes and aviators in great supply. It is perhaps not feasible for us to build fighting planes extensively, for the developments are rapid and the maker must be close to the firing line. Merely in transportation three months would be consumed to bring a model over and send a copy back. But training machines, reconnoiterers, and bomb carriers can be made here according to standardized models, and the factories of Great Britain and France be kept free for the construction of the fighters.

So far we have done little except to prepare to prepare. Only this week was the $60,000,000 carried by the appropriation approved in March made available. Before that no more than the $14,000,000 of last year's appropriation could be drawn on.

But the new appropriation does not begin to provide the financial foundation for what there is need to do. Without debate a credit comparable to that authorized by Great Britain should at once be voted. Long before our new army can be made ready a force of 100,000 American aviators can be intensively trained and dispatched abroad. Failure to do this means a prolongation of the war, and for every day of prolongation there will be a sacrifice of 5,000 Americans.

Germany can not hold her trench line if she is driven from the air and the communications of her armies are exposed to constant bombing attacks by airplanes flying low enough to be able to throw explosives to hit their marks. A force of 100,000 airplanes will have the military effectiveness, it is estimated, of 2,000,000 foot soldiers. We need to open our minds to the possibilities that offer, and if we do even a debating Congress will not care to take the responsibility of a neglect that means unnecessary sorrow to American households.

New York Harbor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, when the rivers and harbors bill was taken up under the five-minute rule, at the suggestion of one of my colleagues I telegraphed to the mayor of the city of New York for specific information in regard to the improvements contemplated, and the approximate cost thereof, by the city of New York, if the pending bill should become a law.

Under leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to put in the RECORD a telegram from Hon. R. A. C, Smith. dock commissioner, city of New York, which was not received in time to be read in connection with the consideration of the Hell Gate and other New York items:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *June 15, 1917.*

Hon. MURRAY HULBERT,
Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Mayor Mitchel is absent from the city and his office has asked me to reply to your telegram. The city is now spending over five millions of dollars on Hudson River to meet obligation to Federal Government to avoid further encroachment on channel. Federal cooperation in Hudson River urgently needed to make improvements available. City is prepared to spend large sums in making the East River available for important commercial uses if Federal Government will begin improvement. Deepening and widening of Hell Gate are improvements of importance which can not be overestimated. Large areas of Brooklyn, Queens, and Bronx can not be developed until Federal aid is secured, and in order that the State Barge Canal may fulfill its great function as a water carrier in connection with deep-sea commerce.

R. A. C. SMITH, *Dock Commissioner.*

The Cement Trust.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, on May 4 last I introduced a resolution (H. Res. 74) asking that the Attorney General of the United States advise the Congress as to what he had done and was doing to bring the Cement Trust within the law and to punish those responsible for said trust. This resolution was sent to the Attorney General by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Hon. EDWIN Y. WEBB, and the Attorney General has reported that the department has been investigating the said trust, but he did not report any convictions for violation of the law with respect thereto. I also wrote a letter to the Attorney General regarding this resolution. The reply that I received is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., May 4, 1917.

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The department has received your letter of the 28th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa relative to an alleged combination between the manufacturers of cement to increase and maintain prices, and inquiring whether this department has made any investigation of the subject.

The question whether the manufacturers of Portland cement have entered into any combination or agreement in violation of the Federal antitrust law is now under investigation and consideration by this department. Certain cement manufacturers on the Pacific coast have already been indicted, and some of them have entered pleas of guilty and the others are now on trial. A copy of the indictment in this case is inclosed for your information.

Consideration of the general subject has not yet been concluded, and therefore the department is not at this time prepared to state whether further prosecutions will be instituted.

Respectively, for the Attorney General,

G. CARROLL TODD,
Assistant to the Attorney General.

Recently I again wrote him and sent him information showing that there was in existence a Cement Trust in clear violation of the law. He again replied that the matter would be further investigated. I am not given to criticize the administration or the members of the various departments of the Government. I rather am inclined to believe that they are desirous of doing their best for the public and to have the antitrust laws fully enforced. Hence I do not at this time desire to call up this resolution and ask for its adoption by the House. I prefer to wait a reasonable time and see if we can get some results through the efforts of the Attorney General. There is hardly anything more important, so far as national defense is concerned, than cement. It is needed in many things as regards roads, fortifications, and so forth. It is the duty of the Attorney General to vigorously prosecute those guilty of forming this Cement Trust, and he should do it promptly. It is his duty to call the matter to the attention of the district attorneys of the United States and to ask their help in obtaining evidence to prosecute those guilty of violating the laws of the United States as regards this matter. As an evidence of the trust and the fixing of prices as regards cement, I beg to call attention to the following authentic quotations from manufacturers of cement, as follows:

FEBRUARY 8, 1917.

Current prices.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Portland cement:		
Team delivery (carload lots to contractors, less 5 cents per barrel paid in 10 days)	per barrel	$2.26
To contractors at yard	do	2.18
To dealers at yard	do	2.03
White	do	5.50
White waterproofed Madusa	do	6.50
Gray waterproofed Madusa	do	3.16
Madusa waterproofing (powder or paste)	per pound	.12

FROM NORTH LIMITS OF CITY OF CHICAGO TO WINNETKA AVENUE, IN KENILWORTH.

Portland cement:		
Team delivery	per barrel	$2.30
Carload lots to contractors (less 5 cents per barrel paid in 10 days)—		
Evanston	per barrel	2.10
Wilmette	do	2.12
Kenilworth to Glencoe	do	2.14
To contractors at yard	do	2.22
To dealers at yard	do	2.07

FROM SOUTH LIMITS OF WINNETKA TO COUNTY LINE.

Portland cement:		
Team delivery	per barrel	$2.35
To contractors at yard	do	2.27
To dealers at yard	do	2.11

(Quotations are sent to contractors in the city of Chicago on plain stationery, in a plain envelope, and bear no signature.)

The various manufacturers of Portland cement who sell their products in the State of Michigan, as, for instance, the Universal Portland Cement Co., of 210 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.; the Michigan Portland Cement Co., of Chelsea, Mich.; the Wyandotte Portland Cement Co., of 1525 Ford Building, Detroit, Mich.; and the Peninsula Portland Cement Co., of Jackson, Mich., quote prices for cement that are identical, and on terms that are the same.

On October 23, 1916, the Portland Cement Association entered into an agreement with the board of road commissioners of Washington County, Miss., to the effect that the association would guarantee to have a responsible contractor enter into and sign their usual form of contract for the construction of 141 miles of 9-foot concrete road, the same to be constructed under

the standard specifications of the Portland Cement Association; the contractor to place also a 3-foot gravel shoulder 4 inches thick on each side of said road, all for a total sum not to exceed $830,000. The agreement was signed by the Portland Cement Association and per Guy F. Mills, then their local representative in that section. The proposition was accepted by the board of road commissioners. The association also agreed to enter into a contract for 100 miles or more of said road to cost in proportion as in the above agreement.

Some time in January Mr. Affleck, president of the Portland Cement Association, appeared in Washington County, Miss., and while there is understood to have made a proposition to furnish cement at a price that would enable the road commission to construct the mileage desired within the amount of the bond issue, regardless of the current price of cement. In other words, while a price of $1.40 per barrel delivered was guaranteed, if Washington County is unable to secure bids sufficiently low to permit of the construction of the mileage desired using cement at $1.40 per barrel, then the cement association would lower the price on cement sufficiently to make it possible to construct the desired mileage within the amount of the bond issue.

On April 12 the road commission received bids on the work described above, and the best bid received was approximately $500,000 more than the cement association had undertaken to have the work done for by contractors which it would furnish, with bond, to do the work. It was understood that the representative of the cement association appealed to the road commission to postpone the said road construction, which caused the commission to become suspicious of the cement association with respect to their intention to carry out their agreement. The association having failed to convince the road commission on this point, the commission entered suit against the cement association for approximately $600,000.

It is common knowledge throughout the country that there is a Cement Trust, and, as stated above, cement being so important in this war the Attorney General ought to give his best energy and efforts to prosecuting those guilty of violation of the law. The food question is hardly of more importance than that of cement. Cement is equally important so far as the war is concerned to that of fuel.

I insert the following editorial showing general knowledge of the fact that there is a Cement Trust:

[From the Fort Wayne Daily News, Thursday, May 17, 1917.]

THE CEMENT TRUST.

Never before in the history of the country have the people been so viciously exploited by predatory combinations as they are to-day. Practically every commodity that enters into our living is controlled by ruthless conspirators against the public pocketbook, and the brazen manner in which they conduct their illegal activities is at once a scandal and a reproach. The nefarious workings of the food speculators, the coal barons, and a few others are familiar to every citizen, for they directly affect all the people, yet there are other combinations in restraint of trade, fully as conscienceless as those mentioned, which by indirection attack the public interest in a manner no less vital.

For example, there is the cement manufacturers' trust, a hard and fast union of conspirators, that simply laughs the law to scorn and makes little or no attempt to conceal the fact that it regards piracy as its privilege and extortion as its God-given right. The average citizen of Fort Wayne no doubt gives little heed to this, for he reasons that inasmuch as he does not have to buy cement as he has to buy coal and bread, it is really no concern of his what price is exacted by its manufacturers. Yet it really is his concern, for this conspiracy is having the result to-day of holding up the erection of a number of important buildings here by making their construction so costly as to be impracticable. The Young Men's Christian Association Building, the Hope Hospital, and possibly the municipal assembly hall might all be built except for the unjust and unreasonable price asked for cement, for cement can be used as a very satisfactory substitute for structural steel.

The experience of Louis Fox suffices to illustrate the case. Mr. Fox is preparing to build at Calhoun and Washington Streets a large department-store building and is having a harrowing time of it. It being practically impossible to place an order for structural steel, Mr. Fox naturally turned to cement and immediately came in contact with the trust—violent contact with it. As his order was designed to be an unusually large one he sought bids from not only all of the local agencies but from a number of manufacturers having no representatives in Fort Wayne. And in due time he received quotations from all of them. Now, it might have been expected that for an order so large there would have been lively competition with a wide variance in the bids. But nothing of the sort! All the bids were identical—not the deviation of a hair's breadth or the advantage of a penny.

Uniformly the bids ran $2.29 a barrel for cement in cloth sacks and $2.04 for that in paper sacks. The terms were 30 days net, with a slight reduction for the return of the cloth sacks if shipped at purchaser's expense. Moreover, all the letters blandly announced that the price offered was one that was subject to change without notice, the gentle inference being that any change would be a change for the worse.

Now, the exercise of that judgment which God gave geese makes it perfectly clear that by no conceivable freak of coincidence could these bids have been identical without agreement among the manufacturers. These men have gotten together in magnificent defiance of the Federal law and are putting the thumbscrews on the public. They are demanding $2.29 a barrel for a product which they formerly were glad to sell for 85 cents a barrel—and they are getting the price. Certain work has to be done, and the cement men know it. They know that structural steel can not be secured, so they have commercialized necessity and are robbing those unfortunate enough to be obliged to buy their product. To be sure, the increased cost to the manufacturers of operation probably warrants an advance in their prices, but 15 cents a barrel would take care of this increase very handsomely. The charge of $2.29 agreed upon by them as probably "all the traffic will bear" is as predatory in its character as a midnight raid on a farmer's henroost.

It is said that the Government is too much engrossed by the war at present to take cognizance of such flouting of its authority, but it is difficult to see why this is so. Indeed, one might reasonably suppose that the prompt punishment of those so villianously interfering with business would be an important part of the successful conduct of the war. Moreover, it is exceedingly difficult to see just wherein our various district attorneys are burdened with the responsibilities incident to recruiting, arming, and moving soldiers or with raising the necessary funds

It should be their "bit" to see to it that the civil laws of the land are obeyed and that no obstacles are placed in the path of business by those whose unworthy ambition seems to be to get rich quick by methods which would have given Capt. Kidd shooting pains and caused Claude Duval and Dick Turpin to grow green with that jealousy which the amateur evinces in the presence of the master of the art.

I have many other evidences of the certain fact that there is a Cement Trust in this country, but I do not feel that more are necessary to call this important matter to the attention of the Congress and the country than what I have put in the RECORD as above. Within the next few weeks I hope to learn of definite and vigorous action by the Attorney General of the United States against those responsible for this outrageous violation of the law. If my anticipations in this regard are fulfilled, I will not have to trouble Congress further about the matter.

Hardwick Amendment to the Federal Reserve Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. DARROW,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 14, 1917.

Mr. DARROW. Mr. Speaker, no one has ever contended that the Federal reserve act was perfect nor that it should be like the law of the Medes and Persians, unchangeable; but whatever changes are made should be in the interest of the general public and not for the benefit of the few, when by so doing it would place an unnecessary burden upon the business community.

The Federal Reserve System was organized with the idea that checks would be at par all over the United States irrespective of what banks they were drawn on, and the so-called Hardwick amendment, if adopted, would destroy this advantage and probably compel all banks and clearing houses to adopt a uniform charge for the collection of checks; and inasmuch as banks are very human, they would probably take advantage of the full exchange tariff allowed in the Hardwick amendment. Banks naturally and properly desire to increase their dividends, but if we legalize these exchange charges, it will put the check-collecting business of the country in a far worse position than before the passage of the Federal reserve act.

The collection of checks is chiefly a matter of bookkeeping, and while some argue that banks are put to considerable expense in paying express or transportation charges on currency to settle checks presented for collection, as a matter of fact the amount of currency so used is almost infinitesimal. It has been estimated that not more than one dollar in a million is so transferred. If this be true, that these exchange charges are needed for that purpose, it would mean that for every dollar so transported the banks would collect one thousand dollars from their depositors.

A charge of one-tenth of 1 per cent may seem small, but it is estimated that this amendment, if adopted, will cost the banks of my city $400,000 additional expense each year, which would be charged to the business houses, and be an additional tax on the business community. What is true for Philadelphia, is equally true in a greater or less degree of every town or city in the United States. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that if the country banks be authorized to make this charge, the clearing houses in the different centers would be compelled to pass resolutions charging all depositors one dollar a thousand, and thereby defeat one of the main purposes of the Federal reserve act, namely, that checks would be at par all over the United States when collected through the Federal Reserve System.

Many years ago there was a man in Binghamton, N. Y., who secured the Democratic nomination for governor because he had a reputation of "paying the freight"—a remarkable qualification in those days for a Democratic governor. Jones had built up a splendid business because he dealt liberally with the people and paid the freight on the goods he sold, so his campaign slogan

was, "Jones pays the freight." I now venture to say that it will be the same with the banks if they perform this small service of free collections at par. They will prosper more than they will if they exact a pound of flesh for every stroke of the pen.

Bank dividends are earned largely by loaning the depositors' money, and the collection of checks, which is a matter of transferring credit from one to another, is one of the principal returns the depositor receives for the use of his money.

For the reasons I have cited, and arguments advanced by other gentlemen on the floor of the House of Representatives, I voted against the motion made to instruct the House conferees to agree to the Hardwick amendment when this question was before us several weeks ago, and shall at every opportunity oppose an amendment permitting member or nonmember banks making a charge of 10 cents on $100 or fraction thereof for collection or payment of checks and drafts by exchange or otherwise through the Federal Reserve System.

"Hats Off."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GILBERT A. CURRIE,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. CURRIE of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an editorial which recently appeared in the Midland Sun, published at Midland, Mich. My reason for incorporating this editorial in the RECORD is on account of its recital of a very commendable and patriotic sentiment prevailing among the young men of that city. In a total registration of 505 only 24 claimed exemption for any reason, notwithstanding the fact that over 75 per cent of these men are employed in a great chemical industry.

Michigan seems destined to exemplify, in this great conflict, its traditional virtues. The Wolverine State was among the very first in the Civil War to muster into Federal service its full quota of men, and no soldiers ever displayed greater courage or valor on the fields of battle than did the Michigan boys in that gigantic struggle for the preservation of the Union. Their fame and glory, so valiantly won by courage and bravery displayed upon a score of battle fields, is a matter of history and an inspiration to the younger generation to dedicate themselves to the glory of the Nation in this great crisis.

When the Nation was again plunged into war in 1898, battling for the rights of humanity and to free Cuba from tyranny and oppression, Michigan soldiery was again in the forefront. Now, seemingly in the face of the greatest war that has ever confronted mankind, Michigan, true to traditional spirit, loyalty, and bravery, comes forth to share its full responsibility in the battles "to make the world safe for democracy." While the census estimate for registration was 328,151, Michigan registered 372,872, or 113.6 per cent. These totals, according to information obtained from the War Department, places Michigan, with a single exception, in the lead of all the States of the Union, so far as reported, in respect to the percentage of men registered. Also in this connection I wish to have recorded the fact that Michigan has already mustered her full allotment into the Regular Service, and the full quota of National Guard is being rapidly attained.

The following is the editorial referred to above:

"HATS OFF."

[From the Midland Sun, June 7, 1917.]

Patriotism, what is it? Many and varied have been the answers given. The young men of Midland—God bless them—gave an answer Tuesday that will stand forever to their honor. Quietly, seriously, manfully they presented themselves in response to our President's call and registered. Five hundred and five in all, only 24 of whom claimed exemption from military service—nearly all for self-evident physical reasons.

One splendid type of manhood broke down and cried when refused registration—he was 32. "I wanted to go with my brother," he explained, "but I can volunteer." Minus the third finger of the right hand another, when asked if he claimed exemption replied, "No; I'm all right, it's not my shooting finger"; in this case there was also a wife and baby at home.

Manhood, patriotic manhood, is written large in the action of these, our fellow citizens, on this occasion which has tried men's souls, and we wish, in our humble way, to pay homage where it is due.

In many of the largest cities one-half of the registered claim exemption. Midland, with its great chemical industry, was an ideal place for such claims, but our boys would not take advantage of this situation.

Hats off to Old Glory and to every man willing to defend her!

"Origin of the Banner."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER W. GREGG,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, June 18, 1917.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a short poem, entitled "Origin of the Banner," written by Mrs. Rose C. Deming, of Palestine, Tex.

The poem is as follows:

ORIGIN OF THE BANNER.

[Written by Mrs. Rose C. Deming, of Palestine, Tex. Recited by Mrs. Ida Branagan at the presentation of a banner by the ladies of Palestine to the First Military Company, August, 1883.]

When the archangel Michael had marshaled his armies,
And the long ranks filed out to do combat for heaven,
The gate of the battlement standing half open
'Lowed a gleam of the light from within to be given.

It streamed o'er that army all azure and gold
And floated above it like pennons set free,
And the dark of the universe caught from its fold
The light that now 'lumines its uttermost sea.

The angels fought under this banner of brightness,
And routed night's host from the gateway above,
And forever was planted the thought of a banner,
An ensign, a standard, to reverence and love.

Earth gathers her armies to battle for honor
And floats o'er their columns the flag they're to save;
Each soldier walks under and swears to defend it,
Are wrapped in its folds to lie down in his grave.

It's no meaningless fancy, this flagstaff of nations—
'Tis the sign of a sentiment deep in each breast;
It means home and country, our altars and firesides,
Wives, mothers, children, whate'er we love best.

The heart of true manhood ever thrills to behold it,
The eye gleams with pride, the pulses beat high,
And cowards and cravens shrink back from its wavings
When the strong hands of patriots carry it by.

We bring you a standard all azure and starlight,
Unfurl o'er your heads our grand banner of state,
And bid you defend it from foe or dishonor,
To lead with its leading, its fate be your fate.

Like the ray that first gleamed from the portals of heaven,
May the light of its stars shine to guide you aright,
Its fold be a curtain between you and evil,
Its honor your glory, ever stainless and bright!

The Food-Control Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, June 18, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I herewith submit some observations sent me by Hon. F. M. Gault, president Oklahoma State Board of Agriculture, commenting upon the difference in market prices of certain products, particularly wheat, between what is received by the producer and what is paid by the consumer. They are as follows:

OBSERVATIONS BY F. M. GAULT, PRESIDENT OKLAHOMA STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Never in the history of this country was there more urgent need of a strong Jacksonian policy than at this moment, when speculators are taking advantage of a national crisis to filch from the people unwarranted and exorbitant profits. The manner in which speculative sharks are capitalizing and commercializing the newspaper reports with reference to the grain on hand, for example, causes wonderment that the Government does not make use of its enlarged authority during a state of war to promptly and vigorously handle those fellows who have been and still are squeezing the people for profit when they should be participating in a patriotic effort to promote the people's welfare and assist in bringing our country to a state of military and industrial preparedness.

Personally I would rather see one of these profit sharks placed behind the bars of a military prison than to learn of the sinking of a German battleship. I think they are worse than an alien enemy who operates in the open, for these men are virtually shooting their brothers in the back. They are little better than those "human ghouls" described by Victor Hugo as going on the field of battle in the night and robbing the corpses of those slain in battle while fighting for the preservation of their country.

These sharks are constantly forcing upward the cost of living and bringing distress when naturally there is no occasion for it. They have actually decreased by 100 per cent the purchasing power of the dollar, and their nefarious work operates as a detriment to patriotism. Patriotism can not thrive on an empty stomach.

It is denied in some quarters that grain speculators are doing this, but let us look at some facts right here at home:

In 1916 Oklahoma produced 27,541,000 bushels of wheat. Prior to October 1, 73 per cent, or 20,105,000 bushels, were marketed at an average price of $1.05 per bushel. In October, 7 per cent, or 1,938,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.42 per bushel; in November, 6 per cent, or 1,653,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.71 per bushel; in December, 4 per cent, or 1,102,000 bushels, were marketed; in January, 3 per cent, or 826,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.56; in February, 2 per cent, or 551,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.75; in March, 2 per cent, or 551,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.68; in April, 2 per cent, or 551,000 bushels, were marketed at $1.87. Of the total wheat crop of the State of Oklahoma in 1916, 35 per cent was sold at an average price of 89 cents per bushel, 38 per cent of the total wheat crop was sold at an average price of $1.21 per bushel, and 27 per cent of the crop at an average price of $1.66 per bushel.

The average price the farmer obtained for the 1916 wheat crop was $1.22 per bushel. On the basis of to-day's market of $16 per barrel for flour, he pays the merchant $3.80 for the products obtained from the bushel of wheat, or $2.58 more than he received from the wheat originally. Of this amount 24 cents is the actual cost of manufacture, leaving a clear profit of $2.34 on a bushel of wheat, which is absorbed in its travel from the farmer's bin until it again reaches him in its manufactured stage.

The $2.34 profit derived after the deduction of the 24 cents for milling is double the amount that the producer actually received for the grain delivered to the elevator.

I have heard a great deal on the conservation of foodstuffs and that half of the world is on a starvation basis. If these conditions prevail in every other State, the United States and the whole world soon will be on a starvation basis, and it does not require the services of a Pinkerton detective to determine who is responsible. This applies not only to wheat production but to everything else produced and marketed to-day.

The ordinary pair of shoes worn by farmers and merchants costs $1.22 in the box. This shoe formerly sold for $4 per pair, but has been increased to $8 per pair, and the increased valuation of material and labor is actually only 9 per cent.

The price of cowhides, green, has increased 30 per cent. This applies to the ordinary shoe worn by farmers, laborers, and merchants. The stylish shoe has an added sale valuation of $1 an inch for each inch in excess of the ordinary height.

One good cowhide will furnish leather for a first-class set of harness. A cowhide costs from 17 cents to 19 cents per pound, green. When manufactured into leather it will make a set of harness. A set of harness to-day is valued at $70—$30 more than it sold for three years ago. The fixtures, such as hames, buckles, and other metal, will cost $5 to $6. Mr. Farmer, Merchant, and Conservist, please figure the amount derived from raw material from the time it leaves the producer until it returns to the producer in the form of a finished product.

The man who produces the foodstuffs and products that go to make up the manufactured article seems not to be considered, except as a patriot. It is extremely difficult to make the individual realize that it is his duty to protect his country during his country's need under conditions such as these profit takers have brought about by their unholy greed.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. WARD,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 18, 1917.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Agriculture, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel, having considered the same, recommended that the bill do pass. As one who voted in committee against the bill as it now stands, I feel it incumbent upon me to offer to the House some expression of my opinion and best judgment in regard thereto.

The bill in theory is the most sweeping and far-reaching piece of legislation of its kind that has seriously been considered by the official representatives of the people since the framing of the Constitution. Broadly speaking, the bill empowers the President to seize all food and fix prices on same, the price to be subject to review by the courts. It would authorize the establishment (sec. 3) of a governmental control of necessaries which would include the production and consumption of necessaries. This vital power, reaching, as it would be possible under such a law, to the very power of life or death over our people would, under the practical working out of the law (sec. 4) be in the hands of one person, a food controller, and neither the people nor their Representatives in Congress would have a voice in the choice of the man who under the law could exercise this arbitrary power that to my mind is abhorrent to the principles of free government.

If this bill should become a law, the 104,000,000 of our people will be subject to the rule of the food dictator; but he in turn is not responsible to them. Such a condition, so subversive to the meaning and sense of our Constitution, is, in my opinion, unnecessary, unwise, and unjustified even in the light of the needs and circumstances arising out of the present war. The bill is a war measure, and for that reason alone does it stand for argument at all. It is my opinion that no matter how much the concentration of power is conducive to efficiency, nevertheless the heavy demands upon us in this war can be met, as far as we have human ability to meet them, without the wanton surrender of the people's will executed through the ordinary constitutional channels—the legislative branch of their Federal Government. The great war in which we are now engaged is a conflict between democracy and autocracy. Democracy must be victorious, and I cherish the hope that in the fight it will hold true to its own character and not resort to attributes of its foe.

The bill carries on its face a declaration to the effect that, by reason of the existence of a state of war, the things required or forbidden are essential to the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support of the Army and Navy, and—section 3—it declares that the processes, methods, and activities concerning necessaries are affected with a public interest. And the contention follows that the chief aims of the bill are—

> To eliminate waste, to conserve the supply of food, to stimulate production, to prevent hoarding, to restrain injurious speculation, to prevent corners and extortion, and to prevent deceptive practices and effect equitable distribution.

I do not deny the fact that the accomplishment of these aims is praiseworthy, is needful, and is entirely within the public policies of our Government. The common knowledge we all have of the subnormal supply of food and the abnormal demand by reason of the exertions of war prompts us to readily appreciate the accomplishment of the conservation, control, and increased production of foodstuffs. The accomplishment of these purposes, under existing conditions and future conditions which we may expect, is essential to the successful prosecution of the war. Food control, in view of this world emergency, is preeminently necessary in the way of stringent and unusual law. Hoarding, speculation, and all other similar practices so manifestly incompatible with the public interest must be dealt with rigorously and with dispatch; and, further than this, we need to stimulate production. But should the tremendous power of food control rest in the collective wisdom of Congress, or shall Congress evade its constitutional responsibility and delegate this vast power, the ultimate exercise of which, under this bill, would be in the whim or discretion of a food controller, as yet unnamed? Shall we legislate specifically, so that all men may know what the law is and adjust their businesses accordingly, or are we, as this bill proposes—section 5—to put power in one man to regulate or stop, as his own discretion prompts him, the business of any persons or all persons engaged in the importation, exportation, manufacture, storage, or distribution of any necessaries and to allow only those to continue in such business whom the dictator sees fit to issue a license to?

No one, so far as I know, contends that there is any question of famine restrictions on our part. Admittedly, America has an excess of food supply. Mr. Hoover states that, and he has expressly stated that the question is wholly one of cooperation with the allies. Our cooperation with our allies must be wholehearted, as all the world knows that it is; but in our characteristic eagerness to do our full share, and more if need be, in this great struggle, we can not afford to lose our balance. The American Congress can pass laws with "teeth" in them, and pass them quickly, to adequately meet demands without necessitating the casting aside the collective wisdom of the people's Representatives and the surrender of their power into the hands of some one food dictator.

Aside from the question of unwarranted concentration of power, that seems to me repugnant to our political institutions, there is a very serious question, in my mind, in respect to the broad scope of the legislation proposed. Admitting, for the purpose of argument, that the concentration of power as found in the bill is consistent with our form of government or that the war emergency makes it so, then we have to consider the question of the practicability of establishing an absolute dictatorship of food control in this country. If this bill as it now stands becomes a law, the lawmaking function of Congress in respect to "necessaries" will be transferred from the legislature to the Executive. The power under this bill is boundless. So sweeping and general are the terms of the bill and so vague are even its particulars that under it we know not where we go. The

dictator who will be put into control by the President will be confronted with a superhuman task dealing with the complexities this practically unlimited law will lead to, a task which, in my opinion. can not, in principle or in wisdom, be put upon the shoulders of an individual. The extraordinary powers already possessed by the President in war time under the Constitution are ample; the powers which the President now possesses are hardly within the capabilities of mortal man to execute. To transfer to him in its entirely the proper function of Congress in dealing with the food situation is taking a step inconsistent with good judgment as regards the public welfare.

There must be found authority in the Constitution, either under the express or implied powers, to do what this bill proposes to do if this proposed legislation is constitutional. The Constitution gives power and restricts power in war time as well as it does in times of peace. A long line of Supreme Court decisions makes that statement uncontrovertible. This bill, in my opinion, in some of its provisions provides for power which are extraconstitutional. For instance, the fourth amendment to the Constitution provides that—

the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

And yet section 5 of this bill provides that—

* * * The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations governing the conduct of the business of licensees as may be essential to prevent uneconomical manufacture and inequitable distribution of necessaries and otherwise to carry out the purposes of this act. Such regulations may also include requirements for the issuance of licenses and requirements for systems of accounts and auditing of accounts to be kept by licensees, submission of reports by them, with or without oath or affirmation, and the entry and inspection by the President's duly authorized agents of the places of business of licensees.

This section of the bill would authorize the present unknown agents of the President to come into any licensee's place of business at any time and demand an inspection of all of his books or accounts. The section is wholly inconsistent with both the letter and the spirit of the safeguards in the Constitution. The contention is made, in the memorandum on the constitutionality of the bill, that no machinery is provided for compelling a person to submit to such inspection, and that if his books would show him to be a violator of the law then he can refuse to show them, as then he would be protected by the constitutional guaranty in regard to not being compelled to produce incriminating evidence against himself. If the law does not mean what it says, then, in my opinion, it is unsound policy to put it before the people as a law. In many other particulars I believe the bill is contrary to the letter as well as to the spirit of the Constitution.

Besides the armies of our young men that will soon be on the battle fields of Europe, fighting as American soldiers have always fought, our country, by far the leading agricultural country of the world, is being depended upon to feed the armies of our allies in arms. We have not alone to consider the feeding of ourselves and our armies. But the task that is thrown upon the shoulders of the American farmer is to produce enough above the normal surplus of foodstuffs to make up for the shortage of our allies. That is the task that confronts the American farmer. I believe he will be equal to it as far as human endeavor can make him so. He is industrious, thrifty, and equipped for his great task. The eternal law of supply and demand will operate, no matter what laws we pass and the farmer will produce the maximum; further than this, the American farmer is a high-born patriot, and if treated fairly will exert himself to the utmost to do his great part in the war. Why burden him, as this bill would do, with an overlord or dictator, who will be vested with the arbitrary authority to requisition at any time at his discretion the products of the farm and pay the farmer a price which he, the dictator, may think reasonable. Notwithstanding a guaranteed price, that may be fixed—section 12—under given conditions for a certain time, this controlling power of production and consumption to be exercised at the discretion of one man will be resented by the farmer, who by right deserves an open and unmenacing road. The farmer stands ready to do his part; he is ready to do more. He can see men of other industries grow wealthy through excessive profits by reason of the war, and yet, knowing that his product is the most vitally needed of all, he is willing to sacrifice excessive profits and to submit to a regulation that will allow him only a fair return, and that will encompass his whole industry. He is willing to do this if it be necessary for the welfare of his country. He will welcome legislation that will give him a fair profit, that will kill speculation and evil practices of their kind, and that will assure a fair price to the consumer whether that consumer be domestic or foreign. But the farmer objects to seeing the absolute power over his industry put into the hands of some one who will be appointed a dictator. The farmer is opposed to the establishment of a dictatorshop in his industry while the power over every other industry is left remaining in its proper constitutional place.

"Riotous, Exorbitant Cost of Living."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter:

RIOTOUS, EXORBITANT COST OF LIVING—ELIMINATION OF ITS CHIEF CAUSE.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 16, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY I. EMERSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The people of the United States are quite correctly considered the most lenient and patient, as well as the most intelligent in the world. As there is a reason for everything, so this leniency and patience is accounted for by the fact that the people, as a free people, had been so preoccupied with their personal, individual work in hand and had been so satisfied with its results that their attitude toward the various administrations lacked a certain amount of vigor. Under different conditions their attitude toward any administration will likewise differ.

It is not only in theory that we confront nowadays a crisis that is in reality a national peril, but we are face to face with it, and under those circumstances the President of the United States should have been voluntarily offered by both Houses of Congress means—that is, enactment of laws that would have given him full authority and power to protect the people at large, not only from the notorious infamous military autocrat of the world, the worst kind imaginable that ever existed, but also from the not less notorious infamous piratical speculators and gamblers of foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil in the country.

There is a well-grounded saying that misfortune never comes alone, and the greatest misfortune at the present time for the United States is that the country has to fight an external enemy and an internal one at the same time. The sooner the internal enemy is crushed, the better the Nation will be equipped from any point of view to crush the notorious infamous military autocratic enemy of the entire democratic world. Civilization itself is at stake.

There is no need to reiterate historic facts. Everyone knows that history is full of illustrations showing that there is a limit to tyrannical exaction from a people, be they ever so lenient and patient. You are receiving a comfortable compensation for your services. You enjoy an exalted position in the eyes of the people. You probably are satisfied and are pleased with such a position. But possibly you do not mingle with those who de facto have already been obliged to curtail their daily rations at breakfast, dinner, and supper; and the innocent little ones do not receive the usual essential quantity of unadulterated milk, bread, and other indispensable nourishment, and all this is being done for no other purpose than for the benefit of the pirates of the country to be duly considered as nothing but virtually the outlaws of the United States, irrespective of their overflowing coffers with wealth and castlelike mansions.

The very fact that individuals have been able to accumulate and to boast of their immense and fabulous fortunes, amounting not only to millions, but to billions, of dollars, shows that the existing laws for the protection of the welfare of the Nation at large are inadequate. The Nation is now taking the necessary preparatory steps to crush the Kaiser and kaiserism for the protection of this great democratic Republic, as well as all the other democratic Republics of America and of the rest of the world, but no effective preparations are being made to crush at once the piratical speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil. These pirates virtually exact and levy taxation on the people without representation, and this is the reason that their coffers are so overflowing with wealth, while the rest of the people at such a time as this are compelled to deprive themselves of the very essentials in the maintenance of life itself, therefore, these pirates are not only robbers, but virtually murderers of the Nation itself.

After long suffering, the Russian people have rid themselves, by a revolution, of the Czar and czarism, and this episode seemingly had some effect upon the notorious, infamous military autocrat, so that, through his henchman—that is, his chancellor—he is attempting to fool the people by sweet but empty promises. Tactics of this kind, however, are as old as the hills, and it is only a question of time when the people must and will revolt with terrific effect.

There is a well-established saying that history repeats itself, and, therefore, kindly let me ask of you, as a Representative of the people and as a Member of the United States Congress, not to trifle and not to overestimate the leniency and patience of the American people. When the pressure fills the cup, the overflow will overthrow all those legislators whose woeful lack of active energy toward the enactment of a protective law against speculation and gambling in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil would naturally enable those piratical kings of speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil to continue their heretofore plunder and robbery of the people of the country.

You will serve the country in justice to yourself and to your constituents by being instrumental in seeing that a law be immediately passed that would punish speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil just the same as burglars are being punished. This law is to be specific, declaring this crime a felony, and punishable by 25 years' imprisonment, no penalty being acceptable, no pardons to be granted, no delays in the prosecution of suits under this law to be tolerated. Just as no sane person will for a moment consider himself offended when entering into a bank or other office he is confronted by a

safe, or when purchasing drafts, checks, etc., in a bank he is handed a paper with stenciled or other printed safeguards against embezzlement, so no one will consider himself insulted if on the statute books of the United States there will appear the proposed law that will surely crush forever even a possibility for the existence of such devilishly disposed people as the present kings of speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil.

It requires no arguments to show that with such a law on the statute books the President of the United States, or his representative, the prospective food-supply administrator of the United States, will have no trouble whatsoever to administer his high office in this respect. It will further require no arguments to show that a law of this kind is just as essential in fighting the domestic infamous piratical speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil as it is essential to have proper Navy and Army forces to crush the Kaiser and kaiserism. The domestic enemy—that is, the kings of manipulators, speculators, and gamblers of foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil—have prospered in this country for too long a time so far, but the prevailing appalling conditions resulting from their prosperity, by their so-called organizations "within the law," make it imperative that they be crushed by a new law to be enacted immediately. No farmer will for a moment undertake to raise successfully a crop of vegetables unless he scrupulously removes the weeds, and so no nation can care for the prosperity of the multitude at large without a law that would crush at once effectively the weeds in the case—that is, the kings of speculators and gamblers in foodstuff, fuel, and kerosene oil.

The enactment of the aforesaid antispeculation law in foodstuffs, fuel, and kerosene oil will necessarily manifestly also simplify the terms of any bill for the control of foodstuffs, fuel, etc., and there will be no necessity to bestow upon any man autocratic powers and also to limit the selection of such a man to one capable of rendering his services without compensation. There are a large number of able honest men in the country, and the country has enough money to pay for whatever services are rendered to it. Charitable services are not always desirable.

Nothing is so essential and so effective as publicity, and I believe that it will be worth your while to carefully consider whether or not another law should be enacted as a war measure which will prove beneficial for all time to come; that is, that a requisite appropriation be made at once to carry such a law into effect, and that the Secretary of Agriculture be directed that weekly statements covering the cost of production of foodstuffs, fuel, and kerosene oil, and the cost of their distribution, are to be furnished to the Associated Press, so that the readers of the newspapers may demand their publication at no cost to the Government. The consequent effect of the operation of such a law would be a twofold one. Every economic housewife and others will be posted on the intrinsic value of the commodities of the day which she is going to purchase intelligently, thus being able to decline to pay unnecessarily exorbitant prices on the one hand, and on the other it will give an opportunity to those inclined to look around and to search for similar business ventures to ascertain the margin of profits, and thus create healthy competition for the benefit of the public at large. At the present time information of this kind is not known to the public at large.

The President justly advocated and insisted upon the passage of the universal conscription law, therefore you as a Member of the legislative body of the United States ought to see that in the quickest manner possible the piratical kings of speculators and gamblers in foodstuffs, fuel, and kerosene oil shall likewise be required, by a so-to-speak conscription law, to quit their old-time virtual robbery of the people by hook and crook "within the law."

The science and art of medicine has advanced to such an extent that physicians of to-day rely not so much on the curative medicine as they do on the preventive measures; in other words, they have awakened to the truth of the saying, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Therefore, may it not be expected that the Members of both Houses of Congress should likewise recognize this truth and at once go to work and pass laws of a preventive nature, declaring speculation and gambling in foodstuffs, fuel, and kerosene oil a felony punishable by 25 years' imprisonment, as aforesaid. The moment a law of this kind is enacted and is operative all the foodstuff speculators and gamblers will vanish as by a miracle, provided the law will leave no loophole by way of which they could rid themselves of the punishment prescribed by the law, and as a consequence the speculating in foodstuffs, etc., as well as its storing and hoarding will disappear, together with the artificial enhanced creation of demand that apparently justifies the present riotous exorbitant cost of living.

According to the Constitution of the United States, it is the duty of the President of the United States from time to time to report to the Members of both Houses of Congress regarding the condition of the welfare of the Nation, with such recommendations for action that may be deemed necessary by him. This provision, of course, does not deprive in any way whatsoever both Houses of Congress from initiating laws and regulations for the welfare of the Nation and to have such laws promulgated according to law.

Just as well, it is quite in order, if I follow the spirit of the Constitution, that it is the duty of each United States citizen to have the welfare of the Nation at his heart, for the simple reason that as a particle of the Nation, so to speak, it is not only his high privilege but it is virtually his duty as such a citizen, from time to time, to communicate with the Members of both House of Congress, and to call their kind and just attention to the actual state of affairs in the country, especially in such a crisis as the one we are now not only facing but living through; and, therefore, may I ask of you the favor, in behalf of the citizens of the United States, to look upon this my letter as inspired by the spirit of 1776 and true democracy, and that you treat it accordingly for the benefit, not only of the democracy of the United States but of the democracy of the entire world, because nothing would please the notorious, infamous military autocrat as much as to see a food or other riot or revolution in the United States, because this is just part of his game, according to his activity in other countries.

Instead of making use of the country's press I thought it best to have a heart-to-heart talk with every Member of the Senate and of the House on this most important subject. I for one fail to find an adequate word to express the degree of this importance. Historic facts prove that food riots at times spread to such an extent that the conflagration grows beyond control. When one uses the press agitation naturally follows, and it is not prudent to allow such an agitation at a time such as the present.

An early acknowledgment of this letter, together with an expression of your sentiments regarding the so necessary and suggested enactment of the new law in question, will be highly appreciated.

Awaiting your favor, I remain,

Yours, very truly, H. M. B. BART.

"Hymn of America's Sons."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK L. GREENE,

OF VERMONT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 18, 1917.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following poem, entitled "Hymn of America's Sons," written by Mr. John L. Southwick, editor of the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, for Consecration Day, June 5, 1917, or the day appointed for registration under the selective-draft law for the raising of the citizen war army:

"HYMN OF AMERICA'S SONS."

Sons ten million strong are we
Of the New World's land and sea,
Soil our fathers fought to save
For the free, the true, the brave.

Mothers, wives, our country's pride,
From the vale, the mountain side,
Gave their prayers, their deeds, their tears,
Sacrifice for future years.

Sister, daughter, lover, child,
War's alarms and savage wild
Chilled to terror in the wake
Of long strife for Freedom's sake.

Independence, Union won;
Rio Grande, setting sun;
Boundaries, free Cuba's spires,
Mark the altars of our sires.

Ours the hard-earned heritage,
Centuries have given our age;
Liberty, self-rule, free thought,
Priceless boons brave blood has bought.

Hark! from Europe voices ring,
Prussian "kultur," kaiser, king,
Continents have set on fire,
Burning paths to world empire.

Church, cathedral, home, and art
Stand not from black fields apart;
"Kultur" knows not sex or age,
Spreads all on one bloody page.

Mothers, children, cast afloat,
Victims of the fiend U-boat,
Cry to us from out the deep
Ere they sink in final sleep.

Human rights now to us call
Lest democracy shall fall
A barbaric despot's prey,
To world tyrant rule give sway.

We'll respond to freedom's plight,
Lead Columbia's sons aright.
Stand for "world democracy,"
Battle for humanity.

We will keep Old Glory bright,
Emblem of eternal right.
God of ages, guard our land,
Put we guidance in Thy hand.

L'Envoi.

Consecrate we life and steel,
Dedicate to human weal.
Duty shouts, "Across the sea!"
Speed the chorus, "Here are we."

—J. L. Southwick.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. B. WALTON

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. WALTON. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the bill now pending. In fact, I do not hesitate to say that, in my opinion, next to the declaration of war with Germany, it is the most important and vitally necessary piece of legislation that has been presented to this Congress at the present session. Radical as its provisions may appear to Americans unaccustomed to laws of this sort, nothing has been more clearly demonstrated than that such legislation as this is absolutely demanded if we are to triumph in the war.

If the times were normal, Mr. Speaker, there might be force to the arguments advanced by the opponents of this bill. But the times are abnormal. Unusual and extreme measures are just as essential to protect the Nation from hunger and famine as to protect it from the direct agencies of war. The food speculator and the food waster constitute just as serious a menace to the safety of American citizens as the armed attacks of our enemy. Both call for emergency legislation—for prompt, vigorous, and patriotic action by this Congress.

Some time ago, Mr. Speaker, when the resolution recognizing the existence of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government was under discussion by this House, I endeavored to make clear the position of the people of New Mexico regarding the general subject of war, stating that while they abhor war, they hate dishonor more, and predicting that when the call to arms should come there would be no readier or more effective response from any section of the country than from the State which I here have the honor to represent. Already that prediction has been more than verified. On the fateful day of registration under the selective-draft law, the day that marked an epoch in the history of this country, when the old order changed and the manhood of the Nation was called to enroll for the upholding of American traditions and American honor, New Mexico's voice rang clear and strong. The full quota of her contribution was registered. No riots or conspiracies to defeat the law marred the day within her borders. No slackers skulked away to shirk the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship. Her young men wore proudly the badge of their patriotism as they placed their names on the honor roll. The record of New Mexico on this 5th day of June is one of which her people have every right to feel forever proud.

New Mexico was not less generous with her money than with her men. When the call came for funds with which to wage the war for democracy no lazy dollars remained hidden in chimney corners. A golden stream poured out to bear the State's part in financing the greatest conflict in all history. Bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, laborers—all classes of her thrifty citizenship dug deep into their savings and gave according to their respective means, and one pathetic incident has been related to me of a life prisoner in the State penitentiary who invested $800, the savings of four years of penal servitude, in liberty bonds.

There are no slackers in New Mexico. No slackers in fighting men, no slackers in moneyed men, and there will be no slackers among those who are to furnish the food. At this time the people of New Mexico are as well organized for the mobilization of the food resources of the State as any in the Union. Immediately upon the appeal of the President for the conservation of food supplies and the stimulation of food production the people there began to put their forces in motion to respond. Men and women in every walk of life, without flurry or excitement, without the blare of trumpets or the flaunting of banners, set to work to "do their bit" and to see to it that New Mexico should do her full part—should contribute her full share.

How well their work has been done may be gathered from a few figures that I ask your indulgence to give you. New Mexico has not been able in the past to take the high rank as an agricultural State which her wonderful resources merit. This has been due to several causes, which time will not permit me to discuss at present. Government parsimony is one. But she is now going forward in strides of agricultural development that will one day cause the Nation to rub its eyes and wonder that such things can be done. Her people are now going ahead on their own initiative and responsibility and are reclaiming the waste places and making them to blossom as the rose.

When I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that in the present year the State of New Mexico, stirred by the impulse of patriotism, will increase her agricultural acreage more than 25 per cent, some idea may be gained of what I mean. Last year New Mexico produced, in round numbers, 22,500,000 pounds of beans. This year she will more than double that production. And, by the way, the New Mexico bean is an article of diet that is just now beginning to come into its own. New Mexico will raise 15 per cent more wheat this year than last, 20 per cent more oats, 25 per cent more barley, and 40 per cent more alfalfa—all of them in the fullest sense of the term war crops. The State is going in for farming more enthusiastically and more intelligently than ever before in her history. Her agricultural college, one of the best in the United States, is doing a wonderful work through the county agriculturists and through extension methods of the most improved sort, and better farmers and better farming are found on every hand than have ever been known before.

Mr. Speaker, the men and women who are doing this work demand the passage of this bill. Speaking for my own constituency, I say to you that the people are asking that the business of producing and conserving food be placed on a sound economic basis. They ask that steps be taken at once to reduce the cost of living, and keep it reduced, to the point where the wage earner of moderate means may at least be enabled to exist according to American standards. They are unwilling to see the patriotic work of their hands and brains nullified by the continuance of a slipshod and unscientific method of food distribution, to say nothing of the selfish and unpatriotic manipulation of prices by food speculators. They are not afraid that the powers granted to the President of the United States by this bill will be abused. The prospect of a food "dictatorship" strikes no terror to their hearts, nor do they anticipate a paralysis of business when this bill shall become law. They know that this legislation is necessary at this time—necessary for the protection and welfare of the people at home as well as for the success of the soldiers who will soon be fighting our battles in the trenches in France—and if we will heed their voice and do the will of the people who sent us here we will speedily enact this bill into law.

The Federal Reserve Banking Amendments.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1917.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Federal reserve banking law of 1914 made tremendous changes in our national banking system, and the new system has not yet been tested by hard times.

It shattered our tried system of independent banks and established a mighty engine for good or ill. Twelve Federal reserve banks are financed by enforced stock subscriptions by the national banks, of 6 per cent of their $1,700,000,000 capital and surplus, and 5 to 12 per cent of their deposits of $7,000,000,000, amounting to from $500,000,000 to $800,000,000 in all. Of this sum 65 per cent can be used by the Federal reserve banks, who can also issue United States notes to the member banks in payment for commercial paper, and the banks can use 60 per cent of these notes in their business.

National banks were authorized to lend on land, stock, and farm produce, do savings bank business, and accept time deposits against which the reserve is almost nominal. The Federal reserve directors are elected by the banks according to their number, and not their capital. The question then and now was, to what extent and how wisely this asset currency would be issued and called in? There is no automatic check on the issue of the new greenbacks called Federal reserve notes, such as was contained in the Vreeland Act. Under this new system the country must trust to the good sense of the directors of the Federal reserve banks and to the control of the Federal Reserve Board, watching lest we go wrong, and waiting for experience to teach us. On January 25, 1914, I published my views as to the new system in more detail in the Newark Sunday Call, as follows:

The tariff act was expected. The new banking and currency law is a bolt from the blue. It shatters our tried system of independent banks and establishes a new and mighty engine for good or ill.

Eight or twelve enormous reserve banks are to be financed by enforced contributions from the present banks, and will be managed by directors that may be chosen by a small fraction of the capital involved. The final control is in a central Federal Reserve Board who will be appointed by the President. The reserve banks will have large capital and deposits in cash. But if cash run short, new greenbacks can be issued for their use.

To be a little more particular, 8 to 12 banking districts are to be formed, and all national banks must become members of the Federal reserve bank of the district or go out of business. Each national bank must invest 6 per cent of its capital and surplus in the purchase of stock in the reserve bank. The capital of the national banks, by the printed report of the Comptroller of the Currency in 1912, was a little over a thousand millions and their surplus over seven hundred millions; so that the stock subscriptions by the national banks alone will be over one hundred millions, without counting stock taken by other banks that may come in. After three years between 5 and 7 per cent of all bank deposits must be deposited by the member banks in the reserve bank, and 3 to 5 per cent more will be put there at low interest or lie idle in their own vaults.

The national bank deposits in 1912 were about seven thousand millions, of which $400,000,000 must thus by law be deposited in the reserve banks and three hundred millions more are likely to be so deposited. The reserve banks can use all these deposits except 35 per cent (less than two hundred and fifty millions), and are thus put in absolute control of $550,000,000 coming from the national banks alone.

The reserve banks can do a regular banking business. They can also take up the discounts of such banks as they may please out of this money, or if that money is insufficient, they can, with the leave of a central board, issue unlimited United States notes (greenbacks) for that purpose, of which all but 40 per cent can be paid out by the banks who receive them.

The issue of these United States notes is not expected to be kept for times of emergency, but to be an ordinary thing whenever money is wanted for discount of commercial paper. These notes are expected to be retired as fast as that paper is paid. If it is not paid, but extended, the new greenback will stay in circulation, and expand the currency.

National banks are given wider liberty. They may hereafter lend part of their capital on land. They may lend on live stock and agricultural products. They may do a savings bank business, and accept deposits payable only after a notice of over 30 days, in which case they need keep only a nominal reserve of 5 per cent, of which about 2 per cent will be in their vaults and 3 per cent with the reserve bank. Perhaps speculative banks may find it profitable to make their deposits in form subject to notice, while really they will be expected to pay on demand. In practice no savings bank dares to enforce the rule as to notice.

The great question is that of who will run the reserve banks and how they will be managed. It is beyond question that with conservative management they will be a great power for good, and their capital and deposits can be used in any part of the whole country where there is a temporary stringency; but the reserve banks, like other banks, will have to make money and pay dividends.

It will not be for the good of the country if they should try to make money out of the issue of greenbacks and find themselves in the possession of a lot of promissory notes that can not be collected while the country is flooded with paper money for which those promissory notes are the only security. It will not be for good if credits be extended so that on a call for payments to cancel the new greenbacks there will go up a cry that the stock of money is being diminished so that debts can not be paid.

It is the history of all elastic currency that it makes money tight to call it in. It was notably so with colonial bills of credit issued on mortgage security and canceled when the mortgages were paid. It will be so with this new asset currency unless the new greenbacks are only issued to cover a temporary tightness of money and recalled whenever that is past.

This would probably be done if financial leaders are to control such issue, as they do in all other countries. But the new law is careful to prevent this. The election of directors of the reserve banks is not put in the hands of their stockholders in proportion to their stock, so that the member banks should vote according to the amount of their stock and deposits, in which case they might be expected to be careful of their own funds as well as of the credit of the country.

Instead of doing this, the new law orders that one-third of the directors shall be appointed by the political administration that is in power, and the other two-thirds are to be elected by the member banks—not according to their stock in the reserve bank, but by allowing each bank a single vote.

In 1912 (by the same report of the comptroller, on page 194) there were 7,397 United States national banks, of which 2,591 had a capital of $858,641,315 and 4,796 had a capital of only $187,871,265, these last being banks whose capital was $100,000 or less.

It is probable, therefore, that in each district member banks holding less than one-fifth of the stock and deposits of the reserve banks will be able, if they so choose, to cast an overwhelming vote in the election of directors of the reserve bank, and that they could, if they pleased, deprive the great majority in interest of all power.

It is a fair question whether it is safe to make it possible for a majority representing a small interest to use the funds of those holding a large interest as well as to control the issue of new greenbacks. If that majority at any time should find that they have made loans that can not be called, the temptation to use the enormous capital and powers of the reserve banks for their own relief will certainly be great.

The country's credit has often depended on the wisdom of the wealthy banks whose capital is at risk. They have in times past come to the relief of their weaker brethren. This law gives the weaker brethren the right to take control of the strong if they see fit.

National banks by the law must come into this scheme or they cease to be national banks, and will be forced to sell their 2 per cent United States bonds at perhaps a loss of one-third.

It is a leap in the dark. The banks and the country are meeting the issue bravely, with "hopes and fears that kindle hope, an undistinguishable throng." They hope that the flood gates of fiat money will and can be kept in wise control, so as to maintain the equal level of our currency. They hope that wise and conservative men will always be on the central board, and that the same class will be elected to the directorate of the reserve banks. They hope that the reduction of reserves and the introduction of an asset currency that is not limited by law will not foster rash ventures and inflated business. Many would like some scheme to make sure that the new issues of United States notes would automatically be returned and redeemed, promptly, such as a high rate of interest on such notes. All that we can do is to try the law, watching the working of the new machinery, and ready to add safeguards where we may, or to meet disaster bravely if this scheme meet the fate of other fiat currencies that have been issued on commercial values. Automatic safeguards are wanting. We must trust the good sense of the Federal Reserve Board, of the directors of the reserve banks, and in the last resort of the people after the scheme has been tried thoroughly.

This paper does not go into the details of the law. It is intended only as a brief statement of its general principles as well as of the money and other powers that it creates, of the methods by which persons will be selected to wield those powers, and of the dangers incident to such a scheme.

Until this present session the amendments in the law have not been very important. On August 15, 1914, a larger proportion of the reserves of member banks was ordered to be carried in the Federal reserve banks. In the act of March 3, 1915, the limit upon transactions based upon importation and exportation, which had been 50 per cent of the assets, was enlarged so that the Federal Reserve Board might increase this limit to 100 per cent of the bank's assets. By the act of September 7, 1916, the Federal Reserve Board might allow all reserves to be deposited in the Federal reserve bank. Banks were allowed to act as insurance agents and real-estate agents and to accept foreign drafts and bills of exchange, to open accounts with foreign correspondents, and to loan money on improved city real estate, as well as on farm lands; and the power to establish branch banks was revised and enlarged.

Under this system the control of the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal reserve banks over the member banks is very great, and bank officers have been chary of criticism or comment upon the working of the general system. The experience of some bank officials who have come in conflict with central powers have perhaps not been favorable to such discussion. Financial journals have been more outspoken, and there was comment during many months upon a seeming endeavor of the Federal Reserve Board to draw the gold of the country into the hands of the Federal reserve agents although there was no apparent object or financial benefit to anyone in such policy. The method by which this result was obtained was somewhat curious.

The act provides that Federal reserve notes shall be issued to member banks in exchange for commercial paper and for no other purpose. These notes could then be issued by the bank and put out into circulation, and when the bank deposited an amount of gold equal to these notes with its Federal reserve agent on special deposit for the purpose of paying these notes, the Federal Reserve Board would return to the member bank its commercial paper, and the bank thereupon, of course, would not have to hold any further reserve against the Federal reserve notes because their payment had been provided for by this deposit. All this was strictly in accordance with the law.

The complaint made in the financial journals was that in practice the reserve agent did not redeem the Federal reserve notes, but held the gold, leaving the notes in circulation, while the same commercial paper or renewals was again used to obtain Federal reserve notes, and so on, and this practice seemed to have been repeated so many times that the amount of commercial paper held by the Federal reserve bank was only a very small fraction of the amount of Federal reserve notes which had been issued and the amount of gold which was held by the Federal reserve agent in special deposit for the payment of these notes.

In other words, the amount of United States notes or greenbacks in circulation and the amount of gold supposed to be in the hands of the Federal reserve agent were growing out of all proportion to the commercial paper for which alone these Government notes were supposed to be temporarily issued.

The result seems to be that the Federal reserve note, the new greenback, was being converted into a permanent currency instead of being issued temporarily to meet temporary commercial needs. This subject created a discussion in which members of the Federal Reserve Board insisted that it was a good thing that the gold should be deposited where it could be located, although they admitted that it was upon special deposit so that it could not be used except to pay the Federal reserve notes.

I dwell upon this discussion because under section 7 of the new act of 1917, a Senate amendment just reported from the conference committee and about to be adopted, these special deposits of gold may be turned over or credited to the reserve banks, who are likewise authorized to issue Federal reserve notes for gold, of which they need hold only 40 per cent in reserve and may use 60 per cent in banking operations. Opponents of this conference report insist that this power would enable the Federal reserve banks to acquire all the gold in the United States Treasury by the issue of their notes and to use the major part of that gold in loans, thus enlarging and expanding credits to the danger of the business of this country, while those who favor this enlargement of the credit powers of the Federal reserve bank justify it as a war measure and to assist the country during the present stress, all admit and insist that most careful limitation of this power should be made by the Federal Reserve Board, if not also by further statutes.

This section was not in the House bill; it was a Senate amendment, adopted by the conferees, and it is so certain that this provision would be adopted if the bill went back to conference that I have concluded to vote for the conference report. I am of opinion that this act should be soon amended so that some automatic check should be placed upon the issue of Federal reserve notes by requiring the payment of interest thereon with increased rates according to the amount of notes issued, the time they remain out, or otherwise.

The new act proposed by the conference report also includes quite a number of subsidiary matters:

First. Management of branch banks.

Second. Providing for assistant Federal reserve agents.

Third. Encouraging the admission to membership of State banks, and exempting all member banks from the United States penalties for usurious interest, as well as from the penalties for lending too much money to any one person, lending on their own stock or falsely certified checks, prescribed in Revised Statutes 5198, 5200, 5201, and 5208.

State banks are exempted from national-bank examinations if they make three reports a year, but must submit to any examination ordered by the Federal Reserve Board or the Federal reserve bank, and may get out of the system by surrendering their stock and paying its indebtedness.

Fourth. Allowing nonmember bank to clear in the Federal reserve banks.

The Hardwick amendment to this section provided that banks might charge up to one-tenth of 1 per cent for collecting checks. One merit of this Federal Reserve System was in uniting the banking system of the country so that no such charge should be made. The amendment made in conference giving the control of the reasonableness of such charge to the Federal Reserve Board has made the section practical so that it could be accepted.

Fifth. Allowing shipping business on six months' time up to 100 per cent of assets under permission of the Federal Reserve Board.

Sixth. Allowing the foreign agents of banks, by permission of the Federal Reserve Board, to be the agents of other banks.

Seventh. Federal reserve notes may be secured by gold or gold certificates as well as commercial paper, and gold in the hands of the Federal reserve agent shall be counted as part of the gold reserve which the bank must maintain. Assets in the hands of the Federal reserve agent may be held by him and the Federal reserve bank or by the Federal Reserve Board or by the United States Treasury. The changes made in this section are shown in detail in the reprint in Senator OWEN'S report upon Senate bill No. 1796, dated April 17, 1917. And in support of them the report, pages 12 and 13, makes the following observations:

This very important provision is intended to permit the Federal reserve banks to exchange Federal reserve notes in lieu of gold, and in this way drift into the banks the idle gold which citizens now carry in their pockets with indifference and without national use.

It is estimated that under this item probably two or three hundred millions of gold will be acquired by the Federal reserve banks, and the reserve-bank system will be strengthened to this extent.

While this gold occupies the position of trust gold in the same manner that the gold held for the payment of gold certificates does, the effect of the proposed amendment is to permit the Federal reserve banks, if the occasion should ever rise, to issue to the limited extent that it has received gold in lieu of Federal reserve notes—to that extent, and to that extent only—Federal reserve notes against 100 per cent of qualified commercial bills of short maturities underwritten by member banks as required by statute.

At present the reserve bank must have against its loan of Federal reserve notes 100 per cent of qualified commercial bills indorsed by member banks, plus 40 per cent gold, but under the proposed amendment, if a bank should have a million dollars of gold deposited against a million dollars of outstanding Federal reserve notes, such bank would be permitted to issue a million dollars of reserve notes against a million dollars of qualified commercial bills of short maturities indorsed by member banks. This is in effect the German system, which permits the Imperial Bank of Germany to issue legal-tender notes against commercial bills of a qualified class at par subject to an interest charge to the Government.

It has been urged that giving this additional power to the banks would mean inflation. It does not mean inflation, because the reserve system is adequately protected against inflation by the control of the Federal Reserve Board, by the right to charge interest on the reserve notes, by the entire power being in the hands of the National Government to prevent anything of the kind.

It does give a larger power of credits for our commerce if our national interest should require it, and this power could only be exercised with the approval of the National Government.

It gives additional power to the National Government, and such issues of Federal reserve notes to a Federal reserve bank is safeguarded up to 100 per cent of such notes by the following line of credits:

First. The short-time credit of the individual borrower engaged in commercial business against an actual commercial transaction, the borrower's credit being regarded as perfectly good by a local member bank to the point that the bank is willing to indorse his paper and to advance him money on it on the bank's own account.

Second. This issue is secured by the indorsement of a member bank on a short-time maturing commercial bill.

Third. It is secured by the reserve of such member bank in the Federal reserve bank.

Fourth. It is secured by the stock held in the Federal reserve bank by the member bank indorsing the paper.

Fifth. It is secured also by the double liability of the stockholders of the member bank which has indorsed the paper used as a basis of issue.

Sixth. It is further secured by all of the assets of the Federal reserve bank and the double liability of stockholders of every one of the member banks.

Seventh. Finally, it is secured by the taxing power of the people of the United States.

There is no danger whatever in such credits. To call it inflation is not argument; it is abuse and is a slur entirely unjustified by the facts.

In Europe the most strenuous efforts are made by the various Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia to concentrate in the Government banks every ounce of gold available, as gold is the final basis of credit throughout the world. The United States has made no adequate effort to do this, and there are several hundred millions which could be concentrated in these banks under this system if adopted.

This is an emergency matter which the exigencies of war require, should not be overlooked or slighted, and must not be misunderstood. The several smaller amendments are inserted to provide and recognize the fact that when a reserve note is covered by gold up to 100 per cent no further security is needed for the reserve note outstanding.

I certainly do not agree with this reasoning, except so far as these temporary powers are justified by the necessity of the war.

Eighth. Allows the Secretary of the Treasury to receive gold from Federal Reserve Board or Federal reserve agents, which may be counted as reserve.

Ninth. Reduces the reserve held against demand deposits from 12 per cent to 7 per cent in the case of an ordinary bank, from 15 per cent to 10 per cent for banks in reserve cities, and from 18 per cent to 13 per cent for banks in central reserve cities, while the reserve for time deposits is reduced in all banks from 5 per cent to 3 per cent.

Tenth. Allows directors, officers, and so forth, to take interest on deposits and to have their notes discounted by a majority of the directors.

I have thought it a duty to explain the provisions of this bill as well as I can, and perhaps the more willingly because I am not a banker, and therefore may perhaps indicate the general character of this legislation and explain it in some degree to those whom, like myself, do not claim to be financial experts.

This particular act now reported is simply an outgrowth of the tendency contained in the original Federal reserve banking law, which was intended to destroy the old national banking system and substitute a currency of United States notes, based upon commercial paper and other assets of that sort, and to put all the banks of the country in almost absolute control of a board appointed by the President.

I am not satisfied that these changes are for the public benefit. I am a member of a minority. The conference report is more conservative than the Senate bill, and I vote for it as the best that can be obtained.

An Address to the Congress of the United States, by Hannis Taylor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks to-day I desire to correct the statement as to Mr. Hannis Taylor, whom I said was a New York lawyer. Mr. Taylor resides in Washington. He is the author of the leading American textbook on the origin and growth of the English Constitution, which is an accepted authority and has been indorsed by the jurists of this country, including Thomas M. Cooley, author of Constitutional Limitations. Mr. Taylor is also the author of The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution, which is also regarded as a leading authority upon that subject. By reason of this work Mr. Taylor has been given the honorary degree of LL. D. by the Universities of Edinburgh and Dublin.

I insert his address to Congress under the permission given by unanimous consent, as follows:

AN ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES INVOLVING A GRAVE QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, WHICH DEEPLY CONCERNS NOT ONLY THE TREASURY AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO OUR ALLIES IN THE PREEMINENTLY RIGHTEOUS WAR NOW IN PROGRESS AGAINST THE CENTRAL EMPIRES.

[By Hannis Taylor.]

Gentlemen, at this critical juncture it is the patriotic duty of every American citizen to do all in his power to promote the success of the registration to take place on June 5, 1917, under the provisions of the wise and constitutional act approved May 18, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."

Despite the fact that that act—whose avowed purpose is "to draft into the military service of the United States, organize, and officer" the "unorganized militia" of the United States—was passed under that provision of section 8, Article I, of the Constitution which declares that "the Congress shall have power * * * to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," certain ill-informed and ill-disposed persons are circulating the report that the National Militia when so organized for national defense is to be sent out of the country for service abroad, in defiance to the express mandate of the Constitution to the contrary. That report, to which the terms of the act in question give neither color nor countenance, is creating an alarm that will surely reduce the registration unless the erroneous impression is corrected in advance of it. On the other hand, such false impression is doing a great injustice to our allies, who are looking for military aid to a source from which it can not possibly come under our Constitution as it now stands.

Certainly every citizen of this country should know, first, that under our Constitution no American soldiers can be sent abroad, even by the authority of Congress, except those composing the "Regular Army"; second, that the ranks of the "Regular Army" can only be swelled "by voluntary enlistment." As I have devoted the best years of my life to the study of such questions I deem it my duty to restate, in a narrow compass and in an humble spirit, the basic constitutional principles underlying our system of military organization as those principles have been settled for at least 90 years.

ENGLISH MILITARY SYSTEM REPRODUCED BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

That convention did all in its power to incorporate into our Federal Constitution the English military system, which in 1787 consisted, first, of a regular or "nonconstitutional force," made up of a standing army and navy; second, of an emergency or "constitutional force" called the militia, a force for national defense that had existed for a thousand years. In the words of the Encyclopedia Britannia (9th ed.): "The militia of the United Kingdom consists of a number of officers and men maintained for the purpose of augmenting the military strength of the country in case of imminent national danger or great emergency. In such a contingency the whole or any part of the militia is liable, by proclamation of the sovereign, to be embodied—that is to say, placed in active service within the confines of the United Kingdom." The county military system, known as the militia, survived the Norman conquest unimpaired. (Stubbs, Select Charters, pp. 153–154.) By the great statute of Edward I, Edward III, chapter 5, it was provided that the militia should only be used at home for national defense, "as has been used in times past for the defense of the realm." In 1786, the year before the Federal Convention met, was passed the statute of 26 George III, chapter 107, section 95, concerning the militia, in which it was specially provided that "neither the whole or any part shall be ordered out of Great Britain. Mr. Dicey, one of the most eminent of modern English commentators, says: "The militia is the constitutional force existing under the law of the land for the defense of the country. * * * Embodiment indeed converts the militia for the time being into a regular army, though an army which can not be required to serve abroad." (The Law of the Constitution, pp. 287–288.)

REGULAR OR STANDING ARMIES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

England never had a military force that could be sent abroad until William the Conqueror brought such a force with him in the feudal host of professional soldiers who accompanied him. It was the duty of that host, which simply supplemented the ancient constitutional force known as the militia, "to attend the King in war, within and without the realm, mounted and armed, during the regular term of service." But as that regular term of service only lasted for 40 days, it led to the device of shield money, which produced a fund with which the Crown could employ mercenary and professional soldiers who could be kept abroad so long as needed. Out of that purely voluntary system of paid military service was evolved the standing army of England as it existed at the date of the American Revolution; and upon the same general basis rested the standing and professional naval force of England at that time. In order to enable this Republic to maintain a standing army and navy like that of England, the convention of 1787, after giving to Congress the power "to declare war," provided that "the Congress shall have power * * * to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." Those three provisions, grouped together as a connected whole, relate solely and exclusively to one subject matter—the creation, maintenance, and government of the regular Army and Navy of the United States, which has always been maintained "by voluntary enlistment."

THE NATIONAL MILITIA AS DEFINED BY CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is simply impossible to confuse "the Regular Army of the United States with that force called by the Supreme Court "the reserved military force or reserve militia of the United States." Presser *v.* Illinois, 116 U. S., 252. In order to enable Congress to create such a force for national purposes it was provided that "the Congress shall have power * * * to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." Article II of the amendments provides: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." These three closely interlinked clauses, all relating to a single subject matter, have been luminously expounded by the Supreme Court in United States *v.* Bevans (3 Wheat., 336); Houston *v.* Moore (5 Wheat., 1); Martin *v.* Mott (12 Wheat., 19); Luther *v.* Borden (7 How., 1); Dynes *v.* Hoover (20 How., 65); Crandall *v.* Nevada (6 Wall., 35); Texas *v.* White (7 Wall., 700); Presser *v.* Illinois (151 U. S., 162).

The term "militia," a technical term, a term of art with a history is used four times in the Constitution and always in the same sense. When in the trial of Burr it became necessary for Chief Justice Marshall to define the meaning of the term "levying war," as used in Article III, section 3, he said: "But the term is not for the first time applied to treason by the Constitution of the United States. It is a technical term. It is used in a very old statute of that country whose language is our language and whose laws form the substratum of our laws. It is scarcely conceivable that the term was not employed by the framers of our Constitution in the sense which had been affixed to it by those from whom we borrowed it." See to the same effect Rhode Island *v.* Massachusetts (12 Pet., 657), Income Tax cases (157 U. S., 429); United States *v.* Wong Kim Ark (169 U. S. 279). Therefore when the framers took from the English Constitution the technical term, the term of art—"militia"—they took it with its thousand years of history behind it, attesting the fact that it is a force for national defense that can never be "taken out of the realm" for service in a foreign country. In that sense the term "militia," four times repeated, was embodied in our Federal Constitution. And in order to put it forever beyond the power of Congress to impair the ancient constitutional exemption from service abroad the convention, employing the masterful pen of Gouverneur Morris, provided that the new government, with strictly limited powers, could only organize the national militia for three purposes—"to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." By those limitations all other uses were expressly excluded with all the force that language can impart. The moment the exemption of the militia from service abroad was thus embodied in the Constitution Congress was forever deprived of all power over the subject. It is hardly necessary to add here that the fact that the omnipotent Parliament of Great Britain, which changes her constitution every time it passes an act, can take away such an exemption from the militia in that country, has no relevancy whatever to conditions in our own.

In Presser *v.* Illinois (116 U. S., 252) the court went to the heart of the whole matter when, in defining "the reserved military force or reserve militia of the United States," it said: "It is undoubtedly true that all citizens capable of bearing arms constitute the reserved military force or reserve militia of the United States as well as of the States; and in view of this prerogative of the General Government, as well as of its general powers, the States can not, even laying the constitutional provision in question out of view, prohibit the people from keeping and bearings arms, so as to deprive the United States of their rightful resources for maintaining the public security and disabled the people from performing their duty to the General Government." Thus it has been settled by the Supreme Court that under the clause in question the "General Government" of the United States possesses, entirely apart from the States, "the reserved military force or reserve militia of the United States," consisting of "all citizens capable of bearing arms," whose right to bear arms can not be impaired by any law of any State.

The definition of the national militia given in Presser *v.* Illinois is closely followed in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, whose section 57 reads as follows: "Composition of the militia: The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age, and said militia shall be divided into three classes—the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the unorganized militia."

The act of May 18, 1917, which is simply a supplement or extension of the act of June 3, 1916, amplifies in its section 2 the foregoing definition of the national militia in this form: "Such draft as herein provided shall be based upon liability to military service of all male citizens or male persons not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 30 years, both inclusive, and shall take place and be maintained under such regulations as the President may prescribe not inconsistent with the terms of this act. Quotas from the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof, and credit shall be given to any State, Territory, District, or subdivision thereof, for the number of men who were in the military service of the United States as members of the National Guard on April 1, 1917, or who have since said date entered the military service of the United States from any such State, Territory, District, or subdivision, either as members of the Regular Army or the National Guard." The act of May 18, 1917, takes all possible pains to proclaim, first, that all soldiers drafted and organized under it are absolutely separate and distinct from "the Regular Army" of the United States; that they are in the strictest sense of the term national militia raised in an emergency for national defense.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS TO DRAFT OR CONSCRIPT THE NATIONAL MILITIA FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

When in the great case of Martin *v.* Mott (12 Wheat., 19) a unanimous court, speaking through Mr. Justice Story, was called upon to construe the act of 1795, which first organized the national militia for national defense, it was said: "For the more clear and exact consideration of the subject it may be necessary to refer to the Constitution of the United States, and some of the provisions of the act of 1795. The Constitution declares that Congress shall have power 'to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions'; and also 'to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States.' In pursuance of this authority the act of 1795 has provided 'that whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any foreign nation or Indian tribe, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth such number of the militia of the State or States most convenient to the place of danger, or scene of action, as he may judge necessary to repel such invasion, and to issue his order for that purpose to such officer or officers of the militia as he shall think proper.' And like provisions are made for the other cases stated in the Constitution." After giving in that way all possible emphasis to the fact that the national militia can never be used except for the specific purposes stated in the Constitution, the court said that "the power to provide for repelling invasions includes the power to provide against the attempt and danger of invasion as the necessary and proper means to effectuate that object. One of the best means to repel invasion is to provide the requisite force for action before the invader himself has reached the soil." When near the close of the War of 1812 the Secretary of War proposed to compel the service of the national militia by conscription, there was a strong protest from certain quarters upon the ground that such a procedure would be unconstitutional. See Dwight's History of the Hartford Convention, page 359. But when during the Civil War such a measure was again proposed it was acted on and the result accepted, without protest, as constitutional, as it undoubtedly was.

EXEMPTION OF NATIONAL MILITIA FROM SERVICE ABROAD ABSOLUTE AND INCONTESTABLE.

From what has now been said it clearly appears that the reserved force of the United States, four times described in the Constitution as the "militia," can be called forth and organized by Congress either upon the volunteer plan or by forcible conscription. But it is equally clear that when so called forth and organized the militia can only be used for one of the three purposes rigidly defined by the Constitution, to wit, "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." Its application to any other purpose—notably service abroad—would be too obviously unconstitutional to justify discussion. The exemption of the national militia to be drafted under the act in question from service abroad is self-evident and undebatable. If either the President or Congress, one or both, should attempt to ignore such constitutional exemption, any member of the militia threatened with transportation abroad could be immediately discharged from such service by any judge on habeas corpus. And more, any executive magistrate who might dare to ignore the constitutional exemption in question would be quickly admonished by the House of Representatives that it is ready with that "two-handed engine at the door that smites once and smites no more."

SHALL OUR HANDFUL IN FRANCE FROM THE "REGULAR ARMY" BE ABANDONED OR STRENGTHENED?

This is not the time for self-deception. We have no right to mislead either our allies or ourselves. The incontestable facts staring us in the face are these: First, that only the "Regular Army" can be sent abroad; second, that the "Regular Army" can be augmented only "by voluntary enlistment." The only possible chance of obtaining additional soldiers for service abroad under the draft act of May 18, 1917, is through that part of it which provides that "the President is further authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment, to organize, and equip not to exceed four infantry divisions, the officers of which shall be selected in the manner provided by paragraph 3 of section 1 of this act: *Provided*, That the organization of said force shall be the same as that of the corresponding organization of the Regular Army: *And provided further*, That there shall be no enlistments in said force of men under 25 years of age at the time of enlisting: *And provided further*, That no such volunteer force shall be accepted in any unit smaller than a division."

With all possible respect I earnestly contend that the Congress should not commit that grave subject to the Executive. It is the constitutional function of Congress not only "to declare war" but to direct and control all of its graver operations. No part even of the "Regular Army" should ever be sent abroad except by its mandate. The Congress should assume the entire responsibility and determine whether the handful of Regular troops now on the way to France should be augmented or practically abandoned? That is the question of questions that should not be delayed for a moment longer. It involves no less than the moral dignity, the good faith of this Nation.

With profound respect, your humble servant,

HANNIS TAYLOR.

Transportation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article on transportation. The article I insert is by Mr. Wilson L. Rogers, of St. Louis, Mo. It is an able contribution to the importance of this great subject, transportation, which is one of the greatest problems of the present day.

Manufacturers of foodstuffs, fuel, cement, and other necessary articles of commerce claim that the high prices are in a great measure due to the improper facilities of transportation. The article is as follows:

TRANSPORTATION.

The great demand to-day is for efficiency in all private and corporate enterprises. It should be equally the prime demand of all public enterprise, especially in this day of great crisis when our Nation is called upon to put every resource and every power where it will do most to help preserve the system of democracy to the world, and insure to our own country adequate defense.

At one point in our economic system there is need, especially of efficiency at a time like this and that is in our transportation affairs. The national defense calls for the greatest facility in the transportation of men, munitions, and supplies. The prompt delivery of supplies is most important as a matter of national defense. It is most important, then, that our transportation means be put on the very highest basis of efficiency. And right here is where the matter of efficiency has been most neglected. No effort has been made to systematize our transportation facilities into one great unit.

Not only the present crisis demands systematizing of so important a factor in national life as transportation, but the normal growth of the country demands it. There is much more consumption of foodstuffs, clothing, etc., in proportion to the population than there was 50 years ago on account of the higher standards of living and the energy put into advertising, salesmanship, etc. There will be a great increase of the population of the country in the next 20 years and a greater increase in the consumption of her products. The production to meet this consumption must show its increase in the Middle West and in some parts of the Northwest, because not much increase of production is possible in the East or in the sections depending upon mineral resources. To meet this increased production there should be such developments in river traffic, railway traffic, and in good roads and auto-truck traffic that they will work together in one efficient and harmonious system. This can only be brought about by such Government regulation and control of transportation as will insure stability for the investments needed.

The time is ripe for Government action for two reasons: First, the need is immediate because the country needs the most efficient transportation possible in time of war. Such efficiency has been one of the greatest resources of the Prussian military power in the present war. Second, there is an awakening to the need among the people as there has never been before. Men are recognizing the need of the development of our river-transportation resources, of better system in railroad operations, etc., and they are beginning to get the vision of a unified transportation system that shall make the most efficient use of all our transportation facilities rather than better railways or better river transportation, independent of each other. The Republican Party in their national platform of 1916 said:

"Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation, and inconvenience and expense to the public.

"The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We therefore favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will place it under exclusive Federal control."

Former United States Senator Beveridge recently said:

"Our railways in their management and service are national. They are the highways of the Republic as a whole. The well-being of the entire American people depends upon the service they render, and the solvency of the railroads depends upon the common prosperity of the Nation. Yet American railways, unlike those of every other country, are under control of 48 local sovereignties, as well as that of the General Government. Hundreds of conflicting State regulations and an army of State officials complicate their operation.

"The plain remedy is to place the railways of the Nation under the exclusive control of the National Government.

"That is, the National Government should have exclusive supervision and regulation of railroads, and not the sovereign States.

"They are vital to the national defense. It is useless to train men unless they can be transported quickly and in immense numbers. In the confusion caused by our multiple and discordant control of railways we could not promptly transport so small an army as half a million men. Under national control American railways could be coordinated and systematized. This is only a logical step in the practical development of that nationalism required by the needs of the people."

If the foregoing be true of railways, it is more true of river transportation, and applies with still more logic to all our transportation methods as a unit.

It is perfectly just that all transportation means be treated as belonging to one system and under one Government head, because every mile of railroad, navigable water, or other means of transportation of freight and the necessities of life, however remotely located, becomes a part of the general system leading to all parts of the country. The expense of hauling over any mile contributes to the cost of some of the necessaries of life in the markets of the Nation. A 10-mile railway or the smallest branch stream used for carrying purposes, be it located in the mountains of Kentucky or Montana, or in other place more remote, may have a bearing on the cost of some commodity in Washington or New York, or in any other section in which any of the products of the territory reached by such railroad or stream may be used. So the cost of transportation on every mile of freight-hauling service of any kind is a matter of concern to the people at large.

The need is that every method available shall be used to the best advantage to make the transportation of the Nation's products cheapest and most efficient. Shall not some part of our governmental organization be working to the end that all unnecessary expense in our transportation be eliminated? Then, when the farmer or miner exchanges products with the manufacturer, each will get more, because not so much will be absorbed in hauling the farmer's or miner's produce one way and the manufacturer's the other.

There is another reason why the time is ripe for systematizing transportation. There is a general movement for reviving river traffic. Cities like St. Louis, New Orleans, Memphis, and Kansas City are providing better terminals, new transportation companies are being organized for trade on the Mississippi, and trade bodies from the cities along the river systems are getting together in the interest of river-traffic development. According to the report of the collector of customs of the city of St. Louis, there has been a steady increase in the number of vessels and the tonnage registered as making that port regularly during the past five years. In 1912 there were 121 steam vessels with a total tonnage of 18,033 tons, and in 1916 there were 336 steam vessels with a total tonnage of 28,790 tons registered. This growth is pitifully small, but would become epoch making if properly encouraged.

The lack of attention to this subject by the Government is shown by the fact that in books published by the Government on the organization, duties of officials, and functions of the various departments of the Government (the Congressional Directory, for instance), the subject of transportation is not even indexed. Mining, agriculture, etc., find their place, but not transportation. In a recently published book by Frederick J. Haskin, containing 386 pages on "The American Government," no mention is made of the general subject of transportation.

The Federal Government does touch transportation problems at points here and there, but not the transportation problem as a correlated whole. The War Department has its Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors which looks after navigation aids, regulates the size of rafts, protects channels from the encroachment of bridges that would obstruct navigation, etc., and the Army engineers look after military roads. The Post Office Department makes some regulations for post roads. The Department of the Interior, through the General Land Office Bureau of Railway Grants and through the Geological Survey in the Water Resources and Utilization Division, just touches some phases of transportation. The office of public roads of the Department of Agriculture studies systems of road building, details engineers to assist in local efforts in road building, etc. In the Department of Commerce and Labor the Bureau of Corporations has compiled the most comprehensive statistics on water transportation in all its phases.

The Bureau of Lighthouses, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Bureau of Navigation, of this department, touch some matters of transportation such as licenses, inspections, sailing charts, and other functions indicated by the bureau names. International commissions look after waterways on the boundaries. The Interstate Commerce Commission, besides regulating freight rates so that they may be as nearly just as possible under existing transportation conditions, has charge of many details such as locomotive-boiler inspection, safety appliances, hours of labor, transportation of explosives, etc. But there is no coordination in the Government activities along this line. Each activity is independent of all the others.

Not until there be one department of the Government devoted to the subject of transportation as a unit will there be any great progress in bringing our transportation developments up to the developments in manufacturing and other lines. And that department should have the cooperation of the States and localities to make its work thorough.

Former Secretary Richard A. Ballinger said in one of his official reports that the Department of the Interior ought to be consolidated with the Department of Agriculture. He thought the supervision of the Capitol Building and Grounds should be transferred to the Supervising Architect of the Treasury; that the Patent Office should go to the Department of Commerce and Labor and the Pension Office to the War Department. If it would be wise to scatter these "unrelated bureaus," as he called them, to the departments to which they are most closely related, would it not be equally wise to bring together under one head, so far as practicable, all the governmental activities that relate to the one important subject of transportation?

No consideration of these problems can to advantage disassociate water traffic from the different forms of traffic on land. Railroads are most useful when they may be best reached by wagon roads, and to the best advantage handle combined rail and water shipments. Water-

shipping facilities to be most useful must be easily accessible for short hauls by rail and by wagon or auto trucks from the territory commercially tributary to their shore lines. The most useful wagon roads are those that connect producing territory with rail or waterway outlets. We are just entering upon a new era in the importance of good roads, because of the coming use of autotrucks as feeders for rail and water lines. The autotruck has already revolutionized city deliveries. It is quite probable that it will eventually put every farmer who lives within 50, or even 100 miles, of railway or navigable water "close to market." Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, in an editorial discussion of the proposed ocean to ocean highway, said:

"This unique highway when completed will be of value not alone to motorists. Settlers and farmers, merchants, traders, and freighters will also be immensely benefited, for statistics show that under our present system of roads it costs the American farmer 23 cents per ton to haul his goods 1 mile. In Europe, where the system of roads is much better because of steady improvements for centuries, it costs the farmer but 7 cents per ton to haul his goods 1 mile."

Besides the part that gasoline will play with the development of traffic on land, it is quite sure to bring about greater traffic on smaller streams through small gasoline-driven boats that will make these smaller streams feeders for the larger streams, as a kind Providence has provided that they might be.

Transportation should be treated as one great institution of the country just as the friction load of a factory is treated as a problem by itself. We as a people have no master mechanic to look after the smooth running of our transportation machinery. It is allowed to run haphazard. Not only in the waterway system has there been a "lack of uniformity" and a "lack of comprehensive plan," as reported by the Bureau of Corporations, but in the entire transportation system are these lacks especially manifest.

One of the most striking results of this lack of plan is the decline in the use of our inland waterways. That there is great economy in the use of water for transportation is generally admitted. In an address before the Royal Geographical Society in 1907, George J. Chisholm said:

"On an ordinary good wagon road one horsepower will transport 3,000 pounds 2 miles per hour; on a railway, 30,000 pounds per hour; by water, 200,000 pounds per hour.

A ton of coal can be shipped from Buffalo to Duluth by water for the cost of shoveling it from the sidewalk to the cellar. The Great Britain Board of Trade, in making a study of the cost of living in American cities in 1909, found that the laboring man paid for his coal in ton lots in several of these cities as follows: Pittsburgh, $3 to $3.47; Cleveland, $3.90 to $4.50; Duluth, $4.96; St. Paul and Minneapolis, $5.81. Thus it will be seen that the price increased for the overland haul from Pittsburgh to Cleveland and from Duluth to Minneapolis as much as it did for the water haul from Cleveland to Duluth, six to ten times as far. Would not the same business sense that prompts the use of the most improved and economically operated transmission machinery in a modern factory call for the fullest possible use of all available waterways for transportation purposes?

We are not using the natural means an all-wise Creator has laid at our feet to keep our transportation costs down. If we look at the map we will see that the United States is wonderfully favored by a kind providence in the matter of natural waterways reaching out, like arteries, into the great productive sections of the country.

The Great Lakes have 4,326 miles of shore line with the indentations, while over 290 navigable streams of the United States have a mileage of 26,400, in addition to which there have been built 4,500 miles of canals, of which about 2,000 miles are in operation. Of the rivers over one-half, or about 14,000 miles, are in one great, connected system, spreading out like the veins of a leaf through the great productive Mississippi Valley. These figures include only those streams that are practically navigable, besides which there are other thousands of miles of streams that might be made navigable were the need shown and sufficient guarantees of continued favorable conditions given by the Government to warrant the necessary investments. But under present conditions this traffic has been shrinking instead of improving. The proportion of the water traffic of the country on the different systems for the years 1889 and 1906, respectively, were as follows:

	1889	1903
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Atlantic and Gulf coasts	40.6	52.9
Pacific coast	8.7	6.6
Great Lakes	19.5	28.5
Mississippi River system	22.6	10.5
All other rivers	8.6	1.5

In 1890 the shipments of flour by river to St. Louis were 18.8 per cent of the total shipments of flour to that port, and the receipts of flour nearly 5¼ per cent. In 1906 the shipments were only two-thirds of 1 per cent and the receipts less than one-half of 1 per cent. In other words, the river traffic in flour at the one port dropped from 611,779 barrels in 1890 to 29,160 barrels in 1906, while the rail traffic in flour for the same period increased from 3,498,520 barrels to 5,053,530 barrels. The Mississippi and its tributaries, reaching out into the grain States with over six times the shore line of the Lakes, carried in 1907 about one-tenth as much grain and very little flour. The same system handled about one-eighth as much lumber and less than two-thirds as much coal. The river systems reach the greatest grain, coal, lumber, cotton, and tobacco regions of the country. They can not become the factor in the development of these sections that nature so generously designed them to be without some permanence of Government policy that will be a guaranty of stability for the investments that will be necessary to make improvements.

Just now car shortages, terminal congestion, etc., are menacing the country and will seriously handicap the Government in military operations if not relieved, as well as add to the distress of the people. The National City Bank of New York in a recent financial letter says:

"Something must be done about the future, for the business of the country has outgrown transportation facilities. The recent congestion illustrates this. It can not be chargeable, as was the previous one, to shortage of ships, for ships were held under demurrage charges. The congestion was not primarily due to shortage of cars, but to lack of facilities for moving cars. Terminals must be improved and there must be vast outlays for other betterments."

From figures at hand we note that 53,000,000 tons of freight were moved eastward on the Great Lakes in 1907. It would have required a great investment in tracks and rolling stock on the part of the railroads had they been obliged to carry this vast amount in addition to their regular traffic all the way from Duluth and the other western ports to points near the Lake Erie ports to which most of it went. The Lake boats served as feeders for the roads connecting Lake Erie ports with the coal fields and steel mills in southeastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania. In a like manner, a great deal of car shortage could be prevented by the rivers carrying millions of tons of bulky freight from the West to the East and the North to the South.

It is one of the conditions of lake and ocean coastwise traffic that nearly all the boat lines are controlled by railway companies, while there is no such control on the rivers.

The Mississippi River system has its special fields to serve in the matter of providing cheap transportation as well as the Lakes. The great coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois; the cotton, tobacco, and sugar producing South; the lumber districts of the North and South; and the manufacturing districts of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and the great grain-producing area through which the system radiates should be able to look to these rivers as the factor in helping them to reach with the least expense the great markets toward which these rivers lead.

The greatest encouragement along this line comes from the coal movement, which constitutes over half of all the vessel traffic over all the Mississippi River system, though it is limited to downstream traffic from the Pittsburgh district to Ohio and Mississippi River points. Two sentences in the report of the Bureau of Corporations on "Waterborne traffic" cover the ground very completely, and should be burned into the minds of everyone who is interested in the development of our river traffic. They are as follows:

"It is sufficient to say now that rail competition is the most important factor in water traffic and that some cooperation between railways and waterways seems absolutely necessary to insure reasonable use of our rivers. It is a public evil that our entire transportation system should be, as now, at odds with itself, wasting its strength in destructive internal warfare while the transportation needs of the public suffer. * * * One of the most practical methods of improving waterways, and especially terminals, is to secure for them a fair amount of business, thus insuring their higher development by private interests."

These conclusions are the only logical ones that can be reached by anyone who gives extended study to matters of transportation with the general good in view.

In submitting a report on "water terminals" the Bureau of Corporations says:

"Probably the greatest single deterrent to water terminal advance is the present adverse attitude of all rail lines toward independent water traffic, in their exclusive control of frontage, in refusal or neglect to coordinate with general water traffic, and in refusal to prorate generally with water lines in through movement of traffic."

The tendency of the railways to oppose the use of the rivers may be natural and in the interest of the people back of railway stocks, but it is not in the interest of society. The best authorities agree that the cooperation of the railways with the waterways in the interest of society would not be a bad thing for the railways eventually. The railways are not equal to the movement of all freight at times, and should they try to keep up with the growth of the country must make greatly increased investments in new lines and increased terminal and rolling equipment. If the growth in traffic can be absorbed in a measure by increasing use of the waterways the railways can continue to have their volume of business with a growth from the feeding of the waterways without being required to make so much additional investment. The public has to pay eventually for all these unnecessary investments, but can not bring about any system or efficient plan in transportation development unless there be a head to our united transportation factors such as only can be provided by Federal control. Three years ago one of the St. Louis papers, under the heading "A traffic crisis," said editorially:

"Here in the United States we are confronted with an emergency of the first magnitude. Our railroads have well-nigh ceased extending. If you doubt it, get the annual statistics of railroad extension for the past 30 years. At present the railroads are frozen up. The reasons are not far to seek. The railways have been unable to secure the necessary capital to develop at the rate which is normal in view of the growth of the country. * * * Now, in this situation happy are the communities so situated as to be able to make up for the defects in rail transportation by the development of internal water routes, for water transportation can be developed to imposing proportions without any such initial investment as the building of a railroad requires."

But there must be a guarantee of stability of conditions, which only Federal control can give before capital will risk these internal water route developments.

The combined use of the rivers and railways in the handling of freight is not only theoretically economical but is in practical operation. The Illinois Central and Central of Georgia Railways, operating the Ocean Steamship Co. of Savannah, get into New York for freight traffic much more cheaply than they could by building railways and terminals to that city. Wheat and flour are being shipped by Missouri River from Kansas City to St. Louis, and thence via Chicago, Buffalo, and New York by rail and lake to Europe, or were being so shipped before the war. If these things can be done profitably, it seems clear we should be using our entire Mississippi River and other internal systems in the interest of cheaper transportation and relieving traffic congestion.

The necessity for cooperation between the various divisions of Government now working independently in transportation matters is well set forth by the following two paragraphs from reports of the Bureau of Corporations:

"The Government's enormous expenditures on channels are in many cases largely neutralized by the action or nonaction of the local authorities on terminals. There has been, indeed, some excellent local cooperation in channel work at Portland, Oreg., Seattle, Cleveland, and Buffalo, but the far greater need is for local cooperation in terminals. Localities should be required, as a rule, to furnish and keep open adequate terminals as a condition precedent to channel improvement by the Federal Government. It is their fair share of the work, and they alone can do it effectively."

"In the development of our waterway system, while undertaken in part by the State and later and more extensively by Federal power, there has been very little of that cooperation between central and local authorities that appears in the best of the European systems. The United States, the States, the counties, levee districts, and municipalities have all spent large sums of money on waterway improvement, but for the most part separately. There has been thus waste, lack of uniformity, lack of comprehensive plan, and especially a lack of any proportionate contribution from the localities peculiarly benefited."

There can be no comprehensive plan, uniformity, or proportionate distribution of costs or benefits without all transportation being brought under a unit system with a unit head. Not only is cooperation between the central government and localities necessary, but it will readily be

seen that that coordination of all the activities for the protection and upbuilding of transportation, both by water and land, should replace the present spasmodic and disconnected efforts.

The establishing of a transportation department is necessary to conserve the appropriations for river improvement; to encourage the development of improved methods of handling freight so that the cost of transshipping between boats and railways and between small boats on smaller streams and bigger boats on the trunk rivers may be reduced to a nominal sum; to do away with the so-called "pork-barrel" legislation, and especially to provide general transportation efficiency in time of military need.

There is a movement on foot to change the entire system of handling freight by using unit containers, about 5 to 20 to a car, instead of the old system of bags, barrels, etc., in cars. Great advances have been made in almost every field of endeavor, but there has been no change in the method of handling freight since the advent of the railway, enlarging cars being the only change noticeable. Such changes are hard to work into a system that has "no comprehensive plan," but efficiency in transportation demands progress and improved methods in handling freight, so there shall be less waste in time and labor of transshipping, loading, and packing, just as there has been progress and improved methods in handling passengers, building skyscrapers, making war enginery, munitions, etc.

No matter how much we appropriate for river improvement, no matter how much we regulate railroads, no matter how much localities build river terminals, no efficient results will be obtained without all these transportation facilities being brought into one "comprehensive plan." The great investments and organizations that will be necessary to provide for such changes in transportation apparatus and commercial practices as must take place can only be induced by a guaranty of permanent and stable conditions. These permanent and stable conditions can only be assured by a comprehensive Federal organization and direction of all the factors that would make one great transportation unit of all our transportation facilities and opportunities. Therefore the Government should establish a department of transportation, with the most comprehensive powers, both for economic and military reasons.

War-Time Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917.

Mr. SUMNERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Prof. Irving Fisher, printed in the New York Times of May 27, 1917.

The article is as follows:

WAR-TIME PROHIBITION—PROF. FISHER REPLIES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MODEL LICENSE LEAGUE ON THE LOSS OF 11,000,000 LOAVES OF BREAD A DAY.

[By Prof. Irving Fisher.]

YALE UNIVERSITY, *May 23, 1917.*

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

May I add a word to my article on "War-time prohibition" in your issue of May 13, as rejoinder to the reply made by T. M. Gilmore, president of the National Model License League?

Mr. Gilmore alleges inaccuracy in some of my statements. I should be very glad to make correction were such inaccuracy shown.

This is a campaign which must be based on facts. At the outset, let me emphasize as one pertinent fact that, so far as I can discover, the opposition to war-time prohibition comes almost solely from those who are financially interested in the liquor traffic. Although "leagues" and "workingmen's petitions" are making their appearance against prohibition, they are in most cases, so far as I have been able to reach them, mere expressions of the financial interests concerned. Mr. Gilmore, for instance, is the editor of a journal devoted to the liquor interests, and the Model License League, of which he is President, is a league of those interests. He and his associates have as good a right as I or anyone else to express themselves and attempt to influence public opinion, but the public has a right to know of their special interest in the matter.

Mr. Gilmore states:

"Prof. Fisher also make the statement that the food waste in the manufacture of distilled and fermented liquors is sufficient, if conserved, to supply a pound loaf of bread every day to 11,000,000 men.

"Now, if Prof. Fisher will take the trouble to inquire as to the food value of the grain after the alcohol has been extracted, and as to the tremendous importance of distillers' and brewers' grain in the fattening of cattle and in the production of milk, he would unhesitatingly apologize for his statement and regret its appearance in cold print."

The truth is I have taken much pains to inquire into the food value of distillers' grains and brewers' grains. If used "in the fattening of cattle," the amount of food value in the form of protein which is recovered in meat is very small, not usually over some 2 or 3 per cent. In terms of calories it is even less. When these grains are used in the production of milk, the recovery possible is about 25 per cent. In the case of beer, this 25 per cent is to be reckoned only after deducting the protein in the beer, which is 15 per cent of the original. Against such saving must be set the fact that when grain is used for bread there is also a saving, for the millers' waste can also be fed to animals and made to yield milk in addition to the bread. This addition in protein is about 10 per cent.

When, therefore, the wastes are used for meat production, the net food loss caused by brewing and distilling remains the equivalent of about 11,000,000 loaves.

When milk is the product sought, the net loss is equivalent to nearly 10,000,000 loaves.

Even if we were to count the protein in the beer itself, the net loss would be nearly 8,000,000 loaves. But the beer protein can not be used without at the same time using alcohol, which is a narcotic poison. Beer protein is therefore not the physiological equivalent, properly speaking, of protein dissociated from alcohol such as that in ordinary foods.

From the standpoint of saving grain for export, the statement that 11,000,000 loaves of bread a day, or a pound loaf for every English and French soldier, is substantially correct.

I may take this opportunity to answer the attempt in the double full page advertisements referred to, of the liquor interests, to belittle 11,000,000 loaves of bread a day, or their own calculation of the grain used up in the manufacture of liquor. These advertisements point out that the grain or bread so wasted is less than 1 per cent of the total grain crop of the country. What they fail to point out is that the total grain crop of the country includes many times as much grain as is used as human food, for it includes the oats and corn fed to horses, cattle, and swine, as well as grain for other uses.

The truth is that 11,000,000 loaves of bread is 5½ per cent of the total food values consumed by human beings in the United States, over 10 per cent of the total consumption of breadstuffs in the United States, 13 per cent of the wheat consumed in the United States, 25 per cent of the wheat exported from the United States in 1916.

The rest of Mr. Gilmore's strictures are rather trivial as, for instance, that I called the District of Columbia "dry" when "the individual can have liquor shipped in for personal use from Baltimore and other nearby cities." It would seem to me fair to say that the District of Columbia has gone "dry," though not "bone dry."

Mr. Gilmore states that "to convert a brewery or ordinary distillery into an alcohol plant means tearing out all of its present apparatus, throwing it in the junk heap, and then putting in totally different equipment."

It is, however, a fact that distilleries are being used in Canada, and are offering to be used in this country, for producing industrial alcohol; and a few days ago I received a letter from a chemical engineer, who says:

"I have three clients who own moderate-sized breweries and who are preparing to convert their plants into other lines of industry. Two of these are being converted into factories which will produce foodstuffs. At least 80 per cent of the machinery in storage in the breweries is available for purposes of manufacturing. The business promises fair returns in normal times upon the total investments of the plants, while at the present time, with the high prices of foods, the profits promise to be greater even than for favorable years in the brewing business. The line which I have selected is quite outside of suggestions heretofore made by the Government or by the brewing and distilling interests."

I do not mean to assert that either the distillers or the brewers would be advantaged by prohibition. I am even one of those who believe that after prohibition has been adopted a Government commission should be appointed to investigate and report on any real damage done to those who have put their lives and capital into these lines, with the view to having any unreasonable losses reimbursed, if possible, out of public funds. We could afford to do this from the added national income which would come, as it has always come, from the cessation of alcoholic poisoning.

I do not bear Mr. Gilmore or his associates any ill will, although I regret that they do not see their way clear to offer, in the interests of national efficiency, to make the above-named transformation during the period of the war, expecting fair treatment in return.

IRVING FISHER.

"Give Us Aeroplanes and Airmen."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted me by the House of publishing an article on aeronautics, I submit an article which appeared in this morning's issue of the New York Times. It is a most timely editorial and conveys a message that should be heeded.

GIVE US AIRPLANES AND AIRMEN.

Admiral Peary put a plain and vital question to the Members of the Senate's Military Committee on Monday. "Why be pushed," he asked, "into every movement for national preparedness?" Pushing alone has carried us as far as we have gone. The people had to be pushed, the administration had to be pushed, and Congress had to be pushed, and that was the hardest part of the job. We have done very well so far, considering that we had done next to nothing before we went into the war, nine weeks or so ago; but we can do much better. Early adoption of the plan to form a mighty air force will soon make us formidable in the conflict. We now have a new and approved American motor engine for airplanes which can be quickly built in large numbers. The work of standardizing the machinery to build the engines is under way. There are many thousands of alert young Americans ready to train for military aviation. We have aviation fields in readiness, and others can soon be made ready. Secretary Baker, the chief signal officer, and the Council of National Defense, are all urging the plan on Congress.

We can do more effective work toward bringing the war to a victorious conclusion by upbuilding an air service, by making American military aviation the best in the world, than in any other way. There is plenty of money to draw upon. Congress is asked to appropriate $600,000,000 at once to supply the American Army with airplanes and trained aviators.

"Why not take the initiative and lead?" cries Peary. Why not, indeed! The development of aviation here, where it has been neglected more than in France, England or Germany, will serve to do more than to end the war. It will vastly increase our usefulness in peace. The aviator is destined to play a great part hereafter in the world's affairs. We shall need thousands of flying machines in the development of trade. The time is not far distant when airplanes will cross the Atlantic in a single flight. The immediate demand for airplanes, however, is military. We are at war, but not yet in the war. Let us go in with thousands of scouting and battle machines and help our allies to win the fight.

History of the Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the courtesy granted me by the House of extending my remarks, I desire to set forth extracts relating to the history of the flag.

They are disconnected paragraphs which I had intended placing in my address of June 14.

DRAGON IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

Richard Cœur de Lion in 1190 adopted the legend and name of St. George and the dragon to typify his exploits. Henry III, in 1264, at the battle of Lewes, fought under the dragon; and Edward III, at the battle of Cressy in 1346, displayed a standard "with a dragon of red silk adorned and beaten with fair lilies of gold."

* * * * * * *

ENSIGN OR ANCIENT.

In old English writings the word "ancient" is frequently used to denote a flag or emblem. In Othello, Cassio, in speaking of Iago, says:

The lieutenant is to be saved before the ancient.

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RATTLESNAKE FLAG.

The Rattlesnake flag was also called the Gadsden flag and in this connection the following reference is of interest:

IN CONGRESS, *February 9, 1776.*

Col. Gadsden presented to the Congress an elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander in chief of the American Navy, being a yellow field with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle, in the attitude of going to strike, and the words underneath "Don't tread on me."

Ordered, That the said standard be carefully preserved and suspended in the Congress room.

* * * * * * *

THE CONCORD FLAG.

I feel we can safely assume that it was this flag, "the most precious memorial of its kind of which we have any knowledge," that waved over the "embattled farmers" at Concord, April 19, 1775, when they "fired the shot heard round the world."

* * * * * * *

BUNKER HILL FLAG.

Mr. Botla, in his History of the Revolution, claims that Gen. Warren, in endeavoring to rally his men, reminded them of the motto inscribed on their ensigns, "An appeal to heaven."

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THE MOULTRIE FLAG.

This was the flag of Sgt. Jasper rescued so gallantly when the fort of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island was attacked by the British on June 28, 1776. It was under this flag that the Declaration of Independence was read to the citizens of Charleston on August 8, 1776. The word "Liberty" was frequently inscribed upon it. When South Carolina officially adopted a State flag they took this famous blue banner, with its white crescent, and in recognition of the services rendered by the palmetto logs placed in the center of the field the figure of a palmetto tree.

* * * * * * *

FLAG OF PROCTOR'S BRIGADE.

The flag of Proctor's brigade, of Westmoreland, Pa., should also be mentioned. It is a crimson flag, cantoned with the British union jack. In the center of the field a coiled rattlesnake with 13 rattles is represented, with the familiar words, "Don't tread on me." It is claimed that this flag was carried in the battle of Trenton.

At the battle of Long Island, August 26, 1776, the Americans fought under a banner made of red damask with the word "Liberty" inscribed upon it.

* * * * * * *

FIRST FLAG DISPLAY.

As there has been much controversy over the first display of the flag from a warship, it is of interest to note the several claims that have been advanced for this honor. In Griffin's History of Commodore Barry there is this reference to the new flag:

Under this flag Hopkins was the first to get to sea, and Barry's *Lexington*, bearing it, was the first to cause the British flag to surrender to the flag of Washington.

And again:

His cruiser, the *Lexington*, was the first Union flag to make the first capture that was first reported to the Marine Committee of Congress.

John Fiske, in speaking of the *Lexington's* capture of the British vessel *Edward* on April 7, 1776, says:

This was the first capture of a British warship by an American.

As this exploit occurred over a year before the stars and stripes were established the flag borne by Barry was not the national ensign. The "Union" flag referred to by Griffin was undoubtedly the Cambridge standard, and other accounts bear out the assumption that Barry's flag on the *Lexington* was the Union flag which Washington unfurled at Cambridge. This is further confirmed by Preble in his history when he says:

The *Lexington* was the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean.

Capt. Manly's name has also been mentioned for the honor, and while it is true that his ship, the *Lee*, captured the British vessel *Nancy* in October or November, 1775, the flag that waived from the peak of the *Lee* was the famous "Pine Tree" emblem. John Paul Jones claimed that "My hand first hoisted the American flag," and this claim is substantiated by evidence which shows that during the winter of 1775–76, while the *Alfred* was lying at anchor at Philadelphia, Commander Hopkins put off to the newly commissioned ship. When he reached the deck of the *Alfred*, Jones, then a lieutenant, raised the flag in honor of the commander. But this American flag hoisted by Jones, and which the patriots of Philadelphia cheered on that wintry day, was none other than the Rattlesnake flag designed by Col. Gadsden, and which was frequently used on ships of war. It was this flag, with the addition of a pine tree, which an English writer of the period referred to in the following words:

A strange flag latterly appeared in our seas bearing a pine tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its root, with the daring words, "Don't tread on me." We learned yesterday that the vessels bearing this flag have a sort of a commission from a society of people in Philadelphia calling themselves the Continental Congress."

* * * * * * *

JOHN PAUL JONES.

In De Kovens Life and Letters of John Paul Jones doubt is expressed about the claim made by Buele for Jones in connection with the raising of the flag on the *Ranger* in July, 1777. He says:

But the honor of first unfurling the Stars and Stripes from a ship of war, which has been claimed for Jones, is not supported by historical evidence. If he had been lucky enough to have had the opportunity of first unfurling the new national banner from the *Ranger*, it is not to be believed that he would have omitted to mention the fact.

The confusion incident to the first flag raised is due largely to the uncertainty of the interpretation of the phrase "American flag." Some writers speak of the Cambridge banner as the American flag, while others refer to the Pine Tree or Rattlesnake emblems as the national flag. To make the definition clear and positive, the national ensign, the flag of the United States is the Stars and Stripes, adopted June 14, 1777.

There does not seem to be any doubt but what Jones received the first salute ever given the Stars and Stripes by a foreign vessel.

* * * * * * *

OLD GLORY.

In 1837 the captain removed to Nashville, Tenn., taking with him Old Glory, which he afterwards displayed on all public occasions. His pronounced Union sentiments frequently led him into trouble with his southern neighbors, and during the war he was obliged to conceal the flag in the coverlet of his bed. In 1862 when a detachment of Buell's army occupied the city, Capt. Driver, with his own hands, hoisted Old Glory over the capitol building. The history of the flag from this time seems clouded in uncertainty, and I will refer briefly to three statements that have been made in regard to it. The Rev. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House, a veteran of the Sixth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, feels confident that the Old Glory flag no longer exists. The respect and veneration in which Dr. Couden is held by every Member of Congress entitles his contribution to the history of this famous flag, to be accepted as evidence that the flag was accidentally destroyed. He states that in February, 1862, his regiment had been ordered to relieve Grant at Donelson, but while on the transports, word came that the fort had surrendered. They were then ordered to Nashville, where, on February 25, they took part in the ceremonies incident to the raising of the Stars and Stripes over the capitol. The next day Capt. Driver asked Col. Anderson permission to hoist Old Glory to the mast, and a squad of soldiers were detached to procure the flag, which the captain with his own hands raised over the building.

Next morning the captain presented the flag to the Sixth Ohio, and this regiment fought under Old Glory at Shiloh and

Stone River. In keeping it aloft in the Battle of Stone River six were shot down, but the Old Flag was kept waving and did not touch the ground. For about a year Old Glory, the name by then having been adopted by other regiments, was the regimental flag of the Sixth Ohio. For safekeeping the flag after sunset each day was deposited in one of the quartermaster's wagons, but one night some of the animals broke loose in their browsings and destroyed the flag. Dr. Couden's statement is amply verified, if any verification was necessary, by the following paragraph taken from Hannaford's History of the Sixth Ohio Regiment:

The flag with whose history so many interesting associations were connected was presented to the Sixth Ohio, by which it was regarded as a most precious souvenir. It passed safely through all the campaigns of the regiment, until October, 1863, when Fred Schuell's mules discovered it one night, where it was stowed away in the headquarters' wagon, and before morning had eaten Old Glory up, leaving only a few shreds to tell the sacrilegious tale.

In order to make the record complete I insert extracts from a letter sent me by the Essex Institute, which gives their version of the flag's history. The secretary states that the original Old Glory was presented to the institute by a niece of Capt. Driver, who sent with the flag the following letter written by the captain himself:

NASHVILLE, TENN., *September 25, 1880.*

MY DEAR NIECE: I send you this my oldest flag. It has been everywhere, my companion around the world, waved at Pitcairn, and among the icebergs of Cape Horn. This is my Old Glory, like me neglected and worked out, but there is no stain upon it. I kept it for my winding sheet, a sailor's whim, and now feeling like old Mordecai at the gate, I give it to you as a proof of the kindness and reward a patriot receives at the hand of a soon-to-be-broken-up Government.

The secretary of the institute then closes his letter with this statement:

The traditionary story in relation to the flag eaten by the mule has also come down to us, but is said to refer to another flag. Let me say this also in this connection, that a descendant of Capt. Driver, living in the far West, I think Nevada, also has a flag of Capt. Driver's, which she claims to be the original. But in view of the evidence of this letter, which came to us with our flag, there can be no doubt as to the facts in the case.

Mrs. Mary Roland, of Nevada, a daughter of Capt. Driver, under date of August 15, 1913, stated that:

The original flag Old Glory has never been out of the possession of our family. This flag, my father named Old Glory, he gave me in July, 1873, and it has remained in my possession ever since.

Mrs. Roland claims that when her father, in 1880, asked her to send him Old Glory she sent him, without his knowledge, another flag, and that it was this substitute flag and not Old Glory which was deposited by his niece in the Essex Institute shortly after the captain's death.

* * * * * * *

In July, 1905, Scribner's Magazine published the "Narrative of John Kilby," quarter gunner of the *Richard*. In this narrative, written in 1810, the sinking of the *Richard* is described as follows:

O Heavens! It was enough to bring tears from the most unthinking man. She went down head foremost with all sails set—studding sails, top-gallant sails, royals, skyscrapers, and every sail that could be put on a ship—jack, pennant, and that beautiful ensign that she so gallantly wore while in action and when she conquered.

The Liquor Traffic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. BLANTON,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, during the past 10 days especially my desk has been deluged with liquor literature, typewritten. printed, and mailed by liquor interests, arguing the ridiculous and absurd proposition that distilleries and breweries conserve rather than destroy food supplies. Until this war emergency arose the liquor interests in whole-page advertisements year after year have bragged about the millions of bushels of various kinds of grain they have annually consumed, and what great benefactors they were to the farming industries of the country by thus creating a demand for and increasing the market price of farm products. But lately they have turned a complete somersault by now contending in double-page advertisements that the amount of grain consumed by them is infinitesimal and insignificant.

I desire to call attention to the editorial from the New York Il Cittadino, received in this morning's mail, which has in it, typical of the liquor interests and its precepts, the following expressions:

To the Latin mind the word prohibition is atrociously insolent.

Prohibition is a similar morbid form of organized autocracy against the sacred natural rights of mankind to govern its own habits—

And so forth.

If drunkards were dealt with less leniently by judges and were given, for example, jail sentences or hard work instead of simple laughable fines their number would greatly diminish. They should be made a target of derision instead of compassion.

Just as the bartender furnishes to his victim brain-destroying liquor over the counter as long as his money lasts and then heartlessly kicks him out into the gutter, just so would this cold-blooded liquor traffic deliberately create a drunkard and then sentence him to jail or the rock pile for life.

This same propaganda would condemn Mr. Baker for his excellent regulations which he has placed around our Army to safeguard the morals, health, and efficiency of our splendid young American manhood. Every mother in America will thank Mr. Baker from the depths of her heart.

Under the unanimous leave extended me to thus extend my remarks, I desire to print in the RECORD, as an answer to the above, just a few samples of hundreds of petitions I have received from my constituents and other American citizens demanding of this Congress a war-emergency nation-wide prohibition law, to wit:

ANSON, TEX., *May 4, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of Anson, Jones County, Tex., hereby respectfully request that you support any measure that may come before Congress looking in any way toward the curtailment of the liquor traffic, and especially such as may tend to prevent any grain being used or consumed in the manufacture of any whisky or other spirituous or malt liquors during the war.

Knowing your views upon this line and appreciating the fact that your efforts in this direction will result in much good, we respectfully ask that you use all energy that you possess in this direction.

Jack Rattikin, R. J. Barrett, Chas. Viech, Frank Powell, Claude Grace, D. G. Wills, B. F. Mayes, D. E. Beasley, Rev. I. Watson, R. J. Stovall, jr., J. L. Pope, H. T. Caffey, E. H. Kiefer, J. W. Fielder, N. S. Daugherty, T. N. Doak, W. I. Scott, E. Cearley, T. E. Benham, T. F. Coffey, E. F. White, Guy Baker, W. L. McAnally, W. E. Glazner, C. E. Roland, C. G. Rowell, A. A. Dunwoody, G. M. Pittman, D. H. Sullivan, H. A. Anderson, I. E. Anderson, W. C. Baker, E. E. Wallace, J. M. Hendrick, Sam C. Rice, W. S. Thompson, A. T. Spencer, Walter Love, J. C. Warren, R. L. Walker, J. H. Warren, J. D. Hale, Sherman White, A. S. Reaves, H. T. Walters, Sam Caffey, E. T. Goodeich, L. J. Morris, A. J. Watts, J. H. Barrett, J. F. Hine, J. J. Carr, M. M. Knox, Bernice Honea, E. L. Pitton, Joe Horn, jr., J. C. Hood, G. W. Minter, T. J. Stubbs, J. M. Wilson, H. A. Ward, W. T. Green, K. H. Anderson, E. T. White, W. J. Rickard, Geo. H. Baker, O. McD. Bowyer, H. M. Smith, R. Y. Rogers, T. E. Hudson, T. A. Graves, Abner Spraberry, J. T. Sanders, J. St. C. Bowyer, J. F. Lindsey, W. W. Foster, A. T. Howell, J. B. S. Cummings, W. L. Winter, B. S. Davidson, W. H. Green, J. D. Toy, O. H. Preston, T. J. Barrett, R. R. Smith, C. W. Stone, Geo. H. Boocketts, J. T. Chiltian, J. W. Mills, R. B. Moon, B. M. Dean, Lornice Brown, Edgar Boaz, Wayne Hendrick, A. A. Elliott, W. H. Griffith, Gaines B. Hall, C. H. Pool, Jno. R. Sanders, Pres. Conley, Chas. Hank, J. A. Harris, N. T. McEachern, J. M. Thurmon, J. L. Wood, E. Sellers, O. L. Harrelson, G. V. Rosser, H. S. Money, J. M. Arneth, E. P. Newton, Jas. R. Stinson, A. L. Buster, C. M. Tidwell, C. L. Pirchard, H. S. Kellar, E. A. Wilson, C. M. Pearce, J. W. Fowler, W. G. Thomas, C. S. Smith, G. C. Brown, Marvin Hood, Malcom A. Adams, L. E. Robertson, R. L. Embrey, Sid G. Castles, J. H. Parker, B. B. Booketts, J. J. Sleet.

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MORO, TEX., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We live in a community ill conveniently situated as to United States mail service. We must go 4 miles over the mountain in one direction to Moro, or 5 miles in another to Shep, or 6 miles in another to the Bradshaw and Wingate star route. We have made two attempts to secure a rural route, but each time our efforts have been thwarted. Recently we secured the required number of petitioners for a route out from Guion, having secured 103 heads of families. People who were interested in keeping the office at Moro circulated another petition and secured about 83 signers that the route should not be granted; but we personally know that there was not in excess of 15 heads of families on their petition, the rest being children, many of them very small children. The result was that the Post Office Department refused the route without inspection. No one would be injured by the proposed route and so many would be benefited. We, the people who signed the petition for the route, feel that in justice we are entitled to it and at least that it should not be turned down on the strength of the petition against it. We are anxious that investigation be made to determine which of those petitions were signed by bona fide heads of families, and justice given accordingly. If you can aid us in securing the route, or advise us as to how we should proceed further, it will be highly appreciated.

Hoping to hear from you real soon, we are,

Yours, very truly,

W. R. GRIFFITH.
JACK GORDON.
J. H. HERRINGBONE.
W. W. MCIVER.
E. O. MCIVER.
E. W. TRIPP.

NEW YORK, *June 19, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON,
The House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to the President's call I have organized facilities for the financing and harvesting of 800 acres of food crops, all of which are under way and progressing well. This effort on the part of so many is useless if the brewers and distillers are going to be permitted to continue the consumption of food products.

I am not an abstainer, but I recognize we are at war.

"A bushel saved is a bushel raised."

Faithfully, yours,

R. J. CALDWELL.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON:

In compliance with your request for an expression of my personal opinion as to the necessity for a nation-wide bone-dry prohibition law to be immediately declared and fully executed throughout the United States during the present great war crisis I would state that, coming from the Germanized city of Milwaukee and having intimately known the conditions prevailing in that city from the days when my grandfather came there as the first settler on the south side of that city, I feel satisfied that even in that large beer-consumptive center the very great majority of American citizens there agree with me that the exactions of modern times allow no time or room for even the comparatively harmless use of the milder intoxicants.

Milwaukee has always been known as a city of sobriety and consequent progress in spite of its large local consumption of beer. It is an industrial city, and as recently as 1914, when I completed the extensive upbuilding of Linebarger's subdivision, it was a permissible practice generally indulged in by all the members of the building craft to allow the consumption by each workman of from a pint to a quart of beer, or more if he wished, taken from the neighboring saloon and eaten with a lunch about 10 o'clock each morning, and then followed up without lunch a couple of times in the afternoon.

I employed a very large number of men, representing nearly all the building trades and crafts, and although I was from the outstart of my building experience aware of the fact that with the first onslaught of the morning beer the efficiency of the men diminished, I tolerated the practice because it was general in Milwaukee and condoned as a German custom.

Conditions are such now in Milwaukee that with the higher wages paid more efficiency is required of the men, and the morning "rushing of the can" is prohibited, and, in fact, no longer demanded by the men, with a marked increase in their efficiency, which more than compensates to capital the added increase of wages. The advance in wages has given the craftsmen more self-respect and more ambition in domestic life. The corner saloon, which formerly was crowded until late hours of the night, is now being more and more abandoned, and saloon keepers are looking for an opportunity to rid themselves of their unpopular investments. And all this has been done by reason of the feeling of suffrage States. Men whom I have known to be almost besotted with drink are boasting of the length of time they have been on the water wagon and take more pride in the refusal of even a small beer than three years ago I could have believed. We are verily in a period of self-restraint, in which the cry of the weak-natured alcoholic is "deliver me from booze."

Therefore I am confident from my actual acquaintance with the revulsion of feeling among the beer drinkers of Milwaukee that a nation-wide bone-dry prohibition bill would be welcomed by the citizens of that city.

If we want to hold our brow high in the tragedy of this terrible drama and play the part assigned us, our eyes must be free from the misty feeling of alcohol. There is no room for it in civil life and in the Army it will prove the best ally of our enemies.

Yours for "Old Glory" and for booze abolition, I am,

PAUL LINEBARGER.

CLINTON, MO., *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS L. BLANTON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolution adopted by Sedalia (Mo.) Presbytery in session at Bunceton, Mo., April 11, 1917:

"*Resolved*, That Sedalia Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America, does hereby respectfully and earnestly petition Congress to speedily pass such legislation as may be necessary to abolish the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicating liquors, as a most important measure of preparedness for the war into which we are just entering, and thus encourage our new and great sister Republic Russia in her stand on this question, as well as the rest of the nations of the earth to do likewise."

The above resolution was unanimously passed by said Presbytery, representing about 36 Presbyterian churches in central Missouri.

Respectfully,

H. P. FARIS.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR G. DEWALT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917,

On the bill (H. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. DEWALT. Mr. Speaker, it has been so often said in this debate that the proposed legislation is momentus and important that I need not dwell upon that phase of this question. Whilst it is momentous and important it is equally true that we are facing the most startling and critical period in the history of this Nation since the days of the Civil War. It therefore behooves every Member of this House to consider this legislation in the light of the circumstances which now surround us.

What would be proper legislation in times of peace would not be suitable legislation at this time, and laws that are now enacted by reason of the necessities that now confront us, are not to be judged, or should not be judged, by the strict rules that might be applied if the country was not facing a peril, and if we were not engaged in this war.

The country can not afford to wait for a lengthy discussion of the problems presented, however learned and however interesting it may be. It is not a theory but a condition that confronts us, and all the finespun theories and arguments amount to nothing in the face of the condition which now exists.

FOOD CONSERVATION IMPERATIVE.

There is not a Member of this House who is aware of this condition who will not concur in saying that there is a necessity for legislation of this sort. He may not agree with the terms of this bill; he may not accept some and perhaps many of its provisions, but if he is honest to himself and to the people whom he represents as a whole, and if he is observant of the prevailing sentiment, he must admit that the evil, caused by the lack of the conservation and control of the necessities of life, exists and that an immediate remedy is demanded. If he starts out with these premises, then he must inevitably come to the conclusion that he favors some legislation of this sort, and as yet I have not heard any of those who object to this proposed bill offer any substitute which is as good or better.

Almost every gentleman who has addressed the House admits the evil and recognizes the necessity of controlling and reforming of the same, and yet many are strenuously opposing this legislation without offering any substitute which will correct or control that which they admit should be corrected and controlled. In other words, or in homely phrase, they say "the patient is sick and the physician has prescribed the remedy," but they do not agree with the prescription, whilst they admit they have none which is as suitable or better.

It is far easier to tear down a building which has been erected than to construct one, and so it is far easier in this instance to criticize and condemn the present bill than to draft one which meets with the demands of the occasion. If the progress of the world depended upon critics and obstructionists, we would still be in the "stone age." The present bill is not without fault. I do not believe that its proponents claim that it is perfect, but it is the best that has yet been offered, and while it may be subject to amendment, and no doubt will in some measure be amended, it represents, in my judgment, the best thought of those who have given the subject the most careful study.

THE COURT OF LAST RESORT.

There are four points of view from which this bill can be considered. There may be others, but these occur to me. It has been said and claimed by quite a number of able Senators in the other branch of the Legislature, and very vociferously proclaimed here, that legislation of this sort is wholly unconstitutional. This bill contains a provision that if any portion thereof be found unconstitutional by the court of last resort the balance of the bill will be held valid. Under existing circumstances, and by reason of the dire necessity of this time, I am willing, as a legislator to take my chance in the court of last resort. It may be with truth admitted, and should be admitted, that a very able and potent argument can be made against the constitutionality of this measure. Its validity must rest upon the war powers of Congress. If it has no standing there, then, in my judgment, as a lawyer, it has no standing at all.

A very voluminous brief was lately filed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I have with some care examined the same. Most of the cases and precedents therein cited relate to the police powers of the Nation and to interstate and foreign commerce. Therefore, in my judgment it is not applicable to the proposed measure. In that brief there is an attempt to show that this act is constitutional under the commerce clause, and it is not in a spirit of contention that I refer to this brief, but in the honest sentiment that if this bill is to be sustained it must be held valid under the war clause of the Constitution.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS.

Congress has the sole power of declaring war, and it also possesses the power, under the Constitution, of enacting such laws as are necessary and proper to enforce the provisions of the Constitution. By that same Constitution the President is designated as the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy.

Congress must maintain and support the Army and Navy, which by its power it has the right and duty to create. It is claimed by some, and not without reason, that this legislation delegates to the President the powers which are inherent in Congress and which it can not divest itself of. I take it that this contention is not a good one.

When Congress has declared war, and when it has created an Army and a Navy, and when the President, by his inherent power, is Commander of that Army and that Navy, and when it is the duty of the Congress to maintain and support that Army and that Navy in time of peace, and especially in time of war, and when, under the general clause of the Constitution, Congress has the right to pass such legislation as is necessary to enforce the provisions of the Constitution, then I take it that it may delegate to such Commander in Chief extraordinary power on extraordinary occasions and necessary powers occasioned by the necessity of the time. I know full well that there are many who will say that the war clause of the Constitution to which I have referred must be specifically applied, and that it is not a blanket clause which would warrant this legislation. The plea of the delegation of power has been made against almost every measure which has been proposed for the present necessity.

KNOTS AND THEORIES DISPLACED.

We can not stop at this time to untie knots and spin fine theories. The time is now here for action, and if in the future, by reason of inaction and delay and party contention and a superabundance of so-called technical wisdom, we meet with disaster because of unpreparedness in this field of legislation the blame will rest with those who are not willing to take the risk and who are sticklers for legal technicalities.

No man reveres the Constitution more than I, but lawyers and legislators can safely rely upon the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States can be relied upon to determine what is constitutional, and at this time we can not afford to sit as a supreme court; we must legislate; we must act. And therefore, with these views, I leave the constitutionality of this question and proceed to the next point of view.

This may be called a political point. Is it good politics to advocate or oppose this bill? I have heard it said that the bill is discriminatory because it affects only the farming industry and the mining industry and those engaged in fuel supply. If this bill is enacted, it will affect every man, woman, and child in this country not directly but indirectly. But it is folly to say that because it speaks of food conservation and proposed food and fuel control, and selects these as the objects of legislation, that it affects only these industries and the people engaged in them.

PATRIOTISM, NOT POLITICS.

The body politic is so closely knit that if one of the members thereof is affected all the nerves feel the sensation and in some measure are likewise affected. But even if the argument was good that it affects only the farmers and those engaged in fuel supply, the reply to that is that we must begin somewhere, and these are the necessities of life and these are the objects which are now, in part, controlled by those who are manipulating prices by speculating in products, and by controlling those supplies and attempting to controvert and abuse and divert the natural law of supply and demand.

It may be good politics to cry out from the house tops that the farmer and the laboring man must be protected, but to me the more potent cry and the better political slogan is that the Nation must be protected, freedom must be maintained, every phase of our institutions must be protected; and it strikes me, as a thoughtful man, that if we do not pass some legislation of this kind we fail to protect the last-mentioned subjects, and in that event the farmer and the laboring man, with all the rest, would be without protection. The class legislator or local legislator may think that he is politically wise, and every man naturally seeks to support legislation beneficial to the locality in which he lives and to his constituents. But this is not a local matter; this affects not only one congressional district or one State; it affects the whole Nation; it affects the whole world.

And it is the height of folly to be bound by party lines and by local subdivisions in a matter of this importance. In other words, I think it is bad politics to oppose this legislation.

HUMANITARIAN POINT OF VIEW.

The third point of view is the humanitarian point. Every one of the legislators knows that the people are now paying from 60 to 100 per cent more for the necessities of life than they did two years ago, and he must know, if he knows anything, that the prices have been enhanced and advanced by cornering, by speculating, and by unlawful manipulation; and then, at the same time, he must be aware of the fact that hungry mouths are crying against these exorbitant prices.

It seems to me there is but one conclusion as to the humanitarian side of this issue, and that is this: There is likelihood of great suffering by reason of these high prices; it may be by reason of the shortage in foodstuffs, certainly not in fuel. And this legislation seeks in part to prevent and control these exorbitant prices and to conserve so that if there is a shortage we will have at least enough to feed our people and help others who are engaged in the same cause for which we are fighting.

It is easy to say that there is no shortage, and I hope, and we all are of the same mind, that there will be an abundance of foodstuffs. We trust that prices may be lower, but we do know now that whilst there is an apparent shortage the demand for food is far greater than it was. I need not refer to the reasons. A simple statement of the fact that half of the world is at war and not producing makes the proposition self-evident. With these conditions we must prepare for the possibilities. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

PREPARE FOR THE STORMS.

It is bad to go away from home when one sees a storm approaching, without an umbrella, or at least a raincoat. We see this storm approaching, and have seen it for quite a time. In fact, we are now in the very center of the storm, and it is likely to be a continued stress of bad weather. We must get ready, and the only way to get ready is to do something and not talk about it. We must help those who can not, at this time, help themselves, because they are fighting with us for the liberty of the world; and we must, at the same time, protect our own people against the extortionate demands of those who are speculating in all the commodities which are necessary for the proper maintenance of our Army and our Navy and our people at large.

One might talk here about the possibilities of starving children in the future; he might speak of the hardships which might come to the general populace; he might refer to the distressed conditions in portions of France and in Belgium, and hold up that picture as a warning to us. I anticipate no such disasters here, but as before said we had better prepare ourselves for a long stress of bad weather, and this is the proper humanitarian view. It is not sentimental; it is severely practical.

There is another point of view, and then I have concluded. This is the patriotic view. I would not presume to criticize or condemn any Member of this House who opposes this legislation. I am always willing, and have been willing, to give to others credit for the same patriotism and loyalty that I profess and maintain. Men necessarily differ upon great questions like this, but they sometimes do not get the proper focus by reason of their honesty of difference, and at the same time they are equally honest and conscientious.

MAINTENANCE OF HUMAN LIBERTY.

But this we all know, that the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, the President of this people, has said, and all members of the Cabinet say, that this legislation is absolutely necessary at this time. The great Agricultural Committee, with a few exceptions, voices that opinion, and it was with great pleasure that I listened to the able chairman of that committee in his presentation of this bill.

The people of this country are demanding this legislation. They know the evil, the have felt the evil. Dire necessity has taught them what oppression and high prices caused by manipulation and speculation mean. They are willing to bear the burdens justly thrust upon them. They are willing to fight, and if necessary they are willing to die for their country's cause, for its honor, and for the liberty of the human race. And, whilst they are willing to do that, they want equal patriotism in the legislature.

They will not submit to any class legislation; nor will they submit to any laws which seek to protect one class of citizens as against another. At the same time they will not approve of any legislation which is unduly oppressive.

What they demand, and what it is our duty to give them, is simply this—our best thought, embodied in legislation, which will quickest lead to the desired results. These results are the winning of this war, the subjugation of German autocracy, the establishment of principles of free government in all the nations of the world, the releasing from the yoke of tyranny the weaker nations, the freedom of commerce; in other words, the maintenance of human liberties. These are the results desired, and, in my humble judgment, this legislation is one of the steps which leads to that fruition.

Earlier Career of Herbert C. Hoover.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege given by the unanimous consent of the House, I reproduce from the Los Angeles Examiner of June 10, 1917, a free newspaper sketch of the earlier life of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover. Mr. Hoover never having taken part in politics or in public life, his personal history is not so well known to the general public as it is to the people of California, who have followed his career with great interest from his boyhood at Stanford University, his rapid progress from a position of a struggling student, like that of thousands of our young men in colleges and universities, to a most remarkable success in his profession, and his development of great ability in connection with the supplying of food to the starving people of Belgium during the present war. So little has been printed about Mr. Hoover personally that I believe it would be interesting to the Members of this House to read such a personal sketch.

[San Francisco correspondence of Los Angeles Examiner—by Denis Donahoe.]

WHO IS HERBERT CLARK HOOVER?

H. C. HOOVER MILLIONAIRE AT 27 YEARS—INTIMATE STORY OF STANFORD GRADUATE WHO FED BELGIUM, AND NOW UNITED STATES FOOD DIRECTOR—FIRST WHITE MAN TO EXPLORE INTERIOR CHINA; FINDS RICH MINES THERE; FIGHTS BOXER REBELS.

SAN FRANCISCO, *June 9.*

If an intelligent foreigner anywhere on earth were asked to-day to name the three most famous living Americans, it is a perfectly safe conjecture that he would include among them Herbert Clark Hoover. Yet Hoover less than three years ago was practically unknown, save among engineers and mining men and to an ever widening circle of loyal friends.

The consideration of this extraordinary fact challenges the inquiry, Who is Herbert Clark Hoover?

Herbert Clark Hoover was born in West Branch, Iowa, in 1874. He was graduated from Leland Stanford Junior University, in 1895, and is by profession an engineer. He is the managing director of many mining companies, widely scattered in many countries. He is married and is a member of many learned societies and several London clubs, and, merely inferentially, he has been very successful in his calling and is presumably wealthy. The skeleton is here, truly; but the pulsing flesh is not.

BELOVED OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Fortunately for the inquirer, California was the State in which Hoover made his flying start for fame and fortune, and here in San Francisco may be numbered, literally by scores, men who were his fellow students or classmates in Stanford and who, because of the compelling charm of his personality and his unsullied warm-heartedness, have been knitted to him by the strongest bonds of friendship as the years sped on. Moreover, although his principal place of residence in later years has been London, his heart has always turned to California as home. It was here in 1899 that he married the charming and brilliant woman who has shared with him many strange adventures in the out of the way corners of the world whither his profession called him—rifle in hand, she fought shoulder to shoulder with her husband at the defense of Tientsin in the Boxer rebellion—and when jaded by intense physical and mental toil, time and time again Hoover has returned to California, as a sick child to a gentle mother, for rest and kindly care. To these old college mates of Hoover's here in San Francisco it needed not the direful plight of Belgium to reveal to them that their friend was truly one of the great men of the world; that his heart was ever attuned to heed instantly the cry of affliction; that although his wealth to-day must amount to at least $5,000,000, he had never made wealth getting an aim, and cared little or nothing about money.

ALWAYS DOING BIG THINGS.

Belgium's sore distress commanded Hoover's sympathy and service, and sympathy and service, so his friends declare, have characterized the aims and aspirations of this able, warm-hearted, quiet, modest, somewhat silent man of 43 all his life long.

"We always knew he had it in him," is the way one distinguished San Franciscan who has known Hoover ever since 1891 phrased it when discussing the relief in Belgium.

Another old friend bore this testimony: "Money with Hoover was always a secondary consideration. He made it—stacks of it—simply because he was so clever and efficient that he couldn't escape it, when he was doing big things. I will tell you something that the public knows nothing about. Hoover was in this city when the various enterprises of the Sloss family went on the rocks. He dropped everything else to devote himself to the Sloss situation, because the Slosses were his friends, and friendship means far more to Hoover than to most men. Almost every day brought to him frantic telegrams from his London office: 'Come home at once. Such and such a company wants you to expert this or that property. Fee $100,000 or $250,000, or so much and an interest.' as the case might be. He threw the messages, one and all, into the waste-paper basket, and went on with his self-appointed task. Not until he had organized the local bankers, through his personal solicitation, into a committee to take hold of the Sloss affairs and straighten them out, did he leave for London. I saw him daily while he was here and when he was leaving I said to him: 'This Sloss matter must have cost you half a million at least.'

THE GOSPEL OF HOOVER.

"'That is nothing,' he answered, 'what's a friend for if he will not help out in an emergency?' That is and always has been Hoover's gospel."

From such friends as these have been gleaned the following details of Hoover's early struggles and later great successes—great whether measured by the world's yardstick, money, or by that nobler scale of work well done—together with a unanimous tribute to the innate nobility of his character, his unswerving integrity, his lofty ideals, his keen sympathy with distress, his well-nigh superhuman capacity for hard work, and the marvelous breadths of his mental vision.

Stanford University first opened its doors in 1891, and among the swarm of students attracted from all parts of the Union and several foreign countries, was Herbert Clark Hoover, aged 16, a native of Iowa. His father and mother were dead, and such estate as they had left had been lost through unfortunate investments, with the result that young Hoover had been supporting himself from early boyhood. He came to Stanford directly from Oregon, where he had been working for a year, and he brought sufficient money with him to see him through his first semester. It is interesting to learn that although Hoover succeeded in passing the entrance examination, he was conditioned in one subject and had to make it up during his freshman term.

EARNS HIS OWN WAY.

During the whole four years' course this man who was destined to accumulate a comfortable fortune before he was 24 and to become a millionaire at 27 paid all his living and college expenses out of his own earnings without financial assistance from anyone. He acted as agent for a laundry and did odd jobs for Prof. Branner in the geological laboratory, such as grinding slides for microscopic studies of the constituent minerals in rocks. Later he became Branner's regular laboratory assistant, and in the summers he served on several geological surveys, including work in the Sierra Nevada with the United States Geological Survey.

All this time he was making many warm friends, but general recognition of his ability by his fellows did not come to him until his last year in college, when he was elected treasurer of the student body, managing all athletic affairs. In this post he showed remarkable business ability for a lad of 20, according to the unanimous testimony of his classmates. At Stanford, by the by, he first met his future wife, Lou Henry, daughter of a Monterey banker. Miss Henry entered Stanford as a student of geology at the beginning of Hoover's senior year.

He was graduated in 1895. After working for a short time in a mine in New Mexico he obtained the position of assistant manager of the Morning Star mine in Grass Valley.

Louis Janin, famous California engineer, the man who first correctly worked out the very complex geology of the Anaconda, happened at this time to be looking around for an office assistant, and he selected young Hoover. This was in 1896. The regular pay for this job was pitifully small—only $50 a month—but this was supplemented by occasional commissions from clients of Janin's to sample mines or make minor examinations—for which young Hoover was allowed to charge moderately.

Now, it is thoroughly characteristic of the man who but the other day saved the Belgians from starvation, that no sooner did Herbert Hoover get this poorly paid but, as he supposed, permanent employment, than he scraped up every meager dollar at his disposal and sent East for his younger brother, Theodore (now a distinguished engineer), his sister, and a girl cousin, who was in poor circumstances. The united family lived in a house in Oakland rented by Hoover—and there one of his college friends, now the head of a great mining company—found him.

Let this friend tell the story:

"I arrived in San Francisco flat broke and ran into Hoover. He promptly urged me to make my home with him until I got on my feet again. I knew his generosity, and cross-questioned him. I succeeded in worming it out of him that he was in truth desperately hard up, and I then told him positively that I could not consent to add to his burdens. He was very much hurt; but I was obdurate. After I had rustled a job I used to see a great deal of him. While with Janin, the examinations which he made of mining properties began to attract attention among men of standing, and gradually his earnings increased. It was in 1897, his second year in Janin's office, that the golden door of opportunity opened wide to this young engineer, who never shirked an obligation and fairly reveled in hard work."

Louis Janin was importuned by a big firm of London mining operators, Bewick, Moreing & Co., to select some young California engineer to act as their field geologist in Western Australia. Janin, some five years before, had recommended an engineer named Goldstone to this company, and he had made good. Janin offered the place, which carried with it a salary of $6,000 a year, to Hoover, and pleased him mightily by telling him that, in his judgment, he was entirely competent to fill it.

FEARED HOOVER'S YOUTH.

But there was an obstacle, which a friend relates, as follows:

"Although Hoover was then just entering his twenty-fourth year, he did not look a day over eighteen. In fact, he looked a perfect kid. I had just been admitted to the bar, and he hunted me up to ask my advice. The English firm had wired Janin to tell Hoover to report in London and Hoover was afraid that when they saw him they would turn him down because of his youth. At my suggestion he cabled them direct and obtained by wire from them a ratification of the contract. It took every dollar that we could scrape together to get him to London. Bewick, Moreing & Co. were game. They stood by the terms of the contract with regard to pay, but they must have thought him very young for they wired secret instructions to their agent in Australia to put Hoover in as manager of one of their smaller mines and not let him act as field geologist in the selection of other mines for investment until he was a bit older."

When the Bewick-Moreing agent at Perth, West Australia, broke the news as gently as he could to the young American that he was to draw his $6,000 a year for work involving less responsibility than he had supposed what do you think Herbert Hoover did? He promptly resigned.

To be sure, as he stood there, jingling in an almost empty pocket the few remaining shillings left from his passage money, he was 15,000 miles from home, in debt to his employers, friendless, and a stranger, and yet those who know him best say that he did not falter. Six thousand a year and the simple duties of an unexacting berth were a combination well calculated to appeal irresistibly to an ordinary youth of

24; but Hoover was no ordinary youth! He was a predestined leader of men, and one can picture him towering to his full height of 5 feet 10½ inches in the counting room of that greatly perturbed agent—smug representative of British commercialdom—when he delivered himself of his ultimatum This was the crucial moment in Hoover's whole career. It was then and there that this juvenile Pizarro drew a line on the sand with his sword's point—behind it lay Panama and obscurity—$6,000 a year in a small West Australian mining camp—before it, the incalculable wealth of the Incas—an unexplored land and the golden possibilities of a young engineer's day dreams.

Well, the Bewick firm hastened to back track when they heard from their agent, and Hoover was given both the management of the mine and his legitimate work of a field geologist.

FORTUNE KIND TO HIM.

Fortune favored the young adventurer from the start. The very year he reached West Australia, 1897, and on his very first trip, investigating mining possibilities, he ran across a prospect called the "Sons of Gwalia." The people who were working it only faintly realized how promising it was. Hoover examined it; took a short-time option on it; and cabled his principals to send another engineer to confirm his examination. The Bewick-Moreing firm did not even answer his cablegram; so he cabled again, more urgently. No answer; but a third cablegram brought a reply bidding him to look it over again carefully and report. He reported by cable, as the option was about to expire, and it cost the firm $1,500 for the message, but they bought the property for a trifle on his report. He took charge at once as manager and in a few months the development work, done under his direction, revealed large bodies of rich ore. The firm sold the property at a profit of half a million dollars, and Hoover, then aged 24 years, was given $33,000, it is said, as his share of the profits. Better still, his salary was increased to $15,000 a year, with a percentage of the future profits from such properties as he experted and the firm bought. The general management of the extensive mining interests of the firm in West Australia was placed with Hoover. This included such mines as the East Murchison. Nothing more was said about his youth. He had made good.

A HOOVER CHARACTERISTIC.

His friends say that it is thoroughly characteristic of Hoover—a man who never forgets a friend—that as soon as he was in full charge of the firm's many mines in West Australia he engaged a number of his old cronies of the Stanford engineering course to join him as his assistants. Among those who went to West Australia in 1898 and 1899 at Hoover's solicitation were Dean P. Mitchell, now of London; Frank Dennis, now deceased; W. P. Prichard; and George Wilson.

In 1899 Hoover, run down in health through overwork, but possessing an international reputation as an engineer, came to California for a rest, and while here he married. Two splendid boys, Herbert and Allan, have blessed this union.

Later in the same year he took his bride to China, where he had been appointed chief engineer of the Imperial Bureau of Mines, at the instance of the minister of mines of the Province of Yunnan. Yunnan is one of the most remote Provinces of China, jammed up against Tibet, and ever since Marco Polo's day, and even before it, it has been a large producer of gold and other metals, albeit the mining and metallurgical processes have been of the most primitive description. Hoover headed an expedition that explored and prospected vast tracts in the interior of China that had never before been visited by white men. He negotiated a loan in London of $3,000,000 for the Yunnan official and started the development of a number of Chinese mines, which are now controlled by the Chinese Engineering & Mining Co., which was organized by Hoover in 1901, and of which he is now managing director.

HOOVER'S FIRST MILLION.

The episode of the Boxer uprising in 1900 has already been touched upon. The next year, 1901, when Hoover was just 27, he made his first million.

The Chinese Imperial Government had granted a number of concessions for the construction of railroads and the development of coal mines to Russian and other corporations, and regretted the act ere the ink was dry. They had reason to regret it, for Russia, simultaneously with beginning work, moved a body of troops onto the right of way, and where Russia sets her foot in Asia there she stays. Fortunately for many a peacock feather and yellow jacket of Chinese officialdom the contracts contained a clause that they might be canceled by China on payment of a certain indemnity, plus the expenses with interest, etc. The amount needed was $8,000,000, and, as usual, the imperial treasury was empty.

In its terror the Chinese Government appealed to Hoover and offered him a full partnership with China in all the railroads and mines if he would raise the necessary money. He went to London, returned with $8,000,000, and his company acquired a half interest, with the Chinese Government, in properties of incalculable value. The Russians fumed and stormed, but had to surrender, albeit with a very bad grace.

It was the year following this coup that Bewick, Moreing & Co. offered to take Hoover into partnership. He accepted, and accordingly he moved to London in 1902.

Space is lacking to relate here his extraordinary achievements in mining while a partner in this old-established firm. One episode, however, must be related, as it displays that sterling integrity of character which has proved the principal formative factor in Hoover's success. Shortly before he allied himself with this firm he discovered that owing to the dishonesty of a subordinate there had been an overissue of the capital stock of one of the most successful mines managed by the firm. Exactly how many shares had been overissued and sold he did not know, but it afterwards transpired that $50,000 would have covered fully any legal or moral claim that could have been brought against Hoover, as one of the partners, since his connection as such was recent. But Hoover did not stand on any such technicality. He was a full partner of the firm; its honor, he felt, was his personal honor, and he insisted on paying his full quota. It cost him more than $500,000, which put an obvious crimp in his newly-made million; but it settled once and forever what sort of a man was the new junior partner of Bewick, Moreing & Co. He subsequently sold out his interest in this firm and is now managing from offices in London, New York, and San Francisco scores of mines in many countries. From his office in this city he operates the Oroville Dredging (Ltd.), the Pato Mines, a gold-dredging enterprise in Colombia, and the Babilonia Gold Mines, and Central American Mines (Ltd.)—all rich producers.

125,000 MEN EMPLOYED.

A faint idea of the magnitude of his mining operations may be deduced from the statement that he now has 125,000 men working for him.

One more extraordinary story about the mining activities of this engineering wonder worker. Among the companies controlled by Herbert Clark Hoover one finds an entry of the Burma Corporation. The name tells little, yet the story concealed by the name is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of mining.

During the middle ages and from time immemorial Chinese had worked a group of amazingly rich silver-lead-zinc mines in Upper Burma, on the Siamese frontier. Even to-day the Chinese is the only oriental race, except the Japanese, which possesses even a rudimentary knowledge of metallurgical processes. At some uncertain epoch in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries Mohammedans drove the Chinese out and they never came back. Then for a century or two the Burmese worked the mines, losing most of the values, but saving enough of the silver to content them. Then came wars and revolutions in Burma. The mines and primitive smelting works were never reopened, and the very site was forgotten by the inhabitants. The virgin forests spread over the huge slag piles and engulfed them in tropical greenery. Not a trace, not a vestige remained of the labor of centuries, for man's puny handiwork was smothered in verdure, and the panther stalked the deer where whole generations of patient Chinese had toiled.

FIND VAST FORTUNE.

One day a mining engineer leading an exploring party stumbled on this unknown nook, and his curiosity was kindled when he surveyed the curious conical hills, some of them hundreds of feet high, that studded the forest. So he had his men dig into them; and his wonder grew when he recognized the stuff thrown up by the spade as slag, and was dumbfounded to note the result—60 per cent in lead and zinc sulphides, with a little silver and now and then a trace of copper. As there were hundreds of these great mounds, the nameless engineer realized instantly that his fortune was made. He communicated with Hoover, and Hoover went himself and examined the marvel. What is more, Hoover, with his wonderful technical skill and mining intuition, actually discovered the original mine—one of the richest silver mines in the world. The slag heaps alone, however, represent more than $500,000,000.

If space permitted, it would be a genuine pleasure to tell how Hoover and his clever wife translated into flowing English the "De Re Metallica" of George Agricola, a medieval metallurgist—no easy task, as Agricola's Latin is exceptionally crabbed, and he coined 1,500 words not to be found in any Latin dictionary.

Certain it is that whether his task is translating for recreation a medieval textbook, or developing a mine, or feeding and clothing the starved of Belgium, Herbert C. Hoover always "makes good."

Addresses of Hon. Champ Clark and Gov. Martin G. Brumbaugh at the Dedication of the Washington Memorial Arch at Valley Forge.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY W. WATSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech of Hon. CHAMP CLARK at the dedication of the United States Washington Memorial Arch at Valley Forge yesterday and a speech of Hon. Martin B. Brumbaugh on the same occasion. The speeches are as follows:

ADDRESS OF SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK IN PRESENTING THE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL ARCH AT VALLEY FORGE TO THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA ON TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 1917.

We stand to-day on ground hallowed by the unspeakable sufferings of as true a band of patriots as ever lived. We are assembled here to pay a tardy tribute to the deeds of a portion of the brave men who made us free. The story of Valley Forge is one of the most heroic and beyond all question the most pathetic chapter in the history of American armies. It required more courage and fortitude to freeze and starve in the cantonments here during the awful winter of 1777–78 than it did to charge the British Regulars in the open field or to assault them in the redoubts at Yorktown. Here in the winter of discontent our fortunes sank to the lowest point, but from this place Washington went forth conquering and to conquer and to become the foremost man of all the world.

By one of those strange accidents which puzzle even the philosophers, one of the best and most appreciative histories of the American Revolution ever written is by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, an Englishman, the nephew and biographer of Lord Macaulay. Describing Washington's encampment here, he says:

That little village (Valley Forge), clustered at the bottom of a deep ravine, gave a name to what, as time goes on, bids fair to be the most celebrated encampment in the world's history.

His prophecy has come true. It is the most famous encampment on the surface of the globe.

His account of that dreadful winter at Valley Forge is as graphic a piece of historical writing as can be found in the libraries of the world. It is too long, however, to be quoted here in full. One brief excerpt must suffice.

Speaking most feelingly of the foul slanders circulated about Washington while amid unparalleled horrors he was trying to secure for his ragged and hungry soldiers here the clothing, the food, and the medicine absolutely necessary to keep soul and body together, he says:

Depressed and anxious, he was not perturbed out of measure, inasmuch as he believed himself to be in direct relations with an authority which was superior to Congress. The old ironmaster of Valley Forge, with whom he lodged used to relate that one day, while strolling up the creek, he found the general's horse fastened to a sapling. Searching around he saw Washington in a thicket by the roadside on his knees in prayer, with tears running down his cheeks. The honest man, who was a Quaker preacher, "felt that he was upon holy ground, and withdrew unobserved." On returning home he told his wife that the Nation would surely survive its troubles, because if there was anyone on earth that the Lord would listen to it was George Washington."

Abraham Lincoln once said:

I should be the most presumptuous blockhead upon this footstool if I for one day thought I could discharge the duties which have come upon me since I came into this place without the aid and enlightenment of One who is wiser and stronger than all others. I have always taken counsel of the Almighty, and referred to him my plans, and have never adopted a course without being assured of his approbation.

And who will have the temerity to say that Washington's prayers were not answered? I have always thought that "The Father of His Country" kneeling in the snowy woods of Valley Forge praying for the health and lives of his famishing little band of heroes and for the freedom of his country deserves to be placed on immortal canvas by a master hand.

So far as I know, the piety of Alfred Lord Tennyson has never been exploited by his biographers among his claims to our regards. Nevertheless he wrote these beautiful lines:

More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round world is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

The Constitutional Convention was the wisest set of men that ever met under one roof. The most sensible thing they did was to divide the governmental machinery of this country into three separate departments. The next wisest thing was to divide the Congress into two branches. Some lady asked George Washington at a great dinner what the Senate was created for and why they had two legislative branches instead of only one. He said that the Senate would perform the same function for legislation that a saucer did for tea; that they pour the hot tea of the House into the saucer of the Senate to cool off. Evidently Gen. Washington was not up to date in pink-tea etiquette or he would not have said anything about pouring tea into a saucer. I have sometimes thought that in these latter days it is the hot Senate tea that needs cooling off.

George Washington's name is inseparably connected in the most intimate way with Valley Forge. Highly as we esteem him, I do not believe that we appreciate him adequately even yet. Valuable and momentous as was his conduct as Commander in Chief of our Revolutionary Armies and President of the United States, in my judgment he rendered more service to his country and the cause of human liberty as President of the Constitutional Convention than he did as soldier or President. If it had not been for his commanding influence, the chances are that no Constitution would have been agreed upon, and if it had not been an absolute certainty that he would be the first President, the Constitution would never have been ratified. His name liveth evermore and his fame will increase as the years steal into the centuries. I think that perhaps the most magnificent eulogy ever pronounced upon him is in one stanza of Lord Byron's Ode to Napoleon:

Where may the wearied eye repose,
When gazing on the great;
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?
Yes; one—the first—the last—the best—
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,
Bequeath'd the name of Washington,
To make man blush there was but one.

This Republic is the first really great Republic that ever existed on the face of the earth. We talk about the Republics of Greece and Rome, and the rest of them. They were simply aristocratic oligarchies. The intricate, delicate, and elaborate scheme of checks and balances in our system of government is what has preserved it to the present day, and what will preserve it, let us hope, for all time to come.

The idea of free government is not new. We did not originate it. We have developed it and put it into practice. It has been the dream of men from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Whoever wrote the Shakespeare plays put these words into the mouth of Brutus in his speech defending himself for the assassination of Cæsar:

Here comes his body, mourned by Mark Antony; who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the Commonwealth; as which of you shall not?

There is the case in a nutshell, the essence of representative government—"a place in the Commonwealth."

The legislative body in every free country is the most important of the three branches—legislative, judicial, and executive. We come from the people, we represent the people, and we reflect the will of the people. I undertake to say without fear of successful contradiction that when the American people make up their minds that they want a thing the Congress will grant it to them as soon as it finds out that the people desire it. The Congress of the United States is the greatest legislative body in all history, and I take pride in that fact. Yet every evil-disposed person in the land can find some slander to utter about the American Congress. If the House takes time enough to discuss an important measure, these slanderers savagely assail it for being too slow. If the House puts in overtime and hurries a bill through, these same malignants fiercely denounce it for sending half-baked measures to the Senate. They revel in such foul work. For instance, the House was abused and denounced because we discussed for two days instead of one a bill providing for the issue of $7,000,000,000 in bonds—far and away the biggest money bill ever passed since the dawn of creation. Think of that—in two days! And then remember that all the property in America—real, personal, and mixed—was estimated at only $16,000,000,000 in 1861. I hope and pray that these impatient and palpitating superpatriots who belabored us for consuming two whole days in providing for seven billions of bonds will be equally impatient and anxious to get an opportunity to help pay them when due. It puzzled me a long time to find out why certain people who could pass a great tariff bill overnight or enact any other great measure while you wait did not get into Congress and do those things. Finally one of them came into my room one day and was intimating that we were a lot of chuckleheads, and I said to him, "It has always surprised me that men like you, who know everything, who can do everything without any consideration or deliberation, do not break into Congress and do it." He said, "Well, everybody does not want to come to Congress." I replied, "There are not 5,000 men in America who would not come to one House or the other of Congress if they could get here. I will tell you why you do not come into Congress. You do not come down here because you can not get votes enough."

No right-thinking man objects to fair, honest, intelligent criticism. That is wholesome and altogether proper, but abuse, ridicule, and slander are very different things from criticism and do immense damage, because they have a tendency to bring our whole system of representative government into disrepute, thereby sapping its very foundations.

At this very moment when the country is engaged in the most stupendous war in all the bloody annals of mankind the Congress is doing its duty—its whole duty—manfully, industriously, and patriotically to bring it to a speedy and triumphant conclusion—as all good citizens hope most fervently that it may be brought. Representatives and Senators not only vote unheard-of sums of money for the prosecution of the war, but to the limit of their financial ability they contribute to the cause by purchasing bonds to foot the bills. Representatives and Senators not only voted other men's sons into the Army, but they send their own sons to fight—perchance to die—for the starry banner of the Republic.

There is not even a shadow of doubt that the Congress will vote every man and every dollar needed in this titanic world struggle into which we have entered, for we have solemnly pledged all the immense and various resources of this puissant Nation in that behalf.

This is a fitting occasion to discuss fundamental principles briefly. How many new propositions do you suppose our system of Government rests on? Only three. There are two of them in the Declaration of Independence and one in the Constitution. "All men are created equal." That is one of them. "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." That is two, and they form the basis of republican institutions. The third one is—hardly anybody ever reads it, more's the pity—the preamble to the Constitution, one of the finest sentences ever written, and one of the most comprehensive:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

There it all is. That is our chart and our creed. What courtship is to marriage, what the flower is to the fruit, what youth is to manhood, what hope is to fruition, that is what the Declaration of Independence is to the Constitution of the United States. Since Washington on Yorktown's blood-stained heights made good Jefferson's declaration thrones have been crumbling, crowns have been tumbling, and dynasties have been fleeing for their lives.

When our fathers proclaimed this Republic at Philadelphia on the 4th day of July, 1776, there was only one other Republic in the wide, wide world—Switzerland—and the fathers were not certain that this one would live until Christmas. It was an even break whether it would or not. Now, thanks be to Almighty God, there are 27 Republics in this world. In a very large sense we made them, every one. Mark Twain, the greatest Missourian that ever lived and the greatest literary American that ever lived, once said: "Blessed be the man who bloweth his own horn, lest it be not blown."

That dictum of the great Missouri philosopher—for he was more philosopher than humorist—applies to nations as well as to individuals. We did it—not by the mailed hand, not by conquering armies. We did it by the wholesomeness of our example, by teaching all creation the glorious truth that men can govern themselves. Why, before that it was supposed that power descended from on high and lighted on the heads of a few tall men, and then a little of it trickled down to the great body of the people below. We reversed all that. We make it begin at the bottom and like the sap in the trees in the springtime go up, and it will go up forever.

Not a single one of these South American or Central American Republics could have existed six months if it had not been for us. Some of them can walk alone now, but in their infancy we protected them while they were learning to walk. We gave them a breathing spell in which to wax strong. We gave them a chance to live and to work out their own destiny. What did it? The Monroe doctrine. What is it? The simplest proposition ever put into print—that we would regard the establishment of its system of government by any European nation in this hemisphere as an unfriendly act. That was a modest declaration. We were a modest people then. We have outgrown our modesty, and the Monroe doctrine has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, until to-day it is this: That for political purposes we hereby take the entire Western Hemisphere under the shadow of our wing. That is the Monroe doctrine. We do not covet their territory or their land or anything else that is theirs. We propose that they shall be free, because we intend to remain free ourselves; and we bid them a hearty Godspeed in developing themselves into puissant republics.

Certain dilettante writers and speakers who say the Monroe doctrine is played out are mistaken. They do not know what they are talking about. We will strengthen it and preserve it. It is the political life preserver of the Western World. I like to say a good thing about a Republican when I can find one who deserves it. I love to think about what one Republican Secretary of State did under the Monroe doctrine, William H. Seward, a great man, governor of New York, Senator of the United States, and Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, who came very near being President in 1860.

During our Civil War we did not have time to attend to anybody else's business. We had hardly enough to attend to our own.

Louis Napoleon, the nephew of his uncle, the Emperor of the French, the mightiest monarch then on earth, with his arms glittering from China to Peru, concluded it was a good time to smash the Monroe doctrine, sent over the Archduke Maximilian, set him up on a tinsel imperial throne, clapped a tinsel imperial crown on his head, and backed him up with 80,000 French bayonets under Marshal Bazaine. They were getting along tiptop until we made peace among ourselves. Immediately William H. Seward, Secretary of State, sent word to Louis Napoleon that it was high time to get out of Mexico, and not to stand on the order of his going—and he went like satan was after him.

That is what a Republican Secretary of State did. Nobody ever tried to violate the Monroe doctrine after that until Great Britain undertook to steal a piece of Venezuela, and Grover Cleveland shook his fist in the face of the British lion and forbade him to put his paw on Venezuela, and he kept it off. That is what a Democratic President did. From that day to this nobody has ever tried to infringe on the Monroe doctrine. Those are two of the proudest chapters in our history—one written by a Republican Secretary of State, the other by a Democratic President.

A great many people make a mistake as to where the line of demarcation is between a free country and a despotism. It is as plain as the nose on your face when once correctly stated. Most people think if there is a hereditary head to the government, it is necessarily a despotism; if there is an elective head, it is necessarily free. That has nothing in the world to do with it—not a thing. A country can be just as free with a hereditary head as it can be with an elective president, provided it has the right sort of constitution. I will tell you where the line of demarcation is. Any country that has a legislative body which controls the purse strings thereof is free, and if it has not it is not free. Out West where I live—I do not know whether it has percolated to the East or not—there is a homely saying that "Money makes the mare go."

Money also makes the Government go, and if the Congress should refuse to appropriate the money to run this Government it would stand stock-still at midnight on the 30th day of next June. Patriots would not run it, most of them, without pay. It makes no difference what we call it. We denominate our legislative body the Congress. When people get mad at the Congress and can not find anything else mean to say, they say we talk too much. Well, I used to be rather inclined to think sometimes that the Senate does talk too much, but I have somewhat changed my notion about that. There should be some place in this Government where a thing can be really and thoroughly and minutely discussed. Of course discussion and debate should not be extended so as to obstruct meritorious legislation which the people want. Those who growl about the Congress talking too much had better get out their dictionary and study it a little. What do you suppose the word "parliament" means in the dictionary sense? Whether we are enamored of the English or not, that is the oldest legislative body in the world. It literally means "a talking body." Bless your souls, that is what it was elected for—to talk; not to indulge in foolish talk, but to talk about the principles of government, the business of the country, and things like that. In France it is called the Assembly, in Germany the Reichstag, in Scandinavia the Storthing, and down in Bulgaria it is the Sobranje. In Russia, which is an inchoate Republic, they call it the Duma. The idea of representative government will grow and spread like the mustard tree of the Bible, until there will not be a monarch in any civilized country in God's footstool.

What a fine thing it is to be an American—how glorious, how inspiring!

Those of you who read the Holy Scriptures—and I hope you all do—remember that after Paul had been bound the chief captain ordered the centurion to take him away and scourge him. Paul executed a skillful flank move on him. Of course I am giving a free translation. I have always believed that Paul would have made one of the most masterful politicians and lawyers that ever lived. Paul said to the centurion who was about to scourge him, "Is it lawful to scourge a Roman citizen?" That question scared the centurion half to death. He rushed off to the chief captain as hard as he could clatter, and said, "You had better be careful; that man is a Roman citizen," which startled the chief captain greatly—startled him so that Paul was not scourged.

When that transaction took place Rome was mistress of the civilized world.

The power and dignity inherent in Roman citizenship were demonstrated by the terror which seized those who intended to scourge him before he invoked the protection of that citizenship.

It was a great boon to be a Roman citizen when Rome was in the plentitude of imperial power, but it is a far greater boon to be a plain American citizen, heir of all the ages.

Our mission in the world has been to vindicate by our practice and achievements our theory of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

On divers questions we are "distinct as the billows, yet we are one as the sea" when the honor, the safety, the prosperity, and the glory of the Republic are at stake.

We divide into parties on domestic issues, which is well, but our political contentions cease absolutely at low-water mark. Beyond that we are one people, with one heart, one soul, one hope, one country, one flag—ready, if needs be, to face a world in arms.

It is said that republics are ungrateful; but by erecting this magnificent memorial arch to Washington and his soldiers the Congress demonstrates to all the world that we hold in most grateful recollection the men who suffered and died here 139 years ago in order that our feeble infant Republic might live. How amazingly she has grown. God be praised! Grown from a narrow strip along the Atlantic to continental proportions. Grown from being the weakest among the nations into the

richest and most powerful! The free institutions which have enabled us to grow into what we are we owe to Washington and the patriots of seventy-six. The spirit which animated them animates their descendants to-day, wherever Old Glory floats. They created this mighty Republic. Our most solemn duty, our profoundest pleasure, our highest ambition is to serve it faithfully and to transmit it unimpaired to our children and our children's children to the remotest generation.

And now, Gov. Brumbaugh, on behalf of the Government of the United States, I present through you as the chief magistrate of Pennsylvania to the old Keystone State this splendid memorial arch in honor of Washington and the men who made Valley Forge another shrine for freedom. May it, defying the corroding tooth of time, stand as a sign and token of our love and gratitude so long as the Schuylkill seeks the sea.

May the God of our fathers, the God who sustained Washington and his brave followers on a hundred fields of carnage and amid the horrors of Valley Forge, crowning them with complete victory at last, the God who guided the pen of Jefferson when writing the Declaration, the God who has showered his blessings upon us without stint, may He lead our feet in the paths of righteousness for the healing of the nations and the freedom of mankind even unto the uttermost ends of the earth.

ADDRESS OF GOV. MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH AT NATIONAL ARCH PRESENTATION AT VALLEY FORGE, JUNE 19, 1917.

Ladies and gentlemen, in accepting for our great Commonwealth this national memorial, now formally transferred to our care and keeping by an eloquent and distinguished representative of our National Government, it is fitting that we should for a few moments consider the meaning of the action now taken and the significance of the purpose that has called us here.

One hundred and thirty-nine years ago, under the immortal Washington, there marched from this camp at Valley Forge not only an army that thereafter never knew defeat but also an ideal in government that is now about to become universal—the ideal that free men, enlightened and politically equal, shall determine their own destiny and not have it determined for them by others. Here huddled in cabins and lacking in every comfort that men cherish, naked, bleeding, and hungry, our forefathers displayed a fortitude unequaled and cherished an ideal which, under God, has found welcome in human hearts and in patriotic spirits in every clime and in every country.

The spirit of Valley Forge increasingly becomes the spirit of the human race. No ideal in government has had such speedy and widespread acceptance. No other spirit can now, in the dark days of the nations, be approvingly entertained by any nation. The spirit of Valley Force is with the allies in the western line; it is the breathing hope in Russia. It has asserted itself in Greece. It is brooding over China and has already quickened Japan and animates the peoples of the islands of the sea. It has remade South America and is the only hope of the central powers of Europe.

Pennsylvania early sensed the world meaning of Valley Forge and has taken adequate steps to preserve its soil and its meaning for all time. This arch is recognition of the Nation's concern that the world shall never forget what Valley Forge was, is, and forever shall be.

The fragmentary groups of Colonials that gathered here in 1777 had been defeated, disorganized, but not discouraged. They knew that life and liberty and the pursuit in peace of happy careers could be theirs only if successful. They willingly staked on the issue their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and under effective leadership they were here molded into an efficient army and into a national spirit. The Constitution of the Union was born in the huts of Valley Forge.

Here America learned how sublime a thing it is to suffer and be strong. In the darkest hours of distress and disaster our forefathers endured Spartan like the rigors of an excessively severe winter and the daily menace of an arrogant, city-intrenched foe. They came from this winter of discontent a disciplined and hearted people, united in ideals, held together by common sacrifices, and bound by a common experience into a people of strength, courage, and resourcefulness.

Here America learned the generous good of sacrifice. When in the First Continental Congress news of the occupancy of Boston by the British forces was announced, one man embodying the very spirit of American liberty arose and modestly said:

I propose to equip at my own expense a regiment of troops and march at their head for the relief of Boston.

The speaker was the commander of this camp, George Washington. There is nowhere in the annals of men a finer expression of America's spirit of sacrifice. This country won the Revolutionary struggle and triumphed in 1812, 1847, 1862, 1898, and will again triumph because this is the spirit of Valley Forge, the national ideal.

When our citizens were menaced on the high seas by an arrogant monarchy and the property and lives of American citizens in defiance of all humanitarian codes were ruthlessly sacrificed the hurt was felt in the heart of every American. We have answered by declaring war against this ruthless despoiler. We have registered upward of 10,000,000 of men, ready to make the Washingtonian sacrifice to defend our national honor and to keep our spotless record unsullied. We have given by law $7,000,000,000 of our money and have overoffered in cash $2,000,000,000 of it that this wrong may be righted and that the spirit of Valley Forge may be vindicated on the battle plains of the world. We are now giving gladly $100,000,000 to the American National Red Cross as an added earnest of our high purpose. We have fed the hungry. We have ministered to the suffering. We have financed the needy. We have counseled the courageous. We have aided the oppressed, and we are opposing the oppressor and our lives, our property, and our sacred honor are again freely given that the spirit of Valley Forge may be not only our animating spirit but the accepted guidance and inspiration of all men in all countries from this time on.

We have learned the value of federated democracy and of a united and inseparable Nation. When a Pennsylvanian, in 1754, called the delegates of the English Colonies to Albany for federation and for peace treaties with the Indians, he planted the seeds of American union. When, as a result, these same Colonies by duly designated delegates met in Carpenter's Hall, and subsequently in Independence Hall, this national ideal began to mature. When Washington at Valley Forge molded the unrelated groups of colonial troops into one great national body, the Constitution was determined, and the Union of States established forever. Valley Forge was the crowning event in these marvelously interesting and significant steps by which this Nation emerged into the light, set up regulated liberty under democracy as the guide and goal of mankind, and moved triumphantly forward as the color bearer of all oppressed and discouraged peoples.

Into this great Republic have come from all the world those that hungered to eat of the bread of true national life, and that thirsted to drink of the fountains of liberty and equality. We have welcomed them and given them home and haven. We ask only that they behave themselves seemly and give, as did those of Valley Forge, unstinted and unflinching fealty to our flag and our fortunes. To do less is traitorous; to do more is impossible; to do as much is just and proper. We ask our people, native born and foreign born, to follow the example of the Constitutional Army that 139 years ago marched from the hills of Valley Forge to a destiny immortal.

This enduring arch is not as enduring as the spirit of Valley Forge, but while it lasts, under the care and keeping of this great Commonwealth, we shall cherish it, guard it, honor it, as fitting emblem of this vastly more enduring arch of human liberty whose foundations are set in the soil of suffering at Valley Forge and whose summit crowns the hills of Valley Forge.

This is Pennsylvania. She has ever led in all that national enterprise commands, and she to-day accepts this memorial as a new pledge of national fealty and world-wide democracy. Where stand Valley Forge and Pennsylvania, there stand the hopes, the aspirations, the glories of the humankind.

National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave so generously granted me by the House, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues and the country to the argument of Hon. S. Davies Warfield, of Baltimore, recently made before the Interstate Commerce Commission in behalf of the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities.

I feel sure that this argument presents an entirely new phase to the question of rate making by our great railroad corporations, and will prove illuminating to those of us who have but little time to devote to such a complex question.

ARGUMENT BY S. DAVIES WARFIELD.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the commission, I am here to plead the cause of 50,000,000 of the people of the country, eight-tenths of whom are not yet fully aroused to their large proportionate ownership in the railroads of the country. Thirty-three million owners of life insurance policies alone are greatly concerned in your decision of the questions now before you, and to the extent that an adverse decision will affect the provision they have made for those who are to come after them, in many cases their all, and available only when those making such provision shall have passed away.

Never before in the 29 years which mark the life of your honorable commission, and this will be recalled by one of your body who, during all these years, has honorably sat as a commissioner, has this great ownership—this great silent power—come before you collectively to plead for protection at your hands. They have no voice in the management of the railroads of which they are part owners, such as stockholders have through their directors—they have never had a voice. They represent three-fifths, nearly eleven billions of the seventeen billions of capital of the railroads, and which up to Friday last had never been heard. They are therefore peculiarly dependent upon you, gentlemen of the commission, as their only protection. During all these years while the demagogue has made frequent appearance throughout the country or before you, claiming to represent the people, they have patiently and silently waited, until now, brought face to face with a crisis, they have become aware of the strength of their position and resolved to organize for mutual protection. I have therefore hurriedly come before you, our counsel, Mr. Hagerman, being compelled to leave the city, to represent these people and I feel keenly the responsibility of this action, fearing I may overstep the bounds of legal propriety upon such an occasion, for I am not a lawyer, and until Friday last had never appeared before your honorable body. My good faith in this movement having been then apparently questioned by one of the counsel of opposing interests, and not having opportunity to make as full an argument as was necessary to state my position, which is the position of those composing the association of which I am president, in defense of that position, I determined to appear here to-day.

You have heard the testimony of Mr. Kingsley, filed with you, giving the conditions surrounding the investments of life insurance companies in the bonds of the carriers, amounting to $1,461,000,000, and owned by 33,000,000 people; you have heard the testimony of Mr. Schenck, filed with you, giving the conditions surrounding the investments of savings banks in the bonds of the carriers amounting to $847,000,000, owned by 10,000,000 depositors; you have heard the testimony of Mr. Maddox and Mr. Oldham, filed with you, representing 6,000,000 people additional owning directly or indirectly $865,000,000, and $350,000,000 belonging to charitable and benevolent institutions, schools, and colleges, invested in the securities of the carriers; by private investors and trustees of estates, amounting to $10,000,000,000; by fire, marine, and surety companies, $649,000,000; you also have filed with you what the gentlemen appearing before you testified as their belief to be the margin of safety and regarded as a dead line beyond which trustees handling large sums of money do not consider it safe for them to continue to invest the funds they represent in the bonds and other securities of the railroads.

This margin of safety, it has been shown is largely regulated by legal requirements in the several States. In Massachusetts a savings bank is not permitted by statute to buy the bonds of railroads which have not declared and paid dividends on their stock for 10 years prior to such purchase, and in New York this provision requires that dividends shall have been paid 5 years before such bonds can be purchased by savings banks.

You have also filed with you the evidence that these great sources of money supply to the railroads have been shut off from the purchase of the junior securities of the carriers. You know too well the great necessity of carriers being able to finance themselves, or partly finance themselves, on junior securities and thus limit their fixed charges so that a safe margin can be maintained in years of low net earnings such as the year 1917–18 has been here represented will produce if no relief is given. A carrier not only, therefore, requires that a margin of safety in net earnings must be established if the bonds issued under mortgages on property are to be so established as will enable life insurance companies and savings banks, especially, to continue to hold them as investments for their policyholders and depositors; but if these two great classes of mutual institutions, owned not by stockholders but by the policyholders themselves and by the depositors themselves (43,000,000 people less 2,000,000 depositors in nonmutual banks) bound together for mutual protection, are to continue to invest in the bonds of the carriers of the country, this margin must be provided. But aside from the statutory requirement as to the bonds, what chance has a carrier to ever sell junior securities such as second-mortgage bonds or preferred or common stock, so necessary, as already stated, if protection is not given net earnings in such margin of safety as will, at least, in normal years be some guaranty of interest or dividends on such issues of junior securities?

Has your honorable commission considered the saving which would result and which in time would be reflected in lower rates by the carriers if their securities were once stabilized and put on so firm a basis that they would be generally recognized as a permanently safe investment? The carriers would then secure money for their legitimate purposes at lower interest rates, with lower freight rates incident thereto. So that if the carriers are permitted to raise their rates at this period, when shippers are securing more in the aggregate for their products (unregulated as to prices) than ever before, this indication alone of your desire to cooperate with the real owners of these carriers, whom I represent before you, would contribute greatly to a feeling of security on their part incalculable in effect. Consider what this means in the establishment of the credit of the carriers and its consequent reflection in the credit of every business enterprise. The good would permeate through every sphere of business activity. You have within your power the greatest and most far-reaching element of strength lying in the grasp of any agency of Government and capable of being exercised at this time of our country's stress, and when patriotism is fastening itself amongst us as never before in our history. Your decision now will have a most important bearing on the ability of our people to subscribe to the liberty loans of our Government, not only the present loan but those to come. Indeed, it becomes a serious problem—the placing of future Government loans—if the credit structure of the country is seriously disturbed, as I believe will result if the relief such a great number of our people now pray at your hands should be denied them.

The credit of the carriers of the country, representing the greatest total aggregation of capital of any enterprise in the world, once shaken at a period of unrest like this time of war, when all the foreign governments have found it necessary to stabilize credit, the British Government going to the extent of actually guaranteeing the earnings of its railroads to be equal to those of the year just prior to the war, must necessarily seriously threaten the credit structure of the entire country.

And what is the relief which I understand to be now asked of your honorable commission? An amount which in the aggregate is represented to be less than will be required to be paid out in their operations by all the carriers for equipment, fuel, materials, supplies, and for labor this year by reason of the increased prices alone over those paid last year. This would seem to be a reasonable request, the permission of the exercise of the inherent right of self-preservation—to get back when the margin of safety is already slim, from those who conduct their own affairs without regulation and are controlled only by the law of supply and demand, 75 or 80 per cent of every additional dollar required to be paid out under conditions for which the carriers are in no way responsible. The woeful lack of facilities and equipment on the part of the carriers and the effect of these conditions on business is a well-established fact. Certainly it must be to the interest of all business enterprise to permit this to be corrected. Business is affected adversely in proportion as the carriers of the country are prevented from effectively conducting their operations. Agricultural development and the development and opening up of our millions of acres of unused lands, particularly in our great southern country, so necessary to feed our allies and ourselves, can not be advanced when the growth of the carriers is prohibited. We would not be here did the seriousness of the outlook not justify it. Present conditions threaten us. And before it would be possible to again appear before your honorable commission, before the machinery could be put in motion under the law and the rules, before hearings before you could be completed and your decision reached, the carriers will have further passed into the period of extraordinary and unprecedented expenditures, and which has been represented here, and the credit structure will have been shaken. It is this which has prompted us to come together that we may collectively appeal to you.

That the great channels of money supply, upon which the carriers must so largely depend, already doubtful of the stability of the securities of the carriers, may not be closed or partly closed, which affects not only the securities of carriers now outstanding but the free use of such channels in the future, we ask that due consideration be given the position of those I represent in arriving at the decision you will reach in the present crisis.

Herbert C. Hoover.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a copy of a letter I have received from the Merchants' Association of New York, with offices at 233 Broadway, Woolworth Building, stating who and what Mr. Herbert C. Hoover is. The letter is in reply to one I wrote the association after I had received from the association a set of resolutions, adopted at one of its meetings, urging me to support the food-control bill and indorsing Mr. Hoover as the proper man to administer the department of food control. The letter from the Merchants' Association of New York is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1917.*

HON. JEFF: MCLEMORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Permit us to thank you for your favor of May 26, in which you make inquiry concerning Mr. Herbert C. Hoover.

While we understand that Mr. Hoover is a man of considerable wealth, we have no knowledge of his having made his money in Wall Street. We understand he is a mining engineer; that he worked his way through the School of Mines at Stanford University, then went to Australia, from which country in four years he was called by the Chinese Government to take charge of its bureau of mines.

After a year in that position we are informed that he became manager of mining properties of a Belgian corporation in China, and a year later, because of his great success, was made a partner in a large British mining firm.

His remarkable success in conducting relief work in Belgium stamps him as a man of ability and gives him an experience which seems pre-eminently to qualify him to take charge of our food problem in this country

Yours, very truly,

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK,
By S. C. MEAD, *Secretary.*

The Coal Situation in Michigan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK H. KELLEY,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege given by unanimous consent of the House, I reproduce from the Detroit News, of June 11, 12, and 13, 1917, a series of special articles by Mr. James Sweinhart relative to the coal situation in Michigan, as follows:

COAL AT $20 A TON SEEN BY DEALERS—FUEL FAMINE FACING CITY—UNITED STATES RAIL AND MINE CONTROL DECLARED ONLY REMEDY—GREED OF TRADERS FORCING UP PRICES.

[This is a series calculated to give to readers a succinct but comprehensive and accurate survey of the coal situation.

To rich and poor alike the problem of filling the bins with the coal is increasingly serious. It is a problem which, directly or indirectly, touches every man, woman, and child in the city.

With this idea in mind, the News has taken considerable time and gone to some pains and expense to study the whole situation and find out just why coal is so scarce, just why it costs so much.

There is a great deal more to the coal problem than ordering a winter's supply of the local dealer. Beyond the dealer's yard are causes and influences seldom seen or considered by the man whose business does not bring him in touch with them—economic causes, intricate in their operation, far-reaching in their extent, and all-powerful in their control. The householder, the man in the street, everybody who has to pay a coal bill should know about these causes and influences.

It is with the intent that every person in Detroit may have opportunity to know these facts that this series is written.]

[By James Sweinhart.]

No one can mention the coal situation in the street these days without bringing forth from his companion these two questions:

"Is there going to be a scarcity of coal this winter?"

"Is the price going to be higher than last year?"

The answer to both questions is:

"Yes."

There is just one thing that can change conditions and make abundant coal at lower prices.

That is governmental supervision of the coal mines and the railroads.

Every element in the present situation indicates coal will be more scarce and sell for higher prices in Detroit during the coming winter than it ever has before in this generation.

Mines are not putting out their normal production. Railroads are short of cars and are not transporting rapidly the coal that is mined. Here and there are evidences that brokers are hoarding what coal they can get, but this condition is not general. The larger coal yards, the railroads, the big industries—especially the public utilities—which at this time of the year usually have enormous supplies of coal stored against the coming winter, have but two or three days' margin.

DEALERS ACTIVE.

And all along the line, the mine operator, the broker, the dealer, seem to have come to a common determination to make hay while the sun shines, and are adding on to the price of coal two and three times the amount which before the war they considered a good profit.

In some cases this is done openly, as will be told later. In others it is done by indirect and covert means, such as selling through subsidiary sales companies and getting an additional profit on the sale; buying long ton and selling short, leaving the public with the impression that the dealer has had to pay the short-ton price; using the reconsignment privilege of railroads to keep the coal moving around at little expense until some manufacturer in desperation offers a premium price.

Estimates, now, as to what prices will be asked for coal next winter are futile.

Anthracite coal—the hard coal generally used for home furnaces—is fast becoming a luxury. Compared to the soft coal fields, the anthracite fields are very small. They are all in Pennsylvania. The ordinary output is between 80,000,000 and 90,000,000 tons a year. Production so far this year is not only under normal, but shipments of what there is is unprecedentedly slow and uncertain. Coal dealers predict that anthracite will soon disappear from all markets west of Buffalo.

ORDERS REFUSED.

As an example of the demands for anthracite, W. B. Palmer, local manager for the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Coal Co., one of the largest anthracite dealers, is turning away orders. He says he has sold all the anthracite he can handle up to April, next year.

This condition seems general. Inquiry at all the larger coal yards shows they have been unable to make the usual storages put in at this time of the year and, when winter comes, there will be no surplus to draw from.

Bituminous coal, for manufacturing and railroad purposes, is more in abundance. But conditions are anything but satisfactory. The situation the railroads have to meet is indicative. Usually, at this time, the Michigan Central is well advanced in storing its winter coal supply—about 1,000,000 tons. At present it has about 60,000 tons on hand.

The Pere Marquette, last August, contracted for its coal for next winter at $1.10 a ton. Up to date the mines are more than 500,000 tons short of the contract schedule. The railroad has been compelled to go out and buy coal in the open market, paying $4.25, nearly four times its contract price. At present it has about two days' supply on hand, a condition which every railroad man knows is extremely serious.

LITTLE RELIEF SEEN.

Dealers throughout the city give no promise as to future deliveries of anthracite. They are willing to take orders for most any number of tons, but they refuse to set a date for delivery or fix a price per ton. A ton at a time can generally be bought for immediate delivery and some are taking advantage of this to get their winter's coal gradually.

This situation has already reflected itself in rentals. Last winter there was a great skurrying for apartment houses and family hotels where heat is furnished. But this year tenants, when they come to sign their leases, will find therein a clause which says that in case the landlord is unable to furnish heat that fact shall not make the lease void, but in lieu of the heat the landlord shall remit a certain percentage of the rent.

W. B. Palmer, mentioned above, says anthracite will simply not be in the market in Detroit this winter and that soft coal may go to $13 or $14 a ton.

Walter Brooks, of Jewett, Bigelow & Brooks, who deal only in Pocahontas coal, say that it will go above $12 and probably stay there throughout the winter.

$20 PRICE PREDICTED.

An agent of the Berwind White Coal Co., one of the largest operators, predicts that the war, freight congestion, and inability of the railroads to handle coal will shove the price of anthracite to $20 and soft coal to $18.

A few years ago we were paying $6.50 for hard coal and $5.50 for soft. To-day hard coal sells for from $9 to $9.25 and soft from $8 to $8.50.

What is the reason?

There are a great many of them. One of them is that the mine operators after years and years of small profits, when coal glutted the market, suddenly found themselves face to face with a demand which they never had anticipated, which was far beyond anything they had ever dreamed of or hoped for, and being human they propose to make the most of it and "get theirs while the getting is good."

This phase of the situation will be discussed in detail to-morrow.

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WAR BRINGS WEALTH TO COAL MEN—MARKET, ONCE GLUTTED, IS DRAINED AND DEMAND NOW EXCEEDS SUPPLY—MANY SCHEMES LAID TO FORCE UP PRICES.

[By James Sweinhart.]

There are two causes behind the present high prices of coal.

One is the tendency of mine operators and coal dealers to make up for many lean years by obtaining profits far in excess of what used to be considered a fair profit.

The other is the scarcity of coal, due almost entirely to shortage of railroad cars, which forces the consumer, out of sheer necessity, to pay whatever price is asked.

To understand what profits are now being made, one must know something of the coal market in years gone by, and of the cost of coal production.

MARKET WAS GLUTTED.

For years prior to 1915 the coal industry, both anthracite and bituminous, suffered from chronic overproduction. The output was stimulated not only by a steady demand but, of late years, labor troubles, an inherent unsteadiness of mine labor, and raises in wages forced by a powerful and arbitrary union reduced net profits on the standard prices for coal then existing to such a minimum that the operators all over the country were forced to an ever-increasing production to even pay interest on capital invested. The result was that for the decade the coal market was glutted and the problem was to get rid of the stuff, rather than to fill the demand.

August 1, 1914, saw the beginning of the great war. The economic effect on the United States was an immense stimulation in all kinds of manufacture whose product the war would consume, such as munitions and foodstuffs, and the springing up of thousands of new industries to meet the demands of home and foreign markets formerly supplied by England, Germany, Austria, and France.

This in turn produced an immense increase in freight and steamship traffic. There were not half enough locomotives to haul the war products to the seaboard, and those on hand were kept working night and day. Then, too, the warring countries either denied access to their own mines or, demanding more than they themselves could supply, came to America and bought everything in sight.

The result was that the United States experienced a consumption of coal such as the world never saw. By June 1, 1915, the accumulated surpluses of years had been consumed and the market began to tighten. For the first time in years there were clamorings for coal, a demand that ran apace and then outstripped the supply.

PREMIUMS OFFERED.

Be it said to the credit of the operators, the first increases in the price of coal were economically sound. The demand exceeded the supply, a situation which will boost the price of any commodity. Munition manufacturers, with prodigious contracts to get out at prodigious profits, offered premiums for coal and ready shipment. In time they were bidding against each other for the stuff, and the effect was to increase the price of coal generally in leaps and bounds. The coal operators, much to their surprise and delight, suddenly found themselves face to face with a situation where the increased prices of their commodity far outran advances in wages and all other costs of production.

In less than a year the whole economic position of the industry underwent a tremendous change. The new energy experienced in moderate degree in 1915 continued and grew. Toward the close of 1916 the mines were utterly unable to keep pace with the demand. By the first of the year sensational prices were being paid, and 1917 opened with the prospect of profits never dreamed of.

The operators have not been at all backward in taking advantage of the demand. In the old days, when the market was glutted, 25 to 50 cents a ton net profit was considered very good business; 75 cents a ton was a handsome profit; $1 a ton quite unheard of.

PROFITS ARE BIG.

But to-day the operators force from a public, which must buy or freeze, profits of from $1.50 to $2 a ton.

Here are some figures on the cost of coal and profits made by those who handle it.

Anthracite—the hard coal burned in house furnaces—can be mined for approximately $2 a ton. This figure, including labor, machine expense, interest charges, and all other items figuring in the production of the coal and putting it in a coal car at the mouth of the mine is given by the United States Bureau of Mines.

To this figure the coal-mine operator adds a profit varying from $2.10 to $2.45. The prices of the several sizes of hard coal at the mine now are: Egg, $4.10; stove, $4.35; chestnut, $4.45.

The total freight charge on a ton of coal from the hard coal fields—say Scranton, Pa.—to Detroit, with the car put on a siding for teaming, is $3 a ton. That brings the cost of the several sizes of coal at Detroit to: Egg, $7.10; stove, $7.35; and chestnut, $7.45.

SOFT COAL COSTS LESS.

Large dealers, using big motor trucks and other modern equipment, can handle coal for about 50 cents a ton; that is, deliver it from the cars to homes. That brings the cost of the several sizes to: Egg, $7.60; stove, $7.85; chestnut, $7.95 per ton.

To-day's hard-coal prices are: Egg, $9; stove, $9.25; chestnut, $9.25. That leaves a profit for the local dealer on each ton of hard coal delivered at the curb in front of your house as follows: Profit on egg, $1.40 a ton; on stove, $1.40 a ton; on chestnut, $1.30 a ton. And if the dealer carries the coal in to your cellar bin he charges you 35 cents a ton more.

Now, turn to soft coal. Because of simpler and easier methods of mining soft-coal production is much less expensive. According to the United States Bureau of Mines the cost of turning out a ton of soft coal into a car at the mouth of the mine, all overhead charges having been added, is approximately $1.60.

To this figure the operator adds a profit for his own pocket of about $2.90 a ton. Soft-coal prices at the mine are hovering about $4.50 a ton.

EASIER MINED.

Because soft coal is easier and less expensive to handle in transit the freight charges are less. The Michigan Central freight-rate agent says the freight charge from the West Virginia and Kentucky soft-coal fields to Detroit is $1.60 a ton.

That makes the cost of the coal in Detroit $6.10 a ton.

It will cost 50 cents a ton more for distribution—that is, delivery to the manufacturers buying it—which boosts the price to $6.60 a ton.

The better grades of soft coal are selling to-day for $8 a ton. That leave a profit of $1.40 a ton for the local dealer.

But, substantial as these profits are, the mine operators are not satisfied. They have other ways of making profits on coal—or, at least, hogging all the profits—by manipulating the sales.

Ninety per cent of the hard coal is mined by companies owned by five big eastern railroads—the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the Delaware & Hudson, the Lehigh Valley, the Erie, and the Reading. Between what these roads get in profits and freight charges per ton the earnings of the roads from their mines are enormous.

Take the Lehigh Valley, for example. The Lehigh Valley Railroad owns the Lehigh Valley Coal Co., which operates a series of mines. In 1912 the Lehigh Valley Railroad organized the Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co., owning all its capital stock. The Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co. takes all the coal put out by the mines of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. So, on every movement of every ton of coal from the Lehigh Valley fields, the Lehigh Valley Railroad gets a profit.

DIVIDENDS MOUNT UP.

When the coal company mines a ton of coal and sells it to the coal sales company, it makes a profit which goes into the yearly dividends to be paid to the railroad company. The sales company sells to distant jobbers and retailers, making another profit, which is turned over to the railroad at the end of the year. And, of course, every time the ton is moved it goes over the Lehigh Valley's lines at fat freight rates.

The Wall Street Journal and other financial papers recently reported a financial melon—soon to be cut open for Lehigh Valley Coal Sales stockholders—which, of course, is the Lehigh Valley Railroad. On July 14 next a cash dividend of 30 per cent will be paid.

There is another little point about the anthracite business which the man in the street doesn't generally know. The coal dealer tells him that anthracite costs $4.40 a ton at the mine. Very true, but the dealer doesn't tell him that that is a gross ton. The ton which the coal dealer buys weighs 2,240 pounds. The ton he sells to the householder weighs 2,000 pounds.

There's a fat little profit in that fact alone—and the public should not be misled by the two different weights.

The coal broker—especially the coal broker just starting in business who wishes to get rich quick—has a little device for profit making all his own. It is known as the railroad reconsignment privilege.

BROKERS ACTIVE.

A broker, say, orders 100 cars of coal from Virginia and gets a through freight rate on the shipment—usually considerably less than the local rate. The coal arrives in Detroit. The broker has 48 hours to unload before the railroad will begin charging demurrage. But the market isn't right; it looks as if it will be higher in a few days; the broker doesn't want to sell right away. He has the privilege of reconsigning, and, just before his 48 hours of grace are up, he does so, say, to himself, at Flint. And he gets the same through rate on this also.

The coal goes to Flint. Again the broker has 48 hours to unload before demurrage is charged. But still the market isn't right. He doesn't yet want to sell. So, just before his 48 hours expire, he reconsigns again from Flint—this time, say, to Laporte, Ind., for he wants considerable time. By the time it goes to Laporte and waits 48 hours some Detroit manufacturer is found in sufficiently desperate straits to pay a handsome premium. Whereupon the broker wires to Laporte to rush the coal back to Detroit, and it is then dumped in the manufacturer's yards at, perhaps, three times a normal profit.

Charles S. Cunningham, railroad commissioner, says that 80 per cent of the difficulty in getting coal in Detroit is caused by this abuse of the reconsigning privilege, as practiced by Detroit brokers who have gone into the business without sufficient capital to have yards and terminals, and make the railroads and their cars serve for storage while they wait for a favorable market.

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RAILROADS BLAMED FOR COAL CRISIS—CAN'T SUPPLY ENOUGH CARS TO HAUL FUEL, FORCING MINE CLOSING—DEALERS ARE MONTHS BEHIND IN ORDERS.

[By James Sweinhart.]

There is just one reason why the coal-mine operators can force their high prices onto the dealers, and why the dealers, in turn, can force them onto the public in Detroit and elsewhere.

It is this: The supply of coal being produced in this country does not come anywhere near meeting the demand.

If the consumer, individually or collectively, refuses to pay the prices now being asked, that does not worry either the dealer or the mine operator in the least. Both are months behind in their orders. Most of them are refusing to take orders at all. If the consumer will not buy now—well, he will have to when cold weather comes, and at a still higher price.

In Detroit here there never has been a time before—not even in the days of the great coal strike of 1903—when there was so little coal on hand at this time of the year.

Usually, as soon as hot weather comes and the demand for household coal ceases, the dealers lay in a surplus supply against the coming winter. This summer they have been unable to do this. The shortage of coal is so acute that, even with the household demand eliminated, the coal is bought for industrial use before it leaves the cars. And many of the great plants are running only on what they can get from day to day.

Failure to get coal for five days would close hundreds of plants in Detroit and stop every train of the Pere Marquette Railroad.

LACK OF CARS FOR HAULING.

The cause of this scarcity lies in the transportation situation—a shortage of cars to carry the coal.

There are not only not enough coal-carrying cars, but there is mismanagement of the use of the cars on hand by both railroads and shippers.

And this condition is confronted by a shipping demand five times as great as the railroads of the United States have ever been asked to meet before, brought on by the prodigious expansion of industry, due to America's entrance into the war.

To understand the situation one must not look at it too narrowly. This condition is not local; it besets the entire country. And for its causes one must look to bygone years.

In the upstart of industries that followed the Civil War, the supreme need of the country for its development was railroads. Private capital lent itself readily to all sorts of railroad enterprises, and where private capital was lacking the Government, State and Federal, subsidized construction. First there followed a period of railroad chaos, during which there was the wildest kind of exploitation, but gradually consolidation and organization set in and the great systems began to develop.

WHEN THEY DOMINATED.

With the great systems came a breed of dynamic railroad giants—Huntington, Hill, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Cassatt, and a host of others—of vision so big, of ambitions of railroad empire so vast and of force of character so dominant that Government officials, State and Federal, were as mere pawns, which they used at will to accomplish their desires.

There came a period when the Government was the railroads. The elder Vanderbilt voiced the attitude of all the railroad kings when, in a fit of temper, he exclaimed, "The public be damned!" And, in their belief that their supremacy was everlasting, the railroads ran things with the ruthlessness of feudal barons.

But presently the public wearied of being imposed on. Its long-suffering patience gave way to an indignation which spread countrywide and rapidly removed from office every man suspected of being under railroad control. The pendulum swung the other way. Antirailroad legislation blossomed in every State and regulation was the word of the hour.

The final blow to railroad ambition came when the Government took over the rate-making power. In the days of exploitation the railroads generally were used as financial balloons by the adventurers behind them and were blown full of purely gaseous values.

SOLD FAKE BONDS.

A classic example was that of certain officers of the Erie, who, needing money, put out a fake issue of bonds which had never had the knowledge or consent of the stockholders.

Stock was issued far beyond the value of the roads. To meet interest on bonds and pay dividends the roads had made rates to suit themselves. In territory where a road had a monopoly its tariffs were nothing short of robbery. In cases where competition loomed they resorted to secret rebates and other practices to get business. But when the Government instituted rate regulation all this passed. The necessity of meeting interest on the obligations of the past came as a terrible legacy to railroad managers. For the last 15 years the railroads have been hard put to get enough out of their Government-regulated rates to meet the increased cost of railroading, pay interest on inflated stock, and show a profit.

On January 1, 1917, the country faced the solemn and astounding fact that 54 per cent of all railroads in the United States were in bankruptcy.

BOTH SIDES WOUNDED.

The public, in the last 20 years, has been evening the score for the generation of arbitrary railroad rule preceding. But it has also been hurting the country. For see the position of the average railroad manager.

On the one side the Government fixed the income of the road. On the other the stockholders demanded dividends. Despite rising costs the public refused to advance rates. There came a time when the earnings of the road would just pay dividends. The railroad manager had to choose between paying dividends and buying new equipment—including coal cars—which the road needed for development. But if he failed to pay dividends, he would lose his job. And he did the perfectly human thing—he paid dividends and the new cars were not bought.

That brings us down to the present day, when the railroads of the United States haven't half the cars needed for the development of the country—and at the same time, a need far exceeding any crisis ever met before.

And not only does the car shortage hold up transportation of coal already mined—it retards production.

NO STORAGE FACILITIES.

There are no facilities for storing coal in the mines. The labor charges involved in storing it at the mouth of the mine would almost double its cost and make outside storing prohibitive. The situation is met by building tracks to the mouth of the mine so that when the coal comes down the chutes from the elevators it dumps directly into empty cars.

That fact is very important, because, when the railroads do not supply cars, there being no place to store coal, the mine shuts down and production is held up. To-day, in the coal fields, thousands of miners are up and breakfasted at 6.30 a. m., waiting to hear the whistle at the mine. If it blows one long blast, that means "Come to work; we've got cars." If it blows two short blasts, that means "Don't come to work. Mine won't run. No cars have come in during the night."

PRODUCTION ONLY HALF.

One of the largest coal producers in the Virginia fields opened his books to me. They showed that, for the last six months, mines that could fill from 30 to 45 cars a day had been getting from 1 to 18 cars a day; that in that time the mines had been worked an average of but four days out of a possible six, and then only to about half their capacity.

This uncertainty of work has a still further deterrent effect on production. The labor situation in the mining fields has been acute for years. Good, steady miners are scarce. The European war made them doubly so. The opening up of munition plants, with demand for all kinds of labor at unheard of

wages, offered steady employment to the miners who, because of car shortage, could work but two and three days a week. Thousands of them went into the munition plants to stay, and the mine operators now find themselves short of labor, even when they can get the cars to load.

NEW PROBLEM ARISES.

Now, on top of this acute car shortage, comes a demand for a vast transportation of troops and war supplies. This demand the country did not have to meet last year.

Some idea of what this means in the tying up of cars may be had from a report made to the War Department by Lieut. Col. Chauncey B. Baker, the Government's expert on military transportation. One United States field army is composed of 80,000 men—three Infantry and one Cavalry divisions—and the auxiliary troops supporting them, such as the commissary and hospital units.

Lieut. Col. Baker reported that to transport such an army to the coast would require 6,229 cars, made up into 336 trains, which, of course, would require 336 locomotives. Of this total, 2,115 would be passenger cars, 385 baggage cars, 1,055 box cars, 1,899 stock cars, and 775 flat cars.

That means seven-tenths of 1 per cent of all the locomotives owned by all railroads in the United States, 4 per cent of all passenger cars, and two-tenths of 1 per cent of all freight cars.

That was for one field army of 80,000 men; to get the amount required for 1,000,000 men multiply each item by 12½.

And the Government is planning in the next year to recruit and send abroad 4,000,000 men.

FALSE NOTE OF HOPE.

The man who tells you that the car situation is going to ease off, and that there will be plenty of coal in Detroit at a lower market within a few weeks is doing so for his own mercenary reasons.

The Government itself has ordered 7,000,000 tons of coal distributed along the Atlantic seaboard for use of the Atlantic Fleet. Government orders are always filled first—what tens of thousands of coal cars that order alone will tie up!

The coal shortage in Michigan could be eased somewhat by a more intelligent use of cars now on hand.

Tuesday the abuse of the reconsignment privilege was explained in detail. That privilege should be suspended temporarily and brokers compelled to take the coal from the cars as soon as it is delivered in Detroit, thus releasing the cars for other shipments.

Again, coal cars should be restricted to coal carrying. So scarce have all kinds of cars been in Detroit that some of the railroads, hounded by automobile manufacturers for cars, have taken coal cars coming from the south, loaded them with automobiles, and sent them even as far away as the Pacific coast. When the cars get back to the coal fields again, for use in another coal shipment, only Providence knows.

WON'T BRING COAL HERE.

Because of this practice and the practice of brokers with small capital making the railroad tracks their storage yards, the Louisville & Nashville, one of the largest coal-carrying roads of the South, recently established an embargo against Michigan. That is, it refused to ship coal into this State.

The railroad commission undertook to find out why, and in a letter to Commissioner Charles S. Cunningham, on May 10, C. E. Evans, vice president of the Louisville & Nashville wrote that on that day there were in Michigan 3,661 Louisville & Nashville cars that had been held more than 30 days—for the most part unnecessarily. That is 16.7 per cent of all the cars the Louisville & Nashville owns.

In such a situation not only the public but the railroads as well would welcome supervision by the Government. Then railroad managers would have something more than a request or demurrage tax to compel consignees to unload cars.

National Council of Farmers' Cooperative Associations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this most drastic measure in its present form, and if there were no other reasons for my opposition, the ones given by the National Council of Farmers' Cooperative Associations would be more than sufficient. Those reasons were embodied in a plea recently issued by the National Council of Farmers' Cooperative Associations, and reads as follows:

DON'T TIE OUR HANDS.

We, the organized farmers of the grain belt, a half a million strong, claim to be as patriotic, as courageous, and as ready to sacrifice our sons, pour out our last drop of blood in defense of "liberty and humanity" as any like army of our fellow citizens, but in fairness to the land we love and the country we have had a large part in building, we plead for *fair treatment and a square deal* RIGHT NOW.

If in the judgment of our National Congress it shall be necessary here and now to *fix the price on food*, which is the sole produce of our farms—we have no by products, no side lines—so as to limit our *profits and net returns* in behalf of the Nation, then we submit that mere and simple justice demand that prices on *all other commodities and products produced or distributed by our fellow countrymen shall be fixed in the same way and at the same time.*

Be assured that in our effort to increase our acreage we have purchased feed, seed, machinery, and necessary farm supplies at an increase in prices of from 100 to 1,000 per cent. For example, plow shovels which cost $2.50 before the war now cost $7; cultivators which sold at $28 before now sell at $56.; binder twine which sold at 8 cents before now sells at 18 cents; potash has advanced 600 per cent, fencing 100 per cent, wagons 30 per cent, prepared feeds 200 per cent, tankage 100 per cent. The price for labor advances with the high prices already being offered by all other lines of industry.

We must meet the ravages of cholera, drought, frost, rust, rain, and hail. Already some of our crops are gone and our fields are being replanted. Of these things we do not now complain.

So long as the Constitution of our country is upheld, so long as our business is surrounded by the same degree of protection that is thrown around all other industries, our country will receive at our hands a full measure of sacrifice, devotion, and cooperation.

But, Mr. Speaker, there are still other reasons that would deter me from voting for this bill, and one of the most urgent is that it may tie the hands of the cotton planters as well as the hands of the wheat growers, and at a cost to the cotton planters of millions upon millions of dollars. Another urgent reason why I am opposed to this most un-American measure is that its passage will mean the creation of a "food dictator," and that "dictator" has already been named in the person of a gentleman who has not been a resident of the United States for many years, but whose home is in England, and whose business interests lie on the other side of the Atlantic. If we are to have a "food dictator," let us so frame the law that he must be an all-American citizen and not one whose home and business interests lie in foreign lands. I have heard it stated, Mr. Speaker, that this proposed Hooverism was all worked out in advance, and that Mr. Hoover was selected to head the Belgian relief work as the first move in the game to make him "food dictator" of the United States. It has also been frequently stated that it was English influence that caused Mr. Hoover to be placed at the head of the Belgian relief work. Because of this I see no special cause for complaint, as Mr. Hoover knew the Belgian people and also knew the country. It has repeatedly been given out that Mr. Hoover donated both his time and his services as the head of the Belgian relief work, and I do not doubt for a moment that this is true. And I also believe, Mr. Speaker, that there are thousands of American citizens who would have done the work equally as well and on similar terms, and that, too, with no other thought of reward than to serve humanity. But getting back to the bill before the House, even before it has been passed and a "food dictator" created, Mr. Hoover has been named for the position and Members of Congress have been receiving letters urging them to vote for the bill and indorsing Mr. Hoover for the place. Among those received by me was one from the Merchants' Association of New York, with offices at 233 Broadway, Woolworth Building, New York City, and in reply to a letter from me, inquiring who Mr. Hoover was, I received this:

NEW YORK, *May 29, 1917.*

Hon. JEFF: MCLEMORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Permit us to thank you for your favor of May 26, in which you make inquiry concerning Mr. Herbert C. Hoover.

While we understand that Mr. Hoover is a man of considerable wealth, we have no knowledge of his having made his money in Wall Street. We understand he is a mining engineer; that he worked his way through the School of Mines at Stanford University, then went to Australia, from which country in four years he was called by the Chinese Government to take charge of its bureau of mines.

After a year in that position we are informed that he became manager of mining properties of a Belgian corporation in China, and a year later, because of his great success, was made a partner in a large British mining firm.

His remarkable success in conducting relief work in Belgium stamps him as a man of ability and gives him an experience which seems preeminently to qualify him to take charge of our food problem in this country.

Yours, very truly,

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK,
By S. C. MEAD, *Secretary.*

Now, why was it deemed necessary to bring a gentleman from England, a gentleman who had not been a resident of the United States for many years, and invest him with powers greater than those conferred on any Old World monarch—powers so great that at a stroke of the pen he could deprive our farmers and

cattlemen of millions upon millions of American dollars? Why could not one of our own citizens, a man whose ideals and interests are all for and of the United States, been selected for this position of absolutism?

Mr. Speaker, I want to see this war brought to a speedy and successful termination, but in the prosecution of the task that has been outlined for us, that of establishing democracy in the countries of Europe, I do not believe it is either necessary or expedient for this Congress to enact a measure that goes beyond anything ever before attempted in the United States and which is so un-American that even the contemplation of it should cause the average American citizen to pause and reflect. One of the most conservative Members on this floor, a gentleman who is all-American and whose lifetime has been spent in the cause of the Democratic Party [Mr. MOON], in speaking on this bill, among other things, had this to say:

Surely there is no man in this House who has been raised in the faith of the Democratic Party who believes that this bill ought to pass in ordinary times. Whether the war necessities at this time justify the passage of this bill is to my mind exceedingly uncertain. Whether the conditions of our country are such that a measure of this character, crude, and, without disrespect to the committee, I may say thoughtlessly in some of its provisions, perhaps, and intensely arbitrary in others, should receive the sanction of this House without amendment, is to my mind very doubtful. * * * I very greatly doubt the wisdom of conferring upon any man the powers here conferred, even in the midst of flagrant war, much less in a period like this. These are powers that ought to be held sacredly in the hands of the Representatives of the people and not given to any man so long as you value a republic. * * * We are entering upon a war that may last for a long time. It may end suddenly. We know not, but we do know that all that this Republic has or will have is pledged to the successful prosecution of the war. We ought to know, too, that our domestic affairs and concerns ought to move along just as smoothly in this time as though no war had been thought of, because this country is great enough and powerful enough, at least joined with the allies, to conquer Germany, and not interfere unwisely with our own concerns within the borders of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee spoke wisely and well in the sentences I have quoted, and for fear that I will be charged with unfairness in using so much of his speech as served my own purposes and ends I will go further and admit, regretfully it may be, that in another portion of his speech he stated that he would "vote for this measure as the best thing, perhaps, that has yet been proposed." I can not go so far as to say that I will vote for this measure in its present form, but I sincerely hope that when it goes to conference that the committee will so change and amend it that I can conscientiously give it my support and my vote.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter:

OTTUMWA, IOWA, *June 19, 1917.*

Hon. C. W. RAMSEYER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: I note what you say about the bill before Congress on the question of food and coal control. You can not be too vigorous on this question. I understand the combination of the coal business, especially in this part of the country, is under control of a combine at Minneapolis, a brokerage which controls the coal market and which simply holds us the retailer and the shipper, and everybody else. I believe that a bill should be drawn that anybody during these war times, especially who is a member of an organization for the control of the necessities of life beyond what is fair and reasonable, should be liable to imprisonment, and I also believe that the laws should prevent these men from issuing circulars and scareheads trying to scare the people into buying coal at an early date, for fear of high prices, and so on. I know that legislative bodies can not make men honest, but they can prevent them from stealing, to some extent. This is a very important question at the present time and lies at the very foundation of our economic condition. I want to see the Government take hold of all of these war issues and prevent the absolute robbery of the people, who are contributing from their pockets to the Red Cross, Belgian relief, home relief, and all of these things, and still carrying the other burdens of life, and they should not be pounced upon by the avaricious mulchers who want to take blood money from everyone, irrespective of their condition or station in life. You can not make it too hard.

With kind regards and with best wishes and hopeful of your success, I remain, as ever,

Your friend,

A. W. ENOCH.

Control of Food and Fuel Under the War Power.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY J. STEELE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, the RECORD is loaded down with statistics and information showing the necessity for some legislation of the kind now under consideration. Apparently there is no dispute of the facts. From the beginning of the European war there has been a constant upward tendency in prices, both in this country and abroad. In this country the rate of increase in the cost of staple foods and groceries in January, 1915, was 1 per cent, and this rate gradually increased until, in April, 1917, it amounted to 43 per cent, while to-day, according to estimates made, the rate of increase is far in excess of that amount, being from 75 to 100 per cent, and in some cases reaching 150 per cent. In Canada the increase for April, 1917, over 1914 was 45 per cent, while in Great Britain the increase for the same period was 94 per cent.

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the real causes which have brought about this situation. Some attribute it to food speculators, others to increased cost of production. Investigation shows, however, that the wage paid labor in all walks of life has not kept pace with the increased cost of the necessaries of life. It is estimated that the cost of food has advanced about 10 per cent beyond the advance in wages. It is clear, therefore, that with this constant increase in prices there should be given to some agency the power of regulating, particularly when we know that in those countries where the advance in prices has existed legislative regulation along the lines proposed in this bill has tended to reduce prices. The main purpose of this bill is to provide such governmental agency. The administration has given the subject careful consideration, and the President has stated that—

This bill is one of the most important and most imperatively necessary of the measures which have been proposed in connection with the war.

We are involved in a war of uncertain duration, and in order to win the war it is as necessary to have a sufficient supply of food as to have soldiers, battleships, and munitions. The war has created a scarcity of food abroad, and it is clear that we must conserve existing food stocks, encourage further production, and regulate proper distribution. The Committee on Agriculture has given the subject careful consideration and study, and has reported this bill with the recommendation that it pass. It is probably one of the most important bills ever considered by the Congress, for it affects every citizen in this country and most of those in Europe.

With the necessity and propriety of this legislation so clearly established, further discussion, except to perfect it in detail, would seem to be unnecessary. By common consent the legislation of this special session is confined to the consideration of emergency war measures, and during the discussion of this bill certain constitutional principles were asserted bearing upon the war power of Congress, which should receive further consideration. Time for action has arrived, however, with regard to the pending bill.

The first question was the assertion that the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, now has "all the power necessary to handle the whole food question, so far as the feeding of the Army and the Nation is concerned." The second, that the war power transcends all other provisions of the Constitution, including those relating to the protection of life, liberty, and happiness. No attempt is made to justify this bill as a constitutional measure in time of peace. It is conceded to be a war measure. Its constitutionality depends upon the following clauses of the Constitution:

The Congress shall have power * * *—

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

To provide and maintain a navy.

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

Though the Federal Government is one of enumerated powers, its powers are not prescribed in detail, and from the very be-

ginning it has been construed to possess not simply those powers which are specifically or expressly given it, but also those necessary and proper for the effective exercise of such express powers. The classic statement of the scope of the implied powers of Congress is that made by Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch *v.* Maryland (4 Wheat., 316), as follows:

> We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the Government are limited, and that its limits are not to be transcended; but we think the sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into effect which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional. It need not be said, of course, that the question as to whether or not the particular means selected is the best possible means that might have been adopted is one primarily for Congress to answer. All that the courts have to consider in passing upon its constitutionality is as to whether it is calculated in any appreciable degree to advance the constitutional end involved.

Thus, our entire Penal Code depends practically upon the exercise of implied powers under the Constitution. Neither do constitutional provisions change, but their operation extends to new matters and conditions as the modes of life and habits of the people vary with each succeeding generation. In South Carolina *v.* United States (199 U. S., 437) the court said:

> The Constitution is a written instrument. As such its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted it means now. Being a grant of powers to a Government, its language is general; and as changes come in social and political life, it embraces within its grasp all new conditions which are within the scope of the powers in terms conferred. In other words, while the powers granted do not change, they apply from generation to generation to all things to which they are in their nature applicable. This in no manner abridges the fact of its changeless nature and meaning. Thus things which are within its grants of power, as those grants were understood when made, are still within them; and those things not within them remain still excluded.

Thus the law of the common carrier is the same to-day as when transportation by land was by coach and wagon, and on water by canal boat and sailing vessel, yet in actual operation it touches and regulates transportation by modes then unknown. Just so it is with the grant to declare war and raise and support armies. The Constitution has not changed.

The power is the same, but it operates to-day upon modes of warfare then unknown to the fathers, and it will operate with equal powers upon any new modes of warfare which the future may develop. It must, however, be a means plainly adapted for carrying into execution the express power. It can not be a remote and uncertain means of so doing. Thus, in United States *v.* De Witt (9 Wall., 41), an internal-revenue act of Congress prohibited the sale of oil made from petroleum in aid and support of the internal-revenue tax imposed on other illuminating oils. The court held this provision to be unconstitutional, saying:

> This consequence is too remote and too uncertain to warrant us in saying that the prohibition is an appropriate and plainly adapted means for carrying into execution the power of laying and collecting taxes.

Bearing these principles in mind, it is difficult to understand how the one clause in the Constitution conferring the power to declare war can be held to have broken down every other clause inserted for the protection of life, liberty, and property. The advocates of this enlarged power frequently refer to a statement of its existence contained in a speech delivered in 1836 by former President John Quincy Adams, as follows:

> In the authority given to Congress by the Constitution of the United States to declare war all the powers incident to war are by necessary implication conferred upon the Government of the United States. Now, the powers incidental to war are derived not from the internal municipal source but from the laws and usages of nations. There are then in the authority of Congress and the Executive two classes of powers altogether different in nature and often incompatible with each other—the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations and restraints, by provisions prescribed within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. The power is tremendous. It is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier erected for the protection of liberty, property, and life.

The Constitution makes a distinction between executive and legislative power in military matters. With reference to the Executive it says:

> The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.

The power herein given relates exclusively to the Army and Navy. It is a military power and has no direct relation to either private citizens or private property. It is only incidentally in carrying out the military power that any right over either of these can be obtained. In times of war, therefore, the powers of the military commander in the control of his own men and of the citizens of his country are much broader than in times of peace, but it is still true that they are subject to the limitations which the civil law imposes. To illustrate these limitations, several leading precedents in American history will be cited.

During the second war with Great Britain Gen. Jackson was in command of the American forces at New Orleans. On December 15, 1814, he issued a general order placing the city under strict martial law, took upon himself the command of every person in the city, suspended the functions of all the civil authorities, and made his own will for the time the only rule of conduct. It was believed that this course was absolutely necessary. Judges, officers of the city corporation, and members of the State legislature insisted on it as the only way to save the citizens and their property from outrage and destruction. Gen. Jackson used the power thus taken by him moderately and benignly and only for the purpose of preventing mutiny in his camp. A single mutineer was restrained by a short confinement, and another was sent 4 miles up the river.

But after he had saved the city and the danger was all over he stood before the United States district court to be tried by the law of the land. On March 21, 1815, an order was issued by that court directing him to appear and show cause why he should not be held in contempt for his refusal during the pendency of his order declaring martial law to recognize a writ of habeas corpus issued by that court. Jackson filed a written protest, but the court held his conduct illegal and imposed a penalty of $1,000, which he paid. In 1842, after Gen. Jackson had served two terms as President, a bill was introduced in Congress to reimburse him for the amount of this fine. Debate was able and thorough. (Benton's Abridgment of Debates, p. 14, 628.) Mr. Bayard opposed the bill on the ground that the military order proclaiming martial law was illegal. Mr. Buchanan, then a Member of Congress and a personal friend of Jackson, spoke in its favor, but did not attempt to justify the order. He said:

> We do not contend, strictly speaking, that Gen. Jackson had any constitutional right to declare martial law at New Orleans.

Other leading members took the same ground.

The question as to the validity of this order declaring martial law came before the Supreme Court of Louisiana in Johnson *v.* Duncan (La.) (3 Martin, 530) upon a motion to proceed with the case, which motion was resisted because of the existence of martial law. On page 549, the court said:

> The Constitution of the United States, in which everything necessary for the general and individual security has been foreseen, does not provide that in time of public danger the executive power shall reign to the exclusion of all others. It does not thrust into the hands of a dictator the reins of the Government. The framers of that charter were too well aware of the hazards to which they would have exposed the fate of the Republic by such a provision, and had they done it the States would have rejected a Constitution stained with a clause so threatening to their liberties. In the meantime, conscious of the necessity of removing all impediments to the exercise of the executive power in cases of rebellion or invasion, they have permitted Congress to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus if those circumstances of the public safety shall require it. Thus far and no further goes the Constitution.

Mitchell *v.* Harmony (13 Howard, 115) presented for the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States the question of the extent of the right of a commanding general in the field to appropriate private property to the public service, and it was decided that such an appropriation might be made in case it should be rendered necessary by an immediate and pressing danger or urgent necessity existing at the time and not admitting of delay, but not otherwise.

It was shown in that case that when a state of war was declared to exist between the United States and Mexico the Government of the former country resolved to penetrate the enemy's county by three lines. On the left Gen. Taylor was to move from the lower Rio Grande; in the center Gen. Wool was to move into the State of Chihauhau, Mexico, from San Antonio, Tex.; while on the right Gen. Kearney invaded California by way of New Mexico. Having reached Santa Fe and received the submission of New Mexico, the latter general ordered a column under command of Gen. Doniphan, First Missouri Volunteers, to penetrate into the State of Chihauhau in such a manner as to make a diversion in Wool's favor.

Accompanying Doniphan's command was the Second Missouri Volunteers, commanded by Lieut. Col. Mitchell, the same who was subsequently the plaintiff in error in the case before the Supreme Court. The enemy was met on the way, but defeated December 21, 1846, and finally Doniphan reached and took possession of Fort San Eleasario at El Paso del Norte on the upper Rio Grande. Here the commander of the expedition first heard of the failure of the center column to reach Chihuahua. It became then a grave question of what course should be pursued.

In every direction was enemy country, and either to advance, retreat, or stand still seemed extremely perilous. The bold resolution, however, was taken by penetrating to the city of

Chihuahua, which was successfully accomplished, although enemies vastly more numerous had to be met and vanquished. The column, turning to the left, joined Gen. Taylor. It was when starting from San Eleasario, and thence during the progress to Chihuahua, that Lieut. Col. Mitchell committed the acts for which the Supreme Court afterwards held him liable for damages. There was present with the command a Mr. Harmony, a citizen of New York, who, in the capacity of trader and before he knew that there was to be war, had left Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe with a large train laden with goods and merchandise, destined for New Mexico. Ventures of this nature were then encouraged by the United States Government. The train was overtaken by Gen. Kearney's army of invasion but was permitted to accompany one of its columns to Santa Fe, and Harmony was given permission to dispose of his wares to natives and others in the regular course of his business. When Doniphan's expedition was fitted out for New Mexico, Harmony sought permission to accompany it. He did this not to add to the security of the column, which his presence only weakened, but for purposes of trade. He was present with the entire approbation of the United States authorities on the spot. He was there to make money by selling the products of the United States to the people of the country, and it accorded with the policy of the Government that such commercial intercourse should be fostered. He had full authority for being there and for the purpose that brought him there.

But he did not wish to accompany the Army beyond San Elisario. He saw an opportunity to dispose of his wares in that vicinity, or, if not, he imagined he saw in the perils of the journey to Chihuahua under existing circumstances greater danger to his pecuniary interests than were likely to result from his remaining in the midst of Mexicans, with whom, however, he was on excellent terms, and whose language he perfectly understood.

It was claimed afterwards on the trial that he was at this time meditating schemes hostile to the cause of his country, and that through the agency of what he claimed was legitimate traffic with the Mexicans he was really giving the enemy aid and comfort, but the Supreme Court in its final verdict said that there was no proof that he was actuated by such motives. It treated the surmise as a vague suspicion, which could not, even under the circumstances then existing, be legally made the foundation of action inimical to Harmony's interest.

Lieut. Col. Doniphan gave orders that Harmony should accompany the command in its further career of conquest. The attending to the details of securing this was intrusted to Lieut. Col. Mitchell, who afterwards claimed, no doubt truthfully, that he acted under Doniphan's orders in the premises, but whom the court found had moved with a degree of zeal in the matter considerably in excess of what a plain, matter of fact obedience of orders would have necessitated. The lieutenant colonel gave to Harmony a memorandum stating the reasons for this action, which were:

1. That it was desired to make use of the wagons and bales of goods to form a field work in the event of the troops being attacked by an overwhelming force of the enemy.
2. It was desired to make use of the American teamsters, whom the commander of the forces had armed and organized, as an infantry battalion, numbering nearly 300 men.
3. It was desirable to prevent the large amount of property in Harmony's wagons from falling into the hands of the enemy, because it would have aided him in paying and equipping his troops. There is no doubt that he recognized the trader's train and employees formed an important element of strength, when, en route from San Elisario to Chihuahua, the American troops met and February 28, 1847, decisively defeated a vastly superior force of Mexicans at Sacramento, the result of the conflict being the opening up of an uninterrupted path to Chihuahua, the capital of the hostile State of that name, and which was the objective point of the expedition.

The city being reached, permission was given Harmony to sell his goods and merchandise, but the people were hostile, and he could not do it. Much of his property, especially wagons and animals, had been rendered unserviceable or totally destroyed. He declined to accept what was left when the American commander offered to turn it over to him, preferring to abandon the whole to those who had taken forcible possession of it and to secure whatever redress might be available to him through the agency of the law. First, he attempted to secure reimbursement through an act of Congress, but the bill for that purpose, in the usual course, having been referred to the Secretary of War, the Hon. William L. Marcy, for an opinion upon its merits, was returned with an adverse report, which settled its fate in that direction for the time being, at least, and left the civil courts the only means of relief.

The cause came on for hearing before the Circuit Court of the United States, Nelson, judge, presiding, in the October term, 1850, at New York City. The defenses set up were four:

1. That at the time of the seizure, Harmony was engaged in an unlawful trade with a public enemy.
2. The seizure was to prevent the property from falling into the hands of the enemy.
3. The property was taken for the public use.
4. That the plaintiff was estopped from claiming damages because he had subsequent to this received back the property from the military officers.

It may be well to remark that the Government supported Mitchell's views of the case, the United States district attorney defending him.

The trial was before a jury whose province, as explained by the court, was the determination of the facts, while the court expounded and applied the law. Nearly all the defenses were rejected with emphasis, while those for which it was conceded there was color of reason were pronounced too insufficiently supported to relieve the defendant from liability for damages.

It was held—

First. That the goods of a trader who, encouraged by the governmental authorities to carry on a particular kind of commercial intercourse with the enemy, had penetrated a subjugated country, were not liable to seizure on the ground that such trading was unlawful. It would be setting a snare for the unwary, an act not to be attributed to the Government or the executive department without the most convincing proof.

Second. To justify the seizure of property so situated, on the ground that such seizure was necessary to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands as booty of war, the danger must be imminent and urgent, not contingent or remote. It was for the jury to say, after duly weighing all the facts of the case, whether the danger was of this pressing nature.

Third. While a military officer is justified in a case of extreme necessity, when danger is impending, when the safety of the Government or the Army requires it, in taking private property for the public service without being liable as a trespasser, it is necessary that these circumstances should conspire to relieve him from responsibility for the act. When this is so, the owner of the property must look to the Government for indemnity.

On the other hand, if private property be thus appropriated, not on account of impending danger at the time, or for use to repel an immediate assault of the enemy which might endanger the safety of the Army, but for the strengthening of the Army, aiding in an expedition against the enemy 200 miles distant, the military officer would be a trespasser and the liability would attach at the instant of seizure.

Fourth. If the superior officer who gives the order for seizure is not justified, the subordinate who executes it will not be.

On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States the judgment of the circuit court was affirmed.

In an opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney he said:

There are occasions where private property may lawfully be taken possession of or destroyed to prevent it from falling into the hands of the public enemy, and also where a military officer charged with a particular duty may impress private property and take it for public use. Under these circumstances the Government is bound to make full compensation to the owner, but the officer is not a trespasser.

But in every case the danger must be present or impending, and the necessity such as does not admit of delay or the intervention of the civil authority to provide the requisite means. It is impossible to define the particular circumstances in which the power may be lawfully exercised. Every case must depend on its own circumstances. It is the emergency that gives the right, and the emergency must be shown before the taking can be justified. In deciding upon this necessity the state of facts as they appeared at the time will govern the decision, because the officer in command must act upon the information of others as well as his own observation. And if, with such information as he can obtain, there is reasonable ground for believing that the peril is immediate or the necessity urgent he may do what the occasion seems to require, and the discovery that he was mistaken will not make him a wrongdoer. It is not enough to show that he exercised an honest judgment and took the property to promote the public service; he must also prove what the nature of the emergency was, or what he had reasonable grounds to believe it to be; and it will then be for the court and jury to say whether it was so pressing as to justify an invasion of private right. Unless this is established the defense must fail, because it is very clear that the law will not permit private property to be taken merely to insure the success of an enterprise against a public enemy. * * * It can never be maintained that a military officer can justify himself for doing an unlawful act by producing the order of his superior. The order may palliate but it can not justify.

This case is given in considerable detail to show under what circumstances private property may be taken from the owner by a military officer in time of war.

And the question here is—

Said the court—

whether the law permits it to be taken to insure the success of any enterprise against a public enemy which the commanding officer may deem it advisable to undertake. And we think it very clear that the law does not permit it.

It was claimed by the defendant that the goods were taken for the purpose of strengthening an invading force against Chihuahua and of attacking a fortification more than 200 miles distant in the interior of the enemy country. The court left it to the jury to say whether the seizure under the circumstances pre-

sented a case of immediate and pressing danger or urgent necessity existing at the present time, and the jury held that it did not. A verdict of over $90,000 was rendered against Mitchell, the military officer.

The principle in this case was afterwards recognized and sustained by the Supreme Court. In United States *v.* Russell (13 Wallace, 628) the court said, referring to an appropriation of private property in time of war:

Where such an extraordinary and unforeseen emergency arises in the public service in time of war, no doubt is entertained that the power of the Government is ample to supply for the moment the public wants in that way to the extent of the immediate public exigency, but the public danger must be immediate, imminent, and impending, and the emergency in the public service must be extreme and imperative and such as will not admit of delay or a resort to any other source of supply, and the circumstances must be such as imperatively require the exercise of that extreme power in respect to the particular property so impressed, appropriated, or destroyed.

In Dow *v.* Johnson (100 U. S., 169) the court said:

We do not controvert the doctrine of Mitchell *v.* Harmony, reported in the 13th Howard; on the contrary, we approve it.

In the midst of our Civil War, in October, 1862, Benjamin R. Curtis, ex-Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and one of the most profound lawyers who ever sat upon that bench, published an article on "Executive Power," and discussed that power as follows:

In time of war a military commander, whether he be the commander in chief or one of his subordinates, must possess and exercise powers both over the persons and property of citizens which do not exist in time of peace. But he possesses and exercises such powers, not in spite of the Constitution and laws of the United States, or in derogation from their authority, but in virtue thereof and in strict subordination thereto. The general who moves his army over private property in the course of his operations in the field, or who impresses into the public service means of transportation or subsistence to enable him to act against the enemy, or who seizes persons within his lines as spies, or destroys supplies in immediate danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, uses authority unknown to the Constitution and laws of the United States in times of peace, but not unknown to the Constitution and those laws in times of war. The power to declare war includes the power to use the customary and necessary means effectively to carry it on. As Congress may institute a state of war, it may legislate into existence and place under Executive control the means for its prosecution. And in time of war, without any special legislation, not the commander in chief only, but every commander of an expedition or of a military post is lawfully empowered by the Constitution to do whatever is necessary and is sanctioned by the laws of war to accomplish the lawful objects of his command.

But it is obvious that this implied authority must find early limit somewhere. If it were admitted that the commanding general in the field might do whatever, in his discretion, might be necessary to subdue the enemy he could levy contributions to pay his soldiers; he could force conscripts into his service; he could drive out of the entire community all persons not desirous to aid him; in short, he could be the absolute master of the country for the time being. No one has ever supposed, no one will now undertake to maintain, that the commander in chief in time of war has any such lawful authority as this. What, then, is his authority over the persons and property of citizens? I answer that over all persons enlisted in his forces he has military power and command; that over all persons and property within the sphere of his actual operations in the field he may lawfully exercise such constraint and control as the successful prosecution of his particular military enterprise may, in his honest judgment, absolutely require; and upon such persons as have committed offenses against any article of war he may, through appropriate military tribunals, inflict the punishment prescribed by law. And there his lawful authority ends.

The military power over citizens and their property is a power to act, not a power to prescribe rules for future action. It springs from present pressing emergencies and is limited by them. It can not assume the functions of the statesman or legislator and make provisions for future or distant arrangements by which persons and property may be made subservient to military uses. It is the physical power of any army in the field and may control whatever is so near as to be actually reached by that force in order to remove obstructions to its exercise.

But when the military commander controls the persons or property of citizens who are beyond the sphere of his actual operations in the field, when he makes laws to govern their conduct he becomes a legislator. Those laws may be made actually operative; obedience to them may be enforced by military power. Their purpose and effect may be solely to support or recruit his armies or to weaken the power of the enemy with whom he is contending. But he is a legislator still, and whether his edicts are clothed in the form of proclamations, or of military orders, by whatever names they may be called, they are laws. If he have the legislative power conferred on him by the people it is well. If not, he usurps it. He has no more lawful authority to hold all the citizens of the entire country, outside of the sphere of his actual operations in the field, amenable to his military edict, than he has to hold all the property of the country subject to his military requisitions. He is not the military commander of the citizens of the United States, but of its soldiers.

The great fundamental principle of our system of government may then be said to be the sanctity of the personal and property rights of the individual. To secure these our written constitutions have been adopted. But even the so-called martial law does not abrogate these guaranties of the Constitution. Willoughby on the Constitution, 1233–1234, says:

In European countries living under written constitutions provision is quite generally made for the declaration in times of danger of what is called a "state of siege," the effect of which is immediately to suspend the operation of all the ordinary constitutional limitations upon executive power. No similar status is known to American law. The use of the military arm of our States or of the Federal Government in times of peace and upon domestic soil to maintain order and secure the execution of law in no wise operates to suspend civil law or to negate individual rights, liberty, and property any more than the exercise of the ordinary police powers by the State to this effect. * * * There is then, strictly speaking, no such thing in American law as a declaration of martial law whereby military is substituted for civil law. So-called declarations of martial law are indeed often made, but the legal effect of these goes no further than to warn citizens that the military powers have been called upon by the Executive to assist him in the maintenance of law and order, and that while the emergency lasts they must, upon pain of arrest and punishment, not commit any acts which will in any way render more difficult the restoration of order and the enforcement of law. * * * During the time that the military forces are employed for the enforcement of law—that is to say, when so-called martial law is in force—no new powers are given to the Executive, no extension of arbitrary authority is recognized, no civil rights of the individual are suspended. The relations of the citizen to his State are unchanged. Whatever interference there may be with his personal freedom or property rights must be justified, as in the case of the police power, by necessity, actually or reasonably presumed.

It is remarkable—

Says Judge Cooley—

that during the Civil War but few questions respecting the war power were passed upon by the courts. Some extravagant claims were put forth on behalf of this power by theorists, as if where war existed constitution and laws alike were to give way and the military authority to be supreme and unlimited. * * * The people have never delegated to any department of the Government or to any officer, civil or military, the authority to subvert the laws or put aside the Constitution either temporarily or permanently.

One of the questions referred to by Judge Cooley arose in ex parte Milligan, 4 Wallace, 118, the court stating that "no graver question was ever considered by this court, nor one which more nearly concerns the rights of the whole people." The court stated the question involved, as follows:

The controlling question in the case is this: Upon the facts stated in Milligan's petition and the exhibits filed, had the military commission mentioned in it jurisdiction legally to try and sentence him? Milligan, not a resident of one of the rebellious States, nor a prisoner of war, but a resident of Indiana for 20 years past and never in the military or naval service, is, while at his home, arrested by the military power of the United States, imprisoned, and, on certain criminal charges preferred against him, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged by a military commission organized under the direction of the military commander of the military district of Indiana. Had this tribunal the legal power and authority to try and punish this man?

The military commission referred to had been created pursuant to an act of Congress of March 3, 1863, authorizing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus throughout the United States by the President. Five of the Justices of the Supreme Court held that Congress was without the constitutional authority to suspend or authorize the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and provide military commissions in States outside the sphere of actual military operations, and with their civil courts open and ready for the transaction of judicial business. The remaining four Justices held that Congress had not in fact made legislative provision for the military tribunal in question, but asserted that it possessed the constitutional authority so to do should it see fit. The argument of the four dissenting Justices was as follows:

Congress—

They said—

has the power not only to raise and support and govern armies but to declare war. It has, therefore, the power to provide by law for carrying on war. This power necessarily extends to all power essential to the prosecution of war with vigor and success, except such as interferes with the command of the forces and the conduct of campaigns. That power and authority belong to the President as Commander in Chief. * * * We by no means assert that Congress can establish and apply the laws of war where no war has been declared or exists. Where peace exists the laws of peace must prevail. What we do maintain is that when the Nation is involved in war and some portions of the country are invaded, and all are exposed to invasion, it is within the power of Congress to determine in what States or districts such great and imminent public danger exists as justifies the authorization of military tribunals for the trial of crimes and offenses against the discipline or security of the Army or against the public safety. * * * It was for Congress to determine the question of expediency.

The majority of the court, on the other hand, held, first, that no mere legislative declaration was sufficient to create a necessity for the exercise of martial law when no such necessity in fact exists, and, second, that the circumstance that the ordinary courts are open and undisturbed for the execution of their functions is conclusive evidence of the fact that there is no present necessity for martial law. In the course of the opinion of the majority it was said:

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false, for the Government within the Constitution has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence, as has been ably proved by the result of the great effort to throw off its just authority. * * * This Nation, as experience has proved, can not always remain at peace, and has no right to expect that it will always have wise and humane rulers, sincerely attached to the principles of the Constitution. Wicked men, ambitious of power, with hatred of liberty and contempt of law, may fill the place once occupied by Washington and Lincoln; and if this right is conceded and the calamity of war again

befall us, the dangers to human liberty are frightful to contemplate. If our fathers had failed to provide for just such a contingency, they would have been false to the trust reposed in them.* They knew—the history of the world told them—the Nation they founded, be its existence short or long, would be involved in war; how often or how long continued human foresight could not tell; and that unlimited power, wherever lodged at such a time, was especially hazardous to freemen. For this and other equally weighty reasons they secured the inheritance they had fought to maintain by incorporating in a written Constitution the safeguards which time had proved were essential to its preservation. Not one of these safeguards can the President or Congress or the judiciary disturb except the one concerning the writ of habeas corpus.

The last sentence of this citation accords precisely with the statement of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, above referred to, declaring that the order of Gen. Jackson declaring martial law in New Orleans was invalid. After an analysis of this case, Prof. Willoughly, in his work on the Constitution, page 1251, concludes:

There would seem to be little question but that the doctrine stated by the majority in the Milligan case is essentially a sound one, namely, that actual necessity and not constructive necessity, as determined by legislative declaration alone, will furnish justification for substituting martial for civil law.

From this discussion it is clear that the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, does not possess the power to meet the present food situation, and therefore this present legislation is necessary. In the brief filed by the Committee on Agriculture, having charge of the bill, it is stated:

It is not herein contended that the power of Congress to legislate for war purposes is derived from any source other than the Constitution, or that the Constitution is suspended or abrogated during the existence of a state of war.

The weight of authority seems to sustain the correctness of the view of the majority of the court in the Milligan case. The liberties of the people as granted in the Constitution are, therefore, in no danger of invasion. It is contended by some, however, that the great powers vested in the Executive under the terms of this bill may be susceptible to abuse, and if abused may lead to mischievous consequences. This argument, addressed to popular fears and prejudices, finally acquires a weight in the public mind to which it is not entitled. Every power, whether broad or limited, is susceptible to abuse; no legislation can provide perfect guards against it. Confidence must be reposed somewhere, and where can it be better lodged than in the Executive whom the people have trusted? Mr. Justice Johnston, in Anderson *v.* Dunn (6 Wheat., 204), well stated this view:

The idea is Utopian that government can exist without leaving the exercise of discretion somewhere. Public security against the abuse of such discretion must rest in responsibility and stated appeals to public approbation. Where all power is derived from the people and public functionaries deposit it at the feet of the people, to be assumed again only at their wills, individual fears may be alarmed by the monsters of imagination, but individual liberty can be in little danger.

We have heretofore given the President almost unlimited authority in the conduct of this war, and all agree that it is a patriotic duty in this crisis to uphold the administration. In our declaration of war we pledged all our resources to carry it to a successful termination, and it is idle to suppose that the powers given under this bill will be used for the injury of the people.

As above shown, Congress only can grant these powers, and I shall support the bill in full confidence that its provisions will be used benignly in the interest of all the people.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AMBROSE KENNEDY,

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to extend remarks in connection with the bill now under discussion I desire to place in the RECORD an address on "Our Food Problem" delivered by Herbert C. Hoover, United States food administrator, at the gathering of Brown University alumni in Sayles Hall, Brown University, Providence, R. I., subsequent to the commencement exercises held on Wednesday, June 20, 1917, during which Mr. Hoover received his sheepskin for the LL. D. degree which was conferred on him by the university while he was in Belgium.

The address is as follows:

OUR FOOD PROBLEM.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would be insensible, indeed, if I did not give expression to my gratitude for the great honor which I have had at Brown University this day. It is not alone an honor to myself, but it is an honor which was acquired through the period of Belgian relief, and it is an honor taken by each and all of those 200 Americans who formed that army of relief. Furthermore, it is unique in another sense that it is the first honorary degree given by one of the older American universities to a graduate of the youngest university in the United States.

Now, uppermost in my mind, and no doubt the uppermost idea in your minds, is the problem for which I was called from Europe to engage myself in in behalf of the President. I do not propose, in the few minutes that I have, to enter upon a course of diatetic administrative, economic discussion with which this problem is surrounded.

I wish, however, to present one single theme to your minds: Our food problem, the problem of food administration revolves around one single factor, the diminishing productivity of Europe and the absorption of commerce by the armies. Since the wonderful harvest of 1916 the food supplies of the world have been steadily lessened. This year we are faced with a world shortage, and next year this shortage will be even greater. Seven million men have been called out of productive labor and devoted to fighting, in the production of implements of war.

The women have been unable to renew the need of that labor shortage. With the diversion of animals of transportation to war, the land is no longer receiving the fertilizer that it needs in order to increase production, to increase the production of bread grains to secure protein and fat supplies that Europe demands for her vast armies. She is eating into the capital of animals. This reacts again in the productivity of the latter. Our own allies are supported from foreign markets—Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania—which are cut off, and Australia and India are three times the distance, and therefore three times the more difficult of access to the Atlantic seaboard.

TELLS OF FOOD SHORTAGE.

The Argentine crop is a failure, and she has interposed an embargo. As the shortage grows, so does the need grow. It is the impact of this shortage that has during the past year knocked at every door in the United States, and, though America may obtain a surplus, the reverberation of Europe's need would have knocked seriously at our doors even though we hadn't entered the war.

The function of war has raised our prices above endurance, and if we do nothing it will raise them higher still, for the need of Europe grows yearly, and the value of food now transcends everything else. By our entering into the war we are forced not alone by one issue, but we are under the force of two issues: The first issue is we must have, in any event, the control of our food; second, we must also meet the increased demands of our allies in order that they may remain constant in war and not leave us alone as the enemy of Germany.

Those problems are not insoluble if they are taken in time. In their solution lies the prime test of democracy. The question is, Can our form of government find the devotion and efficiency necessary in the preparation in advance of the storm? Must we wait until disaster is upon us and reap the whirlwind in the lament of too late? Can we not only do this in time, but can we do so without resorting to measures of Prussianism? I believe that we can. I believe our faith is right.

I believe that democracy can not only defend itself, but that it can prepare for that defense. I believe that the spirit of self-sacrifice and idealism runs higher amongst our people than those of any other land, that the average of commercial morality, of commercial devotion, is greater than that of any other country in this world.

I believe that by the mobilization of the voluntary support of our people those problems are all soluble, but I know of no people of such idealism but that some individuals, some individual selfishness would defeat the will of the majority. To this end we must have power, and that power of Prussianism is the same power that rests in the police of the State. It is the power to repress crime.

I do not wish to say more on this occasion, but I would like to leave this one thought with you: The wolf is at the door of the world. We, in our abundance, our undeveloped resources, our wastage, and our extravagance, hold it in our power, and ours alone, to keep this wolf from the door. It is a problem wider than the country; it is a problem of humanity.

The 1917 River and Harbor Bill.

I ask the gentlemen of the minority who submitted this report to make good their contention that any one of these projects are unworthy and ought not to be included in the bill. * * * I challenge the gentlemen of the minority * * * to do so. * * * Such opposition can not find defense at the bar of public opinion.—Chairman SMALL of the River and Harbor Committee.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 16, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, on June 11 in general debate the above "challenge" was voiced, and on June 15 the chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, Mr. SMALL, placed in the RECORD (see Appendix) a "timely" statement given to the press by Secretary of Commerce Redfield. The statement was accompanied by the gratuitous remark that "the opposition to the pending 1917 'pork-barrel' bill are indulging in unfounded criticism of our waterways." "Such opposition," he continued, "can not find defense at the bar of public opinion and will be justly rebuked." That statement of the chairman was noted on the following day when it appeared in the RECORD, and it is here pointed out as an indication of public opinion that seven members of the 1916 River and Harbor Committee, all of whom were supporters of annual river and harbor bills were not returned to Congress, notwithstanding presentation of their cases "at the bar of public opinion." Again, seven members of the present committee have declared in a minority report that the pending bill "is only the continuation of efforts to secure river and harbor legislation portions of which invariably bear the justifiable designation of pork."

Again, 120 votes were cast in the House against taking up this pending river and harbor bill for consideration, and again a majority of the Democratic caucus decided to drop the pork-barrel bill from the 1917 legislative program, but the pressure seems to have been too hard to resist. Again, three of the last four bills reported by the River and Harbor Committee and passed by the House have failed to become law and have been rebuked "at the bar of public opinion."

Because of its present form the pending bill promises to go the same route. This much is said in reference to the expert opinion of those who criticize opponents of "pork."

When Mr. Redfield's effusion on waterway improvements, so "timely" issued to the press, was printed in the RECORD, an effort was made to show the value of Redfield's judgment and discrimination and the character of the new "waterway" commission which has been named by the Council of Defense. A point of order was immediately offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] that Redfield was not germane to the waterway item under discussion. Although the point was properly made from a parliamentary standpoint, it should not be forgotten that others on the floor quoted Redfield's article approvingly in the presence of the gentleman from Texas, who, however, uttered no protest and offered no points of order against that side of the discussion. Notwithstanding these remarks are destined to be embalmed in the RECORD morgue, I desire, for the benefit of those who may be interested in the subject of waterways, briefly to discuss Mr. Redfield's knowledge of the subject and his judgment generally. I desire also at the outset to show the personnel and interests of some of the experts (?) of the new waterway board named by the Council of National Defense.

While the food bill is occupying the attention of the House it may be well to offer a few additional observations concerning both food and waterways, because the distinguished Secretary of Commerce has ventured to become an authority on both. What does Secretary Redfield know about waterways? Presumably no more than he knows about the food question, although his numerous contributions to the administration's joke literature usually offered at "timely" times has served to relieve the oppressive atmosphere occasioned by the European war. Mr. Redfield says in effect we must go the limit on inland waterway improvements. Get scows, skiffs, ships, sloops, and schooners is his timely advice, which is in entire harmony with "Sister Susie sewing shirts for soldiers." It makes no difference whether anyone will use the skiffs or scows, but "get them" is Redfield's advice.

"Eat whales," was Redfield's advice on a recent occasion according to press reports. Whale steaks, kangaroo chops, and giraffe giblets would relieve the food situation, according to the Secretary of Commerce. All that the average housewife now needs to do, according to his judgment, will be to go to the nearest market and get a whale soup bone or walrus ham in order to solve the food problem. Centuries ago a distinguished youth named Simple Simon also started out with all the enthusiasm of a modern Redfield. Memory may be treacherous, and yet it brings back a trite old saw that when "Simple Simon went a fish'n' for to catch a whale, all the water he could find was in his mother's pail." To the average housewife the thought will come that whale eating must not become a confirmed habit before we learn to catch the rabbit.

WHALE MEAT AND PORK.

Secretary Redfield is likewise an authority on "pork," which is also a political food product, and I desire briefly to refer to his knowledge and judgment on that subject on which he has offered himself as authority. In fact, on all subjects the distinguished Secretary of Commerce expresses himself with freedom and conviction. Back in December, 1915, Secretary Redfield was called upon to welcome the national river and harbor lobby which met in Washington. In the course of his remarks he said that the lobby's usefulness was weakened because of the habitual "though untruthful" use of the word "pork." Although the New York Board of Trade called that same lobby a "mutual bribery organization," and although Senator TILLMAN once called the river and harbor bill "a humbug and a steal," and although the minority of seven members of the River and Harbor Committee now declare the pending bill is of the "pork family," I pass by Redfield's expert opinion on "pork," expressed before the lobby in December, 1915, without comment, beyond a reminder that the "pork barrels" of 1914 and 1915 were both defeated in the Senate, and the 1916 bill, after a thorny road, passed the Senate with only one vote to spare. Redfield says it is untruthful to say "pork," but Redfield was talking to a river and harbor lobby at the time—a lobby that advertised its powers to secure pork by a tabulated statement contained on pages 60 and 62 of its 1911 official report, from which I quote briefly.

The members of the lobby "congress" were impressed with the relation between that body and the amount of Government appropriations for each separate State. I quote literally from the listed method of comparison and cite a dozen States or more to show the proportionate grabs that are held out invitingly to gaze by the lobby officials.

All of these facts were again presented during debate in the House on the last bill. The statement taken from the lobby's official 1911 report follows:

	Amounts subscribed to the support of National River and Harbor Congress, by States, 1906–1911, inclusive.	Amount of appropriations received by States, in river and harbor bills, 1907–1911, inclusive.
Pennsylvania (east)	$4,295	$4,837,745
Connecticut	2,115	2,318,000
Massachusetts	2,850	1,451,733
Maryland	1,755	2,778,265
New Jersey	2,735	3,484,895
North Carolina	2,538	2,239,614
South Carolina	1,137	1,237,290
Virginia	4,306	4,082,454
Georgia	8,281	4,102,889
Florida	1,620	5,188,670
District of Columbia	1,530	1,243,000
Alabama	6,090	6,952,000
Louisiana	9,505	3,820,292
Texas	8,825	9,193,309
Mississippi River		21,842,775

Mississippi River (1914), $10,500,000, or nearly one-half of the six years' total.

UNFAIRLY DISTRIBUTING THE PORK.

Texas and Florida receive more than the average State, excepting that the Mississippi River lump sum would swell the adjacent States over $21,000,000, if counted. Florida has many small waterways, like the Kissimmee and the Ocklawaha, and is the home of influential Members at both ends of the Capitol, who determine the fortunes of annual river and harbor bills. Florida had $2,217,000 in the 1917 bill alone, as will later appear, but many bad items were omitted from the Kenyon substitute measure rejected by the lobby.

I pass by any further discussion of "pork" manipulation by the lobby on its own proud admission, and also the fact that the president of this national waterway lobby is an active member of the administration's legislative forces, and again return to the commission which Secretary Redfield mentions in his "timely" statement to the press. He states a committee under the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense has been found to advise in promoting the immediate use of all of our waterways. As at present constituted, it consists of George E. Barthol, of Philadelphia; Gen. W. H. Black, Washington, D. C.; Capt. J. F. Ellison, Cincinnati; Joy Morton, Chicago; James E. Smith, St. Louis, president of the newly formed Mississippi Valley Waterway Association; Walter S. Dickey, Kansas City; and M. J. Sanders, of New Orleans. The statement further states that that committee has hired rooms down in the Munsey Building, presumably at Government expense.

THE NEW WATERWAY COMMISSION.

Glancing over the list of names, one seems to have a familiar appearance, and upon examination I find that Capt. J. F. Ellison, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was the former secretary of the national waterway lobby at the very time the table of pork appropriation allotments just mentioned was prepared for his 1911 report. Further, at that time Capt. Ellison made his secretary's annual speech, which appears in the official report, and he is quoted as saying:

We send Congressmen here to legislate for the Nation theoretically, but actually to get all he can for us; and if he does not get our share, and then some, we do our best to replace him.

That statement is from a man appointed by the Council of National Defense as a waterway expert. Ellison says, "get pork" or "get out of Congress"; and Redfield, who says there is no "pork," now recommends Ellison as a distinguished member of the new board.

Walter S. Dickey, of Kansas City, Mo., a reputable citizen beyond question, another member of the commission, is connected with a steamboat on the Missouri River—possibly he is connected with two steamboats and some scows, skiffs, and barges. Mr. Dickey is probably as willing to get fat appropriations for the Missouri River, as Ellison is for the Ohio; both have helped their particular projects in the past to get "their share." I will not quote his testimony in the report but when the Missouri River project was recommended for abandonment by Col. Deakyne, the following businesslike statement was made, which appears on page 11, of Document No. 463, Sixty-fourth Congress.

The Kansas City-Missouri River Navigation Co. (Capt. Dickey, manager), the only through line on the river, operating between Kansas City and St. Louis, charges 80 per cent of the railroad freight rates. Assuming this to be the relation between the rail-and-water rates for the entire traffic, the saving to shippers by the use of the river in 1913 was about $10,000. It is evident that this saving is entirely inadequate to warrant the serious consideration of an expenditure by the Government of $1,100,000 per year in interest and maintenance. * * *

It is frequently argued that if the improvement of a river gives lower rail rates, such improvement is justified even if the river never carries a ton of freight. This might be true if there were no other method of controlling rail rates, but in these days when the railroads claim that they are being regulated too much, there appears to be no lack of governmental machinery for controlling them and it does not seem necessary to spend $20,000,000 to bring about a proper rail rate between Kansas City and St. Louis.

SPENDING $100 TO SAVE $1.

Mr. Dickey's boats collected about $40,000 in freight charges that year, according to Col. Deakyne's statement, but it will cost the Government approximately $1,100,000 per year to save $10,000 annually in freight rates for Kansas City shippers, according to Col. Deakyne's estimates. He recommended the abandonment of this project that also deals in land reclamation, and in this position he was supported by Col. C. McD. Townsend, whose opinion is also important in connection with the next member of the new commission, Mr. James E. Smith, of St. Louis, who is president of a new Mississippi River Waterway Association. In determining the value of Mr. Smith's judgment on waterways, I quote Col. Townsend's official statement, on page 13, Document No. 463, Sixty-fourth Congress, wherein he says:

The fact, however, that there has been a failure to properly utilize the improved channel that has been maintained during the past 10 years from St. Louis to New Orleans should cause Congress to hesitate before continuing the large appropriations it is making for the western rivers.

In the opinion of the division engineer, the problem of developing our western rivers should be treated as a single one. * * * An opportunity should then be offered the American people to determine whether they want waterways not by rhetorical efforts in river conventions, but by a practical utilization of the channel thus afforded. Until such revival occurs appropriations on the tributaries should be confined to maintaining the existing status.

After spending over $100,000,000 on the lower Mississippi River and $46,000,000 on the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, Col. Townsend says—what everybody has learned to know—that there is no appreciable commerce on the river. With a channel 100 per cent better than the Rhine, the actual commerce is not one-half of 1 per cent of that on the Rhine, although we have spent five or six times as much on the Mississippi as has ever been spent on the Rhine.

UTILIZATION V. RHETORIC.

Returning to Mr. Smith, the president of the new waterway association, who lives in St. Louis, and no doubt wants liberal appropriations for that stream, I again quote where Col. Townsend significantly says:

An opportunity should be afforded the American people to determine whether they want waterways not by rhetorical efforts in river conventions but by practical utilization of the channel thus afforded.

Col. Townsend officially declares in the Government report that utilization of the river channels when created, and not oratory in waterway conventions, is what the country needs at the present time, and Townsend's advice carries much weight when we ascertain that Mr. Smith, a president of river conventions, lives on the river which has received such enormous appropriations during past years, and yet no commerce has resulted. Townsend further says, "Until such revival occurs, appropriations on the tributaries should be confined to maintaining the existing status." That is the official advice of a Government official and is in direct contrast with the political advice of Secretary Redfield. Col. Townsend says, in effect, do not put political pork into insignificant streams or any stream, and that advice has added force when we are considering the 1917 pending bill.

The less said about Gen. Black's judgment on inland waterways the better. Last December he addressed the same waterway lobby that Redfield welcomed in 1915, and he drew enthusiastic applause with the sentiment, "There is no use recommending too small an improvement." It was Gen. Black who overruled Cols. Deakyne and Townsend and fastened the $20,000,000 Missouri River project on the country for the accommodation of Mr. Dickey's steamboats. It was Gen. Black who in 1916 recommended $2,000,000 for the upper Mississippi in line with the desires of President Smith's waterway association. It was Gen. Black who overruled other Army engineers in recommending the $4,500,000 upper Cumberland project, and also $18,700,000 for the 26-mile canal on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals. Gen. Black, when acting as colonel, recommended several of the new projects in this bill, including $100,000 for Congaree River and $455,000 for Freeport Harbor. I do not question the honesty of any of these men but do doubt their judgment. With that kind of a waterway commission the public may pray to be delivered from the Government tax collector.

WHO APPOINTED THESE MEN AND WHY?

It is unnecessary to refer to other waterway experts on the commission appointed by the Council of National Defense. Those best acquainted with the remaining members can tell whether any one member has had experience in actual inland water navigation, and if so, to what extent, and with what results so far as the public interest is concerned.

Judging from the brief record here given the taxpaying public may well inquire what purpose lies behind the appointment of this commission, and if it is an index of other appointments by the Council of Defense the public may be sure that before long the country will inquire into the suitability of such other appointments and into the personnel of members of the council itself. No one will question every effort to provide for war needs, and every Member of Congress will support all legitimate expenditures, but the air is now redolent with "hold ups" of the Government on coal, oil, steel, and other supplies, and it is fair to inquire what good purpose lies behind a commission of the character recommended by Mr. Redfield.

THE 1917 RIVER AND HARBOR BILL.

The 1917 pending river and harbor bill has been condemned in unmistakable language by the minority report, which is signed by a majority of the Republicans on the committee and two leading Democratic members. In this connection it may not be irrelevant to say that of 21 members of the 1916 committee 7 members of that committee, all of whom supported recent river and harbor bills, are not now Members of the present Congress. Whether voluntarily or involuntarily retired, it is a circumstance that carries its own lesson, that the country is beginning to protest against Ellison's estimate that—

We send Congressmen here to legislate for the Nation theoretically, but actually to get all he can for us, and if he does not get our share, and then some, we do our best to replace him.

The minority of the committee in its report pronounced this bill a pork barrel and indefensible. In reply the Chairman [Mr. SMALL], in his opening remarks, stated, page 3361:

Every appropriation in this bill constitutes an emergency either for commerce or national defense, and I wish to state that there is no item of appropriation in this bill either for maintenance or improvement which was not specifically recommended by the Secretary of War.

After that sweeping statement, that sounds like the ebullition of a waterway association, the chairman further challenged the world in general and the minority members in particular to point out unworthy projects. I quote from his statement to the House:

I want to ask the gentlemen of the minority, who submitted this report, to make good their contention that any one of these projects is unworthy and ought not to be included in this bill. * * * I challenge the gentlemen of the minority who have offered this report to do so, and I hope to have an opportunity of listening to them.

So much for Chairman SMALL's challenge.

It was shown at the outset of general debate that this pending bill was practically the 1916–17 bill that was then opposed by 132 votes in the House and failed to get reported out of the Senate committee last session. It was also shown that the pending bill, with four items otherwise provided for, or reduced, reaching an aggregate of over $9,000,000, deducted from the last bill, is substantially the same bill as the last pork-barrel measure. A few new projects have been dropped but scores of worthless maintenance items have been added under the novel grouping scheme to which reference will be made.

Four hundred and odd items in the bill, including nearly every objectionable item of the past, bob up, and yet the chairman challenges criticism.

WHY REFUSE TO TRUST THE PRESIDENT?

To meet this situation and brush aside the specious apologies and justifications for various items of pork contained throughout the bill, the minority members of the committee accepted the challenge of the chairman by offering to leave to the President of the United States the determination of every item. While this procedure would permit the Chief of Engineers to have a strong voice in such certifications, the action was taken on the advice of leading members of the administration who have advocated the plan of giving the President power to "strike out." Pursuant to the desire to cut out scores of wasteful items, the minority of the committee at the outset, on June 15 (pp. 3680 and 3681), offered the following amendment to the bill:

Provided, That no money shall be expended for the items of maintenance in this act unless the items are certified to by the President of the United States as necessary in his judgment for the commercial needs of the country or for the successful prosecution of the present war: *Provided further*, That no money shall be expended for the items or new projects, surveys, or for continuing improvements until and unless the items are certified to by the President of the United States as necessary, in his judgment, for the successful prosecution of the present war.

That amendment, which would have placed full power in the hands of the Executive to disallow any wasteful item, was defeated in the Committee of the Whole by a vote of 104 to 72 (p. 3682 of the RECORD). Immediately thereafter an amendment was offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey, supported by the minority members of the River and Harbor Committee. The amendment was as follows:

Provided, That during the continuance of the present war no money shall be expended except for necessary repair and preservation of existing public works or for construction and completion of works of immediate military necessity to be determined by the President.

That amendment was also defeated in the Committee of the Whole by a vote of 111 to 69 (p. 3682 of the RECORD of June 15). It is unnecessary to discuss the scope of either of those proposed amendments; both speak for themselves. In an effort to eliminate or materially reduce extravagance and waste the minority of the River and Harbor Committee endeavored to place full authority in the hands of the Executive, and so stated on the floor of the House, but the offer was voted down.

That was the answer of the minority, and should be the answer of all those who have not questionable items in the bill. The minority members, including a majority of the Republican members of the committee, offered to let the President decide on every specific project. That was an answer to the "challenge," and it is a matter of record that nearly every Democratic member of the River and Harbor Committee and a majority of the Democrats present in the House at the time, on a rising vote and also vote by tellers, refused to permit the President to strike out of the bill unworthy projects.

The country can form its own estimate of the bill when its proponents have not sufficient confidence in their own leader to permit him to strike out worthless items. Although surrounded by Secretary Redfield, Gen. Black, and other gentlemen who advocate and justify extravagant waterway projects, the minority offered to permit the President to strike out, and on that offer agreed to withhold further opposition or criticism of specific items. That proposal was opposed and voted down by Chairman SMALL and his associates on the committee.

LARGE BALANCES ARE AVAILABLE.

The minority, believing that $32,000,000 in balances on hand would abundantly provide for all existing projects and start any needed projects, recommended the defeat of this bill. It was denounced as a pork-barrel measure, and in support of these allegations in the minority report we agreed to permit the President to pass upon all items.

Notwithstanding the president of the national waterway lobby and the first vice president of the Inland Waterway Association, together with Secretary Redfield and Gen. Black, Chief of Engineers, would all have a voice close to the throne, the minority was willing to make the test, but that offer was turned down by the administration's political supporters. The result speaks for itself.

To discuss any single item in the bill intelligently requires more time than can be given under the five-minute rule, so that to discuss scores upon scores of worthless or extravagant items would be impossible under present methods of pork-barrel legislation.

SCORES OF WASTEFUL ITEMS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

For illustration, Col. Townsend, one of the ablest of all the Army engineers, has repeatedly stated that over 50 rivers and creeks in the Mississippi Valley ought to remain in "statu quo," to use his expression. Only channel work or maintenance should be kept up and extravagant improvement schemes should be stopped until the lower Mississippi and Ohio streams with existing deep channels have been utilized.

Townsend has more intimate knowledge of conditions on the Mississippi River than Gen. Black, who annually recommends millions for wasteful improvements. Practically all of these fifty-odd wasteful items are contained in the pending bill, including $1,000,000 for the lower Missouri land reclamation scheme, $1,200,000 for the upper Mississippi, $600,000 for the Cumberland, $400,000 for the Tennessee, and, in the judgment of many others, with equal force, $5,000,000 for the Ohio River.

No effort will be made to discuss any of these items, although in my extended remarks on June 11, contained in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, data and expert opinions, together with a half century's experience, were offered to show present extravagance and waste on the three largest rivers of the country.

OTHER WASTEFUL ITEMS.

What is said by Col. Townsend about 54 projects in the Mississippi Valley applies with equal force to scores of projects along the Atlantic coast and on the Gulf, including the celebrated Trinity, Brazos, Sabine, Oklawaha, Kissimmee, Congaree, Wateree, Altamaha, Scuppernong, Little Peedee, Big Peedee, Toms River, Raccoon Creek, and other Atlantic coast projects.

It is not contended that all of these projects are entirely worthless; some of them are; but Government expenditures have been wasteful and continue to be wasteful in proportion to the returns.

It is a matter of interest to discover that practically every project in the bill is supposed to be sponsored by some Member or group of Members coming from that particular section of the country. The Maine items are expected to be defended by Maine Members and the Pennsylvania items by Pennsylvania Members, and so on down the coast through North and South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California, and through the interior sections wherever a stream or rivulet has its source and awaits Government funds.

As a corollary every attempt to strike out or criticize items is taken as a personal affront by those most vitally interested, and the shape, character, and method of logrolling of the average pork barrel can best be understood from this fact. These waterway projects are not treated as national waterways, but as local property rights, while the general grab-bag policy instituted against the Public Treasury is manifested by those who wish to make a showing of serving their district or State.

Of course, this system is brought about by present omnibus methods of legislation, and will continue to exist as long as we persist in making waterway improvements an annual "pork" football wherein political considerations form the most important part of such legislation and are put through the posts by mass plays.

MEMBERS FOLLOW DEMANDS OF CONSTITUENTS.

Members carry out the wishes of their constituents, and it is a constant pull and haul on the engineers, on the committee, and finally on Congress to get specific items into the bill and then to get the bill passed. Woe to those who get in the way of the barrel if of sensitive dispositions or tender sensibilities. Members who would not swerve a hair from standards of individual honesty get behind the bill and of every objectionable

project in the bill, and that is the irresistible pressure exerted on this bill containing over 400 items scattered over three-fourths of the States of the Union.

For several days the pending bill has been discussed as a whole or by items before the House, and will again be up for consideration following the pending food-control bill. During discussion of the river and harbor bill inquiries have been made of different items. Heretofore many items have been specifically criticized, but as none can be struck from the bill only a few objectionable items have been pointed out during this debate.

THE INDEFENSIBLE GROUPING SYSTEM.

This bill contains many groups of items running from a half dozen in number to from 25 to 30, all in one group, and the Chief of Engineers is permitted to expend the whole amount on any single item of the group at his option. The effect of this new method of grouping is to prevent criticism of specific items as heretofore. For illustration, on June 15 the difficulty existing was pointed out in the following statement:

"Cold Spring and Absecon Inlets, Absecon and Tuckerton Creeks, and Toms River, N. J.: For maintenance, $35,000."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. This is an illustration of the bad policy of grouping various projects for maintenance concerning which criticism has been lodged against this bill. Here we have a paragraph containing some five separate items, three or more of which have no estimates, so far as I have been able to ascertain, for maintenance work during the coming year.

Absecon Inlet is referred to. Everyone who has visited Atlantic City knows something about Absecon Inlet and has noticed the dredge there engaged continuously at work in trying to keep open a 12-foot channel running from the ocean into the upper inlet, which dredging is necessary every time they have a storm there. It was originally projected in view of the establishment of a line of steamers from New York to Atlantic City, but that soon was found to be unprofitable and it was abandoned. As far as I know Absecon Inlet has no commerce to-day whatever, except some small sloops that can get in through the natural channel without the necessity of a 12-foot channel.

Thereafter on the same group I presented a further statement to demonstrate the purpose of this new system.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, ordinarily I present official reports and leave the House to draw its own conclusions. In the Cold Springs and Absecon Inlets and Toms River, N. J., items there is a balance of $75,000 shown to be on hand March 1, according to the balance sheets.

This item calls for $35,000, a small amount comparatively, for maintenance, but I desire to show how this money can be used on certain items.

Cold Springs Inlet will be found in Document No. 388, page 5. In the 1916 Engineer's Report, page 2083, he says that it is not practicable to obtain any commercial statistics for Cold Springs Inlet in 1915. Yet we have appropriated $961,200 for that project to date.

That was the report made on that project several years ago; and this last year, after spending over $900,000, there is no commerce developed or reported. Engineer Flagler said, on page 5 of the same document, that the improvement "will increase the attractive features of Cape May to visitors, and a good harbor would doubtless have a very advantageous effect. It would also permit the resumption of yacht races, which at one time they had at Cape May and which form one of the most attractive features of the season." That is the Army engineer's report concerning commercial necessities of Cold Springs Inlet.

Now coming to Absecon Inlet, which had about 5,000 tons of commerce this last year, the engineer said, in the former report, that there was going to be a large profit through saving of freight rates when the project was completed.

On page 7 of Document No. 1395 it was estimated by the engineer that they would save $502,000 annually in freight rates on the tonnage on this project when the project was completed. It is completed now, and how much tonnage did we have last year? Five thousand two hundred and thirty-five tons. They were going to save a half million dollars in freight expenses annually, and yet only 5,000 tons of freight were handled altogether in 1915.

Let us take Toms River, another project. The engineers said in regard to that—

"Toms River is located on one of the principal automobile lines of travel. Dredging it to a suitable depth would increase the traffic, owing to the ease with which owners could communicate with the yachts at this point."

They could come down with their automobiles and get out on the yachts; that was an important consideration. Four thousand nine hundred and ninety tons was the amount of commerce on Toms River in 1915. So, here are three items in the grouping system—Cold Spring Inlet, Absecon Inlet, and Toms River—all of a kind, apparently. I have not spoken of the grouping system before, but how can any Member take that grouping system as proposed and ascertain what money is to be used and where? The Chief of Engineers can use it on any one of these projects, which now have balances of $75,000, and none of which are necessary for any commercial needs or possess any value in proportion to the money that has been expended on them.

Neither Absecon Inlet, Cold Spring Inlet, nor Toms River will stand the light of investigation, but these three items on the New Jersey coast are grouped with others in the pending bill and under the new plan can never be eliminated from such bills as long as the present Chief of Engineers and existing policy governs such bills.

NEARLY 30 ITEMS IN ONE GROUP.

In order to make known this feature of the bill, I quote further from the debate of June 16:

The Clerk read as follows:

"Rockhall, Queenstown, Claiborne, Tilghman Island, Cambridge, and Crisfield Harbors, Elk and Little Elk, Chester, Corsica, Choptank, Tuckahoe, Warwick, La Trappe, Tred Avon, Wicomico, Manokin, and Pocomoke Rivers, Slaughter, Tyaskin, and Broad Creeks, Twitch Cove and Big Thoroughfare River, and Lower Thoroughfare, Deal Island, Md.; Nanticoke River (including Northwest Fork), Del. and Md.; and Broad Creek River, Del.: For maintenance, $15,800."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I invite the attention of the committee——

Mr. SMALL. Is there any motion pending?

Mr. FREAR. I move to strike out the last word. I invite the attention of the committee to this paragraph of the bill which has just been read by the Clerk. Heretofore the statement has been made to the House that it will not be difficult to move to strike out certain items from this grouping system wherever they occur, whenever it is the disposition of the House to do so. I point out here that about 30 items are placed in this group, which never before have been grouped together, with a $50,000 balance remaining to their credit substantially. According to the bottom of page 8 of the bill, substantially 30 items are grouped, while heretofore some of these items have been criticized in the House. I do not propose to enter into any discussion with regard to the individual items now, but I call the attention of the House to the fact that no one hereafter will ever be able to challenge one of these items when it appears in this bill, nor in any other grouping system can you challenge a single item. When it is placed in the bill it stays there. No matter whether it may be worthless, no matter whether there is no commerce on the stream, the money may be poured in there, as we have seen in so many cases, without any return whatever to the public, and we continue to pay that money without an opportunity to know where the money is going or how to get rid of the objectionable items.

Here are 30 items strung all along the coast in this neighborhood and grouped, and some of them have been already criticized. This is only one evidence of the system in which you have covered up for all time any effort hereafter to get after these specific items or to show up the character of them because the appropriation goes to the total and the engineers can give it to any item they choose.

As I stated early in the discussion, in the case of the Toms River and in the case of Cold Springs Inlet and two or three other items that were in that group, the most of which will not stand the light of day, the Army engineers can turn the money over in the same way. It is said, "Oh, yes: you can pick them out: you can move to strike out," but you can not move to strike out unless you have before the committee the amount of money that is to be expended on the item. So I say that the Army engineers have succeeded in preparing a bill which I have no doubt will be followed in the future, and which will prevent striking out of any items by the House.

One further item discussed gives another phase of this grouping system. In the discussion of the bill on June 16 occurs the following:

The Clerk read as follows:

"St. Johns River, Fla., Jacksonville to the ocean, opposite the city of Jacksonville, Jacksonville to Palatka, and Palatka to Lake Harney, Lake Crescent and Dunns Creek, and Oklawaha River, Fla.: For maintenance, $335,000."

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that all debate on this paragraph and amendments thereto close in seven minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not know that I care to ask for five minutes, but I wish to ask the chairman this: We have adopted the grouping system, which has been discussed in several cases, but I can not understand the purpose of the group on the bottom of page 13. On the St. Johns River, Fla., there are several different portions of the river included, and the lower portion of the river has a balance of $239,276 uncontracted for, and $15,000 is for the next item and $16,000 for another item. The Oklawaha River is joined with this group. What is the reason for joining the Oklawaha River in a grouping system of that kind, if the chairman has the information? I know the engineers have assumed charge of this, but what possible reason could they have for that method of grouping and for giving for maintenance $335,000, all of which, of course, might possibly be expended on the Oklawaha River? Of course that would not be likely, but that is a possibility.

Mr. SMALL. I will state that the Oklawaha River empties into the St. Johns River, and that gives it a direct connection with it, and makes the grouping consistent, and of the appropriation $330,000 is for the St. Johns River from Jacksonville to the sea and $5,000 for the maintenance of the Oklawaha.

Mr. FREAR. It would be possible under this grouping system for the Army engineers to use any portion or all of that $335,000, if they desire, on any of these projects, including the Oklawaha River.

WATERWAYS, REAL AND IMAGINARY.

In this connection it may be well to say that after an expenditure of $98,000 by the Government on the Oklawaha, the 1915 commerce is given (p. 2302, Rept. 1916) as 29,393 tons, of which 27,624 tons was floating logs or cheap freight, on the average of 1,769 tons on the whole river, up and down. This amount is less than 5 tons per day, and such statistics are not likely to be underestimated by the interested parties along the bank who furnish the "statistics."

Army engineers have authorized a new project for this river of $733,000, although its present commerce is practically nothing, and under the pending bill we are to place in the hands of Army engineers $335,000 for maintenance of several streams, all of which, under authority conferred in the bill, could be spent on the Oklawaha.

I do not question the integrity of Army engineers nor their disposition to do exactly what Congress expects, but I do know that a distinguished statesman at the other end of the Capitol persuaded the engineers to reverse their position on the Oklawaha, as shown by the official document, and since this bill has been before the House for discussion a gentleman from Florida has assured me that the Senate will again insert the Oklawaha $733,000 new item in the pending bill. With an indefensible system of grouping as disclosed and Congressmen or Senators demanding that generous slices of pork shall be given to some particular community in the group, it is not hard to discover

what disposition of funds may be made under that authority. Neither will it be hard to discover that under the grouping system, first undertaken to any particular extent in this pending bill, no further effort can be successful in attempting to strike worthless or wasteful items from such bills.

No attempt will be made in the brief time or space afforded to discuss at length the items in the bill which have caused the minority of the committee to recommend its defeat. Several items will be briefly referred to because of particular significance, and are only taken from among many that have been repeatedly exposed in the past.

A $12,000,000 TO $20,000,000 CANAL ITEM.

In its report the minority said as follows regarding the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal item contained in the bill:

The appropriation of $1,300,000 for the purchase of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is omitted, but a clause ultimately much more expensive is added by the item authorizing the condemnation of this obsolete waterway. The minority feel that the House should have a thorough understanding of what the condemnation of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal really means. For many years an effort has been made to have this project assumed by the Government. It is a canal 13 miles long, supposedly having a depth of 9 feet which, if taken over by the Government, will mean an expenditure of from $8,000,000 to $12,000,000, or possibly more, in order to secure a depth of 12 feet. A wide stretch of imagination must be used to argue that this can possibly contribute to the present national emergency. It is a part of the so-called intercoastal waterways for which strong influences have been at work. Congress has already adopted portions of this system, and if by influential persuasion from time to time additional sections are adopted, the proponents of the proposition will feel they can consistently argue that the whole system should be connected up by adoption of the final links. Untold millions are involved in this ambitious project. The minority urge that it should not be countenanced by the purchase of this canal as a war measure. It would be a splendid opportunity for owners of worthless stock and depreciated bonds to dispose of them to the Government that helped build this canal, but such financing is no part of the Government's war emergencies.

That is the minority opinion expressed in its report on this link of the intercoastal system. The 13-mile canal link may eventually cost $20,000,000, depending on depth and according to increased costs of construction, while the system of which it is proposed to be a part will eventually involve the Government in an expenditure of from $100,000,000 to double or triple that amount, depending upon the depth provided for innumerable and useless canal "links."

It must be borne in mind that the president of the Interwaterway Association is a distinguished, able, and persistent Member of the House on the Republican side, while the first vice president of that same association is the distinguished chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, whose influence with his Democratic colleagues may be measured from the importance of his position on the committee. All intercoastal measures proposed in river and harbor bills have the vigorous and sustained support of these two gentlemen, and that support was directly enlisted when the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal item was attacked in the House.

When this canal item was reached, which contemplates an eventual expenditure of several million dollars for condemnation of this private canal, a point of order was made against its inclusion in the bill. The point was discussed for an hour or more. In ruling the Chairman, Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi, one of the able parliamentarians of the House, said, "The Chair's own district is vitally interested in the inland waterway proposition." But he ruled, according to precedents, that the River and Harbor Committee had no jurisdiction over canals, and that the item should be sent to the committee having jurisdiction of canals.

That ruling was opposed vigorously by the distinguished gentlemen who have been mentioned, and the decision of the Chair, although based on all precedents, was overturned by a vote of 55 to 42, and on a demand for tellers the Chair's decision was set aside and the item retained in the bill by a vote of 64 to 40.

OVERRULING THE CHAIR TO SECURE AN APPROPRIATION.

I quote the statement of an able parliamentarian of the House, Mr. LENROOT, which was made during that discussion. He said:

I want to make this one observation: Criticisms have been made of certain items in the bill. Other criticisms will be made, no doubt, * * * but if the supporters of this bill are so desperate and the decision of the Chair upon a question of parliamentary law, which is undoubtedly correct, is overruled, it will demonstrate to the country beyond peradventure that this bill is not being considered on its merits, and that whenever there is a piece of pork in it they are willing to violate the rules of the House in order to keep pork in it.

After the vote the following significant observation was further made by the same gentleman, Mr. LENROOT:

What has just transpired in this committee in overruling the decision of the Chair would not have happened on any other bill than a river and harbor bill. * * * It is no secret that many Members of this committee voted to overrule the decision of the Chair fearing that their own items might suffer if they did not do so.

That is the parliamentary procedure accompanying this pork-barrel bill and the result was sure and certain, irrespective of parliamentary usage or the rules of the House.

A motion was then made to strike out the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal item. Upon that motion the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] said:

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I was interested and somewhat amused the other day when the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] characterized this item as being rotten, and the criticism was taken as a personal affront by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], who at once defended it; and he became so bitter in his criticism I thought we ought to look into the history of this item a little and see whether or not it was above reproach, whether or not there was anything rotten in this item, whether all of the transactions connected with the canal it is proposed to purchase were straight and legitimate. So I got a copy of this letter of the Secretary of War, and what do you suppose I found? I find here that the men in charge of this canal, of a concern where 38 per cent of the stock was paid for out of the Treasury of the United States, and is now owned by the Government, had stolen or permitted to be stolen $609,000 of the bonds of this canal, and the company owning the canal and the Government owns 38 per cent of the stock in this company, is now paying interest upon that amount of bonds that were spirited away, and now we are about to appropriate money, we do not know how much, ten of twelve million dollars, and the fellows who got those bonds will get $609,000 out of the Treasury of the United States for the bonds for which not a dollar, according to this report, was ever paid to the canal company.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does not gentleman know that that whole matter was thoroughly investigated by a Senate committee?

Mr. GOOD. I know that whole matter was thoroughly investigated by a commission appointed by Congress to investigate it, and the secretary of the company in his letter says that the total bonds of the company amount to $2,609,000, and that there was included a fraudulent overissue of $609,000.

And yet the gentleman from Pennsylvania complains because the gentleman from Illinois used the mild term of "rotten" when referring to the very rotten canal transaction, a transaction which the secretary of the company itself characterizes as fraudulent.

Thereafter the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] said forcefully of this bankrupt canal item:

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, this scheme we are about to vote upon very soon now was conceived in iniquity and sin, and it is still iniquitous, and still rotten, and still undeserving, and now we are to purify it by the expenditure of millions of dollars out of the Treasury of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. SMALL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMALL. Can not the gentleman possibly be serious while indulging in those violent adjectives? [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. I will say to the gentleman from North Carolina I never was more serious in my life, and never more serious in my purpose to expose the iniquity involved in this nefarious enterprise, never more serious in my purpose to prevent the consummation of an iniquity, than I am in my purpose to defeat this rotten measure. Does the gentleman think that is serious enough? [Laughter.] If he thinks I am not sufficiently serious, I will say a few more things that are still more serious. Is the gentleman serious in his endeavor to foist this rotten incubus onto the Treasury of the United States? Does he believe that this wart, known as an inland waterway, sought to be purchased on the recommendation of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL], chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, is justified as an emergency war measure?

THE CANAL OF NO VALUE FOR SHIP-CANAL PURPOSES.

It may be unnecessary to add more to this record, but I append a further statement made by myself in the discussion of this $20,000,000 canal item:

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, my colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] made a remark about his surprise in regard to the appeal of the committee from the decision of the Chair a few moments ago by this committee. We have had two very surprising demonstrations by the committee during the last two days—that of yesterday, when the committee refused to accept the President of the United States as the arbitrator to determine what are war measures in this bill, and this item would have come within that description or category if it had been acceptable to the President; second, after you gentlemen of the committee had failed to put confidence in the Executive by permitting him to pass upon these various items, you have to-day overruled the decision of the Chair on a parliamentary proposition in favor of this $20,000,000 canal, as it will eventually prove to be. In the report—I am reading now from Document 215 of the Fifty-ninth Congress—the report of the Government officers who made the investigation of this 13-mile canal it is said on page 20:

"The value of the work of the present canal as a part of a ship canal is relatively very small and has not been estimated." It is of no value as a commercial or as a naval proposition for a ship canal; and yet we are putting in all these millions to buy what? An old rotten and rotting canal. I know what it is; a canal that has not paid a dollar of dividends to the United States in 40 years, during which time we have placed $450,000 in there; a canal that only paid small dividends for 11 years during a period of nearly 80 years; with stocks now valueless and bonds below par—a bankrupt proposition, a canal that to-day is barely going and does not carry one-half the commerce carried a half century ago.

Before the Senate committee the other day Admiral Benson appeared as a witness. If anyone would be strongly in favor of this proposition, it would be gentlemen who have at heart the naval interests of the Government. Because of the heavy appropriations required for the war he did not consider this canal of value at the present time. He suggested that this canal might be bought in the future.

Secretary Redfield told the committee that it would require $35,000,000 to get several of these propositions, and Admiral Benson, who was interested if any man can be in looking after the naval interests of this Government, says that it is not of importance at this time.

A LONG TIME IN MAKING A WATERWAY.

It would take from 5 to 10 years or more to make it a real although useless waterway.

Think of the proposition. The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole is overruled on a plain parliamentary proposition in order to commit the Government to the purchase of a bankrupt canal, with valueless stock and depreciated bonds, at a cost of several million dollars, a canal that is of no value as a ship canal and could not be completed in order to be used by the lightest-draft naval vessels for many years to come.

The proposition involves an eventual expenditure of possibly $20,000,000 for this 13-mile canal, and that is one of the items contained in the bill, by setting aside the rules of the House, a method of keeping it in the bill.

The principal officers of the Inland Waterway Association have made good their determination to fasten that bankrupt canal on the Government, but I doubt if it will ever be permitted to become law.

I have offered statements made on the floor not in an effort to discuss the demerits of the canal proposition but to show the general situation surrounding this particular item.

FORCING EXTRAVAGANT AMENDMENTS FOR WORTHLESS PROJECTS.

In order to further demonstrate legislative methods accompanying this river and harbor bill, I take up another item that was under consideration on June 16 and quote from the RECORD:

The Clerk read as follows:

"Winyah Bay, Waccamaw, Little Pedee, and Great Peedee Rivers, S. C.: For maintenance, $70,000.

"Santee, Wateree, and Congaree Rivers, S. C.: For maintenance, including the Estherville-Minim Creek Canal and the Congaree River as far up as the Gervais Street Bridge, Columbia, and for improvement of the Congaree River in accordance with the report submitted in House Document No. 702, Sixty-third Congress, second session, $30,000."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I do it with better satisfaction because I know that the gentleman who is interested in the new project on the Congaree River is present.

Lines 13 and 14 of the bill contain items which have been criticized heretofore, and I shall not refer to them, excepting to say that on the Little Pedee River there was spent for office expenses last year $739, and nothing was spent for actual improvement, according to the report of the Army engineers.

The Congaree River has had spent upon it thus far something like $668,298, and $1,268,000 for the Congaree, Santee, and Wateree combined. After all that expenditure of money we have secured 4,000 tons of commerce each year on an average. On page 3 of the document the engineer says:

"I therefore report that the further improvement by the United States of the Congaree River, S. C., is deemed advisable to the extent of maintaining a 4-foot navigable channel by dredging, assisted by properly designed bank protection, and recommend that this protection be provided first at Congaree and Gill Creek, and that $10,000 be provided in one appropriation for that purpose, together with $10,000 annually for the operation of the dredge now owned by the work, and for other necessary maintenance."

In the hearings that were held upon this proposition—and I have them before me—the engineer, Col. Newcomer, stated it was not deemed advisable to go on with this improvement at this time; but subsequently, it seems, gentlemen interested in the project went before the committee and it was inserted. It is inserted in this war measure. Let us see what we have before us in that proposition.

It is stated on page 8 of the document that at present "nothing which could be described as terminal facilities in the usual meaning of those terms are on the river." There is only an ordinary river landing with a small tent to protect freight; and that is true at Columbia.

Now, we have spent over $600,000 on this stream, and here we are called upon to spend $100,000 more for the purpose, apparently, of revetment work along the banks.

A COSTLY OLD STERN-WHEELER.

That is the report of the board, and the improved facilities for navigation consist of one stern-wheeler, according to the engineers' report, which made last year 36 trips, and in the last three years has averaged about 4,000 tons of commerce annually. After an appropriation of $600,000 for this river during past years we are asked to spend $100,000 more, in addition to $30,000 through this war-measure waterway bill.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate may close in seven minutes, two minutes to be occupied by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to add to what I have stated, because I simply read from the report. I do desire to read what Col. Newcomer stated to the committee, which may be of interest in regard to this item. When $30,000 was mentioned as a maintenance item, Mr. TREADWAY said to the colonel, "May I ask the immediate need for this appropriation?" and the colonel replied:

"Col. NEWCOMER. This is mainly for use on the Congaree River. You know that from Columbia out they are maintaining a barge line, and the Columbia merchants claim, of course, that it is a matter of great importance for them to have that barge line in operation, and this is mainly for maintenance work on the Congaree River. In the last bill there was an additional improvement authorized, but we left that out because we thought it was not sufficiently urgent."

That is the statement of the engineer before the committee. I do not question the interest and the anxiety of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], but I am making this statement for the benefit of this committee, to show the lack of necessity for this project at this time. That is the testimony placed before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors which you are now asked to set aside.

Thereupon the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] arose to defend this particular proposition and, heaping injury upon injury, offered an amendment increasing the maintenance item from $30,000 to $80,000 in addition to the $100,000 item previously mentioned. On this amendment I offered additional official testimony, but the committee overturned the feeble protest of the chairman and voted in the entire $180,000, in addition to $668,298 heretofore appropriated, for a river or creek that only has one stern-wheel boat, making 36 trips a year, and which, after an expenditure of some $668,000 by the Government, returns about 4,000 tons of miscellaneous traffic annually, or about one or two good trainloads. And yet the chairman of the committee challenges the minority to produce a single item in the bill that is not proper or necessary.

OPPOSITION TO SUCH BILLS IS NOT SECTIONAL.

In this connection it is well to remember that the distinguished Senator from South Carolina first denounced these river and harbor bills as "humbugs and steals." It is also worthy of remark that the same statesman from the old South State has consistently opposed such bills during recent years.

In the same connection I quote the clean-cut statement of another gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES], who said during debate in reference to the pending bill:

I have voted against every river and harbor bill for the last four years, but never before have I raised my voice in protest. But you have exceeded the speed limit, and I now wish to protest against it in time of war. I not only protest against it, but the people of America will protest against it, and they will be justified.

That sentiment is offered to the gentleman from North Carolina, who talks about the "bar of public opinion." Opposition to these bills is growing and is not sectional, and I commend the opinions of the Senator from South Carolina and the gentleman from the same State [Mr. BYRNES] when it is pretended that opposition to these bills is sectional.

I pass over many items in the bill that neither invite confidence from a war or commercial standpoint. From the fact that none of these items are believed to be of sufficient importance to require the passage of a bill at this time, according to the minority, it will be understood that none require appropriations in addition to the balances now on hand.

PROJECTS INSERTED AS "WAR MEASURES."

An item of $66,000 for the mouth of the Brazos River and $150,000 for Freeport Harbor, or $216,000, is urged as a military necessity. It is difficult to set forth the facts regarding this item in a few words but to claim it is a military necessity is to discount ordinary judgment of men in or out of Congress.

Document No. 1469, Sixty-third Congress, third session, is relied upon to sustain the claim. It may be well to know that $956,264 has thus far been appropriated for the mouth of the Brazos, near which Freeport is located (p. 2499, 1916 report), and a balance of $161,890 uncontracted was on hand March 1 last. A commerce in 1915 is reported of 149,335 tons, including 58,208 tons of sulphur valued at $1,164,160. In favor of the item it is urged we must dig the Brazos River up to the village of Freeport in order to help ship sulphur, because sulphur is necessary for munitions of war.

It appears that a channel at the mouth of the river 18 feet deep at low water has been completed and in existence for years and that depth has been maintained by the Government (p. 968, 1916 report). Engineers now recommend $455,000 for a deeper channel to include operation of a dredge with an initial appropriation of $255,000 and $100,000 annually thereafter.

Quoting from page 2 of Document No. 1469:

Such a dredge will probably be sufficient to provide a reasonably permanent channel about 22 feet in depth from the jetties up to the present wharf *and leave some time which can be devoted to the maintenance of the intercoastal canal adjacent to the river and perhaps for such extension of the project upstream toward the town of Freeport as may be found desirable.*

The italics are not in the report.

Briefly, it is proposed to spend $455,000 for a new project and $100,000 annually thereafter for maintenance, ostensibly to dredge the mouth of the Brazos 4 feet but also for work on a shallow intercoastal canal and to dredge the Brazos River 6 miles or more up to Freeport, from its present depth of 10 feet to 22 feet.

Under the proposed authority engineers acting on the urgent advice of the locality, can use the money practically as they see fit on any waterway.

AN EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT—NOT A WAR MEASURE.

Gen. Black, the present Chief of Engineers, as senior member of the board recommends the project on pages 6 and 7.

On page 6 of Document No. 1469 he says:

This project (22 feet) should be considered tentative and in a sense experimental, and its continuance should depend upon the commercial and navigation developments during a period of three years after the plant has been put in operation. The cost of maintenance is high, and it is believed that work should not be continued beyond that time unless a commerce of considerable magnitude shall have been developed.

And it is recommended as an urgency war project.

That is the same general language adopted for Absecon Inlet and many other projects, although Army engineers know that when once adopted the locality, through its Representative, never permits a project to be abandoned, while the present situation on the Brazos River, Trinity, Arkansas, and other similar projects shows a failure of commerce to develop and refusal of Congress to abandon worthless waterway projects. This project is urged because of sulphur mines near Freeport, a new town about 6 miles above deep water, but Freeport wants to be brought down to the sea. An attached map in the document shows that for years vessels have loaded at the railway wharf down on the river several miles below Freeport and Velasco. A railway brings sulphur and other freight down to the wharf, to deep water, whereas a crooked stream some 6 miles in length and 10 feet deep must be dredged out to give Freeport a river or harbor.

At the time of the last census Velasco was a small village of less than a thousand people, while Freeport was unknown according to the official reports, but Freeport now wants a harbor 6 miles up the river, and because sulphur mines are near Freeport and sulphur is being shipped from railway terminals down the river at deep water Army engineers urge this project as a war measure.

Increased depth at the mouth of the river for boats of larger draft presents a question similar to that on the James River, where the same relative depths present and proposed occur, but the effort to include the intercoastal canal and a 22-foot river up to Freeport is of a different character.

POLITICAL PULL INVOLVED.

Document No. 1469 is illuminating because it contains resolutions from 25 or 30 towns scattered from Coffeyville, Kans., to Kansas City, Mo., which all resolute in favor of Freeport Harbor according to page 32. Some 20 or more of these resolutions are printed in full in the Engineer document, and the identical language employed in many of the resolutions shows how systematic and thorough has been the publicity bureau located at Freeport.

In every resolution the Senators and Representatives from Texas and other neighboring States are instructed to work for Freeport, and inferentially any bill that contains the Freeport item.

A generous Government has thus far appropriated $1,991,192 for the Brazos River, in addition to $956,000 near the mouth of the river and a few hundred thousands on intersecting canals near the river.

After appropriating nearly $2,000,000 for the Brazos River proper we are informed by the Engineers Report, 1916, pages 2501 and 2502, that "no commercial statistics are obtainable" and "no freight is carried on this section of the river," on which a million and a half dollars has been expended by the Government. Like a pork sausage the familiar answer is offered that a few more "links" are necessary. The balance remaining available on the Brazos River and mouth, uncontracted for on March 1, was $372,432. That will meet pressing needs on this "project."

Mr. Callaway, a Texas Congressman, began dissecting the annual pork-barrel bill back in 1913. His criticisms of the Trinity, Brazos, and intercoastal canal, in Texas, are familiar to many Members, but in order to furnish direct evidence of the character of the Brazos River, disclosed by a Texas Member, his testimoney before the House is again submitted.

BRAZOS RIVER.

When a previous bill was up, about a year ago, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Callaway, at page 6495, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 7, 1916, made the following comment on the Brazos and Trinity Rivers:

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I am acquainted with the Brazos River. I and mine have been acquainted with it as long as Mr. Guyler, and we know it nearly as well. Our friends from Texas, if they do not get appropriations for the Brazos, Trinity, and Red Rivers, would not vote for the intercoastal canal. [Laughter.]

Let us look at the Brazos. As I said when I was talking about the Trinity, I am not partial to the Brazos. It is as good as many other projects in the bill. It is as good as the Trinity, and they look alike. They are both infinitely better than the intercoastal canal.

From the mouth of the Brazos to old Washington we have spent $425,462.15. From old Washington to Waco, the present head of navigation—from old Washington to Waco we have spent up to the present time $1,350,654.74.

Mr. TREADWAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Has the gentleman any explanation of what we have got for the amount we have expended?

Mr. CALLAWAY. You had a Congressman here for 18 years. [Laughter.] My colleague [Mr. Henry] could say, like the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], of the Mississippi River, that he knows it is navigable because he has navigated it time and time again to Congress. [Laughter.] Now, we have expended up to the present time on these sections $1,776,116.89, and we are asked to appropriate $215,000 additional on that proposition, making $1,900,000, in round numbers, that we have spent on the Brazos River up to the present time. Let us see what they say about the commerce. The Engineer's report says:

"No freight is now carried on this section of the river. There can be no commercial effect of the improvement until it is completed."

Mr. Chairman, it is estimated that it will cost about $10,000,000. They have been at work on it for 15 years. They have spent up to the present time about $2,000,000. In 15 years if they have spent $2,000,000, and no traffic can go up the river until it is completed, and if we work in the future as we have in the past we will spend $10,000,000 in five times 15 years, or 75 years, from the time it was begun, or 60 years yet.

About the same proposition applies to the Trinity. It is estimated to cost $10,000,000, and, according to the way they are working at it, it will take 41 years yet to complete it.

Children of the men who are getting the appropriation for the river may see this project completed. A large part of the time there is no water in the river to furnish navigation, even if they had locks and dams.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman wish the House to understand that there is no water in either the Trinity or the Brazos?

SPENDING $2,000,000 FOR "WATER AT TIMES."

Mr. CALLAWAY. Oh, there is some water. You can find water at times. [Laughter.] Here is an interesting letter concerning the Brazos put into the RECORD April 7, 1916, by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR]. The writer, Mr. Guyler, is president of a bank, as well as vice president of other banks, and connected with other business interests:

WALLIS, TEX., *January 26, 1916.*

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Noticing in the press your attitude respecting appropriations toward improvement of various streams and more particularly those applying to the Brazos and Trinity Rivers of Texas, I felt constrained to write you expressing my complete approval of your course. I am a native Texan, born and raised within 2 miles of the Brazos River; am 50 years old. My father and myself have owned land bordering on the Brazos for 58 years. I now own one tract which borders river for about 3 miles. I beg your pardon for mentioning these items. It is done to evidence my familiarity with the subject. The Brazos is an alluvial-banked stream; easily caves in banks. The work the Government has done and is doing is so utterly useless that it is contemptible and farcical, and apart from the absolute, complete, total, utter waste of such appropriations; engineers have made regulations which are costing the people along the banks of said streams large sums of money.

I will mention two. If I should put in a ferry, I have to raise my cable 60 feet above low water; 40 feet ordinarily would do. This additional height necessitates longer cables and stronger and more costly posts for elevating. The same applies to bridges. It has cost the people of Fort Bend County at least $40,000 excess to erect four bridges across the river, and this same expense will apply to every bridge and ferry from the mouth to Waco. The reason given for this is to allow height sufficient to clear steamboats. Now, I have lived on Brazos for 50 years and my father since 1858, and never in all that time has there ever been a steamboat either up or down, except the Government snag boat and possibly one or two small gasoline boats sent out by Waco boosters to prove the navigability of the stream. I am not a civil engineer, but I believe it would be cheaper to dig a canal from the Gulf to Waco than attempt to deepen the Brazos; and if an honest capable engineer would investigate, without being wined and feted by those interested, it would be overwhelmingly defeated. Our politicians seemed to be governed by those who make the loudest noise, and the common people have no horns or bands or champions.

I wish you every success. No patriotic American can continue to support such heartless graft. We educate our children that it is proper and commendable to steal from the Government. You are welcome to use my name.

Yours, respectfully, R. W. GUYLER.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to the people of Texas that here is an honest man, a man who shows statesmanship, for his home country, and will be a good candidate, in view of the vacancy which may occur, as I am informed, in that district. [Applause.]

EDUCATING CHILDREN TO STEAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

I call attention not only to the judgment of Representative Callaway of Texas, regarding the Brazos River, but to the voluntary letter of President R. W. Guyler, of the Wallis bank and other banks, when he says:

No patriotic American can continue to support such heartless graft. We educate our children that it is proper and commendable to steal from the Government. You are welcome to use my name.

R. W. GUYLER.

Mr. Guyler says the Brazos River project is a steal and heartless graft. Congressman Callaway, of the same State, gives a similar estimate, and Senator TILLMAN characterizes such bills as humbugs and steals.

I commend the judgment of these gentlemen to those who profess to believe opposition to such waste is sectional.

The appropriation of $216,000 for Freeport Harbor is no worse than the attempt in the next succeeding item, page 18 of the bill, to transfer $398,700 on hand for the Ouachita from one useless lock to another on that river, while the "sulphur immediately" argument is of the same character and equally unjustified when it appears in the $230,000 new project appropriation on the Mermentau Canal (p. 16) which involves $460,000 more for "sulphur."

These items can not be specifically discussed in 5 or 10 minutes, but before leaving the sulphuric smell accompanying these items, I quote from Document No. 705, Sixty-fourth Congress, page 11, affecting the Mermentau Canal, referred to in the minority report:

The operators of the large sulphur mine at Sulphur, La., it is understood, contemplate the dredging of a feeder canal at their own expense * * * in case the canal is widened or deepened.

And on such flimsy basis $460,000 more is to be put into a hopeless canal that has thus far absorbed over $700,000—pages 2456 and 2459, 1916 report—and in the pending bill carries $230,000 more for a proposition that smells violently of sulphur without any connecting feeder canal to dissipate the odor.

THE MINORITY REPORT ON A LOS ANGELES $1,000,000 PROJECT.

In the minority report filed by Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa, seven members of the River and Harbor Committee subscribe to a statement, page 2, that the bill contains "an indefinite amount for Los Angeles and Richmond, Cal., both of which last-named harbors show very decided appearances of reclamation schemes."

A member of the committee from California takes vigorous exception to so much of the above as relates to Los Angeles and arraigned the minority for a claimed misstatement, and incidentally berated the entire Republican Party for its opposition evidenced against "pork-barrel" bills. The pointed suggestion that Los Angeles and California may secede from the Republican Party permanently if such opposition continues is respectfully referred to those who are piloting the party's fortunes. If the allowance or rejection of pork or even legitimate appropriations is to control the political preferences of California, providence has an important work to do in California. If any Member supports this bill because appropriations are to be given to his particular section, that standard of politics, whether Republican or Democratic, will not serve to influence those who oppose this bill.

It is improper to state how the minority report was prepared, or that the first knowledge of the specific Los Angeles criticism came from other members of the minority, but I am not willing to say this item or the Richmond Harbor item are proper items in this bill or in any bill, and, believing that official documents should be offered to determine the character of projects, I refer to Document No. 462, Sixty-fourth Congress, which was not examined, however, until after this bill was reached in general debate.

IS IT A RECLAMATION OR DRAINAGE PROJECT?

The Los Angeles item, on page 24 of the bill, proposes an estimated cost to the United States of $1,080,000 to protect Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, Cal., "from the deposit of silt." Page 3, Document No. 462.

Referring to the map accompanying the document, it appears the Government is to divert the waters of neighboring streams by dams or dikes under what is known as "plan D."

This proposed Government dam and diversion channel begins about 5 miles east of Long Beach and does not reach within 30 miles of the city of Los Angeles. The dam thence extends back into the country about 15 miles to the village of Dominguez, on the Southern Pacific Railway, and about 10 miles from the sea, forming a dike or dam around the village of Long Branch and covering approximately 100 square miles of protected territory and property.

Reading from page 31, Document No. 462:

> In this connection it should be added that the lands crossed by the diversion will in general be enhanced in value through the drainage afforded to the water-logged areas, the leaching out of the alkali, the opportunity afforded for proper irrigation at flood times in place of damaging inundation, and the silt which may be drawn upon the lands from the canal as desired during floods.

On page 2 the Acting Chief of Engineers says the canal and dam are important because—

> the floods are thus destructive to the ranches by denuding them or by depositing sand, gravel, or bowlders upon their improved lands.

On page 34 Col. Rees, a reclamation authority, says:

> The plan now suggested is based upon the proposition that it is desirable to bring all the flood waters into one channel at the highest possible point—10 to 15 miles inland—and confine them in that channel all the way to an outlet in the sea at Alamitous Bay, and thus protect all the lower country from floods.

Other references in the document appear relating to the general benefits to be incurred by business and private interests irrespective of navigation.

On page 49 of the document appear repeated statements of engineers and chiefs of engineers rejecting the proposal to place this burden upon the Government.

On page 73—January 27, 1915—a United States Senator, two Members of Congress, one Congressman elect, and a dozen other prominent gentlemen came before Col. Black and the board and offered expert evidence that persuaded the obdurate engineer's department that dikes were desirable, even though constructed at Government expense.

HERE ARE THE ITEMS PROPOSED FOR NAVIGATION.

Eventually the engineers surrendered, and on page 30 they agree to build the dam and suggest that it be used as an elevated macadamized oiled road. On page 7 is given a statement of the items of Government expense needed to help "navigation":

Dam	$134,542
Cut east of railroad	544,440
Two levees	131,333
One other levee	44,667
Bank protection on curves	50,000
Dam protection	34,066
Contingencies, 15 per cent	141,514
Total	1,080,009

Possibly the Government has built levees 15 miles inland elsewhere along the coast to protect cities and villages from surface waters. If so, the further possibilities of draining the Government Treasury are infinite. When it was proposed to expend $18,700,000 for Muscle Shoals to help navigation the project looked like such a stupendous fraud that Congress refused to adopt the project, but I doubt if any project will be found from Portland, Me., to Portland, Oreg., where the Government in the name of "navigation" has built a dam 10 miles into the country to protect a community from surface water. Undoubtedly the project takes added importance from the fact that the top is to be oiled and macadamized for highway purposes, but after an examination of the official engineer's document I submit the minority report, so severely criticized because of its allusion to the Los Angeles projects, is correct and understates manifest objections to this surface-water protection dam to be erected with a terminal 5 miles away from Long Beach Harbor and as far from Los Angeles as a land-reclamation project is from navigation. Only a yielding Army engineer, confronted by a squadron of coast statesmen, could find any relation between this diking project and real navigation.

RICHMOND HARBOR, ANOTHER LAND RECLAMATION SCHEME.

No apologies will be offered by this member of the minority for criticizing the Richmond Harbor project as a land-reclamation scheme.

I have driven over the project, literally, because it extends over a lowland that is to be excavated for an "inner harbor." I was not banqueted or dined by an enthusiastic real estate element of the population, but the general purposes of the scheme were set forth by tax-ridden residents, who protested against what they declared was a wholesale grab from the Government Treasury in order to benefit real estate speculators. Let us see what evidence is afforded on the subject of Richmond's inner harbor, which is another "war measure" project contained in the pending bill.

This project is set forth in Document No. 575, Sixty-third Congress. Although the bill only carries $100,000, the project calls for $428,000 payment from the Government.

On page 2, the report says:

> The board states that the plan now proposed would confer special benefits to the immediate vicinity, would add largely to the taxable property of the city (and to private interests), and would give value to the city land yet to be improved.

On page 10, the report states:

> The area covered by the proposed harbor has been divided into tide lots and sold by the State of California to individuals. The validity of the title to these lots is in question, but it appears that when such lots are permitted to be reclaimed the title becomes good.
>
> Here we have city lots that the Government is about to dig out or fill in to create a harbor for "war purposes."

In passing over the project it is well to note at the top of page 6, Document No. 515, that, notwithstanding all the pressing necessities of this boom town and its possibilities, "there are no public wharves and the existing private wharves are built for special purposes and are not available for general use."

Affecting the real estate proposition, reading from page 12:

> It was considered inadvisable to reclaim lots for individual owners or to run the risk of having them refuse permission to dump material on their lots without compensation, hence the recommendation that the city should acquire these lots, own the reclaimed land, and administer them for harbor and terminal purposes under municipal control.

Why not make parks and cherry orchards out of these lands in the interests of navigation and in these "war-time emergency" bills, why not dredge out lots "for individual owners" just to show the Government is liberal with money drawn from individual taxpayers living all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This proposed harbor project for naval purposes was turned down by the Government in Document No. 1946, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, part 2.

From the December, 1915, number of the Army and Navy News, published at San Francisco, I quote, page 7, a pointed editorial, as follows:

> For years the United States Army and Navy have suffered from the niggardliness of pork-barrel Congressmen, who have vigorously opposed proper military expenditures, but have cheerfully poured out millions for a public building in a crossroads village or for dredging useless streams (or harbors) in their districts. That made them strong with their constituents; it meant pork.

Turning over to pages 18, 19, and 20, among the patent-medicine ads of the same preparedness publication, is a description of "ringing resolutions" to Congress read by the postmaster of Berkeley, demanding an inner harbor for Richmond. A handsomely designed map, prepared by Col. Rees, United States Army, is close up to reading matter, while half-page real estate ads and smaller ones, at so much per square inch, frame the reading matter, advising gullible nibblers that "anything in, around, or near Richmond will yield a handsome return if bought right." As at Muscle Shoals, members of a former Rivers and Harbors Committee are conveniently grouped for effective coloring in pictures to show it is O. K.

After Uncle Sam begins dredging his several-million-dollar project on Richmond flats, bogs, and marshes overlooking the Standard Oil works that surround the flats and bogs, we learn, page 19, "every indication tells the observant visitor that Richmond is the site of one of the largest western cities of the near future." Like a half century ago, the country will unanimously sing, "On to Richmond." Incidentally, Richmond had 6,802 inhabitants last census. But Richmond is being boosted primarily by Uncle Sam, secondarily by those behind the real estate project.

"COL. SELLERS" LIKEWISE SAW MILLIONS IN EYE WATER.

On page 20 of the Army and Navy News is a photographic signature of "Thos. A. Rees, Lt. Col.," following paid reading matter, to prove what no one would otherwise believe—that Army Engineers have recommended this project. Rear Admiral Pond, United States Navy, is also persuaded to subscribe to a statement, same page, "At first sight it has appeared to some that the cost of a station thus formed would be prohibitive," but real estate advocates of a greater Richmond, surrounded by Standard Oil works, think differently, and so forth. Digging a 30-foot harbor on Anacostia Flats is equally feasible and of far greater public value.

A statement authorized by President Anson S. Blake, of the quarry company that owns a wharf at Richmond is forwarded me by irate taxpayers who object to being taxed to contribute to this real estate speculation project. I quote:

DUCK BLINDS TO BRING DOWN UNITED STATES CASH.

The project for the improvement by the United States Government of the so-called Inner Harbor at Richmond, Cal., had its origin in the resourceful minds of a group of very active real estate dealers, who wished to make use of a Government improvement for the purpose of reclaiming and making valuable some of their tidelands, and for giving additional advertisement and prestige to the part of the city where they have large financial interest.

The Richmond Inner Harbor project is not based upon the actual commercial or transportation needs of the community. If the Inner Harbor, which is a mud flat, were not improved for 20 years or more, no harm and no injustice would be done to the community, nor would the business or water-borne commerce of San Francisco Bay suffer in the least. All of the growing needs of the port of San Francisco for the next decade will be more than met by Government improvements which are being made on the Oakland water front.

The appropriation now asked for the improvement of Richmond Harbor is only a small part of what it is hoped will be ultimately expended on this project. The plan of the Board of Engineers for the complete improvement of the west side of the bay, including Richmond, carries with it, in all its details, an expenditure of more than $18,000,000. Conservative estimates by competent engineers have fixed the total cost of this harbor scheme within the city of Richmond at not less than $50,000,000. The mud now underlying the water covering some of the projected excavations for the same reaches an estimated depth of 50 feet in places, and may be safely averaged at 25 feet.

The city of Richmond has already built one municipal wharf, which more than takes care of local water-borne traffic. There is no genuine demand at present for harbor facilities for the city of Richmond, nor will there be for many years. The private wharves already constructed at said city have abundant facilities for a hundred times the local business which is now transacted over them. There is a large amount of tonnage handled in Richmond, but it is through tonnage and has no relation to local requirements. The present tonnage is mainly handled by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; the Richmond Belt Railroad; Standard Oil Co.; Healy-Tibbitts Construction Co.; California Wine Association; Los Angeles Pressed Brick Co.; and Blake Bros. Co. More than 95 per cent of this tonnage merely passes through the city of Richmond, and is in no way associated with local business needs. This fact is important to bear in mind, as extravagant claims have been made by interested parties before the House committee at various times, the purpose of which is to try and show that all of this tonnage is part of the business pertaining to the city of Richmond and its municipal harbor facilities.

The Richmond Belt Railroad Co. built a wharf at Richmond in 1905 at a cost of more than $100,000. It has the deepest water frontage of any wharf on the Bay of San Francisco.

This structure is an established transcontinental terminal and enjoys the same advantages and freight rates as San Francisco. It is connected with the city of Richmond and its manufacturing district by the Belt Railroad. This company has made a formal offer to undertake to transact over its wharf all the business pertaining to the city of Richmond for the next 20 years and to give ample security for performance. Only at rare intervals has it been used to 5 per cent of its capacity, and the prospects of its future use seem little better.

The Richmond Belt Railroad passes along this wharf, and freight can be transferred direct from vessels to cars. It can accommodate the biggest ships afloat, as it stands in water 35 to 40 feet deep.

It is alleged that this harbor scheme has been promoted by real estate speculators, who have secured election to the city council and other offices in Richmond for the purpose of advancing real estate operations. Their agents have been scattered over the various States, and the names of Government officials have been freely used to induce people having no adequate knowledge of the facts to invest their money in these attractively advertised enterprises. The tendency of such proceedings is to enable speculators to induce people to contract for their lots on a partial cash basis, and to secure purchasers who will likely abandon further payments when the true character of the property is known.

Only a small portion of these lot buyers are looking to actual occupation of the same. The final result is to load down legitimate enterprises in the city with excessive taxation, and to attract a class of people who are only waiting to get out of bad investments at the least loss.

It appears in several places in the reports of the Government engineers that adjacent to the southerly frontage of Richmond there is a "wide, flat area, well suited for manufacturing and industrial plants." A close observer of this locality would perceive that much of this land is now under water, and that much of it is cut up into small lots, the numbers of some of which are indicated by stakes stuck in the mud. There are numerous duck blinds in the vicinity. These lands are being sold through the use of colored maps and extravagant advertisements which present a very different view of the vicinity, and the names of Government officials, doubtless without their knowledge, are being used to further these sales. There is also mention in the reports of the Government engineers of "special benefits" to the "immediate vicinity" of the contemplated harbor work. The only persons benefited to this date, so far as can be ascertained, are the real estate speculators.

Having captured the political machinery, the real estate clique is beginning to overload the community with taxes to such an extent that there is real apprehension on the part of established industries that the legitimate development of the town will be checked and many new business enterprises be driven elsewhere in order to escape exorbitant taxation.

TAXPAYERS PROTEST AGAINST THE LAND SPECULATION SCHEME.

Here follows a significant appeal and protest from nearly fourteen hundred taxpayers of Richmond City, who paid over one-fourth of all the taxes assessed in 1914. This protest went to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors before the committee visited Richmond's city lots covered by water. The protest is as follows:

RICHMOND, CAL., *January —, 1915.*

To the honorable the COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES:

The undersigned who are all enrolled taxpayers of the city of Richmond, Cal., hereby respectfully protest to your honorable committees against any further appropriations by the United States for the so-called "inner harbor" within said city of Richmond, upon the grounds that the said project has already involved the city in a large debt to no useful purpose; that the same is absolutely impracticable, and was put on foot by real-estate speculators, contractors, and others to further their own interests at the expense of the city and its taxpayers, who will reap no benefit therefrom. That this project will, if prosecuted, needlessly create a much greater debt upon the city and turn away legitimate business enterprises from it.

East Shore Co., by C. C. Sullivan, secretary, Richmond, Cal.; Richmond Belt Railway, by R. J. Woods, secretary, Richmond, Cal.; Berkeley Steel Co., by R. C. Berkeley, president, Richmond, Cal.; Blake Bros. Co., by Anson S. Blake, president, Richmond, Cal.; Standard Oil Co., by D. G. Scofield, president, Richmond, Cal.; the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., by A. H. Payson, assistant to president, Richmond, Cal.; Western Pipe & Steel Co. of California, by J. W. Mason, president, Richmond, Cal.; Pacific Sanitary Manufacturing Co., by Wm. S. Eby, Richmond, Cal.; California Wine Association, by Louis S. Wetmore, general manager, Winehaven, Cal.

I certify from actual examination that the foregoing signers paid more than one-fourth of all the taxes assessed in the city of Richmond for the year 1914.

LEVI BOSWELL.

RICHMOND TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION.

This association represents about 700 small taxpayers in Richmond.

LEVI BOSWELL, *Chairman.*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
County of Contra Costa, ss:

Levi Boswelll being duly sworn, on oath says that he is chairman of the Richmond Taxpayers' Association, which is an organization of taxpayers of the city of Richmond, Cal., formed about two years ago to prevent excessive taxation in said city; that as such chairman he caused a protest to be presented to and circulated among the taxpayers of said city of Richmond during the months of October and November, A. D. 1915, and of which the following is a true copy, viz:

"To the honorable MAYOR AND COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND:

"The undersigned, who are taxpayers in the city of Richmond, Cal., hereby respectfully protest against any further increase of taxation upon our property for any purpose, and also to the issuance of any additional bonds by the city except for strictly municipal government purposes, such as the erection of schoolhouses when actually needed or the acquirement of grounds for such purposes."

That said protest was signed during said months by 1,377 taxpayers of said Richmond. All the persons who signed said protest as aforesaid were upon the assessment roll of said city, and a very large proportion of them resided therein. They were mostly voters and small taxpayers. Affiant further states that he has in his possession and control the signatures of said signers to said protest, and the matters stated in this affidavit are true of his own knowledge. Affiant further states that during the months of October and November, A. D. 1914, about 700 small taxpayers of said city signed a protest against any increase of taxation.

LEVI BOSWELL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of December, A. D. 1915.

[SEAL.] FRED C. SCHRAM,
Notary Public in and for the County of Contra Costa, State of California.

OTHER TESTIMONY ON THIS REAL ESTATE PROJECT.

It takes some time to defend the minority's statement that Richmond Harbor is a real estate reclamation project, but the charge is supported not only by official documents from which I have quoted but by other reliable data.

I now quote from statement made by E. S. Pillsbury, president of the Richmond Belt Line Railway, who, if anybody, ought to be interested in developing a harbor frontage at Richmond if the project was genuinely for commerce.

On page 4 of his statement appears the following:

An ex-mayor of Richmond is interested in the promotion of schemes for selling lands in said city, which lands are adjacent and contiguous to the so-called "inner-harbor" project of the city, and they are now being offered for sale upon representation of benefits to accrue by reason of this harbor.

He also quotes Col. Rees' statement—

that no public wharves are in Richmond, and the existing private wharves are built for specific purposes and are not available for general use.

Since that date, it appears, one wharf has been built by the city as an evidence of sustained hope in the land-reclamation project.

On page 5, Pillsbury says, in answer to extravagant statements of Richmond land boosters:

What has been said by promoters about tonnage pertaining to Richmond is ridiculous. Nearly all of it passes through the city. As well might one try to magnify the importance of Winnemucca, Nev., by showing the tonnage which passes through it over the transcontinental railroads. The wharf business of the city is negligible.

Speaking of present wharfage facilities, he continues:

The Belt Co. would gladly undertake to transact over its wharf all the local wharf business pertaining to Richmond for the next 20 years, and give ample security for performance. Only at rare intervals has it been used to 5 per cent of its capacity and the prospect for the future seems no better.

He further says the wharf is 1,000 feet long and stands in water from 30 to 45 feet in depth, and that during the last five years no wharfage or dockage charges on any freight has been made.

Compare a depth of water at a real wharf reaching 45 feet, in contrast with tide lots where automobiles and other vehicles now meander, and which only floats skiffs at flood tide.

Referring to the official engineer's report that a wide flat area well suited for manufacturing and industrial plants now exists, Mr. Pillsbury says:

A close observer would perceive that a good deal of this land is now under water, and that much of it is cut up in small lots, the numbers to some of which are indicated by stakes stuck in the mud. There are numerous duck blinds in the vicinity. These lands are being sold through the use of colored maps and extravagant advertisements which present a very different view of the vicinity, while the names of United States Government officials are being used to further these sales.

GOVERNMENT AID FOR REAL ESTATE SPECULATORS.

I do not know who is referred to as "Government officials," but I have before me a copy of the Army and Navy News, in which Thomas H. Rees, lieutenant colonel, Engineers, connected with the Los Angeles diking project, makes this statement over his lithographed signature—issue December, 1915, page 20:

The material to be dredged from the harbor by the Government and by the city will be used to fill up and reclaim the city's tide and marsh lands, thus providing a large acreage, adjacent to railroads and deep water, suitable for manufacturing and warehouse sites and railroad yards.

Directly beneath what appears to be a long statement signed by Col. Rees regarding this project is a half-page real estate advertisement wherein the public is advised "anything in, around, or near Richmond will yield a handsome return if bought right." * * * "The opportunities for making money in Richmond real estate are greater to-day than ever."

And then to see that the money is rightly placed, the Harbor-Front Realty Co., San Francisco, 204–210 Luck Building, offers to place all surplus cash.

Other Richmond real estate ads surround the Richmond Harbor write-up, indicating that if this is not a real estate speculation and land-reclamation scheme, as suggested by the minority report, that there is no such thing in existence.

I have only been able to refer briefly to several projects contained in the pending bill. If statements quoted are true, the oft-repeated exclamation "God help the taxpayers" will bear added significance. Scores of items could be enlarged upon to show their wastefulness, but the minority's statement that not one item out of the 400 contained in the bill is for war purposes and that $32,000,000 balances are now in the hands of Army engineers is a sufficient answer to those demanding the passage of this bill.

WHERE THE MONEY LARGELY GOES.

While I do not care to discuss the bill further, it may be well to repeat that a large part of the appropriations contained in this bill is for rivers that have little or no commerce and that will have little or no commerce until some intelligent system is adopted which will involve a thorough control of railway rates.

Over $250,000,000 has been spent on 12 river and canal projects by the Government in an effort to resuscitate a lost commerce. Deducting floatable timber and sand that floated a half century ago in larger quantities than to-day and do not require expensive waterways, several of these projects are reported to have floated in 1913 approximately as follows:

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi (average upper Mississippi haul 26 miles, or less than 7,000 tons average continuous haul)	170,000
Lower Mississippi (excluding coal)	200,000
Ohio (95 per cent coal)	2,000,000
Tennessee (includes on Tennessee 78,000 tons coal hauled 16 miles)	200,000
Tombigbee and Warrior (includes on Warrior 32,000 tons coal, distance not stated), average	56,000
Beaufort Canal	65,000
Cumberland	20,000
Missouri (lower)	24,000
Hennepin Canal	11,850
Muscle Shoals Canal	5,887
Red River	1,694

Aside from soft coal, as near as can be estimated, the average haul was from 30 to 100 miles on the various rivers. The same coal is repeatedly recounted.

In order to show the wisdom of Townsend's advice to stop short in this carnival of engineering extravagance, I call attention to projects showing investments by the Government prior to 1917 and actual commerce returns, counting average traffic throughout.

Deserted waterways.	Appropriated.	1915 actual commerce.
		Tons.
Upper Missouri	$3,234,083	487
Big Sandy, W. Va.	1,655,295	1,039
Cumberland River, Tenn.	6,466,767	16,354
Red River, Ark., below Fulton	2,874,687	14,275
Trinity, Tex.	2,492,287	1,571
Brazos, Tex.	1,990,000	.....
Arkansas, Ark.	3,823,336	12,143
Ouachita, Ark.	4,212,869	14,899
Muscle Shoals Canal, Ala.	4,632,975	7,982
Hennepin Canal, Ill.	7,657,803	7,656
Muscle Shoals Canal	4,550,000	5,887

These few "projects" have absorbed nearly $45,000,000 under the advice of Army engineers, in order to produce an aggregate actual commerce of a little more than 80,000 tons, or practically 2 per cent of the 1915 waterway commerce handled at the harbor of Ashland, Wis., or less than one-half of 1 per cent of the commerce handled at any one of several lake ports that may be named.

During 1914, 1915, and 1916 approximately one-half of the entire amount given to all waterways was for a few river and canal projects. The balance was divided among about 270 or more projects, of which 20 genuine waterways disclosed 1913 traffic as follows:

10 ocean harbors.	Tons.	10 lake harbors.	Tons.
New York (estimated)	100,000,000	Superior-Duluth	46,875,000
Philadelphia	26,267,335	Chicago-Calumet	13,275,000
Boston (estimated)	20,000,000	Milwaukee	8,647,000
Baltimore	14,781,942	Ashland	5,623,309
Norfolk	17,349,942	Ashtabula	15,743,375
Savannah	3,154,089	Cleveland	16,488,083
New Orleans	6,442,932	Buffalo	18,920,854
Galveston	4,445,088	Erie	3,340,071
San Francisco	9,353,530	Marquette	1,852,229
Portland, Oreg.	7,923,902	Soo Canal	79,714,344

Approximately 200,000,000 tons of waterway commerce was handled at the 10 ocean ports, and, allowing for duplications, one-half that amount at the 10 lake ports. Presumably the commerce was carried on the average 200 to 500 miles, counting ocean and lake traffic, but, like some other waterway statistics, no definite figures are available.

The significance of the comparisons will not be overlooked. Ten ocean ports handled fifty times the actual commerce carried on 10 river projects that annually receive about half of the average waterway bill, and these same rivers floated only about 4 per cent of the commerce counted at 10 lake ports.

COST TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR FLOATING "COMMERCE."

The cost to the Government for furnishing a waterway for inland commerce per ton is not definitely settled as to method of computation and only approximate results can be reached, because the amount properly chargeable to investment interest is variously estimated, although annual maintenance is sure and certain. Excluding floatable timber and sand, usually hauled

short distances, the following estimates have been made on the several rivers and canals noted:

	Per ton.
Ohio River (excluding coal, $40 per ton)	$3.00
Ouachita	8.00
Warrior and Tombigbee	12.00
Upper Mississippi	12.00
Lower Mississippi	35.00
Arkansas	20.00
Hennepin	36.75
Missouri	40.00
Muscle Shoals (Tennessee)	40.00
Aransas Pass Canal	80.00
Brazos	80.00
Red	100.00
Muscle Shoals (proposed)	150.00
Big Sandy, Ky	350.00

It is interesting to note that in round numbers the following estimate of expenditures per mile have been made by the Government on three waterways with a continued loss in commerce:

	Per mile.
Lower Mississippi, 1,000 miles, at	$100,000
Ohio River to Missouri River, 200 miles, at	86,000
Upper Mississippi, 600 miles, at	40,000
Ohio River, 1,000 miles, at	60,000
Lower Missouri, 400 miles, at	40,000

Government canal investments, all indorsed by the Chief of Engineers, are proportionately wasteful:

	Per mile.
Hennepin Canal, 60 miles, at	$126,000
Muscle Shoals, 26 miles, at	175,000
Muscle Shoals, proposed, 26 miles, at	560,000
Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, proposed, 13 miles, at	1,530,000

The above river and canal projects are small waterways that float an insignificant commerce compared with the investment. Can any condemnation of our wasteful purposeless waterway policy compare with a brief statement of expenditures past, present, and prospective?

Criminal waste is involved in public extravagance at this time. The whole river and harbor scheme of supporting wasteful omnibus bills is bad at any time, but of all times it can not now be forgiven by the taxpaying public.

The committee chairman asks us to take the case to the "bar of public opinion."

I am frank to say that I will not quote some press comments because of severe strictness on the committee and on the chairman who stands sponsor for this bill. The American public is tired of the "pork barrel," and practically every influential newspaper and magazine in the country has voiced its condemnation repeatedly. I have made no effort to sound public opinion on the subpect, but herewith attach several editorials that carry their own arguments as to a public estimate of the merits or demerits of this bill and all others of like character.

A VOICE THAT IS HEARD BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS DAILY.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill., June 16, 1917.]

THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF PORK.

We sympathize with the attitude that pours out vials of wrath on Congress for passing pork legislation. With others, we feel inclined to call the Representatives hard names for appropriating $30,000 for removing water hyacinths from the rivers of five Southern States. We are in hearty accord with the fight that is being made against the new $27,000,000 rivers and harbors pork barrel. But the people of this country should remember that Congress is not initially or entirely to blame.

We may talk about the war-time extravagance of Congress all we please, but that does not alter the fundamental fact that some hundreds of congressional districts are aiding and abetting that extravagance. We get excited about the action of our Congressmen and forget all about the pressure from the communities that send them to Washington.

There would be no pork legislation if there were not large sections of the country which demand it. No rivers and harbors bill could be passed except by distributing the "fat" around the country. It is a species of national bribery. No Member of Congress would vote for such a disgraceful bill if his district was not "taken care of" in some way or another.

The present bill provides for expenditures in at least 400 parts of the country. One would judge from the support that is being mustered for its passage that these communities don't know yet that we are at war. If we assume they realize the seriousness of our national situation, what condemnation can be too strong for the selfishness that keeps Army dredges and engineers in this country when they are needed in France, to say nothing of the great waste of money?

Congressman FREAR is again marshaling statistics to prove the folly of our rivers and harbors appropriation. They are convincing and unanswerable. They have always been convincing and unanswerable. But just now we need not concern ourselves so much with statistics as with the national or sectional state of mind that will tolerate pork. The attitude of a community toward the pork barrel is a test of its patriotism. Every patriotic district will renounce its "share" of the fat and demand the same renunciation from Congress and the rest of the country.

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AT THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the New York Tribune, Monday, June 11, 1917.]

PORK.

Opponents of "pork" in the House of Representatives have made a good beginning in their fight against the river and harbor bill, masquerading as a preparedness measure. Not so bad, because not so all inclusive of "pork," as the bill which was defeated in the Senate at the last session, the present measure is, nevertheless, by no means the kind of bill which should be enacted when the country needs every man and every dollar at work to full value. It contains some items which are genuine preparedness proposals, such as the appropriation for harbor improvement here, intended to furnish safe entrance to the Brooklyn Navy Yard for the biggest battleships either from the Sound or the ocean. But its sponsor, Mr. SMALL, has had to admit that some of its projects are "more intimately associated" with national defense than others—that is, that there still remain in the bill some of the time-honored pieces of "pork," political grabs which it is now sought to get away with on the plea of patriotism.

No such grab should have a chance of succeeding, now of all times. The country is preparing to levy many drastic taxes, and is offering a huge bond issue in order to raise funds to carry on its share in the war. Nobody can foretell how long the war will last or to what expedients the authorities may be driven to obtain money to prosecute it. Economy is being urged on private individuals; States and municipalities are giving up temporarily improvements and public works which are desirable and necessary, so that the money and workers thus released may be diverted to uses more strictly emergency uses. The Nation has no money to waste in making surveys for projects which will never be carried out or for "improvements" to creeks where rowboats are the prevailing type of craft.

Every doubtful item—and, according to some of the bill's opponents, a good many of the proposals in it are doubtful—should be eliminated before it is voted on. If they are not, the measure ought to suffer the fate of its predecessor, and the country will be left without certain much-needed improvements to its harbors and waterways because some greedy politicians cared more for "pork" than for the Nation's necessities.

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[From the World's Work, June, 1917.]

PORK AND PATRIOTISM.

Congress, in the main, has shown an admirable attitude in the present situation; yet certain Members of both Houses are evidently prepared to obtain such advantage as they can for their localities. The pork-barrel instinct is probably the most deep-seated in the congressional psychology; even America's greatest international crisis has not succeeded in stifling it. A number of bills, introduced early in the present session may be taken as fairly illustrating the sort of thing against which we must be perpetually on guard. Representative ———, of New York wants $10,000,000 for the development of an intercoastal canal along the Atlantic and $20,000,000 for improving New York Harbor for naval purposes. Senator ———, of New Jersey, asks $200,000 for a target range and camp in the Great Pierce Meadow in New Jersey. Representative ———, of Nebraska, demands $100,000 to pave a so-called military road from Fort Crook to Fort Omaha, and $2,000,000 to establish a military service school at Fort Crook. Mr. ———, of California, would appropriate $3,500,000 to build a military road from Los Angeles to Lakeview, Oreg., and Mr. ———, from the same State, thinks the Nation should spend $1,000,000 for a munition plant at Benicia and $200,000 on a storehouse at the same place.

Some of these proposals, possibly all of them, may have great military importance in our conflict with the German Empire. We may safely presume, however, that the best military opinion will hardly indorse them all. But this is not the point at issue. The bills emphasize precisely the way in which we can not fight a victorious war. We have voted $7,000,000,000 for war purposes, not to establish a new congressional grab-bag, but to provide the resources indispensable in attaining our military end. That Senators and Congressmen should regard this as a huge fund for parceling among their districts is not surprising; but these Senators and Congressmen are not military experts, and their judgment as to where military roads and coastal canals and munition factories will best promote the public welfare has little value. Probably, in the present temper of the Nation, all these private schemes for spending public money will have little consideration. In that spiritual and material housecleaning which the United States will undergo as a result of the present crisis, the pork-barrel tendency should be suppressed, along with much of our other outgrown political and governmental lumber; and the country should, therefore, insist that Congress scotch its earliest appearance in this present session.

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A POWERFUL VOICE FROM THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the New York Sun, Jan. 30, 1917.]

PORK-BARREL BILLS.

Representatives in Congress who oppose the two primest pieces of pork—the public building and river and harbor bills—put the people of the United States in their debt. So unmistakable was the attitude of the Members that 132 Congressmen rallied together in fighting against the river and harbor bill. Both bills can be, and must be, defeated in the Senate. It is generally known that several Senators have pledged themselves to accomplish the rejection of the bills in the other House. This pledge can not be considered a private matter. It is a gentleman's agreement made with the whole country. Its existence has been publicly recorded, and general attention should be fixed on its existence at this time. There is no difficulty whatever in carrying out the pledge.

The ammunition supplied by Mr. FREAR in the debates in the House is unlimited and of the highest pork-piercing quality. If it is used neither bill can possibly pass the Senate.

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ANOTHER VOICE FROM THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the Indianapolis Star, Indianapolis, Ind., Mar. 29, 1917.]

"NO TIME FOR PORK."

Attention is called to the fact that a strenuous effort will be made to put the "pork" bills through at the extra session of Congress. The present is no time to fritter away the people's money. The Representatives and Senators should be more patriotic at this time.

The $39,000,000 river and harbor bill and the $38,000,000 public-building bill were blocked in the closing days of the last Senate. They are certain to bob up next month. Not all the items included can be termed as "pork." Many river and harbor projects are in the interest of the public and should be provided for. The same may be said of some proposals on the building list.

But the two bills include a large number of expenditures that are not needed and should be avoided. The country is about to spend large sums in preparedness and military operations, and should be spared every bit of waste that is possible. The so-called "pork" measures should be trimmed to the limit.

A MOST CONSERVATIVE VOICE—PORK INVITES PITY.

[From the Washington Star, May 27, 1917.]

THE HOUSE.

Some persons are denouncing the House. Others are pitiying it. Poor old House! Once so powerful. Now so impotent. Once the cynosure of all eyes when important legislation was in the making. Now the object of mild curiosity. Real interest is awakened only when the Senate has business in hand. Nobody expects the House to do more than cut out something in the rough for the Senate or a conference committee to put into finished shape. And so on.

In politics we must always allow for exaggerations. There are exaggerations in this sort of talk about the House. It is not nearly so poorly off as its critics describe. On occasions, when it rouses and gets into its stride, it is still a husky and forceful body.

And yet it must be admitted that in the matter of popular interest the House has of late years been losing to the Senate. The Senate has been oftener in the picture. It has been doing some notable things. Some very stirring episodes have been staged in its Chamber. Some filibusters, with far-reaching effects, have been conducted there. All the successful fights on "pork" have been waged there. In many things the Senate has shown high quality for courage, ability, and general legislative resources.

The House is itself responsible for whatever loss of prestige it has sustained. In curtailing the powers and importance of the Speaker, reducing him to the proportions of a presiding officer only, and in limiting debate too often and too radically, thereby giving countenance to the charge from the outside that Members wasted time with their tongues, it inflicted injury upon itself.

The wonder is that the House does not resume its old form. There never was a czar in the Speaker's chair. Randall and Reed and Crisp and Cannon knew how to handle a gavel and promote business, but none was a tyrant in office. Under all of them excellent legislative results were obtained and wide interest in House proceedings maintained. There was some denunciation but no pitying of that body in the public comment. The Speaker should again be the second officer in influence under the Government, and have full scope for the exercise of talents associable with his place.

—

GOOD ADVICE FROM THE NORTHWEST.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn., Apr. 15, 1917.]

"SWAT THE PORK-BARREL GANG."

This is a good time for the new Congress to resolve to take a stiff rap at the heads of "pork-barrel" cormorants every time they are raised above the surface. Southern pork hunters who are rampantly eager to dump millions of gold—mostly northern gold—into southern wayside creeks, bayous, and rivers already are on the job, licking their chops. It is probable, moreover, that another $38,000,000 public-buildings bill, like the one that failed of passage in the last Congress, will be introduced.

The people gladly will take care of the bill for whatever expenditures are necessary to improve rivers and harbors for public-defense purposes. Millions for that kind of defense but not a cent for "pork" tribute should be the slogan at this time when the burden for war purposes will be heavy enough.

Fortunately the country has some vigilant Congressmen on guard to "show up" the rapacity of the pork seekers. Representative FREAR says the agencies pushing "pork-barrel" legislation are the lobby, locality interests, and Army engineers, "who give certificates of good character to unworthy wasteful projects." By the kind of effort he, Senator KENYON, of Iowa, and others have put forth against omnibus appropriation bills the Federal Treasury has been shielded against projected raids aggregating many millions. He sounds the warning, however, that the fight must go on; that the evils will not be eliminated until the wasteful system of making appropriations is wiped out.

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FROM THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Jan. 23, 1917.]

THE FIGHT AGAINST EXTRAVAGANCE.

The majority members of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors have reported for passage a bill calling for the appropriation of $38,000,000. Despite the determined opposition of the minority members of the committee friends of the bill say it will pass the House. * * *

It is high time, with the Government seeking new objects of taxation in order to supply the constant drain, that men should come forward and put an end to the bolstering of official tenure by sending to the home district money to be wasted in so-called public projects.

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A STRONG VOICE WITH THE SAME TONE.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Milwaukee, Wis., June 16, 1917.]

SOME PERSISTENT PORKERS.

The minority report of the House committee on the revised rivers and harbors appropriation concludes as follows:

The minority are convinced that the only items that can be justified at this time are of two classes. First, items of maintenance for meritorious projects that would retain the present channel depths or are of such commercial importance as to require continual attention. Second, such harbor improvements as are of value and importance in the general plan of better preparedness, considering both the commercial requirements and naval needs.

Unless the bill is materially amended along the lines suggested in this report, the minority of the committee believe that no rivers and harbors legislation should be passed in this critical time of our national life.

The second classification calls for special attention, as it goes to the root of discussion as to the character of this bill.

The bill may be characterized as largely an attempt to obtain pork under false pretenses.

The attempt is made to smuggle through a variety of pork items in this bill under a general pretense of military and naval preparedness.

Some items justly come under that head. Others have no more relation to that object, or even to internal improvements of public merit and necessity, than they have to deepening the canals in Mars.

The bill was defeated in the Senate some months ago, to the great relief and satisfaction of the public, but here it is again in the House with most of its former imperfections on its head, and a dishonest pretense that it is in general furtherance of the Nation's preparedness program.

It will be thoroughly expurgated of pork on the lines above suggested by the minority report, or the public will know the reason why.

Congressman FREAR and his associates who are fighting to eliminate the pork and to save the public from these gross local and sectional grabs at its bank roll, are assured of the approval of the general public, and should get the open and emphatic support of the press as a notice to the pork hunters that their gauzy pretense of preparedness will not be allowed to deceive the country.

Should this bill, pork and all, be enacted, the operation will suggest the spectacle of the United States Government warning the public against war-time extravagance and at the same time squandering the money of the public on the notorious form of extravagance odiously knowns as pork.

If there ever was a time when it would be obviously and grotesquely wrong to tax the American for pork it is this time.

Millions for defense, not a penny for pork!

—

PUBLIC OPINION IN MINNESOTA.

[From the Minneapolis Journal, Minneapolis, Minn., Apr. 2, 1917.]

PORK HUNTERS ACTIVE EVEN NOW.

Not even the pendency of the tremendous questions of war can serve to restrain the appetites of the pork hunters in Congress. The summoning of the Sixty-fifth Congress in extra session to-day is to them merely an opportunity to resuscitate the great pork bills that fell by the wayside in the final session of the last Congress.

Senator RANSDELL, of Louisiana, president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, declared a week ago that a river and harbor bill would be introduced and pushed energetically in the extra session. Representative JAMES A. FREAR, of Wisconsin, gives warning that another public-buildings bill and river and harbor bill probably identical with the $38,000,000 measures that failed of passage in the last Congress will be introduced in the extra session.

Senator RANSDELL gives as the reason for the rivers and harbors measure that there is pressing need of certain harbor improvements as a matter of national defense. No doubt. But the old items for deepening southern creeks and scooping out southern bayous will doubtless make their appearance again and will be made a condition for the passage of the bill.

It will be remembered that Senator KENYON, of Iowa, endeavored to substitute a porkless measure providing for the necessary improvement of big harbors when the old bill was up. But it was Senator RANSDELL who blocked the way—the same Senator who is now so solicitous for these necessary improvements.

Patriotism should crowd pork off the legislative track in this Congress.

—

ANOTHER STRONG CLEAN-CUT OPINION.

[From the Post, Chicago, Ill., May 19, 1917.]

ALL RIGHT—TAX "PORK," TOO.

The House yesterday by a vote of 123 to 54 refused to strike out the section of the war-tax bill designed to levy a retroactive tax of one-third the amount of last year's income levies.

All right. Let's adopt this unheard-of business principle.

But let's carry it through.

Let's put it on one side of the ledger as well as the other.

If we are going to charge on last year's figures, let us also economize on last year's figures.

Let us repeal at once the millions that Congress brazenly voted into "pork" despite the shadows of war that hung over the country.

Let us repeal the appropriations for the rivers and harbors bill.

Let us repeal the appropriations for the flood-control bill.

Let us repeal the appropriations for the public-buildings bill.

It is pointed out that there was on March 1, 1917, $32,000,000 available for rivers and harbors work under last year's appropriations. On top of this the same Congress that is voting retroactive income taxes is trying to slip through a little bill for $27,000,000 more "pork."

The great majority of all this work is political waste, pure and simple. Everybody knows it. Congress knows it. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD proves it. The small portion of these improvements which are not waste can well wait their time. War needs must take precedence over them.

Millions upon millions of dollars were voted away wastefully by Congress last year. If last year's incomes are to be taxed, last year's congressional extravagance should be taxed out of existence.

Why should the average citizen have a post-facto burden upon him and the congressional wasters still enjoy their post-facto pie?

—

AN OPINION OF THE SAME TONE.

[From the Courier-Journal, Jan. 19, 1917.]

FOR GREATER WAHOO.

Among the projects included in the 1913 public-building bill was a $56,000 building for the town of Wahoo; population, 2,168. Wahoo, it seems, is in Nebraska. The name no doubt is an Indian war whoop or some other exclamatory expression from the throat of an aborigine * * *.

The general feeling among villagers and hill-billy Congressmen is that one good chunk of pork desires another. Until public-buildings (and rivers and harbors) appropriations are put upon a business basis and removed forever from logrolling politics we shall continue to waste many millions in projects for which there is no earthly purpose upon the part of Congress beyond that of favoring Members who need public buildings in their campaigns.

In the meantime the public will look to President Wilson to veto the scandalous bill now pending unless it shall be radically cut down.

—

OTHER OPINIONS THAT CARRY WEIGHT.

[From the Evening Mail, New York, Jan. 27, 1917.]

THE FREE SPENDER.

On the final day of the public-building bill came a striking illustration in Congress. Mr. FREAR of Wisconsin, an opponent of "pork," was pointing out the slices for which Mr. ——— of Tennessee was asking.

He asks for a public building at Jefferson City, a town of 1,328 population. In 1915 the receipts reached only $4,771 for stamp sales. He asks for a building in the village to cost $160,000. Not only had Mr. ——— asked for this building; he was proud of it. Amid the approval of his colleagues he made the following confession of faith: I am not

an economist and never have been. [Laughter.] I want to tell the gentleman that I never vote against an appropriation and never vote for a tax. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. ——— and his friends will have to vote for taxes now. They first voted $38,000,000 for public buildings and yesterday voted $38,000,000 for river and harbor improvements. They did this in the face of the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury that the Government will require $370,000,000 in new taxes.

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[From the News, Santa Barbara, Cal., Jan. 30, 1917.]

MORE ABOUT PORK.

The institution of "pork" is about as bad an institution as there is in this country. For years it has existed and for years the public funds have been filched in order that the Representatives from this, that, or the other part of the country might be rewarded for their efforts and the people of their districts might be fed upon a false glory. Some day, and the News hopes that may not be far distant, a champion of honesty will stand up and fight "pork"; the institution as an institution will be cast out from our system of government; the public funds will be spent as they should be spent, for merit and not for favor; and the country at large will be far better off.

The public waterways have long been the bait by which much "pork" has been hooked from the Federal Government. * * *

If the Government must annually spend nearly $50,000,000 in improving the rivers and harbors of this country there should be appointed a commission of intelligent and competent men to investigate. If it is true, as charged, that the Army engineers placed in control of much of the engineering work have not done their work competently, then private engineers should be employed. The rivers and harbors to be improved should not be selected as rewards to the districts but should be selected because they are the logical rivers and harbors demanding Government aid. Furthermore, it would be wise for the commission to map out a comprehensive and systematic program of improvement. As the appropriations are made to-day there is neither rhyme nor reason to them.

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AN OPINION FROM A CLOSE OBSERVER.

[From the Washington Times, Monday, June 11, 1917.]

PIGS UNDER THE FENCE.

Half the ingenuity, determination, and persistence that are applied in Congress to selfish local ends would put the Nation on a sound basis if they were directed by clear heads and true hearts. The spectacle of Congressman trying to slip their pork through or under the obstructions raised by the present world crisis is one that excites a certain admiration for the amount of energy thus misapplied.

Chairman SMALL, in introducing the river and harbor bill, declared stoutly that every item "constitutes an emergency either of commerce or of national defense." Manufacturing emergencies is about the easiest thing in the world. When a Representative asked if the new projects were "intimately associated with the question of national defense in a military way," in accordance with Secretary Baker's directions, Mr. SMALL admitted that "some of the items are more intimately associated than others." He might have said with equal accuracy that the longest way round is the shortest way home. Boston is nearer New York than San Francisco.

Representative FREAR, of Wisconsin, estimated that preparedness was not related to a quarter of the projects. It is probably a generous estimate. There is no disposition to stop the supply of any absolutely necessary commercial need. But Chairman SMALL himself admitted that only a third of the projects for which surveys were asked would finally be carried through. Mr. LENROOT asked why Government engineers should waste their time making so many useless surveys, to which there was no answer.

The Congressmen who are trying to get through their pet measures in spite of the Nation's disapproval have not waked up yet. It is the business of the best elements among their own constituents—those who are not hungry for pork—to wake them as rudely and as suddenly as possible.

—

OTHER CONSERVATIVE OPINIONS.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, May 8, 1917.]

MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE—NONE FOR GRAFT.

We are in a prodigal frame of mind. The sentiment of the Nation is expressed in the famous toast, "Millions for defense but not one penny for tribute." The President, Congress, the State legislatures, the city authorities everywhere, and the people are in the mood to go the limit in protecting the lives and the property of citizens and in sustaining the honor of the country. This is fine. It proves that loyalty and patriotism still burn in the breasts of the American people. Enthusiasm is necessary. Without it little or nothing can be accomplished in this world. It is especially necessary in times like the present. But there is no reason why prudence and common sense should not go arm in arm with love of country.

In a word, we should spend millions and billions for defense, but at the same time firmly resolve that not one penny of the war appropriations should go for graft. To carry out this purpose means unrelenting care and watchfulness. In war times there are bound to be some vultures on the lookout for easy money. It is the duty of the executives and legislators to use every means in their power to prevent waste and extravagance and thievery.

For instance, a $27,000,000 river and harbor bill is about to be launched by the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House. Such a bill seems to be necessary to meet existing conditions. It is understood to have the approval of the President and the Secretary of War, because it provides for certain harbor needs in connection with our ships. So far, so good. But it is a notorious fact that omnibus bills of this character in the past have been utilized as a means of distributing "pork" in certain congressional districts.

Every dollar of this money which is proven necessary for the actual needs of the country, or for the successful prosecution of the war, should be appropriated, but not a penny of it should be allowed to go out of the Treasury for projects which will not bear the closest scrutiny—for schemes that are nothing more nor less than raids upon the money chest of the Nation.

The responsibility for sifting out the good from the bad or the unnecessary rests with the Members of Congress. Appropriate all the millions that may be needed, but satisfy the taxpayers that not a penny is to go for "pork."

That will be real patriotism.

[From the Milwaukee Free Press, Friday, Jan. 5, 1917.]

MAY WE HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT?

A great, an epoch-making opportunity for President Wilson.

It has been nearly a generation since an American Executive had the courage to veto a "pork-barrel" bill. The usual course at the White House has been to deplore these annual raids on the Treasury, and then to sign the current measure on the ground that, after all, it contained many necessary and valuable appropriations.

Of course, this was buncombe. The President fell in with the congressional purpose because of the political value of the "pork" to his party.

The time for action was not the eleventh hour of the session, when the bill was finally railroaded through to the President, but while the grab was in the framing.

Therefore, Mr. Wilson's opportunity exists to-day.

He has expressed himself, like other Presidents, as opposed to "pork-barrel" legislation and the omnibus bills by which it is accomplished.

But he has also expressed his opposition to other abuses—say, the spoils system—and yet when a spoils bill has come to him for signature he has signed it—under protest. It has been the same with the "pork-barrel" measures submitted to him during the past four years.

Will Woodrow Wilson have the courage to take this stand and let politics go hang?

For nearly four years he has had the opportunity to get behind the movement to do away with the omnibus method of appropriation—the bulwark of the "pork barrel." For nearly four years he has been in a position to defend the Treasury against political raids, to place appropriations for public works upon a scientific and economical basis.

But he has done neither the one nor the other.

President Wilson, elected for a second term, should feel superior to the necessity of that political maneuvering which so seriously marred his first administration.

May we not therefore be justified in cherishing the hope that this time he will play the man, the true public servant, and give the coup de grace to the "pork barrel"?

A united country will stand back of him in the event.

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[From Leslie's Weekly, New York City, Feb. 8, 1917.]

THE ANNUAL "PORK" RAIDS.

That millions are wasted each year in reckless appropriations is no secret. The public buildings bill is the most glaring example. After this, and even more important in the aggregate amount, are indefensible items in the river and harbor bill. Representative FREAR, of Wisconsin, who has led the fight against "pork" measures in the House, speaking of the lack of systematic waterway development, claims that of $900,000,000 already spent the larger part has been wasted and that the commerce has steadily declined on the "improved" waterways. "Commerce on the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, Tennessee, Cumberland, and inland waters generally, excepting deep waterways, has diminished on the different streams from 80 to 90 per cent during the past 40 years." For the same period the Mississippi has received $150,000,000, the Ohio $60,000,000, and the Missouri $22,000,000. Proportionately large amounts have been expended on other streams.

The remedy for this wastage is well known. There should be an abandonment of omnibus bills and each item in the appropriations be made to stand or fall on its individual merits.

—

ANOTHER MOLDER OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the Sun, New York City, Dec. 30, 1916.]

WHAT PORK MEANS.

The income of the United States consists of about a billion dollars, derived from three principal sources. From the customs duties the Government gets about $200,000,000 a year. Internal revenue yields about $400,000,000. The third large item is $300,000,000 of postal revenues. This third item cancels itself, for the post office spends all it earns.

It will be seen that the main reliance of the Federal Government is upon the customs and such direct and indirect taxes as it may levy. Any lessening of one makes imperative an increase of the other. If tariffs are lowered income taxes must make up the loss. If the Government faces a shortage of any considerable proportions it must either raise duties on imported goods or multiply the taxes on its citizens. The Democratic policy has always been to keep tariffs down. The Democratic Party has followed this principle in the face of rapidly rising governmental expenses, with the result that the country is now taxed in ways never known before except in time of war.

In time of war! The phrase suggests immediately the critical situation of this country in respect of taxation and revenue. A prudent man lives within his income and is careful not to overstrain the sources of that income lest an emergency find him unable to cope with extraordinary expenditures and leave him bankrupt. A prudent country lives within its income and is careful not to overstrain the sources of that income, lest war, unprovoked, maybe, but not always to be averted, find the public purse unable to meet instant, incessant, and tremendous expense.

If we have war taxes in peace times, what shall we do for money in war times?

If we waste our income and credit for crossroads post offices and creek dredging in time of peace, how shall we raise money in time of war?

There is a limit both to the credit of the United States and the taxable resources of the United States. That limit used to be thought to be a far bound. It is not so far away as it used to be, and at the cost of war to-day it might be reached and exceeded in the midst of the struggle.

Every Congressman who votes for pork strikes a blow at the defense of his country.

Every Congressman who votes for more and higher taxes to pay for pork is aiding the possible enemies of his country.

Every American who sanctions extravagance in government or in private life, who is complaisant in the waste of public moneys, who votes for Congressmen who waste those moneys, or who permits such waste to go on unrebuked is unfaithful to his country.

—

A PHILOSOPHICAL AND POINTED OPINION.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 22, 1917.]

THE ROOT OF THE "PORK" EVIL.

There has been for years in the United States, even in quarters where the rights and dignities of the individual States are most jealously asserted and defended, a disposition to throw upon the Federal

Government the cost of improvements which it should not be called upon to bear. The false belief that the Nation should do for the State or the community what the State or the community should do and had better do for itself is the root of the "pork evil," and this belief has been strengthened by success so often that it has come to be regarded as a true conception of the contract upon which the national federation is based. Constituencies have long expected their Representatives in Congress "to bring something home" from Washington, and Congressmen from certain districts have as long believed that their success as statesmen could best be established by "bringing things home."

In reality such achievements as have been scored in this respect may be counted for loss rather than gain by the districts concerned. Through dependence on Federal appropriations, the people of the districts have in numerous instances neglected to do for themselves those things that would have turned the tide of prosperity in their favor. "Waiting for Congress" to do something accounts for arrested progress in many a once-promising community. Rivers are neglected, canals are left unfinished, harbors remain unimproved, everything waits until such a time as Congress shall grant an appropriation. Meanwhile the alert, independent, and self-dependent rival community has gone into its own pockets and made its own improvements and has grown and become rich.

"Waiting for Congress to do something" is on a par with the waiting of Mr. Wilkins Micawber for "something to turn up." It is a blighting weakness. The community that exists in the hope that Congress will "do something" for it "some day" has failure written in large letters across it. Just as soon as congressional districts and their Representatives realize that the "pork" appropriation is an affliction rather than a blessing the present system of logrolling will come to an end.

The United States is immensely wealthy, and it could doubtless spend, without feeling it, far more than it does now on useless "improvements" or on improvements that are purely local; but morally it can not afford to give countenance to the use of public moneys for the payment of political debts.

When all is said, if there is any real distinction the Government can better afford to grant than the congressional district can afford to receive appropriations obtained under false pretenses, or in accordance with a dishonest compact, or without expectation or intention of compensating the Nation. No community can derive ultimate profit from participation in any form of wrongdoing.

SEVERAL VOICES FROM THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the Standard Union, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 27, 1916.]

HEAD OFF THESE TREASURY RAIDS.

The two "pork" measures before Congress, the well-known public-buildings bill and the rivers and harbors bill, may not be conspicuous because of the aggregate size of the appropriations provided, but undoubtedly they match any heretofore proposed or passed in boldness of purpose to raid the Federal Treasury.

The Mississippi River flood-reclamation bill, which is part and parcel of the raid, its opponents charge with evident reason, provides an appropriation of $45,000,000 as a starter. It is not the amount of money so much as it is the seeming purpose back of the measure, which is alleged to be a gigantic real estate deal. That may not be the case, but obviously there is occasion to view this measure with profound suspicion.

Then there are a number of items for public buildings for towns and small cities that suggest plain loot. Erecting in communities having a few thousand inhabitants costly Federal structures fit for cities many times larger is, of course, disgraceful.

Fortunately a vigorous opposition in and out of Congress is developing, and the raiders may find that they can not empty the Treasury as easily as they hope.

[From the Boston Journal, Saturday, Jan. 6, 1917.]

HALT THE PORK GRABBERS.

The only right means of checking the wicked extravagance of the pork barrel is to keep the situation before the public and force Congress to be honest. In this year of dwindling funds and mounting taxes the waste of Government money is nothing short of crime. Advertise the crime; show it up; watch every Congressman. If the graft incident to sectional representation can not be routed by that means, then the present form of representative government is at fault and must be changed.

[From the Leader, Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 23, 1916.]

ANOTHER PORK GRAB.

For four years the Democrats in control of the present and the preceding Congress have been squandering the public money with a shamelessness that would have met with a stinging rebuke at the recent election if the American people had not been lulled into easy-going carelessness about Government expense and taxes by the golden lavishness of the war prosperity.

The Wilson administration has not sanctioned this, but its protests have been few and feeble, and it has not exercised its authority and influence to stop the brazen and unprecedented exploiting of the pork barrel as it has in forcing through pet measures of the President. But now that another four years of responsibility rests upon it the situation is different. Secretary McAdoo has given solemn warning that next year there will be a big deficit in the National Treasury. Up until election day there was the possibility that this would have to be met by a Republican administration. Now it must be met by the Wilson administration. And the meeting will not be a matter to joke about.

In spite of the certainty of this deficit and the full knowledge that these pork-barrel raids are ruinous and ought to be made criminal by law, the Democrats of the present Congress, especially the southerners, are determined to keep them up until the day of adjournment, regardless of consequences. A bill is now being made ready for them appropriating $35,000,000 for Federal buildings, mostly needless, in addition to the millions they have already converted into pork. There is practically no doubt that in spite of all shaming and denouncing they will silently and defiantly vote it through.

Then that bill will go to President Wilson. Will he sign it, as he did others of the same kind when he was a candidate for reelection and needed all the political support he could get, or will he veto it against the chance that by so doing he will antagonize pork-hunting Representatives whose votes he will want in the next Congress? The country can only wait and see.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION BY A FEARLESS REPRESENTATIVE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the Sun and New York Press, Wednesday, Dec. 27, 1916.]

IN THE SADDLE.

In the House Committee on Ways and Means the chairman and 6 of the 13 other majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Appropriations 7 of the 13 majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Claims the chairman and five of the seven other majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Flood Control the chairman and five of the eight other majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads the chairman and 6 of the other 12 members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds the chairman and 6 of the other 10 majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Rivers and Harbors the chairman and 6 of the other 12 majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on Roads the chairman and 7 of the other 12 majority members are southern Democrats.

In the Committee on War Claims the chairman and six of the other eight majority members are southern Democrats.

And in the Committee on Rules, the carbureter of the machine, the chairman and four of the six other majority members are southern Democrats.

Be good enough to overlook the monotony of phrase and the generally statistical aspect of the foregoing paragraphs; they disclose the truth of a situation that is menacing the public funds in the Treasury and the pockets of the taxpayers. There is no use in blinking the fact that the southern Democracy is in the saddle and is riding like the devil in a fierce raid for pork. There is no disguising the circumstance that the southern Democratic machinery for getting and spending other people's money is at this moment perhaps the most powerful organization of the sort that the Capitol ever saw. The time is short. There is no knowing what eclipse of opportunity will occur when the Sixty-fourth Congress goes out of existence next March and the Sixty-fifth comes in. This is perhaps the last call for the meal that is swiftly attaining the dimensions of a grand gorge. The conviction is growing among the hungry that perhaps it is now or never. The Nation is just now beginning to perceive how grandly the southern Democracy rises to the occasion.

And there are northern Democrats with the same greed of appetite.

From day to day the Sun has been calling attention, both in these editorial columns and in our illuminating news despatches from Washington, to the miserable, sordid, disheartening details of the program of grab and graft, the earlier numbers of which are now being executed in the rooms of the committees constituted as aforesaid. The public-buildings bill is just at present most in evidence for the impudence of its unreckoning voracity. We have exhibited the scheme of granite palaces for crossroads hamlets and grandiose Indiana limestone temples for obscure southern villages which has been developed. Nearly forty millions for Federal buildings, mostly unnecessary, at the time when we need submarines for the preservation of the Republic's very life. Picayune graft and selfish local avarice when patriotism is silent. Turn again to the list in our Washington dispatch of yesterday, and study the shameless enterprise of these mounted and spurred pork chasers.

That is but one number of the meridional program of gluttony. Right after it comes the so-called flood reclamation project, rounded out to forty-five millions under the able supervision of the Flood Control Committee. Right after that the rivers and harbors bill, wrought into gigantic shape and largely fashioned on the good old plan of dumping Treasury cash into the Cheesequake Creeks of both North and South—particularly South—in this year of the saddle. And behind the public-building hod, the flood-control hog, the river and harbor hog, loom the yet vaguely portentous forms of certain claim measures of southern origin, of which we may or may not have more definite vision as the ides of March approach and the urgency of the graft raid increases. It is not a single porker the country now beholds marching toward the Treasury; it is a whole swinery let loose upon the taxpayers.

What is the country to do? Remind the responsible leaders of platform promises pledging the Democracy to economical expenditure and the removal of oppressive taxes? They are long since calloused to such appeals to good faith, to party principle, to ordinary political common sense. Point to the imminent deficiency of a hundred and fifty million or so, which the men in the saddle cheerfully purpose to double for the benefit of themselves and their districts? Why, the cynical answer is already on their lips: What the Nick o' the Woods do we or our constituents care about the deficiency if Hazard crossroads gets its lucky chance in the shape of a $40,000 Federal building and Akatcho Bayou Inlet is put in the same class as the Panama Canal or New York Harbor? Attempt to show by arithmetical demonstration that the Federal tax system, already on a war basis in time of peace, can not stand the additional burden? Again the answer is on the tip of the tongue of the man in the saddle: "Double the income tax once more; the other fellows pay it and we get the pork."

We confess we see little hope of restraining these raiders and defeating these plunderers short of a general and powerful reawakening of public sentiment in favor of common honesty in the disposition of the public money. Make odius the legislative hog. Make the acquisition of pork money personally shameful to the men originating the transaction, and specifically so to the men aiding and abetting or locally or politically profiting by it. Make it a thing to be ashamed of, even in the presence of the pork hunters' own constituents. It is a big job, but it has been done several times in the history of our Republic. Even the salary grabbers of the Forty-second Congress were whipped by the lashes of public indignation into such a state of contrition that many of them went whimpering back to the Treasury door to restore their stolen dollars. It can be done again by the same salutary, if unpleasant process, and the Sun invites the honest newspapers of the United States, without distinction of party nomenclature, to act in concert and to act promptly and to act mercilessly, if need be, as a vigilance committee.

[From the News Letter, San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 17, 1917.]

THE PORK BARREL LUSTILY MILITANT.

Pork-barrel extravagance is running amuck as usual in the present session of Congress. Some $38,000,000 has been appropriated to deepen the inveterate creeks and undrained wells for naval purposes. Even the new situation in the European war fails to restrain the germ-infested pork-barrel rider from his fell determination of scattering the Nation's funds where they will best benefit his constituency in sluicing a creek or adding a foolish wing to the makings of a post office and thus bolster his chances of reelection. This class of national legislators

are as pin-headed and as calloused in conscience as the moss-backed Representatives who mulcted the National Treasury for their own wretched selfishness in the forties. Because the United States are extremely wealthy in this period of its development is no reason to rob the Nation. * * *

The pork barrel is one of the last of a company of like abuses, a situation which in itself is significant of much improvement. It lies with the universities of this country to turn out the stamp of conscientious men who will sweep clean the floors of Congress in this respect.

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MORE PUBLIC OPINIONS.

[From the Public Ledger, Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 27, 1916.]

NO DEFENSE FOR THE PORK BARREL.

Everything that the unblushing father of the pork-barrel public buildings bill, which proposes to leach millions from a rapidly emptying Treasury, says in its defense but confirms the odious character of the measure. It is conceived in the worst kind of cheap sectionalism to begin with, is persisted in from the most sordid of motives, the mere desire of Congressmen "to get something" for their districts, and it proposes to gild the squalor of unprogressive "poor white" hamlets, in the uttermost recesses of the pine belts or the mountain regions of the South, with millions of money for Federal buildings just to amuse backwoodsmen largely and to replace the village store as a lounging place.

Having learned the evil lesson from the rivers and harbors bill, the sponsor for the grab is out in an attack on the great population centers and the big cities, whose postal revenues, by the way, as is the case with all their other contributions to Federal revenues, support the Congress and make it possible for Congressmen to throw away the taxpayers' money as if they were drunken sailors. The sound economic thing and the logical thing in the matter of port development is for the Government to see to it that every great entrepôt of the country, whether it be Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, or Seattle, is equipped to meet the demands of modern commerce and is also being developed to anticipate future needs and to attract and hold the commerce of the future.

And so with the public-building issue. After the natural distributing centers of the country have received the conveniences and the Federal buildings that will enable them to carry on their Federal functions properly and as their national importance demands, then it will be time enough for Goose Creek, Sandy Bottom, and Lonesome Pine to be looked after. But not with the appalling extravagance defended by Congressmen, who believe that the enterprising sections of the country should be taxed heavily in order that luxuries may be granted to those centers which are and will remain negligible factors in the country's growth and progress, but which are, of course, convenient pawns in the indefensible logrolling game.

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FROM TWO GREAT MOLDERS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill., June 14, 1917.]

WAR-TIME PORK.

With the defeat of the rivers and harbors bill in the Senate early in the spring it looked as if the country might be spared the disgrace of the annual pork legislation for one year at least. But recently the bill was revised and reported in the House.

This time it is promoted under the guise of being a war measure. The majority say its purpose is to further military and naval preparedness. They also claim it is an "economy" proposition, on the ground that the previous bill has been scaled down from $38,000,000 to $27,000,000.

The speciousness of these claims is being revealed in the discussion in the House. The alleged reductions are not reductions at all. The present bill, for instance, does not include $6,000,000 for the Mississippi River for the simple reason that this sum has been transferred to the sundry civil bill. The same order of economy is illustrated in the elimination of $1,300,000 for the purchase of the 13-mile Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. In this case a clause has been inserted for the condemnation of the waterway, with the probable result that the ultimate cost will greatly exceed the original appropriation. Congressman MADDEN, by the way, said he could not understand the purpose of this improvement unless it was to take the seasickness out of the sea.

A few of the proposed projects come within the scope of naval preparation. They relate to harbor developments at New York, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. But such projects, according to the minority Members, constitute less than one-fourth of the 400 items in the bill. To all intents and purposes it is just plain, old-fashioned pork legislation.

Confident of the success of the familiar logrolling methods, the majority are not making any great effort to justify such items as $5,000,000 for the Ohio River, $1,000,000 for the Missouri, and $632,000 for the Cumberland, not to speak of such smaller amounts as $100,000 for the Congaree (S. C.) and $230,000 for the Mementeau Canal (La.) They are certainly not military propositions. Congress has already spent $60,000,000 on the Ohio, yet commerce in the river is said to be annually growing smaller. The appropriation for the Missouri is declared to be nothing but a land-reclamation scheme.

The case against the bill is even more damning in view of the fact that on March 1 of this year there were balances of $32,000,000 available for river and harbor purposes. The amounts set up in the new bill are entirely supplemental and additional.

In the words of the House committee minority report, it is a sad commentary on legislative methods when Congress preaches conservation and economy to the country and then practices extravagance. While the wheels seem to be greased as usual for the passage of the bill in the House, Congressmen are making a hard fight for the elimination of the pork. The country should let them know it stands back of them.

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[From the Sun and New York Press, Saturday, Dec. 30, 1916.]

WHAT PORK MEANS.

The income of the United States consists of about a billion dollars derived from three principal sources. From the customs duties the Government gets about $200,000,000 a year. Internal revenue yields about $400,000,000. The third large item is $300,000,000 of postal revenues. This third item cancels itself, for the Post Office spends all it earns.

It will be seen that the main reliance of the Federal Government is upon the customs and such direct and indirect taxes as it may levy. Any lessening of one makes imperative an increase of the other. If tariffs are lowered, income taxes must make up the loss. If the Government faces a shortage of any considerable proportions, it must either raise duties on imported goods or multiply the taxes on its citizens. The Democratic policy has always been to keep tariffs down. The Democratic Party has followed this principle in the face of rapidly rising governmental expenses, with the result that the country is now taxed in ways never known before except in time of war.

In time of war! The phrase suggests immediately the critical situation of this country in respect of taxation and revenue. A prudent man lives within his income and is careful not to overstrain the sources of that income lest an emergency find him unable to cope with extraordinary expenditures and leave him bankrupt. A prudent country lives within its income and is careful not to overstrain the sources of that income lest war, unprovoked may be, but not always to be averted, find the public purse unable to meet instant, incessant, and tremendous expense.

If we have war taxes in peace times, what shall we do for money in war times?

If we waste our income and credit for crossroads post offices and creek dredging in time of peace, how shall we raise money in time of war?

There is a limit both to the credit of the United States and the taxable resources of the United States. That limit used to be thought to be a far bound. It is not so far away as it used to be, and at the cost of war to-day it might be reached and exceeded in the midst of the struggle.

Every Congressman who votes for pork strikes a blow at the defense of his country.

Every Congressman who votes for more and higher taxes to pay for pork is aiding the possible enemies of his country.

Every American who sanctions extravagance in Government or in private life, who is complaisant in the waste of public moneys, who votes for Congressmen who waste those moneys, or who permits such waste to go on unrebuked, is unfaithful to his country.

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PUBLIC OPINION ON OTHER SPECIES OF PORK.

[From the Washington Herald, June 21, 1917.]

ARMY MOVEMENTS MENACED BY PORK-BARREL POLITICIANS—CONGRESSMEN, UNDER THUMB OF CONSTITUENTS HUNGER FOR CAMP-SITE PLUMS, DELAY SENDING OF TROOPS TO EUROPE.

Pork-barrel politics by certain southern Congressmen has tied up the entire Army program and threatened to delay the movement of troops to France until long after the General Staff had planned.

What has been going on behind the scenes in regard to National Guard cantonments became known yesterday and reveals a story of certain Members of Congress sacrificing the best interests of the Army in order that their States might profit by the money spent on cantonments and by the men to be quartered there.

When the General Staff decided upon 32 cantonments—16 for the National Guard and 16 for the draft army—orders were sent to the commanders of all Army departments to select a certain number of sites in their departments for camps. The camps for the conscript army were rapidly selected. About 10 days ago the War Department announced the selection of six sites for National Guard cantonments.

RECOMMENDATIONS REJECTED.

Then the announcements stopped. No further word was heard concerning the nine camps to be established in Gen. Wood's department. Time passed rapidly, until it is less than a month before the first National Guard regiments are scheduled to go into concentration camps.

The reason for the delay became public yesterday. It was declared that immediately he was ordered to select camp sites, Gen. Wood, with the vigor which characterized his actions both as Chief of Staff and commander of the Department of the East, at Governors Island, sent out a number of his staff officers to locate camp sites. They made their reports to him and he immediately went over the territory they had toured, checking up on their recommendations and approving them in toto.

Then he sent the recommendations to Washington. They contained what in Gen. Wood's opinion were the best sites in the southeastern part of the United States for the nine camps, but every recommendation was for a site in the State of Georgia. If the recommendations for these 9 sites had been approved, 11 of the 12 camps in the Southeastern Department would have been in Georgia.

Wind of Gen. Wood's recommendations reached the ears of Congressmen from other States in the department, which extends as far West as Louisiana and as far North as the Virginia border. A bombardment of protests shook the War Department. The General Staff was set upon front and rear by Congressmen whose States were hungry for site plums and who were determined that the State's appetite should be gratified in order that the States might not lose taste for the Congressmen when the next election rolled around.

Such a storm of protests reached Adjt. Gen. Henry F. McCain and Maj. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Acting Chief of Staff, that they wired to Gen. Wood, pointing out that all his selections had been for Georgia sites and urging him to reconsider them to an extent at least. Gen. Wood wired back that he stood absolutely by his original recommendations; that the sites recommended offered the best facilities and met the primary requirements of pure and sufficient water, easy transportation facilities, and a short haul to points of embarkation on the seaboard at Savannah and Charleston.

GEN. WOOD'S TASK IN VAIN.

Then, under pressure here, it was stated yesterday, the department ordered Gen. Wood to recommend a new set of sites. He was forced to do his work all over and is still at it, while the moment when the troops will be moving to the camps—now not even on paper—draws near. It was understood at the War Department yesterday afternoon that Gen. Wood had tentatively selected six of the nine camps, two each to be located in Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. The Alabama locations will entail a long extra railroad haul, while outside of a few places South Carolina is understood to offer no suitable facilities for a camp of 40,000 men—a camp larger than most of her cities.

Meanwhile the Militia Bureau is completely at a standstill. No arrangements can be made with the railroads for transportation until the camp sites are selected, and no tentage and other materials can be shipped until some place to ship them is determined upon. From the appearance of things last night the mobilization of the increments ordered out on July 15 may have to be postponed. The second and third increments, ordered out on July 25 and August 5, are in little better position.

The prospects are that the camps may be so delayed that the War Department either will be obliged to delay moving the guardsmen to Europe at the time planned, or that the men will be sent overseas without the period of intensive training planned for them and will have to go to France green for trench preparation there.

IN CONCLUSION.

The foregoing clippings are taken from the "bar of public opinion." Many of them were sent me without comment, and they furnish food for consideration by any legislative body composed of able men carrying grave responsibilities, men who can not afford lightly to brush aside such strictures on the greatest legislative body in the country. These clippings would not have been offered but for the challenge of those who pretend to ask for public opinion. Can any intelligent Member of Congress at either end of the Capitol have any doubt on the subject? Some of the strongest editorial writers in the country have expressed their opinions in unmistakable language of legislative standards that surround these local appropriations. I will be ever ready to defend the personal character ordinarily of any Member of Congress, but I would be derelict in performing a public duty if I failed to place before Members a public estimate of such legislation, reflected by the mirror of public opinion, particularly when that opinion is sought by those who challenge its production.

Let me say in conclusion that these remarks were not contemplated and would not have been offered or placed in the RECORD were it not more than all else for the challenge of Chairman SMALL issued to the minority members of the committee. He challenged the minority to find a single unworthy or unnecessary project in the bill, and said he would lay his case at the "bar of public opinion," so a few observations necessarily have been offered in order to show how such bills stand at the bar. Scores of projects in the pending bill, including the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, Trinity, Red, Ouachita, Congaree, and innumerable other inland waters, rivers, canals, creeks, great and small, included in the four hundred-odd items contained in this bill have heretofore been discussed and enormous Government waste on these waterways revealed. Not one of these items has any proper place in this urgency war measure. Dozens of uncommercial inlets and harbors are also found among the items contained in the bill. It is not a question of dollars nor of waste alone, but it is a question of legislative methods that to-day stands convicted at the "bar of public opinion," and will continue to remain there until we alter a notoriously bad system now employed in meeting legitimate national waterway needs.

NO "WAR" WATERWAY PROJECTS IN BILL.

Although Col. Newcomer before our committee has said a 40-foot channel at flood tide will accommodate the largest 33-foot naval vessel in service, I feel safe in saying that if the Hell Gate proposition is considered important at this time, by naval authorities, that project could be put through Congress during the present session without a dissenting voice, unless from some disappointed advocates of other projects. Whether the cost reaches $5,000,000 or $15,000,000, the same statement is probably true of any other necessary waterway project urged as a war measure during the present Congress. Although it is improbable that any of the proposed projects named in the bill can be constructed or made available during this war, or for many years to come, no disposition exists on the part of the minority members of the committee to prevent such improvements but attempts to smuggle scores of items into this bill under the guise of "preparedness" are sure to thwart the purposes of those engaged in the task.

Not one publication of note in the country will be found standing for the pending old-fashioned river and harbor measure, and it requires no investigation by experts to discover that this bill in character is as bad as any of its defeated predecessors. Possibly it is unnecessary to embalm these remarks in the RECORD morgue, because no unprejudiced legislator seriously believes this bill in its present form will become law, but these remarks are offered with a view of stimulating investigation into a bad legislative system. In conclusion it is again submitted that the chairman of the committee, together with a majority of the committee have refused by argument and vote to trust the Executive with authority to strike out wasteful projects. The chairman, supported by a majority of the committee, helped to overrule a plain and correct parliamentary decision of the Chair, striking out of the bill the $8,000,000 to $12,000,000, or possibly $20,000,000, Chesapeake & Delaware Canal project. The chairman of the committee has challenged minority members of the committee to point out a single unnecessary or wasteful project in a bill that is worse than the average bill, because it groups indefensible projects with good projects, and includes innumerable worthless items that have been drawing sustenance from the Treasury during the past quarter of a century.

If any Member desires to cover an inviting field of "pork-barrel" legislation he may learn of ethics governing able men at either end of the Capitol who fill the highest positions in waterway organizations, which organizations in the recent past have assumed to direct waterway legislation in Congress and have organized back-fires against Members who oppose such legislative methods. Investigators may also ascertain that efforts to get places on the river and harbor committee appear to be made by those who desire to promote particular waterway projects and are expected to do so by their constituents—not to promote national waterway development through the country, but more particularly to advance some specific project. Personalities, cheap ridicule, and criticisms will undoubtedly be leveled at those who undertake this field of investigation, but in uprooting a vicious legislative system based on sectional grabs for every locality there should be no hesitation which course to choose—and results count. The pending bill is bad and unjustifiable as a war measure or on the ground of commercial necessity, it is as objectionable as its predecessors that have been dropped by the wayside, and in like manner this bill ought to be defeated.

Telegraphic Demands for War-Time Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I submit here some hundreds of telegrams from men of prominence in commercial and professional life, who have expressed themselves in favor of war-time prohibition. May I emphasize that these men are not professional reformers? There are not a half dozen preachers in the entire list, nor does there appear hardly a name of a person known on the prohibition platform or in prohibition literature.

It has some times been said that prohibition sentiment is chiefly confined to the wild and wooly west, but it will be noted that New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other Eastern States are numerously represented. It has also been said that the dry sentiment has its habitat in rural districts. But New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago have more than their proportionate quota in this list.

Again, the opponents of prohibition have been wont to term the reform a hysteria which has attracted the irresponsible in mind and insignificant in substance. Let me call attention to the fact that every individual name represented as signers of these telegrams is an outstanding name. They represent the best in society, intellect, and commerce. This Congress will do wisely to read thoughtfully and weigh carefully the opinions and advice submitted:

ARIZONA.

I strongly favor national prohibition during the period of this war to prevent venereal diseases in Army and Navy, waste of food in manufacturing liquors, and to promote national productive efficiency.

THOMAS E. CAMPBELL,
Governor of Arizona, Phoenix, Ariz.

CALIFORNIA.

Believing society ought not deliberately to tolerate that which impairs both individual and collective efficiency, I favor national prohibition. We can not properly conserve and utilize our resources either of men or materials if we dissipate them in production and consumption of intoxicating liquors.

BENJ. F. BLEDSOE,
Judge of United States District Court,
Southern District of California, Los Angeles, Cal.

—

Faculty University Southern California unanimously favors national prohibition during war.

GEO. F. BOVARD,
President Southern California University,
Los Angeles, Cal.

—

Most sincerely in favor of national prohibition during war to safeguard young recruits in Army and Navy, to promote national efficiency in all directions, and to save food wasted in manufacture of liquor.

C. H. GILBERT,
Professor of Zoology, Leland Stanford
University, Palo Alto, Cal.

Drink traffic a foe to national effectiveness. Liquor business a colossal, wicked waste of precious food products; punctures moral grit, menaces physical and mental efficiency. It is an enemy within the gates. Immediate national prohibition would constitute one of the most tremendous steps in national preparedness.

J. STITT WILSON,
Ex-Mayor of Berkeley, Cal., Member of National Committee, Socialist Party, Berkeley, Cal.

I believe every important consideration demands national prohibition during war.

Dr. E. S. BOGARDUS,
Professor of Economics, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

National efficiency essential to victory. Liquor traffic is an enemy to efficiency, economic and military, wasting man power, material, and facilities of production. It induces further wastefulness and loss.

JOSEPH W. BINGHAM,
Professor of Law, Leland Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

Think national prohibition almost essential for successful conduct of real war. In face of shortage of food supplies, especially grains, we must bend every effort toward conservation.

EDWARD ELLIOTT,
Attorney, Lane, White & Elliott, Berkeley, Cal.

I am convinced that conservation of manhood, foodstuff, materials, and efficiency of forces alike demand suppression of the liquor traffic.

L. J. THOMAS,
President Farmers and Merchants' Bank, Imperial, Cal.

I am unqualifiedly of the opinion that national prohibition during war to prevent diseases, save food used in the manufacture of liquor, and to promote national productive efficiency is not only desirable but an absolute necessity. Our brains must be clear and nerves steady to win this fight for humanity, and we must win. I believe, too, that this expresses the sentiment of all the people of California who do not directly profit by the manufacture or sale of liquor.

W. H. THOMAS,
Judge of the Superior Court, Santa Ana, Cal.

Heartily indorse prohibition measure during war.

E. D. CONGDON,
Professor of Stanford University, California.

Consider national prohibition absolutely necessary to highest degree of efficiency.

ALBERT B. ULREY,
Professor of Biology and Director of the Marine Biological Station, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

Heartily approve of national prohibition during war as a measure certain to promote national efficiency, save waste of food and capital, and decrease disease; see message. Clear to me that England and France would have been better off to-day had they dealt more vigorously with the drink problem at the outset.

E. P. CUBBERLY,
Professor of Education, Stanford University, California.

In my opinion national prohibition liquor traffic would be great step toward efficient national defense. From my official experience am convinced effects of liquor in time of peace are extremely detrimental to individual and a public waste. In time its evil effects would necessarily be greatly augmented.

J. W. CURTIS,
Judge of Superior Court, San Bernardino, Cal.

I think national prohibition extremely desirable during the war.

Dr. GEO. C. PRICE,
Leland Stanford Junior University, California.

I am most profoundly and heartily in accord with suggestion for war-time prohibition. No move, in my opinion, could be more desirable.

LUTHER BURBANK,
"The Plant Wizard," Santa Rosa, Cal.

Emphatically in favor of national prohibition as war measure.

HAROLD HEATH,
Department of Zoology, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

Every consideration favors national prohibition during war.

R. D. HUNT,
Professor Economics, University Southern California, Los Angeles.

We ought to snatch good where we can from evils of war. We must strike directly at two greatest sources of waste of force—alcoholism and vice.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN,
Chancellor of Leland Stanford University, California.

COLORADO.

I favor national prohibition during war.

Dr. F. A. BUSHEE,
Professor of Ecomonics, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Prohibition by all means.

L. W. COLE,
Professor of Psychology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

I strongly favor national prohibition. In war the saloon deals in trouble, weakness, and treachery. The money for liquor is needed for food and clothing, the grain use by breweries and distilleries should be added to the food supply.

CHAS. A. LORY,
President Colorado Agriculture College, Fort Collins, Colo.

Strongly favor national prohibition as economic measure, increasing efficiency of Army and Navy, productivity of the people. Also conservator of public health and morals.

F. N. BRIGGS,
President Interstate Trust Co., Denver, Colo.

My visit to Europe last year, and what I saw there, only adds to my conviction that it is not only desirable but positively necessary that we should have national prohibition during the war. It is almost as important as raising an army.

Sincerely, yours,

BEN B. LINDSEY,
Judge Juvenile Court, Denver, Colo.

CONNECTICUT.

Prohibition would impress central powers with our national earnestness, would incite Great Britain to more vigorous action against her supreme menace, and would make war real to our people. Nothing would more unify the Nation and breed solemn purpose than this urgent sacrifice demanded by the Government and promptly effected. Patriotism would take on vital meaning among our careless millions. The proposal is hall-marked with a lofty, invincible, twentieth century Americanism. It would spell resurrection from our dead selves as a gorged, pleasure-mad, materialistic people.

AMOS P. WILDER,
Former Consul General, Shanghi, Secretary of Yale in China, New Haven, Conn.

Drinking intoxicating liquor leads to disease of mind and body. It is not safe for the Nation to trust the secrets necessary to be kept regarding our defenses during war time to people with diseased minds, for the protection of both Nation and individuals; therefore its sale should be prohibited.

Intoxication leads to debauchery and crime against the opposite sex. For the fair fame of American manhood, the stuff that poisons and excites men's minds and bodies in times of war, and leads them to commit crimes against other men's mothers and sisters should be abolished by national prohibition, and its use prohibited by military rules and regulations providing severe punishment.

SIMON LAKE,
M. I. N. A., Inventor and Consulting Engineer, Milford, Conn.

Strongly in favor of national prohibition during war.

BISHOP WHITE,
Vice President American Chain Co. (Inc.), Bridgeport, Conn.

I unqualifiedly approve of national prohibition during the war.

GEORGE G. WILLIAMS,
President J. B. Williams Co., Soap Manufacturers, Glastonbury, Conn.

—

Favor national prohibition as a national-defense measure.

DR. H. W. CONN,
Professor of Biology, Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn.

—

Entire Interurban Club approve national prohibition.

DR. GEORGE BLUMER,
Dean, Medical Department, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition.

GEO. A. DRIGGS,
President American Pier Co., Waterbury, Conn.

—

The efforts of your committee for war-time prohibition in this country should, in my judgment, meet with the unqualified approval of all thinking men.

ROBUS M. DANFORT,
Captain, Field Artillery, New Haven, Conn.

—

For economical reasons as well as others, strongly favor national prohibition during war.

C. C. CHESENEY,
Manager General Electric Co., New Haven, Conn.

—

Unqualifiedly in favor national prohibition during war.

PROF. F. W. CARPENTER,
Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition.

A. B. BENNERT,
General Manager Crane Manufacturing Co., Bridgeport, Conn.

—

I fully approve of national prohibition during the war both to prevent disease and to conserve our food supply as well as to promote efficiency in general.

C. J. BARTLETT,
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

—

I heartily favor national prohibition during war and continuing after, if possible.

W. B. KNIGHT,
Quidnock-Windham Manufacturing Co., Manufacturer, Quidnock, R. I., and Willimantic, Conn.

—

Believe national prohibition essential to successful prosecution of the war and to industrial efficiency, so necessary for military success.

OLIVER L. JOHNSON,
President of the Aspinook Co., Jewett City, Conn., and Norwich, Conn.

—

I advocate national prohibition to conserve resources, increase efficiency, and promote loyalty and integrity of American people.

E. P. BULLARD,
President Bullard Machine Tool Co., Bridgeport, Conn.

—

I strongly believe national prohibition during war should be adopted. We are facing serious food shortage. Using grain in manufacture of liquor is useless waste. Efficiency of labor and of Army and Navy will be greatly increased.

W. A. ROGERS,
President Bates & Rogers Construction Co., New Haven, Conn.

—

I am personally strongly inclined to the opinion that absolute prohibition of manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages is most desirable and important.

E. O. GOSS,
Scovill Manufacturing Co., Waterbury, Conn.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

In reply to your letter I would say that I favor and recommend—during the war or any time—the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

NELSON A. MILES,
Lieutenant General United States Army, Washington, D. C.

Conditions that may demand conscription of men as soldiers and of wealth for arming them call as loudly for the diversion of foodstuffs from distilleries, breweries, and bars to gristmills, bakeries, and breakfast tables.

LOUIS F. POST,
Assistant Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

—

I am in hearty sympathy with the movement for national prohibition during the war as a means both of efficiency and of economy. In the Army, in the Navy, on the farm, in the shops, and in all of the occupations of transportation total abstinence is needed for the highest possible result, and the millions of bushels of grain that would be saved from the distilleries would be far more valuable as foodstuffs for our own people and for the people of Europe.

P. P. CLAXTON,
Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

—

It seems to me vastly important to conserve our boys in training camps and our food resources at home by abolishing the manufacture and sale of liquor and the attendant vices thereto. Why should we waste our soldiers' lives and our civilians' strength with the same deadly weapon?

W. A. WHITE,
Superintendent United States Hospital for the Insane, Washington, D. C.

—

I heartily favor prohibition at all times, and I think that the arguments in favor of it are even stronger in times of war than they are in times of peace. I shall cordially support any prohibition measure that may come before Congress. I believe that if we could bring about prohibition in the country it would be a very strong element in the matter of preparedness and in the direction of bringing the war to a successful and speedy termination.

J. CREPPS WICKLIFFE BECKHAM,
Member of United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

—

There seems to be no doubt that many of the excesses committed by soldiers in the first stages of the great European war were committed by soldiers who were more or less intoxicated. They had evidently secured access to great quantities of liquor and had made such use of them as to unsettle their ordinary common sense.

The United States faces at the present time, in my judgment, an exceedingly critical condition with regard to foodstuffs and to the preservation of the mental integrity of its people. There is no doubt that if some measures are not taken immediately the great waste of material to which the American people are accustomed will go on and seriously hazard finally the food supply, and consequently the health of the people. Very much is being done to forestall this result, but probably no one step could be taken which would so helpfully reinforce all that is being done to encourage the planting of gardens and larger acreage to foodstuffs than the proper treatment of the question of liquor with the use it makes of great masses of foodstuffs.

DR. S. M. NEWMAN,
President of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA.

I hope that the President and Congress will carry national prohibition into effect at once.

SIDNEY J. CATTS,
Governor of Florida, Tallahassee, Fla.

GEORGIA.

Vitally important that nation-wide prohibition measure be passed to safeguard our men and conserve our food. Maj. Gen. O'Ryan, quoted in Social Hygiene Bulletin, March issue, established record among 19,000 soldiers on border of less than 20 cases venereal infection by prohibiting liquors in any form and enforcing moral prophylaxis.

JOHN H. EAGEN,
President American Cast Iron Pipe Co., Atlanta, Ga.

—

Misuse of food supplies in this period of extremely high prices and dearth of necessities is a criminal waste without regard to the injurious effect of the alcoholic products. National prohibition for at least the period of the war seems absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the physical vigor of the Nation; comes before indulgence in alcoholic stimulants.

W. J. PIERPONT,
President of the Pierpont Mfg. Co., Savannah, Ga.

Prohibition in force in Georgia nearly one year has produced astonishing economic benefits. Following are percentages of reduction arrests for crime in Savannah: Assault with intent to commit murder, 64 per cent; burglary, 47 per cent; drunk and disorderly, 72 per cent; larceny, 50 per cent; larceny after trust, 76 per cent; murder, 66⅔ per cent; lunacy, 54 per cent; number of convicts reduced 50 per cent. Approximately 3,000 less calls for patrol wagon and 10,000 less articles pledged with pawnbrokers than in previous years of open saloons. Farmers and other employers of labor agree efficiency and reliability of labor increased 50 per cent. The enormous quantity of grain required for production of alcoholic drinks is urgently needed for food. It will be a crime to allow continued waste in this manner. National prohibition during war is of vital importance.

WALLACE J. PIERPONT,
Mayor of Savannah, Ga.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition for all times.

R. J. JONES,
President of the Canton Cotton Mills, Canton, Ga.

—

Entirely in favor of war-time prohibition.

F. B. GORDON,
President Columbus (Ga.) Manufacturing Co.

IDAHO.

I very much favor national prohibition, not only during the war but for all time. The experience of Idaho demonstrates beyond cavil that prohibition is one of the greatest economic measures ever adopted.

M. ALEXANDER,
Governor, Boise, Idaho.

ILLINOIS.

Replying to your telegram, would say that I am in favor of national prohibition during the war and forever after.

DAVID R. FORGAN,
National City Bank, Chicago, Ill.

—

Favor well-defined national prohibition.

J. P. REEVES,
Treasurer Chicago & Eastern Railroad Co., Chicago.

—

I recommend unhesitatingly during the war, as a necessary step to insure the conservation of foodstuffs and the increase of industrial productivity, and believe immediate steps should be taken to enforce it.

CHARLES PIEZ,
President Link-Belt Co., Chicago, Ill.

—

I favor national prohibition in its fullest measure.

W. G. BIERD,
President Chicago & Alton Railroad Co., Chicago, Ill.

—

Believe war-time prohibition very desirable.

MISS JANE ADDAMS,
Author, Head Resident Worker, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

—

I am heartily in favor of prohibition during war.

BION J. ARNOLD,
Electrical Engineer, Member of the Naval Consulting Board, ex-President of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, Etc., Chicago, Ill.

—

I am for nation-wide prohibition as a war measure because of effect on food, economic, and health conditions.

W. A. EVANS,
Editor of Health Department, Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.

—

I believe national prohibition during the war will add greatly to national efficiency.

BASIL HARVEY,
Associate Professor of Anatomy, University of Chicago.

—

Believe national prohibition during war desirable for medical and economic reasons.

ARTHUR L. RICE,
Treasurer of the Technical Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

Please record me as strongly urging national prohibition as war measure to promote industrial and military efficiency, to secure economy of cereals for food, to help in the prevention of venereal diseases in Army and Navy, and to promote national health and morals.

WINFIELD SCOTT HALL,
Professor of Physiology, Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

—

Favor establishment national prohibition as war measure.

SHAILER MATHEWS,
Chicago University, President Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

—

I want national prohibition at once, to diminish venereal diseases and save food.

A. J. CARLSON,
Professor of Physiology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

—

Believe national prohibition absolutely necessary for an efficient Army and Navy and the proper conservation of our food supply.

WILLIAM N. GEMMILL,
Judge Municipal Court, Chicago, Ill.

—

I am emphatically in favor of national prohibition during the war. It would very greatly increase the efficiency of nearly every department of American military and industrial activity, and in its practical results would be equivalent to the taxation and appropriation of several billion dollars.

W. T. BEATTY,
President Austin Manufacturing Co., Chicago, Ill.

—

National prohibition during the war seems to be imperative. Prohibition would greatly increase productivity in munition plants and other sources of war products and save food wasted or worse in the manufacture of liquor.

Judge ROBERT MCMURDY,
Of Church & McMurdy, Attorneys, Chicago, Ill., President of the Faculty of the John Marshall Law School.

—

Strongly in favor of national prohibition of all alcoholic beverages during war. It will constitute a long step toward increased national effectiveness.

P. M. LINCOLN,
President American Institute Electrical Engineering, Chicago.

—

I strongly believe national prohibition during war should be adopted. We are facing serious food shortage. Using grain in manufacture of liquor is useless waste. Efficiency labor of Army and Navy will be greatly increased. Health of our soldiers and sailors safeguarded by prohibition.

W. A. ROGERS,
President Bates & Rogers Construction Co., Chicago, Ill.

—

By all means and through any agency, no matter how rigorous, there should be absolute prohibition during the war to conserve the food materials, prevent disease, possible disturbances, and increase the general good behavior of the people.

WM. L. TOWER,
Professor of Zoology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

—

I heartily indorse proposal of national prohibition as desirable war measure.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT,
Associate Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago.

—

Must have national prohibition during war at least.

FAY WOODMANSEE,
Woodmansee & Davidson (Inc.), Consulting Engineers, Chicago, Ill.

—

Am heartily in favor of prohibition in our country. Its introduction would meet with strong opposition of interested parties, but precedents created in Europe would help support it here. Believe the immense moral and economic benefits justify its adoption.

W. W. WILLITS,
President Adams & Westlake Co., Manufacturers of Castings, Headlights, Chicago, Ill.

National prohibition most desirable to save food and prevent disease.

H. GIDEON WELLS,
Professor Pathology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

—

I believe it extremely desirable that we have national prohibition for the duration of the war, as it would greatly conserve the grain supply needed for food purposes and will prevent the loss of a large amount of time in industry at a time when the securing of labor is one of the most difficult problems. It will also assist greatly in the prevention of diseases and the reduction of crime and make us stronger in war and stronger in commerce.

L. C. WALKER,
General Manager of the Aeromotor Co., Chicago.

—

Heartily approve proposition for national prohibition.

J. M. DODSON,
Dean Medical Department, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

—

No single measure could strengthen our preparation more than national prohibition. Have been particularly impressed by waste of foods in manufacture of liquor. It is of fundamental importance that this food must be conserved during war.

JOHN M. COULTER,
Head of Department of Botany, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.

—

Heartily indorse national prohibition during war.

Dr. GEO. W. BARTELMEZ,
Chicago, Ill.

—

Heartily favor prohibition. Consider it most necessary for welfare of country.

R. R. BENJAMIN,
President Benjamin Electric Manufacturing Co., Chicago.

—

I believe that national prohibition during the war would influence favorably the prevention of disease, saving of food, and promotion of efficiency. I would add it will protect women and girls in garrisons and marine towns.

Mrs. ELLA FLAGG YOUNG,
Former Superintendent of Schools, Chicago, Ill.

—

We consider national prohibition essential as preventative of disease in Army and Navy, likewise for preservation of cereals for use as foods and imperative to the welfare of all industrial institutions.

PARLIN & ORENDORFF CO.,
Manufacturers Agricultural Machinery, Canton, Ill.

—

I think that national prohibition is the only thing at this time or any other.

WM. GIBSON,
The National Carbon Co., Joliet, Ill.

—

National prohibition would be a justifiable measure for national defense. There can be no doubt but that it would release large resources, physical and economic, which could be utilized for the defense of the country.

JAMES W. GARNER,
Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.

—

Apparently we have not learned the great lesson of the war that vast accumulated wealth and a righteous cause are relatively insignificant when opposed to productive, organizational, and operative efficiencies. Efficiency is lacking with us, individually and governmentally.

Anything, therefore, that endangers the food supply or the vital and moral stamina of those fighting at the front or producing at home must be prohibited.

This means that I thoughly favor national prohibition during the war, to prevent diseases in the Army and Navy, and to save the food wasted in the manufacture of liquor, and to promote national productive efficiency.

B. F. HARRIS,
President First National Bank, Champaign, Ill.

—

During the conflict national prohibition seems inevitable not only as a measure of national discipline and efficiency but as a move to save grain wasted in the making of liquor.

VACHEL LINDSAY, Poet,
Springfield, Ill.

To stop the waste of grains and diminution of human efficiency due to manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages is one of the most important measures of national defense.

EDW. C. HAYS,
Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

—

Now that we are in a world war, health, economy, efficiency, and morals all demand immediate prohibition.

B. B. HIERONYMUS,
President Illinois National Bank, Springfield, Ill.

—

I most assuredly think it would be wise to have prohibition during the war to promote efficiency, to save food, and to prevent disease.

C. A. MOORMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer Moorman Manufacturing Co. Quincy, Ill.

—

National prohibition would make more efficient soldiers, prevent many diseases, conserve food supply, and promote national efficiency.

C. E. LEGG,
President Pontiac Shoe Manufacturing Co., Pontiac, Ill.

INDIANA.

Whatever happens to win the war is a necessity and obligatory. Any national economic improvement helps to win the war. Prohibition has been proved an economic improvement. National prohibition in war time is a necessity and obligatory.

BOOTH TARKINGTON,
Novelist, Indianapolis, Ind.

—

Under prospective food conditions it seems nothing short of criminal to me to permit any of our grain to be used for liquors of any kind, or to permit the use of anything that will lower the efficiency of either the fighting or industrial army.

F. ECKHART,
President Eckhart Carriage & Auto Co., Auburn, Ind.

—

I favor national prohibition to promote the health of the Army and Navy, to save our food supply from being worse than wasted, and to promote national efficiency.

FREDERICK LANDIS,
Ex-Congressman, Temporary Chairman Progressive National Convention, Chicago, 1912, Logansport, Ind.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition during the war.

Dr. ROBERT L. KELLY,
President of Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

—

Short residence at three Army posts convinced me years ago of the desirability of war-time prohibition.

D. D. BOWSHER,
Of N. P. Bowsher & Co., South Bend, Ind.

—

National prohibition is absolutely necessary to Army and Navy efficiency, but even more so for all munition and all "back of the line" production. It is a crime to consume grain for drink in this crisis. The Government should take immediate steps for bone-dry nation-wide prohibition. I will gladly do my bit to assist.

ARTHUR R. BAXTER,
President Keyless Lock Co., Indianapolis, Ind.

—

From every viewpoint it could not be otherwise than exceedingly fortunate if national prohibition could prevail as a war measure. If it could be at once enforced, to be only operative under that particular act until peace was declared, it would be one of the most fortunate war measures, from an economical standpoint and from a moral standpoint; that is, a protection of the morals of our young men that will form the greatest part of the Army. From a hygienic standpoint; that is, the protection of the health of our young men. From the standpoint of efficiency as keeping our soldiers in the best condition to protect themselves and defend the flag when occasion calls.

MARVIN CAMPBELL,
President the South Bend National Bank, South Bend, Ind.

—

By all means we urge national prohibition during the war to conserve our food supply and increase our efficiency.

E. B. THORNTON,
President of the Bedford Steam Stone Works, Bedford, Ind.

I heartily approve national prohibition. There is no question it would produce beneficial results, and, in my opinion, would be a popular enactment.

A. R. ERSKINE,
President Studebaker Corporation, South Bend, Ind.

—

National prohibition during war period imperative if we are to meet in high way the responsibilities we face. Waste of food in manufacturing alcohol in any form for beverage purposes at such a time is little less than criminal. Moral conditions surrounding military camps on Mexican border and elsewhere due to alcohol, and social evil and disease consequent upon indulgence therein are deterring enlistments throughout dry States. Fathers and mothers willing to give their sons to the country in its defense and in defense of democracy, but unwilling that the Government should continue to permit debauchery of their bodies and ruin of their souls while making such defense. This is not only my personal view; it is the general conviction. I hear it constantly on streets, trains, and in homes throughout the Middle West. No more effective national-defense step could be taken.

J. FRANK HANLY,
Ex-Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis.

—

I heartily approve prohibition during war.

TIMOTHY NICHOLSON,
The Indiana Board of State Charities;
ex-President of the National Conference of
Charities and Correction, Richmond, Ind.

—

National prohibition desirable at all times, especially so when Nation is at war.

J. H. MCGILL,
McGill Manufacturing Co., Electrical Specialties,
Valparaiso, Ind.

—

While not a prohibitionist, am in favor of national prohibition at all times, more especially so now.

T. E. PALMER,
Manager Ames Shovel & Tool Co.,
Elwood Steel Plant, Elwood, Ind.

—

National prohibition should become effective at once not only for the prevention of diseases but for the conservation of our young manhood. The awful waste in foodstuffs on account of the manufacture of liquor is appalling.

Yet it is a small part of the real waste when one is reminded of the terrible depreciation of our young manhood and young womanhood on account of the drink evil.

J. K. RISK,
Manufacturers of Centrifugal Cream Separators,
Lebanon, Ind.

—

I strongly favor prohibition by Federal enactment at least for the period of the war as a tremendous factor in material and moral conservation. Our legislature this winter passed State-wide prohibition law. I believe Indiana would heartily support such measure.

MEREDITH NICHOLSON, Novelist,
Indianapolis, Ind.

IOWA.

I am strongly in favor of national prohibition during the war.

C. H. MCNIDER,
President of the First National Bank, Mason City Iowa.

—

Believe national prohibition at this time would be desirable, as we need the grain for food, and no good results from liquor.

CITY NATIONAL BANK,
Council Bluffs, Iowa.

—

Think national prohibition during war not only desirable but necessary.

B. P. FLEMING,
Head of Department Mechanical Engineering,
State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

—

It is a crime to use our cereals in the manufacture of liquor when they are needed to sustain life. Congress should enact national prohibition at once.

W. P. MANLEY,
President Security National Bank, Sioux City, Iowa.

KENTUCKY.

Intoxication and all diseases go hand in hand. Remove alcohol, the diseases will diminish a great degree. Conservation and economy demand the use of grain for food, not drink.

A. GATLIFF,
President of the Southern Coal & Coke Co.,
Williamsburg, Ky.

—

National prohibition is demanded as the first of all war measures. Its value has been proven in Europe, and we are far more ready for it than Europe was.

WM. G. FROST,
President Berea College, Berea, Ky.

KANSAS.

By all means Congress should enact immediately a nation-wide prohibition law. With the Nation at war and every possible resource of food production certain to be strained to the utmost we have neither men nor war material to waste in continuing an evil agency. Millions of bushels of grain are used annually in breweries and distilleries. The hundred thousand laborers worse than wasted in the business should be farming or ready to fight. When martial law is proclaimed saloons always are closed. Why not now that war is declared?

ARTHUR CAPPER,
Governor of Kansas, Topeka, Kans.

—

Favor national prohibition during war to eliminate waste, save food products and labor. Material benefits will greatly exceed loss of revenue. Prohibition will improve moral and physical condition of soldiers.

F. W. BLACKMAN,
Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kans.

—

My opinion is positive that national prohibition is wise and necessary.

Q. F. WALKER,
Dean School Engineering, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kans.

—

I will do all I can for national prohibition.

J. W. BLACKMAR,
Dean the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

—

To save all grains wasted in manufacture of liquor, I heartily indorse and favor, also urge, national prohibition during war.

Prof. HAROLD L. BUTLER,
University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

—

National prohibition greatest single step for conservation of food.

Prof. F. J. KELLY,
Dean of the School of Education, University of
Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

—

Sobriety is fundamental to national and individual efficiency and strength. National prohibition will insure sobriety; let us have it now.

Dr. J. E. KAMMEYER,
Professor of Economics, Kansas State
Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kans.

—

National prohibition during the war would mean a vast saving not only of the people's wealth but also of our moral and physical resources.

F. R. HAMILTON,
Director of Extension, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kans.

—

National prohibition would release large amount of grain, machinery, and labor that could be mobilized for national protection.

W. S. HUNTER,
Professor Psychology, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kans.

—

National prohibition means grain for brain instead of booze; more flour, less whisky; more drygoods, less wet goods; more sober men, less drunken animals. Sober mechanics give the greatest productive power. More efficiency, lessened industrial accidents; better citizenship. A company of clear-brained sol-

diers will whip a regiment of drunken men. National prohibition for the United States would mean the welding together in this country greatest commercial forces and the highest agricultural resources that the world has known in all its history. It is impossible for any other nation to marshal such a necessary combination in defense of its sovereignty. National prohibition eventually; why not now?

GEO. H. HODGES,
Ex-Governor of Kansas, Olathe, Kans.

MAINE.

National prohibition desirable always, but vitally important now.

W. A. DANFORTH,
Treasurer of the Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co., Bangor, Me.

—

Shocking interference of alcoholic drink with efforts of Lincoln to save Union, together with progressive action of Russia and other nations in present war, command us to hit King Alcohol body blow. National prohibition ineffectual so long as liquors are manufactured and distributed by express to individuals or saloons.

FRANK L. DINGLEY,
Editor Lewiston Journal, Lewiston, Me.

—

I favor prohibition in both times of war and peace.

GEORGE B. GOODALL,
President Goodall Worsted Co., Sanford, Me.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition.

LUCIUS H. MERRILL,
Professor Biological and Agricultural Chemistry, University of Maine.

—

I and associates believe in national prohibition.

J. F. COX,
President E. T. Burrowes Co., Portland, Me.

—

National prohibition of utmost importance at this critical time of our country.

GEORGE CHASE,
President Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

MARYLAND.

No question in my mind as to desirability of national prohibition.

H. S. DULANEY,
President Resinal Chemical Co., Baltimore, Md.

—

Heartily in favor national prohibition, especially during war.

ROBERT GARRETT,
Banker, Baltimore.

—

National prohibition both sound and wise.

EUGENE LEVERING,
President National Bank of Commerce, Baltimore, Md.

—

National prohibition, at least during the war, would save a great deal of food and would promote the productive and fighting efficiency of the Nation.

Mr. N. MUSHER,
President Pompeian Co., Baltimore.

—

Believe national prohibition very desirable during war.

ARTHUR J. DUNTON,
Baltimore, Md.

—

Nation should by all means close up manufacture and sale of liquors, preserve food supply in interest of health and morals, and to set example to other nations.

DANIEL BAKER,
President Lime & Stone Co., Baltimore, Md.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition.

WM. F. COCHRAN,
Philanthropist, Baltimore, Md.

—

Strongly advocate national prohibition for term of war.

HARRY J. BERKLEY,
Professor of Psychiatry, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Our board of trustees have gone on record as favoring the discontinuance of the manufacture of malt and distilled liquors as a necessary step in saving food waste.

H. J. PATTERSON,
President Maryland State College of Agriculture.

—

I believe no single step the Government can take would be fraught with so much good to Army and Navy and the morale of the public at home as bone-dry prohibition during the war. It would conserve a million bushels of grain for food, set free all hop lands for cultivation, and would prevent a vast amount of venerial disease acquired under intoxication. We are already seeing the baleful influence of the saloon on our Baltimore recruits.

Dr. HOWARD A. KELLY,
Professor of Surgery, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

—

Am fully in sympathy with national prohibition during war period.

A. W. CALLOWAY,
President Davis Coal & Coke Co., Baltimore, Md.

—

Heartily favor immediate national prohibition as greatest single influence tending toward economy and efficiency.

J. T. FINNEY,
Professor Clinical Surgery, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

—

First act that should be passed by Congess after a declaration of war is a declaration of war against whisky, which is as great a curse as war. To call hundreds of thousands of young men to arms and surround them with the temptations so persistently urged upon them by the besotted, beastly whisky sellers that flock to the neighborhood of every army camp would be a crime little short of murder. We have an opportunity now to strike a death blow at the unspeakable curse of whisky and to set a standard of national and personal sobriety which would affect the whole world for good. While the world is short of food and prices are steadily mounting, millions of bushels of grain are being turned into alcoholic drink. Every bushel thus used takes bread from the poor and lessens the world supply of foodstuffs, while the products of the brewery and distillery add to the sorrows and sufferings of the world. The brewery interests are endeavoring to combat this position on the ground that the Government will need all possible income and should not deprive itself of the tax on alcoholic drinks. On the contrary no greater saving could be made to the Nation financially and in manhood than national pohibition during the war. We can infinitely better afford to lose the income from the tax on whisky and beer than to lose the two billions or more dollars annually wasted for alcoholic drinks, and the still greater cost in the destruction of manhood by the side of which the loss of money is not to be considered. I earnestly hope that the campaign for national prohibition, at least during the war, may be pushed to a successful conclusion.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS,
Editor Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS.

I heartily indorse war-time prohibition.

ELMER JARED BLISS,
President Regal Shoe Co., Boston, Mass.

—

I regard natonal prohibition as a war measure for the conservation of food and human resources as a most effective means for promoting the efficiency of our national preparedness.

L. H. MURLIN,
President of Boston University.

—

National prohibition is needed to protect the makers of munitions, the producers of food, the creators of all the articles of trade. Liquor flowing freely, results of war activities, induce partial moral and physical degeneracy. With liquor banished war stimulus increases efficiency, and through common service, sacrifice, and suffering, tends to heighten the spiritual sensitiveness of the community. Illustrations from Europe during this war offer proofs as to both the evil and the beneficial results.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
Trustee, Vice President of the National Municipal League, President of the Massachusetts Public Opinion League, Boston.

For moral and material welfare of the people total abstinence from alcohol is necessary at all times; for efficiency in war it is imperatively demanded. National prohibition would help. Before Lincoln's proclamation a majority of the States were free from negro slavery; Lincoln made all free. Now is the time to free all Americans from the slavery of alcohol.

COURTENAY GUILD,
Editor Commercial Bulletin, Boston, Mass.

—

Statistics show clearly that the United States should immediately adopt national prohibition as a war measure.

ROGER W. BABSON,
Babson's Statistical Organization, Wellesley Hill, Mass.

—

Am in favor of national prohibition during war.

JOSEPH WALKER,
Ex-Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Boston.

—

Think national prohibition of liquor traffic indispensable during war. How can we logically urge national economy when we are worse than wasting hundreds of millions of dollars worth of food in making intoxicating liquors? National efficiency in this crisis also demands strict prohibition. Can not we sacrifice as much for our ideals?

RAY STANDARD BAKER,
Former Editor McClure's and American Magazines, Amherst, Mass.

—

Cut it all out during the war and after the war too. It is undermining the moral and physical condition of our people and is as dangerous in peace as in war.

CHAS. SUMNER BIRD,
President Bird Paper Mfg. Co., East Walpole, Mass.

—

I approve of war-time prohibition heartily.

ALICE S. BLACKWELL,
Editor Woman's Journal, Boston, Mass.

—

I favor absolutely national prohibition during war.

D. H. F. HEWS,
Instructor in Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Mass.

—

National prohibition has my hearty approval during the war. Grain is worse than wasted in making intoxicating liquors.

JAMES LOGAN,
Ex-Mayor of Worcester, Mass.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition.

W. W. MCLAREN,
Professor of Economics, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

—

I favor national prohibition.

A. M. HOLCOMBE,
Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

—

Millions of bushels of grain destroyed by brewery and distillery should be used to feed America and her allies. War prohibition will settle the food problem; increase manufacture of munitions; save enlisted men from drunkenness, disorder, and venereal sickness. The coming war should be clean and efficient.

EUGENE N. FOSS,
Ex-Governor of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass.

—

National efficiency and economy in Army and Navy and home demand immediate prohibition of manufacture, sale, and use of alcoholic liquors. Favor necessary legal enactments at once.

GEO. B. HAVEN,
Massachusetts Institution of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

—

I favor national prohibition during durance of war to promote efficiency and save food products.

HENRY G. LORD,
Treasurer The Textile World Journal, Boston, Mass.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition, and especially during present war. Believe it is the most efficient method that could be evolved for the general welfare of the United States, but it must be prohibition that prohibits.

ARTHUR C. HASTINGS,
President American Writing Paper Co., Holyoke, Mass.

—

National prohibition can not but be helpful in every way. As preventative, measure would certainly avoid wasteful use of various food products and tend to higher efficiency.

ARTHUR P. GRAY,
Mill Engineer and Architect, Boston, Mass.

—

Yes; national prohibition during war.

PROF. ELLEN HAYS,
Former Professor of Astronomy in Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

—

I deeply feel national prohibition at present is most desirable to largely reduce waste of food and greatly increase national efficiency. European experience confirms this statement.

J. L. GRANDIN,
Proprietor Bonanza Farm, Boston, Mass.

—

My personal opinion national prohibition during war desirable. Manufacture of liquor using millions of bushels of grain now much needed for food. Displaced workmen would be quickly absorbed by other industries. Drinking increases social immorality and venereal disease and so menances health and efficiency of Army. Sober Nation would be able to do its part to end war and so save countless life and treasure.

DR. C. C. CARSTERNS,
Secretary Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston.

—

Prohibition would immeasurably promote economy and efficiency. Now is the time.

W. M. Z. RIPLY,
Professor of Economics, Harvard University.

—

It is under present conditions an absolute necessity.

EDWARD S. PAYSON,
President Emerson Piano Co., Boston.

—

We heartily approve national prohibition, and will exert our influence earnestly to further this end.

C. R. FITCH,
General Manager, Bridgewater, Mass.

—

Heartily indorse national prohibition during war, but on bone-dry basis; if it is to be prohibition for one let it be prohibition for all.

H. C. FICK,
President Knox Motors Co., Chicopee, Mass.

—

National prohibition should be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment for the duration of the war. It would increase our national productive efficiency and help largely to conserve our food supply. Patriotism demands the best there is in every man, and science and experience prove that liquor reduces both mental and physical efficiency.

ISAAC F. NORTH,
President American Soda Water Fountain Co., Boston.

—

Favor national prohibition, and will exert our influence earnestly to further this end.

C. R. FITCH,
General Manager Stanley Tool Works, Bridgewater, Mass.

—

I am strongly in favor of such legislative measures as shall insure national prohibition during the war.

A. E. KENNELLY,
Professor of Electrical Engineering, Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former Chief Assistant to Thomas A. Edison, etc., Cambridge, Mass.

—

National prohibition during war will be the most effective means of upholding the strength and morals in the Army and Navy. It will also make a great saving in food materials. Without it our highest national efficiency can not be attained.

ARTHUR S. JOHNSON,
Trustee, Member C. F. Hovey Co., Boston, Mass.

—

I favor national prohibition as means for preventing disease, for preventing waste of food, and for promoting national efficiency.

LEWIS J. JOHNSON,
Professor of Civil Engineering, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

I strongly approve national prohibition during the war. Let me know if I can serve in any possible way.

JAMES P. PORTER,
Professor in Psychology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

—

I warmly approve war prohibition. Nothing else could so increase our country's efficiency in field and factory. It is disgraceful that the United States and England still lag so far behind Russia.

Prof. GEORGE H. PALMER,
Department of Philosophy, Harvard University, Cambrbidge, Mass.

—

To prevent the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage during war by any constitutional means is, in my opinion, justifiable and most desirable.

WM. G. BASSETT,
President Glendale Elastic Fabrics Co., Easthampton, Mass.

—

Favor national prohibition as war measure.

ELLEN F. PENDLETON,
President Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

—

Consider national prohibition immediately essential for welfare of our country.

JOSEPH O. PHELON,
Professor of Electrical Engineering, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition during war.

ARTHUR PERRY & Co.,
Bankers, Boston, Mass.

—

Approve of prohibition during the war.

H. A. MOSES,
President Strathmore Paper Co., Mittincague, Mass.

—

Unqualified enthusiastic approval of war-time prohibition. How can I assist in obtaining legislation?

Dr. NORTON A. KENT,
Professor of Physics, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

—

Believe national prohibition very desirable to promote productive efficiency and conservation during war.

W. H. BUTLER,
President Haverhill Shoe Manufacturing Association, Haverhill, Mass.

—

I firmly believe the Army and Navy and all citizens are better off with national prohibition.

WILLIAM CARTER,
President William Carter Co., Needham Heights, Mass.

—

I believe national prohibition is highly desirable.

H. A. CHRISTIAN,
Physician Chief Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, Mass.

—

If bone-dry prohibition can be obtained, I earnestly favor it for many reasons, including reduction of crime, divorce, wife beating, neglect of and cruelty to children. The improvement it would bring in the moral and physical health of our people would be worth all the war will cost.

WM. F. DONOVAN,
President Atlas Tack Co., Fairhaven, Mass.

—

I am unreservedly in favor of national prohibition during the war.

SAMUEL S. DALE,
Editor of Textiles, Boston, Mass.

—

In favor of national prohibition during war. Believe effect on health, efficiency, and national economy by such practice would be great.

HOWARD ELLIOTT,
President New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, Boston, Mass.

We most heartily approve of national prohibition. It will increase efficiency of production 25 per cent at least and preserve our food supply greatly. We are with you to the limit on this.

F. O. WELLS,
President Greenfield Tap & Die Co., Greenfield, Mass.

—

I heartily approve national prohibition.

GEORGE F. WHITE,
Docent in Biological Chemistry, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

—

National prohibition during war has unqualified approval.

J. H. WESSON,
President Smith & Wesson Co., Springfield, Mass.

—

I strongly urge national prohibition during the war.

GEO. C. WHIPPLE,
Professor Sanitary Engineering, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

—

I most strenuously favor national prohibition as a necessary war measure.

HARRY F. WARD,
Professor Social Service, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

—

Favor national prohibition during the war.

MARY E. WOOLLEY,
President Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

—

Favor national prohibition during and for sake of war. Dangers to military camps and naval stations already seriously felt here. State producing only fraction of food needs. Much concern expressed by governor in special message. Elimination of 100,000 yearly arrests for drunkenness with several times greater total cases; would greatly help enlistment.

ROBERT A. WOODS,
Superintendent of South End House, Boston, Mass.

—

National prohibition during war imperative for best interests of country, conserving food supply, increasing vigor and efficiency of the people. We can not afford to consume useful food material in making harmful drink.

C. E. TURNER,
Instructor in Biology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.

—

I heartily approve proposed action. Our young men should be protected as much as possible.

GEORGE S. WRIGHT,
President Dwinell-Wright Co., Boston, Mass.

—

I am for strong national prohibition during war.

JNO. F. MOORS,
Of Moors & Cabot, Bankers, Boston;
Member of the Boston Finance Commission;
President of the Associated Charities of Boston.

—

Believe national prohibition during war would increase efficiency of this Nation and conserve food products.

J. F. MCELWAIN,
President Wm. H. McElwain Co., Shoe Manufacturers, Boston.

—

Heartily favor prohibition as war measure. Massachusetts Episcopal clergy agree.

WM. HARMAN VAN ALLEN,
Co-Editor the Living Church, Boston.

—

To hold in check some of the worst evils of war, especially venereal disease, national prohibition during war I believe to be measure of immediate pressing expediency.

CHAS. W. BIRTWELL,
Secretary Children's Aid Society, Boston.

—

National thrift, efficiency, and adequate defense absolutely impossible without prohibition.

MEYER BLOOMFIELD,
Director of the Vocation Bureau, Boston, Mass.

MICHIGAN.

From very careful personal investigation I believe the national food supply in more critical condition than generally supposed, and should be conserved for all reasons. Prohibition at this time is imperative. From observation while on a recent five weeks' tour I am sure that the sentiment is for national prohibition in connection with conservation of food supply.

D. H. CAMPBELL,
Secretary St. Clair Mining Co.,
Iron River, Mich.

—

I believe that national prohibition would be one of the most important measures of preparedness which the Federal Government could institute, not only as a means of preventing diseases but as one of the most important means that could be adopted for promoting health, endurance, and efficiency, and as a means of preventing enormous waste of food materials as well as great waste of time and money.

Dr. J. H. KELLOGG,
Director of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.
Battle Creek, Mich.

—

I am much in sympathy with movement for prohibition during the war.

JOS. BOYER,
President Burroughs Adding Machine, Detroit, Mich.

—

National prohibition during war would contribute vastly toward success in undisciplined America.

M. E. COOLEY,
Dean, College of Engineering and Architecture,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

—

Heartily approve of proposed national prohibition not only during war but permanently.

JEREMIAH DWYER,
President Michigan Stove Co., Detroit, Mich.

—

I believe Nation should adopt prohibition during the war.

WARREN P. LOMBARD,
Professor of Physiology, University of
Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

—

Regard prohibition as highly desirable as war measure.

WALTER B. PILLSBURY,
Professor of Psychology, Ann Arbor, Mich.

—

I strongly advise that as an urgent measure of national defense during the war the Government speedily enact national prohibition. This will promote higher physical and mental efficiency for the entire Nation, and will be the most important means of conserving and increasing the food, clothing, fuel, and other supplies which will be imperatively needed to protect our people from hunger and cold.

ALBERT M. TODD,
Ex-Congressman, President Kalamazoo Municipal
Ownership League, Kalamazoo, Mich.

—

National prohibition during war would promote greatest possible efficiency in all lines of endeavor, would conserve our food supply, would safeguard the lives and morals of our Army and Navy. This action would also impress upon country true seriousness of our task. I strongly advocate immediate action.

RICHARD H. WEBBER,
President J. L. Hudson Co., Automobile Manufacturing,
Detroit, Mich.

—

I consider national prohibition during war most desirable and necessary.

ALFRED S. WARTHIN,
Professor and Director of Pathological Laboratory,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

—

Am heartily in favor of prohibition during the war.

A. E. WEST,
General Manager Port Huron Engine & Thresher Co.,
Port Huron, Mich.

—

We most heartily indorse national prohibition during the war.

F. W. URCH,
Secretary and Treasurer Robert Gage Coal Co.,
Bay City, Mich.

I urge that everything possible be done to effect national prohibition during war and to perpetuate it, if possible. Food conservation alone sufficient to warrant this legislation.

W. F. EVANS,
Vice President Standard Screw Products Co.,
Detroit, Mich.

—

If true that liquor is more destructive than enemies' guns, and as former can be subdued with gain instead of loss, why unnecessarily fight two enemies?

B. F. DAVIS,
President City National Bank,
Lansing, Mich.

—

We are strongly in favor of national prohibition at this time as an economic measure both to save the man and the grain that goes into the liquor business. Local prohibition has increased our efficiency at least 25 per cent, aside from the tremendous improvement from the moral standpoint.

C. E. BEMENT,
Manager Novo Engine Co.,
Lansing, Mich.

—

Complete prohibition of liquor traffic as war measure imperative for prevention of venereal diseases, food conservation, manufacturing and military efficiency.

S. S. KRESGE,
Kresge Five and Ten Cent Stores,
Detroit, Mich.

—

It is my opinion the national prohibition will greatly decrease the occurrence of venereal disease and will make far better general order and efficiency.

ALBERT M. BARRET,
Professor Medical Department University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

—

Favor national prohibition.

T. B. PRESTON,
President of the State Savings Bank,
Iona, Mich.

—

Think war-time prohibition not only desirable but almost imperative.

C. S. CAMPBELL,
President First National Bank, Kalamazoo, Mich.

—

I am strongly for national prohibition during war and after it for human efficiency and a better Nation individually, also collectively.

CHAS. E. LAWRENCE,
General Superintendent Menominee Range Iron Mines,
Palatka, Mich.

—

For moral, health, and economic reasons, I believe firmly in national prohibition during war.

DR. G. CARL HUBER,
Professor of Anatomy, University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor.

—

I am distinctly in favor of prohibition during the war.

BENTON HANCHETT,
President Bank of Saginaw, Saginaw, Mich.

—

I urge that everything possible be done to effect national prohibition during war and to perpetuate it if possible. Food conservation alone is sufficient to warrant this legislation.

W. F. EVANS,
Vice President Standard Screw Product Co.,
Detroit, Mich.

—

I think war-time prohibition both wise and necessary from every standpoint.

F. M. HODGE,
President Kalamazoo Paper Co., Kalamazoo, Mich.

MINNESOTA.

I favor national prohibition during the war as a measure of economy and efficiency.

JOHN CROSBY,
Washburn-Crosby Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Heartily in favor of prohibiting use of grain for liquor during war.

B. F. NELSON,
President Hennepin Paper Co.,
B. F. Nelson Manufacturing Co., Etc., Minneapolis, Minn.

—

Would consider it extremely important that national prohibition be made effective during war.

J. M. GRUBER,
Vice President Great Northern Railroad, St. Paul, Minn.

—

The advent of war has undoubtedly increased the desirability and urgency of national prohibition; the advantages and benefits of such an economic accomplishment are unquestionable.

JAMES F. BELL,
Vice President Washburn Crosly Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

—

Am fully in favor of national prohibition during war.

E. DANA DURAND,
Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minn.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition during war.

A. M. WALDORF,
President Waldorf Box Board Co., St. Paul, Minn.

—

Heartily indorse proposal for national prohibition during war.

Dr. JOHN B. JOHNSTON,
Dean of the College of Science and Arts,
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

—

Immediate prohibition of manufacture and sale of liquor and beer fundamentally necessary as first step in military preparedness. Equally necessary for peace and war, but would be imperative as a war measure to save labor, food, and health.

JOHN H. GRAY,
Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota.

—

National prohibition would, in my judgment, tend to prevent venerial disease; would save waste of foodstuffs now manufactured into liquor, and would greatly promote production and efficiency, all desirable during the war and equally necessary after the war if this Nation is to hold its place in world-wide competition.

F. R. BIGELOW,
President St. Paul Fire & Marine Insurance Co.,
St. Paul, Minn.

—

Heartily approve war prohibition, especially on hygienic grounds.

NORMAN WILD,
Head of Department Philosophy and Psychology,
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

—

I think national prohibition during the war exceedingly desirable.

Dr. CYRUS NORTHROP,
President Emeritus University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minn.

—

I strongly advocate national prohibition during the war.

EDWARD W. BACKUS,
President Rainy River Improvement Co.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

—

That intoxication in any degree lowers vitality, resistance to disease, power to work, ability to recover from exhaustion, value of ingested food, mental inhibition, and general usefulness is beyond reasonable doubt. No single measure could give more economic conservation of resources now than national prohibition.

H. E. ROBERTSON,
Professor of Pathology, University of Minnesota.

—

National prohibition for period of war would aid national productive efficiency, increase and conserve food supply, and materially reduce venereal diseases.

THOS. G. LEE,
Professor of Comparative Anatomy,
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

MISSOURI.

Strongly advocate national prohibition during war to save food and increase efficiency.

M. P. RAVENEL, M. D.,
Professor of Preventive Medicine, University of Missouri.

—

I shall give my strongest support to any provision tending toward national prohibition for the sake of saving food and of promoting efficiency. I do not favor any distinction between whisky and wine and beer.

MAX F. MEYER,
Professor of Psychiatry, University of Missouri,
Columbia, Mo.

—

National prohibition at this time is not only advisable but an absolute necessity. In this national crisis we must practice not only the conservation of food but of human energy as well.

R. M. MCCANDISH,
President of the Robt. M. McCandish Engineering Co.,
Consulting Engineers, Kansas City, Mo.

—

Approve national prohibition during war.

C. A. VINNEDGE,
Secretary and Auditor of the
Terminal Railway Association, St. Louis, Mo.

MISSISSIPPI.

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition during war and thereafter.

THEO. G. BILBOW.
Governor of Mississippi, Jackson, Miss.

—

Heartily agree with suggestion on national prohibition during war period. Count on me to do anything possible.

W. D. WEATHERFORD,
International Y. M. C. A., Member Executive Committee
Southern Sociological Congress, Stackville, Miss.

NEBRASKA.

No doubt national prohibition during war would prove incalculable benefit to entire Nation, not only increased efficiency and conservation of food supply, but as a preventative of venereal and other diseases in Army and Navy. In my opinion no more beneficial action could be taken.

MANOAH B. REESE,
Chief Justice Supreme Court, Lincoln, Nebr.

—

If there is reason for total abstinence in responsible positions, then the most potent reasons exist for the absolute prohibition of the use and manufacture of liquor. Crush the liquor traffic at least during the war, and you will be giving a deathblow to a more forceful enemy than the Imperial German Army.

CHESTER H. ALDRICH,
Ex-Governor, Lincoln, Nebr.

—

I believe that the Federal Government should immediately prohibit the manufacture of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. The people of the United States will need the foodstuffs that are wasted in the manufacture of liquors. We can not continue to undermine the physical and moral manhood of the country and continue to reduce the efficiency both of the producers and the defenders of the country if we hope to bring to a speedy and successful termination the tremendous conflict which the Nation is engaged in. Congress should act at once.

CHAS. W. BRYAN,
Mayor, Lincoln, Nebr.

—

Am strongly in favor of national prohibition during war.

GEO. ELLIOTT HOWARD,
Professor Political Science, Lincoln, Nebr.

NEW MEXICO.

I strongly indorse plan for national prohibition during the war.

JOHN H. VAUGHN,
Professor of Economics, New Mexico College of
Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Am heartily in accord with national prohibition during the war and thereafter and will assist movement in New Hampshire.

W. R. BROWN,
Paper Manufacturer, Berlin, N. H.; President New
Hampshire Forestry Commission; President New
Hampshire Timberland Owners' Association.

Strongly favor national prohibition as a war measure. New Hampshire now has State prohibition.

Prof. ROBERT FLETCHER,
Director Thayn School of Civil Engineering, Hanover, N. H.

—

I advocate national prohibition for the war as an economic necessity.

WILLIAM J. TUCKER,
President Emeritus, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

—

I am decidedly in favor of national prohibition during war.

GEORGE A. LITCHFIELD,
President Keene National Bank, Keene, N. H.

—

National prohibition is most necessary safeguard and imperative.

Prof. T. E. AUSTIN,
Dartmouth College, Author and Consulting Engineer, Hanover, N. H.

—

I believe that national prohibition will prevent disease and also will be a great saving in food products which would otherwise be wasted.

JOSIAH L. FERNALD,
Banker, Concord, N. H.

—

National prohibition is a fundamental requisite to efficient war measures.

Dr. WILLIAM PATTEN,
Professor of Zoology, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

—

I am thoroughly in accord with the view that national prohibition during the war would be of the greatest benefit to both the men who are fighting the battles of the country and the citizens of the country generally.

J. H. GALLINGER,
United States Senator from New Hampshire.

NEW JERSEY.

I strongly approve national prohibition during the war in interest of the health, economy, and efficiency, and regard it as an auxiliary measure of the first importance in the training of the Army and Navy.

JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS,
American Social Hygiene, Lakewood, N. J.

—

I heartily indorse national prohibition during the war to further both moral and economic interests of the people.

WM. STARR MYERS,
Assistant Professor in History and Politics, Princeton University, New Jersey.

—

The production of liquors is a huge waste of food, and the work should be stopped. Transition from liquor to prohibition economy could be effected in next few months with minimum injustice to brewery and other workers due to the great demand for labor.

PAUL U. KELLOGG,
Editor of the Survey, Boonton, N. J.

—

I am strongly in favor of national prohibition, for especially during the period of war upon which we are entering, not only to prevent the waste of a very large amount food material now used in the manufacture of beer and liquor, but also to increase the efficiency of men who will be enlisted in the service of the Army and Navy.

I have lived for a great many years close to a western Army post and know how seriously detrimental to the physique of the men is the constant use of liquor.

From a moral standpoint and the prevention of immorality amongst the men of the Army and Navy there is no question whatever but that national prohibition should be adopted and the law strictly enforced.

J. HENRY LONGMAID,
President Esterbrook Steel Pen Mfg. Co., Camden, N. J.

—

I believe in national prohibition in time of war or peace. If effective to stop the manufacture of liquor it would save much needed food supplies and destroy the greatest enemy to human progress.

JAMES W. JOHNSON,
President Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.

I am heartily in accord with movement to prohibit manufacture of alcoholic beverages during the war. I regard this of utmost importance for the health of the Nation and also from the standpoint of the food supply.

HENRY H. GODDARD,
Director, Department of Research, School for Feeble-minded Children, Vineland, N. J.

—

I favor national prohibition during the war.

Dr. E. W. KEMMERER,
Professor of Economics and Finance, Princeton University, Etc., Princeton N. J.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition, not only during war, but at any time. Believe it especially desirable at the present time.

FRANK HUGHES,
President Dundee Textile Co., Passaic, N. J.

—

I am unqualifiedly in favor of national prohibition. The benefits which will follow its prompt adoption will make its continuance after the war a necessity.

CHARLES K. HADDON,
Vice President Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J.

—

National prohibition during war very desirable on every ground and especially as example to certain other nations.

ALAN V. C. MENZIES,
Professor of Chemistry, Princeton, N. J.

—

Stronger than words can express I favor national prohibition during war.

J. T. DORRANCE,
General Manager Joseph Campbell Co., Camden, N. J.

—

National prohibition during war desirable for economic conservation of foods, world needs, for protection of health of Army and Navy, for greatest agricultural and manufacturing productive efficiency.

NEWTON DOREMUS,
President Red Bank Trust Co., Red Bank, N. J.

—

Favor strict general prohibition for ends named. Possible exceptions on rare occasions.

ULRIC DAHLGREEN, M. S.,
Professor of Biology, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

—

I am emphatically in favor of national prohibition during war and afterwards.

W. H. S. DEMAREST,
President Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.

—

I heartily indorse national prohibition during war as a measure of promoting health, economy, efficiency, and order.

E. G. CONKLIN,
Professor Zoology, Princeton, N. J.

NEW YORK.

I strongly favor complete national prohibition. I believe we are facing a serious test of our national character and efficiency and am firmly convinced that a national prohibition measure would be of transcendant importance in its effect upon the national spirit in conserving and increasing our food supply and in raising the efficiency of the Nation. The man power released from the liquor industries could be directed into other productive channels where the need for labor will be acute and thus be readily absorbed. The needs of the agricultural and industrial situation will make this a peculiarly opportune time to put through a national prohibition law with minimum shock to our economy machinery during the readjustment. The business interests involved should be fairly dealt with, but many of the plants can be readily converted to important industrial uses. The plea that Government revenue will be seriously curtailed should not influence action, for prohibition will induce a national efficiency which will open new and far richer sources of revenue. I believe public opinion, particularly in the West,

but slightly comprehends the seriousness of the test that this war will put us to. A national prohibition measure would do much to wake up the people to a realization of what war means and demands. If in the end we got no other good from the war than prohibition we would still be winners because of it. I believe it should be complete, and it can only be complete by being national.

F. A. VANDERLIP,
President City National Bank, New York.

—

National prohibition during war seems to me not only desirable but practically essential to military efficiency and indispensable food economy.

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY,
Professor of Social Legislation,
Columbia University, New York.

—

I favor prohibition for all time.

JOHN BURROUGHS,
Naturalist and Author, West Park, N. Y.

—

Very much in favor of national prohibition during the war.

H. L. PADDOCK,
President Oswego Falls Pulp & Paper Co., Fulton, N. Y.

—

Firmly believe that national prohibition would be of great benefit to both Army and Navy.

SAMUEL S. CHILDS,
President Childs Restaurants Co., New York City.

—

National prohibition would enormously reduce venereal disease in Army and Navy as well as throughout the land. It would obviously save food wasted in manufacture of liquor and promote national productiveness and efficiency more than a dozen other measures which might be devised. Can conceive of no more important and far-reaching step toward national defense.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr.,
Chairman Rockefeller Foundation, New York.

—

From every point of view consider national prohibition most desirable during war period.

A. J. PORTER,
President Shredded Wheat Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.

—

History will justify entry of United States into the world war only if welfare of mankind is thereby advanced. National prohibition would, in my opinion, add wonderfully to America's efficiency as a fighting machine by increasing production and decreasing waste, besides preventing venereal disease, reducing crime, promoting public order, and raising the moral tone of the national prohibition public.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM,
Editor The American City, New York City.

—

National prohibition for war period would doubtless promote physical, mental, and moral efficiency all along the line. Great manufacturers of various forms of liquor could, to their own advantage and that of country, transform their institutions into food-producing plants. Am sure they are patriotic enough to do it.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATTS,
President International Woman's Suffrage Alliance,
New York City.

—

Lloyd George told Parliament that drink was a more dangerous enemy of England's young men than is Germany and her allies. I believe that our Government should close all breweries and distilleries during the war and conserve the barley, corn, and rye for feeding the allies and our own people.

Rev. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS,
Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

—

I am firmly of the opinion that as an economic measure prohibition is greatly to be desired, either in peace or war.

SAMUEL MCROBERTS,
Vice President, National City Bank, New York.

—

Believe everything possible should be done to secure national prohibition during present war period. It is necessary to our business that we know world crop condition; also stores of grain supplied for food. We have never known anything like shortage of basic food supplies that confronts us at the present time. There are many other reasons that would make national prohibition desirable, but the economic needs alone are sufficient call for our hearty support of radical measures to secure this end. Earnestly approve national prohibition.

G. A. FARRAR,
Vice President and Manager of the
Johnston Harvester Co., Batavia, N. Y.

—

I most enthusiastically approve the plan of war-time prohibition.

EDWIN FAUVER,
Professor of Hygiene, University of Rochester,
Rochester, N. Y.

—

I am in vigorous and aggressive favor of national prohibition during war, believing it would prove a most powerful ally of all-around national efficiency.

EDSON S. LOTT,
President United States Casualty Co.,
New York, N. Y.

—

Believe maximum productive efficiency impossible without national prohibition during war. Judge from experience in cotton mills and print works that prohibition increases efficiency 15 to 20 per cent; reduces liability to accident by much larger per cent.

HAROLD A. HATCH,
President of the Abbeville Mills, New York.

—

War-time prohibition very desirable. Put it through by all means.

L. A. HODGE,
President First National Bank, Cobleskill, N. Y.

—

War to be won by men, money, food. National prohibition for period of a year essential to save vitality of our men, money of our Nation, and to divert grain supplies into useful channels.

Dr. LUTHER H. GULICK,
Director Department of Child Hygiene,
Sage Foundation, New York.

—

I should be very glad to see national prohibition.

CLEMENT A. GRISCOM,
President of the Griscom-Russell Co., New York.

—

I heartily approve of national prohibition during the war.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN,
Author and Social Reformer, New York.

—

I am heartily in favor, during the war, of national prohibition. Would result in material benefits in economies through conserving necessities of life and in efficiency.

P. W. BROOKS,
President Ohio & Western Utilities Co.,
New York City.

—

Prohibition during war desirable; manufacturing plants can be readily converted to useful purposes, and labor connected with them can find reemployment or new employment without delay.

JNO. A. MATHEWS,
President and General Manager Holcomb Steel Co.,
Syracuse, N. Y.

—

I am heartily in favor of prohibition during period, and have been advising it for some time. I find the doctrine popular even among those who are not total abstainers. A man who will not stand by national prohibition during the war is no patriot.

FREDERICK W. ROMAN.
Professor Economics, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition during war.

FREDERICK PALMER,
Author Correspondent with the British Army and
Fleet, 1914–16, New York.

—

I approve national prohibition during the war.

FREDERICK ALMY,
President of the National Conference of
Charities and Correction, Buffalo, N. Y.

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition during war.

Dr. THOMAS ORDWAY,
Dean of Albany Medical College, etc.,
Albany, N. Y.

—

In the interest of the health and morality of the young men entering the national service we strongly favor the war prohibition.

HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN,
President.
CLEVELAND H. DODGE,
First Vice President,
American Museum of Natural History.
HENRY F. OSBORN,
Paleontologist; former Dean of the Faculty of Pure Science, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

—

National prohibition would be of incalculable benefit to the country.

Dr. CHARLES H. YOUNG,
Superintendent of the Presbyterian Hospital,
New York City.

—

Although for many years I was opposed to prohibition legislation, my observation and study convinced me five years ago that it is highly desirable on economic grounds, if no other.

RALTER RENTON INGALLS,
Consulting Engineer of the United States Bureau of Mines and of the Canadian Department of Mines, Editor of the Mining Journal, etc., New York.

—

Prohibition desirable during war.

ALBERT T. POFFENBERGER, Jr.,
Professor of Psychology, Columbia University, N. Y.

—

National prohibition during war absolutely necessary to protect our boys in the training camps and in coast defenses and patrol. Important also for economy and efficiency. Are we less civilized than Russia?

CHARLES L. BRACE,
Secretary Children's Aid Society, New York City.

—

I believe it imperative that national prohibition should be enforced during war if national resources and health are to be adequately conserved and productive efficiency maintained.

SETHA MOULTON,
President the Moulton Engineering Corporation.

—

I favor and will advocate legislative action forbidding the manufacture, transportation, or sale of spirituous and malt liquors not only as a war measure, but as one vital to the future welfare of the Nation.

D. W. PAYNE,
Editor of "Steam," New York City, N. Y.

—

Am emphatically in favor of war prohibition measure you propose and at once.

Dr. LYMAN P. POWELL,
President of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.

—

Brewing and distilling almost wholly wastes the nutritive values of grain; alcohol lessens judgment, self-control, mental and physical efficiency, the qualities needed in war—an asset converted into a liability. Alcoholization is the chief contributory cause of veneral infection among men.

W. RAUSCHENBUSH,
Professor Church History, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition during the war.

CHARLES BOODY,
President People's Trust Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.

—

I favor national prohibition during war.

Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY,
General Secretary National Consumers League, New York.

—

I favor national prohibition.

CLARENCE H. KELSEY,
President Title Guarantee & Trust Co., New York.

—

I am thoroughly committed to prohibition during the war.

SAMUEL T. DUTTON,
Chairman Executive Committee, National Arbitration and Peace Congress, New York.

—

Believe national prohibition good thing during war for increasing efficiency. National Safety Council last year went on record against use of alcohol by industrial workers, as liquor is cause of great number of industrial accidents.

A. C. CARRUTHERS,
Vice President Safety Engineering, New York City.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition during the war.

CHAS. A. BOODY,
President People's Trust Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition during war. Believe it will have far-reaching benefits to whole Nation, and secure great economic advantages.

A. C. CARRUTHERS,
Vice President Safety Engineering Co., New York City.

—

I strongly advocate national prohibition, not only during war but for all time.

JAMES R. CLARK,
President American La France Fire Engine Co.,
Elmira, N. Y.

—

The Interurban Clinical Club expresses its earnest desire that national prohibition be instituted for the duration of the war because of the effect upon public health and its economy effect.

Dr. Rufus Cole, Dr. F. S. Meara, Dr. W. T. Longcope, New York; Dr. L. Jamman, Baltimore; Dr. D. L. Edsell, Dr. Richard Cabot, Dr. A. A. Christian, Dr. F. L. Lord, Dr. J. H. Pratt, Dr. E. P. Joslin, Dr. E. A. Locke, Boston; Dr. W. Tileston, Dr. Geo. Blumer, Newhaven; Dr. G. W. Norris, Dr. D. Riesman, Dr. R. H. M. Landis, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

No one can examine the facts in the case without reaching the conclusion that in the present emergency the prohibition of the liquor business would serve our Nation's interests. The grain being consumed by our brewers and distillers is sufficient to make 300 carloads of bread every day, or a single loaf every day 600 miles long.

Collis P. Huntington was one of the shrewdest captains of industry our Nation has ever known. He said that when he and his associates began building the Central Pacific Railroad from Sacramento to Ogden they found the liquor dealers near their workmen's camps were a heavy clog upon their undertaking. They decided to drive away the entire business, and that this step enabled them to complete the railway to Ogden three years earlier than they otherwise could have done. All Europe has adopted the policy of the Central Pacific Railway people. The drinkers and the drink makers of our Nation should accept their share of the hardships of war.

TILLMAN COUDET,
Union Oil Co. of California, New York City.

—

Cordially indorse suggestion national prohibition during war. Common-sense proposition; should commend itself to clear-thinking people.

EDITOR CHURCHMAN,
New York City.

—

I respectfully desire to urge national prohibition during the war. The far-reaching benefits which the whole country would secure through this, especially in the Army and the industries, is of prime importance. Safety Engineering stands ready to cooperate to its utmost with the Government for the successful prosecution of the war, and I believe that national prohibition will materially help to this end.

A. C. CARRUTHERS,
Vice President Safety Engineering,
80 Maiden Lane, New York.

—

Decidedly favor national prohibition during the war.

SAMUEL T. DUTTON,
Secretary World Peace Foundation, New York City.

Heartily in favor of national prohibition. No other measure comparable with it in importance in our present trial. I may safely add this sentiment is now general among those whose opinion is worth the while.

FREDERICK A. EMERICK,
President Valmy Paper Co., Oswego, N. Y.

—

When we are not beset with economic problems we may think we can regulate the drink traffic, but just now we will do well to put sentiment aside and save ourselves at every turn.

Dr. C. E. WELCH.
President Welch Grape Juice Co., Westfield, N. Y.

—

Most heartily approve absolute national prohibition during the war. My colleagues in Crocker Fund concur with me in this attitude.

FRANCIS C. WOOD,
Director Cancer Research, Columbia University;
Pathologist of St. Luke's Hospital, New York.

—

It is useless for the Government to urge the people to frugality if at the same time it fails to stop the stupendous destruction of food materials in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks. The economic result of thus shortening the food supply is exceeded in seriousness by the physical and moral weakening of the manhood of the country, particularly of that class of young men who must constitute our fighting force. It does not meet the situation to compromise by prohibiting liquor to soldiers. The soldier to whom the country expects the supreme sacrifice will not fail to see the injustices as well as the folly of trying to force abstinence upon him while permitting indulgence to the comfortable individual at home. I believe there is widespread realization of the absolute necessity for food conservation and productive efficiency, strengthened by the experience and example of the countries abroad during the past two years, and for this reason, if for no other, public sentiment will support the discontinuance of the liquor traffic during the war.

FRANK S. WASHBURN,
President American Cyanamid Co., New York.

—

I am heartily in favor of national prohibition during war. It would have very good effect throughout coal regions and tend to increase production of coal, for which country is now paying very high prices owing to shortage of both labor and transportation.

T. H. WATKINS,
President Pennsylvania Coal & Coke Corporation,
New York City.

—

I believe thoroughly in national prohibition during the war for every sort of good that it will do, for it will do immense good and I can see no possible harm that it would work. Now would be the time to show the country when it would be willing to make the sacrifice how much good could be thus accomplished.

Dr. JAS. J. WALSH,
Neurologist of the Central and Neurological
Hospitals, New York; Author, Medical Editor
New York Herald, Etc., New York.

—

I feel we must have national prohibition duration of war. Brewers are using millions of bushels of grain a year.

G. M. TRABER,
President of the Perry Knitting Co., Perry, N. Y.

—

National prohibition during war would be the most effective single stroke which could be given in behalf of national strength, national preparedness, and national success. Such measure, in my opinion, not only desirable but indispensable.

CHARLES THADDEUS TERRY,
Chairman of the New York State Board of
Uniform Laws; Chairman of the Directors of
the New York Civic League, New York.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition during the war.

EDWARD L. THORNDIKE,
Professor of Psychology, Columbia University, New York.

—

Approve national prohibition.

W. H. METZLER, F. R. S. E.
Professor of Mathematics and Dean of Graduate
School University of New York, New York City.

Strongly in favor of national prohibition during war, both for moral and economic reasons. How can I help?

JORDON PHILIP,
President First National Bank, Hudson, N. Y.

—

I take pleasure in stating that I am unqualifiedly in favor of national prohibition during continuance of the war.

CHAS. B. EDDY,
President Dunham Coal & Iron Co., New York City.

—

Strongly favor national prohibition, especially during war.

JAMES EGBERT,
Director School of Business,
Columbia University, New York City.

—

I am unreservedly for national prohibition of alcoholic beverages both for the conservation of national production and efficiency.

GUTZON BORGLUM,
Sculptor, New York City.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition.

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL,
Sidney Blumenthal & Co., New York City.

NORTH CAROLINA.

National prohibition is amply justified by present national emergency.

DR. WM. L. POTEAT,
President Wake Forrest College,
Wake Forrest, N. C.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Desirable to have national prohibition during war.

F. L. MCVEY,
President North Dakota State University,
University, N. Dak.

—

National prohibition is an absolute necessity as a war-defense measure to conserve the food and to improve the national efficiency.

E. F. LADD,
President North Dakota Agricultural College.
Fargo. N. Dak.

—

I decidedly favor national prohibition as a desirable war measure.

F. W. CHRISTENSEN,
North Dakota Agricultural College,
Grand Forks, N. Dak.

OHIO.

Am decidedly of the opinion that national prohibition should come during the war.

CHAS. E. ADAMS,
President Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio.

—

Believe national prohibition very desirable not only during war but for all time.

HARRY M. ESTABROOK,
President Barney & Smith Car Co., Dayton, Ohio.

—

I would heartily approve national prohibition during the war.

G. H. MEAD,
President Mead Pulp & Paper Co., Chillicothe, Ohio.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition.

C. B. CALDER,
Vice President Toledo Ship Building Co., Toledo, Ohio.

—

Should have national prohibition during war, saving grains for food.

C. RORABECK,
General Manager W. P. Callahan & Co.,
Machinery Manufacturers, Dayton, Ohio.

—

Careful observation has convinced me that promotion of productive efficiency alone is ample ground for enforcement of national prohibition. This will not be contested by any honest, well-informed person.

C. W. MARTIN,
Of De Forest Sheet & Tin Plate Co., Niles, Ohio.

Believe all manufacture of intoxicants should be prohibited during war as minimum demand of the situation.

J. CAMPBELL WHITE,
President Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio.

—

National prohibition would make a wonderful saving in food, labor, life, and money.

W. H. COWDERY,
President American Fork & Hoe Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

—

Am strong advocate of national prohibition. Believe it would do more for general health, happiness, and prosperity of all our people than any other legislative action possible. Believe it essential as war measure.

F. K. COPELAND,
President City National Bank, Columbus, Ohio.

—

We are heartily in favor of national prohibition during war.

E. J. YOUNG,
Treasurer of the Ohio Match Co., Wadsworth, Ohio.

—

Believe liquor greatest menace to our country to-day and greater enemy than German imperialism. Congress can further national efficiency most, promote the welfare of our fighting men, and conserve our food supply by enacting national prohibition laws effective at once.

F. A. FUNKHOUSER,
President Winter's National Bank, Dayton, Ohio.

—

Consider national prohibition during war most important measure yet proposed. Our greatest contribution to and after war can be made by conservation and productive efficiency.

KARL F. GEISER,
Professor of Political Science, Oberlin, Ohio.

—

I regard national prohibition imperatively necessary.

W. W. MILLS,
President First National Bank, Marietta, Ohio.

—

I am unqualifiedly in favor national prohibition during period of war.

P. W. LITCHFIELD,
President Killingly Manufacturing Co., Akron, Ohio.

—

Am neither a crank nor fanatic on liquor question, but in present crisis decidedly favor complete national prohibition.

Dr. J. FRATUNFELLER,
President Commercial & Savings Bank, Canton, Ohio.

—

I heartily favor national prohibition during war and believe public sentiment already sufficiently crystallized to justify such legislation and insure its success.

JOHN C. HASWELL,
President of the Dayton Malleable Iron Co., Dayton, Ohio.

—

I am unable to find words to adequately express my feelings as to the great importance of promptly adopting national prohibition during war.

W. H. FOSTER,
President General Fire Proofing Co., Youngstown, Ohio.

—

Strongly favor and urge national prohibition during war.

H. A. HIGGINS,
General Manager Standard Tool Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

—

Think war-time prohibition desirable.

HENRY C. KING,
President of Oberlin College, Etc., Oberlin, Ohio.

OKLAHOMA.

I favor national prohibition both in peace and in war.

STRATTON D. BROOKS,
President University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.

OREGON.

Heartily approve national prohibition. Authoritative reports of physicians indicate that number of venereal diseases has decreased more than half during last two years; result largely attributed to prohibition.

H. R. ALBEE,
Mayor, Portland, Oreg.

Unquestionably national prohibition is not only desirable but a necessity. Experience on the Mexican border shows that the sale of liquor fosters the spread of venereal diseases.

WM. M. LADD,
Banker, Portland, Oreg.

—

I believe in national prohibition, and particularly during national crises and time of war.

C. C. COLT,
Union Metal Co., Portland, Oreg.

—

In this emergency I favor drastic national prohibition during the war. Experience of all the warring nations demonstrates that every soldier and sailor, more than a locomotive engineer, needs all his faculties and judgment unimpaired by alcohol.

W. S. UREN,
"The Father of the Oregon System,"
Portland, Oreg.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition to promote highest efficiency of Nation. Will support movement in every possible way.

P. L. CAMPBELL,
President University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg.

—

By all means national prohibition during war should be adopted.

JAMES P. BAXTER,
President Portland Savings Bank, Portland, Oreg.

—

National prohibition will immediately increase our resources for national defense. Every vice investigation has established dependence of commercialized vice or liquor traffic. Loss in military force due to venereal disease is notorious. Our investigations among reliable physicians in Oregon show notable decrease in venereal disease since Oregon went dry.

WM. T. FOSTER,
President Reed College, Portland, Oreg.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Prohibition is measure of first importance. Would save millions of bushels of grain for food, increase man power of Nation, increase transportation facilities by eliminating burden that booze now is to carriers.

E. A. VAN VALKENBURG,
Editor of the North American, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

Unqualified indorsement of prohibition during war period.

Dr. EDWARD MARTIN,
Surgeon in Chief, University of Pennsylvania Hospital.

—

I am absolutely in favor of national prohibition at this time and at all times.

Confining the issue to national prohibition at this time of national crisis, one has but to consider the increased shortage of food supply caused by the use of grains for the manufacture of alcoholic liquor to consider the disgraceful condition exhibited in the shipyards of Great Britain at the beginning of the war, when warships urgently needing repairs were neglected because the workers were drunk, and to consider the close association of prostitution and venereal disease with liquors to conclude that alcoholic liquor and national efficiency are incompatible.

WALTER CORNWELL,
Director, Department of Public Health, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

National prohibition is necessary to economize food and to promote industrial efficiency. It would double the effective power of the Nation and reduce avoidable disease by the half. No other measure would do as much to elevate the moral tone of the Nation or to show our firmness of purpose.

SIMON PATTEN,
Professor of Political Economy,
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

—

National prohibition commends itself to me as well advised, especially during war.

F. WAYLAND AYER,
President of the Eastern Mfg. Co., president of N. W. Ayer & Son, president of the Keystone Type Foundry, etc., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Prince A. Morrow, the founder of the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, of which I am on the advisory board, told me that if we could do away with alcohol, enforce national prohibition, we would practically solve the question of venereal disease, and my experience warrants the truth of his assertion, as about every case brought to my attention was addicted to alcoholism. As member of the American Public Health Association, president of a hospital, and interested in hygiene and especially sanitary and moral prophylaxis, I have had some opportunity for observation.

A. B. FARQUHAR,
President A. B. Farquhar Steel Co., York, Pa.

—

I am heartily in favor of national prohibition during and after the war. The urgent demands of the war on the health and resources of the Nation require such a measure of conservation. .

F. W. HINITT,
President Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition not only during the war and in the Army and Navy but for all times and for the entire Nation.

W. A. MAY,
President Pennsylvania Coal Co., the Hillside Coal & Iron Co., the New York, Susquehanna & Western Coal Co., Etc., Scranton, Pa.

—

The officers of this company are decidedly in favor of national prohibition as the only effective prohibition and as a measure necessary for the benefit of the community. We believe in the present national crisis the manufacture and sale of liquor should be prohibited so far as is possible with reasonable financial remuneration for money invested.

HARRY B. FRENCH,
President Smith, Kline & French Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

National prohibition is not only desirable but practically essential. There is no question as to its saving grain for food nor of its efficacy in the partial prevention of venereal diseases. The experience of France, Russia, and Great Britain as to the increase of productive efficiency is absolutely convincing.

Dr. W. W. KEEN,
Ex-President of the American Surgical Association, Professor Emeritus in Surgery, Etc., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

I favor national prohibition.

WALTER S. CORNELL,
Director Medical Instruction, Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

National prohibition of utmost importance. Will secure greater efficiency in Army and at home saves men and money and food.

E. E. MONTGOMERY,
Gynecologist of the Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

I strongly favor war-time prohibition.

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER,
Of Henry, Pepper, Bodine & Pepper, Attorneys, Trustees of the Carnegie Foundations, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

Most of my friends in Philadelphia who have thought upon this subject urge by all means to abolish the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors during the war and conserve health and food grains and increase national efficiency thereby.

D. ROBERT YARNELL,
Vice President and General Manager of the Nelson Valve Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

I cordially approve total national prohibition during war.

DR. WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD,
Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

—

During the war there is no doubt that absolute prohibition would conduce greatly to physical and moral efficiency.

DR. AUSTIN O'MALLEY,
Oculist and Author of the Cure of Alcoholism, Philadelphia, Pa.

Prohibition essential for food conservation, prevention of veneral diseases and public welfare.

EDWARD T. REICHERT,
Professor Physiology, University of Pennsylvania.

—

Deem it highly desirable to try experiment of national prohibition during the war.

ERWIN W. RUNKLE,
Professor Physiology, University of Pennsylvania.

—

Experience in European war shows advantage if not necessity of national prohibition during war from every standpoint of moral, physical, and economical efficiency. I believe such prohibition desirable.

EDW. H. BONSALL,
V. P. Land Title & Trust Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

Heartily favor national prohibition during the war.

DR. JOSEPH MCFARLAND,
Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

—

I believe that national prohibition during the war is of tremendous importance to our country. It should be made effective immediately. It would safeguard our young soldiers against the many temptations that will otherwise assail them and impair their value as soldiers and their physical and moral natures as citizens thereafter. It would be a long step toward saving and stabilizing our serious food question and would enormously increase the Nation's efficiency in productive capacity. This also expresses the views of all officers and directors of Exchange National Bank present in meeting to-day.

JOSEPH W. MARSH,
President Exchange National Bank of Pittsburgh, President Standard Underground Cable Co., Pittsburgh.

—

I am heartily in sympathy with war prohibition. I believe that no better action could be taken in the present crisis.

M. CAREY THOMAS,
President of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition through the war.

E. TALBOT,
Bishop of Bethlehem, Pa.

—

National prohibition; yes!

FRANCIS M. THORPE,
Author of the "Constitutional History of the United States," Etc., Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Am heartily in favor of national prohibition.

DR. SPENCER TROTTER,
Professor of Biology, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

—

No scheme of national armament or defense will be adequate unless it includes national prohibition.

The sustenance of the whole people, together with the efficiency of our workers at home and safety of our soldier boys abroad, will demand it.

Above all else the immediate and effective establishment of complete national prohibition will impress the people that the Government at Washington is in dead earnest about this war.

HARRY H. WILLOCK,
Treasury Waverly Oil Works, Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

I know of nothing that would so conserve the food products and get substantial and efficient service from the Army and Navy as national prohibition. This is the consensus of opinion in our locality.

C. M. WASSON,
President Wasson Coal Co., Harrisburg, Pa.

—

No one act Congress could pass would secure such saving of the resources of food supply, efficiency of labor, and morals of the country as the prohibition of the manufacture of liquors.

JOSEPH WALTON,
President Comb Mfg. Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

We should conserve every resource of material and energy, and the prohibition of the liquor traffic should be enforced as a means to this end.

BRYAN A. WALKER,
President Lovell Mfg. Co., Eric, Pa.

Think national prohibition during war highly desirable.

L. E. EMERY,
Oil operator, Bradford, Pa.

—

I feel strongly the need of national prohibition during the war.

A. C. DODSON,
President Weston, Dodson & Co. (Inc.), Bethlehem, Pa.

—

National war prohibition in my opinion more effective than additional army of 500,000 men.

WILLIAM DECKER,
President Montgomery Table Works, Montgomery, Pa.

—

One thousand stockholders and employees of this company enthusiastically approve the movement for national prohibition during the war. There is every argument in favor and no possible patriotic reason against it.

R. M. DOWNIE,
Secretary The Keystone Driller Co., Beaver Falls, Pa.

—

As a man and food conservation measure myself and business associates urge prohibition of the liquor traffic for the war period.

JOHN CARRUTHERS,
President The Bessemer Gas Engine Co., Grove City, Pa.

—

Need of national prohibition in time of war both desirable and necessary if conservation of food is of importance. Prohibition and efficiency are inseparable.

W. R. CRANE,
Dean School of Mines, Pennsylvania State College,
Pennsylvania State College, Pa.

—

I am strongly in favor of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks for the period of the war. My business associates also favor such steps. We urge immediate action.

JOHN CARRUTHERS,
President The Bessemer Gas Engine Co., Grove City, Pa.

—

National prohibition during the period of war is an indispensable adjunct to our military prowess, to our internal safety, and to the conservation of our productive efforts for purposes and needs most necessary and essential to human welfare.

DWIGHT C. MORGAN,
President Allegheny River Mining Co.,
Kittanning, Pa.

—

National prohibition is by far the most important question before the country to-day in connection with a vigorous and efficient prosecution of the war. To allow this country to go into war carrying the enormous economic load now imposed on it by the manufacture and use of liquor would be a crime, and no time should be lost in stopping it. The results of prohibition in Russia and of partial prohibition in England demonstrate this, but we should not wait for months to follow, but should utilize their experience and act promptly and vigorously.

JULIAN KENNEDY,
Mechanical Engineer and Inventor,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition during war.

SAML. M. BUSHMAN,
President First National Bank, Gettysburg, Pa.

—

The conservation of our country's invaluable resources in her young manhood demand national prohibition during war.

H. B. POWELL,
President of the County National Bank,
Clearfield, Pa.

—

National prohibition during war would be a great benefit to this country not only from standpoint of productive efficiency, but would greatly conserve in supply of foodstuff.

J. A. AFFLECK,
President Harrisburg Shoe Co., Harrisburg, Pa.

—

Am unreservedly in favor of war-time prohibition.

J. H. JAMES,
Department Chemical Engineering,
Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.

What else is there for us to do? Food waste must be stopped. No better place to begin.

EUGENE T. NORTON,
President of the First National Bank,
Connellsville, Pa.

—

I am strongly in favor of an effective national prohibition during the war and thereafter.

L. A. OSBORNE,
Vice President of the Westinghouse Machine Co.,
President of the J. Stevens Arms & Tool Co.,
East Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

National prohibition during the war would greatly conserve our food supply and promote national productive efficiency. If this step should be taken, it would result in one of the greatest blessings to mankind.

H. R. REITER,
Professor of Physical Education,
University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

—

National prohibition during war and after will support.

LEONARD BLAKEY,
Assistant, Carnegie Institute of Technology,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

National prohibition during war not only desirable but necessary to promote greatest efficiency. Have advocated this since first break with Germany.

F. L. BISHOP,
Dean School of Engineering,
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Believe national prohibition most desirable during war. Much labor now very inefficient because of intemperance. Grain all needed for food since most of the world depends on us.

A. L. BELL,
General Manager Ridgeway, Dynamo & Engine Co.,
Ridgeway, Pa.

—

Favor national prohibition by all means.

FRANK F. BRIELY,
President, Beaver Falls, Pa.

—

In order to have efficiency and a clean bill of health in the Army during the war, national prohibition is imperative.

H. J. BRANSON,
President National Bank of Chester Valley,
Coatesville, Pa.

—

National prohibition during war exceedingly desirable. It will materially increase industrial efficiency, conserve food supply, and protect health of soldiers and sailors.

T. J. GILLESPIE,
Secretary and Treasurer Lockhart Iron & Steel Co.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Enforcement of national prohibition, in my opinion, would do more to conserve and make effective the human resources of our Nation and assure maximum efficiency in field, factory, trade, and finance than any war measure Congress could pass, and is the best and surest foundation on which to build our plans and activities.

H. J. HAYDEN,
Manager of the A. Wilhelm Co., Reading, Pa.

—

National prohibition of essential importance during war.

Dr. PAUL A. LEWIS,
Director Laboratory, Henry Phipps Institute,
Philadelphia, Pa.

—

I am in favor of national prohibition during the war.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER,
Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

—

All war facilities are valueless without the strength of body and intellect to use them. From the standpoint of national peril national prohibition is the first and most sensible as well as logical step. It conserves food products and prevents the de-

struction of intellect as well as the bodies of our citizens by the use of liquor. If there ever was a time in the history of our country when we need men with 100 per cent efficiency it is now, and national prohibition is the longest step in advance toward its realization that the country can take.

DAVID D. LUPTON,
Treasurer David Lupton Sons Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

—

Am strongly of the opinion that national prohibition is desirable, but particularly so in case of war.

H. T. HERR,
Vice President and General Manager of the Westinghouse Malleable Co., East Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Nation-wide prohibition during war imperative from all angles.

J. P. HOLDSWORTH,
Dean of Economics, University of Pittsburgh.

—

I am heartily in favor of national prohibition, at least for the duration of the war.

RALPH W. HARBISON,
Harbison-Walker Refractories Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

—

Favor permanent national prohibition law. Also favor national efficiency and economy.

J. W. HOLLENBACK,
President Wilkesbarre Lace Manufacturing Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

—

Manufacturing alcohol wastes foodstuffs and drinking it wastes men. Their brains are deadened, and their animal passions released, therefore, and venereal diseases have been and always will be the common consequence of even moderate drinking. National prohibition would conserve our resources and increase our efficiency enormously.

A. HOLMES,
Dean of the State College of Pennsylvania.

—

My judgment is that the unlimited use and abuse of malt and distilled liquor are a most baneful factor in our national welfare, and undoubtedly in the coal regions is responsible for at least a loss of 40 per cent in the economy of our coal production, and responsible for practically all the loss of life and limb in our mines in the last several years. I am speaking now of the nongaseous mines.

WM. J. FAUX,
Logan Coal Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

RHODE ISLAND.

It is desirable to have national prohibition during the term of the war for many reasons. one of the principal reasons being the saving of food products which are now wasted in the manufacture of liquor; also to prohibit the sale of liquor would promote national productive efficiency.

EDWARD L. WATSON,
President Providence Mutual Fire Insurance Co., Providence, R. I.

—

Even the moderate drinker can not but agree to prohibition as a war measure, and the facts as laid before our people by the commissioners recently arrived in this country from abroad setting forth as they do the chances of a bread famine throughout the world, are sufficiently convincing to make any intelligent person think seriously of the waste there will be to the world if the unrestricted manufacture of malted liquors is allowed to continue on the same scale as heretofore.

C. R. MAKEPEACE,
President C. R. Makepeace & Co., Architects and Mill Engineers, Providence, R. I.

—

National prohibition should become effective at once. Manufacture of liquor limited for medicinal and mechanical purposes as necessary and required.

GEO. T. GREENHAIGH,
Secretary Burgess Mills, Pawtucket, R. I.

—

Strongly favor national prohibition during war for reasons stated.

Prof. E. B. DELABARRE,
Brown University, Providence, R. I.

I highly approve of national prohibition. The effect would be more valuable to our Republic than wiping out Prussianism.

N. C. HERRESHOFF,
President Herreshoff Boat Co., and Marine Engineer, Bristol, R. I.

—

I strongly urge national prohibition during war.

KNIGHT C. RICHMOND,
Consulting Engineer, Providence, R. I.

—

In favor of national prohibition for duration of war.

GEORGE H. KERSLAKE,
President Joseph Benn & Sons, Woolen Manufacturers, Greystone, R. I., Providence, R. I.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The millions of bushels of grain now being consumed in the United States by manufacturers of liquors, which is a waste of hundreds of millions of loaves of bread, should be stopped and national prohibition proclaimed immediately. The side that can longest feed its fighting men in the field and its women and children at home will win the war.

JAS. P. GOSSETT,
President and Treasurer Williamston Mills, Calhoun Mills, Brogan Mills, South Carolina.

—

Prohibition during war would be most desirable, resulting in promotion of greater economy and efficiency.

FRANCIS WINSLOW POE,
President of the F. A. Poe Manufacturing Co., Greenville, S. C.

—

We should by all means possible have national prohibition during the war, and I should like to see it continue thereafter.

JAS. C. SELT,
President Greenwood (S. C.) Cotton Mill.

—

I indorse national prohibition with all the emphasis possible. It is desirable in order to prevent diseases, save food, and promote efficiency.

J. M. GEER,
President of Cotton Mills, Greenville, S. C.

—

From the standpoint of efficiency and preparedness, national prohibition during this war is essential. Furthermore, we are fighting for the cause of humanity, and with the highest ideals to secure the respect of the world and the approval of our own country can not do less than demand national prohibition.

ROBERT S. MEBANE,
President Republic Cotton Mills, Great Falls, S. C.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

From every conservative standpoint national prohibition during war is desirable, to protect health and improve morals of men, to promote efficiency and lessen waste, to conserve food material.

FRANK M. BYRNE,
Late Governor of South Dakota, Pierre, S. Dak.

—

Emphatically for war-time prohibition. In my judgment it is not debatable.

JAMES D. ELLIOTT,
District Judge, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

—

Heartily favor national prohibition during war for economic and social reasons.

E. K. EYERLY,
Vice President University of South Dakota, Vermilion, S. Dak.

TENNESSEE.

I strongly favor national prohibition during the war and thereafter.

J. D. McDOWELL,
President Mercantile National Bank, Memphis, Tenn.

—

I firmly believe that national prohibition during the war is not only advisable but absolutely necessary in order to save food now wasted in manufacture of liquors, to conserve the health and strength of our soldiers and sailors, and to promote the highest national productive efficiency.

G. T. FITZHUGH,
Attorney, Memphis, Tenn.

Am in entire sympathy with the idea of national prohibition; believe in its enforcement as a war measure.

ELLIOTT P. FROST,
Professor Psychology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

—

In our opinion national prohibition during the war would be a wise step.

W. H. WILBUR,
Manager Southern Skein & Foundry Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.

—

I heartily approve of the national prohibition during the war, and I believe it would greatly aid in the successful termination of our difficulties.

MAURICE MULVANIA,
Assistant Professor of Bacteriology, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

—

I firmly believe that prohibition during the war at least should be enacted at as early a date as possible.

LUKE LEA,
Former United States Senator from Tennessee, Nashville, Tenn.

TEXAS.

By all means let us have national prohibition during the war. It will prevent waste of food supplies, waste of wages of laborers, and waste of men under arms. It will tend to check the rise in food prices and enormously increase national productive efficiency.

Prof. CHARLES SHIRLEY POTTS,
University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

—

Believe national prohibition in war time highly desirable, as probably do 9 out of 10 of the faculty of the University of Texas. The following professors, whom I have happened to see, join me: President Vinson, Profs. Sutton, Mayers, Simonds, Wharey, Kelley, Jones, Haines, Preston, Wehrwein, Bell, Dehass, Mather, Yoakum, Eby, Henderson; also Dr. Gilbert, leading surgeon of Texas.

A. B. WOLFE,
Professor Economics and Sociology, University of Texas, Austin.

—

The sacrifice in revenue is more than counterbalanced a hundred times by the increased savings of the people and their ability to subscribe for Government loans. We are now expending two and one-half billions dollars a year for intoxicating liquors in the United States—an amount sufficient to finance the $7,000,000,000 loan in less than three years. The great European war has cost $66,000,000,000 to date. The people of the United States at the present rate will expend that much for intoxicating liquors in half of a lifetime.

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Chairman of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.

UTAH.

I and practically all of our people favor national prohibition during and after the war.

HEBER J. GRANT,
First President Church of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

VERMONT.

Heartily concur in effort for war-time prohibition.

FRANK H. BROOKS,
President Fairbanks Scale Co., St. Johnsbury, Vt.

—

Most efficient use of our energies and best use of our means demands national prohibition during war.

JAMES HARTNESS,
President Jones & Lamson Machine Co., Springfield, Vt.

—

I heartily approve of war-time prohibition.

C. W. GATES,
Ex-Governor of Vermont, Enosburg Falls, Vt.

VIRGINIA.

I am strongly in favor of national prohibition.

W. J. HARAHAN,
President Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., Norfolk, Va.

The liquor traffic is and has always been an economic waste, decreasing efficiency, promoting sickness, disease, crime, and imbeciles. The two billions of dollars expended annually for alcoholic beverages would be partially saved. The 60,000 wage earners in the liquor industry should become producers of foods and necessary commodities.

C. EDWIN MICHAEL,
President Virginia Bridge & Iron Co., Roanoke, Va.

—

National prohibition demanded during war to conserve food supply and maintain efficiency of soldiers and sailors.

Dr. HARVEY ERNEST JORDAN,
Professor of Histology and Embryology, University of Virginia.

—

I approve adoption national prohibition as emergency measure during war period.

H. TUCKER GRAHAM,
President of Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va.

—

Prohibition necessary for effective fighting and living. Why do less than Russia?

Dr. WILLIAM A. KEPNER,
Associate Professor of Biology, University of Virginia.

WASHINGTON.

I believe national prohibition during the war would strengthen our Army and Navy, as well as the country in general, and would give us such efficiency in every department as nothing else could do and would have the tendency of shielding and protecting our boys at the front.

N. J. BLAGEN,
President of the Grays Harbor Lumber Co., Hoquiam, Wash.

—

I favor prohibition and think public opinion in Oregon would indorse it as a war measure to promote general efficiency.

JOHN S. BRADLEY,
Vice President and Manager of the Bradley Logging Co., Portland, Oreg., Railroad and Camps, Cathlamet, Wash.

—

Urgent war conditions emphasize emergency necessity national prohibition. Almost criminal foolishness permit wasting food products manufacture intoxicants. Americans must develop and sustain large productive efficiency which alcohol indulgence always decreases. Alcohol creates aggravated conditions, physical disease, moral dangers, threatens manhood's vital powers. Humanity cause needs America's maximum energies untainted alcoholic destroyer.

GEORGE F. COTTERILL,
Former Mayor Seattle, Wash.

—

Think national prohibition imperative. Believe it will be more valuable at this time than the propaganda for increased food production.

J. C. CALEMAN CO., *Seattle, Wash.*

—

Am heartily in sympathy with your proposal of national prohibition during the war. I have been urging this measure for years in time of peace, and it is even more needed in time of war.

MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senator from Washington.

—

National prohibition imperative during war. Industrial and military efficiency demand it. Necessary as means of combating disease in Army and Navy and to avert waste of food material. Marked improvement in industrial conditions since State prohibition here.

WALTER G. BEACH, A. M.,
Professor of Social Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

—

Results following prohibition indicate decided improvement in steadiness among our men, and would save quantities of good material which now go to manufacturing liquors.

T. S. LIPPY,
President Northwest Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Seattle, Wash.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Prohibit use of grain for manufacture of liquor by all means. Urge strictest economy in use of food and set every productive agency possible at work.

Dr. FRANK B. TROTTER,
President of the University of West Virginia,
Morgantown, W. Va.

—

I personally believe national prohibition vitally desirable.

ALSON G. DAYTON,
United States District Court, Phillippi, W. Va.

—

Think war-time prohibition wise. West Virginia would approve. Should act promptly.

E. H. VICKERS,
Professor of Economics, University of West Virginia, Morgantown, W. Va.

WISCONSIN.

I regard national prohibition as one of the first and most necessary steps to be taken to effect national military efficiency. It should be enforced at once.

RICHARD LLOYD JONES,
Editor of the Wisconsin State Journal,
Madison, Wis.

—

Approve national prohibition during war. It might convert the war into a national asset.

E. A. ROSS,
Professor Sociology, University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.

—

Fully persuaded national prohibition desirable during war on physical and economical grounds.

GEO. E. EHLER,
Director Department Physical Education,
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

—

From standpoint of threatened food shortage, prevention of diseases in Army and Navy, general financial, physical, and moral efficiency of citizens favors legislation for prohibition now.

C. W. HETHERINGTON,
Professor of Physical Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

—

National prohibition during war would increase efficiency of Army and Navy, promote health of men, and reduce contagious and venereal disease.

Prof. M. V. O'SHEA,
Professor of Education, the University of Wisconsin, Etc., Madison, Wis.

—

In nation-wide prohibition the movement should be pressed as a war measure.

W. A. HENRY,
Professor Agriculture Experiment Station,
Madison, Wis.

—

Wars are decided by national, industrial, and agricultural efficiency. National prohibition would increase national efficiency by a large percentage and it is therefore the best measure known to win the war.

ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL,
Professor of Geology, University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.

—

Strongly favor national prohibition during war for moral and material conservation.

EDWARD D. EATON,
President Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

—

For the conservation of food supply, for the prevention of disease, and for increased efficiency of all our citizens, I feel that it is most desirable in present crisis to establish national prohibition.

PAUL F. CLARK,
Professor of Medicine, University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.

WYOMING.

Greatly in favor of national prohibition during war.

J. E. DOWNEY,
Professor of Philosophy, University of Wyoming,
Laramie, Wyo.

Believe most heartily in war-time prohibition and shall hope to see its full consummation. Any possible support is cordially tendered.

J. C. FITTERER,
Department of Civic and Irrigation Engineering,
University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.

Conserve the Food Supply, Promote Efficiency, and Save Manhood by Enacting War-Time Prohibition Now.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill contains a half-hearted suggestion that war-time prohibition of the liquor triffic might help to conserve the food supply of the country. In spite of the well-known fact that the official advisers of the administration have reported that $146,000,000 in food products are annually destroyed by manufacturers of alcoholic liquors, in spite of the fact that the already frugal housewife has been advised to put her family on short rations, and in spite of the fact that world starvation is alleged to be before us, I am astounded that a great committee of this House should fail to bring us a square and honest declaration against further waste of our food supplies by the distillers and brewers.

Mr. Speaker, I shall at the proper time submit the following as a substitute for section 13 of this bill:

SEC. 13. That whenever the President finds that the use of foods, food materials, or feeds in the production of alcoholic beverages shall result in any reduction of the available supply of food he is authorized and directed to prescribe and to give public notice of the prohibition of the use of foods, food materials, and feeds in the production of such beverages. Whenever such notice shall have been given no person shall use any food, food materials, or feeds in the production of alcoholic beverages. In order to further conserve the supply of foods which may otherwise be used in the production of alcohol or distilled spirits to meet Government requirements for the manufacture of munitions and other military and hospital supplies, the President is authorized and directed to commandeer for redistillation for all such purposes, any or all distilled spirits in bond at the date of the approval of this act, and to determine and pay a just compensation therefor.

Any person who willfully violates any provision of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

Mr. Speaker, if the Members of this House will turn to that portion of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD wherein the petitions deposited in the basket are recorded, they will find that nearly nine-tenths of them day after day are appeals for war-time prohibition.

GRAINS USED FOR LIQUORS WOULD FEED 10,000,0000 HOGS.

Ten million hogs could be raised in the United States every year with the grain and cereals used in making distilled liquors and beers, according to Prof. M. E. Jaffa, consulting nutrition expert of the State Board of Health of California. If these products were used for feeding cattle or dairy cows, they would satisfy about one and one-half million animals for one year. The by-products from the manufacture of these liquors and beer will feed about 5,000,000 hogs, but since the residue alone is not relished by pigs grains or mill by-products must be supplemented.

Prof. Jaffa says further: "The total amount of grain used for the manufacture of alcohol is 2,183,775,852 pounds. About 500 pounds of grain, supplemented by pasture, is necessary to raise an 8-month hog weighing about 200 pounds. If this were devoted to pork production, it would satisfy the requirements of upward of 4,000,000 hogs. If the cereals used for beer were similarly applied, over 6,000,000 hogs could be raised. If the grains now used for the production of distilled spirits were used for human food, there were be rendered available about 800,000 tons of edible meal, the remainder—bran, etc.—being used for cattle, hog, and poultry feeds. The corresponding estimated figure for the cereals now used for beer would be approximately 1,200,000 tons. In other words, if the total amount of grains now used in the manufacture of distilled spirits and beer were used as human food, there would be produced about 2,000,000 tons of edible meal. If this were all wheat flour, it would correspond to 3,000,000 tons of bread, or 6,000,000,000 1-pound loaves of bread—one loaf per capita per day for two months for the entire United States."

BREWERS DEPRIVE MEAT GROWERS OF BARLEY.

From a prominent ranch owner in my own district in California, I have received the following significant communication:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *April 28, 1917.*

Hon. C. H. RANDALL, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: To the present demand for a cessation of the brewing of barley and the distilling of grains at this time of demand for such grains for food, permit me to add some facts.

With others, I am developing ranches in this county. During 1916 on my Antelope Valley ranch we produced over 225 hogs. We pasture them on alfalfa and feed some barley, and later on, the last two months, feed mostly barley, as the packers will not buy hogs fed on alfalfa alone, and in fact it is not a balanced ration, but grain and alfalfa together is. Last year at threshing time we tried to buy barley of the ranchers in the west end of the Antelope Valley, where they grow grain exclusively, and found it impossible to do so. Parties said to be buying in the brewers' interests would follow the thrashers and pay a price far above the open market. In fact it is a feature of a rancher to set a price and hold for that. These parties anticipating the market, would see when they could meet him, drive to his ranch and get it. The result was hundreds of tons were taken past my ranches to Lancaster and shipped to the breweries and we had no chance to get it.

The market started at $1.35 per 100. I got all a friend had for $1.70 and of another friend about 200 bags at $2.15, and then bought milo maize shipped from Imperial Valley at $2.25 per 100 to finish out the last 150 hogs. Before buying the last barley we seriously considered the killing and burying all of our pigs under 75 pounds, as we could see no profit in keeping them until February at the prices of grain and alfalfa hay—the latter we had of our own raising. We finally kept and fed them, with little margin in doing so, as we could not get within 2½ cents per pound of the Chicago price for them in Los Angeles. We will have 80 to 100 pigs this year, and, owing to the light crop of grain and the present high price for barley, we are of the opinion it will be better to kill them when they come and fatten the sows and quit the business at this juncture. This looks unpatriotic, but if the beer interests take our barley we will be obliged to do it, as without the grain we can not sell them. I trust these facts will help you in the interest of food raising against its useless waste in brewing and distilling.

Your friend, A. E. CLUTTER.

Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I printed in the RECORD several hundred telegrams from leaders in every avenue of world progress urging conservation of food and other benefits to be derived from war-time prohibition. To-day I add others of the same tenor:

The final adoption of national prohibition is inevitable. By all means do it now. It is foolhardiness to weaken our powers by indulgence in drink. The Nation has no right to waste food materials in the manufacture of liquor. The world has not a pound to spare.

EDWIN D. STARBUCK,
Professor Philosophy State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

—

National prohibition is not the main issue at present. If enacted and enforced would undoubtedly result in saving food materials and promoting industrial efficiency.

W. E. STONE,
President Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

—

National prohibition is, in my judgment, absolutely essential for preservation of food supply, for its helpful influence in preventing disease and for maintenance of officers and men of Army and Navy at their highest possible efficiency, both in camp and field. Congress should not hesitate to pass a national prohibition law as a war measure, and should under no circumstances increase the hold of the liquor traffic upon the economic situation by levying more taxes upon the liquor business.

JOHN T. STONE,
The Maryland Casualty Co., the Board of Casualty and Surety Underwriters of the United States, Baltimore, Md.

—

Urgently favor national prohibition during war, saving food waste and promoting health and efficiency.

CHARLES SISSON,
President Hope Webbing Co., North Brookfield, Mass.

—

National prohibition would be the most effective measure of preparedness to conserve the physical and mental health of our soldiers and save for bread the cereals now worse than wasted by the brewers.

L. S. STARRETT,
President the L. S. Starrett Co., Makers Fine Mechanical Tools, Athol, Mass.

—

Heartily in favor of national prohibition during war.

VIDA SCUDDER,
Professor English Literature, Wellesley College, Mass.

—

Very much favor carefully planned movement for prohibition during war.

DAVID SNEDDEN,
Professor of Education, Columbia University, New York, Ex-Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts.

—

I favor national prohibition during war.

E. O. SUTTON,
General Manager of the Knox Motors Corporation, Springfield, Mass.

—

Considerable evidence here of sentiment favorable to prohibition of beverage sale of alcohol during war.

E. O. SUTTON,
General Manager Knox Motors' Associates, Springfield, Mass.

—

The United States saloonless and sober would be mightier and readier to meet any foe, even with its present military resources, than it would be with the very maximum of armament and the retention of the saloon with all of its attendant vice and waste. By all means make the total elimination of liquor and its illicit allies the foremost feature of national preparedness. Modify so that it shall run "Trust in God and keep the country dry."

JAMES SCHERMERHORN,
Publisher Detroit Times, Detroit, Mich.

In response to the President's call, I have organized facilities for the financing and harvesting of 800 acres of food crops, all of which are under way and progressing well. This effort on the part of so many is useless if the brewers and distillers are going to be permitted to continue the consumption of food products.

I am not an abstainer, but I recognize we are at war.

"A bushel saved is a bushel raised."

R. J. CALDWELL,
Cotton Manufacturer, New York, N. Y.

—

I favor national prohibition during war. It will release millions of bushels of grain for food.

MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH,
Head Worker Greenwich House, New York.

—

I am heartily in accord with national prohibition during war.

H. L. SHUTTLEWORTH,
President Shuttleworth Bros. Co., Carpet Manufacturers, Amsterdam, N. Y.

—

There should be a national prohibition to conserve food products.

FRED W. SNOW,
President Ramapo Iron Works, Hillburn, N. Y.

—

I most emphatically favor national prohibition during war.

A. J. STONE,
Vice President Erie Railroad, New York.

—

Believe the manufacture of grain or food products into beer or alcoholic beverages should be forbidden during the war. The liquor interests should be given the option of disposing of their stocks of grain or surrendering them to the Government within a specific time. In case of surrender to Government the value should be appraised and paid for. The Government could then make disposition as seemed best.

H. A. CARHART,
Smith Premier Works, Remington Typewriter Co., Syracuse, N. Y.

—

I emphatically approve national prohibition during the war. Never was there so great need for conservation of energies and foodstuffs. Useless waste should be prevented. I know of no one act of the Government that could be more productive of good to the country than national prohibition during the war.

R. E. SHANAHAN,
Superintendent of the Craig Colony for Epileptics, Sonyea, N. Y.

—

Heartily in accord national prohibition during war to conserve for food grains used in manufacture of liquor and for promotion of national productive efficiency.

GEORGE W. SISSON, Jr.,
President Racquette River Paper Co., Potsdam, N. Y.

—

Strongly advocate prohibition during war on economic grounds. This alone should justify such action, although other benefits will undoubtedly result from prohibition during war crisis.

CHARLES STELZLE,
Social Service Engineer, New York City.

—

I have always been a strong advocate of national prohibition; in order to avoid wastage, conserve our foodstuffs, and promote efficiency it is imperative that immediate action be taken.

ROLLAND H. SPAULDING,
Ex-Governor New Hampshire, Manufacturer Rochester and Tonawanda, N. Y.

—

Favor national prohibition at all times, but more particularly during time of war.

BIRD W. SPENCER,
President People's Bank & Trust Co., Passaic, N. J.

—

I think national prohibition for the duration of the war of the utmost importance to the Nation.

ROBERT SIMPSON,
President Phoenix Linen Co., Clifton, N. J.

—

National prohibition desirable to conserve food and labor wasted in manufacture and sale of liquor. Millions in money now spent for intoxicants would be saved. Thousands of men made useless or inefficient by drink could be reclaimed for useful occupations. A sober nation is a most important step toward preparedness.

R. H. SCOTT,
President Citizens' National Bank, New Philadelphia, Ohio.

—

We should have national prohibition during the war in order to attain greatest efficiency possible, and to save for food such grains as are used in the manufacturing of liquors.

WM. S. STEARNS,
The Stearns & Fisher Co., Lockland, Ohio.

—

National prohibition during war would be most desirable from both economic and moral viewpoints. Would strongly urge it.

DANIEL SELTZER,
General Manager Ohio Cultivator Co., Bellevue, Ohio.

—

Would stop foolish waste of food by prohibiting making and sale of liquors. We can not ask anyone to conserve food until this enormous waste is stopped.

J. HAMMOND SMITH,
University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

—

National preparedness in the present crisis should not stop short of nation-wide prohibition of the liquor traffic. We must recognize now the wisdom of doing everything to strengthen the hands of those who fight, as well as conserve the physical resources of the people. With the

tidal wave of public sentiment rising higher and still higher against the liquor traffic, our entrance into war should mean its final overthrow. Every consideration justifies action by Congress to this end as a war measure.

E. J. STACKPOLE,
Proprietor Harrisburg Telegraph, Harrisburg, Pa.

—

National prohibition during war means greater productive efficiency in all lines.

JOSEPH M. STEELE,
Of William Steele & Sons, Philadelphia.

—

I strongly favor national prohibition during present war.

R. T. STEWART,
Professor and Head of Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

—

Strongly in favor of national prohibition during war and afterwards.

JOSEPH SAILER,
Professor of Clinical Medicine, The University of Philadelphia.

—

I consider national prohibition, especially at this time, of utmost importance to promote national efficiency and final success.

GEO. D. SELDEN,
President Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.

—

I favor and will support war-time prohibition.

CHARLES STRATMAN,
General Manager of the Tyler Tube & Pipe Co., Washington, Pa.

—

I fully approve national prohibition during war.

WM. H. STANTON,
The Philadelphia Quartz Co., Chester, Pa.

—

I am very strong in my opinion that we ought to have national prohibition during the war, if no longer.

AUGUSTUS W. SMITH,
President Brandon Cotton Mills, Greenville, S. C.

—

There is no question in my mind as to wisdom of national prohibition for the conservation of health and efficiency of our troops.

F. A. SEAGLE,
President and General Manager Chattanooga Lumber Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.

—

We decidedly favor national prohibition.

R. A. SCHOOLFIELD,
President Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Danville, Va.

—

Favor prohibition.

JOHN SPARGO, Author, Socialist.
Old Bennington, Vt.

—

Would most certainly commend prohibition for the war period.

N. J. SMITH,
President Minisha Paper Co., Ladysmith, Wis.

—

Think national prohibition during war desirable.

A. L. SANBORN,
Judge United States District Court, Madison, Wis.

—

Think national prohibition very desirable now to safeguard soldiers against diseases, to conserve our food supplies, and promote efficiency throughout Nation.

CHAS. C. STOLL,
President C. C. Stoll Oil Co., Louisville, Ky.

—

Strongly in favor of national prohibition during war and any other time. The Middle West would regard it as an outrage if, after their strenuous endeavor to increase the production of food supplies and to economize in the use of food, vast quantities went into the manufacture of liquor. To get the full cooperation of the Middle West, prohibition of the manufacture of liquor and competent plans against venereal diseases are necessary.

FRANK STRONG,
Chancellor of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

—

To secure the highest efficiency in the Army and Navy and properly develop the young manhood of our Nation national prohibition of the liquor traffic is imperative. The conservation of food also demands the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

LYMAN STEWART,
Chairman Union Oil Co. of California, Los Angeles, Cal.

—

Under ordinary conditons favor closing saloon rather than prohibition; under war conditions favor prohibition.

ALBERT C. CRAWFORD,
Stanford University Medical School, San Francisco, Cal.

—

Strongly favor national prohibition during war.

FERNANDO SANFORD,
Professor of Physics, Leland Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

—

Approve national prohibition during war.

WM. F. SLOCUM,
President Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Chairman Carnegie Foundation Advancement Teaching.

—

Conservation of humanity and supplies demands national liquor prohibition, to make for efficiency in war and in recovery therefrom.

PHILIP SELLERS,
Consulting Engineer, New Haven, Conn.

I believe that though it would work hardship on some, the best interest of the Nation would be greatly helped by prohibition.

ERNEST THOMPSON SETON.
Author of Wild Animals I Have Known, Etc., Greenwich, Conn.

—

I believe it very desirable that we should have national prohibition during the war, both because the personnel of the Army and Navy would be stronger and because national productive efficiency would be promoted thereby.

WM. A. SHANKLIN.
President Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

—

Am strongly in favor of national prohibition.

H. M. STEELE,
Vice President American Brass Co., Waterbury, Conn.

—

I am most heartily in favor of national prohibition during our war with Germany, believing it would help immensely in the successful termination of the struggle. In fact, it seems to me absolutely necessary that we should use this precaution to insure our men being as efficient as possible. The influence of liquor on the soldiers is very baneful.

WILLIAM E. SESSIONS,
President the Sessions Foundry Co., Bristol, Conn.

—

National prohibition during the war is the only correct solution of the problem.

GEORGE E. SAVAGE,
President Manning Bowman Co., Meriden, Conn.

—

Alcohol impairs every human faculty.

Alcohol, even in small quantities, attacks all the vital organs, the nervous system, and the blood.

It is held that 30 per cent of the insanity in the world is the direct or indirect result of alcohol.

The ultimate effect of alcohol upon the heart is to depress, and, in continued doses, to paralyze the heart.

Injuries to the drinking man heal more slowly, are more liable to infection, bring on inflammation, and are likely to cause delirum tremens.

Serious injuries to the drinking man, such as broken limbs, often bring on delirium tremens, and 50 per cent of the cases of delirium tremens which follow injuries result in death.

Alcohol is the proximate cause of much of the crime committed in America.

The liquor traffic is responsible for a large proportion of the misery among the working classes.

It has been proven by the most careful experiments, and completely confirmed by actual experience in athletics and war, that alcohol—

1. Slows the sense of sight.
2. Confuses prompt judgment.
3. Spoils accurate shooting, throwing, catching, kicking, etc.
4. Slows all physical movements.
5. Hastens fatigue.
6. Lessens the resisting power of the body to disease and exposure.
7. Increases shock from wounds and injuries.

The following manufacturers have subscribed to and pledged support to this campaign, which is conducted under the general direction of the Utica Mutual Compensation Insurance Corporation:

Robert Ablett & Co., Whitesboro; American Hardwall Plaster Co., Utica; Avalon Knitwear Co., Utica; Beech-Nut Packing Co., Canajoharie; The Bossert Co., Utica; O. J. Childs Co., Utica; Clinton Metallic Paint Co., Clinton; Denton & Waterbury, Whitesboro; Divine Bros. Co., Utica; Duofold Health Underwear Co., Mohawk; Elastic Springknit Corporation, Mohawk; Eureka Mower Co., Utica; Foster Box Board Co., Utica; Foster Bros. Manufacturing Co., Utica; Goodenow Printing Co., Utica; F. E. Hale Manufacturing Co., Herkimer; Chr. Hansen's Laboratory, Little Falls; Hart & Crouse Co., Utica; Hind-Harrison Plush Co., Clark Mills; Horrocks Desk Co., Herkimer; C. C. Kellogg & Sons Co., Utica; Munson Mill Machinery Co., Utica; New Hartford Canning Co., New Hartford; New Hartford Cotton Manufacturing Co., New Hartford; Oval Wood Dish Co., Tupper Lake; Phoenix Underwear Co., Little Falls; Pratt Chuck Co., Frankfort; Quigley Furniture Co., Whitesboro; Roberts-Wicks Co., Utica; Rome Metallic Bedstead Co., Rome; Sauquoit Toilet Paper Co., New Hartford; Smyth-Despard Co., Utica; Phillip Thomas Sons Co., Utica; Utica Daily Press Co., Utica; Utica Knitting Co., Utica; Utica Spinning Co., Utica; Utica Steam Engine & Boiler Works, Utica; Utica Valve & Fixture Co., Utica; Utica-Willowvale Bleaching Co., Chadwicks; Walcott & Campbell Spinning Co., New York Mills; H. Waterbury & Sons Co., Oriskany; Willoughby Co., Utica.

Statement of Position of Grain Dealers on Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in this debate about "food gamblers" and "food pirates" which may give the impression that all those business men engaged in the handling of food products are included in this sweeping condemnation. Manifestly this is not so. There are very many high-minded and patriotic men engaged in necessary and legitimate lines of handling grain and other food supplies, and whose functions in the economic machinery of the country can not and will not be dispensed with. I take pleasure in inserting here, under

unanimous consent, a letter from Mr. George S. Carkener, president of the Board of Trade of Kansas City, explaining the position of grain men toward the food-conservation bill. It is well worth reading, especially by those whose ideas of a grain exchange are a little hazy.

BOARD OF TRADE OF KANSAS CITY, MO.,
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,
Kansas City, Mo., June 21 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BORLAND: The grain trade is receiving a lot of unjust, unfavorable, and undeserved criticism in connection with the hearings in Washington concerning the proposed food-control legislation. In press reports from Washington we are classed as food manipulators realizing a profit of something like $250,000,000 during a short period. As an instance, it was stated that flour was selling for $5 a barrel over and above its legitimate value.

The grain trade is most anxious to cooperate with the Government in every possible way to conserve food supplies. To my knowledge there has been no official action of any of the grain exchanges in the country having as its object any interference whatever with the President in his present plans. I feel perfectly safe in saying that the large majority of the grain men in the country are sufficiently patriotic to practically give up their business, if necessary, during the period of the war, if after careful study of the matter it is found necessary; and that by being eliminated the cause would be advanced and great masses of the people in this country and abroad materially benefited.

There no doubt are individuals in the grain trade who are opposed to the food-control bill and who are using their influence against its adoption. It has generally been conceded that the grain exchanges offer the most satisfactory and economical medium for handling the surplus grain in the country. To my mind food control, especially with reference to wheat, is very necessary for this year, due to the shortness of the crop.

The causes for the recent high prices are well known and can be confirmed by anyone who will take the trouble to make proper investigation, and are:

First and most important: The heavy unrestricted buying of grain, particularly wheat, by our foreign allies. Their maximum holdings of cash wheat and futures in this country being variously estimated by informed people to range from thirty to fifty or sixty million bushels (all and more than our total surplus), in addition to the heavy buying in this country by foreign neutral Governments.

Second. The housewife buying and storing of supplies, principally flour, due to the panic caused by reports published by the Government indicating a very short wheat crop which might result in almost a famine condition in this country; and

Third. To the very unsatisfactory transportation facilities offered by the railroad companies during the past six months.

It is probably true that the average price of wheat from the farms for the closing crop year would not average much over $1.40 to $1.50 per bushel. It is also true that a very large per cent of this grain was made into flour or exported at a price in line with the price mentioned above, plus only a reasonable margin of profit to the grain man or miller. During the last two and a half to three months of the crop year flour did sell in the market at $12 to $15 per barrel, but that price was justified by the price of wheat during that time, and the reason for that advance has been explained above.

The grain trade had absolutely nothing to do with the advance in wheat prices from $2 a bushel up to $3.25 to $3.50 per bushel. In fact, after wheat crossed $2 per bushel there was practically none of the stock in this country owned by either grain dealers or millers, they having either contracted to sell the grain or flour for domestic or export use, or had the unsold part of their stocks hedged in the futures. And the congested holding in this country of one interest representing the foreign Governments was almost altogether responsible for these very high prices. They were certainly not anticipated by grain men either in the country or in the terminal markets.

There were no doubt country elevators and farmers who made an unexpected profit out of this advance. This was due to the railroad situation. Practically every bushel of wheat in this western country would have been moved from the farms and from the country elevators at from $1.50 to $2 per bushel had the railroad companies been in position to furnish the necessary equipment.

The Federal Government has made thorough investigations concerning the operations, margin of profit, etc., in connection with the grain and milling interests, and anyone taking the trouble to investigate the result of those investigations will see that the Government agents came to the conclusion that the profits of the middleman in the grain business, and, as a general rule, in the flour and milling business, was small as compared with the risk and the amount of capital necessary—a very much smaller per cent of profit on the cost than is usually made by operators and manufacturers in other lines.

I hope the matter of control can be settled as promptly as possible. We will run into a very serious situation unless the grain and milling interests are advised promptly what their status is going to be for the coming year.

One of the matters of greatest importance is that of seed for the large area in this western country that did not raise anything in the way of a wheat crop. The last few days we have had some serious and unfavorable reports from the best wheat area in Kansas. They are to the effect that the very high temperatures experienced about 10 days ago has shriveled the wheat badly, so that in some sections they claim a reduction of 30 to 50 per cent in the prospective yield. This is in the section where previous to that time we had the best prospect for a good yield.

My last information indicates that Mr. Hoover's plan is to use the exchanges on the basis of a minimum of profit to the grain and milling interests, which I think is perfectly satisfactory to a large majority.

I hope you will pardon the length of this letter. I am trying to explain our position, as we do not like to be considered unpatriotic, nor do we like to be classed as extortionists who are taking blood money from the people in this country and from the unfortunates in the countries with whom we are allied in this war.

To me it seems unwise and absolutely unnecessary to antagonize the grain interests at this time, when it is of the utmost importance that we work in harmony.

Pardon me for taking so much of your time.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am,

Yours, very truly,

G. S. CARKENER.

Government Control of the Necessities of Life.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, in the forty-first chapter of Genesis we read the following verses, so applicable to conditions to-day that I beg leave to quote briefly from the Book of Books:

And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, In my dream, behold, I stood upon the bank of the river:

And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in a meadow:

And, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for baldness:

And the lean and the ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine:

And when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill favoured as at the beginning. So I awoke.

And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good:

And, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them:

And the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told this unto the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to me.

And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh is one: God hath shewed Pharaoh what he is about to do.

The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one.

And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine.

This is the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh: What God is about to do he sheweth unto Pharaoh.

Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt.

And there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land;

* * * * * * *

Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years.

And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities.

And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the Good Book states further that Pharaoh found Joseph's advice good and followed it—to the great benefit of the land of Egypt in troublesome times that followed.

This is probably the first record of a systematic plan of food conservation, but ancient history is full of similar examples, showing that wise rulers and thrifty nations thousands of years ago took the trouble to look ahead and provide for the proverbial rainy day.

We read that in ancient Babylon immense storehouses were built in which a food supply sufficient to last 20 years was maintained, allowance being made for increase of population.

Ever since then nation after nation has followed these ancient examples; and now to-day, in this tragic period of world history, this great country of ours has awakened to the necessity of looking ahead and we are considering a set of bills to regulate the production, distribution, and consumption of the necessities of life.

But, Mr. Speaker, the sad and somewhat sickening feature of our experience with this world-old problem is the humiliating fact that instead of starting to conserve our resources in the past years of plenty, we have waited, blindly, foolishly, carelessly, until the lean years are upon us and we are face to face with a situation that was ably described in an editorial in the New York American of April 11, 1917, which I will insert here:

The distinguishing weakness of our national character is that we seldom trouble to look ahead. The country has been threatening war and approaching food famine for three years, and in all that time not one single thing has been done to prepare for either emergency. Here we are with both staring us right in the eyes.

This country is not going to have enough food to go around this winter, and it is lunacy to keep on shipping away thousands of tons of food, to be eaten abroad, or to be sent to the bottom of the sea by submarines.

No man in this country is better acquainted with real food conditions than is J. Ogden Armour, the head of the Meat Trust. His agents know just how many pounds of food there are in the country at any given time, and just where every pound is to be found.

This is what Mr. Armour had to say last Monday:

"If immediate and radical steps are not taken to increase and conserve the food supply of the United States, this country will find itself

next fall and winter in as bad a state, so far as food is concerned, as any of the warring nations of Europe.

"The food shortage is world-wide. Because the time is so short and the situation so dangerous, I favor Government supervision and control of food production and food prices. They have been forced to come to that in Europe. Let us do it before we are compelled to do so."

There are less than six weeks of seed time. Anybody who knows anything at all about Washington and its methods knows right well that nothing will be done during these six weeks to increase next winter's food supplies above the ordinary crops. And reports already in from the winter grain regions forecast short crops.

The storage warehouses are cleaned out. The meat and canned goods are gone. There are no reserves, and the acreage in seed will not supply our own actual needs this coming winter.

Yet with war on our hands and plans to call 2,000,000 men away from production, responsible representatives of the Nation at Washington are going about declaring that nothing—not even our crying military needs—must be permitted to interrupt the steady flow of food supplies to England.

Two years ago this newspaper foresaw these conditions clearly and began to recommend an embargo upon foodstuffs for our own country's protection. We urged this measure of preparedness, as well as every other measure of preparedness, upon the administration and the Congress.

We got laughed at for our pains. There were not even wanting blockheads stupid enough to suspect that our real anxiety for our own country's welfare concealed a dark plot to help Germany! There absolutely were dunces with heads thick enough and brains muddled enough to reach that dull and despicable conclusion.

Here we are, however, with matters exactly as we foretold they would be, and the best solution of this pressing and dangerous problem that Cabinet members can find is to keep on shipping away as much of our remaining food supplies as ships can be loaded with—yes, and to use our own sorely needed ships to increase the fatal drain.

We say again—and we have a right to speak, since we alone predicted and warned the country of these conditions and urged preparation for them—we say that every shipment of food and military supplies from this time on is a blow at our own safety, and that if we do not stop this fatal drain upon our resources the country will be face to face with hunger and with possibly worse disaster.

Now, our earnest suggestion to the Congress is that it imperatively refuse to permit the further drainage of our food supplies and our military supplies and our money supplies to Europe.

We insist that none of these things, at this eleventh hour, when the huge armies are already locked in the final death grapple, can have any decisive effect one way or another upon Europe's conflict.

If the allies are to win, they will, and they must, win with what preparedness they have, for all we can send them now can not possibly change the result.

On the other hand, if the Teutons are about to win, we need every ounce of food and every ounce of preparedness, and ten times as much, right here at home, in order to meet that peril.

We feel deeply the things we now say. There is only one country to us. That is the dear country of our birth and our heart's affection. We have no animosity toward any people. But we would rather see Europe sunk in the sea, if that were the alternative, than to see this America of ours helpless under the sword of an invader.

We appeal to you, Members of the Congress, to say whether or not time and the conditions that have arisen have not vindicated and justified every argument and forecast we have urged upon you and upon the Nation since first the guns began to thunder across the seas.

Have we not been right? Have we not been American? Have we not loyally and patriotically spoken the truth and urged the procedure that would have saved our country from its present perilous predicament?

If this is so, as you know it is, and if our judgment, therefore, is now entitled to consideration, we urge you not to weaken our country's preparedness, not to give away our money by shiploads, not to squander our men and our food reserves upon Europe, but resolutely and determinedly to oppose all such proposals, and earnestly and with all possible haste to speed to the utmost limit the construction of ships, of plants, of guns, the manufacture of ammunition and aircraft and all other war equipment, and to enforce the most thorough conservation of our far too small reserve supplies of food.

Gentlemen of the Congress, for our safety's sake let us think of America.

This was written on April 11, 1917, over two months ago.

And so we have been considering in both Houses of Congress a set of bills on Government food control, each one of them giving the executive branches of our democracy such wide and sweeping powers and conferring such autocratic rights upon the President and his Cabinet that the legislation might well be entitled as "An act giving the American people permission to live or die by administrative authority!"

And the sad, sad feature of the whole matter is that to-day the need is so urgent, the situation so desperate, that we are compelled to pass even such undemocratic measures, and democracy may have to die in her stronghold that the people may live. And bad as it is to place control of the necessities of life in the hands of a Federal bureaucracy, it would be still worse to leave them where they are now, controlled by an arrogant and unscrupulous aristocracy of wealth that is neither responsible to the will of the people or obedient to the laws of God or man. And as I am going to vote for this measure, many of whose provisions I do not approve, I wish to state briefly some of the reasons for my vote, some of the things that should have been done and were not and some of the things that have been done that might better have been left undone.

In the first place this country ought never to have been placed in the position we are in to-day. The last 25 years have seen the development of the most perfect system of cold storage ever devised. Had this system been used for the benefit of the people, prices of foodstuffs could have been always regulated and abnormal fluctuations in food values, such as have occurred over and over again, could have been reduced to a minimum.

But the cold-storage system has been used from the beginning as a means to inflate values, to keep down competition, and to bleed both producer and consumer. It is not necessary to go into details or give figures to prove the case. The facts are so well known that everybody is familiar with them, and the question of legislating on this proposition has been in the minds of a number of Members for years. Ever since I have been in Congress I have been trying to get some action that would correct the known evils of the storage business, but I regret to say I could never get a bill or a resolution further than a pigeonhole in the committee.

What the manipulators have succeeded in doing to the people of America is seen in the following, prepared by a company engaged in general marketing of foods. This table enumerated 60 items in the food budget of the ordinary family, showing the difference in retail prices April, 1914, and April, 1917. The total increase on all the items was 5,119 per cent, the average of the entire list being 85.32 per cent. The smallest increase was rice, 12 per cent; the largest, cabbage, 400 per cent. The company that prepared this table operates on the chain-store plan, makes no deliveries, cuts its overhead to the minimum, buys in enormous quantities, and plays for quick turnover and small-margin profit. It is a "people's store."

Of the 60 items enumerated, 12 are specifically mentioned in the Department of Commerce table entitled "Monthly Average Export Prices of Principal Domestic Articles," based on the actual cost, or the value of articles at the time of exportation at the ports from which shipped, for unit of quantity stated. The most recent table available is that for February, 1917.

Selecting the 12 items common to the market table and to the Government table, a comparison of the price increases shows that the American public is being gouged, not by the small-profit market, but by the price-boosting food speculators. And the increase in overhead charges will by no means account for the increased per cent at which the market is obliged to sell its goods when compared with the increased per cent export price.

The following are the 12 articles common to both tables, with their increased per cent selling price, market, and export:

Article.		Market price (retail, per cent increase April, 1914, to April, 1917).	Export price (wholesale, per cent increase February, 1914, to February, 1917).
Sugar	pound	125.00	36.33
Flour	barrel	[1]100.00	44.00
Rice	pound	12.00	.....
Prunes	do	60.00	[2]2.50
Salmon		70.00	17.40
Beef, fresh	pound	[1]35.375	20.00
Hams and shoulders	do	[1]49.00	17.00
Lard	do	100.00	54.00
Butter	do	83.00	63.00
Eggs	dozen	80.00	43.00
Potatoes	bushel	291.00	173.00
Onions	do	250.00	203.00
Total increase		1,255.375	662.23
Average increase on 12 items		104.62	55.2

[1] Average. [2] Decrease.

My worthy colleague, Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, in the RECORD of June 19, 1917, told a very interesting story of wheat manipulation, and told it so well that I will insert a portion of his remarks here:

Can anyone doubt that such despoilers are operating to defeat the Nation in war. I submit that the empty flour barrel, either in home or store, which can not be refilled save by paying a monstrous tax to greed, is not an incentive to patriotism. These gamblers in the people's food are making the liberty loan doubtful. They are impairing the taxable strength of the Nation. They are poisoning the patriotic impulse of many citizens. They are sowing bitterness and strife and enmity, and breeding discontent and anarchy. They are furnishing aid and comfort to the enemy. They are double-dyed traitors, for they are waging war on the United States as dangerous as the German submarines. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I admit that I feel strongly on this question. During the Sixty-third Congress the Rules Committee of the House, of which I was a member, held extended hearings on certain resolutions dealing with grain exchanges and boards of trade in this country. We had before us members and officers of the Chicago Board of Trade and similar organizations. I shall never forget some of the facts brought out at that hearing. Since then, whenever I hear these food speculators referred to as gamblers, I feel that an apology is due the poker players of the country.

Little bootblacks will shoot craps; lovers of the ponies will play the races; others like shaking dice or playing faro or roulette, and in any of these a man can limit his loss by stopping the play. He can

choose his own companions and has reasonable assurance that in the ordinary gambling den the cards are not marked nor the dice loaded nor the ponies doped. He also knows that if he keeps away from the game he will not lose his money.

But in the great gambling game in foodstuffs the men who have nothing to do with the gambling are the chief losers—the farmers who produce the food and the consumers who eat it.

It is said that there is an excuse for those who bet on horse races, since horse raising develops magnificent horses. But no such excuse can be made for those who bet on the price of the people's bread. That kind of gambling develops nothing but dangerous fortunes for the few and equally dangerous suffering and privation for the many. This gambling is with the farmer's load of wheat, with the flour barrel of the miller, and the loaf of bread in the poor man's pantry, and it has an oppressive influence upon them all.

It was stated at that hearing that more wheat is bought and sold on the Chicago Board of Trade than reaches Chicago in a year. That means that the price of food was being fixed by deals in "shadow" wheat, for the prices are fixed by the blackboard where the gambler's quotations are posted.

The sacred "law of supply and demand" has no bearing upon their operations. In 1909 there was a bumper grain crop in this country, yet the price of grains averaged 10 cents more a bushel that year than in 1911, a year of greatly lessened production. The price was not fixed by the supply and demand, either of this country or the world. It was fixed by board of trade gamblers, who juggled figures on a blackboard in their gambling dens and thus levied tribute on every American family.

The extent of that tribute can be realized by the further fact brought out at the Rules Committee hearings, that every time these manipulators change the price of grain 1 cent a bushel they thereby change values to the extent of $50,000,000. If they drop the price 1 cent they lower the value of the farmers' product by $50,000,000, or a drop of 10 cents means $500,000,000. Then, when the bulk of the grain has left the farmers' hands, they reverse the process and by every additional cent on the price they increase values to the consumer a full $50,000,000.

Mr. Chairman, here is what S. H. Greely, of Chicago, a member of the Chicago Board of Trade for 20 years, said before the Rules Committee:

"Although the board of trade deals in 25,000,000 bushels of wheat a day, Chicago does not receive on an average more than 25,000,000 bushels of wheat in a year.

"I know what trading in grain is. I know what future trading is. I have been in it. I was brought up in it; bred in it from youth. No man on the board of trade that knows anything will deny that in the wheat pit alone, on an average, every day in the year the total amount of the purchases plus the total amount of sales in the futures will total at least 25,000,000 bushels a day, from 9.30 in the morning until 1.15 in the afternoon. There are those who have boasted that they have traded in 20,000,000 a day—a single firm. I, myself, although I have been a little dealer, what you might almost term an "insignificant trader," have many a day traded in 500,000 to 1,000,000 bushels and never thought much about it at the time.

"I did not handle the wheat, and there are men in the business today trading in millions upon millions of futures, tens of millions of futures, hundreds of millions of futures, firms that do it every year, that do not know what the color of a warehouse receipt is; they never saw a carload of grain. Mr. Canby, the president of the Chicago Board of Trade, is sitting here to-day, and I will challenge him to show by his records where he ever handled 10 carloads of grain since he has been a member."

Now, what does that testimony mean. It means that both producer and consumer are robbed by men who never perform a single act of service in handling food supplies. It means that prosperity is denied those who have toiled faithfully for it and is diverted to those who do not labor, but destroy.

I can subscribe to the truth of every word here quoted, for a long experience as telegraph operator on the Chicago and Milwaukee Boards of Trade gave me a full and complete insight into this most iniquitous method of gambling. What the wheat gamblers have done since the great war began is too well known to need repeating here, but some people have forgotten the beginning of the boost in wheat prices. On August 28, 1914, a few weeks after the war started, I introduced a resolution calling for an embargo on wheat. I was abused and villified. I was accused of being pro-German; the chamber of commerce of my own city denounced me; the wheat gamblers of Chicago sent men and money into my district to defeat me. I had but one object in mind, and that was to protect the American people from the rapacity of the food speculators at that time and to conserve a supply of breadstuffs for the time of famine, which even then showed signs of approach. To-day, with millions of bushels of wheat lying at the bottom of the ocean, with cargo after cargo that we ship over now being sent to the bottom, with the allies we must feed clamoring for instant help, and with our own people already feeling the pinch of insufficient food supply, the wheat gamblers and food speculators still continue their unholy orgy of inflating values, lopping off huge profits from both producer and consumer, playing both ends against the middle, and gambling with loaded dice always.

They succeeded in getting one enormous bond issue through Congress and the moment it is put through and a few hundred millions are loaned to the allied powers the gang fall over each other trying to get first whack at the pot and the kept press naively announces to the people that this money will "stay in this country."

In this country! Yes; in the same old bulging pockets that belong to the same old gang that have been waxing fat on the profits on munitions of war to slaughter the manhood of Europe and will now wax fat on the hunger and starvation of the men, women, and children of America.

To curb these conscienceless exploiters of the necessities of life I would vote for a worse bill than any of the food bills now pending.

But I think it desirable to call attention to some of the defects in the proposed bills, and as the execution of these laws will be in the hands of administrative officials not directly responsible to the people I deem it both proper and wise to call attention to certain facts connected with the administration of similar measures in the past and would most solemnly warn the people that the old, old copy-book maxim, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," still holds good.

In the first of the food bills passed by the House some weeks ago the first working section of the bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate and find out just what is or what is not needed, and so on, and in a short time we will have a lot of reports that nobody reads or could understand if they did, and the bewildered layman wonders what in the name of everything good, bad, and indifferent the statistical bureaus of the Government have been doing in the last 20 years.

We appropriate millions for the Agricultural Department and millions more for the Department of Commerce, with an expensive and supposedly well-equipped Census Bureau, and now, when we need vital information quickly, we have to give them a lot of money so they can find out what they ought to have known years ago. How much information they have on tap for Washington officialdom to get wise on nobody knows, but people are apt to wonder about the accuracy of Government information when they read, as we all did some time ago, in that lively little daily paper, The Official Bulletin, one head of a department states that we are on the verge of starvation, and another head of a department assures us that we have enough and to spare of everything we need.

Let us, however, examine some other provisions of the various food bills. The first bill carried a provision to buy seeds and see that they were properly distributed at as low a cost as possible. I hope there will be enough seed left before next planting time, but I have heard on good authority that a great deal of seed grain has already been milled, and if much time is taken in investigating, there will be a limited supply by the time the department gets ready to buy.

This may sound like unnecessary carping at executive tardiness, but just let us examine an analogous case. You all recall the bill to provide a nitrate plant, that was pending over a year ago. It was a vital matter, a matter of the most supreme importance to this country, whether we stayed at peace or went to war. Senator UNDERWOOD, of Alabama, in his usual logical manner made a statement of the situation which is full of suggestion and should be carefully read, inwardly marked, and digested by everyone interested in the question of food production and control. I will append here a part of this notable speech:

There was a time in the history of the past when new fields and virgin soil of new countries were open to the production of a greater supply of foodstuffs. The new fields of tropical countries will not produce the foodstuffs that the people of the northern latitudes demand, and when it comes to the latitudes in which corn and cotton and wheat and cattle can be produced there are comparatively no new countries left and no new fields to plow.

* * * * * * *

Mr. President, a half century ago the Empire of Germany could not adequately feed her own people. When this war was declared—I do not mean by the United States but when the European war was declared in August, 1914—the German Empire, with poor land, rock-ribbed hills, was producing within 10 per cent of an adequate food supply to liberally feed the people of that country. What is the story that is told to-day? That Empire, without rich land, an Empire to a large extent of barren soil, surrounded by a rim of bayonets, cut off from the world to a large extent for its food supply, has been able to maintain its armies and its people, if not with an adequate food supply, yet with sufficient food to maintain them on the battle fields for nearly three years. You do not have to go far afield to find out how the result has been accomplished. Any man who will look conditions in the face will read it in the recent history of the past.

Fifty years ago Germany inaugurated a system of intense fertilization of her land. When this war came on she was importing more fertilizer in proportion to her population than was any other country in the world; she was using more fertilizer on her fields than was any other country in the world; and in her production of crops of wheat, of barley, and of potatoes, and other food products she was producing more per acre than the great continent of America, with its fertile fields and productive soil. That is the way we must furnish an adequate supply of food to our people.

There is in the far West to-day some soil that as yet is not worn out; the soils in the arid regions of the Rockies may possibly last for centuries to come; the plains of Nebraska, of Iowa, and the Dakotas may last for decades yet to come before intense fertilization is needed; but every man who is familiar with the conditions in the New England States, in the Southern States, and even to-day in the Middle Western States recognizes the fact that the cultivation of food products can not continue long to be profitable to the farmer unless he is given fertilizer to renew worn-out soil so as to enable him to double and treble his crop production, as he can do with adequate fertilization.

More than a year ago a bill was pending on the floor of the Senate, which the Senate passed after much debate—and I said then much of what I am saying to-day—providing an appropriation of $20,000,000—for what purpose? To supply this country with fertilizer in time of peace and powder in time of war. War is here, and it is said that we must appoint a general manager of our food supplies in order to

keep this country from want. Yet no action has so far been taken to supply the nitrogen necessary to provide an adequate supply of powder in time of war and fertilizers in time of peace.

I do not wish to say anything that is unjust or unfair in this matter. The President of the United States, in whose hands this great power was intrusted, of course, has not the opportunity nor the time to exercise the power himself, and nobody expected him to do so. He delegated it to a committee of his Cabinet officers, who, after some deliberation, went to work to solve the problem. In the midst of their attempt to solve the problem the burdens and the cares of this war were cast upon their shoulders, and they have delegated the labor to a committee of chemists to find out whether the farmer needs the fertilizer and whether the Government needs the powder and what is the best method by which they can be produced.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, if the Senator has the names of the chemists to whom he refers I wish he would read them to the Senate.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have not at hand the list of that particular board of chemists, but I have a list of a board appointed some days ago by the Council of National Defense to consider questions related to the one we have under consideration. I will say, however, that the board of chemists that have been appointed are able, distinguished men in their line of science, but I also want to say that they are about as far removed from the farmers of this country as the North Pole is from the Equator.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon an interruption, I find some consolation in the Senator's illustration, for if it takes a food dictator as long to get into action as it has taken the other department to establish the proposed nitrate plant, then the war will be over, and most of us will be gathered to our fathers before there is any attempt made to fix the price of anything.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I think the Senator is right. I listened with great interest to his able address this afternoon, and I am in accord with most of the things he said. The time has come for some action in this matter. The responsibility is here. We have handed on our responsibilities to other people long enough, and they have not acted. The responsibility rests with the Committee on Agriculture. We have delegated our power; we have delegated to some one else the opportunity to act, but no action has been obtained.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, does the Senator mean that the responsibility for the failure to build the nitrate plant rests on the Committee on Agriculture?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We recommended that bill and cordially supported it.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. No, sir; I did not say that at all. The Committee on Agriculture did its part, and for the failure to secure any definite results up to this date they are no more responsible than are other Members of the Senate; but when you trust a man once and he fails you, it is his fault; if you trust him the second time and he fails you, it is your fault. If the Committee on Agriculture proposes now to merely delegate power without providing effective legislation, it will be their fault and no one else's when the failure comes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to ask the Senator if anything in the bill reported from the committee carries the suggestion of a food dictator?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. No; but I say the time has come for Congress to do something affirmatively. If the Government wants powder, we can say, "Go and produce that powder," and those charged with responsibility will have to produce it. If we believe that a nitrogen supply in this country is needed, we can stop leaving it to the discretion of somebody else, and say that action must be taken; provide the money and specify how it shall be used to produce the desired result. Then we will have a determination of the question.

I regret that it is left for me to make this speech this afternoon. I think I have as much patience as any other man; I have been patient for an entire year, but I know that if an enemy of this country was able to drive us off the seas, we could not fight a battle with a first-class power for six months for the lack of an adequate nitrate supply, and I know that if we want the people of this country to have cheaper food, we must give our farmers an opportunity to raise cheaper food, so they can sell cheaper food, and sell it profitably.

There is but one way out, and you can read it in the history of the world. The essential thing for producing cheap food is rich land, and when rich land has been depleted and worn out that which takes the place of rich land is fertilizer; but other Senators know, as I know, that when we had a bill here a year ago to provide a fertilizer supply in this country some of the great interests placed themselves, like lions, across the path, and they are still there. It is not to their interest that present supplies should be increased or that new methods should be made use of to bring about cheaper fertilization.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to say that I cordially agree with the Senator. We really had a right to have the nitrogen plant erected long before this time, and if anybody has been a "slacker" it is not Congress; but the Senator suggests that the Committee on Agriculture can remedy the difficulty in some way. I want to say as one member of that committee that I have suggested to the authorized agency created by us months ago that we were entitled to action, and I complained at the delay. As the Senator seems to think the committee has some way to press the matter, I should be glad to have him suggest the way, because I, individually, as one member of that committee, have been urging action and have felt that there was cause for serious grievance that nothing had been done.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will be delighted to suggest a way. I do not think there is any difficulty in suggesting a way. I think if this bill is recommitted and the committee will send for the men who have been put in charge of this matter and ask them what they are doing and whether they are going to do anything, and if they have not done anything and do not intend to do so, then for the committee to write in the law a definite plan of procedure, what shall be done, we will obtain results. If they will make up their minds as to the process which should be adopted to furnish this country with cheap fertilizer and the nitrogen that it needs and when and where that process should be installed, we will soon start a great reform in our agricultural development. There are Members on the floor of the Senate who will sustain the committee when they bring in a report of that kind.

Now, this is no new story.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this nitrate question is a much more important question in its relation to food production than most people imagine and I wish here to touch a little on some of its peculiar features, which have many angles.

The wheat crop has been steadily decreasing since 1914, in spite of rising prices, not only in this country but in Canada as well. The reason for this is obvious. As the Senator from Alabama so aptly remarked, nitrate fertilizers are absolutely necessary, and ever since the war began the wheat-producing countries of the world have been deprived of their one great need—chemical fertilizer—and the greatest source of supply for chemical fertilizer was eliminated by the blockade of English allies in the beginning of the war. An idea of the amount of fertilizer we imported from Germany before the war may be gathered from the following table:

Fertilizers.	Value in 1913.	Value in 1914.
Bone dust	$132,203	$281,517
Guano	28,457	36,968
Kainit	2,154,977	2,554,567
Manure salts	1,775,007	2,696,671
Muriate of potash	6,781,181	7,834,895
Sulphate of potash	1,751,661	1,827,763
All other substances	743,855	1,550,856
Total	13,347,341	16,803,237

These imports were stopped by the English blockade, and the wheat crops of both the United States and Canada have shrunk ever since. Thus a move to hamper our enemy has hurt not only us, but has substantially lowered the amount of breadstuffs available for export to our allies not only from the United States, but from Canada as well. This is a condition that, of course, can not be remedied now, but there is another phase of the fertilizer question that could and should be remedied at once, and I am in hopes that when the President gets the power this legislation will give him he will take some steps to change a condition that I will refer to briefly. In his speech on food control, May 21, 1917, in the Senate Senator UNDERWOOD said:

Mr. UNDERWOOD. And the Government of the United States, by its authorized officers, has stated before a committee of the other House within the last week that we could not afford to send ships to Chile to bring nitrogen here for fertilizer purposes, and yet a year ago a great organization that was driven out of this country, that produces nitrates just as they are being produced in Germany to-day, stated before the Agricultural Committee of the Senate that if the Government would give them an opportunity to use cheap water power they would be willing to guarantee that the cost of fertilizer to the farmers in this country would be reduced one-half. Now, that is in the record. Go and examine the record of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. REED. What was that company?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. That was the American Cyanamid Co., an American company that has been compelled to do business on the other side of Niagara Falls by the laws of our own Government, and the refusal of our own Government to give them an opportunity to do business on American soil.

You will note in the beginning of these remarks that the Government states it can not furnish ships to bring nitrate fertilizer from South America. The German ships that used to ply between South American and United States ports have been driven from the seas; the English ships are busy elsewhere, carrying supplies to England, getting sunk by submarines, and so forth.

There is one line of ships that has been trying to develop a carrying trade between our ports and those of South American countries, and had this company been allowed to pursue its honest and legitimate business there would not be the shortage in fertilizer that exists to-day. I refer to the American Trans-Atlantic Co., a corporation whose officers and stockholders are all American citizens engaged in a strictly American enterprise. For some reason that has not been explained as yet this company has been blacklisted by the Government of our English allies, and a means of securing freight service between this country and South America is interfered with, American commerce crippled, and the very possibility of our rendering effective aid to our allies is just that much damaged. I introduced a resolution calling on the Secretary of State for information on the subject, which I will append here:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 91) calling upon the Secretary of State for information as to the ships of the American Transatlantic Co.

Whereas grave and serious questions as to the rights of American shipowners are involved in the following advertisements of the American Transatlantic Co. that have appeared in the New York Commercial, of May 14, 1917, the Washington Post, of May 15, 1917, and the New York Evening Post, of May 11, 1917:

To the public: $10,000 REWARD!

For the better part of two years malign influences have worked hard to discredit this company.

The most recent instance of the activities of these influences centered about the detention of three of our steamers at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, where they put in to replenish bunkers on their way to Buenos Aires.

The ships were detained at that port until the manifests were examined in Washington. They were then promptly released and proceeded on their way

During this time the crew of one steamer became troublesome and the captain discharged a number of them.

Then the world was told by newspaper stories, emanating from the discharged members of the troublesome crew, that our ships had been secretly giving aid to German submarines.

The story would have been interesting had it been new. The fact is, however, that it was an old lie invented by the malign influences that have sought and are still seeking to drive this company out of the steamship business.

A few months ago these influences caused to be circulated a statement that three of the ships of this company were to deliver gold to a German raider in the South Atlantic. Without making an attempt to verify the truth of that statement the Associated Press sent it broadcast throughout the country and a number of newspapers published it. We protested to the Associated Press, and we threatened legal proceedings against some of the newspapers, whereupon we promptly received retractions of the false charges.

Our troubles date back to the time when we first purchased these ships in 1915 and applied to the United States Commissioner of Navigation, E. T. Chamberlain, for American registry. All of our ships were always under neutral flags, and were therefore without question entitled to American registry.

For reasons of his own the commissioner was opposed to augmenting the American merchant marine by adding these 11 steamships, having an aggregate cargo capacity of 62,000 tons. He delayed issuing registry and published a statement that our ships were not entitled to the American flag.

In the meantime one of our steamers, which was purchased from its former Norwegian owner for delivery to us at the port of Marseille had arrived there and surrendered its Norwegian papers. The ship was then temporarily without a flag, and was for that reason seized by the French Government, and although the American Government soon afterwards issued American registry, and although Secretary Redfield pronounced the statements of his subordinate, Mr. Chamberlain, as unauthorized and unsanctioned by the United States Government, this ship is still held.

Soon thereafter the British Government seized three additional ships belonging to this company and blacklisted the remaining seven ships. These ships were seized solely on suspicion cast on our enterprise by the United States Commissioner of Navigation and by American steamship men, competitors of this company.

The ships never committed any overt act.

We permitted attorneys for the British Government to examine all of our books, records, and files.

They found nothing against us. Their contention as disclosed in the pending price court proceedings in London are based solely on the statements of the United States Commissioner of Navigation.

The State Department in official communications to Great Britain held that the seizure of our ships was illegal and requested their release. This was ignored like many other requests our Government has made to Great Britain.

British enmity against our ships has increased because they are carrying cargoes between North and South America for blacklisted firms. Great Britain does not seem to realize that this is a matter of necessity, as other cargoes are not offered to blacklisted ships.

The result of all this is that the 22,000 tons of cargo capacity of the four seized ships has been lost to the American Merchant Marine since 1915, while the efficiency of the remaining 40,000 tons has been greatly reduced, to say nothing of millions of dollars loss to us.

Knowing that the American people love fair play and are unwilling to be made the dupes of the malign influences that are eager to drive a competitor out of business by foul methods, we decided to print this advertisement that the public may be cautioned against the fake stories that are being put out against us.

This is an American company employing only American capital, officered and operated by Americans whose patriotism in every sense is the equal of and perhaps better than that of those who have set the lies against us afloat.

Cunning and unscrupulous as are the influences behind the conspiracy against us, we do not think they can longer escape the punishment they deserve.

To this end we therefore offer a reward of $10,000 for evidence that will result in the conviction of any person or persons distributing false statements concerning our company or the operations of our ships.

We will pay also the sum of $50,000 to any person or persons who will prove that any of our ships have delivered supplies to a German submarine or raider, or that this company has in any manner deliberately violated the laws of the United States or international law.

AMERICAN TRANSATLANTIC CO.,
17 Battery Place, New York City.

And

SHALL ALL AMERICAN SHIPS BE PUT IN DANGER OF BEING SEIZED?

To the public:

In the New York Times of Saturady, May 12, the British consulate at New York is quoted as having said that the ships of this company are being kept on the British black list because the British Government believes that a German citizen is a beneficiary owner of the vessels. The paragraph containing the above said also that if the British Admiralty made good its claim to the ships *Kankakee, Hocking,* and *Genesee* on the ground of German ownership it would mean that the United States could seize the other seven ships of our line.

Now, we shall not discuss the allegation of German ownership further than to say that, being false, such ownership of course can not be established.

But were the allegation true the statements attributed to the British consulate would not be less incorrect, for the reason that the Government of the United States has notified the British Government that where the ship is shown to belong to a corporation her nationality is that of the country in which the corporation has its corporate existence, regardless of the ownership of the shares of the company.

The Government of the United States has notified the British Government further that it can not accede to the contention of the British Government that the vessels are owned wholly or in part by the enemies of Great Britain, since it seems clear that they belong to the American corporation; the ships having been transferred to the corporation by regular bills of sale from their neutral owners.

Moreover, the State Department has pointed out to the British Government that the position of the Government of the United States in the matter is corroborated by article 57 of the London convention, which article stipulated that "the neutral or enemy character of vessel is determined by the flag she is entitled to fly."

This article 57 was adopted by the British Government without modification or amendment by the Order in Council of October 29, 1914.

It remained the law of Great Britain until its adoption was repealed by the Order in Council of October 20, 1915.

The vessels of our fleet were acquired and granted American registry while article 57 was yet in force as the applicable British law.

In other words, the Government of the United States has declared to the British Government that our ships had a right to fly the American flag and has protested the acts of seizure by Great Britain as not only illegal but in contradiction of British law, and has further declared that the vessels ought to be set free.

In view of the foregoing we deemed it wise to publish this statement, not in our own behalf alone, but in behalf of every American steamship corporation.

Surely every American steamship corporation has a vital concern in the outcome of Great Britain's contention as to ownership of shares in this company.

For should the British claim be allowed to prevail there would be the danger of seizure of American ships of such steamship corporations as International Mercantile Marine, United Fruit, Pacific Mail, and Atlantic, Gulf and West Indies, because Germans or citizens of other enemy countries may own shares in those corporations or may at any time acquire shares in them in the open market.

AMERICAN TRANSATLANTIC CO.,
17 Battery Place, New York City.

And

Whereas the majority of the stockholders of the American Transatlantic Co. are American citizens and have invested their money in American ships with the expectation that their property rights would be protected by the Government of the United States at all times and under all circumstances against the aggressions, real or fancied, of any foreign governments: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of State is hereby requested and directed to report to the Congress within a reasonable time what steps have been taken by the Government of the United States to protect the ships of the American Transatlantic Co. from the aggression and the interference of any foreign Government, either at sea or at any foreign port, while engaged in legitimate trade.

I have received no reply, the ships of the company are still blacklisted, and I will now show what bearing this has on the food question. I insert here a part of a letter received from Mr. Wagner, the president of the company. You will note that several of the ships carried nitrates:

In addition to the matters stated in our letter of May 23 and as a specific instance in regard to the nitrate shipments, would refer to our steamer *Allegemash.* We are prepared to show that Messrs. D. B. Dearborn & Co., of New York, a prominent brokerage firm, requested an offer of a freight rate to carry nitrate on our steamer *Allegemash* from Chile to the United States, to be consigned to the United States Government. They said they required a firm offer in order that Messrs. D. J. Baker & Bro., of New York, who represented the sellers of the nitrate to the United States Government might communicate with London to assure the approval of our ships, and these brokers intimated that this was because the ships were blacklisted.

We might also refer to our experience with the firms of Wessel, Duval & Co. and W. R. Grace & Co., both of New York. These firms have refused to even discuss with our freight brokers the question of using our ships to carry nitrate from Chile to the United States.

So we see that the United States can not furnish ships to bring fertilizer from South America, our allies will not let private American citizens operate ships to bring fertilizer to this country, the Government will not give an American firm the opportunity to manufacture nitrates, the chemists appointed to investigate and report on the best methods of making nitrates are still investigating, and in the meantime the farmers are doing without fertilizer, the grain crops are shrinking, bread and flour are getting dearer, and the Department of Agriculture is probably gathering materials for a new report. So much for the fertilizer situation.

If Mr. Hoover, the able mining engineer, whom the President appointed as food dictator or director, or something like that—if this Mr. Hoover is the administrative Hercules that so many people apparently believe him to be, I would respectfully suggest that the nitrate and fertilizer problem is an Augean stable for him to begin on that needs an overhauling badly and quickly.

And, Mr. Speaker, I submit that if the administrative powers we are going to grant and the money we are going to appropriate is not going to give us any quicker results we are going to be worse off than we are now.

The really important thing to do right now is to pass drastic legislation at once to curb the unholy gambling in foodstuffs; to make laws with teeth in them that will put a few wheat kings, corn kings, onion kings out somewhere near the ex-Czar of Russia and keep them there.

And while we are curbing the food pirates we should pay some attention to other gamblers in the necessities of life. Fuel, for instance, is as much a necessity as food and should properly be linked with food in this legislation. There is every indication that the big coal barons are getting ready to have their inning. The accompanying circular from a reputable coal dealer in Washington clearly illustrates the game that is being played:

J. MAURY DOVE CO.

Washington, D. C., May 21, 1917.

DEAR SIR: This company regrets that it has not as yet been in position to fill in full all orders tendered it by its customers, and wishes at this time to set forth clearly its position in the matter, hoping thereby to secure the cooperation of its customers.

The company has facilities to handle in full many times the orders at present on its books, and its inability to do so has been due entirely to the fact it has been impossible to secure from the producing companies more than 15 per cent of its customers' demands. The company is using every effort to avoid the proposition of buying "premium coal," meaning by that, coal which can be purchased for immediate shipment by the payment of 50 cents to $1 per ton over the regular prices, depending on market conditions.

We consider the prices of "premium coal" as uncalled for and unwarranted, but in order for us to maintain our position in this matter it will be necessary that our customers extend to us the fullest cooperation and leniency with respect to their orders which we now hold and which have not been delivered. Unless we receive this aid from our customers we will probably be forced to go out and purchase this high-priced coal, which would necessitate charging the amount of the premium that we would have to pay to the customers' accounts, our margin of profit being so small that it would be impossible for us to absorb this extra charge.

While we may not be able at the present time to fill your entire order, there is no doubt we will be able to do so long before the advent of cold weather, or before you begin burning coal.

Your immediate needs can be taken care of.

Very truly, yours,

W. HAMILTON SMITH, *Manager.*

There is plenty of coal mined and ready, but the old game of holding back stock to raise prices is in plain evidence, and unless something is done, and that very soon, the coal barons will be getting their full pro rata of the one hundred and odd per cent increase in the cost of living. The same is true of every other necessity of life, food to eat and fuel to cook it, and if we are going after one class of robbers why not make a good clean up and go after them all?

I have indicated a few of the reasons why I will vote for this bill. I have indicated a few directions that I hope will be taken in administering the law. The people are watching both legislative and executive branches of the Government as they never watched them before. If we legislate foolishly, if we pass laws that do not correct the evils of to-day, we know that the day of reckoning will come for us to-morrow. And if the executive branch of the Government does not carry out those laws and by prompt, patriotic, and impartial administration give the people relief, it will be an evil day for that branch of the Government.

Submarine Warfare.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. KUHIO KALANIANAOLE,

OF HAWAII,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Mr. Speaker, the Territory of Hawaii has officially honored John Davis, Ekela Kaohi, Charles Kanai, Julian Macomber, and Henry Rice, the five sons of Hawaii who perished on the night of April 1, 1917, when the *Aztec* became a victim of the ruthless submarine warfare waged by the Empire of Germany against the world.

News of the sinking of the *Aztec* came on the eve of the declaration of war. The people of the island Territory were deeply stirred. The legislature, in session, by resolution set aside Sunday, April 27, 1917, as the day on which the Territory officially memorialized those of its sons who had lost their lives in their calling, the peaceful navigation of the high seas.

Mr. Speaker, there will be countless tales of American heroism before peace comes again to the world, but I deem it my duty to now inscribe forever in the records of the Congress of the United States the story of these five brave Hawaiian boys and the honor that was paid to them by the people of their islands.

The Commercial-Advertiser and the Star-Bulletin, the leading newspapers of the Territory of Hawaii, tell the story well, and I will read their reports to show the real American spirit of the Hawaiian people.

The narrative of the memorial services in the Commercial-Advertiser follows:

To do honor to John Davis, Ekela Kaohi, Charles Kanai, Julian Macomber, and Henry Rice the five sons of Hawaii who perished on the night of April 1, 1917, by the ruthless submarine warfare being waged by Germany against the world, the Legislature of Hawaii held a memorial service in the capitol grounds yesterday morning at 10 o'clock. There was an attendance of several thousand people when the service commenced.

Seated on the speaker's platform, erected in front of the makai steps of the capitol and appropriately decorated with the United States and Hawaiian flags, together with black and white drapings, were Gov. Lucius E. Pinkham, Brig. Gen. Frederick S. Strong, Brig. Gen. Samuel I. Johnson, and other officers of the Army and Navy, Mayor I. C. Lane, members of the legislature, and relatives of the deceased men.

With the Stars and Stripes prominently displayed, the National Guard and the Naval Militia attended in dress uniform, while the local Boy Scouts did good work as ushers. The Hawaiian Band, pupils of the normal school, and members of the Young People's League were present and rendered a number of musical and vocal items. The anthem "Old Hundred," the dirge "Saul," and "Nearer My God to Thee" were the selections given by the band, while the children sang "Hail Columbia," "Recessional," and "Hawaii Ponoi."

CHILLINGWORTH SPEAKS.

Charles F. Chillingworth, president of the senate, with a few introductory remarks told the object of the memorial service. "We are here," he said, "in accordance with a concurrent resolution adopted by the two houses now in session, to do honor to the five brave lads who gave up their lives, not in the heat of battle but nevertheless for their country."

Invocation by the Rev. L. B. Kaumeheiwa, chaplain of the house of representatives, and scripture and prayer by the Rev. Akaiko Akana, chaplain of the senate, were given, following which Representative Lorrin Andrews delivered an oration, in which he laid special stress on the American flag and what it meant. In part he said:

"There is a flag floating over this building which symbolizes to all of us that which we hold most dear. It was conceived in a struggle for liberty against oppression. It presided over the birth of the greatest Republic that the world has ever seen, and it has always represented honor, freedom, and justice.

SYMBOL OF FREEDOM.

"What the cross is to the Christian as a symbol of his faith in the God he worships, the flag is to the patriot as the symbol of the land of his birth and adoption.

"The Egyptian of old looked up to the representation of the sacred emblem on the flag he followed and freely suffered his life blood to flow on desert sands for the sake of his country.

"The Greek soldier gazed upon the bird of wisdom—the owl—on the flag borne by his legion, and on the monument at Thermopylæ is inscribed the words:

"'Go, stranger, and in Sparta tell
That here, obedient to her laws, we fell.'

"The Roman pointed to the eagle on the flag of the Cæsars and said to the stranger who obstructed his passage in his world conquest: 'Stand out of my road. I am a Roman citizen.'

"In the cross of St. George, the Englishman hears the morning drumbeats of Britain making music around the world.

"The Frenchman looks at the tricolor, and his breast swells with pride. He sees in it liberty, fraternity, and equality.

"What shall be said of the flag we venerate—the flag for whose sake the young men whose death we commemorate to-day gave their lives? What memories does it evoke? What hopes does it inspire? It has been cristened 'The flag of freedom.' It has been sung as the 'Star Spangled Banner.' It has been known in our hearts by the familiar name of 'Old Glory.' When we look up at it waving in the breeze—more majestic and imposing than any other flag ever created—we feel its living presence in our hearts. We feel that it is the incarnation of liberty regulated and protected by laws, the embodiment of the power and majesty of the mightiest of earth's nations.

MESSAGE FLAG BEARS.

"Our flag represents all that is best and wisest in human government. It represents the fruition of the seed that was planted ages ago when the monotones of the Mediterranean chanted first the cradle songs, and later the requiems of republics long since dead, but whose immortal principles still survive.

"Our flag represents the 10 messages of thunder that were delivered on Mount Sinai. It represents the philosophy preached by Socrates in the city of the violet crown. It represents many of the sublime teachings of the Savior of mankind. It represents the Pandects of Justinian and the principles of the common law. It represents the right of religious and personal liberty and freedom of speech. It represents the right of self-government and the right of the people to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to their organic laws.

"Is it any wonder that the young men of the Nation love and venerate our flag and what it means to them? It meant so much to the young men whose memory we honor to-day that they were willing to go down into the valley of the shadow of death. It should mean to us who survive them that the cause for which they laid down their lives shall be sacred to us; that we should renew our pledges to our country and consecrate our lives anew to the principles of justice and liberty upon which it was founded, and to which it owes its existence.

HAWAII ALWAYS READY.

"This is not the first time that the young men of Hawaii have shown their willingness to give their lives for their country. In the dark hours of the Civil War, when it looked as if national life would be blotted out and our flag disappear from the nations of the world, the young men of Hawaii heard the call of liberty and traveled to the mainland, there to shed their blood for the sacred principles of liberty and equality of all mankind, regardless of race.

"When the Nation was threatened in the Spanish War, the young men of Hawaii were among the first to volunteer, and in the jungles of the Philippines, fought with savages to carry out our ideas of civilization and progress.

"Whenever the flag has called, wherever it has pointed, the young men of Hawaii have been ready to follow. They have not hesitated. They have not asked reasons and their devotion to their country has been as sincere as those whose ancestors fought at Bunker Hill, and now a new war threatens our country, and lo, the young men of Hawaii have been among the first to lay down their lives.

"These five men were not trained fighters. They were simple folk—light-hearted boys, personally known to many of you who honor their memory to-day. They were our people. They belonged to us. They were part of the life of this little community, and now they have passed away forever.

"They did not go out determined to slay. They had no grievance or rage against their fellow men. They were engaged in the peaceful pursuit of commerce, bravely and fearlessly, as befits American citizens, traveling the seas, the highways of the nations which have been sacred ever since the days of the Greek explorers.

MEET CRAFTY FOE.

"And there they met an enemy as crafty and ruthless as any since the days when barbarians waged warfare for massacre and plunder. An enemy which did not seek to meet armed foes, but preyed upon the defenseless when in the most unprotected place—the wide ocean. An enemy which cared not how many innocent women were widowed or how many children left fatherless; which did not strike an equal foe, but only dared to slaughter the unarmed and defenseless.

"The details of what occurred when the ill-fated *Aztec* was struck by a torpedo of the German submarine are meagre, but one of the officers reports that the men were called to quarters and not one flinched; that each took his place as calmly as for an ordinary drill, but that the sinking of the vessel was so sudden that they passed into the whirling waters before protection could be assured. This was no act of warfare. It was deliberate and downright murder.

PROOF OF OUR RIGHT.

"If there were need to show that the war our country has engaged upon is a just one, deaths such as these would be a complete proof that the God of justice and mercy must be on the side of our country in this terrible conflict. American citizens want no conquered provinces or plunder, but they do demand that our flag shall be respected and that our rights shall be preserved and that no foreign tyranny shall terrorize and dictate to the world.

"These Hawaiian boys are the first from these islands to give up their lives for these principles. It may be that many of us here, before this war is over, may follow in their footsteps. It may be that this ruthless and brutal tyranny will desolate the homes and shrines of our people; but here to-day in commemoration of their death, let us resolve that they shall not have died in vain and that the people of these islands shall shrink from no sacrifice, shall hesitate at no danger which shall interfere with our devotion to our flag, our country, our principles and our God."

The Star-Bulletin's story follows:

With prayer and song, with band music and with oratory, tribute to the membory of John Davis, Ekela Kaohi, Charles Kanai, Julian Macomber, and Henry Rice, the first Hawaiians to lose their lives as a result of ruthless submarine warfare against all humanity by the German Empire and other central powers, was paid yesterday morning at the capitol grounds. There were times tears were shed freely among the 2,000 or more people in the audience. There were times when the spirit of patriotism was roused to fever heat in fervor. There were times when humanity rose up and cried out against the affronts that have been offered, but there were no times when there was manifested a spirit of vengeance or of vindictiveness. Regret that such happenings might be in this age and determination that they must cease were the ruling sentiments. The dead were eulogized as heroes who lost their lives while maintaining the right of the principle that the seas are free to all.

About a pavilion platform that was decorated with the Star-Spangled Banner and the flag of Hawaii and with mourning bands in black and white more than 2,000 gathered yesterday morning. On the platform were Gov. Pinkham, Gen. Strong, Capt. Clark, Gen. Johnson, President Chillingworth of the senate, Speaker Holstein of the house, Senator Desha, Representative Andrews, Rev. L. B. Kaumeheiwa, Rev. Akaiko Akana, Rev. H. H. Parker, Mayor Lane, and members of the families of the dead Hawaiian heroes of the *Aztec*. Back on the capitol balconies were consular representatives of Great Britain, Spain, China, Japan, France, and other nations of the world, and hundreds of others. To the left of the stand were students of the normal school, who furnished choral music, and to the right on a similar stand were members of the Young People's League. In front there were 3,000 chairs for the general public, and gathered about were soldiers of the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Naval Militia, and everywhere, always making themselves useful, were the Boy Scouts. Overcast skies made the day ideal for such an out-of-door morning meeting.

That the Hawaiians died in the service of their country—in upholding American right of legitimate commerce at sea—was emphasized by the presence on the platform of the heads of the military and naval service in Hawaii, and there was a solemn martial atmosphere to the gathering to remind even casual spectators that this was a memorial service in war time.

The relatives of H. J. K. Rice present were: Mr. and Mrs. William B. Rice, parents; F. S. Rice, brother; W. S. Rice, brother; Mrs. Thomas Treadway, sister; Mrs. C. K. Macfarlane, half-sister.

Relatives of Julian Macomber: Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Macomber, parents; Miss Emily Macomber, sister; C. G. Macomber and George Macomber, brothers.

Relatives of Ekela Kaohi: Mrs. Heia Kahuila, mother; J. K. Kaohi, brother; Mrs. Emmaline Saffray, Mrs. Emily Campbell, Mrs. Lizzie Mendiola, Miss Emalia Kaohi, nieces; Joseph K. Kaohi, jr., Master Benjamin Kaohi, Master William Kaohi, Master Edward Kaohi, nephews.

DESHA MAKES SPLENDID SPEECH.

Senator Stephen L. Desha made by all odds the most striking address of the day, in the opinion of those of the audience who understand both English and Hawaiian. Long famous as "Hawaii's silver-tongued orator" in the native tongue, his address yesterday was rich with the eloquence, the sympathy, and the fire which are characteristic of his public utterances.

He pointed out that the Hawaiians lost with the *Aztec* went calmly into the face of danger, knowing their steamer might be sunk by a German submarine, and that they have died as Americans should die in warfare—bravely and unflinchingly. As he dwelt with sympathy on the loss of the families of these young men many Hawaiians were moved to open emotion. He paid a striking tribute to the flag, and declared that the highest form of patriotism is the doing of duty fearlessly and intelligently.

MUSIC AND ORATORY MINGLE.

Following the playing of "Old Hundred" and the dirge from "Saul" by the Hawaiian band, President Chillingworth of the senate told of the occasion that had led to the gathering and the holding of the memorial services. He paid brief but glowing tribute to the memory of the martyrs of the *Aztec*.

The rendering of "Hail Columbia," "Hawaii Ponoi," and the "Star-Spangled Banner" by the normal-school students was especially beautiful, impressive, and appropriate.

NOBLE SENTIMENTS ROUSE PATRIOTISM.

Full of the spirit of patriotism, insistence on the rights of humanity, condemnation of a conduct that is murder and not war, touched with delicate and tender sentiment for those whose lives went out in the maelstrom of sea into which they were thrown by the sinking of the *Aztec* when she had been torpedoed, was the oration of the day delivered by Representative Lorrin Andrews.

Andrews first dwelt on the beauty of the American flag, the meaning of their flags to other nations, the great beauty, the nobility of the sentiments the Star-Spangled Banner holds for the native-born or adopted citizen of the United States, how it embraces the best of all sentiments that other banners may represent to other nations. With such a flag, standing for and representing such principles and ideals in the face of murder masquerading as war, fighting innocent women and children and noncombatants, attacking all humanity, there was nothing to do but rise and fight until tyranny should be banished from the world, he declared. Americans must fight for their flag, their land, their liberty, their wives, their families, and for their God was his closing peroration.

EULOGY IS ORATORICAL MARVEL.

The oration of Senator Desha was more in line of a eulogy of the five drowned Hawaiian heroes of the *Aztec*. It also was full of patriotic thought and sentiment. The modulation of his voice, his gestures, his expression, the vibration of his words, gave to those of his audience who did not understand the Hawaiian tongue at least some idea of what Senator Desha was saying. Later he told something of each of the drowned Hawaiians, and, turning to members of the families of the dead men, he had words of sympathy and condolence for them. Senator Desha's speech was a marvel of eloquence and of oratory. It thrilled his hearers who understood Hawaiian and made those who did not wish for a knowledge of tongues.

The singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" was a fitting finale to the meeting, which dispersed after the benediction pronounced by Rev. H. H. Parker.

William Wond, another Hawaiian boy, has lost his life for the principle of universal freedom of the high seas. He died a victim of the submarine when the steamship *Rockingham* was ruthlessly torpedoed. His name should be added to the roll of honor that Hawaii has set up for the five brave lads of the *Aztec*.

Mr. Speaker, two thousand and odd miles out in the Pacific are the islands that constitute the Territory of Hawaii. Our fame for a beautiful, wonderful country is world wide. But Hawaii is more than a playground, a retreat for the tourist. It is the western frontier of our Republic. We Hawaiians guard the western doorway. While Hawaii stands our coast line from Alaska down the long stretch to the Panama Canal Zone is safe from successful invasion or attack.

Mr. Speaker, in this time of preparedness, while the Nation is spending billions for the successful prosecution of its war, when we are training our soldiers, enlarging our Navy, and making preparations for our coast-line defense, I deem it my duty to invite your most serious consideration to the question of the defenses of the Hawaiian Islands. I have said that while Hawaii stands our Pacific mainland coast is safe from invasion, but much must be done by both the Army and Navy to bring the fortifications and military establishments and the naval base on the Island of Oahu up to that perfection of efficiency that a genuine preparedness program should demand. While much has been done, taken as a whole, the fortification of Oahu is yet in its infancy. We need military roads, more forts, the biggest guns, a submarine base, a fuel-oil station, more barracks, an aeroplane fleet, a fleet of up-to-date warships with its destroyers and submarines with permanent station in Hawaiian waters repair shops, and gun shops. Such a preparedness program is an investment for the entire Nation.

Geographically and strategically Hawaii is of untold value to this union of States; but, Mr. Speaker, it is ever so much more valuable than nature has made it, for every Hawaiian stands willing and ready to do his utmost and face death itself for American liberty. There are many more Hawaiian boys who will go unflinchingly to their end while doing their duty, as the six whose story I have already brought to your attention.

In numbers we Hawaiians are few. But since the declaration of war the Hawaiian people have entered in the spirit of the times with such whole-souledness and unselfishness that their action has brought a distinctive letter of praise from Gen. William A. Mann, of the General Staff of the Army, who as head of the Bureau of Militia Affairs has first-hand control of our endeavors on a war basis. It is proper that this letter should go into the RECORD, and I shall read it at this time:

WAR DEPARTMENT, MILITIA BUREAU,
Washington, May 26, 1917.

Hon. J. K. KALANIANAOLE,
House of Representatves.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your esteemed letter of May 19, 1917, in which you request information relating to the National Guard of Hawaii and to the disposition to be made of it during the existing war.

I am of the opinion that in view of the necessity for not interfering with the labor problem within the Territory the National Guard contingent should not be utilized or called into Federal service unless some unforeseen emergency arises.

The loyalty of the Hawaiians has been marked in their response to the plans of the adjutant general of the Territory to increase their National Guard contingent to a total of four regiments of infantry, four companies of coast artillery, one company of engineers, one troop of cavalry, and one company of signal corps.

If these organizations were raised to full war strength, the Territory would maintain probably a larger quota of National Guard to its total population than any other State or Territory in the United States.

I feel, however, that the patriotic desires of the National Guard authorities have exceeded the possibilities of the Territory as far as furnishing the desired number of men, and it would be better if the number of National Guard units were reduced.

The commanding general, Hawaiian Department, has recommended a reduction of the National Guard forces of Hawaii to a total of two regiments of infantry, one troop of cavalry, one company of engineers, one company signal corps, and two companies of coast artillery. I am of the opinion that the suggested reduction will provide ample forces and best meet the interests of all concerned.

Very truly, yours,

WM. A. MANN,
Brigadier General, General Staff, Chief Militia Bureau.

Perhaps it will be well to interpret this letter of Gen. Mann's. To begin with, there are approximately 125,000 persons, after exempting Asiatics, who are citizens of the Territory, and this number includes men, women, and children. The people of the Territory, with their increasing militia program, intended to bring 10,000 militiamen into the service of their country. It is the final judgment of the War Department, however, that the interests of the Nation will be served best by the turning of the activities of the greater number of these Hawaiian men into food production.

To interfere the slightest with the food production of the islands at this time would invite disaster to many on the mainland, as well as to the citizens on the islands and the force of 10,000 regulars of the United States Army who garrison the island of Oahu and the great naval base at Pearl Harbor. The War Department has cut down the National Guard to approximately 3,000 men. When they are to be called into service is for the Federal Government to say. And when the summons to arms comes, Mr. Speaker, the men of Hawaii will not be found wanting.

The question of food is the vital question in the islands to-day. Hawaii, with its sugar, rice, and so forth, feeds many on the mainland. But Hawaii has been importing many articles of necessity in the food line. To meet the changed conditions Hawaii has now a food commission, created by its legislature, and this food commission is striving to make Hawaii's civilian and military population independent of the mainland producers. Under the direction of the food commission the movement to till the soil is widespread. The Hawaiian school children have even startled their elders by the wonderful progress they have made in successful gardening. Into this movement the Hawaiians have entered without reservation, for in all things at all times the people of Hawaii can be depended upon to do "their bit."

To help their fellow citizens on the mainland in these troublesome times is the main object of all Hawaiians. Mr. Speaker, they will fight and they will plow until victory comes to our country and peace to the world. And while they plow and while they fight each and every Hawaiian will have always in his mind Hawaii's motto, "Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono," which, translated, reads: "The life of the land is established in righteousness."

The Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,
OF VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, the bill before the House is what is known as the second "food bill." The first of these measures authorizes a survey of the food supply and the ascertainment of the food possibilities of the Nation.

A large sum of money, all that was requested by the Secretary of Agriculture, will be appropriated for this purpose. I voted for this food measure. The bill now before the House, the second bill, is the food-control bill, so called. Vast and hitherto unknown powers are to be given to the President of the United States and through him to the food controller. I shall support the bill, and in doing so I wish to define my attitude toward all legislation affecting the conduct of the war.

I voted for the declaration of war, and I favor the adoption of every measure that will make for efficiency in the conduct of the war. To me this war can not be conducted successfully without a concentration of authority. Congress can not conduct the war. It will not even be in session more than half the time. Congress can not select the leaders; can not appoint the officers of the Army. Its power and its duties are practically limited to providing the machinery by which the Executive can efficiently manage the many details of the great war. I wish to give the President such powers as he requires. I will not vote for any measure that will handicap him in the least. I think Congress should select a committee of its Members to be associated with Executive management in order to bring about the best possible cooperation between these two branches of the Government—one to provide the machinery; the other to execute.

But apart from this I believe authority should be concentrated, and the President only recently selected by the people is the one man to have it. Whether he will exercise to the best advantage the great powers given him I do not know, and no one else knows. We can hope he will be wise in the selection of his subordinates, and we can hope that in these selections merit alone will obtain. He has a great opportunity to bring to the active aid of the country men of all shades of political opinion, as is being done in England, and not confine patriotic activities to partisan adherents.

Personally, I am glad he has selected Mr. Hoover as food controller. Mr. Hoover is undoubtedly the best-informed man on this subject on the American Continent to-day, and I for one feel safe in risking this important matter with him. The particular details of this food measure I think are right. I believe the farmers ought to be guaranteed a minimum price for their products. If the war should be suddenly brought to a close, after farmers in their efforts to do patriotic service had gone to great expense in producing larger crops than usual, the loss consequent upon a fall in price ought to be borne by the Government and not by the farmer. This bill does not operate until after the food—wheat, corn, and so forth, as the case may be—has left the producers' hands.

The bill strikes at the fellow who hoards food supplies for the purpose of speculation, and this sort of fellow ought to be struck at. I think prices of foodstuffs are getting too high and these high prices are going into the pockets of food speculators and gamblers, with very little benefit to the farmers.

It ought to be stopped and the only way to stop it is through governmental regulation and through the selection of good, strong, unselfish men to administer the law. The people, of course, will hold these officials to strict accountability in their conduct and will expect honest treatment with an absence of favoritism and partisanship.

I hope the administration will be successful in its conduct of the war. I think the war is a holy one; I think the war will have to be fought out sooner or later by us. If I made any comment on the war, I would say that I do not believe our troops should be sent to Europe hastily. I believe we should await the reorganization of Russia, Greece, and Roumania, and with the full coordination and cooperation of all our allies on all our fronts, an end to this frightful calamity can be brought about in the year 1918.

This is an unusual bill, but it is designed to meet unusual conditions. It is drastic, but this is a time for drastic measures. We are in war, and it becomes necessary to confer war powers. Such measures as these food bills and other legislation conferring broad powers upon the President are the contribution of Congress toward successful prosecution of the war. We never before have been confronted with a like situation; we are sailing on an uncharted sea. We can not be too careful, nor can we be too particular. Because we face new questions is no reason why we should shrink from doing new things. We must now do things that we would not dream of doing in peace times. If in the doing we make some mistakes, it is better to err on the side of precaution and preparedness rather than not to have tried at all, and we can correct mistakes in the light of experience. In this spirit this war legislation is and ought to be conceived and enacted. When peace returns with victory we can again pursue peaceful methods and restore our equilibrium and the checks and balances of the Constitution, essential in a republic for the conduct of its domestic affairs when the world is tranquil.

Food Supply of the World.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,
OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, under the general permission to Members to extend remarks in the RECORD on the conservation of food and fuel bill (H. R. 4961), I present the following telegram from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, unanimously favoring the passage of the pending bill:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *June 21, 1917.*

H. Z. OSBORNE, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

In consequence of the enormous increase in cost of food supplies and inability to control prices, either through moral suasion or local legislation, the board of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce unanimously favor the passage of the food-control bill now before Congress, and respectfully ask that you use your good offices to that end.

L. D. SALE,
President Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

FOOD SUPPLY OF THE WORLD.

Mr. Speaker, on the 20th instant I addressed a letter to Mr. Herbert Hoover requesting information as to the present food supply of the world. Mr. Hoover responded as follows:

WASHINGTON, *June 21, 1917.*

Hon. H. Z. OSBORNE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSBORNE: In response to your letter of the 20th I am arranging to have Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor bring to you personally in printed form the information which you desire in regard to the food conditions of the world at the present time. Dr. Taylor is probably better informed on this matter than any person in this country, and I am sure can give you any specific information you may want. Dr. Taylor will bring this material to you some time before noon to-day.

Faithfully, yours,

HERBERT HOOVER.

Later the same day Dr. Taylor handed me the following reply, making a clear and succinct statement on the food conditions of the various countries of the world. It will be found most interesting and suggestive to Members of the House in connection with the consideration of this most important bill:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., June 21, 1917.

Hon. H. Z. OSBORNE,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. OSBORNE: In the absence of Mr. Hoover, I am requested to prepare a brief statement illustrating the conditions in staples in the food supply of the world. It must be clearly borne in mind that the world represents a definition in transportation rather than in geography. At present Autralasia, India, and the interior of Russia are outside of the world.

There is supposed to be somewhere in the neighborhood of 150,000,000 bushels of wheat in Australasia. It is practically unavailable to us or to Europeans on account of scarcity of tonnage. India is supposed to have a surplus of some 60,000,000 bushels of wheat. Since shipping from India has to come via the East Indies to our western coast or go around South Africa to France, this is practically out of the world. Russia was a large grain-producing country. No one knows whether there is a large amount of stored grain in the interior of Russia or whether there is none. Unofficial information, through diplomatic channels, leads to the tentative conclusion that the stores that have accumulated and should be available have probably been dissipated and in large part undergone decomposition. Russia possesses no facilities for permanent storage of large amounts of grain. The Russian revolution was preceded by food riots due to the inability to transport food from the interior to the large cities. There was certainly not such scarcity of food in Russia as to lead to food riots, per se, and the scarcity was a matter of transportation. On the other hand, there is no evidence that were peace to be established to-day large amounts of grain would be found sound and available in the interior of Russia.

The wheat crop of practically all South America has been a relative failure and there will be no possibility of securing any material amount of either wheat or corn from Argentina this year. Argentina, Australasia, India, Algeria, and interior Russia always furnished grain to the United Kingdom, France, and Italy. This year they can furnish none.

We had a bumper wheat crop in 1915 and a small crop (640,000,000 bushels) last year. The drain for large exports has reduced our excess so that at present, according to the best available information, there are about 100,000,000 to 110,000,000 bushels of wheat carry-over in the United States and Canada. The winter wheat is the lowest in many years. The forecast for total wheat in this country on June 1, was 656,000,000 bushels. Unofficial, but supposedly well informed opinion in Canada places their wheat forecast at 250,000,000 bushels safely, up to as high as 300,000,000 in the event of continuation of favorable conditions. In other words, a reasonable forecast of the wheat crop for this year in North America in the absence of untoward climatic conditions, plus our present carry over, ought to yield somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,000,000,000 bushels of wheat. Allowing for seed and a carry over of 50,000,000 bushels, with our normal consumption, this would leave for export not to exceed 250,000,000 bushels of wheat.

The crop forecasts in oats, barley, and rye of June 1 indicate a yield in these three of about 170,000,000 bushels in excess of the relatively low crops of last year. On the basis of acreage the yield in corn and rice will be large. We are relatively short on corn all through the country. The stocks of rye and barley are fairly depleted. We have still a reasonable plenty of oats.

The winter wheat crop in France and England, just as in Germany, was badly injured by cold weather late in the spring. There has been an increased acreage in the United Kingdom, but no such increase in France and Italy. In France and Italy both, the grain crop has suffered from inefficient labor, inefficient fertilization, and untoward climatic conditions. A careful summarization of the grain needs of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy for the next year indicates that they will need to import about 550,000,000 bushels of wheat or other supplementary cereals and about 450,000,000 bushels of feed grains. These figures are on the basis of war-time needs. It will be impossible to secure all these and in all probability the figure could be shaved in toto 100,000,000 bushels without danger of serious results.

Since, as previously explained, the other available sources of grain are closed, all of the grain that is to be secured by our allies must come from North America.

In brief, they will need twice as much wheat as we will have to export. Oats, rye, barley, and rice can be used as direct substitutes; oats and corn as indirect substitutes. We will apparently have no difficulty in supplying the corn and oats required as feed grains if the forecasts be not nullified by untoward climatic conditions. It will be necessary in covering the bread needs of our allies for them to accept as much wheat as we can send and for the balance, rice, rye, barley, corn, and oats. It will be necessary for us in part to hold our wheat consumption to a lower level than our present luxurious level, and to consume cereal substitutes in excess of our past practices. Thirty million people in the South already consume nearly half of their cereals in other form than wheat. If the people of the North would follow this practice during the next year to the extent of consuming one-third of their cereals in other states than wheat, this would set free a sufficient amount of wheat to cover the minimum needs of our allies in a satisfactory nutritional manner.

It is difficult to give definite figures as to other staples. The meat supply of the world is low. The beef and pork production of England, France, and Italy is low. The beef production of Argentina will be low. The beef and pork production of this country can probably not be enlarged during the present year, though it ought to be maintained. It is therefore necessary in order that our allies be permitted to enjoy a normal meat ration that excessive use of meat and waste in meat should be eliminated in our country.

The world is short in fats. Less vegetable fat is produced in Italy and France than normally. Our allies used to import large amounts of vegetable fats from distant Tropics. Conditions in tonnage have made this importation restricted in amount. We are importing less vegetable fats than normally from the Tropics. Even though our fat production be held to normal, since the vegetable-fat production of Italy and France is below normal and fat importation from the Tropics is below normal, it becomes apparent that we face a fat stringency, and this is all the more inevitable when we consider the enormous use of glycerin in the manufacture of munitions. In other words, the industrial use of fat is increased at a time when our supply has been diminished.

The world is short on sugar. Russia, a large sugar producer, is out of the calculation. England imported in peace time large amounts of sugar from Russia, Germany, and Austria, some from Belgium and Holland. Holland produces a little beet sugar now. Belgium practically none. The French production is reduced. The cane sugar of Java finds difficulty in reaching a market. Even with a normal sugar production in Cuba, along the Gulf, over our beet-sugar region, from the Sandwich Islands, and from the Philippines, we could not expect to meet the normal sugar demands of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and North America. It is believed that through adequate organization our sugar affairs may be so administered as to permit of an adequate and reasonable use of sugar by everyone, but it is perfectly plain that if such organization is not obtained sugar will become a medicine ball of speculation.

These various contemplations indicate the available food supply of the allied nations is probably reduced to something like 75 per cent of the normal. The unit between use and waste of foods is probably in the neighborhood of 25 to 30 per cent. In other words, we are reduced close to the level of actual need. Under such circumstances we will have enough if it is properly conserved and administered. It will not be enough if through lack of organization, such as is proposed in the second Lever bill, the limited supplies of food are left open for hoarding, speculation, and extortion.

On the other hand, it is fairly clear that the available food supply of the central empires is reduced to about 65 or 70 per cent. They, too, are reduced to the point of actual need. They had made many mistakes in the administration of their food affairs, but these mistakes have been during the past six months in large part repaired, and the organization of food administration in Germany is to-day upon an efficient and effective plane. If they manage with their 65 or 70 per cent better than we manage with our 75 per cent, we will lose If we manage as well as they, this will be an immense factor in our fate. It must be clearly and definitely borne in mind that properly analyzed the food situation in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and North America, considered as a unit, will on the 1st of October be in no better state than the food supply of the central empires. From that time on it is a question of efficiency in organization and administration of our food supply, using this term in its broadest sense.

Very truly, yours,

A. E. TAYLOR,
Assistant to the Secretary.

Georgia's Property Progress, 1865–1915.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON LEE,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks for the purpose of inserting in the RECORD an address of the Hon. Martin V. Calvin, of Marietta, Ga., former secretary, now president of the Georgia State Agricultural Society. Mr. Calvin is one of the best thinkers and statisticians in the South. This address was delivered at Athens, Ga., August 2, 1916.

The address is as follows:

GEORGIA'S PROPERTY PROGRESS, 1865–1915.

Secretary Calvin said he would like to speak to Chancellor Barrow's splendid address if no one else wished to occupy the floor.

Mr. Calvin remarked that as soon as he saw the subject on which Chancellor Barrow proposed to address the convention to-day, he determined to collate a few unquestionable facts illustrative of the manner in which, and the extent to which, Georgia had been builded up in a material way between the years 1865 and 1915; more particularly during the 42 years immediately following the end of the War between the States.

Mr. Calvin spoke by charts which he had prepared, explaining in detail the intensely interesting and valuable figures and facts set forth on each of the three charts he used. Here is the statement of unchallengeable facts:

An array of interesting facts.

1860.

Property on digest	$370,038,046
Value of slaves	302,694,855
Total property	672,732,901
Deduct the value of slaves, 1865	302,694,855
Leaving a balance of	370,038,046
Deduct 60 per cent shrinkage in values	222,022,827
Shows the amount of property with which Georgia again begun life	148,015,219

Recuperation in 14 years.

Year.	Property on digest.	Railroad property, etc.	Total property.
1879	$225,993,419	$9,866,129	$235,859,548
1865			148,015,219
Increase			87,844,329

Per cent of increase, 59.3.

SOME COMMENTS.

It was not till 1889—a lapse of 24 years—that Georgia's total property equaled the property on the digest (exclusive of the value of the slaves), in 1860 with a small amount in excess.

Statement.

1889—Total property on the digest and railroad property	$380,189,314
1860—Property on the digest exclusive of value of the slaves	370,038,046
Amount in excess of 1860	10,151,268

It was not until 1890 that the property on the digest, exclusive of railroad property, equaled the same class of property in 1860.

Statement.

1890—Property on the digest	$377,366,784
1860—Property on the digest (not value slaves)	370,038,046
Excess over 1860	7,328,738

A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE FOR THE MASTERY.

Three times in a period of 34 years after the Civil War Georgians builded property values on the digest till they equaled approximately the values on the digest of 1860:

This was accomplished first up to 1890, then 1895, then 1899. At high tide of each of the periods, a panic produced a notable shrinkage in values, whereupon

GEORGIANS AGAIN PUT THEIR SHOULDERS TO THE WHEELS.

It was not until 1907, a period of 47 years, that Georgia's total property equaled the grand total of 1860.

Statement.

1907—Whole property amounted to	$699,536,879
1860—Whole property amounted to	672,732,901
Excess over 1860	26,803,978

Comparisons worthy of consideration.

1879–1889.

Year.	Property on digest.	Railroad property, etc.	Total property.
1889	$345,938,837	$34,250,477	$380,189,314
1879	225,993,419	9,866,129	235,859,548
Increase	119,945,418	24,384,348	144,329,766
Per cent of increase	53.0	248.1	61.1

1899–1909.

1909	$604,338,208	$120,679,989	$725,018,197
1899	372,927,077	43,933,411	416,860,488
Increase	231,411,131	76,746,578	308,157,709
Per cent of increase	62.0	174.6	73.9

Results accomplished in 36 years.

Year.	Property on digest.	Railroad property, etc.	Total property.
1915	$800,435,892	$151,327,580	$951,763,472
1879	225,993,419	9,866,129	235,859,548
Increase	574,442,473	141,461,451	715,903,921
Per cent of increase	254.1	1,433.8	303.5

A story of half a century.

1915—Georgia's whole property	$951,763,472
1865—Georgia's whole property	148,015,219
Increase	803,748,253

Per cent of increase, 543.

A comparison not invidious—Ohio and Georgia.

OHIO.

1910—Value of all farm property	$1,902,694,589
1880—Value of all farm property	1,261,726,263
Increase in 30 years	640,968,326

Per cent of increase, 50.8.

GEORGIA.

1910—Value of all farm property	580,546,381
1880—Value of all farm property	143,158,308
Increase in 30 years	437,388,073

Per cent of increase, 305.5.

Food Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I am glad that no "constitutional lawyer" has been able to show any good argument—legal or otherwise—why this very important "food-control" bill should not become a law. Had time permitted, I intended to show that President Lincoln had "constitutional" objectors to many bills that he desired to pass in the Thirty-seventh Congress.

I sometimes think that when some people can not find any good reason for opposing a bill on its merits, then they try and find some "legal" or "constitutional" objection. Have seen many a bill attacked on constitutional grounds when the "constitutional lawyer" disliked to take a chance of committing political suicide by attacking the bill on its merits.

Very seldom does a constitutional lawyer hold up the Constitution before us unless he wants to oppose a bill which the people want and ought to have. The Constitution is often used against the people but seldom for them.

The fathers of the Constitution were patriots and they certainly never intended that it should be used against the preservation of their country or that it could be so twisted as to give any encouragement whatever to the enemy. Still the Constitution was used against Lincoln in sixty-one when he wished to preserve the Union, and was used daily by men who were afterwards expelled from Congress for disloyalty or treason. The Constitution has been used time after time since against the interests of those who need protection.

I hope that I shall never become such an expert on "constitutional law" that I shall ever be so able to interpret the Constitution as to forbid it to do anything necessary to preserve it.

I hope that I shall never become such a constitutional expert that I shall be able to interpret it that the Constitution was intended to give the benefit of every doubt in favor of the enemy and against my own country.

I hope that when it comes to giving the benefit of the doubt to the man who is going to be robbed and the robber that I will not become such an expert on constitutional law, that I will give the benefit of the doubt of any law to the robber instead of the man who needs protection.

I presume everyone here remembers the fate of a former Member of this House, one Vallandigham, of Ohio. He was arrested by the Union military authorities in 1863 for treasonable utterances and banished to the Confederate States; went from Wilmington to Bermuda and thence to Canada, where he remained until after the war. He was strong on the "Constitution"—so strong was he that he could always interpret the provisions of the Constitution in such a way that his country got the worst of it. If one interpreted the Constitution according to his views, this country had no right to do anything except sit calmly by and allow the Union to be disrupted.

Talking about violating the Constitution, why this man Vallandigham had the martyred President violating the Constitution every half hour.

We think Lincoln a great man now, but he was not great to some of the men who sat in the special session of the Thirty-seventh Congress in 1861. Men there, under the guise of violation of the Constitution, tried to hamper the President at every step; but there were men—real men—in that Congress who saw through the wiles of the men who tried to use the Constitution as a shield to cover up their hatred of their country.

On July 10, 1861, the same Vallandigham stated, in part:

Holding up the Constitution, and standing here in the place and with the manhood of a Representative of the people, I propose to myself today the ancient freedom of speech used within these walls.

Then he proceeds to criticize the message from President Lincoln, using in part these words:

It was his duty as an honest Executive to make that information full, impartial, and complete, instead of spreading before us a labored and lawyerly vindication of his own course of policy, a policy which has precipitated us into a terrible and bloody revolution.

Then a little later he states:

Why did he not forthwith assemble Congress and throw himself upon the wisdom and patriotism of the Representatives of the States and of the people instead of usurping powers which the Constitution has expressly conferred upon us?

A little later in the same address he states:

Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office to support the Constitution, and delivered his inaugural—a message, I regret to say, not written in the direct and forward language which becomes an American President and an American statesman, and which was expected from the plain, blunt, honest man of the Northwest, but with the forked tongue and crooked counsel of the New York politician.

After condemning for calling out the militia, he uses the words to describe the great Lincoln:

It may be, indeed, that with wicked and desperate cunning the President meant all this as a mere wedge to that which was to drive the oak asunder.

Later this brave defender of the Constitution says—this was in regard to President Lincoln calling out the militia:

But whatever may have been the purpose, I assert here to-day as a Representative that every principal act of the administration since has been a glaring usurpation of power and a palpable and dangerous violation of that very Constitution which this civil war is professedly waged to support.

Who remembers Vallandigham now with anything but scorn, and who does not think Lincoln one of the greatest men who ever lived? As was said then, "The Union must and shall be preserved," so some of us, who are using the Constitution daily for and not against this country, say, "The United States must and shall be preserved." It was never intended by the fathers of the Constitution that when anything came up between your country and the enemy that the doubt was always to be decided in favor of the enemy against your own country. They had men in those days who thought of country first and technicality afterwards, and, thank God, the majority of this Congress are built along the same lines.

Later, in criticizing the President for calling for men, this defender of the Constitution states:

Without once saying to Congress, "By your leave, gentlemen." Beginning with this wide breach of the Constitution, this enormous usurpation of the most dangerous of all powers—the power of the sword—other infractions and assumptions were easy, and after public liberty private right soon fell.

One step more, sir, will bring upon us search and seizure of the public mails, and, finally, as in the worst days of the Russels and Sydneys of English martyrdom, of the drawers and secretaries of the private citizen, though even then tyrants had the grace to look to the forms of the law, and the execution was judicial murder, not military slaughter.

Sir, the rights of property having been thus wantonly violated, it needed but a little stretch to invade the sanctity of the person, and a victim was not soon wanting.

Sir, however necessity—the tyrant's plea—may be urged in extenuation of the usurpations and infractions by the President in regard to public liberty, there can be no such apology or defense for his invasions of private right.

Sir, the power and rights of the States and the people and their representatives have been usurped; the sanctity of the private house and of private property has been invaded, and the liberty of the person wantonly and wickedly stricken down; free speech, too, has been repeatedly denied, and all this under the plea of necessity. Sir, the right of petition will follow next—nay, it has already been shaken. The freedom of the press will soon fall after it.

There are some politicians who before election will do anything to cater to the newspaper men and after election is over think it smart politics to denounce everything that a newspaper advocates, until a few months before the next election, and then show the previous servility. They had the same class in those days, because the Vallandigham goes on to state: "And let me whisper in your ear that there will be few to mourn over its loss, unless, indeed, its ancient, high, and honorable character shall be rescued and redeemed from its present reckless mendacity and degradation." As some people now seem to blame the newspapers for the war, including the *Lusitania* and the sinking of other boats seemingly, so then the people of the stripe of Vallandigham evidently blamed the newspapers for the war.

Then the great defender of the Constitution continues:

Freedom of religion will yield, too, at last, amid the exultant shouts of millions who have seen its holy temples defiled and its white robes of a former innocency trampled now under the polluting hoofs of an ambitious and faithless or fanatical clergy. Meantime national banks, bankrupt laws, a vast and permanent public debt, high tariffs, heavy direct taxation, enormous expenditure, gigantic and stupendous peculation, anarchy first and a strong Government afterwards, no more State lines, no more State governments, and a consolidated monarchy or vast centralized military despotism, must all follow in the history of the future, as in the history of the past they have, centuries ago, been written. Sir, I have said nothing, and have time to say nothing now, of the immense indebtedness and the vast expenditures which have already accrued, nor of the folly and mismanagement of the war so far, nor of the atrocious and shameless peculations and frauds which have disgraced it in the State governments and the Federal Government from the beginning. The avenging hour for all these will come hereafter, and I pass them by now.

I have finished now, Mr. Chairman, what I proposed to say at this time upon the message of the President. As to my own position in regard to this most unhappy Civil War, I have only to say that I stand to-day just where I stood upon the 4th of March last; where the whole Democratic Party and the whole Constitutional Union Party and a vast majority, as I believe, of the people of the United States stood, too. I am for peace—speedy, immediate, honorable peace—with all its blessings. Others may have changed; I have not. I question not their motives nor quarrel with their course. It is vain and futile for them to question or to quarrel with mine. My duty shall be discharged—calmly, firmly, quietly, and regardless of consequences. The approving voice of a conscience void of offense and the approving judgment which shall follow "after some time be past," these, God help me, are my trust and my support.

Another man who used the "Constitution" to cloak his opposition to every measure that would help his country win the war was Senator Trusten Polk, of Missouri, who was expelled from the Senate on January 10, 1862, for "disloyalty."

Under date of July 10, 1861, in criticizing President Lincoln, we find him using these words:

Congress has declared no war. The Constitution of the United States says that Congress shall be authorized to declare war, and yet, sir, though Congress has declared no war, we are in the midst of a war monstrous in its character and hugely monstrous in its proportions. The war has been brought on by the President of the United States, of his own motion and of his own wrong, and under what circumstances?

A little further he states:

I know, sir, that this conduct is justified on the score of necessity. This plea of necessity is the tyrant's plea the world over, and has been in all ages the tyrant's plea for the prostration of civil liberty, and will continue to be so.

A little further, in talking about the Merryman case, he states:

Sir, I undertake to say that in the history of England, in the time of the Tudors and the Plantagenets, a case more flagrant than this can not be found; and this is not a single case.

Then he states a little further:

The sanctity of the home has been violated by the force of the bayonet.

The President of the United States has involved this country in a war, notwithstanding the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution says that Congress shall have the power to "raise and support armies." The President of the United States has raised armies. The Constitution says that Congress shall have the power "to provide and maintain a navy." The President of the United States has attempted to provide a navy. It also says that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it," and that not even by the Congress of the United States. Yet the President has suspended the writ of habeas corpus.

Then he names a few more violations of the Constitution by the President; in fact, as I have stated, according to the views of some of these men who cloaked their hatred to the country under the guise of the defense of the Constitution, President Lincoln was accused every half hour or so of violating the Constitutiton.

A little further Senator Polk states:

More than that, while these acts have increased the power of the President on the one hand, they have taken away powers that belonged and were appropriated by the Constitution to the legislative and to the judicial departments of the Government, so that there has been a usurpation of powers that belonged to the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

Another man who used defense of the Constitution to conceal his treason was Congressman Henry C. Burnett, of Kentucky, who was expelled from Congress on December 3, 1861. When asked by Congressman McClernand after he had attacked the increase of the Army, the question, "Will you vote for a volunteer force to put down this rebellion?" he replied, "Not for one man." Still no more wordy defender of the Constitution served in the Thirty-seventh Congress. Strong on the Constitution, was the gentleman from Kentucky, but weak on love of country.

Still another man strong on the Constitution but weak on loyalty was Senator J. C. Breckinridge, also expelled from the Thirty-seventh Congress, December 4, 1861.

He said in part on July 16, 1861:

I think the Chief Magistrate of the country—and I have a right in my place to say it—should be rebuked by the vote of both Houses of Congress.

Then follows column after column of his belief in violations of the Constitution.

Under date of July 16, 1861, Congressman Henry C. Burnett, of Kentucky, said in part:

I enter here my solemn protest against his flagrant and repeated violations of the oath he took on the 4th of March last; against his dangerous usurpations of power and open defiance of the law.

This defense of the Constitution sounds good from a man afterwards expelled for disloyalty to his country.

Senator Breckinridge in another speech on July 25, 1861, says in part:

The conduct of the war up to this time has not been characterized by any purpose to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution: on the contrary, it has been deliberately trampled under feet in every step of the procedure. I have undertaken to show, and other gentlemen

have undertaken to show, that the Constitution has been deliberately, frequently, and flagrantly violated. While they stand unanswered, I maintain that the war, in its inception and its progress, is not to maintain the Constitution, but is in derogation of that instrument. It is not enough to tell me that it has been violated in the first instance by others. The adhering States of this Union have the right to demand that the Constitution shall be the measure of Federal action; and the violation of the Constitution (conceding the point) by any number of individuals, or any number of States, does not justify the Federal Government, in opposition to the rights of loyal and adhering States, in violating that instrument.

I believe the prosecution of this war for 12 months, if waged successfully, will be the grave of constitutional liberty upon this continent.

Peace, sir, peace is what we want for the restoration of the Federal Union, and the preservation of constitutional liberty.

If anyone wants to interpret the Constitution, so that we can not do this thing and the other thing which becomes absolutely necessary to save the country from destruction, they are welcome to their ideas. Personally, I prefer the sentiments of Senator Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, who uttered these words in reply to the constitutional lawyers of that time:

What are we going to do to the President? "Impeach him," I think, said the gentleman from Delaware. I say again, if the President had been charged by the Constitution, and by the laws upon your statute books, to do these things, and he had done them, I should have said he had done well; that he had been good and faithful. But, sir, if it be true that he stepped clear outside of the jurisdiction which the Constitution imposed upon him, if he threw himself clear outside of the battlements of the Constitution, and at the greatest personal risk to himself did battle for its preservation, and saved whatever was sacred and valuable inside the walls, I say it was not merely the work of a faithful magistrate; it was the work of a hero. Give him not mere approval; give him thanks. If there is any gratitude in the Republic, let it be spoken here now. Sir, I do not know how it is with other Senators upon this floor, but I confess myself to be astounded at those Senators here who profess such unbounded veneration for your statutes as simply the expression of the will of the people that they will stand by the statute, while the very power which enacted them is being thrown down and trampled in the dust. That seems to me an excess of veneration for the legislative power. I desire that all our magistrates and all our men shall observe the Constitution, and shall observe the laws; but I do not ask any one of them to bind himself so closely and indissolubly to the forms of the one or the other that he must perish with them both. Never any one of them designed to so fetter the whole that they could put forth no single exertion which was necessary to save the whole. When the country is at peace, I hold the President, as the highest citizen in it, as well as the First Magistrate, to the duty of exhibiting the highest evidence of attachment and conformity to the laws; but when the disregard of a form or a precedent is demanded, in order to save the essence and the soul of the whole, the form must give way to the substance.

This was good, sound doctrine in '61, and it is good, sound doctrine now.

Conservation of Food.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WHITMELL P. MARTIN,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, this bill has caused me no little concern, and while I shall cast my vote in favor of the measure, I do so because the administration and the leaders of both branches of Congress, who have made a thorough investigation of food conditions in the country, insist that just at this time it is a military necessity.

We are informed that it is just as much a military expedient as raising the Army or building up our Navy. That it is just as important to feed our allies as it is to assist them by supplying soldiers, arms, and ammunition. God forbid that I should cast a vote in this or any other Congress that would in the slightest degree cripple the country in the prosecution of this war, upon the successful termination of which depends the freedom not only of this country but of the world.

But the establishment of a food administrator in a free country is almost staggering and can only be excused as a measure of stern necessity.

The power and authority given in this bill relative to the production, the conserving, the control, and distribution of food products is almost unlimited, and unless those in authority carry out the provisions both wisely and conservatively, there is grave danger that the very purpose of the bill may be defeated.

The danger lies in the administration of this law, and for this reason I have sought to secure as much information as possible from those best informed and who will assist in enforcing its provisions. From this source I am informed that it is the purpose to stimulate production and that the minimum price will only be used to encourage the farmer to increase production by guaranteeing him a fair and adequate profit on his produce. I have been assured that there is no danger of the minimum price being made the maximum price, and that the farmers and producers will not be molested, except to stimulate and arouse them to increased activity.

By this means it is hoped this production of food products will be so stimulated as to effectively reduce the high cost of living.

Those provisions in the bill looking to the elimination of all unnecessary charges between the producer and the consumer, and which propose to prevent monopoly and the hoarding of food products and to punish those who engage in this nefarious practice, meet with my most hearty approval. This is no time for speculation or to grow rich upon the wants, the suffering, and the hunger of human beings, and those who in this perilous hour engage in this practice should be made to feel the strong arm of the law.

But if this country and our allies are to be supplied with the necessities of life, it must be done by the farmer, and if he is not interfered with and is but let alone he will respond patriotically to his country's call and produce food in abundance.

This House has been assured by those in charge of this bill and by those who will be in charge of its administration, that no injustice will be done the farmer. The President, who is the Commander in Chief of the American Army and Navy, has by letter stated that this bill is necessary as a war measure. Relying upon these assurances and believing it to be my duty to support a measure which the administration states is an absolute necessity as a war measure, I shall cast my vote for this bill.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROSE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave granted to extend my remarks in connection with the bill now under consideration I ask to have inserted in the RECORD a communication received by me from Mr. John Ord, Frugality, Pa., secretary of Local Union No. 2064, United Mine Workers of America.

FRUGALITY, PA., *June 19, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. ROSE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am instructed by this local union to write you that this local wishes for the Lever bill to pass before the 1st of July.

Yours, truly,

JOHN ORD,
Secretary Local Union No. 2064, Frugality, Pa.

The Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. BOOHER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted Members of the House to extend remarks in the RECORD I include a telegram received by me from the Central Labor Council of St. Joseph, Mo., as follows:

ST. JOSEPH, MO., *June 20, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES F. BOOHER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

In behalf or the Central Labor Council of St. Joseph, Mo., and vicinity, I have been instructed to urgently request your support for the food-administration bill.

F. W. BRAND, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

The Lever Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a letter from the Haserot Co., of Cleveland, Ohio. It contains some very good suggestions:

CLEVELAND, *June 21, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY EMERSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We note that, in accordance with section 5 of the second revision of the Lever food bill, it is proposed to license certain type of firms engaged in the distribution of food products, but that "retailers" are exempt from this provision. It has become increasingly difficult for us to draw the line between the "wholesaler" and the "retailer."

Unless all who engage in the distribution of food products come under the same provisions, or unless a definition is incorporated in the law which will indicate the type of merchant who is not subject to its provisions by a definition more specific than is conveyed in the word "retailer," then the operation of the law will be unsatisfactory and lead to many misunderstandings.

We therefore beg that you will exercise your good offices to the end that it may be made definite and certain and define the dealers who shall be exempt. We suggest that the line be drawn either at the gross amount of annual sales or at the gross amount of capital invested and used, whether borrowed or owned in the business.

We thank you in advance for the courtesies of your attention, and subscribe ourselves,

Yours, truly,

THE HASEROT CO.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. ROBBINS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the committee, section 11 of this bill contains provisions which aim at injurious speculation in food, feed, and fuel products and provides that the President, when he finds it essential in order to prevent undue enhancement or fluctuation of prices or unjust market manipulation or the publication of unfair and misleading market quotations of the prices of necessaries, which are called evil practice, may wholly or partly prevent the same, and any willful violation of the section is prohibited and a fine not exceeding $10,000 and imprisonment not exceeding four years imposed.

This section fails to declare these evil practices misdemeanors under the criminal law, and it seems the only power to stop this is the suspending power of various boards of trade. It is well known that speculation in fuel does not exist, but speculation in feed and food products not only exists, but is the controlling method in the country to-day which results in high prices being made.

There exists a method in the stock exchanges of Chicago, New York, and other large cities, which is carried out by ramifications all over the country in brokers' offices and bucket shops, whereby wheat, oats, corn, and provisions are sold in the future, by what is known as "futures" or "short sales," whereby no actual corn, wheat, or provisions are delivered, but it is merely a species of betting that the price will advance or decline up to a given date. Fortunes have been made and lost in the maelstrom of speculation, and no wonder that prices have been advanced and profits made by this method of manipulation without any regard to the actual cost of the article or the necessities of the people who consume these necessaries.

Just now the dealing in these futures has suspended entirely in the New York and Chicago exchanges, because if they would open at this time wheat would be advanced to $5 or $6 a bushel and flour to $20 to $30 a barrel.

The reason they were closed was that France and England had bought large quantities of wheat and flour during the winter, under what was termed the "May option" or "May futures," and when the 1st of May came the wheat and flour was not in existence, to be delivered, the agents of the French and British Governments closed out their deals on the 1st of May at a profit of $15,000,000, so it is stated. This money was immediately reinvested in September options, and the agents of these Governments, it is asserted to-day by those who claim to know, own at least one-third or more of the new crop of wheat. It was this large investment in May options that caused the exchanges to close their "future dealings" for the present altogether. Hence the necessity of passing this food-control bill immediately and inserting therein a clause prohibiting the optioning, by this iniquitous form of speculation, of our grain products, which is responsible entirely for the present high price of wheat flour to-day. I introduced this amendment, which reads as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROBBINS: Page 11, line 13, after the word "transaction," insert "including buying, selling, or dealing in food, grain, or provisions by the method commonly known as 'futures' or 'short selling' where the article bought or sold is not delivered at the maturity of the contract."

This would prohibit absolutely a species of speculation that has been known to the business community and is a curse to the consuming public. It is asserted and not disputed that the May options of the French and British Government agents were closed out at $2.48 a bushel, and at the time they were closed wheat had gone to $3.10 a bushel in the Chicago exchange, and it was to prevent it from going to $5 by these dealings in "futures" on the exchange that it was stopped.

But we are facing a more serious situation. The wheat crop of the United States for the coming year is estimated at approximately 750,000,000 bushels. It is now asserted that England and France own for September and December delivery, bought under this method of "futures" or for "future delivery," approximately 250,000,000 bushels. As it requires 600,000,000 bushels to feed our own people, it can be readily seen that we are going to be short 150,000,000 bushels of the amount of wheat necessary to furnish our people with bread through the coming year, and this has all been made possible by this iniquitous, villainous, and outrageous method of dealing in "futures" permitted by the grain exchanges of Chicago and New York.

There is no need of concealing these facts. It is better that we know them and prepare in some measure to meet this critical situation. If these facts are true, and investigation seems to confirm them, then there is an actual shortage that must be made up for the coming year in some way or our people will starve.

This report is further confirmed by the fact that they are now harvesting wheat in Texas, thrashing it from the shock and selling it at $2.40 per bushel to the agents who are buying to make good these foreign purchases under these "future options" for delivery in September and December.

If this method proceeds unrestrained, the American crop will soon be all bought up and the American people will soon be without wheat. Therefore, this amendment should be adopted and put in this bill. As it was not inserted in the House, it may yet be inserted in the Senate, and more drastic provision added to the bill to permit the President to establish an embargo and only permit sufficient wheat to be exported in order that our requirements may first be cared for.

Mr. Speaker, there has been much talk about feeding the American people on corn and our allies in Europe on wheat. If something is not done, and done quickly, that is just what will happen, because existing conditions make such result inevitable. It may be that Mr. Hoover, who has lived for the past several years in England, is more familiar with living conditions abroad than here and thinks the American people can eat corn, and our allies in Europe should have wheat.

It has been asserted in this debate on the authority of Dr. Wiley that corn is not good for the American children. Be that as it may, the rule of self-preservation appeals to me, Mr. Speaker, and I believe this situation is so imperative that it demands the passage of this bill and the establishment by the President of an embargo forbidding the exportation of wheat and other food products, whether bought under "futures" or not, until the wants of the American people and Armies are first provided for.

There is another trade evil with reference to food products that demands immediate legislation and correction in the United States that this bill, if properly administered, will regulate. That is the cold-storage business.

During the summer season eggs, fruits, meats, and so forth, and all manner of perishable commodities are stored in cold-storage houses. This bill, so far as price fixing is concerned,

excepts them from its provisions, and the farmer receives no consideration for his "perishable products."

Even during the recent high prices, it was shown on investigation that carloads of potatoes were held on the sidings until they decayed rather than send them to market and thereby reduce prices. Warehouses were full of eggs, yet the price was unreasonably high and at the present time the high price of butter, eggs, and meat is in a large measure traceable to the manipulation and control of the cold-storage houses and their agents and operators, aided by the food speculators who are exacting from the public unreasonable and unjustifiable profits. This bill proposes to regulate this whole system, and it is for the purpose of giving complete relief that I am urgently advocating the passage of this legislation without delay.

If it corrects either of these evils, and I regret the amendment for dealing in "futures" was not adopted, it will be an act of Congress that people without regard to party will regard as a step in advance taken for the protection of their rights.

When these matters are properly regulated, the middlemen, who are extorting outrageous profits between the farmer and the consumer, will find his opportunity for exploiting, plundering, and robbing taken away, and a better day will dawn for the American farmer and producer and the American consumer alike, and the small retailer and those of moderate means will be set free from that conscienceless band of speculators, who oppress those classes of our people who can least afford to be plundered and robbed.

A Brief for the People.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED L. BLACKMON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. BLACKMON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a brief for the people by John Morgan Burns.

The brief is as follows:

TAX GREED AND LAWLESSNESS OUT OF OUR TARIFF SYSTEM—VEAZIE BANK v. FENNO, MUNN v. THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, McCRAY v. THE UNITED STATES—THREE NATION-MAKING DECISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT—A BRIEF FOR THE PEOPLE.

[By John Morgan Burns.]

The real relationship which the manufacturer of a tariff-protected product in the United States bears toward his employee and the American people is that of a trustee. Congress should declare this relationship and make him accountable for the manner in which he administers the largest trust funds ever committed to the care and keeping of a private citizen—amounting to more than $2,000,000,000 a year. The only practical, constitutional way to bring about a fair system of accounting on the part of the protected manufacturer is to be found in the imposition of a conditional excise tax laid upon the privilege of manufacture and sale.

If Congress has the power—and with judicial sanction it has exercised that power almost since the birth of the Government—to tax all its citizens for the benefit of six or seven million men, women, and children who work in manufacture, it follows that Congress has the right to employ its excise taxing power to insure that the billions of dollars taken out of the pockets of the people by the manufacturers shall reach the wage earners, in whose name and for whose benefit the import tax is levied and maintained. (Veazie Bank *v.* Fenno.)

If the dairy interests of the country may come to Congress and persuade it to lay an excise tax, to handicap or destroy a palatable rival food product (oleomargarine), and the Supreme Court of the United States upholds the constitutionality of such a tax, laid for such a partisan purpose, surely these six or seven million men, women, and children who work in the protected mines, mills, factories, and sweat shops of the United States, may justly and constitutionally insist that Congress employ its excise taxing power to force their employer, the manufacturer, to give them a fair share of the fabulous sums of money which Congress, by virtue of its tariff duties, permits him to extort, in their name and for their benefit, from the pockets of all the people. (McCray *v.* The United States.)

A BRIEF FOR THE PEOPLE.

Whether or not there shall be a protective tariff system in the United States is a question about which wise and honest citizens may, have, do, and will differ. But if a protective tariff system is maintained in the United States largely for the benefit of the wage earner engaged in the business of manufacture, whether or not the 7,000,000 men, women, and children who toil in the protected industries shall receive a fair portion of the proceeds arising from such protective system is a question about which honest men can not differ.

If we lay import duties in order to guarantee the manufacturer a reasonable profit, whether or not he shall be restricted to the taking of a reasonable profit out of his business is a question about which honest men can not differ. In a series of articles, of which this is the first, the author offers to the public a practical, constitutional plan of legislation which will make the protected manufacturer fairly and fully account to the American people for the manner in which he exercises the invaluable special privilege which he enjoys under the protective tariff laws of the United States.

Each article contains a complete discussion of a distinct phase of the plan.

In a bill entitled "To increase the revenue, and for other purposes," introduced by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House July 1, 1916, Title III, imposing munitions manufacturers' tax, a vital principle of my plan legally to restrain the manufacturer of a tariff-protected product or commodity from extorting an unreasonable profit out of his business, either by charging the consuming public too much for his wares or by skimping the pay envelope of his wage earner, is recognized and applied in a small way.

This is the first time in the history of the Ways and Means Committee of the House that an effort has been made to make the payment of an excise tax laid upon the privilege of manufacturing payable according to the profit derived by the manufacturer out of the manufacture and sale of his product.

The proposed tax casts upon the manufacturer the burden of proving that his net profit per annum is less than 10 per cent. It goes still further and specifically enumerates all the charges which properly constitute the expense of carrying on the business, and, upon the principle of exclusion, precludes the manufacturer from padding his expense account, and also from claiming any profit whatever on account of watered stocks, bonds, or other fiat or fictitious values.

The Republican platform of 1908 said, in its paragraph on the protective tariff system:

"In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries."

After studying and brooding over the tariff problem for several years, it finally dawned upon me that the great flaw, the big weak spot in the practical operation of our protective tariff laws lay in the fact that no legislation had ever been provided by the Congress under which, through which, by virtue of which, it was possible to ascertain which manufacturers were making and pocketing an unreasonable profit. Again, even when it became obvious that certain tariff-protected manufacturers were making an unreasonable, enormous, and frequently fabulous profit, no legal method had ever been devised by which, as a matter of law, they could be restrained from extorting and pocketing such unreasonable, exorbitant, and fabulous profit.

I participated in the campaign of 1908, speaking for the Democratic ticket in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, and I personally know that, led by the Democratic presidential nominee, the Democratic speakers railed at the Republican Party for having declared through their platform that it was the aim and purpose of Republican tariff legislation to guarantee a reasonable profit to the manufacturer in contradistinction to every other class of business in the United States. The Democrats should have gone further and railed at the Republican Party because they have permitted manufacturers to make not only a reasonable profit but an unreasonable, exorbitant, and frequently fabulous profit.

That party should have charged that the Republican Party, having first erred in attempting to use the taxing power to insure the manufacturer a reasonable profit, more grievously erred in its failure to safeguard its tariff legislation in such a way as to prevent the manufacturer from making, taking, and getting away with unreasonable and conscienceless profits. Through the Republican Party the manufacturing interests have made Congress exercise its constitutional power to lay very high and sometimes prohibitory tariff duties upon imports, and as a result thereof some manufacturers, by depressing the price of labor and by lawless trusts and combinations perfected between the suns, have continuously reaped enormous profits taxed out of the pockets of all the people.

At his request Congress protected the manufacturer from foreign competition. It is unbelievable, it is inconceivable, that an otherwise astute American public intelligence failed to discover that in the same line in the Constitution in which the power to lay an import tax is found is also found the power to lay an excise tax; that the consuming public should have failed up to the present time to insist that Congress, having already protected the American manufacturer from foreign competition by the imposition of an import tax, should go one step further and protect the wage earner in the "protected" mines, mills, and factories, as well as the consuming public, from the greed and rapacity of the manufacturer. That Congress has power to do so is unquestionable and unquestioned among those familiar with the Constitution and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

The Constitution of the United States says, Article I, section 8, paragraph 1:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; * * *."

Ponder over this illustration: Once upon a time the product of American steel mills was protected by an enormous ad valorem duty. The world by the operation of this tariff law was shut out of the American markets for the benefit of the mill owners, their wage earners, and the general welfare. The whole citizenship of the United States, including the wage earner who worked in the steel mills, was cut off from the markets of the world in so far as the purchase of these products was concerned, and left absolutely at the mercy of the mill owners, as to what prices they should pay for these steel products, and also the wages which the workmen of the mill owners should receive.

Congress should at that time have gone one step further, reasoning thusly: "We have cut the people of the United States off from the markets of the world; the wage scale of the workman in the steel mill is left entirely in the discretion of the protected mill owners; we, the Congress, did this because we desired to build up manufacturing in the United States, to insure steel-mill owners a reasonable profit, and to guarantee that the wage earners in the protected business of manufacture in the United States shall receive decent wages; however, we desire that at the same time the American people shall be kept in a position where they may buy the products of these steel mills at a price which will subserve these economic considerations only.

"Therefore, to insure this result, Congress does lay upon the manufacture of steel products an excise tax as large as the import tax, payable only upon the happening of the following conditions: First, if it appears that the steel-mill owners are making and trying to get away with an unreasonable profit; second, if it appears that the steel-mill owners are combining or trying to combine in price fixing or wage fixing, or otherwise, for the purpose of stifling competition among themselves, and thereby thwarting the practical working out of the theory and principles upon which, according to the advocates of protection, the doctrine of protection rests."

In other words, Congress should have used and should now use its excise taxing power to prevent the protected manufacturers from abusing and prostituting the special privilege and self-aggrandizing opportunity conferred upon the manufacturers by the laying of an import tax; also to carry a fair share of their profits into the pay envelope of their wage earners and to protect all the people from the manufacturers' greed and avarice.

Had this been done, American manufacture would have been freed from undesirable world-wide competition and would have flourished; the manufacturers would have been very prosperous; but they could not then boast that they had taken billions of dollars out of the pockets of the consuming public and at the same time kept a fair share of it out of the pay envelopes of their host of employees.

The facts in the case show that thousands of tariff-protected manufacturers have been and are now making, taking, and keeping an unreasonable and exorbitant, a conscienceless, and in many instances a fabulous profit out of the protected business of manufacture. Congress should now use its excise power to make these manufacturers, as a matter of law, leave every dollar in excess of a reasonable profit in the pockets of the people by lowering the prices of their wares, or, if they persist in taking it out of the public purse, either make them put all the profit in excess of a reasonable profit in the pay envelopes of the six or seven million men, women, and children who toil for them in their protected industries or pay it into the Treasury of the United States.

Let Congress lay upon the privilege of manufacturing tariff-protected products a conditional excise tax fully as large as the tax laid upon such importations; make this excise tax payable at the end of the year, unless the manufacturer appears and affirmatively proves to the satisfaction of some court or commission established by law for that purpose that he has not made an unreasonable profit, or, if so, that he has put all of that profit in excess of what is reasonable into the pay envelopes of his wage earners; second, that he has not violated the antitrust laws of any State or of the United States.

It is obvious, in the first place, that this legislation would keep the foreigner out. Then the Republican cry, largely founded in truth, that the wiping out of tariff duties or the lowering thereof by the Democratic Party in power, thereby placing American markets and American workmen at the mercy of European or foreign competition, would lose its potency, efficacy, and every vestige of verity as a winning political shibboleth. Second, the legislation would not directly affect two-thirds of the manufacturers in the country, because it is statistically true that two-thirds of them are struggling for existence, or certainly at least not making an unreasonable profit.

The proposed plan does not embrace an attempt to fix prices or wages, does not attempt to fix the wage scale, does not attempt to dictate in advance, as the Interstate Commerce Commission dictates rates that railroads shall charge, and does not prescribe the manner or method in which the manufacturer shall conduct his business. It merely puts the manufacturer under bond, brings his entire business under direct competent Federal scrutiny—not control—and makes him disclose his profits at the end of the year. If they are found to be unreasonable, the taxing power takes hold of the unreasonable portion of the profits and covers them into the United States Treasury for the benefit of all the people, the victims of unjust prices, and gives Congress an opportunity to render justice to underpaid employees.

Is it constitutional? It is clearly so upon two distinct grounds. The plan of proposed legislation comes squarely within the definition of the constitutional principle laid down by the United States Supreme Court in the famous and very far-reaching decision in Veazie Bank against Fenno. In that case Congress laid an excise tax of 10 per cent upon State-bank notes intended for circulation. In the decision Chief Justice Chase, speaking for the court, said:

First, that the tax was not a direct tax, and therefore was not subject to the rule of apportionment; second, that it was an excise tax, and fully complied with the rule of uniformity; third, that the act levying the tax was clearly within the power of Congress, and that the destructive effect of the tax or the congressional intent to destroy a State bank as an institution was not subject to judicial review; that Congress may exercise its taxing power unwisely, oppressively, even to the point of destruction, and that the motive of Congress in laying the tax, or the manner in which Congress exercised it, and the effect which followed the imposition of the tax were not question for the court.

But the court went further and upheld the tax on another and distinct ground. It said:

"Having thus in the exercise of undisputed constitutional powers undertaken to provide a currency for the whole country, it can not be questioned that Congress may constitutionally secure the benefit of it to the people by appropriate legislation."

In other words, Congress having clear constitutional authority to coin money, fix its value, to emit bills of credit, and in a general and comprehensive way to establish and maintain a national currency system, it follows that Congress needs must have and does have the power to protect that currency system or policy from every form of interference or obstruction from any and every source.

Now Congress has the clear constitutional power to lay import duties or to tax imports. The tariff system, whether established and maintained for protective or for revenue purposes, has been and is one of the great fiscal policies of the United States; has been and is one of its chief sources of revenue. Congress, having the undisputed and indisputable power to establish and maintain this great revenue-breeding national policy,

* * * it can not be questioned that Congress may constitutionally secure the benefit of this great tariff system or policy to the people of the United States by appropriate legislation.

Wisely and accurately has the Supreme Court held that Congress, by appropriate legislation, may protect the exercise of one of its enumerated powers from abuse or prostitution or from the greed or avarice of any or all classes of its citizenship. If Congress has the power to lay import duties, to provide revenue, or otherwise to provide for the general welfare, Congress needs must have, and the Supreme Court has said that Congress does have the power to protect its tariff system or policy from every form or species of private exploitation, from every interference, or obstruction which tends to divert it from the accomplishment of the great public purposes for which the advocates of protection tell us it was instituted.

If Congress has the power—and with judicial sanction it has exercised that power almost since the birth of the Government—to tax all of its citizens for the benefit of six or seven million men, women, and children who work in manufacture it follows, as sure as night follows day, that Congress has the right to employ its excise taxing power to insure that the billions of dollars taken out of the pockets of the people by the manufacturers shall reach the men, women, and children, the wage earners, in whose name and for whose benefit the import tax is levied and maintained. (Veazie Bank *v.* Fenno, 75 U. S., 533–556.)

This decision was rendered in December, 1869, and on kindred subjects has been frequently cited and followed by the Supreme Court. It is to-day the fixed and settled law of the land.

The legislation I propose also comes squarely within the definition of the constitutional principles laid down by the United States Supreme Court in McCray *v.* United States (195 U. S., p. 27 to 64, inclusive).

In that case Congress, in compliance with demands of the dairy interests of the United States, laid an excise tax of one-fourth of 1 per cent upon the manufacture of oleomargarine, and a superexcise tax of 10 cents per pound upon the manufacture and sale of colored oleomargarine. This is the boldest assertion as well as the boldest application of the taxing power ever made by Congress.

The facts show that the colored oleomargarine was not unwholesome or in any way deleterious to health. The court took judicial notice that Congress, in the imposition of the 10 cents per pound excise tax, did not seek and did not expect revenue. It is patent to him who runs that the purpose and motive of Congress in levying the tax was to drive colored oleomargarine out of the markets of the United States as a competitor with butter.

This case was decided May 31, 1904. The opinion was written by Mr. Justice White, the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Four members of the court dissented. The dissent is important because it attests beyond controversy that every economic and constitutional phase and angle of the question were considered by the court

In a sweeping way the majority held that Congress's power to lay an excise tax was unlimited as to amount; and that the motive or purpose of Congress in laying the tax was not subject to judicial inquiry; that it was not a question for the court whether the exercise of the taxing power was wise or unwise, or oppressive or destructive. It further held that, because colored oleomargarine resembled butter, it was possible to practice a fraud upon the public in the sale of oleomargarine, and that this fact justified Congress in confining the tax to oleomargarine alone. In other words, that the mere fact that a fraud might be perpetrated brought the tax squarely within the doctrine of classification.

It is interesting to read the brief prepared by Mr. Solicitor General Hoyt, of the United States, because the majority decision approved and adopted every legal and constitutional contention therein made. In this brief will be found, stated in a succinct and convincing manner, the argument and authorities which abundantly support the conclusions of the court. This case has become the very foundation stone upon which the comprehensive taxing power is based. It has been invariably followed and approved by the court.

From the language used by the court is gathered the impression that the court itself questioned the morality and the justice of the tax imposed by Congress. This is disclosed by the headnote, fully supported by the text, which reads as follows:

"The judiciary is without authority to avoid an act of Congress lawfully asserting the taxing power, even in a case where to the judicial mind it seems that Congress had in putting such power in motion abused its lawful authority by levying a tax which was unwise or oppressive."

If the dairy interests of the country may come to Congress and persuade it to lay an excise tax, to handicap or destroy a palatable rival food product and the Supreme Court of the United States upholds the constitutionality of such a tax, laid for such a partisan purpose, surely these six or seven million men, women, and children, who work in the protected mines, mills, factories, and sweat shops of the United States may justly and constitutionally insist that Congress employ its excise taxing power to force their employer, the manufacturer, to give them a fair share of the fabulous sums of money which Congress, by virtue of its tariff duties, permits him to extort in their name and for their benefit from the pockets of all the people.

Surely the consuming public may justly and constitutionally insist that Congress, through the exercise of its excise taxing power, shall force the manufacturers to deliver to these millions of men, women, and children—wage earners—a fair share of the fabulous sums of money wrung from the public by the manufacturers. Surely the American wage earner and the American consumer, constituting 99 per cent of the country's population, may honestly and constitutionally insist, yea demand, that if Congress is going to continue to cut them off from the markets of the world through the practical operation of a protective, or, for that matter, a revenue tariff, Congress shall at the same time protect them from the greed and rapacity of the manufacturers through the operation of an effective conditional excise tax upon the privilege of manufacture and sale.

Justice demands this legislation. It is moral, honest, constitutional, and absolutely necessary. The American people may have a tariff system, may keep the foreigner out of American markets, may stimulate and promote the growth and development of the manufacturing interests, may insure good wages to the men, women, and children employed in manufacturing establishments—may do all these things and at the same time may restrain the manufacturers from exploiting the tariff laws to increase their fabulous wealth.

Give the manufacturer his reasonable profit. Deal liberally with him in fixing the percentage of profit that he may earn and take, but be sure that, as a matter of law, he shall be restrained from taking more. Put the manufacturer under bond and penalties, as is every other trustee known to the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence. Make him leave the money in the pockets of the people, or, if he persists in taking it out of the pockets of the people, make him put it in the pay envelope, where in morals, law, and good conscience it belongs; or in lieu of that make him put it in the Treasury of the United States.

Comprehend the decision in Munn *v.* State of Illinois, reported in 94 U. S., p. 113. That case is a clean-cut declaration of the vast power which the State exercises over private property in order to insure the general welfare.

It should be remembered that my plan operates against lawlessness and unreasonable profits alone. It taxes unrighteous acquisitions, not the struggle to make a living. It taxes results, not experiment. It saves American markets for American manufacture in so far as world-wide conditions make it advisable. But at the same time it keeps the manufacturer from levying exorbitant tribute upon the American people for rendering the services of a trustee.

It is not based upon the spirit of vengeance or revenge. "It seeks no indemnity for the past, but merely provides security for the present and future." It gives the manufacturer everything that the boldest advocate of protection claims he should have as the recipient of invaluable, extraordinary governmental favor.

In this article the author demonstrates that the Constitution, as construed by the United States Supreme Court, has conferred plenary power upon Congress to make the manufacturer tote fair with both his employees and the people.

In succeeding articles the author will demonstrate the moral and economic necessity for immediate congressional action.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, June 25, 1917.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include resolutions of the Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage passed on the 18th day of June, 1917.

The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas we women of the South are being called upon for service and for sacrifice in war, and are responding to the call with true nobility of spirit and purpose; and
Whereas we realize how unjust it is that we are discriminated against, as are women from many other sections of our country, merely on account of sex: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we women of the Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage, meeting this 18th day of June, 1917, at New Orleans, call upon our President and the Congress of the United States to cause to be passed quickly as a war measure the Susan B. Anthony amendment allowing the States themselves to pass upon the measure so that the women of the Nation may feel themselves part of our great country in its time of greatest stress, and in a position to protect their children, their homes, and themselves in the event of their men being called away in great numbers; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the party leaders in both Houses of Congress, and to the Louisiana delegation, with the request to Senator JOSEPH E. RANSDELL that they be read into the record of the Senate, and to Representative GARLAND DUPRÉ that they be read into the record of the House; and be it finally

Resolved, That the Louisiana Members of the United States Senate and National House be urged to do all in their power to have the amendment passed immediately as a war measure.

Mrs. W. J. O'DONNELL,
President Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT C. DICKINSON,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, the Lever food-control bill seeks to meet extraordinary conditions resulting from a world war. The food and fuel of the country must be conserved and used for the benefit of those entitled thereto. The producer and the consumer must be protected from the speculator and those who hoard and manipulate for selfish purposes the products of the soil and mine to satisfy their own greed. The country knows that great criminals have successfully sought to corner and hoard the products of the toil of others, in order that unearned money might be gathered by those who have not produced these necessaries.

Full authority by law should be given and a courageous prosecution under the law by the Department of Justice to the end that these criminal acts and conduct may cease. An honest administration of this law can do injury to no honest man or honest business. Food products have been controlled and withheld from use in order to enhance prices, sometimes destroying large quantities of food in order to increase the market price of the amount held and to be released by speculators for sale only when prices have been advanced enormously by cornering the market.

I hope this measure, when enacted into law, will help the situation, and that the food products of the country will be released thereby from the control of speculators and that the people will be protected from their extortions. There is no attempt in this measure to fix the maximum price of food products nor to interfere with the natural law of supply and demand.

In section 5 of this bill the farmer and the retailer are exempted from the provisions of the bill and should be. The farmer is entitled to the fruits of his labor and fair prices for the products of his farm and the retail merchant to reasonable profits on the goods sold to his customers. This bill meets a much-needed demand, and the Committee on Agriculture is entitled to great credit for its careful preparation, a large share of which credit is due to its very able chairman, Mr. LEVER, and I have cheerfully given my support to it, and I hope and believe that it will accomplish great good. If it has any defect in it other than the one that I will refer to, relating to common carriers, I feel sure they are minor defects and will in no way interfere with the administration of the law. That this great measure will be administered honestly and courageously by the President and Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, appointed to administer this measure and who serves without pay, I have not the least doubt; and I commend the same to the honest judgment and approval of the people of the country who believe in fair dealing and desire honest treatment. The great President of the United States and his trusted agent, Mr. Hoover, and his associates, who are giving their services without pay in the administration of this patriotic measure, are entitled to the confidence and support of the American people, for whose benefit this legislation is being enacted. I am willing to trust Woodrow Wilson, your President and mine.

I did not agree with the committee in seeking to exempt common carriers, and I offered an amendment to section 5 to strike out the words "or to any common carrier." My motion to strike out these words was opposed by the chairman of the committee and the words were permitted to remain in. In support of my amendment I stated that it was with some reluctance I offered any amendment to the bill, but that I knew of no good reason and no sufficient reason had been assigned for exempting common carriers or railroads from the provisions of this section of the bill.

It is familiar to the country that some common carriers or railroads have permitted or lent the use of their sidetracks and cars for long periods of time for the hoarding and storing of large quantities of food and fuel products, thereby lending aid to speculators who have sought to hoard the necessaries of life. The railroads are the great distributing public agencies of the country, and when they receive products of the farm and mine they should be forbidden from storing these products in their cars on their sidetracks or permitting the same, at the behest of large concerns or of their own will, bringing congestion instead of distribution.

At least the seal of approval should not be put on their conduct by exempting them from such evil practices. Great shipping interests have potent influences with the railroads of the country. Besides, many railroads own and control great coal mines and ship their own products over their own roads. And many parties speculating in food products own and control interests in the railroads, and absolute freedom of action ought not to be granted by the provisions of this bill to the railroads, and the President of the Nation be told that he must hands off as far as common carriers are concerned.

The bill does not even leave it to the discretion of the President, but by this very provision, which I sought to strike out by my amendment, the same evil practices are invited. Food products have been allowed to rot on the sidetracks of some of the great railroads instead of being sent to the market, while small shippers throughout the country were pleading for cars to send their stock and grain and other products to the market, losing their deserved profits, while large speculators were holding their products by aid of the railroads on sidetracks, shortening the supply in the markets and preventing small shippers from reaching the market because unable to secure cars. This action has inured to the benefit of the big shippers and speculators, hoarding products of the farm and mine.

By exempting the railroads the hand of the hoarding speculator is strengthened. With freedom of action on the part of common carriers to lend their services and aid to those who hoard the necessaries of life, this evil practice is liable to continue. Railroads may by the terms of this bill continue to be particeps criminis in these great crimes against the public. The evil practices will not end unless some positive authority be given to end them. Admitting the wrong done, the railroads themselves have not fixed penalties to remedy the evil. The Interstate Commerce Commission, by inaction, apparently consented to it, if it has authority to act. The Department of Justice, with full knowledge of the facts, has not seen fit to act in the premises; and now comes this great Committee on Agriculture, in this great bill, which seeks to take from the speculators control of food and fuel and inserts a provision by which these great criminal speculators can continue to use the railroads for storing and hoarding purposes, and the railroads or their managers, having a common interest with those who use the railroads, are protected from any interference by this exemption.

The chairman of the Agricultural Committee suggests that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House should deal with it. Suppose it does not, and suppose no other agency does, and this committee forbids interference by the President under the exemption in this bill, have you not offered to great interests a continual avenue of escape for their evil practices?

In opposition, it has been suggested that the railroads might not take out the license provided under this bill and the commerce of the country would stop. With any such defiance of the law the President would immediately take over control and operate the railroads during the war, as by law he is authorized to do. It has also been suggested that if my amendment should prevail and the Interstate Commerce Commission should refuse to grant the railroads a 15 per cent increase on freight rates, that the President might be authorized by this amendment to increase freight rates. Wild, indeed, is any suggestion of this kind. Nor would it by any means follow, nor grant any such power.

The failure to exempt the railroads from the provisions of this food-control bill would give no such authority to the President, and no man for one moment would believe that such action on the part of the President was possible.

Having great regard for the high character and ability of the members of this committee, and believing that they were prompted by no tender regard for these great corporate interests, that as common carriers control the commerce of the country, I regret that they were willing to place these common carriers, the great distributing agencies of the country, above and beyond this law and to say to the President of the United States, by this exemption, You must not, in the execution of this measure, lay your hand upon these great interests, for they are permitted by this measure to do as they will. I have confidence in the honesty of purpose of said committee, but speak here of the apparent effect of their action in making this exemption. I do not believe it was the desire of the committee that the railroads should be relieved of their duty to do their part in speedily helping to distribute impartially the products of the country, but I fear that by attempting to shift the responsibility they have made a mistake. I hope it may be corrected before this measure finally becomes a law. Notwithstanding this apparent error or mistake made by the committee, I hope the evil practices heretofore pursued or permitted may cease.

The act is entitled, in part, "An act for controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," and in its provisions it seeks equitable distribution and to facilitate the movements of foods, feeds, and fuel and to prevent scarcity, monopolization, hoarding, injurious speculation, manipulations, and private controls, affecting supply, distribution, and movement. Let the avenues of commerce—the railroads—do their full duty by the public and the speculator will be less able to rob the public.

This food-control bill is a great measure, and, in my judgment, is worthy of generous support, and as stated by the President—

> The object of the measure is not to control the food of the country, but to release it from the control of speculators and other persons who will seek to make inordinate profits out of it, and to protect the people against the extortions which would result.

When it becomes a law I hope the evils complained of will cease; and if not, that vigorous prosecutions may result, to the end that the full purpose of this proposed law may be accomplished.

Certain prohibition amendments have been placed in the bill forbidding the use of foods, and so forth, in the production of alcohol or of alcoholic beverages, with certain exceptions, which I voted for, and I insert herein sections 14 and 14a relating thereto:

> SEC. 14. That no person shall use any foods, food materials, or feeds in the production of alcohol, except for governmental, industrial, scientific, medicinal, or sacramental purposes, or of alcoholic beverages. Any person who willfully violates this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.
>
> SEC. 14a. That the President is authorized, if, in his opinion, it is necessary to conserve necessaries, to require any person having control of alcohol and distilled spirits, to turn over to the Government for use or redistillation, such proportion of said alcohol or spirits as the President may deem necessary to meet the requirements of the Government in the manufacture of munitions and other military and hospital supplies in so far as such use of redistillation would dispense with the necessity of utilizing products and materials suitable for food and feeds in the future manufacture of alcohol or distilled spirits for the purposes herein enumerated. Upon the failure of the person to comply with the President's requirement, the President is authorized to requisition and take possession of the alcohol and distilled spirits required to be turned over and to pay for same a just compensation to be determined by the President. And if the price so determined be not satisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid the amount prescribed by the President and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to the amount so paid, will be just compensation for such spirits or alcohol, in the manner provided by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code.

My vote in support of these prohibition features or amendments was in accord with my votes heretofore cast in Congress and in my own State on prohibition matters. Absolute national prohibition could not be written in this bill, as an amendment thereto. Only by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States can national prohibition be secured, and to amend the Constitution a joint resolution must pass both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority and then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States of the Union. Only such amendments as were relevant or related to the subject matter of the bill could be added as amendments thereto.

This vote, however, shows the sentiment here in favor of temperance legislation, and is in accord with the action of Congress, when last winter it voted to put the saloons out of business in the District of Columbia, and to forbid the further granting of license to sell intoxicating liquors in the city of Washington, the Capital of the Nation. It is in accord with the dominant sentiment of Congress, which passed a law forbidding the shipment of intoxicating liquors into prohibition States, and that forbids the advertising of intoxicating liquors by papers circulating in dry territory. It is in accord with the large majority sentiment in the State of Missouri, outside of the city of St. Louis, and especially in accord with the sentiment in the sixth district of Missouri, which I have the honor to represent.

When the country needs food to meet the demands of war conditions, it is especially appropriate that the grain of the country be conserved for the purposes of food rather than for the production of alcoholic drinks. The prohibition States are rapidly increasing and the time seems not far distant when national prohibition will be the established law of the land. In any event, Congress is responding to the growing sentiment of the land. Let the States and people thereof do their part and temperance and temperance laws will dominate the country.

"Hands Off, Uncle Sam."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. W. LARSEN,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted in relation to the food bill, I desire to extend my remarks for the purpose of inserting in the RECORD a very timely editorial appearing in the Cochran Journal, of Cochran, Ga., June 21, 1917. The editorial relates to proposed legislation detrimental to the production of one of our greatest food products, and suggests the necessity for organization to protect the interest of the producer. It is as follows:

"HANDS OFF, UNCLE SAM."

It seems to us that there is every reason why the farmer should get 25 or 30 cents per pound for cotton this fall. The causes contributing to this condition are perfectly natural and should be allowed to take their legitimate course without interference from the Government. If the price of cotton was a result of an illegal combination to boost the price for the benefit of a few, as it is in the case of many other products, it would be a different proposition. The old and ever potent law of "supply and demand" is doing the work.

By our commercial journals, and the very best sources of information we can obtain, we are informed that the demand for staple cotton goods is far in excess of the supply. Prices for cotton goods continue to rise and contract sales are continuing on a large scale for Government purposes. In the early part of the war, during the fall of 1914, the cotton exchanges were closed and cotton dropped to a low level. It seemed for a while that we were not going to have any market at all for the South's principal crop. Our people were in distress, absolutely panic-stricken. Ruin and bankruptcy stared us in the face. Mass meetings were held all over this country. In this emergency the Government was appealed to for help. They refused to interfere in any way. Conditions have been reversed. The world is demanding cotton, and more cotton. Uncle Sam wouldn't help us when we needed it, and now we don't need him he should keep his finger out of our pie.

There has been a suggestion from leading manufacturers that the Government should take the crop in hand and place an embargo on foreign shipments, ostensibly as a war measure, but really to depress the price. It is such a pity that our farmers are not thoroughly organized, so they could make a universal demand on our Congressmen to keep on guard.

The cotton manufacturers are organized. The farmers are not. There is an unprecedented demand for cotton goods at rising prices. Spindles are turning day and night. The factories are prosperous, and we believe it would be unwise and unjust for the manufacturers to make any movement that would depress the price of cotton.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert a resolution which I have just received from the Wisconsin State Council of Defense, wherein they state that investigation reveals that the American people are threatened with an entirely inadequate available supply of coal for the coming winter and with prices even more exorbitant than those now charged for that necessity. The following is the resolution:

Whereas investigation reveals that the American people are threatened with an entirely inadequate available supply of coal for the coming winter and with prices even more exorbitant than those presently charged for that necessity; and

Whereas investigation and authentic data conclusively establish that neither inadequacy of supply nor abnormally high prices can be justified as resulting from a lack of the existence of the undistributed and unmined product, but, on the contrary, conclusively establish that both are due essentially and entirely to a failure of production and proper distribution under the prevailing plan of control, operation, and manipulation; and

Whereas proper control of the price of this commodity to the consumer will not of itself avert the crisis that menaces the people. The available supply throughout the Nation must be augmented. Intensified production and proper distribution must be combined with control of prices if this crisis and the accompanying distress is to be averted: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Wisconsin State Council of Defense, That the Council of National Defense be, and is hereby, respectfully memorialized to recommend to and urge upon the President of the United States and the Congress the immediate assumption of control by the United States Government over the coal mines in the United States and the operation of these mines by the Federal Government pursuant to such plan as is necessary to assure an adequate supply of coal, and to perfect arrangements for the proper distribution thereof at reasonable prices, allowing to the owners of the mines a reasonable return for the coal mined and for the use of equipment and facilities.

I was also in receipt of a similar resolution from the school board of Milwaukee, in which they urge that immediate steps be taken to prevent this continued uprising in the price of coal. I presented this matter to Mr. Hoover, who will be the food administrator for this Government.

I wish to call attention to another letter which I wrote Mr. Hoover in regard to conditions existing in the District of Columbia:

At a social meeting of the small farmers of Prince Georges County, Md., held last week, one man made the statement that he drove 20 young hogs to the Bennings Abattoir in the District of Columbia a few days ago and that he was offered only 4½ cents a pound for the lot and that on his way home he paid 35 cents a pound for pork chops. I also know of a case of a farmer bringing in several barrels of kale and several boxes of head lettuce to the market, and could not sell either at 15 cents a barrel or 15 cents a box to the market people. He brought them back home and fed them to his hogs; and so many other such cases could be cited. I sincerely hope that this information will be of service to you. Should you want these people, I can tell you how they can be reached. All this right under our nose in the city of Washington.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 26, 1917.

Hon. HERBERT C. HOOVER,
Food Administrator, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOOVER: Since writing you yesterday I have learned of a few more interesting food conditions around Washington and which I am pleased to give you.

One Francis McKonkey, a farmer in Maryland near the District line, brought kale to the market and was unable to get enough to pay for picking, so has plowed it all under now. Another case in Virginia where they have allowed peas and strawberries to rot or dry up, because it does not pay to pick them. One man says it costs $1.10 a bushel to pick peas and market them and the best offer he could get at the market was $1.25 a bushel, and yet the grocers are charging 70 cents a peck; this is $2.80 a bushel. I understand that the least kale sells for is 25 cents a peck, and last year the farmers around the steel plant plowed under their kale, canteloupes, and cucumbers; it would not pay to pick them for the prices they would get at the markets. You might wonder why these farmers don't sell to the little grocers instead of taking them home and feeding them to the hogs. I understand that the small grocer is afraid to buy from the farmers for fear that they will be blacklisted by the large markets. I think that this is a matter that ought to be looked into.

Why not allow these farmers, they being producers, to peddle their porducts to the consumer direct and not hold a high license over his head in order to do so?

In the city of Milwaukee, my home town, and in fact many other cities, they are only too pleased to permit farmers to deliver direct to the consumer. This also ought to be looked into.

I shall try and keep you posted on such matters as soon as I can get a line on same.

Hoping that this is the kind of information you want, I am,
Yours, very truly,

WM. J. CARY.

The Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted Members of the House to extend remarks in the RECORD I include a letter received by me from the Baltimore Federation of Labor, as follows:

BALTIMORE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Baltimore, Md., June 25, 1917.

Hon. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: I am directed to respectfully advise you that the Baltimore Federation of Labor is very anxious to see the Lever food bill passed before July 1, as we feel that this measure will eventually be the means of lifting the burden of the high cost of living from the workingman and his family.

We sincerely trust that you use your influence in behalf of its passage. Accept our kindest regards.

Respectfully, yours,

HENRY F. BROENING,
Secretary Baltimore Federation of Labor.

Food and Fuel Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD COOPER,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent in this House a district in West Virginia that produces almost one-half of the coal produced in the State, and, as you are aware, West Virginia is second only in the production of coal to the great coal-producing State of Pennsylvania. Any law written upon the statute books in any way affecting the fuel supply of the Nation will, of necessity, be felt in the district I represent in this House.

There are about 1,000 coal mines at this time in the State of West Virginia engaged in the production of coal, and many of them also in the manufacture of coke. Over 79,000,000 tons of coal were produced and over 2,000,000 tons of coke manufactured for the year 1916.

There are over 80,000 men directly engaged in the mining of coal in West Virginia.

The very life of the State depends upon the coal industry. Over $70,000,000 are annually paid out in pay rolls by the coal companies operating in the State. The welfare of the towns, cities, and villages is tied up and dependent upon the success of the coal business. Every single railway, except a branch of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Co., was built into the State for the purpose of engaging in the transportation of coal, coke, and lumber. Over 400 lives are sacrificed annually in the coal mines of West Virginia in order that heat, power, and the light which reflects in this Chamber to-day may be given the Nation.

We do not deny the fact that during the past six months money has been made in the mining of coal in West Virginia and elsewhere, but we make the assertion that prior to 1917 if the banks of the State had called upon the coal companies of West Virginia to meet their obligations many of them would have been forced into bankruptcy. Year after year I have known managers of coal companies to be forced to go to the bank and borrow money to meet their monthly pay rolls. Confidence only in the superiority of West Virginia coal led them to continue to operate their properties and meet their pressing obligations.

A coal mine operating in West Virginia to-day, after an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and after years of unproductiveness, succeeding at last in placing the mine upon an earning capacity of 20 per cent to 30 per cent, must pay its income

tax, its capital-stock tax, and its excess-profits tax before it will be allowed to pay a penny in dividends to its stockholders. The stockholders of a plant years ago went into a wilderness and by foresight, nerve, and energy risked all, and uncovered to the world the possibilities hidden away in the hills and mountains awaiting man's thrift and industry to uncover them. The property has been worked for years, the value of it reduced to the extent the coal has been mined—you can not mine your coal and have it, too.

In making fair allowances for fair earnings on the capital stock of such corporations it is necessary to figure the life of the property, and unless the dividends earned will pay a fair return on the capital invested and return the capital itself within the life of the property the investment would be considered a poor one, indeed. The danger of explosions in coal mining, which may at any moment wipe out forever the investment of the stockholders in a coal mine, must be taken into consideration when the question of fair earnings is considered. Surely a man who has been braving all, risking life, property, everything to make his business a success should be given equal and fair consideration by his Government.

We do not feel the coal business should be singled out for regulation by the Government any more than the steel business should be regulated. And it might be well to consider the regulation and fixing of the price of a bale of cotton if you are to fix the price of a ton of coal. Personally I have no great objection to a maximum price being fixed on the ton of coal, provided the price is fixed at the point of production and provided the price is fair and makes due allowance on account of a state of war, increased cost of production by reason of labor costs, and cost of mining materials, and the present inefficient labor supply, as the labor supply is not as efficient as it was prior to the war. With a constantly decreasing efficiency in the man power employed at the mine by reason of the increase in wages paid by the operator a condition will result finally in the factor which will fix the maximum production of a coal mine. If a miner can to-day in six hours earn, by reason of the increase in wages, as much as he earned prior to the war in eight hours, he will not, in my opinion, work longer than six hours, and will thereby reduce the production of all the mines in the country to that extent. Instead of an increased wage scale tending to increase production it will decrease production.

Failure of the fuel supply is not the result of failure to develop coal property. It is rather the failure of the railway companies to keep abreast with coal development and furnish the needed equipment to move the coal. Thousands of acres of the best coal in the world await development in West Virginia. Only 2 per cent of the available coal of West Virginia has been mined. The coal supply of the State has scarcely been scratched.

It has been clearly demonstrated within the past year that after all production and consumption regulate prices. Whenever an article is scarce the article is high; potatoes are scarce and potatoes are high. Corn is scarce and corn is high; wheat is scarce and wheat is high, and even coal has not increased in price to the consumer much more than wheat has increased, and part of the increased cost of coal is due to the fact that everything which goes into the production of a ton of coal has increased in value, in many cases much more than 100 per cent. I deny the assertion that any attempt has been made by the coal people to restrict the output of coal. In my State, which is the second largest coal-producing State in the Union, the production of coal increased last year over 15,000,000 tons. The production has not decreased, but the consumption has increased faster than the production, and this in the face of the fact that the coal operators have expended millions in the improvement of their plants and the opening of new operations.

I believe I can state the reason for the present shortage of coal. You will remember in 1914 the coal production of the country was in bad shape. Business all over the country was at a low ebb. While the cotton growers were pleading with the people to buy a bale of cotton to keep their business from being destroyed many of the coal operators were pleading with the people to buy a ton of coal to keep their mines from closing down. Many mines closed, and not until after the war was declared did they reopen. As soon as the war came and the munition plants started to work there was an instant demand for fuel. Heavy contracts were taken by the coal people from the allies, many of the contracts at low figures. Soon plants started their mills on three shifts of eight hours each. Immediately these plants consumed three times the amount of fuel they consumed when working on a single shift, and the demand for coal became more heavy. The manufacture of munitions required the service of thousands of railroad cars, both to haul the rough material to their plants and to transport the finished material to the seacoast. In a short time a serious car shortage occurred, and the mines suffered the loss of the coal cars which should have been kept in the coal trade. Mines capable of loading 20,000 tons per month were reduced to a tonnage of 15,000 tons per month, as the car service was restricted. Prices of coal immediately increased. The plant which had contracted for its supply to run on an eight-hour basis and was attempting to run its plant 24 hours a day went into the market and offered high prices to secure the additional tonnage required. Coal operators having sold their coal, many of them for a period of years, at low prices naturally undertook to secure the higher prices when the contracts expired. Many coal companies still with long-time, low-price contracts on their books, some of which were constantly expiring held their coal for prices which would in the aggregate net the mine a fair margin of profit for its product.

The cost of production increased with the heavy demand for coal. Labor costs increased in the Pocahontas coal field at least 35 per cent. The restricted tonnage by reason of the failure of transportation caused thousands of men to seek employment elsewhere. Many of the men went to the munition plants, the plants that are working from 16 to 24 hours a day. The great Du Pont powder plant located at Hopewell, Va., a city constructed almost in a night, has been working their plant since the war on three eight-hour shifts. This plant consumes great quantities of Pocahontas coal, a consumption entirely new to the field. Highest wages are paid at the plant, and the labor used about this plant has been drawn to a great extent from the coal fields or from the section of the country the Pocahontas field depended upon to get its labor supply. Agencies to furnish labor have sprung up all over the country, and the coal operators have expended thousands of dollars attempting to bring men into the field with which to work their mines. Neighbor bidding against neighbor for men has occurred and is still occurring daily, and this results in great loss of energy from the loss of time consumed in miners moving from one plant to another. Every man is constantly looking for and receiving offers of better jobs. The unrest of labor is apparent, the high cost of living contributing to this unrest to a certain extent.

Material has increased in many cases over 100 per cent.

Taxes have increased materially, as all the coal companies are incorporated and pay their excess-profit taxes and income taxes, besides a heavy increase in the State taxes.

A system of guarding the coal plants has also sprung up. Attempts have been made to destroy some of the largest coal tipples in the Pocahontas field and practically all the operating companies have found it necessary as a matter of precaution to place heavy guards at the tipples, fans, power houses, and in some cases even in the coal mines, establishing a patrol of the entire coal plant. This all adds to the cost of a ton of coal. Recently the Interstate Commerce Commission allowed the railroads to increase the freight on coal. This also adds its mite to the final cost.

I am not upholding any operator who attempts to exact exorbitant profits. I am not in favor of the operator who holds his coal free from contract and forces the consumer to pay holdup prices. It can be said to the credit of the operators of the Pocahontas coal field that they are living religiously up to contracts. Coal contracts are usually made from year to year, from April 1 to April 1, and in many cases are made for a period of five years. I have in mind now a contract I closed myself four years ago with the Milwaukee Gas Co. for five years, and which runs until April 1 of next year, for 400,000 tons. The price for the coal sold under that contract netted the mine far less than $1 per ton. This contract has been filled each year, and we are now making the last year's shipments upon this low-price contract. All contracts are being conscientiously filled, operators standing a big loss upon every ton of coal shipped upon them; and, as an operator writing me the other day about these old contracts said:

> Manifestly, if we are to continue in business, this loss must be made up out of prices now prevailing, which prices are the result entirely of supply and demand; but it must be remembered that wages at least have been voluntarily increased; that supply and demand has made prices which permitted this.

The West Virginia operators may be accused and abused, but no man can accuse them of failing to live up to the sacred obligations of their contracts; and I contend it is unfair to ask them to fill their old contracts at ruinous prices and deny them the privilege of now selling their coal at prevailing prices.

I insert herewith a telegram received to-day from Hon. Wells Goodykoontz, president of the State Senate of West Virginia,

and which in clear language gives the reasons for the high prices of coal:

Press dispatches say that the Federal Trade Commission recommends that the Government take over coal mines and operate rail and water transportation. It is time for Congress to call a halt upon the wild plans of a lot of men who have lost their heads. The Government has already enough to do without invading the fields occupied by men and corporations engaged in th pursuits of civil life. If the step mentioned is taken, where will it end? It will only end when every activity of private life has been absorbed; coal, oil, gas, iron, cotton, rice, corn, wheat, lumber, and all else will come within bureaucratic control; manufacturing, agriculture, seafaring, and commerce will become bound hand and foot by officeholders ignorant to the same extent they think themselves wise. What is the trouble with the coal business? The facts are these: The present high prices have stimulated the greatest possible activity in the production of coal; little mines are being opened and coal hauled in wagons and loaded into railroad cars on commercial sidings. Thousands of acres are ready for development. The sole and only trouble is the lack of railroad ars. The railways have been allowed to increase their rates under promise to buy new equipment, but the new equipment has not been forthcoming. Let the Federal Commerce Commission compel the railroads to supply additional equipment to open sidings for new development and to require railroad officers and agents to dispose of their stock in coal-mining companies and coal-selling agencies, and it will not be long until the price of coal will recede to its normal figure. We do not want this country Germanized.

Lack of transportation for coal, in my opinion, is the real cause to-day of the high prices of fuel. The production of coal for 1916 in the Nation increased over 66,000,000 tons over the year 1915, and, in my opinion, the production of 1917 will show a big decrease over 1916, unless the railways adopt a better system of handling their transportation of coal. I have before me reports from eight coal companies in West Virginia in which I am interested, which show that for the first five months of this year there is a net shortage of 71,915 tons of coal and 5,411 tons of coke as compared with shipments for the same months in 1916. The car supply has been the worst we have experienced in years; operators begging for cars, men demanding work, and customers threatening litigation unless contracts were complied with, and no transportation to give relief at the point of production or consumption.

If the decrease in production above indicated is general all over the State, and I feel warranted in assuming it is, then we are forced to the conclusion, there being 1,000 mines in the State, the production of the first five months of 1917 as compared with 1916 has decreased 9,000,000 tons; at this rate of decrease the shipments from the State for 1917 as compared with 1916 would be 20,000,000 tons less.

The new operations in the State developed since 1916 will make up some of this shortage, but the facts remain that there is a heavy decrease in the production of the existing collieries and cars which could and would have been loaded by the existing collieries have been diverted to the new collieries. Instead of new cars being built by the railroads of the State for the new development, few additional cars have been added to the equipment of the railroads, and those already in business have been compelled to remain idle while new operations were given a proper share of the available equipment. To open new mines will not give any relief. New development only hinders car service. Quicker and heavier loading could be secured by closing down some of the small mines, but this would not be practical or fair to the small shipper. A production of 125,000 000 tons per year is easily within the limits of the mines of West Virginia producing coal to-day. Give the mines of West Virginia an adequate and certain car supply and the coal operators of West Virginia will not fail the Nation in its hour of need. We have never had a chance to show what we can do, and long for the opportunity and wait the hour when we can show to the world what can be accomplished in producing tonnage from the mines of West Virginia. The Nation will be given quick relief in needed coal, and, production being greater than consumption, will soon force prices to normal.

Statements received show that for the month of January one of the above-mentioned mines worked an average of 18 days; February, 12 days; March, 18 days; April, 15 days; and May, 17 days. The performance at this mine is about the average performance of the whole Pocahontas district, as the allotment of cars is on the loading-capacity basis. This restriction of tonnage caused by failure of transportation is, in my opinion, responsible for the increase in the cost of fuel to a very large extent. The small number of operating days increases the cost of production at the mine; the same overhead charges have to be paid whether the production is great or small. A mine's ability to increase production is also dependent upon the car supply. Miners will not remain at a mine unless given a reasonable number of working days each month, and certainly no new labor can be secured unless work is promised.

We have from time to time noted the rulings handed down by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Council of National Defense, having for their purpose the expedition of shipments; but so far, I am frank to say, we can not see any evidence of better coal-car supply.

Mr. Speaker, the price of coal to-day is fixed by the consumer, the consumers bidding against each other, and this, due to a shortage of coal, primarily caused by the great transportation companies of this country being unable to handle the freights of the country, and, secondly, on account of the increased consumption caused by munition plants working from 16 to 24 hours per day and thereby requiring two and, in many cases, three times as much coal as they heretofore required. This unprecedented demand has continued for the past year or more and can only be met by full transportation of coal. West Virginia can easily increase the production of coal 25,000,000 tons per year, and do it now. A full car service at the mines in West Virginia, without the opening of another mine, will give the Nation at least 25,000,000 more tons of coal for 1917 than we produced in 1916. We increased our production over 15,000,000 tons in 1916 over 1915, and with a full car supply can readily increase the production over 1916 25,000,000, and this in face of the fact that one-half of the year of 1917 is gone. The commissions established here for the purpose of doing things can get results, and get results quickly, if they will give coal the right of way, and give us cars; cars and more coal cars at the mines; and the price of coal will within a few weeks drop less than $2 per ton at the mines. Recently the railroads were allowed to increase their rates on the plea that they needed new equipment. They are taking the increased rates, but their service is demoralized and the new equipment is not yet in sight.

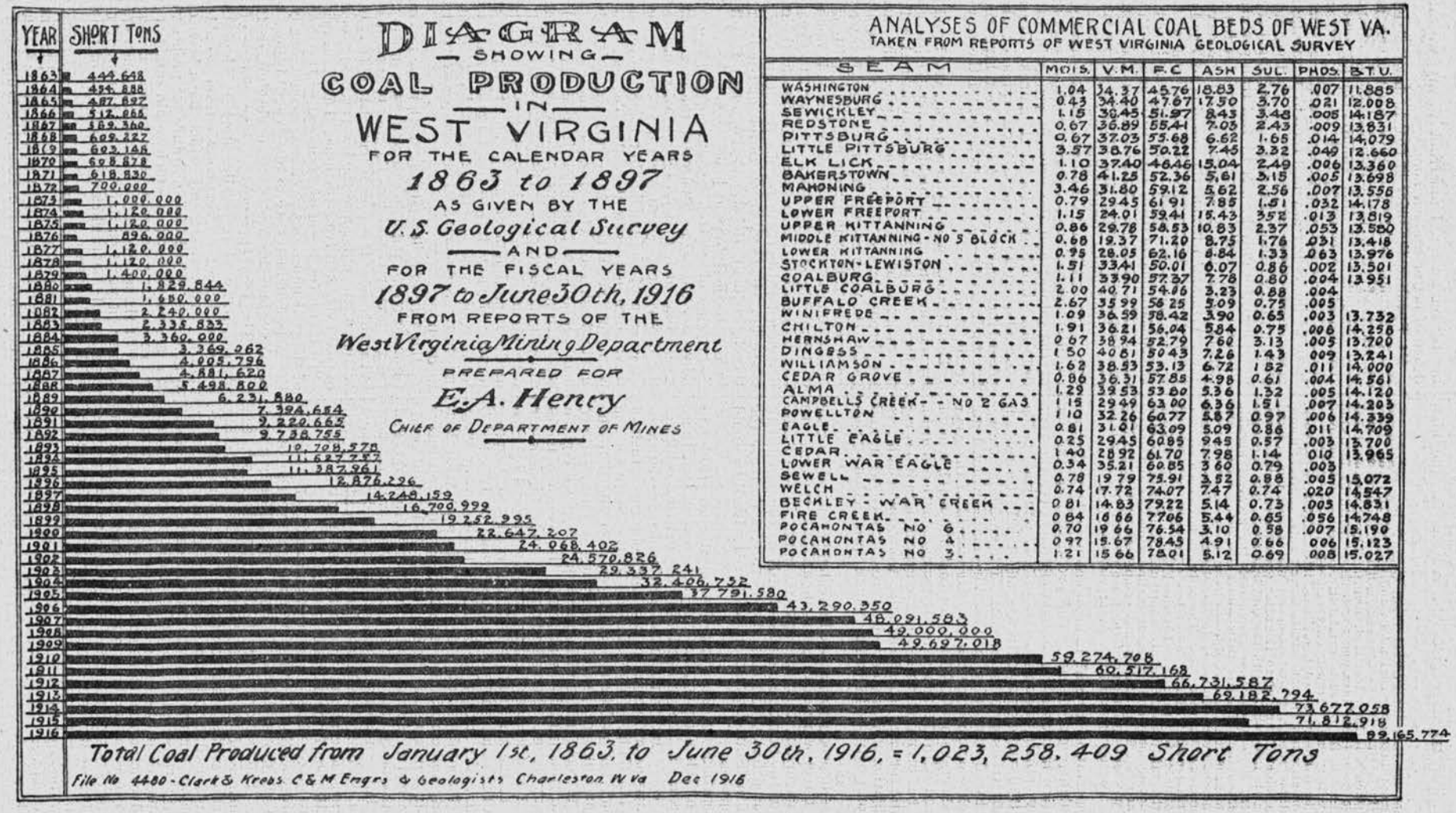
The 1,000,000 men who are to-day employed in the coal industry of the Nation, furnishing over 60 per cent of the freight traffic of the country, which coal furnishes the power to drive the wheels of industry, are under the management of as intelligent class of men as we have in this country. Temporarily, the price of fuel is high; but when we think of the long, long, lean years which have marked the life of the coal industry of the country we should remember it is due to the low price of coal that has cost the lives of over 3,000 coal miners per year, and this sacrifice is in the main due to the consumer, who has driven a hard bargain for his fuel supply. Low prices for coal cause low efficiency in operation and low wages to the miner, thereby reducing the standard of wages we all boast about when talking to the toilers at home.

Government control, regulation, and even operation of coal mines are offered as a cure for the present high fuel prices. I would like some man to tell me what branch of public service the Government operates cheaply? Has it not rather been the experience of the public that under Government operation extravagance and waste prevail? The men in charge of the coal plants of the Nation, as a rule, are men who have grown up in the business. They have in many cases been promoted to managers after serving their time as trapper boys, mule drivers, coal diggers, mine foremen, and superintendents. Many of them are mining engineers. Their mines are laid out and operated with a care equal to the operation of a railway. In order to produce maximum efficiency no attempt is made for a great number of years to produce large quantities of coal. A small tonnage is rather preferred in order to conserve the property and in the end show a 90 per cent recovery of the available coal in the mine.

Mine maps are looked upon with pride by competent and careful managers. It is not altogether the amount of money earned from a property, which is the aim of the careful mine manager, but rather how few tons of coal have been destroyed in the operation of the mine, and the low percentage of loss of life per ton of coal extracted from the mine, that is the pride of the manager.

To turn over to the Government of this Nation the operation of the coal mines of the country would simply result in ruin to the largest industry we have. We all believe in conservation of property, but this would mean absolute destruction of properties. The men appointed to take charge of and operate the properties would feel called upon to show their ability to do things at once; no regard whatever would be taken of the future. Properties to-day which have been developed under a system looking only to the future for profits would be subjected to a system of hogging which would in a few months make the property utterly worthless as a paying mining proposition. The work of thousands of the best mining men of our country, who have spent years in development and study of their particular mines, would be sacrificed to the greed of the appointee to show quick production.

I realize the fact it is America against Germany; that we are at war and must win at any and all cost; but as careful business men let us not attempt to do something by legislation which in the end can not be but a complete failure in practice.



ANALYSES OF COMMERCIAL COAL BEDS OF WEST VA.
TAKEN FROM REPORTS OF WEST VIRGINIA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

SEAM	MOIS.	V.M.	F.C.	ASH	SUL.	PHOS.	B.T.U.
WASHINGTON	1.04	34.37	45.76	18.83	2.76	.007	11.885
WAYNESBURG	0.43	34.40	47.67	17.50	3.70	.021	12.008
SEWICKLEY	1.15	30.45	51.97	8.43	3.48	.005	14.187
REDSTONE	0.67	36.89	55.41	7.03	2.43	.009	13.831
PITTSBURG	0.67	37.03	55.68	6.62	1.65	.014	14.079
LITTLE PITTSBURG	3.57	38.76	50.22	7.45	3.32	.049	12.660
ELK LICK	1.10	37.40	46.46	15.04	2.49	.006	13.360
BAKERSTOWN	0.78	41.25	52.36	5.61	3.15	.005	13.698
MAHONING	3.46	31.80	59.12	5.62	2.56	.007	13.556
UPPER FREEPORT	0.79	29.45	61.91	7.85	1.51	.032	14.178
LOWER FREEPORT	1.15	24.01	59.41	15.43	3.52	.013	13.819
UPPER KITTANNING	0.86	29.78	58.53	10.83	2.37	.053	13.580
MIDDLE KITTANNING - NO 5 BLOCK	0.68	19.37	71.20	8.75	1.76	.031	13.418
LOWER KITTANNING	0.95	28.05	62.16	8.84	1.33	.063	13.976
STOCKTON-LEWISTON	1.51	33.41	50.01	6.07	0.86	.002	13.501
COALBURG	1.11	33.90	57.37	7.78	0.80	.004	13.951
LITTLE COALBURG	2.00	40.71	54.86	3.23	0.88	.004	
BUFFALO CREEK	2.67	35.99	56.25	5.09	0.75	.005	
WINIFREDE	1.09	36.59	58.42	3.90	0.65	.003	13.732
CHILTON	1.91	36.21	56.04	5.84	0.75	.006	14.258
HERNSHAW	0.67	38.94	52.79	7.60	3.13	.005	13.700
DINGESS	1.50	40.61	50.43	7.26	1.43	.009	13.241
WILLIAMSON	1.62	38.53	53.13	6.72	1.82	.011	14.000
CEDAR GROVE	0.86	36.31	57.85	4.98	0.61	.004	14.561
ALMA	1.29	39.53	53.80	5.36	1.32	.005	14.120
CAMPBELLS CREEK - NO 2 GAS	1.15	29.49	63.00	6.36	1.51	.007	14.203
POWELLTON	1.10	32.26	60.77	5.87	0.97	.006	14.339
EAGLE	0.81	31.01	63.09	5.09	0.86	.011	14.709
LITTLE EAGLE	0.25	29.45	60.85	9.45	0.57	.003	13.700
CEDAR	1.40	28.92	61.70	7.98	1.14	.010	13.965
LOWER WAR EAGLE	0.34	35.21	60.85	3.60	0.79	.003	
SEWELL	0.78	19.79	75.91	3.52	0.88	.005	15.072
WELCH	0.74	17.72	74.07	7.47	0.74	.020	14.547
BECKLEY - WAR CREEK	0.81	14.83	79.22	5.14	0.73	.003	14.831
FIRE CREEK	0.84	16.66	77.06	5.44	0.65	.056	14.748
POCAHONTAS NO 6	0.70	19.66	76.54	3.10	0.58	.007	15.190
POCAHONTAS NO 4	0.97	15.67	78.45	4.91	0.66	.006	15.123
POCAHONTAS NO 3	1.21	15.66	78.01	5.12	0.69	.008	15.027

I insert herewith a statement showing decreases in tonnage of eight coal companies in the Pocahontas district in West Virginia for the first five months for the year 1917, as compared with the same period in 1916, due entirely to failure of transportation.

Also a statement showing comparison of prices of mine supplies and the increase therein.

And a further statement showing coal and coke production in West Virginia for the year ending June 30, 1916.

Comparison of coal and coke tonnage over scales in 1916 and 1917.

[Net-ton basis—all fractions dropped.]

May.	Coal.				Coke.			
	1916	1917	Over.	Short.	1916	1917	Over.	Short.
Mill Creek	19,464	13,424	.....	6,040	1,913	1,791	.....	125
Coaldale	6,827	5,489	.....	1,338	.....	.....	.....	.....
McDowell	30,904	19,935	.....	10,969	2,834	1,827	.....	1,007
Crystal No. 1	6,619	6,630	11	.....	3,600	3,128	.....	472
Crystal No. 2	8,613	5,402	.....	3,211	.....	.....	.....	.....
Thomas No. 1	10,360	8,537	.....	1,823	2,179	1,832	.....	347
Thomas No. 2	7,165	6,726	.....	439	.....	.....	.....	.....
Flat-Top	7,627	4,958	.....	2,669	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iroquois	2,680	5,581	2,901	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Algoma	.....	.....	.....	.....	744	821	77	.....
Total	100,259	76,682	2,912	26,489	11,273	9,399	77	1,951
Net difference	.....	.....	.....	23,577	.....	.....	.....	1,874
January to May, inclusive	.....	.....	.....	71,915	.....	.....	.....	5,411
Percentage	.....	.....	.....	16.03	.....	.....	.....	9.82

Comparison of prices on mine supplies.

[Crozer Coal & Coke Co., Elkhorn, W. Va.]

Materials.	Prices on or about July 1, 1914.	Prices May, 1917.	Per cent increase.
Anvils, per pound	$0.10	$0.17	70
Bolts:			
Machine	(1)	(3)	286
Carriage	(2)	(4)	318
Track, per keg	6.00	8.00	33⅓
Babbitt metal (Majestic), per pound	.25	.30	20
Bonds ⅜ by 30 inches, per cwt.	10.00	10.10	80
Brattice cloth "SV", per square yard	.18	.30	66⅔
Brick (all hard red), per M.	8.45	11.50	36
Checks (brass mine), per pound	.28	.65	132
Cast-iron water pipe, per ton	25.40	50.00	99
Coil chain (¼-inch), per pound	.06	.11½	87½
Cement, per barrel	1.79	2.65	48
Dynamite caps, per M.	6.00	17.00	183
Dynamite (40 per cent), per pound	.13	.21½	63½
Coke forks (14 tine), each	1.50	2.00	33⅓
Gauge glasses (⅜ by 14), per dozen	3.62	5.16	43
Sweeds iron, 1½-inch, round, per cwt.	3.18	15.00	372
Angle iron for mine cars, do	2.25	6.00	166
Soft steel, flat and round, do	2.10	5.50	162
Sheet iron, ⅛-inch, do	2.75	9.50	246
Barrett track jacks, each	10.00	16.67	67
Electric locomotives, 18-ton size, do	3,570.00	5,300.00	50 / 48½
Stationary motors:			
20 horsepower, 500 volts, 1,150 revolutions per minute, each	438.00	604.00	38
15 horsepower, 500 volts, 1,150 revolutions per minute, each	264.85	404.80	53
Nails, per base	1.80	4.40	145
Linseed oil, per gallon	.59	1.30	120
Picks, 6-7, railroad, per dozen	4.25	7.20	70
Pipe:			
Black, 4-inch, per cubic foot	23.98	64.31	168
Black, 3-inch, do	16.83	42.08	150
Black, 2-inch, do	8.14	20.35	150
Black, 1½-inch, do	6.05	15.13	150
Black, 1-inch, do	3.74	9.35	150
Rope, transmission, per pound	.15½	.39	152
Rails (light sizes), per ton	27.50	65.30	137
Roofings:			
Parlod, per square	2.50	3.50	40½
Proslate, do	3.50	4.25	21½
Staples, galvanized, per pound	.03	.04¾	58
Sandpaper, per dozen sheets	.10	.17½	75
Saws (hack blades), per dozen	.75	1.00	33⅓
Shovels (Bluestone), do	7.50	15.00	100
Shoes (mule No. 3), per keg	4.25	6.50	53
Soda ash (58 per cent), per cwt.	.65	3.65	461
Solder (wire), per pound	.35	.42	20
Spikes:			
½-inch, per hundred	1.60	5.55	247
⅝-inch, do	1.80	6.00	233
Harness leather, per pound	.40	.80	100
Tool steel, B. D, do	.07½	.16	113
Valves, globe:			
4-inch, each	9.60	16.50	72
1½-inch, do	2.63	5.26	123
Waste No. 1, colored, per pound	.04¾	.13½	184
WRT washers	5.50	13.00	83
Copper trolley wire, per pound	12½-20	.45	125-260
Wheels (mine car trucks), per set	$27.50	$50.00	82
Mine car lumber, per thousand	26.00	33.00	27
Tubes (boiler, 4-inch), per foot	.27	.80	196
Hay, per ton	18-20	24.00	20-33⅓
Mixed mule feed, do	34.00	71.50	110
Corn, per bushel	.87½	1.91	120
Oats, do	.50	.87½	75

[1] 65 and 15 off list. [2] 15 off list. [3] 70 and 5 off list. [4] 10 off list. [5] Off list.

Coal and coke production in West Virginia.

PRODUCTION OF COAL AND COKE BY COUNTIES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1916.

[Coal in tons of 2,240 pounds and coke in tons of 2,000 pounds.]

	Coal.	Coke.
Barbour County	1,096,358	36,984
Boone County	631,664	.....
Braxton County	316,445	.....
Brooke County	594,909	.....
Clay County	479,320	.....
Fayette County	10,367,505	253,074
Gilmer County	121,036	.....
Grant County	178,420	.....
Greenbrier County	35,692	.....
Harrison County	4,813,808	32,282
Kanawha County	5,766,941	.....
Lewis County	23,482	.....
Lincoln County	109,406	.....
Logan County	8,162,390	.....
Marion County	6,189,891	88,441
Marshall County	1,018,842	.....
Mason County	109,655	.....
McDowell County	18,999,079	996,403
Mercer County	3,519,952	155,193
Mineral County	639,341	.....
Mingo County	2,938,443	.....
Monongalia County	501,101	92,792
Nicholas County	182,854	.....
Ohio County	643,840	.....
Preston County	1,246,189	142,219
Putnam County	531,589	.....
Raleigh County	6,099,519	.....
Randolph County	684,556	114,415
Taylor County	1,192,552	14,101
Tucker County	1,313,348	13,097
Upshur County	140,013	18,629
Wayne County	63,451	.....
Wyoming County	432,177	.....
Small country mines	300,000	.....
Total	79,443,768	1,957,632

Increase in coal production over the production for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, 15,325,091 gross tons.

Increase in coke production for same period 854,628 net tons.

The fatal accidents for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, were 399, a decrease in the fatalities of 56 under last year.

EARL A. HENRY.

The Speculator is the Food Pirate and Not the Farmer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, food regulation in this country is an unexplored field and there must be the exercise of wisdom as well as caution lest great injustice be done the producer and the program fall short of relieving the consumer. The bill seems to be one of much useless if not meaningless verbiage, and possibly in some places confusing if not incomprehensible. It is needless to further discuss what we are going to do about conserving our alleged present supply of foodstuffs, for there is no

reserve in the country. That long since left the hands of the producers and was shipped to the allies in Europe. What we have to deal with in a practical way is the crop now producing and soon to be harvested, and not with what it has been stated we *have*, for we do not have a surplus beyond our own immediate needs. Just so the provisions of this bill strike at the root of the trouble and bring about lower prices for products necessary to sustain human life, which we all believe, if efficiently and properly administered, will begin and end with the speculator and the man who hoards. Furthermore, it will in nowise affect the farmer, who has not been getting anything like the prices charged the ultimate consumer on account of the avarice of the speculator. It is all a very short horse to curry and the bull's-eye of the situation is plainly visible, only by this legislation we want to get the right man and get him speedily—and that man is not the farmer but the food speculator, the pirate who fixes prices.

I wish to file with my remarks two articles I recently contributed to the Lewisburg (Pa.) Saturday News:

PLACING THE BLAME.

Referring to our files of 25 years ago, we find that at that time butter was selling in the retail markets at 24 cents per pound, eggs 24 cents per dozen, lard 10 cents per pound, potatoes 40 cents per bushel, ham 14 cents, shoulder 10 cents per pound, sides 10 cents, and flour 70 cents per one-eighth barrel. Ten years previous to that time butter was selling for 12 cents per pound and eggs sold for 10 cents per dozen.

The above sounds quite reasonable when compared with the prices of these commodities to-day or as given before the Senate committee on Tuesday by "Some Hoover," as the much-vaunted food dictator has been characterized by Senator REED, the Democratic antifood-price legislator in the upper branch of Congress. Hoover does not go back 20 years to find what has been done by the middlemen, or food pirates, but compares to-day's prices with the prices prevailing four months ago, and he figures the increase to be 51 per cent. This increase is on top of a still greater increase which took place following the campaign of 1912, when the Democratic slogan was, "We'll bring down the cost of living."

There can be no question about a piratical sort of regulating now going on to keep prices at the highest point the people can pay for something to eat, and it is just as certain that the farmer who actually raises the produce has not been getting even a share of this increase commensurate with the increase in the cost to him of producing foodstuff during recent years, and especially since the war started and the munition factories have commandeered all excess labor at high wages.

To win the war the people are ready to go on short rations and suffer in many ways, but the mistake should not be made in this regulatory program with respect to consumption by striking at the wrong end of the dilemma—the farmer. The farmer should be protected in his rights to the benefits of a war-stimulated market, while the increased cost of production must be taken into consideration just as all this is given allowance in every other branch of business. But the farmer is not the man who needs regulating, for he pretty generally sells when he can get a reasonable profit.

The fellow to hit, and hit hard, is the food speculator, the man who buys wheat at $1.25 and holds it in the elevators for a dollar profit, and the man who buys milk at 5 cents per quart and sells it over the city restaurant counter at 40 cents per quart. The same chap also gets hold of the beef, pork, lamb, and lard supply and the public gets the squeeze and the farmer unjustly gets the blame.

If the President and Hoover are earnestly after the speculator and middlemen, then let them go to it, and Heaven will bless them in their efforts to reduce the cost of living; but if they design to regulate the farmer they will miss their mark, discourage production, and lead us into more trouble than "keeping the country out of war."

"REMITTANCE MEN" COULD PRODUCE AN ABUNDANCE OF FOOD.

Although England is being harassed on land and sea as never before in her brilliant history of conquest and ability to take care of herself by alliance and otherwise, there are said to be in the United States at this time 500,000 British slackers, or as the English term designates them, "remittance men." When the war in Europe commenced to look serious these "remittance men" jumped the reservation and got as far away as possible from the trenches in France, coming here and locating in remote parts of British Columbia and other English dependencies where they receive remittances from home.

The New York American in an editorial of marked vigorous protest calls upon Great Britain to first conscript these slackers and hundreds of thousands more in England, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand before one American soldier be allowed to go to Europe to fight England's battles and thereby save not democracy but England's hereditary throne and feudal aristocracy. Since England has not invoked conscription to save herself, the American can not see the justice of sending conscripted American armies to the trenches when hundreds of thousands of Englishmen are available, and who, if they all went to the front, could beat down the Kaiser's forces and bring peace without the sacrifice of American man power.

This country has shown an eager willingness to help make the world safe and join in everywhere establishing the right of the people to rule. Money is pouring out and men are training for the final blow, and America will be felt in the cleaning up of Kaisers and despots of the so-called divine kind and all kinds, but right now the American believes would be a good time for England to get into the conscription business and bring back home to fight these 500,000 English "remittance men" in the United States, and a million or more in Canada and other British possessions, while America is preparing to save her from annihilation by Germany.

The allies alone are beaten, but the United States can save them and be at the council table when peace terms are made, and in such a commanding position as to give Italy, England, Ireland, Germany, Servia, and Greece their only chance of casting off their kings and royal privileged bosses. But there should be no "slacker" or "remittance" nations among those seeking this freedom or democracy, least among them once world-dominant and proud England.

THE DOOM OF MONARCHY.

The divine right of any man to control the action of any other man against his will is a fallacy which is riding to oblivion over the battle fields of Europe.

Lincoln's broad view of government is soon going to be realized in all the half-free countries of Europe. While England is far from being a despotism, the Empire is nevertheless an autocracy with hereditary rights and entailments, and is therefore only half free. It is the same with Germany, but with even more centralized power. Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Bulgaria, and a few more are on this half-free and half-slave list. And it was Lincoln who said of this country that it could not endure half slave and half free. It was Dr. John Howard Harris, of Bucknell University, in presenting his inspiring theme under the caption of "The World's Spiritual Commonwealth," who declared that "in government if any are to be free and safe then all must be free and safe." This sentiment is as practical as it is immortal, and we see it working out to-day in the blood-soaked trenches of Europe.

There can be no continued or prolonged halfway business about self-government or individual sovereignty. The world is not going to absorb the ideas of centralized but liberalized power through the agency of limited monarchies or constitutional monarchies which the Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie free-scholarship funds only mask, and which are really a bribe to promote support among intellectuals. Truly a king who is subject to the will of a ministry or a parliament is merely a puppet, but where there is hereditary monarchy or kingship, with entailment laws and hereditary rights and privileges there you have aristocracy and autocracy and the plebeian under one government, and the class distinction is too apparent to admit of any argument on the subject.

This half-slavery business was brought about with the downfall of absolutism as a consequence of the French Revolution, and is a farcical compromise between the masses and the royal nabob bosses. But all this is apparently booked to climb from the royal perch with the crown and scepter relegated to the museum of novel and obsolete antiquities. This year the world is being reminded of what Martin Luther did about arbitrary power four centuries ago, and now for real freedom of thought and action there comes a renewed fascination, and for the foolish idea that a king can rule a people better than they can rule themselves the end seems near. We have seen all sorts of bespangled royalty in Washington during the past six months, and they are about the only down-and-out people we have little pity for. These world paupers coming to the great American democracy for help to prop up the tottering thrones of Europe was a wasted voyage, for after this war we predict another revolution that will upset and forever destroy every throne in Europe, beginning on the banks of the Thames and winding up on the Bosphorus and all around the Baltic Sea. The people are not going to ever again engage in such a war for they will not allow any privileged, divine right class to so shape affairs by false and fraudulent usurpation through the easy name of "limited monarchy," or "constitutional monarchy," as to make them the victims of secret treaties, and be led into the shambles for the holiday of brutal emperors, kings, and ministries.

The king-governed countries of Europe have been a failure in accomplishing equality for mankind, and they are doomed to an early and well-deserved eclipse. Then will follow freedom and genuine individual sovereignty which will supplant the inhumanity which has for ages caused the masses to bend under the burdens and sorrows imposed by self-appointed rulers.

Food Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 27, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a telegram just received from the mayor of the city of New York:

NEW YORK, *June 26, 1917.*

Hon. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Without wise conservation of our food supply the people of New York City will find themselves in a difficult position next winter, which no amount of local effort will be able to correct. The welfare of the people of New York City will depend upon the application of a national program of food conservation. The government of this city will voluntarily cooperate with the National Government in every possible way, but I think it is highly important that the hands of President Wilson and his administration should be strengthened by the passage of the Lever bill.

JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, *Mayor.*

A Bill (H. R. 4961) to Provide for the Controlling and Distribution of Food Products and Fuel.

Statement of Hon. JOHN I. NOLAN, of California, regarding his attitude on the so-called prohibition amendments as well as the action of the committee in reference to the amendment proposed by Mr. KEATING exempting labor organizations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the Lever bill, H. R. 4961, because the time had come in this country, in my estimation, when the Government has to step in and protect the consumer from the food speculator and the food pirate. I have already expressed my views during the debate on this bill on this particular phase of the measure at some length. I wish to confine myself to section 13 of the original bill as reported by the committee and the so-called Barkley and Webb amendments. Originally the provision as reported by the committee, if adopted and passed by the House, would have placed in the hands of the President of the United States, as a war measure and for the purpose of conserving our food supply, the power to prohibit the use of grain and other cereals in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages which, in the judgment of those that have given this food-control question careful study, was as far as we should have legislated on this important question at the special session of Congress. We would have left this matter to the discretion of the President and the gentlemen having the administration of this important law in charge—the fair way, I believe, to settle the question of war prohibition—and we could safely have left the question of national prohibition to the determination of Congress in normal times, when the question of the submission of a constitutional amendment could be met fairly and squarely and every angle thoroughly debated and settled to the satisfaction of both sides.

This important question received little or no consideration when the so-called prohibition amendments were adopted by the committee. They were debated hurriedly and with only a few hours' discussion. The question of revenue was given no consideration at all. The average advocate of prohibition, whether in or out of Congress or whether in time of war or in time of peace, offers no substitute for the internal-revenue tax on wine, beer, and liquors, and while they might justify their position in normal or peace times they have no logical reason to advance for the wiping out of about $450,000,000 of revenue without any suggestion in the form of a substitute. The question that this House and the Senate will have to decide in a short time, provided the prohibition sections as passed by the House are adopted, is where this additional $450,000,000 of revenue is coming from. The Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate say they do not know. Will the prohibitionists tell us?

The people are staggering under high costs now, and they will be staggering under additional tax burdens shortly, and it looks as if these taxes will be direct and will fall on the shoulders of the consumers, who are getting little or no consideration now, and if the present condition continues along with the House provision contained in section 13 they will receive less, as undoubtedly there will be further effort made to raise taxes on the products that the ordinary man consumes, and this has already been started by levying taxes on tea, coffee, sugar, and other commodities.

The Lenroot amendment, proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin, who is himself in favor of prohibition, would have exempted light wines and beer and confined the Barkley amendment to whisky and other distilled spirits. This amendment was defeated in Committee of the Whole by a few votes. I supported this amendment and was in hopes that it would carry. It would have given the people of this country an opportunity to have consumed beverages of very little alcoholic content and probably have gone a great ways during the war to eventually solve this liquor problem. The State of California was vitally interested in the Lenroot amendment, as the wine industry of our State, which represents an investment of $150,000,000, will be wiped out completely and without notice if the Barkley amendment prevails. One fact stands out in connection with the Lenroot amendment: At least two Members of the California delegation voted and worked against the adoption of this amendment. The vote upon it was close enough in my estimation to mean that the responsibility largely rests upon the shoulders of some of our delegation if the wine industry of California is destroyed.

Another matter to which I desire to call attention is that the committee decided to reject the amendment offered by Mr. KEATING, of Colorado, which would have guaranteed the labor organizations of this country the benefits of sections 6 and 20 of the Clayton antitrust law. When certain sections of the food-control bill were pointed out by the representatives of labor as being rather in conflict with sections 6 and 20 of the Clayton law, it was agreed that the bill was not intended to apply to labor organizations, and these gentlemen signified a willingness to have the Keating amendment adopted, as instanced by Mr. Hoover's letter to the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture; but notwithstanding this fact, the chairman of the committee, Mr. LEVER, made a bitter fight against the adoption of the Keating amendment, taking the position that labor unions should not be exempted from the provisions of this act even though the provisions of the bill might conflict with sections 6 and 20 of the Clayton antitrust law. Note the difference in the treatment accorded the farmers' unions and organizations as compared with the treatment accorded the organizations of labor in this country. The farmers are guaranteed a minimum price for their commodities and are exempted from all the penalties, whether as individuals or combinations, so that the protection given the farmer in section 6 of the Clayton Act is preserved to him and his organization but denied to labor. In other words, the one individual who is protected from every angle in this bill and guaranteed is the farmer, but the same sort of protection is denied the worker when organized.

I have some hope that the Senate, in considering this measure, will correct this injustice as well as to take a broad view and legislate in a common-sense way in section 13 with relation to prohibition. I voted for this bill because I believe under Mr. Hoover's administration an honest attempt will be made to solve the present problem of high prices, and as this was the original intention of the bill, I supported it, despite amendments to section 13 and the disregard by the committee of the labor-exemption amendments.

Silt-Diversion Works at Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4285) making appropriations for the construction of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with leave granted to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I offer a few comments on the following paragraph of the rivers and harbors bill (H. R. 4285):

Los Angeles Harbor, Cal.: For maintenance, $25,000, and for improvement in accordance with the report submitted in House Document No. 896, Sixty-third Congress, second session, and subject to the conditions set forth in said document, $50,000: *Provided*, That no expense shall be incurred by the United States for acquiring any lands required for the purpose of this improvement; in all, $75,000. Such modification as may be recommended by the Chief of Engineers and approved by the Secretary of War for the plan of silt-diversion works adopted by the river and harbor act approved July 27, 1916, for the protection of Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, in accordance with the report printed in House Document No. 462, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, is hereby authorized, subject to the conditions set forth in said document: *Provided*, That such modifications shall not increase the total cost of the work to the United States.

In the extension of remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], published in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, upon the current bill, this item is criticized upon two grounds:

1. That it is a land-reclamation project.

2. That the improvement contemplates levees 15 miles inland, "to protect a community from surface water," in conformity with "plan D" of House Document No. 462.

Briefly, I will reply as follows:

As to the first claim, as heretofore I have stated on this floor, it has no foundation whatever, and the only argument that has been made in advocacy of that claim is based upon a misunderstanding of the nature of the project, which I shall shortly explain.

As to the second claim, it entirely is based on a misunderstanding. Instead of carrying out a project in conformity with plan D, which is vigorously opposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], the provision of the paragraph is for the exclusive purpose of permitting the Chief of Engineers, with the approval of the Secretary of War, to do away with plan D altogether and to substitute a new plan, which is fully set forth in Document No. 9, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session. The argument based upon the objectionable features of plan D is therefore not applicable to the proviso, which is directed to the rejection of that plan and the substitution of another which does away with those objectionable features.

The fact is that the legislation intended to affect silt diversion is not embraced in this bill at all, but is already a law. It was a part of the previous river and harbor bill, approved July 27, 1916. The only way in which this bill touches this subject is in this proviso, permitting a modification of this plan D, as stated.

The conditions at Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors which necessitated their protection from silt brought down in seasonal floods, are as follows:

The Los Angeles and San Gabriel Rivers, which, with their tributaries, have their rise in the Sierra Madre Mountains, take their course southerly across the costal plain and discharge in the bays bordering the Pacific. Ordinarily their discharge is light, but quite frequently a year comes when there are extraordinary rainfalls, and these rivers carry an enormous volume of water, and, tearing out of their ill-defined channels, rip up the rich alluvial lands and bear millions of tons of silt into the bays along the ocean. A large part of this silt is discharged into Long Beach Harbor, but in seasons of very high water it breaks over into Los Angeles Harbor and deposits hundreds of thousands of tons of silt which later have to be dredged out at Government expense. These floods do not occur every year, but the Corps of Engineers estimate that upon an average it costs $80,000 per annum to remove the silt.

The Board of Engineers and the various district officers of the Corps of Engineers located at Los Angeles Harbor have devoted much consideration to means of obviating this recurring filling up of the harbor, and the matter was taken up with the local authorities of Los Angeles County. The people of the county were as greatly concerned about the ravages of the floods, in destroying lands and crops, as the Engineer Corps was disturbed about the harbor. This resulted in the formation of the Flood Control Board of Engineers, who formulated a plan to cover both objects. The county handles the floods down to a point where they naturally concentrate, at Dominguez, about 6 miles from the ocean. The National Government has nothing to do with the flood-control plan above that point. Below that point the Government project commences and comprises a straight channel to the sea, where the silt will be carried, avoiding both Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, thus avoiding in future the expenditure of $80,000 per year for dredging out silt.

The estimated cost is the same as that of plan D, the construction being more solid and the excavations more extensive than were required by plan D, which, however, was of two or three times greater length; the estimated cost being $1,080,000, of which $500,000 was appropriated in the bill of last year. A condition imposed was that the local authorities should provide rights of way for the project, build bridges, assume responsibility for all damages, and maintain the silt-diversion works after their construction. The estimated cost of these provisions are equal to the cost of the Government work. Los Angeles County called an election last fall and voted bonds to the amount of $4,450,000, of which $1,080,000 is for the purpose of meeting the conditions imposed in the Government appropriation. In addition, the Legislature of the State of California at its session last winter—a contest of the bond election having been instituted—made a provision to cover the Government condition and an immediate appropriation of $250,000, which is now available.

It will thus be seen that Los Angeles County, and not the National Government, is conducting the flood-control features of this necessarily combined project, and the Government expenditures are confined absolutely to the protection of the two harbors from shoaling and possible destruction by silt. A saving of $80,000 per year for dredging the annual accumulation of silt from Los Angeles Harbor alone would pay for the entire project in 14 years.

When the gentleman from Wisconsin and the minority of the committee assumed that "there were evidences of a reclamation scheme," I believe that they confused the county flood-control plan with the Government project. In fact, the acting chairman of the minority, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], absolved the silt-diversion project from the "reclamation-scheme" charge in his remarks on June 19, which were, in part, as follows:

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I want particularly to address myself in the few minutes that I have to the remarks of the gentleman from California [Mr. OSBORNE]. The gentleman takes exception to certain statements made in the minority report. I have conversed with him and with other gentlemen from California in reference to that statement. I am inclined to think that the sentence to which he refers as applied to Los Angeles is somewhat of a confusion and was not intended by the writer of that portion of the minority report to refer to the project carried in this bill. I am very glad, indeed, as one of the signers of the minority report, to make this statement. I think it is due to the gentleman from California that I should make it.

* * * * * * * *

Therefore, so far as the statement in the minority report is concerned, so far as I had anything to do with signing it, I am glad at this time to have the opportunity of withdrawing any reference to either Richmond or to Los Angeles Harbor projects as they appear in the bill.

As to the relation between Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors to the subject of national defense, it may be said that at the present time eight steel ships, of 8,800 tons each, have been contracted for by Gen. Goethals at Los Angeles Harbor, and are now in course of construction, besides several wooden ships. At Long Beach Harbor five submarines are now being built for the National Government. Los Angeles Harbor handles more lumber than does the port of New York or any other port in the United States. I sincerely believe that the preservation of such ports have a direct connection with the national defense.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the magnitude of the power invested by this act, and I shall vote for it largely because it is a powerful measure and carries with it the potency to bring results. The conditions that demand the passing of some legislation are so pressing and so imperative that we can ill afford to hesitate. I appreciate that there is and has been much said about the high cost of living that has not been advisable to say, although it is a matter that comes very near to every citizen of moderate means in the country. In order to make their arguments forceful, some of the very able gentlemen who have spoken have predicted riots and revolutions and resistance to law. This is not a good argument to make in this Chamber, because of the few people who take such statements without understanding that they are meant largely as argument and not to be taken too seriously. I do not believe all that is said in the newspapers of the day about the actions and abuses of the food situation. I do not doubt that there have been some abuses, and I am in favor of such legislation as will make these abuses, such as they are, impossible. But there is a disposition in times like these for each fellow who writes, and each fellow who speaks, to say something more impressive about conditions than the other fellows who have written and spoken, and oftentimes actual practices, while bad enough, are made to appear even worse than they really are.

I feel that people will expect too much from the legislation that can be enacted here and will therefore be disappointed. Every thinking person knows that there are many reasons for high prices in foodstuffs and all other commodities other than the reason that speculators are engaged in the nefarious business of augmenting the evil. The world has more men engaged in destruction and fewer in the work of construction perhaps than at any time since history began. The work of organizing and equipping great bodies of men in the field for war activities demands the expenditure of vast sums of money. This money is raised and spent with less thought of prices than for the purpose of securing the things needful. There perhaps has never been a time in the history of the world, and certainly not in this country, when money was cheaper or greater in volume than it is right now. We are making an effort to get food and supplies to our allies, and some of this is being destroyed by the submarines of the enemy. The workmen from the farms and fields and gardens where the granaries of the world are to be replenished are lured away to factories and mills where higher wages await them than they can get on the farms. Last year's crops of materials out of which bread is made were much short

of the normal, and the crop now just maturing gives promise of increasing this shortage several millions of bushels.

These are some of the things that increase the cost of living, and these things will continue to work on the economic condition regardless of any legislation that may be passed here.

I want to help pass this bill and any other bill that promises to relieve the people of moderate means and the poor people of the country from the burdens that are weighing heavily upon them; but I doubt the wisdom or the patriotism of trying to exaggerate the benefits that can be brought by legislation. It is the duty of every patriot to tell the truth to the people and ask them to meet conditions as they are to the best of their ability. In a recent issue of a leading newspaper it was announced that potatoes that were selling at retail for $3 per bushel were being bought a few miles away at half that price, and this was given as an argument that Congress should hasten food legislation. Of course, every thinking person knew that the statement was not true and that it was made with the sole purpose of creating discontent and a disposition to censure Congress among the people who happened to read such statements and who were credulous enough to believe them. The statement was corrected in a later edition of the paper, but it had created an impression in the minds of many that Congress was derelict and was to a considerable extent to blame. These are not good times for the activities of the demagogue. In times when the sentiments of the country are normal they do but little harm, but in times when it is essential that every patriot shall feel in his heart that he wants to be the best citizen and the most loyal patriot possible it is unfortunate that we have the few who try to sow the seeds of hatred and distrust of the Government in the hearts of good people by clamorous demands upon Congress for laws that are described as panaceas for all ills, when in fact there are no such laws, and by the very nature of things there can not be.

Mr. Speaker, in times of peace and quiet I have my doubts about the merits of some of the measures advocated by those who belong to other parties than the one that I choose to be a member of. I have always contended for certain principles and ideas that I believed were essential to the greatest good to the greatest number of my fellow citizens; but even in peace times I have never permitted myself to believe that men of other parties were not just as loyal, just as honest, and just as patriotic as were those who agreed with the ideas that I believed best. Now that we are in war, I know that the great people of the country, regardless of the party that they believe best serves them in government, are willing to lay these things aside until there is a better time to again take them up and contend for them. I am persuaded that the little partisan group of men in Congress and out of Congress are not representative of any great number of people.

I have listened with some regret to the efforts that have been made by the few here to array the country people and the city people against each other. Some have felt that this bill was made too favorable to the farmer, and that he is selected as the man for certain favors in this legislation. I represent almost purely a farming district. I represent, perhaps, as many organized farmers as any man in the House, and yet I have not received one letter from one farmer or farmers' organization asking for any legislation favorable to the farmer. They are not asking for the favors that would appear to be given them in this bill. A few weeks ago this Congress passed a law giving to the shipbuilders certain bonuses, which amounted to several millions of dollars, in order to persuade them to make greater efforts to prepare ships for this emergency. It was not intended as a gift by Congress, but it was considered a good way to get results. This bill tries to go to the farmer and give him some incentive to exert more energy with more assurance. It is not intended as a special favor to the farmer, and he is not asking for special favors. It is intended to make the food supply of the country more adequate and more certain, and it is unfortunate that some people who failed to question the motive of the Government in giving millions to the shipbuilders should have so readily discovered the evils in this bill which is directed to encourage the farmer.

The bill is intended to discourage the illegitimate charges of the food speculator. It is intended to shield the poor people of the country, who find that their ability to feed and care for themselves is becoming a matter of concern, and they believe that prices have been unduly increased by agencies that have sought to make profits out of the necessaries of life unduly. It is intended to discourage the activities of the fellow who would stand between the producer and the consumer and levy a toll that can not be defended in any of the legitimate transactions of trade. It is intended to encourage production and discourage price fixing. It has not been framed with the purpose of annoying people who are honestly engaged in producing or in the legitimate activities of distribution. Under its proper administration no honest man should be embarrassed and no crook should be shown mercy.

Mr. Speaker, there is little to be gained in such times as these by those who put in much time finding fault with the Government. It is probable that Congress will make mistakes and that the President will make mistakes. No Congress or President could fail to make a few. But I believe there is every disposition on the part of Congress to find out what is best and then to do it. I believe that the President has no ambitions other than that wholesome ambition to follow the convictions that he has formed, with an honest motive live the very highest life of a patriotic citizen. These are new conditions to every Member of Congress and to the President. They are called upon to sail uncharted seas and to travel along roads where no well-beaten path marks the course to pursue in their efforts to serve the country.

I am of the opinion that practically every Member of Congress, as well as the President, is striving to serve his country well. They should receive as little censure and their actions should be viewed with as great charity as is possible, and I have no doubt that this will be done. It is folly to expect that they will not make mistakes. Mistakes are made by those in authority as well as by those out of authority. It is the common lot of men to find that at times their judgment is at fault.

I have been impressed with the splendid loyalty of the people of the country. I believe that the average citizen is impressed with the gravity of the situation in which the country finds itself, and each one, almost without exception, wants to accord to his Government the full measure of loyalty. I believe that the heart of the people is true. They realize that this war means what every other war since the beginning of time has meant. It means sacrifice and suffering. It means hardships for the men in battle line and heartaches for the ones at home. It means misdirected energies and a concentration of responsibilities. But whatever it means, whatever the sacrifices necessary, the people will not fail. They will stand by the President and the flag with the hope that soon the war clouds will pass away never to return. If the sacrifices and sufferings that this war has brought to the stricken people of all the earth has for its ultimate aim the giving to every people upon every part of the earth the assurance that peace, once established, shall be for all times and peoples, if the sword when sheathed this time shall be drawn no more forever, if no nation or combination of nations shall be permitted to consider the peace that shall come at the end of this war as a mere truce—a breathing spell for the people to get ready for a greater war in the future, if the end of this holocaust of war shall mark the beginning of hope for mankind to be spared the curse of recurring conflict, then it will have served a purpose that will at least in part repay the blood and treasure that will be spent.

I shall vote for this bill because I believe it is the best bill that can be had at this time, and because I believe it will serve the good purpose of protecting the great majority of the poor people of the country, whether they live in city or country, upon whose shoulders must rest much of the burdens that will necessarily be heavy in the next few years.

Save the Food.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the Lever food-conservation bill because of the necessity of the enacting into law as soon as possible of a measure that will tend to decrease the price of food in this country. It is, however, necessary that all our people economize in the use of food by not wasting it, and one of the suggestions along that line is contained in an essay written by one Moe Finkelstein, a lad about 13 years of age, who attends Public School No. 109, situated on East Ninety-ninth Street, Manhattan Borough, the principal of which is Edward J. McNally, and the district superintendent is Dr. James Lee, one of the best-known educators in the United States.

I quote the essay at length:

SAVE THE FOOD.

This is a vital issue in every country of the world to-day. The belligerent countries are in need, in danger of famine, and they look to America for help, but even America, with its 4,000,000 square miles of rich country and boundless natural resources, faces trouble unless we

all do our little part toward preventing waste. What are some of the methods by which food waste may be reduced to a minimum?

Let us first consider the individual homes, where, after all, you will be expected to watch out.

Vegetable parts, such as potato peelings, outer tough cabbage leaves, tough parts of celery, which are ordinarily thrown away, should be put into the soup pot, and their flavor and valuable mineral salts used to improve the soup. Tops of beets make a delicious spinach.

Meat particles, such as bones and gristle, should be saved and used in soup or in other ways instead of being thrown into the garbage pail. Fats should not be thrown away. They should be carefully fried out and put day by day into the jar kept for fat alone. Fats are necessary to keep away tuberculosis.

Left-overs of vegetables and meats should not be discarded, but should be made into palatable salads by the addition of a few seasonings.

In regard to portions, we should take no more on our plates than we are able to eat. Nothing should be left on the plate, as that which is left must be thrown into the garbage pail.

As to bread, the fact that it is called the "staff of life" shows its importance. Until now the waste of bread in New York City was dreadful. It was a common sight to see big portions of bread—sometimes whole loaves—in garbage cans. People were willing to eat only fresh bread. Bread a day or more old was considered unfit and thrown out. This condition, however, has been changed. We all know that the harder and staler bread is the better bread for general health. Crusts or other small pieces of bread should be reduced to crumbs and used in a dozen different ways by the good housekeeper.

Even sour milk should not be thrown away. It should be used for the making of biscuits or johnny cake.

Let us next consider the preserving of foods for future use.

One way of preserving food is by canning. This has been done with fruits, meats, and vegetables on a large scale in our great canning factories, of which we have many in our own State. Agents who are paid by the Government are at present going around through the country teaching the women how to do canning on a small scale in their own homes. Thus the overflow of fine fruits and vegetables which can not be eaten in their season and must go to waste are saved for use during winter and early spring.

Another way of preserving food, and one which will probably be used more extensively than canning on account of the lack of tin, is that of dehydration, or drying. This is suggested for fruits and vegetables which are cut into parts and then air dried. This method draws out all the water. The dried product is then closely packed in air-tight cartons and kept indefinitely.

To-day America is trying to impress upon its children the fact that economy is a duty which we owe to all humanity. Therefore let us all remember to proverb: Waste not, want not.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am a thorough waterway man, because I have not accustomed myself to drinking anything else, except tea and coffee; and, in view of the action taken by the House last Saturday evening, I do not know any more appropriate place to say what I wish to than here now, and I hope that no Member will be so inconsiderate as to make a point of order that my remarks are not germane to the formal amendment to strike out the last word.

When the Lever food-control bill was reported by the committee I was in hearty accord with it and intended to support it. The adoption of the Barkley amendment, which I opposed, and the failure of the Lenroot amendment, for which I voted, however, proved to be an insurmountable barrier. I was unable to appreciate the logic contained in the proposition that we should forbid the utilization of food products for the distilling of liquor, brewing of beer, and making of light wines in order to conserve for shipment abroad to supply our allies, that they might convert, a part at least, into bass ale, Scotch and Irish whisky, and other alcoholic liquid refreshment and even export it back to us.

I am unwilling to ask the American people to make a sacrifice for the benefit of the people of any other country who have yet proven themselves unwilling to endure such a sacrifice upon their own imposition; and so, while I was in full sympathy with the Lever food bill, I could not conscientiously support it when by the amendment referred to it was made a mask for prohibition, and hence I voted "present."

It is necessary that we have a contented, not a disgruntled, Nation.

The people of the city which I have the honor to represent in part subscribed more than one-half of the total liberty bond issue, whereupon this House attempted to saddle them with this ill-considered, destructive legislation, which, if it becomes a law, will entail a loss of untold millions to the taxpayers of New York City.

But it is to be hoped there is yet another day in the Senate.

The Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, in the great struggle which is now going on in the world in which we have taken part it is necessary that we conserve every force that we have in order that we may the more surely survive it.

One of the great demands made upon us is for food and feed. It becomes the first duty of America to make every provision possible to feed, not only our own people at home and our soldiers that have been and will be drafted into the service of the country, but also our allies who are jointly engaged with us in this war. This must be done by a wise and economical use of our resources to sustain life.

The prevention of waste at once suggests itself as the first problem that should receive our attention. This is equally desirable, whether the product is wasted by being converted from a food or feed product to a thing not useful in sustaining life, or is wasted by neglecting to use it for some useful purpose. Every pound of foodstuff that can be saved from waste will add that much to the sustaining power of the Nation.

The fight against alcoholic beverages has been going on too long, and the verdict of the citizenship of this Nation is too strong against it for me to stop to argue that foodstuffs used in their manufacture is a harmful waste of our resources. We would make ourselves ridiculous if in our great efforts to measure up to the needs of the hour we should overlook this great waste.

The common-sense view that the business world would take of such an oversight is well presented by the following letter from a man who evidently from his own statement is not strongly prejudiced against liquors as beverages, or for sentimental reasons. The following letter from Mr. R. J. Caldwell, of New York, is the one to which I refer:

NEW YORK, *June 19, 1917.*

Hon. EDWIN Y. WEBB,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to the President's call, I have organized facilities for the financing and harvesting of 800 acres of food crops, all of which are under way and progressing well. This effort on the part of so many is useless if the brewers and distillers are going to be permitted to continue the consumption of food products.

I am not an abstainer, but I recognize we are at war.

"A bushel saved is a bushel raised."

Faithfully, yours,

R. J. CALDWELL.

Prof. A. Caswell Ellis, of the University of Texas, in a recent article of great interest and value says:

The Nation's largest single waste is undoubtedly in the liquor traffic. The loss from the use of alcoholic beverages falls mainly under five heads: (1) The amount of foodstuff used in their manufacture and the human energy, the houses, and transportation facilities employed in the business; (2) the sickness and death resulting from the use of alcoholic beverages; (3) the lowered efficiency in work resulting from drinking by millions; (4) the crime due to drink; and (5) the waste of public funds due to debauchery in public office because of the liquor fight.

Food shortage is the great problem which our country must meet. It is proposed that we shall furnish food supplies not only for ourselves but for England, France, Italy, and the other nations fighting Germany. We are all urged to economize, to lick our plates clean, to peel the potatoes a little thinner, and the possibility of half rations may later stare us in the face. Under these circumstances it is unthinkable that our country would permit 3,603,911,916 pounds of grain and molasses to be manufactured into distilled spirits, which was the case in 1916, and in the year 1900, 2,260,266,146 pounds of corn, malt, and barley were manufactured into fermented liquors. A group of distinguished and reliable physiologists and economists in Harvard and Yale have conclusively shown that, taking out one-sixth of this 6,994,311,135 pounds of foodstuffs in the production of denatured alcohol, there is still left enough wasted materials each year to supply the energy requirements of 7,000,000 men for a year. The idea of permitting such a waste to go on under the circumstances is monstrous, and it seems to me that no sane people will permit its continuance. The article by Prof. Ellis, to which I have referred and which so clearly and forcibly presents the argument for this amendment, is as follows:

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES COST THE NATION MORE THAN THE SPECIAL WAR TAX—USE THE LABOR OF A MILLION MEN AND SEVEN BILLION POUNDS OF FOODSTUFF ANNUALLY.

To start out in a fight for life with a keg of beer strapped on your back is madness, no matter how much you enjoy a glass on occasion.

FAILURE TO STOP GREAT WASTE NOW IS TREASON.

The United States is face to face with a crisis in her own history and in the history of the human race. Whether government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall perish from the earth rests largely in our hands. Opposed to us is the greatest military and industrial machine the world has ever seen. For three years it has withstood the attacks of 20,000,000 brave men armed with all the weapons of science, adding each year new areas to its conquests, and to-day having in the field more men and equipment than ever before.

Seven million able-bodied men have already been killed and over 50,000,000 more are either in the trenches and training camps or are busy making munitions and army supplies. It is imperative that those left for the factories and field be brought to the highest possible efficiency, and that every useless expenditure of material and men be stopped at once. Failure to strip our Nation of its greatest needless handicap to efficiency as we enter this war would be a colossal mistake; to dodge the issue from cowardice or from selfish considerations is treason.

THE LIQUOR BUSINESS THE LARGEST SINGLE WASTE.

The Nation's largest single waste is undoubtedly in the liquor traffic. The loss from the use of alcoholic beverages falls mainly under five heads: (1) The amount of foodstuff used in their manufacture, and the human energy, the houses, and transportation facilities employed in the business; (2) the sickness and death resulting from the use of alcoholic beverages; (3) the lowered efficiency in work resulting from drinking by millions; (4) the crime due to drink; (5) the waste of public funds due to debauchery in public office because of the liquor fight.

THE FOOD WASTE.

The internal-revenue reports for 1916 show that 3,603,911,916 pounds of grain and molasses went that year into distilled spirits, and the census of 1900 (Vol. V, p. 602) shows that 2,260,266,146 pounds of corn, malt, and barley went that year into fermented liquors. The 50 per cent increase from 1900 to 1916 in the amount brewed would make 3,390,399,219 pounds as the amount used for fermented liquors in 1916.

A group of the most distinguished and reliable physiologists and economists in Harvard and Yale have shown that, after taking out one-sixth of this 6,994,311,135 pounds of foodstuff to produce denatured alcohol, there is left enough wasted food material each year to supply the energy requirements of 7,000,000 men for a year.

Why should we waste this enormous food supply and then ask the women to peel the potatoes a little thinner and force millions of poor women and children to go on half rations?

Is such saving drops at the spigot while wasting a stream at the bunghole a reasonable act?

THE MEN AND MATERIAL WASTED.

But the waste of foodstuff is only the beginning. The Other Side (Apr. 2, 1917), published by the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, gives 1,600,000 as the number of wage earners employed in the liquor business in the United States. The recent advertisement by the brewers states that hundreds of thousands of men are employed by them alone. I can not vouch for the reliability of these figures, but if even half that many, or 800,000 men, are working in the alcoholic-beverage business, they are badly needed now in the new places created by the war and those that will be left vacant by the 2,000,000 men who are going to the trenches. We are short of clerks, accountants, carpenters, brick masons, building material, freight cars, teams and wagons, autos, industrial alcohol, and glass jars. Our Nation needs now for more useful service to humanity not merely the 7,000,000,000 pounds of foodstuff worse than wasted but the hundreds of thousands of men, distilleries, breweries, warehouses, stores, freight cars, autos, teams, wagons, and tons of glass now used up in the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcoholic drinks.

$1,750,000,000 PAID OVER THE BAR EACH YEAR.

No one knows exactly how much society pays difectly for the support of all this army of men and billions of pounds of material and equipment employed in the liquor business. The lowest estimate made by a responsible party, and based on accurate revenue reports, of the amount paid by our Nation over the bars for alcoholic drinks is $1,750,000,000, or almost exactly the value of the average corn crop of the Nation, and nearly three times the value of an average cotton crop at 10 cents a pound. It is more than the amount of the special war taxes for the year. As it has been shown clearly by disinterested scientific men that even the little food value of the 2 ounces of alcohol that the body can use in a day is in nearly every case more than made up for by bodily wastes produced by the presence in the body of alcohol, this vast sum is just as completely wasted by the Nation as if we used all those hundreds of thousands of men and myriads of tons of food and equipment in shoveling sand on the beach to the right all the morning and then back to the left again all afternoon for the period of the war. Is that the act of intelligent beings?

COST OF SICKNESS AND DEATH RESULTING FROM ALCOHOL.

But what we are doing is worse than paying two billion a year for shoveling sand on the beach. We are allowing the sand to be shoveled into the organs of our bodies and the wheels of industry. Sixty-eight thousand men and women (valued at $1,700 each, or a total of $116,000,000 worth) die in the United States each year from diseases produced by alcohol. The records of 43 American insurance companies from 1885 to 1908, covering 2,000,000 policyholders, show a death rate in excess of the average for very moderate drinkers of 18 per cent, for those occasionally drinking to excess of 50 per cent, and for heavy drinkers of 86 per cent. A number of large separate companies here and abroad have recently published results of their experience that are more striking even than the above. (See Atlantic Monthly, Nov., 1916.)

Similarly, the reports of the South Australian sick benefit societies show that societies admitting both drinkers and nondrinkers have 92 per cent more cases of sickness per member than do societies admitting only abstainers, and that the members remain sick, on the average, 70 per cent longer. The records of the Leipsic sick benefit societies show that between 25 and 45 years of age habitual "drinkers" were sick $2\frac{7}{10}$ times as often as the average insured person. American, English, and other records show similar facts. One-fourth of our insanity (costing $40,000,000 per year) and probably one-fifth of feeble-mindedness are due to alcohol. Also every commission that has investigated vice has reported alcohol as responsible for a large part of moral debauchery and probably over 50 per cent of venereal disease. Half of the houses of shame in Cincinnati actually had to close for want of support when the selling of alcoholic drinks was forbidden in all such places. Laboratory experiments have clearly shown that minute quantities of alcohol in the blood lower the powers of the blood serum and blood corpuscles to resist the germs of many diseases. These and numerous other similar facts make it very conservative to say that 10 per cent of the preventable disease of the Nation is due to the use of alcoholic beverages. As our annual loss from preventable disease is admitted to be $1,500,000,000, this means that at least $150,000,000 is wasted by us each year through diseases caused by alcohol.

$600,000,000 WASTED THROUGH LOWERED WORKING CAPACITY.

No one knows exactly how much the productive capacity of the Nation is lowered by reduction of working power in moderate drinkers when not sick. Tests made by unbiased scientists in Germany and Switzerland showed that even as little as two to four mugs of beer a day cut down the work done by moderate drinkers 8 per cent in setting type, reduced the number of hits made in army rifle practice seven-eighths, and increased the time required for heavy mountain marches 22 per cent. Memory power and higher mental activities were reduced 40 per cent or more, although in this and in the simple activities the subjects thought they were doing better when under the influence of the alcohol. Numerous studies made in school and factory work have shown that alcohol usually reduces working power considerably and increases accidents and the destruction of material. While there may be some exceptions to the rule, it is certainly a safe estimate to assume that moderate drinkers are, on the average, 10 per cent less efficient because of alcohol. If one person in five is a moderate drinker, then 2 per cent of our national efficiency is destroyed by alcoholic beverages. The products of human efficiency on farms, and in mines, factories, etc., in the United States are worth about thirty billion per year. Two per cent of this, or $600,000,000, is therefore the price we pay in lowered efficiency for using alcoholic beverages very temperately.

$300,000,000 WASTED IN CRIME.

Conservative estimates by well informed men place the cost of crime in the United States at $600,000,000 per year. The lowest estimate made of the part of this crime due to alcohol is 30 per cent and the highest is 70 per cent. Probably about 50 per cent, or $300,000,000 worth, is the amount of crime due directly or indirectly to our toleration of alcoholic drinks.

UNKNOWN MILLIONS WASTED THROUGH DEBAUCHERY OF PUBLIC OFFICE.

While we have many worthy officials, both pros and antis, who are well prepared for the duties of their offices, it is painfully obvious that hundreds of millions of money and invaluable opportunities for development of our resources are wasted by officials elected not for their fitness for the office but because either of their friendliness for or hostility to the liquor interests. This will continue as long as any considerable body of voters is left who attack the saloons, and it looks as if such a body will continue at least for the period of this war.

TOTAL PRICE PAID FOR HAVING ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES.

For the privilege of using alcoholic beverages indiscriminately, then, we are paying each year this price:

The labor of about a million men; 7,000,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs; houses, land, transportation, etc., all to the value of	$1,750,000,000
68,000 men and women killed by alcohol	116,000,000
Sickness produced by alcohol	150,000,000
Lowered efficiency in work due to alcohol	600,000,000
Crime due to alcohol	300,000,000
Debauchery in public office	
Total yearly cost of alcoholic beverages	2,916,000,000

This is nearly double the amount of the special taxes asked for the support of the war for the first year. Can any rational man justify the waste during this emergency of three billion a year, including the use of 7,000,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs and the labor of a million men, merely in order that drunkards may have better opportunities to get drunk and moderate drinkers may lower their working efficiency with greater convenience?

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Plainly the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcoholic beverages ought to be stopped at once. The property employed in the business and the stock of liquors on hand should be taken over by the Government immediately and paid for at a price that is fair to the owners as well as the public. Every reasonable help should also be extended to those now employed in the business in finding promptly another employment. Such a plan would really benefit all concerned, as it would give the liquor men the only chance they are likely ever to have to dispose of their property before it is confiscated. On the other hand, the Government can now, with comparative ease, find a use for most of the distilleries, breweries, and other equipment in making munitions, industrial alcohol, and other supplies urgently needed. The supply of liquors on hand could be converted into munitions or sold for medical purposes as seemed best. In this way neither the liquor men nor the public will suffer seriously, while the Nation will step up on a plane of vastly higher efficiency in this war and in the peace that will follow.

A. CASWELL ELLIS,
The University of Texas.

The great majority of the Christian and temperance people of this Nation are demanding of us that we conserve the Nation's strength by preventing its being used up in the form of alcohol for beverage purposes, not alone because they are for prohibition, but because they believe this will help solve the food problem now confronting us.

The Antisaloon League of America, through Dr. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, the superintendent of its national legislative committee, has set forth briefly the things that they hope that this Congress will bring about in a letter dated June 22, 1917, a copy

of which has been sent to each Representative in this Congress, and is as follows:

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
THE ANTISALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., June 22, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR: Believing that we represent the earnest hopes and desires of an overwhelming majority of the Christian and temperance forces of our country—and multiplied thousands besides—we feel it is due that constituency and ourselves to set forth to our friends in Congress our position concerning war emergency prohibition.

We believe that both for the proper conservation of our foodstuffs and in order to increase and maintain the greatest degree of national efficiency in our Army and Navy and our producing population at home the Congress should, by direct legislation, provide—

First. That no foods, food material, or feeds shall be used in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the period of the war.

Second. That in order to prevent, so far as possible, any further conversion of foodstuffs into intoxicating liquors, when same are needed for munitions, hospital, or industrial purposes, the President shall be authorized to commandeer any or all liquors in bond or stock for use or redistillation for governmental purposes.

Third. That under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe authority should be granted for the production of necessary alcohol or alcoholic liquors for legitimate scientific, industrial, pharmaceutical, sacramental, and all governmental purposes.

Fifth. That national prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and transportation of all intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes shall be enacted in order to conserve more fully the food supply for our Army and Navy, our civilian population which supports and maintains them, and our allies, whom we must either help to feed or pay for the neglect to do so by augmenting our Army at the front and our Navy on the seas, as well as increase our producing power in all directions.

We are convinced that the overwhelming sentiment of the country approves this program and that the people generally throughout the States are expecting the Congress to enact it. Representing the church and temperance constituency of the country, as we do, we urge its speedy adoption by the Congress. Representative E. Y. WEBB will propose such amendments, covering such features of the above propositions as it is believed may be held in order on the pending bill under the rules of the House.

We are satisfied that your support of such amendments will meet with the approval of the patriotic citizenship of the Nation.

Very sincerely, yours,

EDWIN C. DINWIDDIE,
Legislative Superintendent.
JAMES CANNON, Jr.,
ARTHUR J. BARTON,
WAYNE B. WHEELER,
Legislative Committee.

The friends of the amendment are taking no unjust advantage of this crisis to force prohibition upon the country. From a deep conviction that intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes are unnecessary and harmful, they attempt to aid you in carrying out the great object of this bill to conserve the food supply of the Nation by providing a way by which the liquors which otherwise would be used to the positive injury of mankind and to lessen the physical force of the Nation may be converted into alcohol which is needed to carry on the war. We authorize the requisitioning of steel, factories, food, and even human beings for Government purposes. Then why should we not authorize the requisitioning of alcohol and liquors in the United States in so far as the Government needs them for the manufacture of ammunition and in the hospitals or for any other military uses?

Food Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted during the consideration of the food-control bill I extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD an editorial from the Oakland Enquirer under date of June 22, 1917, entitled "The food cornerer; get him":

THE FOOD CORNERER; GET HIM.

It is said that Congressmen have begun to feel the public demand for immediate legislation adequate to reach and punish the food speculator. Dilatory discussion of the food-control bill now dragging aimlessly along has aroused resentment, it is said, that is being felt, and will be heeded. It is high time—high time at both ends. The people have demanded none too soon; their demand has been felt none too keenly.

We have to deal with a public enemy in the food speculator; one deserving of drastic treatment. Though he may not bear arms against the Nation, his wicked action is no more to be condoned than though he lead a legion of hostile gun men. If enemy troops are to be shot, enemy spies to be summarily executed, what clemency shall be extended to one who would starve our troops that that enemy in arms should conquer us? If one be allowed in our midst to strive for our defeat by any means at his command, without punishment, by what logic may we justify slaying of him who comes against us in heroic attitude, asking no quarter, making no false pretense? The enemy who faces us is vastly to be preferred to the enemy who would stab us in the back.

There is before Congress, in this proposed food-control measure, a means to reach—to circumvent or to punish—the food speculator. Provisions of the bill were drawn directly to this purpose. In no other way, save by application of military regulation—a thing always possible in war times—can those public enemies be reached than by special legislation. The exigencies of the moment demand that no time be lost in meeting the situation.

This war-time food speculator is a species of bandit that we have not until just now known that we possessed. We have had anarchists and train robbers and German spies and counterfeiters aplenty, and been able to locate and punish them. But the presence of the perfidious creature who would endanger the Nation before its enemy has only emerged since his opportunity matured. He, worst of all our undesirables, has been revealed only as the fruits of his iniquity here found him out. And he has been found out only after he has robbed the country of $250,000,000 in artificially enhanced flour prices, besides other and greater thefts, and after he has laid plans to maintain a strangle hold upon the country for some time to come. This last is the worst of our criminal afflictions.

It is fortunate for the country that these food sharks have shown their presence thus early in our travail. It is well, perhaps, since these torments must be met, that we know of them as we do. Their impetuosity of greed has served the public well, since now they are distinctly in the public eye, with public vigilance pursuing them and public wrath thirsting for their destruction.

This food-control bill should not pass without such drastic measures as would place the food shark in the category of our most infamous enemies. Such punishment should be assigned his offenses as would exterminate his kind; such latitude extended Government agencies in pursuit of him as would make detection easy and speedy, and execution informal. The thief caught in his act is a hero compared with him who would dissipate the Nation's vitality through food denial, that his pockets be lined with gold. The murderer caught in his crime is a retailer in offense compared with the food cornerer who would starve, by wholesale. The ordinary criminal is deserving of clemency compared with the extortionist, who would not only rob for gain but who would imperil the Nation in time of war. Short-cut justice is good enough for merchandising in starvation, and not to be unexpected, if the people be too far exasperated by the law's delays.

Producing the Evidence in the Case of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in fairness to those who have supported the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal item of the river and harbor bill, and to justify the statements often made in debate that the project is not deserving the persistent opposition to which it is subjected nor to the harsh things said about it, I have had prepared a summary of official reports, opinions, and statements, the consensus of which I respectfully commend to those who have contended against the project as well as to those who have manifested their abiding faith in it. To those who know the Atlantic coast or who understand our commercial and naval necessities, especially in times of war, it is not worth while to argue this question. Their wonder is that others can not or will not understand the evident wisdom and expediency of this long-neglected improvement, the importance of which to the Nation in time of need can not be estimated in a monetary sense.

The strategic value of an adequate waterway connecting the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays is self-evident. It is commonly regarded by waterway experts as of equal importance to the United States as the Kiel Canal is to Germany; and yet for years the Government has permitted it to remain in private ownership, incompetent for such service as may be vital to the national safety at any moment. Surely those who have sounded the warning and who have labored for years to put the Government's "house in order" along the Atlantic coast may not be blamed for urging this improvement now.

THE MINORITY ATTACK.

In its report to the House the minority of the River and Harbor Committee attacked the project vigorously, but, as I believe, without good cause. I quote that part of the minority report which is pertinent:

The appropriation of $1,300,000 for the purchase of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is omitted, but a clause ultimately much more expensive is added by the item authorizing the condemnation of this obsolete waterway. The minority feel that the House should have a thorough understanding of what the condemnation of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal really means. For many years an effort has been made to have this project assumed by the Government. It is a canal 13 miles long, supposedly having a depth of 9 feet, which, if taken

over by the Government, will mean an expenditure of from $8,000,000 to $12,000,000, or possibly more, in order to secure a depth of 12 feet. A wide stretch of imagination must be used to argue that this can possibly contribute to the present national emergency. It is a part of the so-called intercoastal waterways for which strong influences have been at work. Congress has already adopted portions of this system, and if, by influential persuasion from time to time additional sections are adopted, the proponents of the proposition will feel they can consistently argue that the whole system should be connected up by adoption of the final links. Untold millions are involved in this ambitious project. The minority urge that it should not be countenanced by the purchase of this canal as a war measure. It would be a splendid opportunity for owners of worthless stock and depreciated bonds to dispose of them to the Government that helped build this canal; but such financing is no part of the Government's war emergencies.

A NEWSPAPER RETORT.

That minority report was given wide publicity and had its effect upon Members of the House; but the eastern newspapers that had been giving encouragement to attacks upon river and harbor bills did not generally approve the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal attack. I quote from one of them—the Philadelphia Inquirer—and ask consideration of what it said:

THAT RIVER AND HARBOR BILL.

In opposition to the river and harbor bill there will be the usual cries of "pork." No doubt there are some junks of pork in the bill, but the total appropriation has been decreased from the customary proportions, and most of what remains is intended for legitimate purposes. It is a great shame that Congress has never been able as yet to get the river and harbor improvements on a solid basis of actual necessity, but considerable progress has been made and to defeat this measure would be to deal a serious blow at projects of merit.

For instance, the Delaware River has become the greatest shipbuilding center in the world. In many respects the navy yard at League Island is the most important of all yards. This river, for the benefit of the Government alone, must have its contemplated improvements.

Then there is provision for taking over the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal and making something worth while out of it. This should have been done long ago. Indeed, the whole contemplated Atlantic waterways project, if it were now in working order, would exert vast influence upon transportation. The railroads are glutted with freight. Every waterway that can be made available should be utilized for the relief of the railroads and for the relief of Government transportation as well as of the public. If the deeper canal had been cut through New Jersey, from the Delaware to the waters of New York, and the deeper channel had been cut across the State of Delaware, from the Delaware River to the Chesapeake, that relief which we are now seeking from overstrained railroads would be experienced. What a pity that Congress has never been able to look ahead!

The war caught us unprepared in every direction. Now we are making an effort to do what we should have done. The rivers and harbors bill, because of the various necessary projects which it carries, is an essential part of the get-ready movement.

COL. TAYLOR IN THE SUN.

From the New York Sun, another critic of river and harbor improvements, I quote an extract of a letter published May 15 last. The writer was Col. Harry Taylor, of the War Department, who is now with Gen. Pershing in France as staff officer, representing the United States Army Engineers. To the Sun Col. Taylor said:

You say "the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal project, the pet of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, * * * is expected to cost upward of $10,000,000, though contemplating only a 12-foot canal from the Delaware River to the Chesapeake Bay." The project for the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal contemplates eventually a channel not less than 25 feet deep. As a step toward this deep canal, it is proposed to first construct a 12-foot canal at a cost of approximately $8,000,000—not $10,000,000—including something over $2,500,000 for the purchase of the existing canal. The deepening of the 12-foot canal to 25 feet is estimated to cost $4,500,000, so that the estimated cost of completing a 25-foot canal is approximately $12,500,000.

As a matter of history, it may be known to you that the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal during the Civil War proved to be a transportation route of some importance, and that had it not been for that small and inefficient canal the Capital of Washington would probably have been in the hands of the Confederates early in 1861. While we hope that the Capital will never be that near capture again, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is still regarded as highly important from the defense point of view as well as from a commercial point of view.

SUMMONING THE FACTS.

So much, Mr. Speaker, by way of introduction. I shall now present some indisputable facts concerning the much-abused but extremely worthy project of connecting up the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays for commerce and for war.

The importance of a free modern waterway connecting the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays has been attested by every official board or commission that has been directed to report on the subject, and by innumerable individuals who have been familiar with the existing need and the possible advantage of the completion of such a waterway.

It is an essential link in a continuous series of protected waterways along the Atlantic seaboard whereby about 131 miles of connecting canal, already in part completed, will provide uninterrupted navigation for about 1,800 miles, connecting the mouths of 148 rivers having a length of 5,365 miles; connecting the principal seaports, naval stations, and coast defenses; and by the canal system of New York—500 miles in length—further connecting with the Great Lakes, 1,489 miles; Lake Champlain, 126 miles; and the St. Lawrence River and tributaries, 1,000 miles.

APPROVED BY ARMY AND NAVY.

It is an essential feature of the defenses of our eastern seaboard in time of war, as attested by the respective boards of both Army and Navy.

It will afford much-needed relief in the movement of freight in eastern-traffic territory, where the railroads are subject to frequent and serious congestion, embargo, and delay.

While there are several feasible routes between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, the Army engineers, without exception, have recommended the route of the existing canal as the most desirable for both commerce and defense, the cheapest to complete and maintain.

The pending river and harbor bill provides for acquisition of the existing canal by condemnation proceedings. This method has been adopted as the most feasible under the circumstances—bondholders, who regularly receive their dividends, and stockholders, who receive nothing, having equal voting power in the canal company—and the most likely to result in an award satisfactory to the Government—the proceedings being instituted in the district where the canal is located, whereas its security holders reside principally in other districts.

There is no project on which the Army engineers have reported which has a closer relation to present problems of traffic congestion, interstate commerce, coast defense, and military and naval efficiency than that of providing a free modern waterway between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays.

It touches the very heart of our greatest industries, our production of ships and munitions, and our national prosperity itself as dependent upon the efficient and economical assembling of the materials of our export trade.

REFERENCES TO GOVERNMENT REPORTS.

There is appended a compilation from the principal official reports on the Chesapeake and Delaware waterway, and from representative opinions publicly expressed during recent years:

SUMMARIES OF REPORTS OF GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS, OFFICERS, AND ENGINEERS, HERETOFORE MADE, UPON A CANAL TO CONNECT CHESAPEAKE BAY AND DELAWARE RIVER.

[Prepared by Mr. George W. T. Miller, assistant engineer, under the supervision of a board of engineer officers composed of Col. Lansing H. Beach, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Maj. E. N. Johnston, Corps of Engineers, United States Army. Jan. 28, 1915.]

List of reports.

Date of report.	Reported upon by—	Contents.
Mar. 25, 1872	Maj. Wm. P. Craighill, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.	Preliminary, general.
Feb. 7, 1879	.....do.....	Report on survey of 3 routes. Depth 26 feet at low water. No recommendations.
Nov. 18, 1879	.....do.....	6 routes estimated for. Favors a canal, but recommends no particular route. Submitted additional estimate for 15 feet depth.
Jan. 8, 1880	.....do.....	Submits estimate for Sassafras route.
Feb. 3, 1882	Capt. Thomas Turtle, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.	Reduced selection of routes to a choice between a southern (Choptank) and a northern (either Sassafras or existing canal).
July 6, 1882	.....do.....	Reports on ice conditions.
Dec. 5, 1882	Lieut. Col. Wm. P. Craighill, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.	Further report on survey. Recommends appointment of a commission.
Dec. 20, 1882	.....do.....	Repeats recommendation for a special commission.
Mar. 1, 1883	.....do.....	Reports special investigation of Back Creek route (existing canal). Submits estimates for 27 feet depth and notes upon military considerations.
Dec. 8, 1894	Special board appointed by the President: Brig. Gen. Thos. L. Casey, Chief of Engineers; Col. Wm. P. Craighill, Corps of Engineers; Capt. George Dewey, U. S. Navy; Mr. Mendes Cohen; Mr. E. Porter Alexander.	Conclusion of board in favor of Back Creek route, substantially the route of existing canal, as most feasible for national defense and greatest facility to commerce.
Jan. 1, 1907	Commission appointed by the President: Gen. Felix Agnus; Maj. C. A. F. Flagler, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army; Mr. F. T. Chambers, civil engineer, U. S. Navy.	Commission believes no higher price than $2,514,289.70 should be paid by the Government for existing canal; that the present canal route is better because it offers equal commercial advantages, is cheaper, has fewer bridges, and is a developed property possessing earning capacity; and that the purchase of the present canal is desirable, and the construction of a free ship canal is justified by the demands of commerce and by military and naval considerations.
Oct. 4, 1911	Special board: Col. W. M. Black, Col. Frederic V. Abbot, Lieut. Col. J. C. Sanford, Lieut. Col. Mason M. Patrick, Maj. R. R. Raymond; all Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.	Limited by the law to 25-foot depth Board recommends purchase of existing canal for $2,514,290 and deepening to 25 feet.

List of reports—Continued.

Date of report.	Reported upon by—	Contents.
Dec. 12, 1911	Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors: Col. Wm. T. Rossell, Corps of Engineers, senior member.	Recommends purchase of existing canal for $2,514,290, and the preparation of estimate for 12-foot depth, and further study to determine whether a less depth than 25 feet would not adequately meet the requirements of commerce.
Jan. 2, 1912	Brig. Gen. W. H. Bixby, Chief of Engineers.	Deems advisable the immediate purchase of existing canal for $2,514,290 and its progressive change to a tide level canal of 25-foot depth, the deepening to 12 feet tide level to be immediate.
Feb. 14, 1912	Special board: Col. W. M. Black, Col. Frederic V. Abbot, Lieut. Col. J. C. Sanford, Lieut. Col. Mason M. Patrick, Maj. R. R. Raymond, all Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.	Supplementary report. Views on advisability of adopting lesser depth and comparison of lock and tide level types. Tide level preferable for Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and deepening to 12 feet tide level the first step.
July 22, 1912	Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors: Col. Wm. T. Rossell, Corps of Engineers, senior member.	Supplementary report. Concurs with special board that canal should be deepened to 12 feet sea level, but does not believe further deepening to 25 feet should be undertaken until there has been opportunity to observe commercial changes resulting from freeing the canal and the first enlargement.
Aug. 9, 1913	Brig. Gen. W. H. Bixby, Chief of Engineers.	Concurs in views of Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and states that the added benefits accruing from heavy draft boats will be mainly local and consequently should await the cooperation by local States or those most directly benefited.

REPORTS, FINDINGS, AND OPINIONS RELATIVE TO THE ACQUISITION AND MODERNIZATION OF THE WATERWAY CONNECTING CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE BAYS.

REPORTS OF 1882–83.

Legal authority: The river and harbor act of August 2, 1882.

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Reported upon by Lieut. Col. William P. Craighill, Corps of Engineers, United States Army.

Dates of reports: December 5 and December 20, 1882, and March 1, 1883.

Reports printed in Annual Report of Chief of Engineers for 1883 and House Executive Document 102, Fifty-third Congress.

QUOTATIONS FROM REPORTS.

The main objects of such a canal are supposed to be two: The greater facilitation of the defense of a part of the territory of the United States by the opening of an interior short line of communication between the great bays—Chesapeake and Delaware—and the shortening of a great route of foreign and coastwise commerce. Both of these objects seem to be of national importance.

NOTES UPON THE MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS.

It will be doubted by no one that a ship canal connecting the two bays would be of vast importance in the contingency of war with a maritime nation. Such a connection would provide a means of concentrating the floating defense of the two bays, and besides this would render more secure communication between the naval stations of Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Washington.

Vessels defending a port have two offices to perform, the one being to assist in the direct defense or to prevent capture or occupation by a hostile force, the other being the prevention or breaking up of blockade. Without the canal a blockade at the capes of the Delaware would close the port of Philadelphia, or a blockade at the capes of Virginia would close the outward commerce of Baltimore and the other ports of the Chesapeake. With the canal built where communication would be secure, neither the ports of Philadelphia nor of Baltimore could be closed unless an effectual blockade were established both at the Delaware and Virginia capes. The disadvantage to the attacking party is obvious, while the defending vessels could concentrate at either outlet, and breaking the blockade at one point would open both ports and render the blockade useless at the other outlet.

It may be assumed that if a war with one of the great naval powers should arise, and the mere appropriation of the money could provide such a channel of communication between the bays, the amount would be at once provided without hesitation. That would, however, be too late.

The city of Baltimore is greatly interested in this canal. She is nearer the great cities of the West—Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and others—than Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, her great contestants for the trade of the West; but her situation at the head of Chesapeake Bay requires her commerce to take a longer route to the ocean than is convenient; that is, through the whole length of that bay.

REPORT OF 1894.

Legal authority: River and harbor act of August 18, 1894.

* * * * * * *

Reported upon by the board, appointed by the President, composed of Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Casey, Chief of Engineers; Col. William P. Craighill, Corps of Engineers; Capt. George Dewey, United States Navy; Mr. Mendes Cohen, of Maryland; Mr. E. Porter Alexander, of South Carolina.

Date of report: December 8, 1894.

Report printed in House Executive Document 102, Fifty-third Congress, third session.

QUOTATIONS FROM REPORT.

* * * * * * *

To conclude: After examination of the surveys heretofore made under the direction of the War Department, this board determines the most feasible route for the construction of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal to be the Back Creek route, which is substantially located upon the line of the existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

THE AGNUS COMMISSION.

REPORT OF 1907.

Legal authority: Joint resolution No. 37, approved June 28, 1906.

* * * * * * *

Reported upon by the commission appointed by the President of the United States. Felix Agnus, chairman; C. A. F. Flagler, major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; F. T. Chambers, civil engineer, United States Navy.

Date of report: January 1, 1907.

Report printed in Senate Executive Document No. 215, Fifty-ninth Congress, second session.

The commission was organized at a meeting in Baltimore on July 30, 1906, Gen. Felix Agnus being elected chairman.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE REPORT—THE SELECTION OF ROUTE.

Although not definitely required by the provisions of the joint resolution, the commission considers that in view of its careful and extensive examination of the subject it should express its opinion upon the relative desirability of the two routes, and states that the present Chesapeake & Delaware Canal route is equal to or better than the Sassafras route under practically all phases of comparison.

It is cheaper of construction and the cost of maintenance would be practically the same.

The two routes offer the same advantages from a commercial viewpoint.

The military and naval advantages will be equal, except for the cost of moving the defenses of the Delaware, giving an additional advantage in favor of the Chesapeake & Delaware Ship Canal route.

The Government may see fit to purchase the present Chesapeake & Delaware Canal and deepen it gradually. This seems to be the course advised by those who have appeared before the commission or communicated their views to it. While terms of the joint resolution do not direct the commission to express its conclusions upon this phase of the subject, yet the sentiment is so strong and proceeds from such responsible sources that the commission suggests the advisability of acquiring the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal at an early date if practicable and if it can be done at a cost not exceeding $2,514,289.70.

APPRAISEMENT OF CANAL PROPERTY.

Taking the funded indebtedness as $2,602,950, the net income as $104,118, and a fair rate for appraisement as 5 per cent, the commission finds $2,083,600 as the value. But it may be considered that if the Government should purchase the works and franchises of the canal company it would assume the funded indebtedness of the company, placing the total issues of bonds at par, or $2,602,950. Deducting from this sum the value of the floating plant and of the outside holdings of the company, which the commission has stated above it is not advisable to acquire, there remains the sum of $2,514,289.70. The commission believes that no higher value than this $2,514,289.70 should be paid by the Government for the works, bonds, franchises, and real property holdings and all other claims of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal Co., except those just cited, viz. the floating plant and the outside holdings.

All earning values accruing from the franchises are included in this $2,514,289.70. If a higher price than $2,514,289.70 should be demanded by the owners of the canal, the commission recommends that condemnation proceedings be employed.

THE BLACK BOARD REPORT.

REPORTS OF 1911 AND 1912.

Legal authority: The river and harbor act approved March 3, 1909.

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Reported upon by: (a) A special board of Engineer officers consisting of Col. W. M. Black, Col. Frederic V. Abbot, Lieut. Col. J. C. Sanford, Lieut. Col. Mason M. Patrick, and Maj. R. R. Raymond; (b) by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, William T. Rossell, colonel, Corps of Engineers, senior member of the board.

Dates of reports: (a) October 4, 1911; (b) December 12, 1911; (c) January 2, 1912.

Reports printed in House Document No. 391, Sixty-second Congress, second session.

* * * * * * *

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE MILITARY VALUE OF THE PROPOSED WATERWAY.

It is a well-established principle that, for the defense of a frontier threatened by an attack from without, at some unknown point the forces for the defense shall be concentrated within the frontier line at points from which they can be moved rapidly and safely to the actual point of attack when developed. The proposed intracoastal waterway between New York and Norfolk forms a most desirable line for such movements of troops, lying as it does for its entire distance under the shelter of fortifications built or planned for the defense of the coast.

* * * * * * *

The usefulness of such portions of this inland waterway as were in existence at the outbreak of the Civil War was thoroughly proved in the operations at that time.

For the movement of troops, sheltered water transportation affords many advantages over transportation by rail.

The number of transportation units required for a division of troops with field equipment, rations, and forage for three days is by rail 958 passenger and freight cars; by water 12 ships of 20-foot draft like the *Kentuckian* or 22 ships of 16-foot draft like the *Momus*.

For naval purposes it is necessary here only to invite attention to the very great advantage to be obtained by providing an additional and protected entrance for each of the ports from New York to Norfolk—an advantage which would make impossible an effective blockade of any one of these ports.

From the above it is evident that the construction of the canal would add greatly to the defensive strength of the United States.

THE MOST AVAILABLE ROUTE.

It was the duty of the board to examine all practicable routes and to prepare plans and estimates of the cost along the most available route.

In making this examination the board availed itself of the information heretofore collected and compiled and examined personally all practicable routes formerly suggested as well as some later modifications of the same.

The board held that no route should be adopted that does not enter Delaware River at a point within the protection and control of the fortifications already constructed.

The maintenance of its channel where it enters the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay presents no serious difficulty.

The cost of a canal by this route will be less than by any other available.

The construction work can be so conducted as to permit the uninterrupted use, toll free, of the canal for commerce as soon as the Government acquires possession.

* * * * * * *

CONCLUSIONS OF SPECIAL BOARD.

Delaware River-Chesapeake Bay section: All practicable routes in this section were examined, and the Back Creek route, along the line of the present Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, was selected and surveyed as the most available. A plan has been prepared for a canal 25 feet deep and with a bottom width of 125 feet, and such a canal along this route and with these dimensions is recommended. The estimated cost of construction is $9,910,210.

The board is of the opinion that the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal property should be acquired by the United States by purchase. The cost has heretofore been estimated at $2,514,290. (See S. Doc. No. 215, 59th Cong., 2d sess.) No definite proposition has been received by this board for the sale of the canal. The purchase price is in addition to the construction cost stated above.

The importance of this section is deemed sufficient to warrant the immediate purchase of the existing canal and the inception of work for its enlargement as soon as funds can be made available.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF 1912 AND 1913.

Legal authority: River and harbor act approved March 3, 1909.

Reported upon by (A) a special board of engineer officers consisting of Col. W. M. Black, Col. Frederic V. Abbot, Lieut. Col. J. C. Sanford, Lieut. Col. Mason M. Patrick, and Maj. R. R. Raymond; (B) by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, William T. Rossell, colonel, Corps of Engineers, senior member of the board; (C) and by Brig. Gen. W. H. Bixby, Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

Dates of reports: (A) February 14, 1912; (B) July 22, 1912; (C) August 9, 1913.

Reports printed in House Document No. 196, Sixty-third Congress, first session.

The special board in this report apparently considered the question from the commercial side only, and did not express any views concerning the naval or military advantages. This method of viewing the question was followed by both the reviewing Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers.

(A)

Quotations from report of the special board, February 14, 1912:

The board submitted the following table of comparative cost of different types of canal:

Delaware River-Chesapeake Bay section.

	Sea level.		Two locks.	Three locks.
	Width, 125 feet; depth, 25 feet.	Width, 90 feet; depth, 12 feet.	Width, 90 feet; depth, 12 feet.	Width, 90 feet; depth, 12 feet.
Cost of construction, plus 10 per cent	$12,424,500	$7,902,007	$7,802,914	$7,767,383
Annual interest at 3 per cent on first cost of construction	372,735	237,060	234,117	233,021
Cost of annual maintenance	104,220	104,220	306,420	310,020
Annual expenditure	476,955	341,280	540,537	543,041
Comparative expenditure capitalized at 3 per cent per annum, taking cost of a sea-level canal 125 feet wide and 25 feet deep as 100 per cent	100	72	113	120
Time required for a boat with a draft of 10 feet and a beam of 36 feet to pass through the canal, calculated from formula (hours)	1.2	2.9	2.9	4.4
Time required for a boat with a draft of 16 feet and a beam of 40 feet to pass through the canal from formula (hours)	1.3	(1)	(1)	(1)
Time required for a boat with a draft of 20 feet and a beam of 45 feet to pass through the canal from formula (hours)	1.7	(1)	(1)	(1)

[1] Impassable.

THE MACOMB REPORT.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, February 27, 1915.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff.

Subject: Military advantages of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.

1. There is returned herewith a memorandum with attached papers on the above subject, dated February 24, 1915, from the Secretary of War to the Chief of Staff, wherein three questions are submitted:

(a) The military advantage, if any, of the existence of this canal.

(b) Whether a canal along this line would be of any military advantage, and if so, what?

(c) What character and size the canal would have to be in order to be of any advantage?

These questions apparently refer both to the present and contemplated canal along this line.

2. In answer to 1 (a), it is believed that the existing canal has some value as it exists to-day as an obstacle to the advance of a hostile expedition landing on the west bank of Delaware Bay and advancing against Wilmington and Philadelphia. The fine, undefended harbor at Lewes, Del., makes such a landing a probability. The canal, especially at the locks, is so narrow, only 24 feet at the locks, as to form an obstacle not very formidable. The canal is too small for the passage of submarines or other naval craft that would be used for preventing the landing of troops from hostile transports, and too small and obstructed by locks for rapid transport of troops and matériel from one bay to the other.

3. As to 1 (b), a sea-level canal along this same line would be of very great military importance from the following points of view:

(a) For the movement of submarines and other craft that must constitute an important part of our coast-defense system.

(b) As forming an almost impassable obstacle to the passage of troops advancing to attack Wilmington or Philadelphia from the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

(c) For the transport of men and matériel of the Coast Artillery and the Coast Artillery supports from one bay to the other.

4. The first of the points enumerated in paragraph 3 is a military one, because submarines and other small craft are believed to be at present an integral part of the seacoast defense, for use not only against naval attack on the harbors, but in a still more important sense against transports attempting to land a hostile force on our shores in case of the defeat of our Navy. Seacoast defenses reach no farther than the range of their guns, and it is impossible to distribute mobile army troops at all possible landing places to prevent the landing of troops without so frittering away the army in small detachments as to render it almost impossible to collect them for united action. A canal such as proposed would allow the whole force of submarines, etc., to be held in one of the two bays and used with equal efficiency in either. Without the canal the force of submarines, etc., must be divided between the two bays, and to reinforce one another they must attempt a passage by the outside, a distance of over 200 miles, as against about 15 miles by the canal.

A canal along this line and one from Delaware Bay to New York Harbor would make a landing of hostile troops almost impossible between Narragansett Bay and Chesapeake Bay, and the construction of this canal is an important step toward the accomplishment of this result.

5. As an obstacle and a part of the land defense of Wilmington and Philadelphia a canal suited for other commercial and naval purposes would be of great importance. Defended by a few troops and small gunboats, such an obstacle (of the size recommended below) would hardly be crossed, and it is not believed that it would be attempted.

6. As a means of transport it has a measure of value for the easy transportation of men and matériel between the fortifications of Delaware Bay and of Baltimore.

7. As to 1 (c), the objects set forth in paragraph 3 above can be obtained by a sea-level canal having a depth of 18 feet at mean low water and a bottom width of about 150 feet. While tides of 6 feet to 10 feet prevail in the waters at the ends of the canal, investigation has shown that guard locks will not be necessary and that an open canal will be entirely feasible.

M. M. MACOMB,
Brigadier General, Chief of War College Division.

I concur.
TASKER H. BLISS,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Acting Chief of Staff.

I concur.
LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

A SENATE COMMITTEE INQUIRY.

VALUATION.

[Report of Senate Committee on Coast and Insular Survey, S. Rept. No. 452, 63d Cong., 2d sess., pursuant to S. Res. 304.]

The Agnus Commission, when Col. Flagler (then major of Engineers, United States Army) had charge of the Wilmington (Del.) district, made a detailed valuation of the works and property of the canal, which may be found at page 18, Senate Document 215, Fifty-ninth Congress, second session. The value there given is $3,708,186.

Gen. Bixby, in his testimony before this committee (p. 126), confirmed this valuation and showed that no new appraisement was necessary, as the appraisement made in 1906 was confirmed by present cost prices of materials.

Your committee has secured the opinion of many of the holders of the bonds of the company as to the value of the bonds, and practically all of them claim that the par value of the bonds should be given for the canal. In this opinion your committee can not concur for the reasons given, but believe that the acquisition of the canal by the Government without resort by it to condemnation proceedings is practically impossible, because in addition to holding the securities with the hope that the Government will at least pay the par value of the bonds the owners and holders of the stock and bonds are so widely scattered as to render it impracticable to deal with them individually and thus acquire their holdings.

We therefore conclude that the appropriation carried in the present river and harbor bill will prove insufficient to acquire the canal, that condemnation proceedings must be resorted to ultimately and should be provided for in any appropriation made with the expectation of acquiring the canal, and that the amount necessary to pay an award in condemnation proceedings will not be less than $2,000,000, and may reach $2,500,000.

HEARINGS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PURCHASE OF THE CHESAPEAKE & DELAWARE CANAL BEFORE COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS JANUARY 15, 1914.

OPINION OF EUGENE W. FRY, TREASURER SOUTHERN TRANSPORTATION CO., JANUARY, 1914.

Practically all of our barges can load to a draft of nearly 12 feet when there is sufficient water. The same barges can only load to a 9-foot draft in trading through the canal, which means a great loss in cargo capacity.

It is necessary to charge higher rates of freight to cover all these additional costs of operation, such as canal tolls, "short" cargoes, and the excessive cost of towing. If the canal is made a free waterway, 12 feet in depth, it would cheapen rates of freight on lumber, railroad ties, mine timber, pulp wood, pig iron, ice, and all other commodities.

I do not think the producers and consumers in the North and South fully realize what a great saving would eventually be brought about by reason of our Government acquiring the canal and making it a free and deeper waterway.

OPINION OF GEORGE F. SPROULE, SECRETARY OF BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF NAVIGATION, PHILADELPHIA.

In forwarding for your consideration statistics of the volume of the inward business of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal for the years 1912 and 1913, so far as the port of Philadelphia is concerned, the commissioners of navigation for the River Delaware and its navigable tributaries submit that of 212,107,867 feet of lumber brought in during 1913, 125,684,801 feet came via this inland waterway, at rates of freight greatly below those paid by the outside passage. The present fleet of sailing craft engaged in the outside lumber trade from southern ports is not being replaced, for the reason that vessels of this type can no longer be operated at a profit to their owners, and is consequently being rapidly depleted by every storm. The life of the present fleet is calculated at about five years, after which time it will be impossible to get lumber here otherwise than by expensively manned and operated

steamships. Experience has demonstrated the carrying of lumber by steamships to be almost prohibitive, owing principally to the lack of ability to load and discharge it with such rapidity as is required to enable this type of craft to pay expenses. Few of the schooners now engaged in the lumber trade are classed, consequently the rates of insurance on their cargoes are high and almost prohibitive.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES H. PRESTON, MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, TO COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS, JANUARY 15, 1914.

We are very enthusiastic in Baltimore on the passage of this bill in the interest of the north and south traffic of our country. We think it will be of the greatest assistance to shippers and consumers and cheap freight rates. While now the railroads are not able to handle it—they are coming down in Baltimore and taking great slices of our central business territory, because they can not handle the freight coming into our town—let us help them with the consumer by giving them water transportation north and south from the great States of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and the intervening States to Cape Cod—let us give them cheap transportation. And the only way to do it is to bring about the completion of the link between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays by the purchase or condemnation, if necessary, of this canal.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES R. MILLER, GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE.

This subject has been under consideration for a very long period of time. It has been reported upon favorably and indorsed by the United States engineers, and it is the one project in the Atlantic intracoastal waterway system which is absolutely essential for the construction of inland waterways from Maine to Florida. This canal, I would call your attention to the fact, gentlemen, connects the two largest bodies of inland seaboard waters in the United States, the upper Chesapeake and the lower Delaware, which are practically rendered useless by the inefficiency of this canal as a manner of intracoastal communication. It is the center link in the chain of the proposed inland waterways along the entire Atlantic seaboard. Without the acquisition and the improvement of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal it is absolutely impossible to carry into effect the completion of the proposed line of intracoastal waterways along the Atlantic seaboard.

I would call your attention, gentlemen, to the fact that between the cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and other cities lying along the Delaware River, with an aggregate population of 2,500,000, the distance is shortened almost 200 miles. I would call attention to the fact that this canal, gentlemen, would provide transportation for a low class of freight which is always long in delivery by rail. Germany has solved that proposition very largely by her system of international canals. England has done the same. It may be, perhaps, presumptuous for me to call the attention of you gentlemen, who know very much more about river and harbor matters than I do, to these facts, but I would remind you that the Delaware & Chesapeake Canal bears the same relation to millions of people along the Atlantic seaboard that these continental canals do to the people of Continental Europe. The people of the entire Atlantic seaboard are behind this proposition as a unit, and if Congress delays or postpones continually this proposition it will only intensify our efforts and stimulate our determination to work more energetically until the object is accomplished.

HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, FROM LETTER READ AT THE CONVENTION OF THE ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, SAVANNAH, GA., NOVEMBER, 1915.

The Atlantic inland deeper waterway is to our country what the Panama Canal is to the world.

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We have been doing great things in America, and I am one of those who believe that our country is on so firm and sound a bottom that not even the disasters of war which have temporarily deranged some of our affairs can long delay our inevitable success.

When one looks at the coast line from Boston to New Orleans and notes this long inside-of-the-coast waterway, needing only to be properly dredged, widened, and connected up by proper canal links in the chain, it seems as if Providence had enriched us with a most remarkable natural defense, provided we make use of what nature has thus endowed us with. It seems as if Providence had lifted up a sand barrier between the hinterland and the sea and bade us go in and make it deep enough to carry our commercial and naval flotillas. Since it has been put within our reach would it not be national suicide for us to fail to follow the lead? * * *

Aside from the commercial value of cheap transportation and safety from storms and deep-sea navigation, there are the following military and naval advantages in case of war: It will enable us with a more limited number of mine-laying ships, mine sweepers, submarines, and the torpedo boats to transfer these mobile harbor and coast-defense weapons from one point to another on our coast, thus multiplying their efficiency, increasing the radius of action, and lessening the danger of their being intercepted by an enemy until an attack is launched. It would increase our coast defenses by transporting heavy mortars and traction engines on canal boats and barges to points up and down the coast when an enemy may attempt to make a landing or seize a base. The Germans use their canals and rivers to thus transport heavy artillery.

FROM ADDRESS OF MAJ. C. A. FLAGLER, UNITED STATES ARMY, CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA, 1907.

This waterway has many links partially constructed: The Cape Cod Canal, the Delaware & Raritan Canal, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, the Dismal Swamp and Albemarle & Chesapeake Canals paralleling each other, and the Core Creek Cut now being made by the Government from Beaufort Harbor to Pamlico Sound. All of these, however, are for a generally shallow draft commerce, 10 feet at low water being about the prevailing depth. They are what may be termed barge canals. The great Atlantic waterways that we are discussing include this inland chain of artificial channels and also great natural channels such as Long Island Sound and the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. All of these large natural waters are being made navigable by the General Government for ships of the largest draft, and the connecting artificial channels should offer in the near future equal advantages. There should be no weak links in the chain.

HON. AUSTIN L. CROTHERS, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, ADDRESS BEFORE CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, 1908.

I am one of those who believe that the great development of the future is water transportation. We see when we face the East that old and historical waterway, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, that has performed such important functions in the history of the welfare of the people, and we realize that it needs to be deepened and widened, and the deepening and opening of that canal, which has been found to be the most feasible route running over to the Delaware River, will bring great results.

ADDRESS, JOHN F. STEVENS, FORMER CHIEF ENGINEER PANAMA CANAL, AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, 1908.

There seems to be a general impression that the railways are opposed to the exploitation and construction of canals. That there is good ground for such opinion the speaker does not believe. The consensus of opinion among our ablest most far-sighted railway owners and executives is undoubtedly that canals, properly planned, honestly financed and constructed, will not only aid the development of the country but will create new business, and from other and potent causes be of assistance and value to the railways themselves. Beyond a doubt they will take from the railways some part of a certain class of traffic, but such loss will be recouped by the fact that the railways will be enabled to better and more economically handle the higher-priced traffic, which the waterways can never satisfactorily do, and so the net results will be for their benefit.

ADDRESS OF LATE REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE W. MELVILLE, UNITED STATES NAVY, AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, 1908.

So important do I feel is the movement you have started for the improvement of these internal waterways that, much as I desire to see our Navy increased to its proper rank, I feel we might, with advantage, reduce our naval building program in order to push this work, if that were necessary. I can not believe, however, that our Representatives in Congress can fail to appreciate the importance of this matter when it is properly presented to them.

ADDRESS OF MR. CHARLES HEBER CLARK AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, 1908.

I am convinced that the other Americans who do not live in Philadelphia or in Baltimore or on the Atlantic coast will perceive when they are properly informed the wisdom of doing that thing which will unite the two most magnificent bays on the coast and open up a channel for all this commerce on the Chesapeake and Delaware, and so I hope before the adjournment of this remarkable convention an effort will be made to enforce on Congress the necessity of buying that canal for $2,500,000.

LETTER FROM ANDREW CARNEGIE, READ AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, NORFOLK, 1909.

You are engaged in a good work; money can not be more wisely spent than in improving our waterways. Especially should the inside passage be opened on the Atlantic seaboard.

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE GRAY, UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS, WILMINGTON, DEL., READ AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, NORFOLK, 1909.

I am glad that the interest in the general movement is increasing under the lead of the association. Nothing has come to the front during this generation that promises so much for the material and commercial advancement of the country as this deeper-waterways project. The energies of the people for more than 30 years past have been directed to the development of our railroad system. During this development the waterways were necessarily relegated to a subordinate place. The time has now passed for that, and our congested railroad traffic will be relieved by a cheaper water-borne carriage. The necessity for this is almost self-evident, and land and water carriage will supplement each other to the infinite advantage of all the people.

LETTER FROM W. W. FINLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN RAILWAY, READ AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, NORFOLK, 1909.

If it were at all possible for me to do so, I should be glad to attend the sessions of the convention and to advocate to the best of my ability the policy of carrying out an intelligent and comprehensive plan for the improvement of our waterways. As I have frequently said, the agricultural, industrial, and commercial development of any locality and the prosperity of its people depend, in very large measure, upon the adequacy of the transportation facilities by which they are served. Speaking especially for the Southern States, I believe that there is a present economic need of improved transportation facilities both by land and by water.

REAR ADMIRAL C. S. SPERRY, UNITED STATES NAVY, ADDRESS BEFORE CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, NORFOLK, 1909.

While I am greatly interested, and so are my brother officers, in the naval view of the intercoastal waterways, we are equally interested in the development of the intercoastal waterways commercially and for the general advancement of the country.

The inland waterways of the Atlantic coast are an important factor in the national defense in several ways. Not only do they afford a secure passage for certain vessels of the Navy, but the sounds, particularly, are an outer line of defense; the ditch of the fortress. Submarines, destroyers, and torpedo boats, secure in their smooth waters and able to pass out through occasional passages readily defended by mines, can drive off an enemy's fleet and a hostile landing will be impossible.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM H. TAFT, ADDRESS BEFORE CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, NORFOLK, VA., 1909.

Now, about this waterways association. I have heard gentlemen—I think I heard our distinguished speaker intimate that he did not see what was the necessity of a waterway when it was only a biscuit throw over into the ocean; but that is because he comes from Illinois.

If in the discharge of his duty it had been his fate, as it has been mine, to go around this neighboring Cape Hatteras he would understand the difference in a biscuit throw. He would know that there is something in quiet water.

HON. J. FRANKLIN FORT, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, ADDRESS BEFORE CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1910.

Our people are awakening to the true situation, and the sooner the people of all the States realize what it will do for them to promote the opening of waterways for quick and cheap transportation between our coastwise and interior towns and cities the better it will be for them.

WHEN THE CANAL SERVED LINCOLN—CAPT. PHILIP REYBOLD, WILMINGTON, DEL., STATEMENT PRESENTED AT CONVENTION OF THE ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1910.

The value of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal as a means of coast defense was proved during the Civil War by the following cir cumstances:

Immediately after the riot which occurred in the city of Baltimore on April 19, 1861, when the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was passing through that city on its way to the defense of Washington, all the bridges as far north as the Gunpowder River on the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad were burned by the Confederates, so there was no means of transporting the troops on the seaboard to Washington by rail. April 20, 1861, the Government seized all the steam propellers lying in or about Philadelphia that could pass through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. These boats were then sent down the Delaware River and through the canal to the Chesapeake Bay to meet the troops at Perryville, Md., and thence convey them down the bay to Annapolis and thence by rail to Washington.

From this time forward, until the end of the war, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal became a most important part of the inland waterway which the Government used for the transportation of supplies of every sort for the Army. They were brought from as far north as Narragansett Bay down through Long Island Sound, through the Delaware & Raritan Canal, down the Delaware River, through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, down the Chesapeake Bay, through the Albemarle & Chesapeake Canal, through the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and so on down to Beaufort, N. C., a distance of something over 1,000 miles, at all times protected from the cruisers of the Confederate fleet which scoured the coast.

For the use of transportation in these canals and bays constituting this line of inland waterway from Narragansett Bay to Beaufort, N. C., the United States Government seized and chartered during the war 144 propeller steamers, 89 steam tugs, and 842 freight barges, in all 1,075 boats, which were used in the passage of these canals.

The whole subject of the chartering and seizure of these boats during the course of the war for the purpose of transportation of Government supplies to the Army through this canal system is set out in full in executive document of the House of Representatives, No. 337, of the second session of the Fortieth Congress. Inasmuch as there were in all 3,612 vessels seized, chartered, or employed by the Federal Government during the war throughout the entire country, it will appear that nearly one-third of this whole number was used in this particular system of canals.

HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON'S ADDRESS AT CONVENTION OF ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, PROVIDENCE, 1910—ADVANTAGE OF AN INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY IN TIME OF WAR.

As great as would be the advantage of our inland waterways in years of peace, their greatest advantages would come in time of war.

The wonderful development of transportation in recent years has brought every important nation within striking distance of all other nations, and at the same time has multiplied the magnitude and swiftness of war operations, so that modern wars have become substantially a test of the military preparations of the belligerents, and not of their resources. All of these developments have worked to the disadvantage of America. All other nations have leaped to arms, have organized their whole population into armies, and have taxed their finances upon their fleets, policies that weaken their resources but increase enormously their preparations.

America alone has failed to organize her people into armies and has made slow progress even on her Navy. Though our resources are relatively boundless, our preparations are woefully inferior, and a short war, testing only preparations, would leave us in humiliation and defeat. Therefore our main objective in an important war must be to gain and bring our resources into play. The enemy's objective, on the contrary, would be to strike a staggering blow at once before our resources are brought to bear, seize our commercial centers, destroy our navy yards and ship yards, and bring us to terms quickly. If we bring our resources to bear we should win; if we fail, we should lose the war.

Whether we succeed in gaining our main objective would depend very materially upon our inland waterways.

The conclusions to be drawn from examination of this are simple and clear:

1. That our coastwise inland waterways next to our fleet itself can be made the most vital factor of national defense.

2. That the services of these waterways increase with the Nation's peril. They are useful for economy and for building up plants in time of peace; they would always be a source of strength after the national defenses were well provided for. They are of paramount importance under our present inferior conditions of defense.

3. That in any war under present conditions they would afford our best chance of gaining the time necessary to organize our forces and develop our great resources. They would furnish the best refuge for our fleet, if outnumbered by the enemy, without permitting its blockade; they would make it possible for our fleet, though inferior, to give battle after choosing its own time and conditions, and enable it to retire if necessary; they would make it possible to utilize and expand all our establishments for repairing and building ships and to assemble and concentrate ships as fast as ready.

4. That upon our coastwise inland waterways in their relation to the fleet would largely depend the security of our navy yards, shipyards, and coast cities, and our chance of escaping the knockout blows that would surely be aimed at our coast defenses the instant war were declared.

Summing up, even aside from the great commercial value of our coastwise inland waterways, their paramount vital importance in national defense would warrant and demand immediate measures on the part of Congress to bring about their full and speedy development.

ADDRESS OF REAR ADMIRAL COLBY M. CHESTER, UNITED STATES NAVY, AT ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, NEW LONDON, CONN., 1912.

To the Navy of the United States, having for its main purpose of existence the protection of the country, by carrying on offensive and defensive campaigns on the broad oceans far away from its coasts, it may seem a far cry from interior waterways to a fleet in being; but, as the fleet is made up of cruisers, scout vessels, torpedo boats and destroyers, submarines, and a variety of craft known as auxiliaries, many of which are so small in size as to require protection from the elements whenever possible, and as the inside channels afford such protection, there is a very peculiar relationship between them.

The strategic importance of this interior waterway system is marked. If its improvements are undertaken and finished in accordance with the plans of the United States Engineer Corps, it will permit the transfer of torpedo boats, submarines, picket boats, and other small craft to almost any point along the Atlantic Coast that may be threatened by an enemy at war with the country, under any condition of weather that is likely to occur; and this, too, without being discovered by a blockading fleet. As secrecy is a prime object in all military manœuvers, the improvement of our interior waterways may become of momentous importance to the country, should a war, unfortunately, take place between this and another nation.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM H. TAFT, ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, NEW LONDON, CONN., 1912.

And so with the Delaware & Chesapeake Canal. I regard that as one of the evidences, of which there are some—not so many, but there are some—of the nonbusiness-like character of the Government of the United States. We have there a little canal that is hardly big enough for a canal boat, between those two great waterways, the Delaware and the Chesapeake. It can easily be made a great waterway, and it ought to be made a great waterway. [Applause.] I am glad to see that it has been recommended that the Government should buy what is there and should enlarge it.

GEORGE CLINTON, JR., BUFFALO, N. Y., ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, JACKSONVILLE, FLA., 1913.

If the intracoastal canal system which this assocation is endeavoring to secure in its perfection shall be accomplished, the ore, the grain, the lumber, and the other products of our Middle West and of the Canadian northwest, which come down through the Great Lakes system and the barge canal, will find a largely increased outlet without breaking bulk after leaving the port of Buffalo, by reason of the fact that the very vessels which bring those products down through the barge canal will be able to take them to their ports of final destination along the intracoastal waterway.

THE INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY IN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE.

[From addresses by Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, Atlantic Deeper Waterways Convention, Albany and Troy, N. Y., 1914.]

When you are advocating this inland waterway, when you have the vision to see its importance to commerce—and I put that as the reason why the money should be forthcoming to construct this canal—still you see that in any emergency it would be vitally important to the national life that our ships, when the occasion called, should be in harbor, protected, ready to save our cities and our people.

If this canal was constructed, you could take these submarines and destroyers from Boston to New Orleans in these inner channels without hurt or injury. That is for peace. But if we should be so unfortunate—and I pray God we may never see it—as to have war, then the possession of an inland-waterway channel would be essential to preserve efficiency and to enable us to defeat our opponents, because these little craft could ply to and fro, and dart out and deal a blow and return with little injury to themselves. That is the argument on the side of national defense.

There is one other argument which I will give you most briefly in favor of this inland-waterway canal. It is an argument for the preservation of human life. We have thought too little, until recently, of the lives of men who go down to the sea. We have in Congress and as a people permitted conditions that have sacrificed the lives of men for commerce and trade on the sea, and until the *Titanic* disaster we never had even the beginning of proper protection and proper laws. I wish to give you the disasters to vessels on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts during the 10 years from 1899 to 1909. The number of vessels is 5,715. Loss to the vessels, known, $30,000,000; loss to the cargoes, known, $10,000,000. Vessels totally lost, 1,675; vessels damaged, 4,040. Tonnage totally lost, 483,743; tonnage damages, 3,289,200. Lives lost, 2,223. The total cost of the Atlantic intracoastal waterway would be $47,800,000, so that if we could save a tithe of this material loss we could in a few years pay every dollar of the cost of these improvements which your association is advocating.

But who shall estimate the value of a human life; who shall put a money value upon the lives of the men sacrificed, when for a few million dollars we might make navigation easy and safe?

RESPONSE OF HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, RALEIGH, N. C., 1915.

All that I have of sympathy and of belief goes into the work on which you are bent. I know from personal knowledge what it means not to have sufficient water to float ships that are carrying needed things. America, when she wakes up, will not tolerate anything harmful that gets in the way of her commerce.

RESPONSE OF HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, RALEIGH, N. C., 1915.

No great idea ever falls by the wayside. If one man drops it, another man picks it up, and it is carried on to success. Great ideas have made this world, and this proposition that you present, and for which you are carrying on propaganda is one that must make for a greater America, and that is the idea that all of us have.

LETTER OF ADMIRAL DEWEY, UNITED STATES NAVY, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, SAVANNAH, GA., 1915.

I am in hearty accord with the cause of inland waterways and feel sure, that while it is a large and rather slow undertaking, the time will come, and I hope not far distant, when our ships will have a continuous inland route from New York to Key West.

REMARKS OF HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, SAVANNAH, GA., 1915.

For these very practical reasons, because the time is right, because if you get your waterways you have got the tools to use them as never we have had before, because the pressure of necessity is upon the land to make its facilities equal to its needs—for these reasons I am heartily in favor of the cause which you have at heart.

ADDRESS OF REAR ADMIRAL A. W. GRANT, UNITED STATES NAVY, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, SAVANNAH, GA., 1915.

Inland waterways, capable of being used by the entire fleet, would enable that fleet to be concentrated at any point on our Atlantic seaboard ready to strike a blow upon an inferior force of an enemy or to defeat the enemy in detail should the latter be divided into squadrons. The value of such a waterway to a defending force is apparent. It could remain in safety until the enemy has been located on our coast and then could be concentrated behind ample protection for attack. An enemy operating on the high seas against our coast would then have to always keep its force concentrated. Otherwise it would leave itself open to being defeated in detail.

CAPT. C. E. JOHNSTON, UNITED STATES COAST GUARD, ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1916.

The Coast Guard, as its name implies, deals essentially with coastwise matters, and in this field it is intimately concerned with coastal waterways, both inland and littoral. The project of the Deeper Water-

ways Association is therefore of great interest to the Coast Guard. Our larger vessels, denominated cruising cutters, can keep the sea under almost any conditions of wind and weather and will have little occasion to use the inland waterways in times of peace, but in times of war it may be of vital importance to have a route by which they may proceed from one part of the coast to another with safety and dispatch.

MAJ. J. C. OAKES, UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICER, ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1916.

In my opinion, the construction of the canal connecting the Chesapeake and the Delaware, and connecting the Delaware with New York Harbor, would increase the power of our Navy more than threefold.

CHIEF JUSTICE J. HARRY COVINGTON, OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1916.

Your own project of the Atlantic deeper waterways is one that must commend itself to future Congresses. Here is a great water highway extending 1,800 miles from Florida up the coast, in a section of America that is constantly congesting with population, in a section of the country where the physical situation of the land itself, the value of the land, will soon make it well-nigh impossible for the trunk lines to expand their rights of way to carry more lateral track; where the cost of that land and the necessities of financing will make it well-nigh impossible for those trunk lines to have the expansion of area necessary for the terminals to take care of their vastly developing traffic. In this great area, not as an enemy to the railroad but as a coworker with the railroads for the industrial development of that area, stands this association, committed to a project which means that over these highways of God, through a sensible and not a log-rolling scheme of appropriations, there is to be developed the class of traffic, the class of highway transporting commerce that will take care of the low-grade bulk freight which moves with time as no element, relieving the railroads of a congestion which sooner or later they can not hope to cope with, while it leaves open to them the classes of freight to earn the dividends which are justly theirs and their stockholders.

ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. BENSON, CHIEF OF OPERATIONS, UNITED STATES NAVY, ADDRESS, ATLANTIC DEEPER WATERWAYS CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1916.

Right here in this vicinity a great many ships are built, and were it possible to get our ships through the inland waters, say from the Chesapeake to the Delaware and from the Delaware to New York, and thence through the Sound, instead of taking one fleet to blockade one of the ports through which our vessels would pass, it would take at least half a dozen fleets to maintain an effective blockade. So you can readily see the practical necessity, so far as the Government is concerned, of having waterways, and as your name indicates, deeper waterways. I believe the waterways should be sufficiently deep and broad to allow our biggest ships to pass through them.

NEED FOR THE USE OF OUR INTERIOR WATERWAYS.

[Statement by Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of the Department of Commerce, Washington, June, 1917.]

It is necessary that every possible use be made both for local and through freight of all interior waterways, canals, rivers, and lakes, and this must be done not only as generally but as quickly as possible if we are to escape serious congestion.

There is more than sufficient business for both railway and waterway for many months to come. Wherever, therefore, throughout the country a barge or a boat, a scow, a lighter, or a motor vessel can be made to take the place of a railway car, it ought to be done. Such arrangements as are practical should be made along all our great waterways to develop promptly methods for using the water as a means of transportation. This is the time to get idle barges and scows into use, to repair old barges, to build new ones, and to take advantage of a patriotic duty of water transit in every practicable way.

Every river, lake, and canal should be used. Every enterprise, large or small, looking toward their practical use should have encouragement.

It is at this time a matter of national duty to develop the interior waterway and to give it that part in the Nation's economic life to which its extent and variety entitle it, and this should be done as promptly and as thoroughly as possible by temporary means, if need be, in order to get the traffic moving, and then by permanent means in order to make the movement a solid part of our national life. This process can only be helpful in the long run to every one concerned and to the country as a whole.

The effort to promote the use of our waterways has the approval of the War Department, the Commerce Department, and the Shipping Board, and so far as they can these will cooperate in the work. The Department of Commerce, therefore, issues this statement to indicate on behalf of our commerce how grave the situation is and to ask from business and commercial organizations everywhere that the practical help to be given in this emergency by water transportation have their early and thorough consideration.

MAJ. GEN. TASKER H. BLISS, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY.

[An address delivered in 1884 that sounds like a prophecy.]

In the event of a foreign war that would seriously tax the energy of the Government we will find ourselves with a vast army suddenly collected along some one of our maritime frontiers. It is possible that at the outset we shall find some of our large seaboard cities, where commercial enterprises have collected vast stores of food and other material to which we could naturally look for supply, in the hands of an active and enterprising enemy. Our railroads would then be taxed beyond their capacity in the transportation of men, food, supplies, and war material of every description, besides endeavoring to carry on the ordinary traffic of the country. Then, as in the past, if there be no way of relieving the strain, the Government will pay fabulous prices for the means of saving the national honor. Then, as it has done before, it will saddle posterity with a vast and unnecessary debt—every dollar of which will be a protest against false economy in needed preparation.

In such a case it is obvious what an immense advantage the Government would possess in a system which, with its infinite ramifications, would afford a cheap and ready access to the great supply districts of the country. The rivers which, for thousands of miles in every direction, drain the great valley of the Mississippi, would then send to the point of need a ceaseless stream of supplies that might otherwise rot upon the harvest fields or moider in the storehouses. In some respects these routes are safer in time of war than railroads, for no ordinary raiding party can, as in the case of the latter, cut the line of communication by a few minutes' work. Their terminal branches in the East lie for a hundred miles or more in the channels of the great tidewater rivers, to obstruct which would be a labor of time and of difficulty.

—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 9, 1917.

Hon. JOHN H. SMALL,
Chairman Committee on Rivers and Harbors,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SMALL: In response to your oral inquiry, and referring to the recommendation that I recently submitted for your consideration concerning the advisability of a river and harbor bill, I have the honor to state that the general subject of the character of the river and harbor legislation that should be undertaken at this time was first presented to the President, and he expressed his approval of the policy that I proposed to him as a proper one to observe.

This contemplates such work as is required to enable our waterways to continue to play their necessary part in the transportation service of the country and also to serve urgent military needs. It calls for the appropriation of sufficient sums to provide for necessary work of maintenance in channels already improved, for the more urgent work of continuing improvement of projects already begun, and the adoption of such new projects as are considered necessary under present conditions for military or naval purposes or as a part of the program of national defense and preparedness. The bill that has been prepared along these lines by your committee, in conference with the Chief of Engineers and his representatives, has my approval.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 8, 1917.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: In reply to your letter of the 25th ultimo, urging the expediency of early action by this department looking to the condemnation of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, I have the honor to inform you that I have already recommended its purchase in a letter to the Committee on Military Affairs under date of April 3, 1916, when I not only gave it favorable consideration as to purchase, but also recommended its subsequent enlargement to a depth of 25 feet and a bottom width of 125 feet. These views were again expressed by me in a letter to the Committee on Military Affairs on April 19, 1917.

It is hoped that this matter may have the early attention of Congress and receive its favorable consideration.

Yours, very truly,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

—

PHILADELPHIA, *June 25, 1917.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, M. C.

DEAR MR. MOORE: Reference has been made in recent debates on the river and harbor bill to a fraudulent overissue of bonds in the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal Co., which was discovered 31 years ago, in 1886.

Those who suffered from this crime, committed by a former officer of the canal company, were the stockholders, who were thereby deprived in proportion of their hopes for future participation in the profits of operation.

It was in effect an embezzlement of the reserve profits set aside during a period of years for redemption of the mortgage, and the embezzlement had no other effect than to reduce the amount by which the mortgage was redeemed. The following are the facts:

Original mortgage loan, duration 30 years, issued 1856	$2,800,000
Amount of bonds bought in to 1885	806,250
Supposed condition of loan on maturity, 1886	1,993,750

Upon presentation of bonds for cancellation there was discovered a fraudulent reissue on the company's paper of $609,200. These bonds were purchased in good faith in the open market, and under a court decree as to a portion of them the company was obliged to assume the entire liability, so that the mortgage loan was reissued, including the said bonds, at $2,602,950, where it still stands.

The effect of the defalcation was to remove all prospect of dividends upon the common stock, amounting then and now to $1,903,238.50, and presumably to wipe out any cash value which that stock might have had.

It is wholly untrue to say at this time that the company was to blame in the transaction. Its former secretary, who was subsequently arrested and convicted and served a term in the penitentiary for his action, simply embezzled the total profits of the canal for a term of years, which had been set aside toward the redemption of its mortgage.

The book cost of the canal was—

Original construction, 1830	$2,201,864.03
Reconstruction of locks, 1855	373,177.02
Reservoir, 1841	22,000.00
Pumping engine, etc., 1851	38,200.00
Riparian rights subsequently purchased	7,790.50
Total cost	2,645,031.55

which is slightly above the amount of the mortgage loan.

If the stockholders had succeeded in paying off the mortgage loan, they would have regained possession of the property, but the defalcation made it impossible for them to hope to do so. It did not, however, in any way affect the value of the canal as a going proposition or its purchase price.

Reference was also made in the debate to the fact that the canal had never proposed a purchase price to the Government. The reason is substantially that under the peculiar organization of the company both stocks and bonds have equal voting power; and the stock being apparently worthless and the bonds regularly receiving dividends, the stockholders might be expected to attempt to prevent the bondholders from receiving the entire proceeds of the sale. As a practical proposition, condemnation proceedings are apparently the best solution of the difficulty. It is also a desirable method of procedure, because, being located in the Delaware district and the securities being held mainly in Pennsylvania and Maryland, a Delaware jury may be expected to render unbiased verdict.

Yours, very truly,

WILFRED H. SCHOFF,
Secretary Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association.

Chesapeake & Delaware Canal tonnage—A going concern since 1830.

Year.	Passages through canal.	Tonnage, tons of 2,000 pounds.
1830	.....	.....
1831	5,280	153,400
1832	5,633	154,000
1833	6,790	160,490
1834	5,438	105,470
1835	4,889	91,600
1836	2,467	114,680
1837	5,433	100,000
1838	6,568	131,700
1839	6,031	120,260
1840	4,363	112,430
1841	6,384	125,980
1842	7,528	139,520
1843	5,973	127,200
1844	8,413	188,410
1845	8,778	195,010
1846	9,684	291,380
1847	12,054	341,580
1848	12,810	338,800
1849	11,802	351,550
1850	12,912	361,640
1851	13,582	389,440
1852	12,833	411,340
1853	15,065	477,630
1854	14,897	534,080
1855	14,391	536,970
1856	13,554	568,680
1857	14,628	616,170
1858	12,863	563,510
1859	12,134	496,100
1860	12,710	623,150
1861	11,347	596,294
1862	11,713	501,389
1863	14,293	674,305
1864	15,417	782,670
1865	12,811	916,973
1866	11,496	729,918
1867	12,131	726,666
1868	10,993	853,874
1869	14,169	1,180,206
1870	15,650	1,245,928
1871	16,394	1,312,816
1872	14,726	1,318,772
1873	14,078	1,258,732
1874	12,444	1,139,729
1875	11,689	1,132,456
1876	12,247	991,180
1877	10,858	792,584
1878	10,032	842,114
1879	8,328	714,184
1880	10,560	929,590
1881	8,935	675,069
1882	10,931	1,019,773
1883	10,420	1,080,742
1884	9,590	1,002,346
1885	9,260	877,396
1886	9,036	862,381
1887	8,960	846,657
1888	9,056	795,601
1889	8,570	736,879
1890	6,769	686,067
1891	6,503	625,652
1892	6,197	594,138
1893	5,917	648,342
1894	6,544	664,761
1895	5,793	626,475
1896	5,783	675,226
1897	6,264	726,582
1898	5,300	752,537
1899	5,019	617,798
1900	5,059	639,548
1901	4,476	589,490
1902	4,220	663,016
1903	4,244	615,045
1904	4,132	671,292
1905	4,232	699,924
1906	5,447	754,065
1907	4,060	591,232
1908	5,036	645,585
1909	4,946	730,352
1910	5,014	769,389
1911	5,105	862,205
1912	5,006	802,471
1913	5,773	908,594
1914	5,672	947,178
1915	6,423	1,000,743

STORY OF HIGH FREIGHTS.

The following letter, bearing upon the increase of freight rates for want of waterway facilities, tells its own story:

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF NAVIGATION,
Philadelphia, Pa., May 23, 1917.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: I received from your Philadelphia office this morning an inquiry concerning statistics with regard to the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal for the calendar year of 1916, with the request that I should forward the same to your care at Washington.

I want to supplement these statistics with some views concerning the early acquisition by the United States Government of this important waterway, from a commercial point of view and as a matter of preparedness in the conflict which this country has entered.

The demand from a commercial point of view for the opening up of this antiquated waterway is greater than ever, and it is no exaggeration to say that the proper development of this section is now at a practical standstill through the inability of consumers to get such raw materials into this market as originate in the South and to ship out the manufactured products destined in that direction.

For the past three years, since the breaking out of the great European war, it has been a physical impossibility to get lumber into this market from the South.

The railroads, as you well know, have embargoes against this commodity and the communities such as Wilmington, Carneys Point, Chester, and other localities in close proximity are handicapped through their inability to erect houses for the mechanics they have had to employ, with the result that in many instances they are forced to charter steamboats to carry their labor from Philadelphia and back, with a consequent loss of time in a day's work approximating from two to three hours.

The great demand for tonnage to carry supplies to the allies has taken from our coastwise trade all the remaining available vessels engaged in the outside routes, and the shoal and restricted width of the locks in the present Chesapeake & Delaware Canal have made it impossible to operate through this waterway modern barges such as would have tended to remedy this shortage in tonnage.

Our lumbermen find it impossible to supply building materials to those corporations and individuals desiring to erect houses, with the result that it is not possible to operate many of the large manufacturing plants to anything like their capacity.

If shipbuilding in the interest of the United States Government is to be pursued, how are the materials for their construction to be gotten to the shipyards unless waterways, such as the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, are modernized and opened up?

It is impossible for the railroads to handle the freight offering, and there are instances too numerous to mention right here of ships in distress being held up for weeks awaiting the receipt of parts of their machinery coming from points no further distant than Connecticut and Rhode Island and New York.

Ocean freights, by reason of the hostilities, have made it unattractive to vessel owners to continue their craft in the coastwise trade. Only yesterday the schooner *John B. Biemiller* was chartered to load 6,000 barrels of oil at New York for Genoa at a freight rate of $17 a barrel. Under ordinary conditions $0.96 a barrel to this point would have been an attractive freight.

This vessel in normal times carried lumber, and this is what the lumbermen and dealers in building materials are confronted with to-day.

One schooner, the *Josephine*, has loaded lumber at Mobile for Philadelphia at $16 a thousand feet. Under normal conditions her freight would have been from $6.50 to $7.50 per thousand feet.

In no other way will the conditions be remedied than by the opening up of this inland waterway, as this will permit of the construction and operation of the cheaply built and cheaply manned inland barges.

The value of this canal to the Navy, if modernized, is too well known by you Washington officials to be dwelt upon by me.

Now, these statistics which follow should not be considered indicative of the importance of this waterway to our section of the country, as the business is minimized by its antiquated condition.

During the year 1916, 1,164 vessels of the gross tonnage of 521,343 tons arrived here with cargo via this canal, and during the same period 1,133 vessels, with the gross tonnage of 521,632 tons, left Philadelphia for points in the South via this canal.

Within the same period 110,049,182 feet of lumber, 219,807 railroad ties, 19,930 tons of cinders, 62,430 tons of mine props, 8,110 tons of piling, 3,408 tons of pig iron, 27,277 cords of pulp wood, 11,750 tons of sand, and 3,230 tons of nitrate of soda arrived here from the South via this canal, and within this same period 381 regular line steamers departed and 382 regular line steamers arrived via this waterway.

Of course you will understand that there was much miscellaneous freight, the details of which would make this letter too voluminous.

Very truly, yours,

GEO. F. SPROULE, *Secretary.*

The Food-Control Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the food-control bill now before the House. It is not perfect and experience will suggest material amendments, but at this time, in the midst of a great world conflict, we are called upon to meet an emergency that affects every household in the land—the high cost of living.

It will not meet the situation to abuse food barons, extortionists, or speculators, nor should we overlook the fact that legitimate business is employed in the production and manufacture of the necessaries of life. This food-control law seeks not only to avoid waste in present methods of marketing, but to prevent the men or set of men who now prey upon the general public from extorting unconscionable profits for food and fuel which they control.

The Sherman antitrust law has been in force for many years, but it has failed to relieve the extortion practiced in food prices, and extortion is now a menace to the rights of the public throughout the country. Competition in the sale of foodstuffs has practically ceased because a small centralized group of men to-day manipulate and largely control prices and cumbersome

methods of marketing the necessaries of life. The farmers of the country and other producers of foodstuffs get for their products only what these speculators are forced to give, while the consumer is compelled to pay all that can be extorted from him by the same men who prey upon the necessities of the people in either case. Many examples of such exactions have been exposed in the House. This monopolistic practice is indefensible and contrary to our purposes of government and ought to be summarily dealt with.

The food-control bill, together with the food-survey bill, just passed by the House will empower the Government, acting through the President and his appointees, to ascertain the supply of fuel and foodstuffs on hand throughout the country and the most efficient means of marketing such products. It will enable us to act intelligently so as not seriously to deplete our own supplies when permitting the exportation of food products to Europe, and under the bill the authorities may bring into the open those who seek to corner the market. In this time of national stress it prevents the use of food products for purposes other than for food, while the bill provides that if necessary to do so the Government can expend $150,000,000 in taking over fuel and food products, with mines and factories if need be.

Every Member of the House, I believe, will favor the general purpose of the bill. If it affords relief, it may also offer some means of bringing nearer together the producer and the consumer in times of peace as well as in times of war. The strength of a nation is in its citizenship; that citizenship is entitled to every protection that can be afforded, and now that we are engaged in a great war and every resource of government must be conserved it is as necessary to protect our people at home from commercial and economic enemies as it is to protect them from enemies across the water. By so doing we help sustain our soldiers at the front.

During my brief membership in Congress I have endeavored to point out and prevent inexcusable Government waste and useless extravagance, on the theory that the public is heavily taxed to pay the bills, and as a matter of right is entitled to protection from selfishness of interests organized to raid the Treasury for private and local purposes. In some respects this bill carries out that same general proposition. It should pass Congress without delay, and will thereby place in the hands of the administration a powerful agency with which to meet the high cost of living. In my judgment that power will be exercised for the public interest; and believing that the bill is a needed war measure, I will give it my support.

Food Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, June 28, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial taken from the Daily Oklahoman under date of June 25, 1917, as follows:

THE HOUSE VOTE ON FOOD CONTROL.

The House has passed the food-control bill by a vote of 365 to 5. It may fairly be assumed that this almost unanimous action of the House is bound to influence the opposition to the measure in the Senate. The chances are that the food-control bill will be a law by July 1, according to the President's schedule.

The Senators who have been fighting the bill have not succeeded in rallying any support to their side. Public opinion is with the President. It is an informed public opinion. Mr. Hoover has stated that the food speculators have robbed the people of this country of a quarter of a billion dollars in the last five months. Possibly that statement is an estimate, which might be difficult to prove, but public judgment accepts it as approximately correct. Other statements made by Hoover are not estimates, but cold, hard facts. He tells us, for instance, that the price of bread in Belgium is 40 per cent lower than in this country, while in France it is 50 per cent lower. Hoover knows about conditions in those countries. That food is much cheaper in England than in the United States everybody knows. It is those facts which have induced the administration to ask for vast powers as to the production and marketing of foodstuffs, and it is those facts which have ranged the people squarely behind the President.

It is understood, of course, that a law of this character could not possibly be passed excepting under the abnormal conditions of the war. Nevertheless, it is not altogether a war condition. Our system of marketing foods has been wrong. It has operated to the serious disadvantage of the farmer and of the consumer. The speculators have gotten the profits. Under the so-called board of trade marketing system the prices of farm products are down when the farmer has them for sale, they go up as soon as they leave the farmers' hands, and by various kinds of manipulation—storage, artificial shortages, etc.—the prices to the consumer are pushed up to "all that the traffic will bear." The exigencies of war have made that system unendurable. It may seriously be doubted if, after the war, the people will ever submit to such tyranny again. Producers and consumers have a community of interest against food gambling.

Price regulation by the Government is no novel, revolutionary experiment in this country. The Government regulates railroad rates. Its experience in this line may not be an unqualified success, but it is incomparably superior to the system of letting the railroads make their own rates. The rates of every public-service corporation in this country are determined by the public. The plan may leave many things to be desired, but it is emphatically the best plan that has yet been found. So with food, so with fuel, so with all the necessaries. Individual initiative must be safeguarded, of course, but individual or corporate initiative must not have the license to practice extortion. Our food gamblers and our anthracite coal barons have operated under that license, but the war has brought their despotism to an end, and peace will not restore it.

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROSE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted during the consideration of the rivers and harbors bill I have to say that my action thereon was governed for the most part by the reports filed upon the part of the majority and minority members of the committee.

It will be remembered that minority members of that committee, composed of men of equal ability with those representing the majority, filed a report wherein it was stated that many of the projects contemplated by the bill were absolutely without merit, and palpable efforts were being made to rush through some reclamation schemes.

Since it is impossible for those of us who represent interior districts in interior States to make any sort of an examination of the rivers and harbors sought to be improved, there is no method provided, excepting the reports filed by the committees and the arguments offered in support of and against the several propositions contained in the bill, for such members to acquaint themselves with the merits or demerits of such proposed legislation.

The objections filed by the minority are either true or not true. If true, then the appropriations suggested should not be made, and if not true, should be shown conclusively. For the above reasons I cast my vote to recommit the bill, and that effort meeting with failure, I supported the bill as it passed the House with the knowledge that there are many projects, including the improvement of the river and harbor facilities along the Delaware River in Pennsylvania, which are worthy projects from any point of view. While it may be truly said that there are many projects offered which may be of the "pork" variety, it is absolutely essential to improve and maintain many of our navigable streams to facilitate the constantly increasing commerce of the Nation, many of which should not suffer by reason of a few schemes proposed which may appear unworthy.

River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD E. ROBBINS,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE YOUGHIOGHENY RIVER.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, the amendment offered provides as follows:

Page 31, lines 13 and 14, insert the following paragraph: "Youghiogheny River, Pa., from its mouth to West Newton, including the report of the existing and prospective water terminals."

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this proposed survey of the Youghiogheny River, in Pennsylvania, will not cost the Government a cent. I wish to explain briefly the situation with reference to the Youghiogheny River.

The Youghiogheny River rises in Garrett County, Md., and flows through Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania a distance of 140 miles and empties into the Monongahela River at the city of McKeesport, in slackwater pool 2 of that river, in which river the system of navigation is now owned and operated by the United States Government.

This amendment merely calls for a reexamination and report of the engineers from data that they already have on this river to the next Congress without cost to the Government.

The Youghiogheny River was improved by a private corporation known as the Youghiogheny Navigation Co., chartered under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania in 1848, and was rendered navigable by two locks and dams from McKeesport to West Newton, a distance of 18.8 miles, being the points between which reexamination is now requested. During that time a very large amount of commerce, principally of coal, with passenger steamers, was operated on this river. Sixteen mines produced coal and shipped over it in that distance, being a mine for nearly every mile of river. These locks and dams were swept away by an extraordinary flood in 1866, and at that time the river was surveyed as a section of the proposed Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, extending from Washington City by the way of Cumberland to the Ohio River using the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers, and hence the locks and dams were never completed. It was generally supposed that the Government would complete the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and rebuild these locks and dams in accordance with its own plans.

While it is true that railroads have been built on either side of the river—the Pittsburgh division of the Baltimore & Ohio, completed in 1854, and the Youghiogheny division of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie in 1882—these railroads have developed and carried the coal tonnage formerly tributary to that river because slack-water navigation was entirely destroyed.

This proposed improvement between McKeesport and West Newton has been before the Board of Engineers of the United States at different times in the past.

1. In 1873 Capt. George H. Mabon examined this river in connection with the extension of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, and reported in favor of the restoration of navigation by the construction of three locks and dams, each with a lift of 10 feet, to cost $688,000. This report is found in Document No. 37, part 2, page 58.

2. A second examination was made by Col. William E. Merrill in 1880, as found in Engineer's Report of that year, part 3, page 1957, in which he says:

> For the present I would recommend the construction of one lock and dam at a cost of $230,000 and that the work be prosecuted with energy and economy.

3. A third examination was made by Capt. George M. Lehman in 1884, found in Engineer's Report of that year, Appendix HH, part 5, page 3226, in which he favored the extension of this improvement.

4. A fourth examination was made by Maj. Charles F. Powell favoring this improvement, and when I was a Member of the Fifty-fifth Congress I had inserted in the river and harbor bill, approved March 3, 1899, an appropriation of $25,000 for the purpose of having the river examined and surveyed; and in the report made by Maj. Powell, pursuant to said authorization, on September 27, 1899, Maj. Powell concluded his lengthy and exhaustive report thus:

> In view of these deductions I am led to report that, in my opinion, the Youghiogheny River from West Newton to its mouth is worthy of slack-water improvement by the General Government.

On October 11, 1899, Col. Henry M. Roberts, division engineer at Pittsburgh, indorsed and approved Maj. Powell's report thus:

> The three locks Maj. Powell estimates to cost $600,000. In fact, $32,000 will certainly cover the cost of annual maintenance and interest on the cost. This amounts to only 4 cents per ton for each of the 800,000 tons of coal that Maj. Powell estimates as the minimum amount that would annually be taken down the Youghiogheny River if it were improved to West Newton. I can hardly see how the saving in freights would not be more than double this amount; and therefore the improvement is a worthy one.

Nothing further was done in this matter until 1910, because no one took special interest in the project.

In the river and harbor act of June 25, 1910, page 638 contains the following provision:

> Improving the Youghiogheny River, Pa., up to West Newton, in accordance with the report of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, dated December 21, 1908, and printed in the Rivers and Harbors Committee Document No. 9, Sixty-first Congress, second session, $100,000.

With this sum available the location of the three locks and dams were made and soundings and drillings taken, but no further appropriation was made for the continuance or completion of the work; and in the river and harbor bill of March 4, 1915, there was inserted a provision transferring the balance of the fund, amounting to $87,805.25, to any other river and harbor improvement for which the funds may be needed prior to the 30th of June, 1916.

This proposition is therefore now brought before Congress, having had the unqualified indorsement of the Army engineers and of the Board of Army Engineers at six different times, and adverse report from but one of the engineers, and of the board last year, without an examination into the physical features of the river—merely an examination of the surveys and reports of their predecessors.

Col. Newcomer seems to have reported against this when he was the resident engineer at Pittsburgh in 1907, in a report made on the 10th of October of that year, in which he stated that the stream was not worthy of improvement because "there was lack of interest in the project."

It is believed now, when the interest in waterways has been so increased by the advent of war, that it would be entirely proper to make a reexamination of this project at this time from the surveys and data now in the hands of the Government engineers, and a resurvey, if necessary, and report to the next Congress, so that the improvement may be inserted in the next river and harbor bill and money appropriated sufficient, in addition to the $87,805.25 already credited to the project, to complete the improvement.

It is therefore apparent that not only has this proposition been surveyed and resurveyed but it has been finally planned and the dams and locks actually located, the ground for their foundation tested, and all the preliminary work done, so that this reexamination of the project simply means a reexamination and report on the data already in the hands of the Government.

This is not an original scheme—not an experiment—but is the restoration of navigation that heretofore existed.

In order to give some idea of the coal tonnage that is tributary to the Youghiogheny River, I herewith append the following reports, down to 1913, which are the latest available figures:

Name.	Acreage.	Tons produced in—	
		1907	[1] 1913
Ocean No. 1	1,500	216,871	.....
Ocean No. 2	500	378,339	.....
Ocean No. 3	.....	.....	.....
Ocean No. 4	.....	173,996	.....
Penn Gas No. 5	800	425,343	.....
Forest Hill	500	176,043	.....
Suter	40	.....	.....
Yough Slope	800	144,039	.....
West Newton mines	700	259,835	.....
Euclid	500	166,932	.....
Eureka	1,200	210,575	.....
Wick Haven	800	223,685	.....
Darr Mine	900	378,307	.....
Waverly	500	154,949	.....
Banning No. 1	600	318,729	.....
Banning No. 2	700	451,512	.....
	10,040	3,679,155	5,244,043

[1] 1913 consolidated.

From this table it is very apparent that there is a large acreage of Pittsburgh seam, although diminishing—that is, in part at least—tributary to this stream.

While it is true there are railroads on either side of this river carrying this coal, as there is no water-borne traffic, this coal has to seek the only outlet, to wit, the rail.

This river empties into the Monongahela, pool 2. The city of McKeesport is built on its banks for quite a distance, and there are a number of factories along the Youghiogheny that would have their products shipped by water if slackwater was available. There is urgent necessity for the beginning of the improvement by the construction of the first lock and dam.

Mr. Speaker, during the debate on this bill much has been stated about the decadence of the river traffic, and the Ohio River has been cited repeatedly as an instance of this situation. I deny that this is true. The Ohio River is only partially improved. Until its improvement is completed traffic can not be expected to increase. The Ohio River in its present condition is navigable only about one-fourth of the time, but mark the difference where water navigation is available a greater part of the year.

I therefore submit a table of traffic on the Monongahela River taken from the harbor master's report at Pittsburgh, which shows a constantly increasing traffic on the Monongahela River:

Year.	Products in tons.	Passengers.
1915	12,622,955	704,000
1914	11,143,390	613,381
1913	13,308,796	866,157
1912	12,476,323	796,616
1911	12,519,776	682,807
1910	12,314,664	683,172
1909	12,426,154	699,251
1908	11,454,895	267,043
1907	14,395,816	533,280
1906	12,927,975	271,450
1905	12,259,020	603,716
1904	9,373,448	604,477
1903	12,240,360	702,269
1902	12,252,405	896,500
1901	10,916,489	817,800
1900	8,141,451	884,415

Furthermore, in order to show that this is not the traffic in and around the city of Pittsburgh, I wish to give you an extract from the United States Government report for the month of February, 1916:

In spite of the fact that February was a short month and that at least once high water entirely stopped navigation, the February coal records were high at Lock No. 4, furnishing a true gauge of the conditions in the river coal business along the Monongahela. The total shipments of coal for the month downstream were 17,308,000 bushels. This makes the coal record for the first two months of the year 45,776,000 bushels, and gives a start in the year of a sort that if followed will make this about the best coal year in history.

The report of Lockmaster Sweeney at Lock No. 4 is as follows: "Downstream: Lockages, 355; steamers, 294; boats, barges, and flats, 1,281; coal, 17,308,000 bushels. Upstream: Lockages, 358; steamers, 298; boats, barges, and flats, 1,321; coal, 14,000 bushels.

"Just once during the month, this being February 13, was the river flooded until navigation was stopped. The waters went to 31.7 feet on the lock at this time."

Furthermore, Lock 3 for 1916 shipped a total tonnage of 10,166,514 tons, 9,975,120 tons of which were coal. This indicates clearly the immense tonnage that is moved on the Monongahela River. There can be no doubt, therefore, that if the Youghiogheny were improved it would carry a large and ever-increasing tonnage.

Gentlemen of the committee, it is unfair, as some of the Members have done, to constantly charge this bill with being a proposition to extract money from the United States. I am not aware of the merits of other propositions in this bill; I can not criticize them intelligently. To simply criticize them as without merit or ridicule them because of the strange names that some of them adopt, is, in my mind, unfair, uncalled for, and not the kind of criticism that ought to demand respect and carry conviction in the consideration of legislation in this House.

This proposition was of sufficient merit to recommend its installation originally and its maintenance for a period of over 18 years by private capital from 1848 to 1866. From 1866 until the present time the railroads have been opposing constantly the canalization of all our rivers, fearing them as competitors.

This attitude of the railroads has happily passed. The railroads are now practically under Government control, and indeed practically consolidated under one management. They have admitted their inability to carry the high-class, imperishable freight, leaving slow-moving traffic, such as coal, ore, stone, and building material to the rivers. The United States has expended enormous sums to build the Panama Canal, and it has expended and is expending enormous sums on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and is committed to the completion of the canalization of the Ohio. Why not complete the system?

The Youghiogheny is a branch of the Monongahela, which stands in the same relation to the Ohio as a branch line does to the main line of a railroad; it is a feeder and an originator of traffic. There are undeveloped veins of coal in addition to the Pittsburgh vein; there are mills and factories along its banks which would furnish traffic for the Ohio.

This project was recommended by the district engineer for appropriation in the present bill to begin the work in accordance with the authorization and an appropriation made of $100,000 therefor under the rivers and harbors bill of June 25, 1910, which definitely authorizes the construction of the first dam. The division engineer did not refuse it, only passed it up to the board, but the Board of Engineers, I presume, with war conditions facing them, reported "that they did not deem it advisable at the present time."

Hence the inference is that the war conditions approaching caused the project to be held up for the present.

The President has announced that business ought to go on as usual. This House, by the passage of the river and harbor bill, has committed itself to that proposition. The continuation of the improvement of the Ohio has been taken care of by this bill, and appropriations have been made for the harbor at Pittsburgh in the Monongahela River, hence the improvement of the Youghiogheny River is one of the projects that should be authorized under this bill and the actual work appropriated for and begun under the next bill to be presented in December, 1917. By doing this, Congress will recognize a meritorious proposition and grant justice to the stream and to the people residing along and adjacent thereto, who have too long, alas, been denied justice and fair treatment.

The Making of a "Pork-Barrel" Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRA G. HERSEY,
OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4285) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker, as a student of public questions for many years and a diligent reader of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I have been much interested in the past in the making of the annual "pork-barrel" bills in Congress. After reading each year the debates in the RECORD I never could quite understand how it was possible for Congress to enact such legislation that has hitherto brought so much criticism, shame, and disgrace to Congress and to the Nation.

But as a new Member at this special session, having been present at the making of an annual rivers and harbors bill, I now understand as never before how such vicious legislation comes to be enacted.

Years ago when the Republican Party was in control of this Nation, and through its tariff policies had made the Nation rich and prosperous with an overflowing treasury, it became a serious question what to do with the surplus. As a solution of that problem was born the idea of an annual rivers and harbors bill; since then billions have been wasted by the United States in aiding and developing worthless projects in many rivers and harbors in our land. Much good has been accomplished in a few cases in the way of better navigation and commerce, but much of this money has been lost on worthless schemes, until finally, under the criticism of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party was driven from power, largely due to this extravagance and to the evils that have grown out of this kind of legislation.

With the advent of the Democratic Party in power in the Nation these old, disgraceful methods have not been changed; but, on the contrary, new plans have been devised to further waste the money of the people. During the last four years of democratic control the annual pork-barrel measures have been enacted with all of the old and many new disgraceful features, and to-day we find that the administration is standing behind the present rivers and harbors bill demanding that it be passed now as a war measure.

Early in this special session it was announced that only legislation necessary for military preparedness, the national defense, and emergencies, called for by the present war should demand or receive the attention of this Congress; it therefore came to the people of this country as a great surprise when the Committee on Rivers and Harbors—in the midst of this emergency legislation—reported out this rivers and harbors bill and demanded its passage immediately as a war necessity.

Let us be frank and honest with each other and with the country. This is not a war measure. It has no place in our present legislation. It is the same old annual "pork-barrel" bill. It failed of passage at the last regular session in the Senate and has been redated and again reported to the House without any material change. It calls for about $30,000,000 from the people to finance over 400 different projects in every State in the Union, work that can not possibly be completed during the present war, if it continues for a reasonable time.

There are now $32,000,000 unexpended for the maintenance of rivers and harbors. This is sufficient to take care of this business until after the war, and to add to this thirty millions more at this time of supreme demands upon our people would be an insult to the taxpayers, and such an extravagant appropriation bill ought to be vetoed by the President.

A majority of the Rivers and Harbors Committee favor this bill, while seven members of that committee are opposed to the

measure as wasteful and extravagant and not in any sense an emergency or war measure. The majority of the committee are interested in the passage of the bill by having in it large appropriations for their own State. Over twenty millions of these appropriations will go to the States represented by members of that great committee. The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL] has advocated great appropriations of millions to be spent along the Mississippi and Missouri and other rivers of the South.

The gentleman on the committee from New York [Mr. HULBERT] has, with great ability and zeal, advocated the appropriation of millions for the rivers and harbors of his State. The gentleman on the committee from Ohio [Mr. SWITZER] has been very zealous to get a big appropriation, of about a million dollars, for the Ohio River; and the gentleman on the committee from California [Mr. OSBORNE] has been very diligent in securing nearly a million and a half for the Pacific coast. The committee has been ably assisted in these projects by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], who wants millions for his State of Pennsylvania.

And thus it comes about that when this bill is reported in the House it does not pass into the hands and control of the leaders of the two great parties, but is taken in charge by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, who control the time of debate and attempt to force it through by the old-time methods.

The able and distinguished leader of the Democratic party in the House from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] absents himself during the debate, takes no part therein, and leaves the leadership of the House on the Democratic side to the Rivers and Harbors Committee. The brilliant leader of the Republicans, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], also takes a vacation during the debate, and leaves this bill in charge of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, while the administration has read into the record of the debate its indorsement of the measure.

During the progress of this debate I have learned something about the political part played by the annual "pork-barrel" bill. The gentleman from California on the committee [Mr. OSBORNE], in the course of his remarks favoring the bill, said, in substance, that the late candidate of the Republican Party for President, Justice Hughes, while on his tour in the West in the late campaign, criticized these "pork-barrel" bills and gave the people of the West to understand that if he was elected President he would veto them, and he attributes the defeat of the Republican Party and its loss of California to this opposition of rivers and harbors legislation by Mr. Hughes.

I believe the gentleman from California was right. It furnishes the most reasonable solution of the loss of California that I have heard, and I have no doubt that the loss to the Republicans of the old stand-pat State of Ohio was due to the fact that Ohio had then and has now in this bill an appropration of over a million dollars.

Such is the result of vicious legislation. Rivers and harbors bills as enacted in the past and as forced through Congress to-day will result in the defeat of the Democratic Party. It has hitherto made and defeated Presidents; it has elected and defeated Members of Congress, and with brazen effrontery it declares to-day that it will defeat for office men who have the courage of their convictions and dare to stand against this wastefulness and extravagance in the Government.

I have given this present bill very careful attention, having been present every moment during the many days of debate in the House. I have carefully studied the merits of the different projects and have arrived at the conclusion that outside of about a dozen projects which no doubt have merit and ought to be approved, the balance of about 400 items can not be defended as necessary either in time of war or in times of peace. They are neither war measures nor will they ever assist even in any material way in enlarging or aiding the commerce of the country. They simply furnish a large fund to be spent in the several States in certain alleged public improvements that are to be washed away and destroyed at every flood time. Millions are to be dumped into rivers and streams that have no commerce and never will have any; millions are to be spent in projects that will give no return to the Government nor add to the wealth of the United States. One hundred and six old surveys are incompleted and 75 new surveys are called for in this bill, which is simply a preparation for another annual rivers and harbors bill, and which will call to its task the work and services of all our Army engineers, who are now so much needed in other work in this great war.

The true viciousness of this legislation is not apparent upon its face. The bill is so drawn that every State in the Nation has some part of this great appropriation. This is explained on the ground that it is necessary that every State should have some appropriation so as to hold its Representatives and Senators in favor of the bill. I wanted, if possible, to feel perfectly free to vote for this bill if it had merit and to vote against it if in my opinion it was bad legislation. I early found, however, that it was very hard to take and keep an unbiased and unprejudiced position and at the same time meet the wishes and desires of the people of my State.

The people of Portland, the largest city in my State, were eager to get incorporated into the rivers and harbors bill an amendment for the development of Portland Harbor, a very meritorious proposition, and one which I favored. Learning of my opposition to the rivers and harbors bill, the people of Portland knew that the defeat of the rivers and harbors bill would, of course, defeat the Portland amendment to be attached to the bill, and consequently I was flooded with letters and telegrams from that city demanding that I should vote for the whole bill, good or bad, right or wrong, to save the good project of Portland from defeat. Many of these letters were insults; others threats demanding that I should surrender any opinion I might have formed in regard to the bill and to vote for the whole measure, thus saving Portland's share. The great press of that city took up the matter and wrote many editorials, of which the following are specimens:

[From the Portland Evening Express, Monday, June 11, 1917.]

HERSEY CHIEF STUMBLING BLOCK OF HARBOR BILL.

Information from Washington that three of the members of the Maine delegation in Congress were said to be opposed to the passage of the pending rivers and harbors appropriation bill caused quite a stir in Portland, for that bill carries with it a clause providing for deepening Portland Harbor Channel to 35 feet. The Members that were said to be opposed to the measure are Congressmen PETERS, WHITE, and HERSEY.

The chamber of commerce got busy at once and called together the members of its harbor development committee, all of whom attended a meeting which occupied a couple of hours of the forenoon.

* * * * * * *

The committee got into communication by telephone or wire with the Members of Congress in question and with men of influence throughout the State. Congressman PETERS, who is at his home in Ellsworth, informed the committee that he is not opposed to the measure. He is in favor of the bill, but will not be in Washington when the House votes on the measure Wednesday, but he is paired with a Member who is opposed.

Chairman Merrill of the committee talked by telephone with Gov. Milliken, who said he had discussed the matter with all of the members of the Maine delegation in Washington, and is doing what he can in favor of the passage of the bill. He is inclined to believe that Congressman WHITE will vote for the bill, but said it is impossible to do anything with Congressman HERSEY.

All day the wires have been kept busy, and the chamber suggests that the more letters and telegrams that are sent by Maine business men to Representatives HERSEY and WHITE urging them to aid in the development of Maine by voting for the appropriation bill the better they will become convinced that Maine is in earnest in the matter.

Many business and professional men are sending personal telegrams to the Maine Congressmen to vote in favor of rivers and harbors appropriation bill, and every person interested in the development of Maine is being urged to use influence to secure the passage of the bill providing for a 35-foot channel in Portland Harbor.

Telegrams urging Congressman IRA G. HERSEY, of Houlton, and WALLACE H. WHITE, Jr., to vote for the passage of the bill were sent to them to-day.

Hon. Frank E. Guernsey, of Dover, has been urged to use his influence in securing the passage of the bill. He received telegrams from the Portland Chamber of Commerce and also from President Flagg, of the Maine State Board of Trade, to-day. Gov. Milliken has been asked to urge the support of the bill, and a telegram to Gov. Milliken was sent by Mayor Wilford G. Chapman, President H. T. Hooper, of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, and banking and professional men of this State. Telegrams were also sent to Congressman L. B. GODDALL and Rear Admiral R. E. Peary requesting them to do everything in their power toward securing the passage of the bill.

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[Editorial in Daily Eastern Argus, Portland, June 12, 1917.]

The Chamber of Commerce of Portland, Me., should never rest until it has probed to the bottom the reasons for the opposition of Congressmen HERSEY, PETERS, and WHITE to the rivers and harbors bill, which carries with it the item for the deepening of Portland Harbor. What set of profiteers brought their influence to bear on these men? They owe the State an answer.

I thought that my colleague [Mr. WHITE] and myself were the only victims of such a propaganda, but I early found that hundreds of fellow Members of the House were receiving like treatment from home, and that this rivers and harbors bill had debauched the conscience of the people to such an extent that every State wanted a share of the Treasury when it would come to their locality.

I also discovered another thing—that the millions to be spent along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers in the South were expected to hold in line the "solid South"; the millions to be spent along the Ohio and western coast were intended to make solid in favor of the bill Members from those favored sections. The great States of New York and Pennsylvania, which were receiving such magnificent millions under the bill, were expected to stand solidly in line behind the committee.

Here and there a great newspaper whose locality was not especially interested spoke out its honest thought. In my own

State the Lewiston Journal, founded by the late Nelson Dingley, said, June 23, of this rivers and harbors bill:

THE $26,000,000 PORK BILL.

If Congress enacts the $26,000,000 river and harbor pork while folks are subscribing three billions to liberty and $100,000,000 to Red Cross, and while the trusts take 300 per cent profit, look out to see the Taft and Wilson policy torn to tatters by and by when folks catch on. The river and harbor job was never defensible, but to-day when patriotism and decent principle must necessarily be embodied in legislation if we are to win this war the most dangerous enemies of the Nation are not hyphenated Germans but hyphenated plutocrats and grafters. Should this pork bill be passed and signed by the President, the fewer proclamations which his excellency emits for pure democracy the better. But let Congress first display a little "hoss" sense.

As a rule, however, "pork" has silenced the great American press in nearly every State where there was a large appropriation made in the rivers and harbors bill, and this caused no surprise, for Congress has become accustomed to the "old order of things."

When the bill came up for debate a large majority of the Members absented themselves from the House, many leaving the city for a vacation and others paired on final passage of the bill so they would not have the responsibility of voting for or against amendments to the bill.

A few Members made a heroic fight at first against the bill, but after repeated defeats in vain attempts to secure amendments they gave up the contest. A point of order was made against a certain project as not being properly in the bill. The Chair sustained the point of order and ruled out the project. An appeal was taken from the Chair, and the Chair was overruled, setting aside a correct decision on parliamentary law. And so the fight goes on. It is an old saying, "What is the Constitution between friends." It is now fast becoming an expression among Members, "What is parliamentary law when you want to get through a rivers and harbors bill."

I do not wish to be understood that in anything I have said that I mean or intend to reflect upon the honesty and integrity of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors or the membership of this House. I do not for one moment assume to be the guardian of the conscience of any man. It is the vicious system that has grown up in this Nation through the years that I disapprove. The members of the committee that indorse this bill believe that they are doing thereby honest service for their people. The Members of this House who to-day vote for this bill have grown to believe in the righteousness of the projects in which they are interested.

When a people or community year after year have received from the Public Treasury large sums for their rivers and harbors, they come to look upon this annual appropriation as a matter of right, and naturally regard any opposition from their Representatives as coming from those who oppose the best interests of their State. And Members of Congress who are interested, as they should be, in getting large appropriations for their own State come very easily to believe in and to honestly indorse and work for their own projects, and in looking after the special interests of their own constituents they do not pay much attention to the projects of their fellow Members and honestly vote with the committee for the whole bill.

After a Member has once voted for one of these pork-barrel bills he has deprived himself of any power and influence to oppose a future bill in which his State has no interest. This was illustrated in the debate yesterday upon the bill. I quote from the RECORD:

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin, who is making a gallant fight against this bill, has drawn to his aid the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES], who sits at my left and who occassionally reads off some statistics that he has gathered from some report or other, or he reads from some letter from an individual who may have more or less interest in the proceedings. I do not know just why the gentleman from Michigan rises so often to the aid of the gentleman from Wisconsin unless it is that Michigan has been so well provided for heretofore in appropriations made by Congress that it does not need and further help. * * * Up to 1915, not including appropriations for 1916 and the appropriations in this bill, the State of Michigan has been taken care of to the amount of $59,378,000. That is nearly $60,000,000 that Congress has given to the State of Michigan alone. Why, of course, the gentleman from Michigan can afford to cut out all other appropriations now. He has "got his."

During the discussion of this bill, I have been reminded of an incident that occurred some years ago in my own State legislature: A certain country representative from the northern part of my district was sent to the legislature. He was charged with the sole duty of getting an appropriation for a certain bridge for his town. He made his canvass and won his election on his promise that he would get that bridge appropriation. As soon as the legislature convened he found some one to draw and introduce a resolution for an appropriation for his bridge. In the course of time many like bridge resolutions were presented by members from other localities. He was anxious about his bridge, so he sought out the members who favored appropriations for bridges, and they got together and held a meeting and agreed to support each other's projects. The next morning in the house the speaker proceeded with the second reading of the bridge resolutions. The country member thinking that his trade settled the matter sprang to his feet and said, "Mr. Speaker, this is a mistake. This resolve should go no further. We fellows who have bridge bills have traded!"

So very early in this debate I found out that it was no use to contest this bill for it would pass the House, the reason understood was like the reason given by the member of the Maine Legislature when he said, "We have traded."

I hope the time will come, and not far distant, when uninfluenced by fear or favor the improvement of our waterways may be undertaken by the Congress, and that those projects that bring wealth and prosperity to the Nation shall receive calm, unbiased, and judicial consideration, and those schemes to loot the Treasury that have so disgraced people and party in the past will be known no more in all our land. Until that day, I must oppose and vote against this bill and continue to heed the apt and forceful admonition of our President that—

This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance.

Food and Fuel Conservation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, in consideration of a bill so drastic and far-reaching in its effects as the pending measure, and so entirely without precedent, the first question that arises is whether national necessity warrants its enactment. It is a war measure and would not be before us if this Nation was not engaged in a conflict that demands the most efficient utilization of all our resources. This bill has for its purpose the security and defense of the Republic by the regulation and control of the food and fuel supplies of the Nation.

With the cost of living now at a point which is causing hardship and suffering to many of our people, we are confronted by a condition, which unless ameliorated will lead to serious results. There is a shortage in the world's food supply, due to the partial failure of the wheat crop in France, England, and Argentina. This shortage is augmented by the increased consumption of the armies in the field; by the reduced productivity of land due to the reduction of man power; by the sinking of cargoes by submarines; by the scarcity of ocean tonnage for the shipment of supplies from Australia and India, and by the cessation of the normal supply from Russia, Roumania, and Bulgaria. A serious emergency exists which demands immediate intervention by the Federal Government, and I regret that the passage of this measure has been so long delayed. With 1,000,000,000 acres of tillable land in the United States, only part of which is cultivated, we produced last year farm products to the value of $13,500,000,000, which provided not only for our own wants but enabled us to export large quantities of food to Europe. It is estimated that in the period between July 1, 1914, and January 1, 1917, the cost of food in Russia has risen 165 per cent; in Germany, 110 per cent; in France, 85 per cent; in England, 65 per cent; in neutral Sweden, 45 per cent; and in the United States, 25 per cent. In the last six months, however, the prices of basic foodstuffs in this country have increased from 30 to 65 per cent. When it is realized that in many of the countries dependent upon us for supplies the prices to the consumer are lower than they are in the country which produces them, the necessity for remedial legislation becomes urgent and imperative.

Let me give a few startling statistics published by the Government.

RETAIL PRICES OF BREAD.		Cents.
Washington, May, 1917	per pound	8
Copenhagen, Denmark, February, 1917	do	8
Stockholm, Sweden, February, 1917	do	12
Liverpool and London, April, 1917	do	6

A few days ago it was reported that flour was selling in England at $9 per barrel, while flour made from the same wheat but which did not have to bear the cost of transportation and of insurance was selling in the United States at $16 per barrel.

Comparison of retail prices of food in the United States during April, 1914, before the war, and April, 1917.

[From Government reports.]

	April, 1914.	April, 1917.	Increase.
Groceries:			*Per cent.*
Sugar, granulated, pound	$0.04	$0.09	125
Flour—Gold Medal, barrel	7.25	14.00	93
Milk—Condensed, can	.09	.15	67
Tomatoes, standard 2½'s, can	.07	.17	142
Corn, standard 2½'s, can	.07	.13	85
Peas, E. J.	.07	.10	45
Baked beans	.08	.13	65
Corn meal, pound	.02½	.05	100
Hominy, pound	.03	.05	66
Rice, best, pound	.08	.09	12
Oatmeal, pound	.03½	.06	70
Prunes, small, pound	.05	.08	60
Salmon, chum, can	.08	.14	75
Beef:			
Rib roast, pound	.20	.25	25
Chuck roast, pound	.17	.22	30
Sirloin steak, pound	.24	.34	42
Round steak, pound	.20	.32	60
Pork:			
Fresh hams	.15	.27	80
Fresh shoulders	.13½	.22	58
Fresh pork chops, loin	.18	.32	80
Fresh pork roast, center	.18	.30	66
Butter, first grade, pound	.30	.55	83
Eggs, fresh, dozen	.21	.38	80

Comparison of retail prices of foods, January, 1917, and May, 1917.

	January, 1917.	May, 1917.	Increase.
Groceries:			*Per cent.*
Granulated sugar, pound	$0.07	$0.10	42
Gold Medal flour, barrel	9.60	15.20	53
Standard tomatoes, can	.12	.18	58
Maine corn	.13	.17	30
Baked beans	.10	.15	50
White corn meal, pound	.04	.06	50
Broken rice	.04	.06	50
Oatmeal	.04	.06	50
Macaroni, bulk	.08	.13	60
Prunes, small	.05	.08	60
Beef:			
Rib roast	.24	.25	4
Sirloin steak	.28	.34	22
Round steak	.25	.32	28
Butter, extra creamery	.43	.55	28
Pork:			
Fresh hams	.22	.27	23
Fresh shoulders	.18	.22	22
Fresh pork chops, loin	.26	.32	23
Fresh pork roast, loin	.25	.30	20

Approximate increases in the cost of staple foods and groceries by certain countries, by percentages, over July, 1914.

	1915		1916		1917
	Jan.	July.	Jan.	July.	Jan.
Canada	7	5	12	14	38
United Kingdom	18	32½	45	61	87
United States	1	— 1	6	9	25
Australia	7	30	29	30	25
New Zealand	11	12	16	19	27
Italy [1]	8	20	33	32	44
Switzerland	.....	19	26	40	.....
Holland	13	30	35	50	65
Denmark	.....	28	34	46	[2] 82
Norway [2]	[2] 9	[2] 19	[2] 41	[2] 169	[2] 104
Sweden [2]	[2] 15	[2] 30	[2] 39	[2] 51	[2] 85
Stockholm	[3] 13	[3] 24	[3] 30	[3] 42	.....
Austria	21	79	113	.....	172
Germany	31	70	88	118	.....

[1] Seven foods only. In Milan, 18 foods in January were 70 per cent higher than in the first six months of 1914.
[2] Including coal, wood, and petroleum.
[3] Foods only, at Stockholm.

This bill does not mitigate against the farmer or the retailer doing legitimate business, as both are exempt from the provisions of this act. All must realize that the producer is entitled to fair and liberal profits for his produce, taking into consideration the cost of everything that enters into the production of his crops. Transportation and distribution, essential to both producer and consumer, are also entitled to just compensation for services fairly rendered. Under this bill the consumer is assured that the price he pays will bear a reasonable and just relation to the price received by the farmer. The bill aims to encourage production, improve the methods of distribution, prohibit manipulation and conspiracy in the enhancement of prices, and prevent hoarding and the willful destruction of necessities. It seeks to regulate boards of trade, eliminate unfair practices, and reduce waste by the regulation of the use of cereals in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages.

This bill provides also for the regulation of fuel supplies, and if its provisions are fully carried out should relieve the unsatisfactory coal situation. Railroads should not be permitted to store coal in cars or at distributing centers to the detriment of consumers and quick and certain transit between the mines and the retail dealers should be insisted upon.

This bill recognizes the patriotism of American industry and does not seek to hamper or restrict legitimate business. It strikes at the food speculator and the exploiter of the necessities of life, and creates a power to crush by the arm of the law those who in greed and avarice extort exorbitant profits from the needs of the people.

We have mobilized the manhood of America; we have mobilized our wealth and our commerce, and by this bill we mobilize our food and fuel supplies for the protection of our people and in order that the great conflict across the seas may be brought to a speedy and triumphant termination.

The Second-Class Postage Subsidy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 29, 1917.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this subject, I herewith print editorials from the Philadelphia Record of May 24, 1917:

Reasonable objections to the readjustment of postal tariffs for second-class matter on a zonal basis could not possibly be found. In the transportation cost of bulky mail pieces the distance carried must be taken into consideration. The difference between the cost of transporting a 1-ounce letter 100 miles or 1,000 is so small that it is negligible by comparison with the convenience of a uniform rate. In the case of a periodical weighing nearly a pound, however, the difference would be appreciable, and a differentiation of rates according to distance is as desirable as it is with parcel-post matter. The rates finally agreed to by the House in its discussion of the war-revenue bill would probably yield about one-half the amount actually paid by the Government to the railways for carriage, to say nothing of the cost of handling by the post-office employees. Instead of placing a burden on education, as Mr. MANN asserts, the Government under this measure would still give a liberal bonus to the educators.

—

DOES NOT SPEAK FOR THE PAPERS.

Congressman J. HAMPTON MOORE, of Philadelphia, did not represent the views of the Philadelphia newspapers in his defeated proposition to fix a flat rate of 2 cents a pound for carrying second-class matter in the mails. Neither did he represent a view entertained by any considerable number of his constituents.

His proposition—defeated as it should be—was to make the newspapers of Philadelphia and elsewhere pay more than the cost of carrying them through the mails as a means to continuing the policy of a Government subsidy of millions of dollars annually to a few magazine publishers.

The special beneficiaries of the long-established and unbusinesslike rate of postage on second-class matter, which costs the Government millions of dollars every year, have, whenever their subsidy was threatened, pretended to represent the newspapers of the country in opposing a change. They have not represented the newspapers as the term "newspaper" is generally understood. Neither did Mr. MOORE represent the newspapers in his ridiculous effort to defeat the zone system as proposed.

As a matter of fact, the postal rate long in force has been the greatest handicap to the small newspapers of the country. The weekly and monthly periodicals, carried by the Government at a loss into the territory of such newspapers, have never failed to argue that the advertiser did not need to use the local newspaper because he covered the field of the little fellow.

Only the other day one of the opponents of the zone system of postal rates on second-class matter drew the daily newspaper into the argument by taking a New York daily paper as an illustration. He sought to create the impression that it would be unfair to increase the rate of postage on that particular newspaper in face of the fact that it charges its mail subscribers three times as much as is charged to its subscribers in New York. But, of course, he did not call attention to the fact that what could be had for 1 cent in New York costs the resident of Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Denver, or San Francisco three times as much.

ST. LOUIS STAR.

On the same subject I herewith print a telegram received from Mr. John C. Rober, owner of the St. Louis Star, St. Louis, Mo.:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *June 21, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
Washington, D. C.:

As owner of the St. Louis Star, it is my opinion that the only proper plan of taxing newspapers is on the basis of the service they demand from the Post Office Department. The zone system of second-rate postage would require these newspapers which have built up great circulations in districts remote from the publication office to con-

tribute a larger amount for the support of the Government than the newspapers which have confined themselves to their legitimate fields and have not compelled the Post Office Department to carry a vast tonnage over enormous distances at great loss to the Government. Whether regarded as a revenue measure or a service charge the principle is the same, and is to my mind the only correct method to apply in framing a revenue bill.

JOHN C. ROBER.

NEBRASKA EDITORS FAVOR ZONE SYSTEM.

The following article, indicating the position taken by the Nebraska Press Association, appeared in the Omaha News of June 21, 1917:

EDITORS FAVOR TAX ON PAPERS' NET INCOMES.

The Nebraska Press Association, at its closing session Wednesday afternoon, adopted resolutions favoring a tax on the net incomes of newspapers, and suggesting that if it becomes necessary to change second-class postage rates that the zone system be adopted.

NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

The following editorial appeared in the New York Tribune of Monday, June 4, 1917:

TAKE AWAY THE SUBSIDY.

The periodical publishers who appeared before the Senate Finance Committee on Saturday, in a desperate effort to defeat an increase in second-class postal rates, were unusually frank in their arguments. Their one fixed idea is to retain the subsidy which the Government now grants them in the shape of undercharges on the carriage of second-class mail matter.

They admit that they want to go on enjoying that subsidy, and they realize that, once it has been withdrawn, the Government will never restore it. They are therefore anxious to substitute for an equalization of second-class rates, which will be permanent in character because justified by sound principles of postal administration, a purely emergency tax on the volume of newspaper and magazine advertising. They could ask for a repeal of this tax when the war is over. But they have no hope that a scientific revision of second-class rates, through the introduction of the zone system created by the House bill, can ever be upset. It is obvious that a trial of such a scheme for a year or two would vindicate it completely. There would then be as little chance of a relapse to the old flat-rate undercharge on second-class matter for the benefit of publishers unwilling to pay their way as there would be of a revival of the old parcel post flat-rate system, with its ludicrous limitation on weight, for the benefit of the once all-powerful express companies.

A general tax on advertising, with a retention of the discriminating and inadequate flat rate on second-class matter, would simply continue the glaring inequalities which every investigating commission has found to exist in the second-class mail service. The Government has been devoting millions of dollars every year to promoting the sale of periodicals and newspapers which avail themselves of the long-haul privileges granted under existing postal laws. It carries bulky second-class mail from New York to San Francisco for the same charge for which it carries it from New York to Philadelphia. The newspaper or magazine sent 1,000 miles or 3,000 miles is delivered at a heavy loss to the Post Office Department. Circulation facilities are thus furnished at the public expense and publications of wide circulation are unfairly benefited.

There is no reason why the Government should carry mail of any sort at a loss. There is even less reason why it should make the same charge for carrying bulky matter 3,000 miles as it does for carrying it 50 miles. The zone system of rates, which proportions cost to service, is the only rational system to apply to second-class or to parcel-post matter. It establishes justice between different classes of shippers and it brings the Government a proper return for the longer haul. The inadequate flat rate is an undesirable form of Government charity.

Mr. SIMMONS, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, showed a thorough grasp of the situation when he told the publishers who appeared at Washington that "now is the psychological time to dispose of the postal-rate question." That is the truth. Congress has been wrestling with the problem for many years, and every intelligent Congressman knows that the present second-class rate scheme is vicious and out of date. Now, the publication business is expected to do its part in providing more revenue for the Government. It can save the Treasury $40,000,000 or $60,000,000 or $80,000,000 a year (according to various estimates) by surrendering its present second-class mail subsidy. It should be willing to do this without protest. It should greatly prefer to a general tax on advertising an abandonment of its ancient and costly second-class privilege—a privilege, too, whose benefits are absorbed by a relatively small class of publications.

The zone system of second-class rates must come in time, because it is fair and scientific. Congress knows that it is wrong, but has lacked the courage to antagonize its powerful beneficiaries. Now, the exigencies of war make the accomplishment of this long-delayed postal reform easy. We trust that Chairman SIMMONS will live up to his convictions and will hold the committee with him. An emergency tax on newspaper and periodical advertising will be unnecessary if the second-class rates are intelligently readjusted. The bill passed by the House of Representatives made such a readjustment. In our opinion, the Senate should go back to the House provision in spite of the clamor of the subsidists who are now besetting the Finance Committee.

OAKLAND (CAL.) ENQUIRER.

I print the following editorial from the Oakland (Cal.) Enquirer of June 1, 1917:

LET SECOND-CLASS MATTER PAY ITS OWN FREIGHT.

Advancement of postal rates upon periodical publications to a figure designed to cover the postal cost of transportation, as provided in the war-revenue bill which passed the House of Representatives May 23, was wisely adopted. That these profitable publications should continue to be delivered throughout the American Postal Service at a loss to the Government of $100,000,000 annually is without justification upon any ground. These publications are like any other commodity—made to sell—and should pay their own way if transported by mail, the same as a farmer's products pay by parcel post. Mail matter should pay as it goes, whether periodicals, letters, or anything else, and in proportion to its weight and distance carried.

The argument that these periodicals are educative and should, therefore, be privileged—transported at public expense—is impudent. From one-fourth to nine-tenths in bulk or weight of these periodicals is advertising matter—nothing else. On an average two-thirds of their weight is paid advertising, much of it at rates aggregating hundreds of dollars per page per issue. Does any one pretend that this advertising matter should be transported at public expense, simply to enrich greedy publishers? The pretense is absurd.

The House might have provided that the meritorious reading matter of these magazines be carried through the mails at present nominal rates, had it thought wise to do so, but evidently it did not think this proportion to be great enough to make segregation worth while. And it was pretty nearly right, notwithstanding the great quantity of really meritorious matter carried by some publications. About two-thirds of the $100,000,000 annual loss to the mail service in carrying this class of matter is caused by transporting pure advertising. In some instances advertising—not dissemination of knowledge—is the sole purpose of circulating alleged magazines, "scientific" pamphlets, and the like.

The kick made by the publishers in these cases is not made because of any hardship which a just postal rate may impose, but simply because they prefer the public, the whole public, which bears the post-office deficiency bill, to continue to pay their postage charges, so that they may pocket the $100,000,000 deficit equivalent, as they too long have done.

The proposed postage charge for this class of matter in the war-revenue bill is to be based upon weight and distance as is correct—just as all other transportation charges are computed. A New York publication weighing 1 pound should not be transported and delivered by carrier in the remote sections of Alaska—by reindeer carrier, 500 miles from a post office—as cheaply as delivered within 10 miles of the place of issue, yet this is the contention of these greedy publishers.

The fact is, not one of these bulky and highly specialized publications is read by 1 in 100 of the masses of the people, yet under the present system the other 99 must pay this postal deficit. Not 1 in 1,000 of the masses ever see nine-tenths of these publications, yet they are asked to pay the postage bill for their transportation to the few who buy and read them. Is it fair that this vast majority who do not receive these publications should be taxed that a few may read them and a handful of publishers may become rich by printing them?

It is said that many of these fungus-growth magazines would be forced to suspension if compelled to pay legitimate postal rates. What of it? Must the people pay the freight on a merchant's shipments to keep that merchant in business, or to guarantee him profits? The fact is that most every one of these magazines could be sold at a big profit at present prices, the publishers paying the full postal charge now proposed in the war-revenue bill. The others have no legitimate ground of complaint.

California Congressmen who voted to increase postal rates upon the zonal system sufficient to pay the Government the cost of transportation of all second-class matter, the same as is required of shippers by parcel post, voted precisely as they should. No other course were possible in justice. No publisher should be subsidized by the Government, unless all be so treated, and no just publisher desires such advantage.

If the publisher's product is to be transported at Government expense, why not the farmer's?

THE PUBLISHERS' AUXILIARY.

I print extracts from the Publishers' Auxiliary of May 12, 1917:

POSTAL MEASURE FAIR TO COUNTRY PAPERS—REVENUE BILL WOULD LESSEN BIG DAILY AND MAGAZINE COMPETITION—BILL PROVIDES FOR RETENTION OF "FREE-IN-COUNTY" CLAUSE—PUBLISHERS SHOULD URGE ITS PASSAGE.

[By Wright A. Patterson, editor in chief Western Newspaper Union.]

WASHINGTON.

Regardless of what it may have done to the larger daily newspapers and the magazines, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives has cared for the country press in the new revenue bill just introduced.

If the bill as it is introduced in the House should become a law, it would increase the postal charges on a majority of the small papers to a very small extent, it would give the country publisher his opportunity, for it would materially lessen the competition he now has from the metropolitan daily papers and the magazines.

* * * * * * *

On no other provision of the new revenue bill was there a harder fight made in the committee than on this postal-tax provision. Metropolitan newspaper and magazine publishers generally fought to the last minute to prevent the introduction of the bill carrying these postal provisions, and there is no doubt about their continuing the fight, now that the bill is before Congress, and forcing modification in the proposed rates if it is possible. Members of the Ways and Means Committee, however, believe the bill will become a law with this section of it practically as drafted by the committee. They expect the active support of the country press and of Congressmen from country districts and Senators representing States of large rural population.

CONSIDERATION DUE RURAL PRESS.

The country press is fully entitled to the consideration the Ways and Means Committee has shown it. For years virtually all legislation affecting newspapers, where it has been at all beneficial, has been in the interest of the publications of the larger cities, and has seriously crippled the papers of the smaller cities and towns, while it is this latter class of papers that has unselfishly represented the best interests of the Nation as a whole.

At the present time the country press is giving loyal support to the Government in its efforts to increase and conserve the food supply of the Nation, to recruit help for the farms, to secure recruits for the armed forces of the Government, and in fact in every way is doing its "bit"—and it is a big "bit"—in the war with Germany.

The members of the Ways and Means Committee realized that to impose a heavy postal tax on the country press would mean putting a large percentage of these papers out of business, and that the Government could not afford to lose the tremendous influence they wield with the people of the smaller cities, the towns, and the farms.

URGE PASSAGE OF BILL.

I want to urge country newspaper publishers to give the Ways and Means Committee every possible assistance in securing the passage of this feature of the revenue bill without amendment. I want to urge them to do this for the good of the Nation and for the best interest of the country press. There is no legitimate reason why the Government should carry newspapers and magazines for long distances at a heavy loss when there are in each section of the country newspapers that can capably serve the people of these sections. There is no reason why the

papers of Chicago should be carried at a loss to the Government into Iowa or Wisconsin or Michigan and other States, when there are newspapers in all of these States that can and do serve the people of these States. This is true regarding the circulation of papers out of every large city.

This bill, should it become a law, will give the publishers of the country daily and weekly newspapers their opportunity. It will force the price of the large city publications, when they are circulated in sections at considerable distances from the point of publication, to a subscription price that will make competition with them a possibility. And the law should do these things. The Nation should not cater to the cities and assist in creating that centralization of interests that has been going on for a number of years, largely because of legislation in favor of the cities.

But the publishers of the country daily and weekly newspapers must improve the opportunity this bill, if it becomes a law, will give them. The reading public will demand service of its newspapers, and if the local publishers do not give service the public will demand a repeal of the law, and Congress will meet this demand.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN.

Every publisher of a country daily or weekly newspaper should immediately write the Congressman representing his district and the Senators representing his State urging the passage, without amendment, of this postal-tax section of the revenue bill. They should not be satisfied with writing once only, but should continue to write until the bill has been passed by both Houses of Congress. They should also make an effort to get the people of their committees to write Congressmen and Senators in support of this same section of the revenue bill, for the opportunity for better newspapers means the opportunity for better towns. It means less mail-order competition for the local merchants, and less centralization for the merchandising interests of the large cities.

Another feature of the revenue bill that is of extreme interest to newspaper publishers is that providing for a tax on billboards, electric sign, street car, and other forms of advertising, except that in newspapers and magazines. The tax imposed is to be 5 per cent of the amount received for the advertising.

Again I want to urge every country publisher to write to-day.

THE NECESSITY FOR SUBSIDIZING A "NATIONAL PRESS."

The following suggestions were prepared and submitted to me by the publisher of a large and important Chicago newspaper:

SUGGESTIONS TO REBUT ARGUMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MUST MAINTAIN THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF MAIL RATES BECAUSE A "NATIONAL PRESS," OR A GROUP OF PUBLICATIONS WITH A NATION-WIDE CIRCULATION, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELFARE AND UNITY OF FEELING OF SO LARGE A NATION.

1. It rests with those who make such an assertion and ask enormous privileges based upon it to prove it true. They haven't even started.

2. A large share of the so-called national press is purely commercial in character, and takes no sides on any question until the balance of public sentiment has been indicated in a way to admit of no mistake. There are exceptions. Collier's, the Metropolitan, and a few more made no apologies, express or implied, for the Kaiser and his allies on this side of the water. But the national papers with the greatest circulation dodged the entire issue as long as they could, and the average magazine was for two years far less clear-cut on this matter than the average metropolitan newspaper.

Obviously, there can be no valid plea for a press that is engaged purely in making money and does not even try to educate the public till the public has indicated the kind of education it wants.

3. The type of national press developed under present conditions is not merely neutral and colorless but is not truly national. It represents to an utterly disproportionate degree the sentiments and interests of the section in which it is published—the strip of territory along the Atlantic from New York to Philadelphia.

4. So far as this national press is effective in its appeal, it works injury by drawing into its net a disproportionate number of clever writers and observers who otherwise would be distributed more evenly about the land.

5. There is no more reason to believe that the country's interests are served by concentrating its national publishing business in New York than that those interests would be served by artificially concentrating the Nation's finances or manufactures in the same place. In every other field of activity the efforts of the Government have been to decentralize things, to get them back closer to the people. Witness the Federal reserve act. Why should the matter of a "national press" be an exception?

6. Under the present system there has been a deterioration in the character of the "national press." Passing by all such debatable questions as muckraking and the literary quality of fiction, it is certain that 20 years ago there were no such magazines as Snappy Stories, Smart Set, etc., going through the United States mails. The newspapers in the same time have become cleaner and more free from objectionable matter than before. So it comes to this: The subsidized branch of the publishing business is degenerating morally, while the branch that has received no favors and now is asked to bear crushing burdens has been improving.

Under the leave granted me I herewith print an article by Charles William Burrows, president of the National One-Cent Letter Postage Association, which appeared in the Unpopular Review for April and June, 1914:

OUR GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION TO LITERATURE.

M. Paul Otlet, the secretary of the Brussels International Bibliographic Institute, places the total annual book production of the entire globe at approximately 150,000 volumes per annum.

Señor Eduardo Ravarro Salvador, a distinguished Spanish author, has compiled with great care similar statistics, which are printed in the Madrid Heraldo, and his estimate closely confirms the other, giving approximately a little over 160,000 for the year 1911.

A dozen years ago, when book production was smaller than to-day, Mr. Percy L. Parker, in the New York Independent, gave the total number of books issued by 13 countries in an average year as 77,250, which would be not as large as the estimates of either Señor Salvador or M. Otlet, but is nevertheless of use in confirming them and increasing the probability that a mean of the three estimates may be quite substantially near to the truth.

Mr. Joseph B. Gilder, in an article in the New York Times for January 25, 1914, states that our ambassador to the court of St. James, Mr. Page, of the publishing firm of Doubleday, Page & Co., said not long before departing for his post that American men spend less for books than for neckties, and American women less than for the buttons on their frocks. The same article quotes the Boston bookseller, Mr. W. B. Clarke, who is chairman of the executive committee of the American Booksellers' Association, as saying that the per capita consumption of books is less than of any other commodity.

Following Mr. Gilder's article and using the statistics of the Statesman's Yearbook as to population and of the World Almanac as to book production in 1910, we find that in Switzerland there was 1 book printed for every 872 population; in Japan 1 to 1,224; in Germany 1 to 2,075; in France 1 to 3,809; in Great Britain 1 to 3,808; and in the United States 1 to 7,295. In 1911 our showing was not quite so good.

According to statistics prepared for the World Almanac from sources indicated above and from other data, the number of books issued annually in the United States seems to vary in late years but little either way from 10,000. It would appear, in fact, that the United States issues, roughly, only about 6 per cent, or, if we deduct new editions and translations, only about 4 per cent of the total.

Further, by an examination of these various and varying statistics from the best experts, it is evident that little Switzerland, which is scarcely one-eighteenth the size of our State of Texas, and whose population is less than one twenty-fifth that of the United States, publishes more than three-quarters as many books per annum as we do; in other words, ten times as many books per million inhabitants per annum are published by Switzerland as by the United States. In fact, she leads the world in this particular.

By similar analysis we find that the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—which in book production are next in rank to Switzerland, have an output of about six times ours. Germany, France, the British Empire, Holland, Italy, Austria (of course, in normal times) greatly surpass us, all running from three and one-half to five times our output per capita. Roumania, with one-thirteenth our population, publishes one-fourth as many books; Japan, with slightly more than half our population, publishes four times as many; in other words, eight times as many per million of population; but a large number of these are pamphlets, so instead of publishing eight times as many, she really issues an average of between three and four times as many, which makes our showing even then bad enough.

In the density of our ignorance we sometimes think of Russia as a benighted country, forgetting that in her middle and upper circles she is a land vibrant with intellectual and artistic energy. In book production, even though the showing on her side is distorted by the countless millions of her ignorant peasant class, who number about 79 per cent of her population, we find that she produces two and three-quarters times as many books as we do, and has a population only one and two-thirds times larger. In other words, she materially exceeds us in book production.

This leaves us to seek in Spain, the only one of the important civilized nations of the entire globe that publishes so few books per million of population per annum as we do, and it is questionable whether we are able to hold the lead over even her, for any analysis of the statistics of both Otlet and Salvador places us slightly behind united Spain and Portugal, the figures for the two being given in conjunction. Beneath these there is no lower depth.

Germany produces more books than any other nation in the seven highly creditable classes of educational, arts and sciences, belles lettres, theology, medicine, voyages, and law.

Italy holds first rank in political economy; France in history, poetry, and drama; and the United States ties France for first place in one item only—books on sport. That is our best bid for a premier place.

The Publisher's Weekly, the semiofficial organ of the book trade, in its issue of January 30, 1904, contains the following statement:

"The great decrease in all the more serious departments of literature, as well as in some of the lighter ones, is a curious and unexplainable condition of our book production. Scientific and philosophical writings are as conspicuous through their absence as are the simply amusing books."

Moreover, this backward condition of America's book production is a new situation that has existed for a generation only. That this is so is shown in various ways, but particularly in the parlous condition of the retail book-selling trade. A generation ago, when our population was a little less than one-half what it is to-day, there were in the United States, it is estimated, between three and four thousand booksellers carrying fairly good stocks of books representative of history, light science, economics, art, biography, travel, poetry, essays, fiction, and belles lettres generally.

There are fewer than 1,500 booksellers left, and this number is steadily being diminished through withdrawals from business. Yet on January 9, 1914, the secretary of the American News Co. told the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads that the country contains about 60,000 news stands.

Since the day when there were three or four thousand bookstores not only has the population of the country more than doubled, but the general average of wealth has increased markedly, being quite four times what it was then, so that by good rights the three or more thousand booksellers of that day should have increased threefold or over, to at least 10,000, instead of diminishing by more than one-half.

If it be true, as has been repeatedly asserted, that a good bookstore, well stocked and intelligently managed, performs an educational work in any community only slightly, if, indeed, at all, less important than that done by its schools, colleges, libraries, or churches, this deplorable condition of affairs merits serious attention. The reason for the situation is not far to seek, though not even its existence, let alone its cause, is as generally known as it should be. Yet the cause seems plainly and definitely determinable. To arrive at it we must turn from book production to another printing-trade industry that has waxed in the United States as book production has waned. Forty years ago less than 10,000,000 copies of periodicals, exclusive of newspapers, were published annually. To-day it is estimated that there are published over seven and a half billion, and of this quantity about two-thirds gets distribution through the mails. These extra hundreds of millions of periodicals would seem to mean as many tens of millions fewer good books, and that seems to be virtually the sole cause of the disappearance of the book. It accounts without any assistance for our notorious literary decadence.

On June 23, 1874, there was approved an act of Congress establishing a pound rate of postage on mail matter of the second class—newspapers and periodicals. At first this rate was 3 cents a pound for magazines and 2 cents for newspapers. Soon it was lowered to 2 cents for each and still later, becoming operative on July 1, 1885, the rate was reduced to only 1 cent per pound for each. The cost of service rendered then and every year since is many times that amount;

at present it is estimated by various experts and commissions as running from over 8 cents to as high as 12 cents per pound.

The effect of that law is emphatically shown in the following table giving amounts of second-class mail (periodical literature) carried by the Post Office Department as various dates:

	Pounds.
For 1875 (first year law was operative)	40,000,000
For 1880	61,000,000
For 1890	204,000,000
For 1900	450,000,000
For 1910	873,000,000
For 1916 (this item added in reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD)	1,202,000,000

At this rate within less than 10 years, if the law is not changed, this output will have increased to more than 2,000,000,000 pounds per annum.

Evidently giving to periodical literature this service at 1 cent per pound, $20 per ton, the cost being eight or ten times as much, has been simply a subvention, and a very effective one. Although we publish few books as compared with other civilized nations, we issue more periodicals than all other nations put together and half as much again, for we publish 60 per cent of the periodical literature of the entire globe.

The United States, according to the report of the Third Assistant Postmaster General for January, 1914, handled in the second-class mail during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, over 5,000,000,000 copies of periodicals—more than 50 for each man, woman, and child in the United States—enough to make more than 2,600 trainloads of 10 fully loaded cars per train. And this does not take into consideration the enormous number of copies of daily newspapers and other periodicals which are circulated outside of the mails by carriers, newsdealers, and others.

Underlying this megalosauruslike development is the factor that carriage by the Government at the nearly free rate of 1 cent per pound covers not only the literary product but the advertising material which has been the determining factor in this marvelous increase. At the time the pound-rate law first became operative magazines were few in number and contained little advertising and much good literature; but the pound-rate law gave birth to a new kind of magazine issued at less than cost for the revenue to be derived, because of the immense circulation possible under the subvention, from its advertising pages; and their advertising pages generally weigh more and cost the Government more to transport than do their literary pages.

To increase this revenue circulations were forced by methods that directly violated the law, and these methods are still being used. Premiums were given to an extent that led to an investigation by the Post Office Department, and it was found (Third Assistant Postmaster General's report, Dec. 1, 1911, p. 39) that in one case four-fifths of the subscribers went for the premium, the publication being worth nothing except as an advertising medium because of its large circulation—a circulation with which, despite the Government subvention, literature had nothing to do. Another periodical, weekly and agricultural, forced by premium 122,000 subscriptions out of 143,000; another 41,000 out of 53,000.

There are hundreds of needless growths of this sort. As an instance, there are published in the United States some 86 banking periodicals. The secretary of the American Bankers' Association, when asked how many of these were needed, replied, "From 3 to 6, and the other 80 are 'leg pullers.' They live in great part by sandbagging advertising out of financial interests."

Dr. Talcott Williams, at the session of the American Historical Association at Washington a few years ago, said that 100 years earlier the aggregate weight of one copy of each issue of an ordinary city daily for a year was about 10 pounds; 50 years later it was 25 pounds; 25 years later it had become 50 pounds; and when he spoke it was 125 pounds; while in many instances the Sunday editions alone weigh more than that. How much of it is published to the real advantage of the community?

Upon careful consideration, it seems evident that at first the law diverted the patronage of the reading public from books to the higher-priced and more respectable magazines, those so priced that their sale at the published rate would be possible even if the advertising were omitted or made a minor consideration; that next, the 25-cent issues cut the ground from under these older and higher-priced ones; that then rapidly appeared the 15-cent ones, and next the 10-cent ones—all so expensive to make that only the great volume of advertising rendered the low price possible—and that now the 5-cent issues are, in their turn, no less rapidly displacing the 10-cent ones. Swift's doggerel tells the tale:

> So, naturalists observe, a flea
> Has smaller fleas that on him prey;
> And these have smaller still to bite 'em;
> And so proceed ad infinitum.

While this article has primarily to do with the decadence of our literature, the economic side should not be lost sight of.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, the expense account of the Post Office Department amounted to over $306,000,000 (statistics revised to date in reprinting in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD). The second-class mail supplied nearly two-thirds of the tonnage and cost more than one-third of the total aggregate of expense, but the revenue paid by its publishers amounted to just under $11,500,000, as against the cost of over $76,000,000.

To make up for the loss thus incurred, the first-class mail—the letter mail—which weighed only one-fifth as many pounds, had to supply $190,000,000 of revenue from a service costing the Government less than $100,000,000. That is to say, the letter mail paid 18 times as much revenue as the second-class mail, though weighing but one-fifth as much and costing less.

There were carried the past year about 2,000,000,000 postal cards, which produced a revenue of nearly $20,000,000. The weight of these was only about 13,000,000 pounds. Thirteen million pounds of postal cards, therefore, produced almost exactly twice as much revenue as 1,200,000,000 pounds of publishers' second-class mail.

Averaging all in all, first-class mail costs at most not quite four times as much per pound as second-class mail, and pays 84 times as much.

In other words, each time that one of the forty or fifty million users of the first-class mail puts a 2-cent stamp on a letter, 1 cent pays for the service rendered and the other cent is taken by the department to give a "special privilege" of service at one-eighth of cost to fewer than 30,000 periodical publishers.

Suppose every time you needed $100 worth of 2-cent stamps you had to send to the post office $50 and to mail a draft for the other $50 to the secretary of the Periodical Publishers Association, how long do you think this situation could last? Yet that is exactly what you are doing, only you are chloroformed while they are taking the money away from you, because it is done indirectly.

As illustrating another abuse that results from the pound-rate privilege, let me refer to some periodicals that are light in weight; certain small magazines, for example, weigh but a fraction of an ounce, and the Government must distribute many of them in order to secure 1 cent. We have in our possession a little farm journal so light that it takes 40 copies to make a pound. As it is published monthly, not until the post office has served a subscriber with this journal for three years and four months will it get as much as a single cent for the entire service.

Is it any wonder that new periodicals have begun their career in the United States at the rate of more than 10 a day for every day, Sundays and holidays included, of the past 15 years? Fortunately the death rate is nearly as great as the birth rate; but, since those that persist are the selected growths, there is, as we have seen, a tremendous annual increase.

One expert estimates that the total number of books published in the world since the invention of printing is some 15,000,000, and another, more modest, places the figures at between ten and twelve millions. Assuming for each book a first edition of 1,000 copies, a somewhat common issue, we should have from 10,000,000,000 to 15,000,000,000 copies of all. In other words, there are issued in the United States each year from one-half to three-quarters as many copies of periodicals as have ever been published in the first editions of all books ever printed by all the nations of the world.

There can be no deduction made from the general features of the situation, other than that the distribution of this one class of merchandise at a practically free rate is nearly the sole reason for this wasteful overproduction.

When the pound-rate law was enacted, the distinct purpose was announced that its effect would be educational. The contrary is unmistakably the case. The reading of the 15-minute magazine article or the skimming of the Sunday paper seems to have become too often the limit of the intellectual activity of our people of average education.

To carry the Police Gazette at a cent a pound while charging eight times as much for a spelling book or Bible and then to claim that the law permitting this discrepancy was enacted in the interests of education is at least edifying. Archbishop Hare, in his bright little volume, Guesses at Truth, once remarked that a very bad reason was in producing effect next to a very good one.

Mr. J. N. Larned, the very eminent librarian, says:

"The so-called newspaper, which interests itself and which labors to interest its readers in the trivialities and ignoble occurrences of the day—in the prize fights and mean preliminaries of prize fights, the boxing matches, the ball games, the races, the teas, the luncheons, the receptions, the dresses, the goings and comings and private doings of private persons—making the most in all possible ways of all petty things and low things while treating grave matters with levity and impertinence—with what effect can such a newspaper be read? I do not care to say. If I spoke my mind, I might strike harshly at too many whose reading is confined to such sheets; but I will venture so much remark as this: That I would prefer absolute illiteracy for a son or a daughter of mine—total inability to spell a single printed word—rather than that he or she should be habitually a reader of the common newspaper of America of to-day, and a reader of nothing better."

According to Census Bulletin No. 57 for 1905, there was spent in the preceding year in the entire country for newspapers the enormous sum of $280,000,000, and for all textbooks for use in both public and private schools, sectarian and nonsectarian, and in all colleges, only some $12,000,000. More than $23 spent for ephemeral literature, much of which debases the literary taste of the community, for each dollar spent for literature whose function was technically educational.

To get a further idea of the literary pabulum that the Government subvention is creating for us, let us consider an average magazine of the so-called popular sort. Some one defines it as follows:

"A magazine is a small body of literature entirely surrounded by advertising. In this respect it resembles a railroad ham sandwich with the advertising bread cut very thick and the literary meat in especially thin slices. The situation is well summarized when Dooley says: 'Hinnessy, mon, last night on my way home from wurruk I bought one of them popular magazines expectin' after I had eaten me supper and put on me slippers and lighted me pipe to sit down for a quiet avenin's enjoyment looking over the advertisements; and do you know, mon, 25 per cint of the dommed thing was just nothing but "ltheracboor."'"

The magazine frequently gives great prominence to pictures of actresses—doubtless by favorable arrangements with their managers. With these may appear an article with an alliterative title, showing How Cleveland was Cunningly Conned; How Placid Philadelphia's Putridity was Purged; Why Denver went to the Devil; etc. Then may follow an article explaining how our reporter, Wily Willie, went under "Jawn Dee's" window and, by making a noise like an extra dividend, secured an interview with him. Then a trifling poem or two, and a long continued dry-as-dust serial story, which serves in some measure as the talcum powder to disinfect, so to speak, the rest. Then may follow a retraction article, showing that whereas we stated in our latest issue that an emissary of the Standard Oil Co. was responsible for the Chicago conflagration by sneaking up behind Mrs. O'Leary's cow and sticking a pin into her while she was being milked, we wish to inform our readers that we are now convinced that this was incorrect. Further investigation shows that the Standard Oil Co. was entirely innocent. It was an employee of the Packing House Trust who was guilty of the dastardly deed. Then perhaps will follow a passionate personal appeal from the publisher for subscriptions to about $10,000,000 worth of stock of the magazine company. (Send in any sum from $1 up; use the corner coupon.) All of this will be incased in a gaudy, if not neat, cover bearing a design showing a girl's face and some of her form. If you want to see the rest of that, look at the corset advertisements inside. An old lady lately said that when she read her modern magazine she felt that she had been to an undress party where the men all came in their "unions" and the women in their "nemos." Then will follow advertisements of soaps, soups, shoes, massage creams, and a thousand other articles.

Now, as compared with magazines and newspapers, let us see what good purpose the book serves. I quote again from Larned:

"You and I, who live at this moment, stand islanded, so to speak, on a narrow strand between two great time oceans—the ocean of time past and the ocean of time to come. When we turn to the one, looking futureward, we see nothing, not even a ripple on the face of the silent, mysterious deep, which is veiled by an impenetrable mist. We turn backward to that other sea, looking out across the measureless expanse

of time past, and lo! it is covered with ships. We see them rise from beyond the far horizon in fleets which swarm upon the scene, and they come sailing to us in numbers that are greater than we can count. They are freighted with the gifts of the dead, to us who are the children of the dead. They bring us the story of the forgotten life of mankind, its experience, its learning, its wisdom, its warnings, its counsels, its consolations, its songs, its discoveries of beauty and of joy. What if there had been no ships to bring us these? Think of it! What if the great ocean of time past rolled as blankly and blackly behind us as the ocean of time to come rolls before us?

"What if there were no letters and no books? For the ships in this picture are those carriers of the commodities of mind which we call letters and books.

"Think what your state would be in a situation like that! Think what it would be to know nothing, for example, of the way in which American independence was won, and the Federal Republic of the United States constructed; nothing of Bunker Hill; nothing of George Washington, except the little, half true and half mistaken, that your fathers could remember of what their fathers had repeated of what their fathers had told to them! Think what it would be to have nothing but shadowy traditions of the voyage of Columbus, of the coming of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, and of all the planting of life in the New World from Old World stocks—think what it would mean to know no more of the origins of the English people, of their rise and their growth in greatness, than the Romans knew of their Latin beginnings; and to know no more of Rome herself than we might guess from the ruins she has left! Think what it would mean to have the whole story of Athens and Greece dropped out of our knowledge, to be unaware that Marathon was ever fought, or that one like Socrates had ever lived! Think what it would mean to have no line from Homer, no thought from Plato, no message from Isaiah, no Sermon on the Mount, nor any parable from the lips of Jesus!

"Can you imagine a world intellectually famine-smitten like that—a bookless world—and not shrink with horror from the thought of being condemned to live in it? Yet the men and the women who take nothing from letters and books are choosing to live as though mankind did actually wallow in the awful darkness of that state from which writing and books have rescued us. For them, it is as if no ship had ever come from the far shores of old time, where their ancestry dwelt; and the interest of existence to them is huddled within the petty space of their own few years, between walls of mist which thicken as impenetrably behind them as before.

"How can men or women be content with so little when they might have so much?"

And the Government carries this kind of literature, advertising and all, at 1 cent a pound—$20 per ton, and charges for books 8 cents per pound—$160 per ton, and for the social letter and business mail, 84 cents per pound, $1,680 per ton!

Bryan's philosophy was sounder than it sometimes has been when he said:

"The Supreme Court has described unjust taxation as larceny in the form of law. If one citizen is compelled by law to pay $10 for the support of the Government where he ought to only pay five, and under the same law a neighbor is required to pay but five where he should pay ten, the law which causes this inequality simply transfers $5 from one man's pocket to another's."

Then a law which is each year taking over $90,000,000 of net profit, above cost of service, from the 93,000,000 people who benefit from letters, in order to give 30,000 periodical publishers service for $11,000,000 which costs many times that sum, is certainly not merely petty larceny or grand larceny, but larceny that is absolutely grandiose.

To illustrate: One publishing company, it is reported, made last year a net profit of over $2,500,000. Their postage was about $680,000, and it cost the Government over $5,500,000 to handle the output. Moreover, more than $20,000,000 of advertising was borne on the pages of those publications, and for it the company also received virtually free distribution.

While there is occasionally a periodical publisher crass enough to deny the evident inadequacy of the rate paid by second-class mail, yet a mere statement of the figures, without comment, is convincing enough. You do not have to appoint congressional commissions to make micrometrical measurements of a superdreadnaught battleship to enable you to decide whether it can be installed in an apartment house kitchenette. Some things are self-evident.

Had a special privilege as great as this of the second-class mail rate been enjoyed at national expense by any class of citizens other than its publishers, the publishers would not have permitted it to exist a year. Yet the loss has long been well known to post-office officials and Members of Congress, though for a time it was kept from the knowledge of the public, because practically the sole means the public has had of obtaining the knowledge has been through the columns of journals that enjoy the privilege. The North American Review for February, 1908, had a most scathing article by Prof. Munroe Smith, entitled "The dogma of journalistic inerrancy," that illustrated this situation forcibly.

No lobby sent to Washington in furtherance of corrupt legislation has ever been more persistent or dealt less fairly with both legislators and public than the lobby that has worked for retention of the second-class mail rate. Able editors have been rightly accused of hunting sedulously for other people's "pulls" while maintaining this heavy one of their own.

And the ceaselessly increasing monthlies of mammoth circulation that so nobly, though with somewhat of iteration, harp upon the graft of our plutocrats, our patent-medicine manufacturers, our frenzied financiers, our food trusts, our fraudulent insurance officials—is it possible that none of their diatribes, worthy though they may be, are never to be directed against themselves? Let us hope that some of these public-spirited citizens so patriotically intent upon ridding a much-suffering land of its various forms of organized rapacity, may be led to see a great light in connection with the one industry of this country that is by law largely relieved from subjection to those competitive forces to which producers and distributors of all other articles are keenly alive.

We may in time realize the truth of Emerson's remark that "though no checks to a new evil appear, the checks exist and will appear." For it is fast becoming notorious that that advertising, which is as the breath of life to all those low-priced periodicals, has passed the line of utility and does not always compensate the advertiser.

A generation ago an English-born resident of Australia was homesick. He thought how charming it would be to see gamboling about his place an English rabbit. He imported a pair. The soil and climate proved congenial. They multiplied with enormous rapidity, and recently the Australian Government had a standing offer of £25,000 for anybody who would devise some practical method of exterminating the rabbit pest. Another settler, this time a New Zealander of Caledonian birth, recalling to mind the rugged beauty of the Scotch thistle, imported that and planted it at his doorway. The resultant development was similar. There are hundreds and hundreds of square miles of Scotch thistles in New Zealand. A few years ago a scientist imported for experimental purposes the gypsy moth and caged it in his back yard in one of the suburbs of Boston. A storm of wind and rain wrecked the cage and some of the moths escaped, with the result that the State of Massachusetts has spent over $3,000,000 in an effort to exterminate this pest that is devastating its forests and bids fair to extend over the entire United States, with a resultant loss of countless millions of dollars.

In legislation as in biology, it sometimes seems easier, even with good motives, to spread noxious things than useful ones. Our postal legislation has bred a swarm of periodicals of which the vast majority are but a swarm of pests.

(Signed) CHARLES WILLIAM BURROWS,
Cleveland, Ohio.

NOTE BY THE PUBLISHERS, MESSRS. HENRY SCOTT & CO.

In attacking them "at the source"—the cheap postage by which we ourselves superficially seem to benefit, we are entitled to no credit. On the contrary, while we think our action is in favor of the good literature which we try to serve, we still must own up to selfish motives. The rank growth of worthless periodical literature tends to smother the kind which we and a few of our colleagues are trying to make. We think some of those colleagues are standing in their own light when they advocate the policy which breeds their worthless competitors. Periodicals are like currency—the bad always drives out the good.

The publishers of this Review hope that, without having their motives misconstrued, they can add, from their own experience, a very suggestive illustration of the main contention of the foregoing article. Most of the readers of the Review are familiar with the Home University Library, and some of them have praised it highly. In England it has had a phenomenal success; in America but a very moderate one. The American publishers are constantly being told that in England it is on every railway news stand, and asked why it is not here. The answer is that here the flood of cheap periodicals leaves no room for anything more substantial. The Home University Library appeals to a popular constituency, and there is a tremendous popular demand for it in England, while in America there is none; its circulation here is virtually restricted to the highly educated. The rank and file of American readers have their tastes formed and supplied by the Sunday newspapers and the cheap periodicals. The idea of gathering a library of cheap books on substantial subjects is virtually unknown among them.

The worst feature of the whole case is that the enormous demand for inferior stuff limits the field for writers who can produce valuable matter, and consequently checks the development of such writers. It would be as difficult to produce a Home University Library in America as it is to sell it. We have men of the requisite knowledge, but our conditions do not attract them to cultivate the literary art. Few of our scientific men and scholars are writers, many more of those in England are. And as for imaginative literature!

The cheap carriage of our periodicals was avowedly enacted as a Government subvention to literature. Why was it not extended to books? In a year's shipments they do not bulk nearly as large as periodicals. Are we forced to the conclusion that at the present stage of evolution, a helpful subvention to literature is beyond the power of a pure democracy? If so, that is one reason for working all the harder to raise the character of that democracy. Would the withdrawal of the subvention be a good beginning?

The Food-Control Bill and the Barkley Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JULIUS KAHN,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to avail myself of the privilege, under the rules of the House, to insert a few remarks on the Barkley amendment, which proposes nation-wide prohibition on the so-called Lever food-control bill. In the first place, I want to again assert that I am a firm believer in temperance. Temperance in eating, temperance in drinking, temperance in exercise, temperance in all things is exceedingly desirable at all times for all American citizens. But everyone knows that prohibition does not make, and has never made, for temperance. Go into those States which have adopted prohibition legislation and you will find the laws against liquor are constantly being violated.

The proposed Barkley amendment is only an evidence of the hysteria that is manifest in our country to-day. Why, during the progress of the debate on this bill I asked the author of the amendment whether it would prevent the farmer from using his apples for making cider or the vineyardist from making wine out of his grapes. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] frankly admitted that his amendment would have exactly that effect. Even the farmer's wife will be unable to make cider vinegar or the vineyardist's wife to make pure-wine vinegar under this absurd amendment. It is asserted that this legislation is necessary so as to keep our soldier boys free from the temptation to partake of alcoholic stimulants. I remember the days when the canteen was permitted at the American Army

posts. The soldiers were permitted to partake of light wines and beer at the Army canteen. Drunkenness was almost unknown. The profits of the canteen were used to furnish dainties for the soldiers' mess. Has the abolition of the Army canteen improved the morals of the soldiers? Ask any Army officer, and he will frankly tell you it has not.

This class of legislation, as I have stated before on the floor of the House, has a tendency to brand the American people before the world as a nation of drunkards who can not curb their own appetites. It gives the impression to mankind that only by passing prohibition laws can the people of the United States be kept sober. I emphatically protest against so branding my fellow citizens. We are a sober people in this country. More people in the United States die every year from overeating than die from overdrinking. Medical authority has asserted that repeatedly. I believe the food-control bill to be absolutely necessary for our success in the present war with the central powers. I voted against the Barkley amendment in the Committee of the Whole House and voted for the Lenroot amendment. I regret exceedingly that a majority of the Members have seen fit to add the Barkley amendment to the food-control bill. I simply wish to make my position clear in the matter. While I shall vote for that bill as a war measure, I do not approve of the Barkley amendment. If that amendment were offered as a separate measure, I should unhesitatingly vote against it.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, June 29, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, war conditions invariably produce high prices. A food panic can be caused by the concerted action of a large number of people who have been convinced that a food shortage exists. Whether the shortage is real or fancied makes no difference in the result. Whenever a considerable number of people who deal in foodstuffs believe that prices are going to rise they are certain to be large buyers.

The fact that a large number of men who know the market situation are buying certain products starts other men, less informed, to doing the same thing. Legitimate dealers in food products catch the spirit of the environment and whisper to their patrons that a food shortage is imminent and that they had better lay in large stocks while they have an opportunity to do so. This advice is usually followed by those who can afford to, with the result that thousands of people become bidders for available supplies, which inevitably forces up prices.

The recent panic in wheat was greatly accentuated by the average citizen purchasing large quantities of flour. This in turn caused the retail dealer to renew his order for additional flour with the wholesaler, and the wholesaler in turn was compelled to place additional orders with the miller. Thousands of people doing this all over the country created in the minds of the millers a fear that they would not be able to obtain supplies of wheat in sufficient quantity to fill their orders. They therefore rushed into the wheat market and bought wheat, with the result that the price of wheat greatly advanced.

This situation was largely psychological. A few years ago the President of the United States made a statement that has been much commented upon, to the effect that the depressed business condition that appeared to exist at that time was a matter of psychology. Nothing could better illustrate the truth of the President's statement than the present food panic prevailing in this country. It is true that the last year's wheat crop was short; but the 1915 crop was excessive, and when the average of the two years is taken we find that it is about the average crop for the five years preceding the war. Therefore if there is not a great shortage then the excessive high price can not be justified on any other ground than that of public opinion. That is to say, whenever a large number of people believe that prices are going to rise, the very fact that they believe that they are going to rise stimulates buying to such an extent that prices are forced beyond a legitimate level. Whenever the people generally possess such a belief, everyone who can holds to what he has, and everyone who has money buys all he can get, with the natural result that usual available supplies at former prices are not to be had. A small panic begins in the minds of those who do not possess a sufficient supply for their needs and they rush pellmell into the market to buy, and the price goes up still higher as the eagerness of the buyers increases. Then more people catch the psychological effect of the mass in action and they, too, begin to buy. The foreign buyer sees the prices climbing and he rushes in, knowing he must have wheat and provisions for his customers, and the price again mounts up. The psychological effect is still further inflamed by the newspapers that print the stories of the people who are constantly filling their cellars full of flour and other provisions against the day of famine which they think is sure to come.

An assessor recently reported that a certain wholesaler carried in his warehouse 2,000,000 pounds of sugar, anticipating a scarcity and a rise in this product. That amount of sugar was probably fifty times more than this wholesaler was accustomed to carry, but he had been led to stock up to this unusual amount because of the unusual demand placed upon him by the retailers, who in turn were warning their customers of the higher prices of sugar that were sure to prevail later on. The result of this constant fear among the people of war prices has led them to accentuate our trouble by reducing available food supplies.

I have not much patience with this cry of "speculators," "thieves," and "highbinders"—terms that are constantly being used in characterizing imaginary people who are cornering the food market. The facts are the whole American people are chargeable with the present food panic. It can not be laid at the door of any particular class. The man why buys 10 or 15 sacks of flour, enough to last his family two or three years, is as reprehensible as is the man who gambles in grain on a much larger scale. Therefore the whole situation appears to me to be largely psychological and the resulting high prices largely unnecessary. The trouble could have been avoided under a more efficient system of distribution.

THE FOOD SITUATION GENERALLY.

Generally speaking, there is no shortage of food in the world to-day. It is true that the two great staple crops—wheat and potatoes—were short in 1916; but outside of these two products there was an average yield in all other farm products—generally speaking. In addition to this the prospects for 1917, for an average crop, are good. There is scarcely a country in the world that has not increased its acreage in all of the staple farm products. The only discouraging feature of the outlook is the shortage of the winter wheat crop in the United States. If, therefore, there is no extraordinary shortage in farm production, generally speaking, and the crop outlook appears to be an average one, why should there be any concern about the future? The answer to this question appears to lie in the fact that the world is at war, and extraordinary conditions are sure to prevail in the distribution of the 1917 crop. If the world were at peace there certainly would be no trouble in regard to prices of farm products. The wheat supply has been as low as it now is in former years, and the price never reached one-half the present figure. Even in the countries at war, especially England and her colonies, the production of foodstuffs has increased. In France there is a slight decrease, but in practically all other countries there has been an increase in food production since the breaking out of war. In all probability, if the truth could be known, there has been an increase in the food supply of the world since the war began, while there are about 7,000,000 less men to feed, due to the death toll of the war.

LOCATION OF THE TROUBLE.

Now, if there is no general food shortage in the world, then why are prices so extraordinarily high? That is the question, and if we can answer it we can easily settle our troubles. If the producer is doing his part and furnishes the supplies necessary to feed the people, then the trouble is not with the producer, because the producer has nothing to do with the making of the price.

There never has been a time in the history of the world when the farmer fixed the price on anything he was compelled to sell; and inasmuch as he is compelled to sell all of his surplus products it is apparent that the fault of high prices does not lie with him. Then there is just one other place where the fault can lie, and that is in the field of distribution. Somewhere in this broad field which lies between the producer and the consumer lies the trouble, and the main difficulty can no doubt be traced to the transportation system.

In our present highly organized state of society it is apparent that transportation is of prime importance. Whenever it breaks down at any particular point it disorganizes the whole system, and during the period of this war our transportation system has broken down completely. The inability of the railroads last winter to distribute the requisite coal supply of the country was apparent in every city of any magnitude. Factories found themselves handicapped for the want of fuel, and

business generally was disorganized as a result of the railroads not being able to make deliveries. The fact that these deliveries could not be made enhanced prices in certain localities and caused food shortages in many large centers, which, in some instances, resulted in riots.

If the transportation facilities of the country were adequate and prompt deliveries could always be made, prices would tend to normal, because supplies would be constantly available. Therefore it seems to me that the first and essential requirement for stabilizing prices is the perfection of our transportation system; and if private enterprise is not able to furnish adequate means of transportation, then the Government itself should undertake to do it. Until this is done there is very little need of taking any other step, because it will be impossible to stabilize prices by keeping an adequate supply of food constantly available in every section of the country.

We have already passed a bill empowering the Department of Agriculture to make a food survey of the country and to stimulate production. This bill, when enacted into law, will enable us to make a complete survey of the food situation in the United States. This, in my judgment, is essential in order that the people may know exactly what food supplies we have. Knowledge of the facts will afford us great protection against food panics. This legislation therefore, coupled with a perfected system of transportation, will place us in a fair way to secure a proper adjustment of prices between producer and consumer. But this will not cover all of our difficulties. There is still a great deal to be done before the business of distribution is reduced to a proper and economical basis. The different factors involved in distribution are all kinds of transportation facilities, all wholesalers, retailers, grain exchanges, and so forth. Through all these numerous channels the products of the farm and factory must pass to the consumer.

The question, then, is how can the slack be taken out of these numerous instruments of distribution so that the price of the products of the farm and shop will not be enhanced to unbearable levels when the product reaches the consumer? In time of peace the waste in this field is not so noticeable, and the producer and consumer do not complain so much of the conditions under which they are working, though the waste is proportionately as great as it is in time of war.

THE MIDDLEMAN.

The trouble seems to be inherent to the nature of the work of distribution. The legitimate distributors consist of the wholesaler and the retailer. In addition to these, of course, there are many other factors entering into the distribution of foodstuffs, such as grain exchanges, commission merchants, and boards of trade. There is a constant spread in this field, with opportunities for adding cost to distribution that seems to increase as society becomes more complex. In early times merchandizing did not exist. The producer passed his product direct to the consumer, but now that method is impossible. The complex nature of production and distribution requires highly specialized talent. The skill required to produce is not adapted to distribution. The skill of the tradesman is not the sort required in production. So, as a result, the producer hands over his product to the salesman, the distributor. In fact, the distributor buys the product direct from the producer, so that there is a distinct separation between the producer and the consumer, due to the fact that the title in the product of the shop and factory passes to the distributor, and the distributor then is left free to do with it as he pleases.

This enables him, if opportunity affords, to monopolize the distribution of any product. Take, for example, the great grain companies of the country. There are not very many of them, and as a rule two or three of these companies will have an elevator in each town in the grain district. These great corporations buy all the grain. There is no one else to buy it; there is no one else who owns elevators where it can be stored, therefore the very nature of the conditions that exist and the capital required make the handling of grain in effect a limited monopoly. There can only be a few companies in the business at most, and they invariably pay the same price for grain. In the main it results in natural monopoly. The point I am about to make, however, is this: That whenever the title to the product of the farm and shop passes completely to the distributor there is a splendid opportunity for the manipulation of the market in one form or another.

The American people have always believed in competition—generally speaking—regardless of the fact that ruthless competition leads straight as a line to monopoly. This is true because sooner or later the inefficient and less competent are gradually driven out of the field, and some great dominating combination will control the market and the price. Many business men have recognized the danger of this policy and have been preaching for several years past that there should be some sort of sensible regulation of competition in order that there might be a survival of legitimate concerns engaged in distribution, so that competition in a legitimate degree could be maintained.

For example, the producer is vitally concerned in the distribution of his product. If his product is manipulated by the distributor in such a manner as to either enhance or depress the price above or below a reasonable figure, the producer is injured thereby. If the distributor secures control of his product and raises the price beyond a reasonable figure, he thereby decreases consumption, and as consumption falls off the producer of the product is proportionately injured, because his interests lie in an increased production.

On the other hand, if the distributor is able to control the product and has designs upon a competitor whom he wishes to destroy and reduces the price of the product below a reasonable figure at which it can be profitably sold, the producer again is greatly injured by making production impossible.

If either of these conditions prevailed for any length of time the producer would be utterly destroyed. He is therefore vitally interested in the distribution of his product. He in fact ought to be able to control its distribution as a matter of self-preservation. He then would not only be able to protect himself from ruin, but he would be able to protect the consumer from extortionate prices, which are as injurious to the producer as to the consumer.

In 1911 the courts held that the producer could not contract with the wholesaler and retailer to sell his product at an agreed price. The result of that decision has been to create a chaotic condition in the market. The producer finds himself as a result of it unable to in any manner protect either himself or the consumer from unfair methods of distribution. Not only are the consumer and the producer disturbed and injured by this condition, but legitimate distributors—the wholesaler and the retailer—are also greatly injured as a result of it, because the legitimate distributor is better off with a stable condition of profits and with a steady market for the products that he handles than he is in an uncertain market, where he never knows what either the price or the consumption is going to be. The producer under these conditions is left to the mercy of every price cutter whose aim is to drive out competition in the field of distribution so that he can become a price booster instead of a price cutter, and to the mercy of every speculator who has no interest whatever in either the producer or the consumer, with the appalling result as shown in the field of distribution to-day. A state of anarchy is the only term which fittingly describes it. It is a disorganized mass of struggling men engaged in the fiercest and most destructive competition, which results in monopoly on the one hand and ruin on the other.

Dr. Taylor, of the University of Pennsylvania, who spent some time in Germany last year studying the food situation, stated before a Senate committee that it was useless to attack the distributors of food first in an endeavor to eradicate the speculator and reduce prices to the consumer. He contended that the power and skill of the distributors, no matter what restraint is put upon them, will enable them to push down on the producer on the one hand and up on the consumer on the other, thus reducing both the amount of production and consumption by reducing prices below the profit point to the producer and beyond the pocketbook of the consumer. Dr. Taylor merely relates the experience of Germany and his conclusions drawn from the facts. The actual practice in food regulation by these countries at war proves exactly the contention that reputable distributors have made for years. They have insisted that an unregulated field of distribution, rife with ruthless competition, could result in only one thing—increased cost—and the cost had to be borne by either the producer or consumer or both in the long run. There is fierce competition in both the field of production and distribution, but the cost of the plant and the technical skill required to produce are both deterrents in production. But in the field of distribution even a truck driver becomes a small distributor. A farmer moves to town and starts a small grocery store, and amateurs of every kind branch out into some business of distribution in a field already completely occupied by experienced men who are giving adequate service at a nominal cost. The result that follows is to increase competition, because the distributors in the field have the advantage of established trade, and the newcomers feel that the only way in which they can get started is to cut prices and reduce margins of profit. As margins are reduced to the distributors, and the consumers apparently profit by it, a struggle begins at once by the distributors to buy their supplies cheaper from the producer.

Every device known to the trade is exercised to beat down the cost of production so that the margin which ruthless com-

petition in the field of distribution had reduced could again be expanded to a living margin. Great distributors, like some of our great department stores and catalogue houses, go about the country among the hungry producers, who are struggling to meet pay rolls, and offer them enormous orders at cutthroat prices, with great success to themselves and ruin to the producer. A producer who needs orders will fall for a bait like that, with the result that the producer is gradually beaten down to the danger line by the distributor. This sort of pressure is constantly going on in the field of distribution, encroaching both on the producer and the consumer, constantly increasing the cost of distribution, as exampled by the fact that 65 cents out of every dollar paid for farm products go to the distributors.

The field of distribution is occupied not only by the reliable and dependable distributors, consisting of wholesalers and retailers, but also by a large number of speculating buccaneers, together with the ignorant interlopers into the retail field, who fancy they see great profits in this sort of business and who live for a brief day as price cutters. These two classes of price cutters and price boosters do more to injure the producer and consumer than all others combined. They gradually destroy legitimate margins of profit, which the distributor must make to stay in the business. The consumer generally makes no complaint against the price cutter, because he profits temporarily by buying his supplies at a lower rate. But gradually production falls off as producers fail and disappear, and a shortage of supplies finally manifests itself. When the shortage occurs, the pinch of high prices invariably follows, and then the consumer complains loudly and bitterly. This is especially apparent at the present moment.

PRICE MAINTENANCE DESIRABLE.

This condition could be greatly improved if the producers were allowed to control their own distribution through the present established wholesale and retail channels. A basic price should be fixed, and there is only one factor upon which a basic price can be made, and that is the cost of the product. There is only one person therefore who can fix a basic price, and that person is the producer himself. But the courts have held that he can not enter into a contract with a wholesaler and a retailer fixing the price at which his product is to be sold to the consumer, as it is contended that such a contract would be contrary to the Sherman antitrust law. The correctness of this line of argument has been questioned by a great majority of the business men who are vitally interested in having open and free competition in the field of distribution. They have felt that in order that there might be some stability to prices that the producer must control his own product and say at what price it is to be sold to the consumer. By this method wasteful and extravagant methods of distribution can be eliminated.

The fact that the Government to-day is before Congress asking authority to fix a basic price to the producer on food products is proof of the correctness of the theory that has heretofore been advanced by that class of business men who have contended that legislation should be immediately enacted empowering the producer to fix a uniform price upon the resale of his product to the consumer. They have sought legislation from Congress that would enable the producer to bridge the passage across the field of distribution to the consumer by fixing the profits that are to be made by the wholesaler and the retailer upon his products and the final price at which his product is to be sold to the consumer. By this method the price cutter and speculator are both completely eliminated, and the cost of their operations is saved to the producer and the consumer.

The court decision making such a contract illegal, above referred to, was an invitation to the buccaneer speculator and price cutter in the field of distribution to jump onto the producer and ruin his product by unfair competition and dishonest methods of merchandising. The producer could no longer protect the consumer of his product from either the speculator or the price cutter. If his product was the subject of speculation and high prices, consumption immediately fell off and the producer was injured by the loss of trade and the consumer was injured by being compelled to go without his product. The power in the distributor to run down the price to the consumer is also the power to raise it to the consumer. If the consumer could fix the price, he would not only ruin the distributor but the producer as well, and therefore he would ruin himself. It is quite apparent that the man who produces an article has an inherent right to price it. If no one wants it at his price, it is his misfortune; but he alone knows what it has cost him to produce it, and he alone knows how much profit he must take in order to continue producing it. The court, of course, admits that, but the court says he can not enter into a system of contract with his distributors fixing the price at which it shall be passed on to the consumer, because that would be against public policy and in restraint of trade. It is a strange conclusion to draw from the state of facts, because every producer is in the fiercest competition with other producers of like articles, each bidding for the consumer's favor in price, in quality, and in quantity. There can be no restraint of trade in such a practice, because competition is in no way interfered with.

As a result of this court decision a demand for remedial legislation has grown up among both distributors and producers asking that a law be passed legalizing a contract by a producer for the resale of his product through the wholesaler and retailer to the consumer at a price to be agreed upon. To that end a bill commonly known as the "price-maintenance bill," or "A bill to prevent dishonest advertising and false pretenses in merchandising"—Stephens bill—has been before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House for several years, and extensive hearings have been held upon the same. If this bill should become a law, it will aid very materially in protecting the honest merchant from the price cutter and speculator, who are both interlopers into the field of distribution, and thereby protect the producer from the encroachments of the field of distribution, and thereby increase production and gradually lower costs and prices.

The great advantage to the consumer in an arrangement like this lies in the fact that he has a steady market in which to buy his products as well as in which to sell. He pays a price for his supplies that allows an honest profit to the distributor, the wholesaler, and the retailer, and an honest competitive profit to the producer. These profits will be regulated by the power of the producer to guide his product across the turbulent field of distribution at a certain price. If he fails to maintain it, the price cutter—broadly speaking—will ruin the producer and the speculator will ruin the consumer; and they usually ruin each other in the end, only to be replaced by a new breed of price cutters and speculators as fast as their places are vacated.

FARMER HELPLESS—TOOK HIS CROP AT 10 CENTS A BUSHEL.

This great war was necessary to prove to the consumer the effect of unbridled competition on the producer and consumer alike. It is most marked of course on bulk goods, where the speculator has unbridled control. A producer of branded goods that bear his name and reputation can, to some extent, be protected, but the farmer producer is at present helpless. The speculator or dealer takes his grain and meat at his own price at the shipping station or central market. The farmer never in all his life fixed the price on anything he had to sell. He was compelled to sell. Those who purchased paid what they pleased without any regard whatever to the cost of the product. I have seen them take the corn crop in my home State at 9 and 10 cents a bushel, and force the producer to go in rags and without fuel until drouth or storms would come to his rescue and cut down his yield, and thus through great scarcity force the public to pay him a living price for his finished product. He has often been compelled to burn his corn to keep from freezing, because the crop could not be sold for enough to buy coal. There were plenty of people going hungry for the want of the meat that the 10-cent corn would produce in vast quantities, but the system of distribution killed the producer and robbed the consumer because we had not hit upon a method of regulation. We now see it would have been profitable to us all if the railroads would have exchanged the corn for coal by reducing transportation charges. We can now see that it was a crime to burn that corn for fuel while many people in other sections were hungry for the bread and meat it would produce. We can also see, now that the war has bred millions of speculators, that it is a crime to permit them to starve the consumers by making prices prohibitive. We can all see that now, and we are going about seeking quick methods for smiting the speculator and weeding him out of the channels of trade. But in times of peace, when the consumer was fairly comfortable with a reasonably full belly, there was no cry heard anywhere from him to protect the producer from this same speculator and his running mate, the price cutter, who were eating out the life of the producer. There was no cry from the consumer to protect the regular channels of trade, through which the producer must pass his goods, from the cutthroat methods of these two brigands of commerce.

The truth is, the so-called consumer is a bargain hunter who can not see an inch before his nose. He yowls for bargains in times of peace when a fair price to the producer should prevail, and encourages the price cutter. He yowls still more when the speculator pinches him in time of peace or war. In fact, he thinks only of his immediate needs, and what boots it to him how many producers fail if he gets a bargain? Maybe he is working on a salary for the producer whose business is being ruined by the buccaneers of trade. He seems to view a bargain

as a separate fact from the life of the community in which he lives. He acts somewhat like the savage who throws away his blanket when the sun comes up in the morning, thinking he will never need it again.

The war accentuates all these mistakes in our system of distribution, and if the war is a big one our system breaks down completely, as in the present situation, leaving us face to face with the necessity of choosing a food dictator to protect us from the highbinders of commerce, whom we tolerated—in fact encouraged in times of peace—because of our own innate selfishness.

THE FOOD DICTATOR.

War invariably brings inflation of prices. The causes are many, but principally the expansion of credits and increased activities of the Government are the main factors. Money being available in large quantities and business enormously increased because of the increased activities of the Government, it necessarily follows that the demands for available supplies will be greatly increased. The added demands for practically the same volume of supplies is sure to cause a rise in price which will have little relation to costs of production.

Heretofore in all great wars the rapidly rising prices have been a great handicap to the belligerents as well as to neutrals. The habits of the people were completely disorganized and the burden of the public debt greatly increased because no check was placed upon rising prices. In fact, it was never thought possible or, if possible, desirable for the Government to interfere in matters that touched so directly the interests of the individual. Socialistic ideas were not so widespread among the ruling classes in former wars as they are to-day. The experiments in Europe have demonstrated by actual practice that the Government can check the wild rise in prices by legislation, much to the benefit of all the people.

In view of this experience of European Governments and the pressing need in this country of keeping prices barely above normal, this legislation proposing giving the President dictatorial powers to regulate prices of food, fuel, iron, steel, copper, and farm machinery is meeting with universal approval. The people prosper more under stable, fair prices than under high speculative prices, because they are assured of a safe and reasonable return upon their efforts.

If the producers were not of this opinion, they would not consent to a surrender of war prices for a fair price unless every class of business was placed upon the same footing. The cry for price regulation was emphasized by the high price of wheat during the spring months, when it rose to the record-breaking figure of over $3 a bushel. The wheat producer knows he would profit more during the war if let alone, but he has other considerations in mind. He knows that the grain dealers paid him about $1.25 a bushel for that wheat which finally sold for over $3 a bushel. He knows he never fixed the price on anything he ever produced which he had to sell. He knows the distributors invariably take his crops at their own price. Therefore he is not greatly disturbed about Uncle Sam taking it at his price. He guesses that Uncle Sam will have more interest in him than the distributors will, and I think his guess is good. He also has hope that something will come out of this great experiment by the Government in controlling prices that will be of great benefit to him after the war is over.

If the Government through a food dictator can protect the producer and consumer by keeping the cost of distribution down to a reasonable basis during the war, why will it not lead straight as a line to some sort of system of Government marketing in time of peace? That is the hope that is making this legislation popular among the producers.

Farmers as a class are wholly unorganized. It is almost impossible for them to organize into marketing associations on a scale of sufficient magnitude to cope with the large distributors who buy their crops. If they could organize they would, of course, force the distributors to pay them a fair price for their products. That would naturally lead to larger costs to the consumers if the distributors maintained their usual profits. Then, to make the system balance so competition would be fair, the consumers would have to organize to protect themselves from unfair prices fixed by the distributors. All of which leads one to wonder whether after all the best results could not better be obtained by Government control of some kind.

The Government has organized a shipping corporation for building up a merchant marine in order that the commerce of the country may flow freely between our own and foreign markets. It does not require a very wide spread of the imagination to see a practical application of the same principle in organizing through Government agencies, in cooperation with the producers, marketing associations that will be able to have something to say about the price of their own products. The unselfish interests of the Government would prevent unfair demands of the producers organized under such a governmental agency and at the same time it would sanction prices based on cost of production. The law of supply and demand is wholly ineffective when applied to agriculture, because it robs ruthlessly both the producer and consumers where it has a show to operate, but as a matter of fact it does not nor can not freely operate, there are so many artificial obstacles set up by the distributors to prevent it. No one in particular is to blame for the general conditions that exist, but in the aggregate the people are to blame for tolerating them, and it is up to them to find a solution.

It must be quite apparent to anyone that the producers of meat animals, for example, scattered on isolated farms and ranches all over the United States, are utterly helpless to protect themselves in the markets of the country. They produce blindly, at enormous expense, the meat supply of the country without the slightest assurance that they will even get the cost of their product when placed on the market. A few great distributors control the market. Now, these producers never can meet these distributors singly and get a profit for their product. It is unnatural to expect it. But if the Government could demonstrate in this great experiment of food control that it will be feasible for the Government after the war to say to the meat producers, "I will join you in organizing an association which will market your meat," it will be worth infinitely more than the war prices sacrificed.

The farmers would have confidence in such an association and their products would pass to market through it. The result would be most gratifying, indeed, for all concerned. The association would force the packer to pay a profit for the meat, an honest profit, because the Government would also represent the packer and the consumer as well as the producer. Under such a condition the cost of meat would be reduced because profits would be assured and great losses eliminated. There were in 1915 some 20,000,000 head fewer meat animals in this country than in 1900. This great shrinkage is due to the losses sustained by the producers who now refuse to produce the necessary meat under such hazardous conditions.

The same conditions prevail in the grain markets also. The producers of grain are utterly helpless to protect themselves against loss. The market conditions for farm products are inconceivably bad. There is no business known that suffers more than agriculture for the want of a sane market, one that is able to command a price that bears some relation to the cost of production. A manufacturer has some sort of notion of the demand for his product and adjusts his production to it. Besides that, he belongs to associations where producers of his kind act in harmony and for the good of their class. They figure up the cost of their product and add their profit, and as a rule they get their price. But with the farmer producer he must take what the distributor offers him, and it has no relation whatever to cost of production. Instead of the farmer making a profit, as a rule, he makes a loss and takes it out of his land. In other words, he has been selling the strength of his soil at so much a bushel to make up the loss sustained on the crops he takes from the soil. The east half of the United States has already sold most of its soil fertility, and the great grain belt is rapidly following suit. Soon it will be necessary to spend vast sums for fertilizers in the grain belt as a result of our stupid methods of marketing which leave the producer without means of replenishing his soil. The packer has made beef production so hazardous the farmer is forced to cut out, in a large measure, beef production, one of the principal factors in soil building. No matter how high or how low the price of corn goes the production of beef still remains more hazardous than gambling on the board of trade. I have seen the farmers of my State sell their corn at 8 and 10 cents a bushel and burn it for fuel, because it was cheaper to burn than wood and coal. He fed the country and went in rags, and the country accepted his sacrifice with perfect complacency. The result of this indifference of the people to his condition has greatly depressed agriculture, until to-day we produce less corn, wheat, oats, and cotton per capita than ever before in our history. Men of ability who were fortunate enough to get away have gone into other lines where greater profits with less hardships are obtainable. The country generally must pay for this loss to the producers in the end by being forced to pay a double price for its supplies.

Here are a few striking examples of how the farmer suffers from market conditions. In 1912 the farmers of this country raised bumper crops of corn with which to feed the hungry world. They cultivated 107,083,000 acres and raised 3,124,746,000 bushels of corn, for which they received $1,520,454,000. The price did not stimulate production, so in 1913 they reduced

their crop 1,263,000 acres and their production 677,746,000 bushels, which was a tremendous shrinkage in the world's food supply. But mark the marvelous results to the farmer. He received for this greatly reduced crop $171,546,000 more than he received for the bumper crop of over 3,000,000,000 bushels in 1912. Now, let us look at the full story of the meaning of this crop shrinkage to the farmer. Here is about what the farmer saved in cost of production by reducing his crop 1,263,000 acres:

Saving in cultivating 1,263,000 acres, at $15	$18,945,000
Saving in husking 677,746,000 bushels, at 4 cents	27,089,840
Saving in hauling 677,746,000 bushels to market, at 8 cents	54,219,680
Increase in price of 1913 short crop over 1912	171,546,000
Value of 1,263,000 acres for other crops, $5 per acre	63,150,000
Or a total saving of	234,949,520

In other words, the farmers were nearly $235,000,000 better off as a result of giving the world 677,000,000 bushels less of corn. Inasmuch as the distributors take the farmer's corn at their own price, they did not show much interest in the general welfare in fixing the price so low on their bumper crop.

There has never been too much corn, nor there never will be, so the world would have been exceedingly wise to have taken the 1912 crop at a profitable figure to the producer and thereby made sure of a larger acreage for 1913. However, our system of marketing is so utterly stupid no such sensible policy is possible. We depend upon competition in a market of speculators, traders, and gamblers to fix a price upon the staple products of the farm, with the result that price has no relation whatever to the cost of production.

The same story is told by the crop figures on wheat in 1908 as compared with the 1913 crop. In 1913 we had increased our crop over that of 1908 by two and one-half million acres and our yield nearly 100,000,000 bushels, and the producer for his trouble and expense got nearly $7,000,000 less. In other words, he gave the world 100,000,000 bushels of wheat for nothing and then sold the rest of his crop for $7,000,000 less than his crop of 1908 brought him. To raise that 100,000,000 bushels of wheat for which he got nothing he used 3,000,000 bushels of seed and spent at least twenty-five millions in money to sow and harvest the crop, besides another five millions for marketing it. It is plainly evident that there is neither rhyme nor reason to a market that delivers such a staggering blow to the producer as this example shows.

The same experience fell to the lot of the cotton planter in 1911. That year he produced a bumper crop of fifteen and one-half million bales, for which the world paid him $60,000,000 less than it paid him for eleven and one-half million bales the year before. In other words, the world robbed him of 4,000,000 bales for which he had spent uncounted millions in labor and expense. With infinite pains millions of black men, women, and children toiled through an entire season producing that additional crop of 4,000,000 bales, for which they did not receive one cent. The world had more cloth, but these people had less bacon as a result of their added efforts.

Every time the farmer attempts to raise more crops in order that the world may be better fed and that he may also add to his own comforts of life, he is met with a rebuff in the form of a staggering loss as exampled in these three cases. He knows that there is no hope for him in the present markets of the country, because the prices worked out in these markets have no relations whatever to the cost of production. The prices of his products hinge upon a roaring battle between the bulls and the bears in the grain and cotton exchanges of the country. The advantage is sometimes with the bulls and for a day the farmer prospers, and then the tide turns and the bears come in for a killing and the farmer suffers. So the fight goes on year after year, decade after decade, with production per capita constantly falling off. Nothing can be so stupid as this system of setting a price on the products of the soil. Why does not the manufacturer have the price of his product fixed by the bulls and the bears in a similar market to that which preys upon the farmer? Because he has a better method. He bases his price upon his costs of production. But the farmer has not been able so far to do it. Maybe the food dictator can show us how it can be done. If I did not believe that such a thing is possible I would never support this legislation. War conditions create a good market for the staple products of the farm. The bears all become bulls during a war, and the farmer comes into his own at such times in spite of all obstacles. That being true, why should the farmer give away his opportunity for gathering in war prices now, when for generations past and gone he has been compelled to submit to this alleged law of supply and demand, otherwise known as the law of bulls and bears, much to his sorrow? Because he feels it his patriotic duty to do so, believing it will strengthen the arm of the Government in this war; and second, because he hopes that from this great experiment in the Government control of the market a new and valuable lesson may be learned. If the President is able to select a food controller provided for in this proposed legislation who is a wise man, a patriotic man, a man with a far-reaching vision, he will open a wonderful future for the farmers of this country. He will demonstrate in the greatest experiment ever tried out in the world the fact that food can be profitably and cheaply produced in great abundance. If he does this, then the country will be doubly blessed. But if he is not wise and patriotic to a marked degree he is sure to bring widespread ruin upon the country. But we can console ourselves in taking this chance in the thought that war is a great gamble at best. We will have to accept the results, whatever they may be.

The Picket and the Public.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 3, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with consent granted me by the House to-day, I am inserting an article in the Woman Citizen of date June 30, 1917, the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The honorary president of this association is Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; its president is Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Both Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt have been in this work for many years, and they not only have national but international reputation for the splendid work they have done on the question of equal rights for women. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its various officers, have repeatedly stated their position in regard to picketing. The editorial in the Woman Citizen clearly and forcibly presents to the American public where the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its officers and members stand and have stood on this question of picketing and their want of any connection therewith and their repudiation of the picket tactics. The editorial referred to is as follows:

THE PICKET AND THE PUBLIC.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, comprising the great body of organized suffragists the country over, deplores as absurd, ill timed, and susceptible of grave and demoralizing suspicion the tactics of the isolated handful of suffragists at the National Capital who think to advance the cause of suffrage by demonstrations like the recent banner episodes at the White House.

Is that plain?

The National American Woman Suffrage Association likewise deplores as unfair and wasteful the reiterated demands upon it from friend and foe of suffrage alike to "repudiate," "denounce," "state its position on the subject." It can, apparently, repudiate and denounce and state its position till the crack of doom and still be left at the mercy of clamorers for more denunciations and more repudiations. These clamorers, particularly those who are suffragists, could be about a bigger business than such footless insistence. Concerned as it is with a great constructive, forward-looking, forward-leaping program for furthering the suffrage cause, the National American Woman Suffrage Association deplores having its time, energies, and attention constantly deflected to offset the effects of publicity tactics with which it is not and never has been in sympathy and which it has emphatically condemned and never condoned.

Is that plain?

And now—

The National American Woman Suffrage Association wants to point out that it is not blind, if the clamorers are, to the fact that every time it concedes to the clamor it is but playing the publicity game into the hands of the small group of suffragists to whose campaign publicity is fundamental.

For where agitation is the watchword publicity is the achievement.

Can it not be understood once and for all, by suffragists, by press, and by general public, that the White House tactics of the picketers are but a detail of a publicity campaign which suffragists and press and general public immeasurably further by the attention which they center upon it? (The lady from Missouri who tore down the pickets' banner built up the pickets' publicity as no picket and no banner could have done.)

Not all such publicity aids are hostile in their animus. There is no question that men are encouraging the small group that is committed to picket tactics. As grown-ups encourage a froward child whose antics are plaguing other grown-ups, so do men of otherwise discriminative intelligence encourage the banner bearers.

And despite an increasingly fine balance of judgment on the part of editors and reporters, there is no question that the attitude of a part of the press is an encouragement. From the viewpoint of news a defy to the President of the United States, even flaunted on a pretty little

purple and gold banner, is highly available "front-page stuff," and there is the gayest and friendliest of understandings between many newsmen and the banner bearers.

While we are placing the blame, therefore, let us divide it fairly and squarely, none at all to the suffrage cause, none to the organized suffragists who resent having that cause drawn into such fracases, and one part to the pickets who incite these ructions, one part to the press that spreads the story in the way most calculated to make a prolonged sensation of it, and one part to the public that thrills humanly over its own shocks.

It is a fact that there remains in America one man who has known exactly the right attitude to take and maintain toward the pickets. A whimsical smile, slightly puckered at the roots by a sense of the ridiculous, a polite bow, and for the rest a complete ignoring of their existence. He happens to be the man around whom the little whirlwind whirls—the President of the United States.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association respectfully urges the rest of the country to take example from him in its emotional reaction to the picket question.

The River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GRAHAM,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 27, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 4285) making appropriations for the construction of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there are two reasons why I do not find myself able to support the rivers and harbors bill now presented. Without encumbering the RECORD unnecessarily I desire to briefly state the reasons.

In the first place, no reason presents itself to me why this bill should be presented and urged for passage at this session of Congress. When the President convened the Congress in extraordinary session it was for the purpose of passing upon the question of whether a declaration should be made that a state of war existed between this Government and the Government of Germany, and for such other measures as might be necessary if such declaration of war was made. Congress was not convened for purposes of general legislation. No bills on general legislation have been considered by or reported out of committees of this House; in fact, the Members have not asked for such committee consideration. I dare say there is not a Member of the House who has not some general legislation that he desires to have passed. But it has been the general expression of this House and the country at large that we ought only to give our attention now to such matters as have to do with the conduct of the war in which we are now engaged.

However, and notwithstanding this, we find the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors insisting on the passage of this bill at this special session, and for many days it has been debated and has received the consideration of this House. It is not a war measure in any respect. There may be items in the bill of merit, such as the improvement of the harbors at our principal seaports. But as has been so ably shown by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], there seem to be ample funds on hand with which the work on these projects can be carried on until Congress shall meet in regular session in December next.

It has been stated to me, in answer to my inquiries while this bill was under general discussion, that if these appropriations were not made we would lose, by the action of the water and the elements, the benefits of immense sums we have already spent on these rivers and harbors. The evidence given before the committee when this bill was being considered showed that approximately $5,000,000 would suffice to maintain the works mentioned in this bill for the period covered by the bill. But the bill calls for an expenditure of approximately $27,000,000. This sum, added to the amounts already in the treasury and available, make a large total of money which the proponents of this bill now propose to expend. Only a small proportion of the money proposed to be expended is for maintenance, and the great bulk of it is for new projects and new work. Practically all of the new work proposed in this bill could not, reasonably, be expected to be finished during the present war with Germany, and much of it is on inland waterways of absolutely no importance in connection with the carrying on of this or any other war.

We are preaching economy. We are telling the housewife to be frugal and to save; we are passing laws to encourage the farmer to aid production and conserve his forces; we are preaching economy to the laboring man; we are threatening the mine operator and the middleman with prosecution if they take unfair or excessive profits from the consumer; the administration has stated that it must have laws passed giving governmental control of necessaries and such powers have been ungrudgingly granted by this House. We, on this side of the House, have, by our votes, helped to give to the President every power he has said he needed for the successful carrying on of the war. Not the least of these requests has been one for national economy. But now this rivers and harbors bill, approximately $27,000,000, the greater part of the expenditures of which are unnecessary at this time, is produced and its passage is insisted upon, and it is stated here in argument that the entire bill has the approval of the President. At a time of national stress, when we are bending every power to the conservation of our national resources, is an exceedingly poor time to appropriate moneys to make a survey of or dredge some nameless River of Doubt so that some Member of Congress may receive the plaudits of his admiring constituents. Economy, like charity, should begin at home.

Some attention, at least, should be paid to the psychology of the situation. The administration must have the sympathy and support of the country if it is to successfully carry on this war. Some things have already been done that have impaired the confidence of the people. It is highly inadvisable to pass at this time what the people, almost generally, believe to be a measure for the distribution of political favors. Rightfully or wrongfully, the impression prevails throughout the country that this and all like measures are "pork-barrel" bills. To pass this bill at this time simply induces the belief in the minds of our people that the Congress and the administration are insincere, and in the same breath preach economy for the people and political pap for themselves. Surely, at such a time as this, we can forego this semiannual visitation, the rivers and harbors bill.

There is another absolutely sufficient reason why this bill should not pass. Omnibus legislation is wrong; every omnibus bill is wrong; the system is wrong. What is the system? Those who are framing these bills know perfectly well that a bill calling for appropriations for some of the desired improvements only would never become the law. So items are included calling for improvements in other States and districts. Some of these projects may be laudable; some may be an absolute waste of the people's money. But by the patchwork method, a distribution of money to various localities, enough votes are secured to pass the bill. A Member of Congress who represents a constituency where improvements are proposed to be made by items in the bill finds himself in the position where he must either vote against his constituents and their private interests or for the bill with all it may contain. This is the underlying evil in all such legislation and is a practice that ought to be stopped. Omnibus bills, such as public-buildings bills and rivers and harbors bills, are all of this nature and are vicious. I have had several men in this House, men whom I highly respect, tell me that they would vote against this bill if it were not that it contained appropriations for their districts, and they must therefore support it. Everyone here knows and concedes that this bill contains indefensible items. Everyone here knows that the bill would fail if it did not have items in it that immediately affect, financially, the districts of a majority of the Members of this House.

It has been said that it is necessary to thus cumulate these items in order to get needed improvements. I do not believe it. Instead of this old, vicious method of logrolling and pork, a proper budget system should be developed. A man ought not to have to vote for something that is wrong in order to vote for something that is right. In law it is the rule that a pleading that in part is obnoxious to a general demurrer is bad in toto; a drop of poison placed in a mass of liquid nevertheless disseminates its poison throughout the whole mass. The same method of reasoning applies here. If there is vice in the bill, the whole bill is bad. We should create a governmental commission, with semijudicial functions, to pass upon the feasibility and worth of the various plans submitted for waterways and harbor improvements. Remove the matter from politics and make it a scientific question. Substitute a careful budget system for the present careless, wasteful, vicious system. If this be done, river and harbor improvements can be had that are really needed, and many hundreds of millions of expenditures obviated. If this be done, Members of this House can vote for such measures without feeling in their consciences that they are doing something unworthy of them as Members of the greatest national assembly of the world.

Food-Control Bill—Deliberation Rather Than Mere Ratification in Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, before the day is closed this House will pass by a large majority this bill, a piece of legislation that is so unlike anything this country has ever attempted that it is almost revolutionary. During the debate, when numbers of us have cautioned against delegation of too broad powers to the President, it was frankly admitted by various Members that autocratic power was sought in the measure in the conviction that history proved that no great war was ever won except by autocratic power. Of course, this statement is not historically true, but it was not controverted on the floor. It shows the temper of this Congress in the face of what may be dire fatality unless met by speedy action; this membership is willing to go to almost any extent if it appears necessary to meet the crisis.

Mr. Speaker, as I said under general debate, I am one of the Members who are jealous of the prerogatives of this body. I have watched with keen scrutiny ever since I have been a Member the extension of executive over legislative function in our Government. However, I have felt that the exigencies of the case justified this measure, which is the ground for my assistance in whatever way I could render it to the chairman of the committee, whose conduct of the bill is at once a real joy to his friends, which practically include every Member of this body. But this desire to see the measure carried to a final vote does not justify the strictures of many Members, especially Democratic Members, against other Members who exercised their rights to attempt to change the measure, to perfect it as they deemed wise. Some of these critics intimate a partisan source of objections, which is totally without foundation. Such a revolutionary piece of legislation should be carefully considered and widely discussed in its every detail and without the charge of partisan bias, mainly because I am quite sure that the measure when it goes into effect is destined to prove a dismal disappointment to the public, due to a wrong hope produced by what I fear have been unwise utterances here on the floor and carried by the press throughout the Nation.

The major portion of this debate has been cast upon the plane of exorbitant prices due, as they declare, in the main if not totally to the food speculator and gambler. These "sharks" have been pilloried in this House, dire execution has been ordered, and every such utterance was greeted by loud applause, indicative of a sincere conviction that the speaker had properly apprehended the culprit and his crime. This legislation is avowedly proposed as a remedy for the protection of the public. When it goes into effect, if the Senate passes it—and there can be little doubt of its passage—the people thus prepared have a right to expect falling prices in a marked degree, and at once, not to rise again.

Mr. Speaker, herein lies the source of our disappointment if not danger. When the Government assigns causes and affords remedies the people have a right to expect results. The figures quoted on prices of flour in England as compared with what we must pay are misleading and bound to produce disappointment which may lead to serious conditions here in American cities. The flour made out of wheat purchased at $1.08 per bushel can be sold cheaper than that made out of $3.25 wheat. The high prices are due to a combination of forces, all dating back to the complete interruption of the world's production and consumption of food supply. When the world borrows money to purchase what must be had to avoid national disaster, if not death, the price is no item in the purchase. Food and feed as well as fuel must be had in time of war, no matter what may be the price. What is asked is paid. This produces an inflation which will be felt in every possible transaction of sale. This explains why enterprises which are in no way connected with war business are also stimulated.

This bill will enable our authorities to prevent the outside world bidding in the open market for breadstuffs and food that must be supplied to the world's armies and navies to avoid fatalities. What is true of foodstuffs is likewise true of fuel. The bill will also be able to guide production and regulate consumption as well as to conserve against waste. This is the merit which we may hope to realize. We can not hope for much more. It will take the allies out of the open market by governmental regulation of exports. To provide for this power, where we could both buy and sell so far as our rationing Europe goes, we were required to take quite serious steps from the standpoint of our theories of government, not because of choice but rather of necessity.

Instead of scolding this body for deliberate action on such momentous matters and abjuring us to quickly ratify a bill without any mature consideration, time will prove to the public, if not to these critics, the wisdom of taking time to deliberate. This measure was brought to this House, which began its consideration only last Monday, the 18th. It has occupied the attention of the country for less than a week. It will pass to-night, after but six days of consideration, both under general debate and its reading for amendment. It does not only comprehend the control of food, feed, and fuel by placing vast powers into the hands of the President, but the conservation amendment just enacted by a decisive vote, which forbids further use of grains in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages for the period during the war, a measure which I supported with all my heart as the wisest step we can at this time take to avoid a wicked waste of our food supply. By this amendment the measure goes vastly further than food conservation; it reaches into the wider field of vital conservation, which, after all, is the real function of legislation in its final analysis. When the character of such legislation, its far-reaching effects, are properly comprehended, no man in or out of Congress has any ground for stigmatizing this House for moving deliberately. Mr. Speaker, the real danger in a body like this is not too much deliberation, but rather too great haste. Especially is this true in times like these, when men demand action and care little for mature consideration. This Congress has been the target for that precise reason of caustic comment, especially by the cosmopolitan press. The whip and spur have been freely applied because we have not gone rapidly enough. The criticism is unfounded and unwise. There is no period in legislative history which will show such expedition in the enactment of laws, both in stupendous importance, because of the character of legislation, as well as the volume of legisation. This Congress came into special session in response to the hurry call of the President on April 2. The House wasted no time in effecting an organization, notwithstanding the strength of the two parties was such that an indefinite amount of delay might have resulted had there been a disposition to do so. The House heard the President at the joint session of House and Senate on the same day of convening on the critical theme of a state of war with Germany. Without delay a joint resolution embodying a recognition of the existence of a state of war between our country and the German Imperial Government was presented and debated in the full realization of the awful consequences of our country's entrance into the world holocaust, a step we had earnestly hoped we need not take, yet many of us feared we could not avoid. The debate began at 10 o'clock April 5, and the vote was taken, after 17 hours of continuous discussion, at 3 o'clock the next morning, with but 50 Members voting against it. The fateful step having been taken with an appreciation of its meaning, this Congress at once set itself to the task of putting our house in order. It immediately authorized an issuance of $7,000,000,000 worth of bonds. Our national debt, which was but $973,000,000, jumped overnight to the staggering figure of nearly $8,000,000,000. It is true that $2,000,000,000 of this was short-time certificates, upon which no interest was to be charged. It is also true that $3,000,000,000 were designed as loans to our allies, with expectation that it will be paid back to us in time.

This measure was passed on April 14 by a comparatively unanimous vote, but two Members voting "present" and no one voting "no." The Congress, having thus provided the money power necessary, took up at once the problem of organizing the man power of the Nation. It took up the matter of providing an army, and in the short space of two weeks it adopted conscription, a method totally repugnant to a democratic or republican idea of raising an army, and a method which after three years of the world's greatest war the leading powers of the allied forces in Europe have not been able to adopt as a policy. Here, Mr. Speaker, was a complete overturning of our very genesis as a Nation, but done aboveboard by the Nation's Representatives, with their eyes wide open to the innovation, but convinced that the exigencies of the situation demanded this exceptional venture. With the most powerful argument against the employment of conscription until the volunteer method had been first tried out, a position with which I agreed and so voted, yet the opinion of the country seemed to favor the draft system, and it was not only passed, but by early June under the law 10,000,000 of our youth had registered and now stand ready to be called to the colors. In the face of such measures

as these, unlike anything in this or any other country, this Congress is held up by the critic and a large portion of the press, which is impatient, as a laggard body, wasting valuable time in useless discussion.

This Congress has also enacted an espionage law, which could not have been passed at all were it not for the emergency that faces us.

This is a new field opened to us by the necessities of war. We have here entered the realm of legislation against sedition and espionage. We have dangerously approached a strangling of free speech and the throttling of a free press. We have in a few days' time, in the interest of national safety against possible dangers of enemy spying, written into statutory law the most drastic provisions against giving information to the enemy. Had this House pursued the advice of some Members and had accepted the bill as handed down from above, in the theory that Congress should disclaim either the right or the wisdom of deliberation as contrary to congressional duty in time of war, we would have at this moment as a statute on our law books a more drastic censorship of the press than is exercised by any Government now at war. It was this body, after many heated contests both among ourselves and with the body at the other end of the Capitol, that saved to our people their right to the freedom of the press to give such information as the country has the right to know. As the law was finally enacted it is an important piece of legislation stripped of the dangers of a muzzled press.

This Congress also enacted a law authorizing the Government to take over the German merchant vessels which were voluntarily tied up in American waters when the war cloud broke upon the world. This was an important step of international significance, and it unfurled the Stars and Stripes over more than 50 merchantmen, one of which is the largest vessel of its kind ever launched from any shipyard in the world. While this act was expeditiously passed it was fully discussed in the House as befits a legislative body dealing with international issues.

This Congress also modified the Federal reserve act as a war emergency measure permitting a mobilization of the reserve and granting the power to further expand the credit of the country. The tremendous demand upon the world's exchanges argues for greater expansion of credits. While I am convinced this was a wise measure in the main, yet the possibilities of inflation involved in the authority of a member bank to use the gold and gold certificates it holds as collateral for Federal reserve notes as a part of its reserve upon which Federal reserve notes may be issued is a most dangerous power, especially in times of abnormal conditions in the business world. In such times inflation is the tendency of trade and should not be stimulated by law, but rather retarded. More time for deliberation would have certainly led to a modification of this provision by order of the House.

But, Mr. Speaker, the most striking comment of what ill-advised and undigested legislation may result when expedition rather than effective legislation is the order is the revenue bill, which provided for raising by taxation $1,800,000,000 and which was passed through the House on schedule time. Usually such a measure would take weeks of consideration. The Senate will take time, but not so in the House. The bill has the anomaly of being reported by a unanimous committee and yet disowned by every Member as a foundling. It was a good example of a necessary evil to be accepted in order to get rid of it. The chairman of the committee frankly stated that he proposed to shut his eyes, hold his nose, and swallow it whole. Milder apologies were made by other Members. Indefensible items were readily acceded to, and the ready defense was "we must have the money." The bill covered every conceivable phase of taxation known to the political economist and involved others never yet tried, such as the retroactive feature, the horizontal tariff, and gross-sales tax whether upon a profit or loss basis. For mere self-defense the committee invoked the rule to prevent the addition of any other item. Bad as it was, the committee believed the addition of other items would make a bad situation worse. The monstrosity so frequently thus denominated was sent through this House with great expedition so as to serve the Senate a skeleton upon which to work. Most naturally the Senate is exercising under the right of amendment of revenue bills its prerogative, and through its Finance Committee it is taking its own good time, where it still is safely ensconced. But we are told that it will in due time come forth a new bill, with no marks to identify it as the House bill.

This war-revenue bill, a mere hodgepodge, in sacred phraseology fearfully and wonderfully made, was jammed through this House under the whip and spur of great necessity, and with the one persistent answer to every objection, "We must have the money." This body rushed the bill through with all its crudities, its dangerous innovations of retroaction included, in the hope that the Senate might correct the errors. Undue haste was displayed here, where it was considered but a few days and sent to the Senate, where for weeks it has rested in the Finance Committee, which as yet has not seen fit to report it to the floor of the Senate. The impatient Members of this House who freely lecture this membership for taking time to inquire into the character of all legislation here proposed, and especially when of a revolutionary character, involving both policies of doubtful constitutionality and unwise expediency, might well, not only for their own standing but for the sake of their country, take a few moments to consider the consequences of measures whose far-reaching effects are not easily fully discerned. With whatever else we may be charged, this Congress can not be condemned for too much time in deliberation. In but a little longer time than it will take to tell it we have, by resolution of this Congress, entered the world war to make the supreme test of mankind in this frightful human cataclysm. We have enrolled ready to be called to the national colors 10,000,000 young men. We have authorized an increase of our public debt eight times what it was before we entered the vortex. We have authorized the President to commandeer the shipyards and munition plants if he finds it necessary to do so. We have passed appropriation bills carrying staggering sums to take care of these various authorizations. The general deficiency bill, carrying $163,841,400, became a law 14 days after it came to the House. The sundry civil bill, carrying $147,363,928, became a law 10 days ago. The Army appropriation bill, carrying $273,046,322, became a law the 12th of last month. The Military Academy bill, carrying $1,344,896, became a law May 29. The military and naval deficiency bill, carrying the bewildering sum of $3,281,094,541, came to the floor of this House April 30, passed the House May 2—after but three days of discussion—and the Senate May 16, sent to conference June 7, was agreed to June 12, and approved June 15. Here are five appropriation bills amounting to nearly $4,000,000,000 which have passed the Congress since we met in special session April 2. These figures do not include the proposed $600,000,000 for aviation, which the country will almost certainly demand before we finish our war preparation. No wonder we are charged with spending public money like drunken sailors.

Among the most important items in winning the war is the food question, both for ourselves and the armies in Europe fighting our enemy. The first step was the food-survey bill, to ascertain the food situation, as to quantity in existence, where it is held, in what condition, and the prospects both for increasing production and reducing waste. This bill was passed through the two Houses and awaits action in conference. The bill which we will pass before the day closes, and the deliberate consideration of which has provoked caustic criticism of impatient Members, is designed to promote production and conserve against waste of all foods, feeds, and fuel as well as articles used in the production of them.

Mr. Speaker, I am not here attempting to indicate what has been done for and by the various military and naval divisions. It is sufficient to say that the entire national activity, comprehending the Nation's vast resources, has been largely mobilized. The entire industrial life of our people, including the rural activities, both the capital and labor of the country, the scientific and professional ability of the Nation—in fact, the entire population—is being rapidly enlisted to win the war. Our Navy is in action, and Admiral Sims is in command of the Irish waters in the campaign against the submarine; the Army is mobilizing the man power of the Nation; Gen. Pershing is now being consulted at the front; our boys are in the training camps; the captains of industry are organizing the money power of the country; the Council of National Defense is seeking to insure fullest utilization of America's varied ability of resource; and the press, aided by various adjuncts, is creating a sound public opinion to assist in winning the war in the shortest possible time at the least possible loss of treasure. The President, as Commander in Chief of all the land and sea forces, must depend upon Congress, the war-making power, to find the means. When the work of this Congress is reviewed it will be readily conceded that no such volume of important measures, both emergent and stupendous in consequences, ever passed a legislative body in so short a time. It is indicative of the grasp of this Congress of the vitally serious situation confronting the world and the very large part our country must now play in that world situation.

Mr. Speaker, as a Republican, I desire to remind the country in this crisis that there is and has been no delay in the needed legislation to carry our flag to the front. While the adminis-

tration, both executive and legislative, is in the hands of the Democratic Party, and while this House has a greater Republican than Democratic membership, and could thereby make untold confusion for the party in power, from the very first the Republican Members, both of House and Senate, have taken the lead in pressing these measures for final action. There has been no obstruction from this side of the aisle. Changes in proposed laws, which were made to strengthen them, were most largely suggested from this side.

Some of the most important measures were pressed to final and successful action by Republican leaders and against Democratic leaders. This is not to say the Democrats are less patriotic, but simply to remind the country of the unfailing support of the Nation in this hour of crisis by Republicans who refuse to make any political capital out of an emergency. There are many occurrences that Republicans condemn and which would be bitterly condemned in normal times. But to-day we realize the difficulties attendant in passing from a peace to a war basis, and recognize the impossibility of avoiding mistakes. While attention has been called to some such occasion, always in a constructive way, the spirit of destructive criticism has not found place in Republican councils and will not while the war is on, only to that degree where mistakes must be corrected and errors of policy must be avoided. The work of this House especially is not open to the criticism of Democrats, either from the standpoint of delay, obstruction, or lack of support by Republicans. The RECORD votes on all these measures will indicate the Republican attitude when the Nation faces a crisis, even though the entire administration is Democratic and frequently subject to severe criticism for narrow partisan action. At a time like this, when the Republic is to bear the chief brunt of the world's greatest disaster, mere partisan criticism will not be indulged, notwithstanding the provocation invited by the silly campaign slogan in the last campaign, "He kept us out of war," upon which Democracy retained control of the administration. It is our duty now to forget the cheap demagogy of a campaign and support the Nation's honor, dignity, and sovereign rights. The RECORD shows how this policy has been carried, so far as Republicans are concerned. It has been done calmly and deliberately. When the war ends Republicans will then answer the frequently propounded question, "After the war, what?" When the problem of readjustment comes Republicans will point the way. Until that day, while Democracy is responsible for policies, Republicans will be found, in the future as in the past, standing as a solid bulwark for the Nation as headed by Wilson, a Democratic President. But they will not hesitate to scrutinize every proposal, to alter by amendment wherein the proposed measure may be strengthened, and to substitute better ways when and where in their judgment the general welfare of the country will be enhanced. It is only in this way that the best national service to country can be rendered, especially in times of crisis where undue haste is counseled and where, as Lincoln so well said, "No good cause can be harmed by taking time."

This advice is especially true when we must be aware that many steps taken in times of war will never be retraced.

The Food Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. CLYDE KELLY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 23, 1917.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this Congress will go down in history as the one which called for more sacrifices in manhood and money than any other which ever sat beneath this dome. We have been compelled, through force of fateful circumstances, to demand an outpouring of offerings from the American people, for the safety and security of the Republic.

Nobly has the answer been given in 10,000,000 young men enrolled as defenders of the Nation and $3,000,000,000 subscribed to the liberty loan. Right here and now is the opportunity of Congress to "do its bit" in the conduct of this war, by interning the liquor traffic for the period of the conflict. It is the biggest "bit" this body will have a chance to perform. Here is a chance to prevent the destruction of 11,000,000 loaves of bread a day, besides vast quantities of other foodstuffs. Here is a chance to make sure that the alcohol now in existence shall not be used to debauch and degrade men, but instead shall be utilized for the manufacture of necessary munitions of war, or fill a hundred hospital needs to save the lives and relieve the sufferings of wounded soldiers on the battle front.

I know all the arguments of those opposed to this action. But I will say that if I hesitated a moment in my belief that the public welfare demands the elimination of the liquor traffic at a time like this, the very arguments put forth by these interests would convince me and spur my action.

I am willing to let the liquor traffic prove why its doom should be sealed during the conduct of this war. I have at hand a booklet issued by the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of America. It is called the "Antiprohibition Manual," and was published in Cincinnati in 1915. In the introductory chapter it attacks the statistics used by temperance reformers, declaring that they are uniformly distorted. It declares that the reason for publishing this book is that the true facts may be known and that every figure used in it is authentic and beyond dispute. Therefore if I use the arguments of this book, so frankly self-praised and self-guaranteed, I shall certainly not be accused of unfair tactics.

On page 13 I find the following:

> According to the United States Statistical Abstract there are 300,000 farmers raising corn, barley, rye, hops, and fruits that go into the production of liquor. When you hear a prohibition speech you would imagine that only corn, and a small percentage of that, is used. The brewers and distillers of Peoria alone consume the entire surplus corn crop of Iowa and Illinois, after feeding and seeding. Figure up what that means in dollars and cents to the farmers of the country.

I submit that what is needed now is to figure up what that means to all Americans. Herbert C. Hoover, in a letter sent to all parts of the country, states that "the waste of a single ounce of food each day in every home means a yearly waste of nearly 500,000,000 pounds of bread." Yet here is a waste of 7,000,000,000 pounds of food yearly, enough to furnish food for an army of 7,000,000 men. Hoover also states that "the waste of a single slice of bread in every home each day means the daily waste of a million loaves of bread." Yet the liquor traffic wastes each day 11,000,000 loaves of bread.

Since the war declaration by this Congress every department of Government has been seriously considering the food problem. Gardening associations have been formed by the thousands and everything done to increase the acreage for food crops. In the meantime, prices of the foods essential to life itself have soared to such heights that the average home has faced privation and suffering. Almost every item in the daily menu for the average dining table is twice as high as a year ago.

Besides the necessity for food at home, there are the requirements of our allies to be considered. France faces a deficiency of 127,000,000 bushels of grain. England is resting in the shadow of the meal ticket. If we are to win this war—and anything short of complete victory is unthinkable—we must eliminate all waste of food. Every bushel of grain is a factor in our triumph and every ounce of food is of value.

In the face of such a situation here come the liquor interests glorying in the fact that 300,000 food producers are spending their entire time and using up their entire yield of foods to supply the demands of the liquor traffic.

When thousands of persons are crying for bread with upraised hands and famished lips the liquor traffic gloats over the grain it destroys in the manufacture of poison. When food riots bring storms of fury in city streets the liquor interests declare that all the surplus corn of the two greatest corn-producing States in the Union goes into the vats of the breweries and distilleries of a single city.

When the Government bends every energy to add single bushels to the production of food supplies this destroying force takes 150,000,000 bushels of grain from the national supply and wastes it in iniquitous fashion.

Waste? It is waste from every standpoint. The Liquor Dealers' Manual for 1917 states that there are 225,000 acres of land now being used for the growing of rice for the manufacture of liquor, 45,000 acres for hops, 700,000 acres for the production of molasses, 6,500,000 for grain. This makes, approximately, 7,500,000 acres whose entire yield goes into the manufacture of liquor. Under the intensive farming of Holland that tract of land would supply foodstuffs for every man, woman, and child in America and there would still be enough left for all the people of valiant France.

Then, there is the transportation of these wasted food products. In transporting its raw materials the liquor traffic uses 200,000 cars annually. Perhaps twice as many cars are used for carrying the finished product of breweries and distilleries. The ship tonnage used for the transportation of liquor could be used for food and munitions for the men who are fighting our battles against the Kaiser.

All these direct wastes call loudly upon this Congress to throttle this enemy within our gates for at least the period of the war.

But there are still other arguments in this book of liquor facts. On page 39 we have the following:

Prohibition means that billions of dollars must go into other lines of industry now crowded and surrounded by keen competition. Thousands of men and women will be without employment and compelled to compete anew with all labor. Then what happens to the labor market? It is flooded.

Is there any danger of flooding the labor market of America during this war? Is there not rather the danger that we will not have the labor necessary to carry out the plans for national defense in the mobilization of productive industry? During the debate on the bill permitting our allies to recruit their own countrymen in this country the one objection raised was that it would result in many laborers being taken from their places of employment in this country and thus handicapping industry.

The wage earners now employed in the liquor business could be vastly better employed in useful occupations. Nor would they have to change their trades in the vast majority of instances. The census report for 1910 shows that there were 69,920 wage earners employed in the production of liquor. Fully three-fourths were engaged in occupations not peculiar to the production of liquor. For instance, 15,351 teamsters were employed. Are they going to suffer irretrievable loss if they become teamsters in industries which mean a better, safer America instead of one which means a weaker, more degenerate America? There were 15,000 laborers employed in the liquor business. Would it not be better if they labered in constructive work instead of destructive? There were 3,000 stationary engineers. Would they not fill the same kind of positions in the mills, which are working night and day to defend America, and to much better advantage? The rest of the wage earners included blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, electricians, machinists, painters, plumbers, and other mechanics, and every one of them could be an efficient unit in an efficient America.

As for the office force employed in the breweries and distilleries, there were 8,743 persons working as bookkeepers, stenographers, cashiers, clerks, and so forth. Every one of them could be absorbed in productive industry within a week, and their work would mean betterment instead of degradation.

As for the 938 distillers and rectifiers and the 11,088 brewers and the few others whose occupation is peculiarly that of the liquor business, we need have no fear of their inability to find decent employment. Even if they could not, we need not be distressed, since they have been receiving the savings of hosts of men long enough to be assured against any danger from the wolf at the door.

But the Liquor Dealers' Manual for 1917 goes still further than the Antiprohibition Manual. It declares that the "production and distribution of alcoholic beverages altogether gives employment to 1,200,000 people." Here are workers enough to take the places which will be left vacant by the first million men who are called into the American Army. Here are workers to build the ships which we must build faster than Germany can sink them.

Again, for the very reasons claimed by the liquor interests as their right to protection, I demand that the business be eliminated during this war. There is no place to-day for the "slacker," and neither is there any place for the "destroyer." It is time for lifting up, not tearing down; for construction, not destruction. By all the force of the demand for America united and efficient, the liquor traffic must be forced to take its palsying hand from the activities of the Nation.

Of course, there is the stock argument that workingmen are opposed to this action. I saw the unsigned advertisement in the Washington newspapers in which it was stated that 2,000,000 workingmen petitioned the President and Congress against cutting off such a habitual temperance beverage as beer. It was a defense of beer only, for the distillers seem to be left friendless and alone in this hour of dire peril.

That advertisement is the most astounding piece of false pretense I have yet seen. It would give the impression that 2,000,000 men have signed a petition against the action now proposed. But when you inspect it you see that it gives the names of trades councils and local unions and places the entire membership on record against this proposal to conserve foodstuffs in time of war. In the Pittsburgh division, for instance, it gives the names of organizations, with their memberships. I know personally hundreds of the members of the organizations so classified to be stalwart supporters of nation-wide prohibition in time of peace as well as in time of war. Yet they are here formally arrayed in opposition to a cause they have maintained vigorously for years. Could anything be more insulting to the intelligence of this Congress or a more slanderous assault upon the good faith of vast numbers of American workingmen? For my part, I am convinced that the average worker in America wants to sidetrack the beer wagon and give the bread wagon the right of way.

When you talk of labor's answer to the question forced upon us by the liquor traffic listen to the answer of leaders. Hear John Mitchell, idol of the coal miners of America: "I believe that liquor has contributed more to the moral, intellectual, and material deterioration of the people and has brought more misery to defenseless women and children than has any other agency in the history of mankind." Hear the answer of John B. Lennon, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor: "Go anywhere where liquor influence is felt, and you will see the demoralization it brings. Never a foul plot is organized to injure public rights and social well-being but liquor influence is behind the job."

That same answer comes with monotonous similarity from every person and force interested in the public welfare of America. It comes from medical colleges and hospitals, from charitable institutions and places of detention, from every place where the degenerating influence of the liquor traffic can be seen and measured. With a hundred new reasons for action brought about by this war in which we are engaged, America will commit a colossal blunder if she fails to act now.

But let us go a little further in this book of liquor "facts." On page 33 of the Anti-Prohibition Manual I find the following:

Remember that the United States Government is in partnership with the liquor business. The United States demands and receives a percentage of the profits but contributes nothing to the investment and pays no part of the expenses of the business.

Think of that. Uncle Sam pays no part of the expenses of the liquor business when it costs him $1,373,000,000 to pay for the courts, jails, and police necessary to take care of the finished product of the business.

No part of the cost when it takes many times the amount of revenues received to keep up the insane asylums, reformatories, and other institutions made necessary by the liquor business.

No part in the cost when the Nation's drink bill each year amounts to two and a half billions of dollars; enough to banish poverty from the land; enough to take up the entire Liberty Loan just placed; enough in three years to take up the entire bond issue authorized by Congress, the most stupendous measure of its kind in the history of the world.

Oh, yes; Uncle Sam pays all of the expenses of the liquor traffic in the end. His policy of taking in pennies that he may pay out dollars is suicidal at any time and especially now in this moment. It should not be longer tolerated.

Of course the liquor traffic is begging to have heavier taxes laid upon it now, and some wise men are sincerely convinced that liquor revenues are needed in the conduct of this war. But let us consider the question from a business standpoint: The argument that the Government can not afford to lose revenues from such a source is a devil's argument at any time. It is putting dollars above lives, money above human souls. But aside from that phase it will be the best business move ever made by the Government if it refuses now to accept another additional dollar from the traffic and outlaws it completely. Russia has profited in a financial way from such action, and the United States will have the same experience.

We will admit that the Government of the United States is in partnership with the liquor business. It has been ever since that dark day in the Civil War, when the liquor dealers, knowing their business to be an outlaw, pleaded with the Government to put an internal-revenue tax on their products. They plotted to get the Government financially interested in the traffic, and the plot succeeded. For a long time President Lincoln resisted the adoption of such a policy. He saw with the prophetic vision characteristic of him the results which would follow such action. Finally, in the face of the imperative need for war funds and after every congressional leader had promised that the tax should be abolished as soon as the war was over, Lincoln submitted to the imposition of the tax. Then when the war was over Lincoln had met a martyr's fate and the tax has not been repealed to this day.

That the partnership has been in force, none can deny. And the liquor traffic has shown its gratitude for the privileges given it by the Government in evil conspiracies against that Government. Not only have they poisoned the very spring and source of government by their corruption in politics, but they assailed the authority of the Government by forming the first criminal monopoly in this country. The famous whisky ring of 1874 has led the way for the brood of trusts and monopolies that have so menaced the safety of the Nation during the past generation.

Yes, we admit the partnership, and we propose to end it now. We have paid full price and more for it. It was made while war was raging. Let us end it now in this time of war. The continuance of the partnership means only shame and dangerous liabilities in time of peace, and defeat and disaster in time of war.

Mr. Speaker, every sane consideration demands the elimination of hostile forces inside the Republic during this war. The greatest and most destructive enemy to our efficiency now is the liquor traffic.

However much they desired to avoid that conclusion, every nation engaged in the great war has been forced to recognize the fact.

Russia put the ban on the liquor traffic at the outset. It was an act of self-defense, for vodka had rendered a mighty people helpless. Continuance of the conditions would have meant speedy disaster when the nation faced the enemy in the field.

The results proved that it was more than an act of self-defense; it was a stroke of enlightened statesmanship, seldom equaled in the history of nations. The Russian minister of finance, in his report for 1915, made the following statement:

The suppression of the Government alcohol monopoly entailed a decrease of 470,000,000 rubles in the budget of 1914; but the benefits of this suppression are already felt. Though it was feared that the calling of so many men to the colors would seriously embarrass industry, it has been found that, thanks to the suppression of the traffic in alcohol, the results of labor are from 30 to 50 per cent higher than before.

Nor is that all. It has been stated by Arthur Hunter, actuary of the New York Life Insurance Co., that the loss of half a million men in war can be made good in less than 10 years through abstinence from alcohol by the inhabitants of Russia. This declaration comes from no temperance "fanatic" or "visionary," but from a statistician who bases it purely on scientific investigation.

Those who have personally investigated conditions in Russia declare the results of prohibition little short of the unbelievable. In 1913 the savings banks deposits of all the people engaged in industry and agriculture amounted to 38,000,000 rubles. In 1915, in the midst of war, the amount had risen to 958,000,000 rubles. The people were not only producing more but were saving more, and the money thus saved made possible the taking up of Government bonds for the prosecution of the war.

Then, too, a Russia sober was of necessity forced to become a Russia free. Despotism could not hold sway over a people whose brains were clear and whose judgment was steady. The revolution in Russia, one of the greatest forward movements in the world's history was accomplished practically without bloodshed, simply because it came as a matter of course, a procedure almost universally accepted. The masses, freed from the bondage of alcohol, could not tolerate the chains of autocracy.

Russia in order to preserve her own existence was forced to outlaw the liquor traffic. From that act of self-defense has come a troop of benefits over and above mere self-preservation.

In England the deadly danger of the liquor traffic in time of war has been forced home just as surely. The present premier, Lloyd-George, at the very beginning of the war, said:

We are fighting Germany, Austria, and drink, and as far as I can see the greatest of these deadly foes is drink. It is doing us more damage than all the German submarines put together. If we are to settle with German militarism, we must first of all settle with liquor.

The powerful interests back of the liquor traffic prevented for a long time root-and-branch treatment, although many restrictive acts were passed. But the price of such refusal has been staggering and has cost Britain countless blood and treasure.

Early this year a petition of thousands of the leaders of English thought was presented to Parliament, with an urgent demand for the complete prohibition of the liquor traffic. No moral argument was used, only the one outstanding fact that the continuance of the traffic meant defeat and disaster in the war. These men—army and navy officers, heads of war industries, scientists, and educators—presented an indictment which, while one of the most bitter on record, was fully borne out by the facts.

Among other things, they said:

The liquor traffic hinders the army, delays munitions, keeps thousands of men from work daily, makes good workmen second rate. It hampers the navy, delays transports, places them at the mercy of submarines, slows down repairs, and congests docks. It threatens the mercantile marine, absorbing during the war between 60,000,000 and 70,000,000 cubic feet of cargo space, and retards the building of ships.

It destroys food supplies. In 28 months of the war it has used up over 3,500,000 tons of food supplies and consumed more sugar than the army.

It wastes our financial strength. In the first 20 months of the war our people spent on alcohol £300,000,000. It diverts the nation's strength. It uses 500,000 workers, 1,000,000 acres of land, and 1,500,000 tons of coal yearly. During the war it has involved the lifting and handling on road and rail of a weight equal to 50,000,000 tons.

The men in the trenches are betrayed by an enemy at home.

France, fighting for her life, was compelled to abolish absinthe and put the iron hand of repression on all alcoholic liquors. Italy has taken a similar course, and every other nation engaged in the war has been compelled, whether it desired or not, to deal with this internal foe.

Three centuries before Christ, Aristotle said to Alexander the Great, "The enemies of your army are in your own camp." His statement was given tragic proof when Alexander, invincible before any armed foe in the world, died in a drunken debauch in his own camp.

Mr. Speaker, America has entered the great war. She dare not advance against the foe without while she leaves unhindered and unscathed her deadliest enemy within. To so act will be suicidal policy, against which every nation at war protests out of its own bitter experience. Drink and efficiency in war can not go together. The liquor traffic must be dealt with as a foe of America.

Dealing with it thus, every law of self-defense demands that it be robbed of its power to injure and destroy. It has sealed its own doom as the wanton waster of a nation's food; as the costly burden upon the back of the Republic; as the transformer of useful labor into forces of destruction, as the lifter of the black banner, with emblazoned skull and crossbones for its standard in this day when unity and cooperation is needed if America is to endure.

If the liquor traffic is interned for the period of the war America will be sure of winning from this conflict a boon well worth almost any price of sacrifice. She will show to the world that her battles against evil power across the seas can be matched by the same battles at home. America invincible at home and abroad means America sober. If her ideals are to triumph in the future, the country must be freed from the dominion of the liquor traffic and right now America may speak a word and perform a deed for her ideals which will be heard and felt around the world.

The 1917 River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. MANSFIELD,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 26, 1917.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest to the discussions of this bill, and the more I hear them the more I am confirmed in the opinion that it ought to be enacted. In fact, the only objections seriously to be urged to it are, it occurs to me, that the appropriations for some of the items are inadequate in amount, while other projects, seemingly deserving, have been omitted, the result, as I conclude, of an unconscious surrender on the part of the committee to an inordinate desire to subserve the interests of economy. Whilst the motive which prompted this action of the committee is to be commended, the action itself is to be deplored.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] has made the charge that the bill is a piece of Democratic extravagance, and by this statement he challenges comparison with the appropriations made by the Republican Party for like purposes. In answer to this I call attention to the fact that from March 4, 1909, to March 5, 1913, the four years of President Taft's administration, a Republican Congress, under a Republican President, appropriated for river and harbor improvements sums aggregating $184,329,365; while from March 4, 1913, to March 5, 1917, the four years of President Wilson's administration, a Democratic Congress, under a Democratic President, appropriated but $108,790,250 for such improvements, a cash balance in favor of the Democratic Party of $75,539,115. But I am not to be understood as criticizing the Republican Party for these expenditures. Rather would I compliment that party for making such necessary improvements, and the comparison is drawn for the purpose only of answering the charge made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] has made the claim that it is a "pork-barrel" bill, and this charge has been echoed by others. Yet we find that not an item of it was added on account of the influence or "pull" of any Member of Congress, but, on the contrary, the bill was drawn by the majority of the committee from data furnished by the engineers, approved by the President, Secretary of War, and Secretary of the Navy, and does not contain an item that is without such approval. If it is possible to have a bill drawn that will more clearly refute the charge of "pork" I would like for those gentlemen to tell us how to do it.

The charge is also made that money has been ruthlessly wasted on projects embraced in former bills, due to the approval of the same board of engineers that has approved this bill, and the inference is left that the engineers of the War Department are either ignorant or corrupt, or both. The motives of those who favor river and harbor improvements are also impugned, and by innuendo they are accused of reprehensible methods in securing the passage of so-called "pork-barrel" appropriations, but such persons are absolved from "swerving a hair from the standards of individual honesty," and by this qualification the pungency of the sting is somewhat mollified (?).

Regardless of what others may think, I shall continue to support this bill, and, until I am furnished with further and more convincing evidence of the corruption or incompetency of the engineers of the War Department, I shall continue to rely upon their scientific knowledge in questions of this kind. To do otherwise, it occurs to me, would be inconsistent with a vote for appropriations for the West Point and Annapolis Acadamies. If the men turned out by those institutions can not be relied upon, let us do away with the worse than useless expense of maintaining them.

Gentlemen opposing the bill have found but one item upon which to center the force of their opposition, and that is the $30,000 appropriation for clearing the southern waters of hyacinths. This amount is intended for five States, and those who are familiar with the hyacinth know that it constitutes a serious obstruction to navigation. The reasons for the maintenance of this item are the same as those which cause the Russian Government to operate ice breakers to clear the port of Archangel. For the information of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], who has suggested that the hyacinth might be utilized as a food product during the war I will say that it is in no sense considered a wholesome food for man, and I believe it to be as unsuited as a ration for the Army as was the "embalmed beef" of Chicago, upon which we fed our soldiers during the Spanish War.

I am not disposed to give much weight to the contention that the rivers are not being utilized, and that the tonnage carried diminishes in proportion to the improvements made. Under normal conditions that would constitute such an inconsistency upon its face as to need no answer. If the rivers have been carrying freight before being improved, and then cease to carry it after they have been rendered in better condition for that purpose, then there must, of necessity, be some outside cause to produce such unreasonable and absurd results.

In this connection permit me to suggest that the bitter opposition that is being waged against river and harbor bills in Congress is largely responsible for such conditions, and in many instances deprives the people of a great blessing they have in part paid for. When funds have been expended on a river, but before it is finished so as to facilitate the movement of freights, a great opposition springs up in Congress, and the necessary appropriations to complete the improvements are defeated in whole or in part, then the charge is made that there has been no increase in tonnage, even before the stream is rendered in condition for boats to navigate it.

People will not put their money into boats for that purpose until they have reasonable assurance that the necessary improvements will be completed, and as long as the present fight is made against the completion of the improvements that have been commenced who could be expected to invest hundreds of thousands if not millions of dollars in transportation facilities upon streams that may never, on account of such opposition, be rendered in a navigable condition?

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] has suggested another matter that might be considered in this connection. I refer to the opposition to river improvements by the railroads when they are to be rendered competitors by reason of such improvements. They have in many instances reduced rates so low that the boats can not compete, and after forcing them out of business the same old high rates have been restored. In other cases the railroads have purchased the boat lines and then ceased to operate them in competition with their own lines. Of course the river tonnage would then be diminished, and this result would be cited as an argument against river improvement.

In reply to the charge that the projects embraced in this bill are not necessary for the prosecution of the war, I desire to call attention to the fact that the one item which above all others is peculiarly a war measure, encountered the most bitter opposition from the gentlemen making this charge. The canal to connect Delaware and Chesapeake Bays is of the most vital interest to the Navy Department, and yet all the furies of the opposition were centered upon it in a determined effort to have it stricken from the bill. The inconsistency of those making this contention needs no further answer.

The War-Revenue Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT CROSSER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, justice should be the constant aim of all government. In peace or war, midst plenty or want the benefits and burdens of government should be measured to all with a just hand.

The Government must have money. War is costly business. But there is a right and a wrong way, a just and an unjust plan of taking from the people by taxation a large sum of money as in collecting a smaller amount. The Ways and Means Committee has tried to prepare a bill that would be fair to the people, but because of the principle adopted it has not succeeded.

Much has been said about forcing the rich to pay the cost of the war, but the bill before the House will not do this. The taxes proposed in this bill will increase the cost of food, telephone service, railroad tickets, drugs, patent medicines, toilet articles, and so forth, and put a tariff tax on all goods which for many years have come into this country free.

All this is wrong. Instead of forcing the rich to pay most of the cost of war it burdens the consumers, the people who must use electricity, tea, coffee, drugs, patent medicines, and so forth. It is true that the bill taxes incomes, but certainly not enough. This nonsense in taxing the consumer is an old thing in this country. According to an old saying, "It is the way to get the most feathers with the least squawking." This Government in the past has gotten most of its money by taxing the things consumed by the people instead of taxing men according to the privilege they enjoy. A tax on the cost of things consumed, on food, clothing, shoes, and so forth, is a tax which must be paid chiefly by those who have little.

Two per cent of the people of the United States to-day own about two-thirds of all the wealth, and yet the other 98 per cent, or 100,000,000 people, who own only one-third of the wealth, need as much food, clothing, and other necessaries of life as the few who own two-thirds of the wealth. Those who must work hard for the little they get are thus taxed indirectly and pay the greater part of the expenses of the Government. These same people are the ones who must do the fighting on the battle fields.

But we are told that the wages of labor have been increased and the laborer can bear these taxes. Is this true? Statistics show that from the year 1900 to the outbreak of the war in 1914, the average increase of wages was 27 per cent, but statistics show also that during the same time there was an average increase of 40 per cent in the cost of necessaries, such as food, clothing, rent, household utensils, and so forth. During the last two years, however, according to the New York Times Annalist, the cost of these things increased 74 per cent. This figure is very low, for the Old Dutch Market, of Washington, gives the cash sale price of 60 articles of food in April, 1914, and in April, 1917, showing an average increase of 92 per cent, or almost double the price of three years ago. On the other hand, the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that between January 1, 1912, and January 1, 1917, the average increase of the wages of union labor was 9 per cent. What then becomes of the claim that wages have been advanced. The value of wages depends upon what they will buy. The wage earner must now pay almost $2 for what he could buy three years ago for $1, and yet there has been added to his wages only 10 cents for every dollar he received three years ago. When we consider these facts, the wonder is that the man who works for a living can exist at all. Yet, in spite of all this, the workingman is told to "look pleasant."

Surely, Mr. Chairman, in view of such conditions the wage earners of the country should not be more heavily burdened.

The bill before the House taxes incomes more heavily than any bill we have yet considered, but it also taxes the necessaries of life more than we have taxed them for many years. Taxes should be placed according to the privileges men enjoy and not according to the amount of food, clothing, and other things men must have for their families. We should encourage men to progress, to increase production, and to purchase in abundance the things necessary for decent living.

Most of the taxes proposed by this bill and by every tax law in the country tend to retard progress and production. Taxes placed upon food, clothing, houses, improvements, and other necessaries increase their price; higher prices mean fewer sales and the fewer the sales of anything the less labor is required to produce it.

Governments should not demand taxes from the people as a punishment, but rather as payment for the privilege they enjoy at the hands of the Government, or, in other words, at the hands of all the people.

The bill H. R. 4024, which I have introduced and which is before the Ways and Means Committee, provides for raising $2,000,000,000 according to the privilege which the people grants to each person. The $2,000,000,000 is to be apportioned among the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia in proportion to the population, and is to be raised by a direct tax on the value of land without regard to improvements.

The purpose is to get the money required by the Government by taxing land values only. I know that many sincere people object to such a plan of raising revenue, but I shall try to show that their objections are due to misapprehension.

The prevailing idea about taxation is that the more men produce the more should be taken from them by the Government. This is injustice of the worst kind, because it means that if one man works longer and harder on his farm or at some other kind of business and therefore produces more than the man who does not work as hard or as long, the Government taxes him more because of his greater effort.

The slogan of people who believe in this kind of taxation is, "Take from the fellow who has." Those who say this fail to realize that in so doing we generally take the product of men's toil. That is not their object, but seeing somewhat vaguely that great fortunes have been gotten unjustly and without labor, and desiring to take as much of their wealth as possible for the expense of government, they propose to put the taxes on goods, buildings, and so forth, without stopping to think that such a tax would be added to the price of goods or to the rent of the tenant, whereas if we should collect all our taxes from the rental value of land the tax could not be shifted to the tenant. If the land were vacant, the owner would be compelled to use it or let others use it in order to pay the taxes. If the money necessary to pay the expenses of government were procured by a tax on land values, without regard to improvements on the land, the result would be to encourage the farmer more and more, and likewise to encourage every other kind of producer to increase his output, because once having paid the taxes on the land was necessary for his business, anything he might earn above that would be his own.

One of the objections often made to a tax on land values only is that the man who has his money invested in stocks escapes taxation, but we must remember that every business requires the use of land in some form or other; and if a corporation should pay the taxes on the value of land held by it, a stockholder would in that way pay his proportion. If the ore land, the oil and the coal lands, and so forth, which are owned by the corporations throughout the United States were taxed at their real value, the Government would derive from them a great deal more revenue than it gets by the present system of taxation.

Another objection sometimes raised is that we could not determine the value of land separately from the improvements upon it. This is a great mistake. Land in any locality has its generally known market value. In the big cities of the country each foot of land fronting on any street has a very definite value, just as has each acre in the country districts. The fact is, however, that in many States of the Union the value of the land and the improvements are now assessed separately. But even if it were not possible to determine accurately the value of houses and other improvements for the purpose of relieving them from taxation, would that be any reason whatever for continuing the injustice of taxing them at the present assessed value?

The beneficiaries of any injustice or special privilege always find some bugaboo with which to frighten a class of people numerous enough, if misled, to defeat any legislation aimed at the destruction of such special privilege or injustice.

Those who by monopolizing the bounties of nature have been able to rob the producer, always have such a bugaboo on exhibition. They have pretended a deep sympathy for the farmer; they know, of course, that if the farmers can be deceived by the land speculators and monopolists, they can defeat any measures proposed to destroy their monopoly.

Now, the truth is that instead of injuring, a tax on land values only would greatly benefit the farmer, because it would take the tax off his buildings, his machinery, his stock, his fences, and so forth. As a result, the men who get hold of vacant land, and hold it idle while waiting until the surrounding farmers improve the community by their toil, and so enable him to sell his land at a higher figure, would be compelled to pay the same tax per acre as his neighbor who builds a house, barns, and so forth, and improves his farm generally. Those in the towns and cities who buy for a trifle outlying land, or hold land vacant in the midst of the city or town, awaiting the advance in price before selling, would pay a great deal more in taxes because they would be required to pay the same as those having land of equal value who had improved it.

This is not theory only, for actual investigation has proven this to be the case. Not long ago a careful calculation was made in Oregon to show what proportion of taxes would have been paid by farmers and what by other classes if a tax on land values only had been in force in 1900. It was shown that invariably the farmer's tax bill would have been less. In Multnomah County, where the city of Portland is located, the total assessed valuation of all kinds of property amounted to $247,267,520. The assessed valuation of farm land was $6,957,626. The assessed value of farm buildings, stock, and improvements was $3,943,197. The total amount of taxes paid to the county was $4,394,537, of which the farmers paid $193,573. If land values only had been taxed in the county, in order to raise the total amount the farmers would have been taxed but $172,585; or, in other words, $21,000 less than they did pay under the present system. Lands held for speculation and franchise corporations would have paid more. A like calculation for the whole State of Oregon showed that farmers would have saved nearly $1,800,000 on their tax bill, and the speculators and monopolists would have paid much more.

In every case the farmer who works his land, who really uses it, would pay less taxes, while the land monopolists who, waiting for a higher price, hold idle high-priced land in cities or idle acres in the country would be compelled to pay more taxes.

Every kind of tax put on buildings, machinery, equipment, and chattels is shifted by the one paying the tax to the user or purchaser of such things, because in order to make a profit it must be included in the cost of construction or production by everyone building or producing similar structures or goods. The farmer, mechanic, or other user or buyer must therefore pay these taxes as well as the taxes levied directly upon him.

A tax on land values can not be transferred to the tenant, and by him to the person who buys his goods or services, because if it were attempted the user of the land would seek unmonopolized land at the natural rate of rent, and so force his landlord to continue to rent at the natural rate of rent of his land.

A tax on land values can be collected more easily, more cheaply, and with absolute certainty. Instead of having a horde of tax assessors, inquisitors, and collectors searching, investigating, and cross-examining the people as to their ownership of furniture, jewelry, money, etc., and failing to discover most of such things, the proper official would simply charge the tax against the value of the land appearing in the names of the owners. This would save governments much expense for tax collecting and would remove the temptation to perjury in order to avoid paying taxes.

While, however, the taxation of land values only is the correct system of taxation, the real advantage, the grandest result of its operation would be to establish justice in the distribution of wealth.

Because they can do so at practically no cost, the few are now able to hold great and valuable tracts of land out of use, not only in the industrial and city districts, but also in the rural sections, while awaiting its increase in value as a result of the growing demand for the use of such land on account of the increase of population near it. The tax upon idle land at present is so small that it is possible for the owners to hold it without improving or using it.

It is these monopolists of land, these dogs in the manger, who will neither properly use nor let others use the land without paying extortionate prices or extortionate rent; it is this kind of special privilege which causes unemployment, low wages, and small returns to all kinds of producers.

In city or farm sections, in every kind of community, the land speculator watches the growing population increasing the demand for land. As the city grows, he reaches out to the nearest farm land and options or buys it. By drawing imaginary lines, he divides it into small lots, and waits until the people compelled to have it pay him far more than its real value.

As far out from the city as time and the means of travel make it possible for the people to live while working in the city, the speculator continues to monopolize the land and practice his extortion upon those who must have a place to live or do business. So determined is the land speculator to have his price that he holds plots of ground here and there long after buildings have been put up and improvements made all around them. The result of all this is congestion of population, in-

sanitary conditions, cheaper houses, and all the evils that are caused by poverty born of injustice. As population grows, so grows the demand for places in which to live and places of business. Rents go higher and accommodations become poorer. The poor are therefore compelled to crowd into smaller quarters to be able to pay their rent. If they attempt to escape to the vacant land at the outskirts of the city to build a modest home, they are stopped by the speculator with his land-monopoly bludgeon. Hence we have what, by the ballroom reformers, by those whose egotism deceives them into believing themselves to be intellectuals, these pink-tea heroes call the slums.

In every city of the country land suitable for factories, mills, and business places is held out of use in the same way. Men anxious to engage in manufacturing or commerce can not do so unless they are willing to pay the land monopolist an extortionate sum for the ground upon which to build their plant. Then they are, of course, compelled to sell their product at a price high enough to pay the interest charge on the price paid for the land.

While the evils of land monopoly are far greater in the cities because of the greater population and improvements, neverthless the rural communities suffer very much also from the same trouble. The real estate speculators, who call themselves specialists in farm lands, are sure to be on the ground. As the increased demand for farm products causes a greater demand for farm lands, the speculator grabs the vacant farm land and with his weapon, monopoly, extorts for it much more than its actual value from those who want to do real farming. Generally he gets a considerable cash payment and takes a mortgage for the greater part of the purchase price, thus continuing to be practically the owner and receiving tribute from the hard-working farmer, or he may sell the mortgage to a bank or some other person, who therefore becomes the real owner and collects the tribute.

We make land monopoly easy; we enable men to hold great areas of vacant land in city and country because we tax it so little that it is not unprofitable to keep it idle. We have relieved the holder of idle land of paying a reasonable tax on such land by adopting the silly plan of taxing the man who works. the man who builds on his land or otherwise improves it. We tax him upon every piece of machinery he buys, upon his horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, furniture, house, barns, sheds, fences, the tile in his field drains, and so forth; we have taxed all these things and thus relieve the speculator, the man who holds land idle. from paying his share of the taxes which have been unjustly heaped upon the machinery, equipment, buildings, and improvements of industrious farmer or city man. These men are fined through taxation, while the speculator, the land monopolist, is freed from the taxes which the industrious and enterprising must pay. By freeing the idle land of the speculator from the taxes which we put on products of industry and enterprise, we encourage and make it easy for the speculator to hold land out of use until people are compelled to have it and pay him his extortionate price.

And while it is this kind of thing that enables the land monopolist to take all but a bare living from the total product or earnings of the man who wants to erect in a town or city a factory, a mill, a store, or who wants to engage in farming, it is also the cause of the congested population in the cities, with the increase in disease and crime and the cause of the sparse population in the farming districts, with its lack of social intercourse and community conveniences.

How unnecessary, how wrong is this.

There are to-day 400,346,575 acres of idle farm land in this country, yet good farm land, within reasonable distance of the markets, has become so high-priced that few young couples can start in life with a home of their own. Farm tenantry is increasing enormously, and the old sturdy class of independent farmers is rapidly disappearing. More than three-quarters of the improved farm lands of Texas, for example, is either rented or encumbered. At the same time about 117,000,000 acres in Texas are held out of use on speculation. In Illinois from 40 to 50 per cent of the farmers have already become tenants. If the taxes now put upon the products of labor, including buildings, machinery, equipment, and the things which are necessary to life, were put upon the idle land it would not be long before the land monopolist would be compelled to make use of the land or else let some one else use it. In either case those willing to work would have a fair opportunity, and this would abolish the intense competition for jobs that exists in ordinary times. This would mean higher wages and the increase in production or supply would mean lower prices. The speculator in land would cease to get from labor and honest business the fat income which he has always had because he controlled the land and natural resources from which by the application of labor and capital all wealth is produced.

How long will the American people tolerate land monopoly with all the misery which follows in its trail?

How long will they be satisfied with dramatic demands for the lowering of the price of this article or that, or with the glorifying of this or that man as the ideal person to stand with rod in hand to order the terms of sale of everything supplied from the reservoir of nature?

When will men stop prattling about great victories for the people which are in fact nothing more than changes from one kind of special privilege to another? When will they boldly urge the equal and common right of all men to nature's reservoir?

Let us open the door of opportunity to all by making it unprofitable to withhold the earth from use. Unto the weary and heavy laden who must beg a brother of the earth for leave to toil, for a chance to earn their daily bread, let us say: "Be of good cheer; the power which has robbed you of your heritage shall be destroyed; the land grabber shall be forced to pay the public the yearly value of the use of the land." By this means land and the natural resources would be forced into use and thus would be furnished unlimited opportunity for remunerative employment. With such opportunity always open, want and the fear of want would vanish. Reasonable effort would provide a proper livelihood. Involuntary poverty would no longer exist. The charity which causes men to palliate the cause of injustice would go out of fashion. Instead of the long, dreary hours of drudgery now necessary to get a miserable existence men would have reasonable working hours and have leisure time for intellectual improvement and recreation. In a word, men would have an opportunity for the comfort, peace of mind, and development which it was intended the human race should have.

Such would be the result of taxing land values only, a tax which would benefit instead of burden the people.

The Chattahoochee River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 3, 1917.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include some articles from my home newspapers. One of the chief subjects is the improvement of the Chattahoochee River by private capital, and there is a little article or two about complying with the law and enforcing the law.

The articles are as follows:

[From the Atlanta Journal.]

OUR WEALTH IN WATER POWER, ESPECIALLY THE CHATTAHOOCHEE.

Of the 60,700,000 water horsepower in the United States, only 5,300,000, or less than 9 per cent, is being utilized. When that vast remainder, a large part of which is in the South, is developed the country will be incomparably richer, and many industrial and even social problems which now perplex will be solved. It will be many, many decades, of course, before these latent resources are brought fully into use, and a long time before even a half of their potential force is actually needed. But the present rate of development is slower than it should be—slower, that is to say, for the country as a whole. In some regions the development of water-power sites, which is always a more or less precarious venture, has been carried as far, or even further, than practical conditions justified. Such instances, however, are merely illustrative of those blunders of judgment which the shrewdest business minds sometimes make. There are scores, perhaps hundreds, of sites which could be developed to the country's advantage, and which will be developed when legislation on such matters is made more consistent with the interests and risks of investors.

Commenting on the broad benefits that will follow a liberal and constructive policy in this regard, the New York Commercial says:

'Proper development of our idle water powers could supply our farmers with nitrates and make this country independent of Chile, whose deposits of nitrate of soda are not inexhaustible, though they will last through our generation. Cheap fertilizers mean more and cheaper food. Another angle of the food problem is that by the development of water power in arid and semiarid parts of this country large areas of land can be irrigated cheaply because the cost of constructing the works can be divided between the farmers and the manufacturers who use the power. The water that runs through a turbine can not only provide electricity for the surrounding country, but also can irrigate the land, and part of the power can be used by railroads and trolley lines to give such sections proper transportation."

Georgia is uncommonly rich in water-power resources, and here, as in the country at large, development has barely begun. Consider, for example, the immense possibilities afforded by the Chattahoochee River both for industrial power and for navigation. Competent engineers estimate, on a basis of Government surveys, that this river above Columbus is capable of producing 250,000 horsepower. That would be enough to provide industrial employement for one and a quarter

million people. It is computed that one of the dams which engineers have recommended for construction in Heard County would afford enough power to manufacture all the nitrate needed for the fertilizer supply of Georgia and Alabama combined.

The Chattahoochee is eminently worth developing for transportation as well as for water power. According to the latest Government reports, the towns and cities that would be directly concerned in such development have an aggregate freight tonnage of approximately 12,500,000, of which more than 3,000,000 would move by water if the river were navigable; and that volume of traffic would be greatly augmented, of course, by the new industrial enterprises which the cheap and easily available water power would bring forth. In the year 1916 the cotton output of the counties bordering the river was considerably in excess of half of a million bales. The Government investigators emphasize the additional fact that a number of the towns adjacent to the Chattahoochee are cotton textile centers and that a number are supply points for large areas. Whitesburg, Newnan, Franklin, La Grange, West Point, Columbus, Eufaula, Fort Gaines, Columbus, River Junction, and numerous others would profit directly from the river's being made navigable and all would contribute an ever-increasing volume to its commerce. Atlanta's interests in the matter are peculiarly vital. For this community the development of the Chattahoochee would open a water route to the Gulf and a vast new empire of commercial opportunity.

Fortunately, the building of the locks and dams and other construction work needful to develop water power would come so near completing the channel that comparatively little would remain to be done to make the Chattahoochee navigable between Columbus and Atlanta. The enterprise thus commends itself on the score of economy as well as engineering feasibility and industrial and commercial opportunity.

The State-wide anticonscription meetings planned for Saturday and bearing all the earmarks of having emanated from Hickory Hill created hardly a ripple upon the placid surface of Georgia's patriotism.

[From the Carroll County Times.]

BREEDING TROUBLE FOOLISHLY.

Somebody is busily engaged in "breeding trouble" throughout this section, and the worst feature of it they are likely to get young men in trouble.

It is a fearful thing to misuse ones influence, whether it be the editor of a paper or whether it be but a plain, "everyday" citizen. There is a certain paper with a general circulation throughout this section of the State whose editor, wonderfully gifted though he be, is a born agitator and whose highest aim seems to be to satiate his greed for power, popularity, and pelf and whose dictum is greedily swallowed by thousands of men. A misuse and abuse of such gifts and such power is a fearful thing.

We have been informed that a propaganda of nullification of the selective conscript law is most assiduously being developed by nightly meetings and organized efforts where speeches are made and pledged, and that these agitators are viciously attacking the President, crediting him with responsibility for this war.

The worst feature of this agitation is that whether the selective conscript law was best or not is no longer a debatable question; it is the law of the land and must and will be enforced; indeed, there is no choice; to falter now would be ignominious and would bring on our heads contumely and to our forces defeat and disaster.

The war is a most horrible disaster, but it is on us and must be met. To hesitate is to be damned.

Suppose the conscript law could and should be repealed, what would take its place? The propaganda that has been used to bring it into disrepute would—indeed has already made it impossible to secure an army by the volunteer system.

For weeks and months the administration has been on its knees begging for sufficient volunteers to man the vessels and raise the Army to the insignificent maximum of 300,000 men, and yet it is 70,000 shy of that number, while the enemy has a mobilized force of 6,000,000 fully armed, trained, and equipped men already in the field, and we are daily reminded that they look in contempt on us and our efforts.

There is no recourse for us but to fight. The unfortunate part is we have waited so long that the resources of those who stand between us and our implacable foe are well nigh exhausted.

What sort of spectacle do we present to the world, hesitating and bickering among ourselves as to details, insignificant in themselves, while our enemy is marshaling all of his resources to crush us as he did Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, and is now crushing and devastating France?

What have these agitators to offer when they nullify the conscript law? In destroying that, they have destroyed the possibilities of the volunteer system, for it seems impossible now to enlist the pitiful number of 300,000 men, a mere handful, but a corporal's guard, as compared with Germany's 6,000,000.

Yes; the agitators are breeding trouble not only on their own heads but most unfortunately on the heads of innocent young men who have the right to look to these older men for guidance.

Such propaganda will force the administration to take hold of the situation with a mailed hand, and when it does, woe to the men responsible for the trouble.

Patriotism, love of home and country, should make us come to the rescue of our country, and it is a thousandfold better for us to fight Germany beyond the Atlantic than to wait for her forces to come here.

Ask Belgium, ask Serbia and Roumania what a German invasion means, where men have been enslaved, women outraged, and children starved and murdered.

Instead of opposing laws passed by our lawmakers, men we have delegated this authority to and men who are in a position to be and who necessarily are better informed than we are, let us all encourage the young men to do their duty and to respond to the demands made upon them.

If the administration is to be criticized, it is for delaying action so long. War should have been declared at least two years earlier than it was.

Already Germany expresses only contempt for us and holds us in derision. The world will be justified in expressing the same feelings if we do not desist from such folly as marks the opposition to our leaders.

Sooner or later we must whip Germany or else she will whip us. The longer we defer the job the harder it will be of performance.

In closing, just a word to the men engaged in this agitation: Stop, and stop at once, else the law will be speedily invoked and severe will be the punishment inflicted.

No good can come of such agitation. Congress can not be coerced into repealing the law. It would be the laughingstock of the world were it to even discuss such a thing.

Nor can the President be bulldozed and browbeaten into the nonenforcement of the law. Opposition now can only breed trouble, while a vigorous policy of aid to the allies and opposition to Germany is all that is left to us. Any other course will bring disaster and ruin to us.

[From the Carroll County Times.]

GEORGE W. HARPER'S WEEKLY LETTER—HUNTING ELEPHANTS.

It's great sport, but in some cases the "native helpers," with long sharp knives, hide, and when the elephant "charges" they leap out behind him and "hamstring" the great animal; then brave (?) men like Teddy and myself shoot the disabled brute.

Hamstringing anything is cruel, unfair, cowardly, and if it is our Government we hamstring, it has all the elements of treason.

In monarchies many things are treasonable that are not in our Government. We confine it to the "actual levying of war against the United States, or an adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Every word we utter against our Government gives the Kaiser "aid and comfort," and when we do it we "hamstring" Uncle Sam.

Are there men in Carroll giving the Kaiser "aid and comfort"? There are. Are there men in Carroll who are hamstringing Uncle Sam? There are. Are they doing these things knowingly, with malice aforethought? No. Why do they do it? For pure cussed ignorance. I say "cussed" because there is no excuse for one to be so "cussed" ignorant as not to know what will give "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

When one of Uncle Sam's boys reads that there was a riot in Germany at a certain time it gives him "comfort."

If a few of the folks of Carroll meet and chip in with their dollars to have the selective conscription law annulled, and the Kaiser reads it, it gives him "comfort," if not "aid and comfort." To give "aid and comfort" to the enemy is treason. The extreme penalty for treason is death, and to hamstring the method of raising an army to preserve the continuity of this great and glorious United States of ours is giving both "aid and comfort" to the arch enemy of the freedom of the world. And the one that does it is technically a traitor, yet not a man who is doing these things thinks he is.

Millions of men all over the United States are ready to die to preserve the liberty you have enjoyed since your unfortunate advent into the glorious sunshine that is over us all, and you, gathering at different places and with a sharp tongue, hamstringing the only means that is possible to save your homes and mine from the despoiler.

You say by your acts that you approve the rape of Belgium, the stripping of the women of Roumania to a nude condition, and marching them up and down the streets, the flying over defenseless countries and dropping bombs and killing women and children, the drowning of hundreds of our own women and children, the blowing up of our factories, the blowing up of our bridges, the plotting against us in thousands of ways. Your acts approve these acts, but you don't see it, and the trouble is you will never see anything only through another's eyes.

Your great prophet and god "plants his footsteps" on Jefferson, but he will never print what Jefferson wrote to Madison after the disgraceful defeat at Bladensburg.

You won't read it from me, but I'll quote it and ram it down your goozle anyway. Here it is:

"It proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans and must be that of every free State.

"Where there is no oppression there will be no pauper hirelings. We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe until this is done."

Here's your "Jeffersonian democracy" that you think is oozing from every pore. How does it compare with what you are trying vainly to do and with the teachings of the little fellow by whom you are being taught?

Be a man. How does your god and the god he claims his inspiration comes from compare?

I'm trying to jar you and save you from trouble. There is one of two things, you are a fool or I am. One or the other of us is at least fooled.

If you will read you will find that Washington, after his bitter experience in the Revolutionary War, was "convinced that only by universal service can democracy save itself."

President Wilson, Taft, Teddy, Root, Hoke, Harper, and millions of other great men and women are on the same line as Jefferson; that is, "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens." Why? Because what has happened in the last three years "proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier," as Jefferson says.

You and your oracle is as far as heaven is from hades from being "Jefferson Democrats." You are hamstringers. You don't want to help defend your homes and are trying to prevent Uncle Sam from doing so.

You have lived your worthless lives under the protecting arm of your country, and now when your country calls for your help you hamstring it!

Your effort will not prevail.

Those deluded women who kept out pickets and unpatriotic banners around the White House were annoying and hamstringing the President, and while men and women were patient, for months the nuisance went on, but patience ceased to be a virtue, and the pickets and banners were not. Hamstringers ought to take warning.

I'm not trying to argue the question with you. It's settled. The game is on, and woe to him who continues to persevere in hamstringing his Government, especially in war times.

Before I close let me call your attention to assertions you make:

You say that "if an enemy was to land on our shores you would fight." You are another. Were they to come to New York you would say, "let them come to Atlanta and I'll lick 'em"; then if they got to Atlanta you would say, "If they come to Carroll I'll knock the fire out of them"; then were you to hear they were on their way to Carroll not one of you but would be in a cave on Turkey Mountain in Alabama quicker than a gopher can get into his hole. I know you and know you to be nearly as cowardly as I am. You are a great big blubber and only speak the things you read in your weekly. Now, go on and continue to be led and educated in the hamstringing business till the patriots all over this glorious land say "enough." Don't flatter yourself that such a time is not coming. Those who are going to

defend your folks, their folks, and my folks won't put up with hamstringing but a short time.

If you are going to continue to hamstring our President, our Army, and everything American, get out and join the Kaiser while getting out is good. Those not willing to do their bit and as much more as they can are hamstringers. The armies of Uncle Sam and the Kaiser are in shooting distance and if ours is not hamstrung will reach heights that will give them great advantage, yet a few stop the march to have constitutionality as to the method that brought our soldiers into line tested in the courts.

The right of petition for the redress of grievances is law, but would a sane patriotic man invoke that right when it would enable the enemy to gain the heights?

Shucks! It's no use to talk to hamstringers.

"The Conscription Law Both Just and Constitutional."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL VINSON,
OF GEORGIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, July 3, 1917.

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by William H. Fleming, on the subject of "The conscription law both just and constitutional."

The article is as follows:

THE CONSCRIPTION LAW BOTH JUST AND CONSTITUTIONAL.

[By William H. Fleming.]

What is the measure of duty the citizen owes to his country? Has he a right to refuse military service? What is the limitation on a nation's powers for self-defense? Must it rely only on volunteers?

DUTY OF SERVICE.

No writer on general public law has ever questioned the power of a nation to exact nor the duty of a citizen to render full service.

Indeed, under the principles of general law, a State has as much right to exact service as it has to exact money. It is just as logical to claim that war must be carried on by volunteer taxpayers as by volunteer soldiers.

Benjamin H. Hill, with his usual clearness of vision and felicity of expression, said:

"The obligation is on every man equally with his neighbor to render military service.

"A citizen is under as much obligation to defend a republic as a subject a crown, and the greater since the republic is formed by his consent."

Such being the unquestioned power of a sovereign state as recognized by all authorities, it becomes necessary only for us to inquire whether our own Constitution of the United States forbids or fails to confer that power of enforced draft or conscription.

The language of that Constitution on this point is:

"Congress shall have power * * * to raise and support armies," etc.

FIRST CONSCRIPTION BILL.

The earliest movement for action under this power was during Madison's administration, in 1814, when James Monroe, Acting Secretary of War, recommended an enforced draft or conscription law, and the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 19 to 13.

The House still had this or a similar measure under consideration when word came that the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, and hence conscription was no longer necessary.

The chairman of the Military Committee of the House, which reported favorably on the conscription measure, was no other than George M. Troup, of Georgia, a profound statesman and consistent advocate of State's rights.

In his report he says: "But is there no mode for filling the ranks [of the Army] but voluntary enlistment? I have always thought this Government, when administered in the spirit of the Constitution, the strongest Government in the world, even for the purpose of war; but if the doctrine set up of late be true, this is the weakest and most contemptible Government on earth; it is neither fit for war nor peace; it has failed of all the ends for which governments are established."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, the great Democrat and defender of the rights of the individual citizen, wrote to W. H. Crawford, of Georgia, under date of February —, 1815, as follows:

"Nothing wiser can be devised than what the Secretary of War [Monroe] proposed in this report at the commencement of Congress. It would have kept our Regular Army always of necessity full and by classing our militia according to military ages would have put them into a form ready for whatever service, distant or at home, should require them."

Mr. Jefferson had previously declared himself in favor of universal military training, embracing necessarily enforced service.

Witness the following from a letter to James Monroe dated June —, 1813:

"But it proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier; that was the case with the Greeks and Romans, and must be that of every free state. Where there is no oppression there can be no pauper hirelings."

Again, in a letter to Thomas Cooper in 1814, he said (referring to the Greeks and Romans):

"Their system was to make every man a soldier and oblige him to repair to the standard of his country whenever that was reared. This made them invincible, and the same remedy will make us so."

WEBSTER ASHAMED OF HIS SPEECH.

It is true, on the other hand, that an association calling itself the American Union Against Militarism has recently printed and spread broadcast over the country a speech made by Daniel Webster against this conscription measure in 1814, in which he declared conscription was unconstitutional.

It is doubtful if Mr. Webster, supposing him to be now cognizant of mundane affairs, will thank these petty patriots for unearthing that speech, of which he is said to have been so ashamed that he did not have it printed in the official record, and which his own son omitted from the publication of his distinguished father's works, and which Daniel Webster himself omitted from the volumes he had published.

As an offset to Mr. Webster's fine oratory and poor logic on that subject, it is stated that Langdon Cheves, Speaker of the House, and John C. Calhoun, then the rising leader of his party, were both open in their support of this conscription measure.

UNITED STATES CONSCRIPTION ACT HELD VALID.

In 1863 the Federal Congress passed a conscription act.

The only case involving directly the validity of that act was one that went to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, where, on rehearing, the law was declared valid. (See 45 Pa. Stat., 238.)

While the Supreme Court of the United States has had no opportunity to pass directly upon the validity of that conscription act, there can be no doubt as to what its decision would be judging from the following plain language in One hundred and thirty seventh United States, page 153:

"The Government has the right to the military service of all its able-bodied citizens; and may, when emergency arises, justly exact that service from all."

To same effect see Tarble's case, 80 U. S., 408.

CONFEDERATE STATES CONSCRIPTION ACT HELD VALID BY SUPREME COURT OF GEORGIA.

But why should Georgians waste their time now in thrashing over old straw, when our leading lawyers and our Supreme Court long ago settled these legal issues.

The Confederate Congress, in 1862, passed a conscription act whose validity was challenged in Georgia. (See 33 Ga., 347.)

In a masterly decision written by Judge (afterwards governor) Charles J. Jenkins, and concurred in by his associates, Chief Justice Joseph Henry Lumpkin and Judge Richard F. Lyon, the law was upheld.

In a later case (see 34 Ga., 28) the court, after going over the whole ground anew, reaffirmed its former decision.

It is a matter of no small satisfaction to know that the lawyers who appeared before our Supreme Court in the last-mentioned case, in support of the law, were Joel Branham, Robert Toombs, and Linton Stephens.

Decisions to the like effect were rendered by the Supreme Courts of Texas and Alabama and Virginia. (See 26 Tex., 386; 38 Ala., 429; and 16 Gratt (Va.), 470.)

To clinch this argument it is only necessary to add that the language of the Confederate States constitution on the subject of raising and supporting armies is taken verbatim from the Constitution of the United States.

No man in Georgia perhaps ever had greater power of presenting the truth with clearness and beauty than Benjamin H. Hill, and an intellectual treat is in store for any who will read his great speech on the conscription act delivered before the General Assembly of Georgia on December 11, 1862. (See "Life of Benjamin H. Hill," p. 251.)

MEANING OF GERMAN SUCCESS.

Let our people be assured that the conscription law is not in violation of our Constitution. Nor is it a badge of disgrace, but rather a basis of equality.

No war ever waged in recorded history had more of good or ill to mankind dependent on its outcome than has our present war upon Prussian militarism.

After centuries of laborious toil there had been evolved a system of international ethics or morals, which mitigated the horrors of war and gave some hope of eventual world peace. The German spirit of military tyranny has rejected all ethical standards, renounced all moral obligations, and made solemn treaties mere "scraps of paper."

German success will mean the enthronement of might over right. German defeat will mean the revindication of what we have hoped and believed was the great fundamental truth of Christian civilization, namely, that the moral law is the law of progress in human society.

Let us cease from carping criticism, and unite as one man with "heart and nerve and sinew" in support of the Government, the President and the flag.

AUGUSTA, GA., *June 25, 1917.*

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, July 6, 1917.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, throughout the entire debate upon the food-control bill that passed the House the other day, one effect of which was to prohibit during the war period the manufacture of malted liquors, there was one phase of the question that was entirely overlooked. I mean the question as to the possible effect upon the supply and price of bread if all the breweries of the country were closed down. I think no one who supported the Lever bill—and there were only five who voted against it—either desired or expected that any provision of the bill would result in increasing the price of bread in this country; and yet, gentlemen, we have done just that thing.

This matter was not brought to my attention until after the House had acted, but a careful study of the question, supplemented by conversations and correspondence with experts, has convinced me, as I believe it will convince anyone who takes the trouble to investigate it, that the prohibition of beer manufacture would immediately result in a shortage of not less than 40 per cent in the supply of yeast in this country, and as a consequence would inevitably cause a corresponding shortage in the bread supply and a great enhancement of its price.

I hold in my hand two papers of extreme interest, which I shall print in the RECORD. They throw a bright light upon this question and are expressed in terms which it does not require technical knowledge of the process of manufacturing yeast to understand.

The first is a memorandum prepared at my request by Mr. George B. Lester, who is vice president of the Fleischmann Co., which you all know is by far the largest yeast-producing concern in the United States, or, for that matter, in the world. The Fleischmann Co. produces 90 per cent of the yeast used by bakers in America and generally supplies yeast corresponding to 20 per cent of the home baking. It is estimated by Mr. Hoover and his aids that it provides yeast for more than 50 per cent of the entire population of the United States. Thus the statement of a high official of this company must be regarded as authoritative upon the yeast question and of the interdependence between its manufacture and the manufacture of malted liquors:

MEMORANDUM COVERING THE MANUFACTURE OF COMPRESSED YEAST AND ITS RELATION TO THE MALTING INDUSTRY.

There was grown in the United States, during the year 1916, 181,000,000 bushels of barley, 60,000,000 bushels of which were malted, the malted barley going principally into the production of beer, distilled spirits, and the manufacture of compressed yeast. In addition to the product malt obtained from the malting of barley, there is a by-product known as malt sprouts, which is of high commercial value in the manufacture of compressed yeast by modern processes. Malt sprouts, so called, are the sprouts obtained by the growing of the grain in the process of malting, the sprouts being separated after the malting period is over. These sprouts, as put into commerce, are dried substance and are sold for feed and for the manufacture of compressed yeast, as stated. Their essential value in the manufacture of compressed yeast by modern processes is due to the presence of a protein, known to chemists as "asparagin," which is highly nutritious in the culture and propagation of the yeast cell.

In the manufacture of compressed yeast by the modern process, which is generally described as the "aereated process," a mash is made of approximately one-third barley malt, one-third corn, and one-third malt sprouts by weight. This mash is cooked for a certain period and a corn-and-malt extract obtained by filtration, which extract is known technically as the "wort." In this extract or wort the propagation or growth of the yeast takes place, the yeast cell feeding on this extract and reproducing itself.

The principal problems of the yeast manufacturer are, first, to obtain as large a quantity of compressed yeast as possible; and, second, to obtain a yeast of high-raising strength and baking efficiency. Under our methods of yeast manufacture we obtain a yield of yeast of 32 to 35 per cent; that is to say, 35 pounds of commercial, highly efficient, compressed yeast from 100 pounds of material in approximately the proportions above stated. Such a yield can only be obtained by the use of malt sprouts as one of the principal and essential ingredients of the mash.

This company, as well as all other yeast manufacturers who operate the aerated process, are dependent upon the malting industry for their supply of malt sprouts as this part of the barley, after malting, is not usable in the brewing or distilling industries. The price of malt sprouts in normal times is approximately $20 per ton, but owing to the high price of grain of all kinds obtaining during the past year the price of malt sprouts has been advanced to about $34 or $35 a ton. This company uses 60,000,000 pounds of malt sprouts per year. If the brewing and distilling business of the country is abolished by legislative enactment the malting business of the country automatically ceases, except in an inconsiderable quantity, for it is safe to say that of the barley malted in the country over 90 per cent is used by brewers and distillers.

With the closing up of the malt houses there will be practically no malt sprouts obtainable and the present process of yeast manufacture by this company will have to be abandoned and antiquated and expensive processes, which have been in a large measure abandoned in this country, will have to be resumed. By this reference I mean that yeast can be made by what is known as the Vienna process, which is a process adaptable only in distilleries, under which process a yield of not over 12 per cent to 13 per cent of commercial yeast is obtainable, and from which process the by-product alcohol is obtained in such large quantities as to present an economic impossibility from the merchandising end, even if the law permitted the sale of this product for beverage purposes. With the distillation of potable spirits prohibited, a still further economic loss would result. In either event, assuming the by-product alcohol could be disposed of at prices far above the present prices, the yeast production would be so enormously reduced as to threaten the bread industry of the country, as the following will demonstrate.

The Fleischmann Co. manufactures and distributes nearly 90 per cent of the compressed yeast used by the bakers of the United States. The total output of yeast from our factories at the present time is over 50,000,000 pounds per year. With the closing of our two distilling units, which amount to 6,500 bushels of grain per day, in which units we are able to produce, when running at full capacity, approximately 30,000 pounds of yeast per day; our nine other factories, operating the aerated process, will be taxed to their fullest capacity running at the highest obtainable yield. Now, if our process is changed through our inability to obtain one of the essential ingredients of our yeast manufacture, namely, malt sprouts, our yeast production in our aerated-process factories will be reduced at least 40 per cent, resulting that there will not be sufficient yeast manufactured in the United States, or capable of being manufactured in the United States, to supply the baking trade of the country, or anywhere near it. Additional factories, of course, can be built, but under present conditions building operations are subject to almost prohibitive delays, and as all the machinery used in our yeast manufacturing process has to be specially constructed, it would be 10 months to a year and a half before new units could be built and put in operation, and even when constructed the economic loss in running a low yield, with no market for the alcoholic by-product, would make such a plan prohibitive.

In addition to the actual shortage of yeast which would immediately ensue by discontinuing the malt business, the economic loss resulting from running a low yield under present processes would be prohibitive. The prohibition of beer brewing, resulting as it would in the closing up of the malt houses, would have the further resultant effect of entirely discouraging the growing of barley, for the farmer, although he needs a large portion of the barley grown, knows that he has a ready market through the malt houses for his choice barley for the making of malt. As soon as this market is taken away the farmer will cease to grow barley in any considerable quantity, in which case there will be no barley malt for the manufacture of compressed yeast in the country. While this contingency would not affect the crop for the year 1917, it is a practical certainty that if brewing and distillation both are abolished by Congress at the present time there will be no planting of barley for the year 1918, for there would be no object for the farmer to raise it at all. In the absence of a sufficient quantity of barley suitable for malting, the compressed-yeast industry of this country would be entirely wiped out, as no compressed yeast of any nature or description can be made without barley malt.

I may add that our company requires for its annual operations the malt sprouts obtainable from the malting of approximately 40,000,000 bushels of barley. In other words, we require the malt sprouts obtained from over one-half of the malting done in the United States.

In conclusion, let me point out that the prohibiting of the brewing of beer and its consequent effect upon the yeast industry would practically defeat in itself the immediate object and purpose of the food-conservation measure, as the bread of the country is the basis from which real economy and price reduction must start.

I may also add that every manufacturer of compressed yeast in the United States who uses the aerated process in the manufacture of his product would be similarly affected through his inability to obtain malt sprouts.

I shall supplement this memorandum with a statement of Dr. Taylor, one of Mr. Hoover's principal aids. This statement reduces to writing the results of a conference participated in a few days ago by Mr. Hoover, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Lester.

I want to call particular attention to one of the closing paragraphs of this statement, which sum up the conclusions of Mr. Hoover and Dr. Taylor, as follows:

No matter how the matter is twisted or turned, there seems to be no escape from the contention of Mr. Lester that the sudden and unadjusted application of prohibition would result in insufficiency of yeast in our cities for a considerable period of time, in some places so extreme as to make it impossible for the bakers to supply their normal trade.

STATEMENT OF MR. G. B. LESTER, OF THE FLEISCHMANN YEAST CO.

This company cultivates the yeast by a special method of modification of the aeration process that they have developed. They use about 1,800,000 bushels of malt and about 60,000,000 pounds of malt sprouts. In the ordinary act of malting about 6 per cent of the weight of the original barley is recovered as sprouts. Sprouts are employed largely on account of the content in asparagin. Using their method, with the culture medium containing malt and sprouts according to their formula, they obtain a yield of yeast of 35 per cent. If they were deprived of the use of sprouts they could employ a modified medium (using rye instead), which, however, does not give a yield of over 18 to 20 per cent. The yeast is just as good by the second process. The price of sprouts used to be $22 per ton; it is now $35 per ton. The price of malt used to be $0.60 a bushel; it is now $1.55. If distillation were cut off they could not, in their present plants, make enough yeast for their trade with the second method, yielding 18 to 20 per cent. They would have to enlarge their plants very greatly, and this could not be done within six or eight months. Dr. Taylor inquired whether distillation could not be continued just the same as at present, with the distillate sold not as alcoholic spirits (as whisky or gin) but as industrial alcohol, the recovery of yeast being the same. Mr. Lester replied that this would be attended with marked economic loss.

The Fleischmann firm sell 240,000,000 pieces of yeast every year. Each piece makes from five to six loaves of bread. To bakers they sell 50,000,000 pounds. Mr. Lester stated that our estimate that 40 per cent of our population consume bakers' bread agreed with their estimate. This firm supplies yeast corresponding to 20 per cent of the home baking. They supply 90 per cent of the yeast used by bakers. Thus, this firm prepares yeast for 52 per cent of our entire population. The remainder of home baking is accomplished by fermented dried yeast, yeast flours, and self-rising flours.

This discussion eventuated in the statement that while it would be possible to change their practice and place their business gradually on a prohibition basis, there would be considerable increase in the cost of production, due to the expense of greatly enlarged installations. If suddenly applied, prohibition would result in their almost immediate inability to supply yeast to the bakers' trade all over the country up to their demands, and in certain sections of the country it would lead to a production of yeast so low as to practically paralyze bakers in cities.

The amount of sprouts employed by this firm corresponds to the normal malting of nearly 40,000,000 bushels of barley. The firms who supply dry yeast do not employ the same method of yeast manufacture. If 40,000,000 bushels of barley were malted for the purpose of yeast manufacture alone and the remainder of malt sold for food and industrial purposes, it would represent a considerable economic loss. This, of course, could in itself be adjusted by the selling price of yeast. On the other hand, the excess malt could be employed in the manufacture of a near beer containing only 2 per cent alcohol, and greatly minimize the economic loss. But no matter how the matter is twisted or turned, there seems to be no escape from the contention of Mr. Lester's, that the sudden and unadjusted application of prohibition would result in insufficiency of yeast in our cities for a considerable period of time, in some places so extreme as to make it impossible for the bakers to supply their normal trade. Whether to what extent and within what time the other yeast manufacturers could, with their

methods that do not include the use of malt sprouts, alleviate the situation can not be judged at all from this interview; certainly the task would be a large one.

To sum up briefly the facts stated in these two papers, the situation seems to be indisputably this: Malt sprouts under modern processes of yeast making are an absolute necessity, forming as they do one-third of the contents of the mash from which yeast is developed. By the use of malt sprouts a yield of yeast of 35 per cent is obtained. Under no other process is there a yield of more than 12 to 18 per cent. Malt sprouts are obtained only from the malting of barley, and barley is only malted in this country in the manufacture of beer. Thus if the manufacture of beer should be prohibited by law, the yeast makers would be forced to abandon the modern process of making yeast and go back to the old methods, which are greatly more expensive and inefficient. The necessary result would be that even if all yeast producers in this country remodeled their factories and their machinery, or should build new factories and equip them with new machinery, for at least a year there would be a shortage in the yeast supply of the country of not less than 40 per cent, and probably not for many years to come, if ever, could the present yeast supply be restored. Under such circumstances, it seems to me that Congress should pause and think most carefully before taking any step, no matter from how high motives, the result of which would be to diminish the supply of bread in this country and to enhance its price. If there is one object above all others sought to be accomplished by the passage of the food-control bill, it is, as it seems to me, to provide at all hazards an abundant supply of cheap bread for the people of America while the war lasts. How then can we excuse ourselves if the result of our action shall be to curtail our present bread supply and to increase its price?

Personally I am opposed to the prohibition of the manufacture of beer for other reasons. I do not think that we can well dispense in times like these with the immense revenue derived by the Government from beer. Above all, I would think it monumentally unwise to prohibit at such a time as this the manufacture of the poor man's drink, comparatively innocuous as it is. But if neither of these reasons were controlling with me, the one that I have stated in the body of my speech would be. No matter what one's views may be upon prohibition as an ethical question, it seems to me that our highest duty as Members of Congress is to see to it that through no action of ours may a shortage by any possibility be caused in the bread supply of the country while we are at war.

I sincerely hope, when the bill returns to us from the Senate, that we may reverse our hasty and undeliberate action of the other day and permit, under reasonable regulations, the manufacture of malted liquors while the war lasts. To me it seems as clear as day that this is the wise, prudent, and patriotic course.

America's Aerial Future.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 3, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article from the New York Globe on the subject of "America's aerial future," and also a joint resolution introduced by myself and a letter.

The article and joint resolution and letter are as follows:

[From the New York Globe.]

AMERICA'S AERIAL FUTURE.

The joint resolution introduced in Congress by Senator SHEPPARD and Representative MURRAY HULBERT for a comprehensive study of aerial navigation by a commission should meet with no opposition. The United States is far behind other nations in the development of the flying machine, and if we are to gain the place to which we rightly are entitled, we shall have to take up the subject in a more serious manner.

The proposed commission would not concern itself so much with the military phase of the subject as with the commercial possibilities of the airplane. England is planning a permanent peace air service, with a personnel larger than the United States Navy at full war strength. France, Italy, and Germany, too, are making plans to provide for the future in this respect. If we do not soon do something to develop our aerial resources, we shall be left far behind.

A few years ago no one realized the tremendous part aeronautics would be playing in the world to-day. Supremacy of the air probably will be the deciding factor in the war. And aerial navigation is only in its infancy at that. The next decade doubtless will see even more remarkable progress. The possibilities of the heavier-than-air machine are boundless. It is a creation of American genius, and we must look to our laurels if we are not to be outstripped in making full use of it. The time to get ready for the future is to-day.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 114) providing for the creation of a commission on aerial navigation.

Resolved, etc., That a commission is hereby created consisting of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, not more than two of whom shall be of the same political party; also three Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker, not more than two of whom shall be of the same political party; one officer of the United States Army, who will not rank below the grade of brigadier general; one officer of the United States Navy, who will not rank below the highest grade of rear admiral; and one civilian mechanical engineer; the latter three to be designated by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and said commission is hereby authorized and directed, under such rules and regulations as it may adopt, to investigate the feasibility and advisability of a comprehensive system of aerial navigation for military, naval, and commercial purposes, and to consider and study the subject of air currents, direction of the wind and velocity to be expected at different altitudes, and for other forms of air charting as an aid to air pilots in aerial navigation, and to determine what air levels are best suited to military, naval, and commercial air traffic, including mail, passenger, and freight, with a view to determining lanes of travel, and rules and regulations covering the same.

Said commission shall investigate and report upon the use now being made of aerial transportation for commercial purposes in the United States, including the service heretofore inaugurated at Atlantic City, N. J., and Tampa and Miami, Fla., and shall consider and report upon the advisability of establishing an aerial coast patrol and life-saving service for the defense of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific seaboards and the protection of human life and shipping on the high seas contiguous thereto.

Said commission shall investigate and report upon the program for commercial development of aerial navigation in England, France, Italy, Germany, and any other foreign country in which plans have been adopted or are in progress of formation respecting the same.

The members of said commission shall serve without compensation and shall submit their report to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives on or before the first Monday of December next.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1917.*

Hon. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Relative to the importance of having a congressional committee, such as proposed in your joint resolution, I desire to call to your attention the fact that if no further advance were made in aeronautical science, we have already developed the cruising type aeroplane to such an extent that it is capable of competing seriously with railroads and steamships in the safe and rapid transportation of passengers, mail, and express freight.

The type of air cruiser now building for the United States War Department is capable of carrying 4,000 pounds at a speed of 100 miles per hour and can remain in sustained flight for 15 hours.

But I assure you that we are merely at the inception of attainment in this wonderful science. In order to appreciate the probable aerial development of the immediate future we should remember that when the locomotive and the steamboat were invented mechanical science was extremely crude and progress in railroad and steamship transportation could advance only so rapidly as the many necessary and ancillary sciences could be developed. Therefore, we may expect the strides in aviation to be unprecedented in all mechanical history, since we have already many ancillary sciences highly developed, with data adapted to the demands of the new art of aviation.

Respectfully, JAS. V. MARTIN.

Capt. Martin is a poineer in aviation; a large number of the most noted fliers on the western front were his pupils, one of whom has become a general third in the command of Gen. Haig. Capt. Martin is now building a tractor biplane for the Army and consulting in aeronautical construction work for the Navy Department.

Winning the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, July 9, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the one great thought which should fill every American heart at this time is how we may win the war—how we may win quickly and with the least loss of blood and treasure and the least sacrifice of American ideals.

War is an accomplished fact. The time for discussion is past. It is no longer desirable to consider the causes which led to the war, nor whether we might have avoided it. War is now a fact, not a theory. The way out of the war is through it, and on the other side is the end. Every American should put his shoulder to the wheel and push the war through to success.

Success in winning the war requires teamwork, unity of purpose. If we have had differences of opinion as to the causes for

the war, let us sink them now. Personalities should be lost sight of, political hatreds and discordant criticism of officials should be hushed.

I have been so much impressed with the necessity that those responsible for Government should work harmoniously together that during the present session of Congress I have frequently suppressed my views upon public questions so as to be in harmony with the majority. I have sat in silence while measures which I did not approve were being considered and have been content merely to register my vote against them rather than to combat them with an opposition which might have proved harmful. I have supported measures on final vote which I did not approve in their details. I have felt that now was the time when Members of the great legislative branch of the Government should pull together.

I have been anxious to aid in every way in carrying on the war. I voted to provide funds by the great bond and certificate issue of $7,000,000,000, and for the revenue bill to raise $1,800,000,000. I voted for the loans to the allies and for an appropriation for war purposes of $3,000,000,000, the largest ever granted by any nation in the history of the world. Each of these measures had details of which I could not approve, but I felt it necessary to support them in the whole. I have voted for every measure which could be said to in any way tend to promote the war except the conscription bill, which violated a sacred principle of human liberty, and to which therefore I could not honestly submit. I was willing to vote men and ships to any numbers that might have been asked for, but I could not bring myself to vote away the right of a free people to choose whether they would go into the trenches.

The present is no time to indulge political jealousies. Factional politics and selfish scheming to destroy officials whom some men do not like are out of place.

This war is already more terrible than all previous wars and its burdens in proportion will necessarily prove a grievous load to our people. Many as yet do not understand the seriousness of the situation, do not realize the pangs that the future has in store for us, nor the awful cost which we will be compelled to pay in blood and money.

This is no time for men to think of pleasure and easy living, nor for greedy captains of industry to fill their pockets. The burdens of the war must of course fall in chief upon the plain people. In chief will they be called upon to do the fighting and the dying, and it is out of their tears and suffering that the vast sums of money must finally be coined which will be required to pay for it. For this reason as well as for the general public good should the people concern themselves with seeing that the war is well and efficiently carried on.

THE PEOPLE RULE.

America is the land of the free, the land of democracy and political equality. Each citizen is entitled to an equal voice in Government. Old-world ideals of kings and hereditary rulers have no place here. An American citizen is a sovereign and has no superior. His officials from the highest to the lowest—from President to constable—are not his rulers but are his servants. In this thought and by ever keeping it as a light for our feet may we be true to the course of liberty. Once shall we lose this faith of freemen then will we soon be shorn of all the precious privileges of self-government.

Subjects of foreign powers under their worn-out systems owe loyalty to kings. Free Americans owe loyalty to country, not to officials of high or low degree. Officials are mere servants, but are to be respected and supported when faithfully performing the work of their masters—the people. When in this great democracy officials of high position are obeyed as masters by the people, then indeed will we have come upon unworthy times.

This war is the people's war. It is not the war of Congress nor of the President. If it was not entered into in obedience to the will of the people, then were Congress and President guilty of usurpation and moral wrong? It is the people's war. They must furnish the men and the money. They have the right to direct its course and to decide on the terms of peace. The people must not be kept in ignorance. They have the right to be informed of all facts known to the Government which to disclose will not benefit the enemy. They should be consulted in carrying on the war. Let no man nor set of men dare to an action which may affect the future of our country without consulting the people, its rightful rulers. Free speech and free press as guaranteed by the Constitution must be preserved. The people must be given information so that they may carry on their business of governing themselves intelligently. No excuse of war necessity must be made for withholding knowledge which the people are entitled to receive.

This is the people's war and they are entitled to conduct it as they please. They have the moral and constitutional right to know all the facts connected with it. Officials can not withhold such facts without violating their oaths of office. Newspapers have the high moral duty imposed upon them to keep the people honestly informed. Only a dastard and unworthy press will color facts in this time of the Nation's peril in order to satisfy personal grudges and political schemes.

We have recently heard much from sources of doubtful patriotism, of standing by the President. Chiefly this has come from unworthy newspapers who were standing by the President merely because they and the greedy interests for which they speak are trying to use the President for their selfish purposes. It is "stand by the President" when it suits them and their schemes, but no such slogan is heard when the President favors bills to curb the license of the press and to lay war taxes upon them and the big business interests which they represent. The press is indeed powerful. In a recent pamphlet upon the subject, Joseph I. C. Clarke, himself an old newspaper editor, says:

The press appears to be the master of Congress. In all else the press backed President Wilson, and he succeeded. In the censorship they opposed him utterly and he failed. To every Member there seems to be at least one newspaper before which he cowers, and when the writers of 5,000 papers, daily and weekly, assailed all attempts to "muzzle the press," to limit "freedom of speech" and called on all the gods of the newspaper world to punish anyone denying them the right to say what they pleased, about anything, no wonder the Congress sidestepped. In its haste to purge itself it rejected the whole plan of government, and therefore responsible, delimitation of what is news of the war from what is direct aid to the enemy.

THIS IS THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

This is the people's war and the people rule in America. Sometimes I fear that they are in turn themselves ruled by the newspapers. With an independent and honest press all is well. In the old corrupt days the selfish interests ruled the country by big contributions to campaign slush funds. Now, as it seems, the same interests are seeking to dominate through control of the newspapers.

This is the people's war, but the disposition is shown in some quarters to suppress free speech in regard to it. It is sought to bully the people out of discussing how the war should be carried on and what our war aims are. It is said that we must leave all this to the President.

True, the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, but under the Constitution his every action is subject to the direction of the people's Representatives in Congress. When the people speak through their Representatives it becomes the duty of the President, their servant, to obey. The President is merely the instrument through which the people work their will in carrying on the war, and it is for the people to decide what are to be our war aims. The President is the agent and adviser of the people. He is in no sense their master. This is not the President's war; its aims are not his aims. Presidents come and go, good and wise men are they all, but in the end they fold their hands and molder into dust. Our country must not die. American ideals and institutions founded upon the equality of man, human liberty, and the right of men to govern themselves must not be allowed to perish from off the earth.

America entered this war in vindication of her national honor and dignity. Germany had sunk our ships, destroyed the lives of our people, and had violated American rights. We did not enter the war as a party to European quarrels nor to further the selfish aims of nations now associated with us in opposing Germany. We did not enter the war to preserve the balance between European powers nor to affect the adjustment of national boundaries. We fight for America, for our own interests, and for the security of American rights and dignity.

We war with Germany for the preservation of our national interests alone. We do not fight for the realization of dreams of political freedom for all mankind. The true American looks to the interest of America alone. Dreams of world liberty are sublime; they are fitting for philanthropists and internationalists; they do not belong to patriots. Patriots can not afford to jeopardize the interests of their own country by idealistic meddling with the affairs of other nations. American patriots fight for America, for American interests, and for an American peace, and do not sacrifice the blood of our people and our national hope for a future in the vain pursuit of world democracy.

The world can never be made "safe for democracy"; never, so long as greed and selfishness exist. So long as there is striving and competition, never will that justice which is democracy be assured. Democracy is not even safe in America; even here is there oppression, injustice, and cruel wrong. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." So long as men are men and the perfect spirit of Christianity has not subdued humanity,

liberty and democracy must be manfully defended always and everywhere.

This is the people's war, and theirs is the responsibility The people should see to it that the war is carried on efficiently and well; that necessary soldiers and money are provided; that taxes are laid justly and equitably; that supplies are bought at honest prices, and that greedy contractors are not permitted to rob the Government. The people must see to it that selfish interests do not take advantage of the war period to rob the people of their liberty nor to intrench privileged classes in positions of oppression and wrong.

SOLDIERS FOR THE BATTLE LINE.

The present war has called to arms men in numbers beyond the wildest dreams of the past. Our own contribution may run to millions of our best and bravest men. We have temporarily abandoned our traditional voluntary system. Congress has decided to raise the necessary soldiers by conscription. I think this was a serious mistake. I opposed it as un-American, unnecessary, undemocratic, and unwise. I opposed it as violating a sacred principle of human liberty. I knew that the forces behind it were the militarists and the big-business interests who desired it not for national defense but in furtherance of their own selfish purposes.

However, conscription is also an accomplished fact. For the present war it has become the national policy and the law should be obeyed faithfully and in a cheerful spirit. The conscription law was enacted against the will of the great silent majority of our people and without consulting them. I have been proud to observe the obedient spirit in which the people have accepted the law notwithstanding they were opposed to it, I have been especially proud of my own district, where registration for conscription went far beyond all calculations. It is the duty of patriots and good citizens to obey a law even though it be unjust and oppressive, and our people recognized this principle.

However, the duty to obey the law does not carry with it any obligation not to favor its repeal. The people of the country have been put on their guard. They are aroused. They submit to conscription for the present war, doing so with the knowledge that the militarists and big business interests intend to try to make the system permanent, so that after the present war is over the system of compulsory military service may be perpetuated. The people are determined to resist this by all legitimate means. They will not give up their liberties without a struggle. I warn the conscriptionists that they have before them a bitter struggle with our liberty-loving people before they will be able to make permanent the detestable system of forced service.

The unfairness of conscriptionists is characteristic. They realize the weakness of their cause. They realize that the great masses of the people are opposed to compulsory military service. With characteristic unfairness and intolerance the conscriptionists have been unwilling for the opposition to be heard. They have attempted to hector and bully those opposed to forced military service into silence and by abuse and ridicule to suppress all opposition. For weeks before the measure was acted on by Congress the newspapers were full of arguments in favor of it, but they printed nothing that any one might say against it. The press bullied some Members of Congress who opposed conscription into voting in favor of it, and those whom they could not bully they abused beyond measure.

When Speaker CLARK and others who opposed conscription distributed their speeches against it among their constituents and friends, the newspapers covered them with abuse and pretended to think that they were seeking to discourage registration. The people had the right to read the speeches against conscription and to weigh the arguments. Members of Congress had the right to explain their views. But these rights vicious newspapers would have denied. These vicious elements knew that every Member of Congress had advised his constituents to obey the law, and that there was nothing in their speeches to the contrary. They could not answer the arguments against conscription, so they resorted to abuse and misrepresentation. Having misrepresented and falsely criticised Members for voting against the measure, the newspapers would have denied them the privilege of explaining their views to their constituents.

The people have been very patient and are to be commended for their forbearance. The hectoring and bullying efforts of the conscriptionists and their newspapers to put over the odious system of conscription and to suppress all opposition to it has been trying to the people. They have also been tried in patience by the shouting and flag waving of swashbucklers who never performed a patriotic act in their lives and are trying to get others into the trenches when they have no thought of fighting themselves. It is always thus. A few braggarts make the speeches, wave the flags, and shout, while quiet and unpretentious patriots do all the fighting and suffering.

It is the duty of the people to obey the conscription law, but apart from this we must remember that our country is in peril. We need soldiers, vast numbers of them. Duty calls, and patriots must respond to service. Patriots must not allow conscription to dampen their ardor, but should shoulder arms cheerfully and gladly because the country needs them.

The one great thought that should fill every patriot's heart is, "How may I best serve my country?" If it be as a soldier, then it is his high duty to present himself whether he has been conscripted or not.

MONEY FOR WAR.

As was said three years ago, this war must be won with silver bullets. Money is required. Vast sums of it must be poured out. For war now is a competition of machines. The supplying of vast armies, the immense quantities of ammunition required, the ponderous cannons, aeroplanes, and other mechanical appliances cause war expenses to mount quickly into billions. The total war expenses of all the nations to this time is estimated at over $125,000,000,000. It is said that our own expense for the first year will reach $8,000,000,000.

The problem of statesmen is to raise the necessary money to carry on the war. The money must be raised in the wisest way, in the way which will prove least harmful to our national future. The big business and financial interests have insisted that the money for the war should be raised by bond issues, arguing that as the present generation must fight the war future generations should pay for it. They have assumed that the men who do the fighting are the same that would pay the taxes, when the fact is that the big interests who ought to pay the taxes are not to be found fighting in the ranks. The fighting will be left largely to the great mass of the people, and captains of industry and finance will continue to serve as heretofore in their easy chairs and luxuriously furnished offices. It would be monstrous that our soldiers should come back maimed and crippled from foreign battle fields to find that grievous burdens of taxation had been laid upon their shoulders in their absence. Future generations will have their own burdens to bear. Let us not destroy them in advance with a vast bonded debt.

President Wilson in his war message urged that the money for the war should be raised largely from taxation so as to protect the people against the hardships of the inflation of values produced by bond issues. Large bond issues inevitably cause a great rise in prices by the reduction of the purchasing power of money. The bonds are used as a basis of credit and the effect is similar as though actual currency had been put in circulation, so that money is greatly cheapened temporarily. The rise in cost of the necessaries of life is due in many instances to speculation, extortion, and hoarding, but, generally speaking, it is due to the influx of European gold paid for war supplies and the flotation in this country of several billions of bonds and securities from Europe and the increase of more than $1,000,000,000 in our circulation which has resulted. Our per capita circulation is greater to-day than ever in our history, and the issue of our own bonds will greatly increase it. Prices will continue to rise. Of course the price of labor will rise last and least, so that much hardship and suffering must ensue. The only way to curb this is by taxation, which will restrain speculation and wildcat enterprises, will curb investments and preserve the equilibrium of business. This was the idea that the President put forward in his message.

SLACKERS OF GREAT WEALTH.

But the big, selfish interests have not been willing to "stand by the President" in this respect. They want the opportunity to invest their money in Government bonds. Big financiers have even prided themselves on buying liberty bonds. "Enlist *or* buy a bond" was the slogan used. The president of the biggest bank in America said in the course of the bond-selling campaign that the man who bought bonds was as much a patriot as though he had enlisted as a soldier. *A patriot at 3½ per cent in nontaxable bonds—an investment, in an absolutely safe loan, equivalent in most communities to 6 per cent!* Of course we had to sell the bonds, and men should have bought them, but the buying was a very cheap form of patriotism, not worth boasting about.

The selfish interests oppose the President's plan because they do not want to pay taxes on incomes and the swollen profits they are making. They are now making the fight of their lives in Congress to keep down taxes on incomes and profits. The total levy recommended by the Senate committee is only $532,000,000 on incomes and $523,000,000 on profits. The com-

mittee proposes to tax tea, sugar, and coffee, $86,000,000; tobacco, $56,000,000; and other necessaries of life, $50,000,000; and to raise $50,000,000 by increasing letter postage to 3 cents and the poor man's postal cards to 2 cents. In short, they want the common people to pay a large share of the war cost by taxes on the necessaries of life and things that common people use.

The selfish interests have the stage carefully set. They have carried on a propaganda over the country through their newspaper organs and otherwise to create public opinion in favor of their views. They have insisted that "business should not be hampered," as though business would be hampered by a tax on the incomes of the rich and by taking a part of the vast profits that contractors and munitions makers are making out of the war. These are some of the profits which the war-contracting corporations are making:

Profits of war contractors.

Company.	1916	1914
American Brass Co	$10,991,669	$1,450,347
American Locomotive Co	10,769,429	2,076,127
Bethlehem Steel Corp	43,593,968	5,590,020
Bliss (E. W.) Co	10,565,321	.....
Cambria Steel Co	25,433,073	1,960,990
Crucible Steel Co. of America	13,223,655	1,015,039
Dupont Powder Co	82,013,020	4,831,793
General Chemical Co	12,288,826	2,857,892
General Electric Co	18,589,528	11,287,826
Hercules Powder Co	16,658,873	1,247,255
Lackawanna Steel Co	12,218,234	1,652,444
Midvale Steel, etc., Co	31,460,213	.....
Republic Steel & Iron Co	14,789,163	1,028,748
Scoville Manufacturing Co	13,403,462	456,995
United States Steel Corporation	271,531,730	23,496,768
American Smelting & Refining Co	23,252,248	9,271,565
American Sugar Refining Co	11,455,107	4,455,490
Anaconda Copper Mining Co	57,941,534	8,789,588
Armour & Co	20,100,000	7,509,908
Central Leather Co	15,489,201	4,876,924
China Copper Co	12,527,948	2,992,290
General Motors Co	28,789,560	7,249,733
International Nickel Co	11,748,279	4,792,665
Kennecott Copper Corporation	27,661,713	.....
Nevada Consolidated Copper Co	15,002,051	1,470,372
Phelps-Dodge Corporation	21,974,263	6,664,839
Ray Consolidated Copper Co	12,084,166	2,395,623
Standard Oil Co. of California	17,605,304	10,058,338
Standard Oil Co. of Indiana	29,043,616	6,590,924
Standard Oil Co. of New York	36,638,495	7,735,919
Swift & Co	20,465,000	9,450,000
Texas Co	13,898,861	6,185,974
United Fruit Co	11,943,151	2,264,911
United States Rubber Co	11,226,208	8,091,538
Utah Copper Co	39,738,675	8,678,491
Western Union Telegraph Co	13,561,830	5,371,395
Calumet & Arizona Mining Co	11,156,835	3,215,624

The total of 37 leading corporations for 1914 was $67,034,364. The same concerns in 1916 made net profits of $851,093,509, an increase of $784,019,145. This shows why war contractors love war. During 1917 their profits will perhaps be doubled. It is said that the United States Steel Corporation, which earned only $23,496,768 in 1914, is earning net profits at the yearly rate of $474,000,000 for 1917.

It seems fundamental to me that there should be no profits in war; that neither financiers nor war contractors should be allowed to make money out of their country's misfortune and from human misery and suffering. Men are being conscripted for the war. Why should not profits and incomes also be conscripted? What moral right is there in big business concerns piling up swollen fortunes while the country is being bankrupted and bled white? This war should be paid for by those who are able to pay, by those who make a profit from it. They should not be permitted to come out richer than they went in, while the plain people come out decimated, starving, and impoverished.

I lay down as fair and honest principles of taxation applicable alike to peace and war that those who benefit by government should pay for it in proportion as they are benefited and according to their ability to pay. Taxes should not be laid on the necessaries of life until all other subjects of taxation have been exhausted. Taxes laid upon necessaries which are used by all are per capita taxes of which each citizen pays a nearly equal amount. Such taxes are unjust, because under them the benefits of government derived do not relate to the share of its burdens which is imposed upon the citizen.

SOME MORE SLACKERS.

Newspapers and periodicals in this country receive a subsidy from the Government of $90,000,000 annually. This immense sum is donated to them through the Postal System by which the second-class postage rate is fixed at 1 cent per pound, when it actually costs the Government 6 cents per pound to carry it.

Publishers may send their publications from Boston to San Francisco at $1 per hundred pounds, whereas the rate on ordinary freight shipped by rail is $2.25 per hundred pounds, and if sent by express is $10.50. One hundred pounds of newspapers carried from Boston to San Francisco costs the publisher $1, but 100 pounds of letters sent by the people cost them $32. A publisher may send a magazine to a subscriber at 1 cent per pound. If the subscriber desires to return the magazine to the publisher he is required to pay 4 cents per pound in order to do so.

A publisher sends 100 pounds of newspapers from Boston to San Francisco for $1. This service actually costs the Government about $15 for transportation alone, yet when the newspapers reach the post office they must be handled by clerks and distributed through carriers—additional service, which costs about one-fourth of a cent for each paper handled. It is practically as much trouble to carry a newspaper through the mail and deliver it as a letter, yet the publisher pays 1 cent per pound and the letter writer 32 cents per pound.

The publishers attempt to justify the rank discrimination in their favor by claiming that the Government should encourage newspapers for the education of the people. No printed matter has the same educational value as the same weight in a letter. To write a letter or to receive one is of more educational value than several times the letter's weight in printed matter. Besides, magazines and newspapers average more than half advertisements. Some of them are seven-eighths advertisements, and are run purely for advertising purposes. Advertising has little, if any, educational value. Besides, if we are to pay a newspaper subsidy for educational purposes, why should we not allow the newspaper remailed at the same rate? Why charge the publisher one-fourth of what everyone else has to pay for mailing the same matter?

Schoolbooks are carried by parcels post. The rate for 50 miles is 5 cents for the first pound, and, carried from Boston to San Francisco, the rate for 1 pound would be 12 times the newspaper rate. Surely schoolbooks have as much educational value as advertisement-padded newspapers.

I believe in a free press as a matter of principle. I believe that newspapers should be permitted to print what they choose without censorship and be subject only to prosecution for libel and for disclosing military secrets in time of war. But publishers are in business for private profit; they are not philanthropists. There should be no discrimination in their favor. They should not be subsidized out of the Public Treasury. Recently it has seemed that many of the newspapers are of doubtful public value and are largely engaged in promoting the selfish and illegitimate advantage of financial and business interests, or are vehicles of dishonest political propaganda and of the private malice of their owners. Still, I have thought that the remedy for such evil conditions is not by censorship or suppression, but by training the people to distrust dishonest critics and editors.

It seems outrageous that unworthy agencies of public information should expect aid from the Public Treasury to carry on their foul work. Owners of newspapers should have the right to carry on a propaganda for their selfish purposes, but their scheming should be at their own expense, and they should be required to pay out of their own pockets the cost of distributing their sheets.

We need money for the war. The first step is to choke off the grafters. I can think of no better place to begin than with the publishers. We should increase their rates so as to require them to pay the actual cost of the service rendered them and thereby save $90,000,000 every year.

The publishers strenuously object to the increase in their postage rates. They have nothing to say in opposition to the increase in letter postage. They have failed to mention the proposal to increase the common postal card to 2 cents. Letters are now being carried at a profit to the Government. Yet the proposal is to increase letter postage to 3 cents, so that every time a letter is mailed the writer must pay 2 cents more than the cost of carrying it in order that some publisher may be enabled to send his newspaper through the mails at 1 cent a pound. If we are to give the publishers a subsidy, it should be done frankly and not by subterfuge. It should be paid out of the Public Treasury, and the letter writers of the country should not be forced to stand the expense.

THE BOYS ARE MARCHING.

The boys are marching, the bands are playing, and the starry flag is waving all over the land. American valor and patriotism is again being brought to the test. The response comes from every plain and valley. Men are recruiting, notices of conscription are being sent out, mothers sit white faced and helpless, and young men are girding themselves for service. Soon they will be assembled in vast camps and soon thousands of them will be arrayed on European battle fields.

It is sweet to serve one's country, to go forth with the consciousness of the performance of a high duty, to take up the challenge in defense of liberty and justice. It is sweet to serve—even to die—for one's country, to embark in a just cause upon the great adventure.

Our boys are marching. They are putting on their uniforms, they are burnishing their arms, their hearts are flaming with the passion of patriotism. In my soul I envy them. I would that I might recall the days of my young manhood's strength and enthusiasm so that I might take my place beside them. I envy our brave boys who go into the field of battle. God grant that peace and victory may soon be ours, that our soldiers may return unscathed, and that loved ones may be reunited. God grant that this may be the last war, and that out of it mankind may learn some saner, juster way to settle differences and conflicting interests than by an appeal to arms.

The Revenue Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I hope no one will interrupt me until I can give somewhat of a bird's-eye view of this bill. After that I will be glad to be interrupted and answer questions.

Mr. Chairman and gentleman, on April 13 the Ways and Means Committee offered for the consideration of this House a bill making at one time the most stupendous bond authorization in the history of the world. To-day we propose a bill that raises more additional taxes than any bill that has ever been presented to any legislative body on earth. This bill, if passed, will produce more revenue by five times than any revenue bill ever presented to the American Congress.

I was delighted to observe that when the big bond-issue bill of April 13 was voted on every Member casting a vote voted for it. It was unanimous. It was courageous in Members of the House; it was patriotic in them to impose upon their children and their children's children a burden of billions of dollars. I trust, gentlemen of the House, when we vote on this bill which imposes a burden, not upon our children but upon us, who declared the war and who are to wage the war, that we will show the same sacrificial spirit and the same courage. [Applause.] It is not a time, my friends, for a man to say this bill taxes an industry in his district or in his State; it is not a time to say that these taxes will destroy this industry or that industry; it is not a time for the American patriot to think of self. His first and only thought should be, How can I best serve my country in this hour of her trial. [Applause.] It is not for the man who goes out to the front to meet the bayonets and the guns of the enemy to reason why. It is for him to obey and go. In obedience to the call of country a million and more of the best young men of this country will sooner or later face the enemy's guns. No man who has to pay a dollar of the tax in this bill who remains home while the boys are at the front should protest against it. [Applause.]

As the young men of this country are willing to sacrifice all profit, all business, all career, and offer up their lives, every taxpayer, if he be a patriot, ought to be willing to sacrifice at least a part of his profits and to offer to his country his dollar. [Applause.] If we can sacrifice our sons and our sons can sacrifice their lives, the true American who remains at home and risks not his life ought to be happy to say, "I will pay my part—take all my profits if necessary—to defend my country and maintain her cause." [Applause.] Mr. Chairman, I hope that there will not be a man in the House who will get on this floor and complain that this bill is taxing his State or his district or his industry. [Applause.] The Government is going to conscript my State and my district. It will conscript your State and your district. The boys who are going to be conscripted have a right to demand that American statesmanship shall conscript the dollar to sustain them in the field while fighting for the flag. [Applause.] One of the most delightful observations of my life in Congress, one of the happiest reflections upon my retirement from Congress, is that when the 23 members of the committee on Ways and Means met—Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives—there at once appeared, in thought and word and act, but one aim, one aspiration, one effort—to prepare a bill for the consideration of the Congress which in their patriotic judgment was the wisest, the most just, and the least burdensome to the American people, in order to raise this enormous amount of money. I shall enjoy the recollection, too, that in the committee conferences, of weeks of labor, there was not one vestige of partisanship. [Applause.] Partyism was eclipsed by patriotism. In the many votes taken in the committee there was not a single instance in which the Republicans lined up on one side and the Democrats on the other. The vote was according to the conscience and judgment of each man, and in every vote cast there were Republicans and Democrats on either side. [Applause.] Not one word was spoken, not one sentiment uttered, not one act done that even suggested that members of opposite parties were sitting around the table. [Applause.]

Another thing, gentlemen, I will never forget, inasmuch as it is so contrary to my experience in helping to frame and consider revenue measures in the House, that not a man on that committee—Republican, Democrat, or Progressive, though some of us thought this or that tax was too high or too low—even hinted that this or that tax would bring disaster to his district or his State or to the industries of his State or district, and therefore should not be imposed. [Applause.]

Not one asked or sought to take this or that tax off because it fell upon the people of his State or his district or the industries of his State or district. I trust that the example of patriotic aim and effort of the Ways and Means Committee, of men of all parties on that committee, will be emulated in this House in the consideration of this bill and the vote upon it. [Applause.]

This bill does not suit me in every particular. I presume that if Congress would authorize each individual in the House to go out and take weeks of time for investigation, as we have done, and bring back a bill for the consideration of the House, to raise $1,800,000,000, that not one would write a bill exactly like this; each would write a different bill. I did not want all of the things in this bill which are in it. I wanted some things to go into the bill which are not in it. I thought some of the taxes were too high, some too low. Every man on the committee had his ideas about this or that. This bill is not the individual thought of any one man, but, sitting around the table with the facts before us, with the results of our study and investigation, after thrashing out the pros and cons on every proposition that was submitted, this bill is the resultant product of the most diligent investigation, of the best wisdom, of the best judgment, of the best patriotism, of the 23 members of the Ways and Means Committee. [Applause.] It is not a Democratic bill, nor is it a Republican bill. Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives equally are responsible for it.

There is hardly a title or section or paragraph or item in this bill that in ordinary times of peace would not be a cruel injustice upon the people of the United States. There is hardly a title or section or paragraph or item in this bill that I would vote for in ordinary times. This bill can only be justified by the hard and inexorable necessities of war.

Every dollar of the $1,800,000,000 proposed to be raised by this measure is absolutely necessary. The administration tells us, the Secretary of the Treasury tells us, our knowledge of conditions convince us, that the financial needs of the Treasury demand that we raise that amount by new taxes. My fear is that while the administration says that we need for the remainder of this fiscal year and for the next fiscal year to meet war expenses $3,800,000,000, that we will need nearer $5,000,000,000 before the end of the next fiscal year.

Some say, "Why not raise the necessary funds to finance the war by bonds?" Why, gentlemen, we are raising of that $3,800,000,000 necessary for war expenses for the next fiscal year $2,000,000,000 by bonds. We authorized in our bill of April 13 the issuance of $5,000,000,000 of bonds, $3,000,000,000 of which is to be loaned to the allies and $2,000,000,000 to help defray our own enormous war expenses.

If I were to put, or attempt to put, all the burden of financing this war, by authorizing tremendous issues of bonds, upon my children and my children's children—to make them finance a fight in which I engage—I would condemn myself as a miserable coward. [Applause.] This is our fight, and we ought to be willing at least to help pay for it. [Applause.]

If we could, we should defray the whole expense by taxes. If able, this is the manly, patriotic thing, but perhaps we are not able to do this. Probably it would not be unfair to put upon posterity half the burden. We of this generation should at least bear the other half. If I consent to put half of it upon my posterity, I should be willing to go into my pocket and pay my share

of the other half as long as this war lasts, and that ought to be the patriotic impulse of every man in this House and in this country. [Applause.]

Your children and mine had nothing to do with bringing on this war. They had no vote on it. Many who will have to pay the bonds are yet unborn. We have spoken for them. It would be unjust and cruel and cowardly to shift upon them the burden of a single dollar more than was absolutely necessary. They will have troubles and obligations of their own to meet and finance. We ought not to transfer to them a single obligation which we ourselves are able to meet.

The taxes proposed are enormous. They are going to be hard to bear, but not a tax in the bill will cripple a single industry nor will it seriously embarrass a single individual.

In framing this measure we concluded that about half of the taxes should be collected from incomes and profits; that the other half should be collected from the people generally, distributed so that all would pay some, and that in the general consumption tax we should collect as much as possible from luxuries and semiluxuries in order to lighten the tax on necessities. This is the policy we pursued in framing the bill before you.

In the preparation of this bill to raise money to sustain the Government in the mightiest undertaking and struggle of its life, I have been surprised and amazed to observe that there have been, by a hundred times, more protests and more complaints against taxation from men throughout the United States, from every class of people who are to be taxed in this bill, and found more unwillingness to pay than I ever heard or observed during the preparation of the many revenue bills in peace times which I have assisted in framing.

If one-tenth of what has been told us by the men who and whose industries will in the first instance pay these taxes is true, instead of raising $1,800,000,000, we will not raise $100,000. There is hardly an item in the bill that has not been protested and condemned as bankrupting and disastrous to them and their business. We are told that we will collect nothing from excess profits and nothing from income tax, because the bill will destroy all sources of income and profits. So, gentlemen, when men from your district and from your State write and tell you that this or that tax is going to ruin their industry and destroy them, you should know beforehand that every man who is taxed in the bill has already written and wired us, and some of them came to Washington and told us the same thing. [Laughter.] They are all willing to fight this war out if somebody else will do the fighting. They are all willing to pay for the war if somebody else will do the paying.

But, gentlemen, we have caught everybody in the United States [laughter], and I will tell you how we got them. Gentlemen would come into my office and into the offices of other Members to show us how we could raise every dollar of tax needed by "putting it on the other fellow," and as soon as he left our office the other fellow would come in and show us how to raise it by "putting it on him," and so we put it on the other fellow and on him, too. [Laughter.]

As I said a moment ago, the committee thought it the wise policy, as it would be the least burdensome, to collect about half of the required amount, $1,800,000,000, from incomes and profits and the other half from a general consumption tax; that of the general consumption tax we should collect as much as possible from luxuries and semiluxuries before levying on the necessities.

Pursuing this policy, the bill levies on incomes of individuals and corporations, in addition to the income tax under existing law, in round numbers, $641,000,000, and on excess profits, in addition to the excess-profits tax under existing law, $200,000,000 and about $6,000,000 additional on estates or inheritances for the first year, making $847,000,000. We raise about $420,000,000 from luxuries and semiluxuries, such as liquors, wines, soft drinks, manufactures of tobacco, and admissions to theaters, circuses, moving-picture shows, baseball games, and other places where admission charges are made; sporting goods, jewelry, musical instruments, pleasure boats, and automobiles, and so forth. [Applause.]

I wish to remind my friends from Michigan, Mr. DOREMUS and Mr. KELLEY, of my happiness to know that automobiles are necessities down in my district and State. I have wires and letters from my people informing me that an automobile is an absolute necessity and no longer a luxury. [Laughter.] We use them in our business. We use them to go to church, and to picnics, and to baseballs, and to theaters. [Laughter.]

I did not know until we were preparing this bill that life—human existence—had so many requirements. Strenuous attempts were made to convince us that everything proposed to be taxed, from a glass of beer or cigarette to a racing yacht, were absolute necessities of the people. We discovered that golf sticks—what do you call them?—golf equipments, baseballs, tennis rackets, fishing poles, perfumery, powder puffs, and Coca-Cola were prime requirements of human existence [laughter], and it was mighty hard to lay the finger of taxation upon them, but we did so—reluctantly. [Laughter.]

The remaining amount, about $550,000,000, we collect from the general necessities of the people. No man could justify his vote for such taxes except by the necessities of war. These include a tax on passenger tickets; freight and express bills; light, heat, and telephone service bills; fire and life insurance; stamp tax on deeds, notes, and other instruments and documents. They include also the tariff provision of a 10 per cent ad valorem duty on all articles on the free list and a 10 per cent additional duty on all dutiable articles imported.

Now, gentlemen, with your permission and patience, I will proceed to explain the bill more in detail. But first let me say, and you should bear it in mind, that the tax in the pending measure on incomes, excess profits, estates, or inheritances, and on articles now taxed is in addition to the tax imposed by existing laws, and such laws remain undisturbed.

TITLE I.

This title provides for a war tax on incomes. We have made pretty big increases over the present income tax. Such increases will produce, in round numbers, $533,000,000. This, remember, is in addition to the amount now being raised by the present income-tax law, which for this fiscal year will reach approximately $330,000,000. We have lowered the exemption and increased the normal tax by 2 per cent, and the 2 per cent rate applies to corporations and individuals alike. We lowered the exemptions of single persons from $3,000 to $1,000, and married persons from $4,000 to $2,000. The additional 2 per cent we put on catches the single man who has an income of more than $1,000, and the married man who has an income of over $2,000. Now, in all cases of married and single persons who pay on incomes under existing law, they will have to pay by virtue of lowering of the exemption $40 more. The surtaxes or additional taxes we have placed pretty high. I am called sometimes, by the ultraconservative, a radical. But I had to balk and hesitate a little at some of the increases. Compelled to raise the enormous amount of money, we had to greatly increase the surtax rates, and especially was this so in the case of the larger incomes.

The surtax, or, as it is called by the law, the additional tax, under the present law begins at $20,000 then rises between $40,000 and $60,000, $60,000 and $80,0000, and so forth. In this bill we begin the surtax or the additional tax at $5,000. On the income between $5,000 and $7,500 the rate is 1 per cent additional. That is going to catch all of you gentlemen. From $7,500 to $10,000, 2 per cent. From $10,000 to $12,500, 3 per cent; from $12,500 to $15,000, 4 per cent; from $15,000 to $20,000, 5 per cent.

From $20,000 and up we keep the brackets that we have under the present law. The additional tax on incomes from $20,000 up to $40,000 is 6 per cent; from $40,000 to $60,000, 8 per cent; from $60,000 to $80,000, 11 per cent; from $80,000 to $100,000, 14 per cent; from $100,000 to $150,000, 17 per cent; from $150,000, to $200,000, 20 per cent; $200,000 to $250,000, 24 per cent; $250,000 to $300,000, 27 per cent; $300,000 to $500,000, 30 per cent; and on the amount which exceeds $500,000, 33 per cent. These rates are in addition to the present law. So that on incomes of over $1,000,000 one pays a total tax under the present income tax and the tax in this bill, ranging from 40 to 50 per cent of the total income according to the size of the income. [Applause.] I shall presently give tables showing the rates, respectively, under the present law and under this bill.

These are mighty hard and high. I know one gentleman in this country who has an income of $20,000,000 or more. To take about $10,000,000 from that fellow out of his twenty millions struck me at first blush as being so cruel and unjust that I could hardly stand it. But after it was determined upon, reflecting on it over night, I thought to myself, why can not that gentleman struggle along without wearing patches on his trousers or having his shoes half-soled on the $10,000,000 a year we leave him? [Laughter.] But the country needed the money, and we are not going to drive him out of business—not one of these taxes is going to crush anyone, or cripple any business.

I said awhile ago that everybody in this country had protested or would protest against paying more taxes, but I was mistaken. There is a group that I never heard of before, that I never dreamed existed, for I did not believe that it was possible that there was any human being in America who wanted to pay taxes and more taxes than the law made him pay; but one day KEATING, of Colorado, came to me and said, "KITCHIN, will your subcommittee just hear half a dozen gentlemen for

me?" I said that we were not having any hearings, and he said, "Now, you never heard anything like this before." I asked him what it was and he said, "I have some gentlemen down here whose incomes are $100,000 and over and they want to come before your committee and advocate a bill to tax them gradually just as you have up to $100,000, and then to tax 98 per cent of all over $100,000—make them give up all, because they take the position that during this war, when the life and honor of the Republic are at stake, no man ought to have an income of more than $100,000 a year." [Applause.] Well, I looked at KEATING, looked him right in the eye. I always knew that he had his own ideas about things [laughter] and I said to myself, "What's the matter with him?" Of course I could not believe it, and just to show you how a man's imagination will work I looked at him a second time and I imagined that I observed a very peculiar look in his eye. [Laughter.] But he assured me that they were all right and that he was all right. [Laughter.] He brought those gentlemen to the subcommittee and I looked at them. I had enough faith in what KEATING said to believe that possibly they might be sincere. They came before our committee, and KEATING rose and told what they were there for, what they were going to advocate. I was not satisfied even then. I said, "Gentlemen, I never saw you before, but I would like to know whether you have been examined by an alienist before you came in here." [Laughter.] I did not think that such men existed in this world.

Mr. Scripps, the great magazine and newspaper man, sent his son here to represent him, and I understand that his yearly income is something like $300,000 or more. He advocated a graduated tax up to $100,000 and the taking of all over $100,000. Several more with incomes of $100,000 and upward favored the same policy. I have received over 250 telegrams and letters from all portions of the United States advocating that proposition. I do not say that all of the 250 people who sent the telegrams and letters are people whose incomes are in excess of $100,000, but I have letters from many men whose incomes are largely in excess of $100,000 advocating that very proposition. I was and am convinced that they were absolutely sincere and in earnest. When they finished I could not help from saying, "Gentlemen, I am not going to let anybody be more patriotic and more self-sacrificing than I am, and I am going to be more self-sacrificing and more patriotic than you are, for I am going to make the proposition to give all of my income over $100,000 to the Government without a law to force me to do it." [Laughter.]

Gentlemen, the income-tax rates in this bill seem mighty high, mighty hard, but if every man who pays the income tax, every man who pays the excess-profits tax, every man who pays a dollar of tax under this bill feels that it is a hardship he ought also to understand that the boys and the mothers and fathers of the boys who are going to fight for their country are going to endure a thousand times more hardships. [Applause.] Everyone in this country will have to bear the severe burdens of war. Every patriot, rich and poor, should realize that he must make sacrifices. The high cost of food and fuel will bring distress and suffering to millions of our people. There are many long nights and days of sobs and sorrows ahead for the parents in this country. The men who must sustain the Government by taxes must understand that they must endure these hardships in dollars and cents while the others are enduring hardships in tears and stress and blood. [Applause.]

We will collect from the additional income tax proposed in this bill about $641,000,000. Included in this amount is what is called by some a retroactive income tax, which will yield about $108,000,000. But this is not a retroactive tax. Here is the only thing we do. The Government needs the money. We knew that 1916 was the most prosperous year in the history of the Government. The Government needed the money by September 15, and so we simply levied an additional tax equivalent to 33⅓ per cent of the tax due June 15, 1917, from the incomes received or accruing during the calendar year 1916, that extra tax to be paid on or before September 15, 1917. That is no more retroactive than the present law. The tax on incomes for the year 1916 was not due until June 15, 1917. We levy on the same income of individuals and corporations received in 1916 an amount equal to one-third of that tax in addition and have it paid by September 15, 1917, instead of by June 15, 1917. Let me illustrate: Suppose one's tax on his income received in the calendar year 1916, which is due June 15, 1917, is $75. All that we ask him to do in this so-called retroactive tax is to pay just one-third of that amount—that is, $25—in addition, and to pay it by September 15. If his income tax is $600, payable June 15, 1917, he would have to pay one-third of that amount additional—that is, $200—and pay it by September 15. That is not retroactive. The present law collects in each current year the tax on incomes received the preceding calendar year. That tax is paid out of incomes or money received during the current year and charged up to the current year's expense. When the income-tax law was passed, in October, 1913, it levied on the whole income of the year 1913, beginning March 1, 1913, when the income-tax amendment to the Constitution became effective. The present income-tax law was approved September 8, 1916. It increased the then existing rate of the normal tax from 1 to 2 per cent. It imposed this additional tax on the income for the whole year of 1916. It related back to January 1, 1916, though not passed until September 8, 1916.

So instead of increasing the normal tax 1 per cent over what is now proposed and let it remain and pay it next year and each year thereafter we assess an additional tax on incomes of 1916, payable September 15, 1917, of $108,000,000. That is not a hardship.

Gentlemen, do not get it into your heads that it is wrong or an injustice to add this one-third to the income tax due in June. It is easy to pay. It is easier to pay now than it will be in the future.

I will give you an illustration of the small fellow. Take a small fellow like me. I will pay nearly five times more income tax under this provision we report—and I favor it—than I will this year. I will pay more income tax under this bill we report than I pay in State taxes, county taxes, city taxes, school taxes, and road taxes combined, and I am willing to bear that burden. I am willing to pay still five times more than that without a kick or a protest whenever the Government needs it.

I think Great Britain started out with 3 per cent. Great Britain's normal income tax is 25 per cent. If we levied 25 per cent on our incomes on the exemption basis of this bill, we would raise $3,000,000,000 on incomes alone—nearly twice as much as we raise by the entire bill.

The present law imposes the following additional tax rates upon net incomes of individuals, and these are untouched by the bill now presented and remain as they now are:

One per cent additional on incomes over $20,000 and not exceeding $40,000.
Two per cent additional on incomes over $40,000 and not exceeding $60,000.
Three per cent addditional on incomes over $60,000 and not exceeding $80,000.
Four per cent additional on incomes over $80,000 and not exceeding $100,000.
Five per cent additional on incomes over $100,000 and not exceeding $150,000.
Six per cent additional on incomes over $150,000 and not exceeding $200,000.
Seven per cent additional on incomes over $200,000 and not exceeding $250,000.
Eight per cent additional on incomes over $250,000 and not exceeding $300,000.
Nine per cent additional on incomes over $300,000 and not exceeding $500,000.
Ten per cent additional on incomes over $500,000 and not exceeding $1,000,000.
Eleven per cent additional on incomes over $1,000,000 and not exceeding $1,500,000.
Twelve per cent additional on incomes over $1,500,000 and not exceeding $2,000,000.
Thirteen per cent additional on incomes over $2,000,000.

The proposed bill imposes the following additional tax rates—in addition to those now imposed by law just recited—upon net incomes of individuals:

One per cent additional on incomes over $5,000 and not exceeding $7,500.
Two per cent additional on incomes over $7,500 and not exceeding $10,000.
Three per cent additional on incomes over $10,000 and not exceeding $12,500.
Four per cent additional on incomes over $12,500 and not exceeding $15,000.
Five per cent additional on incomes over $15,000 and not exceeding $20,000.
Six per cent additional on incomes over $20,000 and not exceeding $40,000.
Eight per cent additional on incomes over $40,000 and not exceeding $60,000.
Eleven per cent additional on incomes over $60,000 and not exceeding $80,000.
Fourteen per cent additional on incomes over $80,000 and not exceeding $100,000.
Seventeen per cent additional on incomes over $100,000 and not exceeding $150,000.
Twenty per cent additional on incomes over $150,000 and not exceeding $200,000.
Twenty-four per cent additional on incomes over $200,000 and not exceeding $250,000.
Twenty-seven per cent additional on incomes over $250,000 and not exceeding $300,000.
Thirty per cent additional on incomes over $300,000 and not exceeding $500,000.
Thirty-three per cent additional on incomes over $500,000.

The following table shows the income tax that is now levied upon specified incomes and the income tax proposed in the pending revenue bill, together with the total tax that will be

levied should the income-tax provisions become law in the form proposed in the pending revenue bill:

Income tax collected upon specified net incomes of married persons at the new proposed rates.

Income of—	Present law.		Additional war tax.		Total tax.	
	Total tax.	Per cent of tax on income.	Total tax.	Per cent of tax on income.	Amount.	Per cent of tax on income.
$2,000						
4,000			$40	1.00	$40	1.00
5,000	$20	0.40	60	1.20	80	1.60
7,000	60	.86	120	1.71	180	2.57
10,000	120	1.20	235	2.35	355	3.55
12,000	160	1.33	335	2.79	495	4.12
15,000	220	1.47	510	3.40	730	4.87
20,000	320	1.60	860	4.30	1,180	5.90
30,000	620	2.07	1,160	5.53	2,280	7.60
50,000	1,320	2.64	3,460	6.92	4,780	9.56
75,000	2,470	3.29	6,410	8.55	8,880	11.84
100,000	3,920	3.92	10,260	10.26	14,180	14.18
150,000	7,420	4.95	19,760	13.17	27,180	18.12
200,000	11,420	5.71	30,760	15.38	42,180	21.09
250,000	15,920	6.37	43,760	17.50	59,680	23.87
300,000	20,920	6.97	58,260	19.42	79,180	26.39
400,000	31,920	7.98	90,260	22.57	122,180	30.55
500,000	42,920	8.58	122,260	24.45	165,180	33.03
600,000	54,920	9.15	157,260	26.21	212,180	35.36
700,000	66,920	9.56	192,260	27.47	259,180	37.03
800,000	78,920	9.86	227,260	28.41	306,180	38.27
900,000	90,920	10.10	262,260	29.14	353,180	39.24
1,000,000	102,920	10.29	297,260	29.72	400,180	40.02
10,000,000	1,437,920	14.38	3,447,260	34.47	4,885,180	48.85

TITLE II.

This title relates to the additional tax on excess profits, called by the bill the war excess-profits tax.

Under existing law the tax is 8 per cent. An additional tax of 8 per cent is levied by this bill, making a total of 16 per cent. The deductions and exemptions now provided by law remain the same. The manner of computation, levy, assessment, and collection remain the same.

Under the present law agricultural partnerships are exempted. We amend that by including them.

While in my judgment no material change is made, if the language and spirit of the present act are rightly construed, we amend it, making more clear and specific the meaning of invested capital, and for the same reason also add a good-will provision, so that the invested capital section will read as follows:

SEC. 202. That for the purpose of this title, actual capital invested means (1) actual cash paid in, (2) the actual cash value of property paid in other than cash, for stock or shares in such corporation or partnership, at the time of such payment, and (3) paid in or earned surplus and undivided profits used or employed in the business: *Provided*, That the good will, including trade-marks and trade brands, or the franchise of a corporation or partnership, is not to be included in the actual capital invested, unless the corporation or partnership made payment therefor specifically as such in cash or tangible property, the value of such good will, trade-marks, trade brands, or franchise, not to exceed the actual cash or actual value of the tangible property paid therefor at the time of such payment.

The good-will section makes sure that the Government is authorized, in administering the law, to squeeze the water out of overstocked corporations.

If the excess-profits tax provisions become law, the United States will then have the largest exemption and the lowest rate of any country that has an excess-profits tax law. Practically every country now at war has such a law. Great Britain, Canada, Italy, France, and Germany each collects a large portion of war taxes from this source.

The tax rate on excess profits in Great Britain has been 60 per cent—just a few days ago increased to 80 per cent. In France it is 50 per cent, and I understand in Germany it is about 40 per cent. In Italy it is graduated from 10 to 30 per cent. In Russia graduated from 20 to 40 per cent. In Canada, up to a few days ago, the rate on all profits in excess of 7 per cent as to corporations and of 10 per cent as to individuals, was 25 per cent. Within the last few days she has increased the rate as follows:

On profits in excess of 7 per cent, but not exceeding 15 per cent, 25 per cent; on profits between 15 per cent and 20 per cent, 50 per cent; and on profits in excess of 20 per cent the rate is 75 per cent.

In comparison with that of other countries our excess-profits tax is very light. Were we to have the same rate as that of Great Britain, it alone would produce $2,500,000,000, or $700,000,000 more than our entire bill yields. Or, if our rate were as high as that of Canada, we would raise as much by the excess-profits tax alone as we will by our entire bill.

From the excess-profits tax in the bill we will collect, in addition to the tax of existing law, at least $200,000,000.

TITLE III.

This title levies a war tax on beverages. This includes an additional tax on whisky, beer, and wines, and a tax on soft drinks. We put a tax of $1.10 a gallon on distilled spirits, in addition to the tax now imposed by law, making the total tax on such spirits double what it now is, and in addition to that 15 cents per gallon on rectified spirits. We put an additional tax of $1.25 per barrel on beer, making the total tax, under existing law and this bill, $2.75 per barrel.

We also levy on all wines an additional tax equivalent to the tax now imposed on wines; that is, the tax is doubled, except upon wines containing not more than 14 per cent of alcohol, on which the additional tax is made 2 cents per gallon, or one-half of the present tax of 4 cents per gallon.

To adjust the tax on soft drinks we had much difficulty. How to catch them equitably was the trouble. If we put the tax only on the bottled drinks, which was easy to administer, the fountains selling by the glass in competition with them would escape. We learned that more than 90 per cent of all soft drinks are carbonated; that is, require in the making carbonic-acid gas. Therefore to catch the bottlers and the soda fountains we decided to place the tax on carbonic-acid gas. We wished to collect a tax equal to about 2 cents per gallon on such drinks. We placed, therefore, a tax of 8 cents per pound on carbonic-acid gas, which will amount to a tax, estimated by the experts, of 2 cents per gallon on the finished drink product. In this way we catch the fountains as well as the bottlers. Personally I doubt if it will amount to that. This seems to be a heavy tax on the carbonic-acid gas producer, but he will charge the tax up to the bottlers and soda fountain users.

On prepared sirups and extracts, such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, Cherry-Cola, and so forth, sold exclusively by the manufacturers or producers, we place a tax of 10 per cent of the price for which so sold.

On soft drinks, such as unfermented grape juice, artificial mineral waters, not carbonated, sold by the manufacturers or producers in bottles or other closed containers, and on all carbonated soft drinks produced and sold by the manufacturers of carbonic-acid gas, the bill places a tax of 2 cents per gallon. It also levies a tax of 1 cent per gallon on all natural mineral or table waters sold by the producer or bottler at over 10 cents per gallon.

Instead of collecting such tax on soft drinks by stamps the manufacturer or producer is required to make monthly statements or returns under oath to the Collector of Internal Revenue for the assessment of the tax.

We will collect additional taxes under this title of at least—

From distilled spirits	$100,000,000
From rectified spirits	7,500,000
From beer	37,500,000
From wines	6,000,000
Our experts estimate that from soft drinks we will collect	20,000,000
Making a total under this title of	171,000,000

While I am sure that we will collect from distilled spirits, beer, and wines the amount estimated, and perhaps more, I exceedingly doubt if we collect more than $10,000,000, if that much, on soft drinks.

TITLE IV.

This title provides for a war tax on cigars, tobacco, and manufactures thereof. The bill levies on chewing, smoking tobacco, cigarettes, and snuff a tax equal to the tax now imposed by law; that is, with the present law and this bill, the tax on such articles is doubled. Under existing law the tax is 8 cents per pound on chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff and $1.25 per thousand on cigarettes, weighing not more than three pounds, and practically all come within this class. As said, we place by this bill an additional tax of 8 cents per pound on chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff and of $1.25 per thousand on cigarettes.

On cigars the tax under existing law is a flat rate of $3 per thousand, regardless of grade or value.

In order that the tax might be fair and equitable to all in the industry, we graduate it in this bill according to the value of the cigar. The additional tax provided is as follows:

On cigars weighing not more than 3 pounds per thousand, an additional tax of 25 cents per thousand.

On cigars weighing more than 3 pounds per thousand, if manufactured or imported to retail at not more than 4 cents each, 50 cents per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 4 cents and not more than 6 cents each, $1 per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 6 cents and not more than 10 cents each, $2 per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 10 cents and not more than 15 cents each, $4 per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 15 cents and not more than 20 cents each, $5 per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 20 cents and not more than 25 cents each, $7 per thousand.

If manufactured or imported to retail at more than 25 cents each, $10 per thousand.

We also place a tax on cigarette papers and tubes.

We will collect, according to the experts, from articles taxed under this title at least $68,200,000 additional, and, in my judgment, several millions more.

We will collect additional to collections under existing law—

From cigars	$11,000,000
From cigarettes	25,000,000
From chewing and smoking tobacco	30,000,000
From snuff	2,000,000
From cigarette papers and tubes	200,000
Total	68,200,000

Mr. HOWARD. Before you leave tobacco, may I ask you a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. HOWARD. I have several inquiries from retailers in my district as to what the effect will be upon them.

Mr. KITCHIN. They will pay 50 per cent of this additional tax on all tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, chewing, and smoking tobacco on hand the day the act passes——

Mr. HOWARD. Pay one-half of this additional tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. One-half on all in excess of 1,000 pounds of manufactured tobacco and 20,000 cigars or 20,000 cigarettes.

Mr. HOWARD. The retailer?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

TITLE V.

This title levies a tax on transportation—freight, express, passenger—and pipe lines, seats and berths in sleeping and parlor cars and on vessels; also a tax on light, heat, and telephone service, telegraph and special telephone messages, advertising and insurance.

The committee had hoped that a reasonable tax on incomes, excess profits, inheritances, on luxuries, and semiluxuries would produce the needful revenue, but found that it would not. We regretted that the tax proposed in this title seemed necessary. But the amount of money required by the Government to be raised was so enormous we were compelled to resort to a tax on general consumption—on the necessities of the people in one form or another. We concluded that the levies provided in this title were wiser, more equitable, and less burdensome than any tax on the direct necessities of life, such as food, fuel, clothing, shoes, and so forth, or on household necessities.

These taxes are paid respectively by the passenger when he purchases his ticket, seat, or berth; by the person when he pays his freight, express, light, heat, and telephone bills; or when he sends the telegraph message or makes a long-distance call.

The tax is 10 per cent of the price of the passenger fare or ticket, 10 per cent on the price of a seat or berth in parlor and sleeping cars and on vessels, 10 per cent on express bills, 3 per cent on amount of freight bill, 5 per cent on amount of the bill for light, heat, or telephone service, 5 cents for each telegraph message and for each long-distance telephone message the charge for which is in excess of 15 cents, 5 per cent on amounts received for advertising other than in newspapers.

For instance, the price of a ticket from Washington to my home is $6.20. When I purchase it the railroad agent collects 10 per cent of that amount, or 62 cents, as a war tax for the Government. When I pay an express or freight bill or my bill for light or heat or telephone service the person collecting such bill collects this war tax on such bills for the Government. The insurance and advertising tax is paid, respectively, by the insurance company and the person or company making charges for advertising.

The person, corporation, partnership, or association receiving or collecting such tax is required to make monthly returns and settlements with the collector of internal revenue of the district in which is located the principal office or place of business.

It is estimated that the taxes proposed in this bill will yield during a 12-month period $222,250,000, distributed as follows:

Transportation:	
Freight	$77,500,000
Express	15,000,000
Passenger	75,000,000
Pipe lines	4,500,000
Seats, berths, etc	750,000
Electric light, gas, domestic power, and telephone service	30,000,000
Telegraph and telephone messages	7,000,000
Advertising	7,500,000
Insurance	5,000,000

TITLE VI.

The tax prescribed under this title can, perhaps, properly be listed as a tax on luxuries and semiluxuries. The articles embraced are automobiles, motorcycles, tires for same; musical instruments, graphophones, phonographs, etc.; motion-picture films; jewelry; pleasure boats; athletic or sporting goods; perfumery and cosmetics; and chewing gum. While perhaps more of a necessity than a luxury, proprietary medicines are included. Though all interested in the manufacture or production of these articles protested that they were necessities of life, that a tax upon them would be disastrous to the industry, the committee was of the opinion that they were more or less luxuries, and that they should be taxed rather than the real necessities of life. We were of the opinion that the tax proposed would not cripple the business, that the manufacturer or producer, if he was unwilling to share any part of the tax, could easily charge it to or pass it on to the ultimate consumer or purchaser, and that the consumer or purchaser of such luxuries could pay and would be willing to pay it as a war tax to help out his country. The tax on moving-picture films which have not been exposed is one-half of 1 cent per linear foot and on positive films containing a picture ready for projection 1 cent per linear foot. On all the other articles in this title, the character of which I have mentioned, the bill levies a tax equivalent to 5 per cent of the price for which they are sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

Our experts estimate that the taxes prescribed in this title will yield for a 12-month period $118,750,000, distributed as follows:

Automobiles	$68,000,000
Automobile tires, etc	12,500,000
Musical instruments, etc	7,000,000
Motion-picture films	7,000,000
Jewelry	7,500,000
Pleasure boats	500,000
Athletic goods etc	2,000,000
Proprietary medicines	8,500,000
Perfumery and cosmetics	4,750,000
Chewing gum	1,000,000

I doubt if the automobile tax will yield as much as is estimated. My estimate would be between $40,000,000 and $50,000,000. We can not expect that the rapid yearly increase in the production and sale of automobiles which has marked the career of the industry for the last few years will continue during the war. There will be a spirit of economy among the people which, perhaps, will prevent such increase, as it will probably prevent the increase in the production and sale of articles of many other industries.

TITLE VII.

This title levies a tax equivalent to 1 cent for each 10 cents or fraction thereof of the amount paid for admission to any place to which admission is charged, except that in the case of children under 12 years of age the tax imposed shall be 1 cent for each admission. It is provided, however, that this tax shall not be imposed in the case of a place the maximum charge for admission to which is 5 cents.

This tax is imposed upon all places to which admission is charged, such as motion-picture shows, theaters, circuses, entertainments, cabarets, ball games, athletic games, etc., but not upon admissions all the proceeds of which will go exclusively to the benefit of religious or charitable institutions or for agricultural purposes.

We also propose a tax equivalent to 10 per cent of the dues paid to any social, athletic, or sporting club or organization be levied, to be paid by the person paying such dues.

It is estimated that the revenue during a 12-month period from admissions under this title will be $60,000,000 and from club dues $1,500,000.

TITLE VIII.

This title substantially reenacts the stamp taxes in Schedule A of the Spanish War act of 1898 and of the act of October 22, 1914. The principal subjects of taxation and the rates imposed upon the same by this title are as follows:

1. Bonds of indebtedness, 5 cents on each $100.
2. Bonds, indemnity and surety, 50 cents each, or 1 per cent of premium.
3. Capital stock, issued, 5 cents on each $100.
4. Capital stock, sales or transfers, 2 cents on each $100.
5. Produce, sales of, on exchange, 2 cents for each $100.
6. Promissory notes, including drafts or checks payable otherwise than at sight or on demand, 2 cents for each $100, or fraction thereof.
7. Conveyances, 50 cents for each $500, or fraction thereof.
8. Entry of goods at customhouse for consumption or warehousing, 25 cents to $1, according to value.
9. Entry for withdrawal of goods from customs bonded warehouse, 50 cents.
10. Passage ticket, $1 to $5, according to cost.
11. Proxies, 10 cents each.
12. Power of attorney, 25 cents each.
13. Playing cards, in addition to existing duty, 8 cents per pack.

It is estimated that the taxes provided in this title will yield during a 12-month period $33,000,000.

TITLE IX.

In this title we levy, in addition to the taxes now imposed upon the transfer of the net or taxable estate of every decedent, the following taxes:

One-half of 1 per cent of the amount of such net estate not in excess of $50,000.
One per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $50,000 and does not exceed $150,000.
One and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $150,000 and does not exceed $250,000.
Two per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $250,000 and does not exceed $450,000.
Two and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $450,000 and does not exceed $1,000,000.
Three per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $1,000,000 and does not exceed $2,000,000.
Three and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $2,000,000 and does not exceed $3,000,000.
Four per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $3,000,000 and does not exceed $4,000,000.
Four and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $4,000,000 and does not exceed $5,000,000.
Five per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $5,000,000 and does not exceed $8,000,000.
Seven per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $8,000,000 and does not exceed $11,000,000.
Ten per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $11,000,000 and does not exceed $15,000,000.
Fifteen per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $15,000,000.

We propose that for the additional tax provided for in this title an exemption of $25,000 be allowed instead of $50,000, as under the present law, and that a tax of 1 per cent of the value of the net estate not in excess of $25,000 be imposed. This means that an additional tax of 1 per cent shall be levied upon the amount of the total estate in excess of $25,000 and not in excess of $50,000. Gentlemen must bear in mind that net estate means the gross estate after deducting all valid claims against the estate, including cost of administration and the exemptions allowed by the estate tax law.

It is estimated that during the first year this law is in operation these additional estate taxes will produce about $6,000,000. When the law is in full effect, it is estimated that the additional taxes imposed in this title will yield annually $38,500,000.

It is to be remembered that the proposed tax is in addition to the estate or inheritance tax under existing law, which is:

One and one-half per cent of the amount of such net estate not in excess of $50,000.
Three per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $50,000 and does not exceed $150,000.
Four and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $150,000 and does not exceed $250,000.
Six per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $250,000 and does not exceed $450,000.
Seven and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $450,000 and does not exceed $1,000,000.
Nine per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $1,000,000 and does not exceed $2,000,000.
Ten and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $2,000,000 and does not exceed $3,000,000.
Twelve per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $3,000,000 and does not exceed $4,000,000.
Thirteen and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $4,000,000 and does not exceed $5,000,000.
Fifteen per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $5,000,000.

TITLE X.

This title provides, from a good Democratic standpoint like mine, a tariff monstrosity. [Laughter.] I know my Republican friends are going to laugh, and my Democratic friends who have known me for 15 or 16 years are going to feel embarrassed and humiliated when I tell you, gentlemen, that in this bill that I am going to vote for, on which I put my name as the author, and on which we have prepared the report, we have what is in some few particulars the highest tariff ever written on the books. [Applause and laughter.] We have recommended the most unscientific and the most inequitable tariff provision in some particulars that was ever put on the books, and I am going to do like a lot of Republicans and like a lot of Democrats, I am going to shut my eyes and vote for it. [Laughter and applause.] The remainder of the bill as a war measure on the whole is so wise, so equitable, and so little burdensome I am willing to stand here or elsewhere and defend it in toto, in spite of this bad, repulsive, offensive tariff provision.

Everybody knows that I would prefer to raise the needed amount out of incomes and profits, but I can not always have my way, especially when 22 other members of a committee each has a way, too. I will tell you how it came about. There is no politics in it either, not a bit. We had worked on this bill for days and days and weeks, and it seemed that we could not get a bill, satisfactory to the committee, that would produce more than about a billion and five or six hundred million dollars. The committee had just raked the whole Republic everywhere with a fine-toothed comb to find something to tax, to raise $1,800,000,000 which the administration said they must have, and which I know they must have; and in my opinion we will have to have more before the next fiscal year expires. We could not get it. I had just about given up, and I said, "Boys, we have all resolved to report a bill that will raise the required amount—$1,800,000,000—but if you will not raise the additional amount by further increase of the income tax, I am willing to go back to the House with this billion and five or six hundred million dollars and say we could not do any better just now. That it will have to give us another trial." We thought about this thing and we thought about that. We thought about this tax and we thought about that, but we already had them all in the bill. It seemed that we had put a tax on everybody we could think of and had only squeezed out about $1,600,000,000. We just stalled there for two days, trying to think of some fellow whom we had not taxed in some way. [Laughter.] Finally it was suggested by some Republican or some Democrat, "Let's levy a flat tariff rate, and put about a 10 per cent horizontal raise on all articles, both free and dutiable. If we add 10 per cent on all articles, we can get at least $200,000,000 and make up the $1,800,000,000." He said, "We can defend it, not by any process of reasoning, not by any principles of scientific or equitable adjustment, but on the ground that we need $200,000,000 more, and we have to raise it, and this will get it." [Laughter.] And so it went in.

Now, I am going to tell you a secret. I know it is said to be bad ethics for one to tell anything that takes place in committee, but I am going to risk it. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], whom I have known well for 15 or 16 years as the rankest, the rarest, the most stand-pat, and the most bullheaded Republican protective-tariff advocate and devotee I have ever seen in my life [laughter], voted with me against it. [Applause.] What do you think of that? [Laughter.]

Gentlemen, in all seriousness, it seemed that we had gone our limit unless we should increase still further the income or profits tax, which some of us were willing to do, or unless we should put an excise tax on shoes, hats, meat, bread, and other such necessities of the people, which none of us were willing to do. So the committee said we will add that 10 per cent tariff tax. It will not crush anybody or any industry; it will not mean starving anybody; it will not mean freezing anybody. We will get the $200,000,000 needed for the boys who are going to the trenches to fight the battles of our country.

TITLE XII.

This title provides an increase in the postal rates of the first and second class mail matter. Let it at once be understood that the Ways and Means Committee did not assume or undertake to assume jurisdiction of the matter of postal rates until it conferred with the chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads and the committee, and also obtained their expressed consent to have the subject matter of this title considered in this bill.

As to the first-class mail matter, the bill provides:

That the rate of postage on all mail matter of the first class, except postal cards, shall hereafter be, in addition to the existing rate, 1 cent for each ounce or fraction thereof. Postal cards and private mailing or post cards, when complying with the requirements of existing law, shall be transmitted through the mails at 1 cent each, in addition to the existing rate.

In other words, letters now requiring 1 cent for mailing will under such provision require 2 cents, and letters now 2 cents will require 3 cents, and postal or post cards will require 2 cents instead of 1 cent.

The entire membership of the committee was most reluctant in making this increase of rates for the first-class mail. This class of mail already not only pays the cost of service but a large profit—over 200 per cent profit. Some of us felt that to supply the amount of revenue to be obtained from this source and from the proposed tax on transportation, light, heat, telegraph, and telephone service we ought, instead of such taxes and the increase in first-class postal rates, impose a larger tax on incomes and excess profits. Others of us were of the opinion that the rates in the income and excess-profits provisions of the bill were high enough for the first step in the war taxation. We knew that as the war continued, to secure the increasing amount of revenue required further increases in the income and excess-profits tax would, from time to time, have to be made.

This proposed increase, in the nature of a tax, will of itself be equitably distributed among all of the people and be equally borne by them. Every class and condition will thus make contribution to the war fund. It will be collected daily and without appreciable cost to the Government. It will yield $70,000,000 additional revenue.

As to the second-class mail, in lieu of the 1 cent per pound flat rate on this class, consisting of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals, regardless of distance hauled or cost of the service, the bill by this title provides:

SEC. 1201. That on and after June 1, 1917, the zone system applicable to parcel post shall apply to mail matter of the second class, and the rates of postage shall be as follows: Two cents a pound or fraction thereof when for delivery within the first or second zone, 3 cents a pound or fraction thereof when for delivery within the third zone, 4

cents a pound or fraction thereof when for the delivery within the fourth or fifth zone, 5 cents a pound or fraction thereof when for delivery within the sixth or seventh zone, 6 cents a pound or fraction thereof when for delivery within the eighth zone.

The existing law and rates as to daily newspapers when deposited in a letter-carrier office for delivery by its carriers and as to free circulation within the county of publication we leave unchanged.

With respect to newspapers and periodicals maintained by and in the interest of religious, educational, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations, not organized or run for profit, we provide for a flat rate of 1½ cents a pound or fraction thereof, instead of 1 cent as now, in language as follows:

That in the case of newspapers and periodicals entitled to be entered as second-class matter and maintained by and in the interests of religious, educational, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, or fraternal organizations, not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, the second-class postage rate shall be 1½ cents a pound or fraction thereof, irrespective of the zone in which delivered, except when the same are deposited in a letter-carrier office for delivery by its carriers, in which case the rate shall be the same as now provided by law.

Before discussing this provision relating to second-class mail matter let me say that while, as I remarked a moment ago, the committee was reluctant and hesitated to increase the rate on the first-class mail matter, as it is already paying a considerable profit over its cost, there was no hesitancy, no reluctance, no doubt as to the propriety and the right to materially increase the rate on the second-class mail matter. Every member of the committee, without exception, was of the undoubting opinion that justice to the people and to the Government demanded a change in the law whereby the Government should be saved a part, at least, of the great loss the publishers of the country annually caused it to sustain in handling, hauling, and distributing their newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals, and that a decided step should be taken at this session toward a policy that will finally require the small class of our people who are publishers to pay, as every other class is now compelled to pay with respect to their products, at least the actual cost to the Government of handling, hauling, and delivering through the mails their product—their papers and magazines. [Applause.]

While the proposed increase in the rates on the first class is for the purpose of and in the nature of a tax, the provision increasing the rates on the second-class mail matter is proposed not in the nature of a tax, though the Government needs every dollar of the increase, but for the purpose of remedying an evil that is so palpable and has grown so great—and yearly increasing in magnitude—that the conscience, the sense of right, the manhood of Congress ought not to permit it to exist longer. [Applause.] We propose for this provision to continue after the war terminates.

This provision establishes for the second-class mail matter a zone system, the zones being the same as for the parcel post, and graduates the charges for handling and transporting according to the zones. In other words, the rates for the transportation and delivery of the finished product of the publishers are fixed according or in proportion to the distance carried, though the rates charged by such provisions still are considerably less than the cost to the Government for such service, less than one-third of the cost. I will say in passing that every member of the committee except one—and he was in favor of a flat rate of 2 cents a pound, doubling the present rate—after much investigation, favored the zone system as the wisest method of equitable adjustment of rates.

Every manufacturer, every producer or dealer or shipper, every class of people or industry, except the publishers of newspapers and other periodicals, are made to pay for the transportation of their products, whether through the mails or freight or express, according to the distance hauled and service rendered, the longer the haul, the greater the service, the more they are made to pay. The rates for telegraph and telephone messages are paid according to distance sent.

No class of people or industry except the publishers has a flat rate for their product, regardless of distance or cost. But the publishers, with power through their press to commend and flatter Members of Congress who vote as they will and dictate and to criticize and condemn those who do not, years ago forced Congress to grant them by law the special favor and right of having the Government transport, handle, and distribute their products—their papers and magazines—at a flat rate, regardless of distance, and scandalously below the cost to the Govern, and practically without cost to them. They by this shameless species of favoritism pay the Government no more to send a pound of their product 4,000 miles than 10 miles, though the Government is made to pay more than fifteen times as much for hauling that same pound. They pay to the Government no more to send a pound of their product—of their papers or magazines—from Washington to San Francisco, a distance of over 3,000 miles, than to Alexandria, a distance of 8 miles, though the Government is made to pay more than fifteen times as much. They pay the Government 1 cent per pound for carrying it from Washington to San Francisco, while the Government pays 15 cents to have it carried for them.

The railroads and other carriers make the Government pay—and properly so—for carrying newspapers and magazines according to the distance hauled, which averages more than 4 cents per pound, while the publishers make the Government not only transport but handle and distribute to their customers the same newspapers and magazines at a flat rate of 1 cent per pound, regardless of distance hauled or cost to the Government for the hauling and distribution. By such a law now on the statute books the publishers pay to the Government less than one-fourth of the actual cost to the Government of transportation, including handling in transit. Adding to this the further cost to the Government of handling and distributing, including the post-office expenses and overhead charges, the publishers pay to the Government less than one-eighth of the cost of such transportation and delivery, and the taxpayers are made to pay for the publishers and their patrons the balance of the cost, more than seven-eighths. Every other commodity sent through the mails, including letters, cards, schoolbooks, books of all kinds, Bibles, food, wearing apparel, and so forth—all equaly as essential to the people as papers and magazines—are made to pay the cost of transportation and delivery, including overhead charges. In fact, there is a profit in all the four classes of mail matter, except the second-class mail matter, and on that there is an enormous loss.

Mr. Chairman, I beg the close attention of every Member of this House to an astounding statement of facts which I shall now make. Last fiscal year the Government hauled, handled, and distributed 1,202,470,676 pounds of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals. To do this it cost the Government, including their share of the general post-office expenses and overhead charges, in round numbers, $100,500,000. For this service rendered the publishers paid to the Government the pitiful sum of $11,383,000. The Government thereby incurred a loss in round numbers of $89,000,000.

Such a statement no doubt startles the minds and shocks the conscience of the House and the country, but, nevertheless, it is a statement of plain and proven facts. Every dollar of that $89,000,000 loss to the Government and to the taxpayers of the country is a clear subsidy to the publishers—a clear, legalized robbery by them of the people of $89,000,000. Any law that authorizes or sanctions this tremendous and yearly increasing loss to the Government and this enormous and yearly increasing subsidy to one class of our people at the expense of every other class can not be justified and ought not to be longer tolerated. [Applause.] Every day such a law remains it discredits the manhood of Congress, it impeaches the integrity of the Nation's statute books. [Applause.]

I wish now to reassure the House and country in the truth of the statement I made a moment ago as to the enormous loss the Government was yearly incurring in the transportation and distributing second-class mail matter.

Officials and experts of the Post Office Department who have had from 10 to 20 years' experience in postal matters and who for years have made special investigations and study of the cost of transporting, handling, and distributing second-class mail testified before our committee, producing documents and data to sustain their testimony:

First. That the last fiscal year, in round numbers, it cost the Government to transport, handle, and distribute newspapers, daily and weekly, magazines and other periodicals, $100,500,000. This includes its proportionate part of post-office expenses and overhead charges.

Second. That it received for such service only $11,383,530, incurring a net loss of $89,000,000.

Third. That it cost the Government for transportation alone of second-class mail matter, 1 cent per pound for each 200 miles.

Fourth. That the average cost of transportation, including handling during transportation, of newspapers, magazines, and periodicals was 5 cents per pound.

Fifth. That in addition to the cost of transporting and handling in transit, it cost the Government to handle and distribute newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals, 4 cents per pound, including their proportionate part of the post-office expenses common to other classes of mail and overhead charges.

Sixth. That last fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, the Government hauled and handled and distributed for the publishers of the country 1,202,470,676 pounds of second-class matter,

64,117,146 pounds of which was "free-in-the-country" newspapers and periodicals, at a cost of, in round numbers, $100,500,000, receiving therefor only $11,383,530, sustaining a clear loss of $89,000,000.

The Hughes Commission—appointed in 1911 by President Taft, under authority of a resolution of Congress, to investigate the cost of transporting and delivering second-class mail matter and the loss to the Government, and so forth, composed of Hon. Charles E. Hughes, then Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard College; and Mr. Harry A. White, then president of the Association of Commerce, of Chicago, Ill.—after a most exhaustive investigation and hearings, at which on the one side testimony and argument of the publishers and their attorneys, and on the other testimony of the officials and experts of the Post Office Department were submitted, found, and reported:

First. That—exclusive of the post-office expenses and overhead charges in handling and distributing—it cost the Government to transport and handle during transportation "the paid-at-the-pound-rate mail approximately 6 cents per pound."

Second. That "when the method recently introduced" of hauling certain periodicals by freight is fully effected, the cost will probably be reduced so that it "will be slightly in excess of 5 cents a pound."

The commission further reported that to obtain the total cost of transporting and handling the second-class mail matter "it would be necessary to add to the ascertained cost for the services above mentioned the shares of such class in the general post-office expenses and miscellaneous outlays not directly assignable," but that it was without adequate data to ascertain this, so did not undertake it.

I am now going to give to the House some astounding instances of this system of subsidy to and favoritism of one class of our people at the expense of every other class.

I shall take Collier's Weekly, the Saturday Evening Post, the Ladies' Home Journal, and the Country Gentleman as illustrative of their respective class of periodicals, and the New York Times as illustrative of the big city daily newspapers.

Last fiscal year the Government carried and distributed through the mails 18,954,840 pounds of Collier's Weekly at a cost for transportation alone of $947,742, and for handling and distributing of $758,194. The total cost to the Government, to the taxpayers, was $1,705,936. Under the present iniquitous law the publishers of Collier's Weekly were required to pay the Government for this service only $189,548, leaving the Government a clear loss of $1,516,388 and the publishers of Collier's Weekly a clear subsidy out of the pockets of the people of $1,516,388.

The Saturday Evening Post, the Ladies' Home Journal, and the Country Gentleman, a farm journal, are owned and published by the Curtis Publishing Co., of Philadelphia. The favoritism and subsidy granted under existing law to this millionaired publishing company are so startlingly enormous as to be almost impossible of belief.

Last fiscal year the Government carried and distributed for this company through the mails 38,355,670 pounds of the Saturday Evening Post at a cost for transportation alone of $1,916,783, and for handling and distributing of $1,533,427. The total cost to the Government, to the taxpayers, was $3,450,210. Under the present law the Government received for this great service rendered this company the sum of only $383,356, the Government sustaining a clear loss of $3,066,854 and the Curtis Publishing Co. receiving from the taxpayers a clear subsidy of $3,066,854.

The Government paid out for transportation service alone $1,533,427 more than it received from the company for the entire service of hauling, handling, and distributing the Saturday Evening Post.

Last fiscal year the Government carried and distributed through the mails for the same company 15,944,895 pounds of the Ladies' Home Journal at a cost for transportation of $797,244 and for handling and distributing of $637,795. The total cost to the Government was $1,435,039, and the company was required to pay back to the Government for this service only $159,448, leaving the Government a clear loss of $1,275,591, and again a clear subsidy to the Curtis Publishing Co. of $1,275,591.

The Government paid out for transportation service alone $637,795 more than it received from the company for the entire service of carrying, handling, and distributing this periodical.

Last fiscal year the Government carried and distributed through the mails for this same company 5,009,500 pounds of the Country Gentleman at a total cost of $450,855, for which it received from the company only $50,095. The Government sustained a clear loss of $400,760 and the Curtis Publishing Co. again received a clear subsidy of $400,760.

The total cost to the Government of hauling, handling, and distributing for the Curtis Publishing Co. through the mails these three periodicals last fiscal year was $5,336,104. Under the present law this company was required to pay for this large service only $592,899, leaving the Government a loss of $4,743,205 and giving the Curtis Publishing Co. from the pockets of the taxpayers a subsidy of $4,743,205. The amount the Government paid for transportation alone was five times the amount it received for the entire service of hauling, handling, and distributing.

For these three journals and Collier's Weekly, to be absolutely safe within the proper figures, calculations were made on an average haul of 1,000 miles at 5 cents per pound. The fact, however, is that the average haul of Collier's Weekly, the Saturday Evening Post, and the Ladies' Home Journal is about 1,200 miles at a cost of 6 cents per pound.

Now, take the case of a big city daily like the New York Times. Last fiscal year the Government carried and distributed through the mails 10,023,200 pounds of this daily at a cost for transportation (average haul 300 miles) of $150,348 and for handling and distributing of $400,928.

The total cost to the Government for the service rendered was $551,276, for which it received only $100,232, making a clear loss to the Government of $451,044 and giving a clear subsidy to the publishers of the Times of $451,044.

Under the present law of 1 cent a pound flat rate, regardless of distance or service rendered, the Government pays for the publishers the total cost of transportation service, which averages at least 4½ cents a pound, and three-fourths of the additional cost of handling and distributing, and the 1 cent a pound the publishers pay to the Government pays only the other one-fourth.

Gentlemen, it is up to Congress, up to us in the House—Shall this injustice to the Government, shall this iniquity and outrage upon the people be continued longer on the statute books by their Representatives in Congress? [Applause.]

Let me again advert to the question of establishment of the zone system for second-class mail matter. Mr. Hitchcock, Postmaster General under Mr. Taft, in his report December 1, 1909, gave the results of the investigation of his department as to the length of hauls of second-class mail matter as follows:

> Magazines and other periodicals, exclusive of daily newspapers, comprise about 60 per cent of the second-class mail. The magazines alone form about 20 per cent, while the average haul of magazines proper is over 1,000 miles, and that of the other classes of mail, not including daily newspapers, ranges from 550 to over 1,100 miles. The haul of daily newspapers, which comprise about 40 per cent of the second-class mail, averages less than 300 miles.

He further declared:

> The cost of transportation by rail and other means forms slightly more than a third of the total expense of handling second-class mail.
>
> Magazines proper, because of the average long haul, show a cost of more than 5 cents a pound for transportation, while in the case of daily newspapers, for which the average haul is much less, the transportation cost is less than 2 cents per pound.

It must be understood that Mr. Hitchcock *did not* include in this statement the cost of handling and distributing, but only the cost of transportation.

The department now estimates, after a most critical investigation—

1. That the average length of haul of all second-class mail is 650 miles.

2. That the average haul of daily newspapers is 255 miles; of big dailies of wide circulation, like the New York Tribune, New York Times, Chicago Tribune, the average haul would be 300 miles or more; of trade journals, 707 miles; of magazines proper, 920 miles; and of such widely distributed periodicals like the Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, and Collier's Weekly, the average haul is about 1,200 miles.

It cost the Government for the transportation alone of Collier's Weekly or Saturday Evening Post for its average haul of 1,200 miles of its total mailed edition 6 cents per pound, and for the transportation of the New York World or the New York Tribune, for its average haul of 300 miles of its total mailed edition, 1½ cents. Yet under the present flat-rate law each pays the Government only 1 cent per pound for transportation and all other cost. It must not be forgotten that in addition to the transportation cost, of which I am now speaking, it cost the Government 4 cents per pound for handling and distributing these newspapers, magazines, or periodicals.

Why should the Government by any law or system be made to lose with respect to transportation on Saturday Evening Post or Collier's Weekly four times more per pound than on the World or Tribune? Or why should the World or Tribune, in proportion to distance hauled and loss to the Government, be made to pay for the same service four times as much as Collier's Weekly or the Saturday Evening Post?

What justice, what fairness is there in permitting the publisher of Collier's Weekly to pay the same rate as the publishers of the New York World, or in compelling the publishers of the World to pay the same rate as the publishers of Collier's Weekly, when Collier's receives four times more of transportation service and costs the Government four times more than does the World?

If 1 cent per pound is a proper rate to charge the World for its average haul of 300 miles, then 1 cent is four times too little to charge Collier's for its average haul of 1,200 miles. If 1 cent is a proper rate for Collier's for the haul of 1,200 miles, then 1 cent for the World for its haul of 300 miles is four times too much.

The flat-rate system makes the little State or local papers, daily or weekly, pay exactly the same to send a pound through the mail to a subscriber 50 or 25 miles distant, at a transportation cost to the Government of one-fourth of a cent or less, as the Saturday Evening Post to send a pound to the subscriber in San Francisco, 3,000 miles distant, though at a cost to the Government of 15 cents, and a loss under existing law of 14 cents.

The only fair and right thing to do is, if they pay at all, to require all newspapers, magazines, and periodicals alike to pay in proportion to the distance carried and the cost to the Government of the service rendered.

The zone system is the best remedy to right this injustice and inequity.

The committee was convinced that this law operated as an injustice and an outrage upon the Government and the people and ought to be repealed at the first possible moment. [Applause.]

It was further convinced that the only right postal policy for the Government to adopt is to require every piece or class of mail handled to pay its own cost and prevent any loss to the Government. [Applause.]

We propose by this bill to take the first step toward such a policy. It may seem only a short step. By the increase of rates provided in the bill the Government will receive from the publishers about $20,000,000 annually, in addition to the amount now being paid; that is, the publishers will pay, on the basis of the same service, annually about $31,000,000 instead of the $11,383,000 they paid last year. This still leaves the Government an annual loss of about $70,000,000 and the publishers an annual subsidy of $70,000,000. Many insisted that the rates at once be made high enough to cover the entire annual cost and prevent any loss to the Government and any subsidy to the publishers. This is exactly what should finally be done, and this bill is the first decided step toward the consummation of that desired and just end. But a majority of the committee believe that, since many papers and magazines had been in good faith built up under the existing law, to suddenly increase the rate sufficient to cover the entire cost or loss to the Government would seriously cripple, if not destroy, many of them, and deemed it only just that we should go to the policy of "payment of cost for service rendered and no loss to the Government" gradually. And, another reason: We felt that this was as high an increase as the nerve of Members of the House and the Senate could be screwed up to stand for, in face of the assaults of the press upon those who should vote to make the publishers release to the Government at least a part of their annual subsidy.

I remind gentlemen that the committee does not bring this matter before the House and the country as a new question or proposition. For more than a quarter of a century officials of the Post Office Department have called the attention of Congress to the loss which the Government is yearly sustaining on account of the second-class mail matter under the existing law.

Postmasters General in every administration since 1892—Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bissell under Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Smith and Mr. Gary under Mr. McKinley, Mr. Payne and Mr. Meyer under Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Hitchcock under Mr. Taft, and now Mr. Burleson under Mr. Wilson—have directed attention in their annual reports to this yearly increasing loss. Reports of committees of this House, reports of commissions authorized by Congress, have time and time again done the same and urged the repeal or change of the postal laws.

Mr. Payne, Postmaster General under Mr. Roosevelt, urged an increase in the rate on magazines to 4 cents a pound; Mr. Hitchcock, Postmaster General under Mr. Taft, and Mr. Taft year after year urged Congress to increase the rate on newspapers and magazines, so that the ever-increasing loss to the Government might be reduced. Both President Taft and Mr. Hitchcock urged as a "step toward the proper adjustment of postal charges" an increase of the rates on newspapers and magazines and other periodicals from 1 cent, the present rate, to 2 cents a pound.

Mr. Taft, in his special message of February 22, 1912, urging an increase to 2 cents a pound, said:

> The findings of the commission confirmed the view that the cost of handling and transporting second-class mail matter is greatly in excess of the postage paid, and that an increase in the rate is not only justified by the facts but is desirable.
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> * * * * * * *
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> There is no warrant for the great disparity between existing postage rates on periodicals and the cost of the service the Government performs for them.

And further:

> It is not just that some classes of mail should be exorbitantly taxed to meet a deficiency caused by other classes, the revenue from which is much below their cost of handling and carriage. * * * While the second-class mail matter embraces over 65 per cent of the entire weight of all the mail carried, it nevertheless yields little more than 5 per cent of the postal revenues.

The Hughes Commission, to which I have before referred, after most careful investigations and hearings, in 1911 recommended, as a step in the right direction, doubling the rate on the second-class mail matter, an increase of from 1 to 2 cents per pound. In its report it said:

> The question of raising the rate on second-class mail matter mailed by the publishers and news agents from 1 to 2 cents a pound is a more serious one. But we are of the opinion that the change is reasonable and should be made. To deny such a moderate increase is virtually to say that the present rate, despite the heavy loss it entails, must be deemed satisfactory or, if not that, it is wholly impracticable to attempt any change in it. We regard either conclusion as without foundation.
>
> Such an increase will not, in the opinion of the commission, bring distress upon the publishers of newspapers and periodicals or seriously interfere with the dissemination of useful news or information. A reasonable time should be allowed after the rate is fixed before it is put into effect. While the new rate will be very far from compensating the Government for the carriage and handling of second-class matter, it will to some extent relieve the existing burden and result in a more equitable adjustment of rates.

Since Mr. Taft's message, from which I quoted, and the report of the Hughes Commission the annual loss to the Government on handling and carrying newspapers and magazines through the mails has increased over $15,000,000 and is still increasing every year.

Away back in the Fifty-fourth Congress, 20 years ago, the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, in an elaborate report on the second-class mail matter and its rates, denounced the present law as a robbery of all the people for the benefit of the publishers—the special few. It declared:

> Your committee do not think they draw it too strongly when they say that the masses have been deliberately robbed to foster, protect, and encourage one limited business interest of the country at the expense of the many.

In speaking of the big profit the Government makes on the first-class mail matter and the burden it imposes for the benefit of giving cheap, below-cost rates to the newspapers and magazines it says:

> Sixty millions of people have long been taxed from thirty to forty million dollars a year more than it costs to transmit their mail matter in order that a very small privileged class, embracing but a few thousand, might be indulged in the luxury of pursuing a legitimate and in most cases a very profitable business.

At that time the Government was losing only $30,000,00 a year on second-class mail matter; now it is losing $89,000,000.

The present administration, through its Postmaster General, has each year directed the attention of Congress to the tremendous loss the Government is annually sustaining because of the present low rate on newspapers and magazines, and has persistently urged a material increase in the rate at once as a step toward the policy of making every class of mail pay the actual cost of the service rendered to it. The Postmaster General has also urged the adoption of the zone system as the best and wisest method of an equitable adjustment of rates.

Having explained the bill somewhat in detail and given the reasons for its provisions, I will be glad now to attempt to answer any questions gentlemen may wish to propound.

Mr. TILSON. If the gentleman will yield I would like to ask a question as to the first-class mail. By increasing the postage on first-class mail is not there great danger of the number of letters being so reduced while the overhead charges of the Post Office Department remain the same that there is danger of our getting less revenue than the gentleman figures from that source?

Mr. KITCHIN. We figured that there would be between 10 and 12½ per cent reduction in first-class matter, but this $70,000,000 is net. I doubt very much if there will be a reduction.

I have a letter from Mr. Koons, the First Assistant Postmaster General, inclosing to me an excerpt from a letter which the Deputy Postmaster General of Canada wrote with respect to this very matter to which the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] has reference. I will read you the excerpt:

> * * * In April, 1915, a war tax of 1 cent on each letter and post card mailed in Canada * * * was imposed by Parliament. The financial result of the tax, as nearly as can be ascertained, was to in-

crease the revenue by about 40 per cent, which was the amount estimated when the tax was imposed. There has been no apparent increase or decrease in the volume of mail in consequence of this extra war tax.

I presume we will have about the same result here.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I wish to say to the gentleman that I have just been talking to the treasurer of the Outlook. He is in my district. I have been getting letters, and other Members have been getting them, from time to time complaining that this zone-tax system will put many valuable and important American periodicals out of business. The contention is that the Outlook will be put out of the way. It makes this contention, and I want to know what the chairman of the committee has to say about it. The increase in the case of the Outlook is 270 per cent.

I was assured a few minutes ago that the increase amounted to $50,000, which would be 10 per cent of the capital invested in the Outlook; that is, $500,000. That would put it practically out of business. Now, the question I wanted to ask was this—but I will ask, first, why it was that representatives of these periodicals were not permitted to be heard by the committee?

Mr. KITCHIN. We had no general public hearings, I will say to the gentleman, but we gave representatives of the Literary Digest, Curtis Publishing Co., and several others a hearing before three or four of the committee, and we saw their viewpoint. Their case was presented to the committee.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I believe this statement is probably correct, that the Outlook could not stand this additional taxation.

Mr. KITCHIN. If we had had general public hearings we could not have finished them in six months, considering the amount of money we have to raise and the various interests touched by the bill, all of which would have required months to make their protests and arguments against paying any tax.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Does not the gentleman believe that a great many important and valuable magazines and periodicals will be put out of business by this item?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have looked into the matter, perhaps, much more than the Outlook man has. This increase in rates will not put his magazine or any other magazine out of business, and the publishers know it. The other newspapers and magazines and periodicals make exactly the same complaint and protests. It is that if the rates are raised at all they will be bankrupted and absolutely forced out of business. Every one of them makes the same complaint and prophecy, and everyone knows the complaint and prophecy are not true.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. There is a difference between a brand of automobiles going out of business and a brand of periodicals going out of business. The general proposition will be admitted that the circulation of good literature is absolutely essential to the life of a free people.

Mr. KITCHIN. Flour, meat, shoes, and so forth, are essential to the life of a free people, too. Why should not the Government carry these necessities to the people practically free, as it does the publishers' products?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Flour is not as essential as good literature. [Laughter.] Many of these publications will be driven out of business. Does not the gentleman admit that?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I do not admit that. Some of them say so. Let me have a copy of the Outlook, and I will give the gentleman some information about it. That is not a full copy. That is not the Outlook.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. That is submitted by one of the authorities of the Outlook.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have seen thousands of such "broadsides" as that contained in this circular. There is one thing we failed to put a tax on, and that was broadsides. [Laughter.] If we only had a tax on them we would get a lot of money. [Laughter.] If the gentleman has a copy of the Outlook, I would like to illustrate. How much does the Outlook pay the Government?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I think it is stated about midway down in that circular.

Mr. KITCHIN. In dollars and cents?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I think I can find it for you if you will let me look at it. That is a magazine that now pays one-twelfth of the cost of its postage transportation. Under the proposed law it would pay almost one-third.

Mr. KITCHIN. What is the total amount that it pays?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. It says one-third.

Mr. KITCHEN. The gentleman does not know much about the Outlook, but I do. Let me tell the gentleman some things about the Outlook that the gentleman perhaps does not know. For every dollar the publisher of the Outlook pays to the United States Government for transporting and handling and distributing it it costs the United States Government $8, and I do not believe it is right or fair or just or honest for all the people of the United States to be taxed, as they have been, to pay a subsidy of over $140,000 to a magazine like the Outlook. [Applause.] The facts are: Last fiscal year the Government hauled, handled, and distributed 1,898,812 pounds of the Outlook. It cost the Government $161,000. It received from the publishers of the Outlook only $19,000. The Government paid for transportation alone over $80,000. Ought not the publishers of the Outlook be made to pay more for this expensive service?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. There are many others besides the Outlook. The same contention is made by many of the magazines.

Mr. KITCHIN. And the Government is losing by the other magazines just as it does on the Outlook. I am sure the gentleman did not look into it carefully. I have had newspaper men and magazine men come here protesting who did not know the facts, and when the situation was explained to them and they ascertained the facts they said: "We can not criticize the committee for this. We did not know the facts."

Let me say that some of these magazine gentlemen who have talked with me have not been as candid as they ought to be, and I am sure that the Outlook might have been more candid in that circular there. It speaks of its subscription. It withholds information as to its big receipts from its advertisers. One of the highest-class publishing houses in this country sent one of its officials down here to talk with me. I did not have time just then to confer with him, but they wrote me a letter and I saw him a few minutes after I got the letter. They said in the letter that this increased postage would absolutely ruin them; that the receipts from subscriptions to this weekly were $1,660,000; and they said, "This rate in the seventh and eighth zones would be more than we would get for a single copy of it." They said the increase in postage would make them pay nearly a million dollars more than they now pay, and it would require nearly the receipts from subscriptions. They could not stand it. They would be ruined. This sounded bad—mighty hard on them. He told the truth when he said the subscriptions were about $1,660,000, and that this increase would be as much or more on some of the zones than he received from some of his subscribers, but he forgot to tell me and to write me that they received from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 a year from advertising which this Government was sending through the mails at a loss of $8 for every $1 received. [Applause.] That is the subsidy we are giving second-class mail matter. In fact, we are subsidizing that periodical and the other papers issued by that concern, to which I have before referred, to the amount of over four and a half million dollars a year—taking that much out of the people for its benefit. We get back from that concern less than $600,000, while it costs the Government over $5,000,000 to deliver its papers to its patrons. Yet at our proposed rate the Government is still going to lose four or five dollars in handling its products for it to every one that we get back from it.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I want to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. KITCHIN. Very well.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. One of the publishers told me that there were about 25,000 periodicals and magazines published in the United States, and he made the astounding statement that that was approximately one-half of all the periodicals published on the earth. We are a reading people. If it is conceded that a great many of these magazines can pay this tax, let them do it. Perhaps a large majority of them can do it. But what are we to say if a respectable minority are to be put out of business by this tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, do not let them intimidate you in that way. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. They say they wished to present these facts to you, and you refused them the opportunity.

Mr. KITCHIN. They talked to me a dozen times and repeated every time the statements they made to the gentleman. They did not tell him or me all the facts—all the truth. Many of them were as badly informed as the gentleman is. I have talked with but one magazine or periodical publisher whose business I thought would be so handicapped that he would not make a reasonable profit, even at these rates, and he said that if we would make this increase gradual, putting on a quarter of it the first quarter, and half the next quarter, and so on, then he could so adjust his business that he could prepare his subscribers and advertisers to pay a little more, and he would lose a part, and in that way he and his customers together would absorb the tax.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Does not the gentleman know that each year very many valuable magazines and periodicals cease to circulate, because even under present rates they can not pay?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is not because of the small amount they pay for postage. It is because of bad management. Maybe the material in the paper does not appeal to the public, and the ad-

vertisers will not advertise with them. I know that some manufacturers and bankers, merchants and contractors, and farmers and lawyers fail every year, while others in the same business, profession, or occupation succeed.

Mr. LONGWORTH. How much does it cost the Government per pound to handle second-class mail matter?

Mr. KITCHIN. Four cents a pound. This does not include transportation cost, which is between 5 and 6 cents alone, including handling in transit.

Mr. RAINEY. According to the Hughes report it costs 6 cents.

Mr. KITCHIN. Five and one-half cents and six cents.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That included railway charges as well as handling.

Mr. KITCHIN. The Hughes Commission did not report on the cost of handling and distributing other than the transportation cost and handling in transit. They found that the cost of transporting and handling in transit was between 5½ and 6 cents per pound. They have a more scientific way now of determining exactly what it does cost. Mr. Koons, the First Assistant Postmaster General, came before our subcommittee at our invitation, not his, and gave us information that would justify the subcommittee in reporting 2 cents a pound instead of 1 cent for the first zone, 3 cents for the second and third, 4 cents for the fourth and fifth zones, 5 cents for the sixth and seventh zones, and 6 cents for the eighth zone. When we got to the full committee several gentlemen thought that those rates ought to be changed.

Some thought they ought to be higher, and make the publishers pay more in proportion to the cost than that and to get more revenue from them. Some wanted, in the first and second zones, to have it 1½ cents, just increasing the amount 50 per cent for the two zones. Mr. Koons, as I have before shown, testified before us that the second-class mail matter costs the Government about $100,500,000, and that we get $11,383,000 out of it. When he was first before us, not having the detailed data with him, he estimated that the overhead charges, including post-office expenses on newspapers and magazines, would be about 2 cents per pound, and that transportation charges amounted to 1 cent for every 200 miles hauled; that is, for the first zone, a quarter of a cent; for the second zone, half a cent; and 200 miles, a cent. Some gentlemen on the committee questioned his estimate as to the overhead charges for newspapers and magazines, and thought those figures were rather low. Some of us thought the overhead charges were between 3 and 5 cents. Two days afterwards he wrote this letter:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, May 7, 1917.

Mr. JOHN E. WALKER,
Clerk Ways and Means Committee,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. WALKER: Since appearing before your committee I have gone carefully over the statistics on the cost of handling second-class mail matter, and find that our estimate on Saturday of 2 cents per pound for all overhead charges was not sufficient. I am inclosing herewith a pamphlet giving statistics compiled in 1908 showing the costs of handling second-class matter, and your attention is directed to the table on page 65. It was estimated that the cost of handling all second-class matter at that time was 8.333 cents per pound. By deducting the cost of transportation this would be reduced to about 5 cents per pound. It is also estimated that because of the increased volume of mail and the more economical method of handling it that the overhead charges have been reduced 20 per cent since those statistics were compiled, which would reduce the overhead charges to 4 cents per pound. It will be noted from this table that at the time these statistics were compiled the second-class averaged 4.80 pieces per pound, but because of the increase in the size of papers since that date it is believed that now they will not average more than four to the pound, which would make the overhead charges 1 cent per copy or 4 cents per pound. This does not include the cost of transportation, which is 1 cent per pound for each 200 miles transported.

If there is any additional information which I can furnish you, I will be glad to do so.

Sincerely, yours,
J. C. KOONS,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

He and Mr. Stewart, former Second Assistant Postmaster General, who has been in the Postal Service for over 20 years, afterwards appeared before the committee and confirmed by detailed proof and data the estimates given in this letter.

Now, does the gentleman from New York or any fair-minded gentleman, after consideration, think we ought to permit the rate to remain at 1 cent, as it is under existing law, or make it any less than we have it in the bill, when at the proposed increased rate the Government will receive less than one-third of what it will cost? It costs 4¼ cents for every pound of newspapers and magazines carried and distributed through the mails in the first zone; 4½ cents for every pound of newspapers and magazines carried and handled in the second zone. Then the cost increases 1 cent for every 200 miles hauled. So that when it is carried and distributed in the seventh and eighth zones the cost runs up to from 12 cents to 18 cents per pound. This includes all cost for hauling, handling, and distributing.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What does the Government receive?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Government receives 1 cent a pound for it.

Mr. REAVIS. These periodicals are not institutions of philanthropy, are they? They are organized for profit.

Mr. KITCHIN. No. They are organized and run for profit to the owners. All those not organized for profit pay one-half cent flat additional—that is 1½ cents per pound, flat.

Mr. REAVIS. And if they pay only one-tenth of the cost of transportation, it increases their profits?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Now, if some man who opposes this increase in postal rates on second-class matter will answer this question, I may change my mind: Why is it right or just or fair to carry and deliver these newspapers and magazines, organized for profit, for one-ninth or one-eighth of their cost—that is, why is it fair that the Government should bear eight-ninths of the cost of carrying and transporting and putting into the patrons' hands magazines and papers, one-half of which are advertisements and three-fourths of the income of which are from advertisements, and yet refuse to bear any part of the cost of transporting and delivering flour and meat and bread and clothes and shoes and other necessities to the people? Or schoolbooks to the children? Or Bibles to the people?

The publishers say that they are spreading civilization and Christianity: that they are educating the people, disseminating intelligence and information, and that the Government ought to carry and distribute their publications below cost—at the flat rate of 1 cent; that any increase in the rates would be a tax on intelligence, on civilization, and Christianity.

Ah, they can not put it on any such hypocritical basis as that. If it is a tax on intelligence, why should the Government charge anything? Why not carry them free. If it is to educate the people, why is it that the Government charges from five to twelve times as much—and the publishers of newspapers and magazines favor it—to send through the mails a little Webster spelling book or a dictionary or a grammar or a geography to the little school children throughout the United States as it does to send a newspaper or magazine to a subscriber or advertiser [applause]; are not text books used for the spread of intelligence? [Applause.] Why charge publishers and the people from five to twelve times as much to send books of history, of philosophy, of the sciences, or of poetry as it does a Saturday Evening Post? Why does it cost from five to twelve times as much to send a Bible through the mails as it does Collier's Weekly or any other paper or periodical, both weighing the same? Will not the Bible spread Christianity as well as Collier's Weekly? Why not pay, for the publisher of the Bible, eight-ninths of its cost of delivery. Do not the people need the Bible as badly as they do Collier's Weekly?

For the spread of intelligence the people do not need magazines and newspapers half as badly as their children need text books. The people do not need magazines and newspapers half as badly as they need shoes and flour and meat. We do not pay eight-ninths of the cost of distributing through the mails school books for the children, books of history, and the sciences for the people. The Government makes every school book, every volume that goes through the mail, pay its own cost and sometimes a profit. The Government does not pay eight-ninths of the cost of transporting and delivering to the people flour, meat, shoes, and clothing. Why this discrimination in favor of the publishers? Why this persistent annual subsidy to them and annual loss to the Government? Why have we not increased the rates? I will tell you why—and every man here knows it; yes, absolutely knows it. We have not heretofore increased the rates not because it is not just to do it, not because it is not right to do it, not because it is not honest to do it, but because Congress has not had the nerve, in the face of opposition of the press, to do it. [Applause.] They have permitted the newspapers and the magazines to intimidate them. [Applause.] Shall we now be seduced by the hope of their commendation and flattery or intimidated by the fear of their criticism and condemnation? Manly, patriotic Members of this House know that they must go up against them, but I believe that the membership of the present House has the courage to do it. They say the Democrats got control of the House in the Sixty-second Congress because of the Cannon rule in the Sixty-first Congress. I used to repeat that but with the wink of an eye. They used to tell us how Taft split the party, how it was Taft's unpopularity that split the Republican Party. Ah, gentlemen, nothing did more to give the Democrats control of the House—and I did not like Mr. CANNON's rule—but nothing did more to give the

Democrats the House and defeat Uncle JOE CANNON and the Republicans, and nothing did more to unpopularize Mr. Taft as President, who deserved popularity among the people, than the fact that Uncle JOE CANNON and Mr. Taft in his administration stood up for the right and honest thing of making the magazines and the newspapers pay their just proportion of the dues to the Government for the service it rendered. [Applause.]

Not a magazine in this country, not even Collier's Weekly, who fought UNCLE JOE and Mr. Taft as bitterly as any periodical in the country, not one raised their voice against Mr. Taft and UNCLE JOE and the rules, which had been in existence for 20 years, until Mr. Taft and his Postmaster General came out for an increase of postage on papers and magazines and UNCLE JOE declared against giving the publishers free wood pulp and free print paper, and took the stand with Mr. Taft for increased postage.

As I said in the committee I say to you now, Members of the House, that an increase in the second-class mail matter rates is not a question of whether it is right or whether it is just or whether it is fair, because every man here knows it is right and fair and just; it is simply a question of nerve and courage to do that which in your hearts and consciences you know you ought to do. [Applause.]

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Is there any one subject in the committee where there was more unanimity than there was upon this provision in the bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman is absolutely right. There was not a man in that committee that doubted the right or propriety of increasing the rates—not one thought they should be less than doubled; many, a large majority, thought it would be just to put higher rates than we did, but felt that the papers that had established themselves on the old rates ought to have the increased tax put on gradually and not all at one time. We thought that if there ever was a time when men in this House would have the nerve and the courage to do that which was right in order to recoup a part of our losses to the Government which the publishers cause it was when our country needed every dollar that we could justly get to maintain it in her tremendous struggle. [Applause.] We thought they would have the courage to do it, because when maligned and attacked by a sordid press they could go back and tell their people that they had taken only one-fourth of the annual subsidy—the annual tribute—Congress has been forcing the people to give to the publishers of newspapers and magazines and turned it over to our boys on the fighting lines to maintain themselves while keeping our flag in the heavens. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FESS. I do not think anybody will seriously question what the chairman has said about the justice of increasing this tax. But that is not what I wish to ask the gentleman about. What I want to ask is in view of the $70,000,000 to come from the increase on first-class postage, has the committee made any investigations to ascertain what proportion of that increase will go for the payment of salaries which, of course, depends on the amount of returns in the Post Office?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have a provision I am going to submit to the committee and to the House to prevent that very thing. Every dollar of that $70,000,000 which is coming from the increase on the first-class postage must go into the Treasury.

Take the Saturday Evening Post, again, that charges $5,000 a page for each issue for advertisements. I took up one the other day and there were 131 pages in it. Ninety pages were solid advertisements.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; not now. The magazine is getting a million and six hundred thousand dollars in subscriptions and in that one issue it received $400,000 for advertisements, amounting at that rate to fifteen or twenty million dollars a year for advertisements alone out of that "spread of intelligence," and the Government hauls that $15,000,000 worth of advertisements through the country at a loss of over $3,000,000 a year. Can any man square his conscience with his vote against increasing these rates on the ground that he is opposed to taxing the "spread of intelligence"?

Mr. SLOAN. I desire to say concerning the statement of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER] in relation to the unanimity of the members of the committee that the zone system was unanimously approved, but I also desire to say that with reference to the first and second zone compared with the third zone I thought that the third zone should be placed with the first and second. I reserved a right in the committee to offer an amendment and support it placing the third zone with the first and second.

Mr. GARNER. I said that no provision in the bill commanded a greater unanimity among the Committee on Ways and Means than did this provision.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the gentleman from Nebraska did not object to the increase or to the zone system, but he wanted a different zone arrangement. I will state to the House that the committee has now under consideration amendments modifying the proposed rates in the first, second, and third zones, by which the rate in the first zone will be 1½ cents per pound, and the rate in the second and third zones, 2 cents; in the fourth and fifth zones, 3 cents, and also putting the zone rates into effect gradually. Such modifications accord more with the views of the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. POU. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. POU. Did the committee take under consideration the proposition to use that part of the magazine or periodical that was devoted to advertisements as a basis for imposing this tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. We looked into that and found it was not practicable nor equitable. I am handed a copy of the Outlook, 19 pages of which appear to be advertising; over 30 per cent of its space is devoted to advertising—everything from a toothbrush to a Cadillac automobile—and the Government is losing more than $140,000 a year in carrying and handling the Outlook, giving its publishers and these advertisers a subsidy of that much.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. And the Government is paying every dollar of the cost of the transportation of these advertisements.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Is not an advertisement information concerning the thing advertised? [Laughter.] Oh, I ask that seriously.

Mr. KITCHIN. Ought not the gentleman to refer to it as misinformation generally as to the thing advertised?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. And a high-class journal like the Outlook never takes advertisements of anything except that which is of exceeding interest to the public.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, sure! [Laughter.] Like this Valspar which is advertised here. What is that, anyway?

Mr. GOODALL. It is a varnish.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; Valspar varnish. Oh, Brother CHANDLER! [Laughter.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What does the gentleman say to a statement like this? I remember to have read this three or four years ago when this same subject was up for discussion. A man said, over his own signature in a letter published in the public papers, that he had paid about $400 for an advertisement in one of these periodicals, and that as the result of that advertisement, costing him $400, within the four years that succeeded the publication of it there had been sent to him, and he in reply had sent back, many thousands of letters, aggregating a postage, first and last, amounting to almost $2,000. In that case of the paper carrying the advertisement and the transportation being paid for by the Government, while in the first place it may not have been to the Government compensatory or anything like it, yet in the long run the business in first-class postage which it got more than compensated the Government for the transportation of the advertisement.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am surprised at the gentleman, if I get correctly his logic and reasoning; that is, if he comes to the conclusion that we ought not to increase this rate on account of what——

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The gentleman has no right to come to any conclusion in my mind. I stated some facts to him.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman did not seem to be able to come to any conclusion himself, so I thought I would come to one for him. [Laughter.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Oh, I have often seen men who thought that it answered a question to say something smart or funny. [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. If I offended, I really apologize to the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman answer the statement of the man who wrote the letter?

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me answer the gentleman from Wisconsin. Of course, I do not know the gentleman who wrote the letter, but I know the gentleman from Wisconsin would not have quoted from it unless he thought the man was telling the truth.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, just one moment. If the gentleman's question is a good one, it will keep. Let us concede that the man told the truth, though I doubt it. If an automobile should be advertised in the Saturday Evening Post or in the Outlook, many letters of inquiry will be sent through the mails concerning it, and that would make business for the post office, and the more the Saturday Evening Post is increased in circulation the more will be the letters sent regarding the advertised automobile, and the Government would make a greater profit on account of the greater number of letters. If you are going to consider it upon that basis, then it would pay the Government under that reasoning to carry and deliver all of the newspapers and magazines and periodicals absolutely free. More would be circulated. More circulation, more advertisements; more advertisements, more letters—more business for the post office in second-class mail. But Sears, Roebuck & Co., John Wanamaker, and the rest of these big catalogue houses can make a ten times better argument to have Uncle Sam send their catalogues free than these publishers, because where the publishers get a thousand letters Sears, Roebuck & Co., Wanamaker, and the other big catalogue houses get 10,000. If I were a betting man, I would bet that these big catalogue houses used that same argument to the Postmaster General, that Congress ought to let them send their catalogues for nothing, because it would make bigger business for the post office in first-class mail matter. [Laughter.] It is not the magazines that are making the business for the first-class mail, but it is the man or firm or company that is doing the advertising and the people who write to the parties advertising. Why should not the man who buys the advertised article insist—and could not he with as much reason and justice—that the Government bear eight-ninths of the cost of transportation and delivery to him of the article on the ground that he had made business for the post office in writing so many letters about it? The automobile fellow has argued, too, that we ought not to put a tax on automobiles because they have advertised in the Saturday Evening Post and other big magazines and thousands of people wrote to them about their cars, and in that way they are making more money for the Government; at least, they might make that argument. [Laughter.] Why give credit to the magazines? The credit belongs to the automobile manufacturer. He makes business for the Government in first-class mail matter. Why should not the Government bear eight-ninths of the cost of handling and transporting his automobile? You see where that kind of reasoning leads to, do you not? They never have been able to fool me with such arguments, and they really have not fooled the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER].

Now, gentlemen, here is a magazine that I hold in my hand—the Engineering Magazine. It weighs at least a pound. It costs the Government to send it to Oklahoma about 12 cents and 15 cents to send it to California, transportation cost alone, and the publisher pays the Government 1 cent. It consists of 128 pages, 106 of which are taken up with advertisements. Just look at those advertisements; and yet my friend Mr. CHANDLER thinks that it is a really patriotic and proper thing, in these days, when we need every just dollar that we can get for the Government, for it to still lose so enormously on every one of the hundreds of thousands of copies which they send out. The Government, under an act of Congress, spends at least $10 on that magazine for the privilege of getting $1 back from it. Oh, you know it is not right! Let us stop such an iniquity.

Mr. HUSTED. I do not want to be considered as opposed; I am very strongly in favor of it——

Mr. KITCHIN. I did not catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. HUSTED. I do want to say I believe the statement made by the treasurer of the Outlook Co. to be absolutely a fact.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have no doubt of it.

Mr. HUSTED. The Outlook Co. carries very little advertising, and they pay very high prices for their articles. The only trouble, in my opinion, is that they do not charge enough for their paper. Under present conditions they have either got to carry more advertising or increase the subscription price. The magazine is sold, I think, for 5 cents a copy.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now we are getting together. I would suggest to them an increase in their subscription price, and especially their advertising rates. I am willing to pay double the amount of its present subscription price if that will wipe out this scandalous subsidy. That is the way to do it. [Laughter.] If I advertise in it, do you not know, rather than see it go out of circulation I would, for an advertising medium, be willing to pay a little more to support it? Take the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's Weekly, the Metropolitan, the Engineering Magazine, with their great circulation, spreading abroad not "Chandler" intelligence but these advertisements. Do you not think the advertisers in these magazines would be willing to pay a little more for their advertising space rather than lose such splendid mediums?

Mr. CRAMTON. In the discussion of the Outlook is it not a fact that that paper for the past year or two has been very anxious to have us get into the very war we are now in?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it wanted and helped us to get in, and now will not help us fight or pay out.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman state whether advertising is taxed in this bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. None on advertising in the newspapers, magazines, or other periodicals. Advertisements or advertising space other than in newspapers and magazines is taxed 5 per cent on the gross receipts from such advertising, while newspaper advertisements are untaxed.

Mr. MADDEN. Why?

Mr. KITCHIN. Because the proposed increase in the rate of postage upon magazines and newspapers is materially increased, and by such increase we will get for the Government at least $19,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. Because you did not have the courage to equalize the tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, I will say to the gentleman that I think it takes a man of supreme gall to talk about lack of courage in a matter of taxing newspapers and magazines when he has been on the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads 10 or 12 years and has never dared come up here and advocate making them pay back to the Government one penny of the tremendous loss they cause it to incur each year, but continues to vote for millions of subsidy each year to them. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. I desire to have the gentleman's opinion about magazines who use the fast freight to take them across the continent and which are mailed from that point. I want some information——

Mr. KITCHIN. They do not do that on long distances. They use the Government, through its mails, for the long hauls and only use the express or fast freight for short hauls when the express or freight rates are less than $1 per 100 pounds. The Government carries and distributes the papers at 1 cent per pound, or $1 per 100, regardless of the distance. From Philadelphia to New York, or even to Chicago, the Saturday Evening Post is carried by freight or express, because it gets a rate cheaper than the Government rate, but from Philadelphia to Denver, Dallas, San Francisco, Atlanta, and other distant cities it uses the Government, as the rates are from one-third to one-fifth cheaper than freight or express. The Government, however, loses from $3 to $10 on each 100 pounds carried, respectively, to such cities, since it costs the Government at the rate of 1 cent a pound for each 200 miles to transport the mails.

Mr. RANDALL. I understood the gentleman to say the Government would still lose money under these rates?

Mr. KITCHIN. Absolutely.

Mr. RANDALL. Then why does the gentleman put a provision that they can not ship magazines by some other means, say, to Los Angeles and then remail them in the local zone. Would not the Government make money by allowing that?

Why provide they shall not ship by some other means?

Mr. KITCHIN. We do not say they can not do that. They can ship by freight, express, or otherwise, and distribute by hand, as they do in many places, but when they distribute through the post office they will have to pay the same rate if put in the post office at Los Angeles as they would if mailed from place of publication. For instance, the Saturday Evening Post, if sent to Los Angeles by express, and put into the post office there for distribution, would have to pay the same rate as if mailed in Philadelphia to Los Angeles.

Let me read the proviso:

> That second-class mail matter mailed to subscribers from an office other than that of publication shall pay the same rate as if mailed from the office at the place of publication.

Under this provision if they should try to beat the Government by shipping by freight or express and mailing at San Francisco the charge would be at the same rate as if they mailed from Philadelphia.

Mr. RANDALL. My point is they would not be helping the Government. They would be beating the Government.

Mr. KITCHIN. They can and do beat the Government on the present rate now.

Mr. RANDALL. No; they could not.

Mr. KITCHIN. Can we not send a pound of Saturday Evening Posts from here to San Francisco through the mails for 1 cent?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. They pay 1 cent for it?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. This bill, if you vote for it, will make them pay 6 cents. You are in favor of that?

Mr. RANDALL. I am talking about your provision to prevent them from shipping by other means.

Mr. KITCHIN. We can not prevent them from doing that, but can prevent them from using the post office to deliver it unless they pay the rate fixed by that proviso.

Mr. RANDALL. You can do that.

Mr. KITCHIN. They would have to pay 6 cents. Under the present law they would pay 1 cent.

However, I will say to the gentleman that there is some force in his suggestion. Even under the proposed bill a pound of newspaper or magazine, say the Evening Post, sent from Philadelphia to Los Angeles would cost the Government for carriage about 15 cents per pound, while we only provide for a payment by the Post or other papers of 6 cents per pound. We would still be losing heavily. As I understand the gentleman's point is, permit the periodical to ship by freight or express at a cheaper rate than 6 cents, which it can do, and distribute through the post office, say, at Los Angeles. The Government would be saving the difference between 12 or 15 cents per pound, the cost to it, and the 6 cents it would receive from the periodical or paper. This should be considered by the committee and it will do so before we conclude the debate.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. You say it costs the Government $100,000,000 on second-class matter?

Mr. KITCHIN. I said that Mr. Koons, the First Assistant Postmaster General, testified that it cost the Government $100,000,000 for transportation and handling and distributing second-class mail matter. Mr. Stewart so testified, and other officials and experts of the Post Office Department have time and again made similar estimates.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Will you explain to whom they pay this, that they would not have to pay if there was not any second-class matter going? I mean what employee in the post office gets this money?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is paid to railroads and other carriers, to rural carriers, to railway mail clerks, to postmasters and their clerks, to the thousands of other postal employees, and hundreds of items of other general and overhead expenses.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Oh, well, but you have got an expense account there. What item in the last year's auditor's report shows $100,000,000 paid out, or any proportion of it?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have not seen the auditor's report, nor has the gentleman. The Hughes Commission said it cost 5½ to 6 cents a pound for transportation service alone. Postmaster General Hitchcock said it cost that, and Postmaster General Burleson and Mr. Koons, the First Assistant Postmaster General, and the experts of the department, say that it costs in addition to that 4 cents a pound for handling and distributing the second-class mail matter.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I want to say to the gentleman that I expect to oppose this proposition——

Mr. KITCHIN. I am mighty sorry. [Laughter.] You ought to vote for it.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. If you are right in what you say it costs the Government, they should pay it, but I have had some experience in the Post Office Department——

Mr. KITCHIN. Have you ever had any experience in the newspaper business? Are you an editor?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. No. In the post office. I want to challenge the statement of the gentleman and I want to challenge the statement of all these experts who say that it costs the Post Office Department $100,000,000 or $50,000,000. I doubt whether for the next fiscal year you could eliminate from the Post Office Department all second-class matter and show as much profit as you do to-day.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course that is a difference of opinion.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. That is the proposition. The trouble is, the overhead expense is there, and this matter is handled by the employees when the peak load is not on.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me ask you some questions, now.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. We have, in addition to the second class, three other classes of mail matter—the first class, third class, and fourth class matter. They all go along on the same train, with the same clerks, and are handled by the same postmasters, and directed and supervised by the same officials here in the Post Office Department. Now, if you are not going to charge up anything for the handling of this 1,200,000,000 pounds of second-class matter, of newspapers and magazines, why should you charge any overhead and general expense to any of the other classes of mail matter? Why are you willing to charge up the general and overhead expenses to the other three classes of mail matter, on all of which we are making some profit, and be unwilling to make any overhead or general expense charge against the second class? You want to make all the overhead charges for the first, the third, and the fourth class matter, and leave out the second class. Each one must bear their proportionate part of the overhead charges, of course. [Applause.] We pay over $40,000,000 for transporting the second-class matter alone, and we get back for the entire service of transporting and handling and distributing only $11,383,000.

Mr. CALDWELL. I would just like to ask you one question. Have you any figures of the cost per pound for carrying this matter from New York to San Francisco?

Mr. KITCHIN. The department says it costs 1 cent a pound for second-class matter for each 200 miles hauled. It costs the Government for carrying a pound of it from New York to San Francisco—3,000 miles—15 cents. It gets back from the publisher 1 cent for this and all other service in handling and distributing.

Mr. RAINEY. Will my colleague permit me to read from the report of the Third Assistant Postmaster General for 1911?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is Mr. Hitchcock's?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Go ahead.

Mr. RAINEY. Commenting on the rate on second-class matter, I read from his report:

> Compared with the cost of the service, the rate on first-class mail is excessive. It is not equitable to require to mailers of first-class matter to bear the heavy burden which the carrying of second-class matter for publishers at nominal postage rates entails. It amounts to a tax upon more than 94,000,000 people for the direct benefit of about 30,000 of their number who are publishers. In other words, for each publisher directly benefited about 3,100 individuals are unjustly taxed.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is true.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CALDWELL. I want to ask the gentleman another question, because I am going to vote for all of this bill.

If, according to the gentleman's figures, it costs 6 cents to take one of these pound magazines from New York to San Francisco by mail——

Mr. KITCHIN. It costs 1 cent for every 200 miles; that is, about 15 cents instead of 6 cents, and, in addition to that, 4 cents for handling and distributing, including the part of the general post-office expense.

Mr. CALDWELL. It figures out somewhere over 10 cents in all.

Mr. KITCHIN. Or more than that—15 cents.

Mr. CALDWELL. Now, then, we are only going to get 6 cents?

Mr. KITCHIN. Six cents.

Mr. CALDWELL. Here is the point in my mind: If by any kind of a system we can compel those people who are making the difference between 6 cents and what it actually costs to send it by some other method, why not make them take it?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is what I said to the publishers. They said, "Your rates are so high that we will have to use some other method," and I said, "Do it, and we will make or save money by it."

Mr. CALDWELL. Under your provision you make them pay 6 cents instead of 1, and if he is now paying 6 cents by slow freight, he will send by fast freight through the United States post office and we lose thus $40,000,000.

Mr. KITCHIN. I can not understand the gentleman's calculation and how he reaches such a conclusion. If magazines and papers should all go by freight or express and not through the mails at all, on the long hauls the Government would save in transportation alone 1 cent for each 200 miles hauled.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CARLIN. How does the committee take care of the borrowed capital under excess profits?

Mr. KITCHIN. We discussed that question for two or three days last session. The borrowed capital——

Mr. CARLIN. Let me give you an illustration.

Mr. KITCHIN. I know your illustration.

Mr. CARLIN. Suppose a firm had $300,000 of actual capital and $300,000 of borrowed capital. On which is the tax paid?

Mr. KITCHIN. On the actual capital paid in, not on borrowed money; but they have a deduction on the borrowed money of interest paid on it before the tax is computed.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SANFORD. I am looking for information, having in mind the same line of thought that the gentleman has followed. Can the gentleman tell me what proportion of the expense in parcels post and the rural free delivery is borne by the charges that the Government makes for that service?

Mr. KITCHIN. I can not at this time give him definite information as to that. From the parcels post the Government makes a little profit.

Mr. SANFORD. How about the rural free delivery?

Mr. KITCHIN. The rural free delivery causes the Government to incur a loss, but we would incur no such loss if these newspapers and magazines which are carried through the country would pay what it actually costs. But suppose we lose on that. That is a loss not on account of or for the special benefit of any individual or company or corporation, but on the whole service for the benefit of all alike, and if there is any loss there it is shifted over for the whole service, not by or for any particular class, as the magazines and newspapers.

Mr. SANFORD. If it were at a loss that was being borne by the people in the cities, would we still have the courage to do it?

Mr. KITCHIN. The people in the cities do not bear any losses. [Laughter.]

Mr. SANFORD. I thought if we were going to be courageous in one place, we might as well be in another.

Mr. KITCHIN. The city carrier carries for all, and all kinds of mail of the four classes. If any loss, it is for the whole service and for all.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Diverting the gentleman's mind from the phase of the bill he is discussing to the excess-profits tax, my question may be in the line of questions heretofore asked by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. I understood the chairman to say that in estimating the excess-profits tax you went first to the returns of the income of that corporation. Now, I have this concrete example in mind that I would like to glean information about from the chairman. I know one corporation, two corporations, one in business years ago, which started at $14,500 capital and has not increased that capital stock at all. The other, in the same business, has increased its capital stock to $2,000,000. Now, I would like to know whether there will be any inequity shown between the stockholders of the $14,500 corporation and the $2,000,000 corporation when it comes to levying this excessive-profits tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. None whatever. If the stockholders of the $2,000,000 corporation paid in actual cash or turned over property for stock worth in actual cash $2,000,000 or the actual cash paid in or property turned over and the paid in or earned surplus amount to $2,000,000, the corporation is entitled to the deduction of 8 per cent on that amount. If they have watered stock and it did not come from these three sources, the water will be squeezed out and no deduction allowed on the watered capital. It will be the same thing with the $14,500 corporation. It will have the same 8 per cent deduction on the actual cash and property paid in and paid in or earned surplus, including undivided profits. There will be no inequity.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I see.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. EMERSON. This increase in first-class mail applies to what is called "drop letters," does it not?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it applies to drop letters.

Mr. EMERSON. Do you not think some exception should be made of it?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. We increased it exactly as we did on other first-class mail—just 1 cent additional. We thought we had better make it cover the whole letter system—in villages, towns, cities, and in the country alike. Where under present law one pays 2 cents he will pay 3 cents, and where one pays now 1 cent he will pay 2 cents under existing law on first-class matter.

Mr. EMERSON. Even with the 2 cents it would be cheaper?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say this, that after the war is over, whenever that time shall be, and when we can get publishers of magazines and newspapers to pay somewhat of the proportionate cost of transportation and handling them, then there can be and ought to be a 1-cent letter postage throughout this country. We could have had it long ago if the publishers of newspapers and magazines had been required to pay the cost of their transportation and handling, as every other class of people and of industry is required to pay on the transportation and handling of their products.

Mr. KINCHELOE. In connection with the income tax, I understand the gentleman to say that all the personal income tax that would be retroactive would be one-third of the amount?

Mr. KITCHIN. One-third.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Will this exemption be retroactive, too?

Mr. KITCHIN. To your income tax, which is payable in June this year, you just add one-third. You can wait until September 15 to pay it. Corporations and individuals will not have to pay their tax until September 15, 1917.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The excess-profit tax is one-third of that only?

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no retroactive excess-profits tax The so-called retroactive feature applies only to the income tax.

Mr. AUSTIN. I would like to ask the gentleman if the President of the United States and the members of the Supreme Court are exempt from paying income tax under this bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. The President is not.

Mr. AUSTIN. How about the members of the Supreme Court?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have forgotten what the Constitution says as to the question of decreasing their salaries, but think it prevents any decrease of their salaries during their term.

Mr. MASON. You can not decrease their salaries during their term of office.

Mr. AUSTIN. Payment of taxes would not be a reduction of salary.

Mr. KITCHIN. The courts have so held. Under the act of September 8, 1916, we excepted the President's salary during his then term for the reason that the Constitution said it should not be reduced during his term. But he will pay under this.

Mr. DENISON. Is there any tax on candy?

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. DENISON. What does the gentleman think about that being a luxury?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is a good subject for taxation, and we could raise, by putting 10 per cent on all candies, about twelve or fifteen million dollars.

Mr. COX. As to the 5 per cent taxes on automobiles—that is 5 per cent on the factory cost?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is 5 per cent of the manufacturers' selling price.

Mr. COX. I am thoroughly in accord with the gentleman and his committee upon that, but let me ask him this question: Did the committee consider, or was there any way by which the committee could have imposed a tax on automobiles already in the hands of users?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, we did not think we ought to put the tax on the automobile in the owner's or consumer's hands. On automobiles and jewelry and musical instruments, and the like, we propose a tax of 5 per cent on the manufacturer's selling price. If it is right and wise to put a tax on automobiles in the hands of everyone who now has one, why should we not levy a similar tax on the watches, jewelry, and pianos in the same way, or on any other musical instrument that is now in the homes of the people? And, another thing, we did not think that that would be an equal tax, for the reason that anyone with a two or three hundred dollar second-hand automobile would pay as much on that as the more wealthy man on his $5,000 automobile.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Is there not a potent reason for not levying a general tax of that kind, that it would be very costly of administration, and would require an army of officials for its collection?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. And, too, if you levied that kind of a tax some people would pay too much and others not enough. We levy a tax of 5 per cent on the manufacturing price of tires and tubes, and the manufacturers will charge that up to the purchaser. That will run ten to twenty dollars a year to every man in the United States who has an automobile.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. COX. Then the tires are taxed separately from the automobiles?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and we are allowing the automobile manufacturer to have a reduction of the tire tax on the four tires already on the automobile.

Mr. COX. The automobile owner pays the tax, then, when he gets the tires?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes, sir. The manufacturer of the tire will, of course, make him pay it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman has answered the suggestion I was going to make, and that was that we have already taxed automobiles by putting a tax of 5 per cent on the manufacture of tires and inner tubes. This will be added to the cost of the tire.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. Take my friend from New York [Mr. SNYDER]. He will pay more tax on tires than if we were to put a tax on automobiles. [Laughter.]

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I was not here when the gentleman discussed section 504. I was absent from the Chamber.

Mr. KITCHIN. What does the gentleman wish to inquire about?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I wanted to inquire whether or not this section 504, relating to advertising, includes materials entering into the making of signs and calendars, novelties, and articles of this class.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I think not.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Then I understand that calendars and things like that are not included in section 504?

Mr. KITCHIN. What kind of calendars does the gentleman mean?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I want to understand the gentleman and I want the gentleman to understand me. I have in my district one of the largest advertising novelty concerns in the world, and they manufacture calendars and various kinds of advertising novelties which are sold to merchants and distributed gratuitously to their customers. I wanted to know whether this 5 per cent applies on articles of that kind?

Mr. KITCHIN. I hardly think it would.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If he sells these calendars and puts on them the words "Compliments of the First National Bank of Coshocton, Ohio," he would be caught?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would not be certain about that, but I do not think he would be if the bank distributed them. The bill excepts newspapers and periodicals. But go down here to Keith's Theater and you will notice the program contains different advertisements. It would catch that. These billboards along the railroad tracks will be caught—advertising Bull Durham Tobacco, for example—a North Carolina product, by the way. The fellow or syndicate that puts up the sign must pay 5 per cent of what the tobacco people pay them for putting that advertisement up, and the same thing will apply to street car advertisements.

Mr. ASHBROOK. And fans and calendars and pocketbooks and memorandum books having advertisements on them would be subject to this tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. I doubt it, if such are sold to a customer and he distributes them.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SNYDER. Getting back to the automobile tax, is it the purpose of the framers of this bill to tax the sale of a car from a dealer—a car that he has taken in exchange for a new one?

Mr. KITCHIN. Ah, I am mighty glad the gentleman asked that question. I thought we had caught everybody in the United States, but I see we have not. [Laughter.] That is the way we get a lot of fellows—from their questions. [Laughter.]

Mr. SNYDER. I wanted to clear that up.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; our bill would not catch that, but perhaps we ought to consider an amendment that will. [Laughter.] However, I do not think it would be wise to do that.

Mr. SNYDER. The gentleman will understand that I am not offering any suggestions. [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. It is all made on the basis of the sales value, is it not?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the manufacturers' sales value.

Mr. MADDEN. If a man bought a new machine and turned in an old machine as part payment, the total cost of the machine, including the amount that was allowed on the old machine turned in would be taxed, and when the dealer sold the second-hand machine again he would be taxed on that?

Mr. KITCHIN. The dealers are taxed to the extent of the amount of tax that would be passed on to them by the manufacturer who sells them a second-hand automobile. He would not be taxed directly on the old machine.

Mr. SNYDER. For instance, a man takes in trade a second-hand car, of which the original price was $5,000. It is a second-hand car and has a second-hand value of only $1,000. This bill calls for the sale price, adding 5 per cent to the sale price of the car when it leaves the manufacturer.

Mr. KITCHIN. If the manufacturer sells a new car, say, for $2,000, and a part of the purchase price he allows the purchaser $1,000 on a second-hand car, the tax would be 5 per cent of the $2,000, or $50. No tax under the bill would be levied on the second-hand car when sold again.

Mr. MEEKER. Going back to the advertising proposition about which the gentleman was talking a moment ago in regard to calendars, if what the chairman of the committee [Mr. KITCHIN] has stated is true, that merchants and others could buy these calendars and stamp them themselves, that would mean the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars in revenue. Would it not be more equitable to tax the calendar itself as an advertising medium if you sell the calendar as an advertising medium, rather than to tax the advertisement? Under the bill as drawn that would be the easiest thing in the world to get around. All that a man would have to do would be to buy his calendar and then hand it back to the same man who had sold it to him to have the printing done upon it which would turn it into an advertisement.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think the bill would catch that proposition. We will try to catch him in another way. [Laughter.] But really I do not think it ought to catch that man.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If that is done, I am very sorry that I called the gentleman's attention to that fact, because I have just received a telegram from the American Art Works, of Coshocton, Ohio, in which they state that a chartered accountant has gone over the earnings of their company for the past five years, and that the proposed tax will absorb all the profits on that line of business.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me tell you, I have not counted the number of telegrams I have received from different people, but I have a stack that will fill my office, and I have got to get more office room to store the telegrams from different parties saying just the same thing—that the various persons have gone over their books, and that this tax will absorb all the net profits, and they will be in the hands of a receiver and be bankrupt in a few days after the passage of this bill. Do not let them scare you on that.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I am not scared. I am simply stating what they say.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am pretty certain that that section will not cover the case of those calendars, and I do not think it ought to. That is not the advertising that we undertake to tax. That is similar to a case of a little newspaper which has a little job office. A merchant goes to him and says, "Strike off a thousand circulars for me." He does it. The merchant distributes them. This bill will not tax that.

Mr. MADDEN. The question asked by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNYDER] has raised a question of doubt in my mind, on account of the answer made by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], and I would like to have it cleared up. Do I understand the gentleman from North Caroline to say that the 5 per cent tax on automobiles will be levied against the manufacturer? The manufacturer sells his automobile to the dealer for about 20 per cent off.

Mr. KITCHIN. It is the manufacturer's price that we intend to tax. Let me give you an illustration.

Mr. MADDEN. There is no tax against the retail selling house?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; except on the stock that he has on hand when the bill goes into effect, and he can get it out of his purchaser when he sells.

Mr. MADDEN. Would there not be some inequality in the imposition of the tax? A great many manufacturers have their own selling agencies. A great many other manufacturers employ selling agents and they give them 20 or 25 per cent off the manufacturer's price. Out of that 25 per cent they have to pay their own expenses—rent, taxes, and everything—and whatever is left is the selling agent's profit. The man who acts as the selling agent for the manufacturer is one thing, and the manufacturer who acts as his own selling agent is another thing. The question is, where the manufacturer is his own selling agent you impose the tax at the source of the sale; in the other case you tax them at the source of manufacture. You tax one man on the basis of 25 per cent less than you do the other man.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say this would be the way: The manufacturer who is his own selling agent—that is, who sells direct—pays the 5 per cent on his selling price. If he sells direct to the consumer at the same price other manufacturers sell to their agents or dealers, he pays no more tax than the

other. If he adds on for himself the commission allowed by others to their agents or dealers, he makes more profits on his manufacturing price and should pay the tax on his selling price.

Mr. DILL. As I understand it, this bill exempts advertising in newspapers.

Mr. KITCHIN. And periodicals.

Mr. DILL. Why?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is because we increase the postage rate on papers and periodicals immensely—two, three, and four times. For instance, newspapers and periodicals now, second-class matter, pay only 1 cent a pound. We have applied the zone system to second-class mail matter, and we make them pay 2 cents a pound for zones 1 or 2, 3 cents a pound for the third zone, 4 cents a pound for the fourth or fifth zones, 5 cents for the sixth or seventh zones, and 6 cents a pound for the eighth zone; and they will pay on an average about two and one-half times more than now. We did not think it right to charge them a tax also on the advertisements.

Mr. DILL. Will not the tendency of the tax be to drive advertising into the newspapers, to compel men who want to advertise to use the newspapers? Will it not tend to do that?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think so, because the magazines and newspapers will most probably increase their advertising rates. Under this bill they will have to pay more than double their present rate of postage.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. On page 26, line 12, you place a tax on talking machines.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and I will say to the gentleman that he reminds me to put in another subject of taxation, and that is talking machines inside the Capitol. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. But to be serious, talking machines "sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer." I have a letter from a constituent asking whether the middleman or retail dealer would be caught by any of these terms. The corporation makes the talking machine, sells it to the wholesale dealer, and he sells it to the retail dealer. To whom does the tax apply?

Mr. KITCHIN. The manufacturer or producer pays the tax on the machine hereafter produced or sold by him. The dealer pays only the tax on machines he has on hand at the time the act passes.

Mr. LITTLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. With reference to the increase of postage on second-class matter, is it estimated that the zone system will bring a revenue, or will it be prohibitive?

Mr. KITCHIN. It will bring additional revenue to the extent of $19,000,000.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. I want to say to the gentleman that one of the largest advertising concerns in the world uses calendars as a medium.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Novelties?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes; novelties.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman has on his lapel a flag in the shape of an advertisement showing that he is a patriot. The fellow that makes that flag would not be taxed under this provision. Here, for instance, is a button saying that I am for Meeker, who is running for Congress. You furnish the novelty, and the fellow that made it would not be taxed on what you paid him for that advertising button.

Mr. MEEKER. The gentleman does not get my point. The man goes out and takes orders for calendars, the same as they sell advertisements in street cars and on billboards. It is their system for promoting the industry. Now, if there is a loophole for these men to get out, that should be provided for by amendment.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say that they ought not to be taxed any more than a newspaper job office where a merchant comes in and has it to print 25,000 circulars when the merchant distributes them. I doubt whether that ought to be taxed. I will tell the gentleman that if he will give me the power to do it I will appoint the gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from Ohio to work that out and report to me, and I will have the committee to consider it. [Laughter.]

Mr. ASHBROOK. With the permission of the gentleman from North Carolina I want to say to the gentleman from Missouri that his constituents would be more affected by section 504 by the taxation of these novelties than the constituents of my district, because among the largest customers are the brewing industries of St. Louis.

Mr. MEEKER. And I want to say to the gentleman from Ohio that the brewing industries are not ducking any taxes in this war.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I do not believe they will have a chance to duck if they are disposed to.

Mr. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. JAMES. Section 506 imposes a tax on policies of insurance, and I suppose the intention is to tax the fire and life insurance companies themselves.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the company pays it.

Mr. JAMES. The language is:

SEC. 506. That every person, corporation, partnership, or association receiving any payment for advertising or advertising space upon which a tax is imposed by section 504, or issuing policies of insurance upon the issuance of which a tax is imposed by section 505, shall, within the first 15 days of each month—

Now, the policies are not issued by the company; they are issued by their agents. The way this reads it looks to me as if it would be paid by the agents.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; it further provides that the insurance company shall make the returns on them and account for what they receive.

Mr. JAMES. But the section reads "every person" issuing policies of insurance.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the company and not the agent. The company must make the return to the collector of internal revenue in the district in which the principal office is located.

Mr. ELSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. ELSTON. In connection with the provision for taxing transportation of freight and persons by rail or water, did the committee consider in that connection taxing the same kind of transportation by motor and stage line? Now, in California we have motor lines engaged in large competition with the railways, and I have had inquiries about it. What I want to know is whether the committee considered that question that the stage and motor lines should be subjected to this tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. Perhaps we ought to tax regular established lines, if you can distinguish them from little bus and taxicab lines, but I do not think they would be caught under this bill. The committee's attention was not directed to that method of transportation and failed to consider it.

Mr. ELSTON. I understand that the gross receipts of these motor and stage lines in California reach four or five million dollars for the transportation of passengers, freight, and baggage. I do not know whether they have decreased the receipts of the established railroad lines, but I know there has been a disposition to bring them under the State railroad commission and treat them like railway and water lines.

Mr. KITCHIN. I thank the gentleman for the suggestion and wish to assure him that the committee will consider this matter before concluding the general debate.

Mr. NOLAN. Let me say to the gentleman and my colleague that we have had letters from the public utilities of California calling attention to this tax. The fact is that they have cut into the revenues of these big corporations to some extent, and the corporations can not get back at them through the State, and so they want Congress to get back at them through the revenue bill.

Mr. ELSTON. I was not making any argument; I simply asked whether the committee had considered that matter in committee?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to both gentlemen from California that these lines would not pay a cent of that tax. They would collect it from the passenger. The passenger will pay it, just as he does to the railroad company. The railroad companies do not pay a cent of this tax. I go down and I get a passenger ticket to my home and pay for it $6.20. I pay the railroad company the $6.20 and then the ticket agent calculates 10 per cent of that and says to me, "Now, you owe 62 cents as a war tax for the Government." The company would not pay it. The passenger would have to pay it. That would not be a question of competition. Big and little lines pay the same percentage tax. It strikes me at first blush that where there is an established line, motor car or any other, for the hauling of passengers the passenger ought to pay just as he does upon the railroad.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RANDALL. I hope the gentleman will not destroy our one means of establishing justice and equality on the railroads of California. The jitney bus helps to regulate the railroads, and now the railroads are wiring us to help you put the jitney bus out of business so that the railroads will have it all to themselves. Let our jitney busses alone.

Mr. KITCHIN. The jitney bus will not pay any tax at all, but where a company has a regular, established line, why should not the passenger pay the tax?

Mr. FESS. Does this include taxing vehicles operating in Yellowstone Park?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; it does not.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. Referring to this increase in the postal rates on the second-class matter, news matter, the gentleman said that the increase is fixed by zones. How are those zones to be fixed?

Mr. KITCHIN. Just as the parcel-post zones are—that is, the parcel-post zones are made applicable to the second-class postage.

Mr. SNOOK. As they are now?

Mr. KITCHIN. Fifty miles, first zone; 150, second zone; 300 miles, third zone, and so forth—just as they are now arranged.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Chairman, under section 701 a tax is placed on membership to clubs, except initiation fees.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, we did not omit the gentleman. He gets in there.

Mr. VARE. I would like to ask the gentleman whether or not he provides for a life membership? I come in here, but I do not want to escape with my life membership.

Mr. KITCHIN. Has the gentleman already paid his life membership?

Mr. VARE. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then he will not have to pay any more.

Mr. VARE. Then the life memberships that have already paid are exempt?

Mr. KITCHIN. We may amend that so as to catch the gentleman [laughter], but I do not think we will.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. REAVIS. I would like to have the gentleman to explain why it was that the committee stopped the graduated increase on incomes at $500,000?

Mr. KITCHIN. We did not. It is over that. You add the old law to the provisions of this bill.

Mr. REAVIS. I understand that, but after you get above one million, a man whose income is $20,000,000 pays no greater percentage than the man whose income is $1,000,000.

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh yes; he does.

Mr. REAVIS. I am trying to find out.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; he does.

Mr. REAVIS. What is the difference?

Mr. KITCHIN. Under the present law from a million to a million and a half dollars the supertax is 11 per cent. We add to that 33 per cent. From a million and a half to two million dollars the present law provides a supertax of 12 per cent, and we add to that 33 per cent. Under the present law on incomes over $2,000,000 the supertax is 13 per cent, and we add to that 33 per cent. A majority of the committee, some thinking one way and some another, thought that when we take from a man's income over $2,000,000, about 50 per cent, we are taking a pretty large slice of it.

Mr. REAVIS. You are taking a great deal so far as the actual dollars and cents are concerned, but in the proportionate sacrifice that the men who pay it will make you are taking a great deal more from the married man with $2,000 who has a family to support than you are from the $10,000,000 man.

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe I can make that pretty clear to the gentleman, that we are taking a good deal more from him. That man from whom we take the 50 per cent over $2,000,000 has already paid every single one of these other gradations of taxes from $2,000 up. He has paid the same tax as I have paid upon mine, the same as you have paid upon yours, and the same tax as the fellow who has $50,000, and the one who has $100,000, and the one who has $150,000, and so on, and in addition to that pays this further tax, so that we catch him going and coming.

Mr. REAVIS. That is undoubtedly true, but the man whom you tax with an income of $2,000, with a family to support, has to pay his tax from the very necessities of life, while the man with an income of $10,000,000 is paying that income out of funds that he can use only in the way of investment, and the relative sacrifice is not to be compared.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think you are right about the sacrifice, for it hurts a little $1,000 man more to pay $10 than it hurts the $10,000,000 man to pay 50 per cent of what he has in excess of $2,000,000.

Mr. COPLEY. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman mind telling what actuated the committee in fixing commutation trips at less than 30 miles? You do not tax the amount paid for commutation and season tickets for trips of less than 30 miles.

Mr. KITCHIN. We had to fix some figure, and while I never have lived in a city that had any commuters, there were men upon the committee who had knowledge of this practice, and from their experience and observation they thought the 30-mile limit was sufficient. They said that 30 miles was sufficient to exempt the greater portion of the people who work in the city and have to travel day after day back and forth to and from their home outside the city limits.

Mr. COPLEY. I hope that the gentleman will not consider that I am violating his exhortation to not bring in our own districts.

I want to say that in my district I have a belt just around the city of Chicago, and all of the railroads go through it, and they all sell commutation tickets up as far as 40 miles. I do not think it is quite fair to remove from taxation the man who travels under 30 miles and add it to the man who travels over 30 miles. I would much rather it be collected upon all of them.

Mr. KITCHIN. We did that for the benefit of the laboring people.

Mr. COPLEY. These are laboring people that I have in mind.

Mr. KITCHIN. We were informed that practically all of the people who are what we call laboring people who buy these commutation tickets live within the 30-mile limit; that if they had to travel more than 30 miles it would take two or three hours, and they would lose two or three hours a day from their work, and they could not afford to do it, and therefore live within the limit.

Mr. COPLEY. Does not the gentleman know, for instance, in Chicago that the wealthy suburban residents live within the 30-mile district and that a number of clerks live out beyond?

Mr. KITCHIN. They do not do much work in the daytime if they have to go 40 or 50 miles to the city and then have to return the same day.

Mr. COPLEY. On the contrary, in the city in which I live more than 500 tickets are sold every month for men who leave as early as 6.30 in the morning to go to the city.

Mr. KITCHIN. Does the gentleman think it ought to be 40 or 50 miles?

Mr. COPLEY. I think it ought to be nothing or to cover all.

Mr. KITCHIN. We would lose more taxes if we put it at 40 or 50——

Mr. COPLEY. Take all in.

Mr. KITCHIN. We did not think it would be right to place this tax upon thousands of men who made three or four dollars a day and had to make a trip to and from a city every day, even if a few rich men, as the gentleman claims, slip in under the 30-mile limit.

Mr. COPLEY. I do not think the gentleman's committee is properly informed on the subject, and that is the reason I was trying to bring it out.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. My State is issuing bonds for $5,000,000, war-emergency bonds, issued on account of the war. Now, the people in my State buy these bonds, and I would like to inquire whether or not their incomes from these same war bonds will be taxed?

Mr. KITCHIN. They are exempt.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Suppose a person had a fortune of $25,000 annually derived from the interest on these Government bonds, or suppose he had $50,000 derived from the interest on these bonds, would he pay a cent of taxes?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; that is, not to the Federal Government.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Suppose a person had put a fortune of $100,000 in Government bonds. He goes tax free and does not pay any war-revenue taxes?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is right.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Why did not the gentleman's committee put on 1 per cent or some amount?

Mr. KITCHIN. No Government taxes its own securities. That brings up another reason, I will say to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS], why we did not go over 50 per cent on incomes, a proposition which appealed to me somewhat, too, although I doubt if at this time we should go any higher. If we tax the big income receivers so much that it will reduce their total net income down to 3½ or 4 or 5 per cent, they will go out of business, and we would get no income taxes from them because they would take their money and put it in Government or State bonds, that are subject to no tax.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. A person could put money into the rural credit bonds and get 4 per cent and not pay the Government any war tax, too?

Mr. KITCHIN. If we tax these men of wealth so exorbitantly on their incomes that they would realize less than 3½ or 4 or 5

per cent on the investment, it is feared they would no doubt do that or buy, as I said before, Government or State bonds.

Mr. REAVIS. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. REAVIS. Has it been the experience of the other countries at war, whose income tax is much higher than ours, that men with large incomes have gone out of business and put their capital in Government bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; Great Britain does not tax any 50 per cent——

Mr. REAVIS. I understand that some of the income taxes are larger than ours.

Mr. KITCHIN. Great Britain's normal tax is much larger; it is 25 per cent. I said in the beginning that if we were to levy the same amount of normal income tax as Great Britain—she has some surtaxes, but not as high on the large incomes as this bill provides—that we would raise $3,000,000,000 by that tax alone, to say nothing of the surtax. I would not be much surprised if we will have to come to that during this war.

Mr. REAVIS. I would not either. The committee thinks, in reference to this income tax, it has put on about all the traffic will bear?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, taking everything into consideration, we think it is what the traffic will bear now; but we feel the traffic will have to bear some more in the future, and we have left room to put it on hereafter.

Mr. REAVIS. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. HUSTED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. HUSTED. On page 20 reference is made to "commutation or season tickets for trips less than 30 miles." Those are exempt. I would like to ask how the committee arrived at that definite mileage? Fifty miles, I think, is considered the usual commutation distance.

Mr. LONGWORTH. A happy compromise.

Mr. KITCHIN. I just explained to the gentleman from Illinois that it was the opinion expressed by men on the committee who knew something about this matter that 30 miles was about the limit to which the laboring class go from their homes to places of business or work. If they lived farther, they would take too long going and coming.

Mr. HUSTED. That brings this tax over a large percentage of commuters.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman, as suggested by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL], 30 miles was also considered about equivalent to the 25-cent fare trip, also exempt under this bill.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. LEHLBACH. With reference to the amount of tax on soft drinks, page 15 of the bill. The tax on carbonic acid gas used in charging the water to make soft drinks is 8 cents per pound. I understand that that amounts to a tax of about 2 cents a gallon on the manufactured product.

Mr. KITCHIN. That was the original basis, but I really think it is about 1 cent a gallon. The theory was and the evidence of the experts whom we had was that 1 pound of acid gas made about 4 gallons. Frankly I have about come to the conclusion, after seeing some of the letters and documents sent to gentlemen by some of these companies, that 1 pound of gas is used to about 7 or 8 gallons. I hope, however, the tax upon the carbonic acid gas will be equivalent to a tax of 2 cents per gallon upon the carbonated beverage.

Mr. LEHLBACH. As the bill is drawn, this 8 cents tax per pound is paid by the manufacturers in the first instance?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; he charges it on to the soda fountain, the bottle, and so forth.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Now, I would like to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that I believe the total production of carbonic acid gas is about 16,000,000 pounds.

Mr. KITCHIN. The census of 1914 puts it at about 58,000,000. Since then it has trebled and some say quadrupled. I remember that Dr. Smith, a chemist in New York—I have forgotten the firm with which he is connected—says that the production is now about 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 pounds. That seems pretty reasonable. As prohibition has spread in several States they use more soft drinks, and in my own town my observation is that in the last few years the consumption of soft drinks has more than doubled.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I am informed that 80 per cent of the carbonic acid gas used in these drinks is sold under annual contract, and that possibly almost 50 per cent of the annual supply is contracted for at fixed prices, ranging from 4 to 5 cents per pound.

Mr. KITCHIN. Some 6 and some as low as 4.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Assuming that 30,000,000——

Mr. KITCHIN. I made some inquiries about that. I had heard that, but I did not have it corroborated at all. I spoke to some men who are large bottlers and had been in the business for 25 years. They said that they did not know of any annual contracts.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The bottlers will be tickled to death to have the tax on the supplies they have already contracted for paid by the manufacturers, although their tax is 200 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. What company is giving you that information?

Mr. LEHLBACH. The Natural Carbonic Gas Co., of my district. They do a business of from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds per year.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to you, as I said to the House, that there is, and there must of necessity be, interference with contracts such as you speak of. To remedy that and stay within the Constitution prevents a very difficult problem. Here are automobiles, here is whisky, jewelry, pianos, everything that is taxed, and it is claimed that there are contracts on these articles for delivery in the future. Take tea and coffee, for instance, and there are contracts to deliver to the retailers next month and the following month, and so forth. How to take care of that thing and stay within the Constitution is a difficult problem. It would be unwise to provide that those who have contracts should not pay this tax. Then everybody who sold carbonic acid, or tea, coffee, beer, or whisky, or wine, or automobiles would say they had a contract. We are considering it, and before the bill is finally passed the committee will get together and see if we can draft a provision so that the purchaser under such a contract will pay this tax, because it would not be a hardship upon him, for the reason that being a dealer he is going to sell it to somebody and he can add the tax to the price.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I want to say that this is an aggravated case, because if a man gets $500,000 of this stuff and gets $500,000 from his customers he has to pay $1,000,000 in taxes, because the sale is 4 cents a pound and the tax is 8 cents a pound. It would be cheaper to give the stuff away than to pay the tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. The tax proposed upon carbonic-acid gas is 8 cents per pound. We put 200 per cent tax on it as compared with the value of the product. It sounds mighty large, but if the tax were based upon the relation of the value of whisky to the tax upon whisky I think it would be about 25 cents per pound. The whisky tax is over 500 per cent of the cost of the whisky. The distiller passes the tax on to the wholesaler, and the wholesaler on to the retailer, and the retailer on to the consumer, and that will be the case with reference to carbonic-acid gas. It is all used in the production of luxuries, and the consumer can easily pay the tax which will be charged to him by the seller.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. That amounts to only 2 cents a gallon?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think it will really amount to more than 1 cent a gallon—perhaps one and a half. He will pass it on to the fountain or bottler, and he in turn will pass it on to his customers.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I want to ask the gentleman one question about automobile trucks. The automobile-truck business is rather a new business, and a great many new truck companies are being started. I would like to ask the gentleman on what theory the committee has decided to levy a 5 per cent tax, in addition to all other tax, on automobile trucks? They are certainly not a luxury, are they?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not so much a luxury, but we levied this tax upon the manufacturer, who will sell to a fellow whose business is large enough and who is making profits large enough to warrant him in having a motor truck, and who is able, if the manufacturer and his agent put the whole tax on him, to pay it without an unreasonable burden. The gentleman does not seriously object to that, does he?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. That is the gentleman's answer to the proposition?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and it is about as good an answer as the gentleman deserves for asking me a laughing question like that. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I have received a number of letters complaining of the stamp-tax feature——

Mr. KITCHIN. Complaining; well, I have received 10,000 letters, complaining. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. As applied to the tax on telegrams and the tax on insurance. They say that under former practices—and we all know that that is true—these taxes were shouldered on the general public by an increase of charges on the telegrams and also by an increase on the insurance. I want to ask the gentleman if his committee has considered the proposition of so imposing that tax as to permit the shouldering of this increased tax on the general public?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will tell you. In the stamp act of 1898 there was a cent on each telegram sent. That cent was paid by the sender, not by the telegraph company. I believe in that act they made the telephone company pay the tax on the telephone message. But in 1914, when we reenacted practically the stamp act of 1898, we made the sender pay the telephone tax of 1 cent on the message over 15 cents, the telephone company collecting it for the Government. We increased this tax over the stamp tax of 1898 and the stamp tax of 1914 by proposing a tax of 5 cents for each message costing more than 15 cents. The tax will yield $7,000,000 or $8,000,000. The 5-cent tax on telephone and telegraph messages is a big tax, but it will be easily borne. Every sender of a message now, instead of paying that 1 cent, as in 1914, will pay 5 cents as a war tax, not in the shape of a stamp, but the company will collect it and send it to the Government.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. In short, the general public will pay the tax, and not the telegraph companies?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. That is always the way.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I know that is the way.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, as to the insurance tax; we propose to tax it—life and marine and fire insurance policies—at the same rate of the 1898 act, but instead of levying a stamp tax as in 1898, in this bill we propose that the company keep a record of every policy issued and delivered and send in returns to the Government each month. While we get the tax, we abolish the stamp requirement and make the company, not the insured or the agent of the company, pay it.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield as to another feature of this bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The bill undertakes to increase the postage rates on second-class mail matter, and establishes what is known as the zone system on that class of mail matter?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Is there anything in this bill that will exempt religious publications from that increase?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. All religious, educational, fraternal, labor, charitable, and agricultural organizations and societies publishing periodicals, where all of the net income goes to those organizations and societies and not to any individual—that is, not for individual profit—are exempted from these zone rates, and we put a flat rate of 1½ cents a pound upon such publications. We increase the rate upon these publications 50 per cent. They say they can stand it.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SEARS. We have heard much about the high price of food.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I have heard something about it. [Laughter.]

Mr. SEARS. The gentleman knows that Congress has appropriated a large sum of money to investigate this subject, and we are going to be called upon to make large appropriations. I would like to say to the gentleman that in the last few days, as I am informed, the Southeastern Traffic Association has been authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a raise of 10 or 15 per cent, and this will go into effect shortly. There is also now authorized, or will be authorized, I am informed, an additional 15 per cent or general increase and advance in freight rates. Your bill, if I understood you correctly, also assesses 3 per cent on all bills of lading?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; 3 per cent on the amount of the freight bill.

Mr. SEARS. This will make approximately 33 per cent increase. I am not complaining, if the House thinks it wise to do it, but I will say that in my State, except for nine weeks, because of our unequaled climate, we can not ship with a general advance of 15 per cent, much less the 33 per cent allowed in this bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. This bill makes no advance of 33 per cent—only 3 per cent on freight bills. Have they allowed the 15 per cent advance?

Mr. SEARS. I understood the 15 per cent advance would be allowed. I have a communication from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the effect that if it would go into effect—and they intimated it would—the shippers could come in and complain. The point I want to make is this: Thousands of cars of vegetables rot every year because we can not reach the market after States further north begin to gather their vegetables.

It strikes me that if it is necessary to appropriate these large sums, running into the millions, to investigate the high cost of living when we know that that high cost of living is caused largely by our inability to get the crops to market, it might be well to exempt foodstuffs from this increase. I was wondering if the Ways and Means Committee took into consideration this advance of practically 20 per cent in the freight rates when they were making up the bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said, many items in this bill would not be tolerated in times of peace. I think that in time of war this is a very slight tax, that all can pay, and one which will be distributed equally—though I am not devoted to it—and will in some degree offset the big tax we are going to put on incomes and profits. I have never investigated the freight question before the commission, so I do not suppose my opinion is worth anything; but at this time, when railroads for the last two years have had as much to do as they have ever had in their existence in the way of traffic, both freight and passenger, and when from the reports which I have read they have made as much money as they have ever made, it strikes me as a great injustice to the American people for any commission to permit railroads to increase their rates 15 per cent. [Applause.] And I want to say further that we will have plenty of chances to get some of that for the American people in the way of taxes, and we will have other bills coming along; and if the Interstate Commerce Commission permits them to raise their freight rates 15 per cent on the basis of their gross receipts, I am willing to come in with a tax bill and tell them to pay some of that to help support the Government and its armies. [Applause.]

Mr. SEARS. I am in hearty accord with the gentleman on that.

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe cases could be made out where particular railroads require an increase and ought to have it; but just to give a general increase of 15 per cent for all the roads, or for several roads, it strikes me as an outrage on the public.

Mr. SEARS. I am informed that the railroads can not handle the vegetables now being offered to them, and yet they are asking this increase in rates.

Mr. KITCHIN. You do not blame them for asking it, do you?

Mr. SEARS. It looks as though they were going to get it, too.

Mr. KITCHIN. I hope they will not.

Mr. SEARS. The point I make is this: That it does not get the vegetables to the people; it does not get the beans and peas to the people. As suggested by my friend from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], who is sitting by me, it spills the beans. If we are going to make appropriations to investigate the high price of beans and other vegetables, and if we who live in vegetable-producing regions can furnish them to the market at 50 per cent of what is now being paid for them, then it seems to me this tariff should not be placed on the bill of lading, and I think it might be exempted.

Mr. LOBECK. The gentleman spoke about the issuance of insurance policies, the tax to be collected at the place of issue. Will that be on policies that are actually issued and paid for, or will it cover the frequent cases where policies are sent out and not accepted?

Mr. KITCHIN. It would apply to a policy issued and delivered after the passage of the act, and the company would pay the tax.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I should like to inquire from the gentleman whether or not there is anything in the bill which puts any tax on the products of silk manufacturers?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Why are the silk manufacturers exempted from the taxes on luxuries?

Mr. KITCHIN. That cravat that you have on, do you think that is a luxury?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I am willing to pay my share of the tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. Silk goes into the manufacture of all sorts of clothing—of many necessities.

Mr. LONGWORTH. We have raised the tariff duties on silk and all other imported goods 10 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. I was going to suggest that the bill increases the tariff duties 10 per cent.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. You do on everything; yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will not the gentleman from Michigan vote for that? What is the gentleman complaining about, if he is going to vote for it?

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Misery loves company, and I want to see everybody in the luxury class taxed.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Everybody who buys silk.

Mr. KITCHIN. When I voted against the war resolution a fellow from Atlanta wired me, "Why don't you resign?" I wired him back, "Because I don't want to," and I made him pay for the telegram. [Laughter.] And my answer to the gentleman could be, "Because we did not want to." [Laughter.]

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I understand from the gentleman that these items were not really put in as a matter of principle, but as a matter of favor.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of favor to whom? I will give the gentleman from the automobile district all the time he wants in the five-minute debate to defend automobile manufacturers and to show how they are absolutely going into bankruptcy and going to wreck and ruin; but we are not going to tax silk now, or any other necessities such as clothing. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] is the only gentleman in the House who is trying to make us believe he would be willing to bear that tax. He is the only man in the House who wears silk socks and silk underwear and silk shirts. [Laughter.] He is wrapped up in silk. He has got a silk shirt on right now, and yet he is trying to make us believe he would be willing to pay his share of a tax on silk. [Laughter.] One reason we did not tax the gentleman's silk wear is that we have taxed his jewelry and did not want to put a double tax on him. [Laughter.] Look at the jewelry which he wears—a scarf pin, rings, a watch and fob, and a little flag up there. [Laughter.] We have got the gentleman taxed on all those things. We do not want to tax his wearing apparel. [Laughter.]

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I am greatly surprised at the gentleman from North Carolina. [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. We tax the automobiles in the gentleman's State.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Silk is one thing that the rich buy.

Mr. RANDALL. I understand the bill increases the tax on distilled spirits $1.10 a gallon.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RANDALL. And that produces an additional revenue of $200,000,000, or something like that.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; the net additional revenue is about $100,000,000.

Mr. RANDALL. Did the committee consider the proposition of following the example of the English Government, which taxes distilled liquors $5.40 a fluid gallon, and thus produce $540,000,000 of revenue?

Mr. KITCHIN. I expect, my friends, we will make it $5.40 before we get through; but really the English tax, according to our measurement, is about $2.73 a gallon and not $5.40.

Mr. RANDALL. The English tax is $5.40 a gallon.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; they have a different measurement—their gallon contains more cubic inches than ours, and according to their measurement it is not $5.40. I will ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY], who is familiar with this matter, what the tax in Great Britain is on whisky?

Mr. RAINEY. Two dollars and seventy-three cents before the war, $3.16 a gallon now.

Mr. KITCHIN. It amounts to about $2.73 when you measure it according to our gallon.

Mr. RAINEY. Two dollars and seventy-three cents in our money according to our gallons, and $3.15 on old whisky.

Mr. RANDALL. Why did not you take it all?

Mr. KITCHIN. Because we would not get any revenue from it.

Mr. HUSTED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HUSTED. You tax marine, inland, and fire insurance policies on the premium paid, whereas you tax life insurance policies only once. What is the reason for that distinction?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am going to give the gentleman two reasons, and the first is not a good one, and the second is a good one. The first is that we followed the Republican act of 1898 and proposed the same rate. But the real reason is this: Life insurance policies do not have to be renewed.

Mr. HUSTED. But they pay a premium every year.

Mr. KITCHIN. The rate proposed is several times higher than fire insurance and marine insurance. It is 8 cents on every $100. If you put that tax on the premium where the policy was renewed like fire insurance policies it would be out of all proportion—too high. If they renew the policy seven or eight times it will be the equivalent of an 8-cent tax on the $100. Take a $5,000 life insurance policy and the tax would be $4. On a $5,000 fire insurance policy the tax would be 50 cents, so if you renewed it eight times you would pay the same amount of tax, and this is about the usual number of renewals.

Mr. HUSTED. It seems to me that if the act continues in force for any length of time the holder of a life insurance policy, who paid on the annual premium, would pay more than the man who only pays once on a life policy.

Mr. KITCHIN. The policy holder or the insured pays none of these taxes at all. Those are paid by the company. If the gentleman will figure it out he will find that the two are equalized.

Mr. HICKS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. HICKS. In regard to boats and vessels, page 27, it says that the manufacturer shall pay the tax. That means on the original sale of the boat, I imagine. Because the gentleman knows that manufacturers resell boats sometimes for an account of their customers. There would be no tax if a man brought his boat back and had it resold for his account?

Mr. KITCHIN. If the manufacturer of a boat sold it to me and I afterwards took it back to sell on my account the second time, I do not think it would. I think that is covered in section 602. It is the same proposition suggested by the gentleman from Illinois with reference to automobiles.

Mr. HICKS. Otherwise it would be a double tax.

Mr. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. JAMES. In reference to life insurance, the poor man will take out a policy that costs him about $20 on a thousand, while the man with a good deal of money will take out an endowment policy which costs him $8, so that the man that buys the ordinary policy will pay two and a half times as much as the man who gets the endowment for an investment.

Mr. KITCHIN. We followed the act of 1898. It worked well. The insured, the policyholder or purchaser, pays not a cent of this tax. It is not charged to him by the company. The people and the companies understand it; it has been administered satisfactorily before.

Mr. JAMES. Life policies are issued by the companies themselves, while the fire and marine insurance are issued by the local agents.

Mr. KITCHIN. I know the agent writes the policies, but they are issued by the company. I do not think there is any doubt about it, but if there is any doubt about it we will insert a provision that the company issuing the insurance policy or in whose behalf the policy is issued must pay it.

Mr. JAMES. Where do you cover accident and life insurance policies issued by stock companies?

Mr. KITCHIN. That was left out by some mistake of the printer or by the clerk of the committee.

Mr. JAMES. You also left out tornado insurance and employers' liability.

Mr. KITCHIN. That would go in as did the Spanish-American war tax. We had it in there, but was by mistake omitted in printing or transcribing the original draft.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. What provision is there in regard to the tax on lyceum bureaus and Chautauqua circuits?

Mr. KITCHIN. We do not tax them anything; we tax the fellow that attends them, just like the fellow who attends the circus and the moving-picture shows, or the theater or banquets where there is admission, except in the case of religious and charitable organizations. The tax is 1 cent for every 10 cents or fractional part of the admission fee collected.

Mr. SNOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. In regard to this provision for the marine insurance. As the gentleman knows, the Government has an insurance board that takes a large amount of insurance for the Government. Does he think that the Government will pay the tax on that?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; while the Government will neither make nor lose, still it is a business concern, it is not a governmental function and is like any business enterprise, and the Government should pay this tax and keep account of all expenses in conducting the business; then it will know exactly what the overhead and other charges will be. We put it on the same basis as the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which is a separate, independent bureau, but under our laws it pays a tariff on some articles that it has to import.

Mr. SNOOK. The Government is not seeking to make any profit out of it.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; but that enables them to keep an account of their business, an account of all the charges and expenses and see what it really does cost.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not wish to put the question if some other member of the committee is going to take it up and explain it in detail. That is, the change in phraseology as to what is capital for the basis of the excess-profits tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. Does the gentleman mean the good will provision?

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean as to what shall constitute capital as the basis for the excess-profits tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that in my construction of the law as it stands, and I believe the construction that most lawyers would give to it, this makes absolutely no change; but the present law reads the "actual cash value at the time of payment of assets other than cash paid in," and some business men have construed the expression "time of payment" as the time that the tax was paid and some the time that the actual cash was paid. We have changed the language somewhat to make absolutely clear the meaning, and it will read thus:

The actual cash value of property paid in other than cash, for stocks or shares in such corporation or partnership, at the time of such payment.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the very point. Many corporations, and maybe all corporations, use excess profits in the purchase of equipment, machinery, stock, and the like, for which no certificates of stock are issued, and yet that equipment, that additional stock, is virtually capital. Under the phraseology of the changed amendment, that which is really capital and used in the carrying on of the business would not be exempt as capital, because no certificates of stock had been issued for that excess equipment.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman entirely misconstrues the meaning and intent of the language which I quoted. I did not refer to such cases as he puts. In regard to the case he puts, I will make it clear. Suppose we have a company of $100,000 capital, a cotton mill, say, and we have a surplus of $50,000 and undivided profits of $50,000. We want to expand our plant by putting in new machinery and enlarging our buildings. We could either do it out of the surplus or from the undivided profits, or we could enlarge our capital and issue and sell stock and with the money make the enlargement. If we did the latter, then it is clear it would be counted as capital invested.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Instead of issuing and selling stock, suppose we take $50,000 of that surplus or undivided profits and with it expand the plant. We would still have that deduction and it would still be surplus and carried as such, to be included in the basis of deduction of 8 per cent, for the act and the bill provide that surplus and undivided profits should be included in capital invested.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why, no.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes. Suppose the surplus was in money and we had it in bank and our balance sheet showed $50,000 surplus. We would take that $50,000 out of the bank, and instead of having it in money in the bank we would put it into the extension of the building, and our assets would still show the $50,000. In one case it is surplus in the shape of money on deposit in the bank and in the other it is surplus in the shape of enhanced value of the buildings, because you have extended them. You would have the same deduction as to the $50,000 in each case.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then the gentleman believes that under the third division, on page 8, the invested profits in the way of the purchase of equipment, stock and the like, used in connection with the business of the corporation, which is the real capital, would be considered as paid in or undivided surplus used or employed in the business?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It would not be listed on the books of the company any longer as surplus. There is nothing to show on the books of the company that it is surplus, because it shows on the books of the company that it is capital in the way of equipment or construction.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it would in the balance sheet be carried as surplus, and that surplus would exist in the shape of enhanced value of the plant by reason of its enlargement. But that is distinct, I will say to the gentleman, from the ordinary wear and tear expense, which is deducted in the income tax. Suppose a machine breaks down. You repair it or order another in its place. You have to keep it in repair, as you do your building. You have that deduction in the ordinary wear and tear as part of the running expenses. Now, when you take money from surplus or profits and actually expand your plant, then it goes in as capital invested, and it will still be counted the same as surplus.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will say to the gentleman that the accounting methods of the best accountants when the money has been transferred and used in the way of equipment and stock no longer classifies it as surplus. It is classified under the head of capital.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me repeat the example I gave to the gentleman a moment ago. If you had a $100,000 plant, and you were going to expand it to a $200,000 plant, with larger buildings and more machinery, you would not charge that as operating expenses, current expenses, I do not care where you got the money, whether from sale of new stock or from your surplus or profits. Your plant would be increased in value to the extent of $100,000, whether you call it capital, surplus, or profit. That would be $200,000 that you would have invested there. Suppose, instead of going out and issuing stock for that $100,000 to expand the plant, which you concede would be counted as capital, you had a surplus in the bank or in products of the company which you could convert into money, of $100,000, which you carried as surplus, and you take this surplus and with it enlarge your plant, your books would show still $100,000 surplus, but the surplus would be in the form of enhanced value of your plant instead of deposit in bank or value of products on hand, and you would be entitled to an 8 per cent deduction on that amount.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am only questioning whether the phraseology as carried in the bill provides for that character of transfer of surplus into real capital?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; that would still remain the same as surplus and be deducted.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was questioning whether your phraseology would include it. I recognize that it is the same financial operation, whether you vote the money as stock dividends or as a money dividend and then have stock issued in turn. I wanted to make certain that that was covered in this third subdivision.

Mr. KITCHIN. There is absolutely no doubt about that.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. With reference to section 1201, Title XII, page 51, the zone system——

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I will ask the gentleman to defer asking his question just for the moment, until I finish with this, and then I will come to that and conclude.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question on the matter that the gentleman from Wisconsin was talking about?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. I will ask the gentleman from New York to defer his question until a little later.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I was wondering whether the committee had given consideration to this question which I have in my mind, and which I propose to propound to the gentleman in connection with the excess-profits tax. Let us assume that two men start in business with $100,000 capital each. They remain in business for 25 years, say. One man keeps his books systematically and charges off all depreciation from the very beginning until the end of the 25-year period, so that at the end of the 25 years his capital shows what it was originally when he went into business, as it ought. The other man instead of charging off depreciation allows the depreciation to accumulate as part of his assets and carries it along as part of his surplus. The surplus in the course of 25 years amounts to $900,000, so at the end of the 25 years one man would have $1,000,000 capital against which he would be allowed to charge 8 per cent profit, and the other man only a hundred thousand dollars capital. In one case the man who kept his books systematically and was on the square in the conduct of his business would be allowed under this law to collect $8,000 as 8 per cent profit and the other man would be allowed to collect $80,000 as his 8 per cent profit, and after the collection of $80,000 in the one case and the $8,000 in the other case the excess profits would begin to lie. Did the gentleman or the committee take into consideration in the excess-profits tax a condition such as I have described?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, yes; we have, but, of course, if the Government will permit one to do that and can not find out the facts and if it can be covered up in the books, the result would be as you stated. The Treasury Department will have to find out whether that million dollars was a real bona fide surplus or not. I imagine the department will not take the books and accounts of a partnership or corporation without examining them to see what the real facts are. I can see how one could keep books so as to have his books show that there is a million dollars of working capital when there would not be but $100,000.

Mr. MADDEN. He would not be paying the same amount of taxes in the one case as in the other. One man would be paying nine times more taxes in excess profits than the other.

Mr. KITCHIN. If they took it on what the books showed and not what the facts really were. I could take my books and fool my creditors if they would simply take the books showing what my balance was.

Mr. MADDEN. He would have the property in one case and charge it off in the other case and——

Mr. KITCHIN. I will tell you how that can not be done. If the partnership or corporation actually did not charge it off, which ought to be done and which always will be done because of the income tax it has to pay—I have never known anyone to pay an income tax without getting all the deductions which the law permits him to have. He deducts everything to which he can be possibly entitled so as to make his income tax less.

Mr. MADDEN. No; the income tax would be more in a case like that. Nine times as much in one case as in the other case.

Mr. KITCHIN. If there is wear and tear in the business, you would eliminate the wear and tear before——

Mr. MADDEN. Usually about 4 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. It makes your income less, of course.

Mr. MADDEN. The income tax; but this is the excess-profits tax, quite a different proposition.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman must remember that he can not consider the excess-profits tax at all until you consider the income, because the excess profits is based upon the income tax returns.

The first thing you do in reference to the excess-profits tax is to get the income tax return and see what is the income. That is the first thing you find. Suppose the income is a hundred thousand dollars, you see what per cent that is upon the capital. That may be 8 per cent, it may be 2 per cent, it may be 15 per cent, or it may be 50 per cent. Now, when you get the income tax returns you will find each year this fellow has charged off, like you do, deduct as part of his deductions operating expenses, wear and tear, and so forth.

Mr. MADDEN. But the gentleman does not get the point I am after.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do.

Mr. MADDEN. The point I am making is the man has carried as a surplus a large amount of buildings that cost a certain amount of money against which no charge for depreciation has ever been made, and a large amount of machinery at original cost against which no depreciation has been made.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; if the Treasury Department, that is going to enforce the act, is going to permit that to be done, but it will not do that; it will investigate the matter and find out whether there is a surplus or undivided profits.

Mr. MADDEN. That has been going on for 25 years, long before the gentleman thought about this.

Mr. KITCHIN. But they can go back and find out the facts.

Mr. MADDEN. Instead of an excess-profits tax there ought to be a net-earnings tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. But you would have to increase the amount of the normal tax, and instead of 4 you would have, perhaps, say, 8 per cent.

Mr. MADDEN. If you made a net-profits tax in addition to the income tax, every man would pay exactly on the amount of the earnings that he had, instead of having one man pay on the amount of his earnings and the other man pay on something that he does not own and carries as a surplus.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will repeat what I said this morning, that our excess-profits tax is smaller as a tax than any other country of the many countries levying that tax now. The exemption is larger. You deduct more from it than is allowed by any other country.

Mr. MADDEN. I want the gentleman to understand that I am not complaining about it.

Mr. KITCHIN. You have put the objections that are raised to it exactly. It is hard to administer. If you could go to a corporation or partnership and ascertain the exact amount of capital put into it, and squeeze out the water, it would be all right. It is hard to administer. There is no doubt about that—a great deal harder than the income tax.

Mr. MADDEN. The net-earnings tax, in my judgment, would be a good deal easier to administer than excess-profits tax. It would be scientific, and it would be more satisfactory to every business man of the United States than the way it is levied now, and would raise twice as much money.

Mr. TILSON. How about the stamps on checks?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is one of the improvements we made over the 1898 law. We eliminated the stamp on checks. It ought not to be in here, and if I have my way in the future there will never be a stamp tax on checks.

Mr. TILSON. It would be an easy way to collect it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; but hard and unjust to pay.

Mr. REED. As to the old druggist's retail tax, how do you collect that?

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no stamp on proprietary medicines. We have proposed a 5 per cent ad valorem at the source on the producer or manufacturer. The retail man will have to pay a like tax on the articles he has purchased since May 1 and has on hand at the time this law goes into effect. He will not put a stamp on such articles, but will send his return to the Government, upon which the tax will be assessed. This provision is to prevent the retailer from stocking up in anticipation of this bill.

Mr. REED. After that it is paid at the source of manufacture?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. REED. I think the druggist will appreciate that.

Mr. KITCHIN. Gentlemen, in conclusion let me say that we expect this bill to be opposed and attacked by the big interests whose incomes and profits it taxes; by the special interests upon whose products it makes levy; by the publishers of newspapers and magazines, whose enormous and outrageous subsidy they annually exact from the Government and the people it reduces.

We shall expect the representatives of the interests inside and outside of this Capitol to make every possible effort to defeat it. We shall expect the corridors of this Capitol to be filled with a swarm of protesting lobbyists from every quarter of the country.

We shall expect the big newspapers and magazines to attempt to discredit the bill and its authors in every conceivable way. We shall expect from them nothing but denunciation, defamation, and misrepresentation. We shall expect them to resort to every species of deception of the people and of intimidation and coercion of the people's representatives.

But in spite of such protests and assaults, in spite of such defamation and misrepresentation, we should perform our duty as members of the committee and the House.

The Government is in a life-and-death struggle with the strongest military power on earth. It is in urgent need of $1,800,000,000. The responsibility to provide that immense amount by a revenue measure is with us—with the Congress of the United States. [Applause.]

The Ways and Means Committee appreciate that responsibility. No war-tax measure presented to this or any other legislative body ever had given to it more investigation, more study, more thought than the bill which we propose to-day. In our preparation of this bill, in our study and investigations, we considered the war-tax measures of our Civil War, of the Spanish-American War; the tax measures, so far as they could be obtained, of belligerents of the present war.

We challenge your comparison of this bill with any of them.

As I said in the beginning, this measure is the result of the best thought and the best wisdom of the committee after weeks of united labor and effort, and we stand prepared to defend it here or elsewhere.

Gentlemen, I thank you for having kept me on my feet for five hours. [Prolonged applause.]

Exercises upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Sequoyah.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 14, 1917.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am herewith inserting the proceedings and addresses upon the unveiling of the statue of Sequoyah in Statuary Hall in the Capitol on June 6, 1917. They were as follows:

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES UPON THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF SEQUOYAH IN STATUARY HALL IN THE CAPITOL, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1917.

Hon. C. D. CARTER, Member of Congress from the third district, Oklahoma, chairman, called the meeting to order, and the following invocation was offered by Rev. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House of Representatives:

Our Father in heaven, we thank Thee that Thou didst create man in Thine own image to think, to will, to love, to act, and to achieve. We thank Thee for all the progress he has made in the development of the Godlike in his being, especially for his work in the development of mankind to a higher civilization. We thank Thee for the life, character, and work of the man whose statue we are here to unveil in this hall among the great men of our Nation; that it may stand as a memorial to his wonderful achievements and an inspiration to those who shall

look upon it to copy his virtues and sacrifices for mankind. Bless the services of the hour and make them memorable to the people, not only of Oklahoma, but to all true lovers of the men who follow the paths of the nobler life. And Thine be the praise now and evermore. Amen.

ADDRESS BY HON. C. D. CARTER.

Chairman CARTER. In the frontier log cabin in which my early youth was spent, a corner over my father's writing table was set aside for the pictures of notables. Among those I recall now the faces of Washington, Napoleon, Lee, and others. These, I was told, were among the greatest statesmen and warriors the world had produced. The faces of Shakespeare, Hugo, Cooper, and others were pointed out to me as some of the greatest writers, but the picture that engaged my youthful attention most was that of a long-haired, angular-faced frontiersman, clad in hunting shirt and buckskin leggings, bedecked with long bow-stemmed pipe, and a sort of turban on his head. I was given to understand that this was a picture of Sequoyah—George Guess—the only American who had ever invented an alphabet, and it seemed to me in my childhood fancies that he was the greatest of them all.

Statecraft, it is true, has been a most potential factor in bringing society to its present high state of civilization, while the arts of war have in the past, perhaps, been a necessary adjunct and evil to our development. But who can say that the man who gave us letters, the man who provided us instrumentalities by which we might record our thoughts and acts and transmit them to living friends and generations yet to come, is not at least on an equal plane in his contribution to society with the greatest statesmen, authors, or warriors, either living or dead.

Sequoyah was the first resident of that section of the country now known as Oklahoma to prominently and permanently engage the attention of the public. An untutored, unlettered, non-English-speaking Indian, yet his genius invented one of the greatest alphabets that the world has ever known. A phonetic alphabet, with a character representing every sound in the tongue of his tribe. The genius of this primitive man gave to an uncivilized and benighted people the means of conveying thought by letters, which contributed so largely toward bringing them from beclouded ignorance and superstition, until within a remarkably short time after the official acceptance of his alphabet almost every member of the tribe—man, woman, and child—was able to read and write.

Oklahoma has abundant reason to feel proud of her contribution to Statuary Hall, not only on account of the appropriate choice of the great character which represents her here, but for the further reason that this wonderful piece of art was conceived in the brain of one who loved our young State and always delighted to claim it as her home—the lovable and talented Vinnie Ream Hoxie.

The statue of this aboriginal American in the Hall of this Capitol typifies and symbolizes the magnanimous spirit of the white citizens of Oklahoma, who have always granted to the American Indian more rights, more liberties, more privileges, and more honors than any other State in this great Republic. [Applause.]

The next thing on the program is the unveiling of the statue by Miss Ahnawake Hastings, a Cherokee.

Miss AHNAWAKE HASTINGS. In behalf of the State of Oklahoma, I unveil and give to the Nation this statue of Sequoyah, selected as that of one of the State's distinguished men, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. [Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. We will now be favored with an address upon the life and character of Sequoyah by a man of the Cherokee Tribe which produced the great Sequoyah. He is one of the foremost Senators in the United States Senate and will present the statue on behalf of Oklahoma—Senator ROBERT L. OWEN.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT L. OWEN.

Senator OWEN. Ladies and gentlemen, in this National Statuary Hall, containing the statues of the great men and women of the various States of the Union, Oklahoma presents to the United States this heroic statue of one of her most honored sons, Sequoyah, a native American—a Cherokee Indian—who was every inch a man and worthy to represent Oklahoma in the Capitol of the Nation.

Sequoyah had courage, generosity, perseverance, great industry, a wonderful intelligence, and, best of all, a strong desire to serve his fellow men. No man ever rendered a nobler or a better service to his people than did Sequoyah, who, out of a heaven-born genius, was able to invent a syllabic alphabet of 86 characters with which a Cherokee child might learn to read and write the Cherokee language within a day.

The 86 symbols of this alphabet were each a syllable, except the letter "S," and with these symbols every Cherokee word could be written.

Sequoyah spelled his name Se-quo-yah, with three syllabic symbols.

It was impossible to misspell words with this alphabet, and a Cherokee had but to know the alphabet in order to read anything written in Cherokee or to write anything in Cherokee.

This alphabet opened up to the Cherokee people the doors of knowledge without requiring them to go through the painful process of learning a foreign language.

The Cherokees, with elaborate ceremonies, did notable honor to Sequoyah as an expression of their appreciation of his masterful work. They presented him with a great silver medal in token of the esteem with which he was held by the Cherokee people, and passed resolutions in his honor.

The Cherokee Nation established a printing press, had type made, and printed the news of the day in the Phoenix and in the Cherokee National Advocate with Sequoyah's letters. They printed the laws in this language. They printed the Gospels and the New Testament and many other books useful and interesting to the Cherokee people, and in this way the Cherokee people made rapid advance in knowledge and in civilization.

Sequoyah could not read English. He used the letters of the English alphabet and of the Greek alphabet, and invented other letters of his own, to each one of which he gave a syllabic meaning. The framing of this alphabet showed a talent of the first magnitude.

It is a strange thing that no alphabet in all the world reaches the dignity, the simplicity, and the value of the Cherokee alphabet as invented by Sequoyah. The European alphabet goes too far in providing analysis of sound and permits such large variations in spelling that it is a task of years to learn how to spell correctly in any of the European languages. With the Sequoyah alphabet a Cherokee could learn to spell in one day.

Thus the labor of years was saved to the student. So great an intellectual accomplishment was this that Canon Kingsley named the great red cedars of California, which towered as high as 400 feet into the air and which were 25 feet through at the base, "Sequoias," because they were typical of the greatest native North American Indian.

It must not be imagined that Sequoyah was able to frame his alphabet in a few days or a few weeks. Sequoyah was a natural mechanic. He loved to build. He loved to draw and paint. He made himself, with the crudest appliances, the best silversmith in all the regions around, and he made himself a die representing his name in English which he printed on all the silverware he made with his hands.

He finally determined to undertake the alphabet, and it was a continuous labor for over two years before he finally completed it and demonstrated its value by teaching the young people of his tribe to write and to read. It required, therefore, the most persistent, determined purpose, that would not consent to any denial, an inflexible resolution, patient thought, day after day and week after week; but his triumph was complete, a triumph of courage, determined purpose, continued intense thought.

When the State of Oklahoma came to choose the first statue to be presented to the Government from Oklahoma it chose Sequoyah almost without a dissenting voice, because of the heroic qualities of the man as a human soul, surrounded with difficulties, but overcoming every obstacle and rendering the most signal service any human being could render to his fellow men by opening the fields of all knowledge to his people through the invention of a perfect alphabet.

Oklahoma, when it determined to present the statue of Sequoyah, chose as the artist a woman greatly beloved in Oklahoma, Mrs. Vinnie Ream Hoxie, the wife of Gen. Richard Leveridge Hoxie, of Washington City. Vinnie Ream's people were closely identified with Oklahoma through Robert Ream, her brother, who lived in eastern Oklahoma near McAlester. Her house in Washington was a rendezvous for many years for the best talent representing Oklahoma in Washington, but it was not her charm of manner, her great social talent, which led Oklahoma to place this commission in her hands. It was her magnificent ability as a sculptor of the first rank. After receiving the commission from Oklahoma to execute this work, failing health compelled her to seek the assistance of another artist, and as one great genius is able best to perceive the talent of another so she selected Mr. George Julian Zolnay, the eminent sculptor of Washington, trained in Vienna and Paris, and well known in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, to take over and complete this labor, which, with Vinnie Ream, was a labor of love, for she always loved the Cherokees and the Indian people.

As to the splendid manner in which this work has been finally completed by Mr. Zolnay on the model outlined by Vinnie Ream, I think no one can raise a question. The nobility of the pose, its grace, its strength, the firm characteristic Cherokee Indian face, all show the highest form of human art.

Sequoyah is entitled to rank as the ablest intelligence produced among the American Indians, and Oklahoma takes pride in presenting to the Capitol of the United States this statue of Sequoyah in memory of an honored son of Oklahoma, a native American of the first rank, a man distinguished by the chief of all virtues—an earnest desire to serve his fellow men.

Without great opportunities, he made wonderful use of the small opportunities he had. In character, in nobility, in spiritual and mental worth he well deserves a place in the glorious company of Statuary Hall in the Capitol Building of the greatest Republic of the ages.

On behalf of Oklahoma and in the name of Hon. Robert L. Williams, governor of Oklahoma, acting for the State, I present this statue of Sequoyah to the Government of the United States and to Statuary Hall. [Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. The next upon the program is an address of another Cherokee Indian, Hon. T. A. CHANDLER, Member of Congress from the first Oklahoma district.

ADDRESS BY HON. T. A. CHANDLER.

Congressman T. A. CHANDLER. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: Writers of fiction and the drama are disposed to preserve for posterity the mystic and tradition of the American Indian rather than to exploit the facts of his true progress.

There is no race of people that has shown more progress in civilization than the North American Indian. It could not be expected that this son of the forest would entirely change, in a brief period of time, the habits he had followed for hundreds of centuries; and while we may read with horror of the warring deeds of him while defending his lands and country and call him savage, we can to-day sorrowfully point to the ravages of Belgium and northern France, to the Armenian slaughter by the Turks, and find consolation in the fact that the so-called Indian on the warpath in comparison was indeed tempered with mercy.

Those crimes mentioned above were committed by people who had the advantage of thousands of years of civilization, while the Indian had practically none.

Yet we find to-day thousands of North American Indians, with tribal relations abandoned, who have not only adopted the white man's ways—which we are pleased to term the ways of civilization—but in many ways improved upon them. We find the Indian in the pulpit, in the bank, in the factory, on the farm, in the arts and crafts, in literature—in every avenue of usefulness, surpassing in many instances his white brother. We find him in the forum of legislation, from the country legislator to the higher toga of the United States Congress, where he has not only brought honor to the race, to his tribe, to the white man, to his country, but his ideals are world renowned.

It is needless to here deal with the numberless crimes against the Indian—crimes which enforced a belief in his primitive mind that in order to exist he had to fight and defend—crimes committed in the name of civilization and progress, but, in fact, crimes committed in selfishness. It will gain nothing at this late day nor will it serve to permanently enlighten to relate the cost the North American Indian paid for civilization. A mere reference to these crimes will serve the purpose to bring reflection on the extent of progress the North American Indian might have made had he not been interfered with by the white-man civilization.

Of course, that belongs to the realm of the mystic, but it would be interesting to know just what the early-day explorer of America would have found had Columbus delayed the sailing of the Viking for 400 years.

Columbus found the North American Indian growing corn and building houses; he found him working in the arts and crafts, in pottery, and even in gold and iron.

Cortes found him in Mexico with a democratic kingdom, with merchants and money and art, and the Spanish missionaries of California and Arizona found the Christian cross and republican forms of government with a purer democracy than any civilized country on the face of the globe enjoys to-day.

Among all the tribes of Indians, it is conceded that those of the Five Civilized Tribes have made the greatest progress, and I trust I am not paying too high a compliment to my own tribe, the Cherokees, when I say that that tribe shows slightly further advancement than any other. Looking back over this progress, one almost shudders when he recalls that slightly more than three-quarters of a century ago a proud sovereign State of the South, boasting of its high ideals of civilization and chivalry, wrote upon its statutes a law providing that an Indian's word should be held for naught when a white man was involved in court. In this connection and in other connections affecting and pertaining to the Cherokees, it would be well to bear in mind that they were not a warring people at that time and had not been for years before. Instead of this proud sovereign State attempting to give well-earned equality to the Cherokee, it called upon the great Federal Government to transplant the tribe from the field of civilization to a barren wilderness beyond the Father of Waters, where they would be compelled to work out their own salvation, existence, and civilization as best they could from nature's foothold, green verdure of the field. To make a long story short, the Cherokees were bundled up, bag and baggage, and at the point of a bayonet marched to 300 miles west of the Mississippi. If the martyred Cherokee of that one trip ever comes into his own, and the unknown graves are marked, there will be a row of headstones from central Georgia to eastern Oklahoma, less than 1,000 feet apart, to show to future generations the number who perished on the enforced journey of 1838. More peaceful, peace-loving Indians starved to death on that trip than there have been United States soldiers killed in all the Indian wars since the discovery of the North American Continent. The Cherokee rose to a mighty nation not by the aid of sovereign States or Federal Government but in spite of the countless wrongs, discrimination, and crimes.

It was this tribe that gave to the world Sequoyah.

Indeed, he was a Cadmus—a true product of primitive nature, yet carved from the antique. The Athenians had their Socrates; the Cherokees, their Sequoyah. He was the Confucius of his time; a Moses to his people.

Christians point to the lowly birth of our Savior; and patriots to the humble surroundings of where Lincoln first saw the light of day.

Christ had the advantage of a mother of education, and counsel of the wisest men of his age. Lincoln had Plutarch, Shakespeare, and the Holy Bible for his early-day text books. Sequoyah got all his learning and all his inspiration from the academy of nature.

Christ was surrounded by people eager to accept philosophy; Lincoln's life was surrounded by people who craved freedom and liberty, while Sequoyah was forced to overcome every temptation, confronted with continuous taunts of his fellows, who looked upon his digression from the pathways of warfare and the dance as an act of mystic sacrilege. Christ and Lincoln had encouragement from every hand; Sequoyah was given in turn ridicule and contempt. Former philosophers had the advantage of Christianity and civilization; Sequoyah was fenced in with superstition and suspicion. The only voice of advice or learning that came to Sequoyah was the sound of nature. As the phonograph records the songs of the impressario and the tenor, Sequoyah recorded the songs of the birds, the clap of thunder, the roar of the beasts of the forests, the music of the zephers, combining these with the myths, he recorded them into an alphabet, as communicative to his primitive people as the phonograph of to-day.

From flittering noises in the dark, reaching him from the mystic unknown, he created a medium of understanding transmission from the ear to the eye.

Receiving nothing from inheritance—born to be shiftless, to dance and not work, to frolic and not think, he left to posterity a heritage that did more to advance his people than all the efforts of all mankind and civilization up to that time and marked the beginning of a new era in a human race. Deserted, even before birth by a worthless low-born father, he was set adrift among the other flotsam and jetsam on the sea of life with no guiding hand other than that of the primitive poverty-stricken mother.

No man ever started with less and attained more than Sequoyah.

He overcame age-old tribal and racial tradition and mystery among people who thought it criminal to change the habits of life. He was not a vision-seer; he believed not in the spirits of the air, further than that they furnished him things for material use. Learning the crude hammering of virgin iron, he acquired the delicate touch for silver filigree work. Distinguishing colors from a truly artistic point of view as emblems of animated being, he transferred to animal-skin canvas nature's teachings so perfectly that all could see and learn.

Experiencing to his own sorrow the effect of strong drink on the delicate nerves of a race that lives out of doors, he conquered will and defeated temptation, and from the lessons of his experience became truly temperate and preached the gospel far and wide with saving grace and happy effect.

Grasping almost immediately a broad interpretation of the Christian religion he became a missionary among the lowly.

After days and months and years of silent musings and communion with nature he conceived his alphabet. He formed out 85 combinations. In his mind he could denote their meaning, but it taxed his ingenuity to put them into concrete form for transmission to others. This sad spectacle worried him for 10 years, until by chance he secured an old English spelling book,

which furnished him the types only—mere figures to make compact and to perfect his own characters. Being unable to read a word of English, to his simple mind the letters meant nothing more than different marks on paper. He added some of them to those he had conceived in his own mind, and with this combination made up the alphabet of 85 characters. To his uneducated mind the English spelling book meant nothing more than an abracadabra of queer forms.

Yet when completed, his alphabet (his "talking leaves") was so perfect in every detail that in three hours' time the primitive mind of the uneducated Indian could learn to read and to write.

We wonder, then, what would have been the progress of the North American Indians—of the Cherokees in particular—with nothing more than their alphabet, with schools, with training, and so forth, had they never seen the white man and his civilization.

In honoring Sequoyah to-day we honor the whole Indian race, and no more appropriate tribute could be paid to that race than to place the figure of one of its greatest philosophers in the Hall of Fame of this Government.

Oklahoma is really the land of the Indian, and one-fifth of her million and a half people are of that race, the greater number of whom are enjoying the pursuits of business and social equality of the white man.

Among the leading musicians, artists, educators, professional and business men of the great State of Oklahoma the Cherokees number many.

They laid the foundation to a State that has rapidly grown into one of the greatest and most resourceful Commonwealths of the Nation. They blazed the trail and overcame the obstacles that secured safety to those who followed as the fleet of progress winged westward; and the artist's conception of Sequoyah is but a fitting monument in bronze contributed by an appreciative State of the Union to the unsung martyrs of a vanishing race. [Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. The next on the program is a speech by a Cherokee Indian, too well known to need any introduction to Oklahoma Indians. Mr. HASTINGS comes from the second congressional district of Oklahoma.

ADDRESS BY HON. W. W. HASTINGS.

Congressman HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, Oklahoma was admitted to statehood on November 16, 1907, less than 10 years ago. At the time of admission the State had greater resources than any sister State when admitted. It has developed wonderfully since that time, and now has a population of about two and one-half million, with a healthful climate, splendid railroad facilities, immense agricultural possibilities, and inexhaustible supplies of minerals, including zinc, lead, coal, oil, and gas. Her citizenship was drawn from every State in the Union, her constitution and laws are the most progressive, and her educational system is unexcelled. Her cities and towns have had a remarkable growth and are modern in every respect. However, it is not of her resources that I want to speak. They are already well known throughout the length and breadth of this Nation. It is to one of her distinguished sons that I invite attention at this time.

Oklahoma when admitted to statehood had the Five Civilized Tribes in the eastern part; Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, each occupying separate and distinct areas and each with their own tribal government, with a constitution and laws modeled in part after that of the United States and the surrounding States. Each nation, however, was unique in that the lands occupied were held in common, no individual member having a title to the same, but only had a right to occupy, improve, and use his pro rata part of the surface. A number of other tribes had lands throughout the State, including the Osages and the Quapaw Reservation.

In 1911 the legislature of the State provided that a statue of Sequoyah should be placed in Statuary Hall as one of Oklahoma's distinguished sons, in recognition of his services and genius in inventing the Cherokee alphabet.

Sequoyah was born about the year 1770, of a full-blood Cherokee Indian woman and a white trader named Gist, who abandoned his mother before the birth of her distinguished son. His English name was George Guess, a corruption of Gist, and Sequoyah means in Cherokee "Guessed it." In order to fully appreciate and properly estimate Sequoyah it must be remembered that he was born prior to the Revolutionary War; that the tribe of which his mother was a member had no schools or churches, and that but few, if any, Cherokees could read or write the English language. Sequoyah was born in a tent, grew up without educational advantages, and never learned to read or write the English language. His attention was invited to the fact that white people communicated with each other by letters, which he called "talking leaves." He accepted the challenge to accomplish the same in his own language. This great work was begun about the year 1809 and it was not until 1821 that it was completed.

In his younger days Sequoyah was one of the most active, progressive, and spirited members of his tribe. He was regarded as a splendid companion, an entertaining story-teller, a leader in all sports, a good shot, and shrewd trader. He accumulated considerable property, cleared up and placed a farm in cultivation, built a modern home, and became a fine silversmith, which trade enabled him to make numerous articles for sale and barter. He was not only active in these pursuits, but he was looked upon as a leader of his tribe, a man of great intellect, a deep thinker, and a philosopher.

During the 12 years he was engaged in forming the Cherokee alphabet he withdrew from active pursuits and participation in public affairs. When his great work was accomplished it was looked upon with suspicion and reluctantly accepted. It was with difficulty that he convinced the members of his tribe of the genuineness of his invention and its great usefulness to them. He conquered all obstacles and set about to teach it to them. Within two years the Cherokee Council recognized his genius and great worth, voting him a medal and passing resolutions expressive of the deep appreciation of the members of the tribe.

In the meantime Sequoyah, with some of the other members of his tribe, had gone West, first to the Territory of Arkansas and later to the Indian Territory, now a part of Oklahoma. He came to Washington as a representative of the Cherokees west in 1828, where his services were recognized by Congress and an appropriation was made in his behalf. Money was furnished by the Government of the United States to establish a printing plant, upon which the first newspaper ever published in any Indian language, The Phoenix, was printed at New Echota, Ga., February 21, 1828. The civilizing effect of this alphabet resulting in a printed language, not only upon the members of the tribe of which Sequoyah was a member, but upon all the surrounding tribes, can never be estimated.

Prior to that time there were no schools or churches, and the missionaries among the Indians had accomplished but little. From that press, not only the newspaper containing useful and valuable information of every kind was printed, but parts of the New Testament, tracts, hymns, and books, resulting in a great awakening in educational work, the establishment of schools, the adoption of a written constitution and laws, and a government modeled after the government of the surrounding States.

The newspaper was dincontinued about 1835. The Cherokee Advocate was established in its place in the Indian Territory in 1945, but discontinued during the Civil War. It was reestablished in 1870, and published until 1905, at which time the Government of the United States, under prior legislation, practically assumed control of the affairs of the Cherokee Indians.

Sequoyah was a representative of the western branch of Indians when the act of union between the Eastern and Western Cherokees was signed in 1838, cementing the Cherokees, east and west, into one body in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. He was also a member of the constitutional convention which framed and adopted the constitution in 1839, providing a form of government regarded as a model for a body of people holding their lands in common, with all the protection and personal safeguards contained in the constitutions of the several States.

More fully appreciating the work of Sequoyah, the Cherokee Nation, after moving west in 1843, voted him a literary pension, the only act of the kind ever passed by the legislative body of the tribe. Upon his death this pension was continued to his widow.

While in Washington City as a representative of the tribe Sequoyah met many Indians of other tribes. In the early forties he started on a trip west with the double purpose of searching out the members of the Cherokee Tribe who, according to tradition, had moved to the far Southwest and visiting other tribes to become acquainted with their customs and usages. He wished to compile the same in a book and invent an alphabet by means of which all Indian tribes could communicate with each other in a common language. However, he suffered much with rheumatism, which sapped his vitality and left him unable to endure the hardships encountered in his western journey across the Rocky Mountains and through the valleys of New Mexico in an oxcart with a lone companion. Tradition has it that somewhere near the sweep of the great Colorado River he was seized with a fever, and in an unknown cave, watched over by his attendant, this philosopher, teacher, inventor, genius, and dreamer fell asleep about the year 1844.

Congress had recognized his services and the Cherokee Council had done likewise in commendatory resolutions. He was rewarded with a pension by his tribe, and his name was given to the district in which he resided, which name was continued for

that county by the convention which framed the constitution for the State of Oklahoma.

The log house in which he lived still stands in the hills of Sequoyah County in the district represented by me. Considering the time of his birth, the manner in which he grew up, his environment, his rearing by a widowed mother, his not being able to read or write the English language, his invention was marvelous. I am glad to be able to take part in these exercises to-day.

Eighty-nine years ago the man whose memory we seek to honor to-day came here as a representative of his tribe. Almost a century afterwards the great State of Oklahoma further recognizes his services to mankind and honors his memory by directing that his statue be placed here among the statues of our most distinguished men. No man exhibited a greater genius, and no man's work had a more immediate and lasting influence upon the people among whom he lived. He richly deserves the honor which we show him to-day and which the State of Oklahoma confers upon him.

Only a few centuries ago the American Indians were the sole inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. How appropriate that we should place in the Nation's Capitol, as a gift from Oklahoma, which means the home of the red man, formed by a union of vast areas of land occupied by Indian tribes, making them citizens of the State, combining the seals of the several tribes into one representing the State, indicating that it was a friendly assimilation and not a destruction of them, the statue of one representative not only of our great State but the Nation and Indian race as well, and that from among them was selected one representing the forward thought of his time—the Cadmus of his race. [Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. We will now have the acceptance of the statue of Sequoyah by the most lovable man in the United States, Hon. CHAMP CLARK, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS BY HON. CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker CHAMP CLARK. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am making this speech a little out of time, because you know I must call the House to order in a few moments. Two other gentlemen are going to speak after I get through, so you need not think this is the end of the performance.

I am delighted to do anything that contributes to the pleasure and happiness of the State of Oklahoma. [Applause.] I went down there in 1890 and spent two happy weeks hunting and fishing, and for a long time was considered a sort of delegate from the Indian Territory. Oklahoma is "Beautiful land" and immensely rich in natural resources. Next to Missouri it is the finest State in the Union. [Great applause.] From the very first it has been splendidly represented in the House and Senate.

Some people may not know anything about this group of statues. This Hall used to be the Hall of the House of Representatives. The last speech made in it was delivered by Sunset Cox, of Ohio, in 1857. He started the speech but did not finish it that night. He finished it in the new Hall the next day and was the first to speak in that magnificent Hall.

The way I came to be connected with this ceremony is this: As Speaker of the House, I have jurisdiction over the Capitol from a line running through the middle of the rotunda east and west—all on the south side of the line. All the Capitol on the north side of the line is under the jurisdiction of the Vice President.

You people have contributed the statue of a great Indian here. There is the original American. The history of the Cherokees, if written, would be as interesting as a novel. I spent a half hour yesterday listening to CHARLIE CARTER tell one small episode of the Cherokees.

Now, a great many of you have listened to Senator OWEN tell about Sequoyah's invention of the alphabet. It is one of the greatest performances ever conceived by the human intellect. Cadmus invented different letters. Guttenberg invented movable type. Sequoyah invented the only sensible alphabet ever invented in the world.

When I was a boy, my father believed in phonetics and I believe in phonetics. Sequoyah invented simply a large and complete phonetic system in which everything is spelled by sound, which is the correct way. If he had lived 2,000 years ago and had invented his alphabet and had got people to use it, one-fifth of the time of the usual life could have been saved. [Applause.] On the average, we spend one-fifth of our lives learning how to spell, and we don't know yet. [Laughter and applause.]

What is the philosophy of this alphabet? It has one letter for each and every sound the human throat can make. That is precisely what it is. You stand a child up on the floor and give out the word "owl." The chances are it will be spelt "ou"-l, because "ou" is a specific sound, and the child will spell it better than the teacher pronouncing it.

I have thought about the phonetic system in the United States, and the other half of the system is shorthand writing. Suppose a child did not have to learn to spell and learned to write shorthand. It would save another one-fifth of human life. It is easy to learn to write shorthand, and it ought to be used in place of long hand [applause] and taught in the schools.

Sequoyah was one of the greatest Indians that ever lived. A man who can do a thing like he did deserves well of the whole human race, and children here to-day may live to see the phonetic system taught in every school in the United States.

Senator Morrill, of Vermont, introduced a measure setting aside this Hall forever as a place where each State could place two statues of its famous men, and here they are. The law provides that only two can be placed here, but Missouri has five: Benton, Blair, Shields, Kenna, of West Virginia, and Austin, of Texas. I am glad to be here and help to accept this statue to-day on behalf of Oklahoma, and especially these Indians, who amid the hardest circumstances made themselves great and useful American citizens. They rejoice in their advancement and we rejoice in their advancement. [Great applause.]

Chairman CARTER. I now have the pleasure of introducing Hon. T. D. MCKEOWN, Member of Congress from the fourth Oklahoma district.

ADDRESS OF HON. T. D. M'KEOWN.

Congressman MCKEOWN. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, yesterday was the anniversary of the birth of Socrates, the great Grecian philosopher; twenty-three hundred and thirty-seven years ago, he was born in the city of Athens. He won fame by talking to the young men of Athens in the market places, upon the public walks, and in the gymnasia. His philosophy elevated the Greeks to a higher plane in civilization, although it cost him his life at the hands of a government obedience for which he had always taught.

It is evident that nature throughout the centuries has created giant intellects to serve the purpose of an all-wise Creator in shaping the destinies of the human race. The accomplishments of these great minds stand out upon the pages of history like the snow-capped peaks of the lofty mountain ranges upon the wide expanse of continents. Master minds have not been confined to any one race, but have been scattered throughout the races of men in all parts of the world.

Among the Mongolian people Confucius, of China, molded the sentiment and progress of his nation for 4,000 years.

The Patriarch Abraham is yet wielding his influence through millions of his descendents, who now inhabit every country and speak the language of every race.

The Arab, Mohammed, is living to-day in larger measure than when he walked and talked with men. His suspended casket has a stronger, more magnetic power than was accomplished even by the eloquence of his tongue.

The great Mogul of India lives in the peculiar customs and rites of the natives of that mystic land, and thus perpetuates his memory long after the marble mausoleums for which his country is famed shall have melted away.

Napoleon Bonaparte, of Corsica, is still worshiped in the trenches of France, and his genius as a general is to be seen again in the heroes of the Marne and the Somme.

George Washington, of Virginia, is still loved and revered by all free peoples, his influence is felt to-day by many millions, and his name shall never perish from the earth. The "Spirit of '76" is rapidly returning in the "Spirit of '17" to the hundred millions of God-fearing people of the United States.

So, in the course of events, Sequoyah came into the world through the Cherokee Tribe of the American Indian. While he gained high rank as a warrior, yet he immortalized himself by the invention of his Cherokee alphabet.

Napoleon said of himself that his greatest contribution to the human race was not the battles he won, but his "code"; likewise, we can say of Sequoyah that his greatest achievement was his alphabet.

Those of the Oklahoma delegation in Congress who are members of his proud and magnificent race are best fitted to dwell more at length upon the history and character of this great man.

It is hardly possible to realize the wonderful changes that have been wrought in Oklahoma since Sequoyah gazed upon its unbroken prairies, its primeval forests, and its swift-running streams. On his long journey to the wild tribes of the West, from which he never returned, he undoubtedly passed over the historic Spavinaw Hills and down through and along the beautiful valleys of the Grand and Verdigris. No doubt he traveled across the rich, beautiful prairies between the Cimmaron and the Arkansas and over the salt plains of western Oklahoma.

Like the tread of Midas was the route of Sequoyah's journey. His footsteps turned the hills into rich lead and zinc, the highlands into coal, oil, and gas, and the prairies into fields of fleecy cotton and golden grain, where the corn tassels nod to the beckoning wheat and the alfalfa vies with the clover in furnishing aroma for the bees.

Where the buffalo once fed white-faced Herefords now graze, and the scampering antelope has given place to browsing sheep. Trackless prairies are now pierced by modern highways, and the bucking broncho has been supplanted by the automobile.

The places where he staked his tent for the night have sprung into magnificent cities, with broad streets and beautiful parks and towering buildings.

Sequoyah journeyed to the wild tribes of the West to teach them the common tongue. No doubt he was actuated by that high motive which caused the missionaries in the early days to carry the story of the Cross to his people. It is fair to presume he looked forward to the time when that people could read for themselves the life story of the "lowly Nazarene." Fate decreed otherwise, however, and he never returned to the Cherokee Tribe. Thus was that beautiful and instructive career closed on earth. Like Moses of old, the angels dug his grave, and no man knoweth the place thereof.

There is a tradition among the Seneca Indians that if you catch a singing bird, and to it bind messages of love and affection for your departed friends, and set it free over the graves of your loved ones, it will not fold its wings or close its eyes until it has reached the spirit land and delivered the messages to the adored and missing ones.

Then, friends, let us bind a message to the birds of joy, singing in our bosoms and release them here to-day to bear the message of our appreciation to the loved and missing Sequoyah.

Somewhere in the far-away West, back of the setting sun, his tired spirit went out at the close of day. And like the beauty of the flowers that fade on earth to reappear in the rainbow of the sky (the heaven of flowers) appears the spirit of Sequoyah in the golden rays of the glorious orb as it drops behind the horizon.

As we pay this tribute here to-day we can say of Sequoyah:

To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die.

[Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. Ladies and gentlemen, we shall now have the privilege of hearing another Oklahoman who has been signally honored by his State in being continued in Congress since statehood. I now introduce Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, Member of Congress from the sixth Oklahoma district.

ADDRESS OF HON. SCOTT FERRIS.

Congressman FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, Speaker CLARK, ladies, and gentlemen, Sequoyah, a Cherokee Indian in whose honor we are this day installing this statue, was born in 1760; died in 1843; born in Tennessee; resident of territory now comprising Oklahoma during the last 20 years of his life; died in Old Mexico; born 16 years before the Republic of the United States was born; inventor of Cherokee alphabet; foremost American Indian; died 64 years before Oklahoma was admitted into the Union. No member of the Cherokee Tribe, no citizen of the State now knows his last resting place. His greatness and his genius have survived it all. Oklahoma to-day honors herself by honoring him. His right to be thus honored is both unquestioned and undoubted.

Oklahoma this day installs in Statuary Hall of America's Capitol the first statue of an American Indian to be given place here. Oklahoma honors not alone Sequoyah, not alone the Cherokee Tribe of which he was a member, but the American Indian of all tribes. Oklahoma honors the Nation in affording this recognition to the original occupant of the American soil which now seems destined to feed and lead the world. [Applause.]

Sequoyah's place in history was vouchsafed to him by his genius that invented the Sequoyah alphabet and thereby imparted education, religion, civilization, and hope to his tribesmen. Sequoyah's place in history was vouchsafed to him without the art of the artist, the resources of the treasury, or the ceremonies performed here this day. Little can we add; nothing can we detract from the glories attained by the genius of this most remarkable primitive man. His contribution to history, to civilization, to Christianity, and the stimulus and hope afforded his tribesmen in their primitive state of long ago will not tarnish, corrode, or efface with the close of this day or the generation. [Applause.] The memory of Sequoyah stands out to-day among his tribesmen as the foremost Indian of all the Republic. The installation of this statue in Statuary Hall this day gives but tardy recognition to his genius and achievements.

The primary purpose of this great historic Statuary Hall in which we are assembled to-day is to honor the memory of the two most distinguished citizens of each of the respective States. Sequoyah's right to this first honor stands on firm ground, unquestioned, unattacked, undisputed.

How proud it makes me feel, how proud it must make the 2,000,000 citizens of the bright, new State of Oklahoma feel, to know that they were the first to give belated, tardy recognition to the American Indian. The historic Hall in which we are assembled this day is sheltered by the most attractive, substantial Capitol in all the world. Its architecture and grandeur is being copied by all the republics of the world. We are first in architectural beauty and grandeur; we are first in freedom, liberty, and justice. We are the proudest and freest Republic in all the world. [Applause.]

On July 4, 1776, when our timid, modest, and almost tottering child Republic was born, there was in all the world but the one frail Republic of Switzerland. How proud must we all feel to-day that there are now 26 Republics where men are free; where liberty is the property of every man; where free men dare to think, to speak, and to write their convictions; where every man dares to go from any schoolhouse to any church house; where every man is peer and no one dares to wear a crown. [Applause.]

The Nation with its teeming hundred million citizens was at peace in March—at war in June. War not of our choosing, but forced upon us by the iron hand of militarism, Prussianism, and maltreatment. Peace has always been a controlling passion with me; it has been my hope by day, my dream by night. Peace has been the one hope of this Nation. But it has been peace with honor, not dishonor, that we have sought. We are still the sons of honored sires; patriotism is not dead. [Applause.] Pacifism, anarchy, and disloyalty shall not be the only dim lamp to lead the hopes, the destinies, and the welfare of this magic Republic. [Applause.]

Shall we succeed? The question asked is the question answered. But it must be no timid warfare. Justice will supplant injustice; democracy will uproot autocracy; love of country will outstrip fear of country; liberty will supplant Prussianism and militarism; freedom will prevail; America will win; victory shall be ours. [Applause.]

Statue of Sequoyah! We honor you as an inanimate emblem of a genius of the long ago; we install you to stand in this historic Hall for all time with Washington, with Lincoln, and the others. May the Capitol that this day shelters us and the statues of our honored ones not alone shelter us from the summer's blazing sun and winter's blast, but may it shelter us and those that follow us against tyranny, militarism, and oppression, and preserve inviolate our liberty, our freedom, and the glories of a matchless Republic. [Prolonged applause.]

Chairman CARTER. The next on the program is a reading by by a young Cherokee lady, Miss Anne Ross. [Applause.]

Miss ANNE ROSS (reading)—

ODE TO SEQUOYAH.

[Written by Alex. Posey, the Creek Indian poet.]

The names of Waitie and Boudinot—
The valiant warrior and gifted sage—
And other Cherokees may be forgot,
But thy name shall descend to every age;
The mysteries enshrouding Cadmus' name
Can not obscure thy claim to fame.

The people's language can not perish—nay,
When from the face of this great continent
Inevitable doom hath swept away
The last memorial, the last fragments
Of tribes, some scholar learned shall pore
Upon thy letters, seeking ancient lore.

Some bard shall lift a voice in praise of thee,
In moving numbers tell the world how men
Scoffed thee, hissed thee, charged with lunacy!
And who could not give 'nough honor when
At length, in spite of jeers, of want and need,
Thy genius shaped a dream into a deed.

By cloud-capped summits in the boundless West,
Or mighty river rolling to the sea,
Where'er thy footsteps led thee on that quest,
Unknown, rest thee, illustrious Cherokee!

Chairman CARTER. I have been requested to read the following poem, by Mr. J. S. Holden, of Fort Gibson, Okla.:

THE CHEROKEE CADMUS.

The Cadmus of his race,
A man without a peer,
He stood alone, his genius shown
Throughout a hemisphere.

Untutored, yet so great,
Grand and alone his fame—
Yes, grand, great, the future State
Should bear Sequoyah's name.

In ages yet to come,
When his nation has no place,
His memory shall live in history's page,
The grandest of his race!

Chairman CARTER. I now have the pleasure and the privilege of introducing Hon. H. B. Teehee, Register of the Treasury, who will represent Hon. R. L. Williams, governor of Oklahoma, in presenting the statue of Sequoyah.

ADDRESS OF HON. H. B. TEEHEE.

Mr. TEEHEE. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, it is with a feeling of genuine pleasure, not unmixed with a pride common to the citizenship of Oklahoma and a joy peculiar to those through whose veins course the blood not of a dying race but of an amalgamated people, that I respond on this occasion for and on behalf of the State of Oklahoma to present to the Government of the United States the statue of Sequoyah and to join in paying tribute to this illustrious character.

When these proceedings shall have been disseminated through the medium of the press and have been brought to the notice of the Indian of America, he, too, will be thrilled with a peculiar pride and will join us in according to a member of his race a rightful place in the history of his country. This day, indeed, will be an eventful one to the original American, and doubly so to the noble Cherokee.

It is significant that that State, intended to have been the great mobilization camp and home of the red man, should have chosen as one of her sons for this signal honor one who had made it possible for that element of her citizenship, considered as semi-savage or barbarian less than a century ago, to join the Caucasian element to maintain and increase the brilliancy of her star ever since the morning of the 16th day of November, 1907, when it flashed in meteoric splendor across the emblazonry of our Union. From that day to this good and eventful hour this representative people has contributed, by both brain and brawn, to keep the forty-sixth star in the ascendency and ever increasing in luster until its soft light, with the light of the others of the constellation of States, now radiates over the entire American Nation, lighting the path of her citizens and enabling them to progress with complete security of life and liberty, in continued enjoyment of freedom and happiness, and in the assured stability of her cherished institutions and ideals. In the pride of the history of our country, interwoven with the lives of our foremost men and women, with its beautiful legends and rythmic names of towns, cities, rivers, valleys, mountains, and States which form a part of the warp and woof of our annals, the red man vies with the white man and yields to none.

The man whom we this day honor had the good fortune to have lived in the days when our forefathers, amid shot and shell, laid the foundation of the American Republic, that to-day stands as the champion of freedom and liberty—the common heritage of mankind.

From the story of his life we learn anew the lessons of self-reliance and obedience and the inspiring power of nature. It was the principle of self-dependence, made a part of his nature through the patient and insistent instruction of his mother, fortified by a mother's love that was idolatrous, that formed the basis upon which was builded his illustrious career.

Being without the elementary training of the schoolroom, he necessarily became sagaciously observant of the things with which he came into contact. The application of this rule naturally inculcated in him an ambition to excel in whatever he engaged, whether it was in the chase of the wild fox or sleek antelope, the sports of the day, the pursuit of artisanship, or the grim game of war, which seems to have been popular in his day, and is not without its popularity in this enlightened age in which we live. Everything he saw and heard furnished a challenge to his untrained mind to evolve a scheme by which his people, when that inevitable day came, were enabled to claim and receive the privileges and assume the burdens and responsibilities of full-fledged American citizenship.

Sequoyah ranks as one of the benefactors of the human family. The immediate effect of his invention of the Cherokee alphabet was amazing. The Cherokee abandoned the chase and the warpath and literally "beat their tomahawks into plowshares and their scalping knives into pruning hooks." The hunting trail and the warpath were turned into avenues of peaceful pursuits. The zeal and excitement of the chase and strife were supplanted by enthusiasm and a thirst for knowledge. Letters and learning flourished notwithstanding the difficulties that beset the Cherokee on all sides by the encroachment of the ever-aggressive Anglo-Saxon, who ever sought to wrest from him his happy hunting grounds, then being made to blossom like the rose. Schools and churches sprung up as it were out of the earth at the touch of the magic wand. The government of the Cherokee took the form of a republican government, patterned after that of the neighboring States, and was, indeed, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Before many moons had passed their manner of living had covered the whole range from that of everyday custom to the highest conventionalities that a capricious fashion forces into the more extravagant forms of social life.

Sequoyah preceded the first general migration of his people toward the setting sun, whence a part had gone 20 years before. He saw his people there in what was the old Indian Territory set up anew the government they had abandoned in the East and continue the pursuit of the arts and industries of peace, though not without untold hardships and privations, and there, with other kindred tribes, lay the foundations of what was destined to become one of the greatest States of the Union, a full realization of which it has been our pleasure to behold, and which to-day pays him homage. Noting the wonderful progress his people had made in the arts of civilized life by his invention, this master mind conceived the idea of inventing a common alphabet for all the tribes of the Indian race of America. He undertook the execution of this laudable task in the old oxcart of bygone days—the vehicle that was hitched to the "star of empire" that westward wended its way and brought to the western plains the germ of civilization—and for two years this master mind journeyed from tribe to tribe until that fate common to us all befell him and left his task to be finished by the processes of time.

Sequoyah was indeed a child of the forest, with the great outdoors as his playground and storehouse of his inspiration. In the words of his biographer, Foster:

> The first music that greeted this Indian child was the sighing of the forest, the musical rustle of leaves, and the song of nature, which he loved through life, which seems to have been the inspiration of his genius and the key to his grand achievement.

The inspiring power of nature has been made manifest frequently, even from the beginning of the world's history, for the God of Nature "moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform." It was amid the thunderings and lightnings on the summit of Mount Sinai where Moses was inspired by the God of Nations to give voice to the Ten Commandments and other laws of upright conduct and honesty in human relationship that have formed the bases of all human law from that inspiring day to this eventful age in which we live. It was on the summit of Mount Horeb, amid the roaring storm and the tremors of the earthquaqe, where the Prophet Elijah implicitly obeyed the "still small voice" to the end that the judgments of the Great Jehovah should be proven to be more enduring than the everlasting hills. It was on the summit of Mount Olivet, amid the glory of all the kingdoms of the world, where the Father of all inspiration, through the voice of the lowly Nazarene, gave utterance to the beatitudes of literature which have furnished themes for thought of poet, of statesman, of philosopher, and of orator, with a message ever increasing in hope and cheer, courage, and faith to mankind, enabling men to walk toward the mark of high calling with complete confidence and security of a sure reward in the eternal beyond, from whence no traveler has returned.

So, too, it was on the summit of the blue mountains of Georgia, amid all the matchless scenes of nature's artist, where this untutored Indian, Sequoyah, was inspired to invent the instrumentality through which the Cherokee were enabled to read in their own language the wonderful story of Christ and Him crucified, and gain a clearer conception of the Great Spirit in whom they believed. And, like the great Lawgiver, Sequoyah was led into the mountains of the Great Western Divide and saw all around him the lands of his kindred tribes, to whom he had gone to find the missing link in the common language, bathed in the gorgeous colorings of the setting sun, and there, enraptured with these scenes of fadeless tints, he fell asleep and found his sepulcher—the place of which to this day no man knoweth, and no man in all America like unto him has since arisen. But somewhere on the southwestern plains, unburied by the hands of man, commingling with the dust of mother earth, lie the bones of him whom we this day commemorate. With each recurring year methinks the shades of his race wend their way through the trackless air to do homage to this patron saint of the Cherokee, and there at that sacred spot with spirit hands lay their laurel wreaths of memory and sing the praises of the American Cadmus.

Heretofore when the red man, accompanied by his pale-faced brother, entered this marble home of our Nation he would note over the east dome hall entrance a sculptural representation of the landing of the Pilgrims—the Old World coming to the New. One of the Pilgrims stepping ashore meets an Indian, who extends to his stranger visitor an ear of corn, symbolic of succor to the needy. Indeed a happy welcome, extended in that simplicity of Indian character and received by a grateful company of Pilgrims. Over the north entrance he would note a representation of William Penn in the act of making his treaty with the Indians, whereunder land was ceded to William Penn and his followers

for such articles of commerce then having value in the Indian eye, though in fact of no intrinsic worth, and with felicitations and security of peace as additional compensation.

Doubtless there was no red tape to unwind or roll up in those days that in later years and still in the memory of man attended subsequent transactions, in which there was wanting the element of felicitation, this having been displaced by the substitution of autonomy as long as "grass grows and water runs." Over the west entrance he would note the representation of Pocahontas, the Indian maiden, saving the life of Capt. John Smith at the risk of her own. A beautiful nature picture of the Indian's simple and instinctive belief in and knowledge of that eternal truth that "whosoever shall lose his life shall save it." This act sacrificial at once brought into notice this maiden of the forest, which resulted in a tie of human relationship that should have immediately bridged the Atlantic Ocean. It should have forever secured the Indian fortune, but evidently in the light of subsequent history, it did not fully serve as efficacious a purpose in the field of conservation as the Indian of that day had anticipated, but happily it was a link in the golden chain that now binds the descendants of that union in standing shoulder to shoulder battling for the common cause of mankind. And over the south entrance the red man would note a representation of Daniel Boone, of historic fame, coming into deadly conflict with two Indians, portrayal perhaps of the subjugation of the virgin forest and the boundless prairie to the spirit of civilization. These representations the red man, would think, too sadly tell the story of the effort of the Indian to live on his native soil. He would think they too correctly interpret and define the policy pursued by the Federal Government in its dealings with the Indian, which has been the subject of caustic criticism.

But thenceforth when the red man sees in this historic Hall of Fame a figure of his race, standing erect as of yore and touching elbow with elbow with the most noted of the pale face, with poet and patriot, orator and philosopher, statesman and soldier, he will forget these artistic decorations and rising to his full stature, in exultant joy, exclaim to his pale-faced brother "At last my people are no longer strangers to their native soil, 'the land of the free, the home of the brave.'" He will clasp the hand of his companion and in firm, solemn, and sincere tones say, "I join you in unmeasured love of our country, in unreserved devotion to her fundamental principles, in complete consecration to her lofty ideals, and will lay my life by the side of yours upon the altar in maintaining these attributes of American character whereon hang all the laws of freedom and liberty."

In the name of the Hon. Robert L. Williams, governor of the State of Oklahoma, and on behalf of that State, I present to the Government of the United States of America the statue of Sequoyah, the American Cadmus. [Applause.]

Chairman CARTER. Following is an address by the Hon. DICK T. MORGAN, Member of Congress from the eighth Oklahoma district:

ADDRESS OF HON. DICK T. MORGAN.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, it is altogether appropriate that the American Indian should be represented in the Hall of Fame of the Capitol. The placing of a statue of Sequoyah in Statuary Hall therefore is a very fitting and appropriate recognition of the Indian race. Furthermore, it is especially appropriate that Oklahoma, more than any other State, should give this recognition.

Many years ago, through treaties with the Indians, a number of Indian tribes were transferred to the Indian Territory. The Indian Territory has developed into the great State of Oklahoma, with a population of approximately two and one-half millions of people. About 125,000 Indians reside in the State. This number constitutes in round numbers one-third of the entire Indian population of the United States. Unfortunately the percentage of our Indian population is comparatively small, and will grow less in the future. Still, the Indians of Oklahoma will be in the future, as they are now and have been in the past, conspicuous in the history of the State. For one I approve of the action of the Legislature of Oklahoma in giving to Sequoyah the great honor of a statue in Statuary Hall among the renowned and great of our Nation.

Sequoyah's fame rests upon his achievement in inventing an alphabet for the Cherokee Indian Nation. This was a remarkable achievement, in view of the fact that Sequoyah was an unlettered man and possessed no education whatsoever. One of the evidences of the real greatness of Sequoyah developed early in his life. It is said that ordinarily Indian boys of his time did not have much respect or love for their mothers, but in this connection Sequoyah differed from the usual Indian boy. Early in his life he devoted much time in trying to invent and construct various things about the home that would contribute to the happiness and welfare of his mother. Later on Sequoyah, through his unusual ability and industry, became a silversmith—an expert artisan. He continued in this business for some time, giving more or less attention to the art of drawing.

A further mark of evidence of the greatness of Sequoyah is the fact that he was popular with his own people. It is said that he was "amiable, accommodating, and unassuming. He displayed an industry uncommon among his people and a genius which elevated him in their eyes into a prodigy."

After all, Sequoyah succeeded like most men succeed; his success was largely due to his industry, for he was always at work. Furthermore, his accomplishments were largely due to his power of concentration. For several years he withdrew himself almost entirely from the outside world and devoted himself exclusively to inventing and perfecting an alphabet for his race. Like Whitney, Howe, McCormick, Edison, and practically all other great inventors Sequoyah succeeded in his invention by industry, perseverance, and concentration. After accomplishing this great work, he then endeared himself to his people through his devotion to service in teaching them how to read and write. The General Council of the Cherokee Nation passed a resolution awarding Sequoyah a silver medal as a token of their gratitude for his great services.

It is remarkable how few men attain historical fame. Of the many schools and the thousands who graduate from our colleges and universities, and who have the highest opportunities in the line of education, very few make for themselves a place in history. Sequoyah without education, without intellectual training, and during his life having been associated with an unlettered people—with all of these handicaps—he still made for himself a place in the history of our Nation. He accomplished something worth while. His life and achievement should be an inspiration to the youth of the Nation.

Chairman CARTER. The following is the Lord's Prayer in Cherokee, using the English alphabet and not the alphabet of Sequoyah:

LORD'S PRAYER IN CHEROKEE.

Au-g R-dau-dah goh-lv-lah-de ha-hi, qha-lv-quv-de-yu ya-sa-sed-ga-sv gah-nah-nov-gau-e-ga-sv gah-nah-nov-gau-e. Sh-ne a-lau-he Wo-no-gah-le-sd oh hah-dah-nv-ta-skv-e nah-ske-yah gah-lv-lah-de tse-no-gah-le-ste-hah. No-dah-dau-dah-que-so aug-gah-lo-sdah-yu-de ske-v-se kau-he e-gah. Do-ga-ske-v-se-se-gu-hanaugh da-ske-tu-e, nah-ske-yah tse do-gah-yolh-tse-na-hau tsau--tse-ta-ge. Ah-la tla-ste ov-deh-gau-le-ya-de-ye-ga-sv we de-de-ske-yah-te-nv-stah-no-ge. Ske-yu-dah-la-ska-st-qu-ske ne uv-yau ga-sv-e. Tsah-tsa-le-gah-yah-ya-knau tsah-gv-we-yu-he ga-sv-e. Ah-la a-tsah-lv-quo-du-yu ga-sv ne-gau-elv-he. Amen.

Chairman CARTER. The exercises will be concluded by Rev. Henry N. Couden pronouncing the benediction:

BENEDICTION.

And now, O God our Heavenly Father, let Thy blessing attend the exercises of the hour; that the spirit which pervaded them may remain in our hearts and be an inspiration to those whose lips were fired with eloquence and those who listened to the thrilling message pertaining to the great man whose statue has been unveiled; that they may go with them to their homes and be an inspiration to true and noble sacrifices in the spirit of the Master. Amen.

Sequoyah.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 14, 1917.

Mr. McCLINTIC. Mr. Speaker, on account of being appointed a member of the committee from the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the late Senator Lane at Portland, Oreg., it was necessary that I be absent from Washington on the day set apart for the unveiling ceremonies of the statue of Sequoyah. The House of Representatives having given me permission to extend my remarks, I am pleased to add to what has been already said a few observations relative to this great inventor.

I am glad to pay tribute to one of the greatest characters that ever resided in that section of the country which is now known as the State of Oklahoma. I consider this occasion to be a remarkable one for the reason we are paying tribute to a representative of the original race of people who inhabited this country as far back as history makes mention. I also feel that a

worthy tribute is being paid to the great Cherokee Tribe of Indians. The history of Oklahoma shows that other representatives of this Nation have taken an important part in every movement that sought to improve conditions in the section of country where they were residents.

In the legislative halls of my State and in the United States Congress the same tribe of people that gave birth to this great character have been honored by having representatives who have always played an important part in dealing with the various subjects that were of interest to the American people. It has been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the citizens of this country that the Cherokees and certain other tribes are fully capable of shouldering the responsibilities of life, and I feel that no more fitting tribute can be paid to this great race of people than to have unveiled in the Capitol of the United States a statue of one of their representative citizens.

I remember some seven years ago, when a member of the Oklahoma Legislature, that the work of Sequoyah was first brought to my attention by certain members of the Oklahoma Legislature who were affiliated with the Cherokee Nation. When it is taken into consideration that history tells us that Sequoyah, wholly uneducated, conceived the idea of transforming his native language into an alphabet, and that he was successful in doing this I feel that it was indeed a remarkable accomplishment. By this method books were published, newspapers were edited, and it was probably the greatest incentive to cause his associates to have a desire to acquire sufficient knowledge to be able to gain an education.

Inasmuch as his tribe was the first to learn how to read and write their own language, it is only natural that a desire was created for additional knowledge, and this invention stands today as a monument in their history, being the beginning of a period of enlightenment that has caused their people to occupy a high ranking position in the estimation of all the people. Sequoyah must have had a divine inspiration that caused him to seek a solution of the greatest problem that confronted his people, and it is very remarkable to me that under the circumstances he was successful in doing that which no other representative of his people had done.

History tells us that later on, after being successful in this work, that he conceived the idea of inventing a universal alphabet, to be used by all of the Indian tribes of America. Some may have doubts as to whether or not this could have been done, yet when it is taken into consideration there is a universal sign language that is used and understood by every tribe, it can be very easily seen that there was a sufficient understanding between the various Indian races to have made this possible. It is very unfortunate that he came to an untimely death and that the work he sought to do was never completed.

I am proud that Congress in its widom has recognized his remarkable accomplishments in behalf of his people by giving him a special medal and monetary reward. We are told that very little is known of his last days and that there is no authentic record of his last resting place. It is said that when he started on his last mission that he left his home for the purpose of visiting other Indian tribes, traveling in a southwestern direction.

Inasmuch as no positive statement can be made as to his last work and where he died, I feel that it will not be out of place for me to place in the record a statement I made when speaking as a member of the Oklahoma Legislature in support of the legislation which made it possible for these exercises to be held in honor of this character. In the Wichita Mountains, some three hundred miles southwest of the Cherokee Nation, there was established in 1858, close to the present town of Snyder, a Government fort for the purpose of corralling and quieting the warlike Comanche Indians. Among the soldiers stationed there who afterwards played an important part in the history of this country was Fitzhugh Lee, the nephew of Robert E. Lee. Probably the greatest Indian battle ever fought was the one in which Lee received an arrow wound in his right breast and which nearly took his life. There was also connected with this campaign Maj. Loeffler, the only living survivor that participated in the capture of the white mother of Quanah Parker, the chief of the Comanche Indians. Very close to the location of this old fort in the year of 1903 a farmer by the name of E. E. Fancher, while exploring a depression under a huge rock or small cave, found the skeleton of a man. With the bones of this body was found an old rifle, a powder horn, a bullet mold, and a medal which I have been informed was used by the sculptor in modeling the reproduction that appears around the neck of the statue of Sequoyah. Many believe this is the same medal that was given him by Congress. However, there is no authentic way to corroborate this statement.

History tells us that Sequoyah at one time had a broken leg. An examination of this skeleton showed that the same leg corresponding with Sequoyah's injury had been broken. I do not know if the facts connected with this discovery throw any particular light on the disappearance of this great character, but there are some that believe he started his work among the Indians that inhabited this section of the country and that this incident covers his last resting place. I desire to congratulate the citizens of the Cherokee tribe for the contribution they have given to this nation in the person of Sequoyah. I am very glad that the State of Oklahoma has been the first in this Union to pay tribute to a representative of the Indian race. My experience in dealing with the representative citizens of the various Indian tribes in Oklahoma proves that their representatives are possessed with excellent qualifications and that they are performing valuable service in every occupation and walk of life.

To my mind Sequoyah was an unpolished diamond. His memory should live on forever in the hearts of his people, as his accomplishments will stand as a monument as to what can be done by the person who tries. As a citizen and a representative of the State of Oklahoma I am very proud that this honor has been conferred in this manner, and I am pleased to see a representative of the Indians be given a place in the Hall of Fame of this great Government.

The Cummins-Smoot Amendments.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM GORDON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 14, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 13, a colloquy occurred upon the floor of the House between the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN], in which the former yielded to the latter for a question:

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is it honest to take property without compensation?

Mr. FESS. It was honest to take and destroy human slavery during the Civil War, because the destruction of that property was necessary to perpetuate our type of government as we understand it.

Thereupon the gentleman from Texas declined to discuss the slavery issue, because, being from the South. he was at a disadvantage.

I do not labor under the sectional disability of the gentleman from Texas, and have therefore obtained leave to reply to some of the observations of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], who, in his remarks and in the matter printed under leave to extend the same, goes into a general defense of the Cummins and Smoot amendments, both of which are palpable violations of the fifth amendment to the Federal Constitution, and seeks to justify such legislation by referring to the emancipation proclamation issued by President Lincoln during the Civil War.

The emancipation proclamation only applied to those States and parts of States in which the inhabitants were in open and armed rebellion against the Government of the United States, and the sole authority for the issuance and execution of the proclamation was that the persons to whom it applied were public enemies when the proclamation was issued, on September 22, 1862, and continued to be when it became effective. It was provided:

That on the 1st day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free.

Under the terms and conditions of the proclamation itself the people of those States and parts of States then in rebellion might, by laying down their arms and submitting to the authority of the United States, have retained their slaves. They lost their property by and because of their continued rebellion and, by the express terms of the proclamation itself, by refusing to surrender. Their slaves were freed by the authority of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, upon exactly the same ground and for the precise reason that their horses, mules, and cotton were taken without compensation, to wit, on the ground that they were public enemies, and it was perfectly lawful to despoil them of anything that could be used to carry on the war. They were in open and armed conflict with the people and the Government of the United States.

But the people whom it is proposed to despoil of their property by the Cummins and Smoot amendments are citizens of

the United States, living under and entitled to the protection guaranteed by its Constitution, which provides, among other things, that—

No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

The Cummins amendment provides that—

No distilled liquor or spirits now in bond in the United States shall, during the existing war, be withdrawn to be used as a beverage.

This provision was an open and flat repudiation of the terms and conditions of the statute and contract under which these liquors were deposited and a breach of faith on the part of this Government, and no one who understands the meaning of the English language will contend that under the language of the Constitution which I have quoted Congress has the power to deprive a person of the use of his property for an indefinite period without compensation. A majority of the Senate had sense enough to see this, and finally to reconsider and defeat the Cummins amendment.

But the Smoot amendment which was adopted in its stead is no better, because it just as clearly violates the provision of the Constitution above quoted as did the Cummins amendment. It provides for the taking of the property referred to and authorizes the payment to the owners therefor of "the actual cost of the same plus a profit not exceeding 10 per cent." Congress has no authority to fix the price it will pay for property which it authorizes to be taken. If Congress could do this, it could as well authorize the taking of property without any compensation whatever; neither is due process of law, and both methods violate the provision of the Constitution above cited.

Congress may in time of war authorize the taking for public use of any private property, but when it does so and fails to make provision for payment of the value of same to the owner before the property is taken it thereby pledges the public faith and credit and power of the Government to pay the owner of same its true value in money, and this true value must be determined by "due process of law." If Congress had the power of prescribing an arbitrary rule for determining the value of property so taken, it could indirectly do what everyone concedes it can not do directly. Jefferson guarded against this specific thing in the fifth amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The public degradation of the American Congress by an impudent and insolent lobby, which has apparently controlled the action of a majority of the Members during the pendency of this food-control bill, regardless of the oath of office which each has taken, was made known to the world by the President of the United States in a letter to the head of this lobby, made public on June 29 last and embodied in the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS]. That it should become necessary when the Nation is at war for the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy to make a public appeal to legislative agents, who are under no official responsibility, to remove their clutches from the throats of the Members of the law-making branch of the Government and permit it to proceed in an orderly way in the transaction of the public business, with some regard to their oath of office, is little short of a public scandal and disgrace to the Nation.

In his first inaugural address Lincoln said:

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution, which I now read:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend. And we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

Lincoln then continued:

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.

Lincoln then quoted at length from the Constitution, and called attention to the oath which all Members of Congress take to support all of its provisions. Lincoln's appeal fell on deaf ears; there were men in Congress in those days, as there are now, who for the purpose of pandering to the supposedly dominant sentiment of their districts repudiated their oath of office and "indicted" unpopular things on the floors of Congress for political effect in their home districts; denounced the Constitution, which they had taken a solemn oath to support, as a "covenant with hell," and the result was insurrection and rebellion and the greatest civil war in the history of the human race.

Human slavery is and always was morally wrong, because it involved traffic in human flesh and blood, but it was one of the unfortunate compromises believed to be necessary to secure the adoption of the Constitution that its legal existence, with the lawful right to reclaim runaway slaves, was recognized and protected. No such moral principle is involved in the ownership, manufacture, or sale of spiritous, vinous, or malt liquors, and no such excuse can be pleaded for the confiscation of this class of property; and because we are at war with a foreign nation furnishes no justification or excuse to invade the constitutional rights of our own citizens. It is indeed a "far cry" for men who pose as public educators to invoke the latent hatred of human slavery, which has been extinct over 50 years, in this country, to bolster up and give moral tone to what is little short of a crusade for the malicious destruction of the property of American citizens.

In the case of Ex parte Milligan, Seventy-first United States Supreme Court Reports, page 120, that great tribunal adjudged and declared:

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false, for the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence, as has been happily proved by the result of the great effort to throw off its just authority.

Liability to Military Service in the Case of Aliens.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, July 23, 1917.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following extracts from international law authorities on "Liability to military service in the case of aliens," as follows:

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, July 16, 1917.

Hon. J. J. ROGERS,
498 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROGERS: I am inclosing herewith a compilation of extracts from international law authorities on "Liability to military service in the case of aliens," which was prepared in the Legislative Reference Division three or four months ago. It occurs to me that it may be of interest to you in connection with the matter which you discussed in the House on Friday last. Some of the material included in the appendix to your speech is cited in this compilation also, but I think you will find some additional references which may be useful.

Very truly, yours,

J. DAVID THOMPSON, *Law Librarian.*

LIABILITY TO MILITARY SERVICE IN THE CASE OF ALIENS WHO HAVE DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO BECOME CITIZENS.

EXTRACTS FROM INTERNATIONAL LAW AUTHORITIES.

[From Borchard's Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad, 1915, pp. 64–59. See also Moore's Digest of International Law, vol. 4, pp. 51–65.]

SEC. 35. Military service: The denial of political rights involves an exemption from political duties. Being without the privileges, the alien is correspondingly exempt from the responsibilities attaching to membership in the political community. Thus a long series of treaties now in force exempts the alien from compulsory military service and from forced loans or military requisitions, and in some cases this exemption extends to service in the National Guard or Militia. (Hall, A treatise on international law, 6th ed., 205; Despagnet, Cours de droit international public., 4th ed., sec. 343. Treaties of the United States providing for such exemptions are cited by H. T. Kingsbury in Proc. Amer. Soc. of Int. Law, 1911, 218–22.) The treaties of the United States with some countries exempt only consular officers from compulsory military service.

Two treaties typical of those concluded by the United States may be quoted. The treaty of July 27, 1853, with the Argentine Republic (art. 10) reads as follows:

"The citizens of the United States residing in the Argentine Confederation and the citizens of the Argentine Confederation residing in the United States shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether by sea or by land, and from all forced loans, requisitions, or military exactions." (Malloy, Treatise, etc., 1910, I, 23. See also arts. 8 and 9 of the treaty of Aug. 1, 1911, between Great Britain and Bolivia, Treaty Series, 1912, No. 223.)

The treaty with Italy (art. 3) reads:

"They (citizens) shall * * * be exempt from compulsory military service, either on land or sea, in the regular forces, or in the National Guard, or in the Militia." (Malloy, Treaties, etc., 1910, I, 970.)

Whether in the absence of treaty domiciled aliens enjoy such an exemption is somewhat doubtful. The Norwegian military law of 1857 required military service from aliens who had acquired a "fast domicilium." A British subject having demanded the protection of Great Britain against this law was directed to go to the courts, for in the absence of treaty Great Britain could ask for exemption only on principles of equity on the ground that Norwegians were not subject to military service in England. (Mr. Crowe to Mr. Foreman, Report of the Royal Commissioners on Naturalization and Allegiance, 1869, Appendix, p. 71.) The legality of the action of France in blockading the La Plata in 1838 and of France and England in blockading Buenos Aires in 1846 because the Argentine Republic had compelled subjects of these countries domiciled over three years in Argentine to do military service is questionable. (Fiore, Nouveau droit int. pub., sec. 647.) The United States and Great Britain have conceded extensive rights to foreign governments in enlisting their resident citizens or subjects for all purposes of local defense or police duty. Thus Secretary of State Seward said:

"This Government is not disposed to draw in question the right of a nation in a case of extreme necessity to enroll in the military forces all persons within its territories, whether citizens or domiciled foreigners." (Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. White, July 10, 1868, Moore's Dig., IV, 52.)

Secretary of State Fish in 1869 assumed the position that "this Government, though waiving the exercise of the right to require military service from all residents, has never surrendered that right and can not object if other governments insist upon it." (Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, to Mr. Redmond, Apr. 3, 1869, Moore's Dig. IV, 57.)

The law officers of the Crown rendered an opinion in 1894 to the effect that by the general rule an exemption from compulsory military service did not exist, but that treaties had largely established it. (Mr. Bayard to Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, July 19, 1894, For. Rel., 1894, p. 253.) (The admission by Great Britain during the Civil War that those British subjects who had declared their intentions of becoming American citizens and had exercised the elective franchise were properly subject to military duty if they remained resident can not be construed as a consent to the military service of British subjects, but rather as an acknowledgment that by exercising political rights and becoming at least inchoate American citizens, they had subjected themselves to the political obligations of military service.)

Those admissions, however, can not be construed as authorizing compulsory service in the regular army of a nation (i. e., what might be called political service), but only enrollment for police purposes and local protection, especially in times of sudden emergency. Secretary of State Bayard expressed a reasonable view when he declared:

"It is well settled by international law that foreigners temporarily resident in a country can not be compelled to enter into its permanent military service. It is true that in times of social disturbance or of invasion their services in police or home guards may be exacted, and that they may be required to take up arms to help in the defense of their place of residence against the invasion of savages, pirates, etc., as a means of warding off some great public calamity by which all would suffer indiscriminately. The test in each case, as to whether a foreigner can properly be enrolled against his will, is that of necessity. Unless social order and immunity from attack by uncivilized tribes can not be secured except through the enrollment of such a force, a nation has no right to call upon foreigners for assistance against their will." (Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to Mr. Bell, minister to the Netherlands, Feb. 3, 1888, Foreign Relations, 1888, II, 1335, quoted also in Moore's Digest, IV, 62; Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, to Mr. Williamson, June 13, 1876, Moore's Digest, IV, 59. Mr. Fish sanctioned the compulsory service of a resident alien to defend a town during a siege. Mr. Fish to Mr. Williamson, July 24, 1874, Moore's Digest, IV, 58. Mr. Wilson, Acting Secretary of State, to Chargé Hibben, May 19, 1909, Foreign Relations, 1909, p. 222.)

So Lord Lyons, during the Civil War, was instructed by the British Government that "there is no rule or principle of international law which prohibits the government of any country from requiring aliens resident within its territories to serve in the militia or police of the country or to contribute to the support of such establishment." (Quoted in instruction of Mr. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, to Mr. Faxon, Feb. 17, 1870, Moore's Digest, IV, 57. See also Hall, A treatise on international law (6th ed.), 206; Fiore, Nouveau droit int. pub., sec. 649; Bluntschli, Droit int. codifie, sec. 391.)

As a general rule, nevertheless, except in cases of dual nationality or similar possibility of claim, a demand by the home government of an alien compelled to do military service results in his release from service on grounds of comity, if not of law. In one case at least the United States was unwilling to submit the question of such compulsory service of an American citizen in Mexico to the Mexican courts, but demanded an immediate release. (Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, to Mr. Morgan, Dec. 8, 1880, Foreign Relations, 1881, p. 751, quoted also in Moore's Digest, IV, 60.) The French interventions in the Argentine, above quoted, whether just or unjust, have often been cited as international precedents on the subject. On a later occasion Belgium, heeding the protests of certain powers, relinquished the enforcement of its act of 1907, which imposed service in the civic guard upon aliens. (25 Clunet (1898), 204 and 814; Bonfils, Manuel de droit international (7th ed.), sec. 445, footnote. Numerous treaties confirm this exemption and Despagnet even believes that exists apart from treaty. (Cours de droit int. public (4th ed.), sec. 343.)

At the second Hague peace conference animated discussions took place as to the right of a belligerent to require military service of neutral residents. While some favored an absolute prohibition, the validity of the municipal legislation of some States which on occasion requires such service was recognized. No resolutions on the subject were adopted, but the conference expressed the "voeu," or solemn wish, "that the high contracting powers shall seek to establish, by agreements between them, uniform contractual provisions determining the relations in respect of military obligations of such State with the foreigners established in its territory." (For a brief account of the discussions see Scott's Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, Baltimore, 1909, pp. 550–555, and volume III of the official report "La deuxieme conférence internationale de la paix," 179 et seq.)

While many States by municipal law permit the voluntary service of aliens, which in itself raises no international question, some States—for example, France and Germany—expressly exempt foreigners from military service. (Citations in 8 R. D. I. privé (1912), 841.) An exceptional and unusual arrangement is the stipulation of the treaty of January 17, 1862, between Spain and France (art. 5) by which each country agrees to incorporate into its army the nationals of the other, resident in its territory, who have not completed their military obligations in their own country. (14 Clunet (1187), 326; 12 ibid. (1885), 92.)

In the absence of treaty there appears to be no legal reason why the exemption from military service can not be commutated or compensated by a tax. Switzerland, by its law of June 28, 1878, imposed such a tax on foreigners established in Switzerland, unless they are exempted by treaties or belong to a State in which Swiss citizens are liable neither to military service nor to a commutation in money. The treaty of November 25, 1850, did not exempt United States citizens from this tax, although almost all the countries of Europe have by treaty secured exemption from it for their subjects. After some diplomatic negotiation, the Swiss Federal Council adopted a resolution that the tax was only to be levied upon Swiss citizens who were residing in or had returned from the United States (Switzerland does not recognize the unpermitted foreign naturalization of her citizens) and not upon citizens of the United States. (For. Rel., 1894, p. 678–682. See paraphrase in Moore's Dig. IV, 65–66.)

The treaty with Switzerland, by which citizens of the United States are exempted from personal service only, brings up the distinctions between personal military service and the use of the alien's property for military purposes. Unless treaty provisions expressly exempt the property of the alien from all use for military purposes, there is no valid reason why his property should not furnish the same requisitions and be subject to the same servitudes as that of the native inhabitant. In the countries of Europe it is usual to require food and fodder from inhabitants under payment of compensation, and to demand from all landowners shelter and quarter for troops and horses during maneuvers, without compensation, as a public servitude. In the absence of a treaty or unjust discrimination against a domiciled alien as such, it does not seem that foreign governments in such cases have on principle any cause for complaint. (Les étrangers on France et les requisitions militaires, 8 R. D. I. privé (1912), 840–845.)

However willing Great Britain and the United States have been, at times, to concede the justice of the claim of foreign countries to require a limited military service of domiciled aliens, they have vigorously insisted on the rignt of their subjects and citizens to leave the country freely as an alternative to such service. Thus Secretary of State Madison, in 1803, declared:

"The most inviolable and most obvious right of an alien resident is that of withdrawing himself from a limited and transitory allegiance having no other foundation than his voluntary residence itself." (Mr. Madison, Sec'y of State, to Mr. Pichon, French chargé, May 20, 1803, Moore's Dig. IV, 52.)

The claim of the United States during the Civil War to require military service of resident aliens who had declared their intention of becoming citizens and had exercised the voting privilege was not contested after the option was extended of leaving the country within 65 days. (Act of Congress, Mar. 3, 1863. See Halleck, International Law, 1908 ed., I, 613, footnote.)

Many States by statute prohibit their subjects from taking military service abroad, under pain of loss of their nationality or other penalties. In other States such service is prohibited only under the neutrality acts, according to which subjects are prohibited to take service in any foreign State against a State with which their own is at peace. (See, for example, British Foreign Enlistment Act, 33 and 34 Vict., c. 90; U. S. Rev. Stat., sec. 5281 et seq. See also Halleck, Int. Law, 4th ed., 612.)

[From address of H. T. Kingsbury on "The right of a government to impose burdens and limitations upon the alien for governmental purposes; that is, for the benefit of the community as a whole," in Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at its fifth annual meeting, Washington, Apr. 27–29, 1911, pp. 219–223.]

III. MILITARY SERVICE.

This presents perhaps the most difficult and least settled phase of this general question. The view is sometimes taken that military service pertains to the purely political side of government and has nothing to do with its general civil organization; that an alien owes civil duties to the country in which he resides, but not political, since he has, in general, no political rights, and that therefore compulsory military service should not be required of him. This view is supported by the practical argument that an alien rendering compulsory military service might be thus required to join in hostile operations against his own country, to which he still owed allegiance, a situation the evils of which to all concerned do not require elaboration. Bluntschli takes this view and summarizes it very concisely in his codification of international law, as follows:

"SEC. 391. Foreigners can not be required to perform military service. Exception may be made to this rule in cases of necessity to defend a locality against brigands or savages."

The general practice of the countries upon the Continent of Europe, in most of which compulsory military service prevails, is in accordance with this view, that aliens are not subject to conscription; but in the common-law countries, where civil rights and obligations are determined by domicile rather than nationality, and where military service has thus far been usually voluntary and not compulsory, a different rule prevails, and both England and the United States apparently recognize that military service may be required of an alien (especially one who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen or has voted at a State election) without violating international law. Needless to say this question has already arisen, and when it did arise in connection with the "draft" in this country during the Civil War, it was usually adjusted with forbearance on both sides. The United States Government claimed that aliens who had exercised any political rights such as were permitted by the laws of various States should be deemed subject to conscription, and the conscription act of 1863 was made expressly applicable to "all persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention of becoming citizens." This seems reasonable enough in itself, but even in the case of such persons it was arranged through diplomatic channels that they should have a certain limited time (65 days) in which to leave the country, if they desired to do so, thus escaping the military service that might otherwise be required of them. The British Government expressly declined to interfere in favor of intended citizens who did not avail themselves of this opportunity.

It is stated that during the Civil War, as a matter of fact, "there was not a single instance in which an alien was held to military duty when his government called for his release." (Mr. Bayard, Moore's Dig., Vol. IV, p. 55.)

At an earlier and less friendly period, however, the activities of the British press gang, especially upon American sailors, furnished one of the causes of irritation which led to the War of 1812, and the question was by no means settled in theory by the result of the war. It is not even mentioned in the treaty of Ghent.

The position of this Government on this question has undergone considerable modification. In 1804 Mr. Madison, as Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Monroe, minister to England: "Citizens or subjects of one country residing in another * * * can never be rightfully forced into military service." But in 1868 Mr. Seward wrote:

"This Government is not disposed to draw in question the right of a nation in case of extreme necessity to enroll in the military forces all persons within its territories, whether citizens or domiciled foreigners."

And Mr. Fish in 1869:

"This Government, though waiving the exercise of the right to require military service from all foreigners, has never surrendered that right and can not object if other Governments insist upon it."

It may be assumed that where a particular exemption from liability to public burdens is often, but by no means always, expressly provided for by treaty, the liability would be deemed to exist in the absence of the specific exemption. This conclusion is strengthened when the exemption is often made expressly applicable to consular officers only, whose residence is official, and not to alien residents generally. Of the United States treaties now in force, the following provide for a general exemption from compulsory military service:

Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Haiti, Italy, the Congo, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland, and Tonga.

And the following for such an exemption in favor of consular officers only:

Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, Denmark, France, German Empire, Greece, Netherlands, and Roumania.

The provision in the treaty of 1853 with the Argentine Republic may be taken as a good example of the first class and also as illustrating certain other treaty exemptions pertinent to this discussion:

"ART. X. The citizens of the United States residing in the Argentine Confederation and the citizens of the Argentine Confederation residing in the United States shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether by sea or by land, and from all forced loans, requisitions, or military exactions; and they shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any ordinary charges, requisitions, or taxes greater than those that are paid by native citizens of the contracting parties, respectively."

The provision in the consular convention of 1870 with Austria can be taken as a good illustration of the second class:

"The consuls general, consuls, vice consuls, and consular agents, their chancellors and other consular officers, if they are citizens of the State which appoints them, shall be exempt from military billetings, from service in the military or the National Guard and other duties of the same nature, and from all direct and personal taxation, whether Federal, State, or municipal, provided they be not owners of real estate and neither carry on trade nor any industrial business.

"If, however, they are not citizens of the State which appoints them, or if they are citizens of the State in which they reside, or if they own property or engage in any business there that is taxed under any laws of the country, then they shall be subject to the same taxes, charges and assessments as other private individuals.

"They shall, moreover, enjoy personal immunities, except for acts regarded as crimes by the laws of the country in which they reside. If they are engaged in commerce, personal detention can be resorted to in their case only for commercial liabilities, and then in accordance with general laws applicable to all persons alike."

The application of these treaty provisions is doubtless further extended by the "most-favored-nation" clause in other treaties.

It may be inferred from the frequency of these treaty provisions that in the absence of such a stipulation this country does not claim that its citizens are necessarily exempt from military service in a foreign country in which they may reside, and that it reserves the right to require such service of alien residents here upon a sufficient occasion and as a condition of remaining. Such seems to be the latest view of the State Department, as already shown. While this may appear inconsistent on its face with the continental practice, it is not wholly incompatible therewith or illogical in itself. It is rather an application of the law of necessity. When a sufficient emergency arises, when the very life of the Nation is at stake, then the Nation may call upon all of its own citizens and all aliens who choose to remain within its borders and enjoy its protection, but in normal times it requires military service of no one. On the continent, the reverse is generally true. The normal condition of things there is the requirement of military service, to some extent, of every citizen physically qualified, but only of its own citizens. Thus where compulsory military service is normal, it is also normal not to exact it of aliens, but where compulsory military service is only occasional and abnormal, it does not materially increase its abnormality to include aliens in its requirements.

Since compulsory military service to a foreign country can always be avoided by timely departure from it, there appears to be no reason why, in itself, it should necessarily form an exception to the general rule that a government may, if it chooses, require the same support, whether personal or pecuniary, of aliens whom it permits to reside within its borders as it requires of its own citizens. Discrimination against aliens is doubtless contrary to the trend of modern civilization, but there is no foundation in international law for requiring discrimination in their favor.

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[From Hall's International Law, 6th ed., 1909, pp. 205–207.]

HOW FAR A STATE CAN COMPEL FOREIGNERS TO HELP IN MAINTAINING THE PUBLIC SAFETY.

The broad rule has already been mentioned that as an alien has not the privileges, so on the other hand he has not the responsibilities, attached to membership of the foreign political society in the territory of which he may happen to be. In return, however, for the protection which he receives, and the opportunities of profit or pleasure which he enjoys, he is liable to a certain extent, at any rate in moments of emergency, to contribute by his personal service to the maintenance of order in the State from which he is deriving advantage, and in some circumstances it may be permissible to require him to help in protecting it against external dangers.

During the Civil War in the United States the British Government showed itself willing that foreign countries should assume to themselves a very liberal measure of right in this direction over its subjects. Lord Lyons was instructed "that there is no rule or principle of international law which prohibits the Government of any country from requiring aliens, resident within its territories, to serve in the militia or police of the country or to contribute to the support of such establishments"; and though objection was afterwards taken to English subjects being compelled "to serve in the armies in a civil war, where, besides the ordinary incidents of battle, they might be exposed to be treated as rebels and traitors in a quarrel in which, as aliens, they would have no concern," it was at the same time said that the Government "might well be content to leave British subjects, voluntarily domiciled in a foreign country, liable to all the obligations ordinarily incident to such foreign domicile, including, when imposed by the municipal law of such country, service in the militia or national guard or local police for the maintenance of internal peace and order, or even to a limited extent for the defense of the territory from foreign invasion." (Naturalization Commission, Append. to the Report, 42.) The case of persons domiciled or at least temporarily settled in the country seems to have been the only one contemplated in these instructions, and it is not probable that the English Government would have regarded persons who could not be called residents in any sense of the word as being affected by such extended liabilities. But whether the latter was the case or not, and whether if it were so, there is any sufficient reason for making a distinction between residents and sojourners, the concession made to local authority seems unnecessarily large. If it be once admitted that aliens may be enrolled in a militia independently of their own consent, or that they may be used for the defense of the territory from invasion by a civilized power, it becomes impossible to have any security that their lives will not be sacrificed in internal disturbances producing the effects pointed out by Lord Russell as objectionable, or in quarrels with other States for the sake of interests which may even be at variance with those of their own country. It is more reasonable, and more in accordance with general principle, to say, as is in effect said by M. Bluntschli (Le Droit International Codifié, sec. 291), that—

1. It is not permissible to enroll aliens, except with their own consent, in a force intended to be used for ordinary national or political objects.

2. Aliens may be compelled to help to maintain social order, provided that the action required of them does not overstep the limits of police as distinguished from political action.

3. They may be compelled to defend the country against an external enemy when the existence of social order or of the population itself is threatened, when, in other words, a State or part of it is threatened by an invasion of savages or uncivilized nations. (In some treaties the compulsory enrollment of foreign subjects in State forces liable to be used for other than police purposes is expressly guarded against. In the majority of modern commercial treaties the subjects of each of the contracting States are exempted from service in the army, militia, or national guard of the other party to the treaty. In the treaty of 1855 between the Zollverein and Mexico (Nouv. Gen. 16, 2, 257) exemption of their respective subjects from forced military service is stipulated, "mas no del de policia en los casos, en que para seguridad de las propriedades y personas fuerenecessario su auxilio, y por solo el tiempo di esa urgente necesidad." In some cases exemption from military service only is stipulated, perhaps leaving open the question of the extent to which foreigners may be used in case of international disturbance. In May, 1894, the now defunct South African Republic made war against Malaboch, the paramount chief in Zoutspanberg. By no stretch of the imagination could it be contended that a savage invasion was threatened, but the Transvaal Government forcibly "commandeered" some 20 British subjects to join the local forces and placed 5 others under arrest for refusing to serve, eventually sending them compulsorily to the front. This conduct was defended on the ground that British subjects were not exempt by treaty from military service—an exemption possessed by Germany, France, and other nations. Sir Henry Loch, the high commissioner, does not seem to have been instructed to demand the release of the pressed men as of right, and, though his negotiations with President Kruger resulted in an agreement not to "commandeer" any more British subjects, the latter refused to ratify a draft convention by which Great Britain should be placed on an equality with other nations as regards exemption from military service. The abnormal relations then subsisting between the Transvaal Republic and this country are sufficient to deprive this incident of any value as a precedent.)

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[From Bluntschli's Le droit international codifié, 5 ed., 1895, sec. 91; translation by C. C. Rice.]

Foreigners may not be required to perform military service. Exceptions to this rule may be made when necessary for the defense of a locality against bandits or savages:

"1. Military service is essentially a civic and political obligation; hence it can not be dissociated from citizenship of the State. Inasmuch as foreigners are, as a rule, given no political rights, no civil burdens may be laid upon them. If compelled to serve in the army of a foreign State they might be forced to shed their blood for a cause for which they care nothing or for interests hostile to those of their own country. Foreigners residing in a country may be called to the colors only for the purpose of reenforcing local troops in fighting uncivilized tribes or bandits. They may not be enlisted in case of a political war.

"2. Some English subjects having been compelled, in the course of the American Civil War, to enter the militia of the State of Wisconsin, on account of their having exercised the right of suffrage there, Great Britain objected on the ground that they had thereby in no sense become American citizens and that, as foreigners, they were not at all liable to military service. Dispatch of Lord Lyons, November 29, 1862. (Staatsarchiv d' Aegidi and Kleinhold, no. 1941.)

"The validity of the objection was, in principle, acknowledged.

"3. During the siege of Paris the arming of the entire male population and the use of threats by certain inhabitants of the outlying districts of the capital to compel foreigners to join the national guard likewise caused protests to be filed with the Government on the 4th of September."

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[From Despagnet's Cours de droit international public, 4th ed. (1910), sec. 343; translation by C. C. Rice.]

Foreigners may not be compelled to do military service, for such service might oblige them to fight against their own country, or, at any rate, would make them share a political duty incumbent upon them in respect of their own State. Therefore England was right in protesting against the Army service imposed upon some of her nationals in the course of the American Civil War in Wisconsin (dispatch of Lord Lyons, Nov. 29, 1863); and the powers were right in protesting to the national defense government against the pressure exerted by the populace of Paris upon certain foreigners to compel them to join the national guard during the siege. Likewise forced army service imposed upon foreigners by the Argentine Republic caused the blockade of La Plata by France in 1838 and by France and England in 1846. On account of the protests of certain powers, Belgium was obliged to abandon the enforcement of her law of 1897 requiring foreigners to serve in the home guard. (Journ. droit internat. privé, 1898, p. 208, 814.) Many treaties mention these principles, which are, however, quite inde-

pendent of conventions (treaty between France and England, Feb. 28, 1882, art. 4; between France and Italy, Feb. 21, 1868; between France and Switzerland, Feb. 23, 1882, art. 4; between France and Spain, Jan. 7, 1862, art. 4).

Military service may, however, be replaced by a tax, as was done in Switzerland by the law of June 28, 1878, section 1. Moreover, any two States may make an agreement to the effect that each may include in its army such citizens of the other country residing in its territory as do not produce evidence of honorable discharge from military service at home, this being one way of avoiding, by mutual assistance, insubordination which might be harmful to both armies. Such is the French-Spanish convention of January 7, 1862, article 5, according to which Spaniards born in France and Frenchmen born in Spain are liable to conscription if they do not prove that they have complied with this obligation in their country. (See Journal du droit international privé, 1887, p. 326, and 1885, p. 92.) On May 2, 1892 (Journal officiel, July 14, 1892), the time within which Frenchmen in Spain were required to produce evidence of having obeyed the French military law, was extended by proclamation so as to allow them two years instead of one, reckoned from the date of drawing lots for conscription. But this convention and proclamation are no longer in force, and will not be until some new understanding is reached. The young men designated in section 5 of the convention will be governed by the common law (sec. 11, law of Mar. 21, 1905). (Circular of Feb. 9, 1910, Bull. off. du min. de la guerre, part, régl., 1910, 1er sem., p. 227.)

As for foreigners in the foreign legion (France), it is known that they may be employed only outside of the European Continent, so that they may not be obliged to fight against their own country. However, as the Casablanca desertions show, difficulties may still arise.

The Food Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARVIN JONES,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 24, 1917.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, much has been said during the progress of this discussion upon the question of a conservation of our present supply of food and the encouragement of production. Much abuse has been heaped upon the head of the middleman and speculator, and, no doubt, he merits much that has been said about him; but the elimination of the abuses in connection with his activities will not furnish a complete remedy for the present situation. The trouble is a more fundamental one, is of an economic nature, and has been brought about by a condition that has prevailed in this country through a period of years. The reason for the high cost of living and the shortage of food production has been brought about largely by the fact that for many years young men have been lured from the country to the city because of the better opportunities and what appeared to be larger fields of activity. The trend has been away from the open country, away from the farm, and away from the fields of production to the crowded cities and thickly settled districts. Thirty years ago about 65 per cent of our people lived in the country and only about 35 per cent lived in the city. This ratio has gradually changed until now nearly 60 per cent of our people live in the cities. This has been caused by the fact that in the country the hours of work have been long, the character of the work has been burdensome, and the prices have been so low it has been impossible for the farmer to receive the just rewards of his labor.

In the district that I have the honor to represent there are 20,000,000 acres of land that have never been touched by a plow and that are just as virgin as when Columbus first set foot upon American soil. More than 18,000,000 acres of this land are rich, fertile, and could be made productive. The only way to cause it to be cultivated, to cause it to become productive, and cause it to be settled up is for the tillage of the soil to be made attractive by virtue of higher prices and greater opportunities. My father has lived on a farm all of his life, and during my youth I have lived upon the old farm, when prices were so low that only by the most rigid economy could a living be had. Now, for the first time in the history of this great Government, the farmer is coming into his own and prices of farm products are such as to make farm life attractive, and I glory in the fact that the farmer is finally getting a reward for his labors. I hesitate to support any measure that might interfere with his present prosperity, and I shall only support this measure, if at all, after vainly trying to strike out certain features which I regard as objectionable, as war legislation and because of the fact that the Commander in Chief claims it is necessary for the proper conduct of this war. But even as war legislation I think it should be properly safeguarded and the interests of the farm carefully protected.

In my judgment, the interests of the farmer and this country would be best subserved by letting the farmer alone. If you let him have the real price for his products and you make it so his returns are attractive he will produce all the food and food products that are necessary to feed both ourselves and our allies. If there is danger of a food shortage it is well for us to remember that people eat less and waste less when food is high than when it is low in price; that people will use and waste less wheat when it is $2 per bushel than when it is $1 per bushel; and that at the same time there will be a greater effort and a greater resultant production when wheat is $2 than when it is $1 per bushel.

A great deal of wheat is grown in the district that I have the honor to represent in Congress. I would not fear if the farmer were let alone and his wheat prices were left untouched by law, as I think the world-wide demand would insure him a liberal price for that necessity. However, in view of the fact that the President has seen fit to place an embargo upon wheat, and in view of the fact that this embargo may be made more stringent at any time by adding to the countries upon which the ban is placed, and in view of the fact that we are to have a food bill, and in view of the fact that it is determined on the part of those in authority that there shall be a minimum price, it is highly important that that minimum price should be placed high enough to really stimulate production. The food administrator declared in his testimony before the Senate that the power which the administration is asking would enable him by control of the foreign sales to reduce wheat to the price of 75 cents per bushel. Of course he disavows the intention of so reducing it, but I am unwilling to place in any one man's hands the right to reduce the price of so necessary an article below the cost of production.

In view, therefore, of the powers that are being conveyed, I think a minimum price of $2 per bushel should be placed upon wheat, and I think it should be so stipulated in this bill. The testimony shows that with wheat at $2 per bushel flour can be sold at $9.20 per barrel, which is much lower than it is being sold at the present time.

Many things are being done during this emergency that do not entirely meet with the approval of my judgment. For instance, I have not thought, nor do I now think, it wise to send our armies to European soil. When the original resolution was up and it was voted to recognize the existence of a state of war I supported the amendment which would have confined our activities to the defense of our country and to the warfare upon the high seas. In the legislation with reference to the increase of the Military Establishment and the raising of an army I voted for the amendment which would have forbidden this country to send any soldiers, whether of the Regular or the selected army, to foreign soil unless they specifically volunteered for the foreign service. But other and perhaps wiser counsels prevailed. The overwhelming majority of the opinion, both of the administration and of the Members of Congress, was opposed to this attitude, and I willingly submit to their judgment. As our rights had been violated upon the high seas and as the freedom of the seas is all important in view of the fact that the commerce of the world is carried on on that great highway, and as the prices of our products would be reduced to a pitiless minimum if we lost the freedom of the high seas, it was my judgment that our warfare should have been confined to that activity. I voted to authorize the raising of an army, as it takes a long time to train a real army, and since in an hour like this, when the world appears to be insane, no one can tell when an army will be needed for defensive purposes. There is no doubt that the Kaiser dreamed of a world-wide conquest, just as surely as did Napoleon or Alexander. Therefore preparation, both with reference to an Army and Navy, was absolutely necessary. This policy, however, has now been settled and this country, from Lakes to Gulf and from sea to sea, should unite in a common purpose.

Now, in my judgment our allies need munitions and food supplies far more than they need men, and our primary activities should be exercised in the promotion of food production, the building of ships, and the carrying of those food products to the markets of the world.

The policy of this country having already been established, and we having entered the war fully and finally with a declared policy of fighting the same to our utmost limit, I shall vote for every measure that it seems would hasten an early and successful termination of this inhuman strife. The one purpose of this country should be to achieve a victory and to mold that victory into a just and permanent peace.

A great many of the men who have spoken here seem to have had the idea that we should absolutely control the prices of food products and reduce the high cost of living by law. In

other words, a great many of those who have the consumers' viewpoint seem to think that the mad rush of the last few years to the cities, and the absurd conditions that have been brought about by reason of that fact, can be remedied by limitations of law. In carrying out our purposes in this war we should not lose sight of our own economic conditions and prices should be high enough to encourage men to move not from the country to the city but from the city to the country, and thus get our population properly apportioned.

I realize that the gambler and food speculator have been guilty of abuses, and I have voted and am still willing to vote to give the President power to force the sale of foods that have been hoarded and where it has been sought to secure a corner on any article of food. But some people seem to have gone wild on the proposition of food control. One Member has introduced a bill to prohibit the sale for slaughter of any "heifer under 6 years of age." This is another effort by some one to regulate the details of a business he does not know anything about. You might as well say you could not kill a chicken until it reaches 3 years of age or a rooster until his spurs were a certain length. However, I shall have more to say about that bill if it is ever reported by a committee. I merely mention it to show the absurd lengths to which men will go when excitement prevails.

Another feature that I think deserves more than a passing attention is the proposal to regulate the prices of machinery, farm implements, and tools which are necessary and essential to the production of our food crops. The American farmer is patriotic. He has always been willing to make sacrifices for his country. He has fought for the rights of this country on every field of battle since its organization. But it is unfair and unjust to expect him to do more than offer his share of the sacrifice. If he is producing an article that is absolutely essential to the welfare of this Nation and to the winning of the war in which we are engaged, it seems highly important that those who are selling him products should come under the same rules and submit to the same regulation to which the producer is asked to submit. It is true that the prices of farm products are high at the present time, but everything that the farmer uses is also high and prices of everything that are being sold both in and out of the country have gone to unheard-of limits, and I am anxious to see the time come when the young men of this country who live in the cities will plan to go to the country for greater opportunities than can be found in the crowded cities.

Another matter I consider of far more importance than the present food bill is the establishment in this country of a thorough marketing system, to the end that the producer and consumer may be brought in closer touch with each other, that there may be greater publicity of prices that the consumer pays and that the producer receives, and that those prices may be more nearly uniform and much nearer the same. In many instances the products of the farm are wasted because there is no apparent market, when at the same time in other sections of the country there may be a very great demand for that particular article or product. By the establishment of a system of licensed and bonded selling agents the country over, together with a thoroughgoing publicity system which would make known the local demands and supplies in various sections of our country, a better market may be had for the products of this country and at the same time a more reasonable price had for the consumer. The food bill is a temporary matter. The establishment of a great marketing system should be a permanent one. Nothing would do more to promote the prosperity of our land than the assurance to producers that they would have the advantage of ready markets and an assurance to the consumers that they would be able to receive those products at the price paid the producer plus only a reasonable profit for distribution. This system would reach the heart of our economic troubles and do much toward prosperity all over the Union.

The tiller of the soil is the most important citizen in this country and has always been. He is the foundation and groundwork of this country's surpassing prosperity. On his primary efforts rest the magnificent commercial superstructure that has been reared in our lands. If he fails, all is lost. "When tillage begins, the other arts follow; the farmer, therefore, is the founder of human civilization." He must feed the world in this crisis. How foolish it would be to hamper his efforts, to discourage his industry, or to diminish the rewards of his labor. How shortsighted would be a policy that would shackle his progress for a temporary advantage to the consumer, when that advantage would mean an ultimate and far greater loss both to the producer and to the consumer. Our hopes, our aspirations, our future as a Nation are dependent upon the efforts and permanent prosperity of the producer. This great country, cradled in liberty and founded in honor, must walk by his side in prosperity as in adversity. How wise that government and how wise its policy which zealously guards the liberties of all its citizens and neglects the rights of none. No prouder boast could any nation have, no surer guaranty of success.

Our Public Schools the Nation's Bulwark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 24, 1917.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on House bill 241 I insert an article entitled "Our Public Schools the Nation's Bulwark," by John T. Murray, at whose instigation the bill (H. R. 421) providing for the utilization of the funds in the postal savings banks for the purchase of public-school bonds was introduced.

The article is as follows:

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS THE NATION'S BULWARK, OR PROPER CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION CIVILIZATION'S ONLY HOPE.

[By John T. Murray.]

In this discussion I shall endeavor to go a bit deeper into fundamentals than writers and speakers generally do.

As no individual will admit his own weaknesses, and as no community will admit its depravities, and direct attack on existing conditions meets with indifference or antagonism, so I beg of you to study very carefully and thoroughly what I say before passing judgment thereon.

Jesus Christ, believed by many to be the Son of the living God, and admitted by all to be the Wisest Man that ever lived, said if we desired our structure to endure we must build on a rock foundation. And we can see the need of such doctrine in our every-day life in dealing in material things.

But as Jesus spoke largely in parable, using such illustration as His hearers could readily understand, and as He was primarily interested in spiritual things, we may well assume that He was speaking of spiritual foundations, of human character building.

NATURAL LAWS SUPREME.

Man's will is changeable, but the laws of nature are unchangeable. Man has free will; devils may entice, angels may implore, but man can act after his own desire. But the thing I want to impress on your mind is that the result of man's every freewill act was foreordained from the beginning of time. Engrave that truth deeply on your mind.

God is not a cruel monster who delights in man's suffering, but He would have to belie Himself and reverse natural law every time man transgressed such law if He kept man from suffering brought about by his transgression of nature's laws.

And so the first stone I would lay in the rock foundation of character building would be to make clear to the mind of every child that the transgression of a law of nature will bring sure and swift results.

The person who obeys nature's laws will live to a ripe old age, hale and hearty, while the person who tramples on nature's laws will, while yet in youth, find himself pain racked and decrepit.

And the institution that defies natural law is multiplying its offenses against humanity. I beg you to study our public-school system with this thought in mind.

Man should know himself. He is of tremendous importance in God's plan. Time and all things therein were created for man. He is the only creature that can join hands with nature and increase God's bounties.

HABIT BUILDS CHARACTER.

The next foundation stone I would lay for character building is habit. Habit is the strongest of human characteristics. Mental habit is more tenacious than physical habit. A drunkard or dope fiend can more readily break away from his habits than an old man can change his politics or an old woman her religion. Right thoughts in childhood are essential.

Community character is the aggregation of individual characters, and the time to build such community character is in the youth of its individual members. Remember our habits are formed by our daily associations.

Adults are but children of larger growth. As the twig is bent the tree inclines. We think, we act, then we are.

As a man thinketh in his heart so is he. Nothing will hold a man, a woman, or a child to clean living as a firm belief in a life beyond the grave where each one is rewarded according to deeds done in the flesh. I believe such a knowledge can be clearly proven if we will only go to nature for our proofs.

I assert that whatever exists was created not by chance but by an intelligence. A child can understand that and no one will dispute it. Again, if there was a creative intelligence before time began, it is logical to assume that such intelligence will still live after time ceases.

Are the movements of the tides by chance? Are the eclipses of the sun and moon by chance? Do the seasons follow each other by chance? Does all flesh and vegetation produce each after its own kind by chance? Men and mothers know the truth, and do not blind yourselves or your children with sophistry.

BROTHERLY LOVE.

"Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself, for on these hang all the law and the prophets."

The next foundation stone to lay in character building is to know and make clear to children that selfishness is the seed of sin. As selfish-

ness existed before man was created, it is certainly the strength of hell and the weakness of humanity, and time was established for its eradication.

Fierce competition in business, politics, society, or wage earning is as certain to breed selfishness as stagnant water breeds disease.

The isolation of farm life eliminates this bitter competition. Temptations are not so general nor so severe.

Cities also live a Hyde-Jekyll life. When darkness covers the earth and nature calls all animated creatures to rest, the human vermin that infest all cities crawl from their hiding places, and the rule of licentiousness and vice prevails to the downfall of the youth of the city.

As from the soil comes everything essential to man, it is very evidently a law of nature that man should live on the soil and from the soil. And he who does so is a colaborer with nature and nature's God.

This being admitted the farmer should have a leading place in the councils of State and Nation.

THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

Having seen that full-rounded child development is free government's very life, and having laid the lines of child development along nature's plans, let us look closely into existing conditions. Trying to know what national actions brought good or evil results.

This awful war is going to leave the world civilization in the balance. It will rise to more glorious heights or it will sink to depths heretofore unknown.

The march of civilization has circled the globe. No longer are there other continents to be discovered and occupied by oppressed humanity. The old order and the new order face each other and a grapple for supremacy is inevitable and imminent. And California is certain to be the battle ground. Here will be shed the blood and tears of a dying civilization or here will flower the noblest civilization the world has ever seen.

Destiny has placed the United States in the leadership of the world. There is not a nation on the face of the earth but is looking to us in hope that we may be able to find a way out of the many vexing questions of the times. We can not escape this great responsibility. Are we ready for this supreme test of time as touching man's capacity for self-government? If we fail where shall liberty, truth, and justice find a resting place.

Having dealt with the necessity for a better child conservation and development, and having touched lightly on the march of civilization, I now come to the question of how to bring about a better civilization.

CHEAP MONEY FOR SCHOOLS.

As child development is of supreme importance, and as the public school is the only institution that lays a directing hand on the head of every child, it is self-evident that is where we must look for first aids in child conservation and national character building.

There are 30,000,000 children of school age in this Nation. There are 500,000 public-school teachers and over 1,000,000 school trustees. What a wonderful power it would be for good if its many units were unified and coordinated! What deep thought we should give to this institution that that on-marching, ever-increasing army shall be fitted in every way for the strenuous duties that will soon be theirs!

There is in the Federal postal-savings department over $100,000,000. This money is being reloaned back to the people at 2½ per cent on "bonds secured by the taxing power." Now, school bonds are thus secured and are being accepted by the Federal Government as security for loans from this fund, but only from "banks and trust companies doing a banking business."

Parents and taxpayers, I ask you why shall not the public school, the children's developing institution, get the benefit of this cheap money?

Believing that the children should have every benefit the Government gives to special privilege I prepared an amendment to the present law to the effect that when a school district bonded itself, under proper restrictions, it should have the privilege of taking those bonds to the Federal Government and borrowing the money thereon on the same terms that banks now secure loans from this fund on such school bonds.

California has over $42,000,000 outstanding school bonds on which the average rate of interest is 5.65 per cent. Taxpayers, figure for yourselves what a great benefit my plan would be to the schools of California. And a like benefit would accrue to every school district in every State in the Nation.

Many school districts in this State to get cheap money, 5 per cent, have bonded themselves for 40 yeafs. I now call your attention to possible benefit to the schools if we would give them equal treatment with foreign bond speculators in the matter of school bonds.

LOOKING AHEAD.

Suppose a school district issued $10,000,000 40-year 5 per cent school bonds. Taking these bonds to the Federal Government it borrows the money at 2½ per cent. When the bonds became due the district would have saved $10,000,000. That alone is well worthy your serious consideration.

But, as we desire to get the very best possible results for the district, we will loan this saved 2½ per cent to the farmers and business men at a low going rate of interest, say, 5 per cent. Farmers and business men would be very well pleased to get long-time loans at that rate.

Now, mark you well the wonder workings of compound interest. When the district school bonds became due the district would have cash on hand $10,000,000 saved interest and $20,000,000 accrued interest. Thirty million cash to the credit of the school district without having cost anyone a cent. We simply apply the best known financial methods to our schools.

The bonds are paid off and $20,000,000 left out at 5 per cent. This would give the district $1,000,000 each year so long as Government stood.

As I have discussed this plan with taxpayers, some have suggested that the county should be the unit for handling this matter, while others have thought that it would make less trouble if the Federal Government dealt with the State. Now, I do not care which. All I want is the schools to get the full benefit of this already established cheap money.

WOULD BANKERS OBJECT?

Some people are fearful that bankers would fight this plan viciously. I have talked to many bankers and so far none have offered any objections. Bankers are interested in good government, which only comes through child development.

Furthermore, we are not asking that all bonds "secured by the taxing power" be taken for the children's benefit. We only ask for school bonds, which are but a small part of all bonds thus secured.

Again, when this war closes there will be ample opportunity for organized capital to find fields for investment. Every nation in the world will come to us for money. And such investments will not only be safe and remunerative but they will be a benefit to the nation borrowing, as their natural resources are largely undeveloped.

A CHILD'S VALUE.

I shall not attempt to picture to your mind the depth of depravity and wickedness that exists in our large cities. You must know something of their licentious degradation, and of the large number of young girls and boys who are daily dragged to ruin of body and soul. I simply ask you to consider the value of a soul and to give your aid in saving every child.

Jesus said that the soul of any child, even a ragged, foul-mouthed, guttersnipe, was of greater value than all the land, commerce, money, and business of the world. Get that fastened in your mind.

Jesus also said it were better for a man that a millstone were about his neck and he cast into the sea than he give offense to the least child. Do we not offend if we fail in any way to remove every snare and temptation from the path of the children?

May it not be possible that our lawmakers, judges, teachers, mayors, governors, and leaders in every department of public life shall find their souls smeared with the filth and debaucheries of their times if they do not exert themselves a bit more for child conservation?

HOME INFLUENCES.

In the first of this discourse I said any institution that failed to obey the laws of nature was multiplying its offenses against nature. I now ask you to consider our public schools along that line.

The place to rear children is in the home. Where a man and woman are happily mated is God's idea of the place to rear children. The child needs both the firm hand of the father and the tender love of a mother.

It is a law of nature that we learn best to do by doing; it naturally follows that mothers, having full knowledge of children from the hour of birth are better counselors for children than old maids. And fathers are better guides for children than young men who are making teaching a stepping stone to a profession.

With these thoughts in mind I wish to call your attention to conditions I found in our Indian schools.

At the Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak., there are 33 day schools. When school opens in the fall each child is given two suits of clothes, two suits of underwear, socks, shoes, hat, gloves, etc. At noon each day every child gets all it can eat of warm, hearty food.

INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS.

Each school is established on a plot of ground 40, 80, or 160 acres. A five or six room cottage is erected. A man and his wife are employed for life. Each is paid a salary; thus in case of the husband's death the wife is provided for. Sickness and old age lose their terrors for people thus employed and they give every particle of their splendid ability and energy to the children under their care.

A three-room schoolhouse, a barn, hogpen, and chicken coop are erected. Thus does each school take on the environment of a well-to-do farm home.

Soon a large, well-grassed lawn, beautified with flowers, shrubbery, and shade trees, surrounds the home and school buildings.

Indian children find so much pleasure on the school grounds that they are loath to leave in the evening, and they hurry there in the morning. Such noticeable child development makes teaching a delight.

At district No. 4 the teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Fischer, very wealthy people, who could live in idleness all their lives, are giving their time and talents to 30 little Indians. It is an inspiring sight to see Mr. Fischer take off his coat and collar, roll up his sleeves, and go into the fields to give the pupils a lesson in physical culture. He leads them with such intelligent enthusiasm that they run to their garden work as our white children run to their playgrounds.

No. 11 is my ideal of a child-developing institution. Mr. Bragance is a capable, enthusiastic farmer, whose instructions have caused every home in the district to have a garden.

Miss Bragance is a fine musician, and leads on the organ—the Federal Government furnishes each school with an organ—the singing, and marching.

But a leader of leaders is Mrs. Bragance. Her heart yearns after the children's welfare, that love begetting love. The children cling to her skirts as to a mother's. Their eyes follow her every motion in adoration; her slightest wish is their law.

POVERTY ABOLISHED.

At Carson, Nev., I saw many small children playing about the school grounds. As it was vacation time, I asked the superintendent, Mr. Mortsolf, why these children were not at home. His reply was that they were orphans and the school took care of every orphan in its jurisdiction as one of the faculty's own.

Listen, Christians and you lovers of children: There are about 225,000 rural school districts in this Nation. Suppose our public schools cared for the white children as the Government cares for the Indian children, would we not at once and to the full abolish child poverty and slavery?

A public school should be as the soil, a man sunshine, and a woman rain, while the children are the crops. Too much sunshine without rain, and you have a desert where growth is scant; too much rain without sunshine, and you have a swamp where growth is rank and fruit scant.

BACK TO THE LAND.

We are developing a Nation of such shallow reasoners that we deceive ourselves. We cry back to the land, but we are doing everything possible to keep our sons off the farm and our daughters out of the kitchen, although we well know that idleness is the breeder of vice and crime.

History plainly shows us that nations are most prosperous when the tillers of the soil live on the land and own their own homes. It also tells us that when landlords lived in cities and had the land tilled by renters or slaves the wealth of the nation flowed into the cities and caused profligacy and licentious living. Soon decay of national honor set in, and other nations, seeing this vast horded wealth, warred on and destroyed the rich nation. Let us avoid the ways that led to the downfall of nations gone before.

MISAPPLIED EFFORTS.

There never was a time in the world's history when so many warm-hearted, brainy men and women were devoting their time, talents, and money to a betterment of human conditions. Why, then, may I ask, is vice and corruption so rampantly triumphant?

Are we like the people who lived on a river just above a high falls. This river was continuously filled with children whose hands were

tied and so they could not help themselves. The people did everything possible to rescue the children, but despite their efforts they saved but a small per cent of them. After many generations a woman said, "Let us go up the stream and see if we can not stop the children falling into the river." They did as she suggested and found a lot of people tying the children and pushing them into the river. When these people were chased out of the country the river was soon emptied and all the children were saved with less trouble than the few who had previously been rescued.

Are we not like the retired merchant who purchased a fruit farm? He found thereon thousands of young, straight, thrifty fruit trees and a few old, crooked trees. He spent all his time in a vain endeavor to straighten out the old hulks, and as a result, at fruit-picking time he found most of his young trees with bodies twisted and misshapen, with limbs bent and broken, and all because of his misdirected efforts.

Once there was a gallant knight who went forth to slay the hydra-headed monster. So bungling was his work that every time he cut off one head three other heads grew on. How about our treatment of vice?

INDIAN COLLEGES.

I was sent by the Federal Government into New Mexico to look into the Indian schools of that State. While I was there a meeting of the State Teachers' Association was held at Albuquerque. At that meeting Dr. P. P. Claxton, national commissioner of education, delivered an inspiring, forward-looking address. Seeing an opportunity to get a bit of publicity by comparing the systems, I invited Dr. Claxton to visit the Indian college and the State university with me the following day. He consented. I went to the phone and called up Dr. Boyd, head of the State university; Dr. Perry, head of the Indian college; and Mr. White, State school superintendent, and asked them to go with us. They consented.

We learned that the State university had a registration of 99, with an available fund of $55,000. The Indian college had an average daily attendance of 450, with an available fund of $68,000.

The financial comparison was sufficiently startling to give pause to all. But when we learned that the Indian school fed, clothed, and housed its pupils the comparison lost all comparison.

The Indian college had a girls' dormitory costing the taxpayers $12,000, and I am certain a like building could not be erected on any public school ground for less than $35,000 or $40,000.

Now, parents and taxpayers, do not get the idea that this difference was because of graft. Dr. Boyd is both honest and capable. The difference lies in the systems.

INDIVIDUAL TRAINING.

When a pupil enters an Indian college it is given a thorough examination as to capacity and desire. Several weeks are devoted to this testing. When the faculty finds out the pupil's capacity every attention is given to develop it along that line.

Indian colleges have a farm, dairy, hogpen, and chicken coops, all well stocked. As most of the pupils are best fitted for farming, they do much to feed the school while they are fitting themselves for their life's work.

Those pupils who show an adaptability for mechanics do all the carpentry, plumbing, plastering, etc., while they are fitting themselves for their life's work. All pupils devote half their time to studying theory and the other half is devoted to practice.

While I was at Carlisle, Pa., I was informed that any mechanic leaving that school with a diploma could go to work for the Pennsylvania Railroad at good wages, assured of a life position.

Parents and taxpayers, are not these facts worthy your consideration?

NO FALSE PRIDE.

A most wonderful contrast in character building is in dress and deportment. At all Indian colleges the pupils all dress alike. Usually the girls wear a skirt of some dark material and a waist of some light material. They are as neat in appearance and as pleasing to the eye as soldier boys on dress parade.

It is indeed a most pleasing and hopeful sight to see hundreds of girls wandering over the campus with arms lovingly entwined about each other. None of them ever thinks to ask her companion if her father is a banker or ditch digger. Individual character is what counts.

In such an atmosphere false pride, love of dress, or social leadership dies out for lack of encouragement.

Might it not be well for our high schools and universities to take a lesson from our Indian schools?

The River and Harbor Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 31, 1917.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against putting this bill into conference, because I believe this is not the time for Congress to make appropriations for rivers and harbors unless such appropriations are absolutely necessary for war purposes, and from my understanding of this bill practically all of the projects can well wait until the next session of Congress, and especially so in view of the fact that there is an exceptional balance in the Federal Treasury of over $30,000,000 for such purposes. If any of these projects in this bill are indispensable and necessary for military preparedness, then such projects could be easily introduced in a separate measure, and I take it there would be little if any objection to its passage.

We ought to realize above all other things that the great business before the country is to win this war and that all other matters must be subordinate to this predominant purpose, and that at this time when we are calling upon the people to subscribe for our bonds in carrying on this war, to contribute to the Red Cross, and in a hundred other ways to give generously and patriotically to the furtherance of the supreme effort, Congress, as the representative body of the American people, ought above all things to set an example for economy in its appropriations.

Now we are appealing to the housewives of the country to conserve all of their resources in the matter of regulation of food so as to prevent waste and extravagance of every kind, in order that the highest national efficiency shall be reached. How inconsistent it will appear to them when they read that Congress has appropriated thousands of dollars out of the Public Treasury to dredge canals and rivers upon whose surfaces float comparatively little commerce and which will be of no assistance toward the great end which we must all have before us.

To my mind this river and harbor bill is most inconsistent, and the passage of it at this time will bring down the well-merited criticisms from the American people, because they will feel that Congress is not sincere and only trifling with the stern realities of the situation.

Can I repeat that the supreme effort of all our people and the supreme effort of the American Congress should be to win the war, and win it as quickly as possible? Of what use to us are our rivers, harbors, and canals unless this great object is attained, and why should we expend the people's money for unnecessary things when they are called upon to exert every possible economy in their daily living for the conservation of all our national resources? What answer will they make to this unnecessary expenditure of their money and the unnecessary burden which shall be placed upon them when they shall be compelled to bear greatly increased taxation on their property?

I trust that this House will have the patriotism to rise above the local demands of their particular communities and show the American people that they are true, loyal, and faithful to the great national problem which lies before us.

Draft Quota Apportionment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 26, 1917.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and to have printed in the RECORD a letter which I addressed to Secretary of War Baker July 17, 1917, in which letter I charged that the draft is being conducted illegally and contrary to the express provisions of the conscription law. I also charge that, because of the method adopted by the War Department or the Bureau of the Census for figuring the quotas, which method I contend is illegal and not in accordance with the provisions of the conscription law, industrial States are being discriminated against and are being required to furnish more men than the law would require them to furnish if the quotas were figured according to the law.

I also desire to have printed in connection with my remarks certain tables of figures which have been furnished me by the Census Bureau. These figures will show clearly the inequity and discrimination which result from the method of figuring the quotas adopted by the War Department, which is contrary to the provisions of the law.

On July 18, 1917, I introduced the following resolution:

Resolution by Mr. McCULLOCH, of Ohio.

Whereas the act of May 18, 1917, to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States provides that "Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof"; and

Whereas instead of proportioning the quotas in accordance with the population the War Department is apportioning the quotas in accordance with the registration of June 5, which registration does not present a true indication of the population: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Commerce, who, themselves or through their departments, have been responsible for the fixing of the quotas on the basis of registration and not on the basis of population, and therefore illegally, be required to furnish this House with their reasons for so ignoring the express provisions of the conscription law.

JULY 17, 1917.

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The act approved May 18, 1917, to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, and more generally known as the "conscription act," provides:

"Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof, and credit shall be given to any State, Territory, District, or subdivision thereof, for the number of men who were in the military service of the United States as members of the National Guard on April 1, 1917, or who have since said date entered the military service of the United States from any such State, District, or subdivision, either as members of the Regular Army or the National Guard."

It is clear from this provision of the law that it was the intention of Congress that the quotas under this draft law should be determined in proportion to the actual population of the various States, Territories, and their subdivisions.

The Bureau of the Census has furnished official estimates of the actual population on July 1, 1917, of the counties of the several States and cities of 30,000 population and over. These estimates of the Bureau of the Census of the actual population on July 1, 1917, according to my information, were based upon the census of 1910 with the estimated increases as worked out by the Bureau of the Census for each subdivision; so that the figures submitted by the Bureau of the Census were designed and intended to show the actual population of each subdivision on July 1, 1917.

The Bureau of the Census has also made additional estimates of populations for the several States and the District of Columbia for counties and for cities of over 30,000, based entirely upon the registration of June 5, 1917. These additional estimates, according to the statement issued by the Bureau of the Census, were made at the request of the Provost Marshal General of the War Department and were to be used solely as a basis for the apportionment of the forthcoming draft. The Bureau of the Census, in referring to the method used in arriving at these new estimates, says:

"The method employed may be described briefly as follows:

"The total registration as shown by the preliminary telegraphic returns, 9,659,382, was divided by the total population of continental United States exclusive of Alaska, as heretofore estimated by the Census Bureau, 103,635,300, in order to obtain the proportion which the registrants represented of the total population. The resulting figure, 9.32 per cent, was assumed to represent the proportion which the registrants in each geographical unit represented of the total population thereof."

I am informed that it is now the purpose of the War Department to figure the quotas for each State and subdivision thereof on the estimate of the Bureau of the Census, based on the registration and not on the estimate of the Bureau of the Census, of the actual population of each State and its subdivisions. In many States and subdivisions, especially in industrial communities, the estimates, based on the registration, are far in excess of the actual population of such State and subdivision, and in a large number of States the estimates are much less than the actual population. Therefore, the strict letter of the law is nullified by the use of the method of figuring the population on the registration and the quotas will not be made according to the population but according to the registration of the male citizens between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive, on June 5, 1917.

If the draft should be made upon these last estimates, based upon the registration, it will not be made according to law, for the quotas will not be determined according to the population of the States and their subdivisions; therefore, the draft will be illegal and would not be sustained by the courts. It would seem to me that for that reason alone your department should not permit this method to be carried into effect.

It is doubtless true that very little, if any, question would be raised in regard to the method if it worked out equitably and justly to all the States and their subdivisions, but, unfortunately, the method adopted does not work out equitably and justly to all the States and their subdivisions. On the contrary, it works a discrimination against the industrial communities.

The principal reason why the figuring of the population upon the basis of the registration of male citizens between the ages of 21 and 30 years is unjust is that the registration was general. Everyone between the age limits provided by the act was required to register whether they were liable for military service or not. Therefore, the registration included unnaturalized foreigners, alien enemies, those exempt because of religious belief, as well as those exempt because of physical disqualifications, and otherwise. For this reason the industrial community, which is the principal place of employment and residence of these foreigners and the unnaturalized, while it would have a much larger registration, yet it would not probably have a larger proportionate number of young men liable to military service, as compared with nonindustrial communities, for a large percentage of those registered would be exempt.

If the department decided to diverge from the strict letter of the law and figure the number from the registration, rather than from the actual population, in order to be fair, it should have excluded from the registration at least the unnaturalized foreigners and alien enemies. If that had been done it is altogether probable that a result would have been obtained in regard to which few could have honestly based objection and which would have been perhaps fair, although the fact remains that it would still have been illegal, because Congress intended and clearly provided that the quotas were to be made from the population. If the estimates were to have been made upon a basis of registration, Congress would have so provided. I believe it would be dangerous for the department, no matter how equitable it would appear to be, to figure the quotas upon the registration, when the law specifically provides that the quotas must be figured according to actual population, for there are those who might be only too glad to take advantage of any technicality to attack the law and upset the whole draft as being illegal and unlawful.

The method adopted by your department is, as I have stated, a discrimination against industrial States in favor of nonindustrial States. As a proof that my assertion in that regard is correct, it will be observed that the State of Ohio under this method is called upon to furnish many more soldiers than it would have been required to furnish if the number had been figured from the actual population. If the quotas were filled on the actual population of the State of Ohio on July 1, 1917, as estimated by the Bureau of the Census, my State would furnish a gross quota of 57,150 men, but by the method of figuring the quota on the registration the population of the State of Ohio is inflated almost 1,000,000 persons, or, to be exact, 862,686, which increases Ohio's gross quota to 66,474, or 9,324 men more than the State would have to furnish if the quotas were figured according to the provisions of the law and on actual population.

All nonindustrial States are benefited under this method, have their quotas reduced, and are required to furnish a considerable less number of soldiers than if the quotas were figured on actual population. The Southern States are benefited almost without exception, as the figures show, and the burden is shifted to industrial States like Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and other Northern States. The following figures, taken from a table prepared by the Bureau of the Census, will indicate the effect of this method on industrial States of the North and the Southern States:

State.	Gross quotas under actual population.	Gross quotas under registration.
Alabama	25,920	21,300
Arkansas	19,367	17,452
District of Columbia	4,048	3,796
Georgia	31,752	27,209
Kentucky	26,250	22,152
Louisiana	20,360	18,481
Maryland	15,061	14,139
Mississippi	21,672	16,429
Missouri	37,604	35,461
New Mexico	4,644	3,856
North Carolina	26,692	23,486
Oklahoma	25,107	19,943
South Carolina	18,016	15,147
Tennessee	25,269	22,158
Texas	49,510	48,116
Virginia	24,253	21,354
West Virginia	15,498	14,848

Compare the following figures for northern industrial States with the foregoing figures for Southern States and it will be plain that the burden of this draft, under the method adopted by your department, is being shifted from the Southern States and is being placed unjustly upon the industrial Northern States:

State.	Gross quotas under actual population.	Gross quotas under registration.
California	33,212	34,007
Connecticut	13,873	18,817
Illinois	68,366	79,094
Iowa	24,393	25,465
Massachusetts	41,402	43,109
Michigan	33,937	43,936
Minnesota	25,355	26,021
Montana	5,184	10,423
New Jersey	33,050	35,423
New York	114,695	122,424
Ohio	57,150	66,474
Pennsylvania	94,956	98,277
Wisconsin	27,709	28,199

I desire to call attention to the effect of this illegal method of figuring the quotas on my home city of Canton, Ohio. According to the estimate of the Bureau of the Census, the actual population of Canton on July 1, 1917, was 62,566. Under the method of figuring the quotas on the registration the population of Canton is inflated over 100,000, and is estimated for the purpose of the draft to be 177,586. On actual population Canton's gross quota would be 798; on this inflated population Canton's gross quota would be 1,943.

The city of Akron, in my State, with an estimated actual population of 93,604, is inflated for the purpose of the draft to 338,348.

The city of Cleveland, with an actual population, according to the Bureau of the Census, of 690,837, has been inflated for the purpose of the draft to 1,125,440.

The city of Youngstown, Ohio, with an actual population of 112,282, as estimated by the Bureau of the Census, is inflated for the purpose of the draft to 228,380.

The towns I have mentioned are all industrial centers, where the foreign population is very large. In the city of Canton it is estimated by competent authority that of the number of young men registered almost one-half are unnaturalized foreigners. It is at least fair to say that a very large number of those registered are unnaturalized foreigners.

Under the plan worked out by your department to fix the quotas on the registration, my home town of Canton, with a population of less than 65,000, will be required to furnish more men than the State of New Hampshire, State of Delaware, State of Nevada, the State of Vermont, or the District of Columbia, twice as many as the State of Oregon, three times as many as Alaska, and twice as many as the State of Wyoming.

I desire to protest against your department arbitrarily changing the method provided by the conscription law of figuring these quotas. I enter this protest for the following reasons:

First. Because it is illegal and not in accordance with the law governing the fixing of the quotas for the several States, Territories, and subdivision thereof.

Second. Because to use the registration as a basis for figuring the population without the elimination of the unnaturalized foreigners and alien enemies will result in the placing of an unfair and unjust burden on many States and communities throughout the United States.

Third. Because I do not believe that the department by the use of any arbitrary method, whether it be illegal or of only doubtful legality,

should throw open the door for a contest in the courts of this draft. Any such action is bound to mean unnecessary delay, and I believe that the department owes it as a duty to the country to adhere strictly to the letter of the law in carrying into effect the provisions of this act.

Fourth. Because the arbitrary and illegal method of figuring the quotas adopted will make the State of Ohio furnish 9,324 more soldiers on the gross quotas' estimate than her just share under the provisions of the conscription law, and other States will be relieved of sending these men, which is unjust and unfair.

Fifth. Because the population of my home town of Canton is inflated over 100,000, and 1,145 will be taken unlawfully, because under the actual population my city would only be required to send 798 men; under the inflated population Canton will have to send 1,943.

I desire to say in conclusion that I am sure that the people of the State of Ohio, the people of my home city of Canton, Ohio, as well as the people of every other community in my district want to do their share under the law, but the apportionment of the burdens of this draft should be fair and equitable, and no community should be called upon to furnish men to fill places that should be filled by men from other communities. And, above all, this draft, which is perhaps the most serious action that has been taken by Congress, which means the lives of thousands upon thousands of the young men of this country, should be conducted legally and not illegally.

The taking from any community of any number of young men qualified for military service will have its effect on the business and the industries of that community. The sending of men to war is not only a sacrifice in the home and in the family of those who go, but it is a sacrifice the community makes for the welfare of the Nation, and no community, whether it be an industrial community or otherwise, should be called upon to bear an unequal share of this burden.

I believe that the act requiring that the quota should be taken from actual population is just and fair and should be adhered to by your department.

Very truly, yours, ROSCOE C. MCCULLOCH.

The following tables, prepared by the Bureau of the Census at my request, show the quotas for each State, first, if based upon the Federal census of 1910; second, if based upon the official estimate of population of July 1, 1917, by the Bureau of the Census; and, third, if based upon registration on June 5, 1917.

A careful examination of these figures will show clearly that by figuring the quotas on the registration of June 5, 1917, rather than on the actual population the quotas in Southern States are reduced and the quotas in Northern States are increased.

Area.	Population.	Proportion.	Gross quota.	Credits. (a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	Difference.	Proportion.	Adjustment.	Net quota.
United States	[1] 93,346,543	1.000000	1,152,985	164,292	183,719	117,974	465,985	687,000	1.000000		687,000
Do	[2] 105,151,678										
Do	[3] 105,366,056										
Ohio	[1] 4,767,121	.051069	58,882	8,437	14,129	5,020	27,586	31,296			[4] 31,296
Do	[2] 5,212,085	.049567	57,150	8,437	14,129	5,020	27,586	29,564			[4] 29,564
Do	[3] 6,074,771	.057654	66,474	8,437	14,129	5,020	27,586	38,888	.057774	115	38,773
Canton, Ohio	[1] 50,574	.010609	705	[5]	[5]	93	[6] 93				[7] 612
Do	[2] 62,566	.012004	798	[5]	[5]	93	[6] 93				[7] 705
Do	[3] 177,586	.029233	1,943	[5]	[5]	93	[6] 93				[7] 1,850

[1] Federal census of 1910.
[2] Official estimate of population, July 1, 1917.
[3] Estimate of population based upon registration, July 1, 1917.
[4] Adjustment because of excess quota not considered.
[5] Unknown.
[6] Credit (a) and (b) (State and National Guards) should be added.
[7] Credit (a) and (b) (State and National Guards) should be deducted.

	Federal Census of 1910.			Official estimate of population July 1, 1917.			Estimate of population based upon registration July 5, 1917.		
	Population.	Proportion.	Gross quota.	Population.	Proportion.	Gross quota.	Population.	Proportion.	Gross quota.
United States	93,346,543	1.000000	1,152,985	105,151,678	1.000000	1,152,985	105,366,056	1.000000	1,152,985
Alabama	2,138,093	.022905	26,409	2,363,939	.022481	25,920	1,946,536	.018474	21,309
Arizona	204,354	.002189	2,524	263,788	.002508	2,891	409,203	.003884	4,478
Arkansas	1,574,449	.016867	19,447	1,766,343	.016798	19,367	1,394,835	.015136	17,452
California	2,377,549	.025470	29,366	3,029,032	.028806	33,212	3,189,998	.030275	34,907
Colorado	799,024	.008560	9,870	988,320	.009398	10,835	895,336	.008497	9,797
Connecticut	1,114,756	.011942	13,769	1,265,373	.012033	13,873	1,719,623	.016320	18,817
Delaware	202,322	.002167	2,498	215,160	.002046	2,359	234,710	.002228	2,569
District of Columbia	331,069	.003547	4,090	369,282	.003511	4,048	346,856	.003292	3,796
Florida	752,619	.008063	9,296	916,185	.008712	10,044	925,641	.008785	10,129
Georgia	2,609,121	.027951	32,227	2,895,841	.027539	31,752	2,486,544	.023599	27,209
Idaho	325,594	.003488	4,022	445,176	.004233	4,880	441,684	.004192	4,833
Illinois	5,638,591	.060405	69,646	6,234,995	.059295	68,366	7,227,952	.068599	79,094
Indiana	2,700,876	.028934	33,360	2,835,492	.026965	31,090	2,738,893	.025994	29,971
Iowa	2,224,771	.023833	27,479	2,224,771	.021157	24,393	2,327,079	.022086	25,465
Kansas	1,690,949	.018115	20,886	1,851,870	.017611	20,305	1,626,226	.015434	17,795
Kentucky	2,289,905	.024531	28,284	2,394,093	.022767	26,250	2,024,353	.019213	22,152
Louisiana	1,656,388	.017744	20,459	1,856,954	.017659	20,360	1,688,862	.016029	18,481
Maine	742,371	.007953	9,170	777,340	.007392	8,522	646,588	.006137	7,076
Maryland	1,295,346	.013877	16,000	1,373,673	.013063	15,061	1,292,091	.012263	14,139
Massachusetts	3,366,416	.036064	41,581	3,775,973	.035909	41,402	3,939,561	.037389	43,109
Michigan	2,810,173	.030105	34,711	3,094,266	.029426	33,927	4,015,053	.038106	43,936
Minnesota	2,075,708	.022237	25,639	2,312,445	.021991	25,355	2,377,938	.022568	26,021
Mississippi	1,797,114	.019252	22,197	1,976,570	.018797	21,672	1,501,345	.014249	16,429
Missouri	3,293,335	.035281	40,678	3,429,595	.032615	37,604	3,240,679	.030756	35,461
Montana	376,053	.004028	4,644	472,935	.004497	5,184	952,478	.009040	10,423
Nebraska	1,192,214	.012772	14,726	1,284,126	.012212	14,080	1,270,301	.012056	13,900
Nevada	81,875	.000877	1,011	110,738	.001053	1,214	131,232	.001245	1,435
New Hampshire	430,572	.004613	5,319	444,429	.004226	4,872	403,884	.003833	4,419
New Jersey	2,537,167	.027180	31,338	3,014,194	.028665	33,050	3,255,407	.030896	35,623
New Mexico	327,301	.003506	4,042	423,649	.004028	4,644	352,392	.003344	3,856
New York	9,113,614	.097632	112,568	10,460,182	.099477	114,695	11,187,798	.106189	122,424
North Carolina	2,206,287	.023635	27,251	2,434,381	.023151	26,692	2,146,266	.020370	23,486
North Dakota	577,056	.006182	7,128	765,319	.007278	8,391	706,992	.006710	7,737
Ohio	4,767,121	.051069	58,882	5,212,085	.049567	57,150	6,074,771	.057654	66,474
Oklahoma	1,657,155	.017753	20,469	2,289,855	.021776	25,107	1,822,470	.017297	19,943
Oregon	672,765	.007207	8,310	861,992	.008197	9,451	675,092	.006407	7,387
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	.082114	94,676	8,660,042	.082357	94,956	8,981,082	.085237	98,277
Rhode Island	542,610	.005813	6,702	625,865	.005952	6,862	573,583	.005444	6,277
South Carolina	1,515,400	.016234	18,718	1,643,205	.015626	18,016	1,384,203	.013137	15,147
South Dakota	583,888	.006255	7,212	716,972	.006818	7,861	626,359	.005945	6,854
Tennessee	2,184,789	.023405	26,986	2,304,629	.021917	25,269	2,024,893	.019218	22,158
Texas	3,896,542	.041743	48,129	4,515,423	.042941	49,510	4,397,097	.041732	48,116
Utah	373,351	.004000	4,612	443,866	.004221	4,866	451,932	.004289	4,945
Vermont	355,956	.003813	4,396	364,946	.003470	4,000	296,426	.002813	3,243
Virginia	2,061,612	.022086	25,465	2,213,025	.021046	24,265	1,951,521	.018521	21,354
Washington	1,141,990	.012234	14,106	1,597,400	.015191	17,514	1,166,355	.011074	12,768
West Virginia	1,221,119	.013081	15,082	1,412,602	.013433	15,488	1,356,907	.012878	14,848
Wisconsin	2,333,860	.025002	28,827	2,527,167	.024033	27,709	2,576,931	.024457	28,199
Wyoming	145,965	.001564	1,803	184,970	.001759	2,028	245,226	.002327	2,683
Alaska	64,356	.000689	794	64,912	.000617	711	64,912	.000616	710
Hawaii	191,909	.002056	2,371	219,580	.002088	2,407	219,580	.002084	2,403
Porto Rico	1,118,012	.011977	13,809	1,231,880	.011715	13,507	1,231,880	.011691	13,480

The Food Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. ASWELL,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, July 26, 1917.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago certain circulars were distributed among the Members of Congress respecting the food situation, to which I now desire to call attention.

The one from the National Dairy Council states in part:

Our people should bear in mind the significance of the heart-rending appeal made to the German Reichstag by Field Marshal Von Hindenburg. He cries for fat, fat, fat, fat for his soldiers and fat for the weakened people. The fate of Germany may hang upon the question of fat. At no time in history has the value of fat assumed so ominous a meaning. * * * Our stock of dairy cattle is lower to-day per thousand population than it has been for 40 years. As a Nation, we may well be alarmed over the certainty of further depletion.

One from the National Dairy Show Association says in part:

The allied battling armies need food. Nature seems to have conspired with human passion in this great catastrophe. Her yields are less in these times of greatest stress than they have been in years. The dread specter of famine stalks through the world. Our own country faces a serious food shortage. Prices are abnormally high and already beyond the reach of some pocketbooks.

The warning given to Congress and the country in these two circulars is confirmed in the Chicago Dairy Produce, May 22, 1917, which publishes a symposium of letters from butter producers in "all parts of the country where butter is made in considerable quantities," from which it concludes editorially that—

It is safe to say the make will be no larger than it was last year, and the probabilities are it will be less, regardless of how favorable conditions may be.

It is a matter of common knowledge that under existing conditions many of the American people are unable to obtain any reasonable supply of wholesome table fat. I therefore wish to call attention to a practical method of relief by showing how this situation is met in other countries.

The Manufacturers' Record, June 7, 1917, quotes from United States Department of Commerce Reports:

The latest statistics estimate that Denmark (2,500,000 population, 15,388 square miles) contains 1,300,000 milch cows. * * * Of the 117,000,000 kilos (234,000,000 pounds) of butter made annually, 95,000,000 kilos (190,000,000 pounds) are exported. The consumption of margarine as a substitute for butter is steadily increasing, and it is remarkable to notice how little the Danes care for their own dairy product. In 1915 about 55,100,000 kilos (110,200,000 pounds) were consumed.

From this it would appear that the Danish people consume per capita per annum 44 pounds of margarine and 18 pounds of butter, total 62 pounds, while in America we consume per capita per annum 1½ pounds of margarine and 10½ pounds of butter, total 12 pounds. The South ships millions of pounds of cottonseed oil to Denmark to be churned into margarine.

Commerce Reports, May 14, 1917, says, in part:

In 1916, as in 1915, there was a large demand for edible oils of all sorts to keep pace with the constantly extending demand for margarine, and this in face of rapid increase in margarine imports to the United Kingdom. * * * The price of butter is now prohibitive to the majority of the population, and the rapid extension of margarine is certain to continue. * * * British margarine is made principally from vegetable fats, and may be expected, therefore, to absorb increasing quantities of * * * cottonseed oil.

English annual report on the oil and fat markets for 1916 says, in part:

A matter of far-reaching importance to the future of the edible fat market is the rejection in the American Senate of the Underwood amendment to the Senate revenue bill providing that a flat tax of 2 cents a pound be placed on margarine, colored and uncolored. * * * The achievement of this object would have given considerable fillip to the American margarine industry and would have meant an increasing competition on the part of the American manufacturers for the purchase of the raw material. Fortunately, however, for the European manufacturers, the American dairy interest still carries the day. * * * It will be interesting to watch whether future attempts to allow the American margarine industry free scope will meet with better success.

The Chicago Dairy Produce, May 22, 1917, quotes from Daily Commerce Reports, in part, as follows:

As Trinidad depends for its butter supply chiefly from foreign sources, * * * there has been a tendency on the part of local housewives to make their own butter from coconuts, which grow abundantly in Trinidad. * * * It seems likely that the use of homemade coconut butter will in the future become very extensive. * * * The department of agriculture of Trinidad is doing much to promote the household manufacture and use of coconut butter, and the newspapers are doing much to point out the great economy of coconut butter.

When properly churned in milk peanut and cottonseed oils produce the same delicious, wholesome product as coconut oil so churned; yet if an association of American farmers want to churn their oils in their milk so as to make a delightful, wholesome table food for sale, they must pay $600 a year license, give bond for $5,000, and make daily reports to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. If they artificially color the product so as to make it pleasing to the eye—as butter is artificially colored—they must pay 10 cents per pound tax. If they make it white, they must still pay one-fourth of 1 cent per pound tax; but nobody wants it white, just as nobody wants white butter.

If the grocer sells the colored food in 10-pound packages or more, he must pay $480, or if he sells only the white food, he must pay $200 a year license, and must make frequent reports to the Internal-Revenue Department.

If he sells in less than 10-pound packages, he must pay for colored food a license of $48, and for white a $6 license.

The result of these restrictions is, as shown above, that the American people have available only about 1½ pounds of oleomargarine per capita per annum, and a wholly inadequate supply of butter, which there is no hope of increasing.

Whereas, if these restrictions were removed so that the business could be engaged in freely as in other countries, at least five or six hundred million pounds of our excellent food oils now going into industrial uses would be properly used as food under Government inspection and to the great relief of the people.

Another result of the removal of these restrictions would be the rapid development of the dairy business, especially in the South, where the combined product of the available cows and available oils in the respective localities would constitute sufficient volume for the establishment of creameries producing margarine in sections now unable to adopt such a course.

Mr. J. Carter, of Gainesville, Ga., says:

I know from actual experience that cottonseed oil (high grade) added to your milk when you churn makes as good butter as you want. If the legal obstructions could be removed, it would be a great blessing to this country and the world at large. It would be a good time now, as butter and fats are so scarce and high, to have the law so revised as to remove the cause that prevents the use of cottonseed and peanut oils.

Mr. James D. Dawson, of Houston, Tex., says:

I am conducting some experiments in the churning of clarola (peanut oil) with milk, and the last result is the production of 3 pounds of the most delicious butter, equally as good as any Elgin brand, from 60 cents worth of material; and if this is not a poor man's proposition I don't know what is.

But the departments here, to whom the people would naturally apply for formulæ and methods for this domestic increase of the food supply, decline to give the people any instruction on the subject, saying, "It would be most unwise to disseminate these instructions, for the reason that any person who manufactured the product for sale or consumption of others, except on his own family table, without compensation, would be liable as a manufacturer of oleomargarine under the present statute."

Surely this legal chain which binds the people to poverty should be broken. It is time for the Congress to act. It is ridiculous to hear so much talk about food control and food conservation and at the same time fail to respond to this just demand from the poor man for a reasonable butter supply. How long must the people remain in the grip of the Butter Trust? How long must the poor people starve for fat while the Butter Trust, though totally unable to supply the demand at any price, fattens on the iniquitous existing oleomargarine law? Let the people speak through their Representatives in Congress.

Physical Valuation of Railroads.

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, June 27, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1816) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, when the effort was made to get this bill up two weeks ago, near the close of Calendar Wednesday, I endeavored to secure an hour, as was my right, for the purpose of discussing the slow progress of the physical valuation of railroads and to point out the location of

some of these very pretty private cars carrying the letters "I. C. C." and equipped with stewards and good food served without regard to the mandates of Food Dictator Hoover. It seems that my part of the country from San Francisco nearly to the Canadian line are dotted with these cars just now, this being the cool season out there. I am not surprised that these and other Government employees should seek that delightful country where the thermometer does not go much above 80 degrees in these days.

But I do not get the hour. I am given two minutes, and in that space of time I can not go into even the briefest discussion of the physical examination of railroads—the unnecessary costs of that examination—the slowness of it, and the probabilities that it will not be finished in 10 years, and will not be worth much if anything when it is finished. Two minutes will not even open the discussion. I have time, however, to say that I am fully in accord with the Sims amendment to the bill under discussion. I think it is better for us to give the power named and the restrictions now than to stand on the floor as has been done and say what Congress is likely to do if the commission does not regulate rates to satisfy a majority of the Members of Congress. It seems to be well understood that nearly all the Members are opposed to the 15 per cent increase, and as it was so stated by the chairman of the committee, I shall not have any hesitancy in repeating it. However, it is a strange situation. Congress appoints an arm stronger than Congress itself; tells that arm to act without fear or favor; then threatens the commissioners if they fail to act in accordance with public acclaim. And at the same time Congress proposes to refuse to place in this new bill restrictions that would prevent such occurrences.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement of the essential differences between the House revenue bill and the Senate revenue bill as reported to the Senate July 3, especially with reference to the excess-profits tax and the income tax.

In view of the many misleading and misrepresenting statements which lately have appeared in the press relative to the essential differences between the House revenue bill and the amendments of the Senate Finance Committee, reported July 3, 1917, with respect to the excess-profits tax and the income tax, and of many inquiries made of me by Members of the House, I wish to make a statement as to such differences:

1. The House bill provides for a flat rate of 16 per cent (8 per cent under existing law and an additional 8 per cent under the bill, making 16 per cent) on the profits in excess of (a) $5,000 plus (b) 8 per cent of the amount of actual capital invested, including paid-in or earned surplus and undivided profits; that is, after allowing an exemption of $5,000 flat in all cases and a further exemption of 8 per cent net profits on actual capital invested, including surplus and undivided profits, the tax of 16 per cent is levied on the balance of the profits. This deduction or exemption, like the exemption for individuals in the income tax, applies equally to all, big and little, whether the profits were small or large, before the war or now.

The amendment of the Senate Finance Committee provides, after the manner of the English system, as the basis of deduction or exemption and computation of the tax, the average net profits of the taxable person or corporation during the three years, 1911, 1912, and 1913, called the "prewar period." The tax is levied on the amount of profits made each taxable year, beginning with 1917, in excess of the average amount made during such prewar period. In case not as much as 6 per cent on the average capital employed was made, on the average, during these years, the person or corporation is permitted to have as a deduction or exemption and as a basis of computation of the tax 6 per cent on "the average capital employed" during the taxable year. The rate levied is as follows:

On the first 15 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 12 per cent.

On the next 10 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 16 per cent.

On the next 25 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 20 per cent.

On the next 25 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 25 per cent.

On the next 25 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 30 per cent.

On the next 50 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 35 per cent.

On the next 50 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 40 per cent.

On the next 50 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 45 per cent.

On the profits in excess of 250 per cent increase in profits over the average for the prewar period, 50 per cent.

This basis of deduction or exemption and of computation of the tax makes an undue discrimination in favor of the fortunate persons or corporations that were highly prosperous during the "prewar period" and equally as prosperous or more so now, as against the less fortunate and less prosperous persons or corporations during such period, but prosperous now. It works an intolerable inequality. Under the provision of the Finance Committee amendments, the more prosperous persons or corporations during the prewar period, and equally as or more prosperous now have a larger exemption and pay less tax—and in many cases no tax—than the less fortunate and less prosperous during such period, though it may be a competitor.

For instance—I have in mind such an actual case: Corporation A, with $100,000 capital invested, made during the prewar period $25,000, or 25 per cent profit. It now makes $25,000 a year. B corporation in same business, same capital, but many years younger, during the prewar period made $6,000, or 6 per cent. It is now making $25,000, or 25 per cent, just the same as the older corporation.

Under Senate Finance Committee amendments corporation A will pay not a cent of excess-profits tax, because there is no profit in excess of the prewar profit, while corporation B will pay $6,929, as it is allowed only a $6,000 exemption, being its prewar profits. During the three prewar years and the first taxable year 1917, corporation A will have made $100,000 clear profits, while corporation B will have made less than $43,000 profits. Yet it pays $6,929 taxes to the Government to help finance the war struggle, and corporation A pays not a cent.

If corporation A makes now $30,000 and corporation B $20,000, B corporation will pay $4,479, while corporation A, making $10,000 more annually, will pay only $650.

A corporation of $10,000,000 capital making during the prewar years and now $1,500,000, 15 per cent—and there are such cases—will pay not a penny of excess-profits tax, while a little corporation or merchant or farmer of $20,000 capital making 6 per cent, or $1,200 during the prewar years and now making $6,000, will pay over $1,800 taxes.

Why should the Government give by any method of taxation or by any law such an immense advantage to one corporation or person over another or make such a discrimination in favor of one against the other, to be used perhaps after the war to cripple or crush out its competitors?

Take another case: Corporations A and B have $1,000,000 capital each. Corporation A during the prewar period made $200,000, or 20 per cent. It now makes $400,000, or 40 per cent. Corporation B made during the prewar period $60,000, or 6 per cent. It now makes $300,000, or 30 per cent; $100,000 less than corporation A. Under Senate Finance Committee's provision corporation B will pay $94,290, while corporation A, with same capital, same business, and making $100,000 more profits annually, will pay only $44,300.

There are hundreds of corporations whose annual profits each reach into the hundreds of thousands and millions that will pay not a cent of excess-profits tax under the Senate Finance Committee's amendments because, being highly prosperous during the prewar years, they are making the same amount of profits now, and therefore have no excess under the Senate Finance Committee's basis of computation. The House bill makes no such discriminations.

2. Under the amendment of the Senate Finance Committee individuals, except officials of the Government, employees, and agents receiving fixed wages or salaries, including in the exception such employees and agents as Gary, of the Steel Corporation; Schwab, of the Bethlehem Co.; Dupont, of the Powder Co.; J. P. Morgan, of Morgan & Co., etc.; lawyers and

doctors and other professional men, are included in the application of the tax, as well as corporations and partnerships.

The House bill includes only corporations and partnerships, and excludes individuals because (1) of the extreme difficulty in the administration of the law as regards individuals, and (2) of the exemption from the income tax of partnerships and the exemption of corporations from the surtax, and (3) of the discrimination an excess-profits tax on individuals would make in favor of a corporation as against an individual, especially in view of the surtax on individuals.

Under the Senate Finance Committee amendment there are hundreds of cases where corporations, each making hundreds of thousands and some millions of dollars profits annually, pay less taxes—and in many cases no tax at all—than a little farmer worth less than $20,000.

I know a farmer—there are thousands of such all over the country—worth less than $20,000 who this year, if present prices prevail, will make $6,000 profit, while in 1911. 1912, and 1913, the pre-war years, he did not make over $1,000. I know a corporation whose capital and surplus is over $100,000,000 and whose profits are over $12,000,000 annually. Under the Senate Finance Committee amendment this farmer will pay $2,071, while this corporation will pay not a cent to help support the Government in its war contest.

Under the Senate Finance Committee amendments, as to excess-profits tax and income tax, the United States Steel Corporation, with a billion and a half capital, making annual profits of over $270,000,000, will pay not a cent of tax either on incomes or excess profits, while this little farmer worth less than $20,000, making a profit of $6,000, will pay $2,071.

Some other instances of the heavy taxes the farmers will have to pay under the Senate Finance Committee amendments: A farmer with a farm and equipment worth $30,000, making $1,800 during the pre-war period—and but few made that much—making this year by hard work of himself and family and high prices for his produce $10,000, will pay $3,329 taxes. One with farm and equipment worth $75,000 or $100,000 making in the prewar period $5,000 and making this year $30,000 will pay $10,358 taxes.

The farmers in North Carolina or Iowa or in other agricultural States, under the Senate Finance Committee amendments, will pay much more excess-profits taxes than will the largest and most prevalent industrial corporations in the respective States.

Under the Senate Finance Committee amendments, applying the excess-profits tax to individuals, a great advantage and favor is given the corporation over the individual in the same business with the same capital and making the same profit now and during the prewar period; and in practically all instances the individual will not only pay more income tax than the corporation, but a heavier excess-profits tax, while in many cases the corporation will pay none. For instance: A, an individual—farmer, merchant, or manufacturer—and B, who incorporates his business, owning all stock except a share each to his wife and daughter, have the same kind of business, same capital, say, $50,000; each manages his business, giving to it his entire time. Each, exclusive of salary, makes same profit, say, $15,000, with same deduction of 6 per cent, or $3,000, the basis of computation.

But B, being active president and manager of a corporation, has a right to deduct, before the tax applies to his profits, for his services a salary, say, of $3,000. A, being an individual, has no right to deduct salary or any compensation for his services.

A will pay a tax of $4,714.50, while B's corporation will pay only $3,214.50—$1,500 less than individual A.

Take another case: A, an individual, has a $100,000 capital in business, made 6 per cent, or $6,000, during the prewar year, makes now $25,000, and manages the business. B, C, and D incorporate, each having one-third of the stock, the corporation has the same kind of business, same capital, same prewar profits, and same profits now as individual A, exclusive of salaries, but B, C, and D have the right, as managers or employees of the corporation, to charge, and do charge up, as part of the operating expenses $2,500 salary for each.

A, individual, pays in excess-profits taxes $6,929, while the corporation of B, C, and D pays only $3,379. And, in addition to this, on account of the surtax of the income-tax law, A pays over $600 more income tax than the corporation on its income and the three stockholders on their income from the corporation.

But suppose A and the corporation, exclusive of salaries to B, C, and D, each make $13,500 profits, B, C, and D having the right to deduct their salaries as a part of the operating expenses and A having no such right, the corporation pays no excess-profits tax. A pays $1,854.

Suppose the capital of individual A and the corporation (of B, C, and D) is each $1,000,000, with the same kind of business, same prewar profits of 6 per cent, or $60,000, deduction, making the same profits now (exclusive of salaries of B, C, and D) of 25 per cent, or $250,000. B, C, and D deduct, as they have the right, their salaries of $10,000 each. Individual A would pay $15,000 more of excess profits than the corporation of B, C, and D and over $27,000 more income tax than both the corporation on its income and B, C, and D on their incomes from the corporation.

The House bill contains no such discriminations in favor of corporations as against individuals.

3. The Senate committee amendments do not make an exemption of $5,000, as the House bill does, but provides that the excess-profits tax shall not apply to the trade or business of a corporation, partnership, or individual whose income is less than $5,000.

For instance, A's income from his trade or business is $4,999.99. He is not taxed on any amount; but if B's income, in the same business and same capital and same prewar profits, is $5,000, just a cent more than A's, he is taxable on the whole $5,000, less the prewar profits. Farmer or merchant or manufacturer A, with prewar profits of $1,000, and a profit now, 1917, or any year thereafter, of $4,999.99 pays no tax.

Farmer or merchant or manufacturer B, with the same kind of business, with same capital, with same prewar period profit, making $5,000, just a cent more than A, now, 1917, or any year thereafter, pays under Senate committee amendment a tax of $1,571.

Take another example of the discrimination in favor of a corporation as against an individual in view of this special provision:

Individual A, farmer, merchant, or manufacturer, with capital of $20,000, prewar-period profits of 6 per cent, or $1,200, makes a profit now of $6,000.

B, with $20,000 capital, incorporates, owning all stock (except a share each to his wife and daughter, to comply with his State's law of incorporation).

The corporation with same kind of business, same prewar-period profits, exclusive of B's salary, makes same profit as individual A of $6,000.

Deducting B's salary, say $1,500, as under the law it has the right, the corporation pays no tax, while individual A is made to pay $1,885 tax. This is so, since after deducting the salary of $1,500 the income of B, incorporated, is only $4,500—"less than $5,000," while individual A, not being permitted under existing or the proposed law to deduct any salary for his services, the income of his business being therefore $5,000 and over, must pay a tax on the whole excess of profits. The House bill has no such discriminations.

4. The Senate committee amendments include for the tax farmers, merchants, butchers, blacksmiths, and so forth, but exempt from the tax lawyers, doctors, officers of the Government, and employees and agents receiving fixed amounts for their services. Employees and agents include officers of corporations, like Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation; Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation; Morgan, of the J. P. Morgan & Co.; Du Pont, of the powder company, and so forth.

Why should such a tax be levied on the excess profits or income of farmers, merchants, blacksmiths, and so forth, and not be levied on the excess profits or incomes of lawyers, doctors, employees and agents of corporations like Gary, Schwab, Du Pont, Morgan, and so forth, whose increase of income from increase of salaries since the prewar period has been enormous? The House bill contains no such discrimination.

The excess-profits law of other nations—Great Britain, Italy, France, Canada—and the existing excess-profits tax law of our country and the provisions of the House bill exempt from the excess-profits tax individual farmers. Why should the Senate Finance Committee now insist on including them?

A tobacco farmer of North Carolina or Virginia or Kentucky or Connecticut—and there are many such—worth less than $20,000, making a prewar profit of not more than $1,000—and many made less—will by the hard work of himself and family make a profit this year of $6,000, if present prices prevail. He will be made to pay under the Senate committee amendments an excess-profits tax of $2,000 to help the Government out in its war struggle, while the American Tobacco Co., with a capital of $92,000,000 and $35,000,000 surplus, making over $12,000,000 clear profits a year, will not be made to pay a cent of excess profits; and, besides, by the Senate amendment to the income tax, this same tobacco company is relieved of tens of thousands of dollars of income tax yearly.

Why does the Senate Finance Committee wish to take from the farmer, in every section of our country, out of his little income of $6,000, at least $2,000, when he and his wife and children have been struggling a lifetime to make a little profit to improve or build a better home for themselves and better houses for his labor and better barns for his stock? This is the first time he has had the chance, and the Senate committee's amendment takes that away from him. The House bill gives him the chance.

5. The Senate committee amendment expressly permits "water" to be counted as "capital employed" in computing deductions from the taxable income or profits by including specifically "trade-marks, trade brands, and like intangible assets" as part of the "capital employed." Most of the water in all big, overcapitalized corporations is in their value of "trade-marks, trade brands, and like intangible assets."

The House bill expressly prohibits such "water" to be counted as "actual capital invested" in computing deductions or exemptions from the tax.

6. Under the Senate amendments the excess-profits tax provision requires in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a physical valuation of all the assets of each taxable individual, partnership, or corporation, and is impossible of administration.

If the "capital," as defined by the amendments, remain the same in the taxable year as in the prewar period, the provisions are most easily administered, and many corporations will pay a larger tax—though many will pay none—than under the House bill. But the "capital," as defined by the Senate committee, is different and "greater" in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, and therefore the Government must, in administering the tax law, resort to the impossible thing, the valuation in every taxable year and in each of the three prewar years the value of all the assets of every taxable person, partnership, and corporation in the United States.

They provide (1) that "if during the prewar period the net income of a corporation or partnership, or of a citizen or resident of the United States, from a trade or business was less than 6 per cent on the average capital employed," capital meaning, as I will presently show, "value of assets," not actual capital invested, according to House bill, "a deduction from the net income during the taxable year of 6 per cent on the average capital," meaning value of assets, "employed during such taxable year"; and (2) that "if the average capital employed in the trade or business during the taxable year is greater or less than the average capital or proportion thereof so employed during the prewar period, the excess profits shall be determined by deducting from the total net income for the taxable year an amount which bears the same proportion to the average annual net income for the prewar period which the average capital or proportion thereof employed during the taxable year bears to the average capital or proportion thereof employed during the prewar period." That is, if one employing $50,000 capital during the prewar period made 10 per cent, or $5,000, but during the taxable year his "capital" had increased to $100,000, he would have to make over $10,000, or 10 per cent, before the tax attached—before there would be any excess of profits. He would have $10,000 instead of $5,000 deduction.

"Capital"—and this is to be noted carefully—is defined thus by the Senate committee amendment:

> For the purpose of this title, capital shall be deemed to be the fair average value of the assets actually invested and employed in the trade or business less the average amounts of the liabilities incurred in respect to such trade or business.

And again:

> The value of any patent, copyright, trade-mark, or like intangible assets shall not be taken to exceed its cash value at the beginning of the prewar period.

So, then, it is clear—impossible of any other construction—that, to ascertain if the person, partnership, or corporation is entitled to the deduction in provision of subdivision (1) above, a physical valuation of all the "assets" for each taxable year, 1917 and thereafter, and also for each of the prewar years, 1911, 1912, and 1913, must be made.

To ascertain the deduction in subdivision (2), physical valuation of the assets of every taxable individual, partnership, and corporation must be made for each of the three prewar years and for this and each taxable year hereafter.

Each taxable person, partnership, and corporation is entitled to the deduction and computation of the tax on the basis set out in this subdivision (2), provided his "average capital"—meaning by the definition of the Senate amendment the "average value of his or its assets"—is "greater or less" than the average capital—assets—during the prewar period, and so forth; not, it is to be carefully noted, "greater" because of new capital or new money being put in, but simply if the assets have increased in value.

The "capital" in the definition of the Senate amendment—that is, "the assets" of practically every taxable person, partnership, and corporation, at least ninety-nine out of a hundred—is greater than they were during the prewar period, although not a dollar of new money or capital might have been put into the business. Plants and property, and therefore value of the assets, of thousands of persons and corporations are doubled, and in some cases quadrupled, in value since the prewar period, regardless of any new capital added.

Then in practically all cases to administer provisions of subdivision (2) physical valuation of the assets must be taken. What is the valuation of all of the assets of all of the railroads? What is the valuation of all the assets of the Pennsylvania Railroad? Of the Illinois Central? How will the Government clerks and agents get at them? Some years ago Congress authorized a commission to value the assets of the railroads. It has hundreds of experts, has labored for years and has many more ahead of it, has expended millions of dollars and will expend millions more, and has not yet completed the valuation.

But under Senate amendments Government clerks and agents within a few months of each year will have to value their assets for 1917 and each taxable year thereafter, and also for each of the prewar years—1911, 1912, and 1913. What is the value of the assets of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, American Tobacco Co., the Du Pont Powder Co., and each of their subsidiary corporations? What was the value of their assets in 1911, 1912, and 1913? And the assets of every taxable individual—farmers, merchants, blacksmiths, and so forth—of every partnership and of every corporation in the United States must be taken not only for 1917 and every taxable year thereafter but of 1911, 1912, and 1913, and all within four months of each year! How many hundreds of thousands of extra clerks and employees would it take, and how long, even if such a task was possible of performance? But, under the only possible construction of the Senate Finance Committee amendment relative to subdivision (2) above, how much taxes would the Government raise from the corporations, especially the big ones? Impossible to raise one-fourth—certainly not one-third—of the Senate committee's estimates. The excess-profits tax provision of the Senate committee could not possibly produce one-half of the amount which the House bill will. Take the Bethlehem Steel Corporation that is and has been making enormous "war profits." Its stock has gone up from 80 to 600. Every old dollar and every new dollar of capital put in is worth 6 for 1.

Its assets and those of its subsidiary companies—plants, machinery, equipments, and so forth, the same as it had in the prewar period—are worth now five or six times as much as during the prewar period. So under Senate amendment, subdivision (2), if the Bethlehem Steel Corporation was making profits of $6,500,000 during prewar period, it would have to make now five or six times as much, or from $32,500,000 to $39,000,000 before the excess-profits tax of Senate Finance Committee would attach—that is, would have that much deduction or exemptions instead of $6,500,000. Let us take the familiar example of a ship. Suppose my business is that of hauling freight and passengers by water. In prewar period I owned a ship worth, then, $500,000, making net $50,000 a year. That ship is now worth $1,500,000—and ships have increased in value that much—though not a dollar has been added to it since prewar period. My "capital"—assets under Senate amendments—is "greater" by $1,000,000—increased 200 per cent—than in prewar period. Now, before the Senate excess-profits tax attaches, I would have to be making during the taxable year $150,000 instead of $50,000. I would be entitled to a deduction of $150,000 instead of $50,000. That is the proportion provided for by Senate committee amendment in subdivision (2) above.

II. AS TO THE INCOME TAX AND ESTATE OR INHERITANCE TAX.

1. The Senate Finance Committee amendments strike from the House bill the Lenroot amendment, increasing the surtax on large incomes of from $40,000 to $1,000,000 and over. By this the large incomes are relieved of $66,000,000 of tax annually.

2. They strike from the House bill the so-called retroactive tax on incomes, which, in fact, is not a retroactive tax any more than the income-tax law of 1913 or the income-tax law of 1916 or the proposed income-tax provisions of the House bill, approved by the Senate committee. This relieves income taxpayers of $108,000,000.

3. They repeal the "munitions manufacturer's tax" provisions of the revenue act of September 8, 1916, whereby a tax of 12½ per cent, in addition to the regular income tax and excess profits tax, was imposed on the net profits received from the manufacture and sale of direct munitions of war, such as powder and explosives, cannons, guns, rifles, projectiles, and so forth. By this the munition makers are relieved of more than $25,000,000 taxes a year.

The House bill leaves that tax unrepealed.

4. They amend the present income tax law by exempting all corporations from taxation on account of dividends received from other corporations.

Corporations, especially the big ones, are thus relieved of more than $50,000,000 of taxes a year.

The United States Steel Corporation alone is relieved of $10,800,000 annually, on basis of last year's income, and it will make more this year. No such exemption was in the income tax act of October 3, 1913, nor in the present income tax act, of September 8, 1916, nor in the House bill.

In 1913, when the income tax bill was pending in Congress, and again in 1916, when the present income tax act was pending, and again this session while the House bill was pending in the House, the holding companies, like the United States Steel Corporation, and the big corporations, like the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, American Tobacco Co., United Cigar Stores Companies of America, the Du Pont Powder Co., holding large stock in other corporations, wished and endeavored to get into these acts and bills such an exemption from taxation, but failed.

The Senate committee provision (if it becomes law) crowns their efforts and gratifies their wishes.

5. They relieve by amendment to present income-tax act the railroads and big industrial corporations of the payment of the tax direct to the Government on the income from their bonds, which in their bonds they contracted with the purchasers to pay. Many large railroad companies and industrial corporations issued for sale, and continue to do so, their bonds, with a covenant therein to pay themselves to the Government all income and other Federal taxes which were then and might thereafter be imposed by law on the income from such bonds. The railroads and industrial corporations, on account of such covenants, received from the purchasers a larger price for such bonds. Since the income-tax bill of October, 1913, was pending in Congress until now the most unrelenting efforts have been made upon the part of such railroads and industrial corporations to have stricken from the income-tax bills and acts the "collection at the source" provision, and thus relieve them from the payment of the tax by them direct to the Government, according to their covenant. They failed in their fight and efforts in 1913. They failed again in 1916. They failed again before the Ways and Means Committee and the House at this session. They win before the Senate Finance Committee. The taxes involved amount to several millions of dollars a year.

6. They amend present income-tax act by imposing "an additional tax of 15 per cent upon the amount remaining undistributed 60 days after the end of each calendar or fiscal year of the total net incomes of every corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company received during the year." This "additional tax" does not apply (1) "to the portion of undistributed profits used to establish or maintain reserves required by law, (2) to the portion of undistributed profits of railroad companies used for extension, renewal, or betterments with approval of Interstate Commerce Commission or proper State authorities, and (3) an amount of such undistributed profits equal to 20 per cent of such net income of corporations directly engaged in the production or distribution of commodities or in banking, but only while and to the extent such exempted amount is derived from such activities and so employed. * * * Only one of the exemptions in (1), (2), and (3) shall be allowed to the same taxpayer."

The House bill contains no such handicap on business and industry.

7. They strike out from the House bill the additional tax proposed on the transfer of estates of decedents, known as the estate or inheritance tax.

This relieves the big estates or inheritances of $6,000,000 for the first year and $38,000,000, or more, yearly thereafter.

III. SOME OTHER DIFFERENCES.

The House bill imposes a tax on the manufacture and sale of automobiles, tires, cigars, cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco, Coca-Cola and other soft drinks, phonographs and talking machines, Victrolas and other musical instruments, motion-picture films, sporting goods, sporting-club dues, perfumes and cosmetics, diamonds and other jewelry—all luxuries.

The Senate Finance Committee amendments strike out altogether many millions of dollars of such taxes and shift over $100,000,000 from these luxuries to the owners of automobiles and to necessities like sugar, coffee, tea, and cocoa, placing over $60,000,000 increase taxes on them.

They reduce the taxes on cigarettes, chewing and smoking tobacco, and snuff from the House bill $15,000,000 and put that amount on coffee, tea, and cocoa.

They strike from the House bill the tax of over $75,000,000 yearly on the manufacture and sale of automobiles, tires, diamonds and other jewelry, chewing gum, motion-picture films—87 per cent of which are manufactured by one corporation—and the tax on club dues, and to make good this loss of revenue from the House bill they put $40,000,000 a year on the owners of automobiles and $40,000,000 on sugar consumers.

They strike out the House-bill tax of $6,000,000 on insurance companies and bond-indemnity companies—taxed in Spanish-American War tax act and in the emergency tax act of October, 1914—and make good the loss by putting a tax on depositors in banks—a tax of 1 cent on every check, over $5, drawn by the depositor in getting his own money out of the bank.

They levy no tax on coffee, tea, and cocoa in the hands of the importer, wholesaler, or dealer, when the act passes. It is estimated that the big importers and dealers have on hand 400,000,000 pounds of coffee and tea. This escapes taxation and thereby the dealers make a clear extra profit of 2 cents a pound on coffee and 5 cents on tea—on every pound of it; that is over $8,000,000 extra profit, and the Government loses that much. Every pound of such coffee and tea in the hands of the dealer will at once be put up in price at least, if not more, to the amount of the tax. The two big coffee and tea corporations, with their chain of stores throughout the country, by the simple operation of the Senate amendment will make, it is estimated, at least $3,000,000.

While there are numerous instances of discrimination and seeming favoritism all through the Senate amendments, there is one so gross and palpable that I can not refrain from mentioning. An owner of a little independent cigar store, say in Charlotte, N. C., with one or two thousand dollars capital, owned by one of small means, giving his entire time to it, supporting his little family from its meager income—and there are thousands of such cases throughout the country—is given by the Senate committee amendment exemption from the tobacco tax of only 100 pounds of chewing and smoking tobacco, 500 cigars, and 1,000 cigarettes, while the United Cigar Stores Co. of America, with over $30,000,000 of capital, over $2,000,000 of surplus, with a thousand stores throughout the country, making an annual profit of over $2,000,000, is given an exemption from the tax of 100,000 pounds of tobacco, 500,000 cigars, and 1,000,000 cigarettes. The House bill contains no such discrimination or favoritism, though the representatives of the United Cigar Stores Co. of America tried to get such a provision in it while pending before the Ways and Means Committee.

Soldiers' Mail.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, this bill is to provide for the national security and defense. Nothing is more important for our defense than the care of our soldiers abroad.

Today I introduced the following bill, to wit:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Postmaster General may provide by regulation for the transmission of unpaid and duly certified letters of soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States and may, by and with the advice and consent of the President, negotiate and conclude postal treaties or conventions with the Government of any foreign country where our expeditionary forces may be providing for the free transmission of such letters from any such foreign country to the United States during the present war and until such forces are withdrawn.

In an interview published in the New York Herald yesterday I pointed out that Congress alone could not regulate postage on mail originating in foreign countries and that the Post Office Department would have to negotiate with the Government concerned. Section 398 of the Revised Statutes authorizes the Postmaster General, by and with the advice and consent of the President, to negotiate and conclude postal treaties in general, but it is doubtful whether it is broad enough to cover the unusual and extraordinary situation arising out of the war, and for that reason I think Congress ought to give express authority to the Postmaster General covering this precise exigency. Existing law provides for the transmission of unpaid soldiers' letters, postage to be paid on delivery. Manifestly the statute has no extraterritorial force, and the department, in its rules and regulations, very properly restricts its operation to the United States and the dependencies thereof.

The bills heretofore introduced in Congress on this subject simply change this law so as to make the transmission of such

letters free, but they do not extend it to foreign jurisdictions. If Congress should pass the proposed measures, it would not in the slightest degree benefit or affect our expeditionary forces in foreign countries, which are the very men whom we seek to aid. I have therefore prepared a bill, first, authorizing the free transmission of soldiers' letters in territory within the jurisdiction of the United States, and, second, authorizing the Postmaster General, by and with the advice and consent of the President, to negotiate and conclude postal treaties and conventions with the Government of any foreign country where our expeditionary forces may be and providing for the free transmission of such letters from such countries to the United States during the present war and until such forces are withdrawn.

The rule of the Universal Postal Union that each country collects and keeps the postage on mail matter originating therein and destined for foreign countries is subject to this limitation, namely, that first-class mail, though unpaid, is transmitted, but the country of destination collects and keeps double postage on delivery. For its services the country of origin is recouped by similar mail coming from other countries. This rule, however, would not be applicable to the circumstances now confronting us, for here we have large expeditionary forces in foreign countries, while those countries have no forces here to equalize the volume of such mail.

There is no question but that this privilege will be greatly appreciated by our brave boys in the field, and instead of being a burden on postal revenues I believe it will be a gain. Even if we compensate the foreign Government for the cost of this service on its part, we will be the gainer by reason of the increased amount of letter mail that will go to the soldiers from this country. As one good turn deserves another, so one letter deserves and usually gets an answer. This outgoing mail, upon which we will collect full postage, will be very profitable and more than sufficient to pay the cost of the incoming soldiers' mail. There is no doubt that fair and equitable arrangements can be made with the foreign countries concerned, for they with our own people are anxious to do all that can be reasonably done to make the stay of our boys abroad as pleasant as possible and to cheer them up while they are bravely suffering, fighting, and perhaps dying in the cause of a common humanity.

Anything that will stimulate correspondence between the home people and the boys in the field will also have a considerable military value, for it will aid in maintaining the morale of our forces at the highest attainable point.

I hope the House will act favorably on this measure at the earliest opportunity.

The Significance of the Stars and Stripes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks it affords me pleasure to insert an address delivered by Emanuel Hertz, president of Washington Heights Congregation, on July 4, 1917, on the occasion of the presentation of an American flag by the pupils of public school No. 132 to the residents around Plaza Lafayette, New York City, as follows:

Fellow Americans, boys, and girls of Washington Heights, it is recorded in the legends of the ancients which engarland the Holy Bible that in hoary antiquity when the great lawgiver stood at the foot of the flaming mountain, Mount Sinai, ready to accept the Decalogue for the people of the Book, God hesitated to give it to them, saying: "Shall I without further ado give you the Torah (Mosaic law)? Nay; give Me bondsmen that you will observe it, and I will give you the Torah." Israel replied: "Oh, Lord of the world! Our fathers are bondsmen for us." God replied: "Your fathers are My debtors, and therefore not good bondsmen." Abraham said, "Whereby shall I know it?" and thus proved himself lacking in faith. Isaac loved Esau, whom I hated, and Jacob did not immediately upon his return from Padan-Aram keep his vow that he made on his way there. "Bring Me good bondsmen and I will give you the Torah." Israel said: "Our prophets shall be our bondsmen." God again replied: "I have a claim against them, for, like foxes in the deserts became your prophets; bring Me good bondsmen and I will give you the Torah." Israel in sheer despair said: "We will give Thee our children as bondsmen." God: "Well then, these are good bondsmen, on whose bond I will give you the Torah." Hereupon the Israelites brought their wives with their babes at their breast, and He addressed the children with these words: "Behold, I will give your fathers the Torah. Will you be surety for them that they will observe it?" They answered, "Yea." He furthermore said: "I am your God." They answered: "Yea." "Ye shall have no other Gods." They said: "Nay." And so it was the little children upon whose bond God gave His people the Torah.

The children, the coming generation, were accepted as the highest kind of security that could be given by mankind. When the few remaining champions of autocracy hedged in on all sides by the legions of democracy hear that the children of America have taken hold of this fight they will understand at last that the day of doom has struck. When they hear that in addition to the 10,000,000 young men who marched quietly, unostentatiously to the roll call of the Nation and answered "Ready!" to the call of the chosen leader of this Republic, and when they hear that this vast army is thus reinforced by 10,000,000 children, then, indeed, will they appreciate the mission of the United States among the allies. Then, indeed, will they appreciate the true and new significance of this wonderful banner of the free—this map of the firmament on high, with its stars of night, its bars of light, and the celestial white emblematic of Godlike innocence. They will understand that these boys and girls have no ulterior motive—have no desire for foreign territory, for foreign pelf, for aggressions of any kind. They will understand that this flag which has stood sentinel over the destinies of this first great experiment of democracy for 140 years and has watched over every great leader and has stood sponsor for every great movement, from the sorely tried Washington at Valley Forge to the victorious Washington at Yorktown, from Jackson before New Orleans to Scott who hoisted it over the palaces of the Montezumas, from Anderson at Fort Sumter to Grant and Lee at Appomattox, from Boone and the other pioneers of the East to the empire builders of the western prairies and to the imperial Commonwealths along the Pacific; yea, over Peary at the North Pole, and they will hear its blended colors pronounce a new Magna Charta and a new freedom for all the world when it appears on the battle front in France. This flag now tells you, "My mission is understood in these United States. It is time for me to teach the gospel of liberty, of equality, of democracy to the benighted assassins who would enslave and undo mankind."

Symbols are sacred things, and the one that every man holds dear is his national flag. The heart swells and makes us follow the flag and die for it. This is no new emotion, but an inheritance from the ages when history began. Every nation has its symbolic ensign; some have birds, some have beasts, some fishes, some reptiles; the Roman legions had their eagles on their banners. Even our 13 colonies had a multitude of flags; almost as numerous as were those of the 12 tribes of Israel. When the rupture with England came and a common banner became a necessity a great many were tried and suggested; there were pine trees, rattlesnakes, leaves, threefold knotted cords with their 13 ends free, a chain or circle of 13 rings linked together, and still others, some borrowed from heraldry or from British or Dutch history; the sheaf of arrows, the hat of liberty, and the Netherlands lion. But the origin of our flag, like the Republic for which it stands, was not "the sport of chance," or "a creation of circumstances," or a shoot from the stump of dead feudalism, or a fancy of heraldry, but a true symbol of a progressive, expanding Union of States on the basis of a Federal Republic. There is something elemental about our flag, both historic and prophetic. Its stripes represent what was; its stars point to the future. Our fathers chose this floating piece of poetry for the additional reason that the red told of the blood which they willingly shed for their country, the blue of the heavens whence came their inspiration and protection, and the stars of the separate struggling States embodied in one rising nationality. Our flag is the eloquent national ensign, pure and simple. Every star has a tongue, every stripe is articulate, "and nightly to a listening earth repeats the story of her birth."

I want to see the boys and girls of this land taught that the flag is to be their shaft of light by day; their pillar of fire by night; that it is to wave about them in victory and, if perchance they are called upon to offer up their lives in its defense, here or on the distant battle field of Europe, its gentle folds will rest upon their bosoms in death. If it is a privilege to live under such a flag, it is even a greater privilege to die for it, and like Nathan Hale, every loyal son of America will regret that he has but one life to offer upon the altar of his country. What mighty deeds have been inspired, what martyrdoms have been won beneath this starry ensign of our nationality! May it ever be the pledge, the solemn covenant of our common liberties and of our common destiny.

May it ever link our Nation's past and our Nation's future and bless and protect the whole mighty family of her sons sprung from every land, garnered from every clime, and transmuted in the crucible of American citizenship, leaving behind the dross, the fallacies of monarchy, the inhumanities of slavery as they emerge from the great melting pot of our public schools; and after thus baptized, cleansed, and prepared they enter into the household of our country as did they who were invited into the tabernacle and subsequently into the temple on Mount Moriah—"for my house is the house of worship for all peoples." And they all came and they all understood. The sacred task of translating the Word of God, as revealed to Israel through lawgiver, prophet, psalmist, and sage, began at an early date. The victorious Joshua had the law engraved upon the stones of the altar, not in the original Hebrew alone but in all the languages of mankind, 70 in all, in order that all men might become acquainted with the words of the Scriptures, so that all might come and read and learn how light was the yoke of the Torah—"for what does the Lord require of thee but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." And in like manner have we, the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, brought up and sustained as they were in the great struggle which was theirs, by the Bible, dedicated our land to the exiles of all lands. We had grown and prospered upon the teachings of the Great Book, and out of the gratitude of our hearts we erected an asylum fortified by the precepts of the Bible and sanctified it and purified it by that fountain of life and light; and over the whole edifice we erected a standard to which all the people of the earth might flock for help, for relief, for protection. This standard is our flag, the fairest flower, the noblest cedar on that Rock of Ages.

"I have seen the glories of art and of architecture," said Senator Hoar, "and of mountain and river. I have seen the sun set on Jungfrau and the full moon rise over Mont Blanc, but fairest vision on which these eyes ever looked was the flag of my country in a foreign land. Beautiful as a flower to those who love it, terrible as a meteor to those who hate it, it is the symbol of the power and glory and the honor" of 110,000,000 Americans. Look close upon it and you will see a grave procession of men who have given all that life holds dearest for that flag. You see there as upon a giant film unfolding before our eyes Washington and his Continentals who gave us independence. You see there the faces of Perry, of Lawrence, and of Jackson, who in 1812 gave us our respect among the nations, and you see there in that flag the faces of Anderson, of John Brown, of Phillips, of Grant, of Sherman, and of Sheridan and of Farragut, and of that Grand Army of the

Republic who died that the Union and the flag might live, and first among them the face of the genius of America as expressed in its most perfect representative—the man of many sorrows—Abraham Lincoln.

Countless young men, unknown and unsung, gave their lives to guard that flag. They sacrificed everything that no star should be removed nor their number diminished, and they handed it to us without a stain. The flag again calls upon us for protection, and, thank God, the response was heard around the globe; but bear in mind that it is our duty now to establish for all time to come that if we protect the flag the flag must protect us. Wherever any American goes legally and observing the law, there the flag goes with him, to shield and guard and protect, and there it must ever go. You see, therefore, my fellow Americans, young and old, it is not alone because of its unrivaled beauty, nor for the striking combinations of form and color that enable it to be identified at a greater distance than any other national flag on earth, that this national emblem was evolved. It is because of the liberty and blessing which it guarantees to all who seek its shelter; because it offers to every creed and race a vision of hope and of opportunity unheard of in any other land; because it is the emblem of a government which secures a greater measure of happiness for the individual than any other government has ever given. The blessings our flag brings have followed wherever it has gone in its triumphant march to Alaska. to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the Pacific, to Cuba, to Porto Rico, to Hawaii, and to the far-off Philippines, to the newly acquired Danish Islands—everywhere it has been the herald of a better day; everywhere it is hailed with Messianic heart beat—with tears of joy and with songs of deliverance.

In the capitol at Albany are kept the battle flags of the New York regiments of the Civil War. They are not hung or draped, but are carefully preserved in locked and sealed cases with glass fronts, each flag in its own case with a card giving the name of the engagements of the regiment. These silent tattered flags have evoked the best stanza anent our flag:

Nothing but flags—but simple flags,
Tattered and torn and hanging in rags;
Some walk by them with careless tread,
Nor think of the hosts of patriot dead
That have marched beneath them in days gone by
With a burning cheek and a kindling eye,
And have bathed their folds with their life's young tide.
And, dying, blessed them, and, blessing, died.

Deeds of great valor and devotion in great number have been performed by America's sons for this imperishable flag, of which one is typical and instructive beyond anything else recorded.

In 1863 the Sixteenth Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers—the same kind that aroused the scorn of the butchers of Berlin—after three days' hard fighting, was forced to surrender. Before the enemy swarmed over the breastworks the colonel of the regiment shouted to his men to save the colors—the flag must not fall into the hands of the enemy. In an instant the battle flags were stripped from their poles and cut and torn into small fragments. Each piece was carefully hidden. Some five hundred of the regiment were sent to Libbey, where most of them remained amidst the agonizing and maddening horrors of prison life until the close of the war. Each piece of the colors was sacredly preserved. When a soldier died, his piece was intrusted to a comrade. At the end of the war the weary prisoners returned to their homes, each bringing his bit of star or stripe with him. All these worn fragments were patched together, and the regimental colors, nearly complete, are now preserved in the state house at Hartford.

My fellow Americans, even as we stand here, yonder flag speaks to us in accents more divine, in tones more glorious than even the swelling diapasons of a grand organ or the deep ecstacies of the four magic strings; it speaks in the words of an unknown flag worshiper, who withheld his name in order not to detract from the glory of his celestial theme: "I had my birth in Philadelphia; my stripes of red and white and field of blue and thirteen stars were first kissed by Pennsylvania sunlight. I was the first to reach the top of your tower on Independence Hall; I was first to point out from whence came the music of your Liberty Bell; I led the vanguard of the Continental Army from Valley Forge to Yorktown; I festooned the capitols of every State, until, instead of thirteen, I displayed eight and forty stars; I first blushed in protest against slavery in my native Keystone State; the lilies of France once floating over Fort Duquesne were lowered to the lion of St. George floating over Fort Pitt, but both gave way to me when the wind from the free Alleghenies unfurled my colors above the waters of the Ohio at the town of Pittsburgh; I led your conquering armies from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico; I was trailed in the dust, but rose again to feel the loyal grasp of Lincoln and Grant, and to give inspiration to the millions of men and women who loved the country and the cause for which I stood; and to-day I float in peace and in glory over every capitol in this broad land, and I stand for liberty, for the noblest ambitions of humanity, and for peace through all the world and for the dignity and honor and protection of all who love liberty and equality, and who claim the sheltering protection which I have always given."

This, my friends, in the true spirit, is the true significance, the new significance, of the Stars and Stripes. And in passing let us offer words of thanksgiving and of joy that we have the opportunity of repaying a debt of honor and of gratitude, if not of love and devotion, to a country who stood by us from Monmouth to Yorktown, and made our desperate, if not losing, fight for liberty against the Hessians of those years an absolute certainty, for without her men, without her guns, without her rifles, without her ammunition so liberally given, without her fleet, we would never have been free. Noble France, glorious France, although 'midst cataclysm and holocaust and almost on the brink of the shadow of the valley of death, she has never stooped to demand repayment of that great debt. To the everlasting glory of the statesmen and leaders, who now steer the ship of state, be it said that even on this very day the sons of America are beginning to repay this long overdue obligation as they march down the streets of Paris on this most glorious of Fourth of Julys. Thank God, America is not selfish, America is not oblivious to her obligations. Our debt is to be fully paid, paid with interest, paid with love, paid with gratitude, paid with unheard of devotion and heroism. "You helped to make us free, we will stand by you and help drive the oppressor from your borders and rebuild your devastated land. Yea, we are here, la belle France, to pay the debt which we owe to you by reason of your Lafayette, to pay the debt we owe to you by reason of your De Grasse, of your Rochambeau. We are here to bear and shoulder the white man's burden against the Hun, and enforce the eternal principles enunciated in the message of our great President, and with the help of the Lord of Hosts we will make the world safe for democracy. We will bring that idea home to the little camarilla in Potsdam who have hitherto paid attention to Krupp guns only." Will we succeed? Of course we will!

What God in His infinite wisdom designed,
And armed with weapons of thunder,
Not all the earth's despots or factions combined
Have the power to conquer or sunder.

On April 2 we issued a credit of $7,000,000,000 to support the war, an astounding figure by way of the first step. On June 5 we witnessed the sublimest of spectacles, when 10,000,000 young Americans—a stupendous army of volunteers—walked to the recruiting stations saying "Boutez en avant" (Beat the advance). We are now celebrating the safe transport—a miraculous deliverance—of our first Army division through the war zones, and we are demonstrating that the spirit of Farragut is still alive among us; that our sailors and soldiers not only damned the torpedoes but they scoffed and defied these sharks and basilisks of the sea. Not a man lost; not a man wounded; so may it ever be, until even the ghastly swindlers of Berlin, of Stambul, and of Vienna shall have learned the rudiments of right living and of right thinking. They should now have no doubts whatever about our determination, for even the children in their cradles have risen against them and lisp for just retribution upon their guilty heads. And now there remains but the invocation—oh, glorious flag of the free, the invocation of the High Priest—which, in the presence of this multitude of Americans I will pronounce over thee even as thou art unfurled to the breeze, "May the Lord of Hosts bless thee and keep thee; may the Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; may He incline His countenance unto thee and give thee peace." Peace achieved through the valor of our sons, our brothers, and our sires; may our country soon conquer peace that shall open to us a new and enduring era of freedom and justice in which all the world may participate, a peace which will follow the love, respect, and gratitude of all mankind—a peace which will follow the honorable enforcement of treaties between nation and nation; a peace which will follow the regard for the rights of the weak as well as the strong; a peace which will follow the respect for small nations, such as Judea, Belgium, and Holland—a peace which will secure their inalienable right to live their own lives as they deem best; a peace which will follow the destruction of the last fortress of autocracy and of tyranny; a peace which will usher in an era when man will be a brother to man, and when every man will love his neighbor as himself, when for the last time and for all time to come "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning knives; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn any more war."

"Lord of the universe, shield us and guide us
Trusting us always through shadow and sun.
Thou has united us, who shall divide us?
Keep us, oh, keep us the many in one."

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS GALLAGHER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, August 4, 1917.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of bringing to the attention of Members of Congress the views of one of the leading manufacturers of Chicago on the revenue bill, I am taking the liberty to publish a letter from Mr. D. E. Felt, president of a large manufacturing establishment in my district doing business throughout the world.

He calls attention to some very dangerous provisions or amendments to House bill 4280, now before the Senate, that he believes will impose a hardship on thousands of industrial concerns now doing business.

The matter referred to is as follows:

FELT & TARRANT MANUFACTURING CO.,
Chicago, U. S. A., July 31, 1917.

Hon. THOMAS GALLAGHER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Federal House revenue bill (H. R. 4280) has been practically rewritten by the Finance Committee of the Senate, who have introduced into it two exceedingly dangerous provisions, which, if enacted into law, will make it impossible for thousands of industrial concerns to borrow the large amount of money necessary to pay their taxes next April, which I understand is the month that will be fixed for payment of these taxes. In this period of rapid expansion many concerns which have invested all of their available capital and borrowed all they can will not have arrived at the point where their investment in buildings, equipment, material, and labor will have been in any considerable part turned back into cash by the time this tremendous tax levy will fall due. Their profits will then be largely book profits, but they will be taxed on those book profits just the same as though they had already cashed in on them, and the United States Treasury will be satisfied only with the cash. A percentage of these book profits, as the Treasury will figure them, will never be turned into cash, and when the war stops a tremendous loss would be experienced on investments in buildings, equipment, and raw materials.

These remarks do not apply simply to the concerns engaged in the manufacture of munitions and war supplies, but they apply to nearly all manufacturing concerns and to many commercial corporations. It seems that the revenue legislation is being predicated on the stories that we hear of the few concerns who are seemingly just now making immense profits on account of the war, without any consideration being given to the risk involved or the necessity of giving business and industry a

chance to adjust themselves to the revolutionary conditions brought on by the entrance of our country into the war, in which are engaged on the other side under German leadership countries having a population and resources of 256,000,000 of people, at a time when we must not only finance our own military operations but contribute billions of money to our allies who have carried the load up to this point under tremendous effort and expense. Our Secretary of the Treasury stated a few weeks ago that it would be good financial policy to raise from taxation at the start one-half of all our expenditures. Now, since we have taken stock and found that our prospective expenditures and loans to our allies for this year will be very much more than originally anticipated—somewhere between twelve and fourteen billions of dollars—I believe that the idea of raising so much as half by taxation has been abandoned; but necessarily the taxation will have to be very heavy, and it should be so devised as to be neither destructive nor unjust.

At present it looks as though the tax will bear most heavily upon the industries, particularly the moderate-sized, rapidly growing industries. I know of one rapidly growing concern with an investment of about $2,500,000, which has not raised the price of its products a cent, in spite of 100 per cent increase in the cost of material and 50 per cent increase in cost of labor, and has not made any munitions or war supplies whatever, whose prospective tax has been computed, on the basis of the bill as amended by the Senate, by a chartered accountant to amount to 27.64 per cent of all the profits, which is about all it can spare and provide for necessary expansions and a reserve to take care of the losses on material and work in process when the reaction comes, without paying any dividends at all. Under the steeply graduated provisions of the so-called excess-profits tax, as amended by the Senate, they are called upon to pay 40 per cent on two-thirds of undistributed profits which they use during 1917 for expansion of the business, which 15 per cent is computed on the present high cost of machinery, material, and buildings. This is because they are a rapidly growing concern, which has always kept its books in a conservative manner, so that it has no "water" or inflated values in its accounts.

I know another corporation with over $100,000,000 capital, which has raised the price of its products and has engaged largely in the manufacture of munitions and war supplies, which will not have to pay as much as 25 per cent on any considerable part of its profits, and probably the per cent it will pay on the total profits will not be over half that. Yet it is the big fellow that they think they are after. Some of the big fellows will pay a tax in proportion to the little ones, but probably not over a dozen altogether, while there will be tens of thousands of the little fellows who will receive a staggering blow. And the worst of it is, the little fellows do not know what is being done to them, and when the blow is delivered it will be a surprise for which they are unprepared.

As the bill now stands, the taxpayer has the option of choosing between something similar to the English system of computing the so-called excess-profits tax, which is based on a comparison between 1917 and the profits for 1911, 1912, and 1913, or paying an excess-profits tax on profits in excess of 6 per cent on invested capital. In industry 6 per cent on book profits is not enough. The Magazine of Wall Street of July 21 gives a list of the earnings for the past year of the principal industrial corporations dealt in on the stock exchanges in comparison to the prices at which their stocks sell. Six are earning over 50 per cent of the price of the stock, 19 over 30 per cent, and 42 over 20 per cent. This is because of the risk involved and the knowledge of the investors that these earnings may turn out to be only book profits. Yet the United States Treasury has indicated that 10 per cent profit is the most they will allow in computing the capital-stock tax of industrial corporations, and the Senate indicates that 6 per cent is enough. Perhaps 6 per cent is the best figure to use for the purpose of the excess-profits tax, because a higher per cent will eliminate nearly all public-service corporations and a large number of other rich corporations and individuals engaged in businesses where little or no risk is involved. Either method of computing the excess-profits tax hits the industries so they would have to pay a tax all out of proportion to others whose property and liberty are to be protected.

The prosperity of the industries is vitally necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, and they should not be unduly discriminated against at this time. When the revenue bill left the House, it contemplated raising by the excess-profits tax feature about $200,000,000. In the Senate, when any particular interest complained about some features of the bill which hit it, the Senate immediately modified or cut out those offending features entirely and dumped the load onto the excess-profits tax, so that when it came out of the Senate it was calculated to raise $530,000,000 by the excess-profits tax. The investment bankers had been there to look after the interests of their clients; also the piano manufacturers, the auto manufacturers, the patent medicine men, and so on, all down the line. We are not going to suffer with a shortage of pianos or automobiles or patent medicines, but it will be a serious matter to cripple those on whom the Government must depend for its supplies.

It is not going to be so easy for expanding concerns who have already used all their legitimate borrowing power to suddenly raise hundreds of thousands of dollars to pay their taxes on book profits. Bankers know the difference between book profits and realized profits, even if Congress does not. Money is not going to be any too plentiful anyhow. The Government itself and the public in general have already suffered because of lack of railroad facilities due to the restrictions put on the railroads, which in recent years have prevented them from realizing sufficient revenue to provide the equipment so much needed just now to move the coal and all other commodities. I am afraid if this revenue bill becomes a law in its present form, the industries which supply the Government will be crippled. The 15 per cent tax on undivided profits should be cut out entirely, and I believe it will be. Its effect would be to discourage the growth of industries and encourage paying out everything in dividends and stimulate extravagant private expenditures at a time when private economy should prevail. Profits should be used to provide abundant opportunities for employment and abundant commodities, which mean low prices. If a concern uses 20 per cent of its book profits to enlarge its business—a healthy concern would use 50 per cent—this bill taxes it 15 per cent on the reserve laid aside to pay the tax, which in many cases will be over 20 per cent of the book profits. So that if the concern distributed 80 per cent in dividends, it would have to borrow all the money or take it from the capital account to pay the tax. It would be absurd to tax a concern 15 per cent on the money it does not pay out in dividends because it must keep it to pay the tax to the Government.

Perhaps in the light of more careful consideration, Congress will decide to remove some of the burden from the so-called excess-profits tax, which in most cases is not on an excess profit at all, merely a tax on the assumption of large business risk. I believe the bill will be changed to raise in the aggregate very much more than it provides for in its present form, but nothing more should be added under the term "excess profits," and surely the steeply graduated scale for computing the excess profits should be greatly reduced. The way the bill is now amended, in the case of a live, growing concern the Government takes by its half-dozen different kinds of taxes (of which the excess-profits tax is the heaviest, in the case of a successful industrial concern) several hundred dollars out of every thousand before the profits are distributed. Then when the remainder is distributed, if at all, they take from the stockholder who has risked his money in the business another big chunk by another graduated tax called the surtax. If the profits are left in the business where they best serve the general welfare, the Government levies an additional tax on it. I realize that no revenue bill can be perfect. Any bill that can be devised will work injustice and hardship to some, but a revenue bill should not be faulty in its major provisions from the standpoint of sound Government finance and the general welfare of the public.

The Government will need taxes next year and the year after that, so it is not wise to scare off or discourage those who contribute most largely to its revenue. In 1916 England raised by taxation only 22½ per cent of her expenditures. From the beginning of the war Germany has raised by taxation a much smaller percentage of her expenditures. They are pretty good financiers over there, and it will stand us in hand to do a little careful figuring. The argument raised in favor of raising by taxation half of all our expenditures seems to be based on our experience in Government finance 10 years after the close of the Civil War, but we are just starting into this war and the situation is not at all parallel with the time when we were getting back on a gold basis. This is not a good time to make experiments based on radical socialistic theories. We are facing a tremendous task and we need patriotism all along the line, from the top to the bottom. We can stand any taxation, if wisely distributed. This generation and this country can pay a large portion of the expenses of the war, but future generations will also have to pay a large part of it—and they should. This generation of Americans could not prevent this war, and the theory that anybody brought it on for profit is absolutely absurd. The effect of unwise legislation will injure the future generation as much as it does this one.

Unjust and unwise tax laws at this time will injure every man, from the top to the bottom of our social fabric, not only in this generation but coming generations. The normally prosperous and capable can take care of themselves any time, because they can always earn enough or have enough to take care of their needs, but when industry is struck down the less capable and thrifty suffer even for necessities, so why make the war an excuse to put into practice the ideas of the superficial social theorists and demagogues? If Jones can cure a thousand hams so they are worth 10 cents a pound more than the same hams if cured by Smith, or if Jones can make 500 steam engines and find a market for them at 25 per cent less cost than Smith can, some would penalize Jones because he makes an "excess profit," but that is not good sense nor good policy and is against public welfare. Some people imagine that a man can not make large profits without robbing some one else, and the reason for their belief is that they are not capable of doing it. The man who tries to make profits at the expense of other seldom if ever succeeds. As a rule, to make a large profit the man has got to benefit the public several dollars for every dollar he makes himself.

The term "swollen fortunes" is often employed as a term of condemnation. As a matter of fact, in nearly all cases "swollen fortunes" consists of that which has been conserved and which is used to supply capital for industry and commerce. To pass laws designed to arbitrarily distribute such capital is not only unjust but it works a great injury to society as a whole. This money is usually in the hands of those who made it and who are capable of conserving it and using it to the best interests of all the people. Breaking up large fortunes means the dissipation of society's capital and taking it from hands in which it constantly increases through investment of the income derived therefrom in industry and commerce where it supplies work for the less prudent and less capable, to say nothing of the large sums which go to charity.

When a millionaire receives interest on bonds or profits on his capital and personal services he does not proceed to use any considerable portion of it for his personal subsistence or pleasures. Many devote to charity and the advancement of public welfare several times what they themselves consume. The balance of it is immediately reinvested where it serves society. What he puts in bonds for a schoolhouse in Iowa, a depot in Kansas City, a tunnel under the Hudson River, development of a public park, etc., immediately is distributed to pay for labor and material (which latter is also the product of labor), and the resultant improvements are permanent benefits to society. What he puts into factories, mines, or industries of any kind not only furnishes immediate employment in the process of their establishments or enlargement of such plants or equipment, but the plants and equipment go on providing opportunities for employment and making abundant commodities for the use of society.

Capital and ability receive only a small proportion compared to what labor receives of the combined products of the two. The major portion of what capital and ability receive is reinvested where it serves and benefits in a thousand ways all the people. Nearly all of it is paid out for labor. Some so expended is lost in the hazards connected with all enterprise, but most of it is saved to supply society's capital. What is put into savings banks and reinvested looks big when viewed in the aggregate, but it is trivial compared to the amount of wages paid annually, or to what the workers could save if not wasteful and thriftless. Too large a part of what labor does save is lost in bad investments. Too large a part is spent for liquor and in other harmful ways. It is often said that if all wealth were divided equally among all of the people it would soon be again unequally distributed and back into the same hands as before. That is not so. Most of it would be utterly wasted. Some of it would get back into the hands of people who can conserve it and use it for society's benefit, but most of it would be entirely dissipated. That would be a calamity for society. Interests and commodities would be very high and opportunities for employment limited. Those who now are less prosperous would be still less prosperous. The capable and thrifty would still be able to take care of themselves and would suffer the least of any.

Very respectfully,

D. E. FELT.

Comparison of Resources and Debt of the United States and the Principal Powers of Europe.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COURTNEY W. HAMLIN,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 26, 1917.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I asked and secured permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD for the purpose of inserting some facts which I feel are of special interest at this present time. Some Members here perhaps are familiar with them, but there are others, no doubt, who have not had the opportunity to look these matters up, and I feel sure it will be interesting to everyone. The table to which I refer shows the wealth, annual income, indebtedness, and population of the seven principal nations now at war. This war has already lasted longer than a large percentage of the people thought it could last. The expenditure of money as well as the loss of life up to this date is staggering. But it ought to be some consolation to those of us who have the proud distinction of being American citizens to know that the United States has almost as much wealth as the other nations combined, and while the expenditures which we are compelled to make this year are so great that it is beyond the comprehension of the mind of man, yet it is only a drop in the bucket when we compare it to the total wealth of this country.

Comparison of resources and debt of the United States and the principal powers of Europe.

WEALTH.

	Amount.	Per capita.
Great Britain	$82,500,000,000	$1,780.00
France	65,000,000,000	1,635.00
Russia	50,000,000,000	280.00
Italy	25,000,000,000	692.00
Germany	80,000,000,000	1,180.00
Austria-Hungary	40,000,000,000	800.00
United States	230,000,000,000	2,280.00

ANNUAL INCOME.

Great Britain	$11,650,000,000	$251.00
France	7,500,000,000	189.00
Russia	6,500,000,000	36.00
Italy	4,000,000,000	110.00
Germany	10,500,000,000	155.00
Austria-Hungary	5,500,000,000	110.00
United States	37,000,000,000	366.00

DEBT.

	Present debt.	Per capita.
Great Britain	$21,500,000,000	$463.00
France	14,950,000,000	377.00
Russia	15,000,000,000	84.00
Italy	3,600,000,000	100.00
Germany	17,400,000,000	256.00
Austria-Hungary	8,000,000,000	160.00
United States, June 20, 1917	3,745,357,250	36.00

POPULATION.

Great Britain	46,407,000
France	39,700,000
Russia	178,378,800
Italy	36,120,118
Germany	67,810,000
Austria-Hungary	49,458,421
United States	101,208,300

These interesting figures were furnished me by Mr. Walter A. Coon, of Springfield, Mo., one of our live, wide-awake bankers and business men. He also conveys to me the gratifying information that the bank with which he is connected—the Union National—had sent out requests for crop reports throughout southern Missouri and northern Arkansas, and that the replies received were uniform to the effect that the prospect for a bumper crop never was better. I am inclined to think that if we can pass the Lever food-control bill in the near future, so as to properly handle the foodstuff of this country, we will have quite sufficient not only to supply our own country and Army but to take care of our allies as well. I see one embarrassing situation due to a delay in passing the food bill. I am informed by letter from farmers in my district that wheat buyers are declining to take their wheat, under the pretense that they are afraid the Government is going to fix the price. Whether this is the real reason that they do not buy the wheat or is only a pretense, I do not know, but I am thoroughly convinced that not one moment of time should be lost in crystallizing that bill into law so that the people in the country may know exactly what the situation is. I think the country ought to know that the delay in passing this bill can not be laid at the door of the House of Representatives. And I am also certain that the House conferees will do everything that they can in order to reach as early an agreement on the bill as possible.

Control of Food and Fuel.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am in full harmony and accord with this bill. The control of our food and fuel is necessary under the crisis through which our country is now passing and while we are at war. It is as necessary that our Army be fed and supplied with food as it is that they be supplied with guns and ammunition. It is well that we give early and proper consideration to supplying our boys who are fighting the battles of their country in distant lands. A soldier can not fight without guns and ammunition. Neither can he fight without food. The purpose of this bill is to encourage the production, conserve the supply, and control the distribution of food and fuel. I find this in the title. I think the title should also include to provide a penalty for hoarding and gambling in food and fuel for purely speculative purposes. If there ever was a time when it ought to be a crime to gamble in food products and fuel and the necessaries of life that time is now, when it is almost a physical impossibility to obtain coal for fuel and when the very life of our Nation may depend upon our food supply.

It is inconceivable that anyone, from purely mercenary motives, would be so unpatriotic as to curtail the supply for the purpose of increasing the price, and yet we read every day of manipulations and speculations in food and fuel. To-day we hear of one young man holding carloads of feed on a siding in a country town in Virginia for speculative purposes. We see hundreds of carloads of coal on the sidetracks of many of our cities while the sheds of the retailers of the country are empty and the consumer is facing winter without even a prospect of obtaining a supply of coal to warm his home.

The guaranty of $2 a bushel for wheat is intended to stimulate production and induce farmers to plant a larger acreage. With wheat selling to-day in the market at $2.40 per bushel and a great shortage in Europe, it must readily be seen that the Government takes no chances in guaranteeing the farmer $2 per bushel for his wheat.

I herewith incorporate as a part of my remarks the provisions of the law guaranteeing the price of $2 a bushel as contained in the bill:

SEC. 12. That whenever the President shall find that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat and that it is essential that the producers of wheat, produced within the United States, shall have the benefits of the guaranty provided for in this section, he is authorized, from time to time, seasonably and as far in advance of seeding time as practicable, to require the Board of Food Administration to determine and fix and to give public notice of what, under specified conditions, is a reasonable guaranteed price for wheat, in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit. Said board shall thereupon fix such guaranteed price for each of the official grain standards for wheat as established under the United States grain standards act, approved August 11, 1916. It shall from time to time establish and promulgate such regulations as it shall deem wise in connection with such guaranteed prices, and in particular governing conditions of delivery and payment, and differences in price for the several standard grades in the principal primary markets of the United States, adopting No. 1 northern or its equivalent at the principal interior primary markets as the basis. Thereupon, the Government of the United States hereby guarantees every producer of wheat produced within the United States, that, upon compliances by him with the regulations prescribed, he shall receive for any wheat produced in reliance upon this guaranty within the period, not exceeding 18 months, prescribed in the notice, a price not less than the guaranteed price therefor as fixed pursuant to this section. In such regulations the Board of Food Administration, subject to the approval of the President, shall prescribe the terms and conditions upon which any such producer shall be entitled to the benefits of such guaranty. The guaranteed prices for the several standard

grades of wheat from the passage of this act to the 1st day of July, 1919, shall be based upon No. 1 northern or its equivalent at not less than $2 per bushel at the principal interior primary markets. This guaranty shall not be dependent upon the action of the President or said board under the first part of this section, but is hereby made absolute. When the President finds that the importation into the United States of any wheat produced outside of the United States materially enhances or is likely materially to enhance the liabilities of the United States under guaranties of prices therefor made pursuant to this section, and ascertains what rate of duty, added to the then existing rate of duty on wheat and to the value of wheat at the time of importation, would be sufficient to bring the price thereof at which imported up to the price fixed therefor pursuant to the foregoing provisions of this section he shall proclaim such facts, and thereafter there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon wheat when imported, in addition to the then existing rate of duty, the rate of duty so ascertained; but in no case shall any such rate of duty be fixed at an amount which will effect a reduction of the rate of duty upon wheat under any then existing tariff law of the United States. For the purpose of making any guaranteed price effective under this section, or whenever he deems it essential in order to protect the Government of the United States against material enhancement of its liabilities arising out of any guaranty under this section, the President is authorized also, in his discretion, to purchase any wheat for which a guaranteed price shall be fixed under this section, and to hold, transport, or store it, or to sell, dispose of, and deliver the same to any citizen of the United States or to any Government engaged in war with any country with which the Government of the United States is or may be at war or to use the same as supplies for any department or agency of the Government of the United States. Any moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the sale or disposal of wheat under this section may, in the discretion of the President, be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this section. Any balance of such moneys not used as part of such revolving fund shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Here we have the guaranteed price only for the crop of 1918. I believe it will have the effect of increasing the production especially in the great wheat-producing sections of the Northwest, where the crop is planted by a single operation of ploughing, dragging, and seeding at one time; and of cutting, thrashing, and bagging at another. I do not think the guaranteeing of $2 a bushel will be a strong inducement to the farmers of Michigan to raise an abnormal crop. If the law had provided first aid to the farmer in putting in his crops, caring for them, and harvesting them, then I believe it would have been of a more practical benefit to the farmer than the guaranty of $2 a bushel for wheat that sold as high as $3.25 a bushel within the last six months.

If we are to render practical aid to the farmer, let us help him to plant and harvest his crop. The fixing of a minimum price will readily result in that also being the maximum price. It has been proposed that all the allied powers of Europe and the United States agree upon a single purchasing agent to buy wheat and supplies. This will result in destroying competition, and the price will be determined by such purchasing agent, since we always have a surplus of wheat for exportation.

If the price of wheat is fixed arbitrarily, why not the price of barley, rye, oats, corn, and other nonperishable grain? If the price of grain is guaranteed, why not the price of all commodities? Also, the price of labor, which is the foundation of production? Then if the wholesale prices are fixed by law, why not the retail prices? Here we would have a discrimination and an indefinite field in which to work.

But we are at war and we must win. We must produce and conserve our food supply. That must be seen at a glance. The war has already cost us billions of dollars in money, and we are all for victory at any price. It will be worth the cost. The President is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, and let us stand by him and win. Taking up arms in open revolt against our Government will result in some hangings sooner or later, and then we will be united and in harmony for the prosecution of the war. If it is not aid and comfort to the enemy to buy ammunition and take up arms to resist the draft and defy the law, then what is treason?

Aiding in the planting and harvesting of crops would be of more direct benefit to the farmer than the guaranteeing of the prices. It will not materially benefit the farmer to guarantee him a price for his crop if he can not raise it. Last year there were 40,000,000 acres of land planted to wheat in the United States. It is estimated that 35 per cent of this crop, or 14,000,000 acres, was destroyed by cold and unseasonable weather. The uncertainty of weather and ravages of insects are discouraging features in farming.

We are now fighting the greatest war of the ages. I think a mistake is made by some in thinking that it is the war of England or the war of France, Italy, or Russia, and not our war. In this they are wrong. Whatever the motive, or whatever the incentive, cause, or purpose of the war, and whether or not we were justified in declaring war, are now questions aside the issue. I, for one, firmly believe that we were not only warranted in declaring war, but that Germany forced this war upon us. I believe that we are now fighting for our liberty and our rights as firmly as we did in the War of the Revolution, when we gained our independence; as we did in the War of 1812, when we fought because England impressed American citizens into its service, and undertook to destroy our shipping and deprive us of our rights on the high seas; as we did in the Mexican War, which was brought about because an American citizen was shot on the American side of the Rio Grande. We certainly were as much warranted in declaring war against Germany as we were in declaring war against Spain in 1898 for sinking the United States battleship *Maine*, when 250 of our American soldiers and seamen were sent to the bottom of Habana Harbor.

After the farmer has raised his crop of wheat there will be purchasing agents throughout the country ready to take the wheat off his hands at $2 per bushel, providing other purchasers do not pay more for it. The farmer is not under any obligation to sell his wheat to the Government for $2 if he can get a higher price for it. Of equal importance to the guaranty of $2 per bushel is the storage and distribution of wheat.

The law is also aimed at hoarding and food gambling, and I herewith quote the provision of the bill, as follows:

SEC. 4. That it is hereby made unlawful for any person willfully to destroy any necessaries for the purpose of enhancing the price or restricting the supply thereof; knowingly to commit waste or willfully to permit preventable deterioration of any necessaries in or in connection with their production, manufacture, or distribution; to hoard, as defined in section 6 of this act, any necessaries; to monopolize or attempt to monopolize, either locally or generally, any necessaries; to engage in any discriminatory and unfair, or any deceptive or wasteful practice or device, or to make any unjust or unreasonable rate or charge, in handling or dealing in or with any necessaries; to conspire, combine, agree, or arrange with any other person, (a) to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, harvesting, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessaries; (b) to restrict the supply of any necessaries; (c) to restrict distribution of any necessaries; (d) willfully to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessaries in order to enhance the price thereof; or (e) to exact excessive prices for any necessaries. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding $10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both.

The country is in no mood for manipulation of prices of food and fuel by gamblers, and now that the President has authority to act in the premises, and the machinery has been provided, this feature of Government control will be watched with great interest.

Section 22 of the bill provides:

SEC. 22. That it is necessary and proper, in order to execute the powers of Congress to raise and support armies, provide and maintain the Navy, and properly and efficiently provide for the common defense, that the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered, whenever and wherever in his *judgment* necessary for the efficient prosecution of the war, to fix the price of coal and coke, wherever and whenever sold, either by producer or dealer, to establish rules for the regulation of and to regulate the method of sale, transportation, distribution, apportionment, or storage thereof among merchants and consumers, domestic or foreign; said authority and power may be exercised by him in each case through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission, during the war and for a period of one year thereafter, or for such part of said time as in his judgment may be necessary.

No one is in favor of gambling in the necessities of life, and the bumper crop this year entitles the people to reasonable prices, and under the stress of war no other kind of prices ought to prevail.

The Congress has not sufficiently considered the question of fuel supply. Coal has been the one commodity of extreme speculation, which resulted in many districts throughout the northern section of our country shivering last winter. Where fuel is stored on the siding in any town an unreasonable length of time, it would not be a base violation of law if the people of the community would confiscate the coal for their own use and respond in damages to the owner. This course might be pursued with impunity sooner than to shiver with the cold where the supply of fuel is at hand. After this winter we shall see the breaking up of high prices of coal, not only under this bill, but the public will demand it. There is a superabundance of coal in nearly every State in the Union, and if the abuses continue the Government will take control of the mines and operate them and see to the distribution of this important commodity and necessity of the people. The Governments of England, France, Germany, and Russia now operate the coal mines.

I am not in thorough harmony with the doctrine of Government ownership. But the Government controls the Post Office and means of communication. It controls to a certain extent the operation of our railroads. The operation of our mines and the distribution of coal will be a matter for consideration in the near future if the operation of this bill does not destroy speculation in coal and furnish a necessary supply for the public.

The war has brought about many great changes. We have reenacted much of our former legislation. We must adjust all our business to the purpose in hand of winning the war in the shortest possible period, and, like our forefathers, rededicate ourselves, our fortunes, and our sacred honor anew for our independence and liberty.

The Revenue Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. LINCOLN DIXON,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 11, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Chairman, this bill now under consideration, to provide revenue to defray war expenses, is the largest tax measure ever presented to any Congress. It is strictly a war measure, to raise by taxation a portion of the money necessary for the use of the Government in the vigorous prosecution of the war. Whatever differences of opinion may have existed among our people prior to the war, happily we are united for its successful prosecution. We are not responsible for war; it was not of our choosing, but was forced upon us by Germany, and we have authorized and directed the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on that war, and we have pledged all the resources of the country to bring the conflict to a successful termination. We have authorized the issuance of bonds to the amount of $5,000,000,000 and certificates of indebtedness of $2,000,000,000. Of the amount realized from the sale of bonds, $3,000,000,000 is to be loaned to the countries now engaged in war against Germany, in order that they may have the means to prosecute the war against Germany in a more efficient and effective manner.

There was neither delay nor hesitation in the prompt passage of that measure. There was not a single vote against it. That extension of credit to the allies was at the time the most effective blow against Germany that our country could then inflict. Their necessities were great, they needed money and supplies, and we furnished the one and the means of securing the other. The question as to the soldiers for this war has been settled, and every man needed will be furnished, and the manner of their selection, recommended by those having special knowledge of this subject, has been agreed to by this House. The men to serve as soldiers will be conscripted, the money with which to furnish them with the needed and necessary supplies will be conscripted by this bill. The soldiers who carry our banners to triumph and victory through dangers, hardships, privations, and sufferings will offer on the altar of their country their lives as a sacrifice. How small in comparison the sacrifice to be made by those whose wealth and money alone will be taken by this bill. The sacrifice by the soldiers can not be calculated and can never be measured by a money standard. Money is the cheapest and smallest part of the cost of war, immense as the expenditures must be; the real cost is the lives and sufferings of the men.

Protests innumerable, and it seemed almost continuously, have been made by the interests affected by this bill, a plea that the sacrifice of profits be made by others better able to stand them. I would not voluntarily destroy any legitimate American industry or unnecessarily curtail its business or profits, but in time of war men must be satisfied and content with less personal gain for the general good and to properly support the Government.

The war expenditures for the remainder of this year and for the next year are estimated to be about $3,800,000,000. A bond issue of $2,000,000,000 has already been authorized to provide that amount of money to finance the war, and we have been asked to furnish the balance by taxation, and this bill is presented in response to that request. It is proper and fair that the people pay an equitable portion of the war expenses by taxation and the balance from the proceeds of bonds. This is better for the people and also for the Government. The sum raised by this bill, if provided for by bonds at 3½ per cent, would be an additional charge of $63,000,000 in interest each year. No definite and fixed rule can be established as to what proportion of the money to carry on the war should be raised by taxation; too many questions will be suggested that naturally affect it. Every bond issue to the extent of the interest thereon increases the necessary cost of government the following year. The $3,000,000,000 bond issue for the allies and the $2,000,000,000 bond issue for our own use will carry an annual interest charge of $175,000,000. England's war interest is now over $700,000,000 annually, while Germany's interest account is as great. The total amount borrowed by the European countries now in this war is about $60,000,000,000, and the interest is not less than $3,000,000,000 annually.

This bill furnishes the full amount requested. The amount is large, indeed appalling, in fact more than three-fourths of the total indebtedness of this Nation at the close of the Civil War, and that, too, to be raised in a single year. But the wealth of the country is enormous, estimated to be at least $250,000,000,000, and the patriotism of our people equally great, and this gives ample assurance of a loyal response to this demand for contributions to the country's Treasury.

The taxes levied by this bill are large, the aggregate amount enormous; the demands upon the industries and wealth are heavy, but necessity demands it; the vigorous prosecution of the war compels it, and we believe the patriotism and judgment of our people will approve it. It may be a heavy burden on some people and on some industries. We sought to make it equitable and fair, even if burdensome and large. We believe these taxes can be paid without injury to any American industry, American business, or American labor. The burdens were made as light as necessity would permit. No member of this committee is pleased with every item in the bill; it is not what any single member would prefer and it does not express the individual judgment of a single member. Personally I was very much opposed to certain provisions and especially the 10 per cent custom duties, but each member has merged his individual judgment into the judgment of a majority of the committee and as a completed measure has accepted it as an expression of the composite opinion of the membership. I shall vote for the bill. The Treasury needs the money, the Army needs the equipment and supplies, and duty in this hour of stress and war demand the prompt furnishing of these necessities. It is a time for active and prompt action and is the best evidence of our determination to supply every dollar needed in this war. We can not hesitate or delay, but must do all we can to bring this war to a successful end. Our part, at this time, is to see that the Government's needs are promptly supplied. I shall vote for every dollar needed in this war.

This bill levies taxes upon all our people. Either directy or indirectly every man must respond.

The first subject mentioned in this bill will be accepted by all as a just and proper object of taxation—that of incomes. The income tax provided for in this bill is in addition to the taxes levied by the present law. This tax is surely a measure of justice. It taxes every individual fortunate enough to have an income embraced within its provisions. It taxes every individual in proportion to his ability to pay—in proportion to his income. It may be said the rates are excessive upon large incomes. In time of war when the Government must have money the rates are not unreasonable. England collects nearly a billion dollars from an income tax, and her total taxes are $60 per capita while ours after the passage of this bill will be but $33 per capita. Our present income-tax rates and the additional rates proposed in this bill are as follows:

	Present law.	Proposed in this bill.
Exemptions:		
To single persons	$3,000	$1,000
To married persons and heads of families	4,000	2,000
Normal tax on entire income over exemption.....per cent..	2	2
Supertaxes on income between—		
$5,000 and $7,500.....do....	None.	1
$7,500 and $10,000.....do....	None.	2
$10,000 and $12,500.....do....	None.	3
$12,500 and $15,000.....do....	None.	4
$15,000 and $20,000.....do....	None.	5
$20,000 and $40,000.....do....	1	6
$40,000 and $60,000.....do....	2	8
$60,000 and $80,000.....do....	3	11
$80,000 and $100,000.....do....	4	14
$100,000 and $150,000.....do....	5	17
$150,000 and $200,000.....do....	6	20
$200,000 and $250,000.....do....	7	24
$250,000 and $300,000.....do....	8	27
$300,000 and $500,000.....do....	9	30
$500,000 and $1,000,000.....do....	10	33
$1,000,000 and $1,500,000.....do....	11	33
$1,500,000 and $2,000,000.....do....	12	33
Over $2,000,000.....do....	13	33

The following table shows the income tax collected upon specified net incomes of married persons under the existing law and also under the rates proposed in this bill together with the total of said taxes and the per cent of said total tax of the said net incomes.

Income tax collected upon specified net incomes of married persons at the new proposed rates.

Income of—	Present law.		Additional war tax.		Total tax.	
	Total tax.	Per cent of tax of income.	Total tax.	Per cent of tax of income.	Amount.	Per cent of tax of income.
$1,200						
$1,500						
$2,000						
$4,000			$40	1.00	$40	1.00
$5,000	$20	0.40	60	1.20	80	1.60
$7,000	60	.86	120	1.71	180	2.57
$10,000	120	1.20	235	2.35	355	3.55
$12,000	160	1.33	335	2.79	495	4.12
$15,000	220	1.47	510	3.40	730	4.87
$20,000	320	1.60	860	4.30	1,180	5.90
$30,000	620	2.07	1,660	5.53	2,280	7.60
$50,000	1,320	2.64	3,460	6.92	4,780	9.56
$75,000	2,470	3.29	6,410	8.55	8,880	11.84
$100,000	3,920	3.92	10,260	10.26	14,180	14.18
$150,000	7,420	4.95	19,760	13.17	27,180	18.12
$200,000	11,420	5.71	30,760	15.38	42,180	21.09
$250,000	15,920	6.37	43,760	17.50	59,680	23.87
$300,000	20,920	6.97	58,260	19.42	79,180	26.39
$400,000	31,920	7.98	90,260	22.57	122,180	30.55
$500,000	42,920	8.58	122,260	24.45	165,180	33.03
$600,000	54,920	9.15	157,260	26.21	212,180	35.36
$700,000	66,920	9.56	192,260	27.47	259,180	37.03
$800,000	78,920	9.86	227,260	28.41	306,180	38.27
$900,000	90,920	10.10	262,260	29.14	353,180	39.24
$1,000,000	102,920	10.29	297,260	29.72	400,180	40.02
$10,000,000	1,437,920	14.38	3,447,260	34.47	4,885,180	48.85
$30,000,000	4,437,920	14.79	10,447,260	34.82	14,885,180	49.62
$100,000,000	14,937,920	14.94	34,947,260	34.95	49,885,180	49.89

The excess-profits tax is now 8 per cent upon the net income of each corporation or partnership after deducting $5,000 and an amount equivalent to 8 per cent of the actual capital invested. This bill proposes an additional tax equivalent to 8 per cent of the net income of corporations and partnerships determined in the above manner, and this tax will yield an additional $200,000,000. England has an excess-profits tax of 50 per cent, but her manner of arriving at the excess profit is entirely different from ours.

The excess-profits tax of England is based upon the amount by which the net income for the taxable year exceeds by more than £200 the average amount of net income for the prewar period. The net income for the prewar period is "the amount of the profit arising from the trade or business on the average of any two of the three last prewar trade years, to be selected by the taxpayer." England, I understand, has increased her excess-profits tax. Most of the countries now at war collect a portion of their revenues from this source. A deduction of $5,000 is not a large amount, nor does it represent a large per cent in the case of the larger corporations, but for corporations of $100,000 and less it is a very liberal deduction. In a corporation of $100,000 the exemption of $5,000 and 8 per cent guarantees a net profit of 13 per cent before the assessment of the excess-profits tax. The exemption of an amount equivalent to 8 per cent of the actual capital invested is surely fair and just. Reasonable profit during the war should be acceptable to our people; in fact, they should be content with it and willing to assist the Government in this time of war by contributing to its Treasury even more than the amount required by this bill. Our business men are contributing to the expenses of our war a very much smaller proportion of their incomes and their profit than are the citizens of any of the other countries engaged in this war. It is estimated that the additional tax provided in this bill will yield during the period of a year $200,000,000.

The tax on distilled spirits has been doubled; an additional tax of $1.10 per gallon is provided in this bill, making a total tax of $2.20 per gallon. The tax on wines has been doubled, except as to wines containing less than 14 per cent alcohol, upon which an additional tax of 2 cents is proposed, making a total tax of 6 cents per gallon. A new tax is also provided for, a 15 cents per gallon tax on rectified spirits. The additional tax upon these distilled spirits and fermented liquors and wines amounts to $151,000,000. An estimate transmitted on May 7 from Secretary McAdoo of the receipts during the fiscal year 1917 from distilled spirits, including wines and special taxes, was $183,000,000, and for fermented liquors, including special taxes, $94,500,000; total from these sources, $277,500,000. Based upon this estimate for this year and the estimate under this bill the total revenue from these sources would be $428,500,000.

On cigars, tobacco, and manufactures thereof the increased revenue under this bill will amount to $68,200,000. The estimated revenue this year from these sources, including special taxes, is estimated at $100,000,000, making in all from these sources $168,200,000.

We have levied taxes upon the soft drinks, small in amount, yet in the aggregate amounting to a revenue of $20,000,000.

We have provided for a tax equivalent to 3 per cent of the amount paid for the transportation by rail or water of property consigned by freight and an amount equivalent to 10 per cent of the amount paid for the transportation of property by express companies.

We have also levied a tax equivalent to 10 per cent of the amount paid for passenger transportation by rail or water, also a similar tax on tickets for parlor cars and sleeping cars; a tax on transportation of oil by pipe lines; a tax of 5 per cent of the amount paid for electric power for domestic use, a similar tax upon amount paid for light and heat and telephone service.

We have placed a tax of 5 cents on every telegraph message and telephone message when a charge of 15 cents is made.

There is also a tax on advertising, except in newspapers and periodicals, and the reenactment of the Spanish War tax on insurance. The taxes estimated for these different items are as follows:

Title III:	
Distilled spirits	$100,000,000
Rectified spirits	7,500,000
Fermented liquors	37,500,000
Wines	6,000,000
Soft drinks, sirups, etc	20,000,000
Title IV:	
Cigars	11,000,000
Cigarettes	25,000,000
Tobacco	30,000,000
Snuff	2,000,000
Cigarette papers and tubes	200,000
Title V:	
Transportation—	
Freight	77,500,000
Express	15,000,000
Passenger	75,000,000
Pipe lines	4,500,000
Seats and berths	750,000
Electric lights, gas, domestic power, and telephone service	30,000,000
Telegraph and telephone messages	7,000,000
Advertising	7,500,000
Insurance	5,000,000
Total	461,450,000

This bill also provides, under Title VI, for a war tax on manufacturers. This is a tax upon certain articles that are regarded in a great measure as luxuries, or at least articles that are considered by the large majority of the people as not included under the title of necessities. While proprietary medicines are not luxuries, and to a very large extent are purchased by people of limited means, yet it is believed that the small tax imposed can be divided by the manufacturer and dealer, with no increased cost to the consumer. These medicines have a fixed retail price that secures a very good profit to both. The proprietors did not complain so much as to the tax as to the great inconvenience of the use of stamps. The other taxes will be passed on to the consumer, who will know when he pays that this tax will be included in the price. Many, if not all, the manufacturers producing these articles have insisted that their business would be ruined. I have no intention to question their sincerity, but I do not believe that any purchaser of any article under this title will refuse to purchase by reason of this additional cost. I have no doubt that there will be a curtailment of purchases by reason of the war and the necessity of extra precaution in expenditures. This committee would not knowingly injure or cripple the business of any manufacturer, but all our people must be willing to contribute their share toward paying the enormous expenses of this war.

We have reenacted the stamp taxes imposed in the Spanish War tax of 1898 and also in the act of October 22, 1914, which were repealed September 8, 1916. Slight changes are made in a few of the rates, and a few new features are included in the bill. The Treasury Department estimates that we will realize about $33,000,000 from these taxes.

Under Title IX is included the war estate tax. The bill provides for additional taxes to those now imposed under existing law upon the transfer of the net estate of every deceased. Net estate under the present law is determined by deducting expenses of administration, debts, and lawful charges and an exemption of $50,000. Under this bill the estate will be entitled to an exemption of but $25,000. If this bill becomes a law, the estate tax will be as follows:

	Per cent.
Exceeding $25,000 and not exceeding $50,000	2
Exceeding $50,000 and not exceeding $150,000	4
Exceeding $150,000 and not exceeding $250,000	6
Exceeding $250,000 and not exceeding $450,000	8
Exceeding $450,000 and not exceeding $1,000,000	10

	Per cent.
Exceeding $1,000,000 and not exceeding $2,000,000	12
Exceeding $2,000,000 and not exceeding $3,000,000	14
Exceeding $3,000,000 and not exceeding $4,000,000	16
Exceeding $4,000,000 and not exceeding $5,000,000	18
Exceeding $5,000,000 and not exceeding $8,000,000	20
Exceeding $8,000,000 and not exceeding $11,000,000	22
Exceeding $11,000,000 and not exceeding $15,000,000	25
Exceeding $15,000,000	30

The next title provides for the levy of a customs duty of 10 per cent ad valorem upon all articles now free of duty imported into the United States from any foreign country. It further provides for the imposition of a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to any duty now imposed by law upon articles now dutiable when imported into the United States. This tax is conceded to be neither equitable nor scientific by those responsible for its insertion in this bill. I did not support it in committee and regret its presence in this bill, but as part of this bill agreed to by the whole committee I will not hesitate to support it.

We have also increased the postal rates of the first and second class mail. On first-class mail the postage was increased 50 per cent, requiring a 3-cent stamp where a 2-cent stamp is now used; drop letters will require a 2-cent stamp, and postal cards will require an additional 1-cent stamp. These increases on first-class mail matter will secure an estimated additional revenue of $70,000,000. The postal rates for second-class mail matter is based on the parcel-post zone system and will yield an additional $19,000,000 revenue. While the increase of the postage rates of first-class mail matter is very large, there has been but little complaint from the persons who will pay this $70,000,000 increase. The people who are asked to pay the additional $19,000,000 on second-class mail have been very insistent that a wrong is being done them, an injury is being inflicted, an unfair discrimination is being imposed upon them, and ruin and bankruptcy are to follow the enactment of these provisions into law. No one desires such results. The Government officials say that we lose $89,000,000 yearly in carrying and delivering second-class mail, and that publishers systematically use the express and freight when cheaper and load the mail when it is cheaper for them than by express. Of course, that is a business proposition, and reduction of expenses means increase of profits. When the magazines and periodicals are full of paid advertising and the business is one for profit, it is hard to realize their attitude when they are only required under this bill to reduce the Government's loss for carrying those magazines by less than one-fourth, and the Government still contribute from its Treasury, from the money raised by taxation, the sum of $70,000,000.

The committee has given this measure careful consideration and study. It furnishes the revenue asked by the Government. The money to be raised by its provisions is needed. We have pledged the resources of the country to bring the conflict to a successful termination, and we must furnish every dollar needed to accomplish that result. Our duty is to see that the country's needs and requirements are promptly supplied.

Dehydration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to insert the following articles on the subject of dehydration:

[From the New York Sun, June 24, 1917.]

HOW TO SAVE TO-DAY'S PLENTY AGAINST TO-MORROW'S WANT—DEHYDRATING THE MODERN MAGIC OF ECONOMY THAT WILL HELP TO SOLVE THE FOOD SHORTAGE PROBLEM—WAY MUST BE FOUND TO CONSERVE OVERABUNDANCE OF PERISHABLES RAISED BY VOLUNTEER FARM ARMY.

Farmers the country over have planted millions of acres more than heretofore in order to do their war-time bit. Amateur husbandmen have rallied to the call of the Department of Agriculture, and to-day there are at least 2,000,000 town gardens and prospectively fruitful back yards under cultivation.

Seedsmen and nurserymen have had a bumper season of prosperity, and all of this activity is bound to swell enormously the productiveness of the soil. Indeed, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that the ground is going to yield many times its accustomed volume of foodstuffs.

Instead of the shortage so frequently prophesied, there is reason to believe that the markets will be glutted, and unless a movement is initiated to induce wholesale conservation there will follow inevitably a tremendous wastage. Much of this will be the result of the perishable nature of a great deal of the vegetables now growing. These are inherently short lived after gathering, and because of this characteristic must be disposed of or consumed quickly if they are to be utilized at all.

In normal times there is a big wastage in what are commonly called green stuffs. A very considerable percentage of this produce never leaves the farm. The two dominating reasons for this are transportation difficulties at a time when everybody wants to reach the market and the uncertainty as to the direction in which lies a profitable demand.

Then the commercial standards of the commission merchant and the retailer are such that the farmer knows that he can dispose of only his best, and his seconds do not net him a return unless there is a canning factory near by. Seconds do not necessarily mean defective or unwholesome products, and often these vegetables are simply fed to hogs and cattle. This minimizes the loss, to be sure, but it does not compensate the farmer for the outlay and labor incurred in raising them.

We have got to use substantially all that the soil yields if we are to make the most of the present agricultural activity, for, besides feeding ourselves, the Government has virtually promised our allies that we will make up the deficiencies of their own acres. There must be no wastage, and this can be achieved only if we preserve in some way the excess of our fields so that months hence these products will be available for consumption. This has been made quite clear by David Franklin Houston, Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture. According to this authority:

"Some of the most conspicuous crop wastes occur with fruits and vegetables, of which in normal years larger quantities usually are grown than the producers can market profitably. Frequently these losses are due indirectly to disease and insect injury, which lower their market value without reducing their food value materially if they can be utilized promptly by drying, canning, and other preservative methods."

OBSTACLES TO CANNING.

It is a matter of common knowledge that nowhere else in the world is the canning of foodstuffs carried on upon a scale similar to that of the industry in the United States. But cans call first for plenty of tin plate, and our overworked steel plants and the war-time uses for tin have cut into the accustomed supply of this needed material.

Not long ago the Department of Agriculture announced that "of tin cans there are but 3,000,000,000 in sight in this country." This stock is far too short to meet the demands of the great commercial canneries. Of course every domestic wise person will promtly ask, Why not use glass containers?

Glass jars and the like would answer admirably for many preservative purposes. In normal times the housewife would be quite content with these and probably experience little trouble in getting all of the jars and glasses she desired, but to-day there is a shortage, and the containers of this sort now on the market have advanced more than 25 per cent in price. This at once adds heavily to the possible cost of fruits and vegetables so preserved, but there is still another factor that enters into the matter of expense and also the efficiency of this method of conservation.

It is indispensable, to insure keeping qualities, that the container shall be hermetically sealed, and to make certain of this rubber rings or gaskets are generally essential. The war-time uses of rubber have sent this material soaring, and wherever rubber can be dispensed with it is in the direction of economy to do so. How, then, with all of these handicaps, will it be possible to put up perishable foodstuffs so that any surplusage may be saved to protect us against a shortage during the months to come?

We have got to go back to first principles and bring up to date practices in vogue many centuries ago. In brief, drying processes of one sort or another are the means by which it will be practicable to save millions of dollars worth of foodstuffs and effectually to preserve them for future consumption. This means that most of the water contained in fruits and vegetables, the very element that adds so much to their succulence and juiciness, must be extracted in order to arrest those chemical actions and processes of decay which speedily transform the wholesome into the unpalatable and poisonous.

Mr. Houston has suggested that drying be resorted to for the preservation of soup stock of vegetables, such as carrots, potatoes, and celery, as well as the conservation of surplus sweet corn. In fact, this is only a limited list of the perishable farm products that can be conserved by desiccation.

WATER IN FRUITS AND VEGETABLES.

But in order that the layman may realize something of what this involves it might be well to show how large a part water plays in some staple fruits and vegetables. Let us tabulate these for easier reference.

	Water content, per cent.
Asparagus	94
Apple	85
Banana	74
Beat	87
Cucumber	96
Cabbage	91.5
Carrot	86.5
Grape	77
Lettuce	94.7
Onion	87.9
Potato	78.6
Spinach	92.3
Strawberry	86
Tomato	94.3
Turnip	65

The housewife pays for all of this water at exactly the same rate per pound as she does for the food content. Furthermore, the nutritive value of dried fruits and vegetables increases directly as the percentage of water diminishes. Plainly we are dietary spendthrifts when we insist upon fresh produce, and it is evident that we can effect a very handsome saving if we will content ourselves in the cold seasons with dehydrated products.

To the average person the suggestion of dried foodstuffs instinctively carries the mind back to the dried apple of childhood, a brownish product that had a way of getting moldy and sour often before it could be made into sauce and flat-tasting pies. Deterioration was the consequence of imperfect desiccation. Science came along and worked a seeming miracle when it achieved the so-called evaporated apple and made it possible for the housekeeper to provide pies that came measur-

ably closer to the flavor of the fresh fruit. Even so, the run of evaporated apples fall far short of their natural rivals, and most of us have resigned ourselves to the seemingly inevitable.

It will therefore surprise most people to learn that it is now possible to dry apples, other fruits, and vegetables of many kinds so that they may be preserved for future use and yet retain the full flavor and that freshness of taste peculiar to the newly gathered. Not only that, but the so-called fresh dried crop of orchard and field will keep better and far longer than the average dried commodities at present on the market.

The trouble with most dried foodstuffs is that they are anything but dried as the term is properly understood. For instance, dried apricots contain 41 per cent of water, the dried apples of commerce have 28.1 per cent of water, and dried dates and figs have respectively a water content of 13.8 and 18.8 per cent. These figures explain just why these commodities must be sold quickly and used promptly in order to avoid spoiling.

Mold is one of the things that must be guarded against continually in pantry and storeroom. Mold is only one of a variety of forms of micro-organisms that attack and injure foodstuffs. It has been established by investigators that minute bodies of this sort need at least 25 per cent of moisture in which to live and to multiply their destructive kind.

They thrive best when with this moisture they have a temperature ranging between 80° and 95° F. This makes it clear why the ice box looms so conspicuously in every well-regulated household, especially in warm weather. Low temperature neutralizes the fruitful ground that the moisture would otherwise offer for the breeding of these hurtful small, living things.

GERMAN DRYING FACTORIES.

None of this is news to the bacteriologist, and drying as a preserving process is nearly as old as the hills. Even so, it has been only within a comparatively short span of years that desiccation has been carried forward upon really scientific lines, and the present day accomplishments are the result of a vast deal of experimental research.

Successful drying is something more than the application of heat. If the increased temperature is not employed properly, one might as well say judiciously, dehydrating may be effected only superficially, and beneath a desiccated exterior there may remain a menacing amount of moisture which at certain temperatures will induce fermentation and the spoiling of the product.

Until very lately German drying factories have led the world, and their manner of keeping fruits and vegetables was supposed to be the very acme of the art; such was the reward of Teuton patience and persistent investigation. But the Germans by their very processes tacitly admitted that they had not completely solved the problem.

They attained dehydration at the expense of palatability. For instance, in the cases of desiccated vegetables they first parbolled them before they dried them. In this way the part-way cooking brought about certain chemical changes that served to arrest or to prevent subsequent fermentation. This parboiling necessarily extracted some of the flavor. So treated the farm produce was then put through the drying apparatus, and when withdrawn was packed in suitable containers and could be kept for months.

To prepare these desiccated products for the table it is necessary to cook them again, and this second boiling robs them of just so much more of their flavor. No wonder they are flat in taste and need a lot of seasoning. True, they are nourishing to a degree, but they can in nowise be likened to fresh vegetables.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks the Germans have found it economically well worth their while to establish dehydrating plants all over the Empire. Some idea of the magnitude of this business can be gathered from the fact that just before the outbreak of the war more than 500,000 tons of potatoes were desiccated in the fatherland, and at that time there were fully 425 factories of this kind in Germany.

In addition enormous quantities of other vegetables were similarly dried. Since August, 1914, hundreds of other plants have been organized so that temporary surplussage of products, especially in the large cities, might be conserved and held there for the well-nigh certain days of shortage.

The Germans have carried this method of preserving still further, because they have found it well worth their while to dry beet tops for fodder and to dehydrate vast stores of grain in order to insure safe keeping. The popular mind does not begin to realize how much moisture there is in every pound of flour, for the uninformed believe that wheat, for instance, is dry.

As a matter of fact this is anything but the case. For instance, in every five carloads of wheat there is one carload of water, and this undesirable dead weight is levying its toll of muscular effort and freight charges at every stage of its handling.

AMERICA'S CHANCE TO SAVE.

The Department of Agriculture has reported time and again that something should be done to reduce if not to eliminate waste at the source of production. That is to say, to try to find ways to utilize the foodstuffs that the farmer can not dispose of. Fruit that is shaken from the trees by the wind, commonly called windfalls, is not considered up to standard, and therefore seldom leaves the orchards.

An amazing percentage of apples, oranges, lemons, peaches, pears, etc., that fall to the ground in this way are permitted to rot. All of this wastage brings up the ultimate price to be paid by the consumer for the stuff that does reach him. Losses of this sort are not permitted in any other line of modern industry, and there is no reason why it should go on in this instance.

It is now proposed to eliminate a big share of this annual loss by establishing at suitable points throughout the entire country drying factories that shall be able to handle the great bulk of our perishable farm products. Naturally most of these should be placed in the centers of agricultural districts, where they may be conveniently reached either by rail or by such transportational facilities as motor trucks or horse-drawn vehicles.

Preferably it would probably be found more efficient to use motor trucks with trailers and to send these from day to day over regularly established routes to gather from the husbandmen along the line any greenstuffs they wish to dispose of. This means carrying the market to the farmer, so to speak, and making sure of utilizing everything that he has grown.

But it may be asked, Why has this not been done before? Have we any process or processes available to-day that we did not have until lately? Can we do as well as the Germans have done, or is it possible for us now to achieve even better results? Briefly we are in a position to do this very thing, and all because of recent improvements in the art developed here.

Indeed, it seems that drying and packing can now be carried out at a cost that will permit the fruits and vegetables so prepared to be sold at a price below the normal market charges for the fresh products in season. In this way immense quantities of foodstuffs can be made available and put within the reach of all when fresh fruits and vegetables are not to be had, or, if available, are purchasable only at extravagant prices.

The secret of this revolution in dehydrating is that the ultimate water content is safely below the moisture minimum which makes the formation of mold or the initiation of fermentation possible. Because of this the dry fresh foodstuffs can be kept for many, many months, and curiously the containers may be simply paper-lined barrels or the well-known cardboard cartons of commerce. There is no need for tin cans or glass jars.

The desiccation is effected by means of currents of hot air at relatively low temperatures, and while the drying is perfected in an uncommonly short time still the extraction of the moisture is carried to the innermost cells of the vegetable or fruity substance. There is no need of precooking or parboiling, and the resultant products have well-nigh the fullness of flavor of the freshly gathered yields of farm and orchard. Not only that, but the nutritive properties are those of the original fruits and vegetables, while pound for pound there is more nourishment in the desiccated foodstuffs.

ADVANTAGES OF DEHYDRATING.

For generations the pot au feu of the French has been famous, and an officer of the Royal Flying Corps reported recently when returning to England that he had been cured of rheumatism by a daily diet of the native vegetable soup. The pot au feu is made by cutting up all kinds of vegetables, such as potatoes, carrots, turnips, parsley, onions, celery, cabbage, cauliflower, etc., and letting them simmer on a slow fire with a little water in a closed earthenware vessel. In this way all of the ingredients are gradually cooked and softened.

Boiling would coagulate the albumen and remove some of the valuable vegetable salts, which, because of their alkaline nature, are known to neutralize the acids in the process of digestion. This is mentioned in order to bring out the disadvantage of the parboiling practiced by the Germans preliminary to drying their vegetables.

By the latest American process the products to be dried are commonly treated within a very few hours after they have been gathered; in fact, they reach the so-called dryventors far fresher than most of us know such commodities. We have to wait at times days before they come to the table, and nearly every hour after picking there is measurable deterioration and loss of flavor.

The fruits or vegetables are cut up into small pieces after they have been thoroughly cleansed. Then they are put in the desiccating apparatus, where they remain from two to five hours, depending upon the original water content. This operation is under perfect control, so that there is no hardening of the exterior or injury to the nutritive value.

The ultimate products when soaked in water, as they should be for a short time before cooking, regain their original form and taste as crisp and fresh and full flavored as though newly gathered. Of course, the dried foodstuffs occupy but a small part of the space taken up by the original fresh produce.

For example, a barrel of dried mixed vegetables, that will make just the kind of soup that has been described, weighs but 100 pounds and will provide a steaming plate for 7,000 persons. Before drying these vegetables fill something like 30 barrels. This saving in weight and bulk is a matter of especial importance now because of car shortage and the railway congestion that must be battled with when we get into our full war stride.

Our allies are not going to feed our soldiers at the front. We have got to do that ourselves, and the likeliest way to achieve this economically and efficiently is to ship them an abundance of concentrated foodstuffs. Apparently dried vegetables should help us out to a great measure in this vitally necessary work.

Food of this sort, which offers some variety, will go a long way toward maintaining our fighting men well and strong. It is equally evident, with German U-boats lying in wait for our supply ships, that we can help our own as well as our allies on the other side of the Atlantic by sending them subsistence of this sort. Any one ship getting through will carry the difference of food values that has already been pointed out between the bulky green and the compact dry fresh products.

WOULD INCREASE FOOD SUPPLY.

It is a matter of record that a very large percentage of the potato crop is gathered in the form of culls or tubers injured in the harvest digging. These culls, which are either fed to the pigs or allowed to rot on the ground, can now be gathered and converted into potato flour or chips by means of this latest of American drying processes. This in turn can be used to prepare boiled mashed potatoes, potato cakes, potato bread, and to serve as a sizing for certain textiles.

The careless paring of potatoes is commonly responsible for a wastage of substantially 20 per cent of the edible portion, including outer layers containing valuable mineral substance. The desiccated potato, therefore, is an economic advance. Sweet potato flour, pumpkin flour, etc., can be made from these vegetables when dried, and the most sensitive palate can not detect any difference between pumpkin pies made from the fresh farm product and the prepared flour.

Regarding pumpkins, squashes, and many other vegetables raised primarily for their seeds, hundreds of tons of the meaty matter are ordinarily thrown away. All of this can be saved and utilized helpfully by means of the drying apparatus now at our command. Onions, spinach, carrots, turnips, etc., lend themselves readily to this form of preservation, and, curiously, the spinach so treated is amazingly fresh when cooked.

The uses to which a drying system of this description can be put are well-nigh unlimited, but enough has been said to show how much the preservation of foodstuffs in this fashion concerns every walk of life. Clearly we can, if we will, utilize well-nigh every bit of our agricultural produce, no matter how great its volume, and by doing this we can provide for ourselves, keep down the cost of living, and lend a really substantial helping hand to our allies across the sea.

[From the Scientific American, Mar. 10, 1917.]

FEEDING THE NATION—A NEW DRYING PROCESS THAT PROMISES AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION.

[By R. G. Skerrett.]

With good reason the world has wondered much during the better part of the past two years how Germany has been able to feed her people in spite of the blockade maintained by her foes. Unquestionably a notable part of her self-sufficiency has been due to the widespread adoption of drying processes to preserve vegetables, fruits, and grains that

might otherwise have been sacrificed through deterioration or decay. The dehydrating factories or plants have made it possible to convert these perishable products into foodstuffs that could be kept for many months without much loss in their nutritive properties. How extensive this industry has been for some years back can be gathered from the fact that just about three years ago there were more than 425 drying establishments in the Fatherland, and these have been added to greatly since the outbreak of hostilities. Latterly the German authorities have placed evaporating plants in all of the good-sized cities, and these have served to take care of temporary surplus of farm products, thus conserving for the days of shortage fruits and vegetables that otherwise would have gone to waste.

A conspicuous economy has been effected in Germany through the drying of potato tops and beet tops for fodder. Prior to the desiccating of these leaves it was the practice to store in silos quite two-thirds of the beet tops, and because of unavoidable fermentation a very considerable part was spoiled. The drying treatment has eliminated this wastage and has made it possible for the Teutons to maintain their live stock in an extremely economical manner while fattening them to the desired degree for the market.

The German process for the preservation of vegetables has consisted in partly boiling them first to arrest certain organic changes and then in drying the products for preservation. The high temperatures cause a further radical alteration in physical appearance and chemical properties. To make them fit for the table, these desiccated vegetables require recooking, and, while unquestionably nutritive, they are not overpalatable nor do their flavors closely resemble those of the fresh growths. Even so, the Germans were admittedly masters of this art until a year or two ago, when a rival American process was perfected.

The essential features of the American process, which has been patented and is in operation at three plants in the United States, consist in using heated air at temperatures far below those employed abroad and in insuring a thorough circulation of the air currents so as to reach every particle of the fruits or vegetables undergoing desiccation. Consequently, the final yield of the drying apparatus is quite different from similar products treated by the German systems. To begin with, the moisture is extracted so that the residual water is well inside of 12 per cent, and the desiccation does not injure the cellular membranes of the vegetable matter. The evaporation—depending upon the original water content of the vegetable or fruit—is accomplished within the remarkably short period of from two and one-half to five hours. This is in notable contrast to the six and eight hours, and even much longer, required generally by other systems in which the removal of the water content ranges commonly well above 20 per cent. As a consequence, the vegetables and fruits dried by this American system retain to a remarkable degree their fresh taste and full flavor when prepared for the table; and because their cellular structure is uninjured they reacquire a normal appearance in a short while after being soaked in water.

It is authoritatively stated by the United States Department of Agriculture that quite 50 per cent of the vegetables and fruits grown here never reach the consumer's table, and it is equally certain that the major part of the produce so sacrificed does not leave the farm or orchard. This is because of difficulties of transportation and the state of the market, combined with the fact that only the very best of the fruits or vegetables will pass final inspection or lend themselves to profitable shipping. Nevertheless, by far the greater part of those products that do not leave the farm could be saved and made available by drying. Not only that, but this new process shows that the yields of farm and orchard can be conserved so as to keep well-nigh indefinitely, and can be marketed at a price well below that of the so-called fresh products to be had only at certain seasons of the year.

The economic aspect of this matter is twofold. First, the farmer will no longer be hemmed in by local markets; his produce, when dried at near-by or conveniently located plants, can be cheaply delivered as demand dictates to any point in the United States or to foreign countries. Then, too, these dried products will be a great deal lighter than the fresh fruits or vegetables, and therefore will take up less space than in their original form. This will lower proportionately the charges for transportation and storage. A large truck load of mixed vegetables can be dried by this process so that they will weigh but a hundred pounds and fill only a single barrel. Soup vegetables of this sort and weighing but 1 pound will make enough soup to satisfy 60 adults. For exploring parties, for large forces of workmen engaged far from a base of supply, and for naval and military operations this method of preserving foodstuffs promises to be of the utmost value. Because of the low moisture content these so-called "dry-fresh" products are not liable to attack by molds or bacteria. Also, because of the very modest percentage of the residual water the products, pound for pound, represent a correspondingly higher percentage of nutritive value.

One domestic industry, particularly, is in a fair way to be revolutionized by the perfecting of the process in question. According to the latest crop report of the Bureau of Agriculture, beet-sugar factories in the United States will produce 918,800 short tons of sugar "during the current campaign." The area harvested amounted to 680,000 acres, and the beets totaled 6,671,000 short tons. The official statement issued in December past, says: "This is the largest acreage and tonnage of beets ever harvested in the United States, and the sugar production exceeds the highest preceding crop—that of 1915—by more than 44,600 tons. During the past five years the United States has consumed about 4,000,000 tons of sugar annually."

In 1915 the cane sugar produced in Louisiana amounted to 216,996 tons, and the beet-sugar factories of the United States turned out in the same period 646,257 tons. This gives us some idea of the steadily growing importance of the domestic beet-sugar industry located in Michigan, Colorado, Nebraska, Ohio, Idaho, and Utah. It also shows that we can make ourselves independent, if need be, of outside sources of raw sugar, because the sugar beet can be grown here far more extensively than it is possible for us to cultivate sugar cane within our continental limits. There is cheer for the farmer, too, in this matter. In the less favored of the northern districts of the country farmers confidently count upon realizing $30 per acre of sugar beets, while in California the return is in the neighborhood of $40 and more.

The growing of sugar beets heretofore has been restricted to somewhat narrow zones immediately contiguous to the factories. Wagon hauling is not practicable or profitable beyond a distance of 10 miles, and transportation charges limit rail carriage to an extreme radius of a hundred miles from a refinery. Next, the so-called "campaign" or harvesting period does not extend beyond three months, and within this relatively short interval the sugar beets must be gathered and delivered directly to the factories. Even so, there are many practical difficulties that entail losses.

To begin with, the farmer naturally wants to harvest his product when his beets are biggest and the crop heaviest. The refiner, on the other hand, wants each contributing farmer's harvest delivered separately or at specified intervals, so that the regular daily tonnage to be handled will just fit in with the factory's capacity. This ideal arrangement is well-nigh impossible under prevailing conditions, and, therefore, in order to take care of momentary overload, silos are sometimes installed to hold the excess beets for a while. There is an inevitable loss in the silos owing to fermentation and even to decay of some of the beets.

A factory capable of handling a thousand tons of beets a day represents a plant outlay of quite a million dollars. For nine months of the year this establishment is idle, and all because beets can only be supplied to it for a maximum period of a hundred days annually. Even so, the beet sugar production of 1916—measured by prices charged the housewife—will represent something like $147,000,000. Manifestly, there would be a great economic gain, which would no doubt bring down the price of sugar, if these expensive factories could be operated throughout the entire year with wider areas contributing beets to each refinery. That is to say, instead of having rail transportation limited to 100 miles, imagine the gain if the beets could be delivered from distances of 400 miles at the same freight rate, and in such shape that when received at the refinery they could be held without depreciation and utilized at any time, even months after their arrival. This is exactly what the new drying process makes possible.

Fresh beets are prepared for the diffusion cells of the refinery by being cut into small pieces or slices which are technically known as cossettes. In this form the pieces of beets can be permeated by the hot water and the sucrose content withdrawn. The new system consists of drying plants located at convenient points anywhere within a zone of 400 miles from the refinery and adjacent to lines of rail transportation. At these dehydrating establishments the beets received from the nearby farmers are cut into cossettes and promptly desiccated—1 short ton of beets weighing but 500 pounds when so dried, and the bulk being reduced proportionately. Samples of beet cossettes treated in this manner at a Bound Brook, N. J., factory have remained unimpaired in storage, just as raw sugar might be packed, for a period of more than two years. Measured by dry substance polarization the percentage loss of cossettes stored in burlap feed bags was only 1.66 after 730 days, and curiously enough there was a decrease of nearly 50 per cent of the original moisture. What is even stranger, because of the relatively low temperatures employed, enzymic action is not halted by the dehydrating, and sugar production continues for a while, thus yielding an increase of from 5 to 8 per cent over that of fresh cossettes at the time of their diffusion by the general practice. This increased sucrose production was discovered years ago by the Department of Agriculture, and was considered a puzzling phenomenon. Dehydrated cossettes now actually promote this conversion of normally unformed sugars in the beets, and this gain alone is enough to reduce enormously the cost of running a refinery or to neutralize the expense of drying and transporting the dehydrated cossettes.

Farmers now hundreds of miles away from a refinery can grow beets and be sure of a certain and profitable market; and the beets when dehydrated can be transported in bulk, in box cars, without fear of deterioration. When received at the factory they can be stored where the air can reach them freely and will remain fit for the diffusion process for many months. Not only that, but because of their relatively intensified sugar content, less water will be required to accomplish thorough extraction of the sucrose, the diffusion liquor will be richer, and to just this measure less heat will be needed to effect the subsequent operations.

[From the American Food Journal, July, 1917.]

COMMERCIAL DEHYDRATION.

[By the editor.]

Undoubtedly the earliest method of carrying over from periods of great abundance to periods of scarcity products of the field and orchard was that of drying. The principle of evaporating moisture from foodstuffs was made use of long before the first canned goods came into existence. In this country the American Indians provided for their commissariat by laying in a stock of pemmican, which is nothing but dehydrated beef, before starting on a forced march. The familiar raisin, which is a dehydrated grape, has been long with us and enjoys a well-earned reputation for wholesomeness, keeping qualities, and other properties of value in determining the worth of foodstuffs.

Drying, desiccation, dehydration, or any other word meaning the same thing, simply consists in removing the water and nothing else from a product. In the case of food the value of the finished product depends upon a number of factors not of importance in the case of nonedible products. It is simple enough to drive the moisture from most articles if no attention is to be given to physical appearance, taste, or odor. As is well known, the expulsion of moisture from an article depends upon the physical reaction known as evaporation, which, in turn, depends upon temperature and the relative humidity of the enveloping atmosphere. Fairly high heat will bring about evaporation even in a stagnant atmosphere, and, on the other hand, moving air will bring about evaporation even at a fairly low temperature. As might be assumed, a combination of moderate heat and moving air is the most effective.

Commercial dehydration is based upon three general methods of operation, namely, heat from the sun, artificial heat, and the air blast, with many combinations of these basic methods. Undoubtedly, the simplest form of dehydrating food products is that still employed with apricots, raisins, and other fruits in which the product to be treated is placed on trays in the sunshine and evaporation brought about by the radiant energy of the sun and the gentle breezes of a midsummer day. Naturally, this method of procedure is interfered with sadly if a rainstorm happens to blow up. Dust and the eggs of certain insects are causes of contamination which must be guarded against. As an offset to these unfavorable factors of sun drying are to be borne in mind the excellent color and flavor generally possessed by foods dried in this fashion.

By using a steady blast of cool air food products may be and are dehydrated, although the process is a somewhat slow one. Here again color and flavor are excellent, and if the operation is carried out in sanitary quarters, dirt and the eggs of undesirable animal life are absent.

Until very recently the most generally used method of dehydrating food products was that of subjecting them to a current of hot, dry air, the general assumption having been that the drier the air the more rapid would be the progress of the action. Ordinarily the first process in dehydrating is that of removing from the air as much of the moisture as is possible. This is generally done by condensation, the air

being passed over the chilled pipes of a refrigerating unit, which action causes the moisture contained in the air to condense as drops of water on the cold pipes. The air thus dried is then heated to about 65° C. (150° F.) and is forced by fans through the trays upon which is placed the food to be dried. There are certain objections to this method, notable among which are those of a dissipation of the delicate flavors of certain fruits and vegetables. The treatment is rather heroic for certain types of food, some of which leave the dehydrator in a partially cooked condition. At times the effect of the hot-air blast is to sear the surface of the product with a comparatively impervious layer before all moisture has been extracted from the interior parts of the product.

Of late this time-honored process has apparently been improved upon. As the photographs accompanying this article indicate, it is possible to remove the moisture from certain food products in such manner as to permit, by the simple addition of water, of bringing back the dehydrated products to approximately their original condition. This new method is also claimed to dissipate but little, if any, of the delicate flavor of fruits and vegetables, and, indeed, it is difficult to distinguish a revivified product dehydrated by this new system from the original fruit or vegetable.

This system of dehydration has several points of scientific interest. There are three ways of applying heat to a body, these ordinarily being defined as conduction, convection, and radiation. The iron poker, one end of which is in the fire blazing on the hearth, is heated by conduction. The various rooms of the house are heated by convection currents of warm air set in circulation by the fire in the grate. When we stand in front of the fire for a time our body becomes heated, not by conduction nor by convection, but by the heat which radiates from the fire, and before long we are warmer than is the air between us and the source of the heat. This is due to the fact that air permits passage of the rays of radiant heat without absorbing it. And especially is this true of dry air. Rays of radiant heat are of the same family as light waves, being generally considered to be of considerably greater length than the ray which emits red light. Such rays pass through glass or in turn can be reflected by a mirrored surface in very much the same manner as is possible with light rays. They can to a certain extent be driven through a fog, and here we come to the secret of the Hobson system of hydration, the one upon which this article is based.

In an attempt to overcome the objections to present methods of dehydration, Messrs. Otto Q. Beckworth and Oliver T. Hobson conceived the idea of transmitting heat to the products under treatment by means of radiation but at the same time keeping the product bathed in a medium of warm air slightly cooler than the products and of the proper degree of humidity to absorb moisture from the product at a rate in keeping with its moisture content. Thus, instead of subjecting the product to a current of dry, hot air, it is subjected to heat rays radiating from hot side walls of an oven which rays are at the outset of the operation forced through a constantly moving enveloping medium of moist air which serves at one and the same time to remove moisture from the product and to protect it from too rapid evaporation. In other words, the product is made to "sweat," the perspiration being removed as fast as it is formed by the application of a moist towel, the moist towel in this case being the current of damp air. As the drying process proceeds the current of air, which is forced through the drying compartment by means of blowers, becomes constantly less humid, the excess moisture being removed by appropriate drying apparatus and the later stages of the dehydrating process are conducted in an atmosphere that is practically moisture free.

The object obtained in this method of dehydration is the doing away with the possibility of surface drying before the moisture in the interior of a product has had a chance to work its way out by capillarity and in turn be vaporized by heat and removed by evaporation. All conditions which affect the process are controlled rigidly and as called for by heat and moisture measuring instruments of precision. The heat comes from steam coils placed in the side walls of the drying chamber and the current of air discussed above is blown through perforations in the floor, being removed from the apex of the roof of the drying compartments by revolving fans, the same air current being used repeatedly during the process in order to economize in cost of operation.

The photograph accompanying this article indicates some of the many products now being dehydrated by this system. The process is by no means limited to this list and, indeed, not long ago a delicious shortcake was made of loganberries which were received in practically water-free condition. The delicate flavor peculiar to the loganberry seemed to have been preserved without loss and probably old Gen. Logan himself would have thought he was being served berries fresh from the field.

Economically there are many arguments in favor of dehydration. As fruits and vegetables are from 60 to 90 per cent moisture, the gain in bulk by submitting the products of the field to dehydration before shipping them long distances is obvious; also well-dried food products, while undeniably hygroscopic, can easily be kept in good condition for long periods of time. Should an active industry be built up in dehydrated foodstuffs it would serve to supplement the already established industry of commercial canning and would undeniably have a tendency to conserve for use much high-priced food which is at present not available for the commercial canner. In all large centers where fruits and green vegetables are handled the matter of spoilage could easily be obviated by the installation of dehydrating outfits. The loss due to spoilage is a very considerable item, as is clearly indicated by Mr. Isaac Russell's article in this issue entitled "Food Wastage in New York." If all large cities made a point of dehydrating fruits and vegetables as soon as they reach the point at which deterioration commences and before that process has been allowed to make any serious inroads into the quality of the products the problem of food spoilage would soon be at least partly solved.

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The Home Drying of Vegetables and Fruits.

One of the most prominent features of the food-conservation program of European countries has been the universal drying of fruits and vegetables. The surplus vegetables in the city markets were forced by the Governments into large municipal drying plants. Community driers were established in the trucking regions and even itinerant drying machines were sent from farm to farm drying the vegetables which otherwise would have gone to waste. In addition, large quantities of dried vegetables from Canada and this country were shipped to France during the last two years, and there is a possibility that dried fruits and vegetables may continue to be shipped abroad in considerable quantities to supplement the concentrated food diet of the men in the trenches.

The drying of vegetables may seem strange to the present generation, but to our grandmothers it was no novelty. Many housewives even to-day prefer dried sweet corn to the product canned by the old method, and say also that dried pumpkin and squash are excellent for pie making. Snap beans often are strung on threads and dried above the stove. Cherries and raspberries still are dried on bits of bark for use instead of raisins. In fact, many of the everyday foodstuffs already are dried at some stage of their preparation for market. The common dried fruits, such as prunes, raisins, figs, dates, and apples, are staples in the world's markets, while beans and other legumes, tea, coffee, cocoa, and various manufactured foods like starch, tapioca, macaroni, etc., are dried either in the sun and wind or in specially constructed driers.

Even though the drying of fruits and vegetables as practiced a few decades ago on many farms has become practically a "lost art," the present food situation doubtless will cause a marked stimulation of drying as a means of conserving the food supply. This country is producing large quantities of perishable foods this year, which should be saved for storage, canned, or properly dried. Drying is not a panacea for the entire waste evil, nor should it take the place of storing or canning to any considerable extent where proper storage facilities are available or tin cans or glass jars can be obtained readily and at a low cost.

The advantages of drying vegetables are not so apparent for the farm home as they are for the town or city household, which has no root cellar or other place in which to store fresh vegetables. For the farmer's wife the new methods of canning probably will be better than sun drying, which requires a somewhat longer time. But shorter methods of drying are available, and the dried product holds an advantage in that usually it requires fewer jars, cans, or other containers than do canned fruits or vegetables; also dried material can be stored in receptacles which can not be used for canning. Then, too, canned fruit and vegetables freeze and can not be shipped as conveniently in winter. Dried vegetables can be compacted and shipped with a minimum of risk.

To the housewife in the town the drying of vegetables and fruits presents special advantages. During the season when the market is oversupplied locally and prices are low she can lay in a stock, dry it, and put it away for a winter's emergency without its taking up much of the needed small storage space in her home. If she is accustomed to canning her fruit and vegetables and finds she can not secure jars or tin cans, she can easily resort to drying.

And now we are told to dry vegetables and fruits for winter use if tin cans and glass jars for canning are scarce or expensive.

This is the advice of specialists of the United States Department of Agriculture, who recently have studied the possibilities of conserving food to meet war needs in spite of any difficulties that may be experienced in obtaining canning containers. Drying was a well-recognized and successful way of preserving certain foods before canning came into general use, the specialists point out, and modern methods make it still more practicable than formerly, either in the home or by community groups.

Methods of Drying.

Three methods of drying have been found by the department specialists to give satisfactory results. These are sun drying, drying by artificial heat, and drying with air blasts, as before an electric fan. Trays for drying by any one of these methods, as well as tray frames for use over stoves or before fans can be made satisfactorily at home. Frames and trays for use with artificial heat may be purchased complete if desired.

Homemade trays may be made of side and end boards three-fourths of an inch thick and 2 inches wide, and bottom boards of lathing spaced one-fourth of an inch. If desired, one-fourth-inch galvanized wire mesh may be tacked to the side and end boards to form the bottoms of the trays. Frames for use before fans may be made of wood of convenient size. Frames for use with artificial heat should be made of noninflammable material to as great an extent as possible. As many as six trays may be placed one above the other when artificial heat is used.

The trays are arranged so that every other one is pushed back 3 inches from the front, this arrangement affording a free circulation of air, the currents of heated air passing over the product as well as up through it, gathering moisture and passing out through the ventilator. The movement of the current of air induces a more rapid and uniform drying. The trays should be shifted from time to time as the lower ones naturally dry faster than those above.

Another home drier is the cookstove oven, in which bits of food, leftovers, especially sweet corn, etc., can be dried on plates resting on screen or wire trays at a very low temperature. The door should be left ajar and the temperature often noted.

There are two types of cookstove driers on the market. One type is a box-like compartment containing trays through which the heated air rises, carrying off the moisture through a flue. The second type consists of a shallow flat metal box filled with water and designed so that one end can rest on the back of the stove and the other on a leg reaching to the floor.

The various makes of cookstove cabinets—the size convenient for use in the home—have a capacity of from 1 to 4 pecks a day. The larger ones, usually called evaporators, have their own fire boxes underneath and hold from 4 to 5 bushels a day. These capacities are based on green-apple measures.

Almost any vegetables or fruit may be dried in these evaporators or cabinets—apples, pears, peaches, plums, raspberries, huckleberries, currants, peas, corn, potatoes, pumpkins, etc. It has been found that the quality and quantity of each are dependent on the ripeness and the species of the fruit. Baldwin apples, for instance, giving a better grade of product than the Jonathans. The regulations of the heat which passes over the product is of paramount importance. If the air applied at the outset is of too high temperature, the surfaces of the vegetables or fruit become hard or scorched, covering the juicy interior so that it will not dry out. Generally it is not desirable that the air temperature in drying should go above 140° to 150° F., and it is better to keep it well below this point. Insects and insect eggs are killed by exposure to heat of this temperature.

There is no method which would appeal so much to the modern woman as the use of the electric fan in drying. Every woman knows that at the height of the canning season the thermometer reaches its midsummer maximum, and the day which she has set aside for canning (perishable supplies having been ordered some time ahead) is sure to be a stifling day in the kitchen. To be able to arrange her fruits or vegetables (sliced and ready for drying) on trays stacked in tiers placed before an electric fan and then turn on the current, thus making canning a cool rather than an excessively warm operation, exactly accords with her ideas of modern efficiency. The real advantage of this process, however, consists in the fact that the product kept cool, owing to evaporation, tends to retain its color and eliminate spoilage.

In drying before a fan the number of trays that may be placed one above the other will depend, to a large extent, upon the diameter of the fan. In drying in the sun trays as described may be used or the products to be dried may be spread on sheets of paper or muslin held in place by weights.

PREPARING PRODUCTS FOR DRYING.

Vegetables and fruits will dry better if sliced. They should be cut into slices one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch thick. If thicker, they may not dry thoroughly. While drying the products should be turned or stirred from time to time. Dried products should be packed temporarily for three or four days and poured each day from one box to another to bring about thorough mixing and so that the whole mass will have a uniform degree of moisture. If during this "conditioning" any pieces of the products are found to be too moist, they should be returned to the trays and dried further. When in condition, the products may be packed permanently in tight paper bags, insect-proof paper boxes or cartons or glass or tin containers.

RECIPES.

SPINACH AND PARSLEY.

Spinach that is in prime condition for greens should be prepared by careful washing and removing the leaves from the roots. Spread the leaves on trays to dry thoroughly. They will dry much more promptly if sliced or chopped.

GARDEN BEETS, ONIONS, CARROTS, TURNIPS, PARSNIPS, CABBAGE.

Beets: Select young, quickly grown, tender beets, which should be washed, peeled, sliced about an eighth of an inch thick, and dried.

Turnips should be treated in the same way as beets.

Carrots should be well grown, but varieties having a large woody core should be avoided. Wash, peel, and slice crosswise into pieces about an eighth of an inch thick.

Parsnips should be treated in the same way as carrots.

Onions: Remove the outside papery covering. Cut off tops and roots. Slice into one-eighth inch pieces and dry.

Cabbage: Select well-developed heads of cabbage and remove all loose outside leaves. Split the cabbage, remove the hard, woody core, and slice the remainder of the head with a kraut cutter or other hand-slicing machine.

All the products under this heading should be "conditioned" as described above.

BEET TOPS, SWISS CHARD, CELERY, AND RHUBARB.

Beet tops: Tops of young beets in suitable condition for greens should be selected and washed carefully. Both the leaf stalk and blade should be cut into sections about one-fourth inch long and spread on screens and dried.

Swiss chard and celery should be prepared in the same way as beet tops.

Rhubarb: Choose young and succulent growth. Prepare as for stewing by skinning the stalks and cutting into pieces about one-fourth inch to one-half inch in length and dry on trays.

All the products under this heading should be "conditioned" as described.

THE AIR-BLOWN PROCESS.

The air-blown process consists of a chamber constructed of wood or masonry into which the liquid to be evaporated is injected in the form of a fine spray. A current of heated air introduced below the spray rises through it, absorbs its water content, and passes out of the chamber. The solid constituents of the liquids are precipitated to the bottom of the chamber in a dry, finely powdered state without chemical or deleterious change to the product.

The economy of this method of drying is readily apparent. The heat is applied direct to the substances to be dried and not by transmission through a metal membrane, with consequent loss by radiation. The minute subdivision of the atomized fluid permits the heat to surround each atom and absorb its watery envelope instantly. The fluid is projected into the chamber in such a way as to form a blanket of spray, which fills the full transverse area of the house. To find an exit, the hot air must pass through this watery lid, and in consequence give up its heat.

Such substances as milk, eggs, malt, and delicate chemicals may be reduced to their solid constituents by this means at high temperatures without scorching or other injurious effect.

More or less entrainment of the fine light particles occurs, passing out of the chamber with the effluent in the form of a fine dust, the recovery of which is accomplished by well-known methods of dust collection.

The cost of equipping a plant is fractional as compared with the vacuum drying methods. The product is superior and is more soluble and uniform in character.

The accessory apparatus—air heater, air compressor, motors, fan, and dust collector—are all standard equipment and purchasable in the open market.

DISTINCT ADVANTAGES.

1. Low cost of installation.
2. Quick construction.
3. Low cost of upkeep.
4. Longer life of apparatus.
5. Easy to clean and adjust.
6. Low cost of operation.
7. Less expert and fewer workmen required.
8. Concentration or complete evaporation with one apparatus.
9. Finished product obtained instantaneously in one operation.
10. No scorching or chemical change of product.
11. Product more soluble and uniform.
12. Light construction and ease of transport permits location at source of raw supply, a frequent impossibility with the cumbersome vacuum machinery.

The following products in liquid form have been successfully dried with the air-blown process: Milk, eggs, fruit juices, dyes, colors, tanning extracts, logwood, soap, starch, glue, glucose, molasses, cane juice, salt, various drugs and chemicals, malt, blood, blood serum, blood albumen, sulphite, pitch, mine slimes, arsenate of lead, and sulphur.

Any product contained in solution suspension or emulsion may be evaporated by this means to a fine, dry, flourlike product. And many materials that can not be satisfactorily dried by other means may be evaporated by the air-blown process with entire success.

This system of evaporation should not be confounded with the well-known cylindrical type of spray evaporators. The air-blown process employs other physical forces and different constructional methods, resulting in a higher degree of efficiency and greater economy.

Authority of President to Send Militia into a Foreign Country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 1, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, dated February 17, 1912:

AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT TO SEND MILITIA INTO A FOREIGN COUNTRY.

The Constitution, which enumerates the exclusive purposes for which the militia may be called into the service of the United States, affords no warrant for the use of the militia by the General Government, except to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union, and hence the President has no authority to call forth the Organized Militia of the States and send it into a foreign country with the Regular Army as a part of an army of occupation.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *February 17, 1912.*

SIR: I have the honor to respond to your note of the 8th instant, in which you ask my opinion upon the following question:

"Whether or not, under existing laws, the President has authority to call forth the Organized Militia of the States and send it into a foreign country with the Regular Army as a part of an army of occupation, especially should the United States intervene in the affairs of such country under conditions short of actual warfare?"

From very early times, in both England and this country, the militia has always been considered and treated as a military body quite distinct and different from the Regular or Standing Army, governed by different laws and rules, and equally different as to the time, place, or occasion of its service. One of the most notable points of difference is this: While the latter was in the continued service of the Government and might be called into active service at all times and in all places where armed force is required for any purpose, the militia could be called into the actual service of the Government only in the few special cases provided for by law. Their service has always been considered as of a rather domestic character, for the protection and defense of their own country and the enforcement of its laws.

This has always been the English doctrine, and in some instances acts of Parliament have expressly forbidden the use of militia outside of the Kingdom.

Our ancestors, who framed and adopted our Constitution and early laws, got their ideas of a militia, its nature and purposes, from this, and must be taken to have intended substantially the same military body, with the same limitations of the occasion and nature of their service. If they had intended to enlarge this, they would have said so, just as they have when they intended to further limit or restrict the occasion or nature of their service.

When the Constitution gives to Congress the power "to raise and support armies," and to provide "for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and makes the President "the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States," it is speaking of two different bodies—the one the Regular Army, in the continuous service of the Government, and liable to be called into active service at any time, or in any place where armed force is required; and the other a body for domestic service, and liable to be called into the service of the Government only upon the particular occasions named in the Constitution. And acts of Congress relating to the Army and the militia must have the same construction.

It is certain that it is only upon one or more of these three occasions—when it is necessary to suppress insurrections, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the United States—that even Congress can call this militia into the service of the United States, or authorize it to be done.

As "insurrection" is necessarily internal and domestic, within the territorial limits of the Nation, this portion of the sentence can afford no warrant for sending the militia to suppress it elsewhere. And even if an insurrection of our own citizens were set on foot and threateningly maintained in a foreign juris-

diction and upon our border, to send an armed force there to suppress it would be an act of war which the President can not rightfully do.

The term "to repel invasion" may be, in some respects, more elastic in its meaning. Thus, if the militia were called into the service of the General Government to repel an invasion, it would not be necessary to discontinue their use at the boundary line, but they might (within certain limits, at least) pursue and capture the invading force, even beyond that line, and just as the Regular Army might be used for that purpose. This may well be held to be within the meaning of the term "to repel invasion."

Then, too, if an armed force were assembled upon our border, so near and under circumstances which plainly indicated hostility and an intended invasion, this Government might attack and capture or defeat such forces, using either the Regular Army or the militia for that purpose. This, also, would be but one of the ways of repelling an invasion.

But this is quite different from and affords no warrant for sending the militia into a foreign country in time of peace and when no invasion is made or threatened.

The only remaining occasion for calling out the militia is "to execute the laws of the Union." But this certainly means to execute such laws where, and only where, they are in force and can be executed or enforced. The Constitution or laws of the United States have no extraterritorial force and can not be compulsorily executed beyond or outside of the territorial limits of the United States.

It is true that treaties made in pursuance of the Constitution are, equally with acts of Congress, the supreme law of the land; but their observance, outside of our own jurisdiction, can not be enforced in the same way. The observance and performance, outside of our own jurisdiction, of treaty stipulations and obligations are left much to the honor, good faith, and comity of the other contracting party, reenforced, at times, by a regard for the consequences of a breach. We can not send either the Regular Army or the militia into a foreign country to execute such treaties or our laws. Such an invasion of a foreign country would be an act of war.

Outside of our own limits "the laws of the Union" are not executed by armed force, either regular or militia.

The Constitution had already given to Congress the unlimited power to declare war, at any time and for whatever cause it chose. It did not, in this provision, attempt the useless thing of giving to Congress an additional power to declare war, or to afford an additional ground for doing so.

What is certainly meant by this provision is that Congress shall have power to call out the militia in aid of the civil power, for the peaceful execution of the laws of the Union, wherever such laws are in force and may be compulsorily executed, much as a sheriff may call upon the posse comitatus to peacefully disperse a riot or execute the laws.

Under our Constitution, as it has been uniformly construed from the first, the military is subordinate and subservient to the civil power, and it can be called upon to execute the laws of the Union only in aid of the civil power and where the civil power has jurisdiction of such enforcement. Even the Regular Army can be thus called upon only on such occasions, and certainly the militia can not be thus called upon at any other.

Then, as the civil power is without force in a foreign country, and as even the Regular Army can not be sent into another country to there execute the laws of the Union, it follows that the Constitution confers no power to send the militia into a foreign country for the purpose stated in the question here considered. On the contrary, by its specific enumeration of the only occasions for calling out the militia, it clearly forbids this.

In all this I am not unmindful that nations sometimes do make hostile demonstrations and use armed force to compel the observance by another nation of its treaty obligations, and sometimes send armed forces into another country to protect the lives and rights of its own citizens there.

I shall briefly notice these in their application to our own country, its Constitution and laws. It will be observed, and as controlling and conclusive of the present question, that in case of a hostile demonstration against or a forcible attack upon another nation to enforce its treaty obligations, or to punish their infraction, there is no question involved of executing the laws of the invading nation, for such laws have no force or existence there. While the Constitution makes itself and the laws and treaties, in pursuance thereof, the supreme law of the land, it is only in our own land where such laws are supreme or of any force. As to the other contracting party, a treaty is a mere compact, depending for its observance upon the good faith, comity, or other moral considerations. The Constitution can not make itself or the treaties or laws made under it the supreme law of any other nation, or give to either any force or existence beyond our own borders. So that, when an armed force is used to compel the observance of treaty obligations, or to punish or obtain compensation for their violation, there is no question of executing any law of the Union, for there is no such law there. It is but the forcible compelling of the observance of an agreement, or compensation for its breach. The provision referred to does not warrant the use of the militia for this purpose.

Just so it is when, in troublous times, an army of occupation, large or small, is sent into a foreign country to protect the lives and the rights of our own citizens. Here, too, no law of the Union is being executed by such invasion, for no law of the Union exists or can be enforced there.

While it is the duty of every nation to afford proper protection to foreigners who are lawfully within its borders, yet this is not because of any law of the nation of which such foreigners are subjects, for no such laws exist or have any force there. No one can say, in such a case, that we are executing or enforcing any law of the Union. We are but aiding or compelling the foreign Government to execute its own laws and to perform its own duty. As no law of the Union is being executed by such invasion, the militia can not be called out, under this provision, to take part in it. As no law of the Union can exist or be in force in any foreign country, the militia can not be called out to enforce any such law there.

The plain and certain meaning and effect of this constitutional provision is to confer upon Congress the power to call out the militia "to execute the laws of the Union" within our own borders where, and where only, they exist, have any force, or can be executed by anyone. This confers no power to send the militia into a foreign country to execute our laws which have no existence or force there and can not be there executed.

If authority is needed for the conclusion here reached, the following may suffice:

In Ordronaux, Constitutional Legislation, page 501, it is said:

"The Constitution distinctly enumerates the three exclusive purposes for which the militia may be called into the service of the United States. These purposes are: First, to execute the laws of the Union; second, to suppress insurrection; and, third, to repel invasions.

"These three occasions representing necessities of a strictly domestic character, plainly indicate that the services required of the militia can be rendered only upon the soil of the United States or of its Territories. * * * In the history of this provision of the Constitution there is nothing indicating that it was even contemplated that such troops should be employed for purposes of offensive warfare outside the limits of the United States. And it is but just to infer that the enumeration of the specific occasions on which alone the militia can be called into the service of the General Government was intended as a distinct limitation upon their employment.

"Being the ministers of the law to enforce its commands, they can only be summoned by the lawmaking power to act within the extent of its jurisdiction, and in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. They can not consequently be used to invade the territory of a neighboring country or to enforce any public rights abroad. * * *

"The militia of the States, restricted to domestic purposes alone, are to be distinguished therefore from the Army proper of the United States, which, whether in the form of Regular troops or Volunteers, may be used to invade a foreign country as well as to repel the attack of foreign enemies."

And Von Holtz, Constitutional Law, page 170, it is said "the militia can not be taken out of the country."

In Kneedler *v.* Lane (45 Pa. St., 238, 276), Judge Strong, speaking for the court, said:

"Apart from the obligations assumed by treaty, it was well known that there are many cases where the rights of a nation and of its citizens can not be protected or vindicated within its own boundaries.

"But the power conferred upon Congress over the militia is insufficient to enable the fulfillment of the demands of such treaties, or to protect the rights of the Government, or its citizens, in those cases in which protection must be sought beyond the territorial limits of the country."

And see Houston *v.* Moore (5 Wheat., 1) and Martin *v.* Mott (12 Wheat., 19, 27).

It is true that the act of January 21, 1903, as amended by the act of March 27, 1908 (35 Stat., 400), provides:

"That whenever the President calls forth the Organized Militia of any State, Territory, or of the District of Columbia,

to be employed in the service of the United States, he may specify in his call the period for which such service is required, and the militia so called shall continue to serve during the term so specified, either within or without the territory of the United States, unless sooner relieved by order of the President."

But this must be read in view of the constitutional power of Congress to call forth the militia only to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union. Congress can not, by its own enactment, enlarge the power conferred upon it by the Constitution; and if this provision were construed to authorize Congress to use the Organized Militia for any other than the three purposes specified it would be unconstitutional. This provision applies only to cases where, under the Constitution, said militia may be used outside of our own borders, and was doubtless inserted as a matter of precaution and to prevent the possible recurrence of what took place in our last war with Great Britain, when portions of the militia refused to obey orders to cross the Canadian frontier.

I think that the constitutional provision here considered not only affords no warrant for the use of the militia by the General Government, except to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union, but by its careful enumeration of the three occasions or purposes for which the militia may be used it forbids such use for any other purpose; and your question is answered in the negative.

Respectfully,

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.

The SECRETARY OF WAR.

The Pink Bollworm.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES P. BUCHANAN,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 1, 1917.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the pink bollworm, so constantly discussed in the papers, thrusts itself upon our attention in no uncertain way. Without question its serious consideration can not be avoided, for the emergency marks the most significant crisis that has ever stirred the cotton growers of America, and the destruction of our cotton industry seems a pending calamity.

There is no question—not the shadow of a doubt—of its profound concern to the cotton interests everywhere.

It is intensely so to the cotton belt of the United States, and the Texas cotton planter may well be alarmed over the situation, for his experience justifies his gravest fear. He knows how great the calamity that threatens the Texas cotton production, approximating, as it does, one-half of the baled lint of the cotton States.

The pink bollworm, Mr. Speaker, without exaggeration, is today the most real and destructive pest that has ever aroused the cotton world. It bodes a far greater disaster than the Mexican boll weevil, with which we are familiar and that has for so many years scourged us unmercifully. Twenty-five years ago we were warned of the coming of what was called the Mexican boll weevil, and in the early nineties the panic-stricken farmers of Texas were distracted and gloomy over what seemed to mean the total loss of their main dependence for livelihood and prosperity.

They had just learned to cope with "the army worm" and "the caterpillar" that for decades had engaged them in annual battle over the growing cotton and that, until understood, had often destroyed over night their most promising hopes. They had just succeeded in the use of remedies for this annual disaster and were feeling secure in their crops when the Mexican boll weavil terror was heralded from Mexico as the advancing arch enemy of King Cotton. Soon the invasion of that mighty tropical pest began its resistless march across the Texas border at the Rio Grande and imperial Texas was rapidly subjected to the most remorseless insect visitation since the plagues of Egypt. Since then, Mr. Speaker, the cotton States have become infested throughout and incalculable damage has fallen upon the land. But cultural methods have largely overcome this summer pestilence and the crop now is measurably secure. The habitual use of the seed of the early maturing varieties of cotton, early planting with intensive cultivation, and the early harvest measurably defeats the pestiferous little bug that hides itself, safe from sight or poison, under the close-fitting shuck of the boll and thrives on the tender bud that sprouts to suit its seasonable activity and appetite. To a degree at present we manage Mr. Boll Weevil.

But now, Mr. Speaker, unless we take instant and effective action, the fateful scourge known to the entomologist as the *Pectinophora gossypiella*—in common phrase the pink bollworm—will inflict upon us the most destructive calamity ever known to the cotton industry the world over.

The pink bollworm, like the Mexican boll weevil, hails from the Mexican tropics and is very much more destructive and infinitely more difficult to fight and impossible to exterminate. It is more to be dreaded than all the pests that prey on nature's finest provision for universal clothing. It is the most incomparable terror of all the insect enemies that infest the fields and ginhouses and seed sheds and oil mills of the cotton regions. Its food, and its only food, is furnished by the cotton plant. It lives on the green boll, in the stalk, the dry seed in the bin, or under the shed, and its life is preserved in the packed lint of the cotton bale, and its perennial existence runs through the four seasons.

This *Pectinophora gossypiella* has been the object of investigation and research by the scientists and students of agriculture and plant life for many years; they know it by every small fraction of its anatomy. It is recognizable if but a particle of its dead remains be examined under the microscope. It comes from India via Africa, but it is at home wherever the cotton plant is grown.

In Asia, Africa, and the Hawaiian Islands it habitually reduces the lint yield by 50 per cent and over, and cuts the oil-bearing quality of the seed by a very material loss. One observation—by Maxwell Lefroy—fixes the minimum loss in India at more than $10,000,000 annually. And the crop has virtually been abandoned in the Hawaiian Islands, where in 1915 the bolls in the field were damaged from 50 to 99 per cent, and 50 to 90 per cent of the lint was entirely lost.

The cotton crop of Brazil was free from insect troubles of any kind up to 1914. During the next two years the pink bollworm was introduced by importing Egyptian cotton seed to improve the native cotton, and that great territory became at once infested permanently through an unguarded entry of nonfumigated seed from Egypt. This neglect to fumigate the imported seed cost the cotton interests of Brazil 50 per cent of the crop of 1916, and inflicts a great and permanent annual loss upon the people of that Republic. A little watchful care could have avoided this permanent damage, and an annual drain for all time could have been prevented.

Almost coincident with the Brazilian experience our neighbor across the Rio Grande became the victim of a similar trouble, and the infested Laguna district, near San Pedro, in Mexico, presents an acute and alarming situation to the cotton producers of the United States. From this Mexican source we are in the greatest peril, and we may well be excited, for the most inveterate foe to our cotton industries ever known is conveniently located right at our unprotected gate and ready to attack us at any time.

The cotton-growing areas of Asia, Africa, Japan, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, Brazil, and Mexico are now infested by the pink bollworm, and their cotton production has been largely destroyed.

Only the United States is free from this tenacious and terrible insect scourge. And, Mr. Speaker, the emergency is upon us, and we must be moving to save our most extensive and prolific cotton territory of all the world for our own welfare, and to meet the necessities of humanity.

With countless millions of this *Pectinophora gossypiella* just across the Rio Grande, and our unprotected border open to the innumerable army, our fate is a foregone conclusion unless we take prompt and effective action to save our inestimable values.

The pink bollworm meets no present opposition and if not prevented will surely establish its permanent quarters in our cottonseed receptacles, where it can hibernate indefinitely to suit its own convenience. It will not be long until we will hear the lamentations and mourning if we are not up and doing at once. Indeed, we are not sure but that the first contingent of the enemy has already arrived.

It is known that hundreds of carloads of nonfumigated seed from this infested Laguna district of Mexico have been delivered to the seed houses and oil mills of as many as 10 Texas localities during the last season.

To be exact, the authentic figures of the Entomological Bureau of the Department of Agriculture make a total of 446 carloads, and distributed as follows:

Beaumont Cotton Oil Co., Beaumont, 114 carloads.

Kaufman Cotton Oil Co., Kaufman, 69 carloads.
Planters Cotton Oil Co., Hearne, 93 carloads.
Texas Refining Cotton Oil Co., San Antonio, 30 carloads.
Magnolia Cotton Oil Co., Houston, 41 carloads.
Planters Cotton Oil Co., Dallas, 15 carloads.
Landa Cotton Oil Co., New Braunfels, 48 carloads.
R. Morgan Cotton Oil Co., Grandview, 25 carloads.
Charles Dubose, Alice, 10 carloads.
Hunt County Oil Co., Wolf City, one carload.

This, Mr. Speaker, is a most frightful situation, and we could face no greater adversity than is immediately threatened.

If the pink bollworm joins forces with the Mexican boll weevil, the days of King Cotton will, in all probability, be numbered for the now favored cotton interests of the United States.

If to the ravages of the wet-weather scourge of the summer and fall—the boll weevil—be added that of the perennial pest—the pink bollworm—that incubates and feeds in safety the year around, and both of them absolutely and exclusively dependent on the cotton plant and its products for existence, the destruction is bound to be so momentous that there will be no profitable remnant, and the cotton culture must be greatly reduced or possibly abandoned altogether. Mr. Speaker, we can scarcely conceive of so universal a calamity. If the national exchequer be deprived of this tremendous revenue and mankind be shorn of the raw material that guarantees us low cost and the most available clothing universally enjoyed, to say nothing of the wonderful food products so extensively used, and the gun-cotton demand for the present war, the extreme condition would be appalling indeed. Of course the crucial emergency must be met and met right away.

The first step to be taken in the campaign against the pink bollworm is to be able to recognize the insect in all its stages of existence. For this purpose we have descriptive matter not merely enough but ample and extensive. There is no practical value, however, to be gained in a discussion involving the mass of technical terms peculiar and interesting only to the scientist. But we have all the needed points to enable the ordinary grower of cotton to detect at any stage the presence of the destroyer.

There are four stages of development that cover the incubation, growth, and maturity of the pink bollworm. First, the ovum or egg; second, the pupa or chrysalis; third, the larva or caterpillar; and, fourth, the butterfly or moth.

The characteristic markings can be discerned by the practical field man aided by the common lens or reading glass.

First. The minute eggs, though visible, are not readily detected by the naked eye. The eggshell is a pearly white; when newly laid it has a greenish tint; at its maturity, just before hatching, its color is reddish.

Second. If within or about the boll, on the stalk, or in the ginhouse, a small lepidopterous or four-winged pupa be found, and it is shown under the lens to be clothed with a short pubescent or hairy growth and has a short upturned hook at the tail it is very likely to be the pink bollworm in its earliest active vitality.

Third. If inside the cotton boll or in the stored cotton seed a very small white or pinkish caterpillar be detected, with a brown head, and the mandibles or jaws have four teeth, and the crotches on the abdominal legs form a semicircle, opening outward, it will very probably prove to be the larva stage of the pink bollworm.

Fourth. If a small dark brown moth be captured in the cotton field or cotton house, with its fore wings pointed and its hind wings broad and sinuated, or wavy below the tip, and with long curved palpi or feelers, and long stiff hairs on the first joint of the feelers, it is nearly certain to be the adult of the *Pectinaphora gossypiella*—the moth stages of the dreaded pink bollworm.

If greater detail be desired than the showing observed under the pocket lens, the most elaborate minutiæ can be obtained from the exhaustive research set forth in scientific publications and quite visible under the microscope. But, as remarked, there is but small practical value to be derived from the mass of technical knowledge that interests the ultra scientific student exclusively.

But, Mr. Speaker, the habits of the pink bollworm give even a more ready means of recognizing its presence.

The very small eggs—difficult to find without the aid of the lens—are to be looked for singly or in groups anywhere on the green boll, even in the flower. Usually, however, they are laid at the apex of the boll and in the lines that mark the sectional divisions. As many as 20 eggs may sometimes be found on one of these nesting bolls. The egg hatches in from 4 to 12 days after it is laid.

The larva when hatched is quite small and has a brown head. It tunnels into the boll under or close to the eggshell and begins to feed at once on the tenderest tissues. The young grub is easily overlooked when the boll is opened, but the small entrance hole and the empty eggshell are reliable signs of infection, and the diminutive worm will be revealed within the boll. The larva feeds exclusively on the inside of the boll and does not eat the leaves or shoots. It is only in its last larval stages that it assumes the strong pink color that gives it the name of pink bollworm. It has then matured for the next stage of its growing existence and spins the tough, dirty-brown silk envelope for the cocoon.

This cocoon, or chrysalis, from which goes the winged moth, is always spun next to the inside wall of the boll, through which a hole is bored to accommodate the escape into the outside world of the full-grown moth.

The larval stage from the hatching of the egg to the spinning of the cocoon takes 20 or 30 days in the summer. During cold weather or abnormally dry weather the larval term may be much extended.

The small imago, or moth, hides during the day on the ground under stones or brush, sometimes burying itself in the soil. Its wings are substantial, but the moth is very sluggish and does not usually extend its flight beyond the nearest cotton bolls for copulation and egg laying and then to die. Its flying activity is from 6 to 8 p. m. The entire life from hatching to the next egg laying is usually 40 to 50 days in summer, but it is longer in winter. The moth avoids the light, and its activity is at dusk from 6 to 8 p. m., as remarked. Its small size and inconspicuous color makes it troublesome to capture.

It is perfectly obvious that the perils of this pink boll worm menace demands the concentrated energies of the people and their governments to stay the threatened stroke of agricultural and economic paralysis.

The dangers are not disputed; in fact, the people most immediately concerned are wide awake and on the verge of panic.

The most absorbing question is as to the campaign methods—how and where and when and what to do.

At the present juncture, with our territory almost, if not entirely free from the devouring foe to our peace and welfare, most assuredly the course to be pursued is one of prevention. The old adage, which must stand forever as the axiom of common sense, "an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure," is the incontrovertible logic of the hour.

The cotton planter of every rank and station must be rallied to a proper conception of the danger that harasses his means of making a living.

To this end all the agitators for the good of the order must be brought into action to study the pest from every angle so that its instant recognition may put into instant play every possible means of defense.

First of all, the cotton grower, the sentinel of the farm, should with the keenest vigilance capture every suspicious specimen of egg or worm or chrysalis or moth that haunts the cotton seed or lurks about the growing cotton. And he should, with lens in hand, determine for himself the nature and character of the captive.

If at all doubtful, he has the able and interested and powerful Bureau of Entomology of the United States Department of Agriculture to whom to appeal for any information or instruction need at any time and on any insect question. Let me insist, Mr. Speaker, that any unknown or suspicious sample of a possible enemy to plant life or of plant products should be immediately submitted for solution to the Bureau of Entomology, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., with the request to be advised fully in the premises. This is a most important point, Mr. Speaker, and it is especially urged upon the attention of our cotton growers who may not be well posted as to their public servants and their right of appeal to them. Any Member of Congress will gladly cooperate with any citizen of any district.

With such widespread study as the situation demands in full swing throughout the cotton districts of the United States we are in a position to understand how difficult it is to destroy or exterminate the pink bollworm when once it is established. The fearful fact is that it has never been done, and the rational conclusion is that it is an impossibility except by complete segregation from an infected point or district or country that famine may starve the life that must have access to the cotton plant, its sole dependence for food.

In so far as the moth and its ability to contaminate goes, the sluggish wings are in our favor. The fly wings its way over but short distances from plant to plant, hence the spread by the incubating moth is limited and slow. Of course, the fatal fly is liable to the accident of being carried to a virgin field on the green

stalk so often handed about between neighborhood planters or in the transportation of seed. In this way its spread may be facilitated from farm to farm or from one community to another, or from county to county; otherwise the natural advance is slow, because of the sluggishness natural to the moth.

But to us, Mr. Speaker, our great awakening must be as to the attitudes and action of our Governments. If our State authorities and the National Government are up in arms and eager to cope with this fell destroyer of the fleecy staple, our continued blessings are assured. If, on the other hand, the State and Nation are slothful and indifferent, the doom of cotton agriculture is already sounded and the marvelous fabric of universal and low-cost clothing is gone from the people of the earth.

Of all the States, Mr. Speaker, the State of Texas is infinitely the most important to enlist in the pink bollworm crusade. Its frontier is in touch with the boundaries of infected Mexico, and her domain is immediately in danger from the voracious myriads of the swarming Laguna district.

If the 446 carloads of nonfumigated seed that have been distributed over Texas from the devastated Province of the Laguna land have planted the fateful germs in any one of the importing localities, the State and interstate powers should be at once invoked to prevent any further damage. The State authorities should act for the State within its confines by a determined policy, as sweeping and dogmatic as martial law, to save its people from being despoiled by an enemy as stealthy and fatal as the assassin's dagger, and as inconquerable as the white plague.

County should quarantine against county, and any poisoned territory should instantly submit to the heroic treatment of an absolute barricade against cotton planting for the period known to guarantee the extermination of of the pest within the inoculated area.

If Texas becomes a noxious zone, the character of the campaign becomes at once interstate, and the cooperation between interested States must involve the processes of mutuality that usually dominate with the State authorities. One thing is certain and that is that the cotton interests of the respective States will inaugurate whatever available means of protection seems most advisable and efficient, for the cotton planter, if possible, must and shall be protected.

It remains, however, to understand that the bulwark of efficient defense lies with the United States Government.

Of course the individual cotton grower and the cotton interests collectively are indispenable in whatever way the popular will may be expressed to inaugurate and to sustain the war upon the pink bollworm. And the power of the State is necessary, in every interstate sense, to contribute to the limit in the desperate struggle forced upon us to save from utter destruction our most remunerative and useful product of the soil.

But the strong arm of the National Government is essential and must be invoked to deliver us from the insidious and overwhelming calamity that will inevitably consume the substance of the cotton farmer, sure to undermine the prosperity of the cotton States, and bound to cut enormously into the wealth of the Nation.

The immediate demand is for adequate defense against the contagions of the Mexican pink bollworm cancer of the Laguna territory. Primarily and fundamentally this phase of the pink bollworm trouble is most important and requires the national attention, for the cooperation of the two Republics is in every way advisable.

There is but one way to stop the slow but sure march of the pest over the cotton fields, and that is to stop all cotton culture in a territory wide enough to make it certain that the moth will not pass the strip so sentenced by governmental authority.

To meet this unavoidable measure of defense for the great general common weal, the local interests will have to be satisfied in some equitable way. It is not proposed to override the property rights of the citizen in any ruthless proceeding, but some fair compensatory and lawful treatment can meet the emergency and overcome the difficulty. It may be only necessary to reimburse the cotton growers by the loss sustained in excess of the cotton-crop value over the value of the substituted crop. And it is possible there may be no such excess to lose, but whatever the monetary cost it can not even remotely approximately the loss to result from the pink-bollworm invasion and occupation of the fields of cotton-growing States. But, regardless of our ability to make any equitable arrangements with the cotton growers of the cotton free zone, self-preservation demands that this cotton free zone must be established and maintained, which will require the cooperative action of State and Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, to satisfy the crucial demand, to relieve anxiety for the economic standing of the cotton States, and to conserve the national wealth, our Texas authorities and the Federal power should combine against this desperate pink-bollworm evil.

Texas is invested with constitutional rights to deal as she may within her boundaries, and I doubt not that she will do her full duty to defend and protect her citizens. It is an act of self-defense and justifiable to prevent shipment from Mexico to Texas and such an act will prove wise and proper, but must be done by and through national authority. Texas can take any measure to restrict and defend one point of the State from an infected locality within its borders, and doubtless all its prerogatives to that end, if needed, will be exercised.

It may be the thing, and the imperative thing, for the State to condemn a zone on the Texas side of the Rio Grande as forbidden ground to any kind of cotton culture. That would be effective against Mexico and would probably protect the State from that direction, and a close embargo by the United States Government on the importation of cotton products from any foreign country infested with the pink bollworm into any of our cotton-producing States would very likely insure our Commonwealth from the pink bollworm affliction.

A zone destitute of cotton growth is free from the *Pectinophora gossypiella*, because the wretched insect will starve before it will feed on anything less tempting than our valuable cloth-producing fiber, and our rich, nut-flavored seed kernel that gives the world its finest and most abundant sweet olive oil is toothsome to the worm.

The pink bollworm lives and moves and has its being only down where the cotton grows. Any territory devoid of the cotton plant is impossible to the pest, that exists exclusively on the cotton boll and its products.

Such a zone, Mr. Speaker, established along the Mexican border would sacrifice no soil adapted to cotton culture except on the extreme southern valley of the Rio Grande, and in that favored stretch the defenses of natural segregation and isolation may guard all insect approaches. That particular part of the valley is naturally located for its own security. Yet we should take no chances, but establish the cotton free zone the entire length of Texas and then some.

The northern end of the boundary along the river for hundreds of miles is subject to easy quarantine, because the soil of that upper valley is not at all adapted to the growth of cotton, and no sacrifice would be imposed if it were so designated and condemned. I take it that no valuable property rights would be sacrificed to establish this zone of defense, which would not in all probability be opposed.

But the Government of the United States must be the dependable guaranty for our permanent cotton prosperity.

Even the determination of the boundary zone between the United States and Mexico will assume more importance and be more respected and stronger if it is negotiated and provided through the efforts of the Federal Government.

The amenities supposed to prevail between Texas and the General Government should be observed that mutual good will may cement the bonds of mutual interest.

And Mexico as an interested party would feel more inclined and better satisfied with the understanding that Texas was consulted and agreeable to any transaction concluded between the two Republics.

Mr. Speaker, the best zone to be preferred is one involving both Mexican and Texas territory. It is one that would set apart a strip of land on the Mexican side and a similar strip on the Texas side to run to the mouth of the river and to be pledged by treaty to remain sterile and barren against the growth of every species of cotton.

Of course, that would have to be an international transaction and accord with international law, but reciprocal advantages of one kind or another would probably inspire and actuate such a result and prove a stepping-stone to the relations of comity and good will that should by all means knit the destinies of two such unavoidably close neighbors.

That we may have the most certain and adequate facilities it is in contemplation to introduce a bill in Congress to appropriate sufficiently to cover the costs of inaugurating and sustaining the most efficient warfare against this pink-bollworm curse.

Whatever the necessary cost and however great the care and trouble incident to such defensive activity we are bound to assume the responsibility, for a satisfactory result will be worth all its legitimate cost and more.

In Texas alone the preservation of its 4,000,000 bales of cotton at present prices equals $500,000,000, and the usual destruction of 50 per cent means a dead loss to the people of $250,000,000. An estimate for the United States would be very conservative if based on a crop of 12,000,000 bales, and would figure for the American people of the United States the stupendous annual sacrifice of $750,000,000—enough to equip an army.

It is perfectly apparent that we can not afford to stickle on cost or trouble if we would save our country from the awful catastrophe to be precipitated upon us if we fail to grasp the true import and urgency of the situation.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, we may well consider the policy and provision to close our ports to the world against the importation of cotton seed of any kind from any land. We can not entertain any risk that would cut from our hold our incalculably great money crop—the only soil product that equates as a bank check the world over, and as ready current exchange at any time.

And there is no part of the habitable globe that can afford to ignore this great, common concern of mankind.

Bryan Approves Wilson's Reply.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT HARRISON,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 1, 1917.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a part of the speech of William J. Bryan before the University Club yesterday at Chicago:

BRYAN APPROVES WILSON'S REPLY TO PEACE NOTE.

CHICAGO, *August 31.*

His opinion of the President's note was given by William Jennings Bryan at the University Club to-day. "The President has presented a powerful indictment of the German Government," he said. "I insist it is the duty of every citizen to support his Government in any act the Government takes. Ours is the best Government in the world; it is a people's Government and the Government speaks for the people.

"The alternative is anarchy, the substitution of the individual's opinion for his Government's decision."

And also the following article, entitled "We must win," from the Commoner of July, 1917:

We must win. Defeat is inconceivable; it would be indescribably unfortunate if it were possible. We can not allow any foreign nation to determine the destiny of the United States—especially a nation committed, as Germany is, to arbitrary government and militarism.

Neither can we afford to have our allies overcome—that would bring upon us the disasters of defeat or the burden of carrying on the war alone.

We are in the war by the action of Congress—the only body authorized to take the Nation into war. The quickest way to peace is to go straight through supporting the Government in all it undertakes, no matter how long the war lasts or how much it costs.

We must win.

Any discord or division, after the Government has acted, would prolong the war and increase its cost in money and men.

W. J. BRYAN.

Fraternal Beneficiary Insurance and the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, a fraternal beneficiary society collects from its members the amounts necessary to make good the policies issued to them. It eliminates the element of profit. The rates are therefore calculated upon healthful lives, having the usual expectancy of life, and engaged in vocations incurring only normal hazards. Members engaging in extrahazardous vocations are charged an additional rate sufficient to cover the hazard assumed. Persons engaged in certain ordinary vocations classed as of unusual hazard are not admitted.

Soldiers incur of necessity dangers of a most unusual character. Being young men, they hold membership in the fraternal beneficiary societies in large numbers. The service they render is of universal benefit to our country. The pay they receive is much less than that gained in the usual occupations of life. For these and other reasons it seems just that the protection taken out by them for the benefit of persons dependent upon them should be continued at the normal rate at least. Patriotism is a universal obligation, and the burdens arising out of it should be borne by all and not entailed upon those only who go to the front offering the last full measure of devotion.

Societies recognizing this obligation are worthy of honorable mention in the public records. The Woodmen of the World, of Denver, Colo., has taken the action indicated in the following telegrams:

DENVER, COLO., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. W. C. HAWLEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

War has been declared. Many of our members have already enlisted. Others will probably do so. Our law requires that all members enlisting in Army, Navy, or Marines shall pay 35 cents extra on each thousand or certificate will be scaled to 80 per cent of face value. As a patriotic and fraternal measure, I am in favor of waiving that requirement. It has been done twice before and approved. It should be done again. Camps are requesting it. What do you recommend?

I. I. BOAK, *Head Consul.*

I immediately telegraphed the following reply:

Recommend that members in service of the United States during present war be kept in good standing without payment of extra amount, agreeing with your suggestion.

W. C. HAWLEY, *Head Manager.*

Rates must be fixed according to ascertained standards and hazards, but the patriotism of the society has always led the membership as a whole to assume the war hazard.

Mr. Boak, the chief executive officer of the society, is also the president of the National Fraternal Congress of America and is one of the committee recently appointed by Secretary McAdoo to prepare a system for war insurance for all soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States, and his recommendation is based upon a long and successful experience as a recognized authority in fraternal beneficiary protection or insurance.

The City of Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN JOHNSON,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 4, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker: Washington never has been, and is not now the Capital of the United States. Instead, the District of Columbia is the Capital of the United States.

Neither has the city of Washington ever had any legally defined limits. The generally accepted belief is that Florida Avenue, the course of which is almost a semi-circle, is its northern boundary. There never has been any legislative action by which that boundary was established. Neither any maximum nor any minimum limit to its size ever has been legally fixed. It may have been no larger than a city block, or it may have been as large as all the United States.

Congress, having been bandied around like a shuttlecock from place to place, in 1783 commenced seriously to consider a permanent seat of government.

At that time New York offered the town of Kingston for such a purpose. Shortly thereafter Maryland offered Annapolis, together with $180,000; the latter being offered as an additional inducement for the location of the Capital at that place. These offers gave rise to much discussion and concern as to the size of the proposed seat of government, until Congress, on October 6, 1783, resolved to select a site in one of the then existing States located not farther north than New Jersey. At that time New Jersey and Maryland became the principal contenders for the seat of government; but no final choice was made. A committee was appointed to examine the proposed site near the falls of the Delaware, in the vicinity of Trenton; and, shortly thereafter, another committee was appointed to examine and report upon a location near the lower falls of the Potomac. It was decided that, until a site was chosen, Congress should meet alternately at Trenton and Annapolis. Soon this was found to be useless as well as quite inconvenient.

The first commission which was appointed for the purpose of making a selection of a site reported in favor of the proposed one on the Delaware, and against the one on the Potomac.

During all the early discussions of the matter a "Territory" or "District" of only 2 or 3 miles square seems to have been preferred. However, the Constitution of the United States came along and provided that the Territory or District to be selected as "a permanent seat of government" should not exceed 10 miles square. That same provision of the Constitution (Art. I, sec. 8) also provided that whenever such Territory or District had been selected, and had been accepted by the Con-

gress, that it should "* * * become the seat of the government of the United States."

Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia offered sites of 10 miles square. Virginia accompanied her offer by a proposition to give $120,000, and Maryland $72,000. Petitions also were sent to Congress from several cities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, each seeking to be selected as the National Capital.

The District of Columbia was acquired under authority of an act of Congress dated July 16, 1790; which act also declared that that District should be the "permanent seat of government of the United States." That act provided that the District should be located on the Potomac River, at some space between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and Conogocheague, to be selected and laid off, by metes and bounds, by three commissioners to be appointed by the President of the United States.

On January 22, 1791, President Washington appointed Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and David Stuart, of Virginia, the three members of the commission to lay off the District, in accordance with the terms of the act of July preceding. Two days thereafter the President directed this commission to lay off the said District by commencing at the mouth of Hunting Creek, on the Virginia side of the river, notwithstanding the fact that that point was far below the mouth of the Eastern Branch; and therefore, not within the territorial limit fixed by Congress.

On March 3, 1791 Congress approved this change in location which President Washington arbitrarily had made, but provided that the public buildings should be erected on the Maryland side of the Potomac River.

At the time this commission was appointed by the President Mr. Carroll was a Member of the lower House in Congress from Maryland, and he, for the time being, declined to act as one of the commissioners. In consequence the District was laid off by Johnson and Stuart.

President Washington arrived at Georgetown on the evening of March 28, 1791 from Philadelphia. The next afternoon a number of farmers who owned land lying on the eastern side of the Potomac, and north of the Eastern Branch, met President Washington at Georgetown and proposed to him that, in consideration of the great benefits they would derive from having a city laid off upon their lands, they would donate part of their lands for that purpose. Although he was without authority in the premises, the President then and there accepted the proposition, but limited his acceptance of it to 19 farmers, whose holdings amounted to about 6,100 acres.

The conveyances made by those 19 farmers were not made to Johnson, Carroll and Stuart, who were the legally appointed commissioners to lay off the District; but they were made to Thomas Beall, of George, and John M. Gantt, as trustees of their own selection, but whose selection was agreed to by George Washington. The agreement to convey was executed the following day; and the formal deed of conveyance to Beall and Gantt, as trustees, was made on June 29, 1791.

Thus it will be seen that the owners of the land did not convey to the commissioners appointed by George Washington to lay off the District; but to Beall and Gantt, who, also, had no statutory authority or direction whatever for laying off a city. The conveyances which the 19 farmers made provided that when their lands had been laid off that every other lot should be conveyed to the commissioners appointed by virtue of the act of July 16, 1790 for the use of the United States; but no such conveyance ever was made.

It is quite clear that neither the President of the United States nor the commission which he appointed in compliance with the act of July 16, 1790, was authorized to lay out a city. The President had no authority in the premises beyond the appointment of a commission; and that commission had no authority other than to survey and, by proper metes and bounds, define such District, and to acquire such quantity of land, within the said District, as the President should deem proper for the use of the United States, and to provide suitable buildings within that District for the accommodation of Congress, the President and the public offices of the Government of the United States.

Under the act of July 16, 1790, Philadelphia was to be the temporary seat of government until December, 1800, at which time "the seat of government of the United States was to be removed to the said District."

No particular part, or subdivision, of the District to which the Federal offices and property of the United States were to be removed was designated in the authorizing act. For all intents and purposes of the act all of the District was as good as any lesser part of it.

The first charter of the city of Washington was granted May 3, 1802. Therefore, approximately 11 years elapsed between the time when the 19 farmers conveyed to Beall and Gantt, as trustees, before the city of Washington ever was incorporated or legally named.

The commission composed of Johnson, Stuart and Carroll had legal authority and direction to lay off the District, not exceeding 10 miles square, by metes and bounds, to acquire sufficient land upon which to erect suitable buildings for the accommodation of the President, the Congress and the several departments of government; but their authority ceased with that. They did not have authority to give a name to that District or to any subdivision of it. Notwithstanding their lack of authority, on September 9, 1791, they addressed a communication to Maj. L'Enfant, in which they said:

> We have agreed to call the 10 miles square "the Territory of Columbia" and the Federal city the "city of Washington."

In that communication they also directed L'Enfant to make "a map of the city of Washington in the Territory of Columbia." They had no more authority to name the District, or any subdivision of it, than any other persons in the whole United States had.

Until the act of May 3, 1802, that which by common consent was called the city of Washington, had neither a legal name nor a legal existence as a municipality. By the act of May 3, 1802 "* * * the inhabitants of the city of Washington were constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name of a mayor, and a council of the city of Washington, and by their corporate name, may sue and be sued, and so forth * * *"; but no territorial limits for the city of Washington were fixed either by that act, by any prior one or by any subsequent one.

That charter was granted for a term of two years, or to the end of the next session of Congress thereafter, and no longer.

The next legislation upon the subject is found in the act of February 24, 1804, by which the charter of 1802 was continued "for and during a term of 15 years, from the end of the next session of Congress." However, on May 4, 1812, five years before the previous charter expired, Congress adopted an act which continued the charter, but changed the incorporated name of the city by providing "that the said corporation (Washington) shall in future be named and styled 'the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Washington.'"

Therefore, those who now contend that the city still exists under its old name of "Washington" should be frank enough to concede that the incorporated city of that name went out of existence in 1812, and was succeeded by the new municipality of "The Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Washington." There is no subsequent act of Congress restoring the city to the name of "Washington" which, by uncertain implication only, was given to it in the act of 1802.

The next act of Congress upon the subject was that of February 28, 1820, whereby the charter was "extended to the 3d day of March, 1821, unless sooner repealed." Under the terms of that act the name given to the municipality by the act of 1812 was not changed, and that name was "The Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Washington."

The next act upon the subject was that of May 15, 1820, which repealed the former charter and all amendments thereto, and reincorporated the municipality by a charter entirely new.

Section 2 of the act of 1820 reads:

> *And be it further enacted,* That the inhabitants of the city of Washington shall continue to be a body politic and corporate, by the name of the "Mayor, Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the city of Washington."

The concluding section of that act reads:

> *And be it further enacted,* That this act shall continue in force for and during the term of 20 years, and until Congress shall, by law, determine otherwise.

At the end of 20 years Congress took no action concerning the charter of the city.

But the next act thereafter pertaining to the subject was approved May 17, 1848, by which the name of the municipality, "The Mayor, the board of aldermen and board of common council of the city of Washington," was continued, and the charter again extended for another term of 20 years, or until Congress should determine otherwise.

The next act relating to the subject was that of May 16, 1868, the first section of which refers to the charter granted May 17, 1848, and continues that act "in force for the term of one year from the date thereof, or until Congress shall, by law, determine otherwise.

Please note that through all these acts after 1812 the simple name of "Washington" for the city was never restored; but, instead, the corporate name of the municipality was "The

Mayor, board of aldermen and board of common council of the City of Washington."

The next act bearing upon the name and legal existence of the city is the one of April 7, 1869. That act is a short one, seven or eight lines, and repeals all except sections 1 and 6 of the act passed by Congress on May 16, 1868, which became law, without the President's signature, on May 28, 1868. Section 1 of that act, which section was not repealed, continued the name of the municipality as "Mayor, board of aldermen and board of common council of the city of Washington," and extended the charter for another year, or until Congress should, by law, otherwise determine. Section 6 of that act, which section also was not repealed, related solely to the elective franchise.

Therefore, the corporate name of the municipality to that time continued to be "The Mayor, board of aldermen and board of common council of the city of Washington."

In many instances it seems that, for brevity's sake or out of ignorance, the municipality frequently was referred to, even in acts of Congress, merely as "The City of Washington"; although the statutes are explicit in declaring that the corporate name of the municipality from May 4, 1812, until May 15, 1820, was "The Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Washington"; and from May 15, 1820 to February 21, 1871, it was "The Mayor, board of aldermen and board of common council of the city of Washington."

The act of July 16, 1790 declared the District of Columbia, and not any lesser portion of it, (after December 1800) to be "the permanent seat of the Government of the United States."

The act of June 11, 1878, which frequently is dignified by being called the "organic act," starts out by saying:—

That all the territory ceded by the State of Maryland to the Congress of the United States for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States shall continue to be designated as the District of Columbia.

There, again, we find the District of Columbia, by act of Congress, designated and continued not only as the seat of government but as the permanent seat of the Government.

The municipality commonly designated as the city of Washington was first chartered for a term of only 2 years; then for another term of 15 years; then for another term of 2 years; then for another term of 20 years; then for another term of 20 years; then for another term of 1 year, and then for a term of another year.

The act of July 16, 1790 provided for "a permanent seat of government." That permanency is found in all the acts after that which relate to the District of Columbia, but is not found at all as it relates to the city of Washington, because its charter was first given for a term of two years, and thereafter was continued for short terms until 1871 when, in so many words, it was repealed and the District of Columbia declared to be the successor of Washington, Georgetown and the Levy Court.

If there is a city of Washington, as the word "city" is understood:—

(a) Where are its legally fixed territorial boundaries?

(b) Where is its municipal government, and what are the functions of that government?

(c) Who are its municipal officers?

What has been urged contra merely proves, either that there is a post office of "Washington," or that there is a locality known as "Washington," such as the locality of Brightwood, of Brookland, of Potomac Park, of the Mall, or of Anacostia, all in the District of Columbia, without proving at all that there is in existence a municipal corporation or "city" in the legal sense of the word "city."

Upon the other hand when we come to treat of the District of Columbia we know its legally fixed boundaries; we know who its officials are; we know its powers and privileges; and, with positive certainty, we know the acts which fix and provide for them.

Those who platted the old city of Washington did not plat north of Florida Avenue, although they had as much authority to plat north of it as they had to plat south of it, and they had no statutory direction or authority to do either.

If only 18 of the farmers instead of the 19 had conveyed to Beall and Gantt, as trustees, then, of necessity, they would have platted south of Florida Avenue. While, upon the other hand, if 20 instead of 19 had so conveyed they might have platted north of Florida Avenue; and so on and on, as there was no limit upon either their will or inclination in doing that which was neither directed nor prohibited by law.

This brings us up to the act of February 21, 1871, the purpose and effect of which was to repeal completely the three existing municipalities in the District of Columbia, one of which was called Washington, and create the one municipality of the District of Columbia instead of three; and, at the same time, to create the erstwhile Shepherd régime, which proved to be so infamous that it was abolished by the act of June 20, 1874.

The act of February 21, 1871, did away with the legal existence of Washington, Georgetown and the Levy Court just as completely and effectively as the act of June 20, 1874, did away with the Shepherd government; and, in its stead, created temporarily the commission form of government for the whole District of Columbia, which form was made permanent by the act of June 11, 1878, which frequently is called the "organic act."

While there can not be any reasonable ground for argument about the matter; yet, to argue with the unreasonable, it well may be said that if the act of 1871 creating the Shepherd government did not do away with the three municipalities of Washington, Georgetown and the Levy Court completely, then the acts of 1874 and 1878 which established the present commission form of government for the District of Columbia did so most certainly.

But, aside from the construction of that statute at this late day, there followed close upon its enactment an object lesson of construction, which even the blind might see. That object lesson was the retirement of the mayor of Washington to private life; the adjournment forever of its city council; the surrender by the treasurer of its finances; the delivery of all its books, accounts and property of every description to the succeeding Shepherd government; the transfer of authority over the police and fire departments; the construction under one Board of Public Works of streets and roads in the entire District, including the old cities of Washington and Georgetown.

Yet section 40 of that very act of 1871 has been cited for the purpose of making plausible the futile argument that the city of Washington still is in existence.

That section, for the purpose of this address, may well be divided into two parts:—

First: Where it says:—

Be it further enacted, That the charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown shall be repealed on and after the 1st day of June A. D., 1871, and all offices of said corporations abolished at that date; * * *;

And, second: Where it says:—

And that portion of said District included within the present limits of the city of Washington shall continue to be known as the city of Washington; and that portion of the said District included within the limits of the city of Georgetown shall continue to be known as the city of Georgetown; and the legislative assembly shall have power to levy a special tax upon property, except the property of the Government of the United States, within the city of Washington for the payment of the debts of said city; and upon property, except the property of the Government of the United States, within the limits of the city of Georgetown for the payment of the debts of said city; * * *.

Under the first quotation the charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown unquestionably were repealed after June 1, 1871, and all the offices and legal functions of those two corporations were abolished at that date.

The second quotation authorizes a special tax levy within the limits of the old city of Washington, and also within the limits of the old city of Georgetown, for the payment of the debts of each of said cities; and it seems clear, even beyond dispute, that the use of the name of the old city of Washington and the use of the name of the old city of Georgetown was made solely for the purposes of description, in order to define where special taxes might be levied, so that they might not be levied upon that part of the District of Columbia lying outside those two old cities.

The limits of the old city of Georgetown were established by charter granted by the British Crown in 1750. As no limits, by metes and bounds or otherwise, for the old city of Washington had ever been fixed by statute its commonly accepted boundaries were used, together with the name—Washington—as descriptive only of a portion of the District of Columbia where special taxes might be levied.

There are many instances in the statutes pertaining to District legislation which did the same thing. For instance, section 5 of this same act reads as follows:

That legislative power and authority in said District shall be vested in a legislative assembly as hereinafter provided. The assembly shall consist of a council and house of delegates. The council shall consist of 11 members, of whom 2 shall be residents of the city of Georgetown, and 2 residents of the county outside the cities of Washington and Georgetown, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, * * *

Again, section 37, of the same act reads:

That there shall be in the District of Columbia a board of public works, to consist of the governor, who shall be president of said board; four persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, one of whom shall be a civil engineer, and the others citizens and residents of the District, having the qualifications of an elector therein; one of said board shall be a citizen and resident of Georgetown, and one of said board shall be a citizen and resident of the county outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown. * * *

Thus it will be seen that section 5 provided that two members of the council of the District of Columbia should reside in the city of Georgetown, and two in the county outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, leaving seven to be selected from the city of Washington, the charter and legal existence of which is specifically repealed in the self-same act.

The two localities, Washington and Georgetown, in that section evidently were used for descriptive purposes only, and not for the purpose of contradicting the plain and explicit repeal of their legal existence, which was one of the two main objects of the act; the other being the establishment of a new form of government.

Referring to the board of public works, section 37 of the same act provided that one member thereof should be a citizen and resident of Georgetown, and another should be a citizen and resident of the county outside the cities of Washington and Georgetown, leaving the remaining two to be selected from the city of Washington. There, again, the two localities were used only for describing in which part of the thereby newly created municipality of the District of Columbia the members of the board of public works should reside.

The same purpose of description is followed in section 41 of the same act, which reads as follows:

* * * No taxes for general purposes shall hereafter be assessed by the municipal authorities of the cities of Washington or Georgetown, or by said Levy Court. And upon the repeal of the charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, the District of Columbia be, and is hereby, declared to be the successor of said corporations, and all the property of said corporation and of the county of Washington, shall become vested in the said District of Columbia, and all fines, penalties, costs, and forfeitures, which are now by law made payable to said cities, respectively, or said Levy Court, shall be paid to said District of Columbia * * *.

Could anything be more conclusive than that the above language positively, certainly, emphatically and entirely did away with the city of Washington, the city of Georgetown and the Levy Court, except for purposes of description?

Recently, with much show of teeth towards me, there appeared in the Washington Times an article written by one Leaky Bill Price, wherein he advanced two alleged arguments for the purpose of showing that there still exists a city of Washington.

He used as one of his alleged arguments a quotation from the act of February 2, 1895. The other is, that the Postmaster General has designated Washington as a post office.

The quotation from the act of 1895, used by Leaky Bill in his newspaper article, reads as follows:

That from and after the passage of this act all that part of the District of Columbia embraced within the bounds and now constituting the city of Georgetown, as referred to in said acts of February 21, 1871, and June 20, 1874, shall no longer be known by the name and title in law of the city of Georgetown, but the same shall be known as and shall constitute a part of the city of Washington, the Federal Capital.

I wish to invite your attention to that part of the act just read which says:

* * * shall no longer be known by the name and title in law of the city of Georgetown * * *.

Whoever wrote the act of 1895, just referred to, seems to have known that there was an act passed by Congress on February 21, 1871, relative to the cities of Georgetown and Washington; but it is quite clear that he was ignorant of the fact that that act repealed the charter of Georgetown; and that after June 1, 1871 there was no city in the District of Columbia—

* * * known by the name and title in law of the city of Georgetown * * *.

Again, Leaky Bill insists that there still is a city of Washington, notwithstanding the act of February 21, 1871 declares the District of Columbia—

* * * to be the successor of said corporations, (Washington and Georgetown) and all property of said corporations, and of the county of Washington, shall become vested in the said District of Columbia, and all fines, penalties, costs, and forfeitures, which are now by law made payable to said cities, respectively, or said Levy Court, shall be paid to said District of Columbia * * *.

It was not the purpose of the act of 1895 either to incorporate or to re-incorporate either the city of Washington or Georgetown. Its purpose was to rename the streets, and change the numbers of the squares in the old city of Georgetown, so that they would conform in name and number to the streets and squares in the old city of Washington.

Nevertheless Leaky Bill is of the opinion, and urges his opinion upon the readers of the Washington Times, that the adding of the defunct city of Washington to the defunct city of Georgetown was a legal rehabilitation of the old city of Washington.

It is the old case of "Nothing, plus nothing, equals nothing."

Leaky Bill argues that still there is a city of Washington because the Postmaster General recognizes such a city for postal matters.

The Postmaster General may establish post offices at will, and give them such names as he chooses. However, nobody except Leaky Bill will contend that the Postmaster General, by establishing post offices and giving them names, thereby can create county seats, State capitals and a seat of government for the National Government.

Last, but not least, some little consideration should be given to the Constitution of the United States in determining whether the city of Washington or the District of Columbia is the seat of government.

We find in that Constitution the following language:

The Congress shall have power * * * to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsover, over such District (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may by cession of the particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States.

There, quite clearly, it is shown that the framers of the Constitution made the whole District, and not any minor part of it, the seat of government of the United States, Leaky Bill to the contrary notwithsanding.

In conclusion I repeat my opening sentence: Washington never has been, and is not now the Capital of the United States; but, instead, the District of Columbia is the Capital.

Champ Clark's Speech on Monmouth Courthouse Battle Field.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 5, 1917.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by the Speaker of this House at the Monmouth Courthouse Battle Field last Monday.

The speech is as follows:

[Excerpt from Champ Clark's speech on Monmouth Courthouse Battle Field, Monday, Sept. 3, 1917.]

Mr. CLARK said in part:

"It is a great, a glorious thing to be an American citizen; greater than it was to be a Roman citizen when Rome was mistress of the world, which the Romans claimed was greater than to be a king. Our Government should be so conducted that the sentence 'I am an American' would have more potency the wide world round than the far-famed 'Romanus sum,' when Rome was in the plenitude of imperial power. I think sometimes that we do not sufficiently appreciate the blessings of our system of government. We too frequently take it for granted that achieving freedom was natural and inevitable in the evolution of things, and therefore easy. As a matter of fact, the men who proclaimed our independence at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, performed that immortal deed with halters about their necks—as did Washington and his men who made Jefferson's declaration good on Yorktown's blood-stained heights.

"When they had signed, old Ben Franklin, the greatest wit of that age—perhaps the greatest wit of all the ages—cheered up his companions in glory by remarking: 'Now that we have signed, we must all hang together or we will all hang separately'—a statement as true as the Gospel. I wish that he could return to earth for at least one night to some great city—New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Kansas City, San Francisco—and learn what his experiment with the kite has done for the happiness and comfort of mankind.

"Gov. Ben Harrison, of Virginia, a great big, burly man, punched little Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who weighed less than 100 pounds, in the ribs, saying: 'When the day of hanging comes, I will have one great advantage over you. My weight will make me die quicker.' That was the spirit in which they signed; and that should be the spirit in which we live.

"When Charles Carroll, of Maryland, signed, somebody suggested to him that there were so many Charles Carrolls in Maryland that when the day for hanging came he might escape in the multitude of his namesakes, whereupon he seized the pen and wrote after his name the words 'of Carrollton,' so that there could be no mistaking the right person.

"When as a child I first saw his name at the foot of the Declaration, 'Charles Carroll, of Carrollton,' I thought it

was done out of overweaning vanity of family pride; but ever since I learned the truth about it I have loved the man and his memory. God spared him to be the last of that noble band to ascend to the skies.

"John Hancock, who held the office then that I hold now, signed his name in characters so large that 'signing your John Hancock' has become proverbial. He said, 'I guess King George III can read that without his spectacles.'

"I consider it among the blessings of my life, which have been rich and numberless, that when I was a lad attending Kentucky University one of my teachers was Prof. Joseph Desha Pickett, born and bred in old Virginia, a cousin to that Gen. Pickett who achieved immortal renown at Gettysburg. When Prof. Pickett was a young man he traveled a good deal in Europe and was thrown much into the company of an English duchess. When they came to separate, she said, 'Prof. Pickett. I am astonished at your politeness, seeing that you come from a country where they have no queen.' The old Virginian, bowing almost to the ground, replied, 'Your Grace is mistaken. You live in a country where they have one queen; I come from a country where every woman is a queen.'

"Just after the close of the war between the States Admiral Farragut made the circle of the globe in his flagship. In every civilized country he was received with the honors due to a hero, which he was. When he was cruising in the Ægean Sea he sent word to the Sultan of Turkey that he wanted to call on him to pay his respects. The Sultan sent him word back that no battleship except one commanded by a prince of the blood royal could enter the Dardanelles. This made Admiral Farragut's Tennessee fighting blood boil, and he promptly sent this message to the Sultan, 'I have on board my ship 700 American citizens, every one of whom is a prince of the blood royal in his own land. I am stripping my ship for action and will call on you immediately in force.' Suffice it to say, he had no trouble anchoring in the Golden Horn.

"I will tell you how I feel about being an American. A few years ago a party of Americans were traveling in the Old World. They had a boy with them about 12 years old. In the Pyramids of Egypt he was weary and fell asleep. A wag thought he would have some fun out of him, so he surrounded him with grinning mummies of dead Pharaohs and blew a horn in immitation of Gabriel's trumpet. The boy waked up, didn't know where he was, but swung his cap over his head and shouted, 'Hurrah! It is Resurrection Day and an American is the first man up.' In very truth we are the heirs of all the ages. Splendidly does Emerson say:

"We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another word for opportunity. Our entire history appears to be a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race.

"The men who under Washington rendered famous forever this and other hard-fought fields reddened and enriched by their blood builded more wisely than they knew. They understood precisely what they were fighting for—the precious right to govern themselves; but, not being prophets, they never dreamed that in 1917 their immortal leader would be universally accounted the foremost man in the entire history of the human race and that the tiny Republic which he and his brave followers created would be the mightiest Nation on the globe. As a human-interest story the plain, unadorned history of the United States exceeds in gripping power any novel or romance ever written. The men who fought and bled and died on this field and other fields from Lexington to Yorktown never dreamed that the American idea of self-government would, like the leaven spoken of in the Bible, do its perfect work until the whole lump of humanity is leavened with the spirit of liberty.

"We are prone to boast of our colossal wealth, of our vast physical resources, of our tremendous banks, of our broad acres, and other like things. These things are good within themselves, universally coveted by the children of men, but they do not within themselves constitute a great nation. Scores and scores of years ago Sir William Jones propounded a far-resounding question and, evidently fearing that nobody else would do the subject justice, answered it himself:

"What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,
Thick walls or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride;
No! Men! High-minded men! Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain.
These constitute a State!

"Such men as fought about Monmouth Courthouse on the 28th of June, 1778, 'the hottest day since men learned to read thermometers,' according to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, historian of the American Revolution; such men as constitute the armies we are now raising for the most stupendous of all wars. We have not degenerated into a race of mollycoddles, as certain pessimists claim—a fact which will be clearly demonstrated in the immediate future. A finer body of young men never went forth to battle than our soldiers now 'swiftly forming in the ranks of war.'

"In this supreme crisis of our affairs—not of ours alone but of the whole world's affairs—it is the duty of every American, male or female, native or naturalized, to support, aid, and sustain the Government in every manner possible—mentally, morally, physically, financially. That is the plain, imperative duty we owe to our ancestors, to ourselves, and above all to our posterity. From time immemorial orators, philosophers, statesmen, and poets have exalted patriotism as the sublimest virtue. Centuries ago Horace sang, 'Dulce et decorum pro patria mori' ('It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country'). However that may be, it is sweet and glorious to live and work for one's country, and we can all do that much. We can not in good conscience do less. I beg to suggest that patriotism does not consist entirely in public speeches, braying bands, flag-bedecked parades, and vociferous asseverations of love of country, but genuine patriotism consists in being a thoroughgoing American citizen, discharging all the various duties of citizenship every day of the 365, thereby showing forth the blessings and glories of our free and beneficent institutions to all the world. That is the real way for any of us to prove our patriotism, for it is written—

"By their fruits ye shall know them.

"A few days since President Wilson published by far the strongest, the clearest, the most far-resounding of his State papers, stating in extenso his views on peace proposals. He is of right the mouthpiece, the spokesman of this mighty people, and his statement has been read of all men and will be read forever and forever.

"I now and here state our case in the fewest words possible: No nation will long endure or deserves to endure that does not protect all of its citizens wherever they may be, by land or sea."

Patriotism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD W. POU,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 6, 1917.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Ex-Senator Pritchard upon the question of patriotism and the duty of the American citizen in this hour.

The speech is as follows:

THE HOUR AND THE DUTY.

I esteem it an honor to have the privilege of addressing this representative audience composed of the citizens of Wake County. It is peculiarly fitting that these exercises should be held on Labor Day and under the joint auspices of the Wake County Council of Defense and the labor organizations of the city. We are here to do honor to the 304 selected men who have enlisted for service in the most gigantic military struggle the world has ever witnessed. In this connection I deem it appropriate to say that the laboring men of the Nation have always been true and loyal to our Government, and have borne its burdens on many bloody battle fields where the Stars and Stripes have triumphed and our heroes have won imperishable fame. Labor and capital appreciate now perhaps more than ever before the importance of living under a Government strong enough to protect human life and property rights in any emergency that may arise. I can not resist the temptation to discuss briefly the relation the citizen sustains to our Government, and the importance of such relation to the general welfare of the American people.

We can not ignore the fact that during the past few years there have been many evidences of unrest and an inclination on the part of many to oppose what may be properly termed "duly constituted authority." This in the main is due to a failure on the part of parents to give their children proper training at a time when their minds are in a formative state and when

they may be easily taught the importance of becoming useful and patriotic citizens.

Under a republican form of government like ours those who maintain and support it are recruited from the home. Therefore the maintenance and perpetuation of our Government and its institutions depend largely upon the character of the home. Many of our parents fail to appreciate the responsibility that rests upon them as respects this vital question. "A stream can rise no higher than its source" and a government no higher than the plane of its citizenship. Therefore it is important that a parent should exercise the greatest care in training his boy for the performance of the duties that must necessarily in the near future devolve upon him as a citizen of this country. The parent who enjoys all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof for his well-being and protection owes to his country the duty of rearing his sons so that they may grow up to be useful, God-fearing, and patriotic citizens. The disposition to violate the law grows out of an improper regard for the constituted authorities of the State and the Nation.

We are now engaged in a conflict which from the very nature of things must eventually affect the welfare of every civilized nation of the world. It should be constantly borne in mind that this is not a war of our choosing, and that it was with deep regret that we were finally impelled to take the step which imposed upon us as a Nation the obligation to aid in the rescue of those who are being destroyed by the most brutal and inhuman methods ever resorted to by any race of men from the dawn of creation until this good hour.

Many reasons have been assigned in support of the action of Congress and the President. Some say that it is our purpose to make democracy safe for the world, others that it is to wipe out Prussianism and militarism, and still others that it is to avenge the wrongs committed against Belgium by the Imperial German Government. All must admit that the President displayed great patience and forbearance before final action was taken. He employed all legitimate means within his power in an honest effort to keep the American people out of this awful conflict. Indeed, there were many well-meaning people in both political parties who criticized the President for not taking definite action sooner than he did.

Now that we are face to face with the stern realities of war and the direful consequences that must come to those involved, we can all the more appreciate the feelings which actuated the President in endeavoring to avoid, if possible, the necessity of calling upon the young manhood of America to take up arms in defense of what all fair-minded people must admit is a just cause. While it is true that there was strong opposition in the ranks of both political parties to a declaration of war, after Congress acted the President had, and now has, the unanimous support of every patriotic American, regardless of his political or religious views. Therefore, in so far as this war is concerned, we are neither Democrats nor Republicans, but American citizens. This is the spirit which flashed from the lips of Patrick Henry in the Continental Congress, when he said, "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

This is not the war of any individual, but it is a war in which every American who has red blood in his veins and who honestly desires to safeguard his own Government should be interested, and he should be willing to support it with the same zeal and courage which actuated Washington and other Revolutionary heroes when the foundations of our Government were being made secure. An overwhelming majority of the representatives of both political parties in Congress are to-day standing like a stone wall behind the Government, doing everything in their power to secure the enactment of any legislation that may be necessary for the successful conduct of the war.

It is with pride that we point to the fact that the American people have never failed to support their Government in the past, and those who attempt in this trying hour, by any means whatsoever, to embarrass the Government in its efforts to bring this war to a successful termination, should, if their conduct warrants it, be indicted, and if convicted their punishment should be such as to warn all slackers that their presence is a menace to the welfare of this country. It is high time that this issue should be so clearly drawn that no one, however indifferent he may be, could possibly misunderstand the attitude of our Government. As our distinguished governor recently said in a speech delivered at Asheville, there was a time when the question as to the propriety of declaring war against Germany was debatable one, but that day is past, and further discussion of the question is extremely harmful and should not be tolerated.

The whole world is overshadowed with gloom, and our own land is saddened in consequence of the fact that our brave boys are called upon to engage in this terrible conflict for the purpose of protecting American rights and rendering aid to suffering humanity. Notwithstanding this condition, there are some who are doing all in their power to embarrass the President in his efforts to bring the war to a successful termination.

The only way to successfully meet those who are disloyal is to instill in the minds of the people lessons of patriotism and devotion to America and her institutions. Let us, therefore, cultivate a spirit of patriotism and respect for the majesty of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof.

The disposition in certain quarters to denounce the courts and criticize those who are charged with the administration of the law has a tendency to weaken the faith of the people in the stability of our Government. Notwithstanding the critical condition of the affairs of the Nation at this time, some have dared even to go so far as to unjustly criticise the President, and in the past this same class of people have impugned the motives of the Supreme Court—the highest court in the land—the last resort of the people.

This sentiment has been nurtured and developed by the demagogue who is willing to assail the very foundation of the Government in order that he may succeed in his political aspirations. The courts are not above legitimate criticism, and when a judge acts improperly he should be criticised, and if his conduct warrants it, he should be impeached, but there should be no wholesale denunciation of the courts, and those who attempt by such methods to bring discredit upon any branch of the Government should be taught by the American people that the doctrines which they teach can never flourish on American soil.

The late ex-President Cleveland, in an address delivered at Princeton, September 19, 1901, in referring to the death of the lamented McKinley, said:

> There is a serious lesson for us all in the tragedy of our late President's death. The shock of it is so great that it is hard at this time to read the lesson calmly. We can hardly fail to see, however, behind the bloody deed of the assassin, the horrible faces and figures from which it will not do to turn away. If we are to escape further attack upon our peace and security we must boldly and resolutely grapple with the monster of anarchy. It is a thing that we can not safely leave to be dealt with by party or partisanship. Nothing can guarantee us against its menace except the teaching and practice of the best citizenship; the exposure of the ends and aims of the gospel of discontent and hatred of social order and the brave enactment and execution of repressive laws.

These are words of wisdom, spoken by one of the greatest statesmen of his age, and the lesson which he sought to teach should be constantly borne in mind by every patriotic citizen. This is, indeed, a land of liberty, but it is not a land of license, and the sooner the lawless classes understand the true situation the better it will be for all parties concerned. The individual who believes in dynamite rather than reason and who is willing to resort to unlawful methods to further his ends, and is not willing to support his Government under any and all circumstances, should find no welcome in this free land of ours. The enemies of this country and the demagogue have much in common, and the one is as dangerous as the other, and each should be spurned by the American people.

I do not wish to be understood as intimating that an appreciable number of North Carolinians are unfaithful to the Government at this time. I believe that North Carolina in this struggle will do her full duty, and after the final muster roll is made up we will find that we have sent as many soldiers to the front in proportion to our population as any State in the Union.

Now that we have entered the war, the sole and only question to be considered is as to the best possible methods to be employed in order that we may bring success to America and her allies.

I do not deem it necessary to enter into a discussion of the merits of any controversy that may have existed anterior to the declaration of war further than to say that I consider any one of the following reasons sufficient ground upon which to base our action: (a) Our duty to uphold the neutrality of Belgium under a treaty to which we are a party; (b) to resent the unwarranted interference with our rights as a Nation upon the high seas; (c) to take active and effective steps to suppress what may be properly termed the most brutal and uncivilized slaughter of human beings that has ever been known in the history of the world; (d) to secure at the end of the hostilities, by the concerted action of all the nations of the world, a permanent peace by the creation of a board of arbitration to which all matters in controversy in the future between nations may be submitted and amicably adjusted without the destruction of property or the loss of human life.

We can maintain either one of these grounds without violating the principles of Christianity. This is the spirit which prompts the Nation to call her splendid young manhood to arms in order

that we may demonstrate to the world that our Government is founded upon the principles of justice and righteousness, which are as permanent as the rock of Gibraltar.

Long anterior to the declaration of war against Germany, and at a time when we were observing strict neutrality as a Nation, a warning was issued purporting to come from a representative of the Imperial German Government and published in the leading newspapers of this country in which it was boldly stated that if any Americans should attempt to cross the Atlantic upon the *Lusitania* they would do so at their own peril. That this warning emanated from the German Government is clearly established by the fact that the *Lusitania*, with all of her human freight, consisting in part of men, women, and little children, who were born on American soil, and therefore entitled to the fullest protection of this Government, was, without warning to such citizens or giving them an opportunity to escape, sent to the bottom of the ocean by a German submarine. The sinking of that ill-fated vessel in defiance of every principle of international law and the rules of civilized warfare was sufficient within itself to justify the American Government in declaring war against Germany.

When we contemplate the destruction of human life and property by Germany and her allies in France, and the consequent privation and suffering of her people at this time, we are forcefully reminded of the timely and effective service France rendered this country when our existence as a nation was trembling in the balance. Under these circumstances anyone with a spark of gratitude in his soul must admit that it is our bounden duty to go to the rescue of the descendants of Lafayette and Rochambeau and the other gallant sons of France who left their native land and joined with the American forces in our struggle to become a free and independent people. If no other reason existed, this alone would amply justify us in sending all the men and money necessary to drive the invader from French soil and restore to the people of that unhappy land the territory which has been so unjustly taken from them by methods heretofore unknown in warfare among civilized people.

In condemning the Kaiser and his associates I do not wish to be understood as impugning in the slightest degree the loyalty and patriotism of the Germans who are residents of this country, feeling as I do that with few exceptions they are just as loyal to this country as those of us who are native born.

It is not our purpose in entering this contest to demand indemnity or to acquire a foot of territory by conquest. Such has always been our policy. The great domain which we possess came to us not through bloody conquest nor by the violation of the rights of another nation. The policy of this country in its war against Spain is the most conspicuous example of the generous treatment of one nation by another, under similar circumstances, in the history of the world.

We not only purchased and paid for the Philippine Islands, but gave them schools, churches, modern methods of sanitation, and, indeed, everything necessary to encourage the moral and intellectual development of the people of those islands, and now after the lapse of a comparatively short time they are as free as the people of the United States. The same policy was adopted as respects Cuba and Porto Rico, with the result that the people of each of those countries are living together in peace and happiness and making rapid development in everything that tends toward a higher civilization, and it is in harmony with this well-established policy that we extend a helping hand to our allies across the sea.

The conduct of Germany threatens not only the existence of good government in Europe but, if by any chance they should win, it will in the near future result in the overthrow of representative government on every part of the globe, including the Government under which we live. It has been well said that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." May I not paraphrase this statement by saying that eternal vigilance on our part is necessary to insure the continued safety of our own Government? With this end in view we should at all times in the future maintain a trained force sufficient to command the respect of the other nations of the earth and as a guaranty that no nation will ever have the audacity to even attempt to violate the rights of the American people.

The cruel and heartless treatment of those who have been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the German soldiers clearly indicates the spirit which actuates them in the war which they are waging for the purpose of dominating the people of every nation on the face of the earth. Existing conditions are such as to arouse the spirit of intense patriotism in the breast of every citizen of this country, and this should not abate until we wipe from every inch of soil now occupied by the Germans the last vestige of military oppression. It has always been the policy of America to do everything in her power to aid the oppressed of other lands, and by so doing we have not only gained prestige abroad but have greatly strengthened our own Government.

If as a result of this conflict a republican form of government for the people of Germany should be established, it would be hailed with delight by everyone who has the slightest interest in the progress and development of the human race; but, as I understand, it was not our purpose in entering this conflict to force the people of that country to adopt any particular form of government, our real purpose being, as the President has so ably said—

> To deliver the free people of the world from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only but the blood of innocent women and children and of the helpless poor.

Many people have an exaggerated idea as to the number of killed and wounded in this war. In this connection I will say that my distinguished friend, Hon. James H. Pou, of this city, has rendered the State and the Nation a splendid service by showing that the percentage is not near so great as we have been led to believe by the reports that have been sent out indiscriminately through the press. Indeed, some people seem to take peculiar pleasure in circulating reports calculated to discourage the American soldiers and our people generally.

Now, a word as to those who will be permitted to stay at home and pursue their daily vocations, which involves an overwhelming majority of our people. While those of us who fall within the exempted class are to enjoy this privilege, there are many things that we can do to aid our Government in the Herculean task that it has undertaken.

We should at all times act in harmony with the policy of our President as respects the conservation of foodstuffs and other things essential to the support of the Government and the forces in the field.

The generous conduct of our good women in the preparation of articles necessary to the comfort of the sick and wounded challenges the admiration of everyone who loves his country. The Red Cross is doing most effective work in sending those things that are essential to the welfare and comfort of those who may be sick and wounded on foreign soil, and, best of all, they are sending angels of mercy in the person of nurses who go as our representatives to minister to the wants of our brave boys. This should appeal directly to the heart of every human being who possesses that generous instinct that has always characterized the American people in the face of every great calamity.

Our hearts are filled with sadness when we realize that our dear boys will soon be called upon to fight on foreign soil, but I confidently believe that we will receive good reports from them; that they will make a record as soldiers that will challenge the admiration of the world. I trust that our young men will not forget that the most important thing in life is to maintain a good character under any and all circumstances, and I confidently believe that the conduct of our boys while abroad will be such as to develop those traits essential to true manhood.

The American soldier has never turned his back to any foe, and I verily believe that the indomitable courage and will power which has always characterized our boys will soon bring this war to a speedy termination. When the descendants of those who fought with Grant, Sheridan, Lee, Jackson, Wheeler, and Shafter touch elbows, inspired by the strains of Yankee Doodle and Dixie, with anything like a fair opportunity to show what the American soldier can do, the Kaiser and those who are really in sympathy with him will rue the day they conceived the plan of dominating the world by brute force.

After the awful struggle is over and our boys are permitted to return to their native land we want them to know that their services will be recognized by the American people and that they will be largely instrumental in shaping the future destiny of this country.

The American flag and the many things that it stands for should be their constant thought. Let them cherish this glorious emblem of our liberty, to which Dr. Edward Everett Hale has so beautifully referred in the following language:

> And for your country, boy, and for that flag, never dream but of serving her as she bids you. No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters you or abuses you, never look at another flag. Remember, that behind all these men you have to do with, behind officers, and Government, and people even, there is the country herself, your country, and that you belong to her as you do belong to your own mother. Stand by her as you would stand by your own mother.

Physical Culture.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORATIO C. CLAYPOOL,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 7, 1917.

Mr. CLAYPOOL. Mr. Speaker, my mind has been deeply impressed for a long time by the necessity for some governmental action designed to encourage and establish the practice of physical culture among the citizenship of this country. The appalling condition, disclosed by the recent physical examinations of the young men of our Nation before the exemption boards has sent a thrill of alarm and a sense of profound concern into the heart of every thinking and loyal citizen. The question naturally arises within the mind of every serious man, What practical thing can be done to decrease the percentage of physical deficients and raise the standard of physical efficiency among the men of our Nation?

You will agree with me that there is overwhelming evidence that the people of this Nation are living in profound ignorance of the vital and imperative necessity of training their bodies with the same care and thoroughness as they do their minds. "Cram the mind, though the body be crippled," has been the abiding practice of our people so long that when the hour of great necessity arises, when the moment of peril is upon us, and the things that are more priceless to us than our lives are in jeopardy and the cry of a ruthless enemy is heard at our gates, and the Nation turns with confidence to the surging millions of its citizens for defenders, an amazing host is found nervous, timid, uncertain, doubtful, hesitant, and with waning and depleted vitality. Well might we hang our heads in shame at the exhibition, and doubly so, because in all the wonderful achievements of this peerless Nation it has neglected the apparent and imperative duty of training its citizenship in the necessity of physical culture.

It is easy for a healthy man to be courageous, hopeful, optimistic, and enthusiastic, and it is easy for a sick man to be a coward. If the resplendent glory of this Nation is to remain unsullied, it will be because of the devotion, courage, masterfulness, resourcefulness, and physical vigor of its citizens.

With a profound conviction of the integrity of these sentiments I this day introduce in the House of Representatives a bill to provide for the promotion of physical culture, to provide for the cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of physical culture, and to appropriate money to defray the expenses of the same and regulate its expenditure, and earnestly urge its adoption.

This bill provides for a Federal board for physical culture, having supreme supervision and control over the training, tests, experiments, studies, exercises, investigations, and reports to aid in the organization and conduct of physical education. It also makes provision for a State board in each State of the Union to act in cooperation with the said Federal board, and also makes provision for ample appropriations by Nation and States to secure the proper training and maintenance of a force of teachers, supervisors, or directors of physical culture. Ample safeguards are thrown around the provisions covering the disbursements of the funds, and, in addition, the bill provides a method of supreme importance in determining the best system of physical culture available, evidenced by the results of carefully conducted training tests.

The adoption of this bill will secure to the people of this Nation an opportunity of conveniently and inexpensively securing training and an education in physical culture.

Join this opportunity and great privilege with a campaign of education, thereby placing in the possession of the people the unmistakable evidences of the Nation's weakness and I am confident the people in a large measure will seize the benefits thereby provided with eagerness, with the result that each succeeding year an ever-increasing number will be found in the ranks of the vigorous and strong.

The tremendous necessity of enlightening the people concerning the peril to the Nation through the physical weakness of its people must not be overlooked. The Nation looks through the eyes of its people and is strong and courageous and victorious because these qualities are the characteristics of its people.

The bulldog tenacity which plays such a part in every life worth while has a physical basis.

The will power, which is a leader in the mental kingdom, depends very largely upon the health.

How different obstacles, for example, look to the man who is ailing all the time, suffering pain, compared with the way they look to a man who is full of vigor and energy.

The man who is well plans great things to-day, because he feels strong and vigorous. Obstacles are nothing to him, because he feels within himself the power to annihilate them. One's courage is largely a matter of physical health. Courage and physical vigor go together.

The quality of health has a great deal to do with the quality of thought. If the vitality is below par, the thought will drop to its level.

Suppose some great genius should declare to the world that he had discovered a secret for doubling one's vitality and energy, what would we not all do or give to get this secret! Yet within our reach is a process for doubling our vitality and energy which never fails. There is nothing complicated in it—the commonsense practice of physical culture, which enables us to hold the victorious attitude toward life, toward our work, toward our health, toward everything.

While I believe that the people have in a large measure through ignorance neglected the requirements of their physical systems and have thereby endangered the security of the Nation, I do not believe that they will continue in that neglect and prolong this danger when they are once enlightened.

War Powers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. STEELE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 10, 1917.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address of former Justice Charles E. Hughes before the American Bar Association on Wednesday last on the subject of war powers, and an address of Mr. Sutherland at the same time.

The addresses are as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES.

THE FIGHTING POWERS OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

In the unusual circumstances of war it is natural that there should be some confusion with respect to the constitutional warrant for extraordinary action taken or contemplated. Some altogether misconceive the Constitution. Others vaguely fear that we are serving temporary exigency at the expense of our fundamental law, and that we are thus breeding a lawless Constitution-ignoring spirit which is a serious menace to our future. Others seek to raise doubts of power in order to embarrass the prosecution of the war. And there seem to be still others who in their zeal impatiently and without thought put the Constitution aside as having no relation to these times.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN WAR.

While we are at war, we are not in revolution. We are making war as a Nation organized under the Constitution, from which the established national authorities derive all their powers either in war or in peace. The Constitution is as effective to-day as it ever was, and the oath to support it is just as binding. But the framers of the Constitution did not contrive an imposing spectacle of impotency. One of the objects of "a more perfect Union" was "to provide for the common defense." A nation which could not fight would be powerless to secure the "blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Self-preservation is the first law of national life, and the Constitution itself provides the necessary powers in order to defend and preserve the United States. Otherwise, as Mr. Justice Story said, "the country would be in danger of losing both its liberty and its sovereignty from its dread of investing the public councils with the power of defending it. It would be more willing to submit to foreign conquest than to domestic rule."

DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS.

The war powers under the Constitution are carefully distributed. To Congress is given the power "to declare war." The proposal to add "to make peace" found no favor, as this was deemed to belong to the treaty-making power vested in the President and the Senate. To the President was given the

direction of war as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. It was not in the contemplation of the Constitution that the command of forces and the conduct of campaigns should be in charge of a council or that as to this there should be a division of authority or responsibility. The prosecution of war demands in the highest degree the promptness, directness, and unity of action in military operations, which alone can proceed from the Executive. This exclusive power to command the Army and Navy and thus to direct and control campaigns exhibits not autocracy but democracy fighting effectively through its chosen instruments and in accordance with the established organic law.

PLENARY POWER TO WAGE WAR.

While the President is Commander in Chief, in the Congress resides the authority "to raise and support armies" and "to provide and maintain a navy," and "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," and as a safeguard against military domination the power to raise and support armies is qualified by the provision that "no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." Otherwise this power is unlimited. The Congress is to prescribe the military organization and provide the military establishment, fix numbers, regulate equipment, afford maintenance, and for these purposes appropriate such amounts of money as it thinks necessary.

POWER TO PASS CONSCRIPTION LAWS.

Upon every citizen lies the duty of aiding in the common defense. In exercising its constitutional power to raise armies the Congress may enforce this duty. The Congress may call anyone to service who is able to serve. The question who may be called or in what order is simply one for the judgment of the National Legislature. The power vested in Congress is not to raise armies simply by calling for volunteers, but to raise armies by whatever method Congress deems best, and hence must be deemed to embrace conscription. To the framers of the Constitution the draft was a familiar mode of raising armies, as it had been resorted to by the Colonies to fill up their quotas in the Revolutionary War. It is true that the proposal, in 1814, of Monroe as Secretary of War to resort to conscription, was vigorously opposed as unconstitutinal. But the draft was put in force both by the Union and by the Confederacy during the Civil War, and its validity was sustained by the courts in both North and South. "The power of coercing the citizen," said Judge Robertson, of Virginia, in Burrough *v.* Peyton (16 Gratt., 470 (1864)), "to render military service is indeed a transcendent power in the hands of any government; but so far from being inconsistent with liberty, it is essential to its preservation."

LINCOLN'S OPINION.

Permit me to quote upon this question the opinion prepared (although not published) by President Lincoln, which sets forth admirably the grounds for sustaining the power of Congress to pass a conscription act:

> In this case those who desire the rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. They tell us the law is unconstitutional. It is the first instance, I believe, in which the power of Congress to do a thing has ever been questioned in a case when the power is given by the Constitution in express terms. Whether a power can be implied when it is not expressed has often been the subject of controversy; but this is the first case in which the degree of effrontery has been ventured upon of denying a power which is plainly and distinctly written down in the Constitution. The Constitution declares that "the Congress shall have power * * * to raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." The whole scope of the conscription act is "to raise and support armies." There is nothing else in it. * * * Do you admit that the power is given to raise and support armies, and yet insist that by this act Congress has not exercised the power in a constitutional mode, has not done the thing in the right way? Who is to judge of this? The Constitution gives Congress the power, but it does not prescribe the mode, or expressly declare who shall prescribe it. In such case Congress must prescribe the mode or relinquish the power. There is no alternative. * * * The power is given fully, completely, unconditionally. It is not a power to raise armies if State authorities consent; nor if the men to compose the armies are entirely willing; but it is a power to raise and support armies given to Congress by the Constitution without an "if." * * * The principle of the draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practiced in all ages of the world. It was well known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies, at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that "the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies." * * * Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of the race run out?

These are the words of Lincoln, penned in the midst of the Civil War, in which conscription was enforced, and his reasoning is conclusive. And while the question was not presented to the United States Supreme Court, the power of Congress was explicitly recognized in Tarble's case (13 Wall., p. 407, and in later opinions).

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

The constitutional authority thus vested in Congress is not limited by any qualification arising from religious beliefs or conscientious objections. These are matters not affecting power, but policy. As Mr. Justice Harlan said, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in Jacobson *v.* Massachusetts (197 U. S., p. 29), one "may be compelled, by force, if need be, against his will and without regard to his personal wishes or his pecuniary interests, or even his religious or political convictions, to take his place in the ranks of the army of his country, and risk the chance of being shot down in its defense." It is, however, in my judgment, a sound policy on the part of Congress to provide for the discharge from the draft of conscientious objectors. Nothing, I believe, is gained for the country by overriding the claims of conscience in such cases; but it is obviously necessary that there should be such definitions and restrictions as will prevent imposture and evasion by those who have as little conscience as they have stomach for war.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

It is now contended in some quarters that this power, which undoubtedly Congress had, has been restricted or abolished by the thirteenth amendment, which was adopted after the close of the Civil War. This amendment provides that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." It has been said by the United States Supreme Court that the plain intention "was to abolish slavery of whatever name and form and all its badges and incidents; to render impossible any state of bondage; to make labor free by prohibiting that control by which the personal service of one man is disposed of or coerced for another's benefit, which is the essence of involuntary servitude." It hits not only slavery but peonage. But the language of the amendment was not new. It reproduced the historic words of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, and its terms, construed in the light of its history and plain purpose, afford no basis whatever for the conclusion that it interfered in the slightest degree with the power of Congress to raise and support armies.

In the case of Robertson *v.* Baldwin (165 U. S., p. 275) it was argued that the thirteenth amendment invalidated certain provisions of the Revised Statutes authorizing justices of the peace to issue warrants for deserting seamen. In denying the claim the court said: "It is clear, however, that the amendment was not intended to introduce any novel doctrine with respect to certain descriptions of service which have always been treated as exceptions, such as military and naval enlistments." The soldier drafted under the act of Congress is performing the duty which he owes of aiding in the common defense, and the constitutional amendment contemplates no escape from the duty to defend and preserve the United States.

POWER OVER THE MILITIA.

The power to "raise and support armies" should not be confused with the power given to Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions"; and "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." The President is Commander in Chief not only of "the Army and Navy of the United States" but also "of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States."

The militia, within the meaning of these provisions of the Constitution, is distinct from the Army of the United States. "Remember always," said Daniel Webster, "that the great principle of the Constitution on that subject is that the militia is the militia of the States and not of the General Government; and being thus the militia of the States, there is no part of the Constitution worded with greater care and with a more scrupulous jealousy than that which grants and limits the power of Congress over it."

In order to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, and to repel invasions it would be necessary to employ Regular troops or to employ the militia. And the power given to Congress with respect to the militia was manifestly to make a large standing army unnecessary. But as the service of the Organized Militia can only be required by the National Govern-

ment for the limited purposes specified in the Constitution, it follows (as Attorney General Wickersham advised President Taft) that the Organized Militia, as such, can not be employed for offensive warfare outside the limits of the United States.

MAY SEND ARMY ABROAD.

This, however, is apart from the power of Congress to raise and support a Federal army. Congress may be content with a small standing army in ordinary times, but Congress may create and equip such army as it pleases, subject to the qualification with respect to appropriations. It can equip an army in preparation for war, and of course it may furnish whatever army is required for the prosecution of war. The organization and service of an army raised by Congress are not subject to the limitations governing its control of the militia. The power to use an army is coextensive with the power to make war; and the army may be used wherever the war is carried on, here or elsewhere. There is no limitation upon the authority of Congress to create an army, and it is for the President as Commander in Chief to direct the campaign of that army wherever he may think they should be carried on. As Chief Justice Taney, speaking for the Supreme Court in Fleming *v.* Page (9 How., p. 615), said:

As Commander in Chief he is authorized to direct the movements of the naval and military forces placed by law at his command, and to employ them in the manner he may deem most effectual to harass and conquer and subdue the enemy. He may invade the hostile country and subject it to the sovereignty and authority of the United States.

We employed our arms in Canada in the War of 1812; our troops were again sent to foreign soil in the Mexican War and in the War with Spain, and more recently have been employed in China and Mexico. There is no doubt of the constitutional authority to employ our forces on the battle fields of Europe in the war that we are now waging for the safety of the United States and to conquer an enduring peace that the liberties of free peoples throughout the world may forever be secured from the aggressions of unscrupulous military power.

POWER TO WAGE WAR SUCCESSFULLY.

The power to wage war is the power to wage war successfully. The framers of the Constitution were under no illusions as to war. They had emerged from a long struggle which had taught them the weakness of a mere confederation, and they had no hope that they could hold what they had won save as they established a Union which could fight with the strength of one people under one government intrusted with the common defense. In equipping the National Government with the needed authority in war they tolerated no limitations inconsistent with that object, as they realized that the very existence of the Nation might be at stake and that every resource of the people must be at command. Said Madison in the Federalist:

Security against foreign danger is one of the primitive objects of civil society. It is an avowed and essential object of the American Union. The powers requisite for attaining it must be effectually confided to the Federal councils.

And Hamilton said:

The idea of restraining the legislative authority, in the means of providing for the national defense, is one of those refinements which owe their origin to a zeal for liberty more ardent than enlightened.

He again emphasizes the same idea in these words:

The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite, and for this reason no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed. This power ought to be coextensive with all the possible combinations of such circumstances, and ought to be under the direction of the same councils which are appointed to preside over the common defense.

It was in this view that plenary power was given to Congress to wage war and raise armies. It is also in the light of this conception of national exigencies that we must read subdivision 18 of section 8 of Article I of the Constitution (following the enumeration of powers), which gives Congress the authority "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." It must also be remembered that it is of the essence of national power that where it exists it dominates. There is no room in our scheme of government for the assertion of State power in hostility to the authorized exercise of Federal power. The power of the National Government to carry on war is explicit and supreme, and the authority thus resides in Congress to make all laws which are needed for that purpose; that is, to Congress in the event of war is confided the power to enact whatever legislation is necessary to prosecute the war with vigor and success, and this power is to be exercised without impairment of the authority committed to the President as Commander in Chief to direct military operations.

POWER OF THE PRESIDENT.

Each of these powers, that of Congress and of the President, is the subject of a distinct grant; each is the complement of the other, and together they furnish the adequate equipment of authority for war. There is no more impressive spectacle than that of the President of the Republic in time of war when, in addition to the other great powers of his office, he acts in supreme command of the armed forces of the Nation and conducts its military campaigns. It was under this power that President Lincoln defended the proclamation of emancipation. It related to those held as slaves in the States in rebellion, and he regarded it, as it recited, as a necessary act of war within his authority as Commander in Chief. He thus expressed this point of view:

You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests the Commander in Chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—is so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us or hurts the enemy? Armies the world over destroy enemies' property when they can not use it, and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy.

It is also to be observed that the power exercised by the President in time of war is greatly augmented, outside of his functions as Commander in Chief, through legislation of Congress increasing his administrative authority. War demands the highest degree of efficient organization, and Congress, in the nature of things, can not prescribe many important details as it legislates for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of war. Never is adaptation of legislation to practical ends so urgently required, and hence Congress naturally in very large measure confers upon the President the authority to ascertain and determine various states of fact to which legislative measures are addressed. Further, a wide range of provisions relating to the organization and government of the Army and Navy which Congress might enact if it saw fit, it authorizes the President to prescribe. The principles governing the delegation of legislative power are clear, and while they are of the utmost importance when properly applied, they are not such as to make the appropriate exercise of legislative power impracticable.

The Legislature can not delegate its power to make a law, but it can make a law to delegate a power to determine some fact or state of things upon which the law makes, or intends to make, its own action depend. To deny this would be to stop the wheels of Government. There are many things upon which wise and useful legislation must depend which can not be known to the lawmaking power, and must, therefore, be a subject of inquiry and determination outside of the halls of legislation.

Congress can not be permitted to abandon to others its proper legislative functions; but in time of war, when legislation must be adapted to many situations of the utmost complexity, which must be dealt with effectively and promptly, there is special need for flexibility and for every resource of practicality; and, of course, whether the limits of permissible delegation are in any case overstepped always remains a judicial question. We thus not only find these great war powers conferred upon the Congress and the President, respectively, but also a vast increase of administrative authority through legislative action springing from the necessities of war.

OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION—TAXING POWER.

The question remains: What may be deemed to be the force and effect in time of war of the restrictive provisions contained in the Constitution with respect to the exercise of Federal authority? It is manifest, at once, that the great organs of the National Government retain and perform their functions as the Constitution prescribes. Senators and Representatives are qualified and chosen as provided in the Constitution, and the legislative power vested in the Congress must be exercised in the required manner. The President is still the constitutional Executive, elected in the manner provided and subject to the restraints imposed upon his office. The judicial power of the United States continues to be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress has ordained. Again, apart from the provisions fixing the framework of the Government, there are limitations which by reason of their express terms or by necessary implication must be regarded as applicable as well in war as in peace. Thus one of the expressed objects of the power granted to Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" is to "provide for the common defense," and it can not be doubted that taxes laid for this purpose—that is, to support the Army and Navy and to provide means for military operations—must be laid subject to the constitutional restrictions. That is, all duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform throughout the United States, and direct taxes must be apportioned among the States according to population. And by the sixteenth amendment, providing that income taxes, from whatever source derived, may be laid without apportionment among the States, these taxes fall into the great class of excise duties and im-

posts and are alike subject to the rule requiring geographical uniformity, a requirement operative in war as well as in peace.

TREASON.

The provisions as to treason are also clearly applicable in war: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort"; and "the Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted."

FIFTH AND SIXTH AMENDMENTS.

But what shall be said of the efficacy in time of war of the great guaranties of personal and property rights? It would be impossible on this occasion to discuss comprehensively this important subject or even to refer to all these guaranties, but we may briefly touch upon the question in its relation to the fifth and sixth amendments, viz:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Clearly these amendments, normally and perfectly adapted to conditions of peace, do not have the same complete and universal application in time of war. Thus the fifth amendment normally gives its protection to "any person." But in war this must yield to the undoubted national power to capture and confiscate the property of enemies. This was distinctly ruled by the Supreme Court in Miller *v.* United States (11 Wall., p. 268), a proceeding brought under the confiscation acts of 1861 and 1862 to confiscate shares of stock owned by Miller, a Virginian, in a Michigan corporation. The court said:

If the act of 1861 and the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections of the act of July 17, 1862, were municipal regulations only there would be force in the objection that Congress has disregarded the restrictions of the fifth and sixth amendments of the Constitution. * * * If, on the contrary, they are an exercise of the war powers of the Government, it is clear that they are not affected by the restrictions imposed by the fifth and sixth amendments. This we understand to have been conceded in the argument. The question, therefore, is whether the action of Congress was a legitimate exercise of the war power. The Constitution confers upon Congress, expressly, power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules respecting captures on land and water. Upon the exercise of these powers no restrictions are imposed. Of course, the power to declare war involves the power to prosecute it by all means and in any manner in which war may be legitimately prosecuted. It therefore includes the right to seize and confiscate all property of an enemy and to dispose of it at the will of the captor. This is, and always has been, an undoubted belligerent right.

MARTIAL LAW.

Again, in the place where actual military operations are being conducted, the ordinary rights of citizens must yield to paramount military necessity. This was conceded in Milligan's case (4 Wall., p. 127), where it was said in the prevailing opinion:

If, in foreign invasion or civil war, the courts are actually closed and it is impossible to administer criminal justice according to law, then, on the theater of actual military operations, where war really prevails, there is a necessity to furnish a substitute for the civil authority, thus overthrown, to preserve the safety of the Army and society; and as no power is left but the military it is allowed to govern by martial rule until the laws can have their free course.

A different question, however, is presented with respect to the rights of citizens and others not enemies in places which are outside the actual theater of war. It was upon the question of the power of Congress to provide for the trial of citizens by military commission in such places that the justices sharply divided in the noted case of Milligan. He was a citizen of Indiana who had been tried by a military commission at Indianapolis on a charge of aiding the enemy and conspiring against the Government and had been sentenced to be hung. He was not a resident of one of the rebellious States nor a prisoner of war and he had not been in the military or naval service. The court was unanimous in the opinion that under the terms of the act of Congress creating the commission it had no jurisdiction. But the majority of the court went further and declared that Congress was without power to provide for the trial of citizens by military commissions save in the locality of actual war and when there was no access to the courts. Maintaining with eloquent emphasis the guaranties of freedom contained in the fifth and sixth amendments, the majority of the court asserted that—

Martial law can not arise from a threatened invasion. The necessity must be actual and present; the invasion real, such as effectually closes the courts and deposes the civil administration. * * * Martial rule can never exist where the courts are open and in the proper and unobstructed exercise of their jurisdiction. It is also confined to the locality of actual war.

The minority of four justices, led by Chief Justice Chase, while agreeing that there was no jurisdiction in Milligan's case under the act of Congress, strongly insisted that Congress in time of war had the power to provide for the punishment of citizens charged with conspiracy against the United States by military tribunals if it was deemed necessary for the public safety. Deducing this view from the war powers conferred by the Constitution, the Chief Justice said:

Where peace exists the laws of peace must prevail. What we do maintain is that when the Nation is involved in war and some portions of the country are invaded and all are exposed to invasion it is within the power of Congress to determine to what States or districts such great and imminent public danger exists as justifies the authorization of military tribunals for the trial of crimes and offenses against the discipline or security of the Army or against the public safety. * * * The fact that the Federal courts were open was regarded by Congress as a sufficient reason for not exercising the power; but that fact could not deprive Congress of the right to exercise it. These courts might be open and undisturbed in the execution of their functions and yet wholly incompetent to avoid threatened danger or to punish with adequate promptitude and certainty the guilty conspirators. * * * In times of rebellion and civil war it may often happen, indeed, that judges and marshals will be in active sympathy with the rebels and courts their most efficient allies. * * * It was for Congress to determine the question of expediency.

Prof. Willoughby, in a careful review of the Milligan case, regards the doctrine of the majority as essentially sound, that the necessity justifying martial law may not be created by legislative fiat. But he suggests that the majority went too far in the absolute declaration that martial law can not arise from "a threatened invasion," and that the mere fact that the courts are open, regardless of all other conditions, is a conclusive test. "The better doctrine," says Willoughby, "is not for the courts to attempt to determine in advance with respect to any one element what does, what does not, create a necessity for martial law, but, as in all other cases of the exercise of official authority, to test the legality of an act by its special circumstances."

Certainly the test should not be a mere physical one, nor should substance be sacrificed to form. The majority recognized "a necessity to furnish a substitute for the civil authority" when overthrown, in order "to preserve the safety of the army and society." If this necessity actually exists it can not be doubted that the power of the Nation is adequate to meet it, but the rights of the citizen may not be impaired by an arbitrary legislative declaration. Outside the actual theater of war, and if, in a true sense, the administration of justice remains unobstructed, the right of the citizen to normal judicial procedure is secure.

CITIZEN'S RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

Further, with respect to the citizen's rights of property, a distinction may be taken between the unavoidable deprivations which take place where the conflict rages and those takings, although for military purposes, which are deliberate appropriations for which compensation must be made. As was said by the Supreme Court in United States *v.* Russell (13 Wall., p. 623):

Private property, the Constitution provides, shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. * * * Extraordinary and unforeseen occasions arise, beyond all doubt, in cases of extreme necessity in time of war or of immediate and impending public danger in which private property may be impressed into the public service, or may be seized or appropriated to the public use, or may even be destroyed without the consent of the owner. * * * Where such an extraordinary and unforeseen emergency occurs in the public service in time of war no doubt is entertained that the power of the Government is ample to supply for the moment the public wants in that way to the extent of the immediate public exigency, but the public danger must be immediate, imminent, and impending, and the emergency in the public service must be extreme and imperative and such as will not admit of delay or a resort to any other source of supply. * * * Such a justification may be shown, and when shown, the rule is well settled that the officer taking private property for such a purpose, if the emergency is fully proved, is not a trespasser, and that the Government is bound to make full compensation to the owner.

REASONABLE REGULATIONS TO INSURE SUCCESS IN WAR.

Distinct from such requisitions from individuals is the necessary regulation of the use of property to secure the successful prosecution of the war. We are witnessing a new phase of the exercise of war powers. But the applicable principle to determine the validity of such action is not new. Even in times of peace we are familiar with the principle of regulation which extends to callings "affected with a public interest." The Supreme Court, after reviewing the decisions, recently said:

They demonstrate that a business, by circumstances and its nature, may rise from private to be a public concern, and be subject, in consequence, to governmental regulation. And they demonstrate * * * that the attempts made to place the right of public regulation in the cases in which it has been exerted and of which we have given examples, upon the ground of special privilege conferred by the public on

those affected, can not be supported. The underlying principle is that business of certain kinds holds such a peculiar relation to the public interest that there is superinduced upon it the right of public regulation. (German Alliance Insurance Co. *v.* Kansas, 233 U. S., 411.)

The extraordinary circumstances of war may bring particular business and enterprises clearly into the category of those which are affected with a public interest and which demand immediate and thoroughgoing public regulation. The production and distribution of foodstuffs, articles of prime necessity, those which have direct relation to military efficiency, those which are absolutely required for the support of the people during the stress of conflict, are plainly of this sort. Reasonable regulations to safeguard the resources upon which we depend for military success must be regarded as being within the powers confided to Congress to enable it to prosecute a successful war. In the words of the Supreme Court:

It is well settled that the Constitution is not self-destructive. In other words, that the power which it confers on the one hand it does not immediately take away on the other. (Billings *v.* United States, 232 U. S., 282.)

This was said in relation to the taxing power. Having been granted in express terms, the court held it had not been taken away by the due process clause of the fifth amendment. As the Supreme Court put it in another case:

The Constitution does not conflict with itself by conferring upon the one hand a taxing power and taking the same power away on the other by the limitations of the due process clause. (240 U. S., 24.)

Similarly, it may be said that the power has been expressly given to Congress to prosecute war and to pass all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying that power into execution. That power explicitly conferred and absolutely essential to the safety of the Nation is not destroyed or impaired by any later provision of the Constitution or by any one of the amendments. These may all be construed so as to avoid making the Constitution self-destructive, so as to preserve the rights of the citizen from unwarrantable attack, while assuring beyond all hazard the common defense and the perpetuity of our liberties. These rest upon the preservation of the Nation.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, GEORGE SUTHERLAND, OF UTAH.

[Presented at the meeting of the American Bar Association, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1917.]

PRIVATE RIGHTS AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

From the foundation of civil society, two desires, in a measure conflicting with one another, have been at work striving for supremacy: First, the desire of the individual to control and regulate his own activities in such a way as to promote what he conceives to be his own good; and second, the desire of society to curtail the activities of the individual in such a way as to promote what it conceives to be the common good. The operation of the first of these we call liberty, and that of the second we call authority. Throughout all history, mankind has oscillated, like some huge pendulum, between these two, sometimes swinging too far in one direction and sometimes, in the rebound, too far in the opposite direction. Liberty has degenerated into anarchy and authority has ended in despotism, and this has been repeated so often that some students of history have reached the pessimistic conclusion that the whole process was but the aimless pursuit of the unattainable. I do not, myself, share that view. In all probability we shall never succeed in getting rid of all the bad things which afflict the social organism—and perhaps it would not be a desirable result if we should succeed, since out of the dead level of settled perfection there could not come that uplifting sense of moral regeneration which follows the successful fight against evil, and which is responsible for so much of human advancement—but I am sure that in most ways, including some of the ways of government, we are better off to-day than we have ever been before. It is, however, apparently one of the corollaries of progressive development that we get rid of old evils only to acquire new ones. We move out of the wilderness into the city and thereby escape the tooth and claw of savage nature, which we see clearly, only to incur the sometimes deadlier menace of the microbes of civilization, of whose existence we learn only after suffering the mischief they do. To-day, as always, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty—liberty whose form has changed but whose spirit is the same. In the old days it was the liberty of person, the liberty of speech, the freedom of religious worship, which were principally threatened. To-day it is the liberty to order the detail of one's daily life for oneself—the liberty to do honest and profitable business—the liberty to seek honest and remunerative investment that are in peril. In my own mind I feel sure that there never has been a time when the business of the country occupied a higher moral plane; never a time when the voluntary code which governs the conduct of the banker, the manufacturer, the merchant, the railway manager, has been finer in tone or more faithfully observed than it is to-day; and yet never before have the business activities of the people been so beset and bedeviled with vexatious statutes, prying commissions, and governmental intermeddling of all sorts.

Under our form of government the will of the people is supreme. We seem to have become intoxicated with the plenitude of our power, or fearful that it will disappear if we do not constantly use it, and, inasmuch as our will can be exercised authoritatively only through some form of law, whenever we become dissatisfied with anything, we enact a statute on the subject.

If, therefore, I were asked to name the characteristic which more than any other distinguishes our present-day political institutions, I am not sure that I should not answer, "The passion for making laws." There are 48 small or moderate-sized legislative bodies in the United States engaged a good deal of the time and one very large National Legislature working overtime at this amiable occupation, their combined output being not far from 15,000 statutes each year. The prevailing obsession seems to be that statutes, like the crops, enrich the country in proportion to their volume. Unfortunately for this notion, however, the average legislator does not always know what he is sowing and the harvest which frequently results is made up of strange and unexpected plants whose appearance is as astonishing to the legislator as it is disconcerting to his constituents.

This situation, I am bound to say, is not wholly unrelated to a more or less prevalent superstition entertained by the electorate that previous training in legislative affairs is a superfluous adjunct of the legislative mind, which should enter upon its task with the sweet inexperience of a bride coming to the altar. As rotation in crops—if I may return to the agricultural figure—improves the soil, so rotation in office is supposed to improve the Government. The comparison, however, is illusory since the legislator resembles the farmer who cultivates the crops rather than the crops themselves, and previous experience, even of the most thorough character, on the part of the farmer has never hitherto been supposed to destroy his availability for continued service.

I think it was the late Mr. Carlyle, who is reported to have made the rather cynical observation that the only acts of Parliament which were entitled to commendation were those by which previous acts of Parliament were repealed. I am not prepared to go quite that far, though I am prepared to say that in my judgment an extraordinarily large proportion of the statutes which have been passed from time to time in our various legislative bodies might be repealed without the slightest detriment to the general welfare.

Throughout the country the business world has come to look upon the meeting of the legislature as a thing to be borne rather than desired, and to regard with grave suspicion pretty much everything that happens, with the exception of the final adjournment, a resolution to which end, unless history has been singularly unobservant, has never thus far been withheld by general request.

The trouble with much of our legislation is that the legislator has mistaken emotion for wisdom, impulse for knowledge, and good intention for sound judgment. "He means well" is a sweet and wholesome thing in the field of ethics. It may be of small consequence, or of no consequence at all, in the domain of law. "He means well" may save the legislator from the afflictions of an accusing conscience, but it does not protect the community from the affliction of mischievous and meddlesome statutes.

A diffused desire to do good—an anxious feeling about progress—are not to be derided, of course, but standing alone and regarded from the viewpoint of practical statesmanship, they leave something to be desired in the way of complete equipment for discriminating legislative work. Progress, let me suggest, is not a state of mind. It is a fact, or set of facts, capable of observation and analysis—a condition of affairs which may be cross-examined to ascertain whether it is what it pretends to be. But you can not cross-examine a mere longing for goodness—an indefinite, inarticulate yearning for reform and the uplift—or an uneasy, vague state of flabby sentimentalism about things in general.

In matters of social conventionality we are still rigidly conservative, but in the field of government there is a widespread demand for innovating legislation—a craze for change. A politician may advocate the complete repudiation of the Constitution and be regarded with complacency, if not with approval as an up-to-date reformer and friend of the people, but let him appear in public wearing a skirt instead of a pair of trousers and the populace will be moved to riot and violence.

The difficulty which confronts us in all the fields of human endeavor is that we are going ahead so fast—so many novel and

perplexing problems are pressing upon us for solution—that we become confused at their very multiplicity. Evils develop faster than remedies can be devised. Most of these evils, if left alone, would disappear under the powerful pressure of public sentiment, but we become impatient because the force of the social organism is not sufficiently radical and the demand goes forth for a law which will instantly put an end to the matter.

The view which prevailed a hundred years ago was that the primary relation of the Government to the conduct of the citizen was that of the policeman, to preserve the peace and regulate the activities of the individual only when necessary to prevent injury to other individuals or to safeguard the public; in short, to exercise what is comprehended under the term "police power." It is true that the Government was not rigidly confined to those limits, but whenever it undertook to go beyond them it assumed the burden of showing clearly the necessity for so doing. The whole philosophy found its extreme expression in the Jeffersonian aphorism, "That government is best which governs least," while Lord Macaulay's terse summary was, "The primary end of government is the protection of the persons and property of men."

Of course with the tremendous increase in the extent and complexity of our social, economic, and political activities, alterations in the scope and additions to the extent of governmental operations become inevitable and necessary. To this no thoughtful person objects, but unfortunately the governmental incursions into the new territory are being extended beyond the limits of necessity and even beyond the bounds of expediency into the domain of doubtful experiment.

There is, to begin with, an increasing disposition to give authoritative direction to the course of personal behavior—an effort to mold the conduct of individuals irrespective of their differing views, habits, and tastes to the pattern, which for the time being has received the approval of the majority. Under this process we are losing our sense of perspective. We are constantly bringing the petty shortcomings of our neighbors into the foreground so that the evil becomes overemphasized, while the noble proportions of the good are minimized by being relegated to the background. We have developed a mania for regulating people. We forbid not only evil practices, but we are beginning to lay the restraining hand of the law upon practices that are at the most of only doubtful character. We not infrequently fail to distinguish between crimes and vices, and we are beginning almost to put in the category along with vices and offensive habits any behavior which happens to differ from our own.

I do not, for example, question the moral right of the majority to forbid the traffic in intoxicating liquor, nor its wisdom in doing so. No doubt the world would be better off if the trade were entirely abolished, but some of the States have recently gone to lengths hitherto undreamed of in penalizing the mere possession of intoxicating liquor and—since no one can use liquor without having the possession of it—thereby penalizing its personal use no matter how moderate such use may be. To put the consumer of a glass of beer in the penitentiary along with the burglar and the highwayman is to sacrifice all the wholesome distinctions which for centuries have separated debatable habit from indisputable crime. Such legislation, to say the least, constitutes a novel extension of the doctrines of penology. Hitherto, laws on the subject have taken the form of prohibiting and penalizing the traffic, but not the personal use, which seems to have been quite generally regarded as falling outside the scope of the criminal law. The use of intoxicants or tobacco, however injurious to the user, has not generally been thought to involve the element of immorality. Hence the attempt to coerce an abandonment of such use by punitive legislation directed against the use, however desirable the result itself may be, will inevitably run counter to the sentiment, still rather widely entertained, that the imposition of criminal penalties for any purely self-regarding conduct, can only be justified in cases involving some degree of moral turpitude.

It does not require a prophet to foresee that laws of this character exacting penalties so utterly disproportionate to the offense, can never be generally enforced, and to write them into the statutes to be cunningly evaded or contemptuously ignored will have a strong tendency to bring just and wholesome laws dealing with the liquor question into disrepute.

It is sometimes a matter of nice discrimination to determine, as between the liberty of the citizen and the supposed good of the community, which shall prevail. The liberty of the individual to control his own conduct is the most precious possession of a democracy, and interference with it is seldom justified except where necessary to protect the liberties or rights of other individuals or to safeguard society. If widely indulged, such interference will not only fail to bring about the good results intended to be produced, but will gravely threaten the stability and further development of that sturdy individualism, to which is due more than any other thing our present advanced civilization.

In passing legislation of this character doubts should be resolved in favor of the liberty of the individual and his power to freely determine and pursue his own course in his own way should rarely be interfered with, unless the welfare of other individuals or of society clearly requires it. "Human nature," says Mill, "is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing."

Human nature is so constituted that we freely tolerate in ourselves what we condemn in others, and we are prone to condemn traits of character in others simply because we do not find the same traits in ourselves. Very often the evil is in the eye of the beholder rather than in the thing beheld, for he is a man of rare good sense who can always distinguish between an evil thing and his own prejudices.

One objection to governmental interference with the personal habits, or even the vices of the individual, is that it tends to weaken the effect of the self-convincing moral standards and to put in their place fallible and changing conventions as the test of right conduct, with the consequent loss of the strengthening value to the individual of the free exercise of his rational choice of good rather than evil. Enforced discipline can never have the moral value of self-discipline, since it lacks the element of cooperating effort on the part of the individual which is the very soul of all personal advancement.

We may, therefore, well pause to consider whether the benefits which will result to society from a given interference of this character are sufficiently important to compensate for the loss of that fine sense of personal independence, which more than any other quality has enabled the Anglo-Saxon race to throw off the yoke of monarchical absolutism and substitute democratic self-government. It must not be forgotten that democracy is after all but a form of government whose justification must be established in the same way that the justification of any other form of government is established; namely, by what it does rather than by what it claims to be. The errors of a democracy and the errors of an autocracy will be followed by similar consequences. A foolish law does not become a wise law because it is approved by a great many people. The successful enforcement of the law in a democracy must always rest primarily in the fact that on the whole it commends itself to a universal sense of justice, shared even by those who violate it. Any attempt, therefore, to curtail the liberties of the citizen which shocks the sense of personal independence of any considerable proportion of the community is likely to do more harm than good, not only because a strong feeling that a particular law is unjust lessens in some degree the reverence for law generally, but because such a law can not be successfully enforced, and a law that inspires neither respect for its justice nor fear for its enforcement is about as utterly contemptible a thing as can be imagined.

Another thing which may well give concern to thoughtful men is the tremendous increase during late years in the number and power of administrative boards, bureaus, commissions, and similar agencies, the insidious tendency of which is to undermine the fundamental principle upon which our form of government depends; namely, that it is "an empire of laws and not of men"; the meaning of which is that the rights and duties of the individual as a member of society must be defined by preestablished laws and not left to be fixed by official edict, as they may be called into question from time to time. The American people have heretofore enjoyed a greater freedom from vexatious official intermeddling and arbitrary governmental compulsion than perhaps any other people in the world. Despotism has found no place among us, because we have been subject to no restraint save the impartial restraint of the law, which has thus far stood superior to the will of any official, high or low.

It is not enough, however, that we should continue free from the despotism of a supreme autocrat. We must keep ourselves free from the petty despotism which may come from vesting final discretion to regulate individual conduct in the hands of lesser officials. To this end the things which organized society exacts from its members must be particularized as far as practicable by definite and uniform rules. Liberty consists at last in the right to do whatever the law does not forbid, and this presupposes law made in advance—so that the individual may know before he acts the standard of conduct to which his acts must conform—and interpreted and applied after the act by

disinterested authority—so that the true relation to one another of the conduct and the law may be clearly ascertained and declared. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the authority which interprets and executes the law should not also be the authority which makes it. The law must apply to all alike. The making of law is an exercise of the will of the state; the interpretation and application of the law is an exercise of the reason of the judge. The legislator concerns himself with the question, Is the proposed law just in its general application? The official who administers the law has nothing to do with the abstract question of its justice; his function is to ascertain what it is and whether it has been violated. The two functions are so utterly different that the necessity of vesting them in separate hands has been long recognized. To confer upon the same man, or body of men, the power to make the law and also to administer it would inevitably result in despotic government by substituting the shifting frontiers of personal command for the definite boundaries of general, impersonal law. "The spirit of encroachment," said Washington in the Farewell Address, "tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism."

The danger, therefore, which is threatened by the multiplication of bureaus and commissions consists in the commingling of these powers. The authority conferred upon these administrative bodies is becoming less and less limited. The jurisdiction to deal with particular subjects involving the conduct of individuals is conferred in terms which tend to become increasingly indefinite.

While, however, "bureaucracy" is a word which we instinctively accept as connoting an offensive form of government, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by mere expletives. As the tasks of government grow in magnitude, it becomes more and more difficult for the legislative authority to deal directly and completely with many matters which come within its powers. It therefore is becoming increasingly necessary to devolve upon administrative bureaus and commissions the duty not only of executing but to some extent of filling in the details of administrative legislation, which of necessity must continue to be expressed in terms more or less general and comprehensive.

A serious danger to the citizen in this situation, however, is likely to arise from a failure on the part of the legislative authority to lay down explicitly and with sufficient care the primary standard which fixes the limits within which the power of the bureau or commission is to operate, and another danger lies in the fact that the persons composing the bureaus and commissions under our system of political appointments may be deficient in technical learning for the work which they are called upon to do. The duties to be performed by such bureaus and commissions are sometimes of a highly specialized character, where thoroughgoing study and training are as essential as they are in the case of the judiciary.

There is, moreover, a growing tendency to make the findings of these bodies final, which, to be sure, obviates delay and adds a certain measure of vigor to administrative action, but on the other hand takes away the wholesome restraint afforded by the consciousness of the official that his acts are subject to review.

The result of all this is that there is being developed a system of administrative government which may easily become autocratic and oppressive. The power is conferred in such indefinite terms that the administrative board in exercising its power in effect enacts the rule and then proceeds to enforce it. By way of illustration, let me call attention to the law passed by Congress creating the so-called Trade Commission. Under this law the business operations of anywhere from three hundred thousand to half a million corporations are placed under the jurisdiction, and to a large extent at the mercy of an administrative board of five men. The law declares that "unfair methods of competition are unlawful," which provision the commission is empowered to enforce. The provision, however, is so general and indefinite that no two minds are likely to agree as to its scope and meaning. The powers of the board in this respect, therefore, can not be determined by reference to any primary standard furnished by the law itself, and but for the fundamental guaranties of the Constitution—still subject to the saving hand of the courts of the country—they would be well nigh unlimited. We know what the phrase "unfair competition" means, because the courts have told us. It consists primarily in an attempt on the part of one person to impose his goods or his business on the public as the goods or business of another. The element of fraud is a material constituent. What is meant by the phrase "unfair methods of competition" nobody knows, only that it means something different from the phrase "unfair competition," since it is a rule of law, as well as of good sense, that when the language of the law is altered an intent to change the meaning is presumed. What, therefore, will the commission hold to be "unfair methods of competition"—methods which are legally unfair; methods which are economically unfair; methods which are ethically unfair; or all three and more? Will fraud be considered a necessary element in the transaction? Under this all-embracing generalization business men must look not to the law but to the commission to tell them what they may or may not do. Whenever a case of suspected "unfair methods" is presented, the commission will not ascertain the facts and apply the rule, but will ascertain the facts and make the rule. The determination of each case will involve in effect, therefore, the making of a law applicable not to future facts but to facts already past, and the rendering of judgment thereon.

I may say in passing that there are other extraordinary provisions in this law which are filled with menace, among them the provision empowering the commission "to investigate from time to time the organization, business conduct, practices, and management of any corporation engaged in commerece," and so on, and for this purpose, as well as for the other purposes of the act, the commission is given "access to, for the purpose of examination, and the right to copy any documentary evidence of any corporation being investigated or proceeded against." The effect of this is to vest this board with authority to take possession of and copy all the books and private papers of every corporation which happens to be engaged in interstate commerce, whether these books relate to interstate transactions or not, because the test which determines the power of the board is simply that the corporations shall be engaged in interstate commerce. Being so engaged there is no limit as to the character of the business conduct and practices which the board may investigate.

Surely these provisions are of at least questionable constitutionality; first, because they confer a power on the board to deal with matters which may or may not relate to interstate commerce, and, second, because they empower an administrative board to seize private papers and carry away copies of them without legal process and in apparent violation of the search and seizure clause of the Constitution. But irrespective of this the authority is so dangerous and far-reaching that its complete exercise will never long be tolerated by a people whose government has been builded upon the principle that the most imperious and necessary of all political rights is the right to be secure against the exercise of arbitrary and undefined powers.

The purpose of this Trade Commission law is to restrict competition. The purpose of the antitrust laws is to enlarge competition. To what extent will the administration of the former modify or nullify the latter? The business organizations of the country are confronted with two sets of statutes proceeding upon partially antagonistic principles. Cases will inevitably arise where it will be difficult to determine which principle shall apply—that which forbids or that which enforces competition. After a quarter of a century of litigation the business world has at length ascertained with some approach to certainty what are the limits of its authority to combine. It must now take up the task of learning the limits of its right to compete. How far the work of the courts in expounding the Sherman law will be upset by the administrative enforcement of the trade-commission law can not be foreseen, but in the meantime the business of the country must suffer another long period of anxious and injurious uncertainty. The Trade Commission itself has made little, if any, effort to carry into operation the sweeping powers which the law confers, so that the mischief is still latent, having had no opportunity of becoming manifest. In refraining from exercising these powers thus far the commission has shown itself wiser than the law, and if that course shall be followed permanently we may experience nothing more serious than the amiable efforts of a group of highly intelligent and conscientious gentlemen to give some more or less relevant advice and render some more or less helpful service to the business men of the country, efforts which I am bound to say thus far have been productive of much good and no harm.

Nevertheless, the provisions to which I have called attention remain in the law ready to be invoked at any time with such far-reaching and injurious consequences as at present can not be foreseen.

Not only are the business activities of the country being investigated, supervised, directed, and controlled in such a multitude of ways that the banker, the merchant, and the men of industry generally are afloat upon a sea of uncertainty where, if they succeed in avoiding the mines of dubious statutes by which they are surrounded, they are in danger of being blown up by an administrative torpedo, launched from one of

the numerous submarine commissions by which the business waters are everywhere infested, but the Government is invading and is threatening to more seriously invade the market place itself, not as a regulator, but as a participant and competitor. We seem to be approaching more and more nearly the point where the old philosophy that whatever can be done by the individual should not be done by the Government, even though it may be well done, is to be abandoned for the new and dangerous doctrine that whatever can be done by the Government, even though it may be badly done, should not be permitted to the individual.

Steps have quite recently been taken for putting the National Government into the business of manufacturing armor plate, and nitrates for use in making gunpowder, which may, of course, be justified as measures for the public defense, but alternative provision is made for utilizing the nitrate plants when their product is not needed for powder—which, except in time of war, will be almost all the time—for the purpose of producing fertilizers to be sold to the farmers. While much can be said on the score of economy as to the doubtful wisdom of the Government undertaking to make its own armor plate, yet after all it does not involve any departure from established governmental principles. But it is difficult to conceive of any legitimate basis for putting the Federal Government into the business of manufacturing manure as a trade commodity. The Government is building a railroad in Alaska. Some of us opposed that as being a step in the direction of Government ownership, but some excuse may be found for the action in the theory that the Territory is really Government property and that the same warrant exists for improving it as existed in the case of the arid lands whose reclamation was provided for by act of Congress. But Congress has gone quite beyond all this in the passage of the so-called ship-purchase act, which proposes to put the Government of the United States into the ocean carrying trade as a common carrier for hire. The Postmaster General for several years has been insisting that the Federal Government should take over and operate the telephone and telegraph lines, and the demand for Government ownership and operation of the railroads is apparently growing. Personally, I am opposed to all these schemes. Whatever may be said as to the power of a particular State or municipality to engage in some specific business activity. I have never been able to understand how the Federal Government with its precisely enumerated and delegated powers may constitutionally engage in business. Warrant may be found in the post-office clause for the operation of the telephone and telegraph lines, but the only authority, even under the most strained construction, that can be cited as authorizing the Government of the United States to become a common carrier of goods and passengers by land or sea is the commerce clause which gives Congress power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. I have upon another occasion discussed this question at some length, and I shall not undertake to go into it now further than to say that the power which is conferred is to regulate, not to do the substantive thing which is the subject of regulation. To build a highway or even a railroad may be accepted as a regulation of commerce, since its effect is to facilitate commerce, and thus to condition or regulate it, but the building of a road and the carrying of passengers over the road are two very different things. The building of the road may regulate commerce, but the carrying of passengers and goods over the road is commerce itself, and, under our system, always regarded as a private activity as distinguished from a governmental function. Regulation, however, is naturally and necessarily a matter for the Government, since it is unthinkable that one individual should have the power to regulate the activities of another individual. Had it been suggested to the framers of the Constitution that provision should be made whereby the Federal Government might engage in the carrying trade or in any other form of private as distinguished from governmental business, certainly the suggestion would have been instantly and emphatically rejected. The fathers intended that this should be a civil Government; it was no part of their plan that it should ever become a business organization. Jealous to the last degree of individual rights and liberties, their effort was to abridge rather than to extend the powers of government.

I can not imagine any greater misfortune to the people than for the General Government to acquire and operate the telegraph, telephone, and railroad lines of the country. The duties imposed upon that Government has already grown to vast proportions.

To add the burden of operating all the railroads and telegraph and telephone lines would be to invite disaster. Persons now in the service of the Government already number over a million. If to this number we add all the employees in the service of the great private corporations now operating these instrumentalities, the 3,000,000 or more, if organized—as they undoubtedly would be organized—would practically dictate the policy of the Government. If to the annual rivers and harbors "pork barrel" and the biennial public buildings "pork barrel" we should add an annual railroad "pork-barrel" bill, the public expenditures would increase to such a sum that the $3,000,000,000 Congress would be looked back to as an example of political self-restraint and economy. The Congressman from every district, in addition to asking for a public building, would demand a new railroad station, a branch railroad, and other expensive additions. Between the effort to decrease freight rates in order to cultivate the votes of the shippers and consumers, to increase wages in order to cultivate the labor vote, and the "log-rolling" incident to the making of permanent improvements in order to make each Congressman solid with his constituents, the annual expenditures would be increased to a point beyond the wildest imaginings.

The ship-purchase act in one aspect presents the evil of Government ownership in its worst form, for it does not propose that the Government shall completely occupy the field, but that it shall partially occupy it in competition with its own citizens. The business, it is practically conceded, will not be carried on at a profit, but probably will be carried on at a loss, which, of course, must be recouped from taxes imposed upon the private ship owners in common with the other citizens of the country. Think of a Government in time of peace—for I recognize that anything may be justified in time of war—embarking in a business enterprise and taxing its own competitors to the end that the business may be carried on to their injury and perhaps to their ultimate ruin and bankruptcy, for successful competition between the Government, to whom profits are of no concern, and the citizens, to whom profits are vital, is, of course, impossible.

If the Government were bound to an observance of the same conduct which it enjoins upon the citizen, the situation might present a case under the law forbidding "unfair methods of competition" for the thoughtful consideration of the Federal Trade Commission.

The regulation and control of merely self-regarding conduct, the multiplication of administrative boards and similar agencies, and the invasion of the field of private business, which I have thus far particularized, illustrate rather than enumerate the various tendencies of modern legislation and government to depart from those sound and wholesome principles which hitherto have been supposed to operate in the direction of preserving the individual against undue restraint and oppression.

Class legislation, the most odious form of legislative abuse, is by no means infrequent. In State and Nation statutes are to be found which select for special privilege one class of great voting strength or set apart for special burdens another class of small numerical power at the polls.

Next to the separation and distribution of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, the most important feature of our plan of government is the division of the aggregate powers of government between the Nation and the several States, to the one by enumeration and to the other by reservation. I believe in the most liberal construction of the national powers actually granted, but I also believe in the rigid exclusion of the National Government from those powers which have been actually reserved to the States. The local government is in immediate contact with the local problems and should be able to deal with them more wisely and more effectively than the General Government, having its seat at a distance. The need of preserving the power and enforcing the duty of local self-government is imperative, and especially so in a country, such as ours, of vast population and extent, possessing almost every variety of soil and climate, of greatly diversified interests and occupations, and having all sorts of differing conditions to deal with. There is, unfortunately, however, a constantly growing tendency on the part of the General Government to intrude upon the powers of the State governments, more by way of relieving them from responsibilities they are willing to shirk than by usurping powers they are anxious to retain. Especially does any inroad or suggested inroad upon the Federal Treasury for State purposes meet with instant and hearty approval. The grave danger of all this is that the ability as well as the desire of the people of the several States to carry their own burdens and correct their own shortcomings will gradually lessen and finally disappear, with the result that the States will become mere geographical subdivisions and the Federal character of the Nation will cease to exist save as a more or less discredited tradition.

These and many other matters afford temptation to further discussion to which I can not yield without undue trespass upon your patience, which I feel has already been quite sufficiently taxed.

Fifty years ago a great French writer—Laboulaye, I think it was—speaking through the lips of one of his American char-

acters, uttered these words of wisdom and of power, words which are as true to-day as they were when they were written:

"The more democratic a people is, the more it is necessary that the individual be strong and his property sacred. We are a Nation of sovereigns, and everything that weakens the individual tends toward demagogy; that is, toward disorder and ruin; whereas everything that fortifies the individual tends toward democracy; that is, the reign of reason and the Evangel. A free country is a country where each citizen is absolute master of his conscience, his person, and his goods. If the day ever comes when individual rights are swallowed up by those of the general interest, that day will see the end of Washington's handiwork; we will be a mob and we will have a master."

It is now as it has always been, that when the visionary or the demagogue advocates a new law or policy or scheme of government which tends to curtail the liberties of the individual he loudly insists that he is acting for the general interest and thereby surrounds his propaganda with such a halo of sancity that opposition or even candid criticism is looked upon as sacrilege.

But the time has come when every true lover of his country must refuse to be misled or overawed by specious claims of this character. Individual liberty and the common good are not incompatible, but are entirely consistent with one another. Both are desirable and both may be had, but we must demand the substance of both and not accept the counterfeit of either. Crimes, we are told, have been committed in the name of liberty. But either the thing that was called a crime was no crime or the name of liberty was profaned, as though one should become an anarchist in the name of order. Liberty and order are the two most precious things beneath the stars. The duty which rests upon us of this generation is the same that has rested upon all the generations of the past—to be vigilant to see and resolute to repel every attempt, however insidious or indirect, to destroy liberty in the name of order, or order in the name of liberty, for the alternative of the one is despotism and of the other the mob.

War-Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 11, 1917.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, the controlling motive in the consideration of the bill to provide insurance for the enlisted men of the Army and Navy should be to do everything in our power for the soldiers and sailors who are to bear our standards across the seas, and so to arrange the bill that the dependents of these men, left behind, will have every possible assurance of being properly cared for.

In brief, the compelling influence in the pending legislation should be the obligation imposed upon us by virtue of our office, to look after the material welfare of the men who are fighting to preserve the rights of our country and also to protect their dependents.

We need have little fear that too much can be done for them. Too much can never be done for the man who is willing to leave all and chance his life and all he holds most dear for his country. Too much can not be done for the wife whom he leaves behind and who is ready to add her sacrifice to that of her husband. Too much can not be done for the dependents, now left without a breadwinner, by the country for which the breadwinner is ready to die.

While expenditures of millions and appropriations perhaps now unexpected may be made, the question is not primarily one of money, and can be approached best only from the standpoint of patriotism, from the viewpoint of men conscious of a sacred trust imposed upon them.

I shall vote for the measure.

We are living in abnormal times. For three years we have been reading of armies marching out to battle; and now our own troops, from being spectators, have become participants and are moving daily nearer and nearer to the clash of arms. We have a right to be proud of them; theirs is the right to look to us for cooperation. The clamor of the first days of the war having passed away, the country is now settling down to effect a complete and early victory. While no section of the land yields to any other in patriotism, I think I can be pardoned for referring here to the active part Connecticut has always taken in crises of the country.

When in 1776 the delegates from the original Colonies met in Philadelphia to sign the Declaration of Independence, Connecticut was ably represented by Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, and Oliver Wolcott. These men were invaluable as counselors in the early days of the Republic, and side by side with their names have been written the names of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, Israel Putnam, and William Samuel Johnson; and who is there that has not been thrilled by the story of the martyr-hero of Connecticut, Nathan Hale?

Typical of her earlier enthusiasm was the State's response to the call for troops issued by Abraham Lincoln when the preservation of the Union was threatened in 1861. Connecticut, during the Civil War, sent to the front at various times 28 regiments of Infantry, 2 regiments and 3 batteries of Artillery, and 1 regiment and a squadron of Cavalry.

Her forces numbered 54,882 volunteers of all terms of service, being an average of 48,181 three-year men and 6,698 more than her quota. This was a high percentage for a State which at that time had but about 80,000 votes and 50,000 able-bodied men on her militia rolls. As to the kind and character of the men Connecticut gave, a mere mention of the names is sufficient. It was Connecticut which gave the country its Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, also Rear Admiral Andrew H. Foote and F. H. Gregory, and Commodores C. R. P. Rogers and R. B. Hitchcock. One of the first victims of the Civil War was Theodore Winthrop, of New Haven, a descendent of Connecticut's first governor, John Winthrop. Prominent among the major generals of the war were Joseph R. Hawley, of Hartford; Alfred H. Terry, of New Haven; John Sedgwick, of Cornwall Hollow; J. K. F. Mansfield, of Middletown. Other names of deserved prominence are those of Brig. Gen. R. O. Tyler, of Hartford; Nathaniel Lyon, of Eastford; G. A. Stedman, of Hartford; and Daniel Tyler and Edward Harland, of Norwich. The death roll for Connecticut was heavy, there being 97 officers and 1,094 men killed in action, 48 officers and 663 men dying from wounds, 63 officers and 3,246 men dying from disease, and 21 officers and 389 men reported missing.

In the present emergency, since April 1 of this year up to and including August 24 last, 2,419 of her sons have enlisted to join those already in the Regular Army; 150 officers and 5,091 enlisted men of her National Guard were taken into the Federal service as of July 31, and other units are ready to be called while she has also furnished a large quota to the United States Navy. In addition she will shortly be represented in the new National Army by her quota of nearly 11,000 men, making a total of nearly 19,000 men given willingly to the cause of her country.

The spirit that has animated her soldiers is noticeable in a marked degree among those left at home to do their share. And in their patriotism the insurance men of Hartford, which is recognized as the insurance center of the United States, will not take second rank. They do not oppose the present bill and have, in fact, offered valuable suggestions and aid to the Federal authorities in framing it. It is to be hoped such suggestions, based on years of experience, will be adopted.

The provisions for soldiers and sailors and their dependents contained in the proposed bill for purposes of study and discussion can be best considered under three headings:

(1) (Art. 2). Provision for financial support for the dependents of sailors and soldiers during the war. This part of the bill can be commended as well drawn.

(2) (Art. 3). Compensation to soldiers and sailors in the case of permanent disability—either total or partial disability—or to their dependents in case of death resulting from injuries or sickness incurred during the war.

(3) (Art. 4). Optional insurance plan by which the soldier or sailor may obtain additional protection against death or total and permanent disability incurred during the war or after the war at normal mortality rates—the Government to assume the cost of the extra war risk.

Articles 3 and 4 can be modified in a manner which will disburse the funds of the Government to the sailors and the soldiers and their dependents in a much more equitable and satisfactory manner.

One purpose which has been advanced for article 4 is that there is a necessity for insuring "loss of insurability" of the men who go to war. Under a properly drawn compensation plan there can be no question of the "loss of insurability" of the men during the term of the war, if the compensation plan (art. 3) is drawn with liberality. By amplifying the list of possible dependents and making more liberal the payments

under the compensation plan (art. 3), there can be no question of "loss of insurability." "Loss of insurability" after the war should also be taken care of if the compensation plan is drawn sufficiently liberal. If a soldier or sailor is injured or disabled by sickness sufficiently severe to affect his insurability, he should be eligible for compensation. All men who are not disabled because of the war may obtain standard insurance—there is no "loss of insurability."

To summarize: If the compensation plan (art. 3) is amplified by protecting beneficial interests which are not now mentioned—such as parents, grandparents, brothers, and sisters, if wholly dependent—and the monthly benefits be increased to provide more generous protection, it may be a substitute for article 4, as a source of additional protection, and there is no question of "loss of insurability" involved. A compensation act drawn in such a manner will take care of the soldier or sailor or his dependents if he suffers any injury or other disability which would be severe enough to cause "loss of insurability." To make it more specific, the increase in the monthly benefit, which can be made, to take the place of the money which would be expended by the Government under article 4, the following examples are cited:

(1) Let us take the case of a private, wife aged 30 years, no children. Under article 3, in case this man be killed, payment of $35 a month during the life of the widow until her remarriage is payable. For each $1,000 which the Government would disburse under article 4 this monthly allowance would be increased approximately $6. In other words, if under article 4 the soldier had procured $1,000 of insurance, he would, as a substitute under article 3, provide for his wife in the event of his death during the war an increase in his compensation of approximately $6 a month. The increase in the wife's monthly income would, of course, be greater in proportion with the increase in the amount of insurance.

(2) Widow aged 30, children aged 6 and 4. In this case—if the soldier be a private—the minimum monthly compensation under article 3 is $52.50. For each $1,000 of insurance under article 4 the Government could provide $6.25 a month additional benefit.

(3) Let us take the case of total and permanent disability of a private aged 28. The minimum allowance, excluding nurse benefits, under article 3 is $40 per month, to continue during the lifetime of the soldier. For each $1,000 of insurance that he had procured under article 4 the Government could give as a substitute an increase in his monthly benefit of approximately $3.75.

(4) Permanent partial disability. Even if the man had applied for additional insurance under article 4 there would be no additional protection for the many injuries of this sort, for the reason that article 4 provides only for a benefit in event of death or total and permanent disability. A plan for amplifying article 3 would, however, increase the benefit for the numerous injuries of this nature.

It will be indicated, therefore, that by amplifying article 3—the compensation plan—in the manner suggested as a substitute for the proposed article 4 material additions to the monthly benefits can be made by utilizing the moneys which would have been expended under article 4, and the much more satisfactory method of compensating these men and their dependents will follow. Most men prefer that the benefits be paid during the lifetime of the soldiers or sailors.

The second purpose of article 4 is undoubtedly to forestall pension legislation. Pension legislation has been of two general classes: First, pensions in event of death or disability in the service; second, service pensions, i. e., pension allowances as a reward for certain periods of service. It can be seen that the first class of legislation will be taken care of by a properly amplified and liberalized compensation plan—article 3. Service pensions, however, can not be taken care of by a compensation plan or by an optional insurance plan such as article 4. If the Congress thinks it desirable to attempt to forestall service-pension legislation, the best proposal is to give to each man who enters the service of his country a level amount of insurance. It would be recognized in doing this that this is a gift of the Government to the men for services rendered. Under such a plan a certain amount of insurance—to be fixed by Congress—shall be given to each member of the Army and Navy. This will offer some additional protection it is true, but mainly the idea will be to give this insurance protection because of service to the country.

The present provision of article 4 is inequitable. I can think of no better argument than the point raised by Chairman ADAMSON in the hearings held by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, during the statement of Mr. A. L. Hereford. I quote Mr. ADAMSON's remarks, on page 74, part 3, of the hearings of August 24, 1917:

> The CHAIRMAN. I am not hunting for a pretext on which to defeat the bill, but I am rather hunting for something to base it on. I want to ask you a question. By giving the option to the soldiers of taking insurance, one soldier takes it because he feels able, and another soldier does not take it because he does not feel able. They both get killed. The widow of the one who has taken the life insurance gets the insurance and the widow of the soldier who has not taken the life insurance does not get any insurance. Do you not think some benevolent Congressman would immediately introduce a bill for a pension for that widow whose husband was not able to take the life insurance?

In discussing the pension phase of the law, it may be worthy of note here that at the close of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1917, there were 673,111 pensioners on the roll, according to information forwarded to me by Commissioner Saltzgaber. Of these, 646,875 were Army pensioners, 26,025 were Navy pensioners, and 211 were Army nurses. There were 329,226 Civil War survivors, while 33,232 Civil War survivors had died during the year then ending. There were 302,964 widows on the roll, while during the year 20,130 widows had died. The report of expenditures shows that the amount paid by the Government from 1790 to 1917 was $5,215,575,780.94.

Speaking on pension appropriations in the House of Representatives on July 10, 1914, I said:

> I am in favor of keeping down to a judicious minimum the appropriations which must be made. Nevertheless I do not consider it wisdom, economy, or justice to reduce our Government expenditure at the expense of the old soldier, sailor, or widow. Believing that it is only right and just that loyal patriots' service should be rewarded, it has given me pleasure to vote for appropriations providing for the payment of pensions.

My stand then is my stand to-day. Wise expenditure of the public funds must be associated with judicious care of the men incapacitated by the war and of their dependents.

On page 49, report of the hearings on the pending bill, August 17, 1917, Capt. Wolfe, the actuary for the Government, is quoted as having said:

> Twenty-five per cent of the men the first year will take out $2,500 of insurance. Of course, some will take out only $1,000 and some will take out a great deal more than that.

If we adopt article 4, would it not be fairer to the men and their dependents for the Government, at its expense, to give to all enlisted men an equal amount of insurance? This would give to the 75 per cent who would not take out the insurance under the optional plan the same protection given to those who would insure, and would place all on an equitable basis, and at the same time reduce the possibility of future pension claims. Under the plan as proposed the men least requiring insurance protection would be the men most likely to apply for it. The Government can forego the payment of premiums during the war. Indeed, the money covering the payment of such premiums would be small compared with the amount which the Government may be obliged to pay for pensions in future years if this plan, democratic and equitable, is not adopted.

With the governmental guardianship and generosity running throughout the bill, the adoption of this plan will be but more extensively carrying out these ideas. I earnestly hope the change will be made. It will be less expensive in the end and fairer to the enlisted man and his dependents and to the taxpayer.

War-Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM D. McKEOWN,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 12, 1917.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, the patriotism of the American soldier of the war of 1917 will go down in the history of this country side by side with that of the soldier of the Revolution; but the care and comfort afforded the soldier of this war by the American people stand out in bold relief when compared to the poor equipment and commissary of the Revolutionary patriot. In one thing will they equally share, and that is the love and esteem in which they were and are held by the patriotic citizens of their times.

Tories there were in the Revolutionary days, and Tories there are to-day; one as troublesome and despicable as the other. The great majority of the people of the Colonies were in favor of throwing off the yoke of oppression and were so loyal to their principles that no temptation of light taxation deterred

them from standing loyal and steadfast for freedom. The temptation to remain a colony was exceedingly great. They were tied to the mother country by tongue, commerce, affection, and blood, but these were not strong enough to quench the longing for freedom and liberty that burned in the hearts of the pioneers of the New World. Cries of "Peace!" and arguments of fatherland and kinship did not deter the progress of the movement for a free, untrammeled people.

The Revolutionary soldier went forth in the beginning of the struggle, furnishing his own equipment and backed by the poorest Government financially on the earth. The soldier and the people at home were accustomed to poverty and the grinding hardships of the early pioneer. The soldier of 1917 is going to the front with the best equipment that money and genius can procure and as the representative of the richest nation on the globe.

Our forefathers of seventy-six wrote their names on the tablets of fame; the soldier of 1917 will prove equally valorous, and will incorporate his name not only upon the roll of honor but will erect in the hearts of free peoples a monument to his memory more lasting, more enduring than any image wrought by the cunning hand of genius.

The soldier of the Revolution fought for the liberty and freedom of the inhabitants of the Thirteen Colonies. The soldier of sixty-one to sixty-five fought for the freedom of millions of slaves; but the soldier of 1917 fights for the freedom of the world, and "freedom" has been the keynote of all our wars—of all our victories!

For their maintenance during their service the soldier of seventy-six was poorly and rarely paid, but the survivors were given large grants of land. The survivors of the war of sixty-one to sixty-five also received land grants. But there are no more fertile acres of public lands to give to the survivors of this war, as public areas for homesteads are exhausted, so it follows that we should give increased compensation to these men, and stand willing to indemnify them against loss of life and limb, and provide term insurance for the benefit of their loved ones.

While I am of the opinion that this bill should be amended in some particulars, yet it is a great measure, and has for its purpose a greater benefit to the survivors of the defenders of the flag of our country and their dependents than any other like measure ever enacted. The spirit of fairness with which the bill has been presented by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] convinces me that the committee having it in charge is more concerned in endeavoring to assist and compensate the soldiers of this war than for preserving every section and every provision originally written in this measure.

One must have some better reason than the fact that it might have been reported by some other committee, or that experts in pension matters were not consulted, for conscientiously opposing this enactment.

A more splendid body of young men is not to be found upon the earth than the soldier boys of America who are going out to fight in this war. They are physically in fine condition; of the very highest intelligence, and of splendid morals. This Congress has, by law, thrown every precaution around them, to guard as much as possible against the vices which tend to sap their moral and physical strength.

I think we should have gone one step further and provided heavy penalties against the usurers who would take advantage of the soldier and mulct him in larger prices for his necessities than they do other customers. May God have mercy upon and forgive the little, avaricious tradesman who overcharges our patriotic soldiers, because the true American citizen can never forgive him. For myself I hope the days of these criminals may be shortened on the earth, because such people do not deserve to live in "the land of the free and home of the brave."

Many hearts are sad at the loss of the companionship and the presence of our soldier boys, and no place illustrates this condition more vividly and more conspicuously than does this House. Here are Members whose faces and whose actions portray the burden resting on their hearts. What more pathetic scene than to gaze upon our brave and respected Speaker as he goes about his daily tasks without the cheering companionship of his brilliant son? Thousands of other American fathers and mothers have parted, or are soon to part, with their soldier sons. There will be crowded trains leaving loved ones at the stations, and here and there will be the wave of a hand, the glimmer of a tear, as the train passes, and he will be gone, perhaps forever.

When the war is over and the survivors return to receive the thanks and plaudits of a free people, then will we see to it that justice is done and deserving honor is paid to the brave and true ones who helped retain democracy in the world, battling for that result on foreign soil and carrying the Stars and Stripes to the forefront, beyond even the colors of nations compared to which, in history and origin, in point of time, we are mere infants.

I feel it would not be out of place if the Government would lay stress upon the necessity of our soldiers taking advantage of the insurance feature of this measure. There should be a provision relative to their retaining their insurance after the war, requiring the insured to be examined each year. This would help preserve the health of the men, and such physical examinations would lengthen the lives of these citizens. I believe the Government should, as a beneficial measure, require all men and women to be examined physically once a year, after passing the age of 35, in order that their years might be increased.

Soldiers of other wars have returned to their homes after the declarations of peace to find their wives and children suffering in poverty and want and a Government tardy in providing for their unfortunate condition, but, sirs, this certainly will not be even the dream of the soldiers' home-coming in this war. This Congress will look to it that the dependents of our fighting men will be cared for while they are at the front. The citizens who remain at home must earn for the dependent families of those who win our battles. The statement of Capt. John Smith should again be revived: "Those who do not work do not eat."

Soldiers of 1917, emulate the valor of your forefathers of 1776. Enter upon your duties with determination to drive autocracy and despotism from the world and teach all nations that the ships of commerce flying Old Glory shall sail the seven seas, unmolested and unafraid. Go teach the world the true motto of every true patriot: "Give me liberty or give me death."

War-Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. M. NEELY,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, September 13, 1917.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter from Mr. C. Burgess Taylor:

WHEELING, W. VA., *August 18, 1917.*

Hon. M. M. NEELY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am in a position to advise you that powerful life-insurance interests in this country are gathering their forces for an attack on the insurance plan proposed by the administration for the purpose of providing for our Army and Navy. Of course, I appreciate the fact that there are many life insurance men in this country whose advice might be valuable in working out the details of an adequate insurance plan, but it is evident that the forces behind this movement are inspired by what they conceive to be the danger of this Government engaging in competition with life insurance companies permanently if this becomes a law.

Of necessity this puts them in a position where their own selfish interests will obscure their vision and warp their judgment. An appeal has been made to me to interpose objections to this measure. This I refuse to do. In fact, if my company should request me to do this, which it has not, I would surrender my position before I would do it. As I see the situation there are two controlling factors which should guide you in this legislation: First, and above anything else, that the largest provision at the lowest possible expenditure to the individual should be made for our soldiers and sailors who may be injured or killed in this war; second, that the provisions of the bill should have especial reference to the elimination of the possibilities of logrolling, pork barrels, and scandals growing out of a pension system.

Of course, there may be details that can be improved or additions that may be desirable, but under no circumstances should the selfish demands of life insurance as a special interest receive any consideration, and I am simply writing this to let you know that you will have my unqualified support in any position which you take in opposition to insurance representatives who are inspired by such motives. The burden of opposition to Government insurance is that the established companies will not be able to compete with this plan.

Speaking for myself, I have only to say that any hardship which might be imposed upon us as representatives of the insurance interests of this country as a result of such legislation, would indeed be a slight sacrifice as compared with the suffering of our soldiers who are called to make the supreme sacrifice for this Nation, and the suffering and anguish that must be endured by those left behind who are bound to them by ties of blood and affection. It seems to me that for those of us who have been exempted by the Government from military service to interpose opposition inspired by our own selfish interests to any legislation which is calculated to alleviate suffering and privations of the victims of this war is very close akin to treason.

I feel sure that it is not necessary for me to make these suggestions to you, but it occurred to me that it might be gratifying for you to know that there are those of us engaged in the great business of life insurance who do not feel that it is your duty to serve our selfish purposes at the expense of the best interests of this Nation.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very respectfully, C. BURGESS TAYLOR.

The War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 12, 1917.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following patriotic address of Hon. SAM J. NICHOLLS, delivered at Union, S. C., on August 18:

CONGRESSMAN NICHOLLS'S PATRIOTIC ADDRESS.

When I received an invitation from your committee to speak in Union County at a patriotic celebration I was not at all surprised, because, so far as the record shows, Union County is the only county in the United States which furnished more than her quota of men before the draft law was put into effect; therefore, you can see why I was not surprised that patriotic meetings were to be held in your county.

I have spoken with much pride to Cabinet members, to Senators, and to Members of the House about your record, and before I start my discussion of the war proposition I want to again congratulate you upon the splendid record that you have made.

I feel that it is my duty to-day to tell you why we were brought into this war, because I think possibly, holding the position I do, that I am more familiar with the situation than some of you are. You know and I know that no man has fought harder to keep this country out of the terrible conflict across the water than our noble President. Congress was behind him in this matter, and, to be perfectly frank with you, some of us thought we had suffered too much before this wise man gave us the word, "Go."

To begin with, when the *Lusitania* was sunk and our men, women, and children were sent to the bottom of the sea, the blood of every American citizen rose in his veins and clamored for revenge. Our President said, "Hold! If there is any reasonable way for Germany to explain this terrible tragedy, let us give them a chance to do it." They tried to explain by saying that American citizens should not travel on ships of a belligerent nation. We never conceded this proposition for an instant, but we did, upon their assurance, absolutely sworn to by them, decide that we would await developments and see whether or not they would be true to their pledge and not let the thing occur again. Numerous other cases of the same kind happened and still we took their explanation in each case, hoping almost against hope that Germany really was not trying to force us into the war.

In the meantime Germany had the effrontery to deliberately inform our Government that they intended to sink, not only the ships of belligerent nations but the ships of the United States if they were caught in certain zones, and immediately after this notification they started a wholesale slaughter upon not only the property of American citizens but the lives of your people and mine. Even then, although the whole country and the whole world knew that we had every justification for declaring war, our President desisted, but informed Germany that if these depredations continued we would have to declare a state of war.

While all these murders were being perpetrated our Secret Service men had, of course, been trying to keep up with Germany and find out their real intentions. At this juncture it developed, not by guess, but by direct written testimony, that Germany had made a proposition to Japan and to Mexico to invade our country, murder our citizens, and take our property. They had even gone so far as to promise Mexico the States of Texas, California, and New Mexico in case Germany, with the assistance of Japan and Mexico, could conquer us.

Have you ever heard of a more dastardly attempt to stab us in the back? Here was Germany professing to be our friend, and, at the same time, trying to employ other nations to make war upon us. Even then, after knowing these facts, the President gave Germany an opportunity to explain. He went a great deal further than I would have gone, and a great deal further than the patriotic citizens of Union County would have gone in order to avoid this war.

South Carolina has never sought a conflict, but no man can tell me truthfully that South Carolina ever went so far as to allow her most sacred rights to be invaded without rising up to defend them. These matters which I have told you about are what forced us into this war.

I do not want you to overlook the fact that this country has never declared war on Germany. We have not declared war on Germany. Your Congress has not declared war on Germany. We have declared that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States. It did not take Senators and Members of the House long to come to this conclusion.

Any man that had two grains of sense knows that when our citizens are being murdered and our property destroyed a state of war did exist, and, therefore, it makes me tired, sick, and disgusted when people go over this country stating that your Representatives should not have taken the action which they did.

The proposition is simply this: Under the law any neutral nation is entitled to the use of the high seas. Citizens of the United States have as much right to travel them as you have to travel the roads in front of your homes or the streets in your city. Germany has never been able to deny that this is the law in the case.

When, however, we sought to use the right given us under international law Germany said to us there are certain streets and highways that you can not use, even though you have the right to use them, because you are engaging in commerce with our enemies.

Let us get the proposition down to a plain case: Suppose any of you had business with one of your neighbors, and suppose in order to transact this business you wished to use the public road, when there was no question as to your right to use it, and suppose some man who did not like your neighbor with whom you were doing business stood at the side of the road with a shotgun and told you that you could not pass along this road because he was an enemy of the man with whom you wanted to conduct your relations.

What would have been the result. Knowing you as I do, I know you would have said to him, "I have a right to use this road, and you have no right to stop me, and I am going to arm myself and protect my rights, and if you interfere with me we will shoot this thing out."

That is a rather crude illustration, but that is exactly what we have told Germany, and we are arming ourselves, and we are going to shoot it out. And when we get through the shooting you may rest assured that Germany will not block any more roads.

War is a terrible thing. None of us wanted to get into it. I opposed it as long as there was a chance for us to avoid it honorably. The cost in men and money, the broken hearts, the bloodshed, the suffering of those at home who do not have to go are appalling. I could not but shudder and sigh when I cast my vote as I did.

This war was brought home to me two years ago, when the only brother I had, realizing earlier than we have realized the ruthlessness of these German tyrants, went to England to do his bit to stop them in their murderous course. He to-day fills a soldier's grave on the battle fields of France, but I do not feel that his work was in vain. I only wish that he could have lived to have served his own country in this time of stress. I hope you will pardon this personal allusion. I merely mention it to show to you how well I knew the suffering that this war would bring to our people.

Your ancestors and mine fought for the liberty which you and I now enjoy. Your ancestors and mine by their blood and treasure established a Government that has ever since held the respect of the world. Will you stand quietly by and let a brutal gang of murderers take your liberty away from you, kick you around like a football, and make you the laughing stock of the civilized world?

I know you will not. You are not bred that way. If I thought you would, I would resign my seat in Congress to-morrow, because I would think it was a disgrace to represent you.

Some people are making statements criticizing the administration for declaring a state of war. Some people are criticizing Congress for its action. They have a right to their opinion as to whether or not we should defend our national honor, but that is past history.

The Congress of the United States has decided to defend its national honor. There is no looking back now. We are in this war, and any man who does anything to hinder our success at the front or at home is a traitor to his country and is not worthy of respect of a patriotic citizenship.

Before war was declared we all had a right to our opinion, but since a state of war exists, there can be no halfway ground. Every one of us are either for our country or for Germany. There is no dodging the issue.

Robert E. Lee was opposed to secession, but when his mother State declared for it he resigned his commission in the United States Army and drew his sword to carry out the mandates of his people. You can not make me believe that the people of this country are any less loyal to-day than they were in 1776. You can not make me believe that the people of this country are any less loyal than we Southerners were in 1861. And I know you well enough to know that you will do your duty. The man that deters his country at this time for any reason is the enemy of every patriot who lives in our broad land. Suppose that they should succeed in blocking in any way the early termination of this war. Every day will mean thousands of lives lost; every day will mean millions of dollars spent; and can you tell me that a man who takes this position is a friend of his country?

There have been differences of opinion as to the way of raising the Army to fight this war. I personally believed in and fought with all the might that I possessed for the volunteer system. I gave my reasons in a speech which I made, and which I mailed out to you, for my attitude in this matter. The majority of the House and the administration differed with me and, as between the draft system and the volunteer system, voted for the draft system.

After I had been defeated for the volunteers I voted for a bill which followed the ideas of the majority. It was a question of voting for this bill or not having an army with which to fight this war.

It was such a case as would be in our election system, when in the primary I could not win for my man, and, although I thought that he should have been elected, I voted in the general election for the candidate whom I had opposed. I think this explains to you my position. After the draft bill was passed it became the only law in this land for raising an army, and I propose to uphold the law in every way within my power.

I have talked to you longer than I intended to. I hope I have given you our reasons for getting into this war. We may have been wrong. I do not grant that; but, right or wrong, I am for my country, and I have no respect for the man who is not.

Second War Bond Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORDELL HULL,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 13, 1917.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the second war loan now confronts the United States Government. The chief portion of the loan which the pending measure would authorize is for the benefit of the allied governments, however, and not for domestic purposes. When the loan act of April 24, 1917, was pending, among other things, I stated that "the most powerful blow the United States can strike at this early stage would be to arrange suitable credits for the allies to the end that their armies on the various battle fronts shall be fed, clothed, and otherwise supplied with all the necessary equipment and munitions which will enable them constantly to prosecute their present military operations against the common enemy." This statement is as applicable to present war conditions as it was to those existing in April. I made the further statement on the same occasion that "the fiscal policies which this Government should adopt during the course of the war in order to finance it on sound lines can not receive too serious consideration, for the reason that the wisdom and soundness of its solution will be calculated materially to affect the economic and other affairs of the country both during and after the war." This view is as pertinent now as it was then.

The question as to what proportion of the war expenditures should be met by taxes and what proportion by bonds arose when the April loan was pending and continues to be a fruitful topic of discussion. Commenting on this subject during the consideration of the first loan measure, I said that "my own view is that no fixed rule can be established for all governments, or even for one government." This statement was based upon the idea that many factors must be considered in balancing the amount of taxes and bonds necessary for the prosecution of a given war. The question of whether the war will be of brief or long duration, whether it is a small or a great war, whether the amount of expenditures will be comparatively small or colossal, the question of the country's credit and the relative amount of war taxes the country can bear in the beginning and the increased taxes which it should bear at successive stages, all these are factors deserving consideration. It is the undoubted duty of a government to finance any small war by taxation, and so pay every dollar of the expense "as it goes." As to a great war, such as that in which the country is now engaged, my view from the beginning has been that it should be financed by taxation levied gradually and at successive stages as expenditures increase to the extent of practical endurance, or to the fullest extent reasonably possible, without seriously injuring or dislocating legitimate business. In commenting on our tax resources and tax requirements at that time, I suggested the view in an article given to certain financial publications about August 1, that "the income and excess-profits tax measures could be made to yield $1,000,000,000 each, but that special care should be exercised in arranging their provisions, to the end that they would carve through the business and other profits with accuracy and relative fairness."

The events which have transpired since April, including our rapidly mounting war expenditures to figures far beyond original estimates, have served to confirm the view I then expressed as to the extreme difficulty of determining a fixed rule near the beginning of the war which should measure the relative proportion of bonds and taxes that should be utilized by the Government in the prosecution of the war. As late as May 9, 1917, when the war-revenue bill was reported to the House, the domestic war expenditures for the remainder of the fiscal year 1917, ending June 30, 1917, and for the whole of the present fiscal year, ending June 30, 1918, were estimated to be about $3,800,000,000. The Committee on Ways and Means then reported a revenue measure on the fifty-fifty tax and bond basis. It is now estimated that our domestic war expenditures for the fiscal year 1918 alone will aggregate more than $10,448,000,000. Hence, I repeat that in financing a great war no fixed rule as to the relative proportion of taxes and bonds is possible. The best policy is to levy the largest amount of taxes that can be imposed without actual and serious impairment or disruption of the normal business of the taxpayers, making increases in such tax levies as the war progresses and expenditures swell, and as business adjusts itself to the new conditions which such tax levies create. The remainder of the expenses should be met by the issuance of bonds.

I would heartily approve a levy of $1,000,000,000 each from incomes and excess profits at this time and a higher levy next year.

There has been much discussion as to when the bond issues to defray the expenses of the war should be paid off. Naturally, the bonds to furnish loans to the allies will have to be made to mature at such times as the allies can make payment. A different rule should apply to the bond issues for domestic war purposes. The best policy would be to wipe out such bonded indebtedness as rapidly as the undertaking can be accomplished without tax levies unduly burdensome or oppressive. The time required would depend both on the amount of such bonded indebtedness and the ability of the people to pay taxes to meet it. The chief portion of these bonds issued for domestic purposes should be made optional or redeemable within five years, or near that period, after the close of the war, to the end that the serial bond method might be adopted; at a time, too, when the aggregate amount of such indebtedness will be ascertainable. This would insure the payment of a fixed percentage annually.

The sinking-fund method, even though the law should contain very mandatory provisions, usually results in delay and postponement of the payment of public indebtedness. As a part of the serial-bond plan, I repeat a view heretofore expressed, that it would be wise and feasible to readjust the estate tax rates so as to secure a revenue yield of $200,000,000 annually, the same to be applied as one item only on serial bond payments. The States could still derive almost double the amount of their present inheritance-tax yield and the level of inheritance or estate taxation would not be above the peace level of such taxation in England prior to the war.

In formulating and prosecuting the soundest policy of financing the present war, our Government had many lights by which to be guided. We have our own experience; we also have the present and past experience of Great Britain, a country that has financed more wars, little and big, than any other country in existence. It may here be pointed out that the practice inaugurated by the British Government with respect to the issuance of war loans has been followed by most other warring countries.

The following extract from a Swiss financial publication descriptive of the British policy is of interest:

The continuous issue of short-dated notes attracts the money available as and when it appears in the market, and it is thus drained into the exchequers, which are thereby enabled to provide, day by day, for their current expenditure. The long-dated loans, which are issued from time to time, have as their principal object the consolidation of the floating debt, whilst the provision of fresh funds through appeals to the public in general, and the small investor, to whom the treasury bills are frequently unknown and inaccessible as an investment, only forms a secondary consideration.

It is important in this connection to note that England has pursued the general policy of financing the war by short-term loans, and has only utilized long-term loans for the purpose of absorbing the excess of short-term paper as it has accumulated. She manifests no disposition to abandon this policy. Only three long-term loans have thus far been made by England. This course avoids the locking up of capital in long-term loans and affords the manifest advantage of a constant flow of money derived from savings and profits into the treasury, where it is immediately distributed back into the channels of commerce, trade, and industry. About five different kinds of short-term paper has thus far been utilized, as follows: The war-savings certificate, in denominations of £1 up to £500; exchequer bonds, in denominations of £5 to £5,000, interest payable semiannually and running generally from two to five years; war-expenditure certificates, in denominations running up to £10,000, running generally about two years; ways and means advances, which are sums advanced temporarily to the Government by the Bank of England; and treasury bills of similar short-term nature. These classes of paper are constantly utilized for the twofold purpose of anticipating revenue and financing the war. This floating debt at times has amounted to more than $7,000,000,000, but when it has become too heavy a long-term loan has been made in order to bring down its amount. One outstanding feature relating to the financing of the war by England has been the heavy restrictions imposed on all Government expenditures not immediately required for war purposes and on private expenditures whenever such restriction was possible. Investments of private capital in any but war loans have been prohibited as fully as could be done. The following statement of Lord Cecil, a leading war official, made on August 11, is very pertinent.

The people have responded wonderfully to appeals for voluntary restrictions in food expenditures, and an increasing proportion of all classes is practicing economy in every possible direction, putting the fruit of such economy at the service of the Government in the form of loans. Popular loans have had a wide success, and to-day over 35,000 civilian associations are at work collecting small private war-loan subscriptions.

In floating the English long-term loan of $5,000,000,000 in February last the manner in which the transfer of cash from the money market to the treasury was made without stringency or disturbance was almost remarkable. The greater part was disbursed almost as received for redemption of the floating debt rather than in payment of supplies. In the second place, the Bank of England previously borrowed some $500,000,000 from outside banks, and when the time came to pay for the bonds this money was turned over to the banks for their use. It is also worthy of note that this great loan was subscribed almost entirely by the public. The banks kept out to prevent inflation.

It will be seen that England has issued such different kinds of short-term paper as was calculated to meet the desire and condition of each class of investors, large and small. More than $500,000,000 of war-savings certificates have been taken by the very small investors. Apart from the money which the treasury has secured through this channel and the encouragement to adopt a policy of saving among this class, perhaps the most important benefit derived has been the fact that all this class of investors have become strongly interested in sustaining the Government finances. In making his financial statement on May 2, 1917, Mr. Bonar Law said:

In my judgment there is nothing in connection with the financing of the war which is so satisfactory as the way in which men of small means have contributed to the expenses of the war through this medium.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars England's debt was $4,000,000,000 and her national income was $1,250,000,000. At the beginning of the present war her income was about $12,500,000,000. At this latter rate she could now go in debt $40,000,000,000.

Up to July 24 last England had loaned to her allies and the dominions $5,125,000,000, of which amount $730,000,000 was loaned to her dominions. During the last fiscal year England loaned her allies alone $2,700,000,000. In the budget for the present fiscal year ending April 1, 1918, $2,000,000,000 was included for the allies. It is thus seen that England has been making loans and making provision for loans to her allies since the United States entered the war, notwithstanding the expectation that the United States Government will make similar loans in considerable amounts. The English debt at the outbreak of the war was $3,256,000,000. This amount has been increased during the war by the further sum of $19,325,000,000, making a total debt of $22,581,000,000 up to August 4, 1917. Since May 6, 1917, the average daily expenditures have been $32,075,000 per day. If this rate of expenditure keeps up, England will have to borrow during this fiscal year ending April 1 next some $7,000,000,000, making a total of $29,581,000,000. English statesmen estimate that their debt at the close of the war will bear an average interest rate of 5 per cent. This would involve an interest expenditure of near $1,500,000,000 per year after the 1st of April next, according to the foregoing.

The British prewar interest level ranged around 3 to 3½ per cent. She floated her first long-term war loan at the rate of 3½ per cent—but the bonds were sold at 95—subject to income tax, normal and super. She floated her second loan at the rate of 4½ per cent, subject to like income tax. Other loans, such as war-expenditure certificates and treasury bills, are also subject to this tax. The conversion privilege was given to the purchasers under the former 3½ per cent loan and also to holders of consols. About $1,320,000,000 was converted into the 4½ per cent loan. As the demand for money grew stronger both the 3½ per cent and 4½ per cent bonds went to a discount. In February, 1917, England made her third long-term loan. In connection with this last loan she had $10,245,000,000 of convertible securities. This last great loan was offered to the public on alternative terms. The interest level at that time, income tax included, was estimated to be around 5½ per cent. The normal income tax was 25 per cent. The proposal of bonds at 4 per cent, par value, subject only to supertax, was only subscribed to the extent of 2 per cent of the total subscriptions. The other offer of a 5 per cent bond at 95 and subject to both normal and super income tax was generally taken by the public. This carried an interest rate equivalent to 5½ per cent. It is thus seen that the first English war loan was practically on a 4 per cent basis, the next on a 4½ per cent basis, and the next and last on a 5½ per cent basis.

It has long been the policy of the English Government to tax the interest on its public debt. The last long-term loan, in February, carries no conversion privileges. Purchasers of the first 3½ per cent loan were allowed to convert into the 4½ per cent loan, but were denied conversion rights in the later 5½ per cent loan, although holders of the 4½ per cent and certain other securities were allowed such conversion privileges. The expenses of floating the last English loan may be of interest. A commission of one-eighth of 1 per cent was allowed bankers, stockbrokers, and financial houses on allotments made in respect to cash applications, not including applications for conversion. The additional expense item to the government is represented to have been $375,000. It is interesting to note in this connection the statement of Sir Thomas White, minister of finance, made in the Canadian Parliament on August 7, 1917, relative to the expense of floating the recent $100,000,000 Canadian loan in the United States. This loan was issued at 98. J. P. Morgan & Co., who headed the underwriting syndicate, received $1,750,000, being commission at the rate of 1¾ per cent.

France has been proposing long-term loans, tax free, at interest rates from 5 to 5¾ per cent.

Germany has floated six important loans, carrying interest rates averaging near 5 per cent. As a rule, European Governments have been offering their bonds at below par and redeemable at par, so that the nominal interest rate is often misleading. The German Government has resorted to every possible method in order to make her loans a success. She has considerably extended the subscription period and also the period during which payments shall be made. The final payment of her last loan embraced a five-month period. Lengthy notice is given as to the intention of the Government to issue a loan. The Government announced on the 1st of June that the fifth loan would be issued at the end of September. Special facilities are given to small subscribers. The Government has limited transactions on the bourse and required bankers to aid in the prevention of investment by the public in industrial securities. Large financial institutions refused to sell industrial shares to the public on credit. The banks have been able to dispose of their war-loan holdings without loss because the stock was not allowed to fall to a discount. The banks, by arrangement with the Government, raised their deposit rates, provided the deposits were earmarked for the loan. These and numerous other methods have been adopted in Germany in aid of the flotation of her various loans. Owing to the isolated situation of Germany and all her financial operations, but little value can be attached to her methods of financing. The seventh German

war loan, it is announced, will be open for subscription September 19, with 5 per cent bonds issued at 98 and 4½ per cent treasury certificates carrying a bonus entitling the holder to 110 to 120 at redemption.

Until recently, at least, the interest level in most of the important countries of Europe has ranged around 5 to 5½ per cent and over. As far back as May last Russia floated a loan of $1,545,000,000 at 85, bearing a nominal interest rate of 5 per cent. During the same month Japan floated a domestic loan of $20,000,000 at 95 and bearing 5 per cent interest, which was in effect a 5¼ per cent rate. With the balance of trade against her and her wealth considerably diffused and scattered, Canada has been paying rather high interest rates. She is now preparing to issue her fourth domestic war loan, amounting to $100,000,000, at an interest rate of 6 per cent. The conversion privilege was dropped in her recent loans, but has since been allowed by appropriate action since they were made.

The example which the war financing policies of another country offers may be only valuable to the United States to the extent that conditions are similar. For instance, at the outbreak of the war England had $20,000,000,000 loaned to people and concerns in foreign countries, of which $2,000,000,000 was loaned to persons in the United States. This huge amount of wealth has been largely available to England as a ready means of financing the war at each successive stage. She has not only been able to sell her securities to other countries, but to have these immense individual loans called, as it were; whereas the United States, prior to the war, had always been a borrowing Nation and owed some $4,500,000,000 abroad. She is now called upon for the first time, not only to become a lending Nation, but to lend to the extent practically of financing in a measure all important countries, including South America, and the various allied Governments. This is a huge undertaking, but I have the utmost confidence that the American people are capable of coping with it. To do so, however, will call forth the greatest available yield in all lines of productivity. Our capacity to produce is almost unlimited. From the profits and savings of the people engaged in each of such lines must come the chief resources necessary to do this worldwide financing successfully. Of course existing surplus and savings already accumulated, and such portions of capital as may not be indispensable to the normal operation and development of our financial, commercial, and industrial affairs will also be utilized. The average annual corporate financing in this country has been about $1,650,000,000. Add to this the amount done for foreign countries during 1916, which is $1,110,000,000, and also the amount of our securities repurchased from abroad during that year, which is $1,100,000,000, there results a total of $3,860,000,000. This amount of financing for the last year did not in the least tax the capacity of this country.

Coming now to the question of war loans, the Government has already floated a loan of $2,000,000,000 at 3½ per cent, tax free, for the benefit of the allies. The second war-loan measure now pending proposes a 4 per cent interest rate subject to the additional or super income tax. The almost complete lack of comment in the financial and trade publications relative to the terms of the proposed loan is somewhat strange in view of the magnitude and importance of the loan. A number of considerations worthy of discussion arise in connection with the proposed and future loans which the war is expected to require. Should they be short or long-term loans, in the main? Should they be subject to tax, and if so, to what extent, when, and how? Should each successive loan carry the conversion privilege, and if so, to what extent? Is the interest rate proposed suitable in the light of all existing conditions? These and other questions naturally arise in the minds of both Government officials and prospective investors.

Naturally, at this third-year stage of the war, the money markets of the world show a somewhat higher rate of interest on government bonds than at its beginning. During former wars peace or neutral countries maintained lower rates of interest than the belligerent countries. This condition does not obtain at present, however, in view of the almost universal existence of the war. The result is that gilt-edged securities of any government, possessing even unlimited resources with which to pay, do not receive quite the same interest advantages that would otherwise be obtainable. Naturally, the citizen or investor desires an interest rate reasonably satisfactory, in addition to the patriotic motives inspiring him to make the purchase of government securities, and also that the capital value will not decline. As to the recent issue of 3½ per cent bonds, tax free, it must be evident that they are entirely acceptable as an investment to those who are subject to high rates of income tax when compared with standard investments yielding 6 per cent subject to such tax. To the smaller and middle class investors who would either scarcely or not at all be affected by the additional or superincome tax, the proposed 4 per cent bond would be correspondingly more attractive.

It would appear during the past few days from the operations in financial centers that many of the large income-tax payers are stocking up on State, county, and municipal bonds which are tax free. The real value of the Government bond in this country is more or less affected by different considerations. The interest rate would come first; the taxation of such interest would naturally be considered even in fixing the interest rate. The desirability and hence the real value of a Government bond would also be affected by the existence of a large amount of tax-free State and municipal securities which are available to those who might otherwise take the Government bonds. These local securities, tax exempt, aggregate more than $4,500,000,000, and are worth from 4 per cent to 4¾ per cent net to investors. It has been difficult to gauge the real value of the $2,000,000,000 3½ per cent bonds already floated on account of the prospective issue of a large amount of additional Government bonds and also by reason of the conversion privilege contained in the 3½ per cent bond. The experience of other leading countries during the war when engaged in successive bond issues has been that many have termed the interest rates too high, while others have as strongly insisted that they were too low. One factor always present in such circumstances has been the constant efforts of persons and groups of persons to create artificial fluctuations in the value of such bonds. The underlying motive for their course appears to have embraced the question of both conversion privilege and higher interest rates. I think it will soon become important for this Government to adopt a modified form of the English expedient of stabilizing our bond values by providing against depreciation in the market prices and capital values due to such artificial agitation. The English method provided that the treasury should set aside monthly a sum equal to one-eighth of 1 per cent of the amount of each loan to form a fund to be used for purchasing bonds of either loan for cancellation whenever the market price falls below the issue price. The English limitation on this fund was $50,000,000; it could be made less in this country. Under this method whenever the amount set aside reached $50,000,000 further payments for this purpose are suspended until the unexpended balance falls below the maximum amount prescribed for redemption purposes.

In floating bonds for war purposes the matter of primary consideration is to make a successful sale in order to get emergency funds. The next question, of secondary importance, is to so conduct such financing as to protect the taxpayers from unnecessary burdens in meeting the interest during and especially after the war. As a rule war bonds have sold at a premium after the war. Our sixes issued in 1861 first declined, but at the end of the war were 110⅜, and they reached 128¾ in the year 1876. Our five-twenties of 1862 went to 125¼ before 1870. At one time during the Civil War the gold value of United States notes was 38.7 per cent and the real interest paid by the Government was 15½ per cent. The average nominal interest paid by the Government during the Civil War was about 6 per cent in gold. This average rate was gradually cut down to 4½ per cent following the war. In 1793, when France declared war on Great Britain, the British consols stood at 97. They went to 47¼ in 1798; they gradually rose from 1815 until some years later they reached their prewar value. Naturally, the length and result of the war are strong factors affecting value and interest of bonds.

The large and rapidly increasing volume of tax-free State, county, and municipal bonds is becoming a serious problem in connection with the huge war financing of the Federal Government. The desire to get the lowest possible rates of interest has naturally been a strong incentive to States and local governments to fall into the policy of issuing tax-free bonds. The fact that at the outbreak of the war we had some $15,000,000,000 of property in this country exempt from all taxation raises sharply the question as to how far the Federal Government and the States should go in permitting larger blocks of wealth to become securely locked up in tax-free securities. The Supreme Court of the United States has always held that under our dual form of government prior to the sixteenth amendment the Federal Government could not by any statute tax the agencies or instrumentalities of the State and local governments, and, vice versa, that the States could not tax Federal agencies. Apart from the question of power, the question of policy also arises. It is not wise policy to allow 48 States to impose varying tax rates on Federal securities, and, on the other hand, it is a questionable policy as to whether the Federal Government should undertake to impose taxes on State and local bonds unless fiscal considerations should make it a matter of last resort. The States, at least, should be given an opportunity by concerted action to

establish uniform rates on their bonds. If they should fail or refuse to do this and the exigency should require it, the Federal Government might have no other recourse than to undertake to impose a uniform tax. The possibility or probability that our huge block of State and local tax-free securities may soon be brought within the range of some kind of taxation will in a measure offset the otherwise injurious effect they may have on the Federal bond market. The fact also that such bonds are taxable in all other States except the States where issued, and the further fact that most of the States, following the war, will probably prosecute tax reforms to the extent of dealing comprehensively with intangible and other personalty will have a saving effect on the Federal bond situation.

The Secretary of the Treasury has fixed the recent $2,000,000,000 issue for the allies at a 15-30 year basis. Since we do not expect the bonds issued as loans to the allies to become a burden upon our own people, the terms of redemption and maturity will naturally conform to the wishes and necessities of the allied Governments to whom the proceeds are loaned. A different consideration arises in connection with the flotation of bonds for domestic purposes. The economic history of all important commercial countries has been that a long period of high prices is generally followed by a longer period of depression. For example, after the Baring failure the rate of interest on money in England was very low, averaging near 2 per cent for nine years and until the Boer War. This experience is especially true when the causes of high prices and commercial and industrial activity have been world wide. In the present circumstances the cause is due not to the ordinary business boom attended with excessive speculation, but is due to war. It remains to be seen as to whether after the four or five years of commercial and industrial activity due to rehabilitation and reconstruction, which will naturally follow the ending of the war, the world will lapse into a period of business depression and low prices in accordance with the rule of commercial, financial, and industrial experience just stated. It is true that following the reconstruction period of previous great wars we have seen very low rates for money. The fact, however, that the present war will leave the capital of the world greatly depleted will have to be considered.

This leads to the question as to the terms of redemption, maturity, and so forth, of our bonds. It is suggested by some that we need have no special concern as to the question of interest or taxation at present for the reason that the bonds can be refunded into lower rates of interest following the war. This view is ordinarily correct. We should be mindful of the fact, however, that if the war should continue another year the world would have $125,000,000,000 to $150,000,000,000 of war debt to be thus refunded, and the United States would have $25,000,000,000 to $30,000,000,000. In the light of probable conditions after the war—the fact that no capital will be obtainable from other countries and the further fact that most corporate financing, except of a temporary nature, will be postponed until the end of the war—will render it very difficult to refund this huge amount into lower rates of interest within any short period of time. The policy of issuing long-term bonds during the war until the interest rate gets too high above the ordinary peace level may not prove advisable, but instead it may be found to be good fiscal policy to rely on short-term loans bearing such high rates of interest as might exist during the acute stage of the war and when money is in greatest demand. This course would avoid the possible danger by use of the conversion privilege of swinging the entire public debt up to the highest interest rate to which money may go during the most pressing stage of the war.

Thus far the Secretary of the Treasury, upon whose shoulders has fallen the chief responsibility of devising sound policies for financing the war, has performed his duties with great ability and sound business judgment. I think he can be relied upon thus to sustain himself through the course of this arduous period with as much credit as any American citizen who has in the past or who might now occupy his position. He has suggested that the present proposed loan carry interest rate of 4 per cent, subject to the additional or superincome tax. In view of his good judgment and his superior facilities for ascertaining the true conditions of the money market and the financial resources of the country, I cheerfully acquiesce in this proposal, as I deem it the duty of every citizen no less informed to do. I have for some time been of opinion that in amassing the great war debt which the Government is being compelled to incur the right of the Government to tax the interest on this debt, either now or following the war, should not be surrendered. At the best, the amount of the world's capital which will be found to be exempt from taxation at the close of the war for a generation will be appalling. With the right to tax reserved, the curse of a bonded aristocracy can be avoided and the interest advantages accruing to the bondholders can always be kept on a level justly proportionate to interest advantages derived from other sources. Few greater evils could arise than the entire tax exemption of our public debt growing out of the war, especially if a period of depression and hard times should follow the reconstruction period, which would present a situation in which would be found one class of idle and wealthy bondholders owing no financial obligations to the Federal, State, or local governments, and another class composed of the masses subject in their privations to enormous taxes to pay both the interest and the principal of such bonds and other expenses of the Government. Such condition would greatly conduce to socialism. There is room for discussion as to the method of dealing with these tax questions. The suggestion has been made that an alternative bond proposal be offered in the way of a 3½ per cent tax-free bond in order that persons subject to the higher income tax rates which would render the 4 per cent superincome tax bonds uninviting might avail themselves of a bond bearing this lower rate of interest without tax. This, of course, is equivalent to compounding a flat income tax of 12½ per cent, which, deducted from the 4 per cent rate, would leave the suggested 3½ per cent rate. This would still fail to meet the difficulties sought to be obviated by the imposition of the supertax on the 4 per cent bond, and that is to keep the interest advantages of the large and the small investor more nearly on a parity when compared with the interest advantages derived from a standard investment at 6 per cent.

Since the capital value of the bond must be based upon its net value after deducting income tax, in comparison with other securities which are available for investment, the problem of offering and maintaining relatively fair interest advantages to all classes of investors, in the light of the effects of the graduated income-tax rates, is a most difficult one. Since the terms of the present proposed loan have already been decided on by the Treasury and by the House, it is scarcely necessary further to discuss the tax and interest problem. The effect of the proposed terms of 4 per cent subject to supertax is the compounding of the present normal income tax of 4 per cent in a suggested interest rate of 4.16⅔, subject to all income tax, which would leave a flat 4 per cent interest rate subject to supertax. Where full power to tax is given, the interest rate does not become of so much importance. It is said that if the interest rate for forthcoming Government loans should be fixed at 4½ per cent, subject to both normal and additional or super income tax, this would depress the industrial-security market. This view is hardly sustained, for the reason that the imposition of the tax would prevent such conditions from arising.

In one aspect the war burdens of the United States Government are made unusually heavy. This is due to the fact that prices in all lines had practically doubled when the United States entered the war. This entails almost double costs in the aggregate. When it is considered that the Government is paying to the citizens these enormously high prices for all supplies, every consideration of patriotism requires the fullest cooperation with the Government in paying taxes and in the work of securing loans on the most satisfactory terms possible to be had. The real success of a loan depends not only upon the amount of money secured but the widespread character of subscriptions by the public generally.

To maintain the sound credit of the Government as the war progresses, and its consequent ability to borrow on the most satisfactory terms, requires the largest measure of taxation, as war financing most important to avoid as far as possible is inflation. While Europe is still nominally on a gold basis she is not so in fact. I wish I had the space to set out the figures showing the floods of what is practically fiat money that has been issued and cast afloat over there. To finance the war as far as possible by taxation and to purchase bonds to the fullest possible extent out of earnings, profits, and savings will aid most in avoiding inflation.

The motto of every citizen should be to produce and to save. He should then be content to turn over to the Government, if necessary, the maximum amount of his profits and savings above the portion strictly necessary for personal and business requirements. Gladstone said "it is more difficult to save a shilling than to spend a million." If the war should continue for another year or more, the extreme necessity for producing and saving with a view to aiding the Government to the fullest possible extent will later become far more apparent than now. No citizen should lag in his support of the Government during the war.

War-Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROSE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 13, 1917.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from one of my constituents, a physician, from which I quote as follows:

I am writing you to get your influence in the matter of soldiers' insurance, to the effect that legislation in this respect will permit the Government to pay the premiums on any insurance that a soldier may now carry in an approved "old-line company" up to the amount the Government would insure that individual, as many of us have a form of insurance that we do not wish to drop for the reason that the Government insurance may cease after the war is over and we may be disabled so that we are not insurable, or we may have to take out insurance at an increased age, and consequently an increased premium.

During the discussion of section 24 I undertook to bring this condition to the attention of the House, and in the hope that something may yet be done to safeguard the interests of the soldiers I again call the attention of the Members to the matter contained in the extract quoted.

We have been legislating for a period of five months and during that time have made appropriations and bond issues for billions of dollars to secure food and munitions for ourselves and our allies, and only a short time ago provisions were made for raising more than $11,000,000,000 to be used for the purposes of the present emergency, and many times while the bill was pending but a handful of Members were present in this Chamber.

The present bill has been pending for at least five legislative days and has been given closer and more thoughtful attention than any of the war measures yet considered. In my opinion, this bill is of equal if not surpassing importance to any of the great war measures thus far considered, as it undertakes to care for the injured soldiers or those dependent upon them and not with the implements to destroy life. It is a scientific attempt to provide for the immediate needs of our soldier boys, and while it may be truthfully said that we were entirely too liberal with ourselves and too reckless with the rights of posterity in the methods adopted in the revenue and bond bill, I feel constrained to say that we can not be too liberal and too generous in our effort to properly care for those who will actually fight our battles and for those who are depending upon them.

I do not desire to assail our present pension system, as it has been the means of great good and was the best system that could be devised at the time of the passage of the various laws covering the payment of pensions, but in the light of present-day needs the plan has outlived its usefulness, and it is high time that something be done by which it is possible to supply the present wants of the soldiers rather than to force them to run the gantlet of expert officials who require, and rightly so under the present laws, compliance with conditions which in many instances are well nigh impossible.

I am willing to be governed by the opinion of the heads of the several departments as to the best methods of securing compensation or pensions for our soldiers, and do not want to believe that the widening or extending of the policies of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department will result in effecting a great political machine, as that would be unpatriotic and ungenerous and a total disregard of the pronounced policy of the present administration, and I am not ready to impute such motives to our officials.

The extension of time which claims for pensions or compensation may be filed and considered, and the placing of all soldiers and sailors engaged in the present emergency, upon an equal basis, is a sound policy and should tend to popularize the proposed law and secure for it the approval of those who have heretofore taken part in any of our wars.

The attempt to limit the time to one year, during which claims may be filed for compensation and pension, was defeated only after a long, hard struggle, and I am happy to say that conditions under which we have acted since pension legislation was first established, and with which we are all familiar, have been partially retained.

We are all proud as citizens of the United States to claim our citizenship, and sometimes we are loath to assume responsibilities; but living as we do in a country where all men are presumed to be equal, and all alike responsible for the defense of the Nation, and its institutions, we who remain at home, while performing functions that are necessary, should act with the greatest possible liberality toward the men who offer their lives in the defense of the country, and this bill attempts, and I hope will, give to the men and their families, without unnecessary delay, the assistance and comfort which the country owes to them who fight the battles. The soldier always has been and should be the object of our special care; and the fact that under this bill liberal provisions are made for the soldier and those dependent upon him should be considered as an acknowledgment of our gratitude of the men who are willing to risk their lives that our Government might live.

While I am not satisfied with all of the provisions of the bill, because in many of its sections it is too indefinite and uncertain, I can see no basis of sound criticism against it as a whole, and being of the opinion that our soldiers and sailors are deserving of all the Nation can properly do for them, I shall support the measure.

The Judge and the Statute.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. STEELE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 14, 1917.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered before the judicial section of the American Bar Association at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., on September 4, 1917, by WARREN GARD, Representative in Congress from the third congressional district of Ohio. The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE JUDICIAL SECTION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y., ON SEPTEMBER 4, 1917, BY WARREN GARD, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF OHIO.

THE JUDGE AND THE STATUTE.

The framers of the Constitution of the United States, in the preamble thereof, said:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It is therefore seen that one of the very first purposes of the Constitution was to establish justice.

There can be nothing higher than this in any governmental function—the establishing of full, fair, and complete justice between Nation, State, men, and women.

To-day, with the greatest armed conflict the world has ever known raging fiercely across the seas, our own country contributing of its treasure and its citizens in defense of those principles we have held ever sacred and necessary to the continuance of this democratic republican form of government, I am of those who hope when victory shall come to the cause of the United States, "when the war drums throb no longer," that an "enduring peace" "based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind" will rise from battle field, burned cities, towns, and countryside, and the buried and unburied dead; that then the nations shall agree upon an international code of laws, adopting the words of our Constitution, and "establish justice, insure tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty."

Surely the futility of war's horrors and its utter barbarism will appeal to the minds of the people generally and a tribunal be created where international affairs may be considered and determined from the evidence and by the processes of reason.

Justice is the triumph of reason, and the justice which is recognized and adhered to by nations will be the triumph of civilization.

Coming from the law-making side of this Government to its law-interpreting side, I feel I meet a realization by you representing many courts that the great changes now being made in our civil affairs will not all be reversed, but may be added to in that a greater, stronger, wider power may vest in departments of the Government to promote the general welfare.

From the old days when the protection of property was the chief object of legislation to this day is a far cry, for the legislation of the day must affect and protect the rights of people, many of whom have not and never will have ownership of property.

Legislation protecting the rights of men, women, and children is the most important legislation which will probably be

submitted for interpretation, and therefore of vital importance is the subject, "The judge and the statute."

By constitutional division, Article I relates to "legislative powers"; Article II recites the "executive powers"; and Article III defines the vesting of "the judicial power."

It is, of course, commonly understood that in the powers granted each of these divisions by the Constitution each is supreme.

So long, therefore, as there be no question of conflict the Congress makes the national laws, the executive enforces these laws, and the courts interpret them.

Just a few years ago agitation was quite widespread against the action of courts in setting aside as unconstitutional certain legislative enactments, both in States and the Nation, and criticisms were made that we were ridden with what were called "judge-made laws."

This agitation was not confined to the impractical or the ignorant, but it attained the dignity of indorsement by aggressive political leaders, even one political party going upon platform record with professed remedies of change in the judicial system.

The recall of judges and the recall of judicial decisions, how much did we hear of them and how for a time they did attract the public attention.

At the present time—since the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof"—the judges of Federal courts are the only persons of constitutional authority under our scheme of government who are not directly elected by and responsible to the people.

The judge of a court controlled by the Federal Government is given his appointment "during good behavior," and he alone does not have to take his stewardship back to the public for approval or disapproval.

Surely, then, a realization of tremendous trust should be in men who hold these extraordinary commissions.

It has been questioned if the policy of appointing judges for a life tenure is in accord with republican institutions.

Among the reasons for the creation of a life tenure of Federal judges one undoubtedly was that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution judges were so appointed in the different State jurisdictions, but nearly all the States now elect their judges; most of them elect by the people, and a very few by their legislatures.

Some States, desiring to hold in all things the judiciary separate and apart from partisan politics, have enacted legislation which provides that the judge must be elected by the people from a so-called nonpartisan ballot, upon which the names of the candidates appear without party designation or indication.

Theoretically this is entirely sound, but in practice it does not always work out in the way its proponents thought.

One who is a candidate for a judicial position is most often only well known in a limited locality, for a hard-working lawyer is employed either in his office or in the courtroom, and therefore is not generally of wide acquaintance throughout a State or, indeed, in a very large district.

Then, too, the political parties still make nominations for these judicial positions and strive to elect their nominees.

It is the experience of States having this nonpartisan law that the ticket containing the names of the judicial candidates receives not in excess of 70 per cent of the votes cast for the regular or partisan ticket.

This is accounted for principally by the fact that many voters have no personal acquaintance with any of the judicial candidates, who must depend upon their personality and have back of them no platform or declaration of principles from which the voter may choose to make his expression.

It is general with State-wide judicial candidates that their fortunes follow those of the dominant political party, but to the credit of the judiciary, Federal and State, appointive or elective, be it said that its conduct is independent of politics and, except in extremely isolated cases, free of corruption.

Much of its criticism has been the result of what is called judicial usurpation.

Article VI of the Constitution of the United States provides:

> This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution provides:

> The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

Upon this language is the power of the courts founded and by this language is their power limited.

In considering this language it is well to understand that of all the countries of the world which have written constitutions and laws the United States is the notable example of adherence to the principle that the court may uphold or set aside a legislative enactment.

It is upon this, apparently, that the whole case of discontent is rested.

From this arose the proposition to recall judges and to recall judicial decisions. Some of our States, indeed, have laws for the recall of judges, which laws are honored more in not being used than in the strict observance of frequent use.

Indeed, carried to a radical conclusion, such recall must mean a demoralization of the morale of the bench, the taking away of necessary independence of thought and action and the substitution therefor of popular approval or disapproval as evidenced by the tumult of the day.

A limited portion of the population, entirely ignorant of the facts or of the law concerning a given case, may temporarily decide that the judge making even a correct and honest decision, but one which has fallen foul of public sentiment, should be removed by their recall.

That this opinion of the electorate may be transitory does not avail; that it may be wrong brings no redress to the wronged.

Clearly, then, any plan which would permit even an entire State electorate, with little or no knowledge, to recall a judge who may have rendered a just but temporarily unpopular judgment is fraught with much danger.

If used at all it is incontrovertible that it should be safeguarded by conditions which would place it at a time when popular fury should not take the place of reason and when ignorance of the facts could be succeeded by the fullest information.

Even more potential for harm was the proposition to recall judicial decisions.

If based upon a wider application than a legislative veto of a judicial decree it would work untold danger by destroying decrees which were the result of careful study and consideration.

But this is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." That this may continue the judiciary should be independent, fearless, and honest.

It can not continue if the judiciary arrogate to itself powers it does not properly have, and in its extension of authority usurp the constitutional functions of the law-making body.

The radical would destroy the principles of court procedure and substitute in its stead a vague system of personal responsibility and judgment based on conditions as they appeal to the individual opinion of the judge sitting in the case and by so doing he convicts himself of error when he first complains that judges have too much power, and then by conferring upon them absolute power without other restriction than the whimsicalities of the judge.

It is apparent that the recall of judges and recall of judicial decisions will not remedy that at which certain criticism of the day is directed.

With the thought in mind that it is only the most unusual case when the character of the judge is such as to suggest his recall and that the usual criticism is the dislike of decisions he may render, we come to consider very practical methods of remedy and relief.

I have seen and been a part of the very cumbersome machinery necessary to the impeachment of a Federal officer.

Its almost interminable length of accusation, investigation, and trial, with the whole of the Senate of the United States sitting as a court, nullifies almost at once its usefulness as a measure of removal.

The reluctance to give over all of the time of one-half of the law-making body of this entire country for a long period to the trial of an accused judge in itself constitutes a barrier to many proceedings.

Impeachment proceedings, therefore, should be made workable and after all the safeguards of complete investigation have been afforded one accused and there appears absolute evidence in support of the charges of impeachment, it would seem that the hearing of these charges could be given to a committee of the Senate in numbers small enough to permit each member thereof to be present at all times, and that they receive the evidence of all witnesses, hear all of the accusation and its denial or explanation, listen to the argument of prosecutors and those appearing for the respondent, and then make a report

with all evidence printed to the full body of the Senate that all members thereof may then vote.

With 96 Members of the Senate one can readily see that a very small part of this membership is present in the consideration of impeachment proceedings daily; that with few exceptions the members come and go and hear little of the evidence as it is developed.

It is a quasi judicial function, which certainly can be the better performed by a small selected committee, which makes a full report to the Senate.

Then there is the possibility of a method of removal for cause.

It seems reasonable that with the power of appointment of persons to serve "during good behavior" there should be the concurrent power of removal for cause.

The importance and the dignity of the office and its necessity to the community life of the day are so great that it may very properly be assumed that no arbitrary removal would be made by the Executive unless the case be one calling for immediate and drastic action.

The Congress retains power over the courts, since there is but one constitutional court, and the creation and maintenance of inferior courts are always and at all times for congressional consideration and action.

Not alone, therefore, is there a safeguard of the Congress having the power to ordain and establish all courts inferior to the Supreme Court, but aside from the very limited constitutional jurisdiction conferred on the Supreme Court the Congress is the body which provides what its jurisdiction is to be.

From the fabric of the Constitution and the decisions in the best-considered cases, in some of which the minority opinions are of strong present-day appeal, it follows that the expression of the written or statute law and its propriety, wisdom, and policy are for the legislative body and not for the courts.

I bear in mind that it is the business, the independent and unimpeded business, of the courts to interpret the laws as made in State general assembly and National Congress, and that this interpretation should be made by the application of recognized rules and principles, and not at all by the personal views or bias of the judge.

Nothing is more subversive of correct interpretation than for one in such interpretation to give the law his personal approval or disapproval, to express as a personal opinion that it was properly passed or should not have been passed, to impugn the motives of legislators, to take from his store of bias or prejudice in making judicial interpretation of a disputed law.

The just judge now approaches with his most able consideration the question of interpretation of the written law.

How shall he do this? What elements must he consider? Where is the "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further" of the case?

Without question it is the legislative intent which is to be sought out, but how is this to be determined?

The rule of strict construction of the language employed has sometimes been adopted, but it seems to me that this is too narrow and constricted a rule for universal application, for some trivial clerical error may appear, some possible mistake or inferior choice in punctuation, which strictly and literally construed may make for a state of affairs never in the legislative mind.

It is the legislative mind which is to be probed, and not the judicial mind substituted in proper interpretation.

The courts of to-day have access to and may properly consider matters extrinsic in giving interpretation to the statutes so that the collective mind of the legislative branch be made known.

The expressions of the individual Members of Congress—using that for an example—may be varied and various, but there is finally secured from debate and consideration by the majority rule, that rule which with us stands for the control by the people, the collective mind of the lawmaking body.

It has been truly said that "law is the development of ideas."

As conditions and ideas change with each day, so these may with all their changes be given proper construction by the principle established in a statute. Therefore the rule in interpretation should be, I most respectfully submit, that the true legislative intent should be sought and that it should be obtained from all means at hand to learn what were the conditions under which the law was passed, what the reason for its passage, what its language is, what particular thing or things preceded it and caused it to be taken up by the legislature, and, lastly, with all possible information before the court of the origin, consideration, and final passage of the law, the interpretation be made as for the best of public interest which the statute seeks to advance.

Legislative bills as introduced are sometimes very crudely and inartistically drawn, but the refining process of submission to particular committees and consideration by them usually puts them in form in which the meaning and purpose are made manifest.

Sometimes in the debate amendments are proposed which are not in harmony with the original intent of the bill and such amendments may be adopted, but even these can be understood and given interpretation in determining what was the purpose of the bill.

Running through the warp and woof may always be seen the controlling pattern, hidden sometimes by careless construction, sometimes by confusing addition or amendment, but as a guiding principle revealed.

The well-known rule of statutory construction is that the statute should not be set aside if reasonable doubt of its constitutionality remain.

In courts of highest resort some States require that before a statute be set aside as unconstitutional this fact must be concurred in by an almost unanimous opinion, one State, I believe, going so far as to hold that if more than one of the judges of the court refuse to concur with the finding against the constitutionality of a measure, it shall not be set aside.

With the determination of the guiding principle then may be logically considered the trend of after events, and its application to those events for the statute should be given liberality of construction upon the principle involved, and there need be no departure from the rule that a remedial statute should be liberally construed and a penal statute strictly construed.

Much has been said of "supremacy."

The supremacy of the court is often referred to as overriding an act of Congress.

Those who have maintained strongly for judicial rights have complained about the unbridled supremacy of the Legislature.

Since laws made and construed must still be carried out, we have heard, too, of the supremacy of the Executive.

The truth should be that there be no supremacy in any of these three branches and that the only and great supremacy should be that of the Government of the United States.

In dealing with my subject as I have, I felt it unnecessary to comment on the authority of the courts to declare an act of Congress void since the reasoning of Chief Justice Marshall in Marbury *v.* Madison (1 Cr., 177) has been followed in decisions to this present day. He said:

> It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each. So, if a law be in opposition to the Constitution, if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution, or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law, the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is the very essence of judicial duty.

One of the most powerful of decisions announced in 1858 by Chief Justice Taney may well be considered in the events of this day and the days to come in our country, since it speaks a message of authority, of strength, and of governmental endurance:

> The Constitution was not formed merely to guard the State against danger from foreign nations, but mainly to secure union and harmony at home, for if this object could be attained there would be but little danger from abroad; and to accomplish this purpose it was felt by the statesmen who framed the Constitution, and by the people who adopted it, that it was necessary that many of the rights of sovereignty which the States then possessed should be ceded to the General Government, and that in the sphere of action assigned to it it should be supreme and strong enough to execute its own laws by its own tribunals, without interruption from a State or from State authorities. And it was evident that anything short of this would be inadequate to the main objects for which the Government was established; and that local interests, local passions or prejudices, incited and fostered by individuals for sinister purposes, would lead to acts of aggression and injustice by one State upon the rights of another, which would ultimately terminate in violence and force, unless there was a common arbiter between them, armed with power enough to protect and guard the rights of all by appropriate laws, to be carried into execution peacefully by its judicial tribunals.
>
> The language of the Constitution by which this power is granted is too plain to admit of doubt or to need comment. * * * But the supremacy thus conferred on this Government could not be peacefully maintained unless it was clothed with judicial power equally paramount in authority to carry it into execution, for if left to the courts of justice of the several States conflicting decisions would unavoidably take place, and the local tribunals could hardly be expected to be always free from the local influences of which we have spoken. * * * Accordingly, this power was conferred on the General Government in clear, precise, and comprehensive terms. It is declared that its judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and in equity arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that in such cases, as well as the others there enumerated, this court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make. * * * This judicial power (p. 520) was justly regarded as indispensable, not merely to maintain the supremacy of the laws of the United States, but also to

guard the States from any encroachment upon their reserved rights by the General Government. And as the Constitution is the fundamental and supreme law, if it appears that the act of Congress is not pursuant to and within the limits of the power assigned to the Federal Government, it is the duty of the courts of the United States to declare it unconstitutional and void. * * * No one can fail to see that if such an arbiter had not been provided in our complicated system of government internal tranquillity could not have been preserved. * * * In organizing such a tribunal it is evident that every precaution was taken which human wisdom could devise to fit it for the high duty with which it was intrusted. * * * So long, therefore, as this Constitution shall endure this tribunal must exist with it, deciding in the peaceful forms of judicial proceedings the angry and irritating controversies between sovereignties which in the other countries have been determined by the arbitrament of force.

President Taft, in his message to Congress December 7, 1909, said:

In my judgment, a change in judicial procedure, with a view to reducing its expense to private litigants in civil cases and facilitating the dispatch of business and final decision in both civil and criminal cases, constitutes the greatest need in our American institutions.

In this connection I take the liberty of quoting from a very excellent brief filed in support of S. 68 (H. R. 3828), a bill "disregarding technical errors" and for "reforming procedure":

The American Bar Association, speaking for the bar of every State, urges upon Congress to reform these abuses and in the administration of justice in the Federal courts to redeem the promise of Magna Charta that justice shall be denied or delayed to no man, and that the administration of justice shall not be cumbrous, dilatory, and consequently expensive.

The last few years have witnessed history-making legislation, all builded upon that great foundation which our Supreme Court has well characterized as "public or general welfare."

In times of peace we have seen the judicial ratification of the just principle that a man is liable in taxation according to benefits received, and the principle of the income tax has received its long-delayed accord; that principle which makes an assessment upon moneys taxable which too long escaped, and has therefore removed a tremendous burden in taxation from the shoulders of the poor.

Likewise have we seen judicial sanction given the rights of labor—the great creative force of our Government—and to the care in environment of those who toil surrounded by dangerous machinery or appliances, and those who in the depths of mine or on rushing railroads give their strength and health that our national life may be preserved and made progressive.

With the declaration of war, from the Constitution have been drawn powers to "raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," "to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces," and "to make all laws which will be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department thereof."

Ex parte Milligan:

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence.

By the authority of this great instrument during the present emergency we have said to the conscienceless speculator, who would lay unholy tribute upon the necessities of our daily life, and to the predatory, who seek unconscionable advantage of the stress of our Government in the furnishing of utilities for the very perpetuity of our national life, that the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, shall be vested with complete control of foodstuffs and fuel and utilities of warfare, and that a fair and reasonable price may be fixed as compensation to be paid therefor, but that the urgency of the national situation shall be no ground for even affording opportunity for privilege or power, no matter how great, attacking us in our inherent rights of "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness."

Then, too, has been builded by legislative enactment the greatest citizen army the world has ever seen.

Passing the excitement and enthusiasm of the flag-waving period we are now in the grim and ghastly business of war and in a very few weeks with solemn tread will march a great army of the flower of the youth of the land, young men not exulting in war, but holding themselves in readiness to obey their country's command in time of national danger.

It is indeed a monument to those peaceful processes of our law that we, a free people, of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed, have in good time and good stead caused to be assembled this mighty fighting force that the rights of liberty and justice may prevail.

An Americanism of unswerving and loyal devotion is the answer to those who carpingly would criticize, for with our entrance into the great war there is for all within our gates one citizenship—American; one cause—constitutional liberty; one result—a victory for justice, freedom, and enduring peace.

The High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. ELSTON,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, September 14, 1917.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the speech delivered by Hon. William Kent, former Member of Congress from California and at present a member of the United States Tariff Commission, at the Washington conference on the high cost of living, July 30, 1917. The speech is as follows:

SPEECH AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE HIGH COST OF LIVING, BY WILLIAM KENT, MEMBER UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION.

As the first speaker at this conference, with a limited time at my disposal, I shall undertake the task of making a rough general outline of the causes of the higher cost of living, both temporary and permanent, as I find them. The subject is complex and the greatest fallacy will come from trying to make it simple and attributing it to any one of a number of causes, or to the present abnormal war conditions.

In every time of panic, stress, or change, under our economic system, it is always the poorest, those least able to bear the burden that most keenly feel the distress. We must face this alarming fact with the realization that unless through legal agencies, perhaps through stretching the law to fit its purpose rather than its letter, we must meet this strain and see that all our people are fed and clothed out of the wages they earn, or we may have a serious revolt against obvious injustice.

To tabulate some of the causes of the present high prices I would list the following:

(1) Depreciation in purchasing power of gold.
(2) Illy distributed population.
(3) Illy devised transportation.
(4) War as affecting the natural flow of foreign trade.
(5) Men withdrawn from productive enterprise for Army service.
(6) Useless effort or malemployment.
(7) Monopoly, whether by trusts or "gentlemen's agreements."
(8) An overloaded distributing system as opposed to an underworked system of transportation.
(9) Private ownership of land and natural resources and public utilities.
(10) Unreason of purchasers and greed of sellers.

To expand these topics in a brief way, I first call attention to the simplest factor of all—the depreciation of the purchasing value of gold. A consideration of this subject carries with it the absurd wastefulness of a metallic standard whereby before the man with the ham can exchange the ham for a pair of shoes he must send some one to freeze in Alaska or to roast in the desert, and pay him for his time, expense, and risk in producing a medium of exchange. A metallic standard is only necessary on account of the stupidity and dishonesty of men, and of governments, especially of governments which up to the present time have never seemed trustworthy when it came to limiting the supply of fiat money or of establishing a scientific basis upon which such fiat money, even if issued in moderate quantities, would be justified in its denominations. Some one will yet appear to work out the loosely framed program of Coxey of noninterest-bearing bonds, based on productive and permanent public improvements, which bonds will be utilized as currency, redeemable out of taxes so as to avoid overissuance. This may seem millennial, but for a government to pay interest on bonds issued for permanent publicly created values and furthermore to pay for the extravagant luxury of a gold standard is obviously foolish. Interest will doubtless be justified for extraordinary and wasteful expenditures, such as war, but that is another story.

Another primary factor not connected with war is found in our illy distributed population. The cities, which have two

functions—distribution and manufacture—are tremendously overloaded, and the army of unnecessary toilers doing honest work in enlarging the city make it still more burdensome; the vast army of useless clerks and business solicitors represent another great waste, while rural regions that with sane land laws and adequate capital could through industry be made enormously productive are largely lying idle.

Moreover, in this maladjustment we find our old friends, the artificial industries, that forever levy taxes on the valuable industries and pile up population where it is not needed and where it must be artificially supported.

Then there are many other forms of malemployment; servants that do not add to the country's production or to the efficiency of those who may need a certain amount of assistance to make them more efficient in performing the duties of organization and leadership.

The vast army engaged in the liquor traffic is pure waste, and all up and down we find men who are working hard but doing useless things—sometimes doing the wrong thing in the right place, sometimes doing the right thing in the wrong place.

Then we find that even where business is well conducted and well fitted to its location that it is oftentimes subject to the monopolistic control of trusts and "gentlemen's agreements," so that instead of lowering the burden of cost the results of efficiency, natural resources, and invention go into private hands instead of reaching the public in lower prices.

We find a tremendously overloaded distributing system. Indeed, until lately, an overwhelming proportion of the output of our colleges went into professions and business instead of into production. Moreover, our system of agents, jobbers, wholesalers, retailers, is both a waste and a burden, for each must add a profit, and how large that profit shall be depends upon the patience of an ill-informed public.

No one better than I remembers the bitter fight made by little country stores against the parcel post. The mail-order houses, just because they were working on correct economic principles, have profited marvelously.

As a Nation we are indulging in the most expensive distributing cost. England is selling our meat cheaper than we get it at home. The former Tariff Commission found certain kinds of cotton fabrics much cheaper here than in England, and yet the English public bought the goods for less than our people paid.

Under the private ownership of our transportation lines we find waste and bad adjustment. We find railroads occupying rival freight yards and rival stations in the great cities, when all should be interlocked. We find the most incoherent and insane system of car distribution, where railroads vie in stealing each other's cars until they are collected and run back empty to headquarters. There can be no unification short of Government ownership and operation, and it will be found that the so-called wastefulness of public operation will by such unification prove a great relative economy.

Not our tariff system has built up our past prosperity. Our natural resources, our ingenuity, our pioneer spirit have made us rich as a Nation. And all the time we are prodigally wasting these resources, foolishly releasing them from public into private hands, with the expressed belief that by putting them on the tax roll we are adding to the national wealth. The time must come, and that soon, when we must recover them, and we must hold those not yet parted with.

The opinion is general that we must take over our public utilities, transportation, and transmission of intelligence; but when we are considering the public retention and assumption of natural resources it is strange that most of us forget the most important of all these resources, and that is the land itself.

The most serious phase of this situation of high prices is that it tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and still more accentuates the difference between the "house of have" and the "house of want." "Laissez faire" has completely broken down and the sacred natural law of supply and demand has been repealed. While we are speaking of added prices as following this so-called law we are compelled to wonder whether these added prices are productive in nature, or whether they merely tend to deprive the less fortunate of things they need and to bestow them on those with bank accounts. It is easy enough to talk about taking a long view of such situations and to show that high prices will in a series of years tend to increase production and thereby lower prices; but while we are waiting for such readjustment the valuable may starve and the parasitic grow fat. Against this remedy there also stand out the possibilities of men refusing to compete if it is to their advantage to form combinations, and always and ever there is the increment added to the land by prosperity in any given line.

The question of rising prices due to increased land values reminds one of a building raised on jackscrews, temporarily braced with timbers, and then having put under it permanent construction. We shall never have 40-cent corn on $200 land. We can regulate the railroads and other public utilities on the basis of investment or inherent value, regardless of capitalizations. Can we not see the absurdity of considering inflated land prices as legitimate capitalization calculated to bring interest returns forever?

It would appear that, much as we dislike it and much as we object to State interference, we shall have to practice a great deal more of it before we can practice less. In this we are but interfering with prior private interference. In a small way and an immediate way it is the same old struggle between anarchism and socialism—anarchism representing the millennium and socialism a conveyance toward that destination.

In this war time we rely in toto on our Federal Government. It is called upon to levy taxes, to draft men, to furnish supplies for the common welfare; and yet under our absurd constitutional system the Federal Government is unable to reach the fundamental sources of wealth, whether it be the city real estate, mineral lands, water power, or farm property. In the very midst of this need of Federal strength we find the Senate heedlessly endeavoring to squander the public domain and the resources in oil and water power, thereby weakening the only agency that stands between us and acute danger, while every man who objects to any necessary form of control or taxation uses the Federal Constitution as the foundation for his argument.

If our contest prove long and severe the Federal Constitution will not recognize itself in a looking-glass, or else the United States Government will be crippled and hampered beyond measure by the constriction of the baling wires that bind us, placed there by men who, however good or wise, lived a hundred and fifty years ago, and were neither prophets nor sons of prophets.

There is no danger but that the American system of land tenure will come in for plenty of analysis and criticism at a meeting where single taxers are gathered. There are certain things concerning which I disagree with some of my friends of that enthusiastic and thoughtful school. I do not believe that if Henry George had lived he would have confined his revenue system to the taxation of land, either as abstractly perfect or concretely feasible, and I think he would have recognized the fact that after taxing all the rental value out of land and forcing the owner of the land to the trouble of cashing his crops and turning in his taxes no benefit of holding title would appear. Just as millions of acres of chopped-over timber land have been permitted to revert to the State rather than to irritate the owner with taxation charges, in the same way this taxing of the unearned increment would eventually throw the land back to the taxing community. The taxation plan would be self-destructive and a leasing system would take its place, an evolution to be devoutly sought, and one only to be reached through taxation or revolution.

It makes no difference how long these leases should run, they might be perpetual provided the terms and conditions were, as varied from time to time, observed by the occupant. Such terms and conditions would, of course, require the highest and best use of the property in the public interest. The single tax, if crudely applied, would inevitably lead to the waste and destruction of timber. The single tax, carrying with it the old sanction of fee simple title, would never prevent such eternal destruction as is found, for instance, in Sacramento Valley of California, where to secure one crop of gold the most fertile land in the United States, situated under the most ideal climatic conditions for crop production, is totally destroyed for this one crop, yielding perhaps $1,500 an acre, when the same land through the life of the world would yield one-third as much per annum in terms of produce.

There is no need for me in this outline to go into detail describing the "old man of the sea"—the value which the public creates by its demand for land and by the improvements of transportation and invention, which forever and a day carry an apparently innocent but really deadly interest charge, which must be added to productive and distributive costs. As soon as we have assumed more and more ownership of public utilities we must be driven to see that land is the greatest of all public utilities and should be so considered and treated as such.

Moreover, single-taxers must recognize that although free trade is the ultimate end and goal not only of commercial welfare and lowered costs but also as the preeminent means of doing away with war, yet at this stage of the world and for a long

time to come we shall be forced, the most liberal of us, to advocate exceptions and to regard the march toward free trade as a long process of adjustment, of reciprocal trade, and trading treaties.

We are at the parting of the ways. Our old ideas and theories of "laissez faire" and competition have gone by the board. The greedy schemes of the powerful, working together with unrestricted immigration, has created vast divergencies of wealth and opportunity. "Keep out cheap goods, import cheap labor" have been two inherent postulates of our national scheme. We divide our patrimony of land and resources with the ragtag and bobtail of the world in theory, but later, in practice, find these resources taken over by those who already have too much. We can not keep up democracy with unfit and oppressed people doing the voting. We must face about and create a new political economy. Our resources, including land, must be retained and recovered. Whether we like it or not, we shall inevitably come to a Government regulation of prices. We must have a land-leasing system for many reasons, and if we had one now and all the land were in the ownership of the Federal Government there would be no trouble about raising revenue. It would be merely a matter of increasing public rentals, in kind or its equivalent. The farmer who raised a big crop of $2 wheat would be turning in the same percentage to the Government, probably a larger one, as his profits would be greater on his share; the city dweller would pay more land rent in terms of cash. The manufacturer of steel would be turning over to the Government the equivalent or more than the equivalent of a percentage based on what are nearer normal prices.

Consider what would have been the status of this city if the Government had retained the fee title and had leased the land. Several generations of land speculators would not have reaped where they have not sown. There would have been complete control of the plans of improvement and funds beyond dreams for making a city worthy of our Nation.

I have given but a sketch and an outline of some of the matters that have occurred to me in connection with the topic of this meeting.

In closing let me call your attention to a phase of psychology at the time of the San Francisco earthquake. No one can claim that the population of San Francisco was free from evil elements. But at the first outbreak of the great calamity little Gen. Funston marched down the street of the shattered town and forced the mayor to sign a proclamation that looters would be shot. A few great souls went to work cheerfully in the task of relief and helpfulness. As a result of the combination the community became more orderly, kindly, cheerful, and temperate than ever in its history. It was only partially due to the sternness of the law that order was preserved; a much greater element was the fact that men's minds were turned in the right direction.

The laws that we shall pass and that we shall enforce can not create value, but they have the potentiality of acting as suggestions that will turn the tide in the right direction. Like many a lost tenderfoot, we have been following the wrong end of the compass needle. About face!

Our War for Law and Civilization.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK N. ZIHLMAN,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 15, 1917.

Mr. ZIHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by HENRY W. TEMPLE, of Pennsylvania, delivered at the annual meeting of the Maryland State Bar Association at Atlantic City, June 21, 1917.

The address is as follows:

OUR WAR FOR LAW AND CIVILIZATION.

During the past 25 years two apparently contradictory tendencies have attracted the attention of all students of international affairs, and particularly of all who hate war and the unspeakable evils which accompany it. Preparations for war were being made on an unprecedented scale, while at the same time projects for the peaceable settlement of international disputes were not only discussed, but to an extent formerly unknown were made the subject of international negotiations. Treaties of arbitration became common. The peace conferences at The Hague attempted to establish international courts of arbitration, and there were not lacking those who saw in this movement the realization of Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Many of the men who took part in these peace conferences were statesmen who, in developing the policies of their own countries, were earnest advocates of military preparedness and favored large armies and powerful navies. There was not necessarily any inconsistency between these two courses. In many cases they were symptoms of the same mental state. Men feared war and wished to prevent it, but at the same time feared that it was likely to come upon them. In the peace conferences they attempted to devise ways of preventing war, while in their national budgets they prepared to meet the disaster if their efforts to perpetuate peace should not be successful.

It may be that some who took part in these conferences were not sincere. There were persistent suspicions that this was true, and it may now be said that the development of events has since seemed to justify the suspicions. However that may be, these statesmen saw two divergent roads which the development of the world might follow. The two possibilities represented two ideals of government, two ways of ruling the world—by violence or by law.

At the beginning of the war Germany announced that in case of military necessity she would be bound by no law. The imperial chancellor, in a speech delivered before the German Diet on August 4, 1914, said:

> Gentlemen, we are now acting in self-defense. Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have possibly already entered upon Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. The French Government has notified Brussels that it would respect Belgian neutrality as long as the adversary respected it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait; we could not. A French invasion in our flank and the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced, as we are, and is fighting for his all can only consider the one and best way to strike.

Treaties became scraps of paper. Law existed only to be broken.

Unfortunately we sometimes hear it said that there is no law among nations, nothing that is legally binding upon them in their dealings with one another. It is true, of course, that there is no body of rules enacted and enforced by a sovereign political body to which the nations owe obedience; but there are settled habitudes which for an indefinite time past have been recognized by the community of nations as the standard of what is just and right; there are ancient and general usages to which the nations have given their consent and which are enforced in the courts.

International law is recognized by the Constitution of the United States in the clause by which it gives Congress power to punish offenses against the law of nations. From the beginning of our Government it has been recognized and enforced by the Supreme Court of the United States. In Ware *v.* Hylton, 1796, Justice Wilson said:

> When the United States declared their independence they were bound to receive the law of nations in its modern state of purity and refinement.

In the case of the *Nereide*, 1815, Chief Justice Marshall said that in the absence of any act of Congress "the court is bound by the law of nations, which is a part of the law of the land."

In the case of the packet *Habana*, 1899, Mr. Justice Gray said:

> International law is a part of our law, and must be ascertained and administered by the courts of justice of appropriate jurisdiction as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination. For this purpose, where there is no treaty, and no controlling executive and legislative act, or judicial decision, resort must be had to the customs and usages of civilized nations; and, as evidence of these, to the works of jurists and commentators, who, by years of labor and research, and experience, have made themselves peculiarly well acquainted with the subjects of which they treat. Such works are resorted to by judicial tribunals, not for the speculations of their authors concerning what the law ought to be, but for trustworthy evidence of what the law really is.

That is the attitude of the United States toward international law. It is the doctrine of our Constitution, of our courts; beyond doubt it is supported by the public opinion of our people. I hope that will always be our attitude. I hope that in our foreign policies treaties will never become scraps of paper, and that in the conduct of war we will never act upon the doctrine that necessity knows no law. I am confident that we will never disregard the rightful protests of other nations against acts of injustice or answer them with the announcement that we hope

to remedy the wrongs when our military purposes have been accomplished.

The contrary doctrine is set forth in the German chancellor's speech, which I have quoted above. That utterance sounded the very keynote of German methods. Throughout the war, when military necessity has demanded, or when even military advantage has seemed to suggest a disregard of the law of nations, the law has been disregarded. The first hostile move began with the invasion of Belgian territory in disregard of international law, as the chancellor has admitted, and in flagrant violation of international treaties.

From the beginning of her national existence Belgium had been a neutralized State. In the treaty of November 15, 1831, by which the great powers had recognized Belgium's separation from Holland and erection into an independent nation, all these powers, including Prussia, had solemnly guaranteed Belgium's permanent neutralization. This guarantee had been repeated in the treaty of 1839, to which again Prussia was a party, and in the treaty of London of May 11, 1867, which neutralized Luxemburg, Prussia again being one of the signatory powers.

In 1870, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, England entered into two treaties. In one of them England, Belgium, and Prussia were the parties. England covenanted that in case France should violate the neutrality of Belgium, England would become the ally of Belgium and Prussia. In the other treaty France was the third party. It was agreed that in case Prussia should violate Belgium's neutrality England would become the ally of the other two in defending that neutrality. One might have supposed that with more than 40 years' warning Germany would know that England's attitude would be the same in 1914.

Germany's obligation to respect and even defend the neutrality of Belgium did not rest alone upon these treaties, nor upon that principle of international law which requires that the territory of neutrals may not be used by a belligerent. Germany had renewed her obligation by pledges given in 1913, and again as late as July 31, 1914, four days before the promise was broken.

At a meeting of the budget committee of the Reichstag, April 29, 1913, according to the semiofficial Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung:

> A member of the Social Democrat Party said, "The approach of a war between Germany and France is viewed with apprehension in Belgium, for it is feared that Germany will not respect the neutrality of Belgium."
> Herr von Jagow, secretary of state, replied, "Belgian neutrality is provided for by international conventions, and Germany is determined to respect those conventions."

On July 31, 1914, the German chancellor, Von Bethmann-Holweg, assured Baron van der Elst, the Belgian secretary general of foreign affairs, that Germany had no intention of violating Belgian neutrality. To the request that Germany make a public declaration to that effect he replied that such a declaration would weaken Germany's military position with regard to France, who, being assured of her safety on the northern side, would concentrate all her energies on the east. Two days after this promise was given Germany demanded permission to send her troops through Belgian territory and in another two days the assault on the fortifications at Liege began.

With cynical disregard of the treaty of 1839 and later treaties, the imperial chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Holweg, had asked the British ambassador in Berlin if England would fight "for a mere word, for a scrap of paper." England fought for the scrap of paper, because that paper was a treaty still in force.

Of course, England's interests were involved. The scrap of paper would never have existed if each of the powers that signed it had not believed that their various interests would be safer with an independent Belgium than if Belgium were in the hands of any one of the rivals. The motives of nations, like the motives of men, are complex. Treaties, like other contracts, are usually entered into from motives of self-interest, but when the obligation has once been assumed every consideration of honor, of loyalty, of mere self-respect, requires that it be fulfilled. At enormous cost England has kept her pledge. Germany, for the sake of military advantage, invaded Belgium, breaking her treaty, violating international law, disregarding the rightful protest of Belgium, as was callously confessed by the German chancellor, but hoping to remedy the injustice when her military aims had been attained.

From the beginning of the war Germany has paid no attention to international law or to the customs and usages of war which have grown up in the last 300 years to mitigate its horrors. On the contrary, there has been an evident attempt to increase the terrors of war for the purpose of impairing the morale of Germany's enemies, including not only the military forces but the civilian population. The purpose of influencing governmental policies by deliberately increasing the frightfulness of war has been frequently proclaimed by the German authorities.

Early in the war a few patriotic civilians in Belgium violated the law which forbids civilians to fight. They took chances in firing upon German sentries or into marching columns of German troops. However patriotic such men are recognized to be, they are guilty of an offense against the laws of war and are subject to the death penalty. They are not lawful combatants. Germany, however, announced and acted on the policy of punishing a community for the act of an individual, and in one well-authenticated instance 110 men and women were lined up before the guns of the firing squad. After a few volleys from the squad a machine gun was turned upon the victims and a hundred and ten dead bodies were left in a heap as a punishment for the act of one or two men.

The bombardment of undefended coast towns and summer resorts on the east coast of England was a violation of the customary laws of war and a breach of treaties which Germany had signed. Germany's use of poisonous gases and of liquid fire has led the allies to resort to the same methods in retaliation. The Zeppelin raids over London, since they produce no military effect whatever, are inexcusable offenses against the law of nations and against humanity, for which a portion of the English people are demanding retaliation. The British Government has not yet been willing to attack undefended cities in Germany to avenge the women and children killed in England by these raids.

Above all, the submarine policy that Germany has adopted was not only an offense against her enemies, but also a crime against nations with which Germany was not at war. Merchant ships of all nations were destroyed without regard for the rights of the neutral crews on board, and even without any attempt to save the lives of women and children among the passengers. Germany has behaved in this fashion not only toward her enemies but toward the citizens of neutral and friendly powers, until at last Germany has no friends among all the nations of the world.

Enemy merchant ships are, of course, subject to capture, and may be destroyed if adequate provision is made to place the passengers and crew in safety. On the other hand, merchant ships of neutrals may not ordinarily be destroyed, even when they are subject to capture, but must, if possible, be taken into a friendly port to be passed upon by a prize court. In no case is it lawful to kill by any means the passengers or crew of either a neutral or an enemy merchant ship, except in lawful combat when the vessel resists an attempt of a belligerent warship to exercise the right of visit and search or the right of capture. Even after resistance the crew of the captured ship may not be slaughtered, but must be treated as prisoners of war. Before the war this provision of international law was also German law. The prize code issued by the German naval staff as general orders, June 22, 1914, six weeks before the outbreak of the war, contains the following:

> If an armed merchant vessel of the enemy offers armed resistance, such resistance may be overcome with all means possible. The crew are to be taken prisoners of war. The passengers are to be left to go free unless it appears that they participated in the resistance.

This was in harmony with international law. But since the war broke out Germany, in this particular as in many others, has modified her code. She now declares that merchant ships must not be armed, and that commanders and crew of armed merchant ships will, when captured, be treated as pirates. In accordance with this ruling, Capt. Fryatt, the commander of a British armed merchant ship, was put to death for resisting capture.

We have not gone to war with Germany merely because she has violated international law. Every sentiment of humanity was outraged at the treatment of Belgium and of the civilian population of northern France, but we are not fighting because our sentiments have been outraged. It was not the *Lusitania* horror that brought us into the war, although more than 100 American citizens, many of them women and children, were drowned with hundreds of others when that vessel was unlawfully destroyed. We did not even go to war when American ships, sailing under the protection of the American flag, were sent to the bottom under Germany's first submarine policy. According to the proclamation of the German Government, that policy, which took effect February 4, 1915, was directed solely against enemy ships. If neutral ships were destroyed, Americans among them, it was because of the difficulty of distinguishing between the enemy and the neutral. American ships were destroyed, and for a long time we submitted and accepted Germany's apologies and insincere expressions of regret, although our blood boiled while we did it.

The new policy which went into effect February 1, 1917, was announced in a note which, among other things, contains the following paragraph:

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation—that of neutrals included—from and to England, and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

This meant that American ships found within 400 miles of the British or French coasts or anywhere in the Mediterranean, except within very narrow limits, would be sunk. For what Germany called the illegal measures of her enemies we were to be punished, our ships were to be sunk. Following this announcement several American ships were actually destroyed by German submarines. Each of these attacks was a separate act of war upon the United States, and we were obliged either to submit to this aggression or resent it.

Always in maritime war a belligerent has a right to blockade the coast of an enemy, but this was not blockade. Germany did not proclaim a blockade of the British or French coasts, and did not pretend to be acting under the law of blockade. Always, also, in time of war a belligerent has a right to seize contraband goods destined for the use of the enemy. Germany did not pretend to be operating under the law of contraband.

If American ships had been captured for a breach of blockade or for carrying contraband, there would have been no objection on the part of the Government of the United States. But the loss of the property involved is the sole penalty for these offenses. Death has never been the penalty for breach of blockade or for carrying contraband. If an American ship had been destroyed while resisting capture or resisting an attempt on the part of the German naval forces to exercise the right of visit and search, there would have been no protest on the part of our Government. But this was not even charged against any American vessel. They were destroyed, Germany said, because of alleged illegal measures of Germany's enemies.

Visit and search is necessary in order that the commander of a belligerent warship may know whether the vessel he has halted is subject to capture. In exercising this right an officer of the warship will go on board the merchant vessel which he has halted and will examine the ship's papers. These papers will include such documents as (1) the certificate of registry, which will show the nationality of the vessel; (2) the clearance papers, which will show its destination and thus enable the officer to determine whether the vessel is bound to a blockaded port and subject to capture for that reason; (3) the manifest of cargo and invoices, which will enable the officer to learn what kind of goods she may be carrying and, if she is bound for an enemy destination, to decide whether the vessel is subject to capture for carrying contraband. If she is subject to capture, and if it is impossible to take her into port, it is always necessary before destroying her to place the passengers and crew in safety and to take these papers in order that the case may be properly presented to the prize court. When the vessel is sunk without visit and search, the property and the papers which are the evidence in the case necessary to determine the ownership of the property, its destination, its character as contraband or otherwise are sent to the bottom and never can be placed in possession of the prize court.

During the whole of this controversy many good people were misled and confused by German sympathizers who said that England's blockade was starving German women and children and therefore Germany was justified in her submarine campaign, the purpose of which was to shut off England's food supply. In answer to this it may be said that though starvation is horrible, reduction by famine has never ceased to be recognized as a legitimate weapon of warfare. In 1870, when the German Army starved the city of Paris into surrender, the authorities of the city asked the German commander for permission to send the women and children out of the city and through the German lines to a place of safety. The answer was that since it was his purpose to reduce the city by famine the German commander could not permit the removal of "useless mouths." As to starvation by blockade, universally recognized principles of the law of neutrality, developed and established during hundreds of years, recognize the right of a nation at war to blockade its enemy and shut off all commerce even with neutrals, including commerce in foodstuffs. Neutrals submit to this interruption of their trade with a belligerent provided the blockade is carried on according to certain principles which the whole civilized world has agreed to. These principles permit the seizure of neutral property after visit and search, and confiscation also, if the property is condemned upon a hearing before a lawful prize court. The law does not permit the slaughter of passengers and crew who may be on board a vessel subject to condemnation. If England's course was unlawful Germany was bound not to retaliate in any way that would require the commission of crimes against neutrals.

Germany has claimed that the invention and development of the submarine boat has modified this universal law guaranteeing the rights of neutrals. Germany demands that she be permitted to do to neutral traders with this newer and more deadly weapon what the law does not permit her to do with any weapon. Germany claims that there has been no law for the regulation of submarine boats. Our reply is that the law was never based on the nature of the weapon, but was founded entirely upon the rights of the neutral. Those rights are not modified by the invention and development of a newer and easier way of violating them. The law against murder is not a law to regulate the use of certain weapons; its purpose is to protect life. A man accused of murder would have little chance of acquittal if he based his defense upon the fact that in taking his victim's life he had used a weapon that was unknown when the law against murder was enacted.

Germany herself has admitted that her submarine warfare is conducted without regard to the law of nations. On January 7, 1916, the German ambassador in Washington, acting under instructions from the foreign office in Berlin, wrote to the State Department as follows:

German submarines in the Mediterranean had from the beginning orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal as applied in the war zone around the British Isles were to be excluded.

German submarines are therefore, permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships, as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

This document, dated more than a year before the second and more general war-zone policy was adopted, is Germany's plain statement that her orders given to submarines, requiring them to operate in accordance with international law, applied only to those operating in the Mediterranean and not to those operating in the war zone around the British Isles.

Germany has claimed moral justification for disregarding neutral rights on the ground that her course is a reprisal or retaliation for certain illegal measures put into effect by her enemies. The German propaganda in American newspapers has gone further in making this claim than any official communication our Government has received from the German authorities. They have asserted that England first mined the North Sea contrary to international law, and that Germany's use of the submarine was in reprisal for this.

England first adopted a mine-laying policy October 20, 1914. Another proclamation to the same effect was issued by the British Government on November 3, 1914, and has frequently been quoted by German propagandists as furnishing justification for the conduct of the Imperial Government. This is the date which these propagandists have fixed as marking the first use of mines in this war.

I wish to call attention to a communication from the German Government in which the German foreign office at Berlin declares that Germany began to lay mines on the trade routes to English ports on August 7, 1914, three days after the war began. This communication is dated November 7, 1914. The fifth paragraph of this German document is as follows:

In the British protest the charge is made that the German Government never issued any proclamation as to the places where mines were laid. This charge is not founded in fact. On August 7, 1914, the German Government communicated to all the neutral powers that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines by Germany. Neutral shipping was, therefore, notified of the fact of the laying of the mines and of the zones where it had to look out for German mines. If the German Government did not give the exact situation of the various mines, this may well be understood from the conditions which forced the laying of the mines.

I ask you to compare with this announcement a note signed by Count von Bernstorff and addressed to the Secretary of State, bearing date of September 10, 1914. It begins as follows:

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: By direction of my Government I have the honor respectfully to bring the following to your excellency's knowledge: No foundation for idea prevalent among neutrals abroad that because of the blockade of German ports sea trade with Germany is tied up. No port is blockaded and nothing stands in the way of neutral States' sea trade with Germany. The assertions from England that the North Sea has been infested with mines by Germany are wrong.

The statement that nothing stands in the way of neutral States' trade with Germany seems to be an acknowledgment by Germany that up to the date of that note, September 10, 1914, England had not placed mines on trade routes to German ports. The last sentence seems to deny what Germany admitted later under date of November 7, 1914, as quoted above, that, on the contrary, Germany had laid mines on trade routes to English ports as early as August 7, 1914. It is obvious that since the first mines used in the war were those laid by Germany on trade routes to England three days after the war began, they could not have been resorted to in reprisal for what England only began to do on October 20, more than 10 weeks later.

What Germany has termed "England's unlawful blockade of neutral ports" is said to have been the cause of other reprisals on the part of Germany. This raises a very interesting question. We all remember complaints which were made not only by shippers in this country but by our Government as well, and at least in some instances rightfully made, against certain acts of Great Britain in the conduct of her blockade. Goods shipped from our seaports to ports in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, or Holland have been seized by British war ships and held for adjudication by British prize courts. Why should vessels carrying goods to neutral countries be seized? If in discussing this question I seem to start a long way back, the process is like that of the contestant in the broad jump, who runs for several yards before he comes to the "take-off." The run is an essential part of the undertaking.

To understand the doctrine of continuous voyage and the later doctrine of ultimate destination one must go back to the war between France and England which began in 1756—the Seven Years' War—the American phase of which is known in this country as the French and Indian War. At that time the law of France, like the law of the United States to-day, permitted no foreign vessels to engage in the trade between the home country and its island possessions. When the war broke out France opened this traffic to foreign ships. The English prize court held that neutral vessels engaged in this trade, which was closed to them in time of peace, were practically in the service of France—were really French vessels by adoption—and subject to capture as if they were actually of French registry. This doctrine was embodied in what is known as England's "rule of war of 1756."

The same situation arose again in the war between France and England which broke out after the French Revolution. By this time the thirteen American Colonies had become independent, and it was American vessels that now began to perform French service by carrying goods from the French West Indies to France. It was not long until the ingenious Yankee skippers devised a plan for evading the rule. To avoid making a voyage from Martinique to France, they would take out clearance papers at Martinique for some American port and there take out new clearance papers for the real destination in France. Under this plan the ship's papers would never show a direct voyage between two French ports.

The British prize courts held that the interposition of a neutral port between the port of origin and the true destination was a subterfuge, and that the two voyages from Martinique to Charleston and from Charleston to Marseilles constituted in fact one continuous voyage. Under this doctrine, vessels were condemned by the prize courts for violating the rule of war of 1756. The doctrine of continuous voyage was applied also to British vessels which traded with the enemy and attempted to evade the law by interposing a neutral port between the British port from which they started and the French port which was the true destination.

By the time our Civil War broke out the doctrine of continuous voyage was fairly well established, but its application had been confined almost exclusively to the rule of 1756 and the law forbidding trade with the enemy. American courts accepted the doctrine of continuous voyage and applied it in new ways. We applied it to the law of contraband and also to the law of blockade. Vessels that sailed from England to Cardenas in Cuba or to Matamoras in Mexico and to other neutral ports were seized by our cruisers and condemned by our prize courts on the ground that the contraband goods which they carried had an ultimate destination in the Southern Confederacy, or that the noncontraband goods were destined for blockaded territory.

The most remarkable of these cases was that of the *Springbok*, a British sailing vessel bound from London to Nassau, in the Bahamas. We captured this British vessel, which had sailed from one British port to another British port, on the ground that the cargo which it carried was intended for transshipment at Nassau to an unknown destination in the Southern Confederacy. The voyage of the *Springbok* was to be finished at Nassau. She was to discharge her cargo there and return to England.

In previous wars no ship had been held under the doctrine of continuous voyage unless captured after she had cleared from the interposed port with papers which showed unmistakably an enemy destination. We captured this vessel on the first leg of the voyage, when there was no intention that the vessel should ever clear for an enemy port. It was the cargo only that had an enemy destination. The doctrine of continuous voyage of the vessel had given birth to the doctrine of ultimate destination of the goods.

Appeal was taken by the British owner of the vessel from the decision of the prize court in New York to the Supreme Court of the United States. While this appeal was pending the British Government, February 20, 1864, informed Lord Lyons, its minister at Washington, that they had considered the judgment of Judge Betts in the case of the *Springbok* and had decided that they could not officially interfere in the matter, adding:

> The complicity of the owners of the ship with the design of the owners of the cargo is, to say the least, so probable on the evidence that there would be great difficulty in contending that this ship and cargo had not been rightly condemned.

Those who maintain that the decision in the *Springbok* case was right do so because they believe the law is a living thing which grows and develops as conditions change. Those who believe that the decision of the Supreme Court was wrong might say that the development of the doctrine of ultimate destination of the goods from the doctrine of continuous voyage of the vessel was a violent distortion of the law.

In the present war Great Britain has accepted and applied the American doctrine of the ultimate destination of the goods. It is true that she applied that doctrine more extensively than we did during the Civil War, and in one or two particulars has applied it in new ways. It is also true, I believe, that our State Department has protested against these new ways of applying the doctrine, and in letters to the British foreign office has said that in these particulars England's course has been "illegal and indefensible." This claim on the part of our Government may be compared to the action of an attorney who, while trying a case, finds it necessary to file an objection to a ruling of the court in order that he may have ground on which to base an appeal. But it is utterly beyond reason to say that England's extension of the doctrine of ultimate destination is an offense against the laws of humanity, or that it in any way justifies the German submarine policy. It slaughters no noncombatants; it drowns no women and children; it does not shock and horrify mankind. It is a dispute about the law, which can be settled by diplomatic means. If it is ultimately determined that England's course has been wrong, any damage that has been done may be repaired by indemnity.

It should be understood that Great Britain has not claimed any right to blockade neutral ports nor to seize cargoes which are in good faith bound for Holland or Denmark. She has, however, maintained that certain ports of Holland are the natural ports of entry for large portions of the German Empire, and she has claimed the right to apply the doctrine of ultimate destination to goods which are to be carried through Holland to Germany.

Before I turn again to consider the lawlessness of the Imperial Government of Germany and the political philosophy which goes far to account for that lawlessness I wish to call attention to a decision of the judiciary committee of the privy council which illustrates the high regard for law which is characteristic of the nations with which we are associated in this war for law and civilization.

The *Zamora*, a Swedish ship bound from New York to Stockholm with a cargo which included 400 tons of copper, was captured by a British cruiser and sent into a British port as prize. Before hearing the claim for condemnation on the ground of the contraband nature of the cargo the prize court was applied to by the Crown for an interlocutory order which would deliver up the copper upon deposit by the Crown of a bond covering the value of the goods, the bond to be held by the court pending the adjudication of the case. The Swedish owner of the copper appealed from the order which authorized the Crown to requisition the goods, basing the appeal on the contention that the decision of the court, though in accordance with an order of the King in council, was contrary to international law. The judicial committee of the privy council, which is the court of last resort in prize-court cases, in the course of its opinion said:

> In the first place, all those matters on which the court was authorized to proceed were or arose out of acts done by the sovereign power in right of war. It followed that the King must, directly or indirectly, be a party to all proceedings in a court of prize. * * * Rights based on sovereignty were weighted and the Crown accepted for most purposes the position of an ordinary litigant. A prize court must, of course, deal judicially with all questions which come before it for determination, and it would be impossible for it to act judicially if it were bound to take its orders from one of the parties to the proceedings.
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> In the second place, the law which the prize court was to administer was not the national, or, as it was sometimes called, the municipal law, but the law of nations; in other words, international law. * * * It was obvious that, if and so far as a court of prize in this country was bound by and gave effect to orders of the King in council purporting to prescribe and alter the international law, it was administering not international but municipal law, for an exercise of the prerogative could not impose legal obligation on anyone outside the King's dominion who was not the King's subject. If an order in council were binding on the prize court, such court might be compelled to act contrary to the expressed terms of the commission from which it derived its jurisdiction. * * *
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> If the court is to decide judicially in accordance with what it conceives to be the law of nations, it can not even in doubtful cases take

its directions from the Crown, which is a party to the proceedings. It must itself determine what the law is according to the best of its ability, and its view, with whatever hesitation it be arrived at, must prevail over any executive order. Only in this way can it fulfill its function as a prize court and justify the confidence which other nations have hitherto placed in its decisions. * * *

On this part of the case, therefore, their lordships hold that order 29, rule 1, of the prize court rules, construed as an imperative direction to the court, is not binding. (The Times, Law Report, April 7, 1916, and American Journal Int. Law, April, 1916.)

England's highest court declined to be bound by an order of the King in council because it deemed that order to be contrary to international law, and announced as a mere matter of course that it could not take its orders from one of the parties in the case. In this war, which we have entered for the defense of our rights and the maintenance of law, as the foundation of civilization, we may be proud of our association, both with the republic which helped us to win our independence and with the great democracy under the forms of a monarchy from which we inherited our institutions and our respect for law. The English people realize more fully than we do that in the War of the American Revolution we were fighting for the rights which Englishmen claimed under their own law, and that our success hastened the reestablishment of those rights in England, so that in fact our success in that war contributed to the establishment of liberty in both nations.

England regards the law; Germany announces that military necessity overrides all law and justifies the violation of solemn pledges. In a note of February 16, 1915, shortly after the announcement of the German submarine policy in its first and milder form, the German foreign office made the following statement:

It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American ships when they are recognizable as such.

Exactly one year later, February 16, 1916, the German ambassador expressed the regret of his Government for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*. In the course of the note he said:

Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States; and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects.

Both these statements were disregarded when, on February 1, 1917, Germany began to do that which she had declared it was her intention never to do to neutrals by proceeding to sink all ships—those of neutrals included—found within certain parts of the open ocean. This violence to neutrals, contrary to law and in disregard of pledges, was in harmony with the invasion of Belgium and with Germany's whole policy of lawlessness and frightfulness in the conduct of the war. It is in harmony with Von Treitschke's moral philosophy as expressed in his essay on "The State in Relation to the Moral Law." He maintains that Christian ethics furnish no rigid standard even in private morals, but come at last to this, that every man attains his highest perfection when he has recognized and developed the most essential part of himself.

Having laid this foundation, Von Treitschke applies the standard of what he calls "deeper and truly Christian ethics" to the State. He maintains that the very personality of the State—its most essential part—is power, and, therefore, the highest duty of the State is to uphold and maintain its own power. In his view the duty of the State to assert itself remains always absolute. Weakness must always be condemned as the most disastrous and despicable of crimes, the unpardonable sin of politics. In his view it is the highest morality for a State to violate its treaties if such a course is necessary to maintain its power. I quote a paragraph from the essay referred to:

It is a further consequence of the essential sovereignty of the State that it can acknowledge no arbiter above it, and must ultimately submit its legal obligations to its own verdict. We must beware of judging a great crisis from the advocate's Philistine standpoint.

When Prussia broke the treaty of Tilsit the civil law would have pronounced her wrong, but who would dare assert now that she was guilty? * * * This applies to international treaties less devoid of all morality than that which Prussia was compelled to conclude with France. Every State reserves to itself the right to be the judge of its own treaties, and the historian must not condemn without searching deeper to discover whether it is fulfilling its unqualified duty of self-maintenance. Every moral judgment of the historian must be based on the hypothesis of the State as power, constrained to maintain itself as such within and without. * * * That is to say, that moralists must first recognize that the State is not to be judged by the standards which apply to individuals, but by those which are set for it by its own nature and ultimate aims.

If that is the philosophy which has actually been accepted by the leaders of the German Empire, it will account for much that Germany has done, which, according to the standards of the rest of mankind, has been so thoroughly out of harmony with all law and all treaties which Germany was bound to observe that no man could have believed beforehand that such a course would be followed by any civilized nation. There are yet many, not familiar with the evidence furnished by the diplomatic correspondence of the German foreign office and by other German documents, who are not convinced that Germany has done these things, but believe that she is wronged by malicious accusations of her enemies.

It is only when we have grasped the idea that German statesmen and German university professors and other leaders of thought and policy sincerely believe that Germany has a mission to accomplish in the world which justifies her in resorting to any means that will maintain her own power and advance her own purposes—it is only when we realize this that we can understand the complacent good conscience with which the German Empire commits its crimes against humanity.

The underlying philosophy which has influenced many leaders in Germany was never set forth more plainly than in Nietzsche's book, Beyond Good and Evil (Dr. Oscar Levy's edition of Nietzsche's complete works, vol. 5, p. 224):

Let us acknowledge unprejudicedly how every higher civilization has hitherto originated. Men with a still natural nature, barbarians in every terrible sense of the word, men of prey, still in possession of unbroken strength of will and desire for power, threw themselves upon weaker, more moral, more peaceful races (perhaps traders or cattle-raising communities), or upon old mellow civilizations in which the final vital force was flickering out in brilliant fireworks of wit and depravity.

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The essential thing, however, in a good and healthy aristocracy is that it should not regard itself as a function either of the kingship or the commonwealth, but as the significance and highest justification thereof—that it should, therefore, accept with a good conscience the sacrifice of a legion of individuals, who, for its sake, must be suppressed and reduced to imperfect men, to slaves and instruments. Its fundamental belief must be precisely that society is not allowed to exist for its own sake, but only as a foundation and scaffolding, by means of which a select class of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their higher duties and in general to a higher existence; like those sun-seeking climbing plants in Java—they are called *Sipor matador*—which encircle an oak so long and so often with their arms, until at last, high above it, but suported by it, they can unfold their tops in the open light and exhibit their happiness.

This expression of Nietzsche's teaching that the superman has developed beyond the restraints of good and evil is likely to be received by those not familiar with it with incredulous amazement. It is nevertheless true that Nietzsche teaches that Christian morality is to be classed with that ethical type which he calls slave morality. It is good for the weak among mankind who favor it because its virtues suit their weaknesses and because the virtues of the strong may require the sacrifice of the weak. The supermen who stand above the common herd have no need of the Christian virtues or of the standards fixed by slave morality. They must, as Treitschke says, develop the most essential part of themselves or, as Nietzsche says, "accept with a good conscience the sacrifice of a legion of individuals in order that a select class of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their higher duties."

Von Treitschke's sublime confidence in the superiority of German institutions and German civilization as compared with those of any other people, together with his conception that it is the duty of the State to maintain its own power and assert itself and accomplish its mission in the world, when combined with this conception that the race of superior beings is free from the moral obligations of "slave morality" will go far toward accounting for his advocacy of the duty of violating treaties when national self-maintenance demands it.

This is not the philosophy of the great mass of the German people, if we may judge them by the vast majority of German-Americans who chose this country for themselves and their children rather than the land of their birth. It was not the philosophy of Carl Schurz, the German-American diplomat, soldier, and statesman; nor of Franz Sigel, the German-American soldier who saved Missouri to the Union in 1861. It was not the philosophy of Francis Lieber, the German-American publicist who was the author of Lincoln's "General Order No. 100," which, in 1863, formulated the customs and usages of civilized warfare and which at a much later date furnished much of the foundation for the laws of land warfare adopted at The Hague—laws which Germany is now systematically disregarding. These men were revolutionists in Germany and fought there for principles which, if they had prevailed, would have prevented Prussianism from becoming a menace to civilization. Treitschke repudiates these men, as they would have repudiated him. This German philosopher and historian says:

The individual should feel himself a member of the State, and as such have the courage to take its errors upon him. There must be no question of subjects having the right to oppose a sovereignty which in their opinion is not moral. * * * When the Hugeunots in France had their religion proscribed and were commanded to worship their

God under forms which their deepest conviction held to be un-Christian, conscience drove them from their fatherland, but we must not praise the fine temper of these martyrs for religion from the standpoint of the theologian without recognizing the tragic guilt which is always blended with such compulsion. * * * In modern times there have been radical parties who have in their vanity imagined themselves faced with a similar struggle, which in fact had only a subjective existence in their own exalted imagination. This was the reason why a number of the German-Americans forsook their fatherland. It is foolish to admire them for this. (Treitschke's Politics, vol. 1, p. 106.)

The issues at stake in this war are plain enough. On the one hand are those nations that believe in law as the foundation of civilization, in law that binds nations as well as men, that believe also in the binding obligations of a treaty.

On the other hand, is Germany with the allies which she dominates? By the chancellor's speech at the beginning of the war, by many announcements of the foreign office in Berlin, by her conduct in Belgium and in the submarine war zone, Germany is thoroughly committed to the doctrine that international law is not binding upon the nation whose advantage it is to break it; that treaties have no force when they cease to be of service to the government that signed them; and that all principles of humanity may be shocked and all moral sentiments outraged if a policy of frightfulness seems to promise military advantage to a government that finds itself in difficult straits.

We are associated in this war with nations whose ideals are like our own. Can we win? Not unless we prepare as we have never prepared yet. The people of this country seem not to have realized that there is any danger of defeat. The truth is that war came upon us and found us sleeping. Two and a half years of conflict on the other side of the world had not aroused us to the necessity of preparing for defense. Much has been done since war was declared; possibly some things have been done which will have to be undone; but if we are to get our weight into this war soon enough to win it for law as the ground and safeguard of the civilization of the world, we must have the hearty cooperation of all the people.

If the submarine campaign should be so far successful as to bring the people of England to the verge of starvation, England would be forced to accept whatever terms Germany might dictate. France could not maintain herself alone on the western frontier. It has been exceedingly fortunate for us in our unprepared condition that our enemy is held behind the steel wall of the armies and navies of our allies and that, because of this, we are permitted to have months to make that preparation without which we would be doomed to certain defeat. We must export all the food we can possibly spare to England and France, for if their soldiers and their people are not fed we shall have to bear the full force of Germany's power without the aid of France and England. In that case the fighting would be on our own side of the Atlantic.

Now that we are in the war we must win it for our own sake. Every consideration of self-interest demands whatever sacrifice may be necessary, but it is not only for our own sake that we must win. If civilization depends on law and righteousness and not on unrestrained power, then civilization is at stake. The world must not be controlled by rulers who believe themselves to have a mission which frees them from moral obligations and places their policies beyond the judgment of good and evil.

The Alaska Railroad.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. C. DILL,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 17, 1917.

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks on the item in this deficiency bill on the Alaska Railroad I desire to insert in the RECORD a statement of the Hon. CHARLES A. SULZER, Delegate from Alaska, on that item. Mr. SULZER has been called away by death in his family and has been granted an indefinite leave of absence by the House or he would have made these remarks in person. They are as follows:

REMARKS BY MR. SULZER.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the Members of the House to the item in the urgent deficiency bill providing for $4,000,000 for the continuation of the work on the Alaska Railroad until July 1, 1918.

This item was inserted in the bill as a result of an estimate submitted by Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane to the House. A hearing was held before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations on Friday, July 20, at which time Secretary Lane emphasized the continued rise in construction materials and increased labor costs as a reason for the need for this additional money.

The Alaskan Railroad enterprise of the Government will stand in history as one of the greatest achievements of this or any other administration. It is a master stroke of empire building, a project that means the direct development of an area as large almost as the country of Sweden, and the hastening of development of an additional area as large as the German Empire in Europe and Denmark combined. With nearly the whole world steeped in war, and every agency everywhere bent on preparation for the destructive enterprises of the battle field, the Alaskan Railroad project stands out as the greatest constructive undertaking in the world to-day.

If there ever was any time in the history of the Nation when a railroad project such as this is necessary, it is the present time. The war industries are crying for rare metals, for copper and iron and coal from which to turn out the necessities of war. Alaska has vast stores of tungsten and platinum ores, veritable mountains of copper, and immense beds of coal. These are being directly developed by this Government railroad, which is opening up the vast interior section, through the Susitna and Nenana Valleys. The Matanuska coal fields are being pierced by the line of steel which the Government engineers are laying down. Already several veins are being opened up, and with proper encouragement in the form of better leasing regulations active mining soon will be in full swing.

Every agency of the Government is cooperating in the effort to make the railroad do its work quickly and bring the rich resources of our frontier to the markets and factories and shops of the world.

The United States Geological Survey has a staff of experts investigating the mineral resources along the route of the railroad, so that the tungsten, platinum, and other ores which the energetic Alaskan prospector has found will be speedily developed. The Board of Road Commissioners of the War Department, under the supervision of Brig. Gen. Wilds P. Richardson, is cooperating splendidly with the Territorial road commission in the development of the vast mining and agricultural country adjacent to the railroad. The Forest Service is conducting investigations with a view to possible paper and pulp development along the railroad line. In short, the administration has organized its whole machinery to make the railroad achieve rapidly the objects for which it was conceived and projected.

The railroad unquestionably will succeed; the empire it opens will support thousands and tens of thousands of people, and pour out untold riches from its fields, its mines, and its forests.

Through the kindness of Mr. H. A. Meyer, assistant to Secretary Lane and in charge of the affairs of the railroad in Alaska, I am able to give the following outline of the work as it was on September 10:

The Alaska Northern Railroad, purchased by the Government and running from Seward to mile 71, at Kern Creek, is being rehabilitated. The first 25 miles from Seward are completed and able to handle any traffic. From mile 25 to mile 71 the road is being rehabilitated, but is usable. From mile 71 to Potter Creek, mile 100, a distance of 29 miles, extraordinary heavy work is encountered requiring blasting through practically solid rock. Here the line runs along Turnagain Arm, and in this district the grading work has made some progress.

Rail has been laid and the road is in operation southward from Anchorage, at mile 114, to mile 100, and northward to mile 175, with a branch at Matanuska, 38 miles from Anchorage, to Chickaloon, the heart of the Matanuska coal fields, a distance of 37 miles. It will thus be seen, with the exception of 29 miles of work along Turnagain Arm, rail has been laid from Seward to Chickaloon, a distance of 189 miles, and 23 miles additional on the main line. All efforts are now being made toward closing this gap. This it is hoped to do in 1918.

Northward on the main line from mile 175 to mile 230 grading work is in progress and will be completed this season. Track laying here will proceed as rapidly as the weather will permit. From mile 230, Talkeetna, to mile 250, Dead Horse Hill, the grading is well advanced, but will not be finally completed until 1918. From mile 250 to mile 260 the right of way has been cleared. From mile 260 into and through Broad Pass engineering and preliminary work has been done to mile 360. At mile 360 the Nenana coal field is reached, and from this point to the town of Nenana, at mile 415, 9 miles of track have been laid, 32 miles of grading have been practically completed, and 14 miles have been cleared and partially graded. From mile 415 to Fairbanks, at mile 470, the clearing has been completed and grading is underway.

It will thus be seen that to date 192 miles of rail are in operation.

With the additional funds requested it is the intention to lay rail along Turnagain Arm, and from Nenana southward to the Nenana coal fields. This work should be completed in 1918, and when this is done there will be two units of operation, viz, from Seward into the Susitna Valley, with a branch to the Matanuska coal fields, which will permit of the shipment of Matanuska coal to tidewater at

Anchorage and Seward, and from Nenana to the Nenana fields, so that shipments can also be made from the Nenana fields to the country tributary to Fairbanks.

There should be no faltering in the work. There should be no curtailment of funds for the construction of the railroad. The money has all been raised, and Congress should willingly and heartily lend every aid to the commission by supplying the funds as they are needed.

The press has spread a report through Alaska that has caused no little worry among the pioneers there. It has given rise to a feeling that the Government might curtail the building of the railroad because of the high cost of supplies. I have assured those who have anxiously inquired of me that they need not worry. Congress can be depended on to see that no injustice is done, for Congress realizes the greater good that comes to the people of the Nation by the development of Alaska's vast and wonderful resources.

The following telegram from the Nenana Commercial Club, at Nenana, Alaska, in the interior, epitomizes the view of the pioneers in the matter:

NENANA, ALASKA, *September 14, 1917.*

Hon. CHAS. A. SULZER,
Delegate from Alaska, Washington, D. C.:

Nenana people alarmed that railroad construction may be suspended. One thousand people, home builders and business men, came here at the invitation of the Government and purchased lots on the promise of the Government that railroad construction would continue. The real and personal property investment here now is over three-quarters of a million dollars. The Government has this phase of the situation to consider now. If suspension policy is adopted, bankruptcy and destitution will cover not only Nenana but the entire interior country. Its suspension would mean a great exodus to the States. Alaska's clock of progress, settlement, and development would be turned back a quarter of a century.

NENANA COMMERCIAL CLUB.

The Government, through the engineering commission, has laid out and developed town sites at both ends of the railroad line. At public auction sales the future of the country has been explained and the lots in the new town sites placed on the market. The following recapitulation shows the sales of lots that have been held under the auspices of the engineering commission:

Town site.	Total lots sold.	Sale price.
Anchorage	1,108	$216,845
Matanuska	59	9,815
Nenana	349	129,705
Seward	140	27,655
Total	1,656	384,020

The people of Alaska to a man are behind the administration and the President in the conduct of the present war. Her sons are in France, in the aviation training camps, in the Navy, and in the cantonments.

The loyalty of Alaska challenges the loyalty of any State in the Union. Since the 2d of April, when this session of Congress convened, I have not received from a resident of Alaska one single, solitary protest against war, conscription, taxation, or any other of the war measures. I have yet to hear the first murmur of protestation from these pioneers who have given their lives that a new empire might be given to the United States. What other section of the country can show a like record for loyalty to and abiding faith in the administration?

I shall insert here an editorial from the Juneau (Alaska) Empire, edited by John W. Troy, which appeared at the outbreak of the war. It gives the feeling of Alaskans in the crisis, and I am glad to say that the people of the Territory have more than fulfilled the hopes voiced in the editorial:

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL AND ALASKA.

The appeal of President Wilson to the American people should be read and carefully considered. Every one in America who would render service to his country should heed the request of him who is commanding the fight. It suggests a duty to everyone, irrespective of whether he can go to war or not, and that duty is to do all within his power to aid in making his country more productive.

Alaska's duty in the crisis which confronts the Nation is more to produce than anything else. The country will need the products of the Territory more than ever before. Copper and fish and gold are all necessary in the work that is before the Nation. The man who adds a pound of fish or other food, a pound of copper, or a dollar more in gold to the country's wealth is doing a service that could be performed in no other way.

Never before in the history of Alaska was the duty for cooperative work to increase production so plain. Heretofore the obligation for unity has been to Alaska and the men, women, and children who constitute her population and those who will join them and those who will come after them. Now, this duty has broadened until it has become a matter of patriotic loyalty to the Nation and humanity itself. The duty to aid through harmony in action and purpose, through cooperation and industry is as broad as the cause for which America has taken up arms. Patriotism demands that the United States shall not fall in the slightest degree behind the best possible thing in the performance of the task she has set for herself, and Northern Americanism demands that Alaska shall not permit a single Commonwealth in the land to come nearer a full compliance with duty's demand than she comes.

Alaskans are Americans first of all. Their first obligation in the present crisis is to their country. That can only be performed in an honest, earnest, energetic, and patriotic effort toward harmony and cooperation in utilizing all the resources of the Territory to their uttermost.

Every ounce of gold is that much more power to drive the wheels of industry, every bushel of potatoes or other food means that much more for the general supply of the Nation, and every ton of copper adds to the force of the blow the country will strike for democracy and liberty.

And may I not call to the attention of the Members the following little item which appeared in an Alaskan newspaper, which tells a story of loyalty perhaps without an equal in the whole country:

A splendid example of patiotism is exemplified in the stalwart person of A. A. Willis, a passenger last night southbound on the *Mariposa*, who mushed from Iditarod 400 miles over the trail to Anchorage to enlist. Upon arrival at Anchorage he was informed that recruiting stations had not yet been established in Alaska, and he continued his journey to the States.

As soon as the declaration of war reached Iditarod and the President's plea went out for fighting men, Mr. Willis left his lucrative placer claim, heeded the call, and figuratively shouldered his musket and set out for the nearest recruiting station to offer his services to his country.

It is no mean thing to make the trip this time of year, when the head waters of the innumerable creeks and rivers are breaking up; when the snow has melted, making dog teams impracticable, and the journey has to be made on foot, encountering many perils and hardships and experiencing the disagreeable elements. There must have been some rare incentive for a young man to start out alone on a trip of that nature. It is good to know that this incentive was actuated from love of country—his country. It is glorious to know that this Alaska is full of just such men who are willing to sacrifice their life's blood for their country's flag and in support of the Government.

Deportation of Aliens.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 14, 1917.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, through me as its chairman, has reported House bill 5667, known as the alien-antislacker bill. It is a bill of great importance, and we hope within the next few days, possibly by Tuesday, to secure its consideration under a special rule.

In order that Members may be advised as to its purpose and scope I will here insert the bill and the report and make a brief analysis of it:

A bill (H. R. 5667) to provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That any alien eligible by existing law to become a naturalized citizen of the United States, who is a native or subject of a country that is engaged in war with Germany, or with any of the other central powers of Europe, and who but for his alienage would be subject to the selective draft under the act of May 18, 1917, or under any subsequent modification or change of said act, who by himself or by anyone else heretofore claimed, or shall hereafter claim, exemption from said selective draft on account of being an alien, shall forever be denied the right of becoming a citizen of the United States, or of any of its possessions, and shall as soon as practicable be deported to the country of which he is a subject or citizen.

Any alien who may have been exempted from said selective draft on account of his alienage prior to the passage of this act may, within 60 days after the passage of this act, withdraw such exemption and submit himself to the operation of said selective draft, and in that event shall not be held to be within the operations of this section as to the forfeiture of citizenship and deportation: *Provided*, That the President is hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this section.

SEC. 2. That after the expiration of 60 days from the passage of this act the President of the United States is authorized and empowered, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to draft any alien in the United States to perform such mental or physical labor on the farms, in the manufacturing establishments, or other enterprises in the United States as he may deem necessary or proper: *Provided*, That the President may exempt from the draft authorized by this section such individuals or classes of aliens as he may believe for the best interests of the United States: *Provided further*, That the expenses of carrying out the provisions of this section shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 3. That after 30 days from the passage of this act no alien who is a native or subject of any country that is engaged in the war with Germany, or with any of the central powers of Europe and who is subject to military duty in the country of his nativity or of which he is a subject, shall be permitted to enter the United States except by permission of the President of the United States, and any such alien so entering in violation of this section shall be deemed unlawfully in this country and shall be deported at the expense of the steamship company, railroad company, or other transportation company by which such alien entered the United States. Any steamship company, railroad company, or other transportation company of any nature whatsoever,

or any individual who brings in or aids or assists in bringing in any alien excluded by this section shall be fined not less than $1,000 or by imprisonment for not exceeding one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, and any steamship or other water transportation company against which this fine is assessed shall not be granted clearance papers until such fine is paid or secured in such manner as the Secretary of Labor shall prescribe.

The Secretary of Labor is empowered to hear and pass on all violations of this section and to assess and collect the fine provided herein, and to adopt such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

SEC. 4. That this act shall not apply to accredited officials of foreign Governments nor their suites, families, guests, or servants.

SEC. 5. That this act shall only remain in force during the continuance of the war with Germany, except as to the provisions of section 1 hereof.

[House Report No. 127, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.]

Mr. BURNETT, from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to which was referred H. R. 5667, to provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes, reports the same to the House without amendment and recommends that the bill be passed.

The effect of the first section of the bill is to prohibit aliens who are natives or subjects of countries which are at war with Germany or with any of the other central countries of Europe from ever becoming American citizens when they have claimed or shall hereafter claim exemption from the selective draft. The section also requires the deportation of such aliens as soon as it is practicable to do so.

The committee realized that the deportation of many of these aliens could not be accomplished at once on account of the impossibility of immediately securing ships or other means of transportation, and hence made it as soon as practicable.

The second section gives the President authority to draft any alien of any age and from any country to perform mental and physical labor on farms, in manufacturing establishments, and in other enterprises as he may deem necessary.

The third section excludes from admission to this country or any of its possessions all aliens subject to military duty in the countries engaged in war with Germany and the other central powers of Europe, and puts a penalty of fine or imprisonment on any steamship or other transportation company or any individual bringing in or aiding in bringing in such alien.

Section 5 limits the operation of this act to the duration of the war, except as to the provisions of section 1, which refer to the denial of citizenship and to deportation.

There is at this time a crying necessity for some law of this kind, especially for the drastic features of sections 1 and 3.

From all over the country comes the cry of the rank injustice of forcing American citizens into the war while alien slackers are here in vast numbers enjoying the peaceful privileges of our country and immunity from fighting for the very integrity of their own countries.

As this bill was originally drafted by the writer of this report (see H. R. 5369), section 1 required aliens who would be subject to military duty in their own countries to take out first papers within 60 days or be deported. Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania, a member of the committee, offered an amendment, now embraced in section 1 of this bill, which the committee thought wiser and more just than the original section 1. In this the writer fully concurs, especially in view of the doubt that exists in many minds as to whether first-paper men are such citizens as can be subjected to the selective draft. This bill, the committee believes, does not conflict with either international law or with any existing treaties. By this bill the option lies with the alien to either submit to the draft or to be deported.

During the Civil War very similar questions arose under the draft law then being enforced.

In Moore's International Law Digest, volume 4, page 56, it is said:

"In 1863 certain able-bodied male persons of foreign birth, who had declared on oath their intention to become American citizens, were called upon for military duty in the United States. On this the British Government suggested that British subjects who had merely declared their intention to become American citizens, but had not exercised any political franchise in consequence of such declaration, ought to be allowed a reasonable period after the passing of the act to exercise the option of leaving the United States or of continuing residing therein with the annexed conditions. The United States Government thereupon allowed 65 days to such persons to exercise their option, and the British Government refused to interfere on behalf of any intended citizens who had not availed themselves of the opportunity."

In those cases the aliens were drafted where they did not exercise the option of leaving. This bill is really not so harsh as that action on the part of our Government. Under this bill the aliens may either voluntarily submit to the draft or forfeit the right to citizenship and be deported. The right to confer citizenship and the right to deport aliens is peculiarly within the province of the Federal Government. We may deny the former to any on whom we think citizenship ought not to be conferred, and we may deport any who are or become undesirable citizens.

Certainly an alien subject of a country at war with the central powers becomes most undesirable here when he is able-bodied, within military age, has no dependents, and yet refuses to fight either for this or for his own country.

To continue them here in large numbers will be a source of constant and increasing irritation, especially in communities where there are large numbers of them. Besides, under the population basis of drafting, communities where there are large numbers of aliens suffer most unjustly in the proportions of American citizens who are drafted on account of the presence of such aliens.

This is not intended as a bill to restrict immigration permanently, nor as a supplement to the immigration bill passed last year. It is a bill which its advocates believe to be an exigency measure, made necessary by the war.

It is intended to remedy to some degree a most serious and unjust condition in many sections of the country by the presence of thousands of aliens who are evading the draft law, while native and naturalized citizens have to go to the battle fields of Europe whether they want to go or not.

I was opposed to the passage of the draft law and did everything in my power to defeat its passage, but now that it is the law it is my duty to advise obedience to it and to do what I can to see that it does not fall harshly on American citizens while subjects of the allied countries escape it.

Subjects of the countries in war with Germany and her allies who are in this country, and who have not had enough patriotic love for our country to take out their first naturalization papers, ought not to be permitted to stay here and evade conscription and service while even the very existence of their own native lands is at stake. Yet we are confronted by exactly that condition.

It is not so serious in the South, for we have not yet suffered the blight of the immigration of large numbers of that class of people.

But our brethren in the North and some portions of the West are, on account of the evasion of the draft law by aliens, face to face with a grave and serious situation. Several Members from communities where there are large numbers of alien slackers tell me that they often taunt our working boys with the fact that while they have to go to Europe to fight, they—the slackers—will stay here and get their jobs. Some Members have told me that if these conditions are not remedied riots and bloodshed will be the result. On August 1 what is known as the McCumber resolution was passed by the Senate requesting the President to secure the consent of the allied nations to the application of the draft law to their subjects in this country. During the discussion of this resolution several Senators expressed the opinion that nothing would come of it because of the long time such negotiations would consume. Nothing has come of it except to delay more drastic legislation and possibly aggravate the injustice to many communities where American boys have been drafted who would not have been but for the presence of so many alien registrants.

The first section of the bill forever denies to aliens who are eligible to become American citizens the right of becoming citizens, and makes them subject to deportation if they have claimed exemption or should hereafter claim exemption from the selective draft.

Nothing is said in this section about any treaty, and I am fully satisfied that it does not contravene any treaty.

We have treaties with Italy, Serbia, and with one or two other countries at war with Germany or with some of her allies, which exempts their citizens and subjects who are residents in this country from compulsory military service. This bill does not undertake to enforce military service, but merely says to such alien slacker, You are unworthy of ever becoming an American citizen, and unworthy of residence in our country. It is no violation of either treaty rights or of international law to say by law who is unworthy of becoming a naturalized citizen. We have just such laws as to Chinese, Japanese, and many other Asiatics, and no one can fairly contend that we did not have the right to pass them.

There is no treaty in the way of our declaring by law who are undesirable aliens and ordering their deportation. Certainly an alien is undesirable who refuses to return to his own country to fight for its very existence and at the same time takes advantage of his alienage to keep from going into the armies that are being organized here to fight in part for the very country of which he is a citizen or subject. In volume 4, Moore's International Law, on page 68, it is said:

> A State has the right to expel from its territory aliens individually or collectively unless treaty provisions stand in the way. * * *
>
> Some writers have essayed to enumerate the legitimate causes of expulsion. The effort is useless. The reasons may be summed up in a single word, "The public interest of the State."

On page 71 of the same volume it is said, quoting the views of Secretary of State Marcy:

> It is a sovereign right belonging to every independent power to determine whether it will or will not receive foreigners within its territorial limits as residents, and having granted such permission, it has the same right to determine whether it will or will not revoke it and send such persons out of its country.

Many other citations could be made from Moore's excellent works on this subject.

My able colleague on the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Judge SABATH], has suggested two or three amendments to section 1 which strike me quite favorably, and which he will no doubt offer on the floor when the bill is considered.

One is to give the alien an opportunity to leave this country before deportation.

The other is to allow those who volunteer in our armies or submit to the draft to return to this country after his honorable discharge, within a reasonable time, without being subjected to the tests and examination required by our laws of an ordinary alien.

Many aliens have already volunteered in our armies and others have submitted without challenge to the selective draft.

Without some such provision as that last referred to many of them could hereafter only come back like other ordinary immigrants even though they may have incurred disabilities while fighting with our armies, and although they might be entitled to pensions and insurance just as our own citizens are. This seems to have been entirely overlooked in all the legislation heretofore proposed or enacted. The Chamberlain bill which passed the Senate a few days ago contains such a provision limited to only those who have heretofore declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States. This limitation strikes me as hardly just or fair.

The second section authorizes the President to draft any alien in this country, whether alien enemy or neutral, to perform such physical or mental labor on farms, in manufacturing establishments, and other enterprises as he may deem necessary or proper. The Chamberlain bill confines such draft to subjects of an enemy or allied enemy country. I believe this restriction to be wrong. Many neutral aliens are in this country immune from the draft and yet enjoying all the benefits and privileges of a prosperous country, and certainly if, in the judgment of the President, the occasion should arise, they ought to be compelled to do their bit in civil life to carry on this great war or to help support our people while it is going on. The third section prohibits the admission to this country of aliens who are subject to military duty in countries at war with the central powers of Europe.

Section 1 only applies to aliens who would be subject to the draft but for their alienage. Section 3 proposes to keep out all those subject to military duty in the countries at war with Germany and her allies. Other countries do not have the age limit and other restrictions on the draft that ours does, and without the provisions of section 3, this country will continue to be the refuge and rendezvous of thousands of slackers from the allied countries. For instance, Canada has passed, or is about to pass, a draft law in which I believe the age limit will probably be from 20 to 45 years. Section 3 of this bill, if adopted, will keep out thousands of refugees to this country whom even under section 1 we could neither draft nor deport.

Section 5 of the bill provides that the act shall remain in force only during the continuance of the war, except as to the provisions of section 1. It would not be right to limit section 1 to the duration of the war, because the provision depriving those affected by it of the right to become citizens is intended to be perpetual, and also because it may be impracticable to deport many till after the termination of the war. I believe that this bill is much more just, and will be much more effective, than the Chamberlain bill for several reasons.

The first paragraph of the first section of that bill excepts from its operation those who have not been residents of the United States for more than one year. That exception is fundamentally wrong. It leaves a loophole for the thousands of Canadians and other slackers who have rushed to this country to avoid military service in their own countries. A Member of Congress from one of the New England States told me a few days ago that he had no doubt but that there were 10,000 Canadians now in New England who have come over the border to escape the prospective draft. The immigration of French to this country has also increased greatly during the last year. While immigration from most of the countries has greatly decreased, that of the French, as shown by the immigration records, has increased from 18,166 in the year ending June 30, 1914, to 24,405 for the year ending June 30, 1917. There must be some significant reason for this. The principal vice of the Chamberlain bill is in the fact that it leaves to diplomatic agreement the drafting of those with whose countries we have treaties preventing compulsory military service.

That means more delay, just as was predicted by Senator Chamberlain would occur under the McCumber resolution.

Our bill does not wait on any negotiation, and yet does not violate any treaty.

There is at least one of the allied countries that I fear will never consent to the drafting of its citizens here, because they prefer to have them stay here and fill their wallets with American gold and send it back home to be put in circulation there.

Again, the Chamberlain bill has nothing like section 3 of our bill, which will prevent the continued flooding of this country with men running away from military service in their own countries. This is a most serious omission. I have heretofore pointed out other objections to the Chamberlain bill. I have no pride of authorship in the bill we have reported, and want to do everything possible to expedite the passage of some such legislation, but I do most earnestly insist on giving our American citizens a law that will mean something when it is placed on the statute books and not be a mere palliative makeshift.

War-Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD E. ROBBINS,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 13, 1917.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, we have had before us for the past six legislative days the discussion and consideration of this bill, and it is quite apparent, as we are about to vote on its final passage, that it will be adopted by this House with probably few, if any, dissenting votes.

The real purpose of this bill is to abolish the pension system, which has existed in this country since the Revolutionary War, and turn to a new, different, and, we believe, a better method of indemnifying and protecting the defenders of our country and their dependents; that is, we propose to insure the soldiers and carry the principle of life insurance and annuity payments which largely prevails now in civil life over to the soldiers, sailors, and marines who defend their country on the field of battle and by military service.

We have departed in this war from the plans of all previous wars by enacting a conscription law, and we are about to force into the military service, without consulting them, all physically fit men between the ages of 21 and 31. The universal prevalence of life and fraternal insurance and annuity indemnities against sickness, death, and physical incapacity is such now that a majority of these young men will have such protection, which we are told by the actuaries of experienced life insurance companies is carried on the lives of young men of 21 at the rate of $8 per thousand per year.

We have forced these young men into military service—placed them in extrahazardous occupation—and the insurance companies, instead of continuing the insurance, are compelled, in self-defense, either to cancel it, on account of the additional risk arising from the military occupation, or to charge extra premiums.

Now not only have we forcibly changed the insurable status of these young men, but we have cut down their earning power from their usual wages or salary, which nowadays is from $75 per month upward, to $30 or $33 in foreign service, which is double the salary heretofore granted to a soldier. If, therefore, their insurance is increased from $8 per thousand to $58 per thousand and their earnings are reduced from $100 per month to $33 per month, it is a simple demonstration of the fact that all the insurance of the soldiers must be dropped, canceled, and lost. This is so unfair that to meet such contingency the present bill has been devised.

It is proposed in this bill to retain a portion of the soldiers' wages and apply it to carrying this life insurance and the balance of the amount required shall be paid by the Government. Policies varying from $1,000 to $10,000 can be taken by the soldier and carried in this way.

The bill further contains the provision that this insurance is to be distributed, in cases of death, in payments according to the schedules contained in the bill, to the wife, children, and dependents therein named and not paid in a lump sum, which experience has proven is a very excellent method in granting relief to those who are inexperienced in business and unaccustomed in investing and caring for large sums of money.

The taking of the insurance is optional, but the allotting of it to the families and the dependents of the soldiers is compulsory, and the United States must pay to the family or the dependents an amount equal to the amount allotted by the soldier. That is, the taking of the insurance is optional but the payment of the amount realized on the policies in case of death is compulsory.

As to the other feature of the bill, the payment of indemnity against injury or like conditions, the provisions setting forth the compensation for the various injuries, and the amount distributed to the injured or the dependents, is fixed by schedules and obligatory in the bill.

There are several exceptionally good features in this bill. One of them I have just alluded to, that appeals to me most strongly, is the payment of the insurance in monthly installments, thus giving a widow or beneficiary, who ought to receive the money or amount in such sums as they can properly take care of, and will in all events prevent the wasting away of the money as is frequently the case where a lump sum is paid in case of death.

Another feature of this bill which is very commendable is that during 120 days from the soldier's enlistment if he dies or is killed in the service he is regarded as insured, this period being given for the purpose of permitting the soldier to look into the matter, investigate, and decide whether he wishes to insure under the Government plan through the Bureau of Insurance in the Treasury Department of the United States or not.

It is the intention of this bill to entirely eliminate the present pension system. I can not proceed further without stating that I believe it is a mistake to establish a new bureau to carry on this soldiers' insurance plan. It ought to be turned over to the Pension Office and handled there by the present force, which is a completely organized force, has a large building, with ample room to enable this to be efficiently done without any additional expense for quarters on the part of the United States Government.

Those of us who have been going around through the different departments in their work are disgusted with the great number of officials and clerks in various buildings located all over the city, many of them, as I observe in going about the departments, rendering inefficient and very imperfect and incomplete service. I myself have seen clerks sitting and talking for fully an hour without pretending to do any work, while I waited in an anteroom. Hence I feel that this new bureau that is being established here in the Treasury Department is just that much useless expense placed upon the Government, and will fill the Government with useless officeholders and burden the taxpayers with additional taxes. The party in power talks of economy and efficiency, and their great apostle Cleveland said, "Public office is a public trust," but it seems to have lost sight of both the principle of economy and efficiency in governmental affairs at this time.

The only great danger in this proposed departure from the pension system to the insurance system is the question of expense. I am quite well aware in the city of Pittsburgh and also of Philadelphia, and also, I am advised, in the city of New York, where attempts were made to pension school-teachers, that it was found impracticable, because the teachers would not pay in sufficient premiums to create an adequate reserve fund to meet the annuity distributions and death payments which the policies called for. In Pittsburgh the system was entirely abandoned, in Philadelphia it was also discontinued, and in New York it had to be radically changed. The recent receivership of the old strong financial fraternal society known as the Royal Arcanum indicates that unless an adequate reserve fund is created and maintained the demands of the policyholders arising from death can not be met.

However, the proposition before us is a different one. It is not a business proposition in the sense that the Government is to be adequately protected. The Government is forcing these young men into a hazardous occupation, where according to statistics 10 per cent of them will be killed, 25 per cent more will be maimed, crippled, and physically disabled in this horrible, bloody, and life-destroying war. No business principle such as controls insurance companies will apply to this situation. These men who die will leave dependents who must be cared for, if not by the General Government then by the poor boards of the local community. It would be scandalous to think that under these conditions the widow must become a pauper, or that the soldier himself who may come home crippled, maimed, and diseased shall become a charge on his community.

The Government can not pay in a financial way enough to these men. This proposition rests on the principle which provides that these men who have fought, lost their lives, or become disabled shall receive some compensation throughout the rest of their lives or during the dependent period of those whom they must support as a meager addition to the low wages the Government has paid them. That is to say, these men are going to suffer and risk their lives in defense of our country, and our Government must maintain and support them during the rest of their lives if they are injured, or their dependents during dependency, and in this way make good the duty and obligation it owes them and discharge a patriotic duty.

We can not stop to reason out what the probable expense will be under this bill, because that is not controlling. We are dealing with a proposition that is too important for speculation. What we mean by this bill is to adequately and surely protect our soldiers. The statistics upon which insurance actuaries build their tables are indeed very frivolous arguments against the enactment of this proposition into a law. These should not be at all considered.

It is stated that the probable expense for the first and second years would be as follows:

	First year.	Second year.
Family allowances	$141,000,000	$190,000,000
Death indemnities	3,700,000	22,000,000
Compensation for total disability	5,250,000	35,000,000
Compensation for partial disability	3,209,000	21,000,000
Insurance against death and disability	23,000 000	112,009,000

But that certainly is not a large expenditure of money considering the fact that it is based on an army of a million men in the field.

Compared with the pension system, now in operation, since the War of the Revolution, it seems to me to be much more rational, far more just, and a very much more expeditious plan.

When the young man enters the Army, he is physically fit, he has passed an examination. No other examination is required. He becomes insured on his own account; if he is killed, the proofs of his death are furnished by the military records and his insurance is payable immediately in payments according to the schedule in this bill. If he is injured, the hospital reports prove that fact, and before he arrives home his annuity payments are going to his dependents. What could be simpler, fairer, and better for a soldier who is generally in the position of helplessness, and in this instance in a foreign country, unable to attend to any matters of business or give proofs required by the Pension Bureau.

In comparing this system with the pension system, in 1916 we paid in payments to the soldiers of the Rebellion $159,155,090, in 1917 $160,895,054, yet the War of the Rebellion is 52 years in the distant past. On the 30th of June, 1916, there were on the pension rolls, soldiers of the War of the Rebellion to the number of 362,277, and June 30, 1917, 329,226.

These figures show that while the number of pensioners have decreased 33,051 during the year ending June 30, 1917, yet the amount of pensions paid has increased. No one is sorry for this. In fact, there is universal rejoicing that the Government is still making adequate payments to the soldiers, their widows, and dependents of the War of the Rebellion. It is one of the greatest debts of gratitude that our country can pay, and the universal approval of the payment to these soldiers in all these 52 years is a modest acknowledgment of the debt of gratitude we owe them. But the system has objections that the insurance system will meet and overcome.

There is a large amount of dissatisfaction among the soldiers themselves, claiming that pensions are inequitably granted. That men who have seen hard and long service are often inadequately compensated, while others who have seen little service draw larger pensions.

Then there is complaint that the old soldiers who have become helpless do not receive enough and that widows ought to receive more.

So many of these claims have come to my attention that are meritorious and right, and yet under the present pension laws no relief can be obtained, except by special legislation, which is well-nigh impossible of procurement under the slow, cumbersome methods of Congress, that I am willing to support the insurance and indemnity system proposed in this bill, which I believe will avoid all the objections to the pension system and give to our present Army much better protection for the arduous and dangerous service to be rendered to our country during the war.

We have entered this war to defend our country against the attacks of militarism under the lead of the German Kaiser. Military oligarchy is the implacable foe of every free republican form of government. It now understands that if free democracy is to prevail, autocracy supported by militarism must perish.

So it makes war on us. Without cause or justification the Imperial Military Government of Germany caused 23 of our ships to be sunk on the high seas, 226 of our citizens to be murdered, excluded our commerce from the ocean, filled our country with criminals and spies, burned our factories and blew up buildings and bridges, plotted to dismember our precious Union by giving Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Mexico if she would make war on us, and moreover, wanted Japan to attack us.

These young men who are entering the army of liberty are giving up all, staking their life for the defense of their country. For them we can not do too much. Let us do everything we can that it may not be said of us, as of old, that "Republics are ungrateful."

Senator Thomas M. Patterson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 15, 1917.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I am herewith inserting some brief addresses and newspaper editorials upon the life and character of the late Senator Thomas M. Patterson, of the State of Colorado.

I could insert hundreds of eloquent eulogies to his memory, but these few are typical and so completely reflect the sentiment of my State that I will only accompany them with a few words myself.

I can not hope to add anything to these sincere tributes, but having known and admired him from my boyhood days I would feel derelict in my duty to him and to my State if I did not lay a brief wreath of affection upon the grave of a departed friend, who for nearly a half century was one of the most distinguished citizens of the West.

His life is an inspiration to the youth of our Commonwealth. Throughout his long and busy life he discharged his full duty as a citizen, a soldier, a lawyer, an editor, and a patriotic statesman. He was of that type of man who makes States and Nations great and lead in the march of human progress. He was a typical western American. He believed in a square deal and fair play, and was always ready under any and all circumstances to stand up for human freedom and equal opportunity. His heart always beat for the welfare of common humanity. He was preeminently a fearless and ready fighter—a fighter in the court room, a fighter in politics, and a fighter for the public welfare. He always fought in the open. He was always aggressive and there was no cessation. He struck hard and never flinched from the return. His courage never failed, and he had the profound knowledge, the energy, and eloquence to achieve success. He was a power with whom all parties had to reckon. He was often charged with making trouble, and he did. But at least nine times out of ten he was making trouble for those who ought to have trouble made with them. He stood foursquare to the great problems and work of upbuilding the West. He helped make Colorado the great land of opportunity that it is to-day. He was Colorado's greatest newspaper man and Democracy's greatest evangelist. He made the ladders on which he climbed to success. His mind was like a rare gem—many-sided and all of them bright. He was a prodigious and indefatigable worker. His capacity for hard work amounted to a genuine genius. His adversaries would necessarily have to stop sometimes for sleep and rest, and when they appeared the next morning would find themselves beaten. His whole life exemplified what may be accomplished by untiring energy, unswerving honesty, and a heroic determination to make a success at whatever one undertakes. I was a member of the Colorado Legislature that elected him to the United States Senate, and I watched with admiration his marvelous career for 35 years.

He loved Colorado, and the State owes him an everlasting debt of gratitude. His life work forms a conspicuous part of the history of Colorado. He thoroughly and honestly believed in our people, and the pioneers of our State—especially the miners and the tens of thousands of laboring people generally—will always revere his memory. He richly deserves my idea of the highest tribute that can be paid to any citizen or official, namely, he kept the faith; he fought a good fight; he nobly performed his duty to the last; and every man, woman, and child in the State of Colorado is better off for his having lived.

When the future historians of our State shall write the faithful record of the men who made Colorado truly great, the name of Thomas MacDonald Patterson will forever shine with a brilliant luster among the West's greatest men.

A brave soldier, a model husband and father, a great lawyer, a publicist, a great editor, a successful business man, an eloquent orator and skilled debator, a tireless worker for the development of our State, an uncompromising and never conquered champion of the rights of the poor and friendless, one of the ablest Senators the West has ever sent to Washington, a man whose experience extended throughout the birth and growth and was always an active part in the civilization of the West. Such was Colorado's gifted son; such was the distinguished career of Senator Patterson's half-century of the rarest ability, vigor, and energy devoted to the upbuilding of Colorado and the upholding of the rights of her citizens.

Colorado will not look upon his like again. If a selection were to be made at this time of the two most distinguished citizens of the Centennial State whose statues should be selected to be placed in the great historic Statuary Hall in America's Capitol, it is no reflection upon the galaxy of her departed distinguished citizens to say that I believe the overwhelming sentiment of Colorado's million citizens would designate Senators Thomas M. Patterson and Henry M. Teller, who was for 30 years Colorado's "grand old man" in the United States Senate.

Senator Patterson had no fear of anything in this world or the next, and when the court of last resort issued its final summons to him he manfully bade farewell to his family and all earthly things and quietly journeyed to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns.

> With a cheery smile and a wave of the hand,
> He has wandered into an unknown land.

The sentiment of the bench and bar of Colorado is fittingly expressed in the following memorial addresses and eloquent and sincere tributes to the memory of Hon. Thomas M. Patterson.

At the memorial meeting of the Denver Bar Association, held March 26, 1917, the judges of the district court sitting en banc, Mr. Horace N. Hawkins spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the Denver Bar Association, ladies and gentlemen, we meet to-day to pay tribute to the memory of departed members of our association. When one upon whom death has laid his hand has lived to old age, has climbed to the topmost round of the ladder of distinction, and has been permitted to see the ripened fruit of his life's work, no note of sorrow need be struck in our tributes. It is a matter for rejoicing that after a long and useful life the end came to Senator Patterson before his splendid intellect had been seriously weakened, or his magnificent body crippled by the ravaging march of time.

Thomas M. Patterson was born in County Carlo, Ireland, November 4, 1839. When he was 10 years of age, the family embarked on a sailing vessel, and after a month on the ocean reached the harbor of New York, and the eyes of the young Irish lad first beheld the promised land of America, a land in which he was destined for over half a century to play no inconspicuous part.

In 1853 his father moved from New York to Crawfordsville, Ind., and there Senator Patterson worked in his father's store at the jeweler's trade, a trade that had been the calling of his forefathers for generations in Ireland. Later, attracted by newspaper work, he learned to set type on the Crawfordsville Review. He then set out for Indianapolis, walking the entire distance, paying for his food and lodging en route by repairing the farmers' clocks and watches. At Indianapolis he worked as a printer.

Then came the war, and he, in 1861, enlisted on the Union side. His brother, James Patterson, who also enlisted, was killed in the Battle of Winchester.

After Senator Patterson's discharge from the Army he became a student at Asbury University, now De Pauw University, at Greencastle, Ind. Later he attended Wabash College at Crawfordsville. In 1862 he married Miss Catherine Grafton, a member of an old Virginia family.

After leaving school he studied law in the office of M. D. White at Crawfordsville, afterwards a Member of Congress from that district. He was admitted to the bar in 1867 and practiced at Crawfordsville until 1872, when he came to Denver. His practice at Crawfordsville was entirely successful, but he longed for a larger field of work. Another reason for Senator Patterson's coming to Colorado is very interesting in the light of what occurred after he reached here. He had evidenced some fondness for politics in Indiana, and it was agreed in the Patterson family that it would be best to curb this tendency. So Mr. Patterson said that he would come to Colorado—that Colorado being a Republican State, there would be no temptation for him to take part in politics. In 1873 and 1874 he was city attorney of Denver. About this time he formed a partnership in the law with Charles S. Thomas. In 1874 he was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress, and was instrumental in securing the passage of an act enabling Colorado to take her place among the States of the Union. From 1876 to 1878 he was a Member of the lower House of Congress from the new State. In 1878 he was defeated for reelection. In 1879 and for some years afterwards he was actively practicing law as a member of the copartnership of Markham, Patterson, Thomas & Campbell, the firm having offices in both Denver and Leadville. Later the firm became Patterson & Thomas, probably the best known law firm ever in Colorado.

In 1888 Senator Patterson was a candidate for governor, but was defeated. He continued the practice of the law until 1892, when he announced his permanent retirement from practice for the purpose of devoting himself to the editorship of the Rocky Mountain News, in which paper he had purchased a controlling interest. Senator Patterson was at this time 53 years of age, and stood at the top of the legal ladder in the West. He had achieved as many legal victories as he cared for and he had no intention of ever practicing law again. Then came the terrible panic and financial troubles of 1893, and these drove him back into at least a partial resumption of his law work. So in 1895, 22 years ago, the partnership composed of Senator Patterson, Edmund F. Richardson, and Horace N. Hawkins was formed. This partnership, Patterson, Richardson & Hawkins, continued until 1905, at which time Mr. Patterson again announced his retirement from the practice of the law. In 1901 Senator Patterson reached the goal of his political ambition, being elected United States Senator from Colorado. The next year, 1902, in connection with Mr. Richard Crawford Campbell, he bought the Denver Times from David H. Moffat, and for several years Senator Patterson operated and conducted both of said papers.

He was not a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate.

In October, 1913, he sold the Rocky Mountain News, the Denver Times having been disposed of some time prior thereto. At this time Senator Patterson was nearly 74 years of age, and it would seem that

he was entitled to some rest from the arduous work in which he had been engaged since his early manhood. But no sooner had he retired from the newspaper field than he was back actively and vigorously at work in public service for the people of Denver. Without pay or compensation of any kind he went to work in the Denver Union Water Co. case that was pending in the Federal court, and day in and day out fought as a lawyer without compensation in that case.

In 1914, at the age of nearly 75, he was prevailed upon to again make the race for governor. He made no effort to secure the nomination, but at the primaries he was overwhelmingly nominated. He failed of success at the election. Senator Patterson accepted his defeat in this instance with the same calmness and imperturbability that had characterized other defeats during his long years of political activity in Colorado. He was as undaunted in defeat as in victory. Within a short time after the election he began to work on the great question of fair freight rates for Denver and was actively at work on this question up to the time of his death, which occurred July 23, 1916, he having at that time reached nearly the age of 77 years.

To review the great work that Senator Patterson did while in Washington as the Representative of the people of Colorado would take far more time than can possibly be granted me on this occasion. When the great fight for statehood came up Patterson was Colorado's valiant champion, and our constitutional convention, held in 1876, adopted a resolution commending him for the successful fight he had made. One of the first acts which he secured the passage of in Congress was the donation by the Government to the city of Denver of the land on which the East Denver High School building was erected. This was while he was in the lower House. One of the last things he did in the Senate was to secure an appropriation for Denver's new post office. He was at all times active and diligent in every work that would aid and benefit Denver and Colorado. He was not a mere party man while in the Senate. Upon occasions he refused to be bound by his political caucus and supported President Roosevelt in numbers of measures. He at all times while in the Senate showed a lofty spirit of independence.

A history of his activities in political matters would take hours to relate. For 40 years he was a leader in Colorado's political battles. For many years Colorado was naturally a Republican State, and Senator Patterson, as the leader of the Democratic Party, went down to defeat over and over again. The usual stereotyped statement would then be made: "Tom Patterson is dead politically." But at the next election he would again, with undaunted courage, lead his forces to battle. He kept this up until he not only saw his own party in power, but he himself on the crest of the wave, reached the highest office in the gift of the State—the highest office in the United States to which he, of foreign birth, could ever aspire. When his election to that great office was announced he left the hurrahing crowds of enthusiastic friends and admirers and hastened to his home to give the news to his wife and daughter.

In politics Senator Patterson was a leader; never a follower. In 1892 he led the fight of the silver forces at the Democratic national convention and with his minority report hurled defiance at his party and predicted its defeat. He left the Democratic Party and became one of the leaders of the People's Party. In 1900 he was chairman of the national convention of the People's Party. In that year Colorado was given the signal and unusual honor of furnishing presiding officers at the national conventions of all the three great political parties.

As a newspaper editor, Senator Patterson's writings were quoted all over the United States. He never wavered in his devotion to a cause. He conducted his newspaper entirely independently from his law office and would never allow a case to be taken in the office which would in any way interfere with the policy of his newspaper. He would not only not take such a case himself, but he would not permit a partner of his to do so. During his ownership of newspapers he was often in conflict with great companies and corporations on questions of public affairs. He steadfastly refused any employment of himself or his law firm by such companies. On one occasion, when he was advocating through his paper a tariff on a certain commodity largely produced in Colorado, the business manager of his newspaper accepted a page advertisement from a great company producing this commodity. After thousands of copies of the paper had been printed, Senator Patterson discovered the advertisement and caused it to be taken out, the papers destroyed, and the money returned to the company. No one ever could truthfully say, during his ownership of the Rocky Mountain News, that it could either be bought or bulldozed.

Shortly after I came to Colorado, in 1893, there was a great religious warfare on in this State. Members of one particular church were being denounced for no other reason than their membership in that church. Visitors poured into Senator Patterson's office by the dozen, some coaxing, some threatening, in order to secure Senator Patterson's support in this religious warfare. I saw Senator Patterson, not once but dozens of times, pound on his table and told his visitors that he would see the News in the lowest pit of bankruptcy before he would consent to abuse men because they belonged to a particular church. Over and over again during Senator Patterson's ownership of the News, business men threatened to institute boycotts, and did institute them, on account of his course. He met them all fearlessly and vanquished every such effort to control the columns of his newspaper. His was at least one newspaper in the United States whose business columns did not control its editorials.

At one time a great corporation of Denver had him arrested on a criminal libel charge, and also sued him for a hundred thousand dollars damages each day for a long period of time. We had in the office at that time something like $3,000,000 of lawsuits against Senator Patterson for alleged libel. I never saw him, during all these days of storm and stress, at all worried over the outcome or show any fear as to the result. He was upon every occasion willing to fight it out with his adversaries and take whatever consequences might come.

As a lawyer, Senator Patterson occupied, up to the time of his death, the highest rank. It is my belief that as an advocate he never had in Colorado a superior and few equals. His very successful trial of a number of important criminal cases gave him the name of a great criminal lawyer, but the records of the Colorado courts will show that he participated in many great civil trials with equal success. He was in the important mining Apex trials in the Leadville district; in the famous Stratton will case at Colorado Springs; in the great Burns and Doyle litigation in Colorado Springs and Council Bluffs; and in most of the great and important cases while he was actively practicing at the bar; and into whatever case he went he was a tower of strength. In his lawsuits he was an indefatigable worker. It is no exaggeration to say that he was one of the hardest workers that ever came to the Colorado bar. He burned the "midnight oil" long past the midnight hour. One without his magnificent physique could never have performed the work that he did. He kept his health far past middle age by his temperate life. He used neither liquor nor tobacco in any form. He fought as hard in his lawsuits for the poor man or woman who could pay him little or nothing as he did for the rich, and his great legal ability was never mortgaged to any one company or corporation. He never charged a working woman a cent in his life, and he handled many cases and matters for working women. The humblest citizen, even though a negro, could go to his office and consult him without charge, and if Senator Patterson believed the man had not received a fair deal he was ready to start a lawsuit for the man, no matter what might be the wealth and power on the other side. He was never coerced by threats or fear of personal violence. After the first great strike at Cripple Creek was over hundreds of criminal cases were brought against the miners. Their first lawyer was tarred and feathered for defending them. Senator Patterson, in the face of threats of similar treatment, took up the gauntlet, went to Colorado Springs and successfully defended the men. In my long association with him I never saw him quail before adverse criticism. At no time in his life did he bend a fawning knee to men in high places, whether they were bankers on financial thrones or judges of the highest court in the land.

I had the great pleasure of close personal association with him up to the time of his death, and I may be therefore permitted to say that, to me, Thomas M. Patterson stands forth as the noblest fighter for the rights of man I ever knew.

As a man, as a lawyer, as an editor, and as a statesman, he has etched his name deep on the tablets of Colorado.

Senator Patterson accumulated a fortune, largely through his splendid appreciation of the value of real estate. He possessed the rare faculty of being able to look ahead and determine the future value of property. This, together with his unbounded confidence in the growth of Denver, which confidence he possessed up to the day of his death, led him to make wise investments of earnings made from his newspapers and his law practice. Numbers of valuable income properties which he owned at the time of his death were acquired after they had been hawked around town and refused by men supposed to be good judges of the value of property. He was modest in his own personal expenses, and his wealth grew with the growth of Denver. He was at all times charitable to the indigent. I never knew him to refuse aid to any needy man or women who applied for help at our office. He drew a service pension from the Government and turned it over every month to a Grand Army of the Republic post for the use of needy old soldiers.

In some respects his life was different from that of many wealthy men. He viewed things differently from many men who acquire large property interests. He was a rich man who operated coal mines, always with union labor, and he always paid the union scale of wages. Incidentally I may say that he never had a strike of the workingmen in his mines. Some other rich people did not understand why he was not like them. They said, "He is one of us, but not one of us." Although a rich man, he was not a vested interest man. In the great labor strikes that occurred in Colorado he occupied the somewhat rare position of being a rich man who sympathized with the strikers. In the numerous contests which occurred in Colorado, where the views of the vested-interest class clashed with those less fortunate over such things as the primary law, the iniative and referendum, and other measures of that kind, the singular situation existed that Senator Patterson, a wealthy man, led the fight against the vested interests. And to-day there is not one of those great reform measures on our statute books that does not owe its existence largely to Senator Patterson. If you can point to many instances of this kind I will withdraw the statement I have often made, that Senator Patterson was one of the most wonderful men this country has ever seen. What was the reason for this leaning of Senator Patterson away from many others of his class? Perhaps he never forgot the days when he was a journeyman at the jeweler's trade. Perhaps he bore with him the memory of his struggles when he worked his way through college. Certain it is that to his dying day he told with glowing eye of the hearty greetings and hospitality of the common people in Indiana when he tramped through the country on his way to the city looking for work. Perhaps he never forgot the struggles of the poor in the island from which he came. Whatever the reason, it can be truthfully said, and must be admitted by everyone, that Senator Patterson's heart was with the whole people rather than with the favored few; and as long as popular government shall last the people of this State will be under strong obligations to him. Many of the battles in which he engaged had a great and lasting effect on our city. He was the bitter opponent of corporations attempting to control our municipal politics. Now most of the corporations admit that he was right, and as time has gone on, more and more his political opponents have given him full credit for the great work he has done.

It is pleasing to remember that in his last public service for Denver he was one of the leaders of and associated with prominent men who had in the past, on many occasions, fought him and his work. Time had softened the asperities of former years, and Senator Patterson died with the respect and regard of all classes of our citizens.

I repeat that as a man, as a lawyer, as an editor, and as a statesman Thomas M. Patterson etched deep his name on the tablets of Colorado.

Mr. George F. Dunklee spoke as follows:

I wish upon this occasion to say a word as to the late Senator Patterson. Naturally my mind runs back to the time I first met him. When I first came to Denver, in the early eighties, I came for the purpose of taking up the study of the law, and, as was the custom in those days, I found a place in a law office where they were willing to take a student who was expected to do what he could in payment for the room he occupied. There were quite a number of law students so situated, and finally we formed a society for the purpose of facilitating our study of the law, and planned a lecture course and a moot court.

Then arose the problem of getting lawyers who would give us lectures. First, with others, we called upon Mr. Patterson at his office. Although he was a very busy man, I remember the kindness with which he received us. He was then only about 40 years of age, actively engaged in law practice, and earning large fees; yet he listened to us, took out his memorandum book, and, as we went through the different lines of work and the lectures that we would like to have given, he gave us dates when he would lecture upon "Evidence," upon "Contracts," and upon "Criminal law"; and we went away feeling that the kindness that he had exhibited would make our course a success. To my mind no professor, no lawyer, no lecturer, could have talked in a more instructive or entertaining way than Senator Patterson in giving his lectures to the law students of those days. And those students always appreciated it; they were always his friends to his dying day.

When I went into the law offices of Patterson & Thomas, located in the Barclay Block, as a law student, the office force consisted of Judge Rising, Lafe Pence, Charles Hartzell, and later Harry Bryant and Harry Lee.

Mr. Patterson was a most kindly and gentlemanly man; there was never any trouble in his office; we never heard any loud words; everything moved smoothly; and, although there was a large amount of business being transacted, no trouble occurred with his help. I never knew of any person who ever worked for him being discharged. I never knew of any trouble. I never knew of anything but the greatest loyalty on the part of all who served him in any capacity. If any trouble did occur, I never heard of it. He had the loyalty of all who knew him intimately.

In court he was an able advocate. He would not be crushed wrongfully by anyone, be it the attorney upon the other side or the judge upon the bench; but was a bold advocate, upholding his rights. I remember how we students, hoping that some time we would be lawyers, would keep track of his cases because we were learning our law in law offices, studying the books and going to the courts; and when Mr. Patterson appeared in court the law students would be there. How well I remember his defense of Robert W. Speer, of Charles H. Scott, of Mrs. Witter, and the great Apex cases of the Aspen mines, and other litigation, when we students gathered to see how cases were conducted and to learn something of practice in the courts. No matter what others might have thought of his ability as a lawyer, I can say that Senator Patterson was the hero of the law students, and he won and kept first place in their hearts and in their minds, and ever will keep it.

Hon. Walter Walker, the editor and manager of the Daily Sentinel, of Grand Junction, Colo., paid the following beautiful tribute to the Senator:

THOMAS M. PATTERSON.

Suddenly, unexpectedly, there died in Denver yesterday one of the greatest men that Colorado ever claimed as a citizen.

The passing of Thomas MacDonald Patterson marks the passing of one of the most remarkable citizens and marks the closing of one of the most remarkable careers that ever filled few or many pages of the history of any Western State.

Statesman, editor, lawyer, soldier of the Civil War, he towered as a giant; he gained fame and honors as a statesman, as an editor, as a lawyer, as a soldier—honors of an extent and fame of a lasting degree such as come to but few men in a great Commonwealth.

His was a wonderful personality, a mighty intellect, an indomitable will, a brilliant mind, and a power of leadership and influence that was nothing short of astounding.

For nearly half a century this man helped make and helped write Colorado history. He came to Colorado before it was a State. He was a pioneer among pioneers, just as he was a man among men. And during that half century no man's name appears more often on the records of a great State than appears the name of Thomas MacDonald Patterson.

Naturally a man of his vigorous personality and often dominating spirit made many enemies in political circles and in other circles, and the bitterness of these enemies was well attested and plainly proven in the gubernatorial campaign of two years ago.

No man that Colorado ever sent as a Senator to the National Capital wielded as much influence as did Senator Patterson during the years of his service.

As the editor and owner of the Rocky Mountain News and Denver Times for many years, he made those papers among the most powerful papers of the entire West, and their influence was far reaching and tremendous.

Tom Petterson is dead, and friend and foe alike can in sincerity agree that he was one of the real big, commanding figures of 50 years of Colorado history.

A mighty oak in the forest of the West's big men fell when Tom Patterson died.

Hon. Rod S. Day, editor and manager of the Durango Democrat, of Durango, Colo., gave a splendid memorial write up of Senator Patterson, a small part of which follows:

WE PLAY NO POLITICS BEYOND THE GRAVE—COLORADO'S GRAND OLD MAN, THOMAS M. PATTERSON, PASSIONATE LOVER OF DEMOCRACY, IS GONE.

Thomas M. Patterson, former United States Senator from Colorado, one of the first congressional representatives in early days, who built up the Rocky Mountain News and made it a power and later bought the Denver Times, the friend and defender of organized labor, who was always found on the side of the worker in the great industrial battles that raged for years in the leading mining camps of the State, died a little before 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon, July 23, 1916.

Patterson was for many years at the head of the grand phalanx of democracy, including Charles Spaulding Thomas, Charles J. Hughes, Thomas Jefferson O'Donnell, and Robert Speer, which dominated the State, not only politically but in its economic policies. A greater galaxy of intellect no Western State has every known.

Patterson was essentially a man of the people. Born in Ireland, a poor boy, he came to America, fought rocks on a niggardly Indiana farm, followed the advice of Horace Greeley and chose Colorado for his life work.

With his strong lips cold in death, his ears dulled to the word of friend or foe, there will be the ironical presentation of death's bitterest irony, for, as Thomas M. Patterson's life was a battle from the cradle to the grave, so will contention be waged above his dust until the last person who knew him has gone the way of no returning.

But Patterson's "old school"—the editors and reporters who worked for him on his newspapers—the last journalistic force that truly represented the common people on a Denver newspaper—these men will pay the tribute of their tears to one of the last rich Americans who still held to true democracy.

Patterson had thousands of bitter enemies. But he was seemingly glorified in them. He was hated by every big mining company, every trust, every railroad, every corporation that stands for special interest and privilege and graft and loot in this State. And he fought them to the last.

Patterson stood with the Colorado miners in every strike. He went further. He fought for them all over the West, because when Patterson owned the News and the Times those newspapers were real powers. Since he gave up the papers, they have sunk to nonentities as far as political influence is concerned.

Patterson had a host of political enemies; but none of the men who fought him in his own party for years will nurse bitterness, now that he is gone, because they understand that the things that caused their opposition arose from Patterson's mental characteristics.

Few men loved Patterson, but he was respected because he was a wonderful fighter. He defied the business interests of Denver and fought an advertising boycott on his newspapers for three months rather than surrender his pursuit of a policy in behalf of labor.

In the smelters, the mills, the fields, wherever men and women and children toil, Patterson's name is blessed. No curse of plutocracy can ever stain his name for the poor.

Long a dominant figure in Colorado politics, publicist and attorney of national reputation, Senator Patterson left a deep impression on Colorado politics. He was a member of a group of pioneer public leaders of the State.

Senator Patterson is survived by his daughter, Mrs. Richard Campbell; his son-in-law, Richard Campbell; and their two children, Richard Campbell, jr., and Thomas Patterson Campbell. His wife died in July, 1902. Fred P. Johnson and Arthur C. Johnson, both of Denver, are nephews.

Hon. John M. O'Connell, editor and manager of the Salida Mail, of Salida, Colo., gave an exhaustive and well-merited character sketch of the Senator, a portion of which is as follows:

PASSING OF T. M. PATTERSON MARKS CLOSE OF REMARKABLE CAREER—RENOWNED STATESMAN, ORATOR, LAWYER, PUBLICIST, AND LEADER OF MEN, HE MEETS DEATH AS HE MET LIFE—SOME ANECDOTES OF HIM.

Thomas M. Patterson is dead.

Colorado has been singularly blessed with great men. The pioneers who carved civilization out of the wilderness of this State were some of the greatest men that have ever lived in America. Colorado was famed in Congress and in conventions, in courts of justice and in literature, long before it became a State. The men chosen by Colorado to represent it in historical assemblages took second place from no man. But above them all rose Tom Patterson, lawyer, statesman, orator, journalist—the supreme shining intellectual light before whom all others bowed.

Tom Patterson possessed a brain that was never fathomed. He handled men like so many playthings, and when some of the cleverest of them believed they had him beaten and outwitted they found they had only walked into a trap set for them.

In many elections Patterson failed to elect his ticket, but he never was defeated. He always was a power to be reckoned with. It will be a surprise to many that some of his greatest enemies secretly admired him. And why not? Every virile man loves a fighter. Tom Patterson had no yellow streak.

DEATH CONQUERED.

He conquered death as he conquered men. When the summons came he was ready, and death left no sting. He had lived beyond the allotted three score and ten, measured in years, but measured in achievement he lived several centuries.

CARE OF HIS BODY.

Tom Patterson was careful of his body, knowing that a healthy mind requires a healthy machine. He worked hard but he did not neglect recreation. While in law practice he usually remained at his office desk till midnight. Even in his later years he frequently was at his editorial desk till a later hour. He could stand an enormous amount of physical punishment but he made allowances for it with proper recreation later. He was careful of his diet and of his dress. His body finally gave way like a machine that carries a heavy load. It had been kept well oiled but it had performed its maximum of work and its career was ended.

MORALLY CLEAN.

Patterson was morally clean, notwithstanding he was a "matinée idol" of the women. As one woman expressed it, "He could receive an angry woman with the greatest deference, talk to her a few moments in a soft, purring voice, and send her away believing it was a privilege to have met him."

When Patterson wrote a legal document all the lawyers in Colorado could not find a flaw in it. One lawyer said, speaking of a contract Patterson had drawn, "The only lawyer in Colorado who can find a way to break that contract is Patterson himself."

When the panic of 1907 came along the bankers of Denver were not friendly to Patterson but they got the old man out of bed to help them prevent a panic.

When the big coal strike was on Patterson said if he were elected governor he would invite young John Rockefeller out here to look things over. It will be recalled that Mr. Rockefeller did come in person.

In the days of his real work, Patterson could stand before an audience and sway it as he pleased. He could write an editorial that would set the whole State to talking. He could defeat any man he set out to defeat. And while it is apparent he was sometimes wrong, he was always a powerful factor in every election since the day he came to Colorado.

Hon. Elmer E. Wheatley, editor and manager of the Grand Valley News, of Grand Valley, Colo., who was a former reporter on the Rocky Mountain News, Senator Patterson's paper, paid the following just and eloquent tribute to his former associate and ever after friend:

SENATOR PATTERSON DEAD.

Senator Thomas MacDonald Patterson is dead. He departed this life on last Sunday afternoon near the age of 77. In the death of Mr. Patterson Colorado has lost a vigorous statesman and the working people a true friend. The memory of his achievements will not perish so long as this Commonwealth shall endure.

Born in Ireland, Mr. Patterson came to this country when a little more than an infant and grew to manhood in the State of Indiana, where he laid the foundation upon which he subsequently constructed the great superstructure, the embodiment of all the splendid achievements of his wonderful life.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the army of Lincoln, and valiantly served his colors with remarkable patriotism.

In the early seventies he came to Colorado, where he arose to fame like a magnificent skyscraper towering above its environments.

As a statesman and lawyer, he was only rivaled by the brilliant Wolcott. The latter a specialist, the former a genius whose virile spirit will be asserted in a boundless future. As an editor, he stands unparalleled in the journalistic history of this State. He was a natural leader who assumed his position by force of his splendid character. A man of strong peculiarities, he was able, trained, and fearless, and

there was no man more thoroughly identified with the political history of this State than was Mr. Patterson. He served with distinction in both the National House of Representatives and the United States Senate. But to one great object of his life, the giving of his personal assistance to the common people, he was supremely devoted. From the pursuit of that object nothing could deflect him. A brilliant speaker, he despised idle and aimless chatter. Upon all political questions he was a recognized authority. He spoke with the keenest wit and was unmerciful in its use when occasion required. His life's work will stand as a magnificent monument among the great achievements of the Occident.

A number of years ago, when Mr. Patterson was associated with the late John Arkins in the publishing of the Rocky Mountain News, the editor of the Grand Valley News was a reporter employed on his paper. I believe it was about this time that EDDIE KEATING (now one of Colorado's distinguished Congressmen) was a newsboy carrying a route for Mr. Patterson's paper. I also recall that Mr. Patterson was especially fond of young men. He often courted their society, encouraged, and generously helped them. He was easily moved by the distress of others. He was kind, charitable, and lavish in the relief of poverty. He possessed positive characteristics which at times seemed contradictory but which combined to make one of the most memorable characters in the history of the Centennial State. And lastly, Mr. Patterson was a man who had the courage to meet any opponent and was never overmatched in intellectual conflict.

Senator John T. Joyce, editor and publisher of the Silverton Standard, of Silverton, Colo., expressed in a few words the sentiment of the San Juan country, as follows:

SENATOR PATTERSON DEAD.

No message or tongue or pen that mail carries or wires flashed ever carried more genuine sorrow into the hearts of the people of Colorado than that which told of the death of Hon. Thomas M. Patterson, former United States Senator from Colorado, which occurred shortly after 1 o'clock last Sunday afternoon at his home, 1075 Pennsylvania Street, Denver.

As one of the early pioneers, as editor, lawyer, and statesman, he did as much as any one individual in paving the way for his beloved State to reach the greatness and prosperity she now enjoys. With a spirit of militancy and a nature aggressive, he was always found battling on that side of every public question which to him seemed righteous. He was never noncommittal, always brought into the open, and never turned his back to friend or foe. Those who opposed him were among his greatest admirers, because he rose superior to fear or corruption in the discharge of duty. He was a devoted father and faithful friend, generous and charitable. Colorado has lost one of its strongest characters, best and truest friends, whose memory she will fondly cherish through the years to come.

Hon. George O. Blake, editor and publisher of the West Slope, of Cedaredge, Colo., gave a very brief but accurate word picture of the Senator in the following:

THOMAS M. PATTERSON.

Sunday afternoon former United States Senator Thomas M. Patterson passed away at his home in Denver. No man had a larger part in the history of this State. For many years he was the most prominent figure in it. He was restless, energetic, persistent. Warm friends, bitter enemies, were the two classes into which citizens of the State were divided. Senator Patterson was erratic and often astonished his admirers and friends by going off at a tangent. His animosities were relentless, his ambition to lead and succeed boundless. To his credit are most of the reforms which have been accomplished in the State. He amassed a fortune, but was ever the champion of the common people and against the encroachments of special privilege. His virtues and foibles were equally prominent and characteristic. His activities in public life earned the hostility of practically every other man in public life. His power was acknowledged by all, and on the whole was directed toward the right. While owner and editor of the Rocky Mountain News no man in the State wielded greater influence on public opinion than he. His name is writ large on the pages of Colorado history and will never be effaced. At the age of 77 years he surrendered to the grim reaper.

Rehabilitation and Reeducation of Wounded Soldiers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIMEON D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 18, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, last week, when we had under discussion the soldiers' insurance bill, I took occasion to give the Members of this body the results of some research in the field of the rehabilitation and reeducation of the war cripple.

At that time I confined my remarks to the orthopedic and prosthetic possibilities as demonstrated by such men as Dr. Amar, of France. The investigations did not extend to the practical side as applied to the administration of such a work of rebuilding, except as incidentally mentioned in the case of Canada.

I also expressed the fear that our Government did not sense the supreme importance of the field and could not therefore keenly appreciate the time element which was of first significance. There has been for years fugitive efforts in cities to care for the cripple from a purely altruistic point of view and through private effort supported by voluntary contributions. The decade just preceding the war witnessed spasmodic efforts of those aroused by the frightful loss of human energy by industrial accidents to arouse a public sentiment to support some system of rehabilitation of the industrial cripple. But no effort on this line ever got beyond the stage of resolutions by conventions and agitation by humanitarian leaders. But the war compelled not only an organization of public opinion but immediate steps, voluntary and private at first but official later on.

The work of rehabilitation must not be left to private or voluntary endeavor; it will defeat its own purpose. If the wounded soldier upon his discharge from the hospital must depend upon himself to reenter life in a community he will most likely fall by the way and become a subject of public charity. To be sure, the insurance bill is meant to prevent this fatality.

On the other hand, if he must depend upon the assistance of voluntary associations of altruistic purposes it will be temporary and must finally be disappointing.

The investigations of Col. George Pope, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, show the entire willingness of heads of businesses to take back employees who come back crippled wherever they can be safely employed. Many express the willingness to favor the employment of such men where it can be done without consequent injury to production. But it must be apparent that the patriotic enthusiasm will not assure a continuance of this employment, especially after the stress which is bound to follow the cessation of the war, when doubtless our country will see in every form the evidences of war's ravages. There must be a way opened that will not have to depend upon the momentary impulse of the producer.

Then it must be apparent to all that the tendency of legislation which looks to a protection of the worker in compensation laws will make all employers cautious in employing men who might become subject to accidents which might involve total disability.

For, as it has been pointed out, a dismembered employee can not protect himself against industrial accidents so well as the more agile, and would inevitably be discriminated against in employment by the business management who wishes to guard against the compensation for total disability. This feature alone ought to convince us all that it must not be left to the goodness of business organizations to take care of the war cripple.

My concern has not been so much the attitude of the community or business toward the war cripple. It is whether the Government will take steps to assure a sane utilization of human capacity by a course of governmental training to place in possession of the war cripple command of his powers, which otherwise would be as if nonexistent.

Our observations have convinced us that such possibilities are within reach.

What has been done in war-stricken Europe is simply marvelous. War victims who in past years would have reconciled themselves to a life of the derelict, pitiful and hopeless, subjects of public charity as it could be secured on the streets, now know the self-respect and consequent pleasure of a life of independent production, which enables them to rebuke the mercenary alms giver by looking the world in the face and declaring that while he has left upon the battle fields what money can not buy, and has returned to his people with an emasculated frame, he disdains to depend upon the favor of any man, but insists what bread he eats shall be the bread of independence.

What such men can do is exemplified in a most convincing manner by the display of articles exhibited in a French museum. These articles were made by mutilated men who have been reeducated.

Mr. Eugene Delard, the curator at the Musée Galliéra, where the exhibition was given, said:

When the idea of this exhibition came to us six months ago some people, while warmly approving the idea, found it overbold and a trifle premature. The directors of the reeducation centers themselves were prudently reserved and exhibited a tendency to defer the date of the exhibit, which to be convincing must necessarily show results rather than attempts. This was an excess of modesty on their part, a misunderstanding of their own merits, and also of the infinite resources of our race, which rarely foresees, never prepares, but adapts itself to everything with marvelous decision and facility.

After paying a just homage to the zeal, devotion, and highly intelligent direction of the teachers who receive the wrecks of the war and reinstate them in the laborious life of their native land, we must bend the knee before these brave men who, after having so nobly paid their debt to their country with their own persons, now devote their splendid courage and their patient energy to regain their place in the world of labor with precarious means.

We have here a prodigy of will power which few among us had suspected. To appreciate it we have only to think for a moment of the change of habits, the transposition of existence, which awaits even those who return uninjured from the war. For a long time they have lived an intense physical life, alert and adventurous, with rushing blood and muscles taut for sudden efforts involving various risks. And if they will undoubtedly have a good deal of trouble in regaining order and methods, adapting themselves to slow and peaceful tasks, what shall we

say of those who face such tasks still suffering from the wounds received, and in doubt and anguish as to the future?

But they may be completely reassured. The proof has been given—and how magnificently and how movingly—that the cripple will not linger on the margin of life; that he is not a weakling, a social outcast, the object of a casual charitable pity, but an element of useful energy, a creature of conscious valor and strength who has reconquered by lofty struggle his place in the society of workers, and will assist in the rebirth of the country he has helped to save.

If the Musée Galliéra had held to its initial and clearly defined program of professional education, properly so called, it would have been very interesting, to be sure, but more severe of aspect, with drier documentation, holding to a field which in itself has but remote relations with art. In receiving, besides cripples returned to civic life, wounded men whose cases are still uncertain, and who will perhaps eventually become almost free from pain, we have stimulated individual initiative, encouraged imagination, and have here and there discovered genuine artists among occasional workers.

It is to these that the exposition owes its gaiety of aspect, its charm, its color, and, we do not hesitate to declare, its very modern note, for there is no appreciable difference in general appearance from other exhibitions of current decorative art heretofore given in the museum.

From this exhibit, whose popularity grows daily, certain information infinitely precious and comforting is to be derived; in the first place, life henceforth is assured by labor to the thousands of beings who remain, despite their physical losses, live forces, useful wheels, far more numerous than one would have believed, in the great social machine, for it is now averred that 80 per cent of the crippies are perfectly teachable; in the second place, the hearty enthusiasm of the crowd which fights to obtain the work of these brave men, the commerce which solicits them, the industry which reclaims them.

To cite but one example, the directors of the great bazaars of Paris and the Provinces have come to us asking to be put in touch with the bureaus of reeducation. And it is the renaissance of the French toy which will spring from this, and its flight into the world whence the German rubbish had driven it.

And the same thing is true in other industries, every one among manufacturers and customers having it at heart to employ the crippies for the restoration of national production, which is now assured.

One of the best-informed men of to-day in this field is Mr. Norman Dean, of Toronto, Canada, the official statistician of the workman's compensation board.

As is well known, Canada has accomplished more in the field of reeducation of the mutilated soldier than any other country.

Last month Mr. Dean made an address in Boston, Mass., in which he dealt extensively with Canada's system. Among other things he said:

Go where you will to-day and dig beneath the ramifications of variant factors and you will find that the physical mutilation is the basis upon which all permanent-injury payments are made, irrespective of disability accruing therefrom. The individual is received direct from surgical treatment, often crippled more from inadequate and ignorant attention than by injury, generally without proper prothesis, and always without special knowledge being applied, without any time for readjustment to the changed conditions, without either functional or professional reeducation, given a pension and, without aid or assistance except from benevolence or shame of employers, or charity from outsiders, is thrown upon his own resources and allowed ignorantly and passively to rehabilitate himself as best he can.

Sir H. Rider Haggard said of the Canadian system of restoring military cripples to industry, "I make no comparisons. We are taught that comparisons are odious. But I have traveled through the Empire and I know of no system which approaches that which you are fortunate enough to have in Canada." In the restoration of its disabled men to industry the Canadian idea is that soldiers are citizens and must be treated in the light of their citizenship.

The organization of the Canadian system is threefold: (1) Dominion—The department of militia and defense under which the soldier is from enlistment to discharge; the military hospitals commission, for providing convalescent homes, medical treatment, and vocational reeducation for disabled returned soldiers; the board of pensions, commissioners which have exclusive jurisdiction in respect to pensions, gratuities, allowances, and assistances to members of the Canadian forces and their dependents. (2) Provincial—Commissions in each Province to provide employment for disabled soldiers. (3) Voluntary—Welcoming committees, philanthropic organizations, employment bureaus, visiting committees, etc. Besides these, various departments of Federal and provincial Governments aid in land-settlement schemes, employment bureaus, etc.

A Canadian casualty is handled at the front, in England, and across the Atlantic to the Canadian receiving depot by the department of militia and defense. The military hospitals commission takes charge of him through the hospital and convalescent home, up to discharge, then through reeducation. The board of pensions commissioners and the provincial commission deal with the man after discharge.

Up to discharge pay and allowances, field and separation, continue. On discharge, accrued arrears and three months' pay is given. If the soldier goes into reeducation he is put into the military hospitals commission command, a unit of the service, and pay and allowances are restored. As long as a man is in service his dependents, if needy, are looked after by the Canadian patriotic fund, which, although supported by voluntary contributions, is under Dominion charter. It is to be noted that enlistments in the military hospitals commission command are for treatment not for service.

The service pay and allowances for rank and file is: Pay, $1 a day; field allowance, 10 cents a day; separation allowance, $20 a month. Up to $20 a month pay may be assigned to dependents. At discharge three months' pay and allowances are given. During reeducation, if not in hospital, subsistence allowance of $1 a day is given, besides separation allowance up to $35 a month less pension for wife, and varying sums of from $3 to $7.50 a month for children, the maximum allowance for wife and children being $55 a month.

The hospital and convalescent home organization comprises special hospital cars, sanitaria for tuberculosis, for incipient and for incurable cases, hospital for psychiatric treatment, hospitals, convalescent homes for rheumatism, special treatment or rest and summer camps. When thought advisable men are allowed to recuperate in their own homes, subsistence allowance being made.

The medical and surgical treatment is the best and most effectual that science can offer; it includes functional reeducation as well as treatment. From the medical side, radiograph apparatus, active and passive mecanotherapy, galvanic, static, Faradic, and high tension currents, vibration, electric massage, baking, hot-air blast, continuous hot-water baths, and the balanced magnet are some of the methods and devices used. From the functional reeducational side, Dr. Botts's apparatus, modifications on the Amar principle, to restore lost functional motion and to cure hysteria, torsion machines, exercises, and gymnasia are illustrations of the care taken. In amputation cases every effort is made to get the patient to evolve as much functional movement as is possible in the stump. It is alike the French, the German, and the Canadian idea that work properly selected and graduated has a high psychic value and constitutes the best possible means of reaccustoming muscles to action.

The purpose behind professional reeducation is that the disabled man be restored to industry, given back his power to work which constitutes his manhood to the end that he be not thrown into the garbage can of civilization—poverty relieved by charity.

The man chooses his own occupation, being adroitly "steered" by the visitors of the local committee and the vocational officers, who act upon the reports received during functional reeducation. The work is commenced during convalescence, and continued, if necessary, beyond. The general training comes first. Instruction in English for non-English-speaking persons, language, penmanship, and arithmetic. The vocational retraining covers many fields, including bookkeeping, shorthand, typewriting, telegraphy, wood working, light-metal work, leather working, automobile and internal-combustion engineering, shoe repairing, gardening, poultry keeping, bee keeping, vegetable and flower raising, road building, and general farming. Every effort has been made to secure experts in the various lines as instructors. In some cases—the practice, it is understood, is to become more general—apprenticeship contracts are secured in industrial establishments. The training given is not given merely as training, but as a power to secure livelihood and as such the demand is carefully watched and regulates the supply. It would be possible, given time enough, to make disabled men into professors of Hindu philosophy, but to what avail? Again experience shows that inconsequential training as tatting, knitting, or basket weaving, etc., is of little value except as treatment.

Special methods are employed for the reeducation of the totally blind and totally deaf, converting these from the category of totally disabled to self-supporting.

The work of reemployement is carried on under Provincial organization, commissions appointed by the local government. Its work is supplemented by the efforts of municipal, local voluntary, and philanthropic organizations. The end in view is to get the soldier into industry, finding him a position which he is capable of filling, so that he can meet the competition of men who have not been disabled. By keeping careful record of the man, by visiting him, and by encouraging him much is being done. The idea is that a soldier naturally suffers from war shock and comes back mentally and physically changed, accustomed to waiting for and acting on specific orders, and hence lacks in initiative and because of this must be encouraged and aided. Job after job must be found suitable to his disabled physical structure and changed psychic conditions, till at last time obliviates his restlessness and rehabilitation restores his industrial powers to compete in the open market.

To date in Canada there are more jobs than jobless, the positions filled paying from $10 a week to $150 a month. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association is interesting its members, publicity agencies are cooperating, investigative talent is preparing a list of occupations in which disabled men may compete to the end that a complete industrial survey may be made.

Mr. Speaker, the possibilities are at once vast and imperative. When the bill was under consideration I was fearful its significance was not fully sensed. I have made some investigation since and am gratified to learn that extended studies are being pursued touching not only the scientific side but also the psychologic, the sociologic, and industrial as it affects labor, as well as the humanitarian. We can expect in the near future such legislation as befits a great Nation in the care of its citizens who make the supreme sacrifice.

Roosevelt and Volunteers.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 27, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration amendment authorizing the President to raise by voluntary enlistment four divisions of men not subject to draft, being an amendment to a bill to increase the Military Establishment of the United States (H. R. 3545).

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the disappearance of the rubber stamp and the reappearance of the distinguished Congressman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] assures me that we may now have a parliament here as they have in France, in England, and in Russia, that is not afraid to meet its constitutional responsibilities instead of a linotype machine. Encouraged by this, I want to say a word or two only to you about this amendment concerning my old comrade of the Spanish War, Col. Roosevelt. The able and useful gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], who has just addressed you, asserts that they are going to conscript people in such a manner that they will not be conscripts, though the recruiting officers are urging them to volunteer in

order to avoid a distinction their advertisements indicate. The men who go to this war will be judged by what they do after they are in the Army, not by the manner in which they enter. But it will take months to produce an army by the method required by the amendment to the committee bill which was offered here in the minority report. The call for volunteers arranged for in the bill offered by the committee with its preparation for conscription, if necessary, will cause an army of volunteers to spring from the ground as they did in 1861 and 1898.

We have repeatedly been told on this floor that this is not a pink-tea war. Whether that is official or not, if you keep everybody from fighting who wants to fight, I do not know what else you are going to make of it. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] told us very gravely a few moments ago that he has been fighting here for days for a great principle. The only principle involved here, as far as I can see, is whether this war will be fought by men who want to fight or by men who do not want to fight. We all know that if the General Staff had left town the night war was declared there would be a million men under arms in this country right now [applause], but that little band of willful men [laughter] has made it impossible up to date to array one soldier in war. On November 1, 1861, six months after the Civil War began, Gen. Grant wrote that he had 20,000 well-drilled men as ready to go to battle as any men could be who had not already been under fire. As far as I can remember, his opinion on that subject is as good as that of any man who ever lived in America. But we have been told by the "experts" that it will take us a year, under the theory they advance, to make an army.

The gentleman asks how long it takes to make a soldier. Anybody that can not make a soldier, as far as he can be made without going into battle, in six months can not ever make a soldier, excepting those in special departments, of course. Any soldier who can not in six months learn all there is for the average soldier to learn, except what he learns under fire, will never learn the trade. I would rather have 30 days of drill and 30 days on the firing line—for that is where they make soldiers—than a year in a training camp, and so would anybody who has ever been to war. This amendment provides for 100,000 volunteers and the utilization of him whose blast upon the bugle horn is worth a thousand men.

As a new Member I had not intended to speak to you now at all, and it is with considerable diffidence that I take the floor for this first speech in this Hall, simply because I felt I must array myself behind this old associate and comrade and a million men who could be in a camp in a month and ready to sail for Europe 90 days thereafter. But, gentlemen, if you are going to have a war, why do you not go to war with the first men you can raise, the rear guard of a mighty column that extends from Concord to Santiago and San Fernando. If you are going to fight the enemy, why all this hullabaloo to be told that a year from now we will land somebody on the shores of Europe? McClellan had months and months and months of preparation, but he never licked anybody. It was the experience gained on the little battle fields of Mexico that made the chieftains of the great Civil War, not a course of study in some high school or years in a swivel chair in Washington.

Who won that war? The man from Galena, who had been dismissed from the Regular Army of the United States and whose services were declined by the staff at Washington when he wrote them; the man from Galena, who had 20,000 men ready to fight in six months; the man who went to Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and Shiloh as fast as cars and boats and feet would take his troops there. They talk to us about these "experts." France had an expert staff, England had an expert staff, Russia had an expert staff, Austria had an expert staff, Germany had an expert staff when this war began. Where are your experts now? All gone into the discard, succeeded by men who fought their way up on the firing line since August, 1914. The gentleman from California who told us that the General Staff had fought in many battles and were great warriors, and found himself not sustained by the record, airily dismissed the proposition with the remark that Germany's staff had not been under fire for 40 years. Neither have they been under fire for a year, because better men, practical men, have risen to take the place of those who gravitate to headquarters in the piping times of peace and have to be catapulted out in the dark days of war to make room for men who go out to fight, not to be "experts," to make place for men like Robertson, England's most useful officer, who rose from the ranks without a military education.

Except Marcus Miller and Joe Wheeler, each of whom fought from sixty-one to sixty-five, practically no general officer who saw active and important service in the Spanish, Filipino, and Chinese Wars ever went to a military school. Miles, Shafter, Otis, Chaffee, McArthur, Lawton, Young, Wheaton, Wood, and Funston were all civilian soldiers, who entered the Army without military training, as raw volunteers. And that is why the General Staff wants no volunteers now that shall have opportunity to start on a level with them. And that is why the country should avail itself of the services of that vigorous and splendid soldier upon whose military career in Cuba the people placed the seal of their approval by making him Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States. These alleged political officers have no reason to fear to compare their records with those of swivel-chair warriors who decry their services. One hundred thousand volunteers, such as this amendment provides for, would make the nucleus of a great army the rest of the bill assures and would set the pace for a million gallant men who shall follow in the path they would so easily and so swiftly tread. Ordinary prudence suggests that we first send to the battle fields of Europe seasoned, experienced, actual soldiers who have already demonstrated in Cuba and the Philippines and China their capacity and willingness to serve their country on foreign fields.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Mail.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 21, 1917.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 30, 1917, I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill providing "that hereafter, under such rules and regulations as the Postmaster General may prescribe, duly certified first-class mail matter of the soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States shall, during the existence of the present war, be forwarded to their destination without payment of any postage whatever."

I was prompted, in introducing this bill, by two motives: First, I thought that when a nation asks its citizenry to leave its accustomed paths of life and enter camps to be trained for the duties of war it should, in every way possible, mitigate this sudden transition from peace to arms by arranging it so that the men called could at least keep up communication with those they hold most dear with as little difficulty as possible; and, second, when our allies had been so generous to their own troops as to extend to them the free use of the mail, and when even the Government of the Republic of France had granted the privilege of its mail gratis to American troops, it occurred to me that we should not neglect to do for our men what our brothers in arms had already in a generous way begun.

Men who have been through the campaigns of war—and there are many such in this House—tell us that there is no more welcome treat for a warrior on the battle field than to receive tidings from home, and it needs no imagination to picture the joy that comes to every household when the mailman brings a line to anxious relatives from the men called to the colors.

Above the picturesque portals of the new Post Office Building, in this city, are the legends which greet the new arrival and leave a happy sentiment in the minds of departing travelers, that a letter is a "messenger of sympathy and love," a "servant of parted friends," a "consoler of the lonely," the "bond of the scattered family," the "enlarger of the common life." If a letter is all this in peace, how much more in war? We owe it in all justice, in all honor, in all sympathy, and in all patriotism, to extend to our boys in the service for the present emergency the use of the mail facilities of the Government, with no thought of financial return. The delays in writing home that such a plan would obviate, the inconvenience of seeking stamps in the field that it would eliminate, and the good feeling it would inspire all around would do much to keep the morale of the troops consistent with the high ideals of the service.

The function of only a simple letter, at times, may be more glorious than the message of a king, and may bring to an apprehensive heart more joy than the visit of a monarch at the home of his most humble subject.

While the sentimental reasons for passing this bill at once suggest themselves, the measure has in it everything of the practical. It will undoubtedly serve to increase the number of letters the men will be likely to write home. And increasing the number of letters will mean that the American people will be kept continually informed. And the better informed the people, the more surely will they stand firm until the purposes for which

we fight are accomplished, until autocracy shall have learned to listen, until democracy shall have been made secure.

The bill must not be allowed to die quietly in a pigeonhole. It is not enough that the soldiers and sailors be allowed to write home as in the time of the Civil War, marking their letters as "Soldiers' Mail," and having them paid for on delivery. It is not enough that this proposed measure, as was the case with a similar measure advocated during the Spanish-American War, when the Fifty-fifth Congress was in session, be discussed and postponed, and discussed and postponed again, until finally it is talked in a desultory fashion into oblivion. It should be enacted into law, and quickly.

Our allies have not been backward in granting similar privileges to their enlisted men. M. Jusserand, the French ambassador, informs me under date of August 3, 1917, that "In accordance with a law of April 27 and a decree of May 7, 1916, the families, members of which are at the front, and who receive the usual grant, owing to their being in want, are allowed to send, once a month, to each of their relatives at the army, a registered parcel of 1 kilogram, the conveying of which is free.

"In accordance with the law of June 23 and of the decree of June 24, 1916, all mobilized men of France have the right, during the months of June and of November, to send, free of cost, a parcel of 1 kilogram containing linen and underclothing, to their family or to a correspondent of theirs.

"Furthermore," M. Jusserand adds, "a decree of August 3, 1914, prescribes that ordinary letters coming from or destined for soldiers or sailors duly mobilized are forwarded free by the post. Money orders meant for the same or sent by them, the value of which is not above 50 francs, are drawn up free of cost."

Furthermore, Secretary of State Lansing, under date of August 12, 1917, announced that "the minister of finance authorizes the entry without payment of duties of parcels sent from foreign countries by private persons to soldiers of the American Expeditionary Corps. No other examination will be required than an identification of the parcel and the transmission to the destination as marked. The same facilities are extended to shipments made to wounded soldiers under medical attendance in hospitals; they include tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, playing cards, and beverages. Those invoices are exempt from customs duties, statistic dues, and, if any, internal-revenue taxes. It need not be said that the decision applies to shipments made by the Y. M. C. A."

As to Great Britain, I am advised under date of August 4, 1917, by Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, the British ambassador, that in his country "the mails are free to men serving in the British forces in the case of letters addressed to the United Kingdom, but letters from the front to foreign countries must be stamped."

In Russia, I am told by Mr. Eugene Omeltchenko, of the Russian extraordinary mission—

> Letters sent to the active army and received from the active army in the regular manner—that is, not registered—may be sent free of postage. The region of the active army is understood to be a belt about a hundred miles from the battle line. The mail of soldiers in this region may be sent free. The mail from war ships is also allowed to go free of all postage duties.

Italy has not been lacking in generosity. Count V. Macchi di Cellere, the Italian ambassador, advises me that in the beginning all correspondence—letters and postcards—of the officers and men were forwarded free; but later, owing to the burden on the Government, it was necessary to charge for correspondence between the men themselves. This measure, he adds, which relieved the mail somewhat in the war zones, was taken because it was the purpose of the regulations to provide for free postage between soldiers and their families rather than between soldiers and their acquaintances. Later, when the Italian lines were so advanced that mail had to be taken from the terminals of railroads and carried by motor car, cars, pack animals, or even by aeroplanes, free mail had to be further reduced, in order to meet the new circumstances. Then it was arranged that soldiers could send one card a day free of charge to their families. But throughout all the changes made necessary by new military activities the basic plan has remained the same, namely, that soldiers and sailors should be allowed to communicate with their folks, without cost to themselves.

The proposition has found a ready supporter in the press of the country. The Boston Post, one of the most influential Democratic newspapers in New England, has come out strongly in favor of it; and the New York Herald, as Republican as the Post is Democratic, has ardently advocated the bill after I introduced it. The New York World and the New York Sun praise it, as do practically all the aggressive dailies in smaller communities. Through the press the plans suggested in the bill have found their way into the training camps already busy with war preparations, and the response of the soldiers in favor of this recognition of their merit has been at once spontaneous and compelling.

With all these facts in support of the bill, gentlemen of the House, with its passage practically demanded of us by that devotion and respect we owe our troops, with the example of all our allies pointing the way, it seems to me only just and equitable that we take steps immediately to enact the resolution into law.

The World War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 21, 1917.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to print an address made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. PLATT] before the Pomona Grange, of Orange County, N. Y., on September 5, upon the causes of our advent into the world war. I think this is one of the best statements yet made upon the subject and that it should be conveniently available to the largest possible circle of readers.

Mr. PLATT said:

"Ladies and gentlemen of the Pomona Grange, I am more than glad of the opportunity to talk to you on a subject in which we are all so vitally interested, as the question, 'Why are we at war?' or, as your program puts it, 'What are we at war for?' Having been in Washington, and to some extent a participant in the stirring events that have followed each other so rapidly in recent months, as well as in some of the anxious efforts that preceded our entry into the great war during the last three years, I perhaps feel a more intense interest and responsibility than many other people who have not had quite the same opportunities to know what was happening, and how our country was being inevitably drawn against its will into the terrible maelstrom.

"It is dangerous to make sweeping generalizations, and it may be that some of the earlier wars of history, in proportion to the then population of the known world and to its wealth and resources, were almost as great as this in which we are involved, but it seems not an exaggeration to say that this war is the most stupendous happening of which there is any record. Almost every nation the world around is involved in it, and the few that have not been formally drawn in are profoundly affected by it. No one can say with any approach to certainty what far-reaching results it may have.

"Why are we in it? The Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, said a few days ago that it is because we could not keep out, and I think he is right about it. Let me say now that I have no criticism of the President or of his advisors for being in the war. Rather my criticism, if I were to make any, would be that we should have begun to take our part long ago. I have felt, almost from the moment that the mighty military engine of the Imperial German Government began to roll over helpless Belgium and over northern France, that if it were not soon checked, if the war were to last for years instead of months, the chances were that we should be drawn in just as we were drawn into the last great European war, in the days of Napoleon, and it seemed clear to me that we should prepare ourselves and not make the tremendous and costly mistakes we made then—mistakes which resulted in having the war fought on our own territory, in the burning of our National Capitol, and in the defeat of our land forces in nearly every battle. I was one of 37 Members of the House of Representatives who tried to start the preparedness movement in the fall of 1914, and I can not refrain from saying now that if we could have succeeded then our country would have saved millions and perhaps billions of dollars, and might possibly have kept out of war. As one looks back upon the unfolding drama of the autumn of 1914 it is easy to see that right there was our only chance to keep out of war. We should have begun to make ourselves so strong then that the German war lords, who can understand no other argument than force, would have known without ifs or ands that we meant exactly what we said in February, 1915, when we declared that we would hold them to "a strict accountability" if they destroyed American ships or killed American citizens. I do not say that such

a course would certainly have kept us out of war, but I do say that it was our only chance to keep out.

"We are in the war partly because the German war lords did not think we would fight and did not think we could fight if we wanted to. They thought they had us so sewed up with pacificism, so involved with Mexico, and so filled with pro-German and anti-English propagandists that the President could not get a majority in Congress for a declaration of war, and that we could not raise an army if we should declare war. Mr. Gerard, who was our ambassador in Germany until we broke off diplomatic relations with the Kaiser last February, tells us that the German rulers actually also thought that the German reservists in this country would be powerful enough to rise up and cause civil war. Mr. Gerard says in his story of his experiences in Germany that Herr Zimmermann, of the German foreign office, banged the table with his fist when they were discussing the dastardly murder of Americans on the *Lusitania*, and declared that the United States did not dare do anything to Germany, because there were 500,000 German reservists in this country. Mr. Gerard says that he retorted that there were also 501,000 lamp-posts in this country and that we sometimes made use of lamp-posts when people in our country created disturbances, as convenient places on which to hang them. Probably such a Yankee boast did not impress Zimmerman very much, and he continued to think it safe to heap any indignity upon Americans and to take as many American lives as might happen to get in the way of the German policy of frightfulness. Our late ambassador says that he fully expected to be called home at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, but he was not. We continued to write notes, and waited two years before we were willing to admit that "a state of war existed," and without doing any very considerable amount of preparing in the meantime.

"Why are we at war? Why did not we go to war a year or two years ago? Why did we wait until 226 American citizens had lost their lives? Why should we have considered Germany's pledges any better then, after the demonstration in Belgium that the war lords considered treaties 'scraps of paper' and after all the agreements for civilized warfare promulgated at The Hague had been torn up, than we do now? What are we at war for? What do you attack a rattlesnake or a mad dog for? How can any nation, no matter how peacefully inclined, continue at peace with a nation that makes war its principal business, that piles up enormous guns in secret, and trains its whole male population and all its industries with the sole purpose of springing at the throats of its neighbors at some moment when they are most defenseless and unsuspecting?—a nation that teaches war in its philosophies, that unblushingly defends the doctrine that might makes right and that the strong should push the weak off the earth.

"It now seems that England and France and Belgium, yes, and the United States, were blind in 1914, when they could not see that the Kaiser and his war lords were about to begin their long-planned conquest of Europe. The Kaiser's saber had been rattled so often that Europe seems finally to have come to the belief that Wilhelm was simply amusing himself. The Belgians and the French knew that so-called 'strategic railroads,' railroads that had no other purpose than the transportation of soldiers, guns, and war materials, had been built up to and along the borders of Luxemburg and Belgium, but the French did not seem to think the Germans meant anything by it and made no effort to strengthen the fortifications on their own Belgian frontier. Nor did they know that the Germans had secretly forged monster guns that would so quickly pound the Belgian and other forts to pieces.

"There is abundant and constantly accumulating evidence that the Kaiser and the Imperial German general staff had decided to start their war of conquest in the summer of 1914, long before there was any pretext for starting it, and some day we may expect to see them admit it, just as Bismarck in his memoirs admitted that he deliberately started the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 by falsifying a telegram. An interesting bit of evidence comes from Dr. Henry Van Dyke, formerly pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, in New York City, who was our ambassador to Holland before the outbreak of the war and for some time afterwards. He is just now telling some of his experiences in a series of articles in Scribner's Magazine. Dr. Van Dyke, as some of you doubtless know, is a great fisherman, and is the author of several delightful books on fishing, such as 'Fisherman's Luck,' and 'Little Rivers,' and he evidently made the best of any opportunities that came his way to go trout fishing in Europe. He tells us in the September Scribner's that early in June, 1914, he went on a fishing trip just over the German boundary, on the edge of the little Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. A strategic railroad crossed and ran along the little mountain stream they were fishing, and he noticed all that day that trainload after trainload of German soldiers were going by. He learned that they were going to Trier, a town close to the boundary of Luxemburg, and when, after the day's fishing was finished, he and his companions passed through Trier, he found the place crowded with troops and piled with immense quantities of munitions and war materials. He tells us that he went back to Holland, musing over what he had seen and wondering what it meant. It certainly looked like war, but how could Germany begin a war without so much as a shadow of a pretext, he said to himself. That was early in June, and the murder of the Austrian Crown Prince at Sarajevo, did not take place until the 28th. The plans were all made, and even the disposition of troops and the accumulation of supplies, before there was any pretext for disturbing the peace of Europe. A pretext could doubtless be found in some way, if nothing convenient offered itself. The time for the staging of the great catastrophe was apparently fixed by the completion of the enlargement of the Kiel Canal, which was early in June. Before that time the Germans could not get their big dreadnaughts through the canal, so as to use them either in the North Sea or in the Baltic. When finished, if France and England looked weak enough or otherwise occupied enough, the torch was to be lighted, and was lighted.

"Now, what are you going to do with a nation like that—with an autocratic military government, a nation that makes war its chief business, that regards the most solemn treaties as 'scraps of paper,' a nation that has been planning for more than a generation to dominate the world, a nation that wages war for profit, like the old robber barons of the Middle Ages, or the Barbary pirates, whose nefarious trade our own country broke up after a war carried on for several years? Bear in mind that Germany, or perhaps I should say Prussia, has actually made money as well as territory out of her late wars, as well as out of many of her earlier wars, and bear in mind also that she won them after careful preparation and by secretly accumulating superior weapons and springing on her neighbors when she thought they were weakest. German soldiers are not superior to the soldiers of other countries. There is some reason to think that they are not the equals of French or of British soldiers of equal training; but give them guns that outrange the French or the British guns and they can win. The Prussians won the Seven Weeks' War in 1866 by being armed with breech-loading rifles, while the Austrians had muzzle loaders, and they won the Franco-Prussian War chiefly by springing at France while the French Army was only half armed with breechloaders and had not yet learned how to use what it had. In like manner the Germans thought they had this war won at the start by springing at France and Belgium with their big howitzers, the 42-centimeter guns, and other monsters of destruction, and they did come so mighty close to winning in the first month that it isn't pleasant to contemplate when you think what the consequences might have been. It's simply the old thug's game of fighting with brass knuckles against a man with bare fists, and the German war lords glory in it, brag about it, and their college professors weave philosophies around it with brazen shamelessness. Is there anything you can do with such a nation except to make it understand by means of the only argument that its rulers can understand, the argument of superior force, that war doesn't pay, that the world will no longer tolerate its methods or its constant threats, and will not let it reap any benefits from this war, but will, on the other hand, make it pay for at least some of the terrible devastation its armies have wrought?

"Occasionally I hear somebody say that this is a rich man's war or a munition maker's war. That sort of talk has been much encouraged by the German propagandists and for a time it really had some following, perhaps still has a little in some sections of the country. A very few minutes of reflection are enough to convince any intelligent person that it is utterly absurd. Rich men as a rule are very much like the rest of us, and it seems strange to me that some people are always trying to impute motives to them that are different from the motives that move the rest of us. They are just as patriotic as any of us, possibly as a class even more so. Their sons are very generally already in military or naval service, and many wealthy men above military age are giving their services to the Government free in various lines of necessary work. War to them means high taxes, much higher than the rest of us pay. What possible reason could they have as a class for wanting war? Certainly not any. They have desired, like most of the rest of us, to see our great country uphold the right, to see American citizens protected wherever they may lawfully be, and to see democracy upheld and autocracy and militarism put down, to the end that we may enjoy permanent peace.

"But what of the munition makers and all the others who profit from manufacturing war supplies? I might reply by saying, What of the farmers? War makes high prices for every-

thing the farmer sells, and a great many farmers, particularly the wheat and corn growers, have made a good deal of money from the present war in spite of the increased prices of many things they buy. Have the farmers been responsible for the war? I think you would answer almost unanimously, 'No.' The farmers will make no more any way out of our entry into the war than they would have made if we had stayed out, and the munition makers will make a good deal less. The munition makers, the iron and coal miners, the shoemakers, and many others have been making big profits out of their sales to the allies, and without much extra taxation. Our entry into the war is going to cut down their profits and increase very greatly their taxes. Surely it wasn't to their interest to get us into war.

"But perhaps somebody may say, Why should we be in the war? Why should not England and France and Russia and Italy finish the business which, after all, most concerns them? Well, in the first place, we, as a great Nation, could not continually permit our citizens to be murdered while going about their business by way of the sea, to use a phrase of the President's, any more than we can allow our people continually to be murdered while attending to their business on land. We had to do something to stop it, just as we have to stop a band of murderers who may come through one of our peaceful communities, even if some lives are lost in the stopping. Again, the United States of America, as one the greatest of nations, was bound to do something toward upholding international law; otherwise there wouldn't be any international law if the lawless nation should triumph. To that extent our duties are those of a policeman. But there are even larger and more vital reasons. The President has said that 'the world must be made safe for democracy,' that we fight 'for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples.' That is all true and most nobly said, but we are fighting primarily for our own safety and peace. We could not stand idly by and see England and France crushed and Germany triumphant, because we know that just as sure as the sun will rise to-morrow morning our turn would come next. We are fighting now with most of the world, and all of the self-governing part of it, either on our side or approving our course, instead of running the fearful risk of having to fight later and alone. England and France were fighting our battles before we entered the war, and we have rather tardily recognized the fact that it is up to us, as the greatest of self-governing peoples, to take our share of the tremendous burden which they have borne so long and so nobly.

"I might say the same thing of Italy, which has just made such a notable advance, and of poor, disorganized Russia, which has met such enormous losses. It is a war between two diametrically opposite ideas of government and of right and wrong—ideas just as opposite as freedom and slavery or of union and disunion. The two ideas can not exist side by side in peace any more than the United States could permanently endure half slave and half free. That is why we are at war; and our brave boys are fighting just as truly for freedom now as did our great-grandfathers who fought in the Revolution or our fathers who did their bit in the great Civil War. The issues to be decided by the outcome of this war are as great as in any war in which the United States has ever been engaged, and perhaps infinitely greater.

"Let me add in closing that, now that we are at war, we are not going at it half-heartedly or by any halfway measures. We were not prepared as we should have been when war was declared on the 5th of April last, but we had made a fairly good beginning at preparation, and we have started the war with a better military policy than we have ever started any other war in our history. We have prepared to raise an army of millions if they shall be needed, and we are going ahead just as if we might be called upon to take the whole burden upon ourselves. We are taking hold of the tremendous business of war in the midst of wonderful prosperity, and, in spite of the noise made by a few propagandists, with a people united as they never have been before in any one of our great wars. I feel like pausing right here to pay a few words of tribute to the splendid patriotism of the great mass of our German-American fellow citizens. With wonderfully few exceptions they are standing firmly by the country of their adoption, though it is costing them many a heartburn. Do you know that Ambassador Gerard has said that not a single German-American throughout the war had gone to Germany to enlist in the German Army, while thousands of them have voluntarily enlisted in our Army and a good many in the Canadian Army?

"We are going at this war, I repeat, as a united Nation, whole-heartedly, determined to stick to it until we accomplish the great purposes for which we are fighting, and willing to make any sacrifices necessary to that end. That is the way of the American people once they have made up their minds, and that is the spirit for which the American flag, the glorious Stars and Stripes, stands. We are sending our sons and our brothers to the front. Let us give them every encouragement. Let us give them every possible support, to the end that the war may be brought to a close as quickly as possible, and to the end that there shall be no more wars in our time or in their time."

War Letters.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 21, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD some correspondence with a few of my constituents bearing on the subject of the great war. These letters touch upon many phases of the subject and will answer many questions in the minds of those who have not had the opportunity to make a first-hand investigation for themselves.

[Telegram.]

———, NEBR., *August 10, 1917.*

Congressman DAN V. STEPHENS,
Washington, D. C.:

Do all in your power to bring about peace before our boys are sent to France.

(Signed) S. B. B.

CONGRESSMAN STEPHENS'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 11, 1917.*

Mr. S. B. B., ———, *Nebr.*

MY DEAR MR. B.: In reply to your telegram urging me to do all I can to bring about peace with Germany before our boys are sent to France, will say that, in my judgment, it is more important that the objects of the war be secured before a peace is patched up than it is to keep our boys from going to France—a peace that merely means a truce until the nations get a chance to recuperate their losses is not worth having. It would be stupid, criminal in fact, because it would mean that the human sacrifices that have so far been made would count for naught. It would mean that as soon as another generation of men were ready to fill the ranks of those who have been sacrificed to the ambitious war lords of Germany the mad struggle for world domination would all begin over again. War is brute force, the method used by the beasts to settle their controversies. It is as repugnant to me as to any mortal man, but the civilization of the world has been attacked by the war lords of Germany with brute force. They have refused the methods of arbitration of civilized men. They preferred to conquer the world with tooth and claw. They have ravaged the greater part of Europe in as cruel and barbarous a fashion as did the Huns and Vandals a thousand years ago. They have destroyed the monuments, art galleries, and libraries that the civilization of Europe has been thousands of years producing. They know no law but that of force. They will respond to no sentiment of brotherly love, to no appeal but the club.

You will recall last fall, when I was in the district supporting the doctrines of peace, we were opposed by two classes of men—those who wanted us to make war on Mexico and those who declared we should join the allies at once. At that time Germany had made and broken many promises to us to refrain from her submarine piracy, but we excused her on the ground that she did not understand how serious we were. Her last promise led us to hope we would be able to remain at peace. For the sake of peace we were willing to accept the many humiliating sacrifices and insults which the war lords of Germany had forced upon us. But Germany again broke her word and began her ruthless and piratical warfare with her submarines, sinking of our ships without warning, and drowning our innocent passengers and sailors. There was nothing left for us to do but defend ourselves from these brutal attacks.

We were bound to strike back, and we are striking so effectually that the big bully (German Government) wants to quit and talk peace.

It reminds me of a backwoodsman living in my home county when I was a boy. He had fought with his fists and defeated every man in the county who would fight him. One peaceful sort of a chap, overgrown and kindly disposed, had been regularly licked by the bully every time they met when conditions for a fight were favorable. It got to be a habit. However, the worm turned one day, and the pacifist drove home a blow which, in connection with a slip of the bully's foot, laid him out with the pacifist on top ready to trim him up in a first-class manner. The bully saw his predicament, and while he spluttered and struggled to defend himself he argued with the pacifist thus: "Say, Jim," he said, "We've allus been good friends. Its a shame for us to fight this way. Besides, you ought'n to take advantage of me. My foot slipped. Let's quit and call it square." The pacifist, Jim, thought that was a sensible thing to do, so he got up and let Bill, the bully, get to his feet—even helped him up. Whereupon Bill brushed his clothes a bit, wiped the blood from his nose, looked Jim over, and said, "Now, my man, I am goin' to thrash you within an inch of your life," and he proceeded to do it, and he did it very effectively. Jim saw what a fool he had been not to subdue the bully completely while he had him down instead of listening to his fair words. It took him a long time to put himself in a position of defense that would permit him to live in peace in that backwoods community, where the power of the fist was the main arbiter in the relations of men.

That is a simple story of the actions of two men that parallel the relations between the United States and Germany at present. Germany is the world bully, strutting around with a chip on her shoulder. She knows no rule of conduct save that which is dictated by the mailed fist. She is not down yet, but her foot has slipped and a few more well-directed blows will put her on her back ready to be properly chastised. She knows this, too, because she is a good fighter. Her teeth and claws are sharp. So what does she do? She cries for a breathing spell under

the pretense of talking peace. She wants a chance to regain her balance so she can thrust her mailed fist into our face with telling force. She is so cunning she fools even you with her peace proposals, and many others among our citizens. Let her once get to her feet, and in the light of her past experience the war would become a mad fury in its world-wide spread. The few boys you want to keep from going to France would be only a drop in the bucket to the vast numbers of men who would have to take places in the army of liberation to fight these war lords on our own shores, or in Mexico, or Canada.

Peace talk, until militarism, under the control of a few ambitious men, is crushed and the world made safe for free peoples, can lead only to misery and suffering. Disarmament and a world policeman should be the result of this war, and to talk peace until some tangible results are obtained would mean a truce that would precede another world war of tremendous magnitude.

It is a great advantage to us, from a strategical point of view, to join the allies in France with our forces. The man who says he is willing to fight all invaders but unwilling to go to Europe to meet the invader before he has a chance to strike us unawares on our own shores either does not understand the situation or is simply using a flimsy excuse for not wanting to help his country's cause at all. The situation is such that we can not afford to permit the allies to be defeated, leaving us to meet Germany all alone, with the whole of Europe, including England, under her control. That would be extreme stupidity.

I hope this plain statement of the case will not offend you. All I have said is wholly impersonal, and said only because I want to help you and the cause of our country.

With best wishes to you, I am,

Yours, very truly, DAN V. STEPHENS, M. C.

SOME ATROCITIES OF THE WAR LORDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1917.*

Mr. ———,
———, *Nebr.*

MY DEAR MR. BROWN (fictitious name): I am in receipt of your kind favor of the 25th ultimo recommending me to support a resolution calling for a definite statement of our aims in the war. I am glad you called my attention to this desire on your part, because it affords me an opportunity to tell you that this whole propaganda demanding that this Government state its war aims originates in Germany or among German sympathizers here or elsewhere. Their aim is to split the allies by drawing them into a controversy over the terms of peace before German militarism is destroyed. The facts are there should be no question in anybody's mind about the general aims of this Government in this war. They have been reiterated over and over again by declarations of Congress and by the President. We are merely defending ourselves, primarily, in a war made upon us by a war-mad government that has committed every crime known to the most barbarous people on earth, but indirectly we are fighting for the cause of liberty, peace, and disarmament the whole world over.

The crimes against Belgium are beyond words to describe. Just to give you an idea of what the German war lords are doing, one of the members of the Belgian commission who is here in Washington told us of a case of a Belgian woman who had nine children. This was a case with which he was personally familiar. The German officer in command of that section where the woman lived deported her husband to Germany to work. The woman went to the German officer and upbraided him for leaving herself and nine children helpless to starve. Whereupon the officer called a soldier and in the mother's presence ordered five of the children shot, and the order was executed. Then, turning to the mother, he told her she could go home and support the other four if nine were too many. That constitutes German efficiency as exemplified by the war lords. If there are too many children to feed, kill them. Some people drown the surplus litters of kittens and puppies for the same reason. That principle is involved in a part of German war lord kultur. The record shows beyond question that literally hundreds of Belgian children have had their hands cut off, and women their breasts cut off, by the German soldiers that invaded their country, the object being to terrorize the people into abject submission. These crimes can no longer be disputed, because the evidence is available and open to all who come in touch with the situation. Not only do the living Belgians show the result of this brutal barbarism, but thousands of innocent men, women, and children not engaged in war were killed right and left as the army proceeded. Sometimes whole villages of two or three hundred people would be literally massacred in the most barbarous manner. I do not believe for a moment that the German people approve of these acts of barbarism. It is the natural outgrowth of militarism uncontrolled.

No; there is no doubt as to what this Nation is fighting for in the minds of anybody here. We are joining with the allies to defend ourselves from a brutal attack and to crush a demon war-mad oligarchy that has started out to subdue the world before it has overcome the allies and pounced upon us, compelling us to defend ourselves on our own shores. Just picture for a moment the German Army passing through this country as it passed through Belgium. When a man can draw that picture in his own mind he quickly realizes that the United States never entered into a more justifiable war than this one. It is a war for civilization and humanity. While defending ourselves from a brutal assault upon our citizens and commerce, we purpose to serve notice on the world that such brutality as was practiced by the German Government against an innocent people can not go unpunished and that the rights of nations to live their own lives in peace and safety shall be made secure. The German Government has already been indicted by the civilized world. She is now being tried before the court of civilization and is certain to be convicted of more crimes than the annals of history record against any other Government.

I am giving you these facts because I know how difficult it is, situated as you are, to get the facts that lie at the root of this question. There is no doubt but that many people are being constantly misled by the friends of Germany who are operating throughout this country.

With kind regards to you, I am,

Your friend, DAN V. STEPHENS, M. C.

ANSWERING GERMAN ARGUMENTS.

———, NEBR., *July 28, 1917.*

Congressman DAN V. STEPHENS,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the people of the United States, demand a definite statement on the part of our Government as to what its aims are in the present war and on what terms our Government will make peace. Us citizens of the United States have a right to know. (Signed) O. U. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 2, 1917.*

Mr. ———,
———, *Nebr.*

MY DEAR MR. W.: I am in receipt of your telegram in which you demand that the Government state what its war aims are in our present war with Germany. You have no doubt lost sight of the fact that Germany is making war upon us by destroying our ships and killing our citizens at every opportunity. Primarily our war aims are to defend ourselves from a brutal attack. We warned Germany many times what would happen if she continued to ruthlessly sink our ships and drown our citizens. She promised time and again that she would desist from her piratical course, and has as often broken her promises. In fact the military government that is in control of Germany has lied to us to such an extent that its word can no longer be taken for anything. The spirit of this military crowd that now dominates Germany is such that there is no possibility of living in peace with it so long as it controls a mighty military machine which is capable of being driven into the heart of any nation that is within striking distance.

The aims of this Government have been clearly set forth by the President and by declaration of Congress. However, the conviction is growing upon this Government and upon the people that there can be no peace with Germany until the spirit of militarism that threatens the peace and welfare of the world is crushed and all of the nations that she has trampled under foot are restored to their independence. To make peace with Germany now, while her iron heel rests upon the necks of half a dozen nations or more, would be the height of folly, because such a peace would last only long enough for the military crowd to recuperate itself. This would be made easy for them, because they could point with pride to the success of German arms as proof of the advantage of great military preparation for future wars. Such a peace would rivet the chains of militarism on the necks of the German people for another generation and then the mad struggle would begin again. The sort of peace that will be worth while to the world will be one that comes through the destruction of militarism in Germany, thus proving to the people that it is of no avail to burden themselves with the enormous cost of maintaining a professional war machine when the citizen soldiers of other lands are capable of destroying it. Let us teach the world as a result of this war that armies are of no avail against truth and righteousness.

Let us fight until we can agree to disarmament forever and set the people of the world free. That, in my judgment, will ultimately become the aim of this Nation.

I am very glad, indeed, that you called my attention to your views on this subject, and I sincerely hope that after further consideration you will agree with the situation as I have outlined it. With kind regards to you, I am,

Your friend, DAN V. STEPHENS, M. C.

SECOND LETTER TO MR. W. IN ANSWER TO GERMAN PRETENSES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 15, 1917.*

Mr. ———,
———, *Nebr.*

MY DEAR MR. W.: I am in receipt of your kind favor of the 13th outlining your views on the Government's attitude in this war. I notice that your arguments follow closely those of the German Government prior to the breaking out of the war with the United States. I will only take time to say in answer to these arguments that in the first place they are absolutely wrong in practically every particular. The whole trouble with the German Government is that it is founded on force and error. It started a war that it had planned for 40 or 50 years, and then when it got into a corner where it couldn't buy munitions from us it wanted us to join it, in effect, by refusing to sell munitions to the allies. I don't know of any argument quite so unneutral as this one was unless it be its running mate, the argument that the war would have been over in short order if we had refused to sell munitions to the allies.

In other words, the German claim was if we had joined the German Government, in effect, after the allies had cornered it up so that it couldn't buy from the outside world by refusing to sell to the allies, Germany could win the war in a walk. We couldn't have done anything more unneutral than that, and by doing so we would have won the contempt of mankind.

I opposed an embargo on arms and ammunition myself because it was fundamentally wrong and not in accord with international law, which Germany had helped to make. Germany's presentation of international law, as outlined in your letter and which has been played up by the German-American press, is not in accord with either law or humanity. But it is too late now to talk about the violation of law by any of the belligerents prior to the breaking out of this war. We are now in war with Germany, and it is a war waged primarily to protect the lives of our citizens and their property. The question, then, is whether you propose to defend your own country or whether you expect to defend the Kaiser and the war lords. That is the only thing involved in this controversy. We have got either to stand for America or for the Kaiser. If the Kaiser had enough friends in America who feel, apparently, as you do, he could win this war and extend his rule over us. I am certain you do not want this, nor any other German-American citizen, yet if we all acted like you do that is exactly what would happen to us.

Now, referring to the peace offering of Germany. The German Government has never offered any such peace as you suggest and has no intention whatever of offering any such proposal until it is compelled to do so by force of arms. It is another trick to deceive us. It has not offered to surrender Belgium, Serbia, or any of the conquered territory. It no doubt would be glad to give back some of this territory even now to get peace, because it would still leave the war lords in the saddle with their heels on the necks of the German people. But it has made no such proposals and we never could accept them if it did make them unless there was coupled with such a proposition the question of disarmament and the control by the people of Germany of their own Government, so that useless wars in the future would be impossible. The Kaiser and the war lords of Germany can not be trusted with the power that they wield. Until this power is placed in the hands of the German people a world peace is impossible and would be useless, because it would last only long enough for the rebuilding of the armaments of all nations now at war.

You allege that the President of the United States has more power than the Kaiser. In the first place, the statement is not true by any means. The power the President uses belongs to the people. The President of the United States uses enormous power, but it is all limited by the Constitution and by the laws of the land, and this power can always

be taken away from the President by the people or their representatives at any time when he misuses it. The people of this country can construct a great war machine, greater even than that of Germany, but this war machine is in the hands of the people to be used as they direct. They chose the policy that created the war machine and can alter it at will.

On the other hand, however, the Kaiser's power is not restricted. He claims to receive his power direct from God. The German Congress is absolutely unable to direct the Kaiser and the war lords of Germany. The German Senate—the Bundesrath—for example, is composed of the appointees of the princes of the various States of Germany, and all laws must originate with them. And, of course, they are a part and parcel of the Kaiser's ruling family. The House of Representatives—the Reichstag—has no power whatever over the Kaiser. He rules a lifetime, and no one can take away from him one jot or tittle of the power he wields except by revolution. When he and his war lords decided to run the war machine over Belgium and through the heart of France, the people of Germany were utterly helpless to prevent it had they wanted to do so. The only limit placed upon the Kaiser and his war lords is that of their own ambitions, and their ambitions are literally world-wide. Von Tirpitz, one of the war lords, made a statement, so our Ambassador Gerard said, that the intention of the Germans was to starve out England and take possession of her fleet and then join it to the German fleet and sail for America and collect a war tribute from us sufficient to pay the cost of the war or batter down our coast cities. There is no doubt about the intention of these war lords to turn to us the moment they had conquered France and England. World domination was and is their goal. The Kaiser himself told our ambassador when we were protesting against the sinking of the *Sussex* and other ships that America had better watch out, for when this war was over Germany wasn't going to stand any more foolishness. It became perfectly clear to our ambassador stationed at Berlin that Germany intended, when she opened this war, to ultimately put the iron heel of the war lords on the whole world. In fact, we had our choice. We could either start in now and cooperate with the allies in crushing the ambition of these war-mad men or we could wait until the allies were crushed and then fight it out with Germany alone. We could go on accepting their insults and murderous outrages upon our citizens and our property, permitting them to lie to us with impunity, and then after it was all over we would still have to fight them at our own door and witness the devastation of our cities and outrages upon our inhabitants.

The regrettable thing about this situation is the fact that we have in this country a virulent German-language press that is operated, in a large degree, in the interest of the German Government and which is and has been teeming with lies and misrepresentations since the European war began. Most of these German-language newspapers printed in America have verged upon the edge of treason constantly since we started the war.

They have misled good, honest German-American citizens in this country to the extent that many of them have gotten into trouble with the Government already.

In other words, the German-American population has been outraged by this press and put in a false light which will have the effect of stigmatizing them politically for many years to come. I was born soon after the close of the Civil War and I can remember very vividly the fate of the "Copperheads," so called for a generation after the war closed, because of their opposition to the war; because they had played the part of traitors in the rear of the Union Army in giving aid and comfort to the enemy. You can readily see in the light of history how contemptible the "Copperheads" were. They did none of the fighting that saved the Union from disruption. They made no sacrifices during the war, but they stayed at home and criticized the Government and threw every obstacle they could in the way of the success of the Government.

They should have been tried for treason, but the Government was too weak to do it.

The German-Americans in this country, the great bulk of them, are loyal to America and they are going to send their sons into this great army of liberation just as they did in 1861–1865 to save the country, but there are a sufficient number of those of German birth who are enjoying the blessings of liberty and prosperity who have been misled by this lying and scurrilous German-language press to have in a measure cast reflection upon the whole German-American population. It is up to you and men like you, holding prominent positions in your community, to get solidly back of the Government and not permit your people to be misled by German agents in this country, who, as a rule, are no doubt in the direct employ of the German Government. You can render your people here at home the greatest service by assisting them to get the right view of this question, because after this war is over the men who have not stood back of the Government are certain to suffer in their reputations as patriotic citizens. Then during the war they are liable to get into all kinds of trouble with the Government. Scores of these men are already languishing in prison for giving aid and comfort to Germany, which they never would have done had we not permitted this poison press and German agents to mislead them.

Now, one further thought: I recognize how thoroughly in sympathy with your own German kindred you and others of German birth must be. Therefore I can hardly see how you, here in free America, can consistently give aid to the war lords of Germany who dominate the German people. This is an opportunity for the free Germans in America to strike for the freedom of their kinsmen at home by aiding this country in breaking the back of German militarism and discrediting their war machine in the eyes of the German people. Whenever this happens, the German people will set themselves free and take possession of their Government. It is in this manner that the German-American citizens can render untold service to their kinsmen who are helpless under the German yoke of military rule. The Kaiser and his war lords should be banished from Germany as one of the conditions of the terms of peace, in order that the people of Germany may be able to establish a free Government like that of France, England, and America. Germany is the only great nation left in the world that is ruled by a despot.

I note that you object to the draft. You are certainly wrong in this particular also, because the draft is the only fair method of raising the Army. Through it we distribute the burden of raising an army equally among all classes and districts of the country. You can readily see that men of your views would not furnish a single soldier for this army of liberation were it not for the selective draft. And if you did not furnish any soldiers, you certainly would not be entitled to any of the rights and blessings that this army of liberation wins for the country and for the world. It is certainly a just way to raise an army, and will also have this remarkable effect: The German-American sons who will enter this great army of liberation are not going to hold the views you express in your letter. They are going to be Americans through and through, and their fathers at home are sure to follow their examples. When the German-American boys will fight with all other nations in our army for the liberation of oppressed peoples, their parents at home are going to become proud of them and as a result are going to be baptized as true American citizens, with only one aim and ambition, and that is the perpetuation of liberty not only on our own shores but for the whole world. There has never been a stain upon our flag, and we are not going to put one on it now by shirking our duty in rendering this wonderful service to mankind in setting the world free from the fear of the war lords of Germany. We will never sheath our swords, if I have anything to say about it, until the Kaiser and his war lords are completely unhorsed and discredited, if not banished from German soil, and the people of Germany permitted to take possession of the German Government.

I hope that you will consider this letter in a friendly spirit. I am simply trying to show you that you are wrong and that you ought not to injure yourself and your fellow countrymen by spreading such views among them as you have expressed in your letter to me. I also hope that the telegram which you sent me was not the views of the Farmers' Union, which you represent, but that it expressed only your own personal views. I would regret to know that there was any considerable number of German-Americans who are not now solidly back of the Government in this war. I appreciate fully how humiliating it must be to a German-American to have his loyalty questioned, but the reason his loyalty is being questioned is traceable to such views as you have expressed to me. These views are exactly those of the Kaiser and his war lords, and they are against the position taken by America. You are either for America or the Kaiser. There is no middle ground. Your letter shows me you do not understand the very dangerous ground you have taken. I know you are for America, but your letter does not so represent you. I hope after reading this argument you will better understand the American position and write me so. If your Farmers' Union took action on your telegram to me urging peace proposals, I would suggest that you read this letter to them, so they will understand what the attitude of their Government is.

In closing, I want to assure you I am your friend and writing in your interest and the interest of all your neighbors and friends who hold your views.

I shall be glad to hear from you soon.

Your friend,

DAN V. STEPHENS, M. C.

THIRD LETTER TO MR. W——, ANSWERING GERMAN ARGUMENTS.

AUGUST 22, 1917.

Mr. ———,
———, *Nebr.*

MY DEAR MR. W——: I have had your letter on my desk for some time waiting a favorable opportunity to answer you quite fully. I am taking the pains to do this, because I look upon you as a leader there among German-Americans in your community, whose opinion will no doubt influence them.

I note in your effort to refute the charge that I made in regard to the un-American influence of the German language press in this country that you claim that you have read this press only recently, and that you did so only because the German language press seemed to be indorsed by Members of the House and Senate, as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I regret very much to admit that there are a few Members of Congress who seem to indorse the German view, but you ought to understand that an indorsement of the German view is not American, and no one should be cited as authority on American questions who takes his inspiration from German newspapers or from a few Members of Congress who are so misguided as to indorse the argument presented by such papers.

You seem to be laboring under the misapprehension that you have got to come in direct touch with German agents in this country in order to be influenced by them and state that you have not met any such persons or had any relations with them. That is true, no doubt. German agents acting in this country are not so stupid as to appear in person before those they wish to influence. What they do is to subsidize such papers as they can corrupt, and these newspapers make insidious arguments designed to deceive the people. As proof of this, I wish to cite you to the fact that many Germans in your locality, so I am informed, met for the purpose of choosing delegates to be sent to an alleged peace council, which was to have met in Minneapolis or St. Paul. Perhaps you participated in this meeting yourself. This propaganda was carried on through an anti-American press, because of the extreme liberality of our laws. It is of interest to note, therefore, that this so-called peace council was a movement in the interest of Germany, as proven by recent developments, and no doubt was financed with German money. It was so notoriously anti-American that it could not find a place in the United States where the people would allow it to meet. Certainly all the people can not be wrong in placing an anti-American interpretation upon this movement. This ought to be sufficient proof to you that it does not pay to follow the enemies of America when your country is at war with a deadly enemy, rather than our own President and nine-tenths of the Members of Congress.

As a further test of the few alleged congressional leaders that you seem to follow, as you call Senators STONE, LA FOLLETTE, and others of their kind, I would suggest that you take a hypothetical case. Suppose, for example, Senator LA FOLLETTE should find himself by chance within the German lines. What do you think the Germans would do with him? Would they make a prisoner of war of him and confine him in one of their stockades or have him drawn and quartered as an enemy of Germany? Not at all. Senator LA FOLLETTE would be treated with the utmost respect by the Germans. He probably would be taken to Berlin, presented to the Kaiser, and banqueted in honor of the service that he had rendered the German Government in the United States by blocking war legislation and through his speeches misleading good men of German lineage like yourself. He would be in very much the same position that Congressman Vallandingham was during our Civil War in 1863. He was making speeches in the United States Congress attacking the Government just as these gentlemen whom you quote now are. He was so notoriously disloyal to the country that he was finally tried for treason by a court-martial, and the penalty assessed against him

was banishment beyond the Confederate lines. The sentence was executed, and he was accordingly surrendered under a flag of truce to the Confederates in Tennessee. It was thought that would be a tremendous punishment to him, as it would have been to any patriotic citizen, but instead of the Confederates punishing Vallandingham he was taken up by the enemies of our country, escorted across the Southern States to the seaboard, and put on a ship which was able to steal through our blockade and ultimately land him in Canada, from where he easily found means of crossing the border into Ohio, his home State.

This little example serves to illustrate how popular the few Members of the House and Senate who are now attacking the Government policies and whom you are following would be within the lines of the German Army should their fate happen to place them there. You are exceedingly unfortunate in following leaders of this sort. It is a matter of very great surprise to me that you would prefer to follow two or three men in Congress who have apparently lost all sense of perspective and patriotism rather than to follow the President and the great majority of the Members of the House and Senate, who are standing solidly together regardless of race, party, color, or religion, back of the administration in its efforts to carry to a successful conclusion our present war for the liberation of mankind from military rule. It is also a matter of surprise to me that German-Americans who left Germany to escape militarism and the hard conditions of life resulting therefrom should be the first to rush to the defense of these ruthless war lords who are now trampling out the lives of countless millions for the gratification of their craze for world power. The Congress representing all the people declared war against Germany by an overwhelming majority. We have adopted every war measure also by an overwhelming majority. There can be no question whatever about the will of the great majority of the people in regard to these matters. The acts of the majority rule in this country. In Germany a minority made up of the king and his ministers whom he appoints rules. Therefore, to follow the advice of these few Senators whom you quote would mean the abandonment of the rule of the people and the adoption of the Kaiser's methods.

In answer to my statement that in all of these controversies the citizen must either stand by America or the Kaiser, you state that you are making as strong a stand for America as it is possible for anyone to make, and that your protests are merely to keep the Nation from making mistakes. I have no doubt at all about your intentions. You mean to be patriotic beyond any question of doubt. You merely have been misled by a lot of foreign agents and German sympathizers in the country, operating through the press and public speakers, and have not understood the position that you ought to take. I am not surprised that you have been misled. What I am trying to do is to set you right. Your idea of trying to keep your country from making a mistake by attacking our policies, with consequent weakening of the Government, while we are facing a foreign enemy is an error of the greatest magnitude, and I only need cite you to the conduct of the Russian people to show you the danger of it. Witness, for example, the Russian armies facing the tremendous armies of Germany stopping to argue over the theories of government, provoked by German spies in Russia, appointing soldiers' committees, workingmen's committees, etc., and conducting a debating society in the trenches. Can you think of anything quite so stupid as this on the part of the Russian people? While they are conducting their debating societies on the firing line the German war machine is marching over them and destroying their country. When a country is at war the individual rights of the citizen must be waived in the interest of the whole people. A people at war must first conserve their sovereign independence at all costs in order that their citizens may enjoy the widest possible liberties when peace comes. If Russia yields to the armies of Germany, her people will feel the iron heel of the German war lords for generations to come. Such also will be our fate if we are defeated in this war.

You seem to be laboring under the impression that the rights of the individual should take precedence over the rights of all the people when you state that it is regrettable that it has come to such a pass in this country that one can not express his opinion in regard to governmental affairs without being considered a traitor. There is nothing, as you say, in the Constitution that prevents a man from criticizing the policies of this Government. He can criticize them all he pleases; but that same Constitution provides that if in his criticism he gives aid and comfort to the enemy he is guilty of treason. Don't you think it is giving aid and comfort to our enemies to conduct a wholesale criticism of our Government during the war, and instigate riots, and lead men to resist the draft? That is exactly what German agents are trying to do in this country. That is what Germany has spent millions of dollars for in corrupting American citizens and encouraging them to embarrass the administration in the conduct of the war. It certainly is helping Germany, because it hurts America. No sane mind can escape that conclusion.

You criticize the espionage act, a law made absolutely necessary to curb the German agents in this country. You certainly would never make such criticisms if you understood the facts and you will never understand the facts by reading German-American newspapers and following the opinions of two or three Members of Congress whom you quote. You state that you fear that such legislation as this will be continued after the war, thus destroying the liberties of the people. This is a most extraordinary argument to offer in view of the fact that your protest against the law is in the interest of the most despotic military oligarchy in the world. The ex-Member of Congress from Texas whom you quote along these lines was retired from Congress recently by the people, and the sort of speeches that he made in the House and is now making on the stump are against the interests of this country. The statements that he has made time and again are not justified by the facts, and his conclusions are erroneous, as well as exceedingly inappropriate when our country is facing a foreign foe. He is no doubt an honest man, but wholly misguided, and has no following among intelligent and well-read American citizens.

In answer to my statement that the people of the United States as contrasted with the people of Germany create their own war machine and can disband it at their will, you offer as an objection that they will have to wait till a general election time to do it. You certainly would not want any great and momentous step like the creation and disbanding of an army taken without proper and due consideration by the people, and it certainly would require all the time intervening between elections for the people to come to a conclusion on a matter of this character. The people can disband their war machine when they have no further use for it. That is a matter entirely in their hands. In Germany the war machine belongs to the Kaiser and it can not be disbanded till the people take possession of their Government by force. The people of the United States have always disbanded their armies when the need of them was passed. They are able to do this through their representatives in Congress, who always speak as the majority directs.

The Constitution is not all shot to pieces as you state, quoting Senator STONE as your authority, and if it were shot to pieces the people still have their own representatives to make laws along the line they wish them made. Their independence and liberties are still in their own hands and they can make a new Constitution when they please to suit themselves. The country has not gone to the bow wows merely because Senator STONE or Senator LA FOLLETTE says so.

You are entirely right in saying that the German-Americans are not the only ones who disapprove of the present policies of the Government. There are the I. W. W.'s and a branch of the Socialists and the anarchists who also disapprove of this Government; but the great mass of the American people are Americans to the core, and, in my judgment, there are very few German-Americans who are willing to follow the Kaiser in this mad war game that he has thrust upon the world. Their opposition is, compared to the great mass of Americans, what the froth is to the sea.

I note that you labor under the impression that I have received information in regard to your views other than what you have given me in your letters. You are entirely mistaken in this. No one has written me or reported in person anything about you. Mr. ———, our mutual friend, spoke of you and your family very highly when I read to him the letter I wrote you August 15. Another person told me that peace meetings had been held around in that section of the county for the purpose of sending delegates to that alleged peace convention at Minneapolis. I presumed that you participated in these meetings. If you did not, I will be glad to know it. My only object in taking up so much time in writing to you, as I stated in my former letter, is that I think that you are worth while and that you are a man who would take kindly to the truth when presented to you. You are there in official capacity at the head of the Farmers' Union, and you ought to use your influence in behalf of your country and your Government instead of unintentionally giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our country by hamstringing the Government that is waging the greatest war in recorded time, for the liberation of mankind from the rule of despots. It is a tragical period in the world's history, and I would rather be on the side of justice and humanity in this struggle than to be on the wrong side and, as a reward for being wrong, receive all the honors that power and wealth could give me.

In conclusion, I wish to again state that while I have spoken plainly, I have done so with a desire to help the cause of the country and not to wound you personally. I have the highest regard for you and your people and would be neglectful of my duty as your representative did I not tell you the truth as I see it.

With kinds regards to you, I am,

Yours, very truly,

DAN V. STEPHENS, M. C.

CONCLUSION.

Since writing the above letters the President of the United States has issued his now famous reply to the proposals of peace made, no doubt at Germany's suggestion, through the Pope at Rome. It is the greatest message of hope to mankind ever penned. It is a beacon light of hope and inspiration to oppressed peoples the world over, including the down-trodden people of Germany now serving under the military yoke of the war lords of that unhappy country and being sacrificed by the millions for their aggrandizement. It tells them in plain terms no peace is possible till the German people establish a responsible government themselves that can be trusted to keep its pledged word. He has through this great document encouraged the democratic nations of the world to stand firmly for responsible governments—governments by the people in every civilized country—so that peace and disarmament may be accomplished. This world-wide cataclysm has a deeper meaning than a superficial view will give us. In my own judgment it is a logical result of the vicious conditions that have existed in Europe for centuries. The handwriting on the wall is unmistakable. The Kaiser and his war lords must take their place in history along with the Huns and Vandals of the dark ages they have outlived. We have no ill will for the oppressed people of Germany. This is a crusade for them as well as for other oppressed peoples. We declare before the world that we seek no gain for ourselves in this war. We merely want to make the world safe for us all. We are instruments in a crusade that is breaking the shackles of races and destroying the worn-out shells that hem them about. Nations are going to suffer, and they are going to be greatly purified by their sacrifices. No man nor nation nor combination of nations can stop the forces that have been set in motion till they have worked themselves out. It is the law of life, and there is no reason for fear or pessimism. The man who believes in God can not believe this war was unnecessary. He must believe that through this war lies our way to higher and better things for the races of men. Nothing but brutal punishment and great suffering suffices to impress the dull senses of the cruel and selfish. The struggle will tend to purge the earth of its sins and teach men better ways to go. Shackles are being broken, and men are going to be free.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat;
Be swift, my soul, to answer him, be jubilant my feet;
Our God is marching on.

These sweeping lines from the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" describe in a wonderful way the deep-seated meaning of this great war. It is the unfolding of an international brotherhood of nations, the dawn of a new day.

The Preaching of Treason and the Breeding of Sedition Must Stop.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 25, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration a bill (H. R. 4285) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public work on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I do this for the purpose of making a brief statement concerning an organization known as the I. W. W.—Industrial Workers of the World—and how they are disturbing labor and all other conditions in the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman pardon me? Will he not permit the next paragraph to be read?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I shall need but a few minutes. If I may have the floor, I desire to call attention to certain things which bode no good for the United States—the preaching of treason, the breeding of sedition.

Shortly after the declaration of war with Germany Congress passed a bill to permit the officers of the armies of our allies to come to this country to pick up their citizens, aliens in our country, for war purposes abroad. I undertook to amend that bill. I called attention then to the alien situation, and to what I thought would happen when we began to raise an army. When the selective draft bill was up in this House for consideration again I called attention to the situation and position of certain aliens, and I believe that my friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MCCLINTIC] offered an amendment which, if it had been adopted, would have prevented the situation which is now developing.

From time to time I have spoken on this floor of the activities of an organization known as the I. W. W., and have urged some action to curb their attempts to build up a revolution in this country. I have placed certain evidence with the Department of Justice, and I sincerely hope that that department may speedily act for the general good of the United States. I hope, too, that the department may find it wise to lay some of the evidence before the people of the United States, so that all may see what sort of treason is being preached, and how a great many aliens within our borders are being hoodwinked, deceived, misled, and bamboozled into taking a stand against the very Government which has given them asylum. Some of these aliens, who have turned into agitators and revolutionists, may not know it, but this Government owes them nothing. They came here. Our doors were open. We have a right to send them out and away. They have no right to ally themselves with an aggregation of anti-Government agitators whose every step is in the hope of bringing on general riot and disturbance in this country, whose paid speakers go around this country publicly denouncing our soldiers as "scabs in uniform," and who call upon their members to insult and spit on our soldiers, and who insult our fighting men as they march away under the colors of our country.

Mr. Chairman, the people of this country will not stand very much of that sort of thing, and unless the agitators and treasonable street speakers are soon curbed there will be violent outbreaks of protest on the part of those who stand for law and order, but who also stand against the defamation and discrediting of this Government by those who publicly proclaim that they owe no allegiance to it.

These Industrial Workers of the World leaders do proclaim that very thing, not only in speech but in their printed proclamations. They claim they owe allegiance neither to this nor any other country. They pledge themselves to commit perjury wherever desirable. They declare they will make no bargains with those who employ labor. If they do make bargains they will break them as they please. They practice sabotage in a thousand devious ways. Read their sly, insinuating instructions in their book "Sabotage," and read their ideas on an actual revolution in their book, "The Revolutionary I. W. W.," copies of which I have here. Their stuff is fearful in times of peace, but when this country is at war it is downright treason.

I had expected, Mr. Chairman, to go somewhat into a discussion of the printed statements of this organization, and to discuss also the great injury it is doing to skilled labor, and to labor which is organized properly for its own benefit and not for the destruction of property and the overthrow of the Government, but I feel that the chairman, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL] has been more than generous in giving me this much time for a discussion which is aside from the bill, and shall forbear. In conclusion, permit me to say that I have watched the activities of the Industrial Workers of the World organization for several years. I have a choice collection of their vicious literature on hand, including their blasphemous songbook, and I know that they are taking advantage of the war situation to make trouble and disturbance wherever they can, and that no persons, not even themselves, can possibly be the gainers. Revolution is what they preach; treason is what they urge; destruction is what they do; anarchy is their brother; the more disturbance they create the better they like it. They urge the breaking of the law, but when cornered they claim protection of that very law. They defy the States, and the States call on the Federal Government to step in. And step in the United States should, with its laws against treason, against sedition, and for the deportation of undesirable aliens, who either will not or can not understand what our institutions mean for them, or what is required of all within our borders when we are at war. [Applause.]

Soldiers' Insurance Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 24, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of this splendid measure, which is intended to make liberal provision for the brave men and women who are to risk their lives in protecting and fighting for our glorious banner, the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of freedom of all the peoples of all the nations of the world. I am glad to be able to give this bill my hearty approval, as I have and always will, any legislation that will ameliorate the suffering of our people and aid us in the successful prosecution of this war.

OBJECTS OF THE BILL.

The objects of this bill may well engage the best thought and the wisest action of Congress. It may be divided into three distinct parts:

First. To provide for the dependents of soldiers and sailors during their absence in war and to make permanent provision for such dependents in the event of the death of the soldier or sailor.

Second. To provide pensions or "compensation," as it is termed in the bill, for soldiers and sailors who may become disabled during their service.

Third. To provide an insurance system for all such soldiers and sailors as may elect to avail themselves of it at a very low cost.

The objects sought to be attained can not be too highly commended. The Nation owes it to its brave defenders who offer their lives in the service of our country that all three of these acts of justice should be done. The authors of the bill have shown the proper conception of the obligations of the Nation to its champions on land and sea by making provision for them. This bill is one of the most constructive and enlightening pieces of legislation which has come before us in the course of the session.

It may be asserted that the cost of this system is too great. Personally I do not think that Congress can enact into law a measure which will fully compensate the brave men who are offering their services and their lives in defense of the principles of our country. I have no patience with any suggestion that the methods proposed by this bill will cost too much. Even if, under this measure, the annual cost of doing justice to our fighting men and their dependents should amount to six or seven hundred million dollars per annum, it is an insignificant sum compared with what these men do for their country—the upholding of our ideals and for the world at large. We are contemplating expenditures for the fiscal year of 1918 of more than $10,000,000,000 for the prosecution of the war—the creation of

armies and death-dealing instruments to be used in destroying human life in order to restore peace and justice in the world. Shall we hesitate to expend $700,000,000 more per annum, if need be—about 6 per cent of the amount we propose to expend for war purposes—for the protection of the widows and orphans, the dependent and the injured, who, after all, make the greatest sacrifices of any part of our people for the safety, security, and honor of our country?

APPROVAL OF THE PEOPLE.

I am confident that the people of our country will approve our action. We have been most generous to our allies, and, in my opinion, should now appropriate an amount necessary to make the lives of our crippled soldiers and their dependents as comfortable as the broadest humanity will dictate. There can be no reasonable argument advanced against the obligation on the part of the Government to reward those who have risked their lives in defense of the flag and for the protection of our Nation's honor and salvation. I am in favor of every kind of legislation that will provide, as far as possible, for the safety and comfort of these soldier boys and mitigate the suffering and sorrow of their beloved ones. I am anxious that our boys be relieved of the worry and anxiety entailed by leaving their loved ones unprotected and unprovided for. I want to dispel this cloud by giving them assurances that their dependents will be provided for and they themselves assured of compensation in case of injury.

INSURANCE VERSUS PENSIONS.

We shall preserve American ideals and sustain the self-respect of our fighting youth if we offer them in place of either present or future gratuities a real opportunity to purchase for themselves the protection that they may deem essential for their families. This protection must be real; it must cover death or disability at any time, not merely within five years after the war. The insurance must mature, if the insured so desires, when he reaches a certain age, as well as by death or total disability. Speculation in the insurance must not be permitted; it must be unassignable and free from the claims of creditors, both of the insured and the beneficiary. It must not be payable to any and every one, but only to a limited class of relatives. This bill contains ample provisions to cover the details which I have outlined, and I sincerely trust that it will be speedily enacted into law.

I believe that the attached clipping states the facts most clearly:

SOLDIERS' INSURANCE VERSUS PENSIONS.

[By Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor of social legislation, Columbia University.]

The principles of social insurance, applied to all sorts of risks and hazards in which the community has a stake or shares a responsibility, have been gaining in favor the world over in recent years. On the contrary, the principles of pension legislation in all countries have been found wanting and experience everywhere is leading to its abandonment.

Thirty-five years ago Germany began to apply scientific business management to the relations of government and the problems of social welfare in dealing with the public relief of distress, sickness, industrial accidents, invalidity, old age, and unemployment among wage earners. Under the masterful leadership of Bismarck, in harmony with a new national spirit and a modern sense of social responsibility and solidarity, a strongly centralized and comprehensive system of state insurance was started. Within 25 years this system not only became the characteristic and dominant feature of a powerful national government, but also became incorporated in its essential principles by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, and practically every country of Europe into a new development of democracy, a new function of government, a new attitude of peoples in their conception of the possibilities of social organization.

THE UNITED STATES A LAGGARD IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The United States alone has lagged behind and relied upon the older individualism of the poor law, administered by the smallest units of local government, upon the personal initiative of the injured person or his representatives, to secure redress under the common law or the law of torts, upon employers' liability statutes, and upon equity procedure to remedy evils and achieve social justice. Of course, such methods long ago proved themselves inadequate in the face of the wonderful development of highly centralized organization, not only national but international in scope, which has characterized American industry during the past 50 years. The day of reckoning between the people and their Governments, between effective business organization of common interests and political methods which are the last resort of privateering, has been postponed by the exceptional development of private philanthropy and its extension to fields and to tasks for which it is only just now proving itself also inadequate.

THE PATCHWORK OF PENSIONS DISCREDITED.

In one great department, however, where government has had to meet a national responsibility, namely, in the relief of soldiers and sailors and their dependents, the patchwork of pensions in the United States since the Civil War, based on the principle of gratuities and political favor rather than on a sense of social justice and mutual obligation, is universally recognized as a failure. Pensions have developed in hundreds of thousands of citizens precisely the attitude of mind toward government which real democracy seeks to dispel. If the collective wealth and power of the community becomes a prize which the individual seeks to control for his own benefit, no real democracy is possible. Only as we can cultivate the feeling on the part of every individual citizen that he can be stronger, freer, and happier in proportion as every other individual in the community is made stronger, more secure, and given larger opportunities for happiness will the foundations of democracy itself be safe and its fruits increase.

DEMOCRATIC REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENTS.

We are just starting upon a world enterprise which has for its ultimate goal the democratic reorganization of the world. In the preparation of the Nation for the war there is no more striking and significant proposal that goes to the roots of our own unpreparedness, and there is no more timely and important war measure which may well test our national spirit than the proposal to provide a scientific system of social insurance instead of pensions to carry as many as possible of the risks and sacrifices of military service.

With the national purpose to participate in this world struggle for democracy defined and determined by the people themselves expressing their will in accordance with democratic principles, the conscription of men for military service on a scientific and impartial plan designed to secure those best able to render such service has been the most heartening evidence of real democracy in this country and its greatest gain in a century.

LIGHTENING THE BURDENS OF DRAFTED MEN.

The response of the people to the draft law has abundantly vindicated American patriotism and the virility of the Nation. It could have been made much easier, aroused greater enthusiasm, and contributed to the building up of an even stronger national spirit had Congress at the time it passed the draft law also enacted the war insurance bill which it has now under consideration.

Every removable fear that may naturally enter into the mind of the man called upon to give his life in defense of his country should certainly be removed. The sacrifice of comfort and economic security can not be compensated for by any wage which the Government may pay its soldiers. The degrees of sacrifice are too varied and its economic value too great for that. The anxiety, however, which the man who goes to the front naturally feels lest those who are dependent upon him for support are left unprovided for, can be removed. Provision can be made not only for as strong economic protection for the comfort and welfare of the soldier's family as his own earning power gave them before he went to war, but his personal economic status, to whatever extent his earning power may be impaired if not destroyed by his military service, may also be assured.

The sooner Congress enacts the war insurance bill and thereby removes unnecessary handicaps which inevitably deter patriotic men through fear of the economic readjustments it is necessary to make, the prompter and more ready will be the response to their country's call. The cost will be great, and the challenge to business ability in the management of a highly complicated and stupendous business undertaking will be even greater. If the conscription of wealth is likewise necessary to make effective the conscription of men it will have no greater justification in any expenditure that Congress is called upon to make than in supplying the huge sums needed for the compensation and insurance of the unavoidable risks which those who fight must take and which the man at home can in this way and will cheerfully share.

WHAT THE WAR INSURANCE BILL PROPOSES.

The bill to authorize the establishment of a bureau of war risk insurance in the Treasury Department proposes to add to the existing bureau which insures ships and seamen in the merchant marine against war risks a new division of military and naval insurance which will provide for three things:

(1) Compulsory allotment of pay for support of dependents and for savings for future economic rehabilitation.

(2) Compensation for death or injury, including disability due to disease.

(3) Ability to get additional insurance at low cost.

THE ENLISTED MAN MUST HELP HIMSELF.

Every enlisted man in the military or naval forces of the United States must allot not to exceed one-half of his pay and not less than $15 per month for the benefit of his dependents or, if he has no dependents, to be deposited to his credit for his own benefit as a capital fund upon which the Government will pay interest and hold for him to enable him to make necessary economic readjustments after the expiration of his military service. To this compulsory allotment the enlisted man may add voluntarily from the half pay not subject to compulsory allotment and for purposes which he may choose. The Government will add a family allowance equal in amount to the monthly compulsory allotment and graded according to the relationship and number of dependents, but in no case does the Government allowance exceed $50 per month. This is payable from the time of enlistment to death in, or one month after discharge from, the service but not for more than one month after the termination of the present war emergency. For the ordinary enlisted man, who receives $33 per month in foreign service, the minimum compulsory allotment might be $16.50, to which $16.50 would be added as a family allowance, thus giving his family a minimum income of $33 per month, which the man, however, might by further allotment easily increase to $50. He would have to give upon $8.50 of the other half of his pay. The Government would add another $8.50 and he would have $8 per month left, or sufficient for his own spending money.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR DISABILITY.

Compensation for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the course of the service by any commissioned officer or enlisted man, or by any member of the Army or Navy Nurse Corps composed of women. This compensation is graded like the compensation now provided for wage earners under workmen's compensation laws in 35 States, and under the Federal Government of the United States according to pay, and is made payable in monthly installments. It is not assignable and is exempt from taxation, attachments, and execution. It takes the place of any rights or expectations under pension laws and is expressly granted in lieu of pension. It is not operative for persons receiving service or retirement pay. The scale is a fairly liberal one, and Congress, of course, may at any time make it more liberal, but presumably would do so only under general legislation for the entire service, thus precluding the inequalities and injustices of special pension legislation. Congress can not constitutionally bind future Congresses and prevent special pension legislation, but it can, and in this law it seeks to, create so fair, liberal, and satisfactory a system of meeting every just claim impersonally and as a matter of right that it will be practically impossible for any future Congress to consider a private pension bill and highly improbable that any soldier or his dependents would seek any other remedy than that provided for under this war compensation act.

INSURANCE OF INSURABILITY.

This is a novel, constructive, and at the same time perhaps the most contentious part of the new proposal. It is a departure from the accepted principles of industrial compensation legislation and from the practice of other countries in dealing with compensation for war risks, family allowances, and pensions. It is, however, vital and essential to a fair test of the proposal to which the Secretary of the Treasury and the President have given their unqualified indorsement and without which that plan can not be fairly tested. It is the feature which specially marks this measure as a forward-looking experiment in social legislation. It is far-reaching and constructive and is a war measure in a real sense.

ADVANTAGES OF INSURANCE.

Americans are not laggards in their appreciation and use of the advantages of mutual insurance. A man fit for military service is physically the best insurable risk and can purchase insurance at the lowest commercial rate. The minute he shoulders a gun he either can not purchase insurance at all or only in a limited way at a very high and practically prohibitive rate. This bill proposes to stimulate and encourage every enlisted man to use his own resources and to make use of the facilities of insurance to protect and safeguard his interests to the limit of his resources. To do this it offers him ordinary term insurance renewable from year to year during the war and convertible at the end of the war without physical examination in such amounts as he chooses to take, not to exceed $10,000, the Government agreeing to pay the difference between the cost of carrying such insurance while he is engaged in military service, estimated at about $58 per thousand, for the man of 21 years of age, and the rate which he would pay if he were not in military service, estimated at about $8 per thousand. He is given 120 days after enlistment in which to take out such amount of additional insurance as he may elect, and if he fails to exercise this privilege and dies, or becomes totally disabled within this period, he will be considered as insured and the benefit paid to his family.

The insurance is payable only in monthly installments to the beneficiary during life. The maximum amount of $10,000 is estimated to yield about $25 per month, which for the enlisted man when added to his compensation for death or disability as based on his rate of pay is none too liberal to maintain a decent standard of living for his family deprived of its breadwinner.

The insurance companies do not favor State insurance nor like the idea of the Government going into the insurance business. They appreciate, however, the advertising value for the insurance business in general of this feature of the war-insurance bill.

WHAT IT COSTS THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INSURED.

Without compulsion and without the importunities of insurance agents would the average man who needs it most take out this added insurance to any considerable extent? Could he afford to do so? Probably not more than $2,500 per man on the average would be written. In perfecting the details of the bill Congress may decide to limit the privilege of such subsidized insurance for officers and men whose rates of pay, or private resources, make the Government aid unnecessary. It may also decide to pay the full cost for certain amounts of such added insurance for those who can afford to take only small policies. The principle of the Government subsidy is, however, right and just. There is no discrimination at the expense of the insured taxpayer who pays the full commercial rate in favor of a class to whom we do not owe a greater debt than any subsidized insurance can possibly pay.

The cost to the Government, however great and however difficult to estimate exactly in advance, is sure to be less than that of any system of pensions and much fairer because proportionate to what the insured person has done for himself. The soldier who does nothing for himself must be content with what his compensation yields or depend on private charity. After rejecting or neglecting so liberal an opportunity as this provision for the insurance of his insurability offers he can not with good grace appeal to the Government for a pension.

A NEW CHANCE FOR THE INJURED.

An extremely interesting and valuable provision is made for injured persons who may through a process of reeducation, rehabilitation, and vocational training which the Government will provide, have their earning power restored. In cases of dismemberment or of injuries to sight or hearing and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability persons may be required in lieu of compensation for the time being to enlist in a training branch of military and naval service entitling them to full pay as during the last month of their active service and to family allowance and allotments as in the regular service if while taking training for rehabilitation they are prevented from following any substantially gainful occupation. Anyone failing so to enlist for training forfeits his right to compensation until he does so.

A MEASURE DEVISED BY EXPERTS.

Congress has had able assistance in framing its war-insurance act. The plan is in a new and important sense an administration measure. The Secretary of the Treasury very properly considered it a financial measure of the greatest importance and has given it disinterested and able leadership. He called to his assistance not only experts in insurance and the representatives of the leading insurance companies in this country whose patriotic cooperation he has secured, but he has also had the active help and support of influential labor leaders like Mr. Samuel Gompers and Mr. J. W. Sullivan, of socially minded economists, lawyers, and persons expert in dealing with the problems of dependency, like Judge Julian W. Mack, who has given his time freely as chairman of a committee that drafted the bill and worked out the details of the plan; of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Capt. S. H. Wolfe, a well-known accountant and actuary; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau; Mr. V. Everit Macy, president of the National Civic Federation; Profs. Henry R. Seager and Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia Uniservity, and the staff of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University.

WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE DOING.

The experience of other countries in providing for the dependents of enlisted men has been carefully studied by the Children's Bureau. Much of it has been put in evidence by Miss Lathrop at the House hearings on the bill, many features of which are frankly based on this experience. That of Canada, where conditions are more analogous to our own, is described by Capt. Wolfe in a publication of the Children's Bureau.

NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION.

Congress should act promptly on the war-insurance measure, even though its Members are weary from the arduous labors of a long and momentous extra session. Our laws dealing with problems of dependency in soldiers' families in time of war lack many modern provisions and tendencies which a comparison with those of European countries reveal. It is time that they were modernized. The war-insurance bill will do that and give the United States a measure which will put it in the first rank and ought to be part of the contract between our Government and our new National Army.

FAVORS LIBERAL PENSIONS.

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress I have always lent my voice and vote in favor of a liberal allowance or pension for the soldier and sailor who have fought for our country and for their dependents. It gave me pleasure to cast my vote for the Sherwood dollar-a-day pension. I also supported and voted for the bill of September 8, 1916, which allowed the widows of veterans, when 70 years of age, an increase of pension from $12 to $20 per month; also the bill for the relief of the widows of Spanish and Philippine War veterans, and I trust that ere long a bill of this nature will be added to our statutes.

The proposed provisions for the men and their dependents should not be offered as gratuities or pensions, and they should not be deferred until the end of the war. The wives and children, the dependent mothers and fathers of the men should not be left, as in previous times, to the uncertain charity of the communities in which they live. The minds of our soldiers and sailors should be put at rest, so far as their loved ones are concerned, by the knowledge that they will be amply provided for by their Government as a part of the compensation for the service they are rendering their country. In like manner they should know in advance that if they are killed in battle definite and just provision has been made for their dependents, and that if they are disabled, totally or partially, definite provisions are made for them, and that they are not going to be left to the uncertain chances of future legislation or to the scandals of our old pension system. Every person should know the moment that he enlists in the military service of the Government these definite guaranties and assurances are given to him not as charity but as a part of his deserved compensation for the extra-hazardous occupation into which his Government has forced him.

WHAT THE BILL WILL DO.

This bill will do something for every soldier and sailor who fights beneath our flag. It means comfort, it means blessings, it means happiness to the wife and children of every man, whether a volunteer or a conscript. We have passed in the history of the Republic many pieces of legislation affecting the soldiers of the Union—the Revolutionary heroes, those who fought in the War of 1812, in the Mexican War, in the Civil War, and in the Spanish-American War. This measure, however, is more far-reaching and beneficial than any legislation ever passed by Congress on the eve of any of our wars. Let this legislation be entered on the statute books before our heroes leave our shores.

EFFICIENCY.

Efficiency in the twentieth century warfare depends largely upon the morale of the fighting force and the population at large. It is but another word for unity. The newspapers to-day give a remarkable evidence of the effect of this unified mind, and also the lack of it upon nations. I believe that the power of Germany lies largely in the system of national insurance which she long since established under which the entire body of her industrial workers are insured against three great contingencies causing inability to earn a livelihood:

1. Accidents.
2. Sickness.
3. Old age and invalidity.

REEDUCATION AND REHABILITATION.

Another feature of this bill which recommends itself to me is the provision for the reeducation and rehabilitation of the men who are totally or partially disabled to such an extent that they can not resume the occupations in which they were educated before they went into the war. This is one of the most humane provisions of the bill and would result in enabling the Government to make useful, economic units of these men, so that they would be contributing something to society when they came back from the front. It will make them very much more contented and useful citizens, because if a man can be occupied under such circumstances he will lead a very much happier life than otherwise. The Government owes this duty to the injured man and to the people. Its primary obligation is to develop all of his potentialities to fit him for the best in life of which he is capable. Every European country is now making provision for the reeducation and rehabilitation of its soldiers and sailors, and some of them have long since made provisions for those injured in civil occupations. At present Government officials are studying the experiences of these nations with a view to future legislation on this most important subject. The present bill, however, lays down two fundamental propositions:

First, that if the man be found capable of reeducation he shall be compelled to take a proper course when offered him, under penalty of suspension of his compensation; second, if, however, through his reeducation he shall gain a better economic position, he shall not thereby be deprived of his compensation. If a man has lost his legs, they can not be restored to him; payment is made for the loss; but it is in the common interest that these fighting men, crippled though they may be, should not rest content to live on the minimum compensation which the Government gives. They, of all men, should be encouraged to lift themselves above the common level and to develop all of their latent energies and powers.

BEGINNING OF THE PENSION SYSTEM.

The pension system began when the barbarians were assaulting Rome and it was necessary to hew down the bridge in order to prevent the invasion. Horatius and two comrades stood at the bridge until after it was hewn down, slaying many of their enemy. Horatius then swam the river and landed safely on the other side of the Tiber. Although the Romans made no contract with him, pensions started there, for afterwards—

They gave him of the corn lands,
Which were of common right;
As much as two strong oxen
Could plow from morn till night;
And with laughing and with weeping,
Until this day the story is told,
How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old.

THE SOLDIER OF 1917.

The soldier of 1917, fighting for freedom of the world, will go down in the history of this country side by side with that of the soldier of the Revolution. Again "freedom" will be the keynote of our victory. The soldier of 1917 will prove equally valorous and will incorporate his name upon the roll of honor that will be erected in the hearts of a free people—a lasting and enduring testament of his worth and patriotism.

He will emulate the valor of his forefathers, enter upon his duties with determination to drive autocracy and despotism from the world, and teach the nations of the earth that the ships of commerce flying our Star-Spangled Banner shall sail at will, unmolested and unafraid.

He will have every comfort in the way of equipment and commissary—the best equipment that money and genius can procure for the richest Nation on the globe. A more splendid body of young men could not be found upon the earth than the soldier boys of America.

The Blue and the Gray.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART F. REED,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 24, 1917.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered at the twenty-eighth annual reunion of the Society of the Blue and the Gray, at Ripley, W. Va., September 20, 1917, by Hon. HARRY C. WOODYARD, of West Virginia.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REUNION OF THE SOCIETY OF THE BLUE AND THE GRAY, AT RIPLEY, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 20, 1917, BY HON. HARRY C. WOODYARD, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Soldiers who wore the blue and who wore the gray, ladies and gentlemen, I know that you feel as I do the strongest desire to hear the great orator and great leader in the United States Senate, who has conferred a high honor and a heavy obligation upon us by laying aside important official duties for this day and journeying here to instruct and delight us out of the abundance of his intellectual and oratorical gifts. I know that you feel, as I would feel, an impatience with anyone ignorant of the proprieties of such an occasion as this and vain-gloriously heedless of the rights of the principal speaker of this notable meeting who would trespass upon that speaker's rights and time. That I promise I shall not do. I am as anxious as you are that we shall not delay partaking of the fine "feast of reason and flow of soul" that has been prepared for us.

But I am not insensible to the honor which your committee has conferred upon me by inviting me to come here to this reunion and to present to you the distinguished Senator who is your honored guest. It is a compliment I feel I am unworthy of, and a duty I know I am incapable of performing as successfully as I would like. But I want you to know I am deeply touched and that I am profoundly grateful for this privilege.

My friends, in this hour of national peril such a reunion as this is colored with a significance which has never characterized any of the preceding meetings of you men who wore the blue and you men who wore the gray. You who were the actors in the greatest war drama of civilized times are now the observers of the greatest war spectacle in the world's history. You have been spared to look on at a world aflame with the fires of war—the war of the nations of the world. Your fighting days are over. The liberty for which you offered your life, for which you bared your breasts on many a battle field where the storms of shot and shell swept as never known on battle fields before, is the same liberty for which the peoples of the world are fighting to-day as they are given the reason and vision to see it. Then liberty and freedom were the prizes for which a country, racked and divided, battled. Now they are the priceless boons which a whole world in arms is struggling to attain. And in this great struggle you have given as freely of your sons and your grandsons as you as freely offered up your lives for the principles of government that you held more dearly than life itself in the years 61–65. To you this great Nation of ours owed a debt it could never hope to discharge prior to this present great conflict; but now you have multiplied that debt countless times by sending forth to the colors at the Nation's call your sons and your grandsons, your daughters and granddaughters as angels of mercy, and by "doing your bit" at home, in so far as your age and strength will permit. Men of the blue and soldiers of the gray, you whose lives have been spared to span from Bull Run to Verdun, and your comrades who lie in dreamless sleep upon the hillsides and in peaceful valleys, for whom "taps" have long since sounded, hearts too full of love and gratitude and souls too thrilled with admiration of your heroism can find expression only by bringing us to silent attention and salute. The words have never yet been written, nor the sentences fittingly woven and spoken, that could make a tribute deserving enough for patriots such as you.

Liberty, my friends, is the greatest gift of God to man—liberty to fashion our lives and live our lives under law and order and just Governments. Men have fought and died for liberty since the creation of the world, as they are now fighting and dying for it on European battle fields and upon the high seas. It is for the preservation of our liberty that we are at war to-day—liberty at home, liberty abroad, the protection of the lives and properties of our people here, there, and everywhere they may be. It was the unwarranted challenging of our rights as a free people, a liberty-loving and liberty-demanding people, by the Imperial German Empire which added us to the long list of fighting foes of that nation. We are in this war—we are fighting Germany—because of liberty, and in the name of liberty we shall win it. We are in it because Germany willed that we should be in it. Upon the Imperial Government of the Kaiser the blame for our participation in this mad-world conflict rests.

But in fighting for liberty, my friends, we should be sure that we do not relinquish one iota of the liberty that we now enjoy, that has been handed down to us from Yorktown and Appomattox. Liberty under our Constitution! There is nothing so dear to an American as that. It is the priceless gift of the ages, consecrated by the blood of patriotic men and the tears and heartaches of the patriotic mothers of our land. And yet there are thoughtless men among us who talk loosely of our constitutional liberties and rights. I regret to say that there are such men in high official places; that there are Senators and Representatives in Congress, the last of all men who should lose their heads in a national crisis, who speak with dalliance and do official acts of recklessness, which tend to abridge the rights of American citizenship and to nullify the guarantees of liberty and freedom contained in our Constitution—in our Magna Charta, in our Bill of Rights.

I know that in times of profound peace we are not so seriously appreciative of the great written document of our democracy. But, my friends, this is not a time of peace, but of war, such as never before reddened the rivers of the world with blood. It is the hour when sober-minded, grave-visaged, heavy-hearted American citizens turn to the inspired words of Stephen A. Douglas.

God forbid—

Said Douglas—

that anyone should ever make the attempt to subvert the Constitution of the United States. Let that Constitution ever be trodden under foot and destroyed, and there will not be wisdom and patriotism enough left to make another. * * * Our safety, our liberty, depend upon preserving the Constitution of the United States as our fathers made it inviolate.

It is a time when men reconsecrate themselves with the words of President Wilson:

The Constitution of the United States is not a mere lawyer's document; it is a vehicle of life, and its spirit is always the spirit of the age. Its prescriptions are clear, and we know what they are; a written document makes lawyers of us all, and our duties as citizens should make us conscientious lawyers, reading the text of the Constitution without subtlety and sophistry.

My friends, that is good advice to good Americans at any time, but it is particularly good advice at this time. Take down the Constitution from its shelf and read it; reread it. It is the will of the forefathers, by which they bequeathed us "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." You will find it of Bible strength to you in these dark hours of national peril and world-wide disaster. You will find there your rights, which some would abridge, and come to better understand, at a time when a clearer understanding is most necessary and desirable, what every American citizen should know.

My friends, the Constitution has not been suspended. It is still the living soul and bulwark of our liberties. Under it our courts and governmental institutions are functioning. The right of free speech and discussion, honest criticism, and conscientious objection is not done away with. Free American men may meet, as we are met to-day, to discuss this great war and the many and new issues which have been suddenly thrust upon us. I know that there are many things that have been done, and many articles which have been written, that have created and fostered a contrariwise impression. I know that I have received letters from constituents, men whom I know and whose patriotic Americanism and good citizenship I respect, asking me whether they could freely write to me their views and give to me their opinions on issues of present moment—me their Representative in Congress, the man chosen by them to reflect by my vote their views—writing me to know if they could exercise the constitutional right of petition without being held legally or morally to account as traitors. My friends, the time has not come in this Nation of ours, and I pray that it never will come, when anybody can not write to a Member of Congress, or anybody else in official or private life, his views upon issues vital to the welfare and perpetuity of the Republic. When that time comes, and I pray that it never shall, the death knell of this Republic has been sounded. This war, and no law passed to facilitate its successful conduct, nor no law in the land, affords authority for any man, or set of men, to attempt to abridge, curtail, or infringe upon the constitutional right of our citizens to free speech and the privilege of petitioning their Government and those who happen by the grace of their votes to temporarily be intrusted with safeguarding our Constitution and enforcing our laws. This does not mean, however, that our liberty confers upon us license. Neither upon us nor our chosen officials. The balance must be preserved, and will be. "Treason against the United States," says our Constitution, "shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

My friends, I have come to you from a Congress which has made history; which has proven expeditious and efficient; which has neither retarded nor delayed the Government in its war preparations, nor proven itself unwieldy in its functioning. It has shown itself patriotic, liberal, statesmanlike in its scope, and responsive to the will of the people as reflected by the President chosen by them to pilot their Government safely through the present perils which beset us everywhere. Congress has upheld his hands and promoted his every undertaking in behalf of the common weal of all. This Congress has refuted every criticism flung against the institution of Congress for years. No one can read the record of this Congress and justly withhold praise of its unmatched and unparalleled list of accomplishments. Many men of many minds, and yet they have merged together in the furtherance of a common cause once the step was taken.

Do not suppose for an instant that opinions did not conflict; that views of individuals are not as many and as divergent as ever they were among Members of Congress. But in the face of such a crisis as we are now facing, some men must give way to others; some opinions must be discarded for the views entertained by others; there must be compromise and surrender; and in the end harmony and unity of action and policy that a solid and unbroken front may be presented to the Nation's enemies. All men do not approve of all that has been done or is being done. There is just grounds for criticism of many things. For example, you know the position I took when the conscript or draft law was before us. I was opposed to that law. Furthermore, I am still opposed to that law as a principle, but now that it is the law it must be obeyed, and no citizen who has the welfare of our country at heart is justified in attempting to evade it or in any manner to obstruct its proper enforcement. But my views as to it as a principle of our Government has undergone no change. I am against it, and when the present emergency is passed, if I am in a position to do so, I will exert the last ounce of my official power to wipe it from the statute books, and I hope for all time to come. But an overwhelming majority of Congress, overwhelming largely because of Executive pressure, said that that law must be enacted, and those like myself who fought it were compelled to bow to the will of the majority.

Time, I think, has vindicated our position. There was an Army and a Navy of 1,074,000 men—all volunteers—before a drafted man was ordered to a camp or cantonment. And this great fighting force of volunteers was made up of the best young manhood of our country, who came forward and enlisted of their own free will, imbued with a high patriotism and a deep consciousness of a righteous cause; without any compulsion; as brave and as fearless young fellows as ever faced a recruiting officer; thousands of them from our colleges and our best homes; the pick and flower of these United States; a million volunteers without a campaign for volunteers being made. A million more could have been gotten in the same way and within the same space of time. And that was the answer American manhood gave to those who said nothing short of the draft would do. The world's war history furnishes no parallel of that achievement.

Congress has authorized billions of dollars for the expenses of our first year in this war. When I left Washington bills were pending which will, when passed, bring the total authorization for the first year up to $22,000,000,000—a sum which is absolutely incomprehensible in its magnitude to the finite mind. Do not think that this heretofore unheard-of financial promotion has been carried on without its difficulties, or with the unanimous approval and accord which the votes on passage of these huge budgets would indicate. Excepting the sums loaned to the allies, which we hope and expect to get back, the people will have to pay in taxes and bonds. If this war is to be "a long and costly war," as Lord Northcliffe has said, then there must be more and heavier taxes, and more and more bonds. Let us hope that Lord Northcliffe's prediction does not hold true. But the President said to Congress these gigantic sums are needed, and Congress with a blind faith never before shown by it authorized them. "Uphold the hands of our *President*"—that slogan need not be wasted upon Congress. It has done so with a vengeance, and it has done it with about as much knowledge of where the money was going, through what channels it was flowing, and who was responsible for its expenditure in detail as you, my friends, have.

Not because Congress has not asked for this information. Not because it did not think a congressional committee on the conduct of the war to cooperate with the President advisable, nor that a committee of its Members on the war expenditures would not be a good thing, but because it was the choice of the administrative end of the Government to ignore such reasonable proposals. It would seem that there was a lack of understanding as to who's war this is. Many of us in Congress hold to the view that this is not the President's war, that it is not Congress's war, nor is it the war of the officeholder; but this is the American people's war. They are paying for it; they are fighting it; and they are entitled to know all about it. But there is a disposition in Washington to look at it otherwise. In five months, with not an ounce of powder burned nor a single shell exploded, Congress has appropriated and made provision for substantially as large an indebtedness as England incurred during the whole three years of the war and more than France and Russia throughout the three years of war.

Permit me to read briefly from a speech made by Congressman MOORE of Pennsylvania, on September 4, in which I find some very interesting and instructive figures and information relative to the expenditures of Great Britain, who proclaims that she is bearing the brunt of this world-wide war. Mr. MOORE says:

Data compiled by the Department of Commerce and submitted to the Ways and Means Committee show that the public debt of Great Britain March 31, 1914, was $3,443,799,000; that one year later, March 31, 1915, after the war had started, it had advanced to $5,673,374,000, a matter of only $2,200,000,000 in one whole year; and that more than three years later, July 21, 1917, the interim being war years, it had increased to $21,897,666,000.

Now as to France. The public debt of France, as reported to the committee by the same department, was $6,347,540,000 January 1, 1914, before the war started, but jumped rapidly until April 30, 1917, when the total was $17,727,013,000. This huge indebtedness of France, where most of the hard fighting has been done, is less for the three years than the five months' cost to the United States, and it included loans of nearly 4,000,000,000 francs to allied countries.

Is it any wonder that Members of Congress have asked for particulars and fought vigorously for the erection of safeguards to protect these vast sums of the people's money? Are the accredited representatives of the people to be denounced as

lacking patriotism if they demand some information relative to the expenditure of these vast sums that you and I and all of us are called upon to contribute? If this is to be a "long and costly war," as Lord Northcliffe states, what, may I ask, must our people expect if the first five months has set the pace? My countrymen, this is no time for hysteria, but deep and sober thought. Is it not wisdom on our part, indeed patriotism, to endeavor to the best of our ability in this great crisis to throw every safeguard compatible with the public welfare around these vast and enormous expenditures? But President Wilson said that a congressional committee on the conduct of the war to cooperate and advise with him would be a "humiliation" to him; he would construe it as a want of confidence in his integrity; and a majority of Congress, not individually holding that opinion, I believe, voted with his expressed wishes. I dissent most emphatically from that opinion, and at the next regular session, in December, I shall urge and demand the appointment of such a committee.

Now, my friends, there is one thing upon which we all agree—we people here, the President and his administration, the admirals of our Navy and the generals of our Army, the boys in France or in the training camps behind the lines, and the fathers and mothers of these boys—there is one thing that we all agree on, and that is that we are in this war and we must win it at all costs. There can be no argument on that.

And there is another thing upon which we all agree, and that is that in our prayer to Almighty God we pray that there may be an early and an honorable peace—a peace that will be lasting and a peace that will be world-wide. When that may come to pass we do not know now, but we fervently pray that it may come to us soon. Lord Northcliffe has said that we are in for a "long and costly war." That depends, I think, upon the terms of peace we are willing to accept.

I grant you that if our terms are inclusive of the terms demanded by Lord Northcliffe's Government, by France, by Italy, it will be a "long and costly war." But I am not willing to concede that our terms are the terms stipulated by the other foes of Germany. We went to war because Germany killed our citizens upon the high seas, sunk our ships, violated her pledges with us, insulted our flag, sought to humiliate our honor, violated our neutrality, plotted against us, and tried to destroy our self-respect as a Nation. For those things we are sending our young men to death and pouring out our treasure.

We are not, I take it, fighting to conquer lands or peoples for ourselves or for any other nation that happens to be fighting the same foe that we are. I do not understand that we are fighting for the things which Mr. Lloyd-George has stated must be accomplished as a condition of a treaty of peace with the Teutonic allies, for, if we are, this will, indeed, be a "long and costly war" for us. His stipulations are:

Alsace and Lorraine must be returned to France.
Schleswig-Holstein must be annexed to Denmark and the Kiel Canal taken away from Germany.
Belgium and all Germany's and Austria's conquered territories must be set free and fully rehabilitated.
Germany's and Austria's Polish Provinces must be consolidated with the portions of Poland taken from Russia and erected into an autonomous government.
Austria must be deprived of Galicia and Bukowina (to be divided between Serbia and Roumania); Herzegovina, Bosnia, and the Trentino, including the port of Trieste, to be taken from Austria and portions thereof annexed, respectively, to Italy and Serbia.
Germany must be deprived of all her colonial possessions.

For the accomplishment of none of these purposes did the United States go to war against Germany. No declaration of a state of war could have commanded a single vote in Congress on any one or all of these propositions. No parents of an American boy is sending him into the trenches to an almost certain death for any such program as that. And yet the nations that are fighting with us will not turn a willing ear or open mind to a peace proposal unless all or some of these things are wrung from their foe.

I assume we will have no such demands to be made on our vanquished foe, for, as far as the United States is concerned, it will be a submissive Germany which will propose peace to us. Make sure of that! We are fighting for a peace which will bring a treaty that will insure respect and safety for our citizens and ships upon the high seas, in every port in the world; adherence to international and humane laws wherein we are concerned; guaranties of the inviolability of treaties and conventions to which we are signatory; the restoration of all that which existed between this Government and that of Germany before war did away with it; and a guaranty of a lasting peace.

I am emphatically opposed to shedding the blood of our patriotic sons in the trenches of France and Flanders to determine whether Germany or France shall hold Alsace-Lorraine, or whether Italy or Austria shall have Trieste, or what the boundary lines may or shall be between Serbia and Bulgaria and a half dozen other small and, to us, insignificant monarchies. When our rights have been vindicated and guaranteed to our satisfaction, then, my countrymen, must peace prevail. When these demands are met, when these guaranties are given and we feel that we can trust to them, then the United States has accomplished that for which it took up the sword and loaded the magazine. It has won its battle; it has established the righteousness of its cause. God grant that peace with honor may come to us soon!

And now, my friends, I fear I have not exactly fulfilled my promise not to occupy too much of your time. I will have to confess it and to apologize, both to you and to our distinguished visitor. The subject is a large one, and I have not, it seems, been able to handle it in as short a time as I had planned. But if I have wearied you with my views on some of the questions in which I know you are deeply concerned, there is this compensating thought, you will enjoy all the more, by comparison, the great speech that you are now about to hear.

Veterans of the blue and the gray, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a great honor for me to introduce to you one of the greatest statesmen and orators of our time, United States Senator JAMES E. WATSON, of the State of Indiana.

The Flag of the United States.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 14, 1917.

The SPEAKER. Under a special order of the House the gentleman from New York [Mr. HICKS] is permitted to address the House for one hour on the American Flag. [Applause.]

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, on this, the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the ordination of the Stars and Stripes by the Continental Congress, I have thought it fitting and proper to portray its wondrous history. The flag held in reverence by 100,000,000 of our people is a modern standard. There are no myths or legends associated with its origin; it tells no story of crushed liberties or violated rights; it sprang neither from the sorrows of the oppressed nor the sufferings of the conquered. Its majestic beauty expresses the independence of a thoughtful, courageous, conscientious people; the faith, the lofty aspirations, and the high ideals of representative democracy; the advance of a new Nation dedicated to liberty, to law, to justice, and to human rights. [Applause.]

The flag of America does more than proclaim mere power or acclaim a great and glorious history. Its folds wave a benediction to the yesterdays of accomplishment and beckon the tomorrows of progress with hope and confidence; it heralds the noble purposes of a mighty people and carries a message of hope and inspiration to all mankind. [Applause.] Its glowing splendor appeals to us to demand international justice and arbitration; it commands us to self-sacrifice, and to universal obligation of service which alone can maintain equality of rights and fullness of opportunity in our Republic. Its stars and its stripes voice the spirit of America calling to a Nation of indomitable courage and infinite possibilities to live the tenets of Christianity, to teach the gospel of work and usefulness, to advance education, to demand purity of thought and action in public life, and to protect the liberties of free government from the aggressions of despotic power. This is the call of the flag of the Union in this hour of crisis and turmoil when civilization and the laws of nations and of humanity are being engulfed in the maelstrom of death and destruction. [Applause.] In the words of Robert G. Ingersoll—

The flag for which the heroes fought, for which they died, is the symbol of equal rights. It means universal education—light for every mind, knowledge for every child. It means that it is the duty of every citizen to bear his share of the public burden. It means that all distinctions based on birth or blood have perished from our laws; that our Government shall stand between capital and labor, between the weak and the strong, between the individual and the corporation, between want and wealth, and give the guaranty of simple justice to each and all. That flag is the emblem of a supreme will of a Nation's power. Beneath its folds the weakest must be protected and the strongest must obey. It shields and canopies alike the loftiest mansion and the rudest hut. That flag was given to the air in the Revolution's darkest days. It represents the sufferings of the past, the glories yet to be, and, like the bow of heaven, it is the child of storm and sun.

While no authentic history prevails relating to the banners and standards used by the peoples of remote antiquity, it is probable that as soon as men began to form themselves into tribes and clans or unite for a common purpose, some symbol was used to express the common sentiment. Among many ancient ruins, representations of the objects used as ensigns have been discovered. History, both sacred and profane, records the use of standards or banners by the armies of all nations in the distant past. From the sculptures and paintings on the monuments of Egypt it is evident that the use of standards and flags was common in the Valley of the Nile thousands of years before the Christian era. It was the custom among the Egyptians for each battalion to carry a distinguishing emblem representing some sacred object, or a tablet bearing a name or device. Excavating among the ruins of the Assyrian civilization prove that these peoples were also accustomed to the use of standards. The ancient Hebrews had banners for the various tribes, and in the Old Testament, Book of Numbers, Chapter I, we find: "And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp and every man by his own standard." And, in Chapter II: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 'Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house * * *.'"

The Persians at the time of Cyrus used as their standard a white flag on which was displayed a golden eagle. The Romans had many standards, and they were held in the greatest reverence by the people, who in the temples of the Eternal City guarded these emblems of their sovereignty with religious veneration. In primitive times each company of the army bore a pole with a bundle of hay attached. Later the figure of a horse, a bear, a wolf, or other tribal emblem was substituted. In the time of Marius a silver eagle, with spreading wings and with claws grasping the thunderbolts of Jove, was the emblem of the Roman Republic. This device, so common in various forms in countries of modern Europe, was taken from the Etruscans, who were the first to adopt it as the symbol of royal power. The Roman standards changed with their conquests and each emperor displayed new emblems. Augustus adopted a globe to symbolize his rule over the world, and Constantine the cross to commemorate his vision.

The cities of Greece also used standards in their military campaigns, carrying on their staffs various devices and emblems. Sometimes it was a piece of armor attached to a spear, or an initial letter, or an emblem of the gods. According to Homer, Agamemnon raised a purple veil to rally his soldiers. During the Middle Ages, and notably in the crusades, banners and emblems of every description roused the mail-clad warriors in defense of the cross against the crescent. From ancient times the dragon has been a favorite emblem for standards, especially among eastern nations. It was the device on the banner of Harold at the Battle of Hastings and later was used by other English monarchs. Richard Cœur de Lion in 1190 adopted the legend of St. George and the dragon to typify his exploits. Henry III, in 1264, at the battle of Lewes, fought under the dragon; and Edward III, at the battle of Cressy in 1346, displayed a standard "with a dragon of red silk adorned and beaten with fair lilies of gold." The word "ancient" was formerly frequently used to denote a flag or emblem, and in Shakespeare's Othello, Cassio, in speaking of Iago, says "the lieutenant is to be saved before the ancient."

Medieval flags were of various shapes, some long and pointed, some square, and others ending in two or more points. The banner which the Pope sent Charlemagne was oblong with three points. The standards of Henry VIII of England were long streamers rather than flags as we know them. Time does not permit the description of all these emblems, and they have no relation to the flag that floats over us to-day except as an illustration, showing that through all ages and among all races of humanity some flag has been used as an emblem to inspire men's hearts with confidence and hope and reverence.

The flags used by the American Colonies prior to the Revolution were naturally those of England, though there were some exceptions, for while the colonists considered themselves Englishmen, the ties between them and the mother country did not prevent them from showing their independence.

The ancient standard of England, the cross of St. George, a white flag with a rectangular red cross extending its entire length and breadth, was the emblem usually carried by the English soldiery as early as the fourteenth century, and continued as the national flag until 1606, when James I by proclamation united it with the cross of St. Andrew, a blue flag with a diagonal white cross extending from corner to corner. This flag, intended to represent the union of Scotland and England, was called the "King's colors" or "Union" flag, and was to be displayed from the maintops of all British vessels. In addition, ships were to fly from their foretops flags to designate the part of the kingdom from which they came; those from south Britain—England—carrying the St. George cross, and those hailing from north Britain—Scotland—the cross of St. Andrew. It is presumed that as the *Mayflower* belonged to south Britain the flags under which our Pilgrim fathers sailed on their memorable voyage were the King's colors and the banner of St. George. The same inference can be drawn in reference to the early voyages to the southern colonies.

As the King's colors had been prescribed for ships only, the flag of St. George's cross continued to be used by English subjects on land. On the death of Charles I, in 1649, the union between Scotland and England was dissolved, and in 1651 the St. George's cross was adopted by the Commonwealth Parliament as the national standard of England. While the Union flag again came into use upon the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, under Charles II, it is probable that the St. George's cross flag, with occasional variations, was the one displayed in the American Colonies until 1707, when Parliament ratified the union of Scotland and England. Under this act the Union flag of James I, the King's colors, was ordained as the banner for all subjects of the British realm "both at sea and on land." The famous "meteor flag of England" was a modification of the King's colors, being a red ensign with the device of the crosses in the canton. As Ireland was not incorporated into the British Kingdom until 1801, at which time the cross of St. Patrick—a red diagonal saltier on a white ground—was conjoined with the other two, the present ensign of Great Britain was never used by the American Colonies.

It may be of interest to note other flags which were flown on American soil in the days of its discovery and early settlement. The first flag planted upon our shores, if we exclude the possibility of the Norsemen having reached our continent, was that of Spain, a banner with four quarters, two of which were red, embellished with golden castles, and two white, emblazoned with red lions. This was the standard of Spain during most of the period of her conquests. Columbus also bore a personal flag which had been presented to him by Queen Isabella, consisting of a white ensign with a green cross, having on either side the letters F–Y surmounted by golden crowns. It is stated that Cabot, by reason of his being a Venetian, upon one of his expeditions, in addition to the flag of England whose commission he bore, carried the banner of his native city. This was a scarlet ensign bordered by a broad band of blue, emblazoned by the winged lion of St. Mark holding a cross in his right paw.

The flag of France, which, owing to the splendid assistance rendered by that nation in our struggle for independence, is undoubtedly held in greater esteem by us than any other foreign flag, was at the time Jacques Cartier landed in the New World in 1534, a blue ensign emblazoned with three golden fleur-de-lis. Later a white flag was adopted by the Huguenot party, but it is probable that the Bourbon flag—the fleur-de-lis emblem—floated over the vast territory occupied by the French. Henry Hudson brought the Dutch flag to America when the *Half Moon* sailed into New York Harbor in 1609. It was a flag with three equal horizontal stripes, orange, white, and blue, with the letters "V. O. C. A.," standing for the Dutch name of the East India Co. of Amsterdam—then in control of maritime affairs of the Netherlands—in the middle of the white stripe. In 1621, when the Dutch West India Co. came into power, the letters "V. O. C. A." were replaced by the letters "G. W. C." In 1650 the yellow stripe was changed to red, the design of the present flag, and this banner waved over the future metropolis of the world until it was supplanted by the flag of St. George's cross. The flag of Sweden—a yellow cross on a blue field—also has a place in our history, as that nation for a number of years maintained settlements on the banks of the Delaware River.

In the records of Massachusetts, as early as 1634, mention is made of the use of the flag of St. George's cross. In 1643 a confederacy known as the United Colonies of New England was formed, but it was not until 1686 that a flag was adopted, being the cross of St. George with the initials "J. R." surmounted by a crown at the intersection of the two bars of the cross. This flag was modified, and in the design most generally used had a red field, with the cross of St. George in the upper corner next the mast. A tree or a globe was usually represented in the upper canton next the staff. This was the famous New England flag. Occasionally the field was blue, and this later design is the flag supposed to have been used at Bunker Hill.

Long before the smoldering embers of revolt blazed into the fires of the Revolution, nearly every colony had adopted a flag of its own. The Massachusetts flag bore a pine tree; South Carolina displayed a rattlesnake; New York had a white flag with a black beaver, symbolical of her industry and the wealth

of the fur trade; and Rhode Island a white flag with a blue anchor and the word "Hope" upon it. The growing discontent of the Colonies was productive of numerous devices for flags and banners, the larger portion inscribed with mottoes more or less defiant of British authority. In 1774, at Taunton, Mass., a "union" flag was raised, bearing the words "Liberty or Death." In New York in 1775 a "union" flag with a red field charged with the inscription "George Rex and the Liberties of America" was displayed. Other devices were employed, the most famous being the pine-tree flag, a white ensign with the motto "An appeal to Heaven" above a green pine tree; and the rattlesnake flag, a yellow banner bearing the significant words "Don't Tread on Me" beneath a coiled snake. The rattlesnake flag was also called the Gadsden flag, and in this connection the following reference is of interest:

FEBRUARY 8, 1776.

Col. Gadsden presented to the Provincial Congress an elegant standard, such as was to be used by the commander in chief of the American Navy, being a yellow field with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the center in the attitude of going to strike and these words underneath, "Don't tread on me."

It was accordingly ordered to be carefully preserved and displayed in the Congress room.

It should be remembered that this refers to the Provincial Congress of South Carolina and not to the Continental Congress, as frequently stated.

Many privateers adopted a device consisting of a mailed hand grasping a bundle of 13 arrows. The most famous flag used in the South at the beginning of the Revolution was one designed by Col. Moultrie, of South Carolina. It was a blue ensign with a white crescent in the upper corner near the staff. This was the flag which Sergt Jasper rescued so gallantly when the fort of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island was attacked by the British on June 28, 1776. It was under this flag that the Declaration of Independence was read to the citizens of Charleston on August 5, 1776. The word "Liberty" was frequently inscribed upon it. When South Carolina officially adopted a State flag they took this famous blue banner with its white crescent, and in recognition of the services rendered by the palmetto logs, placed the figure of a palmetto tree in the center of the field.

While doubt exists as to whether a standard was carried at Concord and Lexington, it is asserted by some authorities that Capt. Nathaniel Page, a minute man of Bedford, Mass., was flag bearer of his company at Concord, and that his banner had a maroon ground, upon which were emblazoned in silver an armored, outstretched hand grasping a sword, with the inscription in a scroll of gold "Vince aut morire," signifying "Conquer or die." Three silver disks were also described upon it. It is claimed that this banner was originally designed in England in 1660 for the Three County Troop of Massachusetts and became the standard of the Bedford company of militia which responded to the midnight alarm of Paul Revere. [Applause.] I feel we can safely assume that it was this flag, "the most precious memorial of its kind of which we have any knowledge," that waved over the "embattled farmers" at Concord, April 19, 1775, when they "fired the shot heard round the world." [Applause.]

Many writers assert that it is doubtful whether the patriots at Bunker Hill were marshaled under any flag. Benson J. Lossing, however, in his Field Book of the Revolution, states that the standard raised on that fateful Saturday was the time-honored New England flag, with its field blue instead of red. In the upper quarter was St. George's cross and in the upper canton the design of a pine tree was shown. Mr. Botta, a Revolutionary historian, was evidently of the opinion that the pine-tree flag was carried, for in his account of the battle he states that Gen. Warren in endeavoring to rally his men reminded them of the motto inscribed on their banners, "An appeal to Heaven." Shortly after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Gen. Putnam unfurled at Cambridge a flag with a red ground, having on one side the Connecticut motto, "He who transplanted still sustains," and on the reverse side a pine tree with the motto, "An appeal to Heaven."

While the various forerunners of the American flag are inseparably associated with its history, they afford little or no clue to the origin of the Stars and Stripes. It has been conjectured that the idea of the stripes as a symbol of union may have been suggested by the flag of the Netherlands. As early as 1704 the flag used by the Honorable East India Co. of England, strangely enough, consisted of 13 red and white stripes with the cross of St. George in the canton. Another theory is that as the different grades in the ununiformed Continental Army were distinguished by stripes or ribbons, these distinguishing marks suggested the stripes in the flag. It has been frequently asserted, though without tangible evidence, that the stripes as well as the stars on his own coat of arms may have suggested the design to Washington.

The earliest instance of the use of the 13 stripes upon an American flag is found in the banner of the Philadelphia Light Horse Troop. This standard was presented to the company by Abram Markoe in 1775 and is known as the Markoe flag. It was made of yellow silk and both sides were alike. In the center was an armorial design, above which were the letters "L. H." and below the words, "For these we strive." The striking feature of this flag is the representation of 13 stripes, alternate blue and silver, placed in the upper corner next the staff. As Gen. Washington, when en route to take command of the Continental Army at Cambridge in 1775, was escorted from Philadelphia to New York by this troop, he was undoubtedly familiar with the standard it carried, and the significance of the stripes as indicative of the union between the Colonies, may have suggested the flag raised over his headquarters six months later. It is claimed that the Markoe banner was carried in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown.

Reference should also be made to the two banners of the Tallmadge Dragoons, one pink and the other blue. The first has a pink field in the center of which is a blue disk with silver wings. From the disk 10 golden thunderbolts radiate like the sun's rays. Under this device is a silver scroll with the motto in black letters, "PATA CONCITA FULMNT NATL." The canton, bordered by a silver thread, has 6 stripes of white ribbon, making with the background 13 pink and white stripes. The blue standard has the same device and motto, and in addition, above the disk in a scroll of gold, the inscription, "2d Regt. Lt. Dragoons." The canton is edged with a gold line and has 7 gold stripes painted on the blue silk, which, with the background, gives the combination of 13 stripes, alternate blue and gold.

The origin of the first flag, distinctly colonial and representing a union of the Colonies, is shrouded in mystery. In October, 1775, the Continental Congress, then in session in Philadelphia, sent a committee to Cambridge to confer with Washington on military matters. It has been stated that this committee suggested the design for a flag, but there are no records to substantiate the assertion. Neither in Washington's correspondence nor in the report of the committee to Congress is there any reference to a new flag. Who designed the flag which Washington raised at Cambridge on January 2, 1776, is not known, but there and then was displayed the stripes emblematic of the union of the Colonies. The standard consisted of 13 red and white stripes, with the "union" or "king's colors" in the canton—the familiar combination of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. It was a peculiar flag, half American and half British, for while the Colonies still acknowledged their allegiance to England they were determined that their rights should be respected even at the point of the sword.

It was not until the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, that a complete separation was decided upon, so the Cambridge flag with its 13 stripes represented the union of the Colonies in their protest against taxation without representation, while the union of crosses acknowledged their allegiance to the mother country. This flag was variously designated as the union flag, the grand union flag, and the grand striped flag, but is now referred to as the Cambridge flag, and it seems most probable that the banner officially adopted in 1777 was copied, at least so far as the stripes are concerned, from the flag Washington unfurled the year previous.

While having no bearing on the design of the Stars and Stripes, it may be of interest to note another flag, the Eutaw flag, to which is attached a sentimental story. Col. William Washington, a kinsman of Gen. Washington, in 1780 was ordered to Charleston, S. C., and while there fell in love with a Miss Elliot. Learning one day when the colonel was paying her a visit that his troop was without a flag, Miss Elliot, so it is related, with her scissors cut off a portion of a large damask curtain, which she afterward fringed and attached to a curtain pole and presented to him for a standard. This flag was carried in the Battle of the Cowpens and at Eutaw Springs and is now the property of the Washington Light Horse Infantry, of Charleston.

Another flag which has a romantic history is Pulaski's banner, now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Count Pulaski, the son of a Polish nobleman, was a soldier of fortune who, at the age of 24, found himself outlawed and his estates confiscated. At the beginning of the Revolution he volunteered in the American Army and in 1778 was commissioned an officer in the cavalry force. Congress authorized him to raise what is known as Pulaski's Legion, and while recruiting his corps, the Moravian Single Sisters, of Bethlehem, Pa., presented him with a banner. It is of yellow silk, with the

letters "U. S." in the center and in a circle around them the words, in Latin, "Union makes valor." On the reverse side, surrounding an eye, is the motto, also in Latin, "No other governs." This banner was carried in the Battle of Savannah, when Pulaski commanded both the American and French cavalry.

The flag of Proctor's brigade, of Westmoreland, Pa., should also be mentioned. It is a crimson flag, cantoned with the British union jack. In the center of the field a coiled rattlesnake with 13 rattles is represented, with the familiar words "Don't tread on me." It is claimed that this flag was carried in the Battle of Trenton. At the Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, the American patriots fought under a banner made of red damask on which was the word "Liberty."

The Second New Hampshire Regiment had a buff flag in the center of which was a golden disk with 13 rays surrounded by a chain of 13 links. The disk bore the motto, "We are one." In the canton were two crosses somewhat similar to the king's colors. Reference should also be made to a banner known as the "Flag of the Bucks of America," a yellow flag with a pine tree in the center. Beneath the branches of the tree stands a deer. The canton is blue, on which 13 yellow stars are painted. It is claimed that this flag was carried in the Revolution by a regiment of Massachusetts colored troops.

The first authoritative action to establish a flag for a new sovereignty is fraught with peculiar interest, and it is regrettable that we know so little as to the origin of the Stars and Stripes. While the Cambridge flag had the 13 stripes, there is no evidence that any flag bearing the union of stars had been in public use prior to the resolution of 1777, and it will probably never be known who designed or suggested this beautiful, distinctive, and emblematic feature of our banner. The records of Congress are silent upon the subject and no authentic reference to it has ever been discovered in the correspondence, papers, or diaries which have been examined. It is claimed in popular tradition that the honor of making the first flag combining the Stars and Stripes belongs to Betsy Ross, a Quaker upholsteress who resided in Arch Street, Philadelphia. It is asserted by her descendants that Congress appointed a committee composed of Gen. Washington, Robert Morris, and George Ross, the latter an uncle of Mrs. Ross's late husband, who called upon her in May or June, 1776, and commissioned her to make a flag from an imperfectly drawn design embodying the stripes and the union of 13 six-pointed stars.

As the six-pointed stars were peculiar to the British, it is said Mrs. Ross suggested that a star of five points would be more symmetrical and appropriate, and the committee at once adopted the new design. While this story is interesting and I hope may be well founded, there is unfortunately little evidence to support it. It rests on the traditions of the Ross family and upon affidavits made by Mrs. Ross's descendants as to their understanding of the particulars as related by Mrs. Ross herself, or by those to whom she told the story. Unfortunately the annals of Congress make no reference to the appointment of a flag committee, and yet so important a matter must have been under consideration previous to the final adoption of the flag. In Washington's correspondence and writings no mention is made of a visit to Mrs. Ross's house or when or by whom the first flag was made. Neither do any of the historians of the Revolutionary period or any contemporaneous writers, so far as I have been able to discover, throw light upon the subject. The principal argument against the story has been that the flag evidently was not used during any portion of 1776 and was not adopted until a year after Mrs. Ross is supposed to have made it. It is further claimed by those who discredit the story that Washington when he caused the Declaration of Independence to be read to his troops in New York, on July 10, 1776, would have raised this new flag had such a flag been in existence, instead of the Cambridge banner, which was unfurled. Those who have had experience in congressional matters will not be convinced by the argument of delay in not adopting the new flag at once, and had Mrs. Ross made the flag it is not probable that Washington or anyone else would have used it until Congress had approved it.

Whatever uncertainty may exist as to the true origin of the Stars and Stripes, we know that Congress, on June 14, 1777, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation.

This is the first legislative action of which there is any record establishing a national flag for the sovereign United States of America declared independent July 4, 1776, and proclaiming the official birth of a new constellation as the symbol of their Union. Thus was born the Stars and Stripes, which through all the ages shall be the emblem of liberty and justice for all mankind. [Applause.]

The following description has frequently been referred to as a quotation from Washington's writings but I have been unable to verify it.

We take the star from heaven, the red from the mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty.

It has been said that—

Every nation has its symbolic ensign in their banners. Our fathers chose the Stars and Stripes, the red telling of the blood shed by them for their country, the blue of the heavens and their protection, and the stars of the separate States embodied in one nationality, E pluribus unum. The stars of the new flag represent a constellation of States rising in the west. The idea was taken from the constellation Lyra, which in the hands of Orpheus signified harmony. The blue of the field was taken from the edges of the Covenanter's banner in Scotland, significant also of the league and covenant of the United Colonies against oppression, incidentally involving the virtues of vigilance, perseverance, and justice. The stars were disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the Union, the ring like the circling serpent of the Egyptians signifying eternity.

What eloquence do the stars breathe when their full significance is known: A new constellation, union; perpetuity; a covenant against oppression; justice, equality, subordination, courage, and purity.

I doubt if these poetic and fanciful descriptions, however, have any basis other than the imagination of the writer.

While the flag was adopted June 14, 1777, it was not until September 3 following, that Congress officially promulgated the design. The honor of first displaying the Stars and Stripes in battle belongs to the State of New York, when on August 3, 1777, an improvised flag was raised on the northeast bastion of old Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler as it was sometimes called, the site of the present city of Rome. Anticipating an attack by the British, a garrison of some 500 soldiers, under the command of Col. Peter Gansevoort, jr., with Lieut. Col. Marinus Willet second in command, had been placed in the fort. On August 2, the garrison was reinforced by about 200 men of the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment, led by Lieut. Col. Mellon. This detachment brought news of the recently enacted flag statute, and as the garrison was without a standard the fort was ransacked for material of which to make the new flag. According to accounts, shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, a woman's petticoat supplied the red, while the blue ground for the stars was taken from a cloak belonging to Capt. Abraham Swartwort, of Dutchess County, who was then in the fort. This account is confirmed in part by a letter from Col. Swartwort to his commanding officer, asking for an order on the paymaster to reimburse him for the loss of his cloak. The narrative of Col. Willet, however, gives a somewhat different version of the story. He says:

The white stripes were cut out of ammunition shirts furnished by the soldiers, the blue out of the camlet cloak taken from the enemy at Peekskill, while the red stripes were made of different pieces of stuff procured from one and another of the expedition.

Howsoever the flag was made, it was the Stars and Stripes that floated over the brave Americans from August 3 to August 22, when the siege was raised. John Fiske, the eminent historian, further substantiates the claim that to New York belongs the honor of having first unfurled the Stars and Stripes in battle when he says, speaking of the flag:

Hastily extemporized out of a white shirt and an old blue jacket and some strips of red cloth from the petticoat of a soldier's wife, this was the first American flag with Stars and Stripes that was ever hoisted.

Lossing in his Field Book of the Revolution supports the claim of Fort Stanwix.

Delaware also claims the distinction, maintaining that the flag was first raised in battle at Cooch's bridge, near Wilmington, on September 3, 1777. The claim is based on the presumption that the American forces had a flag at that time, and even though they had, this skirmish took place a month after the flag on Fort Stanwix had been unfurled to the breeze. One of the local Delaware historians, Judge Conrad, defeats his own contention when he says:

On August 2, 1777, a short skirmish or sally occurred at Fort Schuyler, N. Y., in which the Americans floated a rudely devised flag, intended to represent the ideas embodied in the resolve of Congress, and that all historians agree that the flag floated on that occasion was merely an improvised one, and in no sense a complete and regular flag of the United States.

The absurdity of Mr. Conrad's theory is dismissed by Mr. Edward H. Hall, secretary of the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, who says:

Thus the 20 days' siege at Fort Schuyler, so courageously and successfully resisted, is dismissed by Mr. Conrad as a short skirmish or sally, and the fine distinction drawn between a heroic siege, with all its terrors of possible starvation and barbarous massacre, and a morning's skirmish at Cooch's bridge between two small bodies of troops formally drawn up in line of battle. I do not know of any historian who says that the Fort Schuyler flag was not "complete," although they do agree that it was improvised.

The Stars and Stripes were carried in the Battle of the Brandywine September 11, 1777; they waved in triumph over the victorious field of Saratoga and cheered the ragged patriots of Washington's army amid their sufferings around the camp fires at Valley Forge. Beneath its folds Cornwallis surrendered his sword at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. It floated over New York when the British evacuated the city November 25, 1783, and roused the patriotism of our soldiers during the later days of the Revolution, as the immortal Washington marched onward to victory and to glory. [Applause.]

Soon after its adoption the new flag was hoisted on the naval vessels of the United States. It has been stated that the Naval Committee of Congress presented to John Paul Jones the first official flag of the United States ever made, but there is no official record to confirm this statement. Buell, in his life of Paul Jones, states that the captain displayed the Stars and Stripes on the *Ranger*, then being fitted up at Portsmouth, on the 4th of July, 1777. The *Ranger*, however, did not go to sea until November 1. With Jones in command—his commission was issued on the same day the flag was established—the *Ranger* reached Quiberon Bay, France, about December 1, 1777, and on February 14, 1778, her flag received the first salute ever paid the American flag by a foreign power. No less an authority than John Adams has erroneously stated that the first American vessel to obtain a foreign salute for the flag was the *Andreas Doria* in the Danish West Indies in November, 1776. This ship, however, carried only a continental ensign, probably the Cambridge flag, which was never legalized or recognized by the Continental Congress, and was not the Stars and Stripes which the French commander saluted. The West Indies incident occurred eight months before the Stars and Stripes existed, for no stars were seen on any flag prior to the adoption of the flag of the United States by act of Congress in June, 1777. A question has been raised as to the exact date on which Jones raised the flag on the *Ranger*, some old reports of the incident stating that it was July 12.

In De Koven's Life and Letters of John Paul Jones, doubt is expressed about the claim made by Buell for Jones in connection with the raising of the flag on the *Ranger* in July, 1777. He says:

> But the honor of first unfurling the Stars and Stripes from a ship of war, which has been claimed for Jones, is not supported by historical evidence. If he had been lucky enough to have had the opportunity of first unfurling the new national banner from the *Ranger*, it is not to be believed that he would have omitted to mention the fact.

As there has been much controversy over the first display of the flag from a warship, it is of interest to note the several claims that have been advanced for this honor. In Griffin's History of Commodore Barry there is this reference to the flag:

> Under this flag Hopkins was the first to get to sea, and Barry's *Lexington*, bearing it, was the first to cause the British flag to surrender to the flag of Washington.

And again:

> His cruiser (the *Lexington*) was the first Union flag to make the first capture that was first reported to the Marine Committee of Congress.

John Fiske, in speaking of the *Lexington's* capture of the British vessel *Edward* on April 7, 1776, says:

> This was the first capture of a British warship by an American.

As this exploit occurred over a year before the Stars and Stripes were officially adopted, the flag borne by Barry was not the national ensign. The "Union" flag referred to by Griffin was undoubtedly the Cambridge standard, and other accounts bear out the assumption that Barry's flag on the *Lexington* was the flag which Washington unfurled at Cambridge. This is further confirmed by Preble in his history when he says:

> The *Lexington* was the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean.

Capt. Manly's name has also been mentioned for the honor, and while it is true that his ship, the *Lee*, captured the British vessel *Nancy* in October or November, 1775, the flag that waved from the peak of the *Lee* was undoubtedly the famous "Pine Tree" emblem. One writer, however, speaks "of a flag being made in 1775 by a patriotic vessel owner of Massachusetts, having 13 white stars in a blue union, the body of the flag being white, with an anchor upon it having over the top the word 'Hope.' It was hoisted on the armed schooner *Lee*, Capt. John Manley." This same author states that "either this or the stars on the Washington book plate in the absence of any record may be taken as reasons for the adoption of the stars in the union." I have been unable to substantiate the claim made by this historian that the 13 stars were displayed previous to 1777, and as Rhode Island had already adopted the design of the anchor surmounted by the word "Hope," it is not probable that a shipowner of Massachusetts would have used, even in part, the emblem of a rival colony.

There seems to be substantial evidence that the flag carried by the First Rhode Island Regiment at the Battle of the Brandywine and during the siege of Yorktown was similar to the flag just described, with the exception that the stars were gold. John Paul Jones claimed that "My hand first hoisted the American flag," and this claim is substantiated by evidence which shows that during the winter of 1775–76, while the *Alfred* was lying at anchor at Philadelphia, Commander Hopkins put off to the newly commissioned ship. When he reached the deck of the *Alfred*, Jones, then a lieutenant, raised the flag in honor of the commander. But this American flag hoisted by Jones, and which the patriots of Philadelphia cheered on that wintry day, was probably none other than the rattlesnake flag designed by Col. Gadsden, and which was frequently used on ships of war. It was this flag, with the addition of a pine tree, which an English writer of the period referred to in the following words:

> A strange flag latterly appeared in our seas bearing a pine tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its root, with the daring words, "Don't tread on me." We learned yesterday that the vessels bearing this flag have a sort of a commission from a society of people in Philadelphia calling themselves the Continental Congress.

The difficulty of identifying the first flag raised is largely due to the uncertainty of what the historians of that period meant when using the phrase "American flag." Some writers speak of the Cambridge banner, while others refer to the pine tree and rattlesnake emblems as the American flag. To make the designation clear and positive, the flag of the United States is the national ensign adopted June 14, 1777, and all flags used prior to this date were State, colonial, or continental emblems and not the Stars and Stripes. While there is a controversy regarding the initial display of the national flag from a war vessel, there seems to be no doubt but what Jones received the first salute ever given the Stars and Stripes by a foreign power.

No reference to the early history of the flag upon the seas would be complete without a brief allusion to the battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* in the evening of September 23, 1779. Thackeray once told a friend that the capture of the *Serapis* by Paul Jones was one of the most extraordinary stories ever recorded in naval history. Without question, that moonlight battle was the greatest exploit in the annals of the sea, and the courage of John Paul Jones and his brave crew, fighting to victory from the decks of a sinking ship, forms one of the most brilliant pages in our history. [Applause.] Americans will ever pay tribute to the sublime confidence and daring of Paul Jones. Bidding defiance to all human calculations which had predoomed him to defeat, with a foundering ship, half his men dead or dying, when hope and chance seemed irretrievably lost, he fought on and won immortal glory. [Applause.]

All great events seem to invite controversies, and it is so with reference to the flag borne by the *Richard*. In 1898 the Government received what was purported to be the original ensign of Jones's old ship. According to the story, which for a time had some support in the popular fancy, the *Richard*, several days before encountering the *Serapis*, captured a British vessel, the *Kitty*, which had formerly been an American ship. Among the crew was one Stafford, who volunteered for service on the *Richard*, and who, it is alleged, during the action with the *Serapis* plunged into the sea and recovered the *Richard's* flag which had been shot away. When Jones transferred his crew from his sinking ship, it is stated that this sailor rescued the flag and later accompanied Jones to the *Alliance* upon his assuming command of that vessel. When the *Alliance* was sold, the flag was presented to Stafford in recognition of his services. It is alleged that a letter was sent by Joseph Myler, Secretary pro tempore of the Marine Committee, to Joseph B. Stafford, presenting to him "Paul Jones's 'Starry Flag' of the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was transferred to the *Alliance*," in recognition of his meritorious services. Beyond this letter there is no positive evidence that this Stafford flag, which has only 12 stars, was the one that waved from the ensign gaff of the *Richard* in the most desperate of all sea conflicts. Those who doubt the authenticity of the Stafford flag claim that the bunting of which it is made is of a date subsequent to the battle with the *Serapis*.

Another story which has gained considerable vogue is to the effect that the flag of the *Richard* had been made by two maiden ladies of Philadelphia, who presented it to Capt. Jones shortly after Congress had adopted the Stars and Stripes. It is claimed that this flag which bore 13 stripes but only 12 stars was flown from the *Ranger* and was afterwards transferred to the *Richard*. There is no foundation whatever for this legend.

Buell, in his Life of Paul Jones, gives a rather fanciful account of this much-disputed flag:

> The "unconquered and unstricken" flag that went down with the *Richard* was the same one which the girls of Portsmouth made from slices of their best silk gowns, and presented to Jones to hoist on the *Ranger*, July 4, 1777, and he considered it his personal property or,

perhaps, the property of the girls who made it, intrusted to his keeping. On relinquishing command of the *Ranger* in 1778, he kept this flag with him and used it on the *Richard*. It was made by a quilting party according to specifications which Jones furnished. The 13 white stars were cut from the bridal dress in which Helen Seary had been wedded in May, 1777.

This was the first edition of the Stars and Stripes that Europe ever saw; the first to be saluted by the guns of a European naval power; but, far beyond that, and beyond anything, it was the first and last flag that ever went down or ever will go down flying on the ship that conquered and captured the ship that sunk her.

[Applause.]

When Jones returned to this country in February, 1781, he found Miss Langdon, of the "quilting party," a guest of the Ross family, whose house was always his home in Philadelphia. By way of apology he explained to her that his most ardent desire had been to bring that flag home to America, with all its glories, and give it back untarnished into the fair hands that had given it to him nearly four years before. "But, Miss Mary," he said, "I couldn't bear to strip it from the poor old ship in her last agony, nor could I deny to my dead on her decks, who had given their lives to keep it flying, the glory of taking it with them."

"You did exactly right, Commodore," exclaimed Miss Langdon; "that flag is just where we all wish it to be—flying at the bottom of the sea over the only ship that ever sunk in victory!"

[Applause.]

I fear sentiment has been woven into history in this interesting story, for while the records are very complete in describing the battle, their reference to the colors are most meager. In Jones's memoirs, compiled from papers in the possession of his niece, Mrs. Taylor, there is a reference stating that few of the personal effects of the officers were saved. In the journal, prepared by Jones for the King of France, he speaks of everything going down with the ship except signal flags. As the national flag is never used as a signal in the sense in which Jones referred to the signal flags which were saved, Buell evidently assumed that the Stars and Stripes were left flying at the peak when the *Richard* sank beneath the waves.

In July, 1905, Scribner's Magazine published the "Narrative of John Kilby," quarter gunner of the *Richard*. In this narrative, written in 1810, the sinking of the *Richard* is described as follows:

O Heavens! It was enough to bring tears from the most unthinking man. She went down head foremost with all sails set—studding sails, top-gallant sails, royals, skyscrapers, and every sail that could be put on a ship—jack, pennant, and that beautiful ensign that she so gallantly wore while in action and when she conquered.

It has been asserted that Jones referred to the loss of the flag in his report of the engagement to Congress, but, unfortunately, the records do not disclose this fact. The several letters written by the great commander to numerous friends describing the battle are silent on the flag episode. Yet Mr. Buell states that Jones made a report in which he said:

No one was now left aboard the *Richard* but her dead. To them I gave the good old ship for their coffin, and in her they found a sublime sepulcher. She rolled heavily in the long swell; her gun deck, awash to the port sills, settled slowly by the head and sank peacefully in about 40 fathoms.

The ensign gaff, shot away in action, had been fished and put in place soon after firing ceased, and our torn and tattered flag was left flying when we abandoned her. As she plunged down by the head at the last, her taffrail momentarily rose in the air; so the very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the *Bon Homme Richard* was the defiant waving of her unconquered and unstricken flag as she went down. And, as I had given them the good old ship for their sepulcher, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet.

For the sake of history and in honor of the memory of the great sailor, let us hope that Buell based his eloquent and pathetic account of the sinking of the *Bon Homme Richard* upon substantial grounds. [Applause.]

The flag as originally adopted remained unchanged until May 1, 1795. By this time two more States, Vermont and Kentucky, had been admitted into the Union and a change in the flag was made necessary. Not foreseeing the growth of the flag in the addition of both a stripe and a star for each new State, Congress on January 13, 1794, enacted—

That from and after the 1st day of May, 1795, the flag of the United States be 15 stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be 15 stars, white in a blue field.

In the first flag the stars were evidently arranged in a circle, but this custom was soon abandoned. At Annapolis there is preserved the flag of the Third Maryland Regiment, with a union showing 12 stars in a circle, surrounding one in the center. In the flag of 15 stripes the stars were placed in three parallel rows of 5 stars each, and this flag was the national banner from 1795 to 1818, during which period occurred the War of 1812. It was this flag waving over Fort McHenry that inspired Francis Scott Key to write the Star-Spangled Banner. [Applause.]

By 1818 five additional States—Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, and Mississippi—had been admitted into the Union and therefore to truly represent the Union a further change in the flag was demanded. After considerable discussion in Congress on the subject, the act of April 4, 1818, was passed, which provided:

First. That from and after the 4th of July next the flag of the United States be 13 horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union have 20 stars, white in a blue field.

Second. That on the admission of every new State into the Union 1 star be added to the union of the flag and that such addition shall take effect on the 4th of July next succeeding such admission.

To Hon. Peter H. Wendover, a Member from New York, belongs the credit of pressing it to final passage. The return to the 13 stripes of the 1777 flag was due largely to the fact that it would not be practicable to continue adding a stripe for each new State, for a further increase in the number of stripes would have made the width of the flag disproportionate to its length, unless the stripes were narrowed, and this would have impaired its distinctness. Upon the suggestion of Capt. Reid, of the Navy, who had suggested the return to the 13 stripes, the stars were arranged in the form of one great star in the center of the union. This design, however, did not meet with favor, and the stars were soon thereafter arranged in rows. A newspaper of the times said:

By this regulation the 13 stripes will represent the number of States whose valor and resources originally effected American independence, and the additional stars will mark the increase of the United States since the establishment of the Constitution.

No act has since been passed by Congress altering the general design of the flag, and it is the same as originally adopted except for the increase in the number of stars in the union. In the War with Mexico the flag displayed 29 stars in its union; during the Civil War, 35; during the Spanish-American War, 45 stars, and since July 4, 1912, 48 stars. Congress has never legislated upon the arrangement of the stars in the union, and in consequence there has been a lack of uniformity in the matter, although the early confusion has now disappeared, and in the absence of direct legislation an agreement has been reached between the Navy and War Departments on the subject. The present arrangement of the stars is in six horizontal rows of eight stars each.

The term "Old Glory" was evidently first applied to the flag by William Driver in 1831, a skipper from Salem, Mass., who was at that time in command of the brig *Charles Doggett*. It is related that as he was about to sail for the South Seas a party of friends presented him with the flag, and when it was broken from the gaff the captain christened it "Old Glory." In 1837 the captain removed to Nashville, Tenn., taking with him Old Glory, which he afterwards displayed on all public occasions. His pronounced Union sentiments frequently led him into trouble with his southern neighbors, and during the war he was obliged to conceal the flag in the coverlet of his bed. In 1862 when a detachment of Buell's army occupied the city, Capt. Driver, with his own hands, hoisted Old Glory over the capitol building.

The history of the flag from this time seems clouded in uncertainty, and I will refer briefly to three statements that have been made in regard to it. The Rev. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House, a veteran of the Sixth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, feels confident that the Old Glory flag no longer exists. The respect and veneration in which Dr. Couden is held by every Member of Congress entitles his contribution to the history of this famous flag, to be accepted as evidence that the flag was accidentally destroyed. He states that in February, 1862, his regiment had been ordered to relieve Grant at Donelson, but while on the transports word came that the fort had surrendered. They were then ordered to Nashville, where, on February 25, they took part in the ceremonies incident to the raising of the Stars and Stripes over the capitol. The next day Capt. Driver obtained Col. Anderson's permission to hoist Old Glory to the mast, and a squad of soldiers were detached to procure the flag, which the captain with his own hands raised over the building. The captain then presented the flag to the Sixth Ohio, and this regiment fought under Old Glory at Shiloh and Stone River. In keeping it aloft in the Battle of Stone River six men were shot down, but Old Glory was kept waving and did not touch the ground. For about a year Old Glory, the name having then been adopted by other regiments, was the regimental flag of the Sixth Ohio. For safe-keeping the flag after sunset each day was deposited in one of the quartermaster's wagons, but one night some of the animals having broken loose destroyed the flag. Dr. Couden's statement is amply verified, if any verification is necessary, by the following paragraph taken from Hannaford's History of the Sixth Ohio Regiment:

The flag with whose history so many interesting associations were connected was presented to the Sixth Ohio, by which it was regarded as a most precious souvenir. It passed safely through all the campaigns of the regiment, until October, 1863, when Fred Schnell's mules discovered it one night where it was stowed away in the headquarters' wagon, and before morning had eaten Old Glory up, leaving only a few shreds to tell the sacrilegious tale.

In order to make the record complete, I insert extracts from a letter sent me by the Essex Institute, of Salem, Mass., which claims it has in its possession the original flag. The secretary states that the original Old Glory was presented to the institute by a niece of Capt. Driver, who sent with the flag the following letter, written by the captain himself:

NASHVILLE, TENN., *September 25, 1880.*

MY DEAR NIECE: I send you this my oldest flag. It has been everywhere, my companion around the world, waved at Pitcairn, and among the icebergs of Cape Horn. This is my Old Glory, like me neglected and worn out, but there is no stain upon it. I kept it for my winding sheet, a sailor's whim, and now feeling like old Mordecai at the gate, I give it to you as a proof of the kindness and reward a patriot receives at the hand of a soon-to-be-broken-up Government.

The secretary of the institute then closes his letter with this statement:

The traditionary story in relation to the flag eaten by the mule has also come down to us, but is said to refer to another flag. Let me say this also in this connection, that a descendant of Capt. Driver, living in the far West, I think Nevada, also has a flag of Capt. Driver's, which she claims to be the original. But in view of the evidence of this letter, which came to us with our flag, there can be no doubt as to the facts in the case.

Both the above statements are refuted by Mrs. Mary Roland, of Nevada, a daughter of Capt. Driver, who, under date of August 15, 1913, stated that:

The original flag Old Glory has never been out of the possession of our family. This flag, my father named Old Glory, he gave me in July, 1873, and it has remained in my possession ever since.

Mrs. Roland claims that when her father, in 1880, asked her to send him Old Glory she sent him, without his knowledge, another flag, and that it was this substitute flag and not Old Glory which was deposited by his niece in the Essex Institute shortly after the captain's death.

While it would seem that the Stars and Stripes were carried in battle in many of the later campaigns of the Revolution, it is evident that the national ensign was not generally used by troops until the Mexican War. In reference to its use by regiments in the field, I quote from a statement made by the Smithsonian Institution:

It seems that for many years the Army did not carry the Stars and Stripes in battle, though it had been in general use as a garrison flag. The land forces, during this period and before, carried what was known as national colors or standards of blue, with the coat of arms of the United States, comprising an eagle surmounted by a number of stars, emblazoned thereon, with the designation of the body of troops. In 1834 War Department regulations gave the Artillery the right to carry the Stars and Stripes. The Infantry and Cavalry still used the national standards, which remained the colors of the Infantry until 1841 and of the Cavalry until 1887, when that branch of the Army was ordered to carry the Stars and Stripes. From its adoption in 1777, however, naval vessels universally displayed the national flag.

Mr. Gherardi Davis, in his monumental work, The Colors of the United States Army, says:

After the adoption by Congress in June, 1777, of the United States flag, the Stars and Stripes appear to have been very generally used at sea. But this flag does not seem to have been adopted generally by the Army.

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Louisville, also states—

that the flags or colors made by the War Department for the Army were in the hands of the field commissary stores but not distributed till March, 1783. The war was then over. So we now know that the entire Revolutionary War was fought through without the Army being furnished any flags by the Government. Those they did use were made by the ladies for some company, battallon, or officer.

Sergt. Schopper, in charge of the ordnance museum at West Point, is of the opinion that—

The Stars and Stripes were not commonly carried by troops during the Revolution; and in the few isolated cases where it is claimed that they were they were privately made and not issued by the Board of War.

The official correspondence of Gen. Washington shows that it was not until several years after the adoption of the Stars and Stripes that the War Board obtained material to make national colors for the Army "as variant from the marine flag."

While this evidence shows that the Government did not furnish the national ensign to troops in the field, it does not prove that the Stars and Stripes were not displayed, for it is evident that flags privately made were presented to different companies, which, while not official, were true representations of the national flag. It seems only reasonable to conclude that at many of the most important events in the closing years of the Revolution the Stars and Stripes cheered our troops to victory.

While we have but one flag for use on sea as well as land, by merchant ships and men-of-war alike, Congress very early in our history adopted a special flag for the Revenue-Cutter Service consisting of 16 perpendicular stripes, alternately red and white. The union is white, on which is depicted in blue the national coat of arms—the eagle surmounted by a half circle of 13 stars. The large number of stripes is accounted for by the fact that at the time the Revenue-Cutter Service was established, in 1797, there were 16 States in the Union, and the arrangement has never been altered. Under the act of January 28, 1915, the Life-Saving Service and the Revenue-Cutter Service were combined under the title United States Coast Guard and the revenue flag adopted as a distinguishing flag to be flown from the foretruck or pennant staff.

The union jack, commonly called the "jack," consists of the union of the national flag—a blue field with 48 white stars arranged in 6 parallel rows of 8 stars each. The Navy regulations specify that "when at anchor the union jack shall be flown from the jack staff from morning colors to evening colors." The jack is used also as a signal for a pilot and to denote the session of a court-martial. "When a diplomatic official of the United States of and above the rank of chargé d'affaires pays an official visit afloat, the union jack shall be carried on a staff at the bow."

In addition to these flags, there is a flag for the President and several of the departmental heads, as well as for special divisions of the Government service.

Mr. Speaker, while it does not pertain to the origin of the flag, it is of utmost importance in maintaining the flag in its exalted position that the great war loan now being financed be fully subscribed, and I am therefore going to urge upon every Member of Congress the necessity of subscribing for the liberty bonds. [Applause.]

In closing this fragmentary and, I fear, somewhat imperfect history of the flag, I want to quote from the late Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court:

To every true American the flag is the symbol of the Nation's power, the emblem of freedom in its truest, best sense. It is not extravagant to say that to all lovers of the country it signifies government resting on the consent of the governed, liberty regulated by law; the protection of the weak against the exercise of arbitrary power; and absolute safety for free institutions against foreign aggression.

In the words of Henry Ward Beecher:

A thoughtful mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag only but the nation itself; and whatever may be its symbols, its insignia, he reads chiefly in the flag the government, the principles, the truth, the history, which belong to the nation that sets it forth. As at early dawn the stars stand first and then it grows light, and then as the sun advances that light breaks into banks and streaming lines of color, the glowing red and intense white striving together and ribbing the horizon with bars effulgent, so on the American flag, stars and beams of many-colored light shine out together. And wherever the flag comes and men behold it, they see in its sacred emblazonry no rampant lion and fierce eagle, but only light, and every fold significant of liberty.

Let us then twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heartstrings; and looking upon our homes and catching the spirit that breathes upon us from the battle fields of our fathers, let us resolve, come weal or woe, we will, in life and in death, now and forever, stand by the Stars and Stripes. They have been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the plains of New Orleans, in the halls of the Montezumas and amid the solitude of every sea; and everywhere, as the luminous symbol of resistless and beneficent power, they have led the brave to victory and to glory. They have floated over our cradles; let it be our prayer and our struggle that they shall float over our graves.

[Applause.]

THE FLAG.

Stars of the early dawning, set in a field of blue;
Stripes of the sunrise splendor, crimson and white of hue;
Flag of our father's fathers born on the field of strife,
Phœnix of fiery battle risen from human life;
Given for God and freedom, sacred, indeed, the trust
Left by the countless thousands returned to the silent dust.

Flag of a mighty nation waving aloft unfurled;
Kissed by the sun of heaven, caressed by the winds o' the world;
Greater than kingly power, greater than all mankind;
Conceived in the need of the hour, inspired by the Master Mind;
Over the living children, over the laureled grave,
Streaming on high in the cloudless sky, banner our fathers gave.

Flag of a new-born era, token of every right
Wrung from a tyrant power, unawed by a tyrant's might;
Facing again the menace outflung from a foreign shore,
Meeting again the challenge as met in the years before;
Under thy spangled folds thy children await to give
All that they have or are that the flag they love shall live.

—Charles G. Crellin.

[Loud applause, the Members rising.]

At the conclusion of the address "in honor of the flag and in honor of the day which has been set apart for that purpose," the House adjourned.

ADDENDUM.

FLAG ETIQUETTE.

The flag circular issued by the War Department contains much valuable information:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington.

Many inquiries concerning the proper method of displaying, hanging, and saluting the United States flag are being received in the War Department with the evident object of securing some authoritative statement relating to the subject.

In this connection it should be remarked that while it is within the province of the War Department to prescribe rules and regulations governing the matter in question for observance within the Army, yet it is beyond its province to prescribe any such rules or regulations for

the guidance of civilians or to undertake to decide questions concerning the subject that are presented by civilians.

There is no Federal law now in force pertaining to the manner of displaying, hanging, or saluting the United States flag or prescribing any ceremonies that should be observed in connection therewith. In fact there are but two Federal laws on the statute books that have any bearing upon this subject, one the act of Congress approved February 20, 1905 (33 Stat. L., 725), providing that a trade-mark can not be registered which consists of or comprises inter alia, "the flag, coat of arms, or other insignia of the United States, or any simulation thereof," and the other the act of Congress approved February 8, 1917 (Public, No. 305, 64th Cong.), providing certain penalties for the desecration, mutilation, or improper use of the flag within the District of Columbia. Several States of the Union have enacted laws which have more or less bearing upon the general subject, and it seems probable that many counties and municipalities have also passed ordinances concerning the matter to govern action within their own jurisdiction.

Warning against desecration of the American flag by aliens has been issued by the Department of Justice, which has sent the following notice to Federal attorneys and marshals:

"Any alien enemy tearing down, mutilating, abusing, or desecrating the United States flag in any way will be regarded as a danger to the public peace or safety within the meaning of regulation 12 of the proclamation of the President issued April 6, 1917, and will be subject to summary arrest and punishment."

It is the practice in the Army, each day in the year, to hoist the flag briskly at sunrise, irrespective of the condition of the weather, and to lower it slowly and ceremoniously at sunset, indicating the commencement and cessation of the activities of the day, and to display it at half staff on Memorial Day (May 30) from sunrise until noon and at full staff from noon until sunset, and also on other days specially designated for that purpose by the proper authority, the flag always being first hoisted to the top of the staff before being lowered to the half-staff position.

There has been some question among civilians concerning the exact location of a flag hung at "half staff." Theoretically, the flag is always hung on a separate staff, much shorter than the staffs usually erected on buildings, and as a consequence a flag hung at half staff would be located much higher on the ordinary flag staff than under the present practice, but still the custom of placing the half-staffed flag in about the center of the flagpole, whatever its length may be, is rather generally observed throughout the country, and this department sees no real objection to this custom.

Considerable discussion has arisen throughout the country concerning the proper manner of hanging and displaying the flag for decorative purposes. As already stated, there is no Federal law governing the subject, and individual opinion differs as to the procedure that should or should not be followed. It has been suggested that as far as possible the hanging of the flag should be restricted to suspending it from a flagpole, in the regular way, and not to displaying it otherwise; that for purposes of decoration only the national colors should be arranged in the form of bunting and not used in the form of the flag; that if it is nevertheless the desire to use the flag for decorative purposes it should always be hung flat whether on the inside or the outside of buildings, with the union to the north or east, so that there will be a general uniformity in the position of the union of each flag displayed; that the flag should rarely be displayed in a horizontal position or laid flat; that under no circumstances should it be hung where it can easily be contaminated or soiled, or be draped over chairs or benches to be used for seating purposes, and that no object or emblem of any kind should be placed above or upon it. This department sees no objection to flying the flag at night on civilian property provided it is not so flown for advertising purposes.

It is becoming the practice throughout the country among civilians to display the national flag on all patriotic occasions, especially on the following days:

Lincoln's Birthday, February 12.
Washington's Birthday, February 22.
Mothers' Day, second Sunday in May.
Memorial Day, May 30.
Flag Day, June 14.
Independence Day, July 4.

In certain localities other special days are observed in the same manner.

It seems to be appropriate that where several flags or emblems are displayed on a pole or otherwise the United States flag should always be hoisted first and hung or displayed at the top; that in any parade the United States flag should always have the place of honor, and that the flag should never be hung or displayed with the union down, except as a signal of distress at sea.

Existing regulations governing the Army provide that when officers and enlisted men pass the national flag, not encased, they will render honors as follows: If in civilian dress and covered, they will uncover, holding the headdress opposite the left shoulder with the right hand; if uncovered, they will salute with the right-hand salute. A flag unfurled and hung in a room in which officers or enlisted men of the Army are present will be saluted by them the first time they may have occasion to pass it, but not thereafter. The hand salute is as follows:

"Raise the right hand smartly till the tip of the forefinger touches the lower part of the headdress above the right eye, thumb and fingers extended and joined, palm to left, forearm inclined to about 45°, hand and wrist straight; at the same time look toward the person saluted.

"Drop the arm smartly to the side."

No anthem, hymn, or musical air has been recognized by any Federal law as the national anthem, hymn, or air, but Army and Navy regulations provide that the musical composition familiarly known as the Star-Spangled Banner shall be designated as the national air of the United States of America. It should be stated, however, that these regulations are binding only upon the personnel of the military and naval service.

Whenever the national air is played at any place where persons belonging to the military or naval service are present, all officers and enlisted men not in formation are required to stand at attention, facing toward the music, excepting when the flag is being lowered at sunset, on which occasion they are required to face toward the flag. If in civilian dress and uncovered, they are required to stand and salute at the first note of the air, retaining the position of salute until the last note of the air is played. If in civilian dress and covered, they are required to stand and uncover at the first note of the air, holding the headdress opposite the left shoulder until the last note is played, excepting in inclement weather, when the headdress may be held slightly raised. The custom of rising and remaining standing and uncovered while the Star-Spangled Banner is being played is growing in favor among civilians.

Old or worn-out flags should not be used either for banners or for any secondary purpose. When a flag is in such a condition that it is no longer a fitting emblem for display, it should not be cast aside nor used in any way that might be viewed as disrespectful to the national colors, but should be destroyed as a whole, privately, preferably by burning or by some other method lacking in any suggestion of irreverence or disrespect due the emblem representing our country.

It should be borne in mind that the views set forth in this circular are merely suggestive, and that it is not the intention of the department to give them out as authoritative.

H. P. McCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

APRIL 14, 1917.

The following is taken from the Navy Regulations:

The national ensign on board a ship of the Navy at anchor shall be hoisted at 8 a. m. and kept flying until sunset. Whenever a ship comes to anchor or gets underway, if there is sufficient light for the ensign to be seen, it shall be hoisted, although earlier or later than the time specified. The national ensign shall be displayed on shore from 8 a. m. to sunset at every shore station under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department.

Whenever the national anthem is played on board a vessel of the Navy, at a naval station, or at any place where persons belonging to the naval service are present, all officers and enlisted men not in formation shall stand at attention facing toward the music (except at colors when they shall face the colors). If in uniform, covered or uncovered, or in civilian clothes, uncovered, they shall salute at the first note of the anthem, retaining the position of salute until the last note of the anthem. If not in uniform and covered, they shall uncover at the first note of the anthem, holding the headdress opposite the left shoulder and so remain until the last note of the anthem, except that in inclement weather the headdress may be slightly raised. The same marks of respect prescribed for observance during the playing of the national anthem of the United States shall be shown toward the national anthem of any other country when played on official occasions. The playing of the national anthem of the United States or of any other country as a part of a medley is prohibited.

The following ceremonies shall be observed at "colors" on board ships in commission; at morning "colors" the band shall play the national anthem, at the beginning of which the ensign shall be started up and hoisted smartly to the peak or truck. All officers and men shall face the ensign and stand at attention, and the guard of the day and sentries under arms shall come to the position of "present" while the national anthem is being played.

The same ceremonies shall be observed at sunset "colors," the ensign being started from the peak or truck at the beginning of the national anthem. (These ceremonies are omitted at sea.) At naval stations the same ceremonies shall be observed as closely as possible.

When at anchor in a foreign port, or when a foreign naval vessel is at anchor in an American port, the same honors shall be rendered at "colors" to the foreign ensign, the band playing the appropriate national foreign air immediately after the rendition of the national anthem.

In order to show proper respect for the flag the following ceremony should be observed:

At "morning and evening colors" civilian spectators should stand at "attention" and uncover during the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." * * * The flag should never be allowed to touch the ground, and should never be raised or lowered by any mechanical appliance.

When the national colors are passing on parade, or in review, the spectator should, if walking, halt, and if sitting, arise and stand at attention and uncover.

Whenever the "Star-Spangled Banner" is being played or sung all persons within hearing should rise and stand uncovered during its rendition.

When the National and State or other flags fly together the national flag should be on the right.

When the flag is flown at half staff as a sign of mourning, it should be hoisted to full staff at the conclusion of the funeral.

The national salute is 21 guns. It is also the salute to a national flag. The salute to the Union, commemorative of the Declaration of Independence and consisting of 1 gun for each State, is fired at noon on July 4 at every Army post provided with suitable artillery. (Army Regulations.) No flag or emblem of any kind should ever be displayed above the Stars and Stripes. In the Navy an exception is made when religious services are being held on board ship. At this time the church pennant is flown above the flag.

When flags are used in unveiling a statue or monument they should not be allowed to fall to the ground, but should be carried aloft to wave out, forming a distinctive feature during the remainder of the ceremony.

PERSONAL SALUTES.	Guns.
The President of the United States	21
The sovereign or chief magistrate of a foreign country	21
An ex-President of the United States	21
The Vice President	19
Ambassadors	19
Members of the Cabinet	19
Governors of States, the Chief Justice, and Speaker of the House of Representatives	17

ORAL FLAG SALUTE IN SCHOOLS.

Primary department: "We give our heads and our hearts to God and our country; one country, one language, one flag."

Advanced pupils: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands; one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

SIZE OF FLAGS.

By Executive order promulgated May 29, 1916, it was ordered that national flags and union jacks for all departments of the Government, with the exception that the colors carried by troops shall be the sizes prescribed for the military service, shall conform to the following proportions:

Hoist (width) of flag	1
Fly (length) of flag	1.9
Hoist (width) of union	7/13
Fly (length) of union	.76
Width of each stripe	1/13

NEW YORK AND THE FLAG.

New York may justly be proud of the part she has conspicuously played in the history of the flag The great Empire State, with her mighty commerce, her great agricultural interests, her business enterprises, her financial resources, and her maritime industries unequaled by any State in the Union, salutes her sister Commonwealths and pledges her allegiance to the flag which unites all the States—each one an empire and the whole the most magnificent and forward cluster of civil polities the world has ever seen.

In every crisis which has confronted the Nation, the sons of New York have responded nobly to the call of duty and of country. Both before and since the adoption of her State constitution, on April 20, 1777, stirring scenes have been enacted on her soil. In all the Indian wars New York, the home of the famous Iroquois, bore the brunt of those deadly conflicts. During the struggle for independence our State gave freely of her men and her treasure, and her records are replete with stirring incidents in the cause of liberty and freedom.

On August 3, 1777, the Stars and Stripes were raised over Fort Stanwix, and two months later, on October 17, they waved in triumph over Burgoyne when he surrendered his army at the decisive battle of Saratoga. On July 16, 1779, "Mad" Anthony Wayne captured Stony Point in one of the most brilliant victories of the war, and on November 25, 1783, the British evacuated New York and the noble Hudson again flowed unvexed to the sea.

At Poughkeepsie on July 26, 1788, the Federal Constitution was ratified. From 1784 to 1790 New York was the national capital, and here, on the 30th of April, 1789, on the balcony of Federal Hall, George Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States. In the War of 1812, owing to her proximity to Canada, New York bore her full share of the burden of the conflict and played a conspicuous part in the triumphs of the flag. When the call came in 1861 to preserve the Union, New York responded with all her splendid courage and determination, sending to the front 448,850 soldiers, a total which, by including the 18,197 who paid commutation, was swelled to 467,047, over one-sixth of the Union Army. To show her patriotism in providing men to uphold the supremacy of the Stars and Stripes, she expended in bounties the huge sum of $86,629,000. In the Spanish War her sons charged at San Juan and fought in the jungles of the far-away Philippines, and in the war against Germany the Empire State will send her full quota to the trenches of Europe; and wherever duty calls, whenever bravery and courage is demanded, whether it be charging across the deadly field of "no man's land" or in the air or under the sea, there you will find the men from the Empire State.

New York recognizes the importance of inculcating into the minds and the hearts of her children a noble veneration for the flag of the Nation and has enacted laws to foster their love and inspire their patriotism.

Our education laws provide that—

It shall be the duty of the school authorities of every public school in the several cities and school districts of the State to purchase a United States flag, flagstaff, and the necessary appliances therefor, and to display such flag upon or near the public-school building during school hours and at such other times as such school authorities may direct.

It shall be the duty of the commissioner of education to prepare, for the use of the public schools of the State, a program providing for a salute to the flag and such other patriotic exercises as may be deemed by him to be expedient under such regulations and instructions as may best meet the varied requirements of the different grades in such schools.

It shall also be his duty to make special provision for the observance in the public schools of Lincoln's birthday, Washington's birthday, Memorial Day, and Flag Day, and such other legal holidays of like character as may be hereafter designated by law when the legislature makes an appropriation therefor.

On March 15, 1917, we enacted a law making it a misdemeanor for any person to place any sort of an advertisement, word, figure, mark, or picture of any nature upon the flag of the United States, or to "publicly mutilate, deface, defile, or defy, trample upon or cast contempt upon" the national flag or any picture or representation of it.

The following history of the New York State flag has been compiled by Hon. James A. Holden, State historian, to whom I am indebted for its publication:

Up to 1896 there had been nothing placed in the statutory civil law, so far as I have been able to discover in the time at my disposal, relating to a State flag, either as to color or design. In fact, in the Laws of 1845, chapter 98, "An act for the erection of a flagstaff on the capitol," passed April 26 of that year, this flagstaff was to be erected "on the capitol for the purpose of displaying thereon the American flag during the daily sessions of the legislature, and on public occasions, and to procure a suitable flag for that purpose" (pp. 81–82). This would show that at that time New York had no State flag recognized as such.

However, in the "General regulations for the military forces of the State of New York" (Albany, 1858), issued by the adjutant general of the State as "General Order No. 30," I find in article 34, section 717, page 129, "the State flag is made of white bunting, 12 feet fly by 10 feet hoist, bearing in the center the arms of the State of New York." The regimental colors at that time were to be of yellow silk for the artillery and of blue silk for the infantry and rifle regiments, all bearing the arms of the State of New York.

At this time the standards of the mounted regiments likewise bore the arms of the State of New York, embroidered in silk on a blue ground (p. 130).

It should be borne in mind that there is a distinction made in military rules and regulations between the words "flags," "colors," and "standards," as follows: "By 'flag' is meant the emblem displayed from a flagstaff. By 'colors' are meant the National and State flags carried by foot troops. By 'standards' are meant the National and State flags carried by mounted troops."

In this connection we may note that one of the original sources from which the present coat of arms of the State of New York was derived was the flag borne by the Third New York Regiment, Col. Peter Gansevoort, jr., commanding, and was used by that regiment during the Revolutionary War. This flag is said to have been of "dark blue silk and about 7 feet square."

It is stated by the late H. A. Homes, the then State librarian, that "in 1871 the arms were painted on blue silk on regimental flags of 12 feet by 10, * * * but in 1873 upon the new flag of white bunting."

It is indicated that some time between the time of the Civil War and 1878 the State flag, at least so far as it was made a State flag by military usage, had been changed from white to blue, and then back again, inasmuch as I find that in the General Regulations for Military Forces of the State of New York for 1865, General Orders, No. 23, article 34, section 717, it is prescribed that "The State flag is made of white bunting, 12 feet fly by 10 feet hoist, bearing in the center the arms of the State of New York." The regimental colors and standards were to be of blue silk for infantry and rifle regiments and for mounted regiments and of yellow silk for the artillery.

The same language is used in the General Regulations for the Military Forces of the State of New York, for 1876, article 35, section 643, viz, "The State flag is made of white bunting, 12 feet fly by 10 feet hoist, bearing in the center the arms of the State of New York." State regimental standards and colors were all of blue, however, at this time.

The first attempt to establish a legal State flag that I have as yet discovered was made in 1896. At that time by chapter 229 of the laws of that year it was prescribed that "The State flag is hereby declared to be buff, charged with the arms of the State in the colors as described in the blazon of this section."

The State flag continued to be buff in color until 1901, when, at the suggestion and through the work and research of the then State historian, Hon. Hugh Hastings, legislation was secured, and by chapter 229 of the laws of 1901 the color of the State flag was changed from buff to blue, and it has remained blue to the present time.

In 1883, by chapter 349, laws of that year, a superintendent of buildings was authorized. Among the other duties imposed upon him was that of seeing that "During the hours when the legislature is in session the State flag having the arms of the State shall be displayed from the capitol, together with the flag of the United States."

The formality of displaying the State flag is also carried out whenever the board of regents of the University of the State of New York is in session, in the Education Building, the board being a coordinate branch of the State government.

On formal occasions, therefore, the State flag is always to be seen displayed from the official buildings here in Albany.

The Rights of the States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 24, 1917.

The House having under consideration House Resolution 12, "amending the rules of the House of Representatives."

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, the growing tendency toward a centralized government in Washington arrests attention. When stated powers were conferred upon the National Government by the Constitution, the States reserved other powers to themselves. The right of the States to manage their domestic affairs was not questioned. It was the general purpose of the framers of the Constitution to confer upon the Federal Government such powers only as are necessary to enable it to maintain itself and to exercise control over transactions, affairs, and relations with foreign countries, of the States with each other, and between citizens of the different States. In general, our foreign affairs and the mutual relation of the States with each other are committed to the Federal Government, and all other affairs are withheld from it and reserved to the States or to the people.

The reason is that as to other nations we may act as a unit; that as to matters affecting our relations with each other, the common government of all should control; and that the regulations of the civil rights of the people and the making of police regulations should be in the hands of that government which is closer home, closer to the people, more directly under their supervision, inspection, and control.

The diversified habits, customs, conditions, resources, industries, and interests of the people of the several States made it apparent that the people of each State could best govern themselves, for the simple reason that, being better acquainted with their own situations, they know best what should be done.

President Jefferson said:

It is not by the consolidation or centralization of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly and what it can so much better do than a distant authority.

When all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated.

I was in Europe when the Constitution was planned, and never saw it until after it was established. On receiving it I wrote to Mr. Madison, urging the want of provisions for the freedom of religions, freedom of the press, trial by jury, habeas corpus, a substitution of militia for a standing army, and an express reservation to the State of all rights not specifically granted to the Union.

He accordingly moved, in the first session of Congress, for these amendments, which were agreed to and ratified.

I wish to preserve (in a new constitution for Virginia) the line drawn by the Federal Constitution between the general and particular governments as it stands at present, and to take every prudent means of preventing either from stepping over it.

It was on this very subject that differences caused the first division of our people into political parties. There may be some who believe the division of powers between the State and the Federal Governments and the limitations upon the powers of the latter were destroyed by the War between the States; but they are in error. The war was not fought for the destruction of the rights of the States but for the preservation of the Union; and while war measures were taken which resulted in depriving the States of their right to determine some questions over which dissensions had arisen resulting in the war, and while the right of States to secede was denied by the arbitrament of arms, the other reserved rights of the States and limitations upon the powers of the Federal Government were saved.

If the taking over of State functions by the National Government is permitted to continue, then we will be compelled to proclaim openly that we repudiate the principles adopted by the founders of our Government, and that we favor the encroachment of the Federal Government upon the rights of the State.

In Connecticut each county manages its own affairs; each county is divided into townships, boroughs, and cities, each taking care of what lies within its local bounds. Then there are school districts, fire districts, and wards. We have been taught that it is not by the consolidation of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected; that each State might do for itself what concerns itself directly; and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. That it is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be managed for the good and prosperity of all.

I am opposed to the pending resolution.

Freedom of Speech and of the Press.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

May 31, 1917.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 291) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, the present crisis in the life of this Nation demands not only the physical support of its citizens of military age by enlistment in the Army and Navy, but a united effort by all citizens to coordinate and utilize the mental, moral, and physical resources of the country to defeat the enemy and vindicate the sovereignty of the Nation. It is not necessary, however, to abrogate the constitutional rights of our own citizens under the pretense of defending the country against Prussianism; that is not national defense but national suicide.

In his great speech before the Supreme Court of the United States in Milligan's case, Jeremiah S. Black, in pressing upon the court the constitutional rights of his client, who had been sentenced to be hung by a military commission, although having no connection with the Army or Navy, said:

"It is precisely in time of war and civil commotion that we should double the guards upon the Constitution. If the sanitary regulations which defend the health of a city are ever to be relaxed, it ought certainly not to be done when pestilence is abroad.

"When the Mississippi shrinks within its natural channel and creeps lazily along the bottom the inhabitants of the adjoining shore have no need of a dike to save them from inundation, but when the booming flood comes down from above and swells into a volume which rises high above the plain on either side, then a crevasse in the levee becomes a most serious thing. So in peaceable and quiet times our legal rights are in little danger of being overborne, but when the wave of arbitrary power lashes itself into violence and rage and goes surging up against the barriers which were made to confine it, then we need the whole strength of an unbroken Constitution to save us from destruction."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the most momentous and epoch-making decision in the history of this Nation, followed the reasoning and argument of Judge Black and discharged the prisoner, thereby putting an end to the reign of terror which had prevailed in this Capital and in the Northern States during almost the whole period of the Civil War.

In that great case reported in volume 71, page 120, United States Supreme Court Reports, the court said:

"The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false, for the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence, as has been happily proved by the result of the great effort to throw off its just authority."

Where do you get any authority for abridging the freedom of the press or the right of free speech? This conference report provides that certain things may be published whenever the President shall by proclamation choose to permit you to do so. We do not have to go to the President to get permission to publish our views. If any man communicates any information that is of advantage to the enemy for military purposes and is of disadvantage to this Nation in time of war, he can be punished under existing laws of the United States and other provisions of this bill for giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

This covers that proposition fully. The Constitution simply says thou shalt not pass any law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. It does not say that you may enact legislation that may be satisfactory to this branch of the Government or the other branch of the Government, or even to the Congress itself. This inhibition was placed in the Constitution to protect the people against Congress as well as against every other branch of the Government, and all branches combined.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. WEBB. Did not the gentleman vote for the Gard amendment?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, I did; and I have grave doubts about the correctness of that vote, I will say to the *gentleman.* I have studied this question somewhat since I cast that vote. I voted for the motion to strike out the original proposition which was reported here by the committee because I believed it was infamous. It provided that—

"During any national emergency resulting from a war to which the United States is a party, or from threat of such a war, the President may by proclamation declare the existence of such emergency and by proclamation prohibit the publishing or communicating of, or the attempting to publish or communicate, any information relating to the national defense which, in his judgment, is of such character that it is or might be useful to the enemy. Whoever violates such prohibition shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or both: *Provided,* That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same."

The Gard amendment was reported out hurriedly to fill up the gap in the bill caused by striking out the original section, and it was not given consideration by the committee. I got a copy of it and studied it for a few minutes and then voted for it, but I have grave doubts about whether Congress had any power

even to pass that—and that was much less objectionable than this, I will say to the gentleman. [Applause.]

By the new proviso at the end of this section 4 of Title I we are granted the gracious permission to discuss, comment on, and criticize the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, and to publish such comments and criticisms "if such discussion, comment, and criticism does not disclose information with respect to the movement, number, description, or disposition of men in the Army or Navy." How can helpful discussion or criticism be indulged in without disclosing informaton relative to the subject discussed?

The way to prevent military information reaching the enemy is to refuse to disclose such information to the newspapers or anyone else outside of the Military Establishment.

If we have to go to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and first obtain a license in order to exercise the rights which the framers of our Constitution undertook to guarantee by providing a prohibition against interference with those rights, then I think we are coming upon evil days in this land of the free.

It was less than 200 years ago that men were imprisoned in England for printing and publishing anything, upon any subject, without the permission of the Government censors. The general publication of parliamentary debates has only been permitted in England since the American Revolution, and men in the American Colonies were imprisoned for publishing the laws enacted by colonial legislatures, and publications which presumed to criticize the official acts of those in authority were publicly burned by the official hangman.

Free schools and printing presses were denounced by some of the colonial governors as breeders of disobedience, heresy, and sects, and were officially prohibited and proscribed. Freedom of the press, which Congress is prohibited from abridging, means freedom to print and publish without first obtaining permission from any Government official, but authorizes no immunity for publications which are harmful in character when tested by such standards as the law affords.

Thomas Jefferson in his voluminous writings in support of freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press had prepared the American people for the first amendment to the Federal Constitution before its adoption.

In his letter to James Currie, 1786, he said:

"Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost."

To Elbridge Gerry, 1789, he said:

"I am for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents."

To David Humphreys, 1789, he said:

"There are rights which it is useless to surrender to the Government, and which Governments have yet always been found to invade. Among these are the rights of thinking and publishing our thoughts by speaking or writing."

To President Washington, 1792, he said:

"No Government ought to be without censors, and where the press is free none ever will."

To Benjamin Waring, 1801, he said:

"Differences of opinion, when permitted to purify themselves by free discussion, are but as clouds overspreading our land transiently, and leaving our horizon more bright and serene."

Replying to address in 1808, he said:

"The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties."

To Marquis de Lafayette, 1823, he said:

"The only security for all is in a free press. The force of public opinion can not be resisted when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure."

In arguing against a bill of rights as a part of our Federal Constitution Alexander Hamilton insisted that no power was conferred in that instrument to limit such fundamental rights as free speech, a free press, and freedom of religion, and that to attempt to so protect them might even be dangerous. He said:

"For why declare that things shall not be done, which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, shall it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power. They might urge, with a semblance of reason, that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a right to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the National Government. This may serve as a specimen of the numerous handles which would be given to the doctrine of constructive powers by the indulgence of an injudicious zeal for bills of right."

It was argued that bills of rights, however important under a monarchial government, were not necessary under a free and limited constitution, such as ours, under which public affairs were to be managed by means of agencies selected by popular choice, and subject to frequent changes by popular election.

Reasoning like this was plausible, but unsatisfactory to many of the liberty-loving statesmen of that day; it was answered by Thomas Jefferson, who said:

"In a constitutive act, which leaves some precious articles unnoticed and raises implications against others, a declaration of rights becomes necessary by way of supplement. This is the case of our new Federal Constitution. This instrument forms us into one State as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects. It should therefore guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them.

"The inconvenience of the want of a declaration of rights are permanent, afflictive, and irreparable. They are in constant progression from bad to worse. The executive in our governments is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal, object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years. That of the executive will come in its turn; but it will be at a remote period."

Jefferson's views finally prevailed, and the first 10 golden amendments to the Constitution were adopted as a part of that instrument, the first of which prohibits the adoption of the censorship provision reported by the conferees, and reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Mr. Justice Story in his Commentaries on the Constitution, published in 1833, says:

"Whether the National Government possesses a power to pass any law not restraining the liberty of the press but punishing the licentiousness of the press is a question of a very different nature, upon which the commentator abstains from expressing any opinion."

Libels upon the Government have never been known to the laws of this country, and the claim that public officials could by law be exempted from criticism has never been officially asserted by the Government of the United States but once, and that was by the sedition law enacted in 1798, by the terms of which it was, among other things, in substance and effect, made a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment to write, print, paint, stamp, cut, carve, mark, or engrave, utter or publish, or cause the same to be done, any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or of the President, with intent to defame them, or bring them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to incite them to oppose any law or act of the President, in pursuance of the law, or his constitutional powers, or to resist, oppose, or defeat the law.

Jefferson and his followers denounced this law as unconstitutional and void, and opposition to it was an important factor in defeating the Federalist Party, which enacted it, in the first election of Jefferson to the office of President. The act expired before Jefferson was inaugurated, but on assuming office he at once pardoned all persons who were then in prison as a result of conviction under the act, and the history of that legislation is concisely stated by Judge Thomas M. Cooley in his great work, Constitutional Limitations, at page 613, seventh edition:

"It is certain that no prosecutions could now be maintained in the United States courts for libels on the General Government, since those courts have no common-law jurisdiction, and there is now no statute, and never was, except during the brief existence of the sedition law, which assumed to confer any such power.

"The sedition law was passed during the administration of the elder Adams, when the fabric of government was still new and untried, and many men seemed to think that the breath of heated party discussions might tumble it about their heads. Its constitutionality was always disputed by a large party, and its impolicy was beyond question. It had a direct tendency to

produce the very state of things it sought to repress; the prosecutions under it were instrumental, among other things, in the final overthrow and destruction of the party by which it was adopted; and it is impossible to conceive at the present time of any such state of things as would be likely to bring about its reenactment or the passage of any similar repressive statute."

It seems to me that you are undertaking to legislate on a proposition that you have no right to legislate upon—no right whatever. [Applause.]

Destruction of Food, Destruction of Home, Destruction of Manhood, All John Barleycorn's Work.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, when the food-control bill was before the House for consideration, a section was adopted by a substantial majority, reading as follows:

No person shall use any foods, food materials, or feeds in the production of alcohol or of alcoholic beverages, except for governmental, industrial, scientific, medicinal, or sacramental purposes.

This was notice, Mr. Speaker, that distillers and brewers look alike to the Members of this House. It was a denial of a separate peace for beer.

What has the conference committee given us? Absolute immunity for beer and wine.

The brewers used 3,556,103,596 pounds of foodstuffs in 1916.

The distillers used 1,888,804,874 pounds of foodstuffs in 1916 for alcoholic beverages. Distillers used an equivalent amount for denaturation, Government and scientific purposes, or export as alcohol.

I am willing to delay this bill a few days to save the vast amount of foodstuffs used by the brewers as well as that used by the distillers.

Why did the conferees annul the action of this House? They claim the Senate would not accept the House provision.

This can not be true.

The Senate as late as day before yesterday voted on the specific proposal to except beer and wine from the pending national constitutional amendment. The senior Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] first proposed to exempt beer and wine. His amendment was defeated without a roll call.

Later the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] proposed to exempt beer and wine, and that was defeated by a record vote, 57 to 22. Still later the senior Senator from California again tried out the proposition which our conferees have given us in this bill, and it was defeated, 55 to 26, in the Senate.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman from California is referring to proceedings held in another branch of Congress and mentioning the names of Members of that branch. I understand the rules of the House provide that that is not permissible.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I think I referred to the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] and the senior Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] without any reflection upon either, or upon the Senate. I am simply quoting from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as to what occurred.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I venture to submit to the Chair that it is an important ruling, and, as I understand the rule of the House, it is only to prevent reference that might in any way occasion controversy or that might in any way reflect upon those to whom reference is made.

The SPEAKER. That undoubtedly is the purpose of the rule.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Perhaps the Chair was not observing the reference that the gentleman from California made. It in no way reflected on the Senators; it was simply a reference to an official public record which in no way reflected upon the Senators named. I respectfully submit that that is not subject to a point of order and that that does not come within the rule. To hold that it does might present rather a dangerous precedent at some time when there was a desire to refer to them in a respectful way.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will say that he did not hear what the gentleman from California said. The gentleman from Tennessee has stated the rule correctly—that it is intended to cut out any reference which would reflect upon Senators, or vice versa, in making such remarks as might lead to controversy. As far as using them to refer to public records is concerned, that is absolutely legitimate.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Will the gentleman from California yield for a question?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Is it not a fact that there is an entirely different kind of grain used in the manufacture of beer than is used in the distillation of liquors?

Mr. RANDALL. That is undoubtedly true.

Mr. BURNETT. But it is all foodstuffs.

Mr. RANDALL. Yes. I want to say that the figures I have quoted here are from the official figures of the Agricultural Department.

Mr. CARY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes.

Mr. CARY. Does not the Census or the Agricultural Department state the amount of foodstuffs that are returned by the brewers for food consumption?

Mr. RANDALL. Undoubtedly. I have quoted the figures on foodstuffs.

Mr. CARY. But the gentleman has not given the net amount returned?

Mr. RANDALL. Oh, yes; I am giving the official figures of the Agricultural Department. The gentleman from Milwaukee refers to brewery slops and other refuse which make some small return as hog and cattle feed. This is a mighty poor compensation for the destruction of three and a half billion pounds annually of human foodstuffs or their equivalent.

A SEPARATE PEACE WITH BEER.

Mr. Speaker, the conference committee proposes a separate peace with beer. The bill as it is returned does not in any way molest the manufacture or sale of either wine or beer. It asks the Congress to play the coward and dodge the question. We are sent here, gentlemen, to consider the needs of the Nation and legislate. We are not fulfilling the demands of the people upon us if we act on the theory that we are sent here to pass appropriations, draw our salaries, and pass all responsibility on to the President. It may be admitted that he has shown a willingness, possibly a little more than a willingness, to assume all authority and responsibility. I am sure that such acts as are proposed in this bill may well make him and the people doubt whether as a Congress we have the brains and bravery to face any actual issues.

HARMLESS BEER.

A hundred years ago people believed that beer was harmless, relatively. The good ladies and gentlemen of the temperance societies took a keg along to open the meeting with, as we to-day would have frappe or lemonade. Employers furnished it, at their own cost, to their workmen. But there are few these days who, either through ignorance or for hire, will deny that the worst and most dangerous alcoholic enemy is beer. There are occasional exceptions, but they are so rare as to be singular, and for the most part their habitat seems to be editorial.

On the other hand, the testimony of men of the highest authority, who but a few years ago shared the then popular view that alcohol taken in more diluted forms was relatively innocent, is singularly unanimous in support of the position that the milder drinks are the more dangerous. It is the alcohol that does the chief damage. A 12-ounce glass of 4 per cent beer, such as is commonly served, contains as much alcohol as an ounce of Government proof whisky. Recently a St. Louis saloon keeper advertised a 40-ounce drink of beer, in which, at 4 per cent, there would be over an ounce and a half of absolute alcohol. In addition to this, the hops which is used in making beer is very closely related to Indian hemp, from which is made the poisonous narcotic "hashish." It is said—see Webster's Dictionary—that we get our word "assassin," from this word, because in the Orient a Mohammedan sect practiced gruesome murders when under its influence. Prof. Reinitzer, of the Polytechnic, of Graz, Austria, says:

In the female blossom of the Indian plant, as in the female blossom of the hops, we find glands holding a narcotic, bitter-tasting, sticky substance which forms the active element in hashish, from Indian hemp. This is used by the various Mohammedan people of South and West Africa, as opium elsewhere, for narcotic purposes.

To this narcotic from the hops added to the poison of the alcohol Prof. Reinitzer attributes the peculiar brutalizing influence of beer, which marks the "beer Philistine." "Such an expression

as 'wine Philistine' or 'whisky Philistine' is inconceivable," says Prof. Reinitzer. He continues:

Beer drinking has apparently a special action on the nervous system which leads to the clumsy, provincial heaviness of mind one can observe most strikingly in the beer drinker. Also the hops contributes to the pathological, burning thirst of the beer drinker and to the injurious effects on the kidneys.

SCIENTIFIC CHARACTER OF TESTIMONY.

Whether Prof. Reinitzer is correct in attributing the peculiarly injurious effects of beer to the combination of hops and alcoholic poison, there seems to be an undeniable unanimity of scientific investigators in support of the opinion that beer is the worst of all forms of alcohol.

Prof. G. von Bunge, of Basel, Switzerland, said (May, 1907):

Of all alcoholic drinks beer is the most harmful, because no other lends itself so readily to dulling the sense of tedium. Beer is the most harmful because it is the most seductive. * * * There is no drink to which one becomes accustomed so quickly. * * * No other leads to so much intemperance.

Dr. A. Forel, in De Alkoholfrage, 1904, says:

The fermented drinks—beer, wine, cider—are scarcely less dangerous; in fact, they are even worse than whisky, because they are looked upon as more proper, and are therefore more seductive. Larger quantities are used, and the final effect, the social alcoholizing, is the same, because they both contain ethyl alcohol.

Dr. Max Gruber, professor of hygiene, University of Munich, Germany, exclaims:

Where is the man who dares deny that alcoholic drinks cause the most serious damage to health and life; that beer, especially, diminishes the intellectual capacity and the will power of millions of men, destroys prematurely the physical poise, and makes the man a repugnant caricature?

Dr. Hugo Hoppe, the famous nerve specialist, of Koenigsberg, Germany, points out the result of extolling light drinks, and especially beer, as an enemy of whisky. He says:

The result of extolling beer as the mightiest enemy of whisky and brandy has been that the consumption of the distilled liquors has changed very little, while to these liquors has been added beer, the use of which has led to a great and still increasing beer alcoholism. The brutalizing effect of beer alcoholism is shown most clearly by the fact that in Germany crimes of personal violence, particularly dangerous bodily injuries, occur most frequently in Bavaria, where there is the highest consumption of beer.

Prof. Holder, of Landshut, Bavaria, supports this sentiment. Speaking before the Catholic Temperance Society of Germany, in 1910, he said:

The average number of sentences (for crime) passed per 100,000 inhabitants for the empire is 239; but for the heavy-drinking Provinces, Nirderbayern 565, and for Rhenish Palatinate 633, and the imperial office declares that these excessive numbers are due to the cheap beer and wine.

Dr. Charles Gilbert Davis, of Chicago, lays upon beer the chief responsibility for alcoholic diseases, charging that it is worse than all other alcohols combined. In part, he says:

It is my professional opinion, after observation of many years in the practice of medicine, that beer is doing more harm to humanity than all other alcoholics.

Beer produces disease of the stomach, kidneys, heart, and blood vessels. Owing to the diuretic effect of the hops, the alcohol in the beer is diverted toward the kidneys, which probably accounts for its destructive action on these organs. It causes a deposit of morbid fat in the body, especially around the heart, enlarges that organ, and increases the work of the heart and blood vessels, manifested by the fatigue and shortness of breath of all beer drinkers.

A man can not use beer daily for any great length of time and not manifest some physiological deficiency.

Prof. Stengel, in his great work, a translation from Jugensen, of Tubingen & Schrotter, of Vienna, draws attention to what he calls the "beer heart." He says, "Bavaria, especially Munich, is its home par excellence, and the people in that country in every class of society fall victims to this class of heart disease."

Beer deposits fat around the heart, weakens the muscular walls, thickens and enlarges the ventricles, and, if continued, ultimately cuts short the life of the individual.

All of this has been proven time and again by the post mortems of Bollinger, who has examined and weighed the hearts of many beer drinkers. This is a terrible scientific arraignment of beer, but it is the truth, and truth is the voice of God.

Dr. von Streumpell, a physiologist of high standing in Germany, has reached the conclusion that beer is as bad, if not worse, than other liquors. He says:

Formerly whisky and brandy were the universal evildoers, the only despised drinks as against "noble" wine and "harmless" beer. At present we know that in practice the injurious effects of beer are at least as frequent, if not, indeed, more frequent, than those of distilled liquor.

Other eminent European scientists and doctors speak as follows:

Prof. Emil Kraepelin:

In the production of alcoholism in Germany beer undoubtedly plays the chief rôle. It must be conceded that beer is capable of producing typical delirium tremens.

Prof. Gustav von Bunge:

No other drink (referring to beer) is so insidious. It has been in Germany worse than the whisky pest, because more apt to lead to immoderate drinking.

Prof. Mobius, Leipsig:

I know little of whisky and wine drinkers. With us it is beer that ruins the people.

Dr. Johannes Leonhart, a distinguished scientist:

The question concerning alcohol is not whether Smith or Jones believes that he can take two or three glasses a day without harm, but how is it possible to diminish the immense amount of injury from it that the whole German people suffer.

It was a beer and wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to two to three glasses of 4 per cent beer or a half pint of 10 per cent wine) that Kraepelin found impaired the perception and attention needed by lookouts, signalmen, sentries, engineers, automobile drivers, machinists, and others in military and civil work.

It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to one to four glasses of beer or one-fifth to four-fifths of a pint of wine) that Joss found decreased in adult students the power of attention, concentration, mental keenness 4.9 per cent the first hour, 10.9 per cent the second hour, 12.5 per cent the third hour.

It was a beer or wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to two glasses of beer or a half pint of wine) that Totterman found markedly reduced the coordination of eye and hand work needed in delicate machine work of all kinds.

It was a beer and wine quantity of alcohol (equivalent to three-fourths of a pint of wine or a little over four glasses of beer) that Frankfurther found increased seventeen times the relative number of errors in typewriting.

It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol that in practically all these experiments misled the person using the alcohol into thinking that he was working better, when actually his work was poorer.

It was beer and wine quantities of alcohol (equivalent to 1½ to 2½ pints of beer or 10 to 15 ounces of wine) that Dodge and Benedict, of the Carnegie Nutrition Laboratory, Boston, found definitely depressed combined nerve and muscle activity. This with other results gave "clear indication of decreased organic efficiency as a result of moderate doses of alcohol."

The amounts of alcohol used in the foregoing experiments are commonly taken in wine or beer by hundreds of thousands of drinkers. They have been proven to decrease physical and mental working ability.

This loss would continue if war prohibition merely prohibited the stronger liquors.

Beer and whisky have been close associates—lived under the same roof, stood behind the same bar—for years. No State has killed one without at the same time executing the other, and this wholesale execution has taken place in 24 States in the Union.

Congress has proposed to kill only John Barleycorn. Why not end the job now and inter Gambrinus also—very much the greater food waster of the two—in the same grave?

THE BEER DRINKER GETS MORE ALCOHOL.

The belief that beer should not come under the condemnation so frequently meted out to whisky is traceable to the common impression that beer drinkers consume much less alcohol than whisky drinkers. But those who believe this overlook the fact that the man who drinks 4 per cent beer usually takes ten times as much as a man who takes 40 per cent whisky. The United States Internal Revenue Commissioner, on page 675 of the Statistical Abstract, gives the per capita consumption of distilled spirits and beer in 1914 and their respective alcoholic contents as follows:

	Gallons used.	Gallons of alcohol.
Distilled spirits	1.46	0.584
Malt liquors	20.51	.820

It will be seen from this that the per capita consumption of alcohol by beer drinkers in 1914 was 40 per cent greater than that by whisky drinkers.

For 1916 the per capita consumption of absolute alcohol in spirits was 0.54 gallon, and for beer 0.68 gallon. But in both of these computations it should be remembered that well toward half of the spirits is used in the arts and sciences, where all of the beer is consumed as a beverage. It is evident, therefore, that beer drinkers consume considerably more than twice as much alcohol as the whisky drinkers.

"PHILISTINISM" A BEER DISORDER.

I have already quoted Prof. Reinitzer who referred to the "beer Philistine." "Philistinism" is now used on both sides of the water as expressing a brutalized mentality the result of beer indulgence. The Scientific American says:

The most dangerous classes of ruffians in our large cities are beer drinkers. Intellectually a stupor amounting almost to paralysis arrests the reason, changing all the higher faculties into a mere animalism, sensual, selfish, sluggish, varied only with paroxysms of anger, senseless and brutal.

In appearance the beer drinker may be the picture of health, but in reality he is most incapable of resisting disease. A slight injury, a

severe cold, or a shock to the body or mind will commonly provoke acute disease, ending fatally. Compared with other inebriates who use different kinds of alcohol, he is more incurable and more generally diseased. It is our observation that beer drinking in this country produces the very lowest kind of inebriety, closely allied to criminal insanity.

Prof. Rudolph Eucken, possibly the greatest philosopher Germany has produced, declares that his country must give up beer, which "breeds the wretched type of beer Philistine with which everyone is familiar."

BEER VALUELESS AS A FOOD.

An extensive beer advertising campaign is under way, designed to create the impression that it is an article of food and that it is always "pure." As a matter of fact, it has no appreciable food value. The statement so often attributed to the famous German chemist, Baron von Liebig, "Beer is liquid bread," can not be located in any one of Von Liebig's scientific works, and in Letter VI of his Letters on Chemistry, to be found on page 22 of his Complete Works on Chemistry, he says:

Beer, wine, and spirits furnish no elements capable of entering into the composition of the blood, muscular fiber, or any part that is a vital principle.

And he says:

Nine quarts of the best ale contains as much nourishment as would lie on the end of a table knife.

And still again:

If a man drinks daily 8 or 10 quarts of the best Bavarian beer, in the course of 12 months he will have taken into his stomach the nutritive constituents of a 5-pound loaf of bread.

Prof. G. O. Higley, of the department of chemistry, Ohio Wesleyan University, published a very elaborate study of the food value of flour and of beer. He found the ratio of proteids in beer to proteids in flour as 1 to 80, of carbohydrates as 1 to 61, and of fats 0.0 to 0.28. To furnish a hard-working man with the amount of proteids needed each day it would be necessary to give him 108 glasses of beer, costing $5.40, as compared to 37.9 ounces of flour, costing 6.8 cents. To supply him with the carbohydrates needed for his daily ration it would be necessary to give him 52 glasses of beer, costing $2.60, or flour, costing 4.3 cents.

The same money expended for beer and flour would yield 94.5 calories in the case of beer and 2,785.84 calories in the case of flour. The calorie is the unit of measure of nutritive value.

Prof. Higley made a similar comparison between milk and beer, with similar conclusions.

England, some 80 years ago, tried the experiment of fighting whisky and spirit consumption by the encouragement of the use of beer. The result is that she has become the greatest beer-drinking nation in the world, outstripping Germany in her per capita consumption. She has, moreover, inebriated all classes to an alarming extent, and both sexes. Drunkenness among women is doubtless more prevalent in the British Isles than in any other country on the globe. When the new law had been in force but a short time Sidney Smith wrote:

The new beer bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state.

The first year the beer shops increased 30,000. The clergy, as is well known, became interested, which makes the question the more vexing and perplexing now.

Beer is defended as the drink of little alcohol.

The Nation drinks more than twice as much absolute alcohol in beer as in spirits.

Beer is said to be a harmless drink. In addition to its alcoholic content it has the stupefying and brutalizing narcotic of hops, akin to Indian hemp.

Beer is said to consume but little grain.

It consumes more than all other liquors combined, and, unlike spirits, it returns no commercial alcohol for the useful and necessary industries.

The plea is made for beer as a taxpayer.

It pays but little more than half the amount paid by spirits.

Why, then, should this Congress play favorites with beer? There is not a State in the Union that does not treat all the brood alike. Years ago, before the character of beer was known, States and localities frequently prohibited spirits and licensed beer. They all have learned better by bitter experience. There is not a single State in the Union that makes a distinction.

In the last general election two of the Western States submitted to a popular vote a provision to allow the restricted use of beer. Seattle, Denver, and other cities that had voted against prohibition two years before gave a strong majority against beer—the biggest bully of them all.

MEDICAL MEN BAN ALCOHOL.

Mr. Speaker, at the New York meeting of the American Medical Association, June 7, 1917, as you doubtless know, the following resolution was adopted by the house of delegates:

Whereas we believe that the use of alcohol is detrimental to the human economy, and whereas its use in therapeutics as a tonic or stimulant or for food has no scientific value; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Medical Association is opposed to the use of alcohol as a beverage; and be it further

Resolved, That the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be further discouraged.

WASTE OF MONEY.

The direct waste (the amount paid annually for liquor) is stated by high authority to exceed two billions of dollars—more than the amount of the first liberty loan—and every dollar of it worse than wasted. That is a sum sufficient to buy the Nation's annual crop of barley, rye, buckwheat, hops, potatoes, apples, peaches, oranges, and lemons; and the entire annual output of sugar, salt, gold, silver, copper, and precious stones, and pay all the dividends of all the national banks, steam railroads, and express companies, and pay all pensions and the entire amount of the customs receipts of the Nation. Even all of these items lack over sixteen millions of the aggregate of $2,000,000,000. And according to the same high authorities the loss in efficiency reaches more than two billions more, and the loss in crime, pauperism, insanity, bad bills, and other incidental evils are not yet accounted for.

And, gentlemen, the liquor advocates do not even dare to attempt an answer hereto. All they say, can say, or dare say is that they are such bold and vicious criminals and that humanity is so desperately degenerate that they will defy the will of the people.

I think it must be admitted that if we abandon the prohibition provisions adopted by this House that we do so in utter disregard of the unanimous voice of political and social economists and scientists.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS VOTED DRY.

Mr. Speaker, it will come as a distinct surprise to some Congressmen that the question of food conservation, which we have prided ourselves upon as a recent invention, demanded attention in 1777. And it will certainly startle some to be reminded that in that connection the Congress went its limit:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several legislatures of the United States immediately to pass laws the most effectual for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented.

That was passed 140 years ago, on February 27, 1777, by the Continental Congress.

Some critic may urge that the measure was not bone dry, since it did not mention brewing. At that date beer had not discovered America. The Government has no record of the beer industry prior to 1840—63 years after the adoption of this resolution—and then the per capita consumption was but 1.36 gallons, or less than one-twelfth the per capita consumption of last year.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S VOICE.

Abraham Lincoln, 65 years after the historic resolution which I have read was adopted in the Continental Congress, gave utterance to the following words before the "Washingtonians" at Springfield, Ill., February 22, 1842:

Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it more of want supplied, more of disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest; even the dram maker and dram seller will have glided into other occupations and stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this to the cause of political freedom; with such an aid its march can not fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching drafts of perfect liberty.

And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species.

BEER AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Speaker, I shall read, simply to illustrate the influence of the gigantic beer lobby which surrounds the National Capital at this moment, articles from two great unfettered newspapers of the country:

BREWERS AND POLITICS.

[From the Milwaukee Journal.]

In the United States court at Pittsburgh 33 Pennsylvania brewers have been fined $50,000 in all for misuses of money in the congressional election of 1914. On a similar charge the United States Brewers' Association has been fined $10,000, the maximum amount possible under Federal law.

The charge under which these brewers were punished was that they raised and spent a fund exceeding $1,000,000 to influence the election of a United States Senator and 36 Members of the lower House of Congress.

The whole thing is staggering. Here was an attempt to debauch the electorate of a great Commonwealth, to buy seats in the Halls of Congress, and to pervert to selfish and sordid purposes the Government of the Nation. It was not only done in violation of law but it is destructive of representative government.

The United States attorney charged in court that these brewers boasted in their circulars of their ability to poison the ranks of organized labor through labor unions, to kill at one session of Congress 200 bills inimical to the liquor interests, and to capture entire States at elections.

It is not the liquor traffic in itself, but the social and political crimes of those engaged in it, which lead to the rapid enactment of prohibitory laws all over the country. People resent government by brewer and distiller. People resent the election of legislators and other public officers—city, State, and National—to serve ends hostile to social decency, to rule by the people, to the very life of the Nation.

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IS IT A CHOICE BETWEEN BEER AND LOYALTY?

[From the Los Angeles Tribune.]

The United States Senate, whose legislative duty it plainly is to decide the fate of beer in the pending Federal food measure, decided to leave the determination of the troublesome question to the President. The President promptly accepts the proffered responsibility and, if we may employ the popular vernacular of the day, deftly "passes the buck" right back to the Senate, where the issue of right belongs at its present stage.

President Wilson, a bit in advance of the senatorial program, takes the Senate and the country frankly into confidence and lets it be known that, if the question is left to his determination, beer as well as wine will be exempted from the prohibitory feature of the food bill. The vexed question now goes back to the Senate.

President Wilson assigns as his reason for the position he assumes that to prohibit the manufacture and sale of beer would threaten "industrial unrest" and "divide the sympathies of the Nation."

The force of this argument, if impressive, is certainly appalling. Is it possible that this Nation is prepared to admit to the whole world that its industrial peace is to be purchased with beer? Worse yet, are its "sympathies" to be divided—while actually at war with a great foreign power that threatens our liberties—as a penalty for an economic step of deepest moment to the country, to the homes, and to the prosperity of its working classes?

President Wilson makes no mention of the vaunted contribution of the liquor business to the revenues of the country for the successful prosecution of the war. Doubtless this argument was ignored by him, first, because it would be giving added publicity to something we are ashamed of, namely, that a Government of the people consents to the weakening of its manhood and the undermining of its homes rather than pay its bills with honest, reputable taxation. And, finally, the President knows that the liquor business imposes burdens on the people, directly and indirectly, immeasurably greater than the revenues it yields, great as these are.

Appeals for economy in the home must lack in convincing power if both moral and economic waste continues to be fostered by the Government in protecting the saloon business. Has the President considered the value of the undivided sympathy of men and women who believe in conserving the man power of the country and the food grains at a time like this? And does not the President do violence to his estimate of the loyalty and patriotism of industrial workers in keeping the beer joints open as a means of insuring their loyalty? We surely can not have come to that! The saloon surely can not have a higher claim on the Nation than do the homes that are being daily wrecked by booze; than the homes in no way enslaved by it, but which help to pay the enormous cost of it. If economy and the conservation of manhood are worth considering, booze should be suppressed during the war. If the loyalty and sympathy of industrial America is to be measured in terms of beer, then God save the Republic!

RESULTS OF PROHIBITION.

A few weeks ago the liquor interests spread a full-page advertisement in the Washington press, claiming that prohibition increased the consumption of spirits, destroyed the property of the brewers, reduced pay rolls, and made productive property idle. I telegraphed to a number of prominent business and professional men in various States, and not one single man gave testimony substantiating the claims made by the liquor people.

Mr. F. N. Briggs, president of the Interstate Trust Co., one of the large financial institutions of Denver, telegraphed:

Savings accounts wonderfully increased since prohibition became effective. No drunkenness on our streets; no wine rooms or dives. Large decrease in crime and wonderful uplift of entire Commonwealth.

Mr. N. J. Blagen, of Hoquiam, Wash., president of Grays Harbor Lumber Co., which does business all over both Washington and Oregon, strongly denied the spurious claims of the wets as follows:

Answering your wire yesterday, prohibition has not driven men to drink whisky, brandy, or rum. On the contrary, it has proved the greatest blessing to the working class and everyone else. There has been a constant increase in wages and prosperity in business ever since Oregon and Washington went dry. Instead of a decrease in pay rolls, they have been very largely increased. Altogether it is the best investment that these two States have ever made.

Fuller E. Calloway, of La Grange, Ga., president of the Manchester Cotton Mills, wired:

Prohibition greatly lessens drinking of all forms of intoxicants, also their attendant crimes. Police and court records indisputably sustain this.

Henry Rising, editor of the Spokane Chronicle, wired:

Seventeen months of "permit" liquor system cut off three-fourths of use of whisky, brandy, and beer in Washington. Total prohibition in force here for last two weeks has brought drunkenness and crime in Spokane to minimum. Wages are going up. Factories and farms calling in vain for workmen. Banks hold 50 per cent more deposits than two years ago and poorhouse has shrunk 50 per cent. No argument could coax people of Washington to return to saloon system.

Ernest Lister, governor of the State of Washington, said:

Saloons in this State closed January 1, 1916. Brewery properties, practically without exception, have been converted to other uses. Since saloons closed commitments to county jails and prisons have decreased 50 per cent. People purchase larger quantities and better qualities of merchandise and pay for same more promptly. There is no question but that people of the State of Washington are better off in every respect—morally, physically, and financially—under prohibition than when saloons were in operation.

F. W. Clarke, managing editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., wired:

Prohibition has worked wonders in Georgia, and every enactment strengthening the law has been a step forward. Especially since abolishing our package law has the amount of drinking in Georgia been reduced to practically nothing. Instead of driving men to drink, prohibition has saved them by thousands.

George F. Cottrill, chief engineer of the State highway commission of the State of Washington and former mayor of Seattle, wired from Olympia, the State capital, as follows:

Quoted advertisement Washington papers simply rehash familiar liquor campaign falsehoods everywhere exploded by actual prohibition experience. After 18 months practically every former brewing interest, including largest, adapted other productions. Increased pay rolls. Better business. Safer investments. Vastly improved material prosperity. Moral welfare.

L. P. Campbell, president of the University of Oregon, at Eugene, Oreg., wired as follows:

Prohibition in Oregon has been attended with best possible results. Drunkenness has almost entirely disappeared, and crime has very largely decreased. Business men generally agree that prohibition has been a great benefit.

John Laing, of Charleston, W. Va., president of the Wyatt Coal Co., operating 12 mines with an annual output of 6,000,000 tons, wired:

Our experience has been that men who were habitual drunkards have discontinued the habit entirely since prohibition took effect in West Virginia. There is a certain class of people who endeavored to traffic in whisky unlawfully in this State, but they have finally all been apprehended and punished under the law and this practice is almost entirely broken up, and instead of making drunkards, prohibition is making sober men out of drunkards.

Again I challenge the liquor press and the Members of this House who oppose prohibition legislation to find men of station and substance who will testify to the contrary. In absence of such reliable testimony, and in the face of these undisputed facts, there is no escaping the conclusion that the press which blazons these falsehoods to the world is either criminally ignorant of the facts or shamelessly mendacious.

T. A. Mitchell, chief of police of Newport News, Va., gives the following official figures for corresponding wet and dry months:

	1915—Wet.		1916—Dry.	
	November.	December.	November.	December.
Drunk	82	132	19	17
Disorderly	106	61	23	26

Chief of Police John Anderson, of Aberdeen, S. Dak., writes under date of January 13, 1917:

The month of June, 1917, saloons running, arrests for all offenses were 95. The month of June, 1916, saloons out, there were 42 arrests for all offenses, and there has been a steady decrease every month.

The chief of police of Phoenix, Ariz., Mr. George O. Brisbois, writes under date of January 17, 1917:

In answer to your letter of January 10, regarding statistics of crime, beg to reply that during the year 1914 (wet) there were 4,750 arrests on all charges and a total of 2,674 arrests for drunkenness; and during the year of 1915 (dry) there were 1,780 arrests on all charges and 224 arrests for drunkenness.

The chief of police of Denver, Colo., writes under date of January, 1917:

	Wet, 1915.	Dry, 1916.
Drunks	3,227	1,605
Disturbance	1,064	733
Vagrancy	3,313	1,246
Total	7,604	3,584

J. H. Stark, chief of police of Colorado Springs, Colo., under date of January 15, 1917, writes:

In reply to your inquiry for figures of the increase or decrease of crime since State adopted the prohibition law, will submit the following figures for your consideration:

	License.			Prohibition, 1916.
	1912	1914	1915	
Number of arrests	2,620	2,288	2,582	1,655
Number of arrests made for drunkenness	466	363	583	79

If statistics prove anything, the foregoing should prove beyond a doubt that prohibition has worked wonders in regard to the number of arrests and arrests for drunkenness and like misdemeanors.

T. J. Kelly, commissioner of public safety in the city of Everett, Wash., writes, under date of January 17, 1917:

In reply to yours of the 10th instant, asking for statistics showing the increase or decrease of crime since the adoption of the prohibitory law in our city, will say that crime has surely decreased more than two-thirds, as will be shown by the following:

	License.			Prohibition, 1916.
	1913	1914	1915	
Total arrests on all charges	4,919	4,359	4,049	2,133
Total arrests on charges of drunk, drunk and disorderly, and drunk and vagrancy	1,457	771	655	208

The years 1913, 1914, and 1915 were wet, and our prohibition law became effective January 1, 1916.

Prohibitionists often suffer caustic criticism because of the percentages and ratios of crime and other human evils which they charge to drink. There may occasionally be cause for such criticism. If so, the exaggeration is inexcusable, for if the prohibitionist states but half the facts he still makes an unassailable case. But I call attention to the above statements and figures to show that prohibition, even before it gets well under way, reduces crime to a degree equal to the claims usually made by its advocates. And let me call further attention to the fact that this was before the Webb-Kenyon measure had been upheld by the court and prior to the operation of the bone-dry enactment of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Chief of Police C. G. Kiser, of Norfolk, Va., reports under date of January 16, 1917:

In November, 1915, under license there were a total of 857 arrests made, of which 155 were for drunks. The next year, under prohibition there were 649 arrests, of which 10 were for drunks. In December, 1915, under license there were a total of 783 arrests, of which 160 were for drunks. In December, 1916, under prohibition there were a total of 456 arrests, of which 29 were for drunks.

He adds:

As the law has only been in effect for two months sufficient time has not elapsed to see results along this line.

Chief of Police J. A. Morton, of Columbus, Miss., under date of January 16, 1917, writes:

I have been working for the city for 12 years as an officer, and feel that I can safely say that the condition is fully 60 per cent better now under prohibition than under the former laws.

The chief of police of Eugene, Oreg., gives the following figures as to the result of prohibition in his city. Eugene went dry in 1914:

Year.	Drunks.	Vagrancy.
1912	330	36
1913	253	59
1914	63	13
1915	31	5
1916	24	2

It is the belief of all persons who have been or are interested in the moral welfare of Eugene that conditions are much better under prohibition than ever under a wet régime. And the general opinion is that everyone is better off and in a higher moral situation under prohibition.

C. B. CHRISTENSEN.

Chief of Police J. M. Broughton, of Portsmouth, Va., writes under date of January 14, 1917:

In the months of November and December, 1915 (wet), we had 452 arrests, of which 84 were for drunkenness.

In the same months, under prohibition, in 1916 we had 389 arrests, of which 46 were for drunks.

Since the prohibition in this State the change has been wonderful in this city.

J. E. Bell, chief of police of Danville, Va., under date of January 15, 1917, sends signed copies of his official reports for December, 1915, under license, and December, 1916, under prohibition. The following table shows the total arrests for those two months with the number occurring under the most frequent charges:

Charge.	December, 1915 (wet).	December, 1916 (dry).
All charges	288	122
Assault	39	19
Drunkenness	78	6
Disorderly	52	7
Larceny	16	8
Violations liquor law	13	17
Fines	$1,077	$292

In his letter of transmittal Chief Bell says:

The decrease of crime is simply wonderful.

Mayor James R. Hanna, of Des Moines, Iowa, writes:

The saloons were closed on the 15th of February, 1915. All the desirable locations were picked up by other businesses within the next few weeks following. A few out-of-the-way locations are still vacant.

I can not see that there is any appreciable effect because of throwing men out of employment, and certainly no increase in demands for charity. In fact, it is exactly the other way. The men who lost employment have gone into other lines. The men who were spending in the saloons the money which their families needed are now buying groceries and shoes instead. The consequence is a very much better tone in every way. In the first place, their families are not now in want, and, in the second place, they are paying their bills for the ordinary necessities. This is making collections noticeably better in other lines, so our merchants report.

The Spokane Spokesman-Review gives some figures showing a decrease of over 60 per cent in crime:

The number of arrests for drunkenness in Spokane in 1916 was 829, against 2,082 in the wet year; arrests for vagrancy totaled 420, against 1,578 in 1915; and for disorderly conduct, 218, against 692 the previous year. Less than one-half as many burglaries were reported in the dry year as in the last wet one. Petty larcency cases fell from 324 in 1915 to 97 in the dry year.

The retail merchants of Spokane say that accounts were settled more promptly last year than ever before, and trade was bigger in volume, too.

Spokane in 1915 had 44 business failures, with a total loss of $341,000. In 1916 it had only 28 failures, with a loss of about $74,000.

Employment agencies report that workers are harder to find than in wet years and that they demand better wages, apparently having money on hand to tide them over temporarily.

Gov. James Withycombe, of Oregon, in commenting on the situation, said:

Prohibition is proving a phenomenal success from an economic and moral standpoint.

According to the report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Virginia, 1 person in each 118 of the population was sent to jail during 1912. Taking all the wet territory of the State, there was 1 jail commitment to each 56 of the population. In the dry territory for the same period there was 1 jail commitment to each 527 of the population. Virginia has since voted "dry."

In this instance the wet counties had nearly ten times as many commitments as the dry, in spite of the fact that the dry counties were kept in a somewhat damp condition from the surrounding wet counties and States. Results will be more satisfactory after the Webb-Kenyon bill and other bone-dry provisions have been used as "dehydrating" agents.

During the year ending June 30, 1913, 22,994 prisoners were confined in the county jails in Ohio. Of these, 3,528 were in the jails of 44 dry counties and 19,466 in the jails of the 42 wet counties, Vinton, dry, and Clark, wet, not included. On the basis of the 1910 census, there was 1 person in jail in dry counties to each 366 of the population, but in the wet counties there was a person in jail for each 178 of population. The number of jail prisoners was more than twice as great, according to population, in wet counties as in dry counties.

Possibly no illustration is better calculated to show what this Congress might do for the United States in promoting national fitness than that contained in the following editorial from the San Francisco Daily Chronicle of May 5, 1906, shortly after the great earthquake and fire. It need not be said to those who are acquainted in California that the Chronicle is not a prohibition paper nor its editor among the recognized advocates of local or national aridity:

San Francisco for the past fortnight has been absolutely free from disorder and virtually free from crimes of violence. There have been no street brawls. No drunken brute has beaten his wife. No gamblers have murdered each other in low resorts. Except for some dealings with sneak thieves, the occupation of the police courts is gone. It is a most impressive object lesson of the value to society of the restriction of the liquor traffic. We are promised a continuation of this peaceful condition for a considerable time to come, save only as drunken men may drift over from Oakland, where the authorities have been so reckless as to allow saloons to open. We may be compelled to renew quarantine against Oakland. This absolute demonstration that the saloons are responsible for all crimes of violence makes it imperative that whenever they shall be allowed to reopen in this city their license fees will be fixed at a rate which will support the police department. There must be increased taxation. The public generally will protest against being taxed for the control or suppression of those forms of crime for which the saloons are now proved to be solely responsible. The public will look to the board of supervisors to place the cost of dealing with crime on the occupation which is responsible for all of it.

EDITORS IN PROHIBITION STATES.

No more thoroughly impartial evidence has been submitted than that gathered by the Literary Digest which appeared under date of May 26, 1917. And it is quite probable that no more competent witnesses have been called than the editors of the papers in 19 States which have had from 1 to 60 years' experience. The Digest omitted to state that none had enjoyed one full year's experience under any form of State-wide prohibition, but it should be remembered that none of them had had the benefits of the recent court decisions or the legislation of the

last Congress. These provisions will remove some of the weaknesses that have interfered with the operation of the law, and under them more uniform and satisfactory results are certain to follow.

Forty-one columns were devoted to the replies, and 90 per cent of the replies were favorable to the law, 6 per cent were undecided, and only 4 per cent expressed opposition. Of the 4 per cent who give unfavorable reports, about one-half laid the failure to the permissive features, such as the "2-gallons-a-month law," and the remainder were divided between the admission that the liquor traffic successfully defied or evaded the law and the claim that the express companies kept all who desired liquor supplied with it. The recent action of the courts and Congress will correct the first two of these complaints.

The following are the 19 States covered by the inquiry, with the dates when they adopted the policy:

1851—Maine.
1880—Kansas.
1890—North Dakota.
1908—Georgia and Oklahoma.
1909—Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee.
1914—West Virginia.
1915—Alabama, Arizona, and Virginia.
1916—Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Oregon, South Carolina, and Washington.

Time will not permit any extensive review of the replies published. The Kennebec Journal, formerly edited by James G. Blaine, warmly commends the law and writes:

We advise other States to adopt our law, with improvements against weak and nullifying officials, because every State added helps us and because our religious, educational, business, and social life is more wholesome and progressive under it; because the opposition of the liquor interests has aroused the people to study the liquor-traffic problem, and to study means understanding of and hatred for the conscienceless methods of a damnable business.

Kansas next after Maine adopted prohibition as a permanent policy, and a single editorial utterance from that State is a fair index to them all. William Allen White, of the Emporia Gazette, calls attention to the fact that—

The last time anyone had the courage to run before the people of Kansas on an antiprohibition declaration he got 1 vote in 12 of those polled at the election. The unanimous supreme court, the governor, and the unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature recently were registered for prohibition. A public declaration that prohibition has made business better was made by the State retailers' association at their State convention; the chairman of the commercial clubs of the State has declared he believes prohibition has made Kansas land more valuable than it would be otherwise. The chairman of the State medical society is recorded as declaring that prohibition is our best hygienic statute, and the president of the State bar association recently declared that prohibition had decreased crime. The president of the State federation of labor a few years ago declared that prohibition had made laboring conditions better for laboring men than saloons, and the State grange has gone on record as declaring that there is more money for the farmer raising grain for food and grapes for grape juice than there is in raising farm products for liquor. In the face of these testimonials, the opinion of one man is highly irrelevant.

Washington has had but one year's experience, and that was under "quart-bottle" prohibition. Yet Maj. C. B. Blethen, owner and editor of the Seattle Times, who was a most vigorous antiprohibitionist until he had watched the operation of the law, gives enthusiastic testimony to its value.

Maj. C. B. Blethen, formerly with the Minneapolis Tribune, now the editor of the Seattle Times, recently gave out the following interview:

My paper fought its damnedest against prohibition. We fought it on economic grounds alone. We believed that in a great seaport city with a population of upward of 330,000 prohibition would be destructive; it would bring on economic disaster. We believed that under our system of licensing saloons we had the liquor traffic about as well controlled as it could be and we wanted to let it alone, and so we fought as hard as we could fight. But in spite of all we could do against it prohibition carried and it went into effect in Washington January 1. We have had a month of it now.

And how has it worked out?

We already know that it is a great benefit morally and from an economic standpoint. Its moral benefit has been tremendous. Seattle had 336 saloons, and we had about 1,600 arrests a month for crimes and misdemeanors growing out of liquor drinking. In January we had only 765 arrests, and 60 of those were made January 1 and were the result of "hang overs" from the old year. The year previous there were 2,600 arrests in the same month. That in itself is enough to convince any man with a conscience that prohibition is necessary. There can be no true economy in anything that is immoral.

And on top of that great moral result we have these economic facts: In the first three weeks of January the savings accounts in the banks of Seattle increased greatly in numbers. There was not a grocery store in Seattle that did not show an increase of business in January greater than ever known in any month before in all the history of the city, except in holiday time. In all the large grocery stores the increase was immense. In addition to this every dry goods store in Seattle except one, and that one I have no figures from, had a wonderful increase in business. Each store reported the largest business ever done in one month, except in holiday time.

I wished to know in what class of goods the sales increased so greatly, and so I sent to all the grocery and dry goods stores to find that out. And to me it is a pitiful thing, and it makes me sorry that we did not have prohibition long ago, that the increase in sales in all the dry goods stores was in wearing apparel of women and children, and in the grocery stores the increase was made up chiefly of fruits and fancy groceries. This proves that it is the women and children who suffer most from the liquor business, and it is the women and children who benefited greatest from prohibition. Money that went formerly over the bar for whisky is now being spent for clothing for the women and children and in better food for the household.

It is just like this: When you close the saloons the money that formerly was spent there remains in the family of the wage earner, and his wife and children buy shoes and clothing and better food with it. Yes, sir, we have found in Seattle that it is better to buy shoes than booze. The families of wage earners in Seattle are going to have more food and clothes and everything else than they had before.

LABOR LIKES IT.

Labor and labor unions have been industriously taught by the paid liquor propagandists to fear and oppose prohibition as prejudicial, if not destructive, of its interests. I quote three paragraphs from the Digest, showing the attitude of the labor press after observing the effect of prohibition upon industrial conditions.

The Square Deal, which is published under the auspices of the Richmond (Va.) Central Trades and Labor Council, reminds us that when State-wide prohibition was put before the people of Virginia many workingmen, along with thousands of others, were not merely outspoken in their opposition to the proposal but were direful in their predictions as to the disastrous results prohibition must entail. That the result has disproved practically all such dismal foreboding and that to-day the same men are among the champions of prohibition, speaks well for the law and for the manner in which the authorities are trying to enforce it. Excepting those employed in the brewery and liquor industries proper, this journal goes on to say workingmen have been even better off than was expected even by the advocates of prohibition; and while a number of men were thrown out of work through the enactment of the law, many also secured employment as a result of it.

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The Denver Labor Bulletin says that members of organized labor particularly realized in the past year the fallacy of the old slogan about the saloon being "the poor man's club," for they have discovered that this so-called club had a very large share of their earnings, which now goes to support the family or establish a bank account. The Labor Bulletin has no hesitancy in saying that on the whole the condition of Colorado's workers is at least 50 per cent better as a result of State-wide prohibition, and it tells us that retail merchants say that collections are from 40 to 50 per cent better under prohibition than when the saloon door stood wide open to invite wage earners bearing the pay envelope.

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The Boulder (Colo.) News Herald also notes as excellent reasons Colorado has for dissolving its legal partnership with booze the fact that people have suffered in many acts of property destroyed, assault, incendiarism, and murder in a bitter industrial war, and we read:

"Since the saloons have gone there has not been a strike in Colorado. The industrial commission, established in 1915, settled 75 controversies satisfactorily during 1916. Seven labor disputes were formally investigated and awards given without the industrial peace of the State being disturbed. The members of the commission say that if the open saloon had been in existence several of these disputes would surely have ended in strikes, accompanied by violence and crime. Prohibition, supplemented by wise industrial legislation, has kept Colorado in peace."

LABOR LEADERS SPEAK.

During this debate an unsigned two-page advertisement appeared in Washington papers quoting organized labor as opposed to prohibition. Doubtless some of it is. But this was to be noticed: Not a single union from a prohibition State was to be found among those who were said to be against the measure.

By methods of intimidation and threats the liquor interests have been able to silence many labor leaders who favor prohibition. But from prohibition States and cities the sinister frightfulness of the liquor interests is being removed, and there is a volume of sentiment among men of influence in the labor world favorable to the absolute prohibition of the traffic that has sunk its wolfish teeth deeply into the vitals of industrial labor. I read the recent testimony of some of these men:

Chester J. Common, president of the Building Trades Council of Denver, in a letter dated October 23, says: "I am frank to say I voted against the prohibition movement, thinking it would hurt business in a general way.

"Organized labor in Colorado is in better shape than it has been for years. Our members are better fed, better clothed, and have more money in the banks than at any time since I have been in Colorado—14 years."

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William C. Thornton, president of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, also states that he voted against prohibition. "I venture to assert," says Mr. Thornton, "outside of the old saloon interests, you couldn't muster a corporal's guard in the labor movement of Denver to-day who would assert that they were in favor of the return of the saloon."

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The strongest indorsement of the prohibition law in Colorado comes from Otto F. Thum, the first president of the Colorado Federation of Labor, and nationally known in trade-union circles.

Mr. Thum says that prohibition has strengthened organized labor in that State and that it is in better condition to-day than ever before.

"Brewers and malsters," writes Mr. Thum, "have suffered loss in their trade, but the other departments of the brewery workers are still fact—bottlers, drivers, enginemen, and stablemen. These are all thriving.

"But to the surpise of all, the cigar makers have more members at work in Denver now than at any other time. Barbers have more members employed than ever before.

"The movies are the greatest beneficiaries, and we have one of the strongest movie operators' union in the whole country. The musicians feared that they would suffer the loss of the cabaret. But they are more than compensated by the gain in the movies, where they are much more numerously employed under vastly better condition than in

the saloons. The milk business has grown beyond comprehension, and we expect to organize these in the near future.

"In Denver we have been for many years trying to get the boys to build a labor temple, but were always thrown down by a sinister influence—the saloons. We have 108 unions in Denver and they meet in 28 different buildings. The saloons saw to it that we were not bunched in a labor temple. But now that we are well rid of the saloons we are able to get together and in a very short time we will have a labor temple to cost about $125,000."

Mr. Thum's high standing in the American labor movement stamps the above testimony as absolutely reliable.

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J. W. Sanford, Colorado organizer for the Cigarmakers' Union, reporting for his trade to the Denver Labor Bulletin, says: "Reports from East and West are to the effect that there are very few cigarmakers out of work."

The statement that "there are few cigarmakers out of work in the East and West," on the authority of the cigarmakers' representative ought to be sufficient to convince any open-minded person that the workers in the craft have not "suffered" from the effects of prohibition.

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The Denver Labor Bulletin, in a recent issue, says that the musicians in that city have secured a wage increase of $5 per week. In view of the wets' claim that "musicians in Denver are walking the streets seeking employment," this is significant.

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The correspondent of the Machinists' Union reports "that Machinist Union, No. 47, moved next door in the Florence Building into larger and more convenient quarters." Evidently the Machinists' Union is not suffering loss of members on account of prohibition in Colorado.

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Since prohibition went into effect Denver bricklayers have increased their wages from $6 to $7 per day.

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Carpenters in Denver have succeeded in securing the first wage agreement with the contractors in that city for a number of years. It provides for an increase of 5 cents per hour—40 cents a day—the eight-hour day and Saturday half holiday.

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The lathers have increased their wages from $4 to $5 per day—eight hours at that—since Denver went dry.

In July of this year Mr. E. R. Hoage, organizer for the American Federation of Labor in Colorado, sent in to headquarters his official report of conditions in his State.

Here is what Mr. Hoage said:

"Organized labor is in better condition than it has been for years."

To repeat: The above facts are taken from the report of local union secretaries who are giving the actual conditions in their organizations. They are not colored to suit wet adherents or dry adherents. They are absolutely reliable, and they prove conclusively that organized labor has not lost, but has actually made tremendous gains in Colorado since prohibition was inaugurated.

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Mr. Clint C. Houston, editor of the Denver Labor Bulletin, writes, under date of January 13, 1917, as follows: "I have received many letters making inquiries in relation to the effect of prohibition upon labor.

"Labor in Colorado is at least 50 per cent better off under Statewide prohibition than before.

"Should an attempt be made to repeal the law, I am satisfied that not 20 per cent of the members of organized labor in this State, men and women, would vote to rehabilitate the saloon. During the year 1916 (under prohibition) there were more wage agreements entered into carrying increases than during any similar period in the history of this city or State. Twelve building trades received increases, ranging from 40 cents to a dollar per day, the latter including plumbers and bricklayers. There is no idle skilled labor in Denver.

"Savings accounts in Denver banks and in other industrial centers throughout the State have increased during 1916 about 50 per cent. Crime incident to alcoholism has almost completely disappeared. Merchants, especially neighborhood groceries and markets, report greatly improved trade and that collections now are prompt and with practically no loss.

"Tourist business in Colorado last summer, without saloons or booze in hotels, increased 60 per cent over the preceding wet year.

"The people of Colorado now wonder how they tolerated saloons as long as they did. Many of those who were most ardent advocates of the saloon, for the reason that they thought prohibition would ruin business, now take a different view of the situation."

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John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America, Mount Vernon, N. Y., under date of January 19, 1917, writes: "I believe that liquor has contributed more to the moral, intellectual, and material deterioration of the people and has brought more misery to defenseless women and children than any other agency in the history of mankind."

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Tom J. Greer, president of the Louisiana Federation of Labor, says: "Since the influence of the liquor traffic has been removed from union politics we have been able to organize successfully in Shreveport."

The following facts show what Shreveport labor has done since the town went dry in 1908.

Membership in trade-unions has increased from 1,800 to 3,700.

Home owners among union men have increased 40 per cent since Shreveport went dry.

Carpenters receive 55 cents per hour and are able to work 12 months in the year. In that town of 20,000 white people the carpenter union has increased its membership from 65 to 375 (over 500 per cent) since the town went dry.

Painters, when Shreveport was wet, had 35 members, a 10-hour day, and the scale was $2.75 per day. To-day the painters' union has 145 members, an 8-hour day, and 55 cents an hour, or $4.40 per day.

Barbers have shortened their hours of labor, raised wages continuously, and have a 100 per cent organization since Shreveport went dry.

A brewery under the wet régime employed six nonunion brewery workers. In dry Shreveport this brewery has been turned into an ice factory which employs 40 union ice makers.

The wage scale in Shreveport compares favorably with any city in the country. New Orleans, south of Shreveport, has 2,200 saloons and the lowest wage scale in the country. If saloons help organized labor, why isn't New Orleans an organized town?

Gentlemen, I have submitted but a fragment of the evidence at hand, that if we fail to adopt a prohibition measure similar to that already passed by this body we will disregard the teaching of the uniform experience of the States and cities of this Nation.

Favoring an Alien Conscription Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 28, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the general purpose of the alien conscription bill recently passed by the Senate is, in my opinion, both desirable and essential. That a great injustice is being done the young men of America which the present law calls to the service of their country while exempting aliens from military duty is manifest to all and needs no discussion. Vast numbers of the citizens or subjects of foreign countries allied against Germany have returned to their native shores and are now fighting for the land of their birth. There are, however, large numbers who still reside within our borders, living in peace and security under our flag, receiving the protection of our laws, and enjoying the privileges of our schools, yet bearing none of the burdens of war and taking no part in the defense of the country which shelters them nor in the defense of the country from whence they came. This is an injustice, Mr. Speaker, which must be rectified. It is an injustice which prevails in all parts of our country, but especially throughout the Northern States, where a large percentage of the population is alien.

Under existing law, each State is required to furnish its quota to the armed forces of the United States in the proportion that its population—including citizens and aliens—bears to the total population of the United States. In making up the draft each State is given credit for the volunteer enlistments in the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and National Guard. But resident aliens, while they are included in the population upon which the quota is based, are not subject to military service. This means that American citizens must take their places and fill the ranks to the full extent of a quota based on a population of which a part evades service. Cases have been presented where in order to fill the quota every citizen in the district was drafted, while those who formed a part of that population upon which the quota was based were allowed to remain at home. This makes the sacrifice of that many additional American boys, the loss of that much more of our sturdy manhood, and the infliction of that much more sorrow upon American homes. Our boys are ready and willing—yea, anxious to fight for the old flag; their patriotism and loyalty will never be questioned, their heroism and noble sacrifice will never be forgotten, and their deeds of valor will never fade from the roll of honor of their country's history. But while these boys are responding to the call of duty and face the shot and shell on foreign battle fields, it is not fair, it is not just, that other men living in our country, enjoying its educational, civil, and industrial advantages and benefiting by its opportunities, should escape the obligation of defending the country which protects them. The places made vacant in our commercial and industrial life by the boys following the flag to victory should not and must not be taken by those "alien slackers," who have neither the patriotism to fight for their own country nor the manhood to assume the responsibility of citizenship of the country in which they reside.

The seriousness of the situation and the importance of immediate remedial legislation is indicated in the figures submitted by the Provost Marshal General, which shows that in a total of 9,780,685 registered under the act of May 18, 1917, 1,275,902 were aliens of friendly countries and 80,538 were aliens of enemy countries. In some of the States alien registration is 30 per cent of the total registration. In New York in a total registration of 1,060,693; 235,538 are friendly aliens and 30,965 enemy aliens. In this connection let me quote from a report submitted by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs:

Under the selective-draft law quotas from the States and Territories and subdivisions were based upon the estimated population thereof, and in many subdivisions the registration returns showed a very large percentage of registrants classified as aliens. In some cases the percentage

of those classified as aliens exceeds 65 per cent of the total number registered. This situation works a hardship on the citizen population of a community, and the man who under the laws of his native country may be obligated to render military service is resting here answerable to no one.

It is only fair to state that some of these aliens will probably serve the Nation when an opportunity is afforded them. Give them the opportunity, but should they decline to accept it, then the power of the law should compel them to make the sacrifice which our own boys are called upon to make.

We are to-day facing facts, not theories; conditions, not fancies; and the supreme duty of the present is to win the war to which America is committed. America, independence, democracy have new meanings when the test for democracy is being made; when the independence of half the world is at stake and when America, after years of peace, is being tried in the fire of armed conflict.

This is not a war for conquest or for trade or for profit; it is a war for peace, for a peace that will be so permanent that neither war nor rumors of war will hereafter disturb the onward march of the world's progress. It is a conflict to insure for all time the safety of the great free Government of American democracy. We are not fighting the battles of any country but our own, and we are fighting for the defense and preservation of our sovereignty. We wage war in conjunction with our allies in order that the combined strength of all liberal nations may crush the Prussian military autocracy before that power so weakens the nations that first received the shock of military aggression that we would be forced to fight alone for liberty.

This is a war neither sectional nor political; it is a national war, and we subordinate all internal differences, all political animosities to the noble cause of our Nation's welfare and our Nation's triumph.

This war is calling forth the patriotism, the genius, and the supreme power of a mighty people. We are proving to the world that democracy, which has opened the flood gates to opportunity, can rise to the highest plane of national unity. It is a demonstration of democracy in its fullest, truest expression, calling upon manhood without distinction and upon wealth without exception.

We stand by our administration and by our Federal organizations, but this war will not be won until each individual does his part. The Government can not carry on the conflict successfully without the constant support and cooperation of its citizens. We must all work to the point where each one of us instead of asking "What can I do?" will be able to say by reason of concentrated effort, "I am ready." It is the work from within that will count. It is for us in this hour of crisis not only to have and to express with courage our own convictions, but it is our duty to arouse public sentiment, to convince vacillating minds and timid consciences that we are ready to meet force by force and ruthless power by still greater power, but power backed by justice, law, and humane instincts. It is for us to give loyalty, undivided, unconditional, single-hearted loyalty to the Nation and its institutions, and to live and preach the gospel of universal service which alone can maintain equality of rights in our Republic.

Patriotism is more than a sentiment; loyalty is more than an expression. The one is the acceptance of the duty, absolute and universal, which every citizen owes his country, and the other the determination, sincere and unfaltering, to perform those duties, irrespective of the sacrifice. As the purpose of the Nation is but the concentrated thought of the individuals of that Nation, our work is to preach the doctrine of preparedness, of conservation, of service, and above all of unequivocable loyalty and unswerving allegiance to the Nation itself.

War will bring its sorrows and hardships, its trials and sacrifices, but they will come with the conviction that our cause is just and with the knowledge that victory will be the reward of those sacrifices and privations.

We know not what the future holds for us, or what star will guide us; we can not foretell our destiny, but we pray that the Great Unseen Power, who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand, will guide us to victory and to glory.

WHY THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA.

[Address of FREDERICK C. HICKS, delivered at Babylon, Long Island, July 4, 1917.]

One hundred and forty-one years ago to-day our fathers gave to the world a declaration of purposes, and dedicated to posterity the principle of government by the consent of the governed. The forward march of the Nation since July 4, 1776, is without parallel in history. In the arts, in science, in education, in all that ennobles and uplifts humanity America has been the leader of the world's thought and action. Under that charter of human rights—the Constitution of the United States—we have repelled foes from without and maintained the sanctity of the Union when secession assailed our national life. We have demonstrated that representative democracy can not only maintain itself but that it is the very foundation upon which rest the hopes and ideals of all liberty-loving people.

To-day civilization with all that it has acquired in its struggle upward through the ages is tottering in the carnage of death on the plains of Europe, and the arm of destruction is reaching for our own shores. To check this sweep of military despotism which jeopardizes our independence and endangers our institutions America is mobilizing its mighty resources of men and treasure. We have not been drawn into the conflict by the demands of capital or of commerce, by desire of territory, hope for an indemnity, or even for the maintenance of a national policy. We have taken up arms because war has been forced upon us, as it has been forced upon nearly the entire world by arrogant autocratic power. We entered the conflict because our national existence was being threatened, because our sovereignty was being assailed, because our citizens were being killed, and because our internal peace was being attacked. We do not fight for aggrandizement or to impose our form of government upon other countries. We do not fight to further the ambitions of the British, the French, the Russians, or the Italians. They are our allies against the common enemy, but their national policies do not concern us. We are fighting for the protection of our own people, for our own institutions, for our own country, and for our own flag, which in majestic silence appeals to us in this hour of crisis to remember the principles for which it stands.

On this birthday of the Nation we render homage to the founders of our Republic, and in their name, inspired by their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, dedicate our all that the Nation shall continue to shed its blessings of freedom, equality, and justice upon all mankind forevermore.

War Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON A. ROMJUE,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 28, 1917.

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, there has been a great deal said from time to time in debate on the revenue bill about consumption tax. A consumption tax on the necessities of life does not appeal to or satisfy me at all, for the reason that the poor approximately consume the necessaries of life to the same degree as the wealthy, and a tax thereon compels those who are unable to pay to bear the same burden as those far more able to pay.

The ability to pay ought to go far in the consideration of a schedule to meet war expenses, and I believe in conscripting the wealth of this Nation to do the financial fighting. I do not desire to be unfair to any class of citizens of this country; I only think the right thing ought to be done by all, and I am ready to say that some men of wealth in this country are doing their full share in this war. On the other hand, sirs, there are many of such men who try to evade their responsibility. Why do I say this? Here is the proof: The makers of munitions who had made fabulous fortunes out of their industry held back $10,000,000 of income tax, but since the assembling of Congress on the 2d day of April they have been forced to disgorge, and the $10,000,000 income tax so held back by them is now in Uncle Sam's hands.

There are other evidences I might enumerate if I only had the time to do so. But we must not lose sight of the main issue and that is we must win the war, and we can not afford to fall out among ourselves. It is a very easy matter to criticize, much more difficult to be constructive.

Our European enemy in this war could have nothing please them more than for American citizens to fall out with each other. The enemy is anxious that we should abuse and criticize each other. The enemy wants the American people to fall out with their Government and its officers.

Gentlemen, let us not lose sight of the main point and that is, I repeat, the winning of the war; and let us all counsel reason and judgment, and let the Government have the united support of every citizen in the land and instead of wasting breath in abuse let each of us—every citizen in the United States—take an inventory of himself and assault and fight the enemy and not your neighbor who does not view every detail as you do.

Let us not stick the poisoned fangs in our own body; we can reason without abuse, we can express judgment without criticism. Abuse and criticism never convinces or rectifies.

There is no use theorizing as to what should or should not have been done 10 or 5 or 1 year ago, but the question is what should be done now. We are in a war of a most serious character and it can not at all be brought to a successful termination without means or money to meet the necessary expenses of equipment for winning the fight. At this time our Government and its officials are by reason of the circumstances under which we find ourselves required to support measures which we would not at all do in time of peace; revenue must be raised to meet the cost of the war. It can only be raised by taxation or the

issue of bonds, or both. No sane man would think of raising it all by issue of bonds, and no man who has a good understanding of the war situation would insist on the whole fund being raised by taxation.

We should raise as much of the revenue without bond issue as can be done in justice to the people, and I favor the greater portion of the revenue being collected from the enormous fortunes of the country in the way of the income taxes and excess-profits taxes. It is impossible to get a great problem like this settled with exact equality, and it is far less possible to frame a law of this character that will exactly suit everyone; but the main effort is to do the right thing by all concerned and raise the revenue to win this war.

The bill in its present form seems to meet the approval of the administration. Personally, I favor a still higher tax on the larger incomes of the wealthy and an adequate war-profit tax.

In discussing such a revenue bill as that which has engaged the attention of our national lawmakers for some time, permit me to say that only abnormal conditions now existing can justify it. These abnormal conditions are understood by many and misunderstood by some—nations are very similar, indeed, to individuals. The same ambitions inspire, the same sentiments ennoble, the same prejudices enslave thought, the same passions overthrow reason, and the same spirit of greed stifle and stay the hand which, if left unfettered, would bestow upon mankind greater blessings, greater liberty, and a greater and broader opportunity to secure genuine equality.

You recall quite as readily as I do the expression "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." With this before our eyes can we not get away from that spell that seems to bind some people hand and foot, so to speak? Can we not reason? Have we lost control of ourselves to the extent that we become angry at the very instant an argument is put forth in which is clothed thought that has never penetrated our own brain? There are some who believe their own judgment infallible, and who think everything is right which harmonizes with their view and wrong when their brain is unable to be penetrated by another thought.

Most of my life has been spent in sympathy and in company with the men who toil and, as is often said, earn their bread by the sweat of their face, and somehow I think as I followed the plow along the furrow with measured tread I became convinced that the world was no place for extravagance, and every public expenditure ought to obtain or procure an equivalent in value.

By nature and by environment I have learned to believe that an extremist on either end of problems of government becomes at particular times either a menace to individual rights or too radical, and apt to desire to set aside organized authority and power.

I thank God every day of my life that Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin lived, and that the men who framed our National Constitution were men of honor, of power, and judgment, and who did right even in the face of criticism, and yet they were men who were not swept off their feet by the plaudits of an approving multitude. God bless them; everyone in their graves to-day.

The highest devotion any man can have, in the secular sense, is to be true to every public trust, and a strict adherence to truth is, in the last analysis, the best and safest policy. This policy we must adhere to as a Nation. We are at war with the greatest military power on earth. In this war America must win or fail. I ask you to pause here—"win or fail." I again repeat it—"win or fail."

Every man should soberly study this question, and without a particle of enmity toward his fellow citizens of this country resolve to stand firmly by the American Government.

In time of a nation's struggle to protect its honor and its rights and in so doing protect the honor and rights of its constituent citizens, it should not be forgotten that then of all times should every citizen be well poised in his thought and action. While this is true as to every citizen, it is for the stronger reason true of every man who is delegated by the people to crystallize thought into law which is to guide and determine the destiny of a nation.

The world's history is replete with conduct of men who, under influence and environed by mob violence, would hang an innocent on one occasion and yet some time in a jury box liberate the most guilty. This character of mind and thought has no place, or at least should have no place, in marking out the course of our Nation.

The fundamental principles upon which our Government is founded, when carefully looked into and examined, disclose the greatest set of principles enunciated by man.

The theory of American Government and the constitutional power of this Government challenges the respect and admiration of thoughtful men the world over.

As a new Member of this body I have listened with intense interest to many able discussions of the various matters which have been before us, and especially to those discussions which touched upon the duties and powers of the Government in time of war.

Men, this Government is dual in its nature. It has a twofold working function. In time of peace it extends its beneficent arm down to the individual citizen and clothes him with peace, plenty, and prosperity; it sheds a soothing comfort upon him.

The industrious, thoughtful, law-abiding citizen of this country in time of peace gets a heritage from the Government that gold can not buy, and in time of war its sacred privileges, backed by American ingenuity and courage, will not permit the rust of autocratic rule to corrode, and these same principles will be stood by and defended by American valor, and I say to you that the central powers of Europe will not be permitted to break through and steal this heritage which has been won at so great a sacrifice.

I say this Government is dual—twofold in its action. In time of peace its power and its influence and its effectiveness is showered down to the individual citizen, and in time of war the individual citizen by the very principles of our Government must yield up his power, his influence, and his effectiveness to the Government.

This Government is expansive. In time of peace it expands its blessings and its splendid fruits, throwing them out to the people, and in time of war it centralizes its power, its energy, its influence, and its ability to defend, and lodges this dynamic force of the great body of citizens in and behind the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the President of the United States, and by him, my countrymen, we shall be led to victory.

War can not be conducted successfully without great expense, and the United States and the great body of her citizens propose to conduct this war to a successful termination. At the very entry of the United States into this war I stated that food and finance would be potent factors in winning the war.

Within the last few days a man of very high authority in England said "the war might not have been won without the great financial support of the United States, but with it the original allies could have won." And within this week the Hon. Herbert Hoover comes forward and says that food will be the greatest factor in the winning of the war. And the food controller of England corroborates what Mr. Hoover has said. In view of the fact that food is now and will continue to be a great factor in winning the war, I contend that those who produce the food of our country, those who are in a position to produce it and who in fact do produce it, should most surely, if there is anything in the practical application of the draft law, be permitted to continue to produce food so far as practicable, and thereby render their services where it can be made to count for most. Early in the war it was suggested by some that idle men in town whom the Army draft had missed should be drafted to fill the places of young farmers on the farm, in instances where young farmers had been drafted. Of course, no one with any conception of farm life would advocate such a theory, in the face of importance of food in the present crisis.

One average farmer boy will produce more crop than three street loafers. If I were compelled to run my farms with the latter class I should think the more of them I had the worse off I would be. I repeat, that so far as possible and practicable the industrious farmer should be permitted to produce the sinew, to wit, food, which will be and is such a great factor in the war.

If Russia should yield her grain fields to the enemy, which God forbid that she ever does, any man can see the importance the food supply of this country relatively becomes. I point out these facts relative to the productions of food and the necessity of maintaining the proper food supply, in justice not only to the farmer who produces the food but in justice to every American citizen everywhere.

I notice that some men in discussing the revenue for this war continually have a fear of injuring business and encroaching so far upon profits as to destroy business.

In answer to this expression of fear, let me say that no sane citizen of this country desires to injure or destroy any legitimate business. But the burden of this war must be borne and the burden imposed by the expenses of war should be borne in large part by those most able to pay for it, and especially those who have profited out of the war, and in keeping with this opinion and judgment I have supported every move in favor of the higher income tax and excess-profits tax being taken to pay for this war, and I do so out of no desire to punish or penalize any business industry, but as an act of simple justice to every American citizen in the existing emergency arising out of this war. I realize it is impossible to get a bill that will meet everyone's approval, and I shall vote for this bill in some form. Time will not permit me to go into it in detail now, but there is a feature

I hope the conference committee will iron out and correct more nearly right. I refer to the tax on medicines.

Medicines are the boon of the sick and afflicted; they are the last word in the language of life or death. They make their visit into the home in the hour of torture, trouble, and tears. They sooth the body of many of life's weary stragglers in the final and last struggle for earthly existence. They help to make the passing of human life the easier and to sustain life where and when death would be sure and certain, and the tax laid upon them must fall upon many as a burden which to me might well be laid elsewhere. I hope the committee will remedy this.

Our Government is sending the flower of this land to the front to help achieve the victory which shall be ours and if the young men of this country are to offer up their lives, as they will in some instances, I say there is nothing too good for them, the best of arms, the best of equipment and care, and the best of medical service they must have, and money is required for this, and to raise money in this emergency means taxes, and those who have made profits out of this war and have heaped riches upon riches in time of peace should and I demand shall bear the heavy end of this war burden.

Those who urged so strongly to select those to do the fighting who were most suitably fitted for it certainly ought not now complain if they have wealth and financial means, which is called upon to help defray the expense of the war. Certainly everyone should do their share in some line of effort to win the war, and the large incomes and profits and estates of the country are more "physically fit" to fight the financial battle without hardship. Therefore I hope those falling in this class will not be permitted to be less patriotic when it comes to sending their money to the front than when it was urged by many of them that some sons should be sent to the front.

When I have more time and on another occasion I expect to present to you gentlemen of the House a comparison of a system of taxation of the various Governments with which we are now at war as it has been produced by the various nations now at war. I have been working at this comparison and note that the United States Government is enabled to avert some errors that have taken place in other countries. In conclusion I want to congratulate you for the effort that has been put forth by this Congress in trying to solve rightly the many problems that have confronted this House. The work that has fallen upon the shoulders of this Congress is more difficult than any legislation that has attracted the attention of our National Congress since the time of the foundation of this Government; and if we will take time and consult the record and not rely upon hearsay we will find a world of work has been accomplished by patient, industrious activity and thought. May we each continue to feel the great responsibility that will rest upon us throughout this war, and may we, without the flagging of energy, pursue diligently our line of work with an eye single to that and that alone in doing that which is best and most honorable and right, and which will the best perpetuate and preserve the principles upon which this Government is founded.

In conclusion, let me say, let us make the war profits and large incomes go far in meeting the war's expenses. They are "more physically fit." The burden will thus be lessened on those who have to toil and struggle for a livelihood.

Let us draft the large incomes and big profits, and give exemption as much as possible from taxes to the poor and those less able to bear the burden of war.

War Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 19, 1917, when the war-revenue bill was under consideration in the House of Representatives, I offered the following amendment:

Amendment offered by Mr. LONERGAN: Page 23, line 21, section 505, clause (a), after the word "called," insert "except that on policies of group life insurance covering groups of not less than 100 lives in the employ of the same person, firm, or corporation, the tax shall be equivalent to 2 cents on each $100, or fractional part thereof, of the amount for which any life is insured under any such policy or other instrument."

A report of the discussion thereon may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on pages 2620, 2621, 2622, and 2623.

The amendment was not adopted, but within a few days after the offering thereof it was agreed that it would be incorporated in the bill when it reached the Senate.

The insurance section, known as No. 504, was stricken from the bill by the Senate committee, and up to the receipt of a copy of the conference report on yesterday it was generally believed that there would be no insurance section in the bill. It appears that the House conferees insisted that it be retained, and it is referred to on page 41 of the conference report and is known as amendment No. 167. When it was reincorporated in the bill the understanding regarding the provision of the amendment which I offered on May 19 last was inadvertently overlooked.

A conference report can not be amended and therefore there can be no remedy at this time unless the House votes to instruct the conferees to incorporate the amendment in the bill before final passage. But it is evident that a bill of such magnitude and with so many items will not be delayed in its passage on account of the oversight, which can be corrected at a subsequent date by special legislation, a bill proposing which will be introduced in the House.

War Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House I wish to extend my remarks on the war-revenue bill by incorporating a table published by the New York World of September 30 ultimo, showing the approximate amount to be raised and the business taxed:

TAXES IMPOSED BY WAR-REVENUE BILL TO RAISE $2,606,320,000.

The war-revenue bill, as finally agreed on by the House and Senate conferees and as it will probably be enacted into law, provides for the raising of approximately $2,606,320,000, as follows:

Income tax	$842,000,000
Excess-profits tax	1,110,000,000
Distilled spirits	135,000,000
Rectified spirits	5,000,000
Fermented liquors	46,000,000
Wines, etc	10,000,000
Soft drinks, sirups, etc	14,000,000
Cigars	10,000,000
Cigarettes	20,000,000
Tobacco	25,000,000
Snuff	1,500,000
Cigarette papers	200,000
Freight transportation	77,500,000
Express and parcel post	16,000,000
Passenger transportation	56,000,000
Pipe lines	4,500,000
Seats and berths	2,250,000
Telegraph and telephone messages	7,000,000
Insurance policies (new)	5,000,000
Automobiles (sale of)	40,000,000
Musical instruments (sale of)	4,300,000
Motion-picture films	3,000,000
Jewelry (sale by manufacturer)	4,500,000
Sporting goods	1,200,000
Pleasure boats	500,000
Perfumes and cosmetics	1,900,000
Proprietary medicines	3,000,000
Cameras	750,000
Admissions	50,000,000
Club dues	1,200,000
Schedule A, including playing cards	30,000,000
War estate tax	5,000,000
Virgin Island products	20,000
First-class mail matter	60,000,000
Second-class mail matter	14,000,000
Total	2,606,320,000

I am not unmindful that this bill carries a very large amount. This is justified by the great war in which we are now engaged. To be effective we must make huge appropriations and raise a large army. We must win the war at whatever cost and sacrifice, and while we have never been a military nation in that we were prepared with a large army at the outbreak of the war, we were and are well prepared financially, and so I not only willingly support this bill but deem it our duty to vote sufficient men and money to win this war at all hazards in the shortest possible time, and teach the war lords of the central powers that they can not conquer the world or the American Republic. Everything for victory.

War Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. KEARNS,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to print I want to submit the following letter I have received for the consideration of the membership of this House:

THE AMERICAN PAD & TEXTILE CO.,
Greenfield, Ohio, September 28, 1917.

Hon. C. C. KEARNS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With reference to pending revenue bill, there is just one point to which we wish to make brief reference. This has to do with the excess-profits feature. Our first impression was that an average of profits earned over the prewar years of 1911, 1912, and 1913 were to be taken as the basis in determining excess profits during the past year. That, we believe, would be fair to all. Later, if we correctly understood the matter, it was proposed to use 10 per cent of the capital as a basis and take everything above that as excess profits. Finally, if rightly informed, instead of using 10 per cent of capital invested, it has been changed to 7 per cent.

It is not our purpose to enter into any lengthy discussion. We just merely want to place ourselves on record as being willing to assume our fair share of the burden and as doing it cheerfully. However, we believe fairness should prevail and that no burden should be imposed which threatens the future prosperity of American industries. We feel that it will be fair, equitable, and right to use as the basis the average profits for the three years above mentioned and that the measure should be passed in this form instead of fixing the basis as 7 per cent or 10 per cent of capital.

With best wishes, we are,
Sincerely,
CHAS. MAINS, *President.*

The Soldiers' Insurance Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 14, 1917.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill, as I read it, aims to accomplish five things:

First. Fair allowances for the dependents of the soldiers serving with the colors.

Second. A savings system through which soldiers, particularly those who have no dependents, may be encouraged to set aside a part of their pay and thus accumulate a "stake" in anticipation of their discharge from the Army.

Third. A system of insurance which will enable soldiers to buy insurance from the Government at peace rates.

Fourth. A revised pension system, which the supporters of the bill assure us is more scientific than the existing law.

Fifth. A plan for the reeducation or rehabilitation of those soldiers who are so disabled as to be unable to pursue their usual vocations.

I am in complete sympathy with that program. The bill before us is not a perfect measure and should be amended, but in principle it is a splendid piece of constructive legislation.

The young men who are now gathering in the mobilization camps are prepared to lay down their lives for us. While we are enjoying our ease in comfortable homes they will be enduring the rigors of trench life. While we are going about the streets, unmolested and unafraid, they will be "going over the top" to encounter the indescribable terrors of "No Man's Land."

When peace comes—and may God, in his infinite mercy, hasten its coming—some will return in all the splendor of triumphant youth, and some will return broken in body, mind, and spirit, but some—thousands and possibly tens of thousands—will never return.

How can we "compensate" these men? In a sense it is impossible to "compensate" them. Their work can not be measured in dollars and cents. The love of a grateful Nation is the only adequate reward for their sacrifice, and that they will have in generous measure.

"SOLDIERS BACK OF THE LINES."

This bill is unique in at least one particular. For the first time in our history we have undertaken to provide for the "soldiers back of the lines"—the women and children who remain at home when the men go to the front to fight our battles.

The bravest battle that ever was fought!
Shall I tell you where and when?
On the maps of the world you will find it not—
'Tis fought by the mothers of men.
Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,
With sword or nobler pen!
Nay, not with eloquent words of thought
From mouths of wonderful men;
But deep in the walled-up woman's heart—
Of woman that would not yield,
But bravely, silently, bore her part—
Lo, there is that battle field!
No marshaling troop, no bivouac song,
No banner to gleam and wave;
But, oh! their battles, they last, they last,
From babyhood to the grave.
Yet faithful still, as a bridge of stars,
She fights in her walled-up town—
Fights on and on in endless wars,
Then silent, unseen, goes down.
Oh, ye with banners and battle shot,
And soldiers to shout and praise,
I tell you the kingliest victories fought
Were fought in those silent ways.
Oh, spotless woman in a world of shame,
With splendid and silent scorn,
Go back to God as white as you came—
This kingliest warrior born.

ALLOTMENTS FOR DEPENDENTS.

The soldier who serves in France will receive $33 a month. If he has a wife, or wife and children, he will be required to allot $15 a month to them. To this the Government will add $15 for the wife, $10 for one child, $17.50 for two children, and $5 for each additional child. If the soldier has additional relatives dependent on him he may allot further sums for their support and the Government will contribute in proportion.

Suppose a soldier has a wife, three children, and a mother dependent on him. He must allot $15 for the support of his wife and children, and he may contribute $5 to his mother. The Government will then add $37.50 for the wife and children and $10 for the mother. Thus the soldier's dependents would receive from all sources $67.50 a month.

CONTRAST WITH THE CIVIL WAR.

Veterans of the Civil War will recall that when they were fighting under Grant and Sherman and Sheridan their dependents—if they had any—were compelled to shift for themselves or appeal to the charity of friends. To make matters worse, our Civil War heroes were paid in depreciated currency. At times they did not receive more than $4 or $5 a month in gold.

For 50 years we have been endeavoring to make amends for our shameful treatment of the men who saved the Union, but many of the most deserving never had an opportunity to share the Nation's bounty. Death claimed them before pension laws were enacted.

In this war we intend to start right and deal justly by our soldiers and their dependents while they are still alive.

The old pension laws granted inadequate allowances to widows. The widow of a volunteer killed in the Philippines is enitled to $12 with $2 additional for each child. Under the new law a widow will receive $35 a month with $10 additional for one child, $20 for two children, and $5 each for additional children. Similarly generous provisions are made for dependent parents.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS REMOVED.

In this connection the House, by what was practically a unanimous vote, decided that so far as pensions are concerned officers and privates, or their dependents, should be placed on an exact equality.

Ours is an army of democracy, and at the very threshold of the great struggle we should do what we can to wipe out class distinctions.

The new pensions for disabled and partially disabled soldiers are in some respects not as generous as under the old law, but it is not believed the changes will work a hardship on anyone.

The insurance provision of the new law has provoked much discussion. The insurance companies do not want Uncle Sam to go into the insurance business. They made a hard fight against that part of the bill in the House and they will make a more bitter struggle in the Senate.

COST OF INSURANCE.

As the bill stands the Government offers insurance up to $10,000 to all officers and men at what it would actually cost in peace times.

The average price will be about $8 per $1,000 per year. The insurance companies which will insure soldiers at all charge $58 per $1,000 for the same kind of insurance. The companies are justified in making this high rate, for soldiering in these days is an extrahazardous business. But the ordinary soldier

is not able to pay it. If the Government refuses to aid him, he must go into battle without insurance.

Should we who remain at home in comfort and safety ask him to make the sacrifice? I do not think so.

And if we give him insurance, should we not say to him, "We will give you this insurance for exactly what it would cost you if you were not risking your life for us"?

EXAGGERATED ESTIMATES.

The opponents of the insurance scheme are endeavoring to frighten the people with estimates of the probable cost. One eminent gentleman said it would involve an expenditure of $1,800,000,000 the second year of the war. This is the veriest nonsense.

If we send a million men into the trenches and 250,000 of them are killed or totally disabled and every one carries the maximum insurance of $10,000, the total cost to the Government will not exceed $150,000,000 a year. The explanation is that the insurance is to be paid on the installment plan, and the payments under a $10,000 policy would be about $600 a year.

Of course, all the soldiers will not take out insurance, and, with God's help, our casualties will never reach the appalling figures I have indicated. However, should the gloomiest predictions be realized, this Nation is rich enough to take care of the dependents of the men who fall in its defense.

RECONSTRUCTING MAIMED.

Another feature of the bill which, curiously enough, has attracted slight attention provides that the Government shall attempt to reconstruct or rehabilitate the soldiers who are maimed, Training schools and hospitals, supervised by the greatest experts in the world, are expected to do the work.

Marvelous things along these lines have been accomplished in Europe. A great expert estimates that 80 per cent of the war cripples are capable of rehabilitation. More than half of these, he says, may be restored to full capacity. The remainder may be partially restored. Only 20 per cent will remain helpless. This is the most cheering news that has come to us from the blood-soaked Old World, and it indicates a field of endeavor on which the best brains of America should be focussed.

Mr. Speaker, I can not conclude this very brief review of the pending bill in any more appropriate way than by quoting the following paragraph from a letter written by Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo to President Wilson:

> It may be suggested that the cost of this system is too great. Personally I have no patience with such a suggestion; I confess that I have only compassion for it. If, under this measure, the annual cost of doing justice to our fighting men and their dependents should amount to five, six, or seven hundred million dollars per annum at the crest of the load, it is an insignificant sum as compared with what those men do for their country and for the world. At this time we are contemplating expenditures during the fiscal year 1918 of more than $10,000,000,000 for the prosecution of the war—for the creation of armies and death-dealing instruments to be used in destroying enough human life to restore peace and justice in the world. Shall we hesitate to expend $700,000,000 more per annum if need be—only about 6 per cent of the amount we propose to expend for purposes of the war—for the protection of the widows and orphans, the dependent, and the injured, who, after all, make the greatest sacrifices of any part of our people, for the safety, security, and honor of our country?

Conscription of Aliens.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, October 2, 1917.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, when I cite the official statistics in the office of the Provost Marshal General of the Army as showing that of the 159,955 registered on June 5 in Connecticut under the selective-conscription law 58,631 were aliens, I think the reason for my remarks on so important a subject as the conscription of aliens is immediately clear. It must also be borne in mind that these 58,631, while classified as aliens, do not include aliens who have taken out their first citizenship papers, and who, if they insist, are exempted from military duty with our troops under existing treaties between the United States and the respective mother country of the different men. With 36.6 per cent of the total men of registered age exempt legally and a probable addition of several per cent exempt by insisting on treaty rights, we have at once a condition wherein nearly half the total registered men of the State are beyond the law. The corollary is that American citizens are doing twice their share. Where one American citizen should be marching into camp side by side with one foreign-born resident, who perhaps has long enjoyed the hospitality of this land, two Americans are actually going into camp, leaving the alien behind to smile, to enjoy the high wages necessarily following on manufacturing prosperity, to hold the positions from which the citizenry has been called.

The unfairness of this is too manifest to need proof.

Connecticut is an industrial State. Which brings me directly to another feature of the draft not to be passed over in silence. I note that the estimated population of the State, on which the quota of 18,817 men was established, is placed at 1,719,623. If there are 1,719,623 people in Connecticut to-day, 300,000 of them are located where no one but the man who estimated that population can find them. The governor of the State can not ascertain their whereabouts. The mayors of the different cities do not know where they are. The State council of defense never heard of them. They were not around a few months before, when an official State census of men able to bear arms was taken. Hartford, my home town, and the capital of the State, is credited with 180,697 inhabitants, while the whole city knows that if we had more than 150,000 we would declare a legal holiday and celebrate. New Britain, the second largest city in the district which I have the honor to represent, is credited with 76,942, but as much as the proud residents would like to have it so, modestly they must admit they are several thousand below that figure. So it is in all industrial centers.

To be more exact, the population of Connecticut, according to the official Federal census of 1910, was 1,114,756. The Connecticut military census, taken a few months before the Federal registration, showed there were 506,552 cards returned of men over 16 years of age. Of this number, according to the report of the State council of defense, 153,067 were between the ages of 21 and 30 years, less 1 per cent for duplicates, or 151,067 men of the age required under the later Federal law to register. But the Federal registration returned 160,269 men of military age. Taking the State figures, the council estimates 506,552, less 1 per cent for duplicates, or 501,487 men in the State able to bear arms. Adding 6 per cent to correct errors, or 30,089, it shows a total male population of 16 years and upwards of 531,576. Allowing 202,775 as the male population under 14 years of age and 10,653 of 15 years of age, the council records a total male population of 745,004. On the proportion of 105 females to every hundred males, it arrives at a total female population of 709,500, or a total population for the State of 1,454,504. It will be seen at once that these figures are generous, and when compared with the estimated Government population of 1,719,623 show a discrepancy of 265,119. The Government, however, levies a grand quota for the draft of 18,817 men, but, thanks to the patriotism of the men of the State, credits for the Army and for the National Guard bring the net quota to 10,977.

The whole State has no more important question before it to-day than the question of correcting the Federal estimates of population, so as to bring the results nearer to the facts. The attention of the War Department and of the Census Bureau has already been directed to it. The Census Bureau states that it estimated the population on the number of men registered, figuring the men between the ages of 21 and 30 at 9.32 per cent of the total population. That this method is as fair as it is supposed to be remains to be proven. The Secretary of Commerce, in a letter to the President of the United States Senate under date of July 18, 1917, states that as "it was impossible in any event to estimate precisely the population of the cities, counties, and States on the basis of registration, the simplest and speediest method * * * was adopted." And the Bureau of the Census, prefacing its Estimates of Population as of July 1, 1917, says, "One reason of employment of this method was that the Census Bureau had only a very short time in which to prepare the estimates, etc."

I do not wish it to be understood that I fail to appreciate the necessity of speed in the premises in order that our military strength might be used as quickly as possible, but, obviously, where speed is paramount accuracy necessarily plays a second part.

Gen. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, in a letter covering the situation from the standpoint of the War Department, closes with the question as to whether it would not be—

> the part of wisdom to allow this question to remain undisturbed by legislation until the first draft is completed, in order that it may be determined whether in the interests of fairness throughout the Nation a new basis for a future draft should be provided by law.

Public opinion in Connecticut, impelled alone by patriotism, rather accedes to this suggestion.

At the same time it is well to record here that the United States Senate has already voted to accept the amendment pro-

posed by Senator BRANDEGEE, of Connecticut, to the "Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," which provides that—

in the future operation of the said selective-draft act of May 18, 1917, credit shall be given the several States or localities or districts for the increased number of citizens heretofore drawn, which excess or increase was caused by the fact that aliens were registered in computing the number subject to the draft but were not themselves subject thereto.

While all this is looking toward the future, something must be done now. Drafting the alien, while it will not correct any overestimates of population, will make more equitable the obligation to service. It will relieve the drain on American manhood. It will bring home most quickly to the stranger within our gates that if the blessings of our democracy are invaluable in times of peace the duty one owes that democracy is all important in war. It will, moreover, be a strong assurance to the foreign born already made citizens that their neighbors by neglecting citizenship are not by this neglect to be encouraged to become slackers.

The opinion prevalent in the street on this point is the same that has been given expression over the signature of the governor of the State and of the executives of its leading cities. Members of the bench informally have recognized the justice of it. From the pulpits it has been preached. The press has given it publicity.

Connecticut is always ready to do its share. All it asks is fairness. Yes, it is ready to do more than its share; and here I may briefly enumerate some of its activities.

I have consulted with the heads of the various departments at Washington with a view to having figures compiled, in so far as Connecticut is concerned, and the results tell the whole story.

Brig. Gen. H. P. McCain, The Adjutant General of the Army, states that Connecticut's total quota for the Regular Army is 2,228, and that the official figures of the War Department as of August 24 show Connecticut had secured her quota at that time, and that, in fact, 2,419 of the men who presented themselves in Connecticut were accepted for enlistment in the Regular Army from April 1 to August 24, 1917. The Chief of the Militia Bureau, Brig. Gen. William A. Mann, now commander of the Rainbow Division, of which some of the Connecticut troops are a part, stated that the official records in his office as of July 31 showed there were 150 officers and 5,091 enlisted men in the Connecticut National Guard who were taken into the Federal service. In addition, Connecticut will have soon placed under arms in the new National Army her quota of nearly 11,000 men, secured under the selective draft.

Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels informed me that on August 23, according to official figures, there were in the Navy 140,870 enlisted men, of whom Connecticut has supplied a representative quota.

Of the total amount subscribed for the first liberty loan, which reached more than $3,000,000,000 and made 4,000,000 Government bondholders in the country where there were but 300,000 before, Connecticut, as figures secured from the Treasury Department and from the office of Gov. Aiken, of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, show, subscribed $28,982,450, or $5,000,000 more than its quota of $23,200,000. Of the State's total, Hartford County subscribed $18,609,050 and the city of Hartford nearly $12,000,000.

The State also played a prominent part in the campaign of the Red Cross to secure $100,000,000, the total contributions from the State as of August 22, last, being $2,667,978.07, of which $690,806.94 was contributed by residents of Hartford County. The total secured by the Red Cross from the campaign throughout the country was $120,929,751.12, according to the report of the Secretary, dated August 28. In the State of Connecticut, also, there are 89,749 members of the Red Cross, and Hartford County has 20,200 of these.

The Navy League of the United States, incorporated to be of every service possible to the men of the fleet, has in Connecticut 850 members, of whom 149 members reside in Hartford. Mr. A. H. Dadmun, secretary of the league, informs me that in addition there are many thousands in the State in the Woman's League, an auxiliary of the organization.

All this shows in a national way the place the State has taken in the great war; and, besides, the State Council of Defense, the home guard, and other organizations are all working to show the State's "bit" is a substantial contribution.

I hope that, in a measure at least, I have made my point clear. We are living in abnormal times. The energies of the greatest nations of the world are turned from constructive efforts of peace to the destruction war entails. "The genius of the American Nation," a prominent writer tells us, "is for peace." It is by our joint efforts that the war will be won. The machinery of the War Department, from handling less than 100,000 men, is suddenly taxed to the extent of controlling 1,000,000 men and more. Our Navy proudly boasts an enrollment of nearly 150,000. Through it all, we are learning day by day, where one law is at fault, why another law is inadequate. New conditions demand new measures. Connecticut is patient; it has been called "The land of steady habits." But it asks, and asks in all fairness, that the sacrifices it is called upon to make be commensurate with its strength.

The First Six Months' Progress of the Great War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917,

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, there are many things in this war-revenue bill, as finally reported by the conference committee of the two Houses, which my best judgment leads me to believe would be better left out, or modified.

In the first place, I believe that it is about twice as large in amount as it ought to be, as I expressed myself when it was before the House on May 22.

I believe that the increase of first-class mail rates is inadvisable, and that the establishment of a zone system for second-class mail matter is a step back toward provincialism. The rate for second-class matter ought to be large enough to pay its cost, fairly estimated, making advertising matter pay a larger rate than reading matter. But the rate for distributing intelligence, whether by letter or newspaper, ought to be a flat rate, in the interest of nationalism as distinguished from localism, or provincialism. The system of zone rates applied to parcel post and other freight is right, but is not right as applied to the distribution of intelligence, education, and information.

There are many features of the bill that in my individual judgment would be better otherwise. Despite these views, and despite the fact that I do not expect the bill to be changed in any particular, I intend to vote for it as a whole, as the combined best judgment of the two Houses of Congress, and because we must raise a vast amount of revenue to carry on the war, and probably it would be impossible to devise any revenue bill that would be satisfactory to all, or even to all who really regard the tax question from a disinterested and unbiased standpoint.

Upon the final passage of this war-revenue bill, which will occur in the House this afternoon, it is a fitting time to make a review and a summing up of the progress which has been made by the United States during the first six months of its active participation in the great world war.

SIX MONTHS' PROGRESS IN THE GREAT WAR.

During that historic period, as a Representative in Congress, it has been my fortune to be at the center of our national life. I have witnessed the rude awakening of the Nation from the calm dreams of peace and pleasure to the conscious strength and dignity of a mighty power at war. I have been a witness to the struggles in the National Legislature *to organize that* strength and to proudly assert that dignity, and have taken my humble but earnest part on the side of the freedom, the honor, and the liberty of our country, as against an autocratic, disdainful, and treacherous enemy.

I shall soon return to California to render an account of my stewardship. Briefly, I can say that my voice and my vote have been devoted to every measure that came before Congress calculated to strengthen our country in this unparalleled emergency. Greatly as I deplore the necessity of war, as does every conscientious man and woman, I voted for a declaration of the state of war on April 5, and I thereafter voted for every measure presented to Congress conferring power of every kind—men, money, and authority—upon our President, under our Constitution the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, with which to successfully wage that war.

I shall be able to take a message of good cheer and encouragement from the National Capital to the people. They hear through the public press of all manner of errors and mistakes, and wordy squabbles among public men. They naturally hear more of such things than they do of the great agencies that are working smoothly, and thus making less noise. There have

been plenty of errors and mistakes committed and there will be plenty more. But upon the whole, the progress that has been made, the organizations that have been effected, and the results that have been achieved during the past six months, are so wonderful as to entirely overshadow the failures, and give hope and courage to every loyal heart.

When the Congress met in extraordinary session at the call of the President, on the 2d of April last, we were utterly unprepared for war. We had an Army of a little more than 100,000 enlisted men, and 163,000 in the National Guard. Our Navy was scantily manned with 77,000 men. We had a few submarines, but none of the latest formidable type. The whole equipment of the United States Army in aeroplanes was less than 200, all of small horsepower, useful as training machines, but not one with sufficient power or of suitable construction to be used as a battle plane on the fields of Europe. Under the stimulus of foreign demand, foodstuffs were advancing rapidly and alarmingly in price. Neutral ships were carrying off our food supplies to neutral countries adjacent to Germany, whence they were being forwarded with scarcely an attempt at concealment, to feed the armies of the Kaiser. There was no law or power in existence that could check these abuses.

The mobilization and concentration of the powers of the Nation for its defense commenced with the meeting of Congress. Boards and committees of patriotic and capable citizens in various lines of industry were formed and began their herculean labors. But for a time so upset and mixed up were the conditions that to one observing their operations at close quarters it seemed that they were running about in circles, crossing each other's tracks and fields of usefulness, and further confounding the already supreme confusion. The Shipping Board controversy was one example of this confusion, and there were many others. There were some big men on these boards, patriotic men, who had quit positions at high salaries at home, with no other object than to serve their country, but frequently there were no laws that would permit them to act except in an advisory capacity.

Congress, however, recognized the necessity for extending extraordinary powers to the President to be exercised through these boards and commissions, although these grants of power were fought with great bitterness by a minority in both the House and Senate. I am glad to say that I earnestly supported every one of these grants of power asked for the national administration, except the one providing an extremely rigid censorship of the press, which I deemed excessive in scope. It was stricken out of what is known as the espionage act.

Gradually, however, and with increasing rapidity the confusion commenced to disappear. A more marked spirit of cooperation developed. Congress generously voted the powers and the money, and the great boards and commissions, in cooperation with the regular departments of the Government, especially those of the War and the Navy, began to show results.

So we are able to take the good news home that the giant American national power is in motion. Remember, it is but a little more than six months ago that it was first aroused from a sleep of peace of a half century's duration. To-day the President, the Congress, the various departments, and the great boards and commissions which were organized for war purposes are all working harmoniously and to the one great end of American success in war.

An official statement made on September 6, 1917, showed that on that date the total armed strength of the Army and Navy was 1,074,146 men, of which 819,881 were of the Army and 254,265 of the Navy. All of these are volunteers, and since the war was declared 1,300,000 have volunteered their services in one form or another. The selective draft has added 687,000 men, who are now assembling at the training camps, giving a total membership of our Army and Navy of 1,750,000 gallant and loyal American soldiers and sailors. This is an achievement of six memorable months that may well be gratifying to every American citizen.

The assembling and the arming and equipping of this army has been another vast task. Sixteen cantonments, practically each a city, capable of housing 40,000 men, in different parts of the United States, with streets, drilling and parade grounds, water and sewer systems, and all necessary conveniences, have been laid out and constructed, after searching up and leasing or purchasing the grounds, which in some cases cover 15 square miles.

For the purpose of meeting the destruction of German submarines, the long-neglected art of shipbuilding in the United States has been revived, and hundreds of steel and wooden ships have been contracted for and are in course of construction at old and new shipyards along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Soon the American flag will be floating over the decks of American merchant ships sailing the seas of the world, from which it has long been absent.

Leaving the sea for the realms of the air, we are now constructing hundreds of airplanes for battle use, of types equal to the best in the world. As our construction is all new, we hope to have them of a better average than those of any other nation. The factor of greatest importance in an airplane is that of the motor, as upon its power and speed must depend the possibility of its success in battle against the enemy. The combined mechanical skill of the United States has been employed in the construction of a motor for airplanes, with a result which is said to be eminently satisfactory, even in comparison with the truly wonderful motors used by our allies, as well as by our enemies.

EMBARGO ON FOOD SUPPLIES TO GERMANY.

The stream of food supplies from our country to Germany, which was constantly passing out on neutral vessels to neutral countries adjacent to Germany, and thence passed across the border into Germany itself or was retained in the neutral countries while an equal quantity of such supplies produced in such neutral countries was exported into Germany, has been stopped through the embargo law passed by Congress. I was in New York City in the latter part of July, shortly after the President had put into effect this embargo law. The spectacle of neutral ships at anchor in the Hudson River and in the lower bay, which vessels had been stopped by the embargo, was a striking illustration of the stupendous character of this output of food supplies. Not less than 50, and perhaps 100, of these vessels, loaded to the guards were detained at anchor in the stream. Their names in large letters were painted on the sides, with the names of their home ports and the painted flags of the neutral nation sometimes stretched from one end of the vessel to the other. The ports of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Stockholm, and Copenhagen were those which were most in evidence. The stoppage of this flood of food supplies going to feed the enemy of our soldiers in the field has doubtless had a very salutary effect in enemy countries.

FOOD CONTROL AT HOME.

The adoption of the food-control bill by Congress was another marked step in the progress of the war. The United States and Argentina were the only two countries which could produce food supplies for the allies to any great extent. There were agents of all the allied countries in the United States buying our surplus grain and food supplies, and as they were absolutely necessary they were paying almost any prices and bidding against each other and against our own people. These facts, combined with a natural alarm upon the part of our own people, created a condition most favorable to reckless speculation. There was no way of preventing the forcing of food supply prices to absolutely impossible figures, excepting the power of the General Government. In normal times the rule of supply and demand may be relied upon to fairly control prices, but here was a condition that the ordinary rules of supply and demand did not cover. The passage and approval of the food-control bill will probably not accomplish everything that was predicted for it, but that it has prevented the putting up of prices so high as to threaten starvation to great numbers of our people, which would have resulted in physical suffering, rioting, and bloodshed there can be little doubt.

The President chose for administrator of this very difficult problem a young citizen of California—Mr. Herbert Hoover—whose great work as the head of the Belgian relief organization had pointed him out as better qualified for this duty than any other American was known to be. The fixing of prices at a figure sufficiently high to stimulate production, which is an absolute necessity, is incompatible with very low prices of foodstuffs; so we may not anticipate any considerable reduction in prices. But we have a fairly good assurance that they will not advance to the fabulous figures which would have been inevitable had there been no food control.

FUEL, STEEL, IRON, AND COPPER.

As measures of war necessity the Congress and the President have taken similar measures with respect to fuel, steel, iron, and copper. A price was fixed sufficiently large to stimulate production and to give a fair return to producers, without permitting opportunities for enormous raising of prices through speculators or through different departments of the Government or allied Governments, bidding against each other and creating an unnatural and abnormal price.

SUMMARY OF GREAT WAR MEASURES.

There has been some criticism of Congress upon the part of those who believe that there should have been greater expedition in the passage of war measures. It should be remembered,

however, that the change from peace to war is of such an extraordinary character that it requires some time, not only for the people of the country, but for the membership of Congress itself, to become familiar with the necessity for drastic and warlike measures. There was, as it is proper that there should be in the Congress of the United States, much discussion upon the great principles involved. The great war measures were enacted in the following order:

Congress met in extraordinary session at noon of April 2, 1917. The House organized by the election of a Speaker and other officers, and appointed a few necessary committees on that day. At 8 o'clock the same evening the President appeared in person before the two Houses of Congress, and in the presence of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps with all the representatives of foreign powers at peace with the United States, and with the galleries overflowing with distinguished citizens, delivered his famous war message.

On April 5, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, the House passed the declaration of the state of war which had come from the Senate, and it received the approval of the President.

April 24 the President approved the great liberty bond bill of $7,000,000,000 for the purpose of conducting the war.

May 10 the President approved the joint resolution authorizing the seizure of interned German ships.

May 12 the first special war appropriation bill was passed.

May 16 the President approved the bill increasing the Navy and Marine Corps to 150,000 men.

May 18 the selective-draft bill was approved and became a law.

June 15 the espionage bill was approved, and also the first special urgent deficiency war appropriation bill.

August 10 the food-survey and food-control laws became effective.

September 24 the President approved the second great bond bill of $11,000,000,000.

In the latter part of September the war emergency appropriation bill for $8,000,000,000 was approved.

In October the soldiers' and sailors' insurance bill and the enormous war-revenue tax bills will no doubt be approved.

WHY ARE WE IN THE WAR?

The question is frequently asked, Why are we in the war?

Frankly, I agree with the distinguished Secretary of the Interior—our fellow Californian—who said that "We are in the war because we could not keep out."

The President in his humane desire to avoid war had receded from one point to another until he could go no further. There was no alternative except that of backing down completely or of accepting the challenge of Germany and going to war. There was also the practical certainty that war could not be eventually avoided, even by the most complete and abject recession upon the great point at issue at the time, that of murderous and unrestricted submarine warfare. Evidently it would have only postponed the war between Germany and the United States until the close of the European war, when Germany would have had a freer hand to deal with us and wring from us the necessary billions to pay her war expenses.

Our Government was in possession of ample knowledge that war with Germany could not be avoided, and the only question involved was as to whether it should be now, when we could join our strength to those powerful countries allied at war with Germany or whether it should be postponed until a time when Germany could take up the questions at issue with the United States unencumbered by the struggle with these other powers.

There is sufficient evidence upon which to base this conviction, which was undoubtedly held by our President and his advisers. While our neutrality laws had from the beginning given Germany the same opportunity of purchasing supplies and ammunition in the United States that were given to the allied powers, Germany, owing to the control of the seas by Great Britain, was not in a position where she could avail herself of our neutrality. The German Government, however, would never accept this theory, and practically insisted that as Germany was unable to trade with the United States in food supplies and munitions of war, it was our duty to refuse trade with other countries.

The United States had also taken a position offensive to Germany in its sympathy for Belgium. We were shocked at the invasion and destruction of that country, an act which was not defended even by the German Emperor except upon the ground of military necessity. It is true that our Government never officially protested against this monstrous act, and it is to our shame, mitigated only by our extreme desire to maintain peace, that at least a vigorous protest had not been made at the time. Notwithstanding the absence of an official condemnation of the invasion of Belgium, Germany well knew from the expressions of our free press and the utterances of public men that the destruction of Belgium was held in abhorrence in this country.

The vigorous objections which had been made by the United States to the claim of right to debar neutral vessels from hundreds of miles of the open sea off the coast of Europe, and the destruction of such neutral ships by submarines as a penalty for entering this unauthorized zone, was another grievance of the German Government. When many of our vessels had been torpedoed, with loss of American lives, and the great British steamer *Lusitania* was sunk without warning, with a loss of life of 114 American men, women, and children, our Government made such a vigorous protest that the German Government promised that further sinkings without warning would be avoided.

All these various interferences—not with the rights but with the will of the German Government—which we could not in decency have avoided constituted in their eyes a great number of offenses which they had determined to avenge at the close of the European war, a decision which they were at little pains to conceal.

BULLYRAGGING THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

The American ambassador to Germany, Hon. James W. Gerard, has recently published the memoirs of his experience during his term of service at Berlin. In this valuable contribution to the history of the great war, describing the submarine controversy, Mr. Gerard makes the following statement:

> During this winter of submarine controversy an interview with Von Tirpitz, thinly veiled as an interview with a "high naval authority," was published in the usually most conservative of newspapers, the Frankfurter Zeitung. In this interview the "high naval authority" advocated ruthless submarine war with England and promised to bring about thereby the speedy surrender of that country. After the surrender, which was to include the whole British fleet, the German fleet, with the surrendered British fleet added to its force, was to sail for America and exact from that country indemnities enough to pay the whole cost of the war.
>
> After his fall Von Tirpitz, in a letter to some admirers who had sent him verses and a wreath, advocated holding the coast of Flanders as a necessity for the war against England and America.

Mr. Gerard also describes an interview which he had with Emperor William at the new palace at Potsdam on October 22, 1915. He states that the interview lasted about an hour and a quarter and that he and the Emperor were alone in the room. He described the dress of the Emperor and said:

> The Emperor was standing, so, naturally, I also stood; and, according to his habit, which is quite "Rooseveltian," he stood very close to me and talked very earnestly. I was fortunately able to clear up two distinct points which he had against America * * *. The Emperor showed great bitterness against the United States and repeatedly said, "America had better look out after this war," and "I shall stand no nonsense from America after this war."

Ambassador Gerard describes a scene at a social function given at the residence of one of the cabinet ministers in January, 1917. Mr. Gerard states that from early in 1915 until he left Germany he never had a conversation with a German without his alluding to the sale of munitions by the United States to the allies. At the party in question he states that a large German—one of the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin—

> planted himself some distance away from me, and in a voice so loud, and slapping his chest so hard, that everyone in the room stopped his conversation in order to hear, addressed me in German, saying:
>
> "You are the American ambassador, and I want to tell you that the conduct of America in furnishing arms and ammunition to the enemies of Germany is stamped deep on the German heart; that we will never forget it and will some day have our revenge."

Mr. Gerard adds:

> As he wore on his breast the orders of the Black Eagle, the Red Eagle, the Elephant, and the Seraphim, when he struck all this menagerie the rattle alone was quite loud. I reminded him politely of The Hague Convention, of the fact that we could not change international law from time to time with the change in the situation of the war, and that Germany had furnished arms to England to use against the Boers. But he simply answered, saying, "We care nothing for treaties."

Omitting consideration of this personal attempt to bullyrag the American ambassador by titled Germans and by the Emperor himself, it shows the general feeling which pervades the ruling classes of Germany, and leaves no doubt in the mind of any thinking person that if our President had humiliated himself and the country by submitting with a mere verbal protest to the continuation of the submarine war, it would not have saved the country finally from war, but would only have postponed it.

That Germany has long contemplated the great prosperity of America with envious eyes, and that the German idea of world conquest, which has been fostered by her philosophers, her generals, and her admirals, receives a very strong evidence from a report made by the late Admiral Dewey shortly after the surrender of Manila in 1898. Admiral Dewey reports a conversation which he had with Admiral von Goetz, of the German Navy, who was a guest of the United States, a military observer of the German Navy, in 1898 in our war with Spain in

Cuba, which he deemed of sufficient importance to embrace in an official report to the Navy Department at Washington. The German officer boldly warned Dewey that about 15 years from that time Germany would start a great war, take Paris, and then hurry across the channel and crush England. This will be found in United States Naval and Military Records, No. 38, volume 52, page 478. Admiral von Goetz boldly said to our officers:

About 15 years from now my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. * * * Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York, and probably Washington, and hold them for some time. We do not propose to take any of your territory(?), but we do intend to take a billion or so of your dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have to put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we wish to. * * * Don't forget this, and about 15 years from now remember it, and it will interest you.

Evidently without any fault of our own so far as we can see, the United States was mapped out for a war with Germany, which included this enormously wealthy country in its plans for world conquest.

The American public has not forgotten the attempt made by the German fleet to interfere with Dewey in Manila Bay in that memorable month of May, 1898. Dewey stopped the interference by notifying the Germans that if they were looking for a fight they could get it right there.

THE INFAMOUS ZIMMERMANN NOTE.

The recent revelations made by our State Department of the secret correspondence and messages of German officials all go to confirm these conclusions. One of the most significant of these was the now famous dispatch of the German foreign minister Zimmermann to the German ambassador to Mexico. It is to be remembered that this dispatch was sent at a time when the United States was presumed to be on terms of perfect friendship with Germany and our Government was doing its utmost to avoid war. This message was intended to bring Mexico into war with the United States and also to entangle us in a conflict with Japan. The inducement held out to Mexico that she should retake from the United States the States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona would, if it were not so serious a matter in its intent, be an amusing example of the working of the German official mind. It recalls the tactics of the Evil One who took the Savior to the top of a high mountain and showed him the whole world, which would be given him if he would fall down and worship.

The message was as follows:

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico:

That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Another of the secret revelations of the War Department which has a peculiar interest to California is a secret code message of April 11, 1916, addressed to Von Igel, the German spy whose offices were raided in New York. The dispatch to Von Igel reads:

Herewith respectfully send an extract regarding the troops stationed in California and the armament of the coast fortifications.

This was a year before war was declared, and it shows that our scant military defenses on the Pacific coast were under observation for some time.

THE WAR A RESULT OF GERMAN PHILOSOPHY.

It is difficult for Americans to understand the Germanic idea of the perfection and infallibility of Germany, as expounded by its great writers and philosophers. So preposterous do these ideas appear to the average intelligent American that were it not for the terrible form which this philosophy has taken it would be regarded as a subject for humor. The average German, as we know him in the United States, is an intelligent, industrious, reasonable being and a good citizen. He obeys the laws and is loyal to the Government of his adoption. We rightly infer that the people from which he has sprung, and which he has left behind in Europe, are of the same general nature. We know that they have achieved marvels in manufacturing, in commerce, in social government, and in the arts.

If such philosophers and writers as Treitschke, Von Bernhardi, Nietzsche, Reimer, and other prominent German writers were Americans and writing for the American people, they would be treated about as seriously as have been some of our own writers, for instance, Henry George, or Mr. Bryan, or Col. Roosevelt. They would receive commendation from those who agreed with them, and they would be the subject of the cartoonists of those who did not. In Germany, however, writers of the peculiar German philosophy appear to have had a tremendous influence upon the public mind. The infallibility of Germany and of German philosophy, and particularly their own, has become an obsession with the people. The idea of German "kultur" as a superhuman development of the German mind and character and infinitely superior to that of any other country is actually taken seriously, and it is considered of so much importance that Germans are willing to die by the thousands and the millions in order to impress this philosophy, willingly or unwillingly, upon the other nations of the world. It is a harsh philosophy, carrying to the extreme, not only as a physical fact but as a moral virtue, Darwin's theory of "the survival of the fittest." It is made a great principle of ethical virtue that the weak shall be destroyed in order that the strong may become stronger.

Von Bernhardi, in his book "Germany and the Next War," published in 1913, said:

War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which can not be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all civilization.

The law of the stronger holds good everywhere.

No power exists which can judge between States and makes its judgments prevail. Nothing in fact is left but war to secure to the true elements of progress the ascendancy over the spirits of corruption and decay.

Lastly, in all times the right of conquest by war has been admitted. It may be that a growing people can not win colonies from uncivilized races, and yet the State wishes to retain the surplus population which the mother country can no longer feed. Then the only recourse left is to acquire the necessary territory by war.

From this point of view efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily detrimental to the national health so soon as they influence politics.

The efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as absolutely unworthy of the human race.

Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature can not be political. Its object is to promote morality of the individual in order to strengthen him to work unselfishly in the interests of the community.

Reflection thus shows that war is not only an unqualified necessity but that it is justifiable from every point of view.

Reimer, in his book, A Pan-German Germany, published in 1905, said:

It is precisely our craving for expansion that drives us into the paths of conquest, and in view of which all chatter about peace and humanity can and must remain nothing but chatter.

If the nations in question have nothing Germanic in them, and are therefore foreign to our kultur, the question at once arises, Do they stand in the way of our expansion or do they not? In the latter case let them develop as their nature prescribes; in the former case it would be folly to spare them, for they would be like a wedge in our flesh which we refrained from extracting only for their own sake. If we found ourselves forced to break up the historical form of the nation in order to separate its racial elements, taking what belongs to our race and rejecting what is foreign to it, we ought not, therefore, to have any moral scruples or to think ourselves inhuman.

Nietzsche, in his book, The Joyous Wisdom, says:

Hatred, delight in mischief, rapacity, and ambition, and whatever else is called evil, belong to the marvelous economy of the conservation of the race.

Quotations of similar sentiments could be made from prominent German writers almost without limit, and these appear to be accepted as a basis of national growth and principle.

It seems a horrible perversion that a whole nation should accept such terrible doctrines of national life, so opposed as they are to the teachings of Christianity and of all religion, and so repugnant to the humane influences and principles which all agree should govern in the relation of human beings to each other, and which are accepted as well in Germany as in all other countries, as the rule of private life. The drawing of a distinction between the moral obligations of a nation and those of an individual appears to be the vital error of the German Government—that a nation may in the national interest commit all manner of offenses and crimes which in an individual universally would be regarded as infamous; that the nation may do all manner of evil in the hope "that good may come."

President Wilson, in his admirable reply to his Holiness, the Pope, obviously had this immoral distinction constantly in view.

DUTY OF CITIZENS TO THE COUNTRY.

Most people will agree that the facts which I have heretofore recited leave little or no room to doubt that at any time for the past 18 months or two years it was impossible to have

avoided war with Germany, either now or at a later date. That being the fact, there is no other course to pursue but to wage war with the greatest vigor of which we are capable. Whether we could have avoided war or not, however, we are indubitably at war, and it is the duty of every citizen to sustain the Government in every way humanly possible for him to do. It is no excuse to stand back and make the claim that our entry into the war was unconstitutional—which claim has no foundation to rest upon—and by constant outcries and protests accomplish as much as possible for the cause of our foreign enemy.

We have reached a point where those who are not for us are against us, and this can not be too clearly understood.

Public arguments that would have been perfectly privileged before war was declared, if they have a tendency to give aid and comfort to the enemy, become treasonable now. Free speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, but that kind of speech which would give aid and comfort to the enemy passes beyond the limits of freedom into that of license. The line of division between free speech and license is that which is determined by the fact whether it be of a character to give aid and comfort to the enemy. There are many who seem unable to draw that distinction. They should, however, give this distinction grave consideration. If they value their standing in the community and would wish their memories to be held in honor by their children, and their children's children, they will refrain from taking a position antagonistic to their country in war.

We have had in all our wars classes who were opposed to the Government. In the Revolutionary War they were known as Tories. As we look back upon it they had the basis of love of mother country, while the revolutionists were in the attitude of rebels to the authority of the mother country. Yet the Tories were held in great disesteem during the period of the Revolutionary War, and still greater after the close of that war. Many of them left their homes in the triumphant United States and returned to Great Britain, or removed to Canada, because the loyal people of America—those who had conducted the revolution—regarded them as traitors. No American of the present day who traces back his ancestry but feels a sense of disgrace if he find that some of his progenitors were Tories.

During the Civil War we had throughout the Northern States considerable numbers of people who for various reasons were antagonistic to the Union. Some believed that the Southern States had a right to withdraw from the Union. Some were related by ties of nature to the South. From a position of criticism and lack of sympathy they became active in all manner of schemes to retard the Union Government. They formed secret societies in some of the States. The cordiality with which they were hated by all loyal people was out of all proportion to the feeling entertained toward the armed and open soldiers of the Confederacy. There can not be found to-day in the United States a single person who would not conceal, if possible, the fact that he was the descendant of a "Copperhead."

We sometimes hear the statement made that we are not justified in war unless our country is invaded. Those who make this claim are loud in their protestations that if the United States were to be invaded they would do marvelous deeds of heroism. I would call the attention of all such persons to the fact that Germany, which now claims to be making a war of defense, is doing all of its fighting in foreign territory—on the east in Russia and on the west in France and Belgium. The place in which to fight a war is where the war is and where the enemy can be defeated most effectually.

Our gallant soldiers under Gen. Pershing are in the friendly country of France preparing to fight in conjunction with our allies to clear France and Belgium from the invaders. The United States is exercising every power possible to win this war, which is a war for its own defense and for the future of our country and of the world, as much as it is for the democracy of the world. Indeed, the cause of the world is wrapped up in the cause of democracy.

Let all who are in a mood of criticism of our Government for entering into war, or of the manner in which the war is being conducted, take note of the sentiment which has always prevailed after every war in regard to those whose position was equivocal and somewhat similar to their own—in the Revolutionary War and in the Civil War—and if they are unable to bring their minds to a cordial support of the Government let them quietly accept the situation as one for which they are not responsible and which they can not help, and refrain from doing their country some injury and themselves irreparable injury. Let them, with as little delay as possible, bring their minds into harmony with the patriotic spirit of the day and join heartily in the patriotic work of contributing to American victory.

Let no one doubt that the great result will be a victory for our arms and for the cause of democracy. The world is not going backward. It is not going to surrender the great progress and advance which it has made in the past 150 years and return to the autocratic conditions from which the world has nearly emerged. The American position in this war is unselfish and unattended by any desire for profit, and it will receive no profit except in the satisfaction of having saved the world from the domination of a cruel and unsympathetic autocracy.

The unanimity of the desire to serve our country in its need is one of the most cheering developments of the time, and one of the compensations, if there can be any compensation, in the great tragedy. One million three hundred thousand American men have offered their services to the country in one way and another. More than a million of these have volunteered the service of their bodies as soldiers in our Army and sailors in our Navy, as a bulwark of defense to their country. The others have offered their services in such ways as they considered themselves best qualified to act. Millions of others have changed their mode of life or increased their activities in order to contribute in some way to the general welfare. Hundreds of thousands of children in the public schools have done that which they could in the way of cultivating gardens and producing food to increase the national supplies. The unused land along the roadways, the unoccupied lots in cities, the back yards of little homes, and even the lawns in front of beautiful residences have been devoted to this cause. This desire for service has extended through all occupations and to all ranks of society. The men of greatest ability in all lines of industry—railways, vast business and manufacturing enterprises, the law, banking, mining, education, and all the other great occupations—have furnished their quota to the national needs by volunteering of service.

One of the most noticeable features of official life in Washington is furnished by the great boards and commissions, composed generally of volunteer members, supplemented usually by experienced officers of the Government. These men are serving without compensation other than the satisfaction of doing real service to the country. They include such men as Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., and one of the leading railroad men of the United States; Edward Chambers, vice president of the Santa Fe Railway System and many years an honored citizen of California; Herbert Hoover, also a Californian, as head of the food administration of the Government, who receives a salary of $1 per year in place of the $150,000 which he was drawing before the great war drew him into the service of humanity; great automobile men like Howard E. Coffin and S. A. Waldon, who are among the leading spirits in the Aircraft Production Board; G. Harold Powell, manager and organizer of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange; Mark L. Requa; Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University; Curtis H. Lindley, the eminent legal authority of San Francisco, all of whom are serving with Mr. Hoover in the food administration. Recently, as the one best man to handle the second liberty loan of $3,000,000,000, Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank, of New York, has taken a desk in the Treasury Department to direct the great financial campaign. One could go on indefinitely with the names of these patriotic men who have practically abandoned their private business in order to give their invaluable services to the Government.

It is also one of the evidences of universal devotion to our country to observe the wiping out of partisan lines and differences in devotion to the great national cause. Former President William H. Taft and former President Theodore Roosevelt, although vastly different in their temperaments and in their personal inclinations, are both rendering untiring and invaluable service in teaching patriotism and devotion to the country and a firm and unqualified support to the administration of President Woodrow Wilson in the conduct of this great war.

Among our other great men who have sacrificed something of personal views and have brought themselves into harmony with and support of the President is that really great American, William Jennings Bryan. Abandoning his attitude of radical pacifism, in Mr. Bryan's latest outgivings he declares for loyalty to the country in the war and advocated the best policy of bringing about peace is to fight for it, straight through to the end. In a recent address Mr. Bryan said:

> People ask me every day how long this war will last. My answer is that I do not know, and I do not know anybody who does know. But I can state a fact that is worth more than any guess, prediction, or prophecy, and that is that no matter whether the war be long or short, the shortest road to peace is the road straight ahead, with no division among our people.

Judge Alton B. Parker and former Justice Charles E. Hughes, both sometime nominees of their respective parties for President,

stand on precisely the same ground, and are giving the most unlimited support, through their able utterances and exhortations to the people, to the administration in its prosecution of the war.

The American women also are giving undivided support to the national cause. They have everywhere volunteered to assist in the great work. They have organized Red Cross societies and relief organizations of every description for the purpose of brightening the lives of our soldiers and sailors and the care of those of their dependents who remain at home. They have converted social organizations into great patriotic organizations. Whoever has witnessed the thousands of women all over the United States diligently using the hours which otherwise would be spent in leisure or in the pursuit of pleasure, knitting sweaters, wristlets, and other garments for the comfort of men that they have never seen, and never will see, can not but be touched by their loyal and unselfish activities.

These are all splendid portents and all tend to bring about the final victory.

Speaking for myself, in normal times I am a partisan, and heartily and firmly believe in the national principles and economic policies of the Republican Party. I now do so believe. But in all the great questions arising from this war I know no political party. I cast my vote in Congress on all war measures absolutely without reference to political considerations and solely with a view to the honor and success of our beloved country. I am first of all an American, and as an American feel that our success in this great war in which we are engaged is the overshadowing consideration. I hold it to be my highest duty, as it is my pleasure, not only to refrain from carping criticism of the President and his administration in the conduct of the war, but to give my voice and vote to every measure of legislation that will strengthen his hands as the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. Upon him the American people have placed the responsibility. To him should Congress give the power, reserving criticism, if any be deserved, until unencumbered thereby, the great work has been performed.

Let us all, whatever may be our individual fortunes in life, as Americans, stand together for our common country. Let each in his own way contribute every ounce of power which he may be possessed of or enabled to exercise for the cause of our country. We firmly believe that success in this terrible war will be effectual in bringing about a condition which will prevent all war in the future. It is a war against wars; in favor of the weak and poor of every country; against the exercise of unbridled power, the burdens of militarism, and of autocracy; and a war for the preservation and integrity of our own beloved country, the United States of America.

THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST.

Mr. Speaker, I was much interested in and pleased with the address delivered a few days ago by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] on the recent patriotic action of the people of Tacoma and Pierce County, in that State, in reference to the establishment of Camp Lewis, which is the official name of the fine cantonment at American Lake. The soldiers of the new National Army from my own State of California are now assembling at Camp Lewis, and it is a pleasure to know that they are to be quartered during their period of training among a people so patriotic and enterprising as the people of Washington, in the city of Tacoma and Pierce County.

This patriotism and energy are emphasized by the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the American Lake cantonment. As far back as the fall of 1916 the people of those counties bonded themselves to the amount of $2,000,000 to finish the purchase of the tract of land, nearly 15 miles square, at American Lake, and presented it, without cost, to the United States Government for cantonment purposes.

This is an action of which the gentleman from Washington is and well may be proud. It is a fine example of the "spirit of the West," and particularly of the Pacific coast. It is that spirit of self-reliance and cooperation which is so rapidly building up the three great Pacific States of Washington, Oregon, and California and their neighboring States west of the Rocky Mountains.

When they ask the Federal Government to establish some obviously necessary public work of whatever nature, as a rule they offer a substantial cooperation, often of greater value than the amount of the expenditure of the Government itself.

I specially invite the attention of the members of the House to this fact, and to this particular instance. It is an exhibition of that same spirit of the West which has imbued the people of California from the days of '49 to the present, and which has been strongly exemplified by the people of my own county of Los Angeles.

In the establishment of Los Angeles Harbor, during the past 20 years, the people of that great city and county have taxed and bonded themselves to the extent of more than $5,000,000, which they have expended in the opening and development of a deep-sea harbor, or an amount dollar for dollar with that expended by the Federal Government. This expenditure has been attended with gratifying results. Los Angeles Harbor now transacts a large foreign and domestic commerce, and handles a greater quantity of lumber than any other port in the United States. Within a year the people of Los Angeles County have voted over a million dollars for a single feature of harbor protection to meet a similar expenditure on the part of the National Government; thus completing an outlay in excess of $6,000,000 upon national harbor purposes, raised by direct taxes and bonds, while the Government has expended a similar amount.

Recently the Navy Yard Commission, created by Congress for the purpose, after searching personal investigation and observation, has reported to the President a system of naval defense of the Pacific coast, from Puget Sound to the Mexican border. Included is a recommendation for a submarine base and an aviation operating base at Los Angeles Harbor. To facilitate this great national work the city of Los Angeles has, through its mayor and city council, and by an overwhelming vote of its people cast at a popular election, donated free of cost a very valuable tract of land bordering on the harbor, which has been valued, at a conservative estimate, at $4,000,000. The proposed expenditures of the Government to perfect this submarine base amount to $2,250,000. It will thus be noted that the people of Los Angeles are meeting the Government in this particular case on a basis of nearly 2 to 1.

The proposed plan of the Navy Yard Commission, of which Rear Admiral J. M. Helm is the chairman, is the first comprehensive and coordinated system of national defense of the Pacific coast that has ever been proposed. It is of such broad national character that the people of the Pacific Coast States are extremely gratified at this evidence of interest of the great Navy Department in a matter of national welfare, and they will evidence their appreciation in a substantial way wherever it is possible for them to do so.

The action of the people of Washington in bonding themselves in the sum of $2,000,000 and presenting to the Government free of charge a splendid field for training the new National Army, 15 square miles in extent, and the presentation to the National Government of a magnificent tract at Los Angeles Harbor for Government purposes, having a value of $4,000,000, are evidences of the characteristic loyalty of the Pacific Coast States and a striking example of the energetic and loyal "spirit of the West."

Government's Shipbuilding Program.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUFUS HARDY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, October 3, 1917.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of our merchant marine and the Government shipbuilding program.

It was my desire to discuss at length the question of free ships for our merchant marine as the best, if not the only, means in normal times of building up and sustaining a great American merchant marine, but at this time the question of free ships is perhaps of no importance, because at this time, if we were permitted to do so, we could not buy ships abroad cheaper than we can build them or buy them here.

The pertinent question to-day is how we may best aid the Government in its purpose to build up a vast fleet of merchant ships at Government expense. On this question the Government's shipbuilding program is the whole issue. We want a program that will get ships—get them quickly and get them with the greatest practicable economy. A vast number of ships have already been contracted for, and the Government has contracted for a vast quantity of steel plate. In my judgment the Government is paying exhorbitant, if not unconscionable prices under these contracts.

Bearing on the statement I have just made, I place in the RECORD the following statement:

GOVERNMENT'S SHIPBUILDING POLICY.

[Statement by L. P. Featherstone, president Texas Steel Co.]

This statement is prepared for the purpose of showing that it is to the interest of the Nation to own its raw material for steel making and its yards for shipbuilding, in that it relieves itself of the present peril to Messaba Range ore supply, that is possible from destruction

of locks by dynamite, at the enemy's instigation, between the Great Lakes, at the same time utilizing a new ore supply, distributing its plants geographically, thereby adding to its safety, and by this distribution increasing the Nation's efficiency and ability for steel production and shipbuilding.

To show that the ore and limestone of Texas and the coking coal of Alabama, with freight rates by rail and water, so coordinates this material that the Nation's merchant-marine ships can be built at Beaumont, Tex., on a basis such that the Government can submit to the extortion under existing contracts for one-third of its $1,800,000,000 appropriation and can on one-third effect such a saving as to make a clear gain of 344 ships of 6,200 tons dead-weight capacity, and with such a reduction on the other third by reason of its independence, given by raw-material ownership, that still more ships will be built from its $1,800,000,000 appropriation.

The proof of the foregoing statements is submitted in detail in the following pages:

Cost pig-iron production—Comparison between Philadelphia and Beaumont.

AT PHILADELPHIA.

Iron ore (gross ton):	
Lake ports, fixed	$5.05
Freight and handling	1.60
	6.65
Coke (net ton):	
Connelsville, fixed	6.00
Freight and handling	2.20
	8.20
Limestone, delivered at Philadelphia (net ton)	2.00
2 tons ore, at $6.65 per ton	13.30
1⅛ tons coke, at $8.20 per ton	9.84
One-half ton limestone, at $2 per ton	1.00
	24.14
Labor cost and plant maintenance	2.00
Cost of pig iron per ton at Philadelphia	26.14

AT BEAUMONT.

Iron ore, delivered at plant (gross ton)	2.75
Coke, by-product process (net ton)	5.63
Limestone, delivered at plant (net ton)	2.40
2 tons ore, at $2.75 per ton	5.50
1⅛ tons coke, at $5.63 per ton	6.75
One-half ton limestone, at $2.40 per ton	1.20
	13.45
Labor cost and plant maintenance	2.00
Cost of pig iron per ton at Beaumont	15.45

N. B.—Cost $10.69 more to produce pig iron at Philadelphia than at Beaumont.

STEEL PLATES.

The difference in cost of conversion of this pig iron into steel plates is proportionately less at Beaumont. The scrap for economizing conversion of this pig iron into steel can be had in Texas at figures considerably lower than the same material is obtainable in the East. The manganese content is ample for ordinary steel requirements, making necessary only slight manganese addition for ship steel plates.

The material lost in process of conversion of pig iron or molten metal into steel is usually estimated at 10 per cent; with this high-grade material it should be less.

The usual labor and maintenance cost of the conversion of iron into steel run from $6 to $9 per ton in the years 1912, 1913, 1914, and part of 1915, these figures making an average of $7.50 per ton. War conditions have not doubled this labor and maintenance conversion cost.

However, allowing doubled cost, the cost for converting the pig iron or hot metal into steel plates would be ——per ton	$15.00
Adding to this pig-iron or hot-metal value, at stated cost do	15.45
You have cost of material and conversion ——do	30.45
Deducting usual estimated 10 per cent conversion loss, you have left 1,800 pounds of steel, which has cost $30.45 per ton, which makes cost of steel plates ——per ton	33.83
Adding 33⅓ per cent to this for contingent and profit fund, amounting to ——per ton	11.28
Would bring steel-plate cost at Beaumont to ——do	45.11
Government has fixed price for plates at ——do	65.00

SUPPLY THE MATERIAL AND BUILD SHIPS FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

Propositions submitted to the United States Government and now under consideration:

First. We will sell to the Government 20,000,000 tons iron ore, 15,000,000 tons coking coal, and 10,000,000 tons limestone at a total cost of $14,000,000.

We propose with this material repurchased from the Government as used, at 50 per cent advance, to supply the Government steel plates at $45.11 per ton, and with the plates to build ships for the Government at $130 per dead-weight ton. These prices subject to reduction on arbitration basis if found to be in excess of a fair profit on cost of production and maintenance of plant.

When 60 ships of 10,000 tons dead-weight carrying capacity have been constructed, at $130 per dead-weight ton instead of $155 per dead-weight ton, price now being paid to eastern steel-ship combine, the Government will have saved $15,000,000 on this shipbuilding contract, or enough to pay for the raw material purchased from us under our first proposition. The raw material remaining will be sufficient to build for the Government a merchant marine fleet equal to half the steel steamship tonnage of all the world before the depredations of the submarine, or sufficient to supply the plates for more than 3,600 steel ships of 6,200 dead-weight tons' carrying capacity, the average size now being contracted for by the Government. Sufficient material to produce more than twice the number of ships which the Government will be able to get for its whole $1,800,000,000 appropriation for its merchant marine fleet if the present contract price being paid is allowed to absorb the whole appropriation.

GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE PLATES FOR $33.83 PER TON—IS NOW PAYING $65 PER TON.

The proposition of $45.11 per ton for steel plates made to the Government and $130 per dead-weight ton for ships constructed is based upon a safe business margin and a substantial profit.

As an evidence of good faith, it is proposed to back this indorsement by the investment of the proceeds of the raw material of $14,000,000 and a million more, to be put into plant for profitably producing these steel plates at $45.11 and building these ships at $130 per dead-weight ton.

It is shown to the Government that with a properly constructed modern plant the Government can by the utilization of this raw material produce these steel plates at $33.83 per ton at Beaumont and can build these ships at $100 per dead-weight ton.

As evidence of the reasonableness of this statement, Mr. Denman, in his report (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 15) states that "England is now building ships of the same character for $80 per dead-weight ton, with $60 per ton steel plates." Ships of this character were being built in the United States in 1914 at $50 per dead-weight ton. The advance on cost of raw material has been relatively inconsiderable. While labor cost has advanced, the great advance has been based on monopolistic profits.

BY THESE ADDED FACILITIES GOVERNMENT CAN SAVE $495,876,000.

The board has asked and it is understood that the Government has appropriated $35,000,000 to be put into shipyards in the East. As much put into a shipbuilding plant at Beaumont, with half that amount into a steel-plate producing plant, will produce one-third of the ships required by the Government, allowing 25 per cent more than England's $80 per ton cost for ships—that is, $100 per dead-weight ton—at a saving which would make possible the production of 344 ships of 6,200 tons dead-weight capacity (the average size of ships contracted for) as a net increase over what is possible to have out of this $1,800,000,000 appropriation if the entire contract for steel-plate production and shipbuilding is to be continued under the control of the eastern steel-ship building combine.

The ownership of the steel-making raw material, with consequent independence of the Government, will compel the eastern shipbuilding combine to make such a revision of their figures as will enable the Government to secure such ships as it is unable to build for itself on at least a difference-splitting basis, which would make an additional saving sufficient to build 172 ships, making a total of 516 ships which the Government will own out of the proceeds of its $1,800,000,000 appropriation, which it will not have if the present program of turning over contracts at present prices to the eastern steel-ship combine is continued.

Each of these 516 ships is now costing the Government, under existing contracts averaging $155 per dead-weight ton, $961,000 per ship, which will make a total saving to the Government of $495,876,000.

I wish to add but little to that statement.

I know L. P. Featherstone. I believe him to be one of the most substantial business men of Texas, a man of large means, and a true, loyal, honest American citizen.

Just one thing further: Mr. Featherstone, the president of the Texas Steel Co., tells me that his company is now ready to enter into a contract with our Government, straight, without conditions and without any advance payment, to sell and deliver to the Government 500,000 tons of steel plate at $50 per ton instead of the $65 per ton which the Government is now paying, and that his company will give a good and sufficient bond in the sum of $100,000 for the faithful performance of their contract.

If the Government for any reason can not entertain the propositions which have been submitted as stated herein, it does seem to me it ought to entertain the proposition which the Texas Steel Co. is ready to make for the unconditional sale to the Government of 500,000 tons of steel plate at $50 per ton.

Aviation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. McLAUGHLIN,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, October 3, 1917.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following address delivered by Hon. SIMEON D. FESS at the dedication of the Wilbur Wright Aviation Field, September 27, 1917:

THE PART THE UNITED STATES MUST PLAY IN THE WORLD WAR, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO AVIATION.

(An address delivered by S. D. Fess at the dedication of the club house on the Wilbur Wright Aviation Field, Sept. 27, 1917.)

Mr. President, Capt. McCauley, Cadets of the Wilbur Wright Aviation Field, and friends, the invitation to address you on this dedicatory occasion was cordially extended and gladly accepted. Since that time I have been considering what is most appropriate for me to say. Naturally, I shall be expected to give some impression of the international situation as it appears to some of us at Washington.

For over two years, from August, 1914, we were virtually living over a threatening volcano. We were using our best ability to maintain neutrality. After repeated failures to induce the warring nations to agree upon a code of warfare, especially on the sea, where neutral rights were in danger, we announced that we would take our stand upon the customs and practices, the rules and usages, of international law as then in vogue, and would hold all belligerent countries to that standard so far as they affected the rights of neutral countries. We thus at once bound ourselves to an observance of international rather than municipal law. We therefore were powerless to modify any of its decrees unless all belligerents assented, and were compelled to permit the exercise of all international rights claimed by the belligerents if sanctioned by prior practice.

The exportation of arms to a belligerent country by neutral citizens was a practice well established by all the countries now at war, and carried with it the right of belligerents to purchase in neutral countries as evidenced by Article VII of the Hague conference, which our representatives in that conference strongly urged. When the stage was reached that one belligerent, having the right to purchase, could not deliver because her enemy had driven her fleet off the sea to hide in the Kiel Canal, demanded that her inability to deliver should lead our country to forbid her enemy, who could deliver, from further purchases, we were confronted with a situation to test our ability as well as sincerity to make good our insistence. We were face to face with the issue whether Germany's misfortune was a sufficient ground for our reversal of our insistence that all countries strictly observe international policies. Of course we could take no such ground, and were at once the subjects of bitter charges in Germany with an unneutral position.

Our demands of full recognition of international law caused us to call England to task on her various policies of blockade. We made it plain that her "indefensible" blockade would not be respected unless she made it valid by making it effective.

We also demanded that it should not be extended to violation of the recognized custom of "neutral flags cover neutral goods." We also demanded that it could not extend to neutral coasts save and except where it was clearly a continuous voyage, as in the *Springbok* case of the Civil War, and then only under undoubted conditions.

We complained of her desire to totally obliterate the difference between conditional and absolute contraband in time of war.

Fellow citizens, I myself called attention on the floor of the House to the dangers of allowing any great naval power under the stress of war to take steps which would tend to bind all nations when the war had passed.

Our frequent notes to England on these restraints of trade, all grounded in breaches of our neutral rights, gave Germany additional argument in her contentions against Britain.

Germany's first war-zone order, to take effect February 18, 1915, was rested by pretense of the Imperial Government upon Britain's North Sea war-zone order of November 2, 1914.

However, these were not similar. In other words, Germany could not justify an undertaking to torpedo all vessels entering certain waters in the high seas on the basis that Britain had cautioned all neutrals from entering the North Sea not to go outside of well-defined bounds for fear of striking mines which had been placed in the sea by both Germany and England, but assuring safety, so far as England was concerned, if vessels would respect sailing directions while in the sea. This latter order did not forbid entrance on penalty of death, while the German order was a threat of open murder on the seas, the highway that no nation possessed.

During the discussion of these critical decrees, attacks were made upon merchantmen both from the sea and air. Before diplomatic discussion had progressed far, our Nation was stunned by a warning published in the American press against citizens taking passage on the *Lusitania;* and later horrified by the awful fatality of the destruction of that liner, with over 100 American citizens on board.

You all know what followed. In due time an attack was made on the *Sussex*, which brought from our Government the announcement that unless the submarine policy was discontinued so far as it affects American rights this country would sever diplomatic relations. For the time the promise was made to discontinue these attacks.

Unfortunately for the country we were in the midst of a national political campaign in which the slogan was used "He kept us out of war"; a pitiable performance to say the least, but a woeful blunder considered from an international point of view, because it prepared the unthinking population of our country to believe that the issue of war was the mere caprice of the head of the Nation.

After two and a half years of effort toward neutrality we found ourselves enmeshed with world problems, involving the honor and integrity of our own nationality.

Personally I came most reluctantly to the firm conviction that we had to deal with Germany. The various machinations throughout the country indicated the German mind toward us so far as the Imperial Government went. It seemed we were destined to defend our rights or surrender our honor as well as our nationality. The Zimmermann note left no doubt as to the purpose of the ruling House in Germany.

It seemed to Congress the height of unwisdom to further delay our published determination to resist the ruthless submarine policy whose purpose was to starve the enemies of Germany, even if to do so meant the enmity of our own country. If our future enemy could succeed in starving Britain she could dictate her own terms of peace, the first item of which would have been the transfer of the British fleet to Germany. In that case it would not be difficult to see what the future of our own country would be.

The country, through its President and its Congress, declared that it could not submit to this possibility and would call the entire resource of the Nation, both men and money, to resist it. Young men, you are but one unit in the almost miraculous mobilization of the Republic's energy to maintain our rights. It was the step we had hoped we would be spared from taking. Some of us had been close students of the causes which led to the war and the movements both on field and in forum since it broke.

The world has been unutterably horrified over the total lack of any humanitarian considerations in the war. We have read of the occurrences of inhumanity which lead us now to believe that the highest reaches of human intelligence expressed in discovery and invention are exhausted in a campaign of brutal conduct which refuses to consider any element save force and ability to reach the desired end. Terrorism of a nation of noncombatants by wholesale desecration and wanton destruction of life and property has come to be the daily occurrences.

This principle of warfare in action sees the ruthless destruction of food supply on the sea to the threat of a world famine in foods. It sees noncombatant populations of men, women, and children treated as if they were in the line of battle.

These orders are given by the heads of the armies whose allegiance is due to the head of the Empire, whose word is law, as he holds in his hands both the purse and the sword of the nation. But yesterday I called the attention of Members of the House to the Prussian system of government, so generally misunderstood in this country. This Nation must understand the character of the Imperial Government of Germany, against which we were destined to defend ourselves, a conviction that forced itself upon the country by evidence too apparent to ignore.

For over three years Germany has held the world at bay and has terrorized all populations, neutral and belligerent. During that time we have witnessed the breaches of organized militarism which have percolated from the top to the minutest detail of the German life, governmental, professional, industrial, social, and what the Kaiser strangely terms spiritual. It appears to have embraced the entire German population in such a way that I fear our people have no conception, else they would not give credence to the frequent reports of German uprisings which promise revolution. If I mistake not, the German people are with their imperial rulers to the extent of complete submission to the Kaiser's will.

This war will not end because of the weakness of our enemy. It must end because of the strength of our forces we shall send against our enemy.

The solidarity of the German Government is probably not equalled by any other great power of the world. The German mind easily responds to orders. Liberty, such as we Americans know, is not favorably regarded in Germany, not even by the common people. Our liberty is denounced as license to be suppressed. Their reticence and obedience are the results of generations of that sort of repression that makes for subserviency. I am told by special students advancing their station in university work that Germany does not tolerate what we know as freedom of thought and action. I am convinced that Germany has no fears from internal revolution.

The marvelous achievements of these people along agricultural pursuits give me no hope that the end will come through a shortage of food. We must keep in mind that under the old methods of agriculture Germany in 1871, with 36,000,000 people to feed, could not do it without resorting to importation

from outside. In 1914, with the same territory, under modern intensive methods of farming Germany not only fed 68,000,000 people, but was an exporter of food.

Since that day she has added territory occupied by at least 50,000,000 people, all of the able-bodied of whom are at work in the fields to produce for the soldier under the penalty of starvation, for it is apparent that if starvation must come it will meet these people first.

There is some conviction expressed that Germany must break because of her system of finance. The one significance of this matter is the fact that so long as the nation deals alone with itself, not required to deal with the outside world, her solidarity is such that credit will take the place of exchange, and if the nation produces the commodity as a whole it will be exchanged, distributed, and consumed by the nation as a whole, without the rigid exactions of the laws of trade through the medium of a value of exchange save credit.

My firm conviction is that we shall make a great mistake if we build our plans with a view of a breakdown of Germany because of one or all of these considerations.

She still holds her position on all fronts, save parts of the west, where we can but nibble, and is free from a single foreign fighter on her soil. The entente holds a different position. The eastern front is perhaps hopelessly broken. Poor Russia in the throes of revolution, possesses anything but a solidarity. She is an overgrown country, where growth has been by accretion, and whose nationality is without a unified spirit. A country of 180,000,000 people, 90 per cent of whom, a population which we would call illiterate, speaking 40 different languages, and possessing no continuity in national evolution. A country badly misgoverned in the past and consequently sorely unprepared for what we call self-government upon a national scale.

At best it would tax a great nation to maintain in fighting trim a great army at the front. But when such a country is compelled to battle its way through revolution from an irresponsible oligarchy to a well-governed democracy, that alone is problem enough, to say nothing of keeping an effective force at the front. It would appear a wise course for Americans to proceed on the ground of no hope of assistance from Russia.

Neither can we expect any favorable results from Roumania.

We have reasons, however, for believing good results may be expected from Italy. But so long as her splendid army remains unsupplied with necessary munitions, disappointing results await us. But so soon as our own country can provide the necessary supplies the classic nation of antiquity will give a good report of herself. All this is contingent upon our ability to handle the submarine situation.

From beautiful France and stricken Belgium we must not expect more than to "hold the fort." Both of these countries are contributing their all to this life-and-death struggle. Their resources are taxed to the utmost, and, as it now appears, totally inadequate to meet the exigencies of additional war demands. They can not help us in mobilizing American armies, except in their wonderful resourcefulness in mental and moral abilities of invention and discovery, but must depend largely upon us for their needed supplies to continue their own effectiveness at the front.

Great Britain should be able to increase in effectiveness with Germany, from whatever source the latter may draw, but must depend upon outside resources for supplies. The one vital contingency here again is the submarine.

It now appears that Germany's advances can be successfully met, as indeed for weeks she has had to recede from the advancing entente columns on the west, as Austria has been repulsed by Italian troops.

This situation makes it easy to see the part the United States must play in this world tragedy. Our entente allies must be supplied from countries beyond their own borders separated by submarine infested seas.

The food for Italy, France, England, and Belgium must come from North America. Not one of these countries, excluding their colonies, can subsist upon its own productions, shut off as they now are by the submarine from their colonial possessions.

This food can not come from Russia, as is easily understood. It can not come from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or India. These countries are three times the distance from warring Europe as our own country, and it would require that much more tonnage and greater risk. The tonnage is not in the world, and even if it were the submarine would make its delivery very dubious. These supplies must come from the United States and Canada. They must cross the seas, which are sowed with mines and submarines. It at once is clear that our country must not only produce in large measure these supplies of food and munitions, but must clear the seas of these pirates of the underworld that military forces fighting our enemy may continue effective service, and thus save us from the necessity of sending men enough to take the place of those displaced by lack of food to keep them in line.

This clear choice between sending necessary food for our fighting allies or American sons to take their places in the trenches should quickly and effectually close all complaints against our campaign to conserve against waste that we may send food to Europe to feed the men who are fighting our common enemy.

Our duty is plain. We must mobilize production. We must clear the seas. We must supply our allied soldiers fighting our enemy, and we must in the meantime convert our vast wealth into instruments of command.

Young men, I need not here outline to you what has been done. While the world does not know it in detail, in a general way it discerns the most peaceful as well as the most wealthy Nation on earth in the short space of a half year's time, totally transforming itself from a quiet, industrial people into a powerful warlike machine. Our people are amazed to see the total energy of man and money converted into a fighting organism.

The annual expenditure up to six months ago had never reached much above the billion mark. This year of war it may reach the bewildering sum of twenty-two times that figure.

Our small Army, of less than 100,000 men when the war cloud broke in Europe, reaches already beyond the million mark, with the promise in the near future, in Regular Army, Federalized Militia, and National Army, a line of defenders which will test the pacific natures of our population.

Our Navy, both in craft and personnel, is growing with no limit save physical possibilities. Our merchant marine will soon be second only to Britain's.

My young friends, of all the varied lines of service now demanded by the Nation in this hour of crisis, yours is the most interesting, picturesque, and probably at this time the most important.

As I suggested a while ago, the titanic forces on the west front seem deadlocked. I have no fear that the enemy can break our lines, and but small hope that our allies can break through the German lines because of the modern methods of trench warfare. This is not due to any lack of heroism, but rather to the new science of warfare, which does not admit of the famous charges of the great wars of the past which detail the heroic advances on the world's great battle fields.

This character of trench warfare makes it absolutely necessary that the eyes of the army be far above the fighting forces to answer both for distance and obstruction. Three years ago this use of the aeroplane was a vague conception—little more than fugitive speculation. To-day it is an awakening reality. Armies can not be effective if blind. Guns may shoot 20 miles, but if they miss the enemy it is but waste. The one necessity for assured victory is eyes to see and intelligence to direct these commanding instruments of warfare. This is peculiarly the function of the aviator, the part you are to play in this world drama. I know of nothing more strangely dramatic than the growth of dependence upon the commanders of the air. But yesterday the aeroplane was a freak of the imagination.

The flying machine was on a par with "perpetual motion," the conviction of a mind somewhat unbalanced. When the Wright brothers, both in Europe and America, demonstrated its possibilities, the world was still heretical. When Parmalee in a Wright plane carried his bolt of silk from this place to Columbus the reports in the papers were looked upon as "made up." However, aviation was a demonstrable fact. By 1911 the Government decided to purchase one plane for the Army. Congress in that year set aside $125,000 to be used for aeroplanes. The Mexican situation induced a large appropriation in 1914, when that of 1911 was doubled. By many this was looked upon as reckless waste.

When the war broke in Europe the field was opened for this new fighting craft and the experts were mobilized. Orville Wright said within the past month that the war has advanced aeroplane invention at least 50 years ahead of what it would have been had there been no war. To-day we behold aircraft in army formation not unlike movements of armies on land or navies on sea. We are told that the eyes of the infantry are the scouts and bombers, who circle above the enemy at times not over 500 feet high to ascertain their plans; that the eyes of the artillery, because of the character of the work required, sometimes called "spotters," circle as high as 5,000 feet, from which they observe the location of the flashes and report the same back by wireless in order to direct the fire of the big guns. Above these spotters will frequently be found the observers and photographers, to reassure the information conveyed by the spotters. Then far above these, to the distance of 15,000 feet at times, will sail the fighters, whose real purpose is to be ready

to swoop down upon enemy planes which might appear to interfere with the eyes of the armies. Enough has been accomplished by these airmen on the various fronts of Europe so far not only to prove the wonderful facility of these aerial hunters but also the possibilities of the science of warfare in the air. This week the people of the Capital have been treated to a wonderful fête in the air, when the Italian flier, in his powerful three-engine plane, carried his 10 passengers over the city with wonderful facility of flight.

It was a conclusive demonstration of possibilities of aviation. What will be done in the near future no one will now attempt to specify.

You have all noticed the recent statement of Gen. Wood, as reported in the press, that we must not depend on the aircraft to end this war, but rather upon the boys in the trenches. This may be true.

While I would not deign to criticize this statement, it does appear to us at Washington that the effectiveness of the trench warfare must rely very greatly upon the direction given from the air. Congress has at least so interpreted its duty. Instead of the $250,000 of 1914, we at one bound in this special session appropriated the enormous sum of $640,000,000 for the Army, and just last week $35,000,000 more for the Navy. Here is the enormous sum of $675,000,000, or enough to construct two Panama Canals, to be devoted to taking possession of the air. Young men, it is not too much for me to say to you that while Washington authority does not minimize the tasks of our Army and Navy, it is centering its hopes upon your service to break the forces in favor of our cause. However, I here and now express the hope that no condition may ever arise to make it necessary for any American flyer to bombard an unprotected city filled with innocent women and children, which has become the daily diversion of our enemy.

However, an insistent demand is heard for reprisals. This demand grows more intense with the passing days. It is claimed Germany can concentrate her air power on the front, as the allies dare not, since they must keep their planes back to protect the cities subject to attack by German planes. If this campaign continues, many think the entente should do likewise to compel Germany to draw off her craft from the front to protect her cities.

It will be very unfortunate if it should appear necessary to do this. America's ability in production is so unlimited that it is simply physically impossible for Germany to match us in the production of this craft. Only to-night I am informed that a local company is under contract, beginning January 1, 1918, to deliver 25 planes per day. That is only one concern. When the giant Republic once becomes aroused to the real task before us, we will summon our best talents and we will take possession of the air. We will not only drive our enemy out of the air, but we will endeavor to show what can be done in the enemy country from a mobilization of forces in the air against railroads, lines of communications, munition plants, naval and submarine stations, as well as fighting columns of men.

While I have never been optimistic as to the duration of the war—indeed, I have been fearful it may be a long war—yet I feel free to assert that I see no reason why the entente forces, excluding the United States, will not be just as strong in the spring of 1918 as Germany can possibly be. With the trained men we shall have in Europe by that time ready for the drive, and our aircraft in force ready to clear and lead the way as well as direct the movement, I am convinced we will see the line break which ought to be the beginning of the end.

In that critical season I have no doubt that the cadets from this beautiful Wilbur Wright Field will have a notable part to perform, and it is not an overstatement for me to declare that the people of the country at large will look with unusual interest upon the reports which shall detail the part you shall play in this great occasion.

Fellow citizens, the possibilities of America aroused and organized, are well symbolized by what has taken place on this field within the past few weeks. Only a short time ago this section was a choice bit of agricultural promise, consisting of our very best country seats, with prosperous homes surrounded by rich fields soon ready for the harvest. To-day all this has given way to a unique military city, possessed of every convenience of modern life. More than 100 buildings for the housing of the officers and enlisted men, representing the very newest division of military service, stretch along the upper terrace for a distance of 2 miles, overlooking the aviation field proper, as level as the sea, over which the airman can be seen almost any hour of the day in his wonderful if not miraculous maneuvers which guarantee our supremacy of the air in this test which all the world is watching with pulsating heart.

If one were in doubt as to the future possibilities of air navigation he need but witness the daily demonstrations of our air pilots over the Wilbur Wright Field.

And now I wish, on behalf of the good people of this community, especially of Dayton and Springfield, who have made possible the erection and dedication of this particular building for your comfort and recreation, to express to you our best wishes for your future.

We who have for months been absorbed in the atmosphere of war, where our major thought must needs be of overcoming by skill of mind and force of hand, are apt to forget that better self, the spiritual man, which, after all, must always remain the most important.

We at home who can not see active service in the field must not neglect to do what makes that service most effective. I at this very moment see ladies in this building busily knitting, never ceasing during the proceedings of this interesting day. It is but a part of a nation-wide enterprise in which the womanhood is enlisted under the banner of the Red Cross to assist in alleviating the inevitable horrors of war. It is also one significant evidence that our people realize that we are really in a war.

The good citizens who must remain at home, but who follow in spirit and hope our boys wherever they shall go, will do their utmost to surround our sons with comforts and recreation facilities as can be supplied by such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association and kindred associations.

It was a beautiful conception of our good friends here to anticipate the Government by taking this step to erect here in this permanent aviation field this club house to be dedicated to the better things in life. The soldier in active service will appreciate this opportunity.

You are destined to have days of loneliness, of homesickness, of great distress of mind. Here is the one place where you shall be able to come to forget for the moment your strenuous course, to write home to parent, relative, friend, sweetheart, and to participate in games, in athletic sports, and live again the scenes of home and college.

As the Representative in Congress of the district in which is located this Wilbur Wright Aviation Field, the largest and most beautiful in all the world, I desire to thank on behalf of the Government the public-spirited men and women for their success in adding to this already wonderful group of buildings this splendid club house.

I also wish, on behalf of the people of the district and surrounding districts, to thank the commandant of the field, and especially Capt. McCauley, for the field day, open to the public, that all may witness the wonders of aviation, the newest and by all odds the most interesting branch of the service.

And to you, the officers and cadets of this camp, our people of the State and Nation at large are looking for decisive results in this the greatest conflict of all ages.

The Interior Department and the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SCOTT FERRIS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, the Interior Department, accustomed to handling only domestic problems, has been spurred to unusual functions by the war, and is now performing work of vital importance to the national defense. A summary of the activities of the department, prepared at the direction of Secretary Franklin K. Lane, shows that the Interior Department has its part in this war just as the State, War, Navy, Commerce, and other departments respond to emergency conditions.

The war activities of the Interior Department cover a wide range, for there is probably no other governmental agency which covers so diversified a field in times of peace. When war came Secretary Lane and his assistants found many tasks ahead of them. These war-time tasks ranged from encouraging Indians to subscribe for liberty bonds to the harnessing of water power for manufacturing purposes or leasing Government land to build up the Nation's food supply.

Practically every bureau of the department has responded to the needs of a Government engaged in war. Some of the bureaus have loaned their geological and topographic experts to the Army; others have made fertile fields of barren places, and still

others have assisted in developing the nitrate supply, rendered technical assistance to the Council of National Defense, and classified the mining engineers and chemists of the country.

In a hundred different ways the Department of the Interior has aided in a material way since war was declared. It has worked silently, with no sounding of trumpets. The public has not heard of much of its labors, nor is there a popular appreciation of the big national projects that come within the jurisdiction of this department even in times of peace. Here is a brief summary of some of the unadvertised accomplishments of the Department of the Interior and there is appended a more detailed statement of the work of its several bureaus:

1. The Reclamation Service has rushed the extension of canals and laterals where the greatest acreage might be brought under cultivation to prevent a shortage in the food supply of the world. Legislation was obtained for the temporary delivery of water to arid lands, and liberal homestead regulations have encouraged the struggling farmer and increased his output.

2. The Indian Bureau waged an intensive food-supply campaign, and on 73 reservations 472,156 acres of land were cultivated this year in comparison with 358,796 last year. A woman expert in canning and drying has gone among the Indian women and girls to teach them the modern art of preserving food.

3. Indian adults and minors subscribed to approximately $4,500,000 worth of liberty bonds, and were encouraged to do so by the Interior Department.

4. Nearly a hundred topographic engineers of the Geological Survey have received commissions in the Army and will map areas of military importance in this country and abroad. The Geological Survey has gathered statistics regarding the minerals and substances required for the successful conduct of the war, and this data has been supplied the committees dealing with the supply of war materials. Much of the data supplied is of a confidential and highly important nature.

5. The General Land Office has stimulated the sale of Government lands in the West, and reports that "a constantly increasing utilization of the water resources of the West has added largely to the area of irrigated lands capable of intensive cultivation. * * * Even inferior lands for which there were no buyers a few years ago, when offered for sale now very readily sell at prices way above the appraisements."

6. Probably no bureau of the Interior Department has undertaken so many war activities as the Bureau of Mines. The director of this bureau is a member of the military committee of the research council and other committees dealing with fuel and mineral problems under the Council of National Defense. The bureau has submitted special reports on a number of vital subjects. It cooperated with the War Department in the nitrate-supply investigation, prepared an inventory of mining engineers and chemists, and conducted a valuable inquiry incident to the greater production of raw materials for acids. The chemical and mining divisions of the bureau are also working with the War Department in investigating war gases and masks.

7. One of the chief activities of the Bureau of Mines has been the problem of finding ways and means of supplying, from the deposits existing in this country, the manganese essential to the production of high-grade steel. With the Government purchasing millions of dollars worth of steel the importance of this work can not be underestimated. A greater production of quicksilver, potash, petroleum products, and coal are other tasks to which the experts of this bureau have applied themselves since the outbreak of hostilities.

This general survey gives some indication of how the Department of the Interior has met the emergency of to-day. The quick transformation of the department into a war agency is the more remarkable when it is considered that ordinarily this department deals only with domestic matters. The smooth-working machinery of peace times, however, was rapidly adjusted to meet the new conditions, and the response of every official and subordinate employee has been inspiring and invaluable.

Below there is published detailed reports submitted by the several bureau chiefs to the Secretary of the Interior, who asked for a statement of the scope of the war-time work of the department. A reading of these comprehensive reports, going into every phase of the department's new functions, gives an indication of how all of the Government departments are now coordinating in bringing the war to a speedy and successful conclusion and should gratify an appreciative country.

The reports supplied to Secretary Lane by the various bureaus of their "war activities" are as follows:

Reclamation Service.

Immediately after the declaration of hostilities between the United States and Germany consideration was given to the world shortage of food then not generally realized. The available information indicated the readiness of the service to serve water to about 1,600,000 acres of land, and that less than 1,000,000 acres had been cultivated in 1916.

Ways and means were considered by which the cultivated acreage could be increased. It was found that only a small part of the uncultivated area was unentered public land, that most of it consisted of uncultivated portions of farms that were practically in cultivation or land held by nonresidents. Some tracts were held in areas larger than permitted to obtain a water supply under present laws.

Legislation was obtained authorizing the temporary delivery of water to lands of nonresidents and excess holdings pending the war emergency. Regulations were made to accommodate those who were struggling to prepare their land for cultivation, including the delivery of water at a nominal rate on condition that the land be promptly planted to food products. These regulations are being continued and modified as seems most likely to stimulate such cultivation.

Farmers were asked to start planting the maximum area in food products and to cultivate the same assiduously so as to obtain maximum results. Some experimental work has been started by the Government upon public land which requires expensive preparation, and legislation has been requested authorizing the Government to enter upon such preparation in a comprehensive way to complete the cultivation of irrigable lands. Wherever practicable lands withdrawn for later opening or use in building and operating the projects have been leased for one or more years to private parties contracting to crop them and water is being served to such areas on a temporary rental basis.

Work has been rushed upon the extension of canals and laterals where the greatest acreage might be brought under cultivation and upon drainage where the ground water is affecting the productivity of fertile lands. As the end of the season has not arrived, it is impossible to state positively the results, but it is known that a large increase of cultivated acreage has been secured and the proportionate increase in crops is expected.

One of the food products extensively planted was the potato, and indications are that the yield of these will be large on many of the projects. The condition was then presented that this large yield would depress the price of potatoes; the probable car shortage might prevent carrying to market districts, and lack of local storage prevent keeping them at home, while the low price would encourage waste. In this emergency the department undertook to ascertain the facts and spread information concerning the best means of storage and the necessity therefor. Regulations were approved by which in case of necessity the Government would cooperate with advice, management, and financial assistance in providing such storage as seemed to be necessary for preserving the crop and avoiding waste. Arrangements are now being made for storage on several of the projects, but most of them will in light of information given and with local resources be able to conserve the potato crop. Similar provisions are being made for storage of other vegetables and apples.

Indian Office Activities.

Farming and stock raising: An intensive food campaign was waged in contribution to the national resources during the world war, resulting in a general awakening and endeavor among the Indians to do their part in the emergency and in an increase of cultivated acreage from 25 per cent to 50 per cent greater than ever before. Reports show that on 73 reservations the Indians cultivated this season 472,156 acres, as compared with 358,796 acres last year, an increase of 113,360 acres, or 31.6 per cent. Practically every reservation showed a gain, the highest being 100 per cent and the lowest 5 per cent. Following aggressive measures, approximately between 40,000 and 50,000 acres of additional surplus land will be leased for next season's crops.

The conservation feature of the campaign was emphasized by forwarding to the different reservations and schools for distribution among employees and Indians 12,000 copies of pamphlets issued by the Department of Agriculture and the National Emergency Food Garden Commission on canning and drying fruits and vegetables. A woman expert in canning and drying was also sent to a number of places to give special instruction to the Indian women and girls.

In Montana per capita cash payments were made of $300 on the Crow Reservation and $200 to the Fort Peck Indians, chiefly to aid them in complying with the food campaign by a fuller cultivation of their lands.

Enlistments and liberty-bond subscriptions: The Indian Bureau, in cooperation with the States, conducted the registration of Indians for the military census, requiring its employees to serve wherever necessary without compensation and directing superintendents to aid in securing full consideration to the exemption claims of Indians. Aside from voluntary enlistments by citizen Indians, fully 1,000 young men among the students and ex-students of the schools offered service in the National Guard or some branch of the military.

The purchase of liberty-loan bonds from individual Indian moneys not drawing more than 3½ per cent greatly interested many Indians not only as a safe investment but as a concrete expression of patriotism. The following subscriptions were definitely reported: By 525 adult Indians, $3,273,450; by 851 Indian minors and students, $1,334,400; to which 1,147 employees in the Indian Service added $178,750, making a total of 2,623 subscriptions for $4,786,400 worth of bonds.

Geological Survey.

The Geological Survey throughout the present administration has been called upon to contribute largely to the work of gathering data concerning the resources of the country. It has taken an active part in supplying facts needed by many of the committees dealing with war necessities and in the proper administration of the laws relating to the taking up of the public lands. Many of its technical members have been given commissions in the Army and are applying their special knowledge to the problems confronting the country at this time and practically all of its scientific force is employed solely in investigations having a direct war value.

The gathering of statistics regarding the minerals and substances required for the successful conduct of the war has been carried on by the Geological Survey to a greater extent than ever before. This data has been made available to the various committees organized by the President, and every effort has been made to anticipate the needs for information or to acquire at the earliest moment facts that are called for. As an illustration, the statistics regarding coal production that under normal conditions were published for semiannual periods are now collected each week so that the administrative officers charged with the proper utilization of this necessary commodity can have up-to-date information at their disposal for wisely formulating regulations. The Geological Survey not only is keeping statistical records of the resources of the country, but also has available or is diligently collecting data regarding the occurrences of the war minerals and the amounts available. This information is necessary not only for the various committees on

national defense, but it is of great value to the investor or producer who is using this time to stimulate American production of war minerals and thus make America industrially independent.

To increase the food supply has been aimed at by part of the land laws passed by Congress, and these laws require the proper classification of the public domain. The work of classification is being done in large part by the Geological Survey and requires technical knowledge of the physical conditions of the regions considered and their resources. The administration of the stock-raising homestead law which was promulgated with the expectation that it would increase the Nation's meat supply, for example, requires the analysis of the field conditions by a corps of trained geologists and engineers who scrutinize each case presented with thorough and expert consideration so that a fair and impartial classification is made—one that means best utilization of the vacant land.

The studies of the water supplies of the Nation have been continued, and a great mass of facts acquired through years of earnest effort have been heavily drawn against to supply current demands for military information. As an example, almost immediately after the declaration of war the War Department was supplied with a report on the water supply of the entire region adjacent to our coasts or along the Mexican border. Steps have also been taken under the recent law to discover, mark, and improve the desert water holes as an aid to dwellers and travelers in the desert regions. Some of the arid region of the West has been examined under the authorization of Congress to explore by drilling suitable underground water supplies that may be available for irrigation and that may therefore be capable of increasing the food supply of the Nation.

Nearly a hundred of the topographic engineers have received commissions in the Army and many of them have already been ordered to foreign service with the troops and the rest have been assigned to mapping areas of military importance requested by the War Department. In fact, under the efficient organization of this branch of the service work on many of the projects desired by the War Department was undertaken even before formal request for it was received.

The engraving division of the survey prints thousands of topographic maps that are used by all classes of citizens, but lately has devoted most of its equipment and force to reproducing the maps and charts needed by the military arms of the Government in their war preparations.

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General Land Office.

Despite the imperative demands of the war in certain particular lines of endeavor, the activity in the public land business augurs well for the continued development of our latent natural resources. This means more food, more mines, and more self-owned and self-supporting homes. The high prices of all farm and mine products have no doubt been an impetus in this direction. All recent offerings of public and Indian lands afford abundant proof of the increased demand for farm and grazing lands at higher prices. Even inferior lands for which there were no buyers a few years ago, when offered now very readily sell at prices way above the appraisements. Notable examples are seen in the recent sales of lands in the Round Valley, Crow, Uinta, and Fort Berthold Reservations. Four years ago the great Fort Peck Reservation, Mont., was opened to entry under the homestead law at appraised values of from $2 to $7 per acre; a comparatively small area was taken the first year, but a larger area has been taken each subsequent year until now about all the desirable lands in this reservation are taken. The tremendous interest in the Colville opening last summer shows the demand for lands. Since the decision of the Supreme Court revesting the Oregon and California railroad grant lands in the United States was rendered, the office has been swamped with inquiries concerning the possibilities of securing lands in these areas. So-called "dry-farming" lands in some sections of the West are selling from $20 to $40 per acre. The increased wealth resulting from the transformation of land worth 5 cents per acre per year for grazing purposes into land producing from $5 to $40 per season in grain is scarcely comprehended by those not familiar with the situation. The liberal and efficient administration of the enlarged homestead act during recent years has contributed much to this result.

A constantly increasing utilization of the water resources of the West has added largely to the area of irrigated lands capable of intensive cultivation. The era of disastrous speculation in irrigation securities that obtained a few years ago is over. Constant vigilance and effort on the part of the Land Department in the expert examination of hundreds of projects resulting in the rejection of the bad projests, the approval of the good ones and in the rehabilitation and readjustment of those only partially successful, has all operated to place reclamation on a sound, bedrock, business basis of permanent development.

Probably the greatest impetus to the public-land business in recent years is the stock-raising homestead act of December 29, 1916. Upward of 20,000,000 acres have already been filed on. If half of these entrymen make good, adding 25,000 small ranches supporting families and owned by the men who run them, the law will be amply justified.

In behalf of public-land entrymen and locators of mining claims, Congress, with the approval of the department, has passed a series of very liberal acts protective of the interest of those who enlisted in the Army and Navy, for the period of the war.

Unfortunately the oil-land controversy is not yet settled. The Land Department has done everything in its power to adjust this matter and to enforce existing laws, but existing laws do not reach the situation, either as to the present controversy or future development, nor do they permit of the expansion necessary to meet the demands of the present crisis.

On the whole the Land Department, handicapped by continual loss of experienced employees, is straining every effort to facilitate in every possible way the settlement and utilization of the public lands, believing that the more rapidly and effectively this can be done the greater will be the Nation's power in this world conflict.

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War Work of the Bureau of Mines.

During the latter part of the fiscal year an increasing proportion of the work of the bureau has related to some phase of the military problems that are developing. Early in the year the director prepared a comprehensive outline of the possible service that the bureau could render in the event of war.

The director was appointed as a member of the military committee of the Research Council, and later of all of the various committees dealing with fuel and mineral products under the Council of National Defense.

Several highly important technical problems were undertaken in direct cooperation with the War and the Navy Departments. At the close of the year arrangements were being made to secure close cooperation through a special war minerals committee with various State bureaus and technical societies in the problem of stimulating domestic mineral production, particularly the production of those imported minerals that were most likely to be inadequate in supply.

A number of special reports were submitted by the director to the various committees of which he is a member. Among these reports were a general summary of the problems connected with minerals of military importance, a summary of the sulphuric acid situation, a report on the petroleum situation, and maps and charts dealing with coal production.

The following is a summary of the more important lines of special work that have been undertaken:

INVENTORY OF MINING ENGINEERS AND CHEMISTS.

Under the supervision of A. H. Fay a directory of over 22,000 engineers and chemists was made and classified by various industrial groups with regard to experience and point of service. This inventory of technical experience and talent is serving as a source from which men can be secured for almost any special service or for knowledge of particular mineral resources or deposits in this country and in other parts of the world.

NITRATE SUPPLY.

The bureau is cooperating with the War Department in an investigation of the nitrate situation and the methods of fixing the nitrogen of the air in the combined condition, so that it may be available for munitions and fertilizers. C. L. Parsons, Chief Chemist of the Bureau, went abroad to investigate processes in use in England, France, Italy, Norway, and Sweden, and to obtain information regarding the latest process used in Germany. His report and recommendations were adopted in substance by the committee on nitrate supply, and a large plant for the production of nitrate acid for war purposes and ammonia for agricultural purposes is in process of erection.

The preparation of nitric acid from ammonia is an essential step in the production of explosives from atmospheric nitrogen. The processes for ammonia oxidation have until recently been confined to the Continent of Europe, and chiefly to Germany, and have been carefully guarded. The Bureau of Mines, in cooperation with the Semet-Solvay Co., has developed entirely new apparatus for this process, so that the Government is free of all patents and secret rights for methods to produce this very important material.

RAW MATERIALS FOR SULPHURIC ACID.

The bureau has cooperated with the chemical and fertilizer committees of the Council of National Defense in dealing with the problem of mineral raw materials for acid manufacture. A comprehensive report was prepared on the acid situation by A. G. White, mine economist. An extensive investigation of the possibilities of saving pyrite or marcasite from coal mines has been undertaken by the mining division, with a view to producing a valuable by-product from what has formerly been a waste material and even a source of danger in the mines. A number of the most promising pyrite mines have been examined. The possibility of using pyrrhotite and the steps required to develop a home supply of raw material for acid manufacture have been carried out by the division of mineral technology.

WAR GASES AND GAS MASKS.

Because of the experience gained in the study of poisoning gases in mines and the study of combating such gases with various types of protective apparatus the chemical and mining divisions of the bureau are working in cooperation with the War and Navy Departments in investigating war gases and masks. This work, which has assumed very extensive proportions, is under the direction of G. H. Burrell.

NICKEL SUPPLY.

The division of mineral technology has undertaken the study of the possibilities of developing a domestic nickel industry. Those deposits which offer the best prospect of development have been examined. The necessary information has been secured as to the Canadian deposits which are the present chief sources of the world's supply. This investigation has been carried out by C. E. Julihn.

MANGANESE SUPPLY.

One matter to which the Bureau of Mines has paid particular attention since the beginning of the war has been the problem of finding ways and means of supplying, from the deposits existing in this country, the manganese that is required by the iron and steel industry, and which is essential to the production of high-grade steel. Mr. W. C. Phalen, of the division of mineral technology, has examined the chief manganese-producing districts of this country with a view to their importance in furnishing an adequate suppy of manganese ore. Results of this investigation indicate that a very considerable percentage of our requirements can be supplied.

QUICKSILVER.

Another of the mineral resources of the country to which the Bureau of Mines has given particular attention has been quicksilver. At the time of the entry of the United States into the war it was not known how much of a demand there would be for this metal. However, in order to be able to meet the demand whenever it should occur, the Bureau of Mines at once took steps to investigate the status of the industry, to study the processes which are used in extracting quicksilver from its ores, and to devise ways and means whereby any losses of the metal occuring in the operation of these processes might be prevented. With the cooperation of the industry most favorable progress has been made in the prevention of the waste that formerly took place, thus increasing the Nation's output of this most valuable war metal.

POTASH.

In the past this country has been dependent upon foreign countries for its supply of potash. Consequently at the outbreak of the war the Bureau of Mines at once took up the problem of determining how the supply of potash needed in this country could be commercially obtained from our potash-bearing minerals, and especially waste materials, such as mill tailings produced in the ore dressing and metallurgical processes connected with the treatment of nonferrous ores, and from dust from cement plants. Most satisfactory progress has been made along this line, and from present indications this country will be able to obtain in the future a considerable part of the potash it needs from what are now considered waste materials.

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS.

The bureau has a special division working on the production, transportation, refining, and utilization of petroleum. Immediately after the declaration of war a report was prepared upon the general conditions in the petroleum industry to show whether war needs could be readily met. This report was delivered to the committee on petroleum

of the Council of National Defense and to the Public Lands Committee of the Senate, who were then considering the petroleum lands situation.

Special statistics have been gathered for refinery products, particularly with regard to the supply of gasoline. Methods of increasing the recovery of gasoline from heavy oils and from natural gas have been developed. A report on accounting and cost keeping for oil producers has been completed. The reserves of oil shale have been investigated with a view to developing methods of treatment to supply our future needs.

An educational campaign has been undertaken to eliminate waste in the use of gasoline. The bureau has cooperated with the Navy Department in the design and construction of oil storage.

Specifications for the gasoline to be used for aeroplanes for our Government have been furnished and an investigation has been started to determine the best gasoline for different phases of aviation. Information has been supplied to military representatives of our allies, and, to be of maximum and immediate service to the aviation department, the Bureau of Mines is establishing a station, in charge of a petroleum chemical engineer, to test all fuels received for flying purposes. At the Pittsburgh and Washington laboratories many samples of gasoline are being tested for all branches of the Federal Government.

COAL.

The Fuel Division of the bureau tests all coal used for military purposes. An educational campaign is being carried on with regard to the saving of coal. The director, as a member of the coal committee of the Council of National Defense, has made all the technical information in the bureau available for the committee's use. In addition, an extensive series of maps was compiled for the committee.

EXPLOSIVES.

The explosives testing sections of the Mining Division have done important work in testing various substitutes for the scarcer and more expensive elements in war explosives for the Ordnance Department and for industrial purposes. It is now investigating the use of liquid oxygen and carbonaceous material as a blasting explosive as a substitute, under favorable conditions, for dynamite in the mines and quarries.

EXPLOSIVES BILL.

A bill has just passed the House and Senate giving the Director of the Bureau of Mines authority to license the production and distribution of explosives for other than military purposes. The main purpose of *this bill is to guard* against the possession and use of explosives in time of war by dangerous or hostile persons. The carrying out of the provision of this bill will involve an extensive organization covering every district in the country.

OTHER INVESTIGATIONS.

Other work related to problems developing in connection with the war includes a study of the formation of smoke or dust concealing clouds for use in warfare; experiment with a special electric furnace to melt brass for cartridges; and a study of the recovery of tin from scrap.

David Kemper Watson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT BRUMBAUGH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Mr. Speaker, it is with personal sorrow and regret that I announce to the House the death of a former honored Member of the House, Hon. David Kemper Watson, whose death occurred on Friday, September 28, at his home in Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Watson was for years a prominent, respected, and leading citizen of his city and State. He was a man of great industry, ability, and genial personality. He was a great lawyer, and his wide learning and high character won for him many positions of public trust, all of which he filled with fidelity and honor. He was former United States attorney for the southern district of Ohio, attorney general for the State of Ohio, and a Member of Congress.

By appointment by his personal friend, President McKinley, he wrote an exhaustive treatise and made an exhaustive codification of the Federal Constitution, a work of such value and merit that it will always stand as a monument to his legal scholarship and ability.

He was a manly man, a useful citizen, and a Christian gentleman. I shall ask the Clerk to read in my time an editorial which appeared in the Ohio State Journal, which I adopt as my estimate of him and tribute to him:

DAVID K. WATSON.

The death of David Kemper Watson takes from our community a prominent and respected citizen. He was a man of learning and high character and had enjoyed many positions of trust, all of which he filled with honor and ability. All who knew him will grieve that he has left us and will preserve all their lives a gentle memory of him. He was a great lawyer and wrote an exhaustive treatise on the Federal Constitution, which is regarded as an authority in all the courts, and which will always stand as a monument to his memory. He was a most interesting companion. His views and sentiments were of a high order and his influence always for the good. Long will old friends mourn that he has gone from among us.

I shall close this brief announcement by printing two beautiful poems written by Mr. Watson, which show his high moral character and firm religious convictions, based upon his faith in immortality:

JESUS THE LIGHT.

Into my soul there comes a light,
Clear, strong, and bright,
Which breaks the darkness
Of the night.

Jesus, Thou art that light,
To Thee I look, to Thee I come,
And ask of Thee
To take me home.

Be Thou my guiding star,
When I am lost and wandering far
From home and friends,
Be Thou my light, my guiding star.

LIFT ME, YE GLORIOUS STARS.

Lift me, ye glorious stars,
Beside yourselves,
That I may live and grow and die
Above the baseness of the world.

Lift me, ye glorious stars,
Beside yourselves,
That I may know my soul
And feel its ever-widening growth.

Lift me, ye glorious stars,
Beside yourselves,
And tell me where is God,
For I would know and then obey His word.

The Coal Shortage and Freight-Car Shortage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OSCAR E. BLAND,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, October 3, 1917.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, in order that we may completely and effectively mobilize our enormous industrial strength for this war the administration in charge has been granted full and complete authority and power to regulate and take charge of practically every industrial institution of the Nation. The imperative necessity for more ships, more aircraft, more submarines, more ammunition, more food, and countless other things, indispensable to the success of the war, was early recognized by Congress and the President and his advisers.

But, gentlemen, it seems to me that one essential thing, and probably the most essential, that should have been done early has been sadly neglected in some particulars and grossly mismanaged in others. You can not turn the wheels of industry and increase the output of our numerous shops, mills, and plants without an abundant supply of coal. Without coal the plant must shut down, the workmen must seek new fields of employment, and the product of the institution can not be turned out.

It therefore has been my constant endeavor since coming here on the 2d day of April last to urge that such measures be taken as would reasonably be calculated to encourage and stimulate an increased production of coal. I was prompted in this effort not only by the realization of the importance and the absolute necessity of coal and coal products in the *mobilization of our* industrial strength but I was impressed by the experience of our European allies in this connection.

In order to increase the production of coal, which we all deem so essential, three things are absolutely necessary: First, a profit to the operator and miner that will justify investment in coal-mining projects which probably in peace times would not be profitable, and which price would encourage the development and expansion of abandoned workings, as well as new fields—a profit that would justify the investment in high-priced machinery, mine equipment, and good wages. This profit should not be threatened unduly with the hazard of confiscation or unreasonable charge. Second, there must be a reasonable guaranty that there will be sufficient railroad equipment for the transportation of the products of the mines. Third, that there must be a sufficient amount of men to work in the coal mines.

Now, as to the first of these requisites, the price. Scarcity and competition, and probably in some instances the element of human greed—which I attribute mostly to the middleman—brought about during the past summer a high selling price for coal. Consumers, notwithstanding its scarcity, demanded a lower price, which, as I will show you, in some instances was also prompted by the element of human greed, heedless of the

fact that an unwise regulation and reduction of prices would only result in an enormously decreased production, the one thing which this Nation can not stand for. The miners' organization demanded higher wages, and they were clearly entitled to them. The officials of the miners and operators met in New York and a wage scale was agreed upon, in which the miners received increased wages. The coal operators realized that the unrestricted sale of coal on the market would result in prohibitive and outrageous prices, and, Mr. Speaker, these splendid and patriotic men, realizing the trend of affairs, did a thing that no other organization of men in the range of my knowledge ever attempted to do. They met in Washington City with the Hon. Francis Peabody, chairman of the committee on coal production of the Council of National Defense, and voluntarily agreed to the price of coal, which was an enormous reduction over the selling price in the open market at that time, and, in my judgment, such a price as would have been calculated to have brought about, and was bringing about, an enormous increased coal production in the United States. A price on bituminous mine-run coal and screening of $2.75 per ton was agreed to. Under this agreement the little wagon mines by the thousands and tens of thousands were opened all over this Republic, which not only took care of the local trade, but was contributing millions of tons for railroad shipments. Thin veins and small isolated tracts, old abandoned fields, and new fields were being quickly developed, and, of course, under the speeding-up process, at great cost and risk. I traveled from Washington through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana by automobile during that time, and I visited railroad and wagon mines that were busily engaged in turning out coal that are shut down to-day, and I saw prospecting and development going on everywhere.

Dr. Garfield, a splendid gentleman, but, as far as I know, without any special knowledge of the coal question, was by the administration appointed as coal director, or coal dictator, and he immediately gave attentive ear to every large consumer who demanded cheaper coal. Such men as Mr. Insull, the great utilities king of Chicago, who uses half a million cars of screenings every year, and the Armour plant, of Chicago, who are very large consumers, demanded that a lower price be fixed, and Mr. Insull to-day is buying his screenings at $1.70 per ton instead of $2.75 as a result of the efforts of himself and others who worked with him. Without due investigation, without proper consideration, without going into detail, without weighing the consequences or making proviso or exceptions, and, as I remember it now, without the coal producer being heard, the coal dictator arbitrarily fixed a price on coal of $1.70 for screenings and $1.90 for mine run. Now, I am not saying that this is not a good price for coal when conditions are normal. It is probably too high under normal conditions, and there could be no complaint if it were not for the fact that the fixing of this price has struck the coal industry of this Nation a hard blow and done more to decrease the output than any other single act that could have been done. No provision was made for the fellow with the thin vein or the bad roof or who mined block coal. No provision was made for the fellow who ran the wagon mine and hauled coal to the railroad, and it was through the efforts of myself and others interested that a ruling was made permitting the wagon-mine fellow to charge for his wagon haulings. No one will contend seriously but what the operator with a new mine, with favorable conditions, with good equipment, can and will make a handsome profit at the present figure, and will continue to operate, and he will be pointed to as the "coal baron" who is made rich under the present fabulous figure. But woe to the fellow, whose mine was run down, who is required to buy new equipment, and who mines under expensive conditions. The coal car that not long ago cost $40 now costs $120, and motor, which is absolutely necessary to a large production, did cost $2,200 and now costs $5,000, and copper wire, steel rails, and all the thousand and one articles of equipment have so enormously increased in price that the operator, unless he is well financed and operates under the most favorable conditions, will not invest in them. He intends to patch up his old track, haul his coal with mules, fix up his old cars, and try to get along under the present prices and make as large profit as he can. Could you expect him to act otherwise? But let us look to this side of the question. What condition will his mine be in at the end of this war, or during the last part of the war if it continues any great length of time?

As an example of the foolhardiness and irresponsible conduct on the part of those who are responsible for fixing of coal prices let me cite you to a Pennsylvania case, where coal from the Pittsburgh field is shipped down the Ohio River to Steubenville and there made into coke. A ton and a half of coal will make a ton of coke. Mr. Coke Man, under the present price fixed by the coal dictator, gets $6 a ton, and all the countless by-products, including gas, will sell for more than he paid for the coal. Fine thing for the coke man, but certainly hard on the coal producer. I merely refer to this for the purpose of convincing you that the present price of coal was established without regard to consequences and without due investigation as to the many ramifications of this most important enterprise.

As to the second requisite for increased coal production, which is that of sufficient transportation facilities, I desire to say that from the best available figures obtainable in the departments of this Government there are only 900,780 coal cars in the United States. These cars are used to-day for shipping automobiles, sand and gravel, iron, stone, and countless articles of commerce, while on the other hand there are 1,041,033 box cars. Box cars are used to transfer goods both ways. Coal cars ordinarily travel one way empty. The building of numerous steel cars has rendered useless thousands of the wooden cars included in the above figures, for the reason that they can not safely place a light wooden car in a train of heavy steel cars. It is estimated by the best railroad men of the country that it requires 200,000 freight cars per year—this includes all kinds—to take the place of the cars put out of commission.

The present capacity of the nine car factories in the United States, including the railroads, who put out 20,000 cars per year, if speeded up to the limit of their capacity could probably build a little less than 300,000 cars per year. I have authentic figures to the effect that these factories, including the railroads, to-day, on account of shortage of labor, shortage and high-priced materials, and especially on account of the difficulty in securing money while the Government is in the market, are turning out only a little over 135,000 cars per year. From this number enormous quantities are going to France and Russia. We also have an enormous shortage of locomotives and several thousands of locomotives are being furnished to France and Russia. I here desire to insert a statement from the Washington Evening Star, dated at Buffalo, September 26, by Daniel Willard, chairman of the Council of National Defense, in his address to the Grain Dealers' Association:

The more engines we send to Russia, the fewer of our boys will be sent to France. Russia wants from 1,000 to 1,500 locomotives, and France wants an equal number, this supply to come from a shop capacity of 5,500 locomotives a year, out of which America's demand in normal times would be 4,000. These engines are vital to the cause of the allies.

Now, we must take care of the allies. No one questions that, but I regard it my imperative duty to strongly urge and insist that in our care for the allies we do not cripple industries of the United States upon whom the allies, as well as the people of the United States, are dependent. I repeat here what I said in Congress on September 8: "I find no well-aimed attempt on the part of those in charge is being made to relieve this astounding condition that must eventually seriously handicap our ability to make the most of our opportunities." The car-service committee, in their near-sighted efforts to relieve the distressed conditions which hourly grow worse, put into effect a preferential shipment order, and I can not condemn them for so doing, because it was essential that some shippers be preferred over others, and thus the distress was only localized and the relief only temporary. But what is the future hope of the preferential shipping order? Where, from this policy, can we hope to come a permanent cure for our distressing conditions?

The railroad companies say that they can not and will not supply the enormous demand for freight cars and rolling stock. Money is too scarce, and materials and labor are too high. I have in my files a great number of letters from railroad commissions, railroad presidents, and other men intimately connected with the railroad business, in which they say, in substance, that the only remedy for the condition that now exists—and it must get worse—is for the Government, under the same kind of powers granted to it for building ships, to build railroad cars and sell them to the railroad companies on such terms as the Interstate Commerce Commission or the proper Government officials may determine. The Government can pay the price for material, and the Government can secure the labor.

On September 4 I introduced a bill as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to expend $100,000,000 out of the sums heretofore or hereafter appropriated for ships, or, in his discretion, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the construction or acquirement of freight cars to be used in the transportation by the railroad companies of the United States of coal and other products and commodities pursuant to the provisions of the act entitled "An act to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes," approved August 10, 1917; and in the execution of this authority for the acquirement and construction of said cars the President may exercise all the powers heretofore conferred upon him by law with reference to ships. The President may direct the Interstate Commerce Commission to exercise the power hereby vested in him, or he may designate such other person or persons as he sees fit to exercise said power and authority, subject to his approval; and the cars so acquired or

constructed shall be used by the railroad companies under such terms and for such compensation as may be approved by the President, and, as far as possible, under agreements providing for the purchase of such cars by the railroad companies receiving them. The President shall cause to be made public, monthly, information as to the number of cars acquired and constructed, the names of contractors and the terms of contracts, and the disposition of the cars; and he shall submit a detailed report to Congress at its next regular session of each and all operations and expenditures pursuant to this act.

I do not think there is a man on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee but what has courage and ability, and I do not think there is a one of them but what knows that the condition I complain of is alarming and is growing steadily worse, and I furthermore believe that they must recognize that the only relief probable is through the source offered by this bill, and yet no move has been made to this hour to bring this bill out of committee or any other bill calculated to bring about the same result. I have considered the advisability of having the Government loan the railroad companies money, but I fear that this would only prove a partial success. In our efforts not only to win the war but to maintain the prosperity and general welfare of our country we can not afford to take the chances of not having the means of transporting the products of our wonderful institutions. Mr. N. L. Amster, of Boston, Mass., of the Rock Island Railroad Co., in writing to me in support of the measures I introduced, states that on August 23 he wrote to President Woodrow Wilson as follows:

I wish to bring to your attention the serious condition of our railroads, with respect to their inability to market long-term bonds, which is so vitally necessary if they are to operate efficiently and economically, and if they are to retain their solvency.

You are doubtless aware that because of the financial recklessness that was brought to light by the Interstate Commerce Commission in their investigation of the New Haven; Pere Marquette; Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton; The Frisco; and Rock Island, that railroad credit received a severe shock, which precluded the marketing of long-term bonds. Recently the Adamson law, the increased cost of fuel and supply, and the refusal of the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit railroads advancing their rates has still further reduced the salability of railroad securities.

The Government issue of $2,000,000,000 3½ tax-exempt bonds and the present proposed issue of additional bonds at 4 per cent are further reasons why railroads could not find a ready market for their bonds. Meanwhile, both Government and public are calling for more and better service. You well know that unless railroads can market bonds they can neither make the necessary improvements nor meet maturing obligations, which may mean bankruptcy for many railroads, and would cripple their service to the country. It would also mean great hardship to many of our people who have their savings invested in railroad securities. It must also affect the stability of our savings banks and insurance companies, who own large blocks of railroad bonds, and here, too, the greatest sufferers will be those of limited means.

As president of the above mutual association and as chairman of the stockholders' protective committee of the Rock Island Railway Co. I have given the subject matter long and serious consideration, and am convinced that the United States Government can and should relieve the situation.

The Government has high and unlimited credit. It is issuing billions of dollars of bonds for itself and its allies. Railroads of this country are as essential in the conduct of this great war as are our allies. The people who have their hard-earned savings invested in railroad securities need and are entitled to the aid of this Government. May I therefore suggest that in the next issue of liberty bonds that there be included $200,000,000 or $300,000,000 for the purpose of loaning to railroads on proper and safe securities, subject to the approval of the President of the United States and the recommendation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railroad Valuation Commission, or some special commission created for that purpose? Such financial aid from the Government at this time would enable the railroads to carry out their extension and improvement program, and put them in position to render efficient and uninterrupted service, which is imperative in the conduct of our war. Such aid will also prevent further shrinkage of securities held by our investing public and savings institutions, and will tend to free the railroads from the well-known money powers of Wall Street, to which you aptly called attention when governor in 1911.

The Government can do all this without the slightest risk. May I hope that this will receive your favorable consideration? I am deeply interested in this work, and am anxious to serve our country to the fullest extent of my power, and shall be happy to hold myself ready at your command to go to Washington or elsewhere to consult with anyone to whom you may refer this communication.

Lawrence B. Finn, chairman of the Railroad Commission of the State of Kentucky, writes me as follows:

Representative BLAND, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BLAND: In the Traffic World, a periodical published in Chicago, Ill., bearing date September 8, I note that you have introduced House bill 5919, appropriationg $100,000,000 to be spent by the President for the construction or acquisition of freight cars for the purpose of carrying coal and other products.

I heartily indorse this measure, as it is in conformity with views expressed by me as chairman of the Kentucky Railroad Commission on May 3, 1917, copy of which opinion I inclose to you, and the suggestion in the opinion approving your proposed policy is marked.

Yours, very truly,

LAWRENCE B. FINN, *Chairman.*

John T. Oliphant, president of the Oliphant-Johnson Coal Co., of Indiana, one of the largest coal shippers and producers of the State, in an interview in the Vincennes Capital, September 8, said:

It sounds good to me. The making of more cars and putting them on the rails would, indeed, relieve the extreme car shortage which the country has faced for some time.

Edward Theobald, of the firm of Anderson & Theobald, one of the largest sand and gravel firms in Indiana, in an interview in the same paper on the same date, said:

It is the greatest piece of constructive legislation I know of, and in the event 200,000 or 300,000 freight cars, including all kinds, were manufactured the present existing conditions would be relieved.

W. H. Doble, of the Pneumatic Scale Co., of Norfolk Downs, Mass., on September 28, 1917, wrote me as follows:

SEPTEMBER 28, 1917.

Representative BLAND, Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The writer has noted with interest the following bill introduced by you: House bill 5919, appropriating $100,000,000 to be spent by the President for the construction or acquisition of freight cars to be so used.

We all realize that through the inefficiency on the part of the railroads at the present time it has created a burden upon the general public, owing to the difficulty in obtaining the necessities of life transported by our railroads throughout the country. Never before in history have the railroads had to deal with conditions as now exist in the matter of freight congestion, and although the number of freight cars now being operated is greatly in excess of former years it is evident that owing to the present abnormal conditions at least 50 per cent more equipment is needed in order to move freight with promptness and dispatch * * *."

Yours, very truly,

PNEUMATIC SCALE CORPORATION (LTD.),
W. H. DOBLE.

On September 4, H. R. Kurrie, president of the Monon, in reply to my inquiry, wrote as follows:

* * * It will be a great help to the general situation to have these cars, and with the Government going in the market for 4 per cent money, it is pretty hard for the railroads to get sufficient funds with which to expand. Then, too, the railroads are deferred somewhat in the purchase of new equipment by reason of the high price of materials, which would not influence the Government so much.

This might be handled by the Government undertaking to purchase the equipment bonds put out by the railroads, allowing the railroads themselves to make the purchase of the equipment and giving the Government some control over the equipment until the debt is paid off. This would avoid the creation of an agency which the Government would have to have if it owned the equipment. While the scheme is necessarily a large one and would require much more careful consideration than I have been able to give it, I do believe it would be helpful not only to the railroads but to the general situation, and I am sure the railroads will be glad to use the equipment on any fair basis. It is certain to help the Indiana situation to have this number of new cars on the railroads. As it is now, our cars get away from us and are used for other purposes than hauling coal, so whether the new cars find their way to the coal fields or not their presence will certainly benefit the general situation.

Samuel Pickens, solicitor for the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co., on September 29, wrote me the following letter:

MY DEAR MR. BLAND: I have read your speech and your freight-car bill, which I thank you for sending me with your letter of the 27th instant.

I believe that your bill, should it become a law, will afford considerable relief in the present tremendous transportation emergency. That relief is needed, every person who has given any consideration to the question will surely admit.

Edward Hungerford, advertising manager of the Wells, Fargo Co., who recently had an interesting article in the Nation's Business on "Drafting the box car," wrote me on October 1, from 51 Broadway, New York, as follows:

DEAR MR. BLAND: I was very much interested in reading your speech as delivered in the House on September 8. I am very much in sympathy with your stand and your bill.

Not only do our railroads need new equipment to meet the vast increased burdens that are being placed upon their shoulders but there is a phase of it that only a few of us outside of the transportation operating circles only understand. I refer to the rapid deterioration of the present equipment. It is not a serious problem now, but is apt to become so before the winter is advanced. Engine failures are constant and frequent as well as the breaking down of the cars themselves.

If I were a member of your distinguished House, I should beg to offer an amendment to H. R. 5919, which would *also provide for the* immediate building of new locomotives—their need is hardly less than that of the cars. And perhaps I should also ask for an appropriation for terminals and warehouses.

This is far too big a question for me to discuss fully in a letter. * * *.

Now, as to the third requisite for an increased and permanent production of coal, we must have the miner. He is here in Washington City, through his accredited representatives, demanding more wages. Considering the fact that, on account of the shortage of cars, the mines average one-half time and that living is so enormously high no one will seriously contend that the coal miner is not entitled to a larger wage, and if you do not make it possible for him to get a better wage, he will leave the mining industry and seek employment in one of the occupations that is open for him to-day at a higher wage. Under the conscription act there was no exemption made in his case, and under the clause of the act authorizing the President for the national welfare to exempt classes of men, there has been no action taken by the Executive. Our miner boys are being pulled out of the mines and sent to the trenches. England did this with the Welsh miners and was forced to ship them back from the front and put them in the mines again so they could

have coal. In some particulars we seem to learn very little from the experience of others. During the consideration of the conscription act I introduced an amendment exempting coal miners from the draft, but those in charge of the bill had no instructions from those higher up to let such an amendment be made, and so without hesitation it was overwhelmingly voted down.

I am informed that P. H. Penna, secretary of the Indiana Coal Operators, in conversation with Dr. Garfield the other day, said, in substance, that a coal famine was sure to overtake us by January 1. Dr. Garfield asked him what could be done to prevent it. Mr. Penna said that he feared it was too late to prevent it—too much harm had already been done and that this famine was in fact upon us now.

Now, gentlemen, I have given you the facts as I get them. I am not an alarmist, and I do not want to too severely criticize anyone connected with the present administration. They have a hard task to perform and some of those in charge have been selected without any regard to their qualifications. In my opinion some of them have been selected largely because of political or personal friendships only. They are, no doubt, doing the best they can, but we must learn something from our experiences, and must not permit this intolerable condition of freight-car and coal shortage to continue to exist and daily grow worse until our matchless industrial strength is paralyzed. What I have said is not said in a spirit of narrow party criticism, because I think that those of you who have watched my very brief and uneventful career in Congress know that I have to the fullest extent devoted my time and energy to helping the present administration to try to solve the many perplexing problems that confront them in connection with this terrible war, and I am saying what I say here to-day only for the purpose of helping to remedy what to my mind is a very dangerous situation.

War Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AARON S. KREIDER,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the pending measure. Although at this time an estimate to determine even approximately the amount of revenue it will provide is impossible, there is no doubt that the State I have the honor in part to represent in this body will be heavily taxed and that it will contribute an amount perhaps larger than that to come from any other Commonwealth. In this connection I shall discuss briefly the mobilization of the vast resources of Pennsylvania—the work for the war there.

Six months ago, in recognition of the obvious necessity for Nation-wide coordination of State energies and resources to permit of the most vigorous prosecution of war by the Federal Government, the committee of public safety for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, including more than 300 representative civilians, was appointed by the governor.

The committee began its appointed labors under a plan which concentrates activities into 5 divisions comprising 17 separate working departments, all under compact, central executive control, the entire work of rendering effective State aid to the Nation's war effort being financed by a legislative appropriation of $2,000,000. Coincident with the financing of the work, supervision of all expenditures was vested in a commission composed of the five highest elective officers of the Commonwealth.

In the brief period which has elapsed since its creation the committee has completed its organization throughout the 67 counties of the State. County units duplicate, so far as is possible in their structure, all of the divisions and departments of the State body, so that complete coordination of effort is possible, and has been attained in every line of activity so far undertaken.

Comprising as it does the five major divisions of administration, which includes departments of finance, publicity, legislation, and allied bodies; relief, including departments of sanitation, medicine, and Red Cross and civic relief; equipment and supply, with departments of food supply, materials, plants, and motors and motor trucks; service, with departments of civilian service and labor, military service, naval service, and guards, police, and inspection; and division of transportation, with departments of railroads, electric railways and motors, and highways and waterways, the committee has a working range covering practically every field of useful endeavor.

Being the only body possessing State authority to mobilize and conserve all resources essential to the promotion of the war, the committee has obtained the willingly granted right to assimilate operations of established organizations and institutions, and, as necessity demanded, these have been incorporated almost wholly or in part into the general work. Activities of official State departments essential to the efficiency of the committee's program have also been placed at its command, so that it stands as the one organization having equipment and capacity for carrying out its great work.

Thus the committee has succeeded in effecting a concentration of effort not paralleled at any other time in Pennsylvania's history and probably unexcelled by any other State mobilization of potential resources.

The work of the committee of public safety is outlined in the following article by Mr. L. W. Strayer, a widely known journalist stationed at the National Capital, and published in the Pittsburgh Dispatch September 30, 1917:

Without tumult or shouting but with remarkable results the tremendous energies of Pennsylvania, the greatest industrial Commonwealth in the Union, are being conserved, mobilized, and developed for the promotion of the war. Through a concentration of effort that is without parallel in the State's history, Pennsylvania is preparing to place at the disposal of the Government all of its potential resources that may be required in this country and abroad. In this great and vital work is embraced every effort, from the direction of hundreds of millions of money and the creation of armies to making two potatoes grow where one grew before.

Pennsylvania is no slacker State. The pride of the people awakens at the names of Robert Morris, Jay Cooke, and other financiers of the Nation's wars, as it does to a reference to Independence Hall, Betsy Ross's home, Washington's Crossing, Valley Forge, Gettysburg, the three of its cities that sheltered the National Government, and the other historic facts that illumine the pages of its lustrous record. Now the State will give its best in men and money, and give it freely. Nobody is prepared to make even a guess as to the huge amount of money Pennsylvania will pour into the National Treasury under the new war-revenue act. The State's wealth at the beginning of the world war was estimated roughly at approximately $16,000,000,000, and a suggestion of what it may contribute to the war fund is presented by the fact that for the year 1916 it paid in income taxes and from other sources of internal revenue an amount larger than the amount of such taxes paid by all of the Southern States and almost as large as that paid by all of the States west of the Mississippi River. The Keystone State subscribed for $313,000,000 of the liberty bond issue and stands ready to subscribe for its entire quota of the coming bond issue, whatever the amount may be.

The coordination of Pennsylvania's energies and resources is being directed by the committee of public safety, consisting of more than 300 representative civilians, appointed by the governor under an act of the legislature. The committee has been pronounced by a man who ought to know—Herbert C. Hoover—a model of economy and efficiency. Soon after undertaking its work it established in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and in each of the 65 outside counties a local organization, composed of manufacturers, mining operators, business men, professional men, wage earners, and farmers. The membership of these county units compose Pennsylvania's civilian army of active workers, a body of more than 15,000 men that is being continually augmented. Through these workers the committee, from its headquarters in Philadelphia and its branches throughout the State, is in direct communication with every industry, organization, institution, and profession in Pennsylvania whose capacities, operations, or personnel in any way can be applied to the service of the State or Nation in time of war.

The magnitude of its labors can be judged by the fact that it has indexed data relating to the organization, capacity, and activities of every iron and steel plant that can manufacture a munition of war or other material the Government can use for war purposes, every mill that can turn out khaki or any other article included in the equipment of a soldier or a sailor, every factory that manufactures anything that enters into shipbuilding, and every branch of industry having any relation to the production, conservation, and distribution of food products.

Pennsylvania is famous for its vast industries and its mines. Its agricultural interests are comparatively unknown beyond its borders. It is a State of small farms, the average number of acres to a farm being about 84. But the number of farms exceeds 225,000, nearly 100,000 more than that of Nebraska, nearly 50,000 more than that of Kansas, and three times greater than the number of farms in South Dakota. In its labors to increase the food production the committee deals directly with each of these farmers. In 1916 Pennsylvania produced about 26,000,000 bushels of wheat. This year the wheat crop is expected to exceed 35,000,000 bushels. The corn crop, which last year was about 56,000,000 bushels, this year will exceed 75,000,000 bushels. There will be a proportionate increase in the rye crop, and in many counties the potato crop has been more than doubled. When the committee was organized the value of the live stock in Pennsylvania was estimated at about $179,000,000. By January 1 it is estimated that it will reach $200,000,000. Remarkable results have been accomplished in the increase of dairy products and poultry.

The committee's activities also include the establishment of community and roadside markets throughout the State; community storage houses where farmers may store potatoes and other products to prevent abnormally high prices; the organization of a county motor-truck service, and an inventory of all pleasure cars, with a registry of the drivers, who may be called upon in an emergency; the establishment of labor bureaus to facilitate employment, deal with the problems arising from the employment of alien labor, and for purposes of mediation and conciliation; the organization of the electric railroads as a war auxiliary to the steam roads, and plans for improved transportation facilities, including better highways and the utilization of waterways; and the

organization of the women of Pennsylvania for active service in the conservation and distribution of food supplies.

A problem that confronted the committee was the extension of its work to the large foreign population in the mining and industrial districts. It is said that in one county nearly 30 languages and dialects are spoken. Through this element of the population the organization has been highly successful. For example, if the Government at Washington requests a list of physicians, dentists, or pharmacists willing to serve in the war who speak French, Hungarian, Italian, Roumanian, Croatian, Russian, or almost any other language, the committee can supply such a list, with complete information relative to the equipment they possess and the amount of it that can be placed at the disposal of the War Department. The committee has the names of thousands of these men, who have volunteered to serve the Army when necessary.

A feature of the work of food conservation is a food-demonstration train, which is going through the State, from which experts are demonstrating approved methods of conserving foods. One car is devoted to the drying and canning of fruits and vegetables in the home. Another has a demonstration of bread making with the use of such wheat substitutes as rye and corn flours, potatoes, etc. A third car presents a series of graphic illustrations of the significance of food conservation and its need as a war measure. This train everywhere has aroused the interest of the people.

The man who is directing the work of the Committee of Public Safety is Lewis S. Sadler, of Carlisle, whose title is executive manager. Mr. Sadler was selected for this post after a canvass that included the directing head of every great corporation and every other man who has a record of success in the financial and industrial life of Pennsylvania. The results brought about by the committee are due to his resourcefulness and administrative ability. Mr. Sadler gave up his large business interests in central Pennsylvania, went to the headquarters of the committee in the Finance Building, Philadelphia, took off his coat and plunged into the work of the war in Pennsylvania. He has been at his desk from 8 o'clock in the morning until a late hour at night ever since. With all of his associates, he is giving his time and labor to the Government as a patriotic duty and without compensation. The committee pays no salaries and its officials pay their own expenses.

I also incorporate as part of my remarks an address delivered by Hon. Frank B. McClain, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, at the Pennsylvania Food Congress, in Philadelphia, September 29, 1917. As a representative of the State government Lieut. Gov. McClain, in cooperation with the Committee of Public Safety, has rendered an important service to the Nation in the conservation and development of Pennsylvania's resources. Lieut. Gov. McClain said:

This gathering and the purpose which has brought it about suggests to me that—

A battleship's a wonder and an army's mighty grand,
And warrin's a profession, only heroes understand;
There's somethin' sort o'thrillin' in a flag that's wavin' high;
And it makes you want to holler when the boys go marchin' by.
But when the shoutin's over and fightin's done, somehow
We find we're still dependin' on "the man behind the plow."

I heartily concur in the plaudits that are given "the boys that wear the khaki," "the man behind the gun"; but there is another fellow, I repeat, whose helpin' to fight this war; in fact, he's the whole concern's foundation. Therefore—

Remember when you hear drums and martial trumpets cheer
That upon some little farm the work is done
In a simple, hum-drum way, day succeeding toilsome day,
That supports the man that "marches with the gun."

I am not a farmer myself, but the business of dealer in live stock for farmers' uses, which I have followed for 35 years, has brought me into intimate, intelligent contact with farm production, and my observation has been that effective work on the farm requires possession of the soil instinct, requires a combination of brains and brawn, an expenditure of intelligent thought, coupled with nonunionized hours of labor and ability to withstand backache.

Everybody has advice to give the farmer. Pick up any newspaper and read the suggestion of the "kid scribblers," and some gray-haired, ones, too, as to how and why the farmer should save the country. Most of those who write the stuff, I'll wager, don't know whether alfalfa grows on trees or is dug out of the ground like potatoes. And then we have the bankers, and school-teachers, and merchants, and preachers, and doctors, and lawyers, a large proportion of whom wouldn't know at which end of the plow to hitch the horse, and the "roof-garden" agriculturists, who wouldn't know a tobacco leaf from a lettuce leaf, holding meetings and passing resolutions urging the farmer to "get busy," produce more, and keep down the cost of living. But, in spite of this "windy wordiness," the farmer smiles and smiles, keeps on his simple, humdrum way, knowing that if his advisers had their way or he followed their plan his lot would be bankruptcy and the Nation would starve to death.

The consumer cries out, "Plant, plant, plant more" and "Produce bigger crops of everything," and in the next breath denounces the farmer as a robber when the farmer charges a price for his products that will only yield him a fair return for his expenditure of energy and money. The tools used in farming cost twice what they did a few years ago. Wages on the farm have more than doubled in the past five years, and hard to get at that. The boarding of farm help has become an impressive item of expense. The call to the colors aggravates the farm-labor situation, because there is more glamor to the farm boy in being "the man behind the gun" than in being "the man behind the plow."

Any scheme for increased production must take in live stock and meat making, and those who are crying "plant everything in wheat and corn" do not take into account that if you cut down pastures you'll reduce meat supply and dairy supplies. In years gone by we have had more than enough meat for home use and had a liberal surplus for export purposes, but in recent years population has increased rapidly. The big western ranges, where meat was made on cheap grass feed, have been broken up into small, or comparatively small, farms. The selling price of cattle grew lower than the cost of production and the big cattle companies "cashed in" and "passed out." We didn't have to wait until the war came to witness the result. More than a year before the war began the problem of an increased population and a decreased available supply confronted us. Within the last two years that condition of affairs has been made more acute by reason of practically the whole world drawing on the United States for meat, and a still greater acuteness of the meat situation will ensue. A meat famine as well as a milk famine will face us if the grain acreage is much increased at the expense of the pastures.

Even at the present high prices of beef, the highest on record in the history of this Nation, stock raising and meat making, particularly beef making, is not a "rose-bordered path to wealth"; is not a business enterprise that can be classed among the big dividend payers, and anybody who doubts this statement can "get into the game" and satisfy himself; "the door" is open.

Equal in importance with the supply of wheat and corn is the meat industry; the raising, the fattening, transportation, and the slaughtering of meat-making animals is one of the greatest elements of American enterprise, industry, and economy, and is one of the branches of modern agriculture in which we have taught lessons to the world. It spans the country and crosses the oceans. It commands the attention of statesmen and challenges financiers. In volumes of dollars and cents, it represents more than any other single item in American production or American commerce. Coupled with wheat and corn, it is the greatest and most important element of American export, and the cattle and hogs and sheep grower and feeder, associated with the slaughterer, finds his occupation the most necessary in the land, with the exception of, but equal to, the wheat producer and the baker.

Referring particularly to the live-cattle industry, let me call to your attention, as a matter of information to some of you, perhaps, that at the five great cattle markets of the country, namely, Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, St. Louis, and St. Joseph, the receipts of cattle of all kinds for the year 1917 were 6,224,000 head, up to and including Wednesday, September 26. The receipts covering the same period in 1916 were 5,173,000 head. Thus indicating an increase in cattle receipts of 1,051,000 head. The receipts of hogs at the five markets mentioned, for the period in 1917 to which I refer, were 12,720,000 head, as compared with 11,128,000 head in 1916, indicating a decrease in hogs of 1,418,000 head. The receipts of sheep at the same markets for the quoted period of 1917 were 6,384,000 head, as compared with 7,266,000 head, a decrease of 882,000 head. The receipts at the five markets which I have named are fairly indicative, in fact, absolutely indicative, of the live-stock situation in a nation-wide way covering cattle, hogs, and sheep.

Therefore, as compared with 1916, we seem to be this year "long" on cattle and "short" on hogs and sheep; but though the number of head of cattle is one-fifth in excess of the number marketed up to this time last year, yet the pounds of beef represented are no more than we had in 1916, because the average weight of the cattle marketed this year for beef purposes, and as well for feeding purposes (stockers and feeders we call them in the trade), is 20 per cent less than in 1916. And this has been brought about by the great demand at home and abroad for American beef, which demand has made necessary the taking of cattle for beef purposes in less mature condition than in the past.

On the subject of beef making in Pennsylvania I can speak with some first-hand knowledge. As president of the Lancaster Live Stock Exchange, and statistician for the same, I keep weekly records of receipts of cattle and average weights of cattle at the Union Stock Yards, Lancaster, which point is the great distributing place for stockers and feeders to about 20 counties in eastern, southeastern, and central Pennsylvania. Farmers in eastern Pennsylvania have not taken this summer and fall, thus far, 70 per cent of the cattle for winter feeding that they took in 1916 during the same period. What they may do between this and January 1 will depend largely upon the price at which the new corn crop sells after the same has been husked and housed.

My opinion is that if corn sells for $1.50 per bushel and upwards not more than 80 per cent of the number of head of cattle will be wintered this year in eastern Pennsylvania, as compared with the number fed in the same territory last winter. With the weights of feeders now being taken by farmers, only 80 per cent of what they were last year, the result will be about 64 per cent as much beef made in pounds as was made in these counties last winter and marketed in March, April, May, and June of this year. If corn should sell at $1 per bushel, or thereabouts, the number of cattle fed will equal the number fed last winter; but even at that, for the reasons which I have just recited, namely, the feeders weighing only 80 per cent as much as last fall, the maximum crop of beef produced in this important and really agricultural section of our Commonwealth will be but 80 per cent of the amount produced during the winter of 1916–17.

So far as pork production is concerned, the price of the same furnishes sufficient incentive to farmers to make all they can. Everybody who can afford to buy a shoat is making pork, and no propaganda is necessary to stimulate production in this direction. In so far as making mutton is concerned, eastern Pennsylvania farms, in the main, are not adapted to the grazing or feeding of sheep. So far as the grazing of sheep is concerned, the same can not be profitably done on land costing or worth from $150 to $200 per acre. There are parts of Pennsylvania in which sheep raising might be remuneratively engaged in, but the difficulty is to get the raw material; and then, again, sheep require more attention than any other class of live stock, labor is high, and our highly-commendable compulsory education system makes it impossible to enlist children in the rôle of shepherds.

Taken on the whole, meat production—and in the term meat production I contemplate beef, mutton, and pork—will, in Pennsylvania, during the winter of 1917–18, be less than it was in 1916–17. And if the same condition of affairs prevails in a country-wide way, I expect within the next six months to see porterhouse steak and canvasback duck with the same price set after them on restaurant menu cards.

In winning this war bread foods and meat foods, we are told, are as essential as guns and bullets. At no time in the history of our Nation has any sister Commonwealth exceeded Pennsylvania in its contribution of men and money to uphold our national honor and maintain the dignity and glory of the Stars and Stripes. The history of Pennsylvania in this respect will be repeated in the present crisis, but more than that, Pennsylvania will contribute its full quota of the foods necessary to feed her home people and then some to help "the man behind the gun." One of Pennsylvania's greatest, if not its greatest asset, in common with the Nation, are the men who follow the pastoral art of husbandry; men who begin their daily task with the first streak of dawn and keep at it until the stars speckle the night sky. Our beef crop, our pork crop, or corn crop, our wheat crop, our potato crop, in spite of the fact that Pennsylvania is known almost exclusively as an industrial State, will be no mean contribution to the demonstration now being made that not the hand that wields the saber, not the hand that pulls the trigger, but the hand that feeds the nations is the hand that will rule the world.

Statement of the Mexican Consul General.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, the Mexican consul general at New York, Mr. Juan T. Burns, has given a statement to the Associated Press, which has been freely published throughout the country, stating that Mexicans were being illegally drafted in Texas for service in the National Army. In reply to the statement of Consul General Burns, I am in receipt of a telegram from the Webb County Exemption Board, at Laredo, Tex., which reads as follows:

This board protests against and brands as a lie this morning's statement in press of Mexican Consul General Burns, of New York, regarding the action of the exemption boards in Texas concerning Mexican citizens. We ask you to take vigorous action against him.

Mr. Speaker, those who comprise the Webb County Exemption Board are high-class men and as good citizens as there are in the State, and this answer to the charge of the Mexican consul general at New York is direct and to the point, and will be accepted as bona fide wherever they are known.

Belgium—the Gethsemane of Liberty and the Martyr of Freedom.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, October 2, 1917.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I am herewith inserting a brief address of welcome delivered by Hon. Alva Adams on the occasion of the reception tendered by the city of Pueblo, Colo., to the Belgian Commission.

Gov. Adams has been three times elected governor of Colorado, and our State has been proud of him for 40 years. He is the ideal, typical, patriotic western American, and his remarks on that occasion are, in my judgment, the most appropriate of any of the hundreds of splendid speeches that were delivered in honor of the Belgian Commission.

This eloquent address beautifully expresses the sentiment of all civilized humanity. It will become not only an oratorical but a historical gem, of which both nations will be proud for all time; and I am delighted on behalf of the State of Colorado to insert it in the RECORD, where it may be appropriately preserved as a tribute coming from the Centennial State:

VISIT OF THE BELGIAN COMMISSION, JULY 19, 1917.

At the reception given by the city of Pueblo, Colo., to Baron Moncheur, Lieut. Gen. Leclercq, and the Belgian commission, the following address of welcome was delivered by Alva Adams:

"As partners in the cause of humanity and liberty, Pueblo extends its love and greeting to our distinguished friends and allies.

"Not since the last visit of Lafayette has America been stirred as during the visits of official commissions from England, France, Russia, and Belgium. They are allies in the greatest adventure that has ever faced the race. Sincere as our greeting to Britain and France, there is a deeper note in our welcome to Belgium. We love most those who have suffered most. Fate has made Belgium the Gethsemane of liberty, a martyr to freedom. In the pathway of the Vandals, she has been the victim of ruthless, brutal conquest. Upon her head a crown of thorns—upon her liberties the oppressor's heel.

"The German eagle became a vulture when it crossed the Rhine. Its talons were sunk deep in the vitals of Belgium. Yet from among the ruins and desolation of her land Belgium arose and faced the best equipped, the mightiest army of the age. It was her valor, sacrifice, and devotion that helped stay the satanic invasion. History will record that it was the ranks of Belgian heroism that saved Europe, if not the world, from the sway of the modern Attila. What a colossal debt civilization—liberty—owes to the devoted land. They held the road to Paris. To open the gate there was no bribe they could not have commanded. Since Christ and Satan stood upon the mountain there has been no temptation so great. Belgium never wavered; King Albert held true. Gold could not buy, power could not coerce, threats could not frighten, suffering could not dismay. In her own bosom she received the poisoned spears that liberty might live. As the 300 at Thermopylæ, as the 300 under Gideon, as the 300 at Lookout Mountain won undying fame, so will little Belgium become immortal and shine forever upon liberty's crimson page of valor and sacrifice. It is not the first time that Belgium has been the stage upon which ambition has met its Waterloo.

"It has often been the battle ground of kings. It has always been heroic Belgium. Sometimes bloody Belgium, oppressed Belgium, but when this conflict ends it is to be redeemed Belgium—free Belgium. As we speak, the new chancellor at Berlin is giving voice to his policy. Will he extend an olive branch or will he reaffirm the doctrine of frightfulness. Whatever his message, the conscience of the world can accept no vindication of Belgium save in the defeat of Germany. When I use the term 'Germany'—I mean the Hohenzollern dynasty—Prussian militarism. It is against them America fights, not the German people. The political mystery of the age is the loyalty of the German race to their kingly house, when freedom can only come to them from the wreck and ruin of their autocratic, despotic, reigning dynasty. Man can forget much, forgive much, but there are degrees of depravity and cruelty that even the gods of the nations can neither forget nor forgive. For the willful making of orphans—for their abuse—for the murder of the weak and innocent, for the ravishment of women, there can be no sanctuary. Before the bayonet, helpless men and women have been driven into bondage and forced to grind corn for their oppressors. Deportation of the noncombatant and the innocent, enforced labor, is slavery in any country and abhorrent to liberty everywhere. In the treatment of Belgium a new chapter of infamy has been written in the black book of national dishonor.

"In Armenia, Germany can lay to the Turk the massacres and atrocities that make angels weep and civilization faint. In Belgium the Kaiser has been the sole Caliban; he had no partner. The torch, the sword, and dynamite of German hate have been alone responsible. Upon these awful deeds of blood lust and Vandalism one brand alone can be placed. As Billy Sunday expressed it, 'Turn hell upside down and upon its bottom will be found the stamp, "Made in Germany."' It is the shame of the twentieth century that one of its great empires, this boasted ally of the Deity, has made brutality its policy and frightfulness its favorite weapon. They give well poisoning a standing as an agency of war.

"It was the grief and sorrow of Belgium that smote the rock of American generosity and compassion in the Red Cross campaign. It was the ruthless methods of Prussian aggression that drew our country into the ranks of the allies. This Republic, with its ideals, can have no fellowship with the power that destroys hospitals and hospital ships and makes the Red Cross symbol the target for their guns. Against these atrocities we raise the standard of revolt. As champions of Christianity, humanity, and democracy we must pledge our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor to overthrow the ambition-mad King whose deeds rob Herod of the infamy of nineteen centuries and tears from Genghis Khan the title of 'The Scourge of God.'

"In the three years' conflict upon land and sea is found the proof of every charge—the justification of every reason given by President Wilson for his declaration of war. We are now elbow to elbow to all the force of justice and freedom. In full measure we give men, gold, and food. These inspired by noble ideals are the trinity of victory. Go back to your unhappy land—carry to your waiting brothers the assurance that under our flag you found only friends and allies. America was slow to wrath, but now that our hand has been put to the plow we will not turn back until the furrow is turned and the victory won. Let it come soon or late, the first question of every ally at the peace conference will be, What of Belgium? Carry back to your heroic King and your splendid people that message written by President Wilson, 'It is our solemn determination that on the inevitable day of victory Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of earth.' That is the pledge of our Chief—that faith will be kept. Wherever you have gone you have seen the gathering of the clans of liberty. The air vibrates, the earth trembles with the voice and tread of a million young Americans as they march into camp. At Camp Gunter, an hour ago, you saw the first steps in the making of an army. You saw the young men coming from farm, shop, and mine.

"You saw the ununiformed battalion in their first maneuvers and other battalions that were trained and equipped. The transition from the duties of peace to the ways of war is rapid. Yesterday it was the citizen, to-day the soldier, to-morrow it is the hero upon the battle field, where the bugle call of liberty leads men to fight and to die. In the young American there is the making of a splendid soldier—the traits that make the captain.

"Fit to stand by Cæsar
And give direction."

"From every section there sweeps toward Atlantic ports the units of a mighty army. It is the rising tide of a great people who would have all men free as they themselves are free. It is the challenge of the Republic for a free world, for a world democratic.

"Emerson wrote, 'God is tired of kings.' The people are also weary of carrying dynasties upon their backs. Under the Divine impulse the nations of the free are arising in their might. No Alexander, no Cæsar, no Napoleon shall again aspire to world dominion. It is the Armageddon between autocracy and liberty. Under the Kaiser only vassals fight. Against him the allies of justice, liberty, and humanity. There can be no compromise. Either God or Lucifer are to reign. Justice, not the sword, must be made the master of human destiny. In this contest America gives her treasure, she gives her sons that Belgium may be vindicated and that liberty may not perish from the earth.

The Militia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM GORDON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, at pages 6836 to 6840 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 10, 1917, the address of Charles E. Hughes delivered at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association is printed. In that address Mr. Hughes said: "The militia, within the meaning of these provisions of the Constitution, is distinct from the Army of the United States." "Remember always," said Daniel Webster, "that the great principle of the Constitution on that subject is that the militia is the militia of the States and not of the General Government; and thus being the militia of the States there is no part of the Constitution worded with greater care and with more scrupulous jealousy than that which grants and limits the power of Congress over it." Mr. Hughes then continues:

"In order to execute the laws of the Union to suppress insurrection and to repel invasion it would be necessary to employ regular troops or to employ the militia; and the power given to Congress with respect to the militia was manifestly to make a large standing Army unnecessary. But as the service of the Organized Militia can only be required by the National Government for the limited purposes specified in the Constitution it follows (as Attorney General Wickersham advised President Taft) that the Organized Militia as such can not be employed for offensive warfare outside the limits of the United States."

By his own admission and by citing Daniel Webster and the opinions of Attorney General Wickersham, Mr. Hughes effectually disproves and discredits the very point he attempts to establish, to wit:

"That by drafting the militia, or any part of it, these men can be divested of the protection which the Constitution of the United States throws around them by limiting the use which the Federal Government may make of the militia to suppressing insurrection, repelling invasion, and executing the laws of the United States."

The term "militia" as used in the Constitution of the United States includes all able-bodied male citizens capable of bearing arms, and these have been further defined by the statutes of the United States, enacted since the adoption of the Constitution, as all "male citizens capable of bearing arms between the ages of 18 and 45 years."

After the War of 1812 with England had been in progress for two and a half years an attempt was made in Congress to pass a bill authorizing the President to draft by lot from those between 18 and 45 years 100,000 men, with whom it was proposed to invade Canada, the enemy's territory. This bill was defeated in the House by Daniel Webster upon the precise point that Congress had no such power over the militia as to authorize it to empower the President to draft them into the Regular Army and send them out of the country.

While Roosevelt was President and thought he wanted more troops for the Philippines than the Regular Army afforded, he induced Congress to pass a law which provided that when the Organized Militia or National Guard had been called into the Federal service for either of the three purposes specified in the Constitution, the President might then send them out of the country; but when this statute was submitted to Attorney General Wickersham, in the opinion which Mr. Hughes cites, it was declared by the Attorney General to be beyond the power of Congress to enlarge its power or that of the President over the militia by legislation, and this attempt to do so was adjudged to be null and void.

Mr. Hughes, in approving this opinion of Attorney General Wickersham, concedes that no member of the National Guard now in the Federal service can be sent to France or any other foreign country unless he volunteers for that service; and if he will read the argument of Daniel Webster, delivered in the House of Representatives on December 9, 1814, he will be convinced that the same rule applies to all drafted men; and if he will read all of paragraph 12, section 8 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States, the first five words of which he quotes, he will observe that the balance of the paragraph reads as follows: "But no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years."

This limitation upon the power to raise and support armies clearly establishes the intent and purpose of the framers of the Constitution to limit the power to raise and maintain a standing army to voluntary enlistment, because if the unlimited power to draft or conscript was intended to be conferred it would have been a useless and puerile thing to limit the use of money for that purpose. Conscripted armies may be paid, but they are not required to be, and if it had been intended to confer the extraordinary power to draft the bodies of citizens and send them out of the country in direct conflict with the limitation upon the use of the militia imposed by subsequent paragraphs of the same section and article, certainly some restriction or limitation would have been imposed to restrain the unlimited use of such power.

The only time in our history that Congress has authorized the President to draft citizens into the military service prior to the present emergency was during the Civil War, and that draft act specifically recited in its title that it was resorted to for the purpose of "suppressing insurrection and rebellion," which is one of the express purposes for which the Federal Government is authorized to use the militia.

Although the above-quoted words are omitted from the present draft law, the language of the act was quite generally followed in other particulars, one of the exceptions being that the bill as presented by the War Department proposed to emulate the example of Napoleon Bonaparte and conscript the bodies of those between 19 and 25 years of age, exempting all others of military age.

In further support of the proposition that under the Constitution of the United States no troops outside of the Regular Army may lawfully be sent out of the country unless and until they volunteer for foreign service, and that the Regular Army may only be recruited by voluntary enlistment, I append hereto a petition to the Congress of the United States by Hannis Taylor, late ambassador of the United States to Spain.

A PETITION TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

[Presented by Hannis Taylor in behalf of himself and as next friend of the half million and more of American youths now under military duress, because conscripted under sec. 8, Art. I of the Constitution, which provides that "the Congress shall have power to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," which provision, as construed by the Supreme Court, forbids the sending of the militia, so called, forth beyond the territorial limits of the United States.]

AN APPEAL TO THE CONGRESS TO PREVENT THE SENDING OF THE CONSCRIPTED NATIONAL MILITIA TO EUROPEAN BATTLE FIELDS IN OPEN DEFIANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Your petitioner, Hannis Taylor, a citizen of the United States and a resident of the District of Columbia, in behalf of himself, and as the next friend of the half million or more American youths now under military duress, because conscripted under section 8, Article I of the Constitution, represents that he hereby asserts the constitutional right of petition solemnly guaranteed to him by the first article of amendment to the National Constitution, which right, as an attribute of national citizenship, entitles him to petition Congress for redress in regard to any matter of "great moment and general concern." Your petitioner avers that no matter of greater moment or more general concern was ever presented to the Congress of the United States than that

involved in the threatened transportation to European battle fields of hundreds of thousands of conscripted American youths. First, because no such thing was ever before attempted in our entire history as a Nation. In asserting that fact in his Flag Day address of June 14, President Wilson said: "We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the Nation, to go forth and die beneath it [the flag] on fields of blood far away. * * * American armies were never before sent across the seas." Second, because the Congress, in enacting the legislation under which said conscription has taken place, has not only not authorized, directly or indirectly, the transportation of such conscripted youths "across the seas," but it has manifested no consciousness whatever that any such unprecedented and fateful act would be attempted by any one. Third, because the transportion of the militia, National or State, beyond our territorial limits is an act sternly forbidden by the Constitution of the United States.

EXEMPTION AS DEFINED BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

Your petitioner further represents that the Federal Convention of 1787, after long and stormy debate, so clearly and positively fixed the exemption of the militia, National and State, from military service beyond our territorial limits that it was never questioned during the century and a quarter that preceded the year 1912. In all our wars preceding that date the exemption was always frankly recognized not only by jurists but by all writers on our military system. In his recent work entitled Our Military History (1916), Gen. Leonard Wood says that we have been compelled to fight our wars with volunteers "because the militia was not available for service outside of the United States." He then adds that we had so to conduct the Mexican War, "where the militia could not be used because of the constitutional limitation upon its employment outside the United States." See to the same effect "Military Policy of the United States," by Upton (1904), and "The Military Unpreparedness of the United States" (1915), by Huidekoper. Strange indeed it is that at this late day any man calling himself a jurist should dare, even in a moment of hysterical excitement, to deny the existence of an exemption recognized from the beginning of our national life not only by all lawyers and statesmen but by the military experts.

EXEMPTION AFFIRMED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL WICKERSHAM IN 1912.

Your petitioner further represents that the inconvenience of the constitutional exemption in question arising out of the territorial expansion incident to the Spanish-American War, prompted certain persons more ingenious than loyal to the Constitution to attempt, by the act of January 21, 1903, as amended by the act of March 27, 1908, to circumvent and destroy such exemption by providing that "the militia, so called, shall continue to serve during the term so specified, either within or without the territory of the United States."

By that stupid device such evil-minded persons attempted to make Congress confer upon the President the power to rob the militia of its constitutional exemption from service abroad, in defiance of the elementary principle that the legislative department of the Government can not confer upon the Executive a power it is expressly forbidden to exercise itself. When that stupid device was submitted by President Taft to Attorney General Wickersham, a learned lawyer whose mind was then unclouded by prejudice and passion, he trampled upon it in an elaborate official opinion delivered under his oath of office and dated February 17, 1912, in which he said:

> The Constitution, which enumerates the exclusive purposes for which the militia may be called into the service of the United States, affords no warrant for the use of the militia by the General Government, except to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union. * * * This has always been the English doctrine, and in some instances acts of Parliament have expressly forbidden the use of the militia outside of the Kingdom. Our ancestors, who framed and adopted our Constitution and early laws, got their ideas of a militia, its nature, and purposes from this, and must be taken to have intended substantially the same military body. * * * If authority is needed for the conclusion here reached, the following may suffice: In Ordronaux, Constitutional Legislation, page 501, it is said:
>
> "The Constitution distinctly enumerates the three exclusive purposes for which the militia may be called into the service of the United States. These purposes are: First, to execute the laws of the Union; second, to suppress insurrection; and, third, to repel invasions.
>
> "These three occasions, representing necessities of a strictly domestic character, plainly indicate that the services required of the militia can be rendered only upon the soil of the United States or of its Territories. * * * In the history of this provision of the Constitution there is nothing indicating that it was even contemplated that such troops should be employed for purposes of offensive warfare outside the limits of the United States. And it is but just to infer that the enumeration of the specific occasions on which alone the militia can be called into the service of the General Government was intended as a distinct limitation upon their employment." * * *
>
> And in Von Holtz, Constitutional Law, page 170, it is said, "the militia can not be taken out of the country." * * *
>
> It is true that the act of January 21, 1903, as amended by the act of March 27, 1908 (35 Stat., 399), provides:
>
> "That whenever the President calls forth the Organized Militia of any State, Territory, or of the District of Columbia to be employed in the service of the United States he may specify in his call the period for which such service is required, and the militia so called shall continue to serve during the term so specified, either within or without the territory of the United States, unless sooner relieved by order of the President."
>
> But this must be read in view of the constitutional power of Congress to call forth the militia only to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union. Congress can not by its own enactment enlarge the power conferred upon it by the Constitution; and if this provision were construed to authorize Congress to use the Organized Militia for any other than the three purposes specified, it would be unconstitutional. * * *
>
> I think that the constitutional provision here considered not only affords no warrant for the use of the militia by the General Government, except to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union, but, by its careful enumeration of the three occasions or purposes for which the militia may be used, it forbids such use for any other purpose; and your question is answered in the negative.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.
>
> To the SECRETARY OF WAR.

After citing in that opinion the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States (Houston *v.* Moore, 5 Wheat., 1, and Martin *v.* Mott, 12 Wheat., 19, 27) as irrevocably settling the exemption of the militia from service abroad, the Attorney General exposed, with striking emphasis, the emptiness of the stupid contention that, although the Congress is expressly forbidden to authorize the sending of the militia, National or State, abroad, it may authorize the President to do so. Speaking of the act before him which attempted to authorize the President to use the militia "either within or without the territory of the United States," he said: "If this provision were construed to authorize Congress to use the Organized Militia for any other than the three purposes specified, it would be unconstitutional." Thus, in advance, he put the stamp of nullity upon any clause or phrase in the conscription act of May 18, 1917, which may be so construed as to express such an unconstitutional purpose.

EXEMPTION AFFIRMED BY PRESIDENT WILSON IN 1916.

Your petitioner further represents that after the foregoing opinion of Attorney General Wickersham had become the law of the Department of Justice, and as such binding in this vital matter upon President Wilson, he affirmed it, with great emphasis, in four speeches delivered in January and February, 1916, when he was called upon to explain why he could do no more for the development of the State militia, now euphoniously called the National Guard.

In an address delivered at New York, January 27, 1916, he said: "I believe that it is the duty of Congress to do very much more for the National Guard than it has ever done heretofore.

"I believe that that great arm of our national defense should be built up and encouraged to the utmost; but you know, gentlemen, that under the Constitution of the United States the National Guard is under the direction of more than twoscore States; that it is not permitted to the National Government directly to have a voice in its development and organization; and that only upon occasions of actual invasion has the President of the United States the right to ask those men to leave their respective States."

In an address delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, January 29, 1916, he said: "The President of the United States has not the right to call on these men—the National Guard—except in the case of actual invasion, and, therefore, no matter how skillful they are, no matter how ready they are, they are not the instruments for immediate national use."

In an address delivered at Milwaukee January 31, 1916, he said: "The National Guard, fine as it, is not subject to the orders of the President of the United States. It is subject to the orders of the governors of the several States, and the Constitution itself says that the President has no right to withdraw them from their States even, except in the case of actual invasion of the soil of the United States."

In an address delivered at Topeka, Kans., February 2, 1916, he said: "The Constitution of the United States puts them—the National Guard—under the direct command and control of the governors of the States, not of the President of the United States, and the national authority has no right to call upon them for any service outside their States unless the territory of the Nation is actually invaded."

Here we have conclusive documentary evidence of the fact that long before the conscription act of May 18, 1917, was passed President Wilson had complete knowledge of this entire subject, as expounded by Attorney General Wickersham in his official opinion of February 17, 1912, now binding on the President as the law of the Department of Justice. No one knows quite so well as President Wilson that the sending of our National Militia abroad by the Executive will constitute a fla-

grantly unconstitutional act, and as such an impeachable high crime and misdemeanor.

NATIONAL MILITIA CREATED BY FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

Your petitioner further represents that when the convention of 1787 met those who may be called Nationalists, with Washington at their head, contending that the State Militia had proven to be "inefficient under the Confederation," demanded the creation of a new militia system, entirely apart from the State systems, which should be under the exclusive control of the new Federal Government. (See Madison papers, p. 730 and p. clxxxii, Gilpin ed.) That proposal was so bitterly opposed by the State rights faction that a deadlock arose, which was broken at last by a compromise arranged by a grand committee of the States. (Elliot, v. 445.) The State rights faction was told that the ancient systems of State Militia might continue to exist, subject to the following limitations now embodied in section 8, Article I: "The Congress shall have power * * * to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the—State—militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." In return for that concession the State rights faction agreed to the creation of a new National or Federal Militia—entirely distinct from the State systems—subject, however, to the three severe limitations now embodied in section 8, Article I: "The Congress shall have power * * * to provide for calling forth the—national—militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Every student of English constitutional history knows that the last limitation, "and repel invasions," was simply a transplanting into the new American Constitution of the exemption of the English militia from service abroad, which had been a vital part of the English constitution for a thousand years prior to our severance from the mother country. In order to make it possible to take the English militia over the Channel into France during the present war, it became necessary to change the English Constitution in that respect.

Mr. Dicey, one of the most eminent modern commentators on the English Constitution, said in his edition of 1908: "The militia is the constitutional force existing under the law of the land for the defense of the country. * * * Embodiment indeed converts the militia for the time being into a regular army, though an army which can not be required to serve abroad." (Law of the Constitution, pp. 287–288.) And so, even if it could be claimed that our National Militia, called forth by conscription, constitutes a regular army, it is an army which can not be required to serve abroad.

ONLY TWO CONSCRIPTION LAWS EVER ENACTED BY CONGRESS.

Your petitioner further represents that it is a notable fact that the National Militia as such, as a national force entirely distinct from the militia of the States, has only been called forth on two occasions and on each by conscription. The first conscription act was approved March 3, 1863; the second, on May 18, 1917. As the first was enacted during the Civil War, it declares with great emphasis in the preamble that it was enacted under section 8, Article I, of the Constitution, which provides that "the Congress shall have power to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." The words of the preamble are these: "Whereas there now exist in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the Government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, * * * and whereas, for these high purposes a military force is indispensable," etc. After the lapse of half a century the National Militia, as such, was called out a second time by the act of May 18, 1917, which is simply a reproduction, in every material particular, of the original act of March 3, 1863. In order to put that vital fact beyond all question your petitioner has had the two acts printed in parallel columns in a pamphlet inclosed with this petition.

Here the fact must be kept steadily in view that the conscription act of May 18, 1917, under which the National Militia is now being drafted, is not an original measure; as appears upon its face it is simply an extension or supplement to carry into effect the national defense act of June 3, 1916. By section 57 of that act the National Militia is thus defined:

Composition of the militia.—The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age, and said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the Unorganized Militia.

The primary and avowed purpose of the conscription act of May 18, 1917, is to organize "the Unorganized Militia" of the United States by extending its provisions to "all male citizens or male persons not alien enemies * * * between the ages of 21 and 30 years." Thus the fact is fixed with mathematical certainty that the act of May 18, 1917, was passed in order to call out the National Militia, as such, "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," first, because it is really little more than a copy of the first conscription act of March 3, 1863; second, because its avowed purpose is to organize the "Unorganized Militia" of the United States by extending its provisions to "all male citizens or male persons not alien enemies * * * between the ages of 21 and 30 years. Of all the shallow pretences devised with the view of confusing this very simple subject the most pitiful is that which attempts to deny that the conscription act of May 18, 1917, was passed under that part of section 8, Article I, which authorizes Congress to call out the National Militia to "execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

DESPERATE EFFORT TO GIVE RESPECTABILITY TO A RIDICULOUS CONTENTION.

Your petitioner further represents that the history of our Constitution, taken as a whole, is made up of a series of efforts to evade it whenever its provisions become inconvenient to a particular class at a particular moment.

But never has the struggle to find a loophole been so desperate as that involved in the present attempt to invent a pretext for denying the immunity of the militia, National and State, from service abroad; first, because such immunity was a thousand years old before our severance from the mother country took place; second, because the language in which it was embedded in our Federal Constitution is too plain for cavil or question; third, because the immunity was expressly affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1827; fourth, because, after an exhaustive review of the whole subject, it was reaffirmed by Attorney General Wickersham in 1912 in an opinion accepted by President Taft as final; fifth, because it was again solemnly reaffirmed by President Wilson in four speeches delivered in 1916. And yet, as some kind of a pretext is indispensable to those who are now proposing to send the National Militia, conscripted under the act of May 18, 1917, to European battle fields, in open defiance of the Constitution, a ridiculous claim is being made in certain quarters that such act was really passed under that part of section 8, Article I, which authorizes Congress "to raise and support [volunteer] armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years" [the English mutiny act by which the volunteer army of Great Britain can be dissolved by Parliament].

That provision made, as the records of the Federal Convention show, for the exclusive purpose of authorizing the raising of our Regular or standing Army, through the volunteer system, has no more connection with the subject matter before us than an extract from the Talmud or Pentateuch. That fact is made certain, not only by the records of the convention but by a century and a quarter of congressional legislation affirming that construction. In speaking of the provision in question, Upton (Military Policy of the United States, p. 79) says: "Here was laid the foundation of the volunteer system, which attained its fullest development during our long Civil War. The 'levies,' known later as 'volunteers,' were authorized under the plenary power of Congress to 'raise and support armies,' and the power of appointing these officers was given the President, to whom it obviously belonged, as the 'levies' were wholly distinct from the militia or State troops." But far more important is the fact that the ranks of the Regular Army, which can only be composed of volunteers, can not be filled up by conscription. When a proposal to swell the ranks of the Regular or Volunteer Army in that way was embodied in the conscription act offered in Congress in 1814 Daniel Webster so trampled it under foot in a masterful speech that it was never afterwards revived in any form. No one should for a moment lose sight of the fact that the constitutionality of a Federal conscription act can not be defended for a moment unless such act is based upon that clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress to call forth the National Militia "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." There is but one precedent to support conscription in our entire history, and that is the conscription act of March 3, 1863, which declares in express terms in its preamble that Congress enacted it to suppress "an insurrection and rebellion." Your petitioner, who earnestly maintains the constitutionality of the conscription act of May 18, 1917, sternly protests against a theory which, if sound, destroys its constitutionality.

In order to influence the Federal judiciary and to give some sort of respectability or plausibility to a ridiculous contention—refuted by the records of the Federal Convention, by a century and a quarter of congressional legislation, trampled under foot by Daniel Webster in 1814, and repudiated by a great military authority like Upton in 1904—ex-Justice Hughes was induced to appear before the American Bar Association, where he professed to believe that the conscription act of May 18, 1917, was enacted under that clause of the Constitution which relates exclusively to the raising of Regular Armies by the volunteer system. The sole and practical purpose of his discourse was to prove by that device that the conscripted National Militia can be sent to the battle fields of Europe in open defiance of their long-settled constitutional exemption from service abroad.

Was there ever such a dreadful spectacle? There stood an ex-justice of the Supreme Court as the prosecutor of half a million of American youths, under military duress and on trial for their lives, with no one to defend them. The idea was that in that star-chamber proceeding the mere ipse dixit of a great legal functionary would deprive our sons of the protection guaranteed by a thousand years of English and American constitutional law. The undertaking was too great for any one man. It would have been too great for Lord Bacon or Chief Justice Marshall. The solemn guaranties of the American Constitution can not be destroyed in that way.

Nor florid prose nor honeyed lines of rime
Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime.

A CENSORED PRESS DISLOYAL TO THE PEOPLE.

Your petitioner further represents that the cruel and remorseless conspiracy against the lives of half a million of defenseless American youths, which opened with ex-Justice Hughes's prosecuting speech, is being carried on by a censored and disloyal press, that spread it broadcast throughout the land under a compact that no one was to be permitted to reply to it. Your petitioner says "compact," because when he applied to nearly a hundred and fifty American newspapers for leave to expose its atrocious fallacies and misrepresentations, without a single exception the door was brutally closed in his face. A very distinguished editor who refused him the right to be heard in the Capital of the Nation said with perfect frankness, "No matter if he is correct, a resolve has been reached to send the National Militia abroad in any event, even in defiance of the Constitution!" That is the clean-cut and fateful issue that now confronts the American Congress and the American people in this land, once known as the land of liberty and fair play. Upon its solution the life of this Republic depends.

THE MOST INDEFENSIBLE AND DEADLY ASSAULT EVER MADE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

After 40 years of patient study of our constitutional history, petitioner solemnly avers that, in his humble judgment, the attempt to destory the express and explicit exemption of the militia, National and State, from service abroad is the most indefensible and deadly assault ever made on the Constitution; indefensible because it has been solemnly affirmed not only by the Supreme Court of the United States but by the Executive power, in an opinion now the law of the Department of Justice; deadly because if the militia, a body of troops strictly for home defense, can be transported to European battle fields in this war, it can be so transported in all the European wars that are yet to come. In that way the Monroe doctrine, based on the solemn declaration of the fathers that we must not "entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe," will be completely overthrown without one word of authorization, either from the American electorate or from the Congress of the United States. If such a revolution can be wrought solely by the fiat of the Executive, without a word of authorization, either from the American people or the American Congress, then surely our constitutional democracy, based on the threefold division of power, is as an end.

PETITIONER EARNESTLY IN FAVOR OF VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE WAR BY ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS.

As your petitioner earnestly advocated the embargo of all German ships in our ports before war was declared, and as he is now and has ever been aggressively in favor of the prosecution of the war by all constitutional and sane means, he implores the Congress to suppress, so far as it can, the present riot of illegality by which the initial resolve of the American people to prosecute the war with all their might is being rapidly undermined. The American people are deeply imbued with what the great historian Grote calls "constitutional morality," meaning thereby a deep-seated love of liberty under law which refuses to submit, under any circumstances, to flagrant breaches of the Constitution, such as the unlawful transportation of a half million of the National Militia to European battle fields would involve.

Such a project of illegality is too stupendous to be undertaken by practical men in a land of liberty under law. The shock of it will not only impel the people to draw their purse strings—a matter far more important to the allies than the presence of unwilling and undisciplined troops—but it will certainly excite grave popular commotion in our midst the moment these young men, unlawfully transported, begin to die far from home.

AN APPEAL TO CONGRESS FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

In consideration of the premises and of the fateful consequences sure to result from them your petitioner, with the profoundest humility and respect, represents to the Congress that it can no longer close its eyes to the gravest responsibility, perhaps, that ever devolved upon it. The Congress can not fold its hands and permit half a million of American youths to be silently transported over the sea under an unconstitutional and void Executive order, upon the theory that the Congress knows nothing about it, because it has said absolutely nothing on the subject. The Congress can not thus abdicate its high functions as the representative of the American people and the guardian of the Republic in this matter of supreme national concern. The Congress should not permit our conscripted National Militia to be forced to seek the protection of the courts.

Therefore your petitioner humbly prays: First, that the two Houses of Congress appoint a joint committee, to be composed of the ablest jurists in Congress, who shall be directed to consider and report whether or no—admitting the constitutionality of the conscription act of May 18, 1917—there is any doubt or question whatever of the exemption of the National Militia conscripted under it from service abroad, as declared by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1827, by Attorney General Wickersham in 1912, and by President Wilson in 1916. Your petitioner prays that he be permitted to appear before such joint committee in order to demonstrate that the opinion recently pronounced by ex-Justice Hughes against such exemption is foundationless in every particular. Second, that if the Congress shall ascertain that such exemption is a valid and subsisting constitutional right it will employ every part of the constitutional machinery at its command, including the power of impeachment, against any and every magistrate who shall dare to violate it. Third, that if the Congress shall ascertain that such constitutional exemption does not exist, that it will pass a joint resolution expressly authorizing the Executive to transport such militia to European battle fields, so that the electorate at the next election may be able to express their approval or disapproval thereof. Fourth, that said joint committee be directed to ascertain and report whether or no there is now or has been a conspiracy existing between the leading newspapers of the United States, including some owned by foreigners in this country, to the end that false and foundationless statements should be circulated as to the nonexistence of the ancient and undoubted constitutional exemption in question, under a compact or agreement that no one should be permitted to controvert or explain to the people the falsity of such statements.

For this your petitioner does ever pray.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HANNIS TAYLOR.

Reducing Soldiers' Expenses.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I respectfully submit for the information of Members of the House and others interested in the welfare of our soldiers and sailors now in camp awaiting further orders for service the following correspondence relating to the appeals of certain enlisted men for a reduction of car fare in certain cases:

AUGUST 25, 1917.

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It has been suggested to me that some of the boys in the various camps could save money in car fare, and would to that extent be made happier, if instead of paying individual railroad fares a combination rate could be effected where they move on their own account in large numbers, as

from a cantonment or navy yard to neighboring cities or places of amusement.

I do not desire to argue this proposition, but submit it to you hoping it may have your best consideration.

Very truly, yours,

J. HAMPTON MOORE.

—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 17, 1917.

Hon. J. H. MOORE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: Reference being made to your letter of the 25th ultimo, which was acknowledged in letter from this office, dated the 28th ultimo (copy inclosed), you are informed that, subsequent to the 28th ultimo, replies have been received from the principal passenger associations of the United States, as follows:

New England Passenger Association:

"It is understood the reference is to fares paid by the individual man and the tariffs of the carriers in this territory will permit the use of a party fare for 10 or more passengers, irrespective of their status as citizens or soldiers."

Trunk Line Association:

"Party fares on the basis of 2¼ cents per mile, applicable for 10 or more persons traveling together on one ticket, are generally in effect between points in trunk-line territory and therefore these fares under the conditions stated will be available for soldiers traveling on their own account."

Central Passenger Association:

"The so-called party fares quoted by roads of the Central Passenger Association and carriers operating in its territory are regularly established through filings with the Interstate Commerce Commission and provide for a per capita rate of 2¼ cents per mile for 10 or more people traveling together on a single ticket; hence as contemplated by the suggestion advanced by Member of the Congress, the Hon. Mr. MOORE, to the Secretary of War, these special fares would be available to parties of enlisted men or officers traveling on own account, not, however, subject to the discount allowed the United States Government on Army transportation requests."

Transcontinental Passenger Association, Southern Passenger Association, and Western Passenger Association:

"In reply to your favor of August 28, File 531.1–T–General, I beg to say that commutation fares are in effect between principal cities in the West and adjacent suburbs and towns, but there are no party fares in effect generally between cantonments and neighboring cities and places of amusement. It is my understanding, however, that the carriers have individually provided for stub trains and other service between cantonment and concentration camps and neighboring cities and towns and have established reasonable fares in connection therewith.

"However, I am canvassing the situation and shall be pleased to give you a definite report thereon later."

The foregoing indicates that it will be practicable for parties of 10 or more to travel between camps and near-by towns, with the exception of the territory west of the Mississippi River, in which territory there appear to be no party rates in effect at the present time.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

For the Development of Potash.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

On the bill (S. 2156) to authorize exploration for and disposition of potassium.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, the operation of the war results in our finding out a great deal about ourselves. We discover that in some respects we have been asleep to our country's resources and industrial conditions. While we are long on some things, we now realize we are short on others.

Dependency always has a weakening effect, whether it be with individuals or nations; self-reliance is strengthening for either. Heretofore we have depended principally on Germany for the potash we consume, a mineral essential to our agricultural industry in particular, and now of great importance in our preparation for war. Germany turns out an abundance of potash, but under present conditions we can no longer buy the product of the enemy country. Thus the economic and commercial exigency produced by the war situation results in a great advantage to Germany over the United States. Our potash resources, whatever they may be, are undeveloped, and there is no other country now from which we can buy.

The purpose of the bill under consideration is to promote the development of our potash resources to the end that we supply at least our home demand and emancipate ourselves from dependency on Germany. It confers authority on the Secretary of the Interior to grant permits to citizens, associations, and corporations to prospect for potash on public lands, except the lands in and near Searles Lake, San Bernardino County, Cal. The area of land allowed to be prospected by a permittee shall not exceed 2,560 acres, which means five sections of land. On proving the existence of the mineral in paying quantities the permittee is granted a patent to not more than one-fourth of the area discovered. The other three-fourths may then be leased by the Government. On the other hand, the potash contained in Searles Lake, covering about 39,000 acres, and in lands adjacent thereto may be mined by the Government itself or leased for a royalty of not less than 2 per cent of the gross product and a rental, in addition, of 25 cents an acre for the first year, 50 cents an acre the third, fourth, and fifth years, and not less than $1 an acre a year thereafter, provided these cash payments shall go to reduce the royalty.

Leases may be granted, also, for the operating of deposits on small areas of public lands in Sweetwater County, Wyo., which lands contain coal also, but the coal is reserved for the United States. Each lease granted shall contain the provisions deemed necessary for the protection of the United States and the prevention of monopoly, and for the safeguarding of the public welfare. The moneys received from royalties shall be added to the reclamation fund, but, after the use thereof in constructive reclamation work and on return to the fund of any such moneys, 50 per cent thereof shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury to the State within which the boundaries of the leased lands are located, to be expended on public roads or schools. The last section of the act directs the Secretary of the Interior to incorporate in every lease a provision reserving to the President the right to regulate the price of all minerals extracted and sold from the leased premises, such prices to yield fair and reasonable returns to the lessees, but to secure to the consumer the lowest fair or just price.

I am heartily in favor of the bill and think it should be enacted without unnecessary delay. I am sure that a quotation from the Bulletin of Geological Survey published September 10 of this year will prove both interesting and instructive to the Congress and to the public generally. I quote paragraphs from pages 78 and 79:

Potash occurs principally in the rocks and soils of the earth, where it is very widely distributed. From 10 to 15 per cent of certain minerals, some of them, such as feldspar, very common, consists of insoluble potash. Potash in soluble form constitutes a small percentage of the salts in certain waters and brines. It occurs as chloride or possibly sulphate in ordinary sea water, in smaller proportions in the waters of most streams and lakes, and in larger proportions in many natural brines. It is also a constituent of most natural salt or saline deposits, usually a small percentage, but not uncommonly it forms 1 per cent of the whole.

The greater part of the potash consumed in this country is used as fertilizer. Of the various elements essential to plant growth potassium is one of the few that are likely to become exhausted or deficient in cultivated soils. Used under proper conditions, it stimulates plant growth, and for certain crops a special application of it is now regarded as almost essential, a fact illustrated by the present agricultural demand for it even at abnormally high prices.

But for the purpose of brevity let me say that the bulletin further states that the need of potash in certain manufacturing industries is pressing. It is used in the making of liquid soap, so great an improvement in a sanitary way on cake soap; also for laundry soaps and the higher grades of toilet soaps. It is used in the manufacture of certain explosives and also extensively in the making of matches since the passage of the nonpoisonous-match act; also in the manufacture of glass, in tanning, dyeing, electroplating, photography, and metallurgy, and in miscellaneous medicines and chemicals prepared in various forms.

In connection with this effort to develop our potash resources we need only remember the remarkable impetus given the exploration for tin ore, the opening up of mines, and the manufacture of articles of merchandise by the application of the policy of protection as a vindication of the wisdom of this plan to encourage and to safeguard the production of potash. Until we realized the economic folly of such a course we had been satisfied to import our tin, just as we have been satisfied to

bring our potash from Germany. As a result of the beneficent policy consistently carried out, our production of tin now not only meets our wants but affords a surplus to augment our balance of trade with other nations.

The present prospects for the development of potash far exceed the promise of the development of tin adequate to supply the United States when the initial steps toward the development of tin were taken. So far the discoveries of potash in this country have been large in proportion to the efforts put forth to this end, and this is very encouraging to the promise of future discoveries. Until recently the resources of Nebraska have been regarded as exclusively agricultural and all hope of finding mineral, even coal, had been given up. But now Nebraska comes to the front in the production of potash, and in 1916 the State contributed one-third of the entire output of the United States. The potash is found in the brine contained in small lakes scattered through the sand hills in the northwestern part of the State.

Five potash plants have been established in Nebraska, all located on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railway, between Alliance on the west and Hyannis on the east. The report of the Bureau of Geological Survey are not optimistic as to the amounts which these Nebraska lakes will produce, and naturally the committee reporting the bill has adopted the same view, but the extent of the sands, either in width or depth, has not been accurately ascertained. However, the confidence evinced in the expenditure of money now being made upon the manufacturing and refining plants constitutes a strong earnest of the belief that the deposits are considerable enough to bring good returns. I have been reliably informed that the cost of each of these plants is $125,000. This means an initial expenditure of more than $600,000 in the five plants, yet the outlay is small compared with the production of the plants for one year.

I here quote from the same bulletin published by the Geological Survey, page 85:

> The first large production of domestic potash has come from the alkali lakes of western Nebraska. Potash-rich salts and brines are contained in a number of alkali lakes and ponds which are scattered over the sand-hill region of western-central Nebraska, especially in Cherry, Sheridan, Box Butte, Morrill, and Garden Counties. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad passes through Alliance, Nebr., which is just west of the sand hills.
>
> These ponds range from less than an acre to 2 square miles in size, although the quantity of water in them varies greatly with the seasons. The deeper ponds are comparatively fresh, but many of the shallow ones are strongly brackish or briny. The ponds lie in small inclosed basins, whose lack of external drainage outlet is supposed to be due to the irregular topography formed by shifting sands. Between some of them and adjacent basins and valleys there are low divides, so that a slight rise of their waters would cause them to overflow, though probably in many of them overflow has seldom occurred, as is shown by the accumulation of salts. The soluble salts are mainly collected in the lowest parts of the basins.
>
> The alkali that is concentrated in these ponds was doubtless leached from the adjacent soil. A complete analysis of the saline residue of these deposits shows that they resemble the leachings of wood ashes, which may have been in large part the source of much of this alkali, for the adjoining sand hills were once covered with a generous growth of grass and brush, and the region has been repeatedly burned over. It is not necessary, however, to assume burning in order to account for the release of the potash from the organic matter here, as the potash may have been released by ordinary decomposition. The concentrated leachings from these sources may have formed these deposits, but other views as to their origin are also held, and, indeed, it seems strange that so much potash derived from vegetation should accumulate in water-soluble form only in this part of the country, for similar conditions at many other places have not produced the same result.
>
> At the close of 1916 five projects for producing potash from the brines of the western Nebraska lakes were reported to be well under way, all of them along the Burlington Railroad east of Alliance. They are the Potash Products Co., plant at Hoffland; the Hord Alkali Products Co., plant at Lakeside; the Palmer Alkali Co., plant at Lakeside; the American Potash Co., plant at Antioch; the Nebraska Potash Works Co., plant at Antioch. Hoffland is 11 miles, Antioch 15 miles, and Lakeside 24 miles east of Alliance.

The potash in the so-called alkali from these lakes in western Nebraska was first exploited by the Potash Products Co. of Omaha, Nebr. The credit for the investigation and exploitation of these deposits is undoubtedly due to Messrs. J. H. Show and Carl Modisett, who began to study them as early as 1911 and had made plans to utilize the salts commercially before the beginning of the present abnormal demand for potash. It was not, however, until after the middle of 1915 that the company actually started commercial operation. At the close of 1916 this company was advertising that 10,000 tons of high-grade potash had been shipped from their plant in the preceding 12 months and that the product had an average content of 28 per cent of water-soluble potash and 3 per cent of chlorine.

Jesse Lake, probably one of the largest of these lakes and the one that contained the most alkali, is the source of the brine worked by the Potash Products Co. The lake is about 3 miles north of Hoffland and the brine is pumped directly from the lake to the plant at the railroad. There the water is evaporated and the salts are dried for shipment without refining. The product shipped is therefore essentially of the composition of the original saline content of the lake liquor.

The lake is shallow and covers about 240 acres, varying somewhat in size and depth as well as in concentration of its water with the seasonable evaporation and precipitation. Its bottom is composed of a dark greenish mud, beneath which is the sand charged with brine much like that at the surface. The sand is said to be 20 feet thick in places.

According to the testimony of Government experts and reports of the Geological Survey, the output of potash in the whole United States from all sources in 1916 was but one-tenth of the amount of our annual consumption, yet these Nebraska lakes produced one-third of this output. The consumption annually of this country is reliably estimated at 237,000 tons. To this demand Nebraska supplied something like 8,000 tons in 1916. Even on the very conservative estimate made by Government experts it would require 30 years at this rate of production to exhaust the Nebraska lakes. And it will not be remarkable if it is found that the contents of the lakes are several times as great as these estimates.

The lakes being scattered widely apart over the counties of Cherry, Sheridan, Box Butte, Morrill, and Garden Counties, the number of plants for treating potash will likely be somewhat increased, so that the annual production will be augumented. But counting that only 250,000 tons could be recovered from the Nebraska lakes, an amount small in proportion to the consumption in the United States during the next 50 years, the output will add very materially to the wealth produced by the State, for at the present price it will amount to $120,000,000.

Coronado dreamed of an abundance of gold in what is now Nebraska, and it would not have been surprising to find gold washed down from the mountains of Wyoming in the Platte River, but now, in these lakes, poison to man and beast, we discover mineral wealth surpassing any placer mine ever worked. And I take pride in the fact that the initiative for this great industry, so important now to our national welfare, was taken by the Nebraskans I. H. Show and Carl Modisett, graduates of our splendid State University, who, together with R. Stevens, and perhaps others, organized the Potash Products Co. at Omaha, who developed the first plant at Hoffland, making and devising also the machinery for refining the potash.

I may be regarded as too optimistic concerning the future production of potash in the United States, but I am bold to predict that ere long this country will produce all the potash it can consume, one way or another. It will be found not only in the brine of the Nebraska lakes and in the salt-incrusted basin of the dry Searles Lake of California, but to a limited extent in the great Salt Lake, Utah, and more still in the Salduro salt marsh of that State, traversed by the Western Pacific Railway, between Salt Lake City on the east and Wendover on the west. According to the report of the Secretary of the Interior on this very bill, phosphate rock is present in large and valuable quantities in the public lands of Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Montana, and exists in Florida.

Therefore the Secretary has withdrawn from entry of these public lands 2,400 acres, and doubtless will, from time to time, as investigation may warrant it, withdraw more of the public lands for the same reason.

Government experts estimate that Searles Lake alone can be made to produce sufficient potash for the consumption of the United States for 50 or 60 years, and I deem it a conservative guess to make that practically we have enough potash in sight to supply our wants for a century, coupled with the prospect that in the meanwhile a never-ending source of a sufficient supply or a superior substitute will have been provided.

Potash can be manufactured from culp, kelp, and also from wood ashes and even from wool washings and from waste products in distilleries. No doubt American genius, under the incentive of necessity and high prices, will devise and discover other means of producing it. Our own natural resources will be developed and utilized rather than allowed to lie dormant, while we purchase from other countries what we ourselves should produce. It is not a sufficient reason that it may be cheaper for a time to buy of other countries, because the price of labor is lower. The very potash exigency now presented by this war shows the unwisdom of our having depended on Germany for the potash we consume. This great object lesson proves how unwise we have been, economically and commercially, how very derelict in not being duly prepared for the emergency of war.

In a large part of the United States, principally in the South, the use of potash is nearly indispensable to the growing of successful crops. No well-informed person will lose sight of the fact that it has not been solely the gigantic guns, the submarines, the equipment of Germany along military lines that has made the country so formidable in this war, but the highly developed

stage of its agriculture, which has been one of the potent factors in sustaining its position, surrounded as it has been by the forces of the allies and cut off from the transportation of foodstuffs.

Except for Germany's own self-sufficiency in production famine must have resulted. It is scientific agriculture, in which the utilization of potash for fertilizing has been a factor, that has much to do with Germany's power of defense and resistance. Our Nation has awakened to the realization of the real meaning of the food values of the soil, and that on the greatest of the arts of peace, the wise tilling of that soil, depends not only our national prosperity in time of peace but our national safety in time of war. Never before have all the inhabitants of the United States faced the possible necessity of intensive farming. Never before has it seemed so necessary to exact from the bounteous earth so much. So great has been the area of our fruitful valleys and our fertile prairies and so abundant the yield of our lands that reach from ocean to ocean that we have been prodigals. And now, when we behold the needs to which we have been blind and seek for potash with which to preserve fertility, the desert places, where the alkali-frosted soil has killed all vegetation, disclose its existence. Thus we find whatever we need in this great country, and we are justified in having an abiding faith in our own limitless resources and in the genius of our people, ever able to respond to any demand upon them.

The Jew in Roumania.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the condition of the Jew in Roumania, which is beyond description, is most fully described in the book Jewish Life in Modern Times, by Israel Cohen, and, commencing at page 151, he says:

The plight of the quarter of a million Jews in Roumania is in several respects even worse than that of their brethren in Russia and affords a striking example of the duplicity of a modern State. Settled in the country for more than fifteen hundred years—long before the advent of the Roman convicts who were introduced by Trajan to populate the fertile land of the Dacians—the Jews are treated as outlaws and subjected to a mass of harassing and humiliating restrictions despite the solemn treaty obligation entered into by Roumania in 1878. The Berlin treaty, by article 44, made it a prime condition of the independence of Roumania that difference of religious belief should not preclude anyone from the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public offices and honors, or the exercise of various professions and industries. In other words, the signatory powers demanded the complete civil and political emancipation of the Jews in Roumania. Their action was due to the merciless persecution of the Jews, which had become a European scandal. The Jews were treated as aliens incapable of naturalization; they were denied all freedom of economic activity; and they were driven from the villages into the towns, where they were exposed to riots and massacres, where their homes were plundered and their synagogues polluted and demolished. The powers therefore wished to secure respect for the elements of humanity in return for the sovereign independence which Roumania sought. The treaty of Berlin also required the bestowal of civil and political equality upon the Jews in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Turkey, an act which these countries readily conceded. But the Roumanian Government protested that the immediate emancipation of its Jewish subjects would be a peril to the State and proposed an alternative to article 44. This alternative had such apparent resemblance to the original article that the powers in their innocence accepted it, for it declared explicitly: "Difference in religious beliefs and confessions does not constitute in Roumania an obstacle to the obtainment of civil and political rights, nor to the exercise of these rights," and it was followed by the reassuring stipulation: "A foreigner, without distinction of religion, and whether a subject or not of a foreign Government, can become naturalized under the following conditions." The principal conditions were that the foreigner should address to the Government an application for naturalization and reside for the next 10 years in the country to prove he was of service to it, and that naturalization could only be granted by law—that is, by act of Parliament—and individually. As the principle of civil and religious equality was practically retained in this revised article, the powers, after the dispersal of the Berlin congress, agreed to accept it in lieu of article 44, on condition that it was made part of the constitution. To this Roumania, with a pretense of magnanimity, submitted, and Lord Salisbury expressed the hope that it would bring matters "into exact conformity with the spirit of the treaty of Berlin." Little did the powers dream that their confidence would be shamefully abused and that Roumania would cunningly extricate itself from its solemn contract.

To prove that it did not violate the principle of religious equality and at the same time to keep its Jewish subjects in bondage the Roumanian Government brazenly declared all the Jews in the country to be foreigners, whose status could only be improved by the laws pertaining to the naturalization of foreigners. In vain was it pointed out that the Jews had been settled in the country uninterruptedly for more than 15 centuries and had shed their blood in its defense. The Government insisted upon regarding its native Jewish subjects as aliens, though they were under the protection of no other state, and more than one statesman boasted of the trick that had been played upon the diplomatists of Europe. A pretense was made of emancipating the Jews by naturalizing in a body the 883 Jewish soldiers who had fought in the war against Turkey, but most of them had not survived to enjoy the honor. After this impressive display of generosity the Government in 1880 naturalized another 57 native Jews, but since then a steadily diminishing number has been admitted to the rights of citizenship, the total within the last 35 years hardly exceeding 200. Every year the Government submits the names of a list of Jews to each chamber, but takes care that only a small proportion shall be passed by both chambers, whose joint ratification is necessary for complete naturalization. But the Jews are not even treated as ordinary foreigners, who can invoke the protection of their home government. They are legally described as "persons under Roumanian protection," but this protection has manifested itself in a series of oppressive laws, mostly enacted during the last 30 years, which are designed to force them to emigrate or to reduce them to starvation. Virtually therefore they are outlaws. The only exception consists of a part of the Jews who lived in the Dobrudja before it was ceded by Turkey to Roumania after the Russo-Turkish War in compensation for Roumania's cession of Bessarabia to Russia. The Jews in the Dobrudja who, before April 11, 1878, were Ottoman subjects, were promised the rights of Roumanian citizenship by the rescript ratifying the annexation; but these rights were not granted by law until April 9, 1909, and they were confined only to those Jews who could prove by documentary evidence that they had formerly been Ottoman subjects.

The native Jews in Roumania are not allowed to own land or even to till it as hired laborers. They have been expelled from the rural districts and driven into the town where most of the avenues to an honest living are closed to them. They are excluded from the civil service and from the medical, legal, and teaching professions. They may not form more than a fourth of the workmen or staff in any factory applying for the Government benefits, without which industry in Roumania can not flourish, while Jewish factories are wholly denied such benefits. Their economic plight is aggravated by their forced idleness one-third of the year, for Jewish shops, factories, and workshops, apart from observing the Jewish Sabbaths and festivals on 65 days of the year, must also close on Sundays and about a dozen church festivals. Jewish merchants who have to visit a rural district on business are placed under police supervision to prevent them from coming into contact with the villagers, who might be enlightened as to the true cause of their permanent distress—absentee landlordism and Government indifference. The road to education is also barred. Jews are excluded from the secondary schools and universities, and even those who contrive to be admitted to university examinations are usually "ploughes" by anti-Semitic professors, who show a surprising lenience to Christian students. Jewish students of medicine who obtain their doctorate diplomas at foreign universities are not allowed to practice in their native country, which is notoriously short of qualified doctors. Jewish children are not admitted into the public free schools until accommodation has been found for all Christian children, and then only after the payment of exorbitant fees. And yet the Government interferes in the management of the private schools which the Jewish communities must needs establish, frequently disapproving of the appointment of Jewish teachers and foisting upon them Christian teachers.

Denied all rights of citizenship, the Jews, with their reduced earning capacity, must nevertheless discharge its duties; they must pay taxes and—and foreigners as they are declared to be—they must serve in the Army, although they can not rise to the rank even of a mere corporal. But more degrading than all these disabilities is the gruesome ceremonial of the oath which they are compelled to take when engaged in litigation with Christians. This sacramentum more Judaico, which has been in force since 1844, is marked by the fanaticism of the Middle Ages, to which it owes its origin, and is utterly repulsive to human reason. The Jewish litigant is wrapped in a shroud, placed in a coffin, and laid out in the synagogue, where the rabbi, in the presence of a mixed congregation of indignant Jews and scoffing officials, utters a curse threatening all manner of loathsome diseases against the living corpse and his descendants should he not speak the truth, and the corpse must repeat every word of the malediction or lose his case. This barbarous ceremonial has on several occasions been declared illegal by the supreme court of justice and the court of cassation, but it is still enforced by local courts which condemn the Jew who refuses to submit to it. Not until an act of Parliament abolishes it will this abominable stain be removed from Roumania's code of persecution.

The hostility of the Government has a contagious and demoralizing effect upon all classes and sections of the population—judges and bishops, politicians and professors, students and peasants. A judge in a Jassy law court publicly stigmatized the Jews as vagabonds in a case affecting a respectable Jewish merchant of 30 years' standing; and Bishop Nifon of the Lower Danube, in a pastoral screed printed in the Bucharest press, accused them of trying to seduce the common people from their ancestral religion. The peasants who are naturally well disposed toward the Jews, and of whom 74 per cent are illiterate, are impregnated with anti-Semitism by the village teachers, who read to them choice extracts from bigoted newspapers at their evening gatherings. The peasants have frequently protested against the banishment of the Jews from the villages, but the Government is merciless, sparing neither reservists nor even the sick, who can be driven from their homes at 24 hours' notice. Nor does it matter whether the Government is composed of conservatives or liberals, for they are both agreed in this policy of oppression and in defying the treaty to which their country owes its independence. The result of this policy, which aims at reducing the Jews to economic ruin, has been a constant migration to lands of liberty, primarily to England and America. From 1899 to 1907, according to the Moniteur Officiel, some 55,000 refugees left for the United States alone. The high tide in this flow of emigration was reached in 1902, when the American Secretary of State, John Hay, fearing that economic troubles might arise from the sudden influx, addressed a note to the powers signatory to the treaty of Berlin, urging them to make the Roumanian Government comply with its pledge. The British Government seconded the note, but the other powers were restrained by political interests from enforcing the lesson of humanity they had vainly tried to administer a quarter of a century before, and Roumania was thus left unchecked in its career of persecution. The only effect of America's well-meant intervention was that the Roumanian Government stopped issuing passports to Jews so that the complaints about their invading other countries might cease, and hundreds who had already sold up their homes and eagerly looked forward to reaching a peaceful haven

in a few days were doomed to remain in their cruel fatherland. All subsequent attempts to bring moral suasion to bear upon the Government, whether from within or without, have proved equally futile. The most recent occasion has been in connection with the cession of the new Dobrudja by Bulgaria to Roumania as part of the Balkan War settlement, a territorial change that naturally aroused the fear that the free Jewish citizens of Silisbria and Baltshik would be reduced to the bondage of their fellow Jews in the rest of Roumania.

The Roumanian minister in London published an assurance in the Jewish Chronicle that the Jews who came under Roumanian rule would enjoy the same civil and religious equality as before, but the bill for the administration of the new Dobrudja, which has been drafted by the Roumanian Government, offers Bulgaria's former subjects only a modified sort of equality. The new citizens of Roumania will be able to acquire only a limited amount of land, and only in the annexed territory, and they will be deprived of parliamentary representation, which they had enjoyed for more than 30 years under Bulgarian rule, and likewise of local self-government.

The Jews of the new Dobrudja, however, may consider their lot as fortunate in comparison with that of their brethren in the older part of the Kingdom, for these have no prospect whatsoever of the removal of their disabilities. The 15,000 Jewish soldiers who took part in Roumania's bloodless campaign against Bulgaria were promised enfranchisement by ministers of the late Government, but there is no indication that this promise will ever be realized, and hence hundreds of disappointed Jewish reservists, with their families, have left the country in disgust. It had, indeed, been hoped that the provisions of the treaty of Berlin, which insure the equal rights of religious or national minorities, would be reaffirmed in connection with the recognition of the territorial changes consequent upon the Balkan War. But the powers, as announced in the House of Commons, are not agreed upon the question of reaffirmation, even though this was to be applied only to the newly annexed territories; nor could one have expected them to agree, for how can Russia read Roumania a lesson in tolerance?

On June 28, 1917, I addressed a letter to the President, reading as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 28, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As repeatedly stated by you, we have entered the present war because "we are one of the champions of the rights of mankind."

Firm in that belief, I feel that now is the proper time, when the Roumanian mission is about to reach Washington, to respectfully call your attention and earnest consideration to the note sent on August 11, 1902, by Secretary John Hay (copy of which I inclose), showing the continued violation of the Berlin treaty of 1878 by Roumania in its treatment of the Jews.

Prolific has Roumania been in its promises to grant them the rights guaranteed by the Berlin treaty, but barren has indeed been its performances in that respect.

As one of our allies, that country now seeks our aid and in the name of justice and humanity you have the undoubted right to demand that Roumania give to the Jews those equal rights which were supposedly assured to them by the Berlin treaty.

Approximately 300,000 Jews have been deprived of all rights in Roumania, with the exception of the payment of taxes and service in its armies, both of which are obligatory.

You have it within your power to obtain immediate action, and your statement to the mission that you believe that the time has come for Roumania to grant those rights now would, I feel, strike a responsive cord.

May I therefore appeal to you to favorably receive this request and to successfully strike for mankind, now that the opportunity to do so has arrived?

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely, yours,

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HON. WOODROW WILSON,
White House, Washington, D. C.

On June 29, 1917, I received the following answer:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 29, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SIEGEL: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 28, and to say that I have called it to the attention of the President. He is sincerely obliged to you for it.

Sincerely, yours,

J. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
House of Representatives.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 11, 1902.

SIR: In the course of an instruction recently sent to the minister accredited to the Government of Roumania in regard to the basis of a negotiation begun with that Government looking to a convention of naturalization between the United States and Roumania, certain considerations were set forth for the minister's guidance concerning the character of emigration from that country, the causes which constrain it, and the consequences so far as they adversely affect the United States.

It has seemed to the President appropriate that these considerations, relating as they do to obligations entered into by the signatories of the treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878, should be brought to the attention of the governments concerned and commended to their consideration, in the hope that, if they are so fortunate as to meet the approval of the several powers, such measures as to them may seem wise may be taken to persuade the Government of Roumania to reconsider the subject of the grievances in question.

The United States welcomes now, as it has welcomed from the foundation of its Government, the voluntary immigration of all aliens coming hither under conditions fitting them to become merged in the body politic of this land. Our laws provide the means for them to become incorporated indistinguishably in the mass of citizens and prescribe their absolute equality with the native born, guaranteeing to them equal rights at home and equal protection abroad. The conditions are few, looking to their coming as free agents, so circumstanced physically and morally as to supply the healthful and intelligent material of free citizenhood. The pauper, the criminal, the contagiously or incurably diseased are excluded from the benefits of immigration only when they are likely to become a source of danger or a burden upon the community. The voluntary character of their coming is essential; hence we shut out all immigration assisted or constrained by foreign agencies.

The purpose of our generous treatment of the alien immigrant is to benefit us and him alike, not to afford to another State a field upon which to cast its own objectionable elements. The alien, coming hither voluntarily and prepared to take upon himself the preparatory, and, in due course, the definite obligations of citizenship, retains thereafter, in domestic and international relations, the initial character of free agency, in the full enjoyment of which it is incumbent upon his adoptive State to protect him.

The foregoing considerations, whilst pertinent to the examination of the purpose and scope of a naturalization treaty, have a larger aim. It behooves the State to scrutinize most jealously the character of the immigrant from a foreign land, and, if it be obnoxious or objectionable, to examine the causes which render it so. Should those causes originate in the act of another sovereign State to the detriment of its neighbors, it is the prerogative of an injured State to point out the evil and to make remonstrance; for with nations, as with individuals, the social law holds good that the right of each is bounded by the right of the neighbor.

The condition of a large class of the inhabitants of Roumania has for many years been a source of grave concern to the United States. I refer to the Roumanian Jews, numbering some 400,000. Long ago, while the Danubian principalities labored under oppressive conditions, which only war and a general action of the European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth in 1872 the strong remonstrances of the United States.

The treaty of Berlin was hailed as a cure for the wrong, in view of the express provisions of its forty-fourth article, prescribing that "in Roumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be arrayed against any one person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever," and stipulating freedom in the exercise of all forms of worship to Roumanian dependents and foreigners alike, guaranteeing that all foreigners in Roumania shall be treated, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

With a lapse of time these just prescriptions have been rendered nugatory in great part, as regards the native Jew, by the legislation and municipal regulations of Roumania. Starting from the arbitrary and controvertible premise that the native Jews of Roumania, domiciled there for centuries, are "aliens not subject to foreign protection," the ability of the Jew to earn even the scanty means of existence that suffice for a frugal race has been constricted by degrees until nearly every opportunity to win a livelihood is denied and until the helpless poverty of the Jew has constrained an exodus of such proportions as to cause general concern.

The political disabilities of the Jews in Roumania, their exclusion from the public service and the learned professions, the limitations of their civil rights, and the imposition upon them of exceptional taxes, involving, as they do, wrongs repugnant to the moral sense of liberal modern peoples, are not so directly in point for my present purpose as the public acts which attack the inherent right of man as a bread winner in the ways of agriculture and trade. The Jews are prohibited from owning land or even from cultivating it as common laborers. They are debarred from residing in rural districts. Many branches of petty trade and manual production are closed to them in the overcrowded cities, where they are forced to dwell and engage, against fearful odds, in the desperate struggle for existence. Even as ordinary artisans or hired laborers they may only find employment in the proportion of one "unprotected alien" to two "Roumanians" under any one employer.

In short, by the cumulative effect of successive restrictions, the Jews of Roumania have become reduced to a state of wretched misery. Shut out from nearly every avenue of self-support which is open to the poor of other lands, and ground down by poverty, as the natural result of their discriminatory treatment, they are rendered incapable of lifting themselves from the enforced degradation they endure. Even were the fields of education, of civil employment, and of commerce open to them as to "Roumanian citizens" their penury would prevent their rising by individual effort.

Human beings so circumstanced have virtually no alternatives but submissive suffering or flight to some land less unfavorable to them. Removal under such conditions is not, and can not be, the healthy, intelligent emigration of a free and self-reliant being; it must be in most cases the mere transplantation of an artificially produced diseased growth to a new place. Granting that in better and more heathful surroundings the morbid conditions will eventually change for good, such emigration is necessarily for a time a burden to the community upon which the fugitives may be cast. Self-reliance and the knowledge and ability that evolve the power of self-support must be developed and at the same time avenues of employment must be opened in quarters where competition is already keen and opportunities scarce.

The teachings of history and the experience of our own Nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenhood. No class of imigrants is more welcome to our shores when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggle for bread and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will. But when they come as outcasts, made doubly paupers by physical and moral oppression in their native land, and thrown upon the long-suffering generosity of a more favorable community their migration lacks the essential conditions which make alien immigration either acceptable or beneficial. So well is this appreciated on the Continent that, even in the countries where anti-Semitism has no foothold, it is difficult for these fleeing Jews to obtain any lodgment. America is their only goal.

The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands, but its sympathy with them in nowise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effects upon this country and to judge accordingly.

Putting together the fact now painfully brought home to this Government during the past few years that many of the inhabitants of Roumania are being forced, by artificially adverse discriminations, to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them; that they come hither unfitted by the conditions of their exile to take part in the new life

of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community; and that they are not objects of charity from the outset and for a long time—the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Roumanian Government is clearly established in favor of this Government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States.

This Government can not be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and can not become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles contained therein, because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins, and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfilment thereof by its consignatories, for the act of Roumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard.

You will take an early occasion to read this instruction to the minister of foreign affairs, and should he request it, leave with him a copy.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

These facts tell the story regarding the terrible conditions in Roumania, and I sincerely hope that when this world war is over that the peace commissioners will take into consideration that having entered into the war for the freedom of mankind and the freedom of the seas that a treaty will be put into effect which will fully effectuate our intentions and maintain the peace of the world, and at the same time give real religious, civil, and economical liberties to all men everywhere, including Roumania.

A War Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE B. FRANCIS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, October 5, 1917.

Mr. FRANCIS. Mr. Speaker, the special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress is now about to close. We have finally passed the deficiency bill and the much-discussed war-revenue bill. We have virtually done all things requested by the President, irrespective of party, for the security of the Nation. We have created a war machine to cross the seas and strike at the enemy, and have marshaled the resources of the country to sustain it. In six months we have enacted laws which have revolutionized our economic and social life. In this task Republicans and Democrats have worked harmoniously together in a patriotic spirit, and Congress has given to it hours of conscientious study. No fairer and more temperate review of what Congress has done has come to my attention than that contained in an editorial of the New York Evening Post of September 17, 1917, which I insert at length:

A WAR CONGRESS.

If the House realizes its ambition to clear its docket and adjourn by the end of the month, a purpose in which the administration is reported heartily to concur, it will leave behind it a record of achievement for which it will be difficult to find a parallel in any one session of our congressional history. To speak of it as an epoch-making session is commonplace. Just one of its acts, the declaration of war against Germany, would make it that. What the record shows, however, is a mass of legislation, springing out of that momentous first step, which for bulk and comprehensiveness, for the great issues involved and the enormous figures dealt with, for its drastic innovations and its effects on the multifarious phases of the national life, stands without a rival. The historian of the war Congress of 1917 will examine that record in a more dispassionate spirit than those who have watched the grinding of the legislative machinery from day to day in the face of a tremendous emergency. Free from such daily agitations and panics, surer of his perspective, and much more qualified to test the expenditure of energy by results, this future chronicler of congressional activity will render a fairer verdict than one would have thought likely a few weeks ago. We say a few weeks ago, because already there are signs that public opinion is revising its attitude toward what the most impatient ones were used to describe as a "misrepresentative" Congress.

A summary, not altogether complete, of the legislation that will have been enacted in the seven months that will elapse before adjournment of the House bears directly on the charge that Congress paltered and delayed while the Nation's need cried out for action. On April 2 the President read his war message to Congress, and on April 6 the joint resolution had been passed by both Houses. On April 5 the War Department's selective-draft bill was introduced in both Houses; it became law on May 18. Nearly a month before that, on April 24, the first bond bill, embodying the provisions for the first liberty loan, became law. On May 12 the President signed the Army appropriation bill. On May 15 the bill for increasing the naval and marine forces went to the President. By June 13 Congress had passed the war-budget bill. Two days later it passed the espionage bill. Among other measures that have become law or will become law before adjournment are the embargo bill, the priority shipping bill, food legislation, shipping legislation, the new $11,000,000,000 bond bill, the war-revenue bill, and the soldiers' and sailors' insurance bill. It is true that in war time we can not apply the speed standards of normal times. In peace every one of these measures might have furnished sufficient fuel for an entire session. We had a right to expect much greater expedition in time of emergency. Nevertheless, there is a middle point between legislative delay and the rushing through of vital measures without examination and without debate, even in time of war.

The three measures on which Congress spent much more time than an impatient country thought necessary have been the war-revenue bill, the espionage bill, and food legislation. In dealing with revenue Congress will have given something like six months to legislation which in the British House of Commons has been enacted in a little more than half the time. Responsibility for this is not entirely with Congress, however. Partly the delay was due to the preliminary work in the Treasury Department, though there in turn we must take into account the ever-shifting estimates made necessary by the expansion of our war program. We have been legislating for revenue for the first year of a war, while England has had the experience of three years to go by. The long fight over the espionage bill does not count against Congress at all, but against the administration, with its unwise insistence upon a censorship in which Congress had the country behind it. It was the foolish and tedious guerrilla warfare against the President's food conservation measures that counted most heavily in the public mind and will so count in the impartial historian's review. In its attempt to make the food bill an omnibus for all sorts of extraneous measures, and especially in the injection of the prohibition issue, which it was apparent from the first was bound to fail, Congress was guilty of obstruction. To be sure, there is the argument that little harm was done, inasmuch as Mr. Hoover went serenely about his business while Congress pinned riders to the food bill and took them off again. That, however, is a plea in extenuation and not a defense.

It is not necessary to insist that the proceedings of the last six and a half months in Congress have been characterized by the highest wisdom and the deepest conscientiousness in order to refute the counter-impression of a sluggish and unpatriotic Congress, which had to be shamed or prodded toward its duty. The simple fact is that whatever the country has thought necessary for the prosecution of the war it has obtained from Congress. Whatever Mr. Wilson asked for—with the exception of the censor—he got, with some delay, perhaps, but without detriment to the country's mustering for the war. The angry ones who not long ago were accusing Congress of refusing to back up our men now training for the trenches in France may be asked to specify in what respect the country has suffered. We have created an immense Army; we have brought the Navy to a strength in personnel exceeding that of Great Britain at the beginning of the war; we have given all the money demanded for men, guns, ships, aeroplanes, and economic mobilization. It used to be a favorite taunt against the voluble Congressmen that Germany was deriving aid and comfort from their activities. Germany's present state of mind with regard to our war effort supplies a sufficient answer.

This is a record of achievement of which any legislature may be proud, and it is to the everlasting credit of the Republican Party that in the hour of the Nation's peril it rose to the President's support without a thought of party or politics. In common with the Republican membership of the House I have supported the program of the administration. I have both spoken and voted for the bills it requested, with the exception of the bill for the censorship, which I opposed.

While this task was being performed a striking development was taking place in the United States. There was at the opening of the session and before the war a respectable and intelligent body of citizens who favored peace. They were by no means insignificant in number. I do not refer to the noisy, traitorous few who spoke through a seditious press, but to those who loved peace truly, feared war, and thought it possible further to avoid it. In the past six months it has been my observation that these citizens have come wholly around to a firm and cordial support of the President. Many causes have brought this to pass. First and foremost was the fact that they were patriotic Americans, and they were prepared to accept the decision of the country, because they were loyal. Second, they have been finally convinced by the crowding revelations of the criminal deceit of the enemy that it must be defeated, and that its iniquitous international immorality must be stamped out if our conceptions of common truth, honesty, and fair dealing are to prevail. And, finally, the traitors at home who have worked for defeat, dissension, and disaster under the spurious cry of peace have thrown them heart and soul into the camp of the patriots. They have indignantly refused to be associated in any cause with such discreditable neighbors. The Nation stands to-day solidified in patriotic purpose and strength, and woe to those who will not believe it.

With the close of this session the ground is cleared for a further constructive advance. With the coming of the long session two months hence, I believe we shall see a steady progress of effective legislation which will continue till we bring about a successful termination of the war. In this the Republican Party will maintain, I believe, its fullest loyal cooperation, and show itself worthy of the confidence of those who trust it.

War-Revenue Bill—Financing the World's War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORATIO C. CLAYPOOL,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917,

On conference report on the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLAYPOOL. Mr. Speaker, this bill coming to us as it does to-day after having been thoroughly discussed by this House some months ago and then having been analyzed by the Senate day after day for some weeks surely should be recognized as a finished product. Yes; in addition to the effort placed upon it by practically the full membership of the Congress as herein mentioned, expert conferees from the two Houses have been giving it very careful consideration for some days and hand us their unanimous report, and are asking our indorsement of their labors.

In my opinion, every process of change the bill has passed through since its first inception has improved it. And this is no criticism of the bill as it first came from the hands of the Ways and Means Committee, for since then unforeseen changes in the affairs of our Government have made more revenue absolutely necessary, and I want to compliment those formulating the bill in its last stages in looking to the proper sources for the stupendous amount necessary to finance the war for the next few months.

I mean no flattery to Congress when I say this is the best revenue bill passed by any Congress in the last half century. Why do I say this? Simply because it is the only revenue bill passed in all that period that did not in its last analysis make the consumer, who as a class is the poorest able to pay, actually and in fact, pay almost the entire expenses of running this great Government of ours. This bill is, in its present form, and in fact in all the forms it has taken since it first appeared in Congress, an exception to that rule, and those growing rich from the misfortunes of a world war (I say misfortune, for every war is a misfortune) are called upon by this bill to divide their war profits and turn over to the Government a reasonable per cent thereof, amounting to about one billion, for the purpose of defraying war expenses. Can any one complain at this? Certainly not. The war gave them the opportunity to make the money; why not divide it in this way? Besides, who can make payment so easily as those growing rich out of the war? For, mind you, we are only taking a part of the profits. If the great manufacturing companies make no profit we take nothing. So it is impossible for this feature of the bill to distress them.

The next great item of revenue raised by this bill is the income-tax feature. A proper amount for a comfortable living for each individual and family is first exempted, against which there is no assessment. Beyond that there is a gradual increase of rate of taxation. What method of taxation could be more just. Who can so well afford to pay the expenses of this great war, or at least a fair portion thereof, as those with incomes beyond a good living? By this tax on incomes we hope and expect to add to the war revenue almost a billion more.

So, Mr Speaker, it may be readily seen that the greater amount of this war revenue must be paid by the wealthy and those well to do. The laboring class will be asked to pay only a comparatively small per cent. And in this particular this bill differs from every other revenue bill passed by Congress in the last 50 years.

But there is one other feature of the bill which appeals to us in the strongest terms, and one which, in the earlier discussion of this bill bid fair to create a division. Happily that disposition has entirely disappeared. I refer to the notion held at the beginning by some that practically the whole of the war revenue should be raised by bond issue, and I wish to say here and now, if this bill in its present form has any fault it is that it does not presume to collect a large enough proportion of the war expense, and still leaves too much to be raised by issuing bonds. Many of us hoped to raise about one-half of the necessary amount by this bill, but that the requirements have recently grown to such gigantic proportions we can now see the possible danger of embarrassing business and thus interfering with future collections.

The impression I am desirous of making is that we should, as nearly as is practical, pay as we go. I am aware that the amount called for forbids our doing so, but let us approach it as nearly as can be done with safety, and thus pay our own expenses and not pass them on to future generations.

So we are gratified that the present bill and the one passed by Congress some months ago provide jointly for the collection of more than $4,000,000,000, a very large proportion of which will be collected from the wealthy, who are certainly the best able to pay.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is not a pleasure to collect this immense sum off the American people, or any portion of them. I say we are pleased with the amount provided for in the bill because it must be collected either by taxation now, or by issuing bonds to be paid by taxation in the future, and by those who do not owe the debt and had nothing to do with the war, and while we hope future generations may inherit its blessings yet the debt is not theirs.

And when we found ourselves compelled to provide for something like twenty-one billion, we were forced to use both taxation and issue of bonds. And it is easily understood that the greater the amount herein provided for the less will be the necessary amount of bond issue. There is, perhaps, no feature of our present legislation regarding which we differ more than upon the relative amounts to be raised on the one hand by this revenue bill and on the other hand by bond issue. The one presupposes the payment of the expenses of the present war, as nearly as is possible and expedient, by the present generation, while those favoring a less amount under this bill and a consequent greater amount of bonds to run for a great number of years believe in passing the indebtedness on to future generations. As a reason for so desiring to do this they say we are fighting for a principle, and future generations will be the recipients of much good resulting from our efforts in the present world war. But we who believe in paying as we go as nearly as can be practically done, while admitting we are fighting for a principle, and truly hope our children and grandchildren will inherit a truer democracy because of our investment, of our sacrifices of men and money, yet we know from observations of history that every age, every generation, in fact, has its own obligations, which are sufficiently burdensome without assuming those of the generation that preceded it.

Besides, this war is ours, not theirs. We declared it. We are conscripting our young men and asking them no questions as to their willingness to sacrifice life and limb on the European battle fields. We simply pass a statute saying they must go and they obey. Now, since we do not hesitate to conscript these young men and ask them to place upon the altar of their country all they possess on earth, why should we hesitate for a moment to conscript the wealth of this great country of ours, and say to them, as we can say truthfully, but a few months ago many of the wealthy institutions of our land were bombarding Congress with letters and telegrams asking—yes; some of them demanding—that we vote to conscript young men, even of the age of 19 and 20 years, and many of them are still displeased because we refused to include those younger than 21. But, listening to their entreaties, Congress passed the conscript law, and the flower of American young manhood is cheerfully obeying the order to get ready for the long journey to a land from which many of them will never return.

This being true, why should wealth protest against being conscripted, much less should we hesitate to conscript wealth. Why should the magazines and metropolitan newspapers that shouted the loudest for conscripting the boys now send us a message nearly every day declaring if they were forced to pay their own postage it means their death sentence?

But another reason occurs to me why a large portion of the expenses of the present war should be paid as we go: These young men conscripted and on their way are called on to do all the fighting for America. Now, when they return—and we hope they all will return—they will join in the usual business of life and become taxpayers. In all fairness, should these young men who have done the fighting and risked their lives, and who are fortunate enough to return, be asked to pay their portion of the war expenses, besides doing the fighting? The young man who hesitates to start to Europe as a soldier is called a "slacker" by some of these same individuals who now make entreaties against being taxed. Of course, those who shout "slacker" have no intention of going to the war themselves, nor even sending anyone nearer akin than their wife's relations; but that does not prevent their attempting to appear patriotic by urging the other fellow to go, and growing indignant if the young man is not in a hurry about it. Some people's notion of patriotism is appalling when we note the difference as they apply it to the other fellow and then to themselves. They use a very different quality of patriotism when applying to the two different individuals.

But, Mr. Speaker, we still have confidence in the American people. We believe the young men of to-day are as brave and as patriotic as were their fathers of 50 years ago. We believe they will acquit themselves in a manner that will reflect new military glory on us as a Nation. And, while we believe this to be true of our young men, many of whom have already answered the call and are now busy training for the final struggle, and who are so cheerfully making the greatest sacrifice possible to be offered by the human race, let us still have confidence in those who for well-defined reasons can not go to the trenches, and who must therefore renew their energies in an endeavor to give a proper account of their labors in supporting their more fortunate brothers who have passed muster and are on their way to fight the battles of our country.

Mr. Speaker, all classes of men have a duty to perform in winning this war. Pardon me, but I must insist that the first duty is up to the soldier boy who must fill the ranks. But these boys must be fed and clothed. The farmer has a task worthy the best men of a great Nation. And we have confidence he will faithfully perform the duty assigned to him. The coal miner must keep the machines running, that the soldier may be clothed, fed, and armed. Up to date he has never failed to perform his part. The great corporations and capitalists are being called on by this bill with their money to finance the war. Let them be as faithful as the young men and the laborers of this country, and every doubt of our winning will at once disappear.

An International Confederation of the Democracies.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, October 5, 1917.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend remarks in the RECORD I want to submit the following comments, reviews, and opinions on the proposal for an international confederation of democracies under a constitution, by David Lubin, delegate of the United States to the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy:

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF THE DEMOCRACIES UNDER A CONSTITUTION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This document contains an outline of a plan for an "international confederation of the democracies under a constitution." It is prefaced by some comments, reviews, and opinions on the same, received in response to a few requests.

It is issued in the belief that the basis for the reconstruction which must obviously follow the conclusion of the war is a problem which should be studied and discussed widely at the present time, so that public opinion may crystallize on the subject and be prepared to deal with it intelligently when the time for action comes.

It may be that as a result of this publication further comments and opinions may come to hand, in which case they may be published, perhaps with some further observations to which the comments may give rise. The communications should be addressed to David Lubin, International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy.

THE COMMENTS, REVIEWS, AND OPINIONS.

(From His Excellency Paolo Boselli, prime minister of Italy.)

ROME, *April 30, 1917.*

I have read your paper published in the Nuova Antologia of 1st instant, and I admired the noble aims which you propose and the civilized and humanitarian inspiration which has suggested to you this proposal for a confederation of the democracies.

In Italy, which is the home of civil and of international law, and which is essentially a democratic country, the ideas which you set forth will certainly awaken an echo of sympathy, and I, for my part, express the wish for the realization of all things that may tend to raise humanity through the pacific collaboration of the nations.

—

[From His Excellency Wang-Kouang-Ky, minister of China to Italy.]

ROME, *April 10, 1917.*

I have received, through Mr. Wang-Tseng-Sze, delegate of our country to the International Institute of Agriculture, your article on the foundation of an international confederation of democracies, and after reading it I have noted with very great satisfaction that your idea coincides exactly with the conception of the "Great Community of Humanity" of our Confucius (551–479 B. C.).

Your appreciation of the fact that China has always been a democracy in the making especially deserves my admiration. It is a fact that, in spite of its thousand-year-old monarchy, China has always been a democratic country. The Emperor Jiao (2357 B. C.) had a son, Tangtsou, but he transmitted his throne to the citizen Soeung (2255 B. C.) because the nation had more confidence in him than in the Emperor's son. For the same reason the Emperor Soeung transmitted the throne to the citizen Yu (2205 B. C.) rather than to his own son. It was only because Tchi (2197 B. C.), son of the Emperor Yu, enjoyed the entire confidence of the people that he was able to succeed his father on the throne.

Thus the principles regulating the imperial succession allow us to judge of the manner in which the country was administered at that period, and everything proves the development of democratic ideas in ancient China.

It is true that, according to the ancient maxim, "sovereign power emanates from heaven," and therefore princes were required to venerate the Divinity and to obey it. Now, in a proclamation addressed by the Emperor Tan (1783 B. C.) to his people it is said that the sight and hearing of the Divinity are those of the people; that is to say, that apart from the will of the people there is no divine will. The Divinity is therefore considered as the heavenly representative of the people. All this is written in the great classic works, demonstrating in a clear and simple fashion the development of democratic ideas in China. Other instances of this are too numerous for me to mention.

It is precisely because these ideas have taken such deep root in the spirit of the Chinese people that the revolution of Wou-Tchang (1911) rapidly led to the abdication of the Manchu dynasty, while the formation of a monarchical party (1915) led to the last revolution (1916) reestablishing and consolidating the Republic.

You have not been in China, my dear Mr. Lubin, but you judge it so well that I am truly enchanted. I have forwarded your paper to Peking to many eminent personages, and I await their replies, reserving to myself the pleasure of communicating them to you as soon as they come to hand.

As to the means of realizing your proposal, I shall be happy to do all in my power to help you to attain the noble aim you have in view.

—

[From His Excellency Baron de Giers, ambassador of Russia to Italy.]

ROME, *10/23 April, 1917.*

I have read with great interest and profound attention the paper which you kindly handed to me and which contains in outline a proposal for an international confederation having for its purpose to insure permanent peace under the régime of a constitution; and after reading the paper I forwarded it to the minister of foreign affairs at Petrograd, accompanied by a letter of recommendation.

As you have expressed the wish to know my opinion on the subject you treat of I must tell you that in my opinion no one can deny the utility of establishing a state of affairs which would exclude in the future the possibility of armed conflicts between the nations. The horrors of the present war and the calamities which it has unchained throughout the world are such that if prior to 1914 only a few choice spirits dreamt of an ideal of universal peace, at present the crushing majority of the civilized world desires but one thing—to avoid in future the possibility of such carnage.

It is evident that it is not at the present moment that arrangements aiming at establishing permanent peace can be made. It was the central empires who wished for this war in order to attain their selfish ends; the entente powers have gathered together their forces and are now beginning to deal the decisive blows which will insure victory in the near future. The sole aim that they can pursue at this time is that of attaining this victory at all costs and in the shortest time possible. When they shall have placed their aggressors in a position in which they can no longer harm, the time will be here to proceed to the establishment of a condition of things apt to render impossible the return of unjustifiable aggressions.

Please accept, my dear Mr. Lubin, the assurance of my sincere sympathy with the noble ideal of which you are the eloquent apostle.

—

[From His Excellency Thomas Nelson Page, American ambassador to Italy.]

ROME, *April 27, 1917.*

I read with great interest the encomiums on your thoughtful essay on an "International Confederation of the Democracies under a Constitution," especially the paper by the Chinese minister, whose historic references make us young countries all feel our swaddling clothes.

As I told you, the principles which you have set forth as the basis of your plan appeal to me greatly. You have a great and—as I venture to unite with you in thinking—a fundamental idea in your views of assembling the forces of democracy among all the peoples. I look to the coordination of these forces and their organization in one direction to accomplish what you have in mind.

I am unable to judge so well as to the methods by which you propose to put these principles into effective operation. When details begin, begin also divisions. Your high intention, however, is so apparent that I feel sure that your plan will give rise to earnest discussion, and out of this will doubtless come good.

—

[From His Excellency Sir Rennell Rodd, British ambassador to Italy.]

ROME, *April 30, 1917.*

I have to thank you for sending me your exposition, in the Socratic method, of a scheme for an international confederation of democracies. It is the elaboration of an idea which I believe is gradually, if vaguely, forming itself in men's minds to-day, and you have carried it further by submitting a scheme for a constitution of federated democracies.

The more such a proposal can be ventilated and discussed the better. The reception generally accorded to President Wilson's views as to ultimate safeguards of future peace indicates that if a practical scheme of application can be found it will meet with general favor.

One of the difficulties which seems to present itself is that any scheme for international confederation seems to connate a certain sacrifice of national individuality and individual interest, and that in spite of the development of communications, of commercial intercourse, and of more intimate knowledge of each other among the peoples of the world a tendency has been observable in recent years to emphasize rather than to weaken the spirit of nationality. A reluctance may therefore be anticipated on the part of some national units to renounce any avenue of individual development. The democratic spirit seems, however, to be the one common ground upon which nations may meet, and it has certainly hitherto tended to international sympathies and diminished international antagonisms.

It seems possible that if the broad lines of common action to prevent aggression, patent or latent, could be laid down and accepted, many further beneficent developments might follow by a gradual process of evolution and the recognition of the advantageous results of such common action.

In any case, the ideal which you have in view is worthy of all men's sympathy and serious study.

[From His Excellency Señor Eusebio Leao, minister of Portugal to Italy.]

ROME, *April 30, 1917.*

I have read your paper "An International Confederation," aiming at securing permanent peace under the régime of a constitution.

I think the principle underlying your proposal very worthy of being taken into consideration. It is fully in harmony with the ideas of nationality, of justice, of humanity, which, according to the declarations made by so many eminent statesmen, including your President, are the aim of those who in this terrible war are struggling against the abuse of force.

I do not wish to take up the time required for all the lengthy considerations which your proposal deserves, but I wish all the same to assure you that it has my entire sympathy and that I shall bring it to the attention of my Government.

—

[From His Excellency Luigi Luzzatti, minister of state, former premier of Italy.]

ROME, *April 30, 1917.*

You ask for my thought on the serious problem raised in your paper "An International Confederation of the Democracies under a Constitution."

The splendid ideals which from Leibnitz to Bernardin de Saint Pierre, from Rousseau to Kant seemed in past centuries to be Utopias, and in general the programs of universal peace and of the union of all peoples which have always until now preceded great wars, begin to-day, through this catastrophe of universal conflicts which is desolating the world, to appear possible of realization.

When, in harmony with the great program formulated for civilization and history by the President of the United States, all oppressed peoples shall be liberated, when aggressive military autocracies shall once for all be deprived of the power to make the right of might prevail against the might of right, then mankind, ameliorated and purified by suffering, and taught by the atrocities of the present war, will as a result of the spirit of good arising out of evil, and in its own best interests, turn its thoughts to the need of union.

The method of treaties for peace and of international understandings has proven itself ineffectual. It is necessary that for recognized essentials there be a world parliament and a world government.

The nations allied in the great cause of civilization are already striving toward this end. The first attempts have been made by their parliaments at electing representatives to come to mutual understandings of fundamental matters. Delegates of the French and British Parliaments (both of the lower and the upper house) have already met, and recently the delegates of the French and Italian Parliaments gathered in Rome. Now the representatives of the three great nations, France, England, and Italy, are about to meet in Paris, and these gatherings are already known as the "Interallied Parliament." The Russian Duma has promised its adherence, and undoubtedly in the near future, at a great meeting to be held in Paris or London or Rome, a deputation of the House and Senate of the United States will also be invited to attend.

Thus gradually, after the conclusion of a victorious peace, the States which have fought for the liberation of oppressed nationalities will agree to prepare the constitutional statute for mankind, freed from all forms of political and religious despotism.

While the autonomy and sovereignty of the several States will be respected they will spontaneously delegate to a common parliament and to a common executive those supreme questions which affect the peace and happiness of the whole human family.

Thus will be realized the dream of Joseph Mazzini, the great prophet of oppressed peoples. His austere soul from the heaven where it dwells will rejoice at the realization of his great conception.

You who have laid the foundations for the international parliament of agriculture are worthy to agitate this great problem of an international political constitution.

—

[From His Excellency Lucas Ayarragaray, minister of Argentina to Italy.]

ROME, *May 1, 1917.*

I have read with interest the basis which you lay down in your proposal for the organization of an "international confederation" for the maintenance of permanent peace between the nations under the régime of a world constitution.

As you wish to know my opinion on the same, I will set forth my personal views. Placing myself on this footing, I take pleasure in discussing with you, in whom I recognize a man of tenacious opinions and altruistic mind, as befits an apostle of a humanitarian doctrine, with certain ideological views, of which with indomitable will you have made yourself the exponent before representative personages in Europe and in America.

Perhaps, amidst the terrible misfortunes and piratical depredations, unchained by this the greatest war in history, you may at first sight seem rash when you come forward with a proposal for insuring permanent peace and when you suggest that there be organized for this purpose in an international confederation and under the ægis of a permanent constitution those legal arbitraments which would make it possible in future to solve without an appeal to arms the clash of interests and opinions which may arise between nations. But, then, is your proposal really in fundamental discord with the natural disposition of man, and more especially with prevailing conditions? Will not antagonisms and concrete grounds of dissent continue to exist between the nations which in the present state of civilization can find no other solution than that of war?

It seems to me that never before have aspirations and tendencies germinated so vigorously in all countries and all social spheres of this old continent as those which are now impelling the peoples as a whole to devise modes of procedure, forms of organization, and juridical and social instruments which will make it possible for mankind at the close of the present titanic struggle to suppress, or at least to lessen, the danger of the tragic repetition of armed conflicts.

A similar desire, under similar circumstances, has in times past found expression in the classic ideologies which in all ages have inspired doctrinaire minds. Now, however, an essential difference may be noted. The present desire for an enduring peace is not only felt by schools of jurists, politicians, and reformers; the significant fact is that it is now stirring to their depths the European masses, resolutely determined to kill war once and for all.

From this point of view it may be said that you, Mr. Lubin, are condensing into primary form the aspirations and general tendency of the peoples of this continent.

This war is the final bankruptcy of war. The utilitarians of violence, the promoters of brutality in international relations, those who believe that the decline of one nation and the rise of another can not work itself out through peaceful competition, but that recourse must be had to terror and violence raised to their extreme limits, now contemplate the downfall of their policy, and to-day they stand arraigned before the bar of humanity and of history.

Let us even suppose that in the worst hypothesis the scales were to turn in their favor. What then? However great might be the indemnities (always problematic) which they might extort from their impoverished victims; however important the favors and privileges which they might exact from ruined countries; however harsh the terms of peace and the treaties of commerce; however extensive we may imagine the annexations of territory in zones already devastated by shell fire, by conflagrations, by trenches, and by systematic destruction; even then, if we add up all these assets and multiply them over and over again, they will never be able to compensate the victors for the monstrous sacrifices they would have made; for the ruins, the deaths of combatants and civilians, the fabulous costs of war, the economic, artistic, and moral values irreparably lost. In short, no conquest can compensate the victor for his losses.

In spite of the tragic downfall of the attempts at international harmony embodied in The Hague Convention, in spite of the outrages on treaty faith and on international law, which, as familiar ideas, were thought to have become part of the political civilization of the nations, I am convinced that at the close of this war not only a European but a world conscience will have developed. This will give practical effect to proposals such as yours, tending to consolidate the interests and aims, not of all nations—that would be chimerical in the present stage of world development—but of a considerable group of nations who by affinity of race, of political institutions, of historical antecedents, and as a result of homogeneity of interests and feelings, will be able to form a defensive league which will ward off the danger of unjustifiable aggressions by selfish powers inclined to disturb the peace of the world.

This is the first time in history that a war begun between groups of belligerents bound by their respective alliances has transformed itself by the expansive force of spontaneous logic, first, into a continental war and then into a world war. As a result we seem to be witnessing to-day a general conjunction of grievances which are causing the nations one after another to arm, and as a result of which they organize and form into groups, including even those peoples who seemed farthest removed by race and tradition from western civilization. For my part, I rejoice to see that groups are already forming around the general principles of right, moved thereto by interests which, to their own surprise, turn out to be common to all.

All this clearly offers evidence of the virtual realization of a future confederation of the nations, which is precisely what your proposal aims at.

So notable a phenomenon, new in the annals of history, compels thought. It makes me conceive the hope that as it was possible to secure a semiworld agreement for the organization of war, it may be possible to secure a semiworld agreement for the organization of peace.

All great steps in human progress and the most fundamental transformations known to history have been conceived and brought forth amidst struggle and sorrow. The present times are characterized by the conditions tragically essential to such periods of fertility and creative energy. The whole world as we know it may, like a new Atlantis, sink before our eyes beneath the angry flood of revolution, whence a new world may emerge, with more of harmony and less of conflict.

I am not affected by the pessimism of the moment, for I am convinced that humanity will come forth renewed from the trial by sword and fire to which it is being subjected, and that the last survivals of feudalism and autocracy, which have persisted down to our day, like anomalous survivals of a past geologic age, even in certain civilized sections of the globe, are destined to disappear. The Middle Ages did not close with the fall of Constantinople; they still drag on; but I hope that this year or next, on the conclusion of the struggle, these anachronous systems of government and of diplomacy will, in their turn be replaced by the new conceptions and forms which are already being forged on the anvil of war.

For, in my opinion, this war is not only killing off officers and men; it is also killing obsolete and decadent ideas, institutions, and modes of home and foreign policy. It would seem as if all the nations, and within the nations all social classes, are being led by a community of grief and sacrifice to seek in solidarity the basis for an enduring peace.

I consider that in future, and as a result of the community of interests which the present conflict has revealed, any war between great civilized powers would always tend to become a semiworld struggle. Consequently, before the nations would engage in the fight they would anxiously seek to justify before the conscience of humanity the grave causes and unavoidable grounds for their action, in an effort to secure the moral support and explicit sanction of that tribunal.

Before the close of 1914—that is to say, only a few months after the outbreak of war—I expressed in a paper published in Buenos Aires the opinion that the political, economic, commercial, financial, and moral solidarity of the world would not allow of any nation remaining neutral in the conflict in which Europe was then engaging, for the disturbances of all kinds to which that struggle would give rise could not be limited exclusively to the then belligerents. This forecast has been more than justified by events. I insist upon this point because I believe that the economic and moral interests of the world are so complex that in future war will cease to be the exclusive and individual act of one nation.

With the Russian revolution and with the entry of the United States into the war side by side with the European Continent, a new force, the force of a new idea has come to invigorate and transform the nature of the conflict; it has become the conflict of democracy and of the liberal spirit against a spirit hostile thereto.

If the observations which I submit are well grounded, then I must conclude that present circumstances, and more especially those of the near future, will be exceptionally favorable for initiating the realization of the proposals and ideas which you set forth with so much fervor.

Democracies are lacking in the patience, the restraint, the perseverance, the personal unity, and the unity of action which are the natural characteristics of an absolute monarchy, and which enable it to prepare over a period of 10, 20, or 50 years, and in the silence of dynastic councils, sheltered by the majesty of its power, an aggression and a war. Democracies are essentially pacific.

And now the question arises, Will your hopes be realized? Will the pacific aspirations of to-day assume concrete shape to-morrow, or will

they dissipate like generous dreams into the spheres where poets weave their fancies and chimeras open their wings to the sun? It is 2,000 years since Virgil prophesized a future without war and a world in which mankind would live under the protection of concord and justice. Scarifying war, he spoke of the "Horrida insana bella; lacrimabile bellum." From that remote date to our own day violence and oppression, aggression and brute force have been the normal conditions prevailing between the nations, and concord and peace have been but an unstable equilibrium, a passing episode in human history.

Will the progress of ideas, refinement of feeling, a right understanding of real interests, and, perhaps, a new conception of happiness and of the destiny of man, modify in the future the old wolfish instincts?

We must not rely on the efficacy of a sentimental propaganda; the gospel of love has failed; we must replace it by the gospel of self-interest and by the conviction of the utilitarian value of peace. The day when cruel experience will have taught peoples and governments that peace is more profitable than war, and also that it is more advantageous to trade with and preserve the life of a competitor and a customer than to oppress or destroy him, on that day we shall have realized the dream of an enduring peace. But the more reasonable ideas are, the slower their progress, and it may be that we are yet far removed from the realization of this ideal.

I believe that slavery survived, spite of all the condemnations pronounced against it by divine Christian morality, until the slave owner and his like appreciated the fact that free labor is more productive and implies a higher economic return than slave labor. But how many thousands of years had to pass before this conviction was assimilated by the human mind! The proof of this is given by the fact that slavery endured down to our own day, and that until our own time the slave was considered to be, as in the age of Tacitus, "Vile sanguinis," and it was admitted, as laid down by Cato in his maxims for farm management, that it was advisable to sell an infirm ox and an aged slave.

[From His Excellency A. Oldenburg, minister of Denmark to Italy.]

ROME, *April 28, 1917.*

I have taken pleasure in forwarding without delay to the Danish Government your paper on an international confederation, drawing its special attention to the importance of the subject.

For my part I wish to add that I have read with the greatest interest your proposal which, I sincerely believe, will promote the cooperation of the democratic forces of the world for the purpose of insuring an enduring peace.

The proposal seems to me an expansion of the ideas on which the International Institute of Agriculture is based, and the success which has so far attended the labors of that institute gives reason to hope that the paper will be carefully examined by the several governments.

[From Hon. Oscar S. Straus, former United States Secretary of Commerce and Labor.]

NEW YORK, *April 13, 1917.*

I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 15th of March, inclosing copy of your proposal "An International Confederation of the Democracies under a Constitution." I have read your admirable presentation of the main issues of the present war—the maintenance of free government as distinguished from autocracy. I agree with you, of far more importance than commerce or territory is the safeguarding of democracy in the Old World no less than in the New. Now that Russia has thrown off her shackles and established a Government of and for the people, and now that our country has thrown in her fortunes with the allies, there is every hope not only for victory but for the union of the democratic nations into a league to safeguard the future for ourselves and for our posterity.

Mr. M. Raynaud (member of the French House of Deputies): "The proposal is not only inspired by the generous ideals dear to democracies, but with the method of a utilitarianism admirably grasped and vividly set forth in the form of a dialogue, it lays down the essential planks of an international constitution destined to bring about the future reign of peace. The practical character of this initiative withdraws the conception of an enduring world peace from the domain of the vague and the academic, and I am convinced that when the time comes my country will rally to it with all its heart."

Mr. H. G. Wells (author, England): "I agree warmly with the spirit underlying the dialogue. * * * The point you make (a constitution instead of a treaty) is admirable."

Senator Vermorel (France): "I am very grateful to Mr. Dop for suggesting that you should send me this proposal, which is most interesting. I hope that the establishment of an international confederation will mark the end of the war and will prevent all future conflagrations. The plan which you suggest seems to me adequate for the ends in view. I especially appreciate your proposal for customs duty reprisals on transgressors."

Mrs. Channing-Stetson (author, America): "Since August, 1914, it has seemed plain to many of us that there was no visible hope anywhere except in a confederation of the liberal nations which could keep the peace of the world. * * * What you have outlined is what a number of us in America have been saying, in a less detailed way, ever since the great war broke out."

Mr. Joseph Reinach (member of the French House of Deputies): "I adhere with all my heart to your proposal for a confederation of free democracies."

Marchese Giuseppe Roi (member of the Italian House of Deputies): "I have read with keen interest the dialogue you sent me. I trust that the proposal will influence the future peace conference toward the great moral international progress which so many of us have at heart."

Prof. Italo Giglioli (Pisa University, Italy): "I quite agree with the chief points and proposals of your paper. Disarmament without previous federation would be madness on the part of each single nation. * * * It is not disarmament that must be dealt with in a direct manner. It is the mind of governments that must be changed. * * * What is most original in your plan is the 'normal average armament,' with the very ingenious and simple tariff-check system to prevent the abnormal growth of armament in any single nation, whether within or without the confederation. * * * I hope your paper will be soon printed and widely spread in all languages and in all countries. Now is the right moment for sowing your good seed."

Sir Charles Macara (England): "There is a great deal in the paper with which I am in accord. * * * What has been accomplished in federating the countries of the world with a view to dealing with the great problems of the supply of food and clothing, convinces me that * * * much may be accomplished in the direction you indicate when once the war is ended. * * * Your views regarding an alliance of the nations of the world, so that their energies may be devoted to the development, and not the destruction, of the resources of the world, have my entire sympathy."

Commissioner Dragoni (secretary general, International Institute of Agriculture, Rome): "Your proposal would, in substance, tend to solve the gravest problem which confronts us in securing the future peace of the world; it would provide the means of insuring that this peace be permanent with nothing to fear from the capricious action of some nation which might wish to provoke, perhaps at no distant date, another war even more terrible than the present one."

M. Compère-Morel (member of the French House of Deputies): "No man worthy of the name can fail to do all in his power within his own environment to attain this purpose, the realization of which will save future generations from the horrors of war and will prepare a better humanity in which each individual will find the maximum of moral and material satisfaction in the general welfare."

Miss Rose E. Cleveland (America): "I hope your paper will provoke thorough discussion. You lay down the fundamental principles on which the great peace should be conceived. * * * You have set up broad lines which are spacious enough to include details and provide for exigencies."

Lord Bryce (England): "Thank you for your interesting article, which you have thrown ingeniously into the form of a dialogue. The several points of view are well put and the argument logically presented. I agree with 'Smith' as to the evil and with 'White' as to the most hopeful lines along which to find a remedy."

Prof. Achille Loria (Turin University, Italy): "I need hardly say that I sympathize entirely with your conclusions and your wishes. * * * I think that the confederation you propose should be strengthened by the deposit of real and inviolable guaranties, and that its action should be limited to the prevention of war."

Mr. Israel Zangwill (author, England): "I have read your proposal with much interest. I think you go to the root of the matter in accentuating the impossibility and incongruity of alliances between autocracies and democracies. We must build the new world from the spirit outward."

Senator Lucien Cornet (France): "The present war is preparing a new era. It will not only bring about the triumph of right over tyranny, but also that of democracy over autocracy. The democracies will then be ready to come together to form the United States of the World * * * and lay down the principle of permanent peace between the nations. * * * The blood of our heroes has not been shed in vain, for it will thus serve to conquer despotism and to kill war."

Hon. Prof. Ettore Ciccotti (member of the Italian House of Deputies): "The proposal is well thought out, even in the details. * * * The need especially for the smaller States to confederate for mutual support and to prevent future aggressions is greater than all the difficulties which beset the path. * * * My opinion is largely one of consent to and sympathy with the proposal."

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF THE DEMOCRACIES UNDER A CONSTITUTION.

Some nine years ago I attended an international peace conference held in London. At one of the sessions I was introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Edward Mead, prominent peace advocates of Boston. It was in the early days of the International Institute of Agriculture, and I wished them to see in the institute and in the idea it stood for the nucleus of an international economic parliament, the germ whence a future world peace confederation might arise.

During the intervals of the session we talked over these matters, and in the evening we met again. My friends suggested that I should accompany them on a visit to the noted pacifist, Mr. William Stead, to which I gladly assented. This led to an exchange of views on the means likely to insure an enduring world peace.

I will now endeavor to set forth the substance of this and of similar conversations and correspondence which I have had from time to time, and I will do so in the form of a dialogue. I believe this form will best lend itself to the presentation I wish to make. With this explanation as a preliminary, I will begin my paper by introducing the speakers: Smith, an advocate of disarmament; Jones, an opponent; and White, a critic.

THE DIALOGUE.

JONES. Am I to understand, Mr. Smith, that you believed disarmament would bring about permanent peace?

SMITH. Yes; disarmament and the peace tribunal.

JONES. How would you have brought this disarmament about? What would have been the mode of procedure?

SMITH. It was largely a matter of education. We peace advocates of the United States, for instance, had a strong propaganda under way for the disarmament of the United States to begin with. Peace advocates were doing the same kind of work in other countries, and so, in course of time, there would have been a sufficient number of nations won over to form a preponderating world force in favor of an international treaty for world disarmament.

JONES. Primarily, though, you started by an endeavor to disarm this country. Could you get that done?

SMITH. We were very hopeful. In fact, up to the beginning of the present European war we had made considerable headway in that direction.

JONES. Yes; I know you had. But is it not possible that in proportion as this propaganda was making greater headway here than in other countries you were, to that extent, weakening the United States and strengthening those other countries?

SMITH. There could be but one answer to that question, an affirmative, had it not been so patent that the rest of the world was as anxiously seeking peace as was the United States, for witness the eagerness of the nations to hurry their adherence to The Hague Peace Tribunal.

JONES. Yes; the adherence was prompt enough. But that answers nothing, for right upon the heels of this adherence were they not arming and drilling on a greater scale than ever before in the history of the world? Does it not therefore follow that this disarmament propaganda was impracticable, in fact mischievous?

SMITH. What plan would you, then, propose?

JONES. I have no plan; I do not think that any scheme for permanent international peace is practicable.

A CONFEDERATION OF THE DEMOCRACIES.

WHITE. I am inclined to believe that such a conclusion is too dogmatic. We see that there is progressive development in human affairs,

so why should there not be progress on the lines of international peace relations?

JONES. Am I to understand, then, that you favor the disarmament program of Mr. Smith?

WHITE. By no means; I believe with you that the disarmament program is impracticable and mischievous. It seems to me that its main defect consists in mistaking an effect for a cause. It takes armament to be a cause instead of taking it as an effect. I think that the first practical step should be the formation by the democracies of the world of an international confederation, a confederation for the maintenance of permanent international peace.

SMITH. This seems to me like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Would it not be more practicable to attain the end in view by disarmament rather than by attempting the formation of an international confederation?

WHITE. Well, let us see; at first glance it would seem that armaments are the cause of war and that disarmament, by removing the cause, would result in peace. But is this the case? Is not armament an effect rather than a cause, an effect of a state of mind? But what mind, whose mind? Clearly the mind of governments; for have not governments minds? Do not these minds run through the whole gamut of political qualities? Do not the forms of government vary from a pure democracy, when the mind of the government is formed and directed by the collective will of the people, down to the extremes of autocracy when its mind is the will of the individual at the head of the State?

In a democracy the government is formed and directed by the people; in an autocracy the autocrat claims to be sovereign. And what is an autocratic sovereign? The dictionary tells us that a sovereign is one who exercises supreme authority, absolute control. He is the supreme power in the State; the original, absolute, and universal power by which all persons and things in a State are controlled and determined. He exercises supreme jurisdiction and power; he claims to be subject to none.

THE STAND OF AUTOCRACY.

JONES. Subject to none? Do you mean to say that there are no qualifications; that he exercises supreme authority, absolute control; that he is subject to no one? Are these not the qualities which we attribute to God?

WHITE. Yes; and more; for while God is all powerful for good, this autocratic sovereign is, besides, all powerful for evil. This assumption of omnipotence is graphically imaged in the Bible when it ironically places in the mouth of such a sovereign the words: "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High." Now, what concerted effort for disarmament can there be between powers of this kind and democracies? Are they not essentially incongruous and incompatible? Can such fundamentally incongruous forces be lastingly welded under treaties for disarmament?

SMITH. Why not, pray?

WHITE. Well, let us see; let us first take up the stand of autocracy. Here are a few quotations from well-known authors which I have noted down. Apply them to past and present-day experiences, then judge whether there be ground for my statement.

The first is from Hegel: "Not only must the State be obeyed, it must be venerated as a god." "Success insured by might is the measure of right."

Treitschke says: "Weak nations have no right to existence, and must be absorbed by powerful nations." "The essence of a State is power. Nothing exists or can exist which is superior to the State."

Again, Adolphus Lassen declares: "The State can do no wrong." "The observance of treaties is not a matter of duty but of advantage."

And Von Bernhardi says: "'Love God above all things, and thy neighbor as thyself.' This law can claim no significance for the relations of one country to another." "There never have been and never will be, universal rights of men."

Houston Chamberlain says: "Militarism is the indispensable instrument of German culture; it builds its brightest hopes of supremacy on the extermination of others."

And Nietsche says: "Morality is a symptom of decadence." "War is as necessary to the State as slavery is to society." "Might is the source of right." "There is no right other than that of theft, usurpation, and violence."

How radically different the words of Scripture:

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed."

"Thus saith the Lord. Keep ye judgment and do justice."

"And the word of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever."

THE STAND OF DEMOCRACY.

Now let us take up the stand of democracy. The President aptly sets forth this stand in his speech of January 23 to the Senate, when he says:

"Inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples."

"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guaranties exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak."

"Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We thus see that conciliatory efforts for permanent peace through disarmament between such incongruous and incompatible factors as democracies and autocracies must not alone be futile but highly dangerous to democracies. It seems that a clearly marked dividing line must be drawn between these two factors, between democracies on the one hand and autocracies on the other. The day for measuring strength, the day for lining up forces has come, and the first practical step toward permanent international peace will be taken whenever the democracies shall make a united effort toward that end.

JONES. What you have just said, Mr. White, reminds me of the following Scripture text:

"And before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats."

"And He shall set the sheep on the right hand, but the goats on the left."

WHITE. Yes, that is it; the democracies on the one hand and the autocracies on the other.

SMITH. But what should be the mode of procedure? Have you a plan?

WHITE. No; at present nothing more definite than what has been brought out by our discussion, a confederation of the democracies. I would, however, suggest that we continue, and see whether the logic of the case does not point to such a confederation as the most practical means of securing and maintaining permanent international peace.

SMITH. I believe we should all be pleased to have you proceed.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

WHITE. As I see it now, I would say that the first thing to be done will be to issue, at the close of the present war, a call for an international convention of the democracies for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for an international confederation. This constitution should be on simple and elemental lines, with limited powers, all for the purpose of maintaining permanent international peace. When the constitution thus drawn up shall have been ratified by the nations concerned, delegates would be designated who would proceed to the place of meeting to begin their labors as an international body.

JONES. What would be the powers and functions of the delegates?

WHITE. Their powers would be specified and limited by the constitution. Their functions could be of threefold character: legislative, executive, and judicial.

SMITH. Why an international constitution? Do you not mean a treaty?

WHITE. No. I do not mean a treaty; I mean a constitution; for a constitution would provide for a permanent international body for international action. Moreover, a constitution voted on by the people and ratified by the government of an adhering nation would be more binding than a treaty.

JONES. Are we to understand that this international confederation would stand for disarmament?

WHITE. No; not for disarmament. On the contrary, there would be a normal average armament which the adhering nations would be required to keep up and, under certain conditions, this normal would be increased.

JONES. What would this increase be for? Would it be for purposes of defense against members of the confederation?

WHITE. As a rule, no. The increase would be for protection against militantly aggressive nations outside of the confederation.

JONES. But supposing the nations outside the confederation were much more powerful than the confederated?

WHITE. In that event it would indicate that the time had not yet come for the proposed confederation.

THE BURDENS AND BENEFITS.

JONES. Supposing we grant that a sufficient number of nations are ready to adhere; among them, on the one hand, Great Britain with her navy, and the United States with its military resources and financial strength, and on the other hand countries less efficient from a military standpoint, countries such as the South American Republics and China. Would not the burdens and the benefits of such a confederation be unequally distributed?

WHITE. As just stated by you; yes. But the case need not stand thus. Each of the adhering nations could contribute a just and adequate quota to the total military strength of the confederation, partly in money, partly in territorial strategic advantages, partly in man power, and partly in actual and potential military and industrial resources. In this manner there could be a systematic, adequate, and just contribution by all the nations concerned.

Let us take China, for instance. Of late years we have heard much talk of the "yellow peril"; seemingly a formidable cry, but one which deserves qualification. From remote times China has selected the units forming her governing body on qualifications of learning. This has rendered China by temper and inclination one of the world's great apostles of peace. In fact, China has always been, as it were, a democracy in the making. But the fact should not be overlooked that China possesses the elements that go to make military strength of a high order, potential strength which is now dormant, but which could be awakened and brought into play. She is strong in man power, perhaps stronger than any other nation. This man power alone should be sufficient contribution by China for her share of the military strength of the confederation.

JONES. I am inclined to agree with what has just been said; indeed, it occurs to me that an additional consideration may be added. The present war has made plain that military unpreparedness is a costly luxury, doubling, trebling, and quadrupling what the cost of scientific preparedness would be during times of peace. The proposed confederation, as I understand it, is intended to provide a continuous, systematic, scientific, and efficient mode of adequate military preparation. Such preparation would entail very much less expenditure in money and effort on the part of each of the units of the confederation than heretofore, and yet would be much more effective for the purposes of any combat which might arise than would be possible otherwise.

AUTOCRACIES COMPELLED TO TOE THE MARK.

SMITH. Would there be any disadvantage in not being a member?

WHITE. Yes; for the confederation would standardize the character and degree of armament. It would determine a normal ratio of armament for each nation, whether in the confederation or not. When that normal would be exceeded the offending country would be subject to certain penalties to be imposed by the confederation. These penalties would be of a restrictive and coercive nature, mainly in the form of special duties on imports from the offending country, special harbor dues, special taxes on persons and property, etc.

The funds thus obtained would be employed to increase the armament of the confederation up to a fixed relative standard. In other words, offending nations outside of the confederation would thus be made to contribute to the cost of such forced increase.

JONES. Would autocracies be permitted to join the confederation?

WHITE. Yes; indeed, their adherence should be welcomed. For by having its people vote for and its government ratify the international constitution, by joining the confederation, an autocracy would thereby cease to be an autocracy, in so far as its relations to the other adhering states were concerned.

SMITH. By what means could adherents be made to comply with the provisions of the constitution?

WHITE. Well, that could be done by requiring each of the adhering nations, on joining, to deposit in the treasury of the confederation a guaranty for good faith, said guaranty to be in the shape of a negotiable bond for a given amount, which would vary according to the rank of the nation. Charges of failure to comply with the provisions of the constitution would be brought before the juridical body of the confederation, which would decide on the equities of the case, and determine the amount of the penalty to be deducted from the bonds held on deposit. Said bonds would then be sold in the open market and would begin to bear interest from the day on which the verdict would be rendered.

JONES. But would such countries as the United States, France, or Great Britain consent to deposit bonds as a guaranty of their good faith? Would not their mere ratification be sufficient?

WHITE. It appears to me that nations of the standing just named would rather insist upon the deposit of bonds in order to have them serve as a guaranty to insure the good faith of other adherents.

JONES. But supposing trouble arose, and there was a refusal on the part of some adherents to pay, what means would there be for enforcing payment?

WHITE. The bonds, in the first place, could be of such a nature, so secured by collateral, as to insure their interest and principal, thus rendering them negotiable the world over, at any time, whether before, during, or after a war. Their negotiable character would render them the guaranty that they are intended to be.

INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENTS.

SMITH. But why should the labors of such a confederation be confined to armaments? Why could it not also have under its administrative board departments like those of a national government? In addition to armaments, foreign affairs, war, and the navy, which have already been outlined as within the sphere of the labors of the confederation, why could there not also be international departments of the treasury, of the post office, of agriculture, of commerce, of labor, of transports? Would there not be room for departments like these to deal with the international phases of production and distribution?

WHITE. I think there would be. For instance, the reduced outlay on armament, rendered possible under the confederation, might permit the formation of a federal or international reserve bank under the department of the treasury of the confederation. In this case each of the adherents could periodically deposit in this bank a sum equivalent to a given proportion of the excess amount of its former military and war expenditure. The funds of this bank could then be used for moving crops, for obviating panics, for regulating international exchanges, for constructing international canals, and for other purposes of international public utility.

The International Institute of Agriculture and the International Postal Union are already here, ready to serve the purposes of the confederation, perhaps with added powers and increased duties. Similarly, departments could be formed to deal with the international phases of commerce and of labor, when reciprocal commercial and industrial treaty measures could be placed in their hands, while the department of transports could be intrusted with the international phases of ocean carriage.

However, it might be more advantageous to have the confederation start its work in a very simple and elementary form, so that its routine duties might be more readily mastered. As the work would proceed onward, the capacity for additional service and the benefits to be derived therefrom would become so apparent as to justify expansion until in time its labors would attain a higher and wider efficiency.

WAIT A MOMENT.

JONES. So, then, with a waive of the hand, as it were, we separate the celestial sheep from the plutonic goats; we line up democracy for mortal combat with autocracy, democracy united under an international constitution, united not merely by the devices of war but also by the polite arts of law. This united democracy is to set up a normal standard of armament and to give notice to all the world to line up to this normal under penalties for disobedience, penalties so irksome and costly as to cause autocracy to shrink, shrivel, and perish from off the face of the earth.

But wait! Have we not forgotten something? We talk of sovereignty as the attribute of autocracy, but is it not also claimed as the attribute of democracy? Will imperial England ratify a constitution for a confederation of nations? Will she permit the delegates to the legislative body of the confederation to have the final say as to the strength and disposition of her navy? Shall the powerful American Republic be swayed by the delegates of Cuba, of Montenegro, of Peru, of Portugal? A glorious ambition, surely; but, from a practical approach it is, alas, but a poetical will-o'-the-wisp, a mirage in the desert.

WHITE. It appears to me, Mr. Jones, that you have overlooked the fact that democracies are really autonomous political bodies rather than sovereignties. In a democracy sovereignty is supposed to reside in the people, whereas in an autocracy it is vested in the head of the government; and this makes all the difference in the world.

As for the danger that the delegations of the many minor countries might sway those of the major countries, I think this could be obviated, for the legislative functions of the confederation could be vested in two houses—a house of representatives with a plural vote proportionate to the importance of the country, and a Senate with a fixed vote for each autonomous power.

A LOGICAL OUTCOME.

JONES. And now that all arguments against the proposal have seemingly been overcome, we are presumably ready to put it into operation. The millennium is here; we are at the outer gate; there is nothing to be done but to knock and enter. But wait a moment, a long moment; yes, wait an age, perhaps several ages before the good time will be here. "A place to stand upon, a rest for a fulcrum, a lever long enough," said Archimedes, "and I will lift the earth." And it is just as difficult to move the world of ideas along at a bound as it would be to find a lever long enough to move the earth.

Ideas are shot forth by the hundred, by the thousand, by the million, and yet this staid, old, stupid world refuses to change its course. It prefers to keep the slow, even tenor of its ways, as a respectable world should, rather than to jump forward on the spur of the moment toward a prescribed goal, no matter how earnestly it may be argued, coerced, or coaxed to do so.

There is Christianity, for instance, with its beneficent character, its incessant exhortations, its superhuman efforts, and yet its 2,000 years of striving still fall short of the goal, for we are still waiting for the kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven. Surely all this should teach us to be most modest in putting forth ambitious schemes for the uplifting of the world.

SMITH. Is there not undue stress in your criticism of Mr. White's statement? You tell us that in spite of the millions of ideas that are shot forth, "this staid, old, stupid world refuses to change its course." Is this the case? I think not; for, as we see, development is a weaver employing ideas as warp and woof in weaving the cloth of progress. Now, then, instead of volunteering his presentation as a full-fledged plan, it seems to me that Mr. White's proposal for a confederation of the democracies is rather along the line of a logical outcome, a corollary of our discussion. It would therefore follow that our time may be well spent in continuing our inquiry.

JONES. Well, I must confess that Mr. White's proposed confederation seems reasonable and even logical as an academic proposition; it might read well in essay form. This, however, is one thing; but its adoption by the nations is quite another. The world has been jogging along these thousands of years without any such confederation, and do we soberly suppose that it would all of a sudden be willing to have forced upon it the thousand and one new and untried problems and precedents to which the adoption of this proposal would be sure to give rise?

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 1914 AND 1917.

SMITH. It seems to me that if your question had been asked in the first half of 1914 the answer would have been a decided "no"; the nations would not have been willing to have these new problems and precedents forced upon them. But can nations give this same answer now in 1917? I think not, for during this interval has not the world had a most emphatic object lesson?

We talk of the danger of anarchists; we employ skilled detectives to hunt them from hiding place to hiding place, and when ferreted out we forthwith clap them into jail. But what of those archanarchists, the nations, who, armed to the teeth, and through their claim of sovereignty acknowledging no law but their own will, are such an infinitely greater menace to the peace, the welfare, the security of the people of the whole world?

As I have told you, I was until now one among a large number of advocates of peace through disarmament. Our propaganda, as you know, was much more in evidence before the war. I confess, however, that the war has, as we see, thrown into clear relief many new and perplexing viewpoints, important enough to warrant modifications of opinion. I would therefore feel under obligations to Mr. White if he would resume the thread of the discussion.

WHITE. It has been truly pointed out that the proposals for permanent peace which seemed tenable in 1914 are not tenable in 1917. The new and startling events which have occurred demand new solutions. It is obvious to all that the world is no longer what it then was; that time has passed never to return. The problems of 1914 are no longer the problems which confront us in 1917. The world to-day has had an object lesson, as plain as a kindergarten lesson, a lesson understood not merely by the learned but also by the unlearned.

The millions of dead, the hundreds of millions who suffer and who are to suffer, the destruction of the wealth of nations totaling up to hundreds of billions of dollars, all of these and more besides are the bitter fruits, the direct results of uncontrolled, autocratic sovereignty. And all this is by no means the end, for the war is still going on. And supposing the war were to end right now, would that restore conditions as they were? Let us see.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

Much surprise was manifested when our Congress had its first billion-dollar session, and, let us bear in mind, that billion dollars was to be expended for the current and peaceful needs of the country. How will it be with the nations after the war, with nations of much more limited financial resources than those of the United States, with nations who will be compelled to provide in their budgets for a billion dollars a year for interest on their war debts before they will be able to set aside a single dollar for their current administrative needs? Will they repudiate? That would lead to trouble. Will they pile tax upon tax? That also would lead to trouble. Will the worker and the peasant rest content to have their unit of wage cut in half or less as the result of taxation and of reduced purchasing power of money?

Such forced reductions may have been accepted by the worker and the peasant of past destructive wars, of the past when worker and peasant had no books to study, no papers to read; when they lived in hovels and were considered to have no spirit and no soul; when the normal dress of man was an overall, a sheepskin coat, and wooden shoes; when the women wore a one-piece smock-dress, went barefooted, and with a kerchief on their heads. But that time has gone, and gone forever. Schools, books, newspapers, travel, and the general freedom of the twentieth century have put an end, a final end, to all that.

Who, then, can say that the mere cessation of the war will bring peace, permanent peace?

And even if sufficient power could be exerted to force a return to the old régime, how long, under such conditions, could peace be maintained? There would then be no more guarantee for peace in the future that there has been in the past.

It therefore seems to me that the formation of a confederation, something on the lines we have been discussing, would mark a new era, would, in fact, make permanent peace possible.

JONES. I am inclined to admit, Mr. White, that the facts in the case justify your generalizations, however gloomy and foreboding they may be. In fact, there is warrant for supplementing them. It is easy to foresee that the evils you speak of will not merely be confined to the theater of war; they will be explosively scattered to the four ends of the earth in the form of violent trade disturbances, panics, bankruptcies, and ruin. Now, this phase of the question is of special interest to the American people. Limiting your reply to this point for the moment I would like you to tell us, Mr. White, how those evils would be averted or brushed aside by the formation of the *proposed* confederation. If you can show that it would avert them, I have surely been won over.

SMITH. I concur in what has just been said by Mr. Jones.

WHITE. Very good. And now let us first consider what is the underlying basis of financial, commercial, and industrial stability. Is it not credit? Are not the terms of credit, its state of mobility, determined by confidence? And is not this confidence determined by present and forecasted conditions? At this juncture, it is to be noted, the public mind is concentrated upon the current events of the great struggle now going on. Will it not presently be concentrated upon its probable resultant effects? And if the forecast warrant the weakening of confidence, will this not tend to bring about radical and unfavorable changes in the terms and in the state of mobility of credit? And if it brings about these unfavorable changes, as it is bound to do, will this not gravely endanger the financial, commercial, and industrial stability of the whole world?

If we are to assent to all this (and how can assent be denied?) does it not follow that the first thing to be done to avert the full brunt of the evils which loom ahead is to stabilize confidence and thereby stabilize credit? And what better means for doing this can be shown than the proposed confederation? By banding the democracies together to checkmate autocratic sovereignty would not the confederation insure peace? Would it not thereby tend to restore public confidence, and thus insure the stability of credit?

JONES. It seems to me, Mr. White, that your statements are fairly tenable.

SMITH. I am inclined to agree with you, Mr. Jones, although I do not think that we should narrow the case down to the mere question of stability of credit.

THE AGE-LONG STRUGGLE.

WHITE. No, we should not; the question is one of much deeper, more far-reaching concern than the stability of credit. It is a question of the greatest importance to the political freedom of the individual and of the nation. We have to pay too great a price in this century of progress for quiet acquiescence in the destructive, reactionary effects of the dynamic activity of autocratic sovereignty. As we have seen, the cause of the present struggle, as well as of the many struggles of the past, can be unerringly traced to the operation of such sovereignty. Would it not therefore follow that if its dynamic action on the political life of the nations were neutralized, the evils inherent in such autocratic sovereignty would be removed? Would this not remove the greatest spoke in the wheel of the progress and peace of the world? And could not this be done by a militant confederation of the democracies?

And this great battle of democracy against autocracy is not new. It is as old as the history of man. It is the age-long struggle of law, of equity, of freedom, against anarchy, injustice, and slavery. It is the index finger pointing the way on the one hand and the savage, spiked club raised to strike, on the other. It stands for liberty, equality, fraternity, as against tyranny, inequality, and enmity. It stands for intelligence and light on the one hand, and for ignorance and darkness on the other. The first stands for abundance, for a blessing; the second stands for deprivation, for a curse. The first stands for humanity, the second stands for savagery. And so have these two always stood and fought, with the former seemingly the vanquished in many a fight. Yet, notwithstanding, there has been advance, and the advance has been by the former, by democracy, for so it was planned in the Divine Comedy. And presently the combat shall cease, and there shall be but one combatant left, and that combatant shall be triumphant democracy, and he shall be left free to build up the Kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven.

JONES. May that day soon come!

SMITH. Amen.

Therefore it is written: "Our Father and our King, we have no sovereign but Thee."

Food Control.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

The House had under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the House is about to take a final vote on H. R. 4961, commonly known as the food-control bill. It is entitled "A bill to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products."

This bill passed the House June 23, 1917. It passed the Senate July 21 following. The Senate made some important amendments to the bill. Following the usual parliamentary practice, a conference committee of the two Houses was appointed, with a view to adjusting the differences between the two Houses. The conference committee came to an agreement, and upon the report of this committee the House is now about to vote.

I discussed the provisions of this bill when it was before the House. Some of my remarks were in the nature of criticism. I offered some amendments and urged their adoption. My object was not to delay or defeat the passage of the bill. My purpose was to perfect the bill and make it a more efficient law and more helpful to the American people in the emergency with which they are now confronted. Having thus discharged my duty, I voted for the bill on its final passage in the House, and for the same reason I shall vote for the measure in the form in which it comes from the conference committee and in the form in which it will become a law.

This is a war measure. By its terms it will continue in force only for the duration of the war. It is an emergency measure. It is designed to enable us not only to win the war, but to achieve a victory in the shortest time possible.

It will be generally admitted that the provisions of this bill may work a hardship upon some people and that some people may suffer financial loss thereby. But no nation can carry on a war without sacrifice on the part of its citizens. Those who suffer financial loss give nothing compared with those who offer their lives on the altar of their country.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

I wish to present a brief outline of this bill, and in doing so will quote freely from its provisions.

Section 1 of the bill in full is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That by reason of the existence of a state of war, it is essential to the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution, and to facilitate the movement of foods, feeds, fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas, and fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients, tools, utensils, implements, machinery, and equipment required for the actual production of foods, feeds and fuel, hereafter in this act called necessaries; to prevent, locally or generally, scarcity, monopolization, hoarding, injurious speculation, manipulations, and private controls, affecting such supply, distribution, and movement; and to establish and maintain governmental control of such necessaries during the war. For such purposes the instrumentalities, means, methods, powers, authorities, duties, obligations, and prohibitions hereinafter set forth are created, established, conferred, and prescribed. The President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act.

HOARDING, WASTE, AND MONOPOLY UNLAWFUL.

Section 4 is directed mainly against waste, hoarding, and monopoly in foods, feeds, and fuel, and in full is as follows:

SEC. 4. That it is hereby made unlawful for any person willfully to destroy any necessaries for the purpose of enhancing the price or restricting the supply thereof; knowledge to commit waste or willfully to permit preventable deterioration of any necessaries in or in connection with their production, manufacture, or distribution; to hoard, as defined in section 6 of this act, any necessaries; to monopolize or attempt to monopolize, either locally or generally, any necessaries; to engage in any discriminatory and unfair, or any deceptive or wasteful practice or device, or to make any unjust or unreasonable rate or charge, in handling or dealing in or with any necessaries; to conspire, combine, agree, or arrange with any other person (a) to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, harvesting, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessaries; (b) to restrict the supply of any necessaries; (c) to restrict distribution of any necessaries; (d) to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessaries in order to enhance the price thereof; or (e) to exact excessive prices for any necessaries or to aid or abet the doing of any act made unlawful by this section.

PRESIDENT MAY REQUIRE LICENSE.

Section 5 gives the President power, when he deems it essential, to license the importation, manufacture, storage, mining, or distribution of any necessaries, and the section in full is as follows:

SEC. 5. That from time to time, whenever the President shall find it essential to license the importation, manufacture, storage, mining, or distribution of any necessaries, in order to carry into effect any of the purposes of this act, and shall publicly so announce, no person shall, after a date fixed in the announcement, engaged in or carry on any such business specified in the announcement of importation, manufacture, storage, mining, or distribution of any necessaries as set forth in such announcement, unless he shall secure and hold a license issued pursuant to this section. The President is authorized to issue such licenses and to prescribe regulations for the issuance of licenses and requirements for systems of accounts and auditing of accounts to be kept by licensees, submission of reports by them, with or without oath or affirmation, and the entry and inspection by the President's duly authorized agents of the places of business of licensees. Whenever the President shall find that any storage charge, commission, profit, or practice of any licensee is unjust, or unreasonable, or discriminatory and unfair, or wasteful, and shall order such licensee, within a reasonable time fixed in the order to discontinue the same, unless such order, which shall recite the facts found, is revoked or suspended, such licensee shall, within the time prescribed in the order, discontinue such unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice. The President may, in lieu of any such unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, find what is a just, reasonable, nondiscriminatory, and fair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, and in any proceeding brought in any court such order of the President shall be prima facie evidence. Any person who, without a license issued pursuant to this section, or whose license shall have been revoked, knowingly engages in or carries on any business for which a license is required under this section, or willfully fails or refuses to discontinue any unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, in accordance with the requirement of an order issued under this section, or any regulation prescribed under this section, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to any farmer, gardener, cooperative association of farmers or gardeners, including live-stock farmers, or other persons with respect to the products of any farm, garden, or other land owned, leased, or cultivated by him, nor to any retailer with respect to the retail business actually conducted by him, nor to any common carrier, nor shall anything in this section be construed to authorize the fixing or imposition of a duty or tax upon any article imported into or exported from the United States or any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia: *Provided further*, That for the purposes of this act a retailer shall be deemed to be a person, copartnership, firm, corporation, or association not engaging in the wholesale business whose gross sales do not exceed $100,000 per annum.

PENALTIES FOR WASTE, HOARDING, AND MONOPOLY.

Sections 6, 7, 8, and 9, in the main, relate to penalties which are prescribed against those who are guilty of wasting, hoarding, or monopolizing necessaries.

REQUISITION OF FOODS, FEEDS, AND FUELS.

The President is authorized to requisition foods, feeds, and fuels in section 10, which, in part, is as follows:

That the President is authorized from time to time to requisition foods, feeds, fuels, and other supplies necessary to the support of the Army or the maintenance of the Navy or any other public use connected with the common defense, and to requisition, or otherwise provide, storage facilities for such supplies; and he shall ascertain and pay a just compensation therefor.

PRESIDENT MAY PURCHASE AND SELL NECESSARIES.

Section 11 provides, in part, as follows:

That the President is authorized from time to time to purchase, to store, to provide storage facilities for, and to sell for cash, at reasonable prices, wheat, flour, meal, beans, and potatoes: *Provided*, That if any

minimum price shall have been theretofore fixed, pursuant to the provisions of section 14 of this act, then the price paid for any such articles so purchased shall not be less than such minimum price.

PRESIDENT MAY REQUISITION FACTORIES PRODUCING NECESSARIES.

Section 12, in part, provides as follows:

That whenever the President shall find it necessary to secure an adequate supply of necessaries for the support of the Army or the maintenance of the Navy, or for any other public use connected with the common defense, he is authorized to requisition and take over, for use or operation by the Government, any factory, packing house, oil pipe line, mine, or other plant, or any part thereof, in or through which any necessaries are or may be manufactured, produced, prepared, or mined, and to operate the same.

PRESIDENT MAY PROHIBIT SPECULATION.

Section 13 in part is as follows:

SEC. 13. That whenever the President finds it essential in order to prevent undue enhancement, depression, or fluctuation of prices of, or in order to prevent injurious speculation in, or in order to prevent unjust market manipulation or unfair and misleading market quotations of the prices of necessaries, hereafter in this section called evil practices, he is authorized to prescribe such regulations governing, or may either wholly or partly prohibit, operations, practices, and transactions at, on, in, or under the rules of any exchange, board of trade, or similar institution or place of business as he may find essential in order to prevent, correct, or remove such evil practices. Such regulations may require all persons coming within their provisions to keep such records and statements of account, and may require such persons to make such returns, verified under oath or otherwise, as will fully and correctly disclose all transactions at, in, or on, or under the rules of any such exchange, board of trade, or similar institution or place of business, including the making, execution, settlement, and fulfillment thereof.

MINIMUM PRICE OF WHEAT.

Section 14 is practically the only provision of the bill which in a direct manner encourages increased production of necessaries, and this relates to only one farm product, namely, wheat. This section in full is as follows:

SEC. 14. That whenever the President shall find that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat and that it is essential that the producers of wheat produced within the United States, shall have the benefits of the guaranty provided for in this section, he is authorized, from time to time, seasonably and as far in advance of seeding time as practicable, to determine and fix and to give public notice of what, under specified conditions, is a reasonable guaranteed price for wheat, in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit. The President shall thereupon fix such guaranteed price for each of the official grain standards for wheat as established under the United States grain standards act, approved August 11, 1916. The President shall from time to time establish and promulgate such regulations as he shall deem wise in connection with such guaranteed prices, and in particular governing conditions of delivery and payment, and differences in price for the several standard grades in the principal primary markets of the United States, adopting No. 1 northern spring or its equivalent at the principal interior primary markets as the basis. Thereupon the Government of the United States hereby guarantees every producer of wheat produced within the United States that, upon compliance by him with the regulations prescribed, he shall receive for any wheat produced in reliance upon this guaranty within the period, not exceeding 18 months, prescribed in the notice, a price not less than the guaranteed price therefor as fixed pursuant to this section. In such regulations the President shall prescribe the terms and conditions upon which any such producer shall be entitled to the benefits of such guaranty. The guaranteed prices for the several standard grades of wheat for the crop of 1918 shall be based upon No. 1 northern spring or its equivalent at not less than $2 per bushel at the principal interior primary markets. This guaranty shall not be dependent upon the action of the President under the first part of this section, but is hereby made absolute and shall be binding until May 1, 1919. When the President finds that the importation into the United States of any wheat produced outside of the United States materially enhances or is likely materially to enhance the liabilities of the United States under guaranties of prices therefor made pursuant to this section, and ascertains what rate of duty, added to the then existing rate of duty on wheat and to the value of wheat at the time of importation, would be sufficient to bring the price thereof at which imported up to the price fixed therefor pursuant to the foregoing provisions of this section, he shall proclaim such facts, and thereafter there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon wheat when imported, in addition to the then existing rate of duty, the rate of duty so ascertained; but in no case shall any such rate of duty be fixed at an amount which will effect a reduction of the rate of duty upon wheat under any then existing tariff law of the United States. For the purpose of making any guaranteed price effective under this section, or whenever he deems it essential in order to protect the Government of the United States against material enhancement of its liabilities arising out of any guaranty under this section, the President is authorized also, in his discretion, to purchase any wheat for which a guaranteed price shall be fixed under this section, and to hold, transport, or store it, or to sell, dispose of, and deliver the same to any citizen of the United States or to any Government engaged in war with any country with which the Government of the United States is or may be at war, or to use the same as supplies for any department or agency of the Government of the United States. Any moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the sale or disposal of wheat under this section may, in the discretion of the President, be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this section. Any balance of such moneys not used as part of such revolving fund shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

PROHIBITION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS.

Section 15 relates to use of foods and feeds in the production of distilled spirits and malt and vinous liquors, and in full is as follows:

SEC. 15. That from and after 30 days from the date of the approval of this act no foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds shall be used in the production of distilled spirits for beverage purposes: *Provided*, That under such rules, regulations, and bonds as the President may prescribe such materials may be used in the production of distilled spirits exclusively for other than beverage purposes, or for the fortification of pure sweet wines as defined by the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916. Nor shall there be imported into the United States any distilled spirits. Whenever the President shall find that limitation, regulation, or prohibition of the use of foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds in the production of malt or vinous liquors for beverage purposes, or that reduction of the alcoholic content of any such malt or vinous liquor, is essential, in order to assure an adequate and continuous supply of food, or that the national security and defense will be subserved thereby, he is authorized, from time to time, to prescribe and give public notice of the extent of the limitation, regulation, prohibition, or reduction so necessitated. Whenever such notice shall have been given and shall remain unrevoked no person shall, after a reasonable time prescribed in such notice, use any foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds in the production of malt or vinous liquors, or import any such liquors except under license issued by the President and in compliance with rules and regulations determined by him governing the production and importation of such liquors and the alcoholic content thereof. Any person who willfully violates the provisions of this section, or who shall use any foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds in the production of malt or vinous liquors, or who shall import any such liquors, without first obtaining a license so to do when a license is required under this section, or who shall violate any rule or regulation made under this section, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both: *Provided further*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the licensing of the manufacture of vinous or malt liquors in any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or any civil subdivision thereof, where the manufacture of such vinous or malt liquor is prohibited.

Section 16 authorizes and directs the President to commandeer any or all distilled spirits in bond or in stock at the date of the approval of the act for redistillation, in so far as such redistillation may be necessary for the manufacture of munitions or other military and hospital supplies.

Section 17 applies to penalties for those who obstruct enforcement of the act.

Section 18 appropriates $2,500,000 to be used in carrying the act into effect in the payment of salaries, rents, and so forth.

Section 19 appropriates $150,000,000 to carry this act into effect.

PRESIDENT MAY FIX PRICE OF COAL AND COKE.

Section 25 authorizes the President to fix the price of coal and coke, and in part is as follows:

SEC. 25. That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered, whenever and wherever in his judgment necessary for the efficient prosecution of the war, to fix the price of coal and coke, wherever and whenever sold, either by producer or dealer, to establish rules for the regulation of and to regulate the method of production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, or storage thereof among dealers and consumers, domestic or foreign; said authority and power may be exercised by him in each case through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission during the war or for such part of said time as in his judgment may be necessary.

That if, in the opinion of the President, any such producer or dealer fails or neglects to conform to such prices or regulations, or to conduct his business efficiently under the regulations and control of the President as aforesaid, or conducts it in a manner prejudicial to the public interest, then the President is hereby authorized and empowered in every such case to requisition and take over the plant, business, and all appurtenances thereof belonging to such producer or dealer as a going concern, and to operate or cause the same to be operated in such manner and through such agency as he may direct during the period of the war or for such part of said time as in his judgment may be necessary.

That any producer or dealer whose plant, business, and appurtenances shall have been requisitioned or taken over by the President shall be paid a just compensation for the use thereof during the period that the same may be requisitioned or taken over as aforesaid, which compensation the President shall fix or cause to be fixed by the Federal Trade Commission.

In the foregoing I have quoted in full what I regard as the most important provisions of this bill.

In passing upon this bill we must keep in mind the fact that it is a war measure. Its object is to make this great Nation more efficient, capable, and powerful in waging the existing war to a successful conclusion. It is clearly within the possibilities that some of our citizenship, under the provisions of this law, will suffer inconvenience, financial loss, or other hardships. This can not be avoided. It is one of the incidents of war. Indeed, in war some are called upon to sacrifice everything for the public good, while others not only make no sacrifice but actually receive financial benefits therefrom. All we can do is to use our best judgment, seek to distribute the burdens of the war as equitably as possible, and require no one to make a needless sacrifice.

While all this is true, as Representatives in the Congress of the United States, while having in view the general welfare and the stupendous national problems with which we are confronted, we should also bear in mind the welfare of our constituents. We should consider how proposed legislation will affect them. None of us would be justified in remaining silent if, in our judgment, a proposed measure would do an injustice to our constituents or the people of our respective States.

So far as this bill seeks to cut out speculation in food products and other necessaries of life, it has my unqualified approval. It is the duty of Congress to eliminate middlemen's profits and to place the producer and consumer in as close proximity as possible. The farmers, in my opinion, have no inclination to exact exorbitant prices from the consumers. But the

farmers, and justly so, do object to undue profits of the corporation, which, as middlemen, control the purchase, transportation, manufacture, distribution, and sale of their products. The farmers believe all such charges and profits should be reduced to the minimum. In this the views of the farmers are based upon sound economic principles, which are clearly in harmony with the general good.

It is the widespread belief of the farmer that for some years past he has not received his share of the value of his products. He has contended that he did not receive a fair and equitable share of the wealth he produces. In this contention the farmer is undoubtedly right. The average prices which the farmer has been receiving for his products have not been sufficient to compensate him for the capital invested, the labor performed by himself and family, the uncertainty of his business through failure of crops, and the ever-increasing expenditure in the cost of production. As a result, the agricultural wealth of the country has not grown in proportion to the growth of wealth in the towns and cities. If I had the time, I could clearly demonstrate this by official statistics. But I will assert that three-fourths of the wealth of the country is in our towns and cities, where our great manufacturing, transportation, distributing, and financial corporations center.

The point is this: The great European war has made an unusual demand for farm products. This has enhanced their prices. The farmer has been getting some of the benefits of these higher prices, but it has been shown that last year only a part of the farmers received the high prices for their wheat. The greatest rise in the price came after the majority of the farmers had sold their wheat. It has been asserted that for the 1916 wheat crop the farmers of the United States, on an average, received but $1.22 a bushel for their wheat. This in face of the fact that recently corporations, middlemen, and speculators have been getting $3 a bushel for wheat. This is one great evil at which Congress should strike. I am glad that there are some provisions in this bill which will very largely eliminate the power of the speculator to reap enormous profits from both the producer and consumer; but in taking the control of the price of wheat and other necessaries away from the corporations, middlemen, and speculators we have to place the control somewhere else. This bill places that control in the hands of the President. We must assume that the farmer will be safer in the hands of the Chief Executive of the Nation, who will have no selfish purpose to serve, than they will in the hands of private corporations which are organized and operated for gain and which certainly are not prompted by any altruistic purpose.

There are two sections of the bill of great importance to the farmers. These are sections 11 and 14. Under section 11 the President is given power to go into the wheat business. The bill appropriates $150,000,000 as capital to be used in conducting this business. Other sections of the bill give him power to license all dealers in wheat and other necessaries. Under this he can control all the dealers. It is well understood that our European allies—England, France, Italy, and Russia—will have a single purchasing agency. The President may create such instrumentalities as he shall deem necessary to carry out the act. He may have a great corporation organized to conduct this business. In other words, this bill places in the hands of the President the most comprehensive and sweeping power. He may monopolize the business and thereby dictate the prices the farmers receive, the charges and profits of corporations and middlemen of all kinds, and the prices to the consumers. In ordinary times no one would think of placing such extraordinary and supreme power in the hands of one man, however pure, great, and wise he might be. But these are not ordinary times. Our allies must be fed. Our soldiers, seamen, and marines must have food. The great masses of our citizens at home must have the necessaries of life. To all the price should be within the ability of the consumer to pay. We are going to trust the President with this power. By constitutional methods he has been exalted to the Chief Executiveship of this great Nation. Under the Constitution he is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. He is at the head of both the civil and miltary power of the Republic. I do not believe the power intrusted to him will be abused. It will, in my judgment, be exercised in a loyal, patriotic, and unselfish spirit, with an eye single to the public welfare.

Section 14 of this bill is one of great interest to thousands of my constituents. In the 12 counties of my district wheat is the chief product. It may be truly said that all my constituents are vitally interested in the price of wheat, for the prosperity of my people depends largely upon the amount of wheat produced and the price paid therefor. Section 12 fixes $2 as the minimum guaranteed price for the wheat crop of 1918. The chief object of this guarantee is to stimulate the production of a large wheat crop next year by guaranteeing to producers a price that will pay them to produce the wheat. No one knows what one year will bring about. The war may close when least we expect it. We do not know what the business and financial conditions will be next year. Business conditions may be disturbed. There may be a depression in commercial and financial affairs. Hard times may be on us before we know it. A panic may demoralize everything. We can not with any certainty say what will be the price of wheat in 1918, should peace come to the warring nations of the world. In this view, farmers might hesitate to sow wheat. At least, there might be no material increase in the acreage sown. But, whatever might come, it is certain that there should be an increased yield of wheat next year. To stimulate this increased production of wheat and insure the farmers against loss Congress proposes to guarantee the farmers $2 a bushel for the 1918 crop. So far as the law is concerned, this does not limit the price to $2 per bushel. The farmers may receive a higher price if the market price is higher. Inasmuch as the market price of wheat has ranged from $2.50 to $3 per bushel in recent months, I think it would have been wise to have made the guaranteed minimum price compare favorably with the market price. This as a matter of fair compensation and justice to the farmers, but, beyond this, as the best means to accomplish the purpose we have in view. The object is to insure increased production. If we fail in that object, our legislation is fruitless. We had better fix the price too high than too low. If the guaranteed price is above the market price and even above what consumers should pay, the Government could well afford to suffer the loss, if such a thing is necessary to secure an adequate supply of bread. For upon this depends the winning of the war. We are spending vast billions of dollars for war purposes. In this respect we are surpassing all records of the past in this or any other nation. Suppose the Government loses even a large sum through its guarantee, it will have supplied one of the essentials to victory for our country.

I do not approve this bill in its entirety. I have some doubts about the wisdom of some of its provisions. I think it could be improved. With all this I shall give it my vote. In times like these we can not stand idle. We must master the situation the best we can. We must trust something to the judgment of others. We must trust the constituted authorities of the Nation. We must each bear our share of the burdens of the hour and make whatever sacrifice the circumstances and conditions demand.

There is one advantage which I think the farmers of the Nation will reap from the enactment of this law. We are establishing a system of governmental control of middlemen's profits. We are taking from corporations which have a monopoly in the purchase, sale, transportation, distribution, and manufacture of staple farm products the power to arbitrarily fix the prices which they pay to farmers and at which they sell to consumers. We have been driven to this by the exigencies of war. But we will never entirely retrace our steps. Neither the farmers nor the consumers will ever consent to go back to the old system. Stable prices will help both the farmers and the consumers. Speculators should never again be in a position to depress the price the farmers receive and enhance the price the consumers pay. Certainly those who are engaged in purchasing, selling, transporting, manufacturing, and distributing food products should receive adequate compensation. None will begrudge or deny them a reasonable profit. They are entitled to a reasonable return for the service they render, for the risks they carry, and for the capital they invest. But they ought not to be able to speculate in food products at the cost of both producers and consumers, and to the injury of the public generally. They should not have the power to exact exorbitant profits and to accumulate immense fortunes at the expense of the masses, upon whose prosperity, well-being, and happiness the strength and perpetuity of the Nation depends. Hereafter we must know where the money goes. We must know how the wealth produced on our farms is distributed. We must be able to trace our food products and determine the cost of every stage of progress from the field to the table of the consumers. Under the law we are now enacting grain dealers and food manufacturers may be compelled to do business under Federal license, subject to supervision, regulation, and control. They may be compelled to do business under a limitation of profits. All this, under the proposed law, is to be limited to the duration of the existing war. But our experience in war will teach us how to act in peace. The American people will not go backward. They will not forget the practical lessons which they have

learned in the school of war. The farmers, in my judgment, may suffer some financial loss under the provisions of this bill as they shall be administered. But as an offset to these losses there will be benefits, advantages, and profits to the farmers. The intelligent and patriotic farmers will give close attention to the practical workings of this measure. It is for them to see that the good features shall be preserved and be made the permanent policy of the National Government for the extension of agriculture, for the protection of the rights of farmers, and the promotion of their prosperity, and for the advancement of the material interests and the general welfare of all classes of our population.

Food-Survey Bill.

SPEECH
OF
HON. DICK T. MORGAN,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 4188) to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the committee on conference appointed by the two Houses to harmonize the differences on this bill between the two Houses has agreed to one Senate amendment which does not meet my approval. Under the provisions of the House bill, H. R. 4188, known as the food-survey bill, $5,778,000 were appropriated, to be used by the Secretary of Agriculture in furnishing seed to farmers in restricted areas, to be selected by the Secretary of Agriculture. Under the provisions of the bill, as it passed the House, the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to furnish these seeds to farmers on such terms and on such credit as he should determine. This was a very wise provision. The object of the provision, of course, was to increase the production of food products. This was unquestionably a practical method of increasing production. The framers of the bill evidently recognized that there were certain sections of the country in which there would be a practical failure of certain crops, and especially of wheat. They recognized that seed wheat this year would be exceedingly high, and that the cost of the seed is a very important item in the cost of production of wheat. It was known at the time this bill passed the House, as it is known to-day, that in western Oklahoma, in western Kansas, and in the western part of Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota there were large areas where there was an almost complete failure of wheat.

The appropriation provided in the House bill, it is true, was not large. Indeed, it was insignificantly small. Still it was large enough to have rendered very considerable assistance in the drouth-stricken area. I had hoped that the Senate would very largely increase the appropriation. To my utter surprise and disappointment the Senate reduced the amount of the appropriation from $5,778,000 to $2,500,000, less than half the amount appropriated by the House. This, in my judgment, was a very grave mistake. But the reduction of the appropriation was not so great a blunder as the other change made. This change, which I especially criticize, is the change which requires the Secretary of Agriculture to sell wheat or other seed to farmers only on cash payment therefor. Under the terms of the bill as it passed the House the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to give the farmers such credit as in his judgment would be wise, proper, and helpful in accomplishing the purposes of the act. I wish, therefore, with all due respect to the conferees of the two Houses, to express my strong disapproval of the provisions which reduce the appropriation by more than half, and in addition thereto takes from the Secretary of Agriculture the authority to furnish the seed to farmers on credit. I know this will be a great disappointment to the farmers in many localities, who will be compelled to borrow money at high rates of interest, on unfavorable terms, with which to purchase seed wheat. What must necessarily follow? It is this: There will be less wheat sown. It is not, therefore, solely in the interest of the farmer that I am speaking. I am speaking in the interest of the country. I am speaking for the Nation. I am advocating a policy which means a greater production of the great staple crop of wheat. Bread is the one thing above all others that this Nation needs, and that our allies in Europe need, to enable us to win this war. I believe that one of the most effective things this Government could have done to increase the production of wheat for next year would have been to have made a liberal provision to provide credit for the needy farmers of the United States in purchasing seeds. It was for this reason that I offered an amendment to the food-control bill—H. R. 4961—when it was before the House, authorizing the Federal Government to make liberal loans to the farmers at a low rate of interest to enable them to purchase seeds and secure necessary equipment to enable them to largely increase the production of food products. I regret exceedingly that my suggestions have not been followed. The inevitable result will be, there will be less wheat and corn and other staple farm products produced, and the country and the farmers alike will suffer.

Workingmen's Red Cross Celebration at Johnstown, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROSE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, October 2, 1917.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROSE] be given unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing a patriotic speech made by Theodore Roosevelt at Johnstown on Sunday last and the remarks made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROSE] in introducing him to the meeting.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a part of the speech of the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt at the Workingmen's Red Cross celebration at Johnstown, Pa., on Sunday, September 31, and my introductory remarks:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY MR. ROSE.

Let me first express my most sincere thanks for the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me to-day. I appreciate it more than any words of mine can convey.

I rejoice to witness this general outpouring of the people of Johnstown and vicinity. You are here to take part in a demonstration primarily designed by the splendid workingmen of this district to make known, in part, the purposes and aims of the Red Cross, an organization formed to give aid and comfort to the weak and sorrowful, and which will give assistance to the brave men who have volunteered and have been called by our country and her allies to take part in the greatest war the world has ever known.

On behalf of the splendid body of workingmen of this vicinity, I desire to extend a cordial welcome to this vast concourse of people, as your presence indicates your abiding faith in the Government and its institutions and your loyalty to the brave men and women who will lay down their lives, if need be, in the titanic struggle for freedom and democracy and the utter, complete, and permanent overthrow of an autocracy now the greatest curse of the world.

This day marks the crowning event of the marvelous efforts made by our people in the interest of our country, and it will go down in history as one of the greatest and most significant days ever witnessed by the good people of the valley of the Conemaugh.

Above and beyond the purpose which brings you here, a purpose nearest and dearest to our hearts, the committee having this demonstration in charge have wisely and well arranged for the presence of the leading private citizen of the United States, if not of the world, to talk to and with us and spur us on to yet greater achievements.

Not only is he the leading private citizen of the United States, but he is easily the most fearless and convincing, and occupies a unique position among the great big men of the world.

Characteristic of this remarkable man, when the President approved a resolution of the Congress declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government, he offered his services to his country and expressed his willingness to accompany the first American troops to the bleeding soil of France.

In order that you may see and hear and know this remarkable man, of whose brilliant attainments I have named but few, I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the great, the only, the matchless, and as the Tribune so well and tersely said, the

acknowledged champion of vital Americanism, the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt.

SPEECH OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Congressman, Mr. Mayor, and you, my friends, fellow Americans, men and women of Johnstown:

As I said just before the rain and the parade, I had not intended when I went West to speak anywhere on the way back, but when I was asked to speak by the labor unions of Johnstown, I felt that they were people that I was not willing to refuse, because this war is from a double aspect peculiarly a war of the workingmen of the United States, first, as Americans, and next, as men who believe in the words of Abraham Lincoln, that the highest ideal of government is "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." [Applause.] Now, the emphasis in that statement is to be put upon the words "by the people." There always has got to be government of the people; either we have to govern ourselves or somebody else will govern us. Somebody else will come in and supply the lack. There has got to be control somewhere. There must be self-control or outside control, and the least control we get from within the more we will get from without.

Now, Bismarck's statement represents the German ideal, and on the third point is the direct opposite of Lincoln's. Lincoln said a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." Bismarck said a government of the people must be based on the theory of "everything for the people but nothing by them." No government can last for a very long time on that basis. They never last permanently. In the end the people, those who say there is to be no government by the people, get to doing less and less and less for the people. Now, the two opposite poles in the civilized world to-day, since the destruction of the Russian despotism, are the two ideals—the ideal of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns and the ideal of the United States, the Government that is striving to be true to the theories of Washington and of Lincoln. The opposite ideals are symbolized, are expressed well in the two phrases that I have quoted—Lincoln's government for the people and by the people and Bismarck's government, of which the essential feature was "nothing by the people." Bismarck said "do everything for the people that will not interfere with your interests, but do it as a favor to them—not as a right due them, but as a favor wisely extended to them." Now, that is just what we do not believe in. We stand for the democratic principle; we stand for making this Government a Government in which each man has a fair show and in which each man does his part in governing all of us. We do not realize the idea in many respects, but that is simply another way of saying we are human. There never has been, and I do not think there will be, a complete realization of the ideal on this earth, but we do strive toward the ideal.

The German ideal is that complete power is to rest in the people above, and that they, as a matter of expedience and self-interest, offer to give something to the people below.

Now, my friends, that means that this is just exactly as much a people's war as the war for the Union which began in 1861, 56 years ago. In the long run it was not going to be possible in this country to have side by side a black man who worked as a slave and a white man who worked as a freeman, and in the States where there were most slaves gradually the white man was crowded out and became a poor white of the mountains. The same thing began in the West Indies—I was there a year ago last winter. Originally they had a population of farmers, mechanics, artisans, and they introduced black slavery, and the first effect was to crowd out the white workingman, until you had nothing but the big plantation owner on top and the hundreds of black slaves underneath. Now, here in this country Lincoln with his prophetic vision saw that not only was it a justice to the black to free him but that the enslavement of the black was not compatible permanently with the freedom of the white world. It is just the same in the world to-day. Just as it was not possible that the men who work with their hands—whether on a farm, railroad, in a mine, in a factory—could permanently prosper in a country which tolerated black slavery, so it is not possible that the workingman and the farmers who own the soil they till can permanently enjoy their own political freedom and the right to rule their own destinies in this country if the world is to be dominated by Prussian militarism. Remember that the essential part of Lincoln's statement, as I have already said, to be found in the part of the phrase which sets forth that this Government is to be by the people themselves. Every man in this country who believes in the American doctrines for which our fathers and forefathers struggled, and for which many men have laid down their lives, must see the vast difference between us and our allies on the one side and the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns on the other—an absolute, fundamental difference.

Now, friends, of course, we went to war primarily because we had a special grievance against Germany. We went to war because after two years, during which Germany had treated us with such utter contempt that she murdered our citizens, men, women, and children, on the high seas again and again, and after two years of interchange of compliments she finally announced that she was going to continue that policy as a settled universal policy, and that it was to be continued steadily as part of her theory of warfare—murder of noncombatants on the high seas.

And yet there are people who ask, "Why are we at war?"

You may just as well ask a man whose wife's face has been slapped by another man why he is mixing it up with the other man. There are some things that do not need an explanation. If I see a man thumping another and I find that the other is a black hander who tried to kidnap his child, I do not say, "Why are you using violence?" I say, "Go to it!"

A nation that will not defend its women and children from murder is not fit to be called a nation at all. As you know, I would have acted after the *Lusitania*. And according to my view, people can ask why we did not act then, but no man in his senses can ask why we have acted now. For if I ever meet one of those gentlemen I think of a man who has kicked another, who has pulled his nose, and who spat in his face, and he says, "Beware, lest you go too far and rouse the lion."

We have heard a good deal about the conscientious objectors. While I suppose there are real conscientious objectors, most of them are timid creatures who do not want to be shot at. There are real conscientious objectors and I respect their consciences, but I would find out what their consciences meant. If they say they do not want to take life, I would say, "All right, I will put you on a mine-sweeping job out in the ocean, that requires that you sweep up mines. The mines are liable to be blown off when they are swept up." I would say, "Now, you are not in danger of killing anybody, but I won't guarantee your own life." Now, if he is really conscientious about killing anybody he won't object to that.

That is all right. I would treat him just as well as I would anybody else. But if he won't do anything to help the men who are helping this country, then I would say, "All right, you needn't fight for the country, but in that case you shan't vote in the country."

Universal suffrage must be justified by universal service. If ye will not work ye shall not eat. And in the same way, the men who won't fight for the country, aren't fit to live in the country, which, in a last resort, can only be saved by the sacrifices of the men of it, vast as it may be.

Now, the "shadow Hun" takes many different phases. Sometimes he advocates Germany out and out, and sometimes he screams for peace, peace, with a tremor in his voice. Sometimes he attacks one of our allies, usually England. Now, it happens that I have almost no English blood in me. I have a little. I am an English Quaker. I haven't all the characteristics of the Quaker. Now, gentlemen, we represent in this country the melting pot, the crucible of the nations. We are a new country. We represent many, many different races, and the Congressman who introduced me did so much more flattering than I deserved, but at least I can claim to be an American in this respect, that I am a part of the crucible. I represent the melting of the many different races here into one. My people were here before the Revolution, and at that time there were some German people driven out in the reign of Louis XIV, who ravaged them according to the principles of schrecklichkeit. There were some Dutch traders and mechanics in New York; some lowland Scotch farmers here in Pennsylvania, and Frenchmen who had been driven out of France because there the Catholics were persecuting the Protestants, and Irish who had been driven out of Ireland because there the Protestants were persecuting the Catholics, and then there were some Welsh-English Quakers, and if those people had not become Americans and intermarried, I wouldn't be here.

Now, if I wanted to be hyphenated I couldn't, because it would mean seven hyphens. What is true of me now is going to be true of the average American citizen in the future. We represent a new nation, one that will be blood akin to, but separate from, every other nation of Europe. If our people tried to remain separate, if they tried to remain Irishman, German, or Frenchman, all they will do will be not to become Americans; they will simply lose all chances of sharing in the great heritage that is ours. We welcome in this country men of whatever creed or wherever born, who are content to come here and be straight American and nothing else. And if they do so and act in that

way, then shame on the man who discriminates against them. But if they come here and assume the "Lot's wife" attitude and are looking back all the time to the country from which they came, then the sooner they are turned into pillars of salt the better. There isn't any room here for an American who is half an American and half something else. There is no room here for a "fifty-fifty" allegiance. Either he is an American and nothing else or he isn't an American at all, and in that case I wish we could ship him back.

The usual attack made by the pro-German who does not quite venture to be anti-American is, as I say, anti-English. One hundred and forty years ago and a little over 100 years ago my people fought the English. Usually these people who talk about it have not done anything but talk about it. My people fought the English. They did not fight the English because it was England; they fought her because she was wrong; they fought her because they were good Americans; they fought her because they were standing up for liberty here. King George and the England of that day maltreated America, and the Americans signed the Declaration of Independence, and the most of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were of English blood and made this a separate Union. King George and the English in 1776 had not begun to inflict upon us the wrongs that during the past three years have been inflicted upon us by the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns. The "Shadow Huns" of to-day are the heirs, the spiritual heirs, of the Tories of the Revolutionary War and the Copperheads of the War for the Union—Shadow Huns, Copperheads, Tories. That is their line of ancestry. We have got to have in this country but one flag, and that the American flag; but one language, and that the English language, the language in which the Declaration of Independence and Washington's Farewell Address and Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech were written; and but one loyalty, and that loyalty to the United States, to the country that holds in its hands the golden hopes for the future of mankind.

The lesson I want to teach is demonstrated by the great catastrophe in your own history. One of the terrible calamities of this country was the Johnstown flood. To the memory of every older man here it is a memory of horror to this day. The Johnstown flood came from the breaking of a dam. Warning had been given again and again that the dam was structurally weak, and they ought to avert the possibility of a flood by the only way by which any danger can be averted—any danger of any kind—and that is by preparing against it in advance. But people said it would be too expensive, and probably there wouldn't be a flood anyway, and that there had never been a flood, so why should there be a flood?

And then the flood came and the awful death of thousands, the destruction of homes, the misery of families. Now, what would you have thought of people who at the end of that time said "Let's rebuild the dam as it was. There won't be another flood?"

Now, this Union is at present preparing for war. It made my heart thrill as I passed through your city here and saw before house after house the flags showing one, two, three stars, showing that in that family its sons had gone to prove their faith by their endeavor and to show their loyalty to the Union, their loyalty to this country, by the last ultimate proof of loyalty. It is a wonderful thing, and I am not only proud of the men who go but I congratulate them beyond measure, for the men who don't go will have a harder time explaining to their children in the future why they didn't go than the others will have explaining why they did go. [Applause.] You know, as I have said before, unfortunately for me, I found this a very exclusive war. I was blackballed. But I am not preaching to you anything that I wouldn't try to put into effect and that my family has not put into effect.

I honor beyond measure the men who go, and I admire the energy, the devotion, with which our people are instilled, many of those in the Government—and I want to say right here, Congressmen, that Congress has been most wise and generous in the way it has made appropriations looking toward the going on with the war; it deserves credit for the way it has acted. There has been wise action by certain Government officials, by many private individuals, doing all that can be done, and I honor the men who have volunteered, the drafted men, and men of the Regular Army and Regular Navy, all of them who have gone in. They are doing pretty well things that we ought to have done just three years ago.

Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. The men who could have strengthened the Johnstown dam were not wise in time, and the flood came. The only reason that at this moment we are able to repair and make the blunders and permit the mistakes, is because it happens to pay England and France to protect us as an incident of protecting themselves. Eight months have gone by since Germany's declaration of war against us. Congress did not declare war. It announced that Germany was already at war with us. And it was perfectly true. Eight months have gone by. Congress, as I said, has appropriated large sums of money; the Red Cross—people of whom I am going to speak later—the Y. M. C. A., and kindred organizations, have done well. The young men of the country are going forward showing splendid patriotism, and the spirit of this country is all right. Do not make any mistake. Wisconsin and Minnesota, Kansas City, and everywhere, are just as right as we are—all they need is a change; that is all they need. They are just as straight Americans as we are; they will respond to the spirit just as readily.

Now, friends, let us make up our minds to act in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, to treat these faults and errors not as something to revenge but as something from which to learn lessons for our future. That is what my interest is. My interest is that we shall learn the lessons for our future conduct.

After the Johnstown flood occurred nothing could undo the flood suffering, nothing could alleviate the awful misery of the survivors. What could be done was, in the first place, the rebuilding of the dam, and make the next all right, and in the next place be prepared that never again should there be another flood. That is what you did. If you hadn't done it Johnstown would have been abandoned, instead of being the city that it now is. Let us do that with our country. Let us face the fact of the absurdity of our lack of preparedness. Here you are, a Nation of a hundred millions. We have been in the war eight months behind the shield of the British and French Navies, and the British and French Armies, and during that time we have put on the other side some scores of thousands of men, of whom the Artillery have no guns, and they never practiced with guns, many of them, and there are many Engineers, and one or two divisions of Infantry. If there is one division there, it is trained; it is nearly ready to go in the trenches. If there are two, the other has not been trained and isn't fit to go in the trenches yet. And here we have, I have been told, some artillery that could be employed if we were certain the enemy would not move around too rapidly. They are trained guns; you must treat them with due respect. You have to use them on a foe who will be obligingly still.

I saw it announced the other day that we are going to build a wonderful air fleet and that we would develop an airplane. It was a good one all right. I was in it the other day. It was fine. We went, I think, about 110 miles. It is the Liberty engine. It is a great thing for our inventors to invent it, and it means that when they get the plane together with the engine, instead of being as France is, with, I think, 10,000 planes, we will have one.

Now, I am proud of the men that started in and tried to fill up the gaps, that have developed the engine, but do not let us fool ourselves. It is eight months since the war began. If suddenly to-morrow our allies should say that the war was dreadful and they quit, and if Germany were at liberty to turn her attention to us, Germany, with a small army of, say, 60,000 men, with artillery and airplanes on this side, in all our country we could not put against her an army that would hold it.

Let us make up our minds that never again will we permit Uncle Sam to be caught so utterly unprepared that he owes his safety to the fact that others are willing to protect him when he is unable to protect himself.

I saw the other day that some of my pacifist friends had said that this was going to be the last great war. Three years and three months ago they were saying there would never be a great war. You know that. Just go back and look at the things they said. There was no need of preparedness; there was no need of wasting money on ships and guns, just exactly like the men who said there was no need in wasting money in preparing, in making fit, that South Fork Dam—just exactly the same kind of a statement. Then I stated to an old woman—I forget which sex—I once stated to him, when he said he preferred arbitration to battleships. I said, "Yes; but suppose the other fellow does not. I would rather arbitrate, if possible, but I want the battleships behind to help out."

It is the same way now. I will do everything that I can that is wise to prompt everything that will be done to minimize the chances of war; that will tend to provide machinery that will be to a certain extent in some cases a substitute for war; but when it is all done, remember that the only real safety to Uncle Sam lies in Uncle Sam's preparing his own strength.

Now, we have had an example in the last three years. We were told that if we were helpless we would be kept out of war. We were told that if we did not prepare for war nobody would hurt us. We did not prepare, and we have not kept out of war. We are in the war, but we are only at the receiving end

of it. And no man has any excuse now not to understand from what has actually happened that we can not improvise an Army under modern conditions—that you have got to prepare in advance.

There is just one form of preparation which I believe is really efficient, and that is universal, obligatory military training for all our young men in time of peace. The son of the mine owner and the son of the mine worker, the son of the railroad president and the son of the brakeman, the son of the banker and the son of the bricklayer, the son of the lawyer and the son of the farmer, sometime between the ages of 18 and 22, make them go into the field for actual training, live in the same dog tents, eat the same food, go on the same hikes, do the same work, and then when you come to choose out the men to be trained as officers take each man on his worth as he has shown it. I will say that would be everything for young men in time of peace. It will be the best thing mentally, physically, and morally for our whole people in time of peace, and in time of war it means that we will have a genuine democratic Army.

It isn't militarism. Let me point out just what I mean. We have had thousands of officers in training camps for the last two years. If we didn't have them we wouldn't have had any officers to train the drafted men. That was the only instrument we could use, because it was our duty to use it and do the best we possibly could with it. Now, they put in a rule that every man should have the qualification of a college education before going in there. Personally I don't believe in that rule. But understand I back up plenty of things I don't approve of, and I am backing up the Government for every measure it will take for the efficient prosecution of the war. I am going to do everything I can to the last, but let us prepare so that in the future we shall not commit the blunders we have committed in the present. Now, as to officers' training camps, nobody could go to them unless his father had some money, because you had to take the man out of his business, run the risk of losing his business, and put him in.

The man of means who sent his son under those conditions was doing a patriotic act. I am one of those who was able to send my sons there. I was more glad than I can say to give my sons a chance, but it wasn't a square deal that the sons of other men just as patriotic could not afford to give them that chance. That was not a square deal. Now, if we went at it as we should and prepare, and prepare in advance, that state of affairs would not be necessary. Make every boy come up. Son of the rich man, son of the poor man, son of the man with capital, son of the wage earner. Make every man come up. Support him by the Government while he is up. If necessary, pay a minimum wage to a dependent parent or others who will need him and who will be deprived of his services. Then, after they have been there a year, don't say anything about college education or anything—take the best man.

I am not speaking as a theorist; I am speaking of what I did with my own regiment. When I still thought that I might be allowed to raise a division here, I had two of my old members of my regiment with me doing the work. One of them was a Harvard fellow, captain of the crew in Harvard; the other was originally a New Mexican mining prospector who had gotten off to the Pacific coast as third mate on a windjammer around the Horn. Now, I wouldn't tolerate either man discriminating against the other. You couldn't make either man discriminate against the other. You couldn't make either man discriminate against the other because they were each men of the best type as officers. Now, it would be a mean and base thing to discriminate against a man who had a college education, and it would be a mean and base thing to discriminate against a fellow who had gotten his education as third mate on a windjammer. Give them a chance each to show the stuff there is in him. If they have got the stuff, treat them accordingly.

The young man of fighting age is going to the front. We, who stay behind, who are not allowed to go to the front, must in the first place back them in every way; back the Government in everything it does for them and insist that the Government shall do everything for them, and then do our own part behind them. Buy liberty bonds, so that the Government can have the money to do the work; and, by the way, I have seen a good deal in the papers about the difference between the bondholder and the people. Now, the people have a chance to be bondholders themselves if they wish to be. Let everyone buy a bond, and you get in a favored class. Don't wait for 20 years and then complain about the bondholder. The Government is anxious that everyone get a bond now. They have arranged, I think, that even five men can go together and get a bond at $10 apiece. Let every man get a bond. It is the safest thing in the world; it is on Uncle Sam's credit. That bond will be good unless this Union bursts; and if this Union bursts, it won't make any difference to any of us whether the bond is good or not.

Also help and back organizations like the Red Cross. I wish our people would read the sermons of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, who has just come back from Belgium and France, whose description of the heart-rending misery ought to stir every human being in this country. Let us try to do away, so far as we can, with the sufferings of the people over there, and let us take steps to see that our men who go to the front suffer just as little as possible. The Government can do great things, but private action is needed, and of all of the organizations doing various work probably the Red Cross is at this moment doing the largest amount of good work. So friends, I ask you here, on Red Cross Sunday, to do what you can for the United States in this war, and to profit by the lessons of the war so that we may never again repeat the shortcomings which are being demonstrated.

I ask you to see that we permanently adopt the policy of preparedness, preparedness not just against war but preparedness to secure justice, politically and economically, and social justice. Let the young men of fighting age and physically fit go to the front in the fighting line and let them understand that we who stay at home hold them in higher honor than any other people in this country. They are doing a great work for the country, then let us all do all we can and back the Government in every move it takes that is efficient and right. Bring pressure on it to act with efficiency for the right, and let us exert ourselves in our private capacities by backing such organizations as the Red Cross. Let us, in other words, be on Uncle Sam's team. Don't let us stand on the side lines. Let us help Uncle Sam's team, and let it be understood that as we have drawn the sword it will not be sheathed until, even if it is necessary to exert every particle of our giant strength, with honor we can secure an overwhelming victory.

War-Risk Insurance.

SPEECH
OF
HON. M. M. GARLAND,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 13, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the amendment of the gentleman from New York offered a few minutes ago, which I understand gives to the soldier the so-called insurance in this bill without any cost to him. When we sent the soldiers over to France we did not load them down with funds. For a long time we had a discussion here as to the pay we would give them, and finally the measly sum of $30 a month was finally given to the private soldier to go across there and offer up his life. I am sorry to hear it stated here that one of the arguments in favor of the soldier being required to pay for the insurance is that $13.50 over in France is too much for the morals of the soldier.

Oh, war is such a moral thing. When men are taken and forced into the Army and forced up face to face with one another to shoot their lives out, that is called moral. Why, my friends, there is nothing moral in war. You can not expect men to sit here in Congress and direct every action of these soldiers and every penny that they shall spend. It is stated further that these young men are going over there, and that they have nobody dependent on them now. The most of these boys are coming from work and are members of families with their parents depending on them for support. We see it stated in the newspapers every day. You send such a boy over there. In a short time something occurs in that family to change the situation, and then as a fact they require all the money that they can get from the boy who is at the front. My friends, I am in favor of giving the boys that insurance and not taking that $30 away—out of their pockets If they are deserving of any insurance at all, let us go down into the Treasury and give it to them if it is necessary, just as we have been spending large and extravagant amounts for other things in this war, just as we have given all the power and all the money that has been asked for, and have sent money abroad in amounts larger than

ever were voted before. Yet we talk here about the miserable dollar a day that we are giving to the boy that we send over there and whom we force to give up his life. The theory of that is all wrong and I am opposed to it.

Let us keep in mind this fact, that every American boy who goes over to France is taking from his young life the education and start for his future life—all for the good of his country. He has no more at stake so far as home government is concerned than the rest of us, but he is forced to go there because this Congress has stated that between certain ages men must go. It seems to me that it is little enough that we guarantee him this, so that he may depend upon some competency other than the amount that we have voted as compensation, and in my estimation there ought not to be any exception. Each and every man who goes to France should be insured at the cost of the Government. [Applause.]

Growing Interest in Waterways.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the country have the people been more interested in the question of transportation than they are at the present time. The railroads and steamships are groaning under the burden placed upon them of carrying the products of the United States, and to meet our war necessities. They are so sadly incapable of meeting all demands of shippers that, as to many commodities, embargoes have been laid which hinder rather than stimulate production. With 50,000 miles of navigable waterways—half of them not improved for public use—it is no wonder that the cry comes up from various sections of the country for increased transportation facilities by water as well as by rail. When food products are bringing extraordinary prices, and every energy is being bent to increase production, it is unfortunate that producers should be handicapped by embargoes, or should be told to let the products of their toil perish because the waterways and canals are not adequate to afford them transportation facilities to reach the markets or the ports.

That the problems thus raised are of national interest is revealed by the renewed activity of waterways advocates in response to the general demand for better facilities for making shipments by rail and water. No less than three conventions are now being arranged to deal with this question.

The people of Texas are looking forward to a meeting soon to be held at Corpus Christi, where demands will be made for improved outlets to the sea and for better means of communication by water between the ports of Texas and other States and countries. The Rivers and Harbors Committee is planning to look over the Texas waterways during the interim between the sessions of Congress.

The Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association is arranging for a great convention at Miami, Fla., the last week of November, where all the States of the Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Florida, will be represented. The Rivers and Harbors Committee is to continue its Texas tour along the Gulf to connect with the Miami convention, where work thus far accomplished upon the Atlantic intracoastal waterway will be discussed. In addition to these two conventions, both urging internal improvements and waterway extensions, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress is prepared to bring together in the city of Washington the waterways advocates of all the States, who will assemble about the first week in December. Taken all in all, it will be an active season for the men and women of the United States who believe that productivity and commerce will be greatly advanced by a more considerate Government interest in the transportation problem.

THE MIAMI CONVENTION.

In connection with the Miami convention, which meets November 27 and concludes December 1, and which will be addressed by some of the leading men of the Nation, I desire to include in my remarks an extract from the call of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association. It gives a brief but comprehensive statement of the situation that is agitating the waterways people of the seaboard States. It also reveals the spirit of the beautiful Florida city, which, located almost at the southern extremity of the United States, and at great disadvantage in the matter of railroad transportation, pleads for recognition as a port and evinces a willingness to cooperate with the Government, that is most commendable. It is as follows:

It was with especial pleasure that the hospitable invitation from Miami was accepted and our members will be assured of one of the most attractive programs ever arranged for a convention of the association; attractive not only because of the delightful surroundings and tropical climate in which our "Thanksgiving convention" will be held but because of the magnificent spirit of progress and self-help which will be everywhere evident in and about Miami; and finally because of the important bearing the convention may have in furthering the use and improvement of waterways for the national benefit in this time of crisis and stress.

The congressional situation that developed while the river and harbor bill of 1917 was upon its passage marked, we believe, a turning point, in public opinion, in favor of a freer and more rational treatment of our waterways. The old unreasoning opposition made itself manifest, and scant effort was made to meet any issue fairly upon its merit. The objectors gave little consideration to the commercial or strategic value of projects as reported by the War and Navy Departments. In fact, it was often evident that time had not even been taken to consult the survey maps and reports on the projects under discussion. This line of attack was directed with special reference to projects advocated by this association, which stood the test and advanced in the good will of Congress. All of which means that the work of the association must continue until those who have heretofore so bitterly opposed these important eastern developments are brought to a better understanding of the righteousness of our cause, or are overwhelmed by the enlightened sentiment of the greater number of their colleagues in Congress who know our commercial needs and who believe in the common-sense preparedness for war which this association advocates.

The definite alignment of the administrative branch of the Government in favor of the bill was another long step forward, as have been the recent activities of the Government toward the more effective use of our waterways as a war-emergency measure. The Secretary of Commerce and the Council of National Defense, it may be observed, are earnestly cooperating to bring about the use of water routes wherever possible to afford relief to the railroads for war service, and we have the prospect, during the war at least, of earnest cooperation between the rail and water lines in both routing and rating, instead of the unfortunate discordance so evident in the past.

The river and harbor bill just enacted by Congress provides for the appointment of a Waterways Commission to coordinate the activities of the Government with respect to our waterways and water resources, and to formulate comprehensive plans for future development. This again should go far toward allaying the spirit of prejudice against the use of waterways which has been spread so insidiously during recent years.

With pride in the progress made, therefore, and with confidence in the future, our members will once more assemble in annual convention. As to the past year it may be noted that work has progressed materially on some of our projects already adopted; several links in the intracoastal chain are now completed and in operation. The Champlain Narrows, an essential connection from the Adirondack ore fields to the New York Barge Canal and the Hudson River, is to be improved to standard dimensions. The East River (N. Y.) improvement is definitely adopted, together with the deeper channel for Boston. Negotiations are authorized to acquire the Cape Cod and the Chesapeake & Delaware Canals, subject, however, to ratification by Congress. This brings us a step nearer the adoption of the project for the waterway across the State of New Jersey, a vital link between North and South in the intracoastal plan. During the past year that State has given further evidence of its good faith, in providing for purchase of the right of way, and its governor and official board are justified in urging upon Congress that the time is at hand to adopt the project and proceed with the work.

Problems of similar importance continue to claim our interest along the southern section of the waterway chain, notably between the North Carolina Sounds and Winyah Bay, in South Carolina, and in the series of channels requiring improvement to extend the inside route down the Florida coast.

Miami, indeed, affords one of the finest examples of waterway progress in our country. On her harbor front in Biscayne Bay she is constructing, at her own expense, a public dock 1,000 feet long, with a public terminal railroad. In the bay, Dade County, of which Miami is the seat of government, is dredging a commodious channel and causeway. Access to these improvements is provided by the Government channel and jetties connecting with the ocean, on which the commerce of the Antilles and the Gulf passes to and fro along the Gulf Stream, seemingly a stone's throw from shore. This year's river and harbor bill carries a provision for completing the Government channel, and our members may understand the progressive spirit of Miami when we state that for every dollar the Government has provided toward these improvements the people of Miami have provided more than two dollars. The opening of this new harbor is to be timed to our convention.

AMERICA'S OWN NECESSITIES IMPORTANT.

Mr. Speaker, when Miami greets the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association in November next the transportation problem in the United States will doubtless have reached its acutest stage to date; that is to say, the common carriers of the country will have been brought face to face with the most difficult situation that has ever confronted them. The war pressure may be bringing them better returns than formerly, but they will have been pushed to capacity, which is not much greater now than it was in 1907, when James J. Hill declared it would take $500,000,000 to bring the railroads up to the transportation needs of the country. The suggestion of Government ownership hangs over these great and hitherto powerful corporations, and, like, the labor question, tends to retard the investment of new capital for betterments and extensions. Government bonds for war purposes are too necessary just now, and too numerous also, to encourage the hope that the investing public will come to the aid of the transportation companies, the element of risk

making all capital a little more cautious than it is in normal times.

We have no grievance against transportation companies as such. On the contrary, if our theory is correct, the improvement of our inland waterways must serve to feed the railroads and press new business upon them—that is our belief and that is what we advocate. But we realize now, as we have contended since this great waterways movement was inaugurated, that to depend solely upon one method of transportation in the United States, and especially along the Atlantic coast, is an injustice to the producers and consumers of the land and a setback to our national progress. We will not argue this question at any length. We will just set it forth as one of the many that will come up for discussion at Miami.

And as food for thought along this same line, may we not invite the careful attention of our Senators and Representatives, of our railroad officials and of all others concerned, to these queries?

First. Do you think the cost of living in the United States would be so high and the rail and ocean freight charges so great if our inside waterways had been encouraged to do their full share of the transportation work in this war?

Second. When the United States is willing to bond itself for $7,000,000,000 to lend to our foreign allies to spend for war purposes, including railroad construction, do you not think we should be fair enough to our own people to appropriate the few paltry millions necessary to put our own coastal waterways in order for commerce and for defense?

Third. And, Mr. Railroad Man, do you not think when the United States Government lends men and money to France and Russia to build locomotives and cars and to build and rebuild railroads which coordinate with waterways and canals to facilitate transportation and develop the country, that the time has come for a similar coordination and development in the United States?

Nebraska Wins First Place in the Soil-Products Contest.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, some months ago in speaking upon this floor I told my colleagues in a modest way the achievements and glory of "Nebraska at 50."

There were those who accorded me most cordial attention, but not unchecked credulity. They thought among my figures of speech hyperbole was given an exalted station.

To show that my statements were all well based and thoroughly grounded I desire to submit the following fact: That at the International Soil Products Exposition recently held at Peoria, Ill., Nebraska won first prize, as the following Associated Press dispatch states:

NEBRASKA WINS FIRST PLACE IN SOIL-PRODUCTS CONTEST.

PEORIA, ILL., *September 24.*

Nebraska won the first prize at the International Soil Products Exposition to-day. Out of a possible 1,500 points, Nebraska led all other exhibits of agricultural products, with 1,230 points. Kansas was second, with 1,148 points; Arizona, third, with 1,084 points; Minnesota, fourth, with 1,005 points; Saskatchewan, Canada, fifth, with 922 points; and Wisconsin, sixth, with 920 points.

The following Omaha Bee editorial comments on our State's achievements, not to lord it over Kansas, our State twin and geographical neighbor, and, by the way, most formidable rival in the contest, but to keep the hat of history on straight presents this following editorial:

NEBRASKA IN FRONT AS USUAL.

Comparisons instituted at the International Soil Products Exposition at Peoria go to confirm what has been modestly claimed for the State of Nebraska by its patriotic sons and daughters all along. In an open competition Nebraska comes out ahead of all its rivals, with a clean hundred points over Kansas and the others trailing. This was decided by an exhibition of agricultural products such as this State produces year after year in such quantities as astounds the world. Other Commonwealths attract attention in various ways, each boasting of its peculiar attractions, but Nebraska merely goes along about its business of raising crops and sending them to market, and taking down first honors when it comes to comparing results. If our home folks were not as modest as they are industrious and enterprising they could start a justifiable uproar about the quality and quantity of their products such as would make the others sit up and take notice, but they will hang this newest honor up alongside of others previously gathered and go about their legitimate business of producing half a billion dollars' worth of wealth each year from the farms of the State. That's all; if you want noise or politics try Kansas, but if you are looking for real results come to Nebraska.

For 50 years of statehood we referred to Nebraska as the State without a mine. There has appeared in its least promising quarter recently a concrete contradiction of that designation. Great deposits of potash have been discovered. But characteristically that will find its greatest value in contributing to our soil's fertility our present greatest asset. That fertile soil makes our subsurface a mine coincident with the area of the Commonwealth.

Its products, rich and valuable, come first from the alembic of active soil and season in richest emerald, to be transmuted, in both rain and dew, under warmth of the sun, into that form of gold upon which a battling world places the highest price.

The United States at War—What Has Been Accomplished Since the Declaration of War by the Executive Departments of the Government Under War Conditions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, October 5, 1917.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I herewith print a general résumé of the activities of the executive departments of the Government during the period of the present war, prepared by the Committee on Public Information.

GENERAL RÉSUMÉ.

It is not possible here fully to detail the multiplied activities of our executive departments under the stress of war conditions. As the legislative branch of the Government has responded to their call for legislation and vast appropriations for the conduct of democracy's war, so the executive departments, working at a speed and under a pressure without precedent, have given their response to extraordinary and imperative demands.

There has been no "slacker" among these departments. From the Department of State, with its disclosures of German intrigue, to the Department of Labor, engaged in the adjustment of domestic labor problems, there has been a harmonious adjustment of the machinery of war and a cooperation that augurs well for victory.

The War Department, creating a great army to fight our battles abroad; the Navy Department, joining the allies in keeping enemy ships from our shores; the Treasury Department, enrolling patriotic Americans as they subscribe to the liberty bonds; the Department of Justice, closing in on the enemy within our gates; the Post Office Department, curbing seditious utterances with the one hand and sending mail to our soldiers with the other; the Interior Department, promoting the development of the country's war-time resources; the Agricultural Department, stimulating the production of foodstuffs; the Department of Commerce, keeping open the channels of trade and conducting a military and economic census—all have played well their part in this era of preparation.

Six months from the day the war came to America there may be written a remarkable story of the transformation of the United States from a Nation of peace to one of enforced conflict. Great difficulties have been overcome; others are yet to be overcome, but the record as it stands to-day begets admiration and promises eventual success in arms.

We are not a militaristic Nation. We have maintained no large standing armies. When war came there was barely a nucleus upon which to build. We started almost from the ground up to equip ourselves for warfare as it exists to-day, for a modern warfare as different from that to which we have been accustomed as the airplane differs from the old circus balloon. Steadily along scientific and systematic lines we have progressed during the first six months of the war. We have endeavored to profit by the earlier mistakes of other nations, to expand speedily but thoroughly, to become equipped in the typical American way to meet a great emergency.

The purpose here is to recount some of the things which have been accomplished under the conditions suddenly confronting us. There is opportunity here to record only the greater achievements, but in the path of these more important accomplishments

there follows a train of necessary little things—the essential odds and ends of this country's preparations for war.

There is a story, for instance, in the lights that shine in our big Government buildings by night. There was a time when these buildings were dark and empty overnight. Now, men in uniform and in civilian dress bend late over papers and war maps. War machinery 3,000 miles from the battle front is operating. One might find another story in the stream of Government clerks who march out of these buildings and upon the streets of the Capital. Each clerk is a worker in the broad field of war-time preparation. Again, there is inspiration in the fact that many of America's business and professional men—great merchants, financiers, economists, teachers, and others—have volunteered their services and are aiding this Government, practically without compensation, in its effort to make the world safe for democracy.

These things furnish an index of patriotism and reveal the unity of our people. They are interwoven with the major achievements of the first six months of war. Of these details others will in time speak fully. It is now proposed to record the work of the several executive departments to the end that the country may be advised of our stewardship, and that our people may lend themselves even more to a common cause.

This résumé of the work of the executive departments is not given necessarily in the order of importance or popular interest. Each department has fitted into the great comprehensive scheme of war, and aiding these departments there have been various bureaus and commissions created to assist the overworked regular establishments. And in the center of this great war wheel is the White House, occupied by a man in whom Congress has intrusted great powers and upon whom there rests to-day one of the greatest burdens in history.

A summary of "what has been done during the first six months of war" is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

From the Secretary of War to the recruit clerk the War Department is to-day an efficient, smooth-working organization. "Red-tape" methods are beating a retreat. The most visionary official six months ago would not have predicted what has been wrought since April. Our forces are to-day assembling on foreign soil. American industry has been broadened to clothe, feed, and equip a great new army. Hundreds of thousands of American youths are being trained to join our advance guard on the other side.

Within three months the War Department constructed 16 cantonments. This construction virtually meant the building of 16 cities, each capable of accommodating 40,000 population. These cities, from sidewalks and electric lights to wooden buildings, were constructed at an approximate total cost of $150,000,000, and without excessive profits to the contractors. This great cantonment project was in addition to the fitting out of as many National Guard camps and the maintenance of officers' training schools where intensive training was given to young men capable of becoming officers.

Approximately 500,000 men are now located at or en route to these cantonments. When these men are trained and ready for embarkation the United States is ready to supply others to fill the cantonments and undergo preparation for the supreme duty in France. There is practically no limit to the number of patriotic Americans who are awaiting the call for service.

Under the direction of the Provost Marshal General the War Department successfully put into effect the selective-draft law. There was a minimum of friction. Resistance to the draft has been sporadic and isolated. Everywhere there has been general recognition of its fairness, its democracy.

As a result of this law 10,000,000 men are available for examination and acceptance or exemption. A National Army of a million men to back up the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Navy is readily obtainable under this system, and barely touches the resources of America in man power.

The work of the General Staff and the Army War College, while highly confidential and technical in its nature, should not be passed without notice. The General Staff, with a small augmentation of membership, has worked out plans not only for our present Army but future increments as well. It has studied the lessons of three years of war in Europe, has brought our Army up to the new era in warfare, and substantially revised the past organization of our armies to fit in with modern methods. Not only was Gen. Pershing's expedition organized and fitted out along entirely new lines, but the General Staff is modernizing the entire Army, unit by unit, so that it may become a powerful factor in the allied war machine.

The necessity of an entirely new type of military organization, the new demands of European trench warfare, the building up of an American Army many times the size of its peace strength, and the development of strategic plans in keeping with the requirements of the hour are tasks to which the General Staff has given a satisfying answer.

It is probable that no branch of the War Department has withstood greater war-time pressure than the office of The Adjutant General. The outbreak of the war found the country wholly unsupplied with officers to train and command the forthcoming army. Early in April The Adjutant General announced a comprehensive plan for 16 officers' training camps to train more than 40,000 candidates. There were more than 150,000 applicants, and about 43,000 were selected and assigned for training at these camps.

They received highly intensive instruction and approximately 27,000 officers have been recommended and commissioned for the several branches of the service. Some of these officers will serve with the Regular Army, others with the National Guard, and some are in France. The great majority, however, will be utilized for training the National Army. A second series of training camps has been begun and a third is to follow in January. The third series will afford an opportunity to the drafted man to become an officer, and will be largely filled by men selected from among the ranks now in training under the selective-draft law.

Upon the office of The Adjutant General there also fell the duty of bringing into the service for the present emergency the officers and enlisted men, with the exception of the enlisted men secured through the draft law, of issuing necessary orders for the movement of troops and of handling the great amount of correspondence and records incident to the formation of such an army. First there was a recruiting drive to fill the Regular Army to its war strength. This was done. Simultaneously this office procured more than 50,000 trained specialists for the Enlisted Reserve Corps.

This reserve corps supplied material for the 10 Engineer regiments sent to France as well as more than 12,000 specialists for the Quartermaster Corps.

In addition to the officers commissioned from the training camps it was necessary to commission about 30,000 officers in the Reserve Corps and to issue commissions to about 5,000 officers of the Regular Army either as original appointments or promotions. At the beginning of the war we had about 20,000 officers; now there are around 80,000. The commissioning of these men in itself is a major achievement.

The Adjutant General's office received about 3,000 pieces of mail per day during the year 1916. Now the mail averages 80,000 pieces a day, and the work of the office is constantly getting heavier, yet the clerical force has been barely doubled.

A statistical division which will keep a card-index record of the entire Army is one of the war developments in The Adjutant General's office. The soldier both at home and abroad will be card indexed so that if he figures in the day's news, either as being promoted, commended, wounded, or killed, there will be immediately available a record of that soldier. This division will maintain offices both in Washington and Paris.

The Adjutant General's department also has started a comprehensive occupational and educational census of the men of the National Army. At each of the 16 cantonments a personnel organization has been formed and the recruits are being listed as they arrive, so that whenever possible a soldier may be assigned to the right place.

This occupational census of the drafted men takes into consideration the previous employment, educational qualifications, and preferences for service of each man called. The data selected are to be available to the division commanders and will enable them to make the best possible assignments of the men composing the National Army.

The mobilization of the Nation's industries for the task of supplying arms and ammunition for the new army was a part of the task ahead of the Ordnance Bureau when the war came. The Ordnance Bureau, like the office of The Adjutant General, has been one of the speed-up bureaus of the War Department during these six months. It was equipped for times of peace, and while there was some reserve supply of arms and ammunition it was comparatively negligible in view of the sudden demands. It was no longer a matter of having the work done at arsenals and armories of the Government. Industry had to be organized to supply the ordnance for our forces.

The Ordnance Bureau is now expending for the first year of the war more than $3,000,000,000. In addition to the demands for increased output of the ordinary supplies the Ordnance Bureau must be prepared to meet the new conditions of war. Antiaircraft guns had to be produced; rifles had to be remodeled and rechambered; the type of ammunition was changed; machine guns had to be produced in great numbers; and railway artillery, and motor equipment for artillery—all

of a modern type—had to be supplied on short notice. At the same time field artillery and heavier guns were made ready for the service in France.

Approximately $250,000,000 was required for the establishment of new manufacturing plants and for the cost of the guns they will produce. An illustration of the cost of war and the increased work of the Ordnance Bureau is shown by a comparison of appropriations. The carriage division of the Ordnance Bureau, for instance, spent approximately $34,000,000 the year before the war began. Since the United States entered the war the appropriations for this division have amounted to nearly $2,000,000,000.

For the procurement of mobile artillery ammunition there has been appropriated about $398,000,000. The average annual appropriations for the purpose for the fiscal years 1906 to 1914 amounted to only $310,000, and the average for the years 1915 to 1917 was $1,088,000.

Aside from its purchases and production of the munitions of war the Ordnance Department has practically completed arrangements for the construction and early operation of a nitrate plant.

As soon as war came the Ordnance Department created a section for handling matters concerning the weapons essential to modern trench warfare. This section includes in its preparations pyrotechnics, rifle grenades, hand grenades, trench mortars, drop bombs, releasing devices, flame throwers, and all other chemical devices known to the warfare of to-day. The size of the task of the Ordnance Bureau, confronted with the arming of possibly 2,000,000 men, is appreciated when it is realized that not one of the articles mentioned above was a standard article for manufacture in this country prior to the outbreak of the war.

Reference has been made to the construction of 16 Army cantonments within an incredibly short time. This was accomplished by the Quartermaster General's department, but this was but one of the war duties devolving upon the Quartermaster Corps. It has had to clothe and feed the American Army at home and the expeditionary force abroad. It has supplied everything from writing pens to woolen underwear and overcoats to our men in camp. It must provide forage for thousands of animals. It must heat the cantonments and Army camps.

To accomplish all this the Quartermaster Corps has established many depots, and its personnel has been enormously increased to carry on the work of making comfortable our Army in training. The Council of National Defense has cooperated in mobilizing the industries of the country to turn out the unprecedented order for clothing, shoes, and food required by the Quartermaster General.

Industry has expanded just as rapidly as possible to accommodate the unexpected demands. There have been shortages in equipment here and there, but considering the magnitude of the orders placed and the suddenness with which we were forced to equip not only our forces here but an expeditionary force abroad the performance of the Quartermaster Corps is remarkable.

Since last April, for instance, it has purchased more than $130,000,000 worth of clothing, consisting of countless suits, belts, hats, gloves, overcoats, stockings, and so on. More than $54,000,000 has been spent for equipage—tents, cots, blankets, bags, axes, tools, pins, stoves. Millions of yards of cloth, including tentage, have been acquired at a cost of more than $160,000,000.

Incidentally the Quartermaster Corps has secured several thousand bakers and cooks, who have been assigned to duty at the training camps. Cooking schools and organizations of bakery companies was merely one of the side line activities of the Quartermaster Department, which, like the Ordnance Department, is scheduled to expend more than $3,000,000,000 during the first year of the war.

The development of a standard military truck which will be turned out in large numbers was recently announced. This truck was designed with the aid of the country's leading automobile engineers and draftsmen, who came to Washington at the request of the Quartermaster Corps. The standardized truck was recently described by Secretary Baker as several years ahead of anything yet devised in the truck line.

The Aviation Section of the Signal Corps of the Army to-day is engaged on a work that will largely determine America's effectiveness in this war. That section is constructing an aerial fleet that soon will go to France "to blind the eyes of the Germans." Much of the work of the Aviation Section is of such military importance that it can not be revealed here, but this is a résumé of what has been done to date.

Contracts have been let and construction begun on the aerial program contemplated when Congress appropriated $640,000,000 for aviation in July. This program called for more than 20,000 machines.

This country will send into the air thousands of training machines, scouting machines, and great battle planes of the Caproni and Handley Page types.

The development of the "liberty motor" under dramatic circumstances has been described by the Secretary of War as "probably the greatest single achievement of the war." This motor, the triumph of American ingenuity and manufacture, has withstood every test. It was produced through the cooperation of the country's greatest engineers, the Council of National Defense, and the Aircraft Production Board, and the War Department.

Twenty-four aviation flying schools have been authorized and most of them are in operation. We have eight ground schools at leading universities.

In addition, it has been recently disclosed that many American aviators, wearing our uniforms, are now in training behind the European battle fronts. Special arrangements were made with our allies for the intensive training of American aviators behind the lines, and hundreds, probably thousands, of American boys are already being trained on foreign soil for air duty.

The country has become convinced that America's biggest contribution in the overthrow of German autocracy will be through the air. The accomplishments to date of the Signal Corps sustain this belief and hope. Highly satisfactory progress, it is announced, has been made on our aviation program, and soon the first American-built battle plane, fully equipped in this country, will be sent to Europe.

This progress has been all the more remarkable when it is considered that the Aviation Section had little to build upon. Until August, 1916, when Congress appropriated some $13,000,000, our air service was merely incidental. A year later the War Department asked for and received an appropriation of $640,000,000, and more will be available if needed.

The Signal Corps proper has kept pace with the Aviation Section in preparing to keep open communication when we begin to fight in France. The country has responded generously to the call of the service for radio experts, telegraphers, linemen, and electricians.

Much may be written also of the preparation of the Engineer Department of the Army, the Medical Department, the Judge Advocate General's Office, the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and other bureaus and branches of our great war machine of to-day. There has been coordination all along the line. The greatest physicians in the country are enlisted to keep our boys in health while they are in training, and to minister to their wants when they become wounded "over there." The War Department, turning from the sterner things of the moment, has provided entertainment at the various training camps, and this work is in charge of a commission composed of experts on recreation.

The Engineering Department has covered nearly the entire field of engineering and technology since war came. It has not only met the problem of increasing its personnel and supplying the engineer equipment for an army of more than a million men but has undertaken successfully railroading on an immense scale in an attempt to furnish railroads complete from this side of the Atlantic for operation in France.

The work of the engineers ranges from organizing gas and flame service to building pontoon bridges, from the preparation of forestry regiments to the erection of sewage-disposal plants. It is essential that lines of communication be kept open for the great armies of to-day, and our railroad and forestry regiments are already in France—with more to go.

Under the supervision of the engineer department a United States locomotive was constructed in 21 days by the Baldwin Works. Now 37 engines have been completed and shipped from the works and 4 have been shipped. The cost of materials ordered to date by the engineer department is approximately $70,000,000. The articles include several hundred locomotives, 500,000 crossties, 600 fill and ballast cars, 600 miles of telephone wire, 102,000 tons of rail, and many steam shovels, locomotive cranes, complete water stations, and repair-shop equipment. Great engineer depots have been established quickly in various sections of the United States to facilitate the handling of supplies for the Army.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Navy and the Marine Corps now constitute a force of more than a quarter of a million men. When the United States entered the war there were 64,680 enlisted men in the Navy. There are now more than 143,000, an increase of nearly 80,000.

Since that time the Naval Reserve Force has been increased from 10,000 to 49,000; 14,500 Naval Militia have been put into the Federal service; the Coast Guard, with its force of 5,000, has been transferred to the Navy for the term of the war; and the Hospital Corps has been increased from 2,000 to 6,500. The Marine Corps has increased from 13,266 enlisted on April 6 to an enlisted strength, with reserves, of 32,000.

There are now nearly three times as many vessels and boats in service as there were before the war began. Every battleship and cruiser that was in reserve has been fully manned and commissioned. Hundreds of vessels of various types—yachts and fast motor boats and tugs—have been taken over and transformed into patrol boats, submarine chasers, and the various types needed for coast defense and other purposes.

The Navy is carrying out the largest ship-construction program in history. This program embraces hundreds of vessels of various types, ranging from 32,000-ton battleships to submarine chasers. Months ago contracts were let for every destroyer the American yards could build, and to provide for the many more vessels of this type just provided for in the urgent deficiency bill necessitated the enlargement of shipyards and the facilities for building the powerful engines required. This was arranged for by the Navy Department; the plans were made and work was begun on these extensions while the appropriations were pending. The formal contracts were signed and the machinery in motion as soon as the bill was passed. In spite of the large number of vessels under contract, new records in construction are being made, and all previous efforts in building warships have been surpassed.

The Atlantic Fleet now comprises twice as many vessels as in peace times. Every warship has been turned into a training school for the instruction of the men in gunnery and engineering, and notable results have been achieved, especially in target practice with guns of the smaller calibers used in fighting submarines.

Thousands of gunners are serving in the armed guards that protect our merchant ships from the enemy U boats. The arming of our merchantmen and the protection of our commerce is one of the important tasks imposed upon the Navy, and how well it has been performed is shown by the comparatively small number of armed vessels that have been sunk.

It was Germany's ruthless submarine warfare that forced this country to declare the existence of a state of war, and naval officers realized that the immediate duty was to engage in the campaign against the U boats. Soon after war was declared a flotilla of destroyers was dispatched to the war zone, and many more have been sent since that time. Our vessels have been actively engaged in the antisubmarine warfare in European waters since early in May. The reduction in sinkings as well as the praise of the British Admiralty testify to the effectiveness of our aid.

The duty of transporting our armies overseas has devolved upon the Navy, and how well our transports have been guarded is attested by the fact that, in spite of attacks by submarines, we have not lost a transport or a man.

To house and train the thousands of recruits who enlisted so rapidly, the Navy has built 20 new training camps, which provide for 85,000 men. Each of these is a little city in itself, with comfortable barracks, mess halls, and the necessary buildings.

Keeping pace with the great expansion of the Navy afloat, an immense construction program, involving about $100,000,000, is also being carried out on shore. Great dry docks, shipways, and piers are being built, and enlargement of navy yards amounting to virtual rebuilding is in progress. Immense foundries, machine shops, and warehouses are being erected. Work has begun on the large projectile plant at Charleston, W. Va., which will be operated in connection with the armor-plate plant to be built there.

The acquisition of the Jamestown Exposition site and the Pine Beach properties, on Hampton Roads, gives the Navy its first fleet operating base, which will include a training station for 10,000 men, aviation station, submarine base, coal piers, large storage facilities for fleet supplies, and various other features.

The Naval Aeronautic Corps has been increased to several times the size it was six months ago. The 100 naval aviators landed in France June 8 constitute the first contingent of our regular fighting forces to be landed on French soil. The members of the corps are being trained in the use of seaplanes, dirigible balloons, and the various types of aircraft used in coast defense, antisubmarine warfare, and over-sea service. The Navy is building at Philadelphia a $1,000,000 aircraft factory, which will produce a considerable proportion of the machanes it requires, as well as enable it to engage in experimental work that will keep it in the forefront in the development of new types of aircraft.

Contracts involving hundreds of millions of dollars have been awarded for the manufacture of guns, ammunition, and other ordnance material. These have involved the development of new sources of supply, particularly in guns and mounts, for which contractors entirely new to the business have been interested to the extent of erecting factories for the undertaking of this work. In fulfilling contracts for the allies and our own Army and Navy, an immense capacity in the production of munitions and guns of all calibers had been developed in this country before the United States entered the war, and this has since been greatly increased. The enlargement of the naval gun factory now under way will make this one of the greatest plants of the kind in the world.

The Bureau of Ordnance has also carried on a large amount of experimental work to keep up with the latest inventions and developments in this field, both here and abroad, and our guns and munitions are considered equal to any other navy and superior in certain particulars.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

Ordinarily the Interior Department concerns itself only with domestic affairs, such as our guardianship over the Indian, public lands, and reclamation projects. When the war came to America, however, the Interior Department found that it had a niche in the plans for national defense and the struggle for world democracy. A résumé of what the Interior Department has done shows that no bureau of that great institution has failed to find something to do under the stress of war conditions.

The wartime activities of the Interior Department range from encouraging Indians—the pioneer Americans—to subscribe to the liberty loan to the leasing of Government land for the production of food or the development of water power for manufacturing purposes.

The department has loaned its topographic experts to the Army; it has supplied geologists where needed; its experts on metals have cooperated with the Council of National Defense and the War Department; it has prepared a classified list of the mining engineers and chemists of the entire country and qualified in many other ways as a department which can turn from the affairs of peace to the activities of war.

With the encouragement and approval of the department, Indian adults and minors subscribed to approximately $4,500,000 worth of the first liberty loan. A similarly generous response may be expected from the Indians now that the second bond issue is under way.

Nearly a hundred topographic engineers of the Geological Survey have been commissioned in the Army. The survey bureau will map military areas of importance in this country and abroad.

The Geological Survey has also supplied a great deal of data, of highly important and confidential nature, regarding the minerals and substances required for the successful conduct of the war and the supply of the same.

The Indian Bureau waged an extensive food-supply campaign during the past summer. On 73 Indian reservations 472,156 acres of land were cultivated this year, in comparison with 358,796 last year. Indian women and girls have been taught the modern art of canning and preserving. A woman expert went from reservation to reservation teaching this art.

The extension of canals and laterals has been rushed by the Reclamation Service in order that a greater acreage might be brought under cultivation and the food supply increased. Legislation was obtained for the temporary delivery of water to arid and idle lands and more liberal homestead regulations have encouraged the struggling farmer and increased his output.

A stimulated sale of Government lands in the West is reported by the General Land Office which says that "a constantly increasing utilization of the water resources of the West has added largely to the area of irrigated lands capable of intensive cultivation. * * * Even inferior lands, for which there were no buyers a few years ago, when offered for sale now very readily sell at prices way above the appraisements."

The war activities of the Bureau of Mines have been particularly comprehensive. The director of this bureau has cooperated in various technical investigations undertaken by the Council of National Defense and its committees and the bureau has submitted special reports on highly important subjects. It cooperated with the War Department in the nitrate supply inquiry, prepared an inventory of mining engineers and chemists, and conducted an investigation and supplied valuable data concerning greater production of raw materials for acids.

The Chemical and Mining Division of the Bureau of Mines is now working with the War Department in investigating war gases and masks. The bureau has also applied itself to the task

of promoting a greater production of quicksilver, potash, petroleum products, and coal. From deposits existing in this country the bureau has also undertaken to find ways and means of supplying the manganese essential to the production of high-grade steel. The extent of the Government's contracts for steel makes this task peculiarly vital.

With the outbreak of war the peace-time machinery of the Department of the Interior was quickly transformed into agencies of preparation for war. There was a rapid readjustment, and Secretary Lane expressed gratification to-day that every bureau of the department has been able to find some way in which it might contribute to the national defense.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The farmer is the backbone of any country in time of peace. He does not lose his status in time of war. Without food our armies can not fight. Without food those who support the armies back of the lines and at home can not give their support. The Department of Agriculture, therefore, has its function in this war, just as has the General Staff or the Atlantic Fleet.

That the department has not been idle in this national and international crisis, when the United States confronts the problem of feeding not only ourselves but, to a large degree, our allies, may be briefly shown by an analysis of the war-time activities of the department. Here are those activities tersely told:

The Department of Agriculture has appointed 2,850 additional demonstration agents to go among our people and teach them how to make the soil yield its most bountiful harvest.

It has facilitated the distribution of seeds to our farmers and redoubled the efforts to eradicate crop-destroying pests.

It has waged a systematic and successful campaign for the canning, drying, and storing of foodstuffs. In conjunction with the food administration, the department has awakened the American housewife to the necessity of preserving foodstuffs for future use, and there are millions of jars and cans of food on pantry shelves throughout the length and breadth of the land to-day.

It has stimulated in every possible way the production of meat, grain, and other foodstuffs and sent its expert agricultural agents into every community.

The Department of Agriculture has assisted in organizing a regiment of forest engineers for active service abroad, developed and treated woods for airplane construction and other war uses, and assisted in improving gas masks for the use of our Army.

It has inspected and kept free of impurities the meat and other foods served in the Army cantonments and aided in constructing the roads about those cantonments.

It is extending a market-news service and other market activities to facilitate the marketing of agricultural products and to reduce waste and loss.

It is investigating upper-air conditions for the aviation service and creating a strong, durable, cotton fabric for covering airplane wings.

The work in progress reaches practically every bureau of the department. As the war progresses the Department of Agriculture expects to become more and more useful to the armies in the field and the army of producers at home.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Although not a military department, the Department of Commerce has found many war-time functions during the first six months following the entry of this country into the European conflict. In the organization of war commissions and boards the Department of Commerce has given its trained men. The United States Shipping Board drew upon this department for the chief administrative assistant in the Emergency Fleet Corporation. In the organization of the Council of National Defense the department furnished trained men for several positions.

The Department of Commerce, through the Bureau of the Census, prepared the estimate of population for use in connection with the registration of drafted men and the enrolling of the National Army. It made an estimate of population for the Federal reserve districts in the floating of the liberty loan; made a census of acids and materials used in the manufacture of explosives; and made a list of flour and other manufacturers for the Council of National Defense.

The department assisted in drafting legislation such as the "trading-with-the-enemy" act and the exports-embargo legislation. It is, of course, cooperating in the enforcement of these and other laws to regulate commerce and prevent intercourse with the Nation's enemies.

Agents of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce have conducted investigations in this country and abroad as to available stocks for the use of the Army and Navy and assisted in the making of purchases and conservation movements.

The entire activities of the Coast and Geodetic Survey were turned into channels for military assistance immediately upon the declaration of war. The Bureau of Lighthouses transferred to the Navy Department more than 40 lighthouse tenders, 4 light vessels, and 2 light stations, including a personnel of 1,028 persons. All radio inspectors and assistant inspectors of the Bureau of Navigation trained in radio communication work have been transferred to the Signal Corps of the Army and Navy. Officers of the Steamboat-Inspection Service have been detailed where their training makes them valuable for military use.

The Bureau of Standards has had the greatest amount of work directly associated with the prosecution of the war. A greatly enlarged mechanical and scientific staff has been placed at the disposal of the Army and Navy. The work of this bureau, however, is highly confidential, and the only statement possible is that it has worked out many things of great value for offensive and defensive military work.

LABOR DEPARTMENT.

Labor has a vital bearing upon warfare. More food must be produced; labor produces it. Munitions of war must be provided; labor provides it. Ships must be constructed; labor constructs them. Fuel must be had; again labor is essential.

The Department of Labor, working without the blowing of its own trumpets, has performed signal service since the declaration of war. Incipient strikes have occurred here and there. Serious trouble on more than one occasion threatened. In every instance the representatives of the Department of Labor have hastened to the scene and their efforts at mediation and adjustment have been remarkably successful. This work is just as necessary as the fitting out of an army, because an army and a navy can not be sustained unless the laboring men of this country remain at the forge, the wheel, and the turning lathe, and produce the things required for the conduct of this war.

Differences between the operators and miners of the Central Pennsylvania District No. 2 recently threatened the entire coal output of the largest single bituminous field in the East. Through the mediatory efforts of the Department of Labor a solution was worked out and a strike averted.

Within four days after the Shipping Board appealed for assistance the Department of Labor registered 15,000 shipwrights throughout the country. It is now directing some 35,000 employees each month to work of vital importance in the production of the supplies of war. The United States Boys' Working Reserve, designed to fill depleted ranks on the farms of the country now consists of 120,000 members and is a preparedness move of inestimable value.

The Labor Department has created a public service reserve to classify men who volunteer for service in the time of national need. Men of special qualifications are being secured by the Government through this agency.

Mediators of the Department of Labor have hastened wherever strike troubles have threatened and have been gratifyingly successful in eliminating friction during the past few months. Such a service is invaluable in this hour of national need.

OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Of the work of other departments, each rendering valuable service within its own sphere, a general summarization must suffice. It is impracticable, for instance, to deal exhaustively with the activities of the Department of State and its international negotiations. Nevertheless, it may be appropriately said that this country has been aroused as never before by the revelations, through the Department of State, of German intrigue and world-wide plotting.

The Department of Justice, likewise, is engaged in a war rôle upon which it is inexpedient to shed full publicity. Every few days the papers tell us of arrests of alien enemies made by agents of the Department of Justice and of the discovery of the machinations of plotters against the peace and security of the United States. This shows to a degree how alert the Department of Justice has been in bringing to account malefactors who threaten the Republic from within.

The chief war-time activity of the Treasury Department has been the floating of the liberty loan of 1917. The greatest bond issue in the history of the world has been and is being sold under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The first liberty loan was oversubscribed by a Nation patriotically anxious to supply the sinews of war. The second liberty loan, for which subscriptions were opened on October 1, is to-day evoking throughout the country a renewed enthusiasm and giving assurance that it, too, will be promptly subscribed.

No more remarkable wartime performance has ever been staged by any Nation. The record will stand always as a monu-

ment to the patriotism, intelligence, and generosity of the American people.

The written message will be a boon to our soldiers in France. The Post Office Department has completed arrangements for the quick handling of the mail for our fighters abroad. It has encouraged the giving of books and magazines to the men in camp and behind the battle fronts and has placed its every facility at the disposal of a Government in war.

This same department, however, has found business of a most serious nature to engage a part of its time. The suppression of the publication of seditious utterances, no matter in what form they appear for distribution through the mails, is a matter to which the department has courageously and properly given its attention. The department has found it necessary to deny mail privileges to a number of inflammatory publications, and its vigilance in this respect is to be commended by all true Americans.

INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS.

The regular governmental agencies and executive departments have been fortunate in calling to their assistance commissions and committees independently formed from the citizenship of the United States. The Council of National Defense, the Fuel Administration, the Food Administration, the Red Cross, and various other advisory bodies have given and are giving patriotic aid to the Chief Executive and his immediate official family during this period of war.

These commissions for the most part are composed of men who are giving their services to the Government and accepting nominal compensation. Many of this country's greatest business men are to-day in Washington at a salary of $1 per year, the law forbidding the Government to accept absolutely free services.

Below there is given a brief and incomplete résumé of what some of these independent but exceedingly helpful agencies have accomplished.

The Council of National Defense is chiefly responsible for the mobilization of the country's resources at the outbreak of the war. It mobilized 262,000 miles of railroad for the country's defense, mobilized the country's wire communication, made an inventory of American industry and prepared it for the reception of unprecedented war orders, and saved the country millions of dollars by bringing about a systematic scheme of purchases.

The council was of great aid in enlisting the best building and architectural experts of the country for the construction of the Army cantonments. It has created an aircraft production board, a medical section, a committee on coal production, and various other committees, including a woman's committee.

The Council of National Defense procured 45,000,000 pounds of copper for uses of the Government at greatly reduced prices, and it brought about advantageous contracts for steel, zinc, and aluminum. Its committees are to-day aiding the departments in practically every branch of warfare and in the coordination of the resources and activities of all sections of the country to the end that the war may be successfully prosecuted.

The Fuel Administration, as previously announced by the President, has carried out the authority of Congress for the fixing of a price on coal. On August 21 the prices of bituminous coal at the mines were provisionally fixed by the President, and two days later the prices of anthracite coal and the margins of jobbers were provisionally fixed and Dr. Harry A. Garfield appoined Fuel Administrator.

The machinery of the Fuel Administration, with ramifications in every State in the Union and every important locality, is now being put in motion. Other important acts of the Fuel Administration include the adjustment of wage disputes between operators and miners, the temporary prohibition of coal shipments into Canada from Lake ports—to relieve the shortage in Northwestern States—and the reduction in price of Pennsylvania anthracite pea coal.

Under authority of the Lever bill the President has appointed Herbert Hoover as Food Administrator, and the Food Administration has already taken practically complete control of the food situation. In August the Food Administration announced its plans for the control of wheat, flour, and bread. Soon thereafter the President, by proclamation, required elevator operators and millers of wheat and rye to procure Federal licenses.

The Food Administration Grain Corporation was chartered on August 16 with a capital of $50,000,000, and Julius H. Barnes was named as chairman. The first conference of food administrators was followed by announcement by the President of a price on wheat, and this was followed by a proclamation requiring importers of sugar, and manufacturers of sugar, sugar sirups, and molasses to secure licenses. An International Sugar Committee has been formed to supervise distribution of the sugar supply and a special appeal has been made for sugar conservation that the shortage in France may be relieved.

The Food Administration has officially designated as "Foodpledge week" the week of October 21–28, and the country has been asked to cooperate with the administration in its conservation work and campaigning to supply the allied nations.

Drafting of Aliens.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RILEY J. WILSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has reported favorably a bill, H. R. 5667, the effect of which, if passed, would be to bar from American citizenship, now or in the future, all aliens who are natives or subjects of any of the countries now at war with the Imperial German Government or any of the other central powers of Europe if such aliens have claimed or shall hereafter claim exemption from military duty in this country on account of such alienage under the selective draft.

The bill further provides for the deportation of such aliens as shall persist in claiming and exercising such exemptions as undesirables, devoid of patriotism for either adopted or native land, shirkers at home and abroad.

It is further provided that all such aliens who have prior to this act claimed exemption under the selective draft on account of foreign citizenship or allegiance may within 60 days after its passage withdraw such claim for exemption and submit himself to the operation of the draft and thereby be relieved from the effect of this law in relation to the forfeiture of citizenship and deportation. In other words, all natives or subjects of any of the allied countries now in the United States who, except for the fact that they are aliens, would be subject to military duty here under the selective draft, must elect to either come under the provisions of that law or be deemed subject to deportation as undesirables, unworthy immigrants for this country now or in the future.

Under section 2 the President is given authority to draft any alien from any country into the agricultural, industrial, or other activities in the United States when in his judgment such action may be necessary and proper.

Section 3 provides that 30 days after the passage of the act no native or subject af any of the allied powers subject to military duty in his native or own country shall be permitted to enter the United States except upon permission of the President.

Now, gentlemen, in my judgment any law passed upon this subject should embody the substance of all the provisions contained in the House bill reported by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

On June 5 we registered 10,000,000 men within the ages of from 21 to 31, inclusive, of which approximately 1,500,000 were aliens. Of these at least 55 per cent, or approximately 825,000, are natives or subjects of the allied countries. The obligation of these men to render service in this war is the same, if not greater, than ours, and in my judgment no treaty or rule of international courtesy or of diplomatic advisability should release them from military duty or enable them to avoid or escape the duty and obligation that we are imposing upon our own citizens.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I feel that we ought to assume that all that is desired by the alien subjects of the allied countries now in the United States is the opportunity to become a part of our National Army and to join the forces who are to fight for the safety and security of their native land as well as of this land of their present residence; but if there be those who have sought our shores or remain here in order to avoid military service in the country of their nativity or that to which they owe allegiance, then it is only just and fair to their fellows who are fighting at home and to our own people who have joined them in the same cause that they take their places in the ranks of one army or the other. One of the strongest arguments in support of the selective draft is that it imposes equally the obligation

of military service upon all those who come under its provisions and owe the duty to take part in this gigantic struggle.

No doubt the greater percentage of the 825,000 young men who are natives or subjects of the allied countries are in the United States in order to enjoy the blessings and take advantage of the opportunities afforded by our democratic institutions. And if so they are under the highest obligation to defend and protect those institutions. If this country is not worth fighting for it is not fit to live in. It is not fair to our own boys that they should be called to the front to fight for the safety of the allied countries of Europe along with our own, while approximately a million men, natives and subjects of those countries, remain upon our free soil, enjoy the blessings and benefits of our institutions, and escape military duty both here and at home. And I feel that we have a perfect right to say, and that it is our duty to say, that those aliens who would pursue such a course are unworthy to remain upon American soil and are forever unfit to assume the proud title of American citizenship. It would be a welcome message to our boys now in the training camps, at home and abroad, for this House to pass such legislation and send them word that we have added 1,000,000 men to the fighting forces of the United States. We can safely assume that these men will grasp the opportunity for military service here, rather than take the chances of deportation and being forever prohibited from the privileges of American citizenship.

Of no less importance is section 3, which excludes from this country in the future, except upon the authorization of the President, anyone subject to military duty in his own country, if he is a native or subject of any of the allied countries. Canada has just passed a selective-draft law, with age limits from 20 to 45 years, and my understanding is that like age limits prevail in many of the allied countries. So it is of the highest importance that we make it impossible for those owing military duty in Canada or in any of the other countries cooperating with the United States in this war to avoid and escape such military service by finding a refuge here. Thousands might seek our shores who would not come under the selective draft in the United States, and without the provisions of this section could not be dealt with under any law now in existence.

Mr. Speaker, we propose to do our part in this war, and no one, judging from recent developments, can doubt that ours is going to be a major part. We propose to seek rather than to dodge an opportunity for effective service. But we would fail to discharge our duty and our obligation to our own people should we not find some way and some effective means and methods by which the aliens, natives and subjects of our allies now in the United States, be made a portion of the fighting forces upon the same basis and under the same conditions as our own citizens.

It will have the effect of making the selective draft more popular with our own military forces as well as the country at large if we can by this legislation make approximately 1,000,000 men additional available for such duty who otherwise would not have been subject to call.

I have no doubt that section 3 will retain for the military forces of the allied countries thousands who otherwise might avoid military duty by seeking refuge in the United States.

If we are going to do international teamwork, there should not be any international slackers.

It is admitted that we have not the legal right to draft aliens into the military service of the United States, but the authority to declare any class of aliens from any country undesirable immigrants and bar them from citizenship here is unquestioned.

The National Prohibition Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. BLANTON,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, October 5, 1917.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks, I feel that some explanation is due to the people of the United States for the failure of the House of Representatives to consider and pass at this extra session the resolution submitting to the States the question of national prohibition.

Especially is this explanation due when we remember that this resolution passed the Senate on August 3, 1917, and no consideration whatever has been given to it by the House, notwithstanding the House has been idle much of the time since said action by the Senate.

It is possibly unknown to the general public that in the Democratic caucus held on March 30, 1917, for the purpose of effecting a Democratic organization of the House, it became necessary, in the interest of harmony and to insure such Democratic organization, to agree that during this extra session no matters would be considered except emergency war legislation. This Democratic caucus agreement therefore has prevented the House of Representatives from doing now what I predict it will do in the next general session, passing the resolution adopted by the Senate.

No longer will the brewers and distillers derive or enjoy any consolation from the great Lone Star State of Texas on this question. On September 10, 1917, the city of Dallas, which is the largest city in the greatest State of the leading Nation of the world, through a vote of its sovereign voters (all men), banished the open saloon from its midst.

On August 2, 1917, the House of Representatives, Thirty-fifth Legislature of Texas, passed the following:

Whereas the United States Senate has passed the Sheppard resolution by more than two-thirds majority submitting to the several States an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the prohibition of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; and
Whereas this resolution must be passed by the House of Representatives of the United States Congress before it can be ratified by the several States: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Texas Legislature in special session assembled, That we urge our Representatives in Congress to use their influence and all honorable means within their power to secure the passage of this amendment in the House of Representatives at the earliest possible date, in order that it may be submitted to the several States and be ratified by them within the time limit fixed in the resolution: And be it further

Resolved, That we congratulate Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD for his untiring efforts in securing the passage of this resolution through the United States Senate, and that the chief clerk of this house be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD and to each Representative from Texas in the United States Congress.

I certify that the above resolution was adopted by the house of representatives, thirty-fifth legislature, August 2, 1917.

BOB BARKER,
Chief Clerk House of Representatives.

On August 3, 1917, the Senate of Texas adopted the following:

Whereas the Senate of the United States has passed a measure that will secure for the people of the United States nation-wide prohibition and thereby conserve the food supply of the country; and
Whereas it is necessary for the House to pass this measure: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of Texas, That we request each and every Congressman from Texas in the present United States Congress to vote for said measure; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each Member in the House from Texas by the secretary of the senate.

DAYTON, HENDERSON, LATTIMORE, WOODWARD, DECHERD, WESTBROOK, BUCHANAN of Scurry, ROBBINS, SUITER, SMITH, BUCHANAN of Bell, J. M. ALDERDICE.

The foregoing resolution was read and adopted August 3, 1917.

JNO. D. MCCALL,
Secretary of the Senate.

I am placing these resolutions in the RECORD in order that all Members of Congress may have knowledge of same, and in the hopes that same may influence other legislatures of other States to take similar action.

Family Allowance, Indemnity, and Insurance for our Soldiers and Sailors—The Duty of a Just Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me on yesterday to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill (H. R. 5723) to provide family allowances, indemnity, and insurance for our soldiers and sailors I desire to have preserved in the RECORD two very able and patriotic articles written by Hon. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, to whom is due the credit of initiating and promoting the enactment of this beneficent legislation.

The articles referred to are as follows:

FAMILY ALLOWANCE, INDEMNITY, AND INSURANCE FOR OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS—THE DUTY OF A JUST GOVERNMENT.

[By W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury.]

The number of claims for exemption from military duty under the draft law has caused a painful impression in many quarters, but after all does not the fact that no provision has yet been made by the Government for the support of the wives and children, mothers or fathers, of the men who have been drafted explain many of these claims for exemption?

Under the draft law the Government has the power to require every able-bodied man between 21 and 31 years of age to perform military duty. Thousands of the drafted men are wage earners who married years ago and are the sole support of dependent families. So long as the Government has made no provision for the care of these dependents it is natural that such drafted men should seek to protect their loved ones by staying at home. I am sure that if the Congress should promptly enact the pending war-insurance bill, which makes definite allowances for the support of the dependent wives and children, fathers or mothers, of our soldiers and sailors, claims for exemption on that score will cease. This is an imperative duty of the Government. We can not deprive helpless women and children of the support of the wage earner by forcing him into the military service of the country unless the Government substitutes itself as their support.

Imagine the emotions of the man who is called into the military service of his country with full knowledge that his loved ones are left without means of support and may be reduced to want unless the charity of the community in which they live comes to their relief. It would be nothing less than a crime for a rich and just Government to treat its fighting men so heartlessly and to subject their dependent wives and children, who are unable to fight, to greater suffering than if they could fight.

The morale of an army is as essential to its effective fighting power as guns, ammunition, and other instrumentalities of war. Of equal importance is the morale of the civil population which must support the armies in the field. We can not have this essential morale unless the Nation comforts the men in the ranks with the knowledge that everything possible will be done for them and their families, and renders to the civil population at home the assistance which will make it most effective in upholding the Government and the fighting forces.

The purpose of the war-insurance bill now pending in the Congress is to secure the future of America's soldiers and sailors by insuring their lives and providing adequate compensations and indemnities for loss of life and total or partial permanent disability; also to protect their families against poverty and want by providing them with sufficient means of support during the absence of the men at the front.

The Nation, having been forced to resort to the draft in order to create quickly an army to save the country, is under a higher obligation to do these things for its fighting forces than if a volunteer army only was created. This great and rich Republic can not afford to do less, and it must do what is proposed in a spirit of gratitude and not as charity. Every soldier and sailor who serves his country in this war will earn everything the proposed war-insurance bill provides; to be a beneficiary of the proposed law will be a badge of honor.

When we draft the wage earner we call not only him but the entire family to the flag; the sacrifice entailed is not divisible. The wife and children, the mother, the father, are all involved in the sacrifice—they directly share the burden of defense. They suffer just as much as the soldier, but in a different way, and the Nation must generously discharge as a proud privilege the duty of maintaining them until the soldiers and sailors return from the war and resume the responsibility.

We have drawn the sword to vindicate America's violated rights, to restore peace and justice, and to secure the progress of civilization. We can not permit our soldiers, while they hold the front, to be stabbed in the back by uncertainty as to what is being done for their loved ones at home. Our to-morrows are in their hands—theirs in ours. The national conscience will not permit America's soldiers and their dependents to go unprovided with everything that a just, generous, and noble people can do to compensate them for the sufferings and sacrifices they make to serve their country.

Aside from the care and protection of their dependents while the soldier is alive, the proposed war-insurance act provides for definite compensation for his dependents in case of death, for definite and adequate indemnities in case of total or partial disability, and for reeducation of the maimed and disabled man, so that he may take up a new occupation and make himself a useful member of society. We must restore their efficiency and adjust their still available faculties and functions to suitable trades and vocations, which the injuries of the battle field have not wholly destroyed. The heavy depletions in man power resulting from this conflict, which is without precedent in history or imagination, will place new and greater values upon all forms and degrees of human energy, and demand as a first duty of intelligent government that every remaining useful sense and limb of the blind and crippled shall be reclaimed under the benevolent processes of education and reapplied to economic uses for the benefit of society. The millions we shall be called upon to spend to support the dependents of the soldiers while they are in the fighting line, for indemnities, and for reeducation of the crippled, are in the last analysis investments of the best sort; they are sums of capital advanced by the Nation to promote utility, self-respect, and economic development. More than all, they are essentially humanitarian and in the highest sense a discharge by the Government of an essential duty to society.

Military service is now obligatory; those who imperil themselves have no election. The insurance companies do not and can not permit this fact to affect their calculations. They must protect themselves by charging premiums so high that they are secured against loss no matter how severe the rate of mortality may be. Consequently, the very men who are called into the service because their physical condition is of the best and who as civilians would for that reason be able to secure the most favorable insurance rate in peace time, are denied as soldiers the necessary life insurance to enable them to protect their families and dependents. The tremendous rates charged by private insurance companies to protect them against the extra-hazardous risks of war put insurance entirely beyond the reach of the conscripted soldier.

Military necessity has, therefore, subjected the most fit subjects for insurance to an insurmountable discrimination unless the Government itself supplies insurance at cost and upon a peace basis. It would, in fact, be dastardly and undemocratic if the Government should penalize the soldier who is forced to render the highest duty of the citizen by its failure to provide war insurance upon peace terms and at net cost, first, because the pay of the enlisted men in the Army and Navy is less than the wages and salaries generally earned in private life, which reduces their investing capacity; and, second, because Government insurance is an essential war and emergency measure, inaugurated for the specific benefit of our military forces, and can not and should not be conducted for profit.

Such overhead charges as agents' commissions, advertising, promotion, local rentals, etc., are eliminated. The Government must assume the cost of administering this benevolent agency, just as it bears the cost of administering all other Government agencies established for the benefit of the people.

This legislation will be a great step forward in the recognition of the Republic's duty to its heroes. I consider it the most significant and progressive measure presented to Congress since the declaration of war. It immediately affects the well-being of a greater number of persons than any act with which I am familiar. It deserves the earnest and vigorous support of the country. It provides the broadest and the most liberal protection ever extended by any government to its fighting forces and their dependent families. The United States, the most progressive and prosperous nation on earth, setting an example in the ideals for which enlightened humanity is fighting, should set the highest example of all the nations in the treatment of those who do and die for their country and for world freedom.

We are proposing to expend during the next year more than $10,000,000,000 to create and maintain the necessary fighting forces to reestablish justice in the world. But justice must begin at home; justice must be done to the men who die and suffer for us on the battle fields and for their wives and children and dependents who sacrifice for us at home. To do justice to them requires only a tithe of the money we are expending for the general objects of the war. Let it not be said that noble America was ignoble in the treatment of her soldiers and sailors and callous to the fate of their dependents in this greatest war of all time.

The pending war insurance bill gives compensation, not pensions; it fixes amounts definitely in advance instead of holding out the mere chance of gratuities after the conclusion of peace. It saves the dependents from want and gives them the necessaries of life while their men are at the front. It deals with its heroes liberally for the sufferings that result from their disablement on the field of battle, and, if they die, it makes just provision for the loved ones who survive them. It fosters the helpless and dependent, the maimed and disabled, and recognizes the immensity of the Nation's debt to the valor and patriotism of her heroic sons.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES AND WAR INSURANCE.

[By W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury.]

One of the darkest pages in the history of the innumerable wars which have afflicted the earth for centuries is the recorded failure on the part of every nation to make any sort of adequate provision for those who have had to sacrifice and suffer most, namely, the soldiers who were sent to the front and their wives, children, and other dependents who were left at the rear. Until the European war broke out this question of fundamental justice and humanity to the fighting men and their dependents seems never to have received proper consideration.

There is no more paramount duty than for each nation which is sending its men to war to tell them in advance, as a part of the just consideration for the priceless service they are called upon to perform, what will be done for them in the way of actual compensations for the injuries and disabilities they incur, what will be done for the support of their wives, children, and other dependents while they are away from home, and what will be done for these same dependents if death overtakes them.

Some of the belligerents have provided for certain allowances to dependent families while the men are alive, for certain compensations to the dependents in case of death, and for certain indemnities and compensations in case the men are totally or partially disabled in the service. But these steps, advanced as they are, are not enough. It remains for the American people, the richest and most prosperous on earth, the most able to do justice to its fighting men and their dependents, and the most humane and progressive in their ideas and ideals, to set an example to the world of just, generous, and appreciative treatment of their heroes.

The war-insurance bill now pending in the Congress is the most advanced and humane step ever taken by any nation to protect and justly compensate its fighting men and their dependents. It ought to be passed, and quickly passed. The selfish interests of no class of people or organized body should be permitted to stand one instant in the way of this elemental and essential act of justice and humanity.

Heretofore it has been the practice of nations at war to leave the wives, children, and other dependents of their soldiers unprovided for at home, at the mercy of charity, to become charges upon the communities in which they live, to endure all of the humiliations which proud people must experience when they realize that they are public charges, to say nothing of the unsatisfied wants which charity does not reach, and the suffering inevitably resulting from such a distressing condition of affairs.

The nations of the world have failed to realize that when men are called to the colors their families and dependents are also called and are equally compelled to make terrible sacrifices. Until this fundamental fact is driven into the consciousness of the people, we can not deal intelligently, justly, or humanely with this burning problem of every war, this problem that reaches down into and tears the very heartstrings of humanity.

Once we grasp the fact that the commandeered soldier means also the commandeered family and dependents of the soldier, we have advanced to the point where we can consider the problem humanely and justly and apply the necessary remedy. We can not, of course, compensate for the destroyed life, the hopelessly mutilated and maimed body, the agony of the suffering wife and children, mother and father, but we can ameliorate these sufferings; we can mitigate the horrors of war to the extent that we provide against want and needless suffering. The practice of most nations has been to fight wars to a conclusion regardless of the essential sacrifices of the fighting forces and the sufferings of their dependents, and, then, after the war—perhaps many years after the war—to do tardy and partial justice by passing pension bills, with their accompaniments of favoritism and political expediency, inequalities, and inequities, so that those who are favored with influence get the largest consideration and those who have none get little or nothing. The years of suffering before even these pension provisions are made, have gone and can never be compensated for, and the losses incurred during that interval can never be restituted.

Under this old unfair and unjust method no man knows what is going to happen to him or his dependents. He is left to the uncertain chances of the future. We know from history that nations have been, as a rule, notoriously ungrateful in all these matters. We have only to read the pages of our revolutionary history to have our cheeks burn with shame at the ingratitude of the Colonies to the gallant men in the Continental Armies who fought for and secured the liberties we enjoy today. But why dwell upon the injustices and inhumanities of the past? Let us turn our vision to the future and make reparation for all the delinquencies by doing now these humane and just things which will mitigate not alone the rigors and horrors of war, but will give our men, as they go forward to fight, a higher courage and renewed inspiration to sacrifice to the utmost, knowing, as they then will, that their Government will not permit their loved ones to starve if they perish, nor them to become charges upon the communities in which they live if they return sightless, legless, armless, or otherwise totally or partially disabled for the remainder of their days.

Not only is it the very essence of intelligence and humanity to give our men and their dependents these grateful and soothing assurances, but it is economy of the highest order to make our fighting forces all the more effective through the splendid morale and spirit with which this knowledge will infuse them, and the morale and esprit with which this knowledge will inspire the civil population, through whose industry and patriotism the fighting forces in the field must be supported.

Therefore, we should let every man and his dependents know, as that man goes to the front, that the Government is going to do the following things as a part of the compensation for the patriotic service he is going to render, and not as a gratuity or as charity or as a pension:

First. The Government will make an adequate monthly payment to the dependents of the soldier so long as he is away from home and alive. The bill provides that each soldier must give to his wife and children at least $15 per month out of his pay. The Government will add another $15 for a wife alone, with an increase for each child. For instance, a wife and two children would receive a total of $47.50 per month. If the man has neither wife nor child, but has a parent, grandparent, brother, or sister actually dependent upon him for support, the Government will make an allowance to them, provided the man himself gives them at least $15 a month out of his pay. In that case the Government will allow $10 a month for each parent and $5 a month for each brother and sister. Even if a man has a wife and child and these other relatives are actually dependent upon him, the Government will make an allowance to them if the man gives them at least $5 a month out of his own pay. The highest amount the Government will give over and above the amount the man gives out of his own pay is $50 per month.

Second. If the soldier is killed in battle or dies as a result of wounds or disease incurred in the service, the Government will pay a minimum of $30 per month to the widow alone, with an additional allowance for each child, so that for a widow and four children the total payment per month will be $60.

Third. If a man comes back partially or totally disabled permanently, the Government will pay him certain specific amounts ranging from $40 to $200 per month to compensate for such disabilities.

Fourth. The Government will educate the disabled man for a new trade or occupation if his injuries are of such a character that he can not resume the trade or occupation in which he was engaged at the outbreak of the war. This will give each disabled man the hope of increased efficiency and earning power in addition to the compensation the Government allows him, making him a more useful citizen and effective economic unit while he lives, and adding to the happiness of his remaining years.

Fifth. In addition to these benefits, the Government will give to each of the officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy the right to buy from the Government $1,000 to $10,000 of life insurance at a rate based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality in peace time, which rate, according to actuaries, will average about $8 per annum for each $1,000 of insurance. This means that insurance is brought within the reach of every private soldier in the ranks, and that he is given the opportunity of making additional provision for his loved ones by insuring his own life, and thus supplementing, in case of his death, the compensation the Government pays to his dependents. To illustrate: A private soldier receives in the foreign service $33 per month, or $396 per annum. Under the law he would contribute one-half of this amount, or $198 per annum, to the support of his family. He could take out $10,000 insurance, at a cost of $80 per annum, to be payable to his family in annual installments covering a period of years. The soldier would have left $118 per year, or almost $10 per month—more than enough for his ordinary needs while he is on the battle front or in the training camps.

Why is this insurance not only just but important? Because the amount the Government will pay to the soldier's dependents in case of death, however generous it may be, may be wholly inadequate to sustain the soldier's family in the position in life to which they are accustomed, or to give them the advantages they ought to have.

Take the case of a man killed in battle, leaving a wife and four children: The Government will pay his widow $60 monthly,

or a total of $720 per annum. This may be wholly insufficient. If the soldier can take out $10,000 of insurance at a premium of $80 per annum, the Government will pay to his wife an additional $500 per annum for a period of 20 years, thus bringing the total annual payments to the wife and four children up to $1,220 per annum. Even this is a modest income, but it might be sufficient to enable the wife to support herself and children and give them the advantages of education.

Why must the Government provide this insurance? Because when the Government drafts the soldier and puts him into this extraordinarily hazardous war service, private life insurance companies will not write insurance on his life, or, if they will, the rates are prohibitive. The lowest rate I have heard suggested for such private insurance is $58 per thousand for one year, renewable term. The next year the rate might be greatly increased. Where the soldier is receiving only $396 per annum pay, he is unable to take much, if any, insurance at the rate of $58 per thousand. The Government, therefore, has deprived the soldier of the opportunity to insure himself. It has destroyed the soldier's insurability. The least the Government can do is to make restitution to the extent of providing insurance upon the peace-time basis and taking up or absorbing the cost of the excessive risk to which it has subjected the soldier. It is, moreover, the just and humane thing to do. The Government must go to the limit to put the soldier in as favorable a position as possible to protect his loved ones when he, without any fault of his own, is taken by the Government and subjected to the extraordinary hazards of war, where his very life may be taken for the benefit of his country.

Not alone should the Government give the soldier life insurance at these peace rates because it has destroyed his insurability, but also because the Government has destroyed a large part of the soldier's earning power when it drafts him into the service. Many men have been drafted or enrolled in the Army and Navy who are earning salaries of from $1,200 to $5,000 per annum. The moment the Government puts a man in the service as a private soldier it destroys his entire earning power, except to the extent of $396 a year. The Government, in fact, not only conscripts the man's life but it conscripts all of his earning power beyond the $396 per annum it pays him. Having therefore reduced the soldier's earning power so that he is unable to pay the excessive insurance rates ($58 per thousand) demanded by private companies, it is the imperative duty of the Government to make restitution at least to the extent of giving the drafted man the chance to buy insurance on a peace-time basis.

Who with blood in his veins, patriotism in his heart, and justice in his soul can deny to the men and their families, who must suffer, more than any other class of our people, the horrors of this world carnage and war, these poor compensations? Who would submit to torturing agonies of soul and mind our gallant soldiers and sailors by withholding from them the knowledge that their wives and helpless children will not be dependent for support upon charity while they are fighting at the front? Humanity and justice cry out against such monstrous indifference as that would be.

It has been intimated that the organized insurance companies of the United States may oppose this legislation. I do not believe it. It is not conceivable that in a time like this men would be so callous and visionless. Men of vision and humanity will get behind this bill and not in front of it. But if any such effort should be made, who is willing to listen to the selfish cry of organized insurance companies that their interests may suffer if the Government dares to be humane and just to its heroes? Can we for one instant permit any selfish interest, however organized and wherever existent, to stand in the way of humanity and justice? Shall we subordinate the interests of the Nation? Shall we imperil the cause of liberty in the world by failing to do justice to our fighting men and their dependents in order that the selfish interests of any private corporations or organizations may be conserved? I can not believe that any organized effort will be made to prevent this just legislation, but if such an attempt should be made, we should welcome the opportunity to arouse the conscience and soul of America against any such selfish purpose or demand.

It has been intimated, also, that those who are wedded to the pension system might oppose this measure. I do not believe that. This insurance bill does not affect existing pension laws, although it is intended to be a substitute for and to make unnecessary future pension laws to cover this war. Nor does it interfere with or in any manner change or modify provisions already made for the gallant men who fought in our previous wars. They are not disturbed. I believe that every old soldier who fought in any American war for his country's rights and liberties will support this measure, because nobody knows better than these old soldiers how derelict our Government and every Government has been in the past in doing justice to its fighting men and their dependents. They, above all others, should want justice done to those who suffer most for the services they render to their country.

America is holding aloft the torch of liberty in the world. Can she hold it aloft with honor if her soul is dead to the sufferings of her own children? Can she refuse to do justice to her own dead and dying and suffering while she claims to be rendering a service of justice to the rest of mankind?

Let us not hesitate to go forward in this fight for America's rights, for liberty and justice with all the might and power and courage of the Nation; let us, at the same time, make our efforts ten thousand times more effective by setting an example to the world of what a mighty, just, humane, and courageous Nation can do for its own people who are called upon to make supreme sacrifices in order that the world shall be free.

The Constitution of a World Court.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SEARS,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article on the constitution of a world court.

The article is as follows:

THE CONSTITUTION OF A WORLD COURT.

[By A. S. Hough, editor Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville, Fla].

To secure peace, nations need only imitate measures that individuals adopted to suppress violence and replace it with justice and good order.

When men realizing the fact that wrong was as apt as right to triumph when armed strength was the arbiter between nations, gave their minds to the purpose of securing something better, their thoughts turned to arbitration and conciliation and arbitration treaties were written. It is probable that in the earlier days this was the first resort of individuals. We have no proofs of it, for history is not old enough to tell us, but the reasonableness of the supposition is sufficient to gain for it credence. It is probable, it is almost certain, that before individuals organized for the suppression of violence, the more thoughtful among them appealed to their fellows to leave the settlement of disputes to the decision of impartial outsiders instead of fighting them out to the victory of the strong and the injury and humiliation of the weak.

But we need no testimony from history to convince us that this accomplished only in part the desired result. Our knowledge of human nature is sufficient to assure us of this. Physical violence became less common, but it did not disappear, and the victor instead of losing caste, gained not only in the respect that is accorded to power but also in the admiration that is won by prowess.

It is probable that in some cases arbitration treaties have prevented war, but if so they have prevented it from a distance, not close at hand. They may have kept nations from the verge of war, but not from fighting when they were face to face with it and inflamed with passion.

Another weakness of arbitration is the fact that some nations will not adopt it, and the fingers of one hand are enough to represent the nations that will apply it universally. Two strong nations that are afraid to fight each other may agree to arbitrate their disputes, but arbitration is a very poor protection to the weak members of the family of nations.

Still another objection is the fact that arbitration is not adapted to the purpose of securing justice. It aims at conciliation and compromise. In nine cases out of ten the majority of the members of a board of arbitration seek neither justice nor compromise. They seek to secure everything possible for the party appointing them. *Arbitration offsets* the partisanship of one side against the partisanship of the other and leaves a third member of the board to decide how much can be given to one side and how much to the other, so as to leave each not entirely dissatisfied.

The next station on the road toward general peace was the conception of a court, whose decisions the nations establishing it would agree to obey and to enforce if necessary. This court was to be granted no force of its own to compel obedience. It was to rely for the enforcement of its decrees on the promises of the nations forming it. It is quite probable that this was also the next step with individuals when they wished to suppress violence. They agreed among themselves that they would combine to enforce a common purpose, but whether they did combine or not depended on a number of things. It depended on the strength of the man or men they had agreed to combine against. It depended also on whether they were friendly or unfriendly to the man or men they were called on to control, and whether friendly or unfriendly to the man or men they were called on to protect.

This is an objection to an international court depending for the enforcement of its decrees on the actions of the nations creating it. Nations as well as men have their likes and dislikes. Would England, say in five years after the close of the war now in progress, send her troops for the enforcement of a decree in favor of Germany and against France? Would Germany send hers to enforce a decree in favor of Italy and against Austria? It is not certain or even extremely probable that a nation would help to enforce a decree in favor of an enemy and against a friend, treaty or no treaty. It was a German chancellor who first referred to a treaty as a scrap of paper, but treaties had been treated as such for centuries. And, besides, treaties expire and can be abrogated.

In order to attain the nearest possible approach to a complete cessation of personal violence individuals formed governments and gave them the force necessary to enable them to compel obedience to the laws that were adopted. We call the things that keep order governments—not influences. The good yield to influences, but the bad yield only to force, and these are the ones that need to be restrained. We can never have the certainty of international peace until we set up over nations a power clothed with force of its own to keep the peace.

This very thing the States now forming this Union did when they united for mutual defense and for other purposes. No State has made war on another State, and this has not been due entirely to the fact that it had agreed not to and had arranged other methods of settling interstate disputes but is due in part to the fact that it had helped to create a power so immeasurably superior to the power of any one of them that no State could have any hope of success in opposing it.

Some one may ask: "How can it be said that a State never made war on another State when the land is dotted with the graves of men slain in a war between the North and the South?" It was not a war between one State and another or several States and others for the forcible settlement of disputes arising between them. It was an attempt on the part of a number of States to withdraw from the Union.

Without noticeable exception the people of the South thought they had this right, as a nation may abrogate a treaty, and a majority thought it would not be opposed. HENRY CABOT LODGE had expressed the strong belief that when the Union was formed there was not one among the men who made its Constitution who held any doubt of the rights of any State to withdraw from it at will. This fact is mentioned not with a view of discussing the dead issue of secession but to show that the war it caused was not thought to be a war of one State on another.

The success of the American experiment has led some men to talk of the United States of Europe or of the United States of the World. This is not only unnecessary but is extremely undesirable. It is much better for the nations to preserve their sovereignty than to merge it into a government controlling the world. The interests, the tempers, the habits, of different peoples demand separate governments, and these should be retained, but the right to decide international disputes should be surrendered to an international tribunal which should be given control of a force sufficient to compel obedience to its decrees.

This could be done without interfering in the slightest degree with the legitimate sovereignty of the nations. The sovereignty of a nation is to the nation what the freedom of the citizen is to the citizen. Is the citizen less free because of the fact that he is not permitted to take a gun and kill another with whom he is engaged in a dispute? Would a nation be less sovereign if it were not permitted to call out its millions and deluge the world with blood?

The nations can give up the right to make war without surrendering one iota of any other right. Among the expressions of those who advocate the creation of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes we find some proposing sessions regularly or from time to time of international legislative bodies. There should be no such bodies. Let the British Parliament legislate for Great Britain and our Congress for the United States. The world needs no legislation. We have already enough of what is called international law and should be called international advice, for there is no force to compel obedience to it. We need no international legislation. An international tribunal could follow in the paths already developed, and if they give out, could continue in the direction to which they point.

What is needed is a tribunal that would be omnipotent to prevent war and powerless to do anything else. Such a tribunal could be created, and perhaps the briefest and clearest way of suggesting its constitution and scope may be given in an outline of an agreement, as follows:

1. The nations entering into this agreement hereby pledge themselves to create a tribunal for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between any two or more of them or between any one or more of them and a nation or nations not signing, disputes that, if not so settled, might result in war. They reserve to themselves the right to settle by diplomacy, or, both parties consenting, by arbitration, any questions that can be so settled, or in any other manner except by war. This tribunal shall not assume jurisdiction over any question but shall try only cases referred to it.

2. This tribunal shall consist of one member from each nation constituting it for each 5,000,000 of its inhabitants or fractional part in excess of one-half that number. These members shall be chosen in such a manner as to secure the selection only of men of the highest intelligence and uprightness.

3. The names of the members selected by each nation shall be announced as soon as the selection of the entire list from that nation is complete and shall be furnished to all the other nations entering into this agreement. If any signatory nation objects to any name selected it shall be withdrawn and another be substituted. Such objection must be made within 30 days of the announcement of the names.

4. When the list is perfected, the members so chosen shall constitute a list from which juries may be selected to try all cases brought before the tribunal.

5. The members of this tribunal shall be chosen for life or good behavior, the question of good behavior to be decided by the tribunal itself.

6. All members chosen to serve on this tribunal shall declare on oath that if called on to try any dispute between nations they will decide according to the evidence brought before them and render a just verdict. They shall also declare on oath that they have no prejudice for or against any nation that might prevent them from rendering a just verdict for or against it.

7. As soon as a number of nations, sufficient to put it in operation, have entered into this agreement and have selected their representatives, territory—preferably insular—shall be acquired for the location of this tribunal and all members who have been chosen to serve on it and who have accepted shall move to this territory and shall reside thereon as long as their term of service continues.

8. They shall be required to renounce their allegiance to the country from which they were appointed and to take the oath of allegiance to the tribunal of the world.

9. They shall elect one of their number as executive to enforce the decrees that the international juries may render. The term of the executive shall be determined by the members of the tribunal and they shall have power to remove him at any time by a majority vote.

10. When a disputed question is brought before this tribunal for adjudication printed lists of the members shall be furnished to the representatives of each of the parties litigant, together with the names of the country from which each was appointed. The names of all members appointed from the nations involved in the dispute shall be stricken for cause. From the names remaining each party shall strike alternately till only the requisite number remain to try the case. These shall be asked if they have any prejudice for or against either of the nations litigant, and if one of them admits such prejudice he shall be excused and the member whose name was last stricken shall be substituted in his place. When the jury is chosen each member shall swear to well and truly try the case and render a verdict according to the evidence.

11. When the selection of the jury is complete, all who have not been selected to serve shall be excluded from the court room and no attorney or member of the jury shall be permitted to discuss the evidence outside of the court room.

12. When the case has been heard, counsel shall retire and the jury shall decide on a verdict. If the decision is unanimous it shall be certified to the Executive, who shall proceed to enforce it, and any evidence that may have been produced may be made public.

13. If the jury is not unanimous the number voting on each side shall be written and placed in a sealed envelope, and the men whose names were last striken shall be summoned to serve on a second jury which shall try the case under the same rules as were observed by the first. If this jury is unanimous, its verdict shall be certified to the Executive and by him be enforced. If the decision of the second jury is not unanimous, it shall record and seal the number voting in favor of each litigant. The envelopes containing the vote of each of the two juries shall then be opened and if the majority of each voted for the same litigant, the decision in favor of such litigant shall be final and shall be certified to the Executive for enforcement.

14. No orders from the Executive for military preparation shall be valid unless they state the fact of the trial of the case and the verdict of the jury.

15. The nations establishing this tribunal may, for police purposes, each maintain an establishment of civilian soldiers not exceeding in number the number of troops it contributes to the army of the international tribunal. These shall be kept, when their services are not needed, in the cities or towns in which they are engaged in business, and they shall be enlisted with the express provision that they are not to be called on to serve outside of the limits of the nation enlisting them except when called on to do so at the request of the international tribunal.

16. The nations forming the international tribunal shall contribute to its army and navy in proportion to their representation. In case of emergency they shall sustain its decisions with their full strength or so much of it as may be called for. Such nations shall also contribute to the maintenance of this tribunal in proportion to their representation thereon.

17. Any nation may withdraw from this agreement one year after giving notice of such intention.

Much of the above is mere detail that can be changed without impairment of the essentials of the plan.

The clause authorizing withdrawal after a year's notice is a nonessential one and was suggested more as a prohibition against withdrawal without a year's notice than as permission to withdraw after the lapse of that length of time. With no statement on this subject some of the nations might feel at liberty to withdraw at any ime. It was also intended as an encouragement to join for such as might feel that without a provision for withdrawal they would be irrevocably committed. No nation would be apt to withdraw with the intention of going to war if it would have to wait a year before doing so. No nation once entering into this agreement would be apt to withdraw at all, for it would divest itself of the protection of the combination while still having to face its power if it attacked another defended by it.

The essentials of the plan are:

First. A power that could prevent war but that could not interfere in the internal affairs of any nation.

The members of this tribunal would be only private citizens of the world liable to international jury service. They would have no legislative power. They would exercise no public functions at all, except when called on to serve on a jury, and their public capacity in this respect would end with the verdict.

The executive would not be a king of kings—he would be merely an international sheriff, powerless to act until called on to enforce a decree of the tribunal and then governed entirely by that decree.

Second. A system of securing justice through a jury of judge-sized men who would be surrounded by all the safeguards designed for securing justice from men of only average character and attainments.

Third. A choice by elimination instead of selection which would make it impossible for the litigants to secure for service men supposed to be favorable to them, but would leave for that purpose such men as were believed by both sides to be fair-minded and impartial.

There are reasons for thinking a tribunal of this kind would be much better than a fixed court of judges. If 8, 10, or 12 judges were selected to try all matters of dispute between nations, the certainty and permanence of their power would give them a vast influence with nations forming the court. Each nation would know who would decide any dispute in which it might become involved and would try to win the favor of the judges. With an international jury list, however, no nation would know who would decide its dispute, but each would know that if there were any reason to think it had won the favor of any eligible for service, its opponent would strike off the name of such eligible.

Generally speaking, judges are a very high order of men, but they are men with all the weaknesses and faults, more or less developed, that lead men astray. It is not inconceivable that some of the judges might yield sometimes to corrupting influences. With a jury list no litigant would know whom to approach.

The majority of the judges would have likes for one nation and dislikes for another, and it is not always possible for a judge to avoid being influenced by his feelings. But all litigants would be compelled to appear before these judges. Some time or other a nation would know that its cause was being tried before a judge bitterly inimical to it. With a jury list such men would be stricken off, but the judges would have to be taken as they were found. And the fact should be kept in mind that the men in one case would be as high in character and intelligence as in the other, but in one case the tribunal would have to be accepted in its entirety, while in the other all to whom the slightest suspicion of objection could be found would be eliminated until only the best of the good remained.

The greatest trouble that has been found in the effort to agree on a plan for a fixed court of judges has sprung from the disputes as to representation on such court. One reason why each nation has insisted on representation is its desire to try its causes of dispute before its

own judge. With the jury list plan the representatives of the nation's litigant would be excluded.

Another trouble is national pride. Some propose a court composed of appointees of the great powers. Such a court might be respected, but only for its power. Its basis would not be right; it would be strength, and its existence would be a constant reminder that the great powers were the bosses of the earth.

Those who wish to broaden the representation of the court as much as possible are confronted by the fact that the greater nations demand a representation proportional to their population, while the smaller ones demand equal representation. The same dispute retarded the formation of this Union until it was settled by compromise. No objection would be found to having an international jury list based on population, for the men on such list would be only private citizens and the members appointed from the smaller countries would probably be selected on juries oftener than those from the great nations, for it would be believed that they would be more apt to be impartial.

With a representation based on population, China would have more members of the world's jury list than any other nation. China has some great statesmen; but if this were not so, no nation would be compelled to try its cause before a jury wholly or in part Chinese. It could strike them from the list.

The salaries of the men selected for the world's tribunal need not be more in the aggregate than one hour's cost of the war now in progress.

The scholarly, philanthropic men who ought to be selected for such a position would care less for money than for the honor and the grand humanitarianism of their work. They would not demand the pay that is given to the high officials of huge corporations. The entire annual cost, including the maintenance of the Army and Navy, need be no more than one week's cost of the big war, and it would be distributed among the nations of the whole world and be met by them as a rule at one-fifth of what they pay for their war preparations in time of peace.

Would this plan be easy of adoption? It would if the people of the earth really desire to end war. No nation would give up anything except its power to make war. No nation can hope to abolish war without giving up this power. One thing that would make the nations readier to accept a proposition of this kind would be their confidence that its adoption would secure justice. If the international jury plan were believed to furnish the strongest assurance of justice, it would be the plan most readily adopted.

It need not wait for the agreement of the whole world.

Any three nations could adopt it and combine their defensive strength by doing so. A fourth, threatened by a stronger nation, would seek it *as a city of* refuge. Until the league had attained great strength it might not be well to make an iron-clad rule to admit and defend every applicant, but it would grow to a strength that would enable it to throw the protection of its justice over any nation that wished to be admitted.

Now, in this hour of national war madness the time is ripe for the discussion of plans looking to permanent peace, for while the nations are war mad the peoples are war sick. We do not know when the end will come, but of this we may be sure: When the armies are called from the field to the farm and the factory once more, men of all nations will be firmly resolved that this tragedy of tragedies shall never again blight the earth. Some plan will be devised for preventing war, and the world was never as ready as now for suggestions. The act of one assassin has cost the lives of millions, and men understand better than ever before the costliness, the folly, and the uselessness of war.

Effective Insurance for Privates.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 13, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5723) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, those who present this bill to the House advance the theory that it is a beneficent and philanthropic effort to improve the pension system of the Republic and give to the soldier and his dependents better treatment and a higher order of care than has been accorded them during the last half century. The loftiness of the motives they announce, and the extent of the contract they undertake challenges our admiration and our most careful consideration, in view of the fact that it comes from those who have not been the most enthusiastic supporters of the pension system heretofore. Possibly the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, which reported this bill, shed some useful light upon its purposes and the reasons for its existence when he suggested to the House last Monday—

> I recognize that in the past pensions have been distributed through one section of the country mostly, and it is not unnatural that through the other section of the country such bills should have been unpopular. I recognize that, and I deplore it.

One of the improvements suggested for the benefit of the soldier and his family is this clause which we are now seeking to amend, which provides that no soldier shall be compensated for any disability incurred while serving his country unless he makes application within one year, and which provides that no family shall receive compensation for the death of their husband and father unless they make application within one year therefrom. This farsighted and benevolent application of the statute of limitations to the men who die in battle for their country does not, I find, commend itself to the hearty approval which I would much like to give to all the terms of this measure, a measure which will receive my vote partly because if we do not enact this statute we will not have the opportunity to pass any to meet the wants and necessities of our soldiers and their families. To be frank about it, I would like this bill better if the widows of men who served the Union and freed the slaves and the men who enfranchised Cuba and planted our flag on the other side of the world were placed on the same plane as the dependents of the soldiers who go to Europe.

There is a phase of this immediate amendment under discussion to strike out the statute of limitations which might not occur to the Members of the House who have not served in the Army on the firing line. Every regiment that has achieved success in battle has an esprit du corps which holds its men up to a high standard which often prevents them from reporting minor diseases and minor wounds to the surgeon. In any fighting regiment soldiers will often refuse to go to the doctor and tell him when they are sick, in order that they may proudly boast, "I never was on the sick report." The younger they are the more apt they are to be governed by this idea. So it happens that in after years, when they have large families and small means, and the wounds and diseases of their old service begin to undermine their constitutions, they have no sick report to direct the attention of the Pension Bureau to, and with great difficulty establish just claims which more prudent comrades easily sustain.

On the evening of the Battle of Guiguinto, in March, 1899, Capt. George Watson came to me and remarked that Carey Amsbaugh had been struck on the head by a bullet, which left a lump bigger than an egg, and that Carey, who was a fine soldier, contemptuously refused to make any report of it at all. Watson who fought at Wounded Knee in the Regular Army and was familiar with what the soldiers need, suggested that I endeavor to have Amsbaugh make his report, as he might need it later. The boy did not, and years after we had to make affidavits to the fact. Many, many times we who were out with these boys find that a man has been slightly wounded or has some ailment and makes no report, and years after we all have to help get together the evidence that would be read into the records the moment he reported to the doctor, if he had done so. Again and again Members of this Congress have had occasion to assist veterans of the Civil War under similar conditions. When you put this statute of limitations into the bill you tie a string to everything you have promised the soldier in this bill. The gallant boys who march with beating drums and flying banners onto the field of battle are the very ones who would neglect to attend to the petty details that find their place in a lawyer's office, and it was the hand of a lawyer, not of a soldier, not of a philanthropist, that wrote this clause into this bill.

Those who desire, if there be such, to take advantage without just cause of the provisions of such a statute, are the very ones who would be the most careful in complying with its technical demands. You put a handicap on the very best men of the Army by raising the statute of limitations against them. Under this rule, a man might be wounded in action in France and taken to die in a German prison camp, and there would be no way in which his family could know whether he was dead or alive for years, and you refuse his people a pension because they did not file a claim in time, while they were weeping for him who disappeared in the abyss of battle and left no record that they could make affidavit to. We see the list of the dead and the wounded, but how many hearts are wrung when they read the list of those missing, the boys who lay with their limbs shot to pieces and are never heard of for months, and are lying alone in some European cottage or some German prison camp while the statute of limitations runs against them. The "expert" who wrote this bill should have consulted the soldiers who fought for their country before he presumed to set himself up as an expert on what the soldiers need. I hope the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio will prevail.

Do not tell the heroes of the Republic that you have them under suspicion when you send them off to die and that you propose to bar their claims unless they comply with the technical terms which lie hidden and unknown to them within the statute you hold out as their reward and compensation. What kind of encouragement is this to the men who crowd your transports, to say to them as they start, "Now, be careful, we are watching you; do not you try to put anything over on the Pension Bureau; we have fixed it so you can not accomplish that." The gentleman from Georgia very aptly quoted from "Horatius at the Bridge" in support of this measure—how "they gave him of the

cornland." But, gentlemen of the House, there was no statute of limitations against Horatius. Such an enactment would not be fair, would not be just, would not be an incentive to heroic conduct. The young men who go off to war have souls unmarked—as white as the parchment on which your laws are written. Do not put a bar sinister across their reputations. Put the statute of limitations on anybody except the man who is too proud to report every minor casualty which may sometime determine the length of his lease of life. If you had served three months in the Army somewhere, you would not think of enacting a statute of limitations against the soldiers of the Republic, who will carry its banners in the greatest battles of all time. [Applause.]

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Mr. LITTLE. Gentlemen of the committee, the acid test of the bill is whether it will help the enlisted man. The officers are always taken care of just as the men who are able to take care of themselves are always looked after in all legislation. The officers draw considerable salaries. Those of the Regular Army have life jobs. Many of the officers will receive larger incomes than in times of peace. This bill provides that members of the Army may take insurance to the amount of $10,000 at the rate of approximately $8 a thousand per annum. Probably every officer in the Army will take the very limit of this insurance. To a man drawing $1,800 or $2,000 a year $80 per annum for insurance is a small item. Nowhere else can he secure as cheap insurance. The committee has informed us that this insurance would cost about $58 a thousand at home. When the Government issues a man a thousand dollars of insurance at $8 per year, it simply gives him the $50 difference per year. When the officer takes out $10,000 in insurance the Government makes him a present of $500 a year under the terms of this proffered statute.

But what about the private soldier who is working for $33 a month, half of which he does not receive for the present? Whether it goes to his family or is put to his credit at the close of the war, the actual income of the boy in France will be about $16. In other words, the young men in Europe will receive their board and clothes and less than $200 a year. It is very doubtful whether there is a man in the United States who with that small an income is taking insurance. In order to get men with small incomes or reasonable incomes to take out insurance, it is absolutely necessary to send armies of skilled talkers to induce them to consider the proposition. Yet here you have told these boys getting $200 a year that they can take out insurance if they want to. Vast numbers of them will never hear of the opportunity. Those who have families will send home every cent they can. Is there a business man on this floor who seriously thinks that this provision means anything or is of any real value to the private soldier? Ninety per cent of these men will not even consider the idea of taking out any insurance. Suppose you were 25 years old, 5,000 miles from home, fighting in the trenches, and were brought back of the line for a few days' rest, or on a furlough in Paris occasionally. Imagine spread before you all the fascinations and temptations and curiosities and opportunities for amusement, for education in the Old World, how much do you suppose you would spend of the $200 a year for insurance? Every officer with a salary of $125 a month and more will take the insurance if he has any business judgment at all.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the gentleman if he will not wait until we get to Article IV of insurance.

Mr. LITTLE. I will say to the gentleman from Georgia that I will cover this proposition soon, and probably he will save the time if I do so now. I am surprised at the impatience of some of us here when we come to discuss measures of this importance. The Congress of the United States takes up legislation of vital interest to its Army, and somebody moves that this debate close in 40 minutes.

We are told that Gen. Pershing says that these boys ought not to be allowed more than $10 a month. It appears that the American soldiers with $11 a month each to spend are about to wreck business, demolish society, and break up social conditions over in France. [Laughter.]

Ninety per cent of the soldiers in a foreign land who will draw $15 or $16 a month will have it all spent before the month is half through and will be borrowing money till next pay day. How could there be a more hollow mockery than offering boys like that an imaginary opportunity to buy insurance? Do you expect to turn them loose in a foreign land without friends, without society, and imagine that they will not spend a little money? Are there no nickel shows in France? Most of the Members of this Congress will go home broke from this session probably, and if your boy is at the front you will be sending him money. Gentlemen, when you enact legislation for the benefit of private soldiers you must put yourself in the place of the private soldier. If you were young again your money would be scattered from the seaport to the trench, at every counter, at every wayside inn, at every shop where appetite is tempted or fascinating sales people tender the wares of an unknown people. [Laughter.] These boys will spend this money, and they are not going to spend it for insurance, and they will buy none of this insurance, and as this bill is drawn the private soldier will not get anything out of it, and you are doing nothing for him.

Here you have a clause which says that the soldier's widow will receive $25 a month, and these experts knew when they drew it that, as far as possible, we were sending only single men to the front, and that soldiers' widows will be as scarce as hens' teeth, as they are lost in a hundred million of people at home. How many soldiers' widows will draw pensions for men slain on the battle fields of France if you send nothing but single men? Gentlemen, this is not the way to help the enlisted man. Your bill does not stand the acid test. I think we have all observed by this time that the men who drew this bill did not include in their number anybody who ever had any familiarity with the duties of the private soldier or the difficulties that he has to meet. Doubtless they have had the advice of scholarly graduates of military schools, of gentlemen amply skilled in the clerical work of the War Department, but what private soldier, what noncommissioned officer, what officer that ever took men into the firing line was heard by this committee or the author of this bill? Whatever their other qualifications, we are all absolutely satisfied, and I think they concede, that none of them know the frame of mind of the private soldier and the things he is up against.

Mr. SLOAN. Does the gentleman seriously state that no one engaged in the preparation of this bill was familiar with actual military service, military duties, and military conditions? Is it possible that such is the case?

Mr. LITTLE. They may all be Napoleons, but from their presentation of it and the general tenor of the bill I gather that they concede my statement is correct. Whatever you call it, this is a bill to provide a bureau to take the place of the Pension Bureau, which has bothered some of our friends for the last 50 years so much. The gentleman who loaned his name to the introduction of this bill is one of the ablest and most useful Members of the House, but he has had no experience on the Pension Committee, and, as I understand, makes no claim whatever to the equipment necessary to get together this legislation. This bill does not come from the Pension Committee, which should have presented it, and has, by long experience, acquired much information that would have been useful in its preparation. This requested law has never been examined by the Pension Bureau, and no suggestions for its writing spring from the bureau, whose indorsement could have sent it in here ready to receive the highest consideration from the House. The distinguished jurist who is credited with its authorship and is held up here as the expert, never was a soldier, never was a legislator, and the only qualification he has for this work is his desire to be useful, which he shares with most of the rest of mankind. I challenge the authenticity of his commission as an expert.

A careful analysis of this requested legislation does not bear out the theory that it was drawn by an expert. Article I gives the definitions of the legal terms, which any fair lawyer could have made in an hour. They embody in Article II the family allowances and allotments the Government authorized during the expedition on the Mexican border recently, with the improvements that naturally spring therefrom. Article III is simply a change in the pension law, which, I regret to say, does not extend its more favorable provisions, where they occasionally appear, to the veterans of the great War for the Union or their widows. This is an oversight that we must remedy by subsequent enactment which must carry within it provision for the soldiers of the Spanish and Filipino wars and their dependents. To call the pension "compensation" is a mere interchange of words, and it requires no talent and no educational equipment except the dictionary to accomplish that. The Government insurance suggested in Article IV is a feature which has been discussed for many years. No expert is required to present these different propositions.

There are only two new ideas here, or two that may be called new. One is the provision to discard the Pension Bureau and establish a new bureau down in the Treasury Department, which is about as bad as it could be. To bring in that proposition is no good reason for taking the bill from the Committee on Pensions. The other is the splendid idea of extending Government insurance to the soldier at war, and I take off my hat to the gentleman who brought in that plan, and if for no other reason I shall vote for the bill and assist in its passage. But while we

are at it, why not make it seriously useful? These talented gentlemen have overlooked one little practical detail which makes it difficult for this proposed enactment to be of any real use to the private soldier as it now stands. With a very slight modification it can be made to help him. These boys will take out no insurance. See that they do get it. At $8 a year per thousand, $2,000 would cost a boy $16 per annum. Let the Government give him that $16 per annum and present him with $2,000 of insurance. That adds $1.33⅓ cents per month to his income and that will assure him and his dependents that they will really get something out of this Government insurance for soldiers, which as yet means nothing but Government insurance of officers in effect. Gentlemen, this bill was drawn by men in touch with officers and with officers only. When the Interstate Commerce Committee came into this House they brought with them an amendment which provided that no pension, or "compensation," as they call it, and no terms of this bill should apply to any soldier's wife whom he married after the war. Ninety-five per cent of these lads will go to France unmarried, and this golden shower which you jingle in the pockets of the Treasury so patriotically is nothing but the imaginary yellow sunshine on a mirage. So little comprehension had the gentlemen who fathered these propositions of the real purpose of this legislation that they wanted to be sure that some poor fellow did not come home and marry his sweetheart and pass away from some wound or disease he brought from France with the knowledge that his widow would receive compensation, and she might be compelled to nurse him for years and see all she loved and cherished taken from her by the long finger of bony Death stretching from the ramparts of the Rhine to her heart and hearth. You will give the soldier nothing in this insurance because he will take no insurance. When you sell an officer $10,000 insurance for $80 you make him a present of the other $500 which he would pay the company at home if he took it from them. If you give the officer $500, can you not afford to give these young boys $16 a year? As I suggested, many of the officers will be better paid than in peace. You must remember that you will send to Europe thousands upon thousands of young men who are drawing salaries far in excess of those you will pay them for getting killed. You break up their business; you take them out of the place where they made their start in life and made their plans for a wife and a home and a family; you cut their wages to sixteen dollars and a half a month; then you shake the golden apples of Hesperides before their faces and safely out of their reach, and then boast of your generosity. If you give the officer so much—and I am glad to vote for the bill giving the officer such a chance—why not go a step farther and make this bill a real help to the soldier by voting him another $16 a year? No insurance agent will ask him to take it, and the very men who most need this assistance will hardly know that it can be had. Your plan is not efficient toward its purpose, gentlemen of the House, and a slight modification extending its provisions is all that is necessary to make it worthy of the proud consideration of the American people.

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Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the reading of the amendment which I send up.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LITTLE: Page 28, line 5, after the word "provided," strike out the period and insert:

"But every enlisted man who has or shall have during the war a wife, a child or children, a parent or parents dependent or partially dependent upon him is hereby granted without charge and without application an insurance of $2,000 against total disability or death in or from injuries received in battle, or in any attack by or engagement with the enemy, and this sum shall be paid to him in case of total disability, and in case of death to his wife, and to his child or children if there be no wife, and to his parent or parents if there be neither wife nor children."

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I make the same point of order on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope that the American soldier in Europe will have more time to fight the battles of his country than the committee seems to have for the American soldier this afternoon. We are told by the gentleman from Texas, who has charge of this bill for the committee in this House, that a gentleman who now draws $10,000 a year in France thinks that "$13 a month for a soldier in the trenches over there is too much money for the morale of the American Army, and that $10 a month is the limit that a man ought to have to maintain the democracy in the Army that we should have." Before anybody else takes the floor I desire to resent that insult, and I do not care where it comes from, and I am surprised and astonished that anybody should bring such a statement in on this floor when the affairs of the American soldier are being considered. Ninety per cent of the men in the American Army, 90 per cent of the soldiers who will go to Europe, are as competent to spend the money they get as the officers in the American Army. [Applause.]

This makin' mock o' uniforms that guard you while you sleep
Is cheaper than them uniforms, an' they're starvation cheap.
Oh, it's Tommy this, and Tommy that, an' Tommy, how's your soul?
But it's thin red line of 'eroes when the drums begin to roll.
Oh, it's Tommy this, and Tommy that, an' anything you please;
But Tommy ain't a bloomin' fool—you bet that Tommy sees.

Gentlemen have suggested here in this discussion that insurance is only $8 a thousand, that any private could afford to take several thousand, and that five thousand would cost him only $40 a year. Forty dollars a year is not much to a man who gets $2,000 a year, but to a man who receives $200 a year it is 20 per cent of his income. If a private takes the ten thousand an officer will get, it will cost him more than 40 per cent of his income. All that I ask is that you add $16 a year to his income, and thus give him $2,000 insurance, and he will have something, and he will have encouragement to go ahead and take more and be thrifty and farsighted.

Suppose you were working for board and clothes and $200 a year. How much insurance would you take? Imagine yourself stranded in a foreign land on $200 a year, 3,000 miles from your home, spending half your time on a firing line, half frozen to the solid ground or knee-deep in cold water and sent back to the rear for a few days to recuperate. How would you feel when some man who is drawing $10,000 a year and spending it came along and said, "Here boy, is $10; don't waste that on champagne and diamonds." Do you think that would have a tendency to improve "the morale of the American Army" and to "maintain the democracy in the Army that we should have"?

The soldiers of the Republic that go to carry the American flag over the German trenches owe a debt of gratitude to the Hon. RICHARD AUSTIN, of Tennessee, that time can not stale nor custom wither in a thousand years. He brought in the amendment here that gave them a pay that no soldiers in the world ever received before. His name will shine luminous in the dark watches of the night over the American camps for a century, while these "great leaders," with records as yet unmade, and these expert statesmen, with their pruning knives, who seek to snatch from the fighting man's fingers DICK AUSTIN'S magnificent gift, are unwept, unhonored, and unsung.

Gentlemen of the committee, after a while a million or two or three, or possibly five million soldiers, will be home from Europe, and they will adjust these pension laws according to the dictates of their own patriotic judgments. Now, I ask as a soldier in a small war that you make this an actually useful statute for the private soldier and really give him the benefit that you have hung beyond his reach. This legislation is at such a stage it seems almost useless to bring the affairs of an ordinary common soldier before Congress. We can hear from a man who draws $10,000 a year and wears shoulder straps. We can hear from committees who never saw a man marshaled into service. We can hear from judges who have not the slightest comprehension of what it means to be a soldier. We can hear from military experts on swivel chairs who never marched a company into battle and never heard the rattle of an enemy's gun, but when a man gets up and tells what the soldier does and what he needs, they move that the debate be discontinued in 40 minutes. You are only asked to give the soldier $16 a year and thus grant him $2,000 of insurance, much less than you have made it easy for the officer to receive. For pity's sake, gentlemen, let him take it and get away with it, and do not have some major general tell you the boy has not sense enough to spend it when he gets $2,000 and brings it home.

Mr. REAVIS. The soldier who by reason of poverty is able to take but little if any of this insurance is the man who has the dependents and needs the insurance himself, is he not?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes; the gentleman from Nebraska has stated it correctly.

Mr. REAVIS. And the officer who has dependents does not need it.

Mr. LITTLE. As far as the officers are concerned, it was not absolutely necessary that this bill be drawn. These soldiers are those who need this bill, as the gentleman suggests. I say to you, gentlemen, after 18 months' experience with them, in my judgment, not over 5 per cent of them will take this insurance. Unless you make proper provision for the private soldier your bill is nothing but a scrap of paper.

Mr. PLATT. The gentleman says that he does not take the word of a major general. Does not the gentleman know that some of the junior officers have returned from Europe, and that they confirm the statement that the soldiers have so much money they do not know what to do with it?

Mr. LITTLE. What are the junior officers coming home from France for at this stage of the game?

Mr. PLATT. They are ordered home.

Mr. SIEGEL. I will say to my colleague from New York that I have received some letters from the men at the front during the past few days, and they say that they have not been able to see an American newspaper, and they point out the fact that they have not sufficient money, and they are asking the people of this country to send them cigars and cigarettes.

Mr. LITTLE. The judgment of the junior officers who return after the war is over upon their comrades will be of more value than that of those who come back now. The gentleman suggests with evident surprise that I do not accept the ipse dixit of a major general. The members of the Twentieth Kansas Volunteers, thank God, have their information first hand and do not have to take the judgment of any major general. Every man in that regiment has fought in more battles and seen more soldiers marched into action than all the major generals in the Regular Army of the United States put together, except Frank Bell, and, I think, than all the brigadier generals put together, except Clarence Edwards. This bill, unless amended a trifle, is not an effective method of assisting the private soldier. This war is six months old, gentlemen, and the time has gone by to be firing blank cartridges. One American soldier has already died for his country, and he came from Kansas City. As the greatest armies the world ever assembled shake the ground with the tread of marching millions, the balance swings to and fro. This war will be decided on the advent of 3,000,000 American soldiers who will cross the plains of Europe keeping time to the drums that beat at Louisburg and thundered at Quebec, beneath the flag under which their fathers fought from the bridge at Concord to the bridge at Marilao. This Congress is now discussing victory and the means thereto. The Congress, the administration, the people, the business of America must stand behind the American soldier as one man, that the tremendous sacrifices the Nation is making shall not be made in vain. For the character of our soldiers we can take the word of those mighty chieftains who freed the Colonies and preserved our Government in its darkest days. [Applause.]

Food Control.

SPEECH

OF

HON. STUART F. REED,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I expect to vote for the conference report, although I am not entirely satisfied with all the provisions of the bill. I hope the public will not be disappointed in what it anticipates it will accomplish. I realize that the people are expecting great benefits, and for weeks they have been complaining about the failure of Congress to speedily pass the bill and give them relief from the high cost of living.

Enthusiastic friends of the Executive have been filling the columns of the newspapers for weeks with glowing prophesies of what it will do for the masses, who have been led to believe it will put an end to profiteering and make lower prices for the common necessities of life.

This propaganda has created a thrill of hope and expectation in the minds of the people which I greatly fear will end in disappointment and reflect little credit upon the sponsors of the bill.

Food products are likely to remain high and taxes will soon begin to mount higher and higher. The price fixed on wheat will still mean a higher price for bread than the consumer thinks ought to prevail.

The producer having for a time reveled in the ecstasy of enormous profits will be dissatisfied if he believes the Government has put limitations upon his business.

The Government is getting into pretty deep water when it starts out to help the consumer by giving him lower prices and in the same law help the producer by guaranteeing him higher prices.

Because wheat is scarce it is necessarily high. This law proposes to increase the production by keeping the price up. That appears reasonable. On the other hand, because of a car shortage and a scarcity of coal we know coal is very high. Now, I hear it rumored that in order to remedy that situation and get more coal the President is about to reduce the price of coal and fix a maximum above which it may not be sold.

I want to see the people get relief, but I can not understand the logic of the administration in these matters. I am afraid it is a hopeless appeal to the potency of statutes to work miracles and nullify some well-established principles of economics.

Only a few years ago the farmers were having a hard time to make a bare living on the most fertile farms of the Republic. They got a mere pittance for their grain, butter, eggs, and beef cattle.

In these disastrous times many a farmer placed a mortgage on his lands in order to get a little money to educate his children. His Government did nothing to relieve him. I do not know what it could have done, but I know what happened. The boys all left the farms and went to the cities where wages were good and surroundings more fascinating. A few years ago 65 per cent of the people lived in the country. Now only about 40 per cent are in the country and 60 per cent in the cities and towns.

No miracle of legislation can change existing conditions relating to supply and demand in this great country over night.

This law for food control seems to be one of a series of laws proposed as war-emergency measures.

I refer particularly to the pending food-survey bill, which seeks to aid in increasing the food supply; the food-control bill we are now considering, which proposes to regulate prices; and the river and harbor bill, which has just been passed and which we were told was a war measure because its purpose was to improve the creeks and streams of the country and make them available for transporting the expected increase in the farm products of the Nation. We were asked to believe that these rivers and creeks, in all sections of the country could be improved, provided with steamboats, and used to transport the enormous products which I presume are expected to be produced by the boys in the cities who will go back to the farms next year for that purpose.

All this to be accomplished in time to provide food for America and her allies and help win the war into which we have entered.

To my mind this part of the program is ridiculous. Certainly the people of this country know how long it would take to carry out this scheme of river improvement which is said to be necessary in winning the war. If the war is to last that long, God help us.

It was clearly understood that this extra session of Congress would consider only measures relating to the war, and especially was it made clear that no river and harbor bill would be brought in. Our Democratic friends who are in full control of this House held a caucus, we are told, and absolutely assented to such a program. Yet some of our friends who are overanxious to secure appropriations to be expended in improving creeks and rivers in their districts have devised a ruse to drag in here and pass their pet schemes under the guise of war legislation. I voted against the bill because it was brought here under false pretenses, and to my mind was a badly constructed piece of legislation. It was legislation that very properly might be considered in the regular session which is now only a few weeks off. But it was thrust into this busy session when it was not possible to give it careful consideration. It placed upon the people who are already overburdened with taxation an additional load of $27,000,000. It creates seven new Federal officials at a salary of $7,500, who are empowered to employ an unlimited number of men at any salaries they choose to pay, and thereby make another raid on the Treasury. The argument was made that it was necessary to have the appropriation in order to improve our harbors and deepen certain channels and inlets to accommodate our battleships and destroyers.

By referring to the report of the unexpended river and harbor appropriations we find about $30,000,000 yet available. It is true that some members of the committee have figured it out that when amounts for certain contracts already made are deducted there will not be that amount unexpended, but the lowest they have ever been able to bring it is $19,000,000. Certainly a sufficient sum to take care of any emergency in the line of harbor or river improvements needed in the conduct of the war between now and the opening of Congress in December.

But that bill is now a law, and $27,000,000 additional are available for the improvement of various harbors, inlets, rivers, and creeks, especially the creeks. It is an old saying, "Every dog has his day," but surely the creeks are given their day in this bill. I thought I understood the meaning of the word "creek," but in order to be on the safe side I consulted a late

edition of an unabridged dictionary and find "creek" defined as "a small tidal or valley stream between a brook and a river in size." Let me give you the names of some of the creeks that by this bill are proposed to be converted into mighty arteries of commerce: In Florida we find Slaughter, Tyaskin, Broad, and Banana Creeks; in Mississippi, Bear Creek; in Texas, Oyster and Clear Creeks; in North Carolina, Smiths, Broad, and Queens Creeks; in South Carolina, Church Creek and Bohicket Creek; in New Jersey, Matawan, Compton, Cheesequake, Woodbury, Raccoon, Oldmans, Alloway, and Woodbridge Creeks. Of course, these may all be noble, crystal streams, worthy of the attention of Congress. During this extra session we have had no time to go into their history. I did, however, look at the Engineers' Report as to the last one named in the partial list I have given. It says, "Woodbridge Creek, N. J., is a small crooked tidal stream * * * navigable 2¾ miles above the mouth." Some of them may, as I said, be worthy projects, but certainly no creek or river improvements can be started and completed in time to help any transportation problems connected with present war emergency.

I am in favor of improving our rivers whenever the benefits justify the expenditure. It will take a long time to make them what they ought to be, and much money will be required to do it, even in normal times.

With labor, concrete, steel, and everything else that goes with river improvement costing to-day three times as much as in ordinary times, it would be an inexcusable waste of the people's money to begin extensive improvements on waterways not necessary to the carrying on of the war.

In shipbuilding, in providing guns and ammunition for our Army, we are far short of our requirements. The material and men that would be required to start new river improvements are needed in other places. There is a shortage of farm labor to carry out the plans suggested by the administration.

Mr. Speaker, some may say, "Why protest against a bill that is already a law?" True, but the money has not yet been spent. The matter is under the control of the Secretary of War, and I hope he will exercise his authority in these days of high prices, and instead of sending men and engineers to survey Banana Creek and Raccoon Creek and other streams he will use the money of the people, as common sense should dictate, in activities that will help us win this war in the shortest possible time and save our young men from slaughter in the trenches of Europe. Of course, some money must be spent in harbors and other places to meet war exigencies, but new projects ought not to be undertaken.

The food-control bill now under consideration, whatever may be its merits, may be properly called legislation in the interests of sustaining the Army and Navy. Its objects are commendable, and while I would like to see it modified in some respects I shall support it, and my sincere hope is that it may bring the people some of the relief they expect of it.

Universal Obligation to Service.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, when I was a boy the preachers used to talk about free salvation, and the congregations sang a hymn which ran like this:

I'm glad salvation is free;
I'm glad salvation is free.
Salvation is free for you and me;
I'm glad salvation is free.

And we sang it with great enthusiasm. Free salvation is still an orthodox church doctrine, but now the preachers are talking more about the idea of service, of the opportunity of doing things, of the duties and the privileges of service. They are putting the emphasis upon service and sacrifice. It is not so much a question of how much one can get from the Almighty as how much one can do for his fellow men.

There is a surprisingly large number of people in this country who glory in the statement that this is a free country—free—something for nothing!

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. I will ask the gentleman if he heeded that admonition in the good old hymn, "Salvation is free"?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I hope so.

Now, as the preaching has improved during the passing years, we are also getting better ideas on the question as to our duty to our country. Instead of the idea of everything being free, like the sunlight, thoughtful men are talking now of the obligation they owe to their country, of universal obligation to service. It is their idea that what we have of freedom and liberty was fought for, was dearly paid for, and to maintain our liberties ought to be an equal obligation resting upon all. We are fighting to make the world safe for democracy, so our President has declared. We are fighting to uphold the rights of international law and the fundamental and sacred rights of humanity. Can a more lofty cause enlist the activities of a democracy? If so, let our conduct of this war be democratic in deed and in truth. Let there be a sense of obligation upon every citizen. Let us rid ourselves as a people from the false notion that it is the privilege and duty for some to serve and that it is the privilege of others to deny such obligation while at the same time enjoying the protection of their ordinary rights of citizenship. I commend to those who have had so much to say about special privilege as related to the industries to turn their attention to that reprehensible form of special privilege which would permit them to enjoy all the blessings of our great Republic and at the same time shrink from the just obligations of citizenship.

This debate has been exhaustive. There is little new which can be said. There is, however, one thing which I desire to say in the most emphatic way, and that is that the young men upon the farms of the Northwest are not the ones who have suggested a substitution of service in the industrial army upon the farms in place of service at the front, although that may be found to be a very wise thing to do. Others, among them the Secretary of Agriculture, have made such proposals. The young men upon our North Dakota farms are just as patriotic as the young men of other States.

Now, Mr. Chairman, while all citizens should recognize their obligation for service, we, as Congressmen, sharing in the direction of the war, should see to it that the burdens imposed upon the people are distributed equally, fairly, and justly. This bill if passed will mobilize the young manhood of the country into a great army. We are calling upon these young men to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives if need be. What will be our attitude hereafter in respect to what will be required from other citizens? Will there be favoritism? Will there be a disposition to shield certain of our citizens? The resolution of Congress by which a state of war was declared to exist, which many Members voted for only under a compelling sense of duty, contained these words:

And to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, will this pledge of Congress be carried out without fear or favor? It will call for the same degree of courage upon our part as that which will enable our brave boys to face death in the battle lines of France. We must demand sacrifices upon the part of those not accustomed to make them. We must tax wealth. We must raise huge sums of money from classes that have heretofore kept powerful lobbies at Washington. Will we have the courage to demand of every citizen, high and low, rich and poor, his full share of the war burden according to his financial ability? If not, then in God's name we ought not to pass a law which will conscript these young men into a service which may cost them their lives. No man should vote for this bill unless he expects to go down the line voting for other bills which shall bring about equality in sacrifice. I shall vote for the bill upon this theory.

Mr. Chairman, in discharging the duty which will be ours of equalizing the burdens, one of the questions for decision will be the pay for those serving in the ranks. There is talk in the newspapers now of conscripting an army to work in the fields. It will probably never be done. Whether it is ever done or not, the pay for farm help this year will be from $45 to $50 per month plus board and room. Is there any justice in conscripting an army to go upon the farms to work in safety at high wages and at the same time call from the farm young men to an exceedingly hazardous service at $16 per month? And is it fair for us Congressmen to leave on the statute books a law which makes it possible for 40 agents of the Dominion Government to scatter themselves through the agricultural areas of

our country for the purpose of soliciting men to go to the fields of Canada, offering them high wages and in addition 160 acres of free land to each. Under our laws it is unlawful to advertise for help in a foreign newspaper, and the farmer who even writes a letter to one living beyond our national boundaries suggesting that he can find employment here is guilty of a felony, and some of our North Dakota farmers have, to their sad experience, been placed behind the bars for unintentionally violating this unjust law. The fathers of the boys who will be called to the colors must employ labor for their farms in competition with the agents of the Dominion Government, if, indeed, they can find men at all to do the work.

Here is an advertisement appearing in many American newspapers, which reads:

Canada offers 160 acres of land free to farm hands—bonus of western Canada land to men who assist in maintaining needed grain production. The demand for farm labor in Canada is so great that as an inducement to secure at once the necessary help required, Canada will give 160 acres of land free as a homestead—

And so forth.

Mr. Chairman, the Government should be fair with those who serve in our armies. The wages of railway men have been increased. The Interstate Commerce Commission is proposing to increase railway rates. Wages and prices are on the increase everywhere. In the midst of such conditions it is unfair to offer the pittance which is paid to our soldiers. I know the feeling of our splendid young men of the West. They do not like to leave the school, the store, and the farm to go to the trenches for the pittance now paid to our soldiers. They will go, however, even if the compensation is not changed. They will prove to the world that the spirit of '76 and '61 is not dead and that they are as patriotic as their forefathers. But how much better will it be for us to show these young men who come to the colors that our obligation to do justice to them is equal to their obligation to serve their country. I feel confident that this will be done.

I want to ask a question of the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. GREENE], a member of the committee, and it is this: Has any consideration been given to the compensation that an enlisted man should receive now that he is to be drafted rather than volunteer for service?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I suppose that the Army pay table heretofore prevailing will prevail, so far as I have any information of it.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Heretofore, while the enlisted man has been paid very poorly, his service was voluntary, but now that his service is, in a sense, involuntary, since he is to be drafted, since you can not forcibly take a man's property without giving him just compensation, you ought not to take his time without giving him just compensation.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I never understood that any patriot risked his life in war for the sake of the money there was in it.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. There is something in that; but the conditions are somewhat changed now, as I have already pointed out, and the matter of just compensation for our soldiers should command our most serious thought.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time. [Applause.]

Selective Draft.

SPEECH

OF

HON. PATRICK D. NORTON,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 26, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, we are in a great world war. We are in a war to-day arraying our strength and resources against what is the most thoroughly and systematically organized and the most powerful autocracy in the form of government that the world has ever known.

The time has passed to debate, to criticize, or to speculate on what might have been done to have kept this Nation out of this world war. The problem now before the Nation is a concrete one. The problem is to carry on our part in this war not only for a day or a year but to carry it on for such time and until such time as the glorious banner of our Nation shall be carried to final victory on the fields of this war. The paramount problem in this legislation is to provide for an army of citizen soldiers in a way that will best carry that banner to victory in the shortest period of time.

The volunteer system has been well championed during this debate. Members have eloquently recalled and recounted certain history of our country to justify the continuance of that system. A great deal of affection and a great deal of love, unbounded admiration, and endearing memories attach to the volunteer system. For myself, I desire to say here that I personally have the greatest love and veneration for the splendid men who have in the past nobly volunteered their services in their country's cause, and I have, too, the profoundest respect and admiration for the tens of thousands of equally splendid men who from one end to the other of this land of ours to-day nobly stand ready to volunteer to give the fullest measure of devotion to their country in the contest in which we are now engaged. But with due regard for the blessings that have come down to us from the volunteer system as it worked out in the past, to-day with the present development of our country the volunteer system, as a system for quickly and efficiently placing the military strength of our Nation against the country's enemy, is as antiquated and as inefficient as is the old flintlock of colonial days in modern warfare.

I look upon this question somewhat differently than do a great many Members who have spoken on the subject in the House the last few days. To me it seems that the best system of military service to be adopted is that which will most nearly place upon every able-bodied citizen an equal liability and an equal responsibility to serve his country at his country's need and call. For several years I have been interested in the question of universal military service, and I have given this question some careful study. Having fully in mind all the arguments that have been made in favor of the volunteer system, I am nevertheless firmly of the opinion that if we could secure through the volunteer system five times the number of men needed in this war, and I think that this could be done, it would still be far better for our country and far safer for the maintenance and perpetuation of the cardinal principles on which this Nation was founded, to adopt either the selective-draft system or the universal military system as a permanent policy of our Government, and to do this now.

In the early days of this Nation its population was comparatively small. The interests of its people were not so widely divergent as they are to-day. Its people lived closer together. They were not as to-day scattered over a territory extending from Florida to Alaska and from Passamaquoddy Bay to Manila Harbor. They then felt, and were, in fact, bound much more closely together, by association, by ancestry, and by common interest, than are the people of our country to-day. In recent years there has been growing up in this country a most noticeable lack of unity among our people and an absence of real intelligent interest in the Government. Hundreds of thousands of our population have felt free to enjoy all the fruits and benefits of this Government without giving a single thought to any service which they might owe or which they might give to the Government. To them the Government of the United States has meant very little other than a free protection to make money and to prosper in worldly goods. It is clear that this individualistic and selfish tendency of a large part of our population, native as well as foreign born, if continued, would inevitably leave the country an easy prey to any strong forces that might assail it from without or from within. Some time ago, in discussing the subject of national preparedness with one of the highest military officers of our Government, I made the statement that I did not believe that this Nation would have the military preparation it should have if we maintained a regular standing army of 1,000,000 men and paid each of the private soldiers in the regular standing army a salary of $50 or even $100 a month, and did not have in the Nation a system of military preparedness, under which every citizen of the country would feel that he was a real part of the system and that it was part of his duty as a citizen as well as a privilege for him to share in the Nation's defense in all times of need. I shall heartily support the selective-draft provision, as I believe it will best tend to distribute among our people the burdens of actual military service and defense of the Government, and will develop a greater unity among our people and a greater appreciation of the true responsibilities of citizenship. I shall heartily support the selective-draft provision because I believe it is thoroughly democratic and better meets the present needs and conditions of our country than the volunteer system. [Applause.]

"I Find Then a Law."

—The Apostle Paul.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, August 3, 1917.

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us will, in my judgment, prove to be a good one if the law is properly administered. Let us hope that those intrusted with its execution will act with wisdom and discretion. The United States grain standards act is an example of a law carefully drawn, but which is likely from present indications to be administered in a way which will cause much dissatisfaction. The law is all right, but those who are charged with its execution are disposed to look for advice almost wholly from the middlemen.

Mr. Speaker, the grading of grain is a subject of importance to every living soul in the United States. All who produce food and all who eat food, including every man, woman, and child, are interested in the marketing of wheat. It is vital to all. A just and fair system of grading grain is essential to healthy marketing conditions. The miller, living outside of the wheat-producing areas, can not see the grain he buys. He must depend upon the grading of the grain. This ought to be done in such a way as to enable the buyer to know the quality of wheat which he is buying, how much flour it will make and of what quality, and the amount and quality of the by-products. This knowledge is also necessary to the seller or producer. He should know the quality of the article which he sells in order to act with intelligence, and is entitled to have it graded in such a way as to indicate its real milling value. While progress has been made in every other line of business, the grading of grain is done in the same old way, and the grades or standards now proposed by the National Government promise no improvement.

A number of years ago the by-products were of comparatively small value. Now even the screenings sell for about $20 per ton. In spite of these changed conditions the grading is done in the same old way. Having discussed in detail the bulletins of President E. F. Ladd, of Fargo, before Congress, some time ago, I shall not now go into those matters but instead make some general observations.

The word "law" is a scientific term. It was a scriptural term for nearly 2,000 years before it became a scientific term. The Apostle Paul said, "I find then a law." His was a logical mind. He studied to discover the law back of all natural and spiritual phenomena.

Every advance in human progress has come through the discovery of a great law.

Newton discovered the law of gravity, the law which holds the world in its grasp.

Galileo discovered the law of the heavens.

Watt discovered the law of steam.

Franklin discovered the law of the lightning flash.

Marconi discovered the law of the air.

Edison discovered the law of electrical control.

Langley discovered the law of aeronautics.

Burbank discovered the law of plant development.

I regret to find that grain dealers and those interested in the subject of grain grading have the habit of saying or believing that rusted wheat is an unknown quantity. We have had rusted hard wheat so many times its milling qualities are well known. Badly rusted wheat, like that of 1916, has been seen before. Such crops will come again, and when they come their characteristics, their flour content, their quality, need not be a matter of conjecture. In other words, there is a law in respect to rusted wheat. Nature repeats itself. Paul said, "I find then a law." What are some of the laws of nature in respect to rusted wheat?

(1) The screenings content is always larger. Screenings are worth money, and they cost the miller nothing. They offset in large degree the loss occasioned by the slightly reduced flour content.

(2) The protein content is greater. Protein is another word for gluten. It is the blood-producing, muscle-building property of food. Much if not the chief demand for hard wheat comes from millers where soft winter or spring wheats are grown. Such wheats are deficient in gluten. To make first-class flour it is necessary to mix them with hard wheats. So the hard wheat having the highest gluten content is the most valuable to all such millers, and is in constant demand.

(3) The flour made from rusted wheat makes a larger, better-looking loaf.

(4) It makes a flour more easily handled by the average baker.

(5) The absorption is greater. That is to say it will absorb and retain more water. This makes no difference to the housewife, but it does make a difference to the bakers, as they sell their bread according to weight. So such flour is in great demand with them.

All of these factors go to make rusted wheat worth almost the same as wheat free from rust, pound for pound. It required, in 1916, about a bushel and a half in bulk to equal in weight a measured bushel of rust-free wheat. But wheat is not sold in bulk. It is sold by the pound, and it requires the same number of pounds of rusted wheat to make a bushel as rust-free wheat. It is a simple proposition, but interested, selfish men have found it easy to confuse both buyers and sellers.

Strong statements, you say. Yes; they are, but they are susceptible of proof not only by experiments made by President Ladd but by a statement made to the trade by one of the largest flour-milling concerns at Minneapolis in respect to flour made from the rusted wheat of 1916. The message sent out by this concern, which corroborates my statement, reads as follows:

"The quality of the 1916 crop as milled by us is excellent. There will be a marked increase in loaf volume. The gluten content will be from 11 per cent to 12 per cent, which is considerably larger than the 1915 crop. The time of fermentation will possibly be about one-half hour longer than the last crop. Owing to the extremely warm weather during the ripening period the wheat has already gone through the sweat, and consequently the difficulties often experienced in handling new wheat flour will not be noticed to any extent. The indications are that the absorption will be about 2 per cent to 3 per cent higher than the previous crop."

This quotation is from a postal card in the possession of and printed in the Nonpartisan Leader, published at Fargo, N. Dak.

The grading of wheat is a simple matter, but those who have established or defined the grades in Minnesota in the past have made it an abstruse matter. They have sought to mystify the public. They have assumed the demeanor of a quack. They have, in the language of the dictionary, pretended knowledge which they did not possess. But they have gotten away with it because the people, prior to bulletins issued by President Ladd, were uninformed as to the milling value of wheat.

To begin with, in 1873 it was a simple matter to grade the wheat. Two grades were sufficient, Nos. 1 and 2 northwestern spring. Later the name was changed to "hard spring." Finding this easy, they established an additional grade in 1885, namely, No. 1 hard, and retained Nos. 1 and 2 northern. Finding that nobody was looking nor kicking, they added two more grades in 1907, making the list as follows: No. 1 hard and Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 northern. Still finding the public credulous, they boosted the number of grades up to seven. Of late, however, the farmers have been learning what the grain men have always known—the milling value of their wheat—and they have been doing some plain talking. They no longer reverence or respect the high-browed gentlemen in Minnesota who called themselves scientists. They have discovered that the definitions of the grades, making highly technical descriptive statements of what is required for the different grades, are simply devices to impoverish the farmers and take their products at less than their real value.

The farmers had great hopes that the standard grades established by the National Government would be more simple, fair, and just. Unfortunately, the National Government has no experimental flour mill of its own, such as we have at our agricultural college in North Dakota, and the officials have depended, I fear, too much upon milling data furnished by private and more or less interested concerns. At the next session I hope Congress will agree to the very small appropriation for which I am asking to install at the Capital a small experimental flour mill and chemical and baking laboratories. This will enable our market officials to secure reliable first-hand data, free from the coloring, bias, or misstatements of private irresponsible investigators.

In an article prepared by me for the August, 1916, issue of Pearson's Magazine I discussed this subject from the standpoint of the consumer as well as the producer. In that article I attempted to show that because the farmer is the victim of crooked measures and false weights every woman who buys bread for her children is cheated; that Londoners paid less for bread in war time than we did in peace; and that bread eaters, by intelligent

cooperation, could lower the cost and raise the quality of the family loaf. I ask permission to print this article in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The matter is as follows:

THE MIDDLE AGAINST THE ENDS—HOW 100,000,000 PEOPLE WHO GROW WHEAT OR EAT BREAD ARE HUMBUGGED BY CROOKED MEASURES.

[By GEORGE M. YOUNG, Member of Congress from North Dakota.]

[Representative YOUNG, while a member of the North Dakota Legislature, introduced and secured the passage of what was known as the Young bill, providing for the installation of an experimental flour mill and testing plant at the Agricultural College, Fargo, N. Dak.—Editorial note.]

16 drams make 1 ounce.
16 ounces, 1 pound.

Millions upon millions of Americans who learned this table at school stand for a "pound loaf" of bread weighing 12 ounces. The table known as Troy weight made a pound consist of 12 ounces, and we were taught that Troy weight was used to weigh gold, silver, and jewels. The bakers evidently believe that bread should be weighed on the same scales as gold. Barnum allowed that the American people liked to be humbugged. In the case of wheat and bread it is doubtful whether they like it, but that they are humbugged—and properly—is a fact beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Volumes have been written and spoken to show how grain dealers have juggled with the grades, raising the grades on millions upon millions of bushels from so-called low grades to high grades. Such speeches and articles have been predicated upon the idea that the grades established by Minnesota were not doctored; that they were honest and made in order to describe what were supposed to be several distinct varieties of hard wheats with different milling values. Speakers and writers have apparently overlooked the basic facts which made such manipulations of the middlemen easy, and overlooked the astounding fact that there is practically no difference in the milling values of the different grades of hard wheat. There is some difference, however, in the baking values of the flour made therefrom, but, strange to say, in favor of the so-called lower grades.

BIG BAKERS THWARTED.

When it was proposed last year by certain big bakers in New York, during a flurry of the wheat market, to advance the price of bread, the people made a howl and some of the newspapers protested. It was pointed out that 57 loaves of 16 ounces are made from a bushel of wheat, which at 5 cents per loaf makes the gross proceeds $2.85 per bushel, to which should be added the value of the by-products. If computed on the basis of the make-believe loaf containing 12 ounces the gross proceeds amount to $3.56, to which should be added the value of the by-products—shorts, bran, and screenings.

It was not the protests, however, which brought the bakers' combine to time. The trick was pulled off by some small and apparently insignificant bakers who advertised to do business at the old prices and threatened to capture the business of the combine. Now that the wheat is mostly out of the hands of the farmers, the prices are advancing at the time of writing this article, and there is considerable prospect of the speculators boosting wheat up to an excessively high price. If so the consumers will be face to face with another bread price advance, and the next one may stick, as it is fair to presume the bakers will be better organized next time. The consumers, if they are wise, should not only resist any advance in price but also make a fight for a real pound loaf containing 16 ounces.

MIDDLEMEN HELPED BY CROOKED MEASURES.

There is nothing which will help a crooked man to defraud his victims more than crooked scales or a crooked measure. So, in the passing of a bushel of wheat from the farmer to the consumer the greed of middlemen is helped by crooked measures of value and false standards of weight.

The Constitution of the United States makes it the duty of Congress to fix the standards of weights and measures. That there is great need for standard measures in the grain trade is plain. Take for example that section of the country producing hard wheat. Dr. E. F. Ladd, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, a noted chemist, has conducted some experiments with wheat and flour of great interest and immense value. There is at the college a complete milling plant, and every facility for making chemical and baking tests. A bulletin issued last year contains some tables which tell the story of crooked measures of value.

BAKING TESTS.

It will be observed that in the baking tests the texture for Nos. 3, 4, and rejected averages above that for the so-called higher grades, and that the flour per pound from "rejected" wheat makes more bread, being of larger volume and greater weight, also greater gluten content, as shown by other experiments. In the matter of color Nos. 1 and 2 take higher percentages than the other three grades, but even here rejected comes well above the lower limits for second patents, which is placed at 88 in the commercial laboratories.

The figures in Table I demonstrate that the difference in the values of the different kinds of hard wheat is very slight, and could be described by two grades. Instead the Minnesota State authorities have established pretended standards showing six grades—No. 1 hard, No. 1 northern, No. 2 northern, No. 3 northern, No. 4 northern, and rejected.

Table I.

Grade of wheat.	Weight per bushel.		Milling tests.					Baking tests.			
	Before cleaning.	After cleaning.	Per cent loss in cleaning.	Per cent flour.	Per cent bran.	Per cent shorts.	Per cent loss in milling.	Water absorbed, per cent.	Volume of loaf, c. c.	Color, per cent.	Texture per cent.
No. 1 N.....	57.75	61.12	2.51	67.33	16.30	15.32	1.05	58.87	2,451	100	93.25
No. 2 N.....	55.8	59.10	3.72	67.02	16.68	14.69	1.61	56.31	2,425	96.4	93.4
No. 3 N.....	51.85	55.95	6.14	68.15	17.62	14.10	.13	59.91	2,514	94.2	90.45
No. 4 N.....	45.65	52.55	12.21	63.22	17.98	18.83	.03	59.22	2,600	95	94.7
Rejected....	41.95	50.85	13.96	63.68	18.64	17.34	.34	58.98	2,685	94.5	94.7

As there are clearly, by Dr. Ladd's test, not that many distinct kinds of hard wheat, the Minnesota grades, so called, are arbitrary and not honest measures of quality or value. If a "grade" serves any purpose, it is to indicate the value of wheat for the making of flour, how much and what quality of flour it will produce. The Minnesota grades do the opposite. They mystify. They create a half dozen grades to cover imaginary differences, and all who handle the wheat, from the local buyers through its devious and unnecessarily long course through the middlemen, use the false measures, the grades, to add to their profits, part of the burden falling on the producer and part on the consumer. The excessive profits thus gained are for the most part made before the wheat reaches the flour millers, particularly those of the East. The flour millers, as a general rule, both in the United States and England, must pay all the wheat is worth. The fiction of grades does not signify much at the mill door. Indeed, when the foreign importer gets it, or the majority of the big flour mills, the low grades, so called, have vanished, and high grades have taken their places. Thus do middlemen and chamber-of-commerce gamblers play with the necessities of the people.

WHAT IT COSTS.

And the percentage of unjust profit added is by no means small. In fact, it is so large as to make one wonder why a plundering system of such magnitude could exist so long. For instance, follow the purchase of wheat for the different grades shown in Table I and compute the value of the products of the wheat as shown by the market quotations of the Northwestern Miller of Minneapolis, issue of December 9, 1914, for flour, bran, shorts, and screenings. Also, the average of market quotations for wheat for eight days in the same publication. It is found that for each 100 pounds of wheat purchased, according to such market prices, the returns above the original cost are as follows: No. 1 northern, 34 cents; No. 2, 37 cents; No. 3, 49 cents; No. 4, 52 cents; rejected, 57 cents. This is shown in another table prepared by Dr. Ladd, given below:

	No. 1 northern.	No. 2 northern.	No. 3 northern.	No. 4 northern.	Rejected.
Cost per 100 pounds.....	$1.950	$1.905	$1.858	$1.789	$1.746
Receipts.....	2.28391	2.2722	2.3495	2.3094	2.3148
Increase per 100 pounds..	.33391	.3672	.4915	.5204	.5688

It goes without saying that if the Minnesota grades represented real differences in the grain purchased, the profits would be the same upon each bushel handled. The arbitrary character of the grades, as well as the utter foolishness of calling them standards of value, is shown by the spread in the gross profit of 34 cents for No. 1 northern to 57 cents for rejected. In order to have a just measure of the value of the wheat the flour and by-products should yield the same profit for each grade. Anything else means a crooked measure, and somebody must

pay the bill, either the man who walks behind the plow or the man who steps up to the flour counter, or both.

LONDON WITH DEARER WHEAT HAS CHEAPER BREAD.

In a general way, according to the present system of marketing grain, there are, in fact, two measuring sticks, one used in buying the farmer's grain, which does not in any sense measure the value or put an honest brand upon it; then it is graded again, sometimes officially and sometimes unofficially, when the wheat is turned over to the flour millers, at which time, the mask being off, both parties to the deal know what it is really worth. Ordinarily, taking the country as a whole, it makes no difference to the flour miller what the wheat costs him, excepting in those cases where the flour millers are themselves either directly or through subsidiary companies engaged in the business of handling grain, because the cost is passed on to the jobber, and the jobber passes it on to the grocer, who passes it on to the consumer. It will be seen, therefore, that so far as the fixing of standards is concerned the losses to the public occur chiefly at the ends, before the grain reaches the miller and after the flour is turned over to the baker. In the latter case it is fair to presume, considering the average sale price of wheat and flour, that the bakers could afford to sell a real pound loaf containing 16 ounces for 5 cents. The average American city is nearer to the wheat fields than London, yet the "war price" of bread in London is considerably less than that. In other words, London, with dearer wheat, has cheaper bread. Here is a dispatch from London, under date of April 13, 1915, when wheat had reached the highest price for many years, which says: "It has been decided by the master bakers, on account of the war, to advance the price of bread, beginning next Monday, to 17 cents per quartern loaf" A quartern loaf is 4 pounds of 16 ounces each, which means that a full pound loaf containing 16 ounces is sold in war times in London at 4¼ cents. During the flurry of high wheat prices last year some of the papers that protested against the proposed increase in price for a make-believe pound loaf containing only 12 ounces seemed to leave out of the computation the by-products, though of admitted value. In the issue of the Northwestern Miller above referred to flour is quoted at $2.88 per 100 pounds, and the by-products were quoted as follows, per 100 pounds: Bran, $1; shorts, $1.25; screenings, 60 cents.

Hard wheat is seldom made into flour without being mixed with winter or soft wheat. Some exceptions are found in the hard-wheat areas. A flour mill, say at Buffalo, desires hard wheat for mixing because of its gluten content, and the so-called low grades contain the largest percentage of gluten. If the Government shall hereafter establish standards of value, it is quite possible that what is now classified under the low grades, so called, will be graded as No. 1, not only on account of their high gluten content, but because their flour content and by-products combined, according to market quotations, are more valuable than the wheat of the so-called high grades. In any case, with the establishment of honest standards hard wheats will be of substantially the same value, pound for pound, although the creation of a couple of grades might be necessary to properly indicate the milling and baking values. If measured in bulk, a bushel of rejected grade weighs around 49 pounds, whereas No. 1 northern weighs 57 pounds to the bushel in bulk. But the farmer who sells it must give 60 pounds of either to make a bushel. In other words, it is sold by the pound. The farmer drives up to the local elevator with a load of wheat. The local buyer comes out with a bucket, weighs a sample and says, "Docked 2 pounds for screenings," for which the farmer gets nothing, though they have a commercial value, and notwithstanding the fact that he pays the freight on them to the terminal. "Forty-seven pounds," says the buyer; "this wheat grades rejected." He then settles for the wheat, taking 60 pounds to the bushel, but pays according to the quotations for wheat of rejected grade.

Those interested in following this study further are referred to Special Bulletin, volume 3, No. 14, food department of the North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, prepared by Dr. E. F. Ladd and A. K. Johnson.

It has not been attempted in this article to cover the abuses of the market raiders, speculators, gamblers, and the line elevators, storage men, and certain terminal flour millers who play in along with them. That is a whole story by itself.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. At both ends of the bread line the measures and scales are faulty and incorrect, resulting in false measures at one end and short weights at the other.

2. Wheat of rejected grade will make just as good flour as No. 1 northern, and more nutritious bread because of the high gluten content. This is very important to poor families. Bread made from full gluten flour is the best known substitute for meat.

3. The flour from rejected wheat makes a loaf of the largest volume and takes the highest rating in point of texture.

4. While it is true that the high grades of wheat, so called, will produce a higher percentage of flour per bushel, it is also true that the flour and by-products from one bushel of the low grades are more valuable than the flour and by-products from the same quantity of the high grades.

5. A crooked yardstick is a weapon of oppression. Even so strong an organization as the Standard Oil could not exist if it used crooked measures. The grain raisers, the consumers, and the great bulk of the flour millers (excepting some of those who engage in the grain trade as a separate or auxiliary business) are interested in having honest standards of value and correct weights.

6. The price of wheat invariably rules higher in England than in the United States. Yet the war price of bread in London is cheaper than the normal price of bread in New York and other American cities.

7. It would seem that the middle has been "playing" the ends long enough. Why not play the ends against the middle? Here is an opportunity for successful cooperation. In the past some people from certain wheat areas have been trying to secure remedial legislation. They have failed. But they can win with the help of the bread eaters. How long will a patient and long-suffering people wait for Congress to pass a law providing for the grading of grain, the establishment of definite standards of value, and standard weights for the sale of bread? It need not be long with intelligent cooperation.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. GORE,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Saturday, July 21, 1917.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from Colorado has expired.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the argument of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] in favor of the Chamberlain amendment is the best argument which has yet been made against that amendment. If, indeed, New York is the principal primary market and the farmer is to have the price *of his* wheat discounted upon the basis of the New York price, then the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska certainly ought to be adopted. According to the statement of the Senator from Colorado, if wheat be $2 a bushel in New York, it will then be $1.70 or $1.75 in the great wheat belt of the Middle West, and what the price would be on the Pacific coast I am unable even to guess. Mr. President, I do not believe that the farmers in the wheat belt, who have been encouraged to sow generously, ought to have their price fixed upon the prevailing price in the city of New York.

There is a singular coincidence between the price which would result from the Senator's argument—$1.70 to $1.75 in the wheat belt—as compared with the price which has already been fixed by the Wheat Export Co. I hold in my hand Russell's Commercial Review, issued in New York on July 17, 1917. It states that the Wheat Export Co. has agreed to pay from $1.75 to $1.85 to farmers for their wheat. The Wheat Export Co. is the buying concern for the allied Governments; it is made up of all the leading English grain companies. The price fixed by the Wheat Export Co. is from $1.75 to $1.80. According to the Senator's argument, if $2 were made the basic price at New York, then the farmers will receive from $1.75 to $1.85. I do not say that there is any concert of action; I merely suggest that the coincidence is singular.

The Senator says there is nothing in this bill which gives control to the Government of the price of wheat. Mr. President, this bill must be considered in connection with the act passed a few weeks ago which vests the President with the embargo power. That power has been exercised. An embargo has been laid upon the exportation of wheat. The Senator well knows that whenever this Government is vested with the power to

control the surplus production of wheat in this country it can fix the price not only of the surplus but of the entire production. The power that can control the surplus can control the entire production, and the farmer takes the risk of having his wheat fixed by the Wheat Export Co. at $1.75 to $1.85, and if Mr. Hoover should work in harmony with these English companies the price received by the farmer would be $1.75 or $1.85 per bushel.

I think the Senator made a wise suggestion when he declared that we ought to fix the price to the farmer at the farm, or rather at the farmer's local market. Then all possibility of manipulation would be eliminated. But I do not intend to pursue this subject further.

In this whole price-fixing endeavor we are departing from the lessons of human experience. I wish, Mr. President, to have read one or two extracts which shed a most luminous light upon frail human attempts to arrest or repeal the fundamental laws of economics. This is not a new thing under the sun. For more than 20 centuries puny human efforts have been made to repeal the law of supply and demand, or, rather, to reverse that law. These efforts were made in Athens 400 years before Christ. It was a capital offense to hoard foodstuffs in Athens. Efforts were made in England before the Norman conquest. Before the time of Edward the Confessor repeated statutes were enacted in England to regulate prices. They had an assize of beer and an assize of bread to regulate those prices. Not only that; they undertook to regulate the wages of labor. The celebrated statute of laborers was passed in 1349, the year after the black plague which destroyed from one-third to one-half the population of England. Wages soared to unprecedented heights. Employers controlled Parliament. Employers prevailed upon Parliament to pass a law that no laborer should ask or receive higher wages than he received for like labor before the plague. The statute also regulated the clothes which he should wear and the food which he should eat and made it a penal offense to eat better food or to wear better apparel than the statute provided. England long ago abandoned that policy, although the policy of regulating wages was not finally forsaken until 1514.

I wish to have one sentence on that subject read from the book which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

It will be seen in the Historical Digest that a long series of acts endeavoring to fix the rate of wages and, indeed, general prices, began in England as early as 1266; was abandoned and tried again, until finally definitely given up for the last time about the time of Elizabeth. (Federal and State Constitutions of the United States; Stimson; p. 34.)

Mr. GORE. It was abandoned, Mr. President, in the time of Elizabeth.

I now send to the desk a copy of a statute passed by the German Reichstag in 1512. I ask to have the marked passage read.

There being no objection, the Secretary read as follows:

The Reichstag, sitting at Cologne in 1512, saw itself compelled to take steps against the usurious, forestalling, capitalistic companies. A very stringent antitrust act was passed, in which it was ordained "that henceforth it shall be prohibited to carry on such injurious practices whereby the Holy Empire and all the estates have suffered considerable loss and damage." It was ordered that "if these merchant companies should dare to produce an unseemly dearth, then all authorities shall, with diligence and severity, abolish such dearth and other honest and tolerable trading, and if they neglect this duty then the imperial fisc shall proceed and act as determined in the law." "Thou shalt not" has at all times been an easy expedient of the lawmaker. The fathers, however, were not more successful with the execution of the law than the children are to-day. * * *

Of Ambrose Hochstetter, of Augsburg, a contemporary relates that he bought up whole lines of goods and paid higher prices than their market value to drive out other merchants who could not afford it. "He then made a rise in the goods in all countries and sold them just as he wished. No merchant with 50,000 florins or 100,000 florins could stand against him, because he made profits as he chose. He bought up the quicksilver in all the kingdoms and countries dearer than the common price, and paid 8 florins the hundredweight," so that he could press the other merchants by his foxiness. When he had bought all the quicksilver into his hands he sold it again for 14 florins the hundredweight. Pepper rose in the six years from 1512 to 1519 to three and four times its former price; sugar, in 1516 at 11 florins, stood, in 1518, at 20 florins the hundredweight; almonds rose from 8 florins to 12; nutmegs to seven times their old price within the same period. (Money and Prices; Schoenhof; pp. 72, 73, and 74.)

Mr. GORE. In the book which I send to the desk, at page 249, I ask to have read a statute passed by the first legislative assembly that ever assembled in the Western Hemisphere. It was enacted in the Colony of Virginia in 1624. I ask to have it read for the enlightenment of the Senate. It would be pertinent as an amendment to the pending bill.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was read by the Secretary, as follows:

The ancient prejudice against forestalling survives in the following statute, which would make havoc of the business of some modern brokers: "Whatsoever person or persons shall buy or cause to be bought any merchandise, victuals, or any other things, coming by land or water to the market to be sold, or make any bargain, contract, or promise for the having or buying of the same * * * before the said merchandise, victuals, or other thing shall be at the market ready to be sold; or make any motion by word, letter or message, or otherwise to any person or persons for the enhancing of the price or dearer selling of any thing or things above mentioned, or else dissuade, move, or stir any person or persons coming to the market to abstain or forbear to bring or convey any of the things above rehearsed to any market, as aforesaid, shall be deemed and adjudged a forestaller. And if any person or persons shall offend in the things before recited and being thereof duly convicted or attainted shall, for his or their first offense, suffer imprisonment by the space of two months without bail or mainprise, and shall also lose and forfeit the value of the goods so by him or them bought or had as aforesaid; and for a second offense * * * shall suffer imprisonment for the space of one-half year * * * and shall lose the double value of all the goods * * * so bought * * * and for the third offense * * * shall be set on the pillory * * * and lose and forfeit all the goods and chattels that he or they then have to their own use, and also be committed to prison, there to remain during the governor's pleasure." (Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, John Fiske, pp. 249–250.)

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. GORE,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, July 18, 1917.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I will say that I appreciate the importance of mobilizing the talent, ability, and experience of the leading business men in this country. It would be shortsighted not to press such resources into the service of the Government. I also appreciate the desirability of divorcing patriotism from profiteering. Our first duty is to protect the Government so far as we can against the possibilities of high finance. But I think these men themselves who are serving on these advisory committees are entitled to protection. They are entitled to have their relations with the Government and their motives protected against such suspicion and against unmerited criticism. If they are honest, they will welcome every possible safeguard to render themselves immune against undeserving criticism.

I wish to say, Mr. President, that resulting from the price stock wheat advanced between the declaration of war and the 12th of May about 60 per cent. The market was closed in order to prevent a further advance, possibly in order to affect a reduction in the price of wheat; I can not state, but I desire to call the attention of the Senate in this connection to the market quotations of certain stocks, the stocks in companies which are represented on these advisory committees. As a rule the stocks have experienced most propitious fortunes. They have greatly enhanced in value. I do not say that this enhancement of value is due to the presence of the representatives of these companies on the advisory committees or these purchasing boards; I merely submit the statement for whatever it may chance to be worth.

Of course, I had to select dates, and I have taken the 5th of March, the date of the inauguration of the President; the 5th of April, the day before the declaration of war on the 6th; and the 5th of July. I would have taken the 5th of May, but was unable to obtain the Wall Street Journal, the authority upon which I was relying for that date. The party preparing the schedule, for some reason or lack of reason, selected the 25th of May. That may be discarded from the equation. I ask that it be read to the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

UNITED STATES STEEL.

Elbert H. Gary, chairman United States Steel Corporation, chairman cooperative committee on steel and steel products.

United States Steel:	
Mar. 5, 1917	110
Apr. 5, 1917	113
June 5, 1917	131
June 11, 1917	129
July 6, 1917	126
July 16, 1917	120

BETHLEHEM STEEL.

Charles M. Schwab, chairman Bethlehem Steel Co., member of cooperative committee on steel and steel products.

Bethlehem Steel:	
Mar. 5, 1917	115
Apr. 5, 1917	136
June 5, 1917	147
June 11, 1917	149
July 6, 1917	135
July 16, 1917	123

UTAH COPPER.

Charles McNeill, president Utah Copper Co., member of cooperative committee on copper.

Utah Copper:	
Mar. 5, 1917	114
Apr. 5, 1917	112
June 5, 1917	114
June 11, 1917	115
July 6, 1917	108
July 16, 1917	102

UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL.

Horatio S. Rubens, director United States Industrial Alcohol, chairman cooperative committee on alcohol.

United States Industrial Alcohol:	
Mar. 5, 1917	123
Apr. 5, 1917	122
June 5, 1917	156
June 11, 1917	168
July 6, 1917	154
July 16, 1917	156

CENTRAL LEATHER.

W. G. Garrett, Central Leather Co., member of cooperative committee on shoe and leather industries.

Central Leather:	
Mar. 5, 1917	89
Apr. 5, 1917	90
June 5, 1917	95
June 11, 1917	98
July 6, 1917	93
July 16, 1917	85

AMERICAN SMELTING.

American Smelting:	
Mar. 5, 1917	101
Apr. 5, 1917	101
June 5, 1917	110
June 11, 1917	108
July 6, 1917	105
July 16, 1917	102

DISTILLING SECURITIES.

Julius Kessler, president Distillers' Securities Corporation, member of cooperative committee on alcohol:

Distilling Securities:	
Mar. 5, 1917	22
Apr. 5, 1917	18
June 5, 1917	18
June 11, 1917	23
July 6, 1917	21
July 16, 1917	23

UNITED STATES RUBBER.

United States Rubber:	
Mar. 5, 1917	56
Apr. 5, 1917	57
June 5, 1917	63
June 11, 1917	61
July 6, 1917	57
July 16, 1917	61

LACKAWANNA STEEL.

E. A. S. Clark, president Lackawanna Steel Co., member cooperative committee on steel and steel products.

Lackawanna Steel:	
Mar. 5, 1917	82
Apr. 5, 1917	84
June 5, 1917	99
June 11, 1917	100
July 6, 1917	94
July 16, 1917	90

Mr. GORE. Let me say one word. The date of July 16 has been included, since the break in the market resulting from the announcement that profit and patriotism are to be divorced.

Conservation of Food and Fuel.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. WILSON,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving food supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I have given more study to this proposed food legislation than I have to any measure that has been up in this war Congress; more than to the war resolution, conscription, the revenue bill carrying billions in taxes. It was easier for me to reach a conclusion I felt was right as to those measures. I am inclined to agree with those who have said on this floor that this is the most important legislation we have considered.

For the Nation to control and conserve and increase the production of the necessaries of life and at the same time reduce their cost to the consumer and do justice to the men who produce those necessaries in the matter of prices presents an unheard-of problem in this country, and is an undertaking fraught, on the very face of it, with the gravest difficulties. We are launching into new and untried fields every day, and this is another one. There is scarcely a tree blazed to aid us in getting our bearings. The experience and mistakes of our allies will aid us in avoiding many pitfalls in the conduct of our part of the war, but their food-control legislation and that of the central powers does not throw the light very far ahead of us over here. Outside of their unsatisfactory results, America and Americans present another problem.

On the other hand, as the war progresses we are becoming accustomed, and we will more and more become accustomed, to new problems, and in proportion as the difficulties of their solution increase the labors and determination of America to solve them will also increase. The duty is pressing upon us to do something, and to do it now, in the direction of food and fuel control.

I am sure most of the Members have heard or read those statements before certain committees as to the situation of our allies with respect to their present supply of foodstuffs. These statements, on account of the confidential information contained in them, have very properly been suppressed. No one can read them without becoming alarmed. We realize that lack of food is threatening our very cause. Most of the wealth-producing man power of our allies is on the various battle fronts of Europe and Asia, either fighting or dead. Their consumption, on the other hand, is greater. The workers in their munition factories have been increased nearly a thousandfold. This of necessity takes or keeps labor from their farms. This course they must pursue in order to have the necessary output of munitions to supply the men on the hundreds and hundreds of miles of battle lines.

When one contemplates these conditions and also the havoc being wrought by the submarine in sinking thousands of tons of foodstuffs and ships, we are not surprised that our allies are beginning to see the bottoms of their granaries and storehouses, with no hope of them being refilled by their own labor. They are now almost looking to us for their daily bread. Their commissions visiting us recently have said that they can whip the Germans if we can feed them. We should do more than this if we can get there in time, but feed them we must. To conserve our food supply and increase production so that we have sufficient in American granaries and storehouses to feed them will not suffice; this will not win the war. But we must fill their ships in our harbors and furnish the balance of the ships needed to put the necessary foodstuffs to their shores. This emergency demands the best effort of this Nation in all its history; it calls for the patriotic, unflinching sacrifice on the part of every loyal American.

Again, as to the importance of this food legislation, we are brought irresistibly to the conviction that for our part now—to furnish food and to do all the things necessary to furnish it—is more important than to furnish soldiers, battleships, or munition. I know of no other nation as a belligerent that has been nishing food has outranked in importance all the other items in a war program; when we as a belligerent could effectively help defend or win a war without soldiers or guns or ammunition. I know of no other nation as a belligerent that has been so situated. We must discharge this duty of feeding first and then do whatever else is necessary to bring the war to a speedy end and to ourselves and the world a real and lasting peace.

Now, when we turn our eyes to our food situation at home we find added cause for alarm, and the reason for quick relief and action immediately in food and fuel control and conservation is doubled. The cry of actual distress is coming up from all over the country, especially from the poor of the cities, by reason of the outrageously high prices of the necessities, the mere staples of life. We have no shortage of foodstuffs that we know about. The only change in our situation is, we have a better market than ever in all our history. We were the richest country on the earth before the war, and it has of necessity, and in the main legitimately so, added billions to our wealth. The allies, all expense counted up, pay approximately half of the value of a cargo to get it oversea. We escape such confiscatory freight rates, yet the prices of our foodstuffs are but little under the prices in our allied countries. We are in fact a land of plenty, yet there are poor in our country at the very door of starvation, and

people who work at that. We are threatened with and have actually had food riots in the midst of all this plenty and wealth.

Are we surprised? Can we expect it to be otherwise when flour goes to $18 per barrel, or approximately $9 per hundred, and Irish potatoes sell at $4.50 and even as high as $6 per bushel? Daily the prices are leaping upward. The price though to the farmer is not leaping up in proportion. Some one who does not earn or deserve it is raking in the millions without a corresponding service, at the expense of us all. These prices do not represent real or intrinsic value of these necessaries. Not prices coming naturally under the law of supply and demand but artificial and speculative and so high they seem fabulous. The circumstances are conclusive. They are the prices that gamblers and combinations are fastening upon us.

I do not agree to the wholesale onslaught by some on the middleman as a class. I know men in this class who are conducting their business conservatively, taking only a reasonable and legitimate profit. On the other hand there are those apparently without any sense of responsibility of their crime, free of all consideration of patriotism, or of humanity, willing to take advantage of the war, of our troubles, of the distress of the poor and the weak, and through combinations and gambling are going at the very throats of the people and the Nation with a ferocity of wild beasts. They seem not satisfied with the prospect of riches through toil in a few weeks or months but only with getting rich in a day. People who will do this, and through combinations and illegitimate speculation drive the price of things we eat and wear out of all reason and the reach of the poor and by it threaten our very cause, are but a grade above the vandal who cuts off the dead soldier's finger to take the ring he wore when he fell in battle. They are each getting something they have not earned and do not deserve. The only distinction possibly in instances is a lack of consciousness of what they are really doing. Who would say that this mad revel of money making through get-rich-quick schemes on the part of those who produce nothing and serve nothing except their own selfish ends, should not be controlled and curbed. Of course any laws we pass fixing penalties to control such people, like all criminal statutes, must be general and apply to good and bad alike. Special laws applying to the illegitimate and to the legitimate dealer would involve on the part of the Government the trial of each man's business and his methods separately. What we pass here must of necessity apply to the legitimate dealer as well as to the gambler I have just described.

When we contemplate our own situation and that of our allies with respect to foodstuffs and fuel and prices, the duty of every man in this Congress is plain. We can accomplish nothing by sitting here idle with hands folded. There are men here, in the face of this serious situation, who oppose this bill in toto. Yet these men offer nothing better as a substitute—in fact, offer nothing. They propose nothing. It seems they had rather during the war to have the gambler and speculator control than to trust the Government to do so.

The purpose of this bill as found in its preamble and first section is to provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel. To prevent, locally, scarcity, monopolization, hoarding, injurious speculation, manipulation, and private control affecting such supply, distribution and movement of such necessaries. To do these things it is declared to be essential to a successful prosecution of the war and for the support and maintenance of our Army and Navy. What American, believing we could justly accomplish these declared purposes through this bill would oppose its passage? Surely none in this Congress. Did I think the bill as written, with all of its present provisions, would accomplish these things justly and with due regard to the rights of the producer, I would not favor a change in it even to the dotting of an "i." As it is, the bill is a great conception, and the Committee on Agriculture and its chairman, Mr. LEVER, deserve the Nation's praise. I am seriously opposed to one feature of it. This is the provision in section 12 with reference to price fixing, and I will later fully discuss my objections to any maximum, minimum, guaranteed, or any other kind of price fixing affecting the prices of the product in the hands of the producer or that he may sell on the market.

I want to give my attention for the present to some more features of the bill that I favor. It is easy to see the bill is to have more good than bad in it when finished. No man should vote against it unless he has something better to offer. Legislation is only accomplished through compromise. We should not kick out of the harness or balk because a bill does not in all of its details and provisions fit our every notion. If we only supported bills carrying many provisions when this was so, we would be always just a negative quantity, voting against everything and never favoring anything. This bill has dozens and dozens of important provisions. We vote upon each of these separately. I have made up my mind as to these war measures when a majority outvote me to take that as the will of the people on that issue, and if I think it is, in the main, good and violates no principle to which I cling, and that I would not surrender under any circumstances, I shall vote for such bills when finished.

I shall oppose certain amendments I understand certain parties are threatening to ingraft on this bill. I shall want to see some changes in it. There are a few amendments I hope will be added to it, but whether they carry or not I am going to be found voting for it on the finish. [Applause.] The situation is too serious, the need of relief too urgent, to play the rôle of obstructionists. Where there are many items in a bill voted upon separately, if each Member carried his opposition to a particular item to the extent of voting against the completed bill, you would have a situation where a majority favored each item of the bill and yet an overwhelming majority against the bill voted on as a whole.

I think our purpose should be to fix no prices on the farmers' products, just free the market from all improper influences, strike from it the gambler and combinations, and leave it a fair market controlled by the law of supply and demand, and see that all dealers in necessaries above the producer are allowed during the war to sell at such a price above what they paid the producer on such a market as will bring them a just and reasonable profit and no more. Let us see if the provisions of this bill will accomplish, or in a measure accomplish, these objects.

Section 4 makes the willful commission of waste unlawful. It is currently reported that certain parties during this war have destroyed millions of eggs for the purpose of enhancing the egg market. Who would say that we should tolerate such influences on the market at this time? Unreasonable and excessive hoarding, except in case of producers and their own products, is forbidden. This hoarding and storing for the purpose of controlling the markets must stop. It of course prevents merely unreasonable storage. The storing of some foodstuffs, of course, is indispensable, but hoarding in quantities in excess of the reasonable requirements for use or consumption or in excess of the reasonable requirements of business should cease.

All alike are forbidden to conspire, combine, or agree with any person to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessaries, or to combine to restrict the supply of any necessaries, or their necessaries, or to restrict the supply of any necessary, or their distribution, or to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of same. Of course, combinations to enhance the price of necessaries or to exact excessive prices for them is made unlawful. Also monopolies or attempted monopoly and unjust and unreasonable charges for handling, and this applies not merely to interstate commerce and to conspiracies affecting interstate trade but to commerce in the States and to all combinations, though they affect only a locality. Of course it is only the fact of the existence of the war that makes such a law by the Congress constitutional. These provisions should be effective in stopping all conspiracies for the purpose of unduly enhancing the prices of necessaries.

Now, as to the regulation of the middleman, as we call him—the dealer in necessaries. Section 5 provides that from time to time whenever the President shall find it essential to license the importation, exportation, manufacture, storage, distribution of any necessaries, in order to carry into effect any of the purposes of this act and shall publicly so announce, no person shall after a date fixed in the announcement, engage in or carry on such business specified in the announcement unless he shall secure and hold a license issued pursuant to this section. This is a vast power we are placing in the President's hands. He is empowered to regulate the conduct of the business of any such licensees. He can specify the system of accounts and auditing used. It requires this to make the control effective.

Reports under oath may be required and inspection allowed at any and all times.

Whenever the rate, charge, or practice of the licensee is unjust, unfair, or discriminatory, the President can stop them by Executive order, can revoke the license, and can find and specify what is a reasonable rate, charge, practice, and so forth. If it is meant by this provision and the use of the word "charge" to authorize the President to fix arbitrarily the price that such dealers or licensees must sell at and irrespective of the fact that they may be making only reasonable profits, I am opposed to it. I would rather grant such a power to the President than any other person in America, but I am not ready to vote that

power to the Government. The emergency might come when I would vote that way, but I do not think such an emergency exists now. I am opposed to this Congress or the President fixing any prices that the producer is to sell his crops at, and am opposed to anything being done by the Government, directly or indirectly, with a view of fixing those prices or that will have the effect of fixing them. Make the market for the producer a fair one, based and fixed by supply and demand. He can not justly complain at this. It is all right to fix the dealer's price, not arbitrarily, but by allowing him to sell at such price above what he pays for necessaries in such a market as will yield to him a reasonable and fair profit; this is practicable and will work no injustice to anyone nor to the Government. Of course, the farmer is exempted from the license provision, and in these words: "This section shall not apply to any farmer, gardener, or other person with respect to the products of any farm, garden, or other lands owned, leased, or cultivated by him." Now, some contend these words include the cattle raiser and that he is also exempted from the license provision. I doubt if these words exempt him. Evidently the person wording this section did not have him in mind. We do not refer to him as a farmer or gardener, nor to his work of raising cattle on land as cultivation, nor can it be hardly contended that cattle are the products of the land on which they are grazed. Mr. LEVER says these words are intended to include him; if so, they should be made clear; otherwise it is an unjust discrimination. The cattle and hog raiser is just as much a producer of foodstuffs as the farmer or gardener. The fact there is more wealth among them as a class than among the farmers is no excuse for a discrimination; and the exemption should include not only the man who feeds and raises cattle but the man who buys cattle and fattens them for the market. This exemption should not include the man who merely buys and sells cattle; he is just as much a dealer in foodstuff as the man who buys and sells wheat. But the man who buys a bunch of steer yearlings weighing 400 pounds and fattens them or increases their growth, either on the grass or in feed pens to 800 pounds is just as much a producer and as much entitled to this exemption as the cattle breeder, the farmer, or the gardener; in fact, I expect more pounds of the world's meat supply in these days is produced by this man than by the cowman who handles stock cattle exclusively.

There is another American business man or parasite who should be put out of business, and that is the gambler, speculator in the necessaries of life—whether in the Chicago Board of Trade, Wall Street, or any other street or place in the United States. The bulls and bears alike should go. Let us see what this legislation proposes to do for the people with respect to him. In section 11 the President is given full power to limit or even prohibit if he deems it necessary, to prevent undue enhancement or fluctuation of prices, all injurious speculation, unjust market manipulation, unfair and misleading market quotation of prices, and is given the power to close up all exchanges, boards of trades, or similar institutions or places of business in order to stop such evil practices.

We are facing a crisis in this food situation of ourselves and our allies, and who, understanding that this bill carries such provisions, can oppose its passage? As a measure looking to the conservation of our food supply and the prevention of artificial, speculative, and excessive prices, due to unjust manipulation of our markets, who can offer a better remedy than these provisions of the bill?

I have discussed those features of the bill forbidding willful waste and preventable deterioration of foodstuffs; unreasonable, injurious, and unnecessary hoarding; the bridling and control of dealers in the necessaries of life; and, lastly, that stop the gambling in the wheat pits and cotton exchanges of the country in these things on which we subsist and on which our national security and defense largely depend, and with which, for the present, this Nation is to do its principal part in winning the war. I do not question the honesty or patriotism of those who oppose this bill in its entirety, but, frankly, I can not understand their attitude.

But there is something equally as important as conservation and the prevention of unjust prices, and that is increased production. In my judgment it is in this respect that the bill is weak. I come to that feature of the bill which I seriously object to. It is the provision in section 12, as follows:

That whenever the President shall find that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of production and that it is essential that the producers of any nonperishable agricultural products produced within the United States shall have the benefits of the guaranty provided for in this section in order to stimulate production of such products, he is authorized, from time to time, seasonably and as far in advance of seeding time as practicable, to determine and fix and to give public notice of what, under specified conditions, is a reasonable guaranteed price for any such products in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit.

The declared purpose of stimulated production is all right, but the trouble is the remedy offered of a guaranteed price in its practicable operation will not produce the desired result of increased production.

I have been opposed to any maximum or minimum price fixing, and I am glad those provisions have been eliminated from the bill. I am just as much opposed to giving to the President any power to fix a guaranteed price or to this Congress fixing such a price. I do not know that the President favors this guaranteed price feature. I find the fact that a provision is in a bill not conclusive that he favors it. Be that as it may, we are all going to make mistakes—I may be making one in my opposition to this; but every man here is presumed to be capable of thinking and deciding and acting for himself and his constituents, and if he is not he should be at home. Some presidents of farmers' unions and the heads of agricultural societies have been here favoring the fixing of maximum and minimum prices, and, since these features are eliminated, are now favoring the fixing of a guaranteed price. I accord to all of these honesty of purpose—I can think of no other purpose that could actuate them. I think it is simply a mistake in judgment. It is my idea that my friend Mr. YOUNG's prejudice against some of these gentlemen who have appeared before his committee accounts for his getting off wrong in his opposition to this entire bill. The heads of farmers' organizations evidently think that the price, when fixed, will be as high as the market would afford, or at a price higher than the farmer could get for his product on a market governed by supply and demand. In this they are mistaken. When the price is fixed it will not be with a view of benefiting the farmer, but for the benefit of the Government or the whole people, and will be fixed at a lower price than the farmer could get in the market. Though it is only a guaranteed and not a fixed price at which the farmer must sell—no more, no less—it will have the effect of reducing the market price to the guaranteed price. Too, no man nor set of men on this earth—call them food administrator or food commission or what not—under present conditions can tell the value of any commodity except in one way, and that is by noticing what such commodities sell for in a market controlled and fixed by the law of supply and demand and made fair by being stripped of every unnatural, illegitimate, and speculative influence.

What is the value of a commodity, anyway? The standard of values and of ascertaining value is not changed by the war. The courts have decided what value is. It is the exchange power of an article, the money-getting ability of such article in the market, what it will exchange for in money. Value is not what anybody thinks a thing is worth; it is not what you or I think the farmer ought to take for it; it is not what the town farmer, without practical experience in his business, might imagine, viewed from a patriotic standpoint, that he would be willing to take for it had his own sweat produced it; it is the sum of money it produces to the seller when sold. If there is not a market, then it becomes a matter of intrinsic or actual value gotten at by figuring the capital and labor expended in producing it. But who says there is no market? On the contrary, we have a better market for more commodities than ever in the world's history. No human mind is capable, especially now, of grasping and pulling together all of the constituent elements that enter into value and of welding them into value as a fact, or even to say, with any degree of certainty, what a given commodity should sell for. Why, the rules of evidence, perfected through the ages, do not permit even the expert under oath in court, where there is shown to be a market for an article, to say what the value of that article is, not even to give his opinion about it, but only to state what the market is or was for that or a similar article at a given date and place, yet we have those who think that fixing value or the prices is a simple and easy task.

When you enter into price fixing, you enter into a realm of guesswork and speculation full of uncertainties and possibilities of injustice. You will either fix it at less or more than the market. If you fix it at more, the farmer is not entitled to it and you do the greater number an injustice, and you raise instead of lower the price to the consumer, and thus defeat one of the main purposes of the legislation. On the other hand, if you fix it at a lower price you do a rank injustice to the producer. You take money by the millions out of the producers' pockets and put it into the consumers'—a thing manifestly wrong.

If we make the market a fair one, as I have described, based on supply and demand, neither the producer nor consumer can

justly complain. If it makes wheat $3 and cotton 25 cents in such a market, the farmer is entitled to it, regardless of what it cost to produce it. The producer is merely fortunate for the first time in all of his history by reason of his occupation and place in our economic life, while those of us who are consumers are merely unfortunate. I am a consumer; you are. If we do not like it, we should go to the farm and see how easy it is to produce the stuff that feeds the world. We should not take care of the consumer by making him a gift out of the pockets of the producer; we should reduce the price to the consumer by removing illegitimate hoarding and waste and speculation, and yet leave the producer unrestricted in the sale of his products in a market governed by the law of supply and demand. In addition to this, the salary of the wage-earning consumer should be increased in order that he may buy his necessaries in such a market. In war, of necessity, some are fortunate and some are unfortunate by virtue of their business or positions in life, and this can not be helped; some must fight, some must die—all must pay our just share—the business of some is crushed, while others, of necessity, prosper. These natural hardships and benefits, though coming from ill winds, must not be shifted by law from the shoulders or from the pockets of one citizen to another, and certainly if injustices in some instances must be done it should not be by discrimination against those who produce the wealth by tilling the soil.

The producer does not fix or dictate the market. He has been compelled through the past to sell on a market presumably controlled by supply and demand, but in fact influenced by all kinds of illegitimate practices, and has often gotten the worst of it, and now since the supply is comparatively small and the demand enormously great and his profits correspondingly great, they should not be denied him even if we are at war and even if they are called war profits. This idea that money is not to be made out of the war is a dream, and since it is going to be made, let it be made by those who most deserve it. Our accumulated wealth in 140 years is $250,000,000,000. The farmer produces annually nine billions of wealth, and he has a mighty little of it.

Frankly, the distance between the extremes of wealth and poverty in this country is entirely too great. This is the result of our institutions. They are wrong. We are chargeable for it, but I love those institutions. They are changing; they are swinging in the right direction. I would change them to remedy these conditions if I could. I would correct them as I would the defects in my own children. This war presents the greatest opportunity in the world to bring these extremes nearer together. Let those who possess the wealth, in so far as possible, bear the financial burdens of the war, and let those who produce the wealth—the farmer and the laboring man—have all of their legitimate profits during the war.

Here I want to do justice to the rich individual of America. In all the propaganda that passes through our offices we see no word of protest from him. The rich corporation in instances are complaining; but the rich individual, as far as I can see, is patriotic and stands with his pockets open and says to the Government they will remain open during the crisis. After being heavily taxed, he buys liberty bonds; he gives millions to the Red Cross and Belgium relief fund. I want to say I admire their patriotic attitude and loyalty to the Government, and the humanitarian spirit that they are exhibiting at this time. There are Members of this Congress who are voting and fighting for provisions in the war-revenue bill that will entail on them the payment of such taxes. If they remain in this Congress for 20 years their total salary would not equal their war tax.

But here I think of Markham's poem, "The Man with the Hoe." He says in this poem he bears the burden of the world. I will not take time—I wish I could—to read it. I say just leave this man with the hoe alone. He is also patriotic. As the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] just said, if you hurt him or help him he will be just the same, as far as his patriotism is concerned. He will be loyal. If there is any man in this country of ours who deserves special privileges, if they are to be granted to anyone, I say in all frankness and fairness it is the farmer. [Applause.]

Now, as to this guaranteed price feature in the bill. I have said, if fixed, it would tend to reduce the market to the guaranteed price. Let us see about this. Markets are sensitive any way. Crop reports made by the Government, the manipulation of bulls and bears, drive it up and down in an astounding way. Last year this happened: The presidents of the various farmers' unions of the South were meeting at New Orleans. Cotton at that time was selling at about 16 cents. A telegram, without authority, either through mistake or fraud, was sent out at a point in Texas to New Orleans and there repeated in messages to the whole country, stating that the farmers' organizations were going to hold cotton for a price of 12 cents. This broke the cotton market from 16 cents and lost the farmers' millions of dollars before the error could be corrected. Now, these organizations are not powerful enough to exercise any control over the market. It was just an influence and shows how sensitive the market is and what things will cause it to fluctuate. If such an announcement of a price under the market will have such effect, what would be the effect of a power like the United States, representing itself and its allies as buyers of wheat, announcing a guaranteed price for wheat? It will be taken as the judgment of the United States that it is worth no more; that that is its value. It will have the effect of a maximum and, at the same time, a minimum price. If it does have this effect and cuts the value of the producers' products, it is a taking of his property, and unjust. For illustration—and this applies to wheat, cotton, and all products—if a farmer owned a certain sized mule of a certain age and actually and on the market worth $250, the Government arbitrarily fixes the price of such a mule at $125. This is just as much a taking under the law as if the Government should actually take the mule and pay the farmer $125 for same. What is the difference in the two to the farmer? It is wrong in principle, unfair, unjust, and in the very face of the Constitution. No provisions of the Constitution are suspended in war; the only difference is that some provisions of it are in effect in war that are not in peace. The harm you do him by thus cutting his values is difficult of ascertainment, of course, but the principle is there, and violated just the same. The guaranteed price is a nice evasion. It presents a different legal question from fixing maximum and minimum prices, but if it has the same result it is the same in principle and equally wrong and unfair and will equally operate to the injustice of the producer.

Though we are at war, suppose the market affords the farmer $3 for his wheat. If he can get that on such a market, if the world wants it at that price, who can say it is not worth it? He is merely fortunate by being in the business. To take a dollar off of that value or price is just as much a taking as if the farmer owned three bushels of wheat and the Government took one of them without just compensation. Again, what is the difference to the farmer? Either, and one just as much as the other, would be an indirect war tax upon the farmer that no man in this Congress for one minute would advocate as a direct tax. Take wheat for illustration, and all products in competition with it are going to be affected by any price you fix on it. Say we raise 800,000,000 bushels, if the Government strikes even 50 cents from its price and value on the bushel you have imposed a war tax of $400,000,000 on the wheat farmers alone. If it has such a result it would be an outrage even though they constitute but 5 per cent of our population. Who would favor such a war tax on that class?

To go into the cost of production is folly. It is so different in different States and the yield is so varied. This is a realm of pure speculation and involves interminable difficulties and injustice. Besides, in the South—in Texas, I know—the farmer realizes he is not going to make a profit every year. He must take the fat years and the lean figured together to show a profit, and he has decidedly more lean years that fat. And, of course, the Government could not figure this. And to figure, as you propose to do, the cost of production, and to allow a 10 or even a 25 per cent profit is the sheerest injustice. If his profits are a hundred per cent they belong to him and should not be taken from him, directly nor indirectly. To deprive him of the fat years is to leave him a loser. Leave off all price fixing of producers' stuff; add one more exemption to this bill—leave the producer alone. Whether it hurts or helps him, make the market, so far as possible, a fair and natural one, and let him take his profits whatever they are. To take any other position is to fall into a dollar argument—it is a dollar argument, anyway—in behalf of the Government and our allies as buyers as against the individual producer. The Government is authorized to buy and sell necessaries by this bill. We are rich and should buy in such a market like the individual or dealer. The Government can sell at cost or under cost. As a last resort, the Government, in order to relieve the distress of the poor in the great centers of population, had better sell these necessaries, as I understand our allied Governments are doing, at a loss. Such a loss incurred by the Government in so doing would be taken care of out of the taxes we all pay, would be paid by the whole people. This strikes me as more just than to let the producer pay it all by cutting his values.

You will not stimulate the production by this guaranteed price. The conditions that now exist, and that will exist for several years to come, are all the guarantee that the farmer wants for reasonable profits. He is patriotic, but profits—war

profits, if you please—will best cause him to strain every nerve to increase production. He is patriotic, but he will not increase his production as a matter of patriotism. This will cause a man to raise a garden who has not been doing so before but will not materially increase production among those who follow it as a business, and in this respect they are only human. Nature did not plant in the heart of man that kind of patriotism that is in the heart of a woman who wears the needle into the flesh knitting socks and clothes for soldiers. He may have the patriotic impulse to do it, he may be all filled up with determination to do it, but weeks and months of dirt and sweat and sun in hot fields and fatigue will cause it to ebb. Charity begins at home. The prospect of bettering his own condition in life, that of his wife and children; these things will make him stick. They are the things that will cause him to double his labor and energy and to increase his production when all else fail. In this respect he is like the business man the world over.

I may not understand the condition and viewpoint of the Dakota farmer, of the Illinois or the New England farmer, but I do understand the viewpoint of the southern, especially the Texas, farmer. When a boy I did every kind of farm labor. When I became a man I owned and operated them and tried to make enough money in town to keep them up but failed. To look at it, it is the happiest of any life, but to follow it, with us, it is one of the hardest. Any who have had the actual experience know that it is a dream to talk about patriotism as a sufficient mainspring to cause any man to increase the output of his business, and we had as well face the facts as they are, and the only safe policy is to leave the producer a market untrammeled and unrestricted.

An emergency might arise when I would vote for such a hardship on the producer, but I do not think it is here now. I might be willing to apply a different rule to those wealth-producing corporations—artificial beings—that enjoy existence as a matter of permit and license on the part of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, in seeking light on this bill I have listened to the debate with a great deal of interest, but the speeches of most of those I have listened to largely prove where they are from and whom they represent. Some represent all consumers, others all producers, some all coal miners, others copper miners, some exclusively agricultural districts, some all business men, others have no agricultural producers, even to the extent of a war-time gardener. Those who represent all consumers apparently want to fix the provisions of this bill so as to benefit consumers exclusively. Some of these Representatives amuse me in their opposition to the guaranteed price feature of this bill on the ground that it is voting too great a benefit to the producer. I notice the local environment and influences seem greatly to color the views that Representatives express here on this food legislation. In a larger sense we are the Representatives of the Nation, of the whole people, but in a more practicable sense, on as good an authority as Lincoln, I presume it is proper that we reflect in our votes as near as we know what it is, the will of our constituents. I am quite differently situated from these gentlemen. I represent a district with more diversified interests to be directly affected by this food legislation, possibly, than any Representative here. In the first place, I live at Fort Worth, a city of approximately a hundred thousand inhabitants. It is the center of our cattle industry, the Swift and Armour packing houses are there. It is our railroad center. My county has the largest population of any in my district, and the greater part of its population is in the city in which I live. These largely come in the class of consumer. Labor unions are as strong there as anywhere in the State. We have large milling and elevator interests. The largest coal fields of the State and the largest coal-mining organizations are in and near Thurber, in my district. On the other hand, I represent six counties where the people are largely engaged in agricultural pursuits—producing cotton, wheat, corn, produce, and, incidentally, I might mention, producing more commercial peanuts than any other congressional district.

With these varied and diversified interests, I am left in a position to be fair and to consider this bill, I think, impartially. I do not know what the will of my constituents, if expressed in a vote, would be on this bill. I have taken such positions and expressed such views, and shall vote as I think for the best interest of the country and for what I think is just, and with the belief that my constituents will approve of my position when they understand my viewpoint.

Some seem to be opposed to any food legislation because they were originally opposed to our declaring that a state of war existed with Germany. The constituted authorities of the country have declared war, and it is no time now to quibble about why we declared war. It is the patriotic duty of every loyal American to do his bit to win it, and after it is won and we have peace to then settle up with any who may have acted wrongfully in voting for it.

I have been amused at some Members of the Texas delegation. If I say anything slanderous here it is intended only for them—my home folk—whom I have a right to talk about. Their various reasons assigned and their real reasons for opposing this bill make an interesting study. Some object to the great power given to the President. This is the most ridiculous of all. I do not wish to underrate the importance of our position, but a Representative individually stands here with no power except to vote and to work for his constituents. The President, under the Constitution, is given his power by the 110,000,000 people of America. The President is given the power, with the stroke of his pen, to undo the work of the majority of both branches of the Congress combined. As the Commander in Chief of the Army, under that Constitution, he has the power to take millions of our boys and send them where he deems best for the interest of the Nation. The Federal judiciary—its judges, its marshals, and its clerks—is in his hands through the appointive power. He can, with a stroke of his pen, open the doors of our Federal penitentiaries and turn every man out of them to-day. Put all of the offices of Representatives and Senators one upon another, stack them up, and they are not as great as the office of President of the United States. Whether it is a Republican or a Democrat occupying the office makes no difference. Collectively, of course, we possess great power. We do hold the purse strings and the welfare of the Nation in our hands, and these we should guard jealously. But to presume that the President is going to abuse the power granted, or to act corruptly with that power, is unjust. Our constituents could make the same presumption with reference to our course in office. By granting these great powers to the President we are proving that a Republic like ours is equal to the emergency that we are now facing. The question should not be is the power proposed to be given to the President a great one but is it a power we wish exercised by anyone? These men look down the road and get frightened. They are like some horses I have ridden. They spend all of their mental energies looking for something to scare at, and if they see anything as big as a piece of paper across the road they go out of their heads. And there are other Representatives like horses I have seen. If he is accustomed to an old log house and comes by and sees one there painted yellow, he will tear out through the woods. Many cry out that this or that thing is a departure; that there is no precedent for it. I am glad I am in no hurry to leave the old, but I am constituted so I have no regret about it—absolutely none. Breaking away from precedents does not disturb me in the least, nor do I consider precedents unless I believe that those establishing them were at the time confronted by conditions similar to those which confront us. No man should oppose this bill because there is no precedent for it, or because it appears to be a departure. The question for consideration: Is it right under present conditions; does it offer an adequate remedy to meet, or in a measure meet, the emergency we are facing? With these changes, I shall give it my hearty support. [Applause.]

Transportation by Water.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, transportation by water is receiving the attention of Congress, although much is yet to be done to get the best service out of our navigable streams. The chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. SMALL, has long advocated an improvement of the rivers and harbors of our country, devoting much of his time and thought to the question of terminals and the coordination that should properly prevail between water transportation lines and the railroads. Recently, as the result of action of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, the gentleman from North Carolina communicated with the Secretary of War, drawing his attention to some of the problems to be considered in connection with the development of our waterways.

As a contribution to the literature of the movement I submit this communication and the reply of the Secretary of War thereto:

ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSPORTATION BY WATER.

[Letter from Hon. JOHN H. SMALL, chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives to Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.]

OCTOBER 5, 1917.

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

MY DEAR SIR: I am directed by resolution adopted by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House of Representatives to make this communication.

It is conceded that the Federal Government has jurisdiction over all navigable waterways, and it is the established policy of the Congress to make provision for the improvement of meritorious projects consistent with the demands of the country for additional means of transportation by water. As the House of Representatives must initiate all legislation and appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of which this committee has jurisdiction, the members of the committee desire to discharge their duties in the most effective manner. The primary purpose in the improvement of our rivers and harbors is to provide adequate channels for navigation and thereby to promote transportation by water. It is self-evident that the mere deepening of the entrance to or increasing the depth and area of a harbor or the improvement of the channel of an interior waterway will not alone establish water transportation. Likewise neither will the construction of a railroad track assure traffic. They simply provide the basic necessity for transportation.

There are additional facilities which must be provided for the establishment of water transportation:

First. There must exist a demand for the movement of products.

Second. There must be water terminals constructed in accordance with appropriate plans. These terminals require ample water front and capacious warehouses. They should be physically connected by a belt-line railroad with the railroad or railroads serving the community, and one or more good highways should radiate therefrom. They should be equipped with modern appliances for transferring freight between the water carrier and the warehouse and the rail car in the cheapest and most expeditious manner. These terminals should be constructed by the municipalities or other agencies of the State and maintained and regulated for the service of the public. The size and cost of such terminals will vary according to the population and the financial ability of the community to be served and the volume of traffic which exists.

Third. There must be one or more established lines of water transportation with sufficient capital, the requisite number of carriers, and a complete traffic organization.

Fourth. There should be a complete coordination between the water transportation lines and the railroads, and a prorating of traffic as to through rates between the water carriers and the rail carriers such as now exists between the several lines of railroads, to the end that each may complement the other and be jointly dedicated to the service of the public.

The committee submit that the above additional facilities are both necessary and feasible. They further suggest as a general proposition that water terminals must be provided by the States or by municipalities or other public agencies of the States, and that water carriers must be organized and maintained by individuals, corporations, or other local agencies. It may be substantially stated that Congress may only improve for purposes of navigation the capacity of the harbors and the channels of the interior waterways.

It will be admitted that there are a limited number of harbors and a larger number of interior waterways on which the foregoing essentials have not been provided. In fact, it may be stated that the people of the country, including even that forceful class of citizens who manage large industrial units and are vitally interested in transportation, appear to have slight knowledge of the primary essentials for securing transportation by water. The demand for the movement of products by water which exists under normal conditions has been made acute under war conditions, but in many cases the essential facilities are lacking.

The committee are impressed with the conviction that it is their duty to direct attention to this serious dereliction of duty upon the part of the public and to express the opinion that appropriations should not be made for the improvement of those rivers and harbors where the communities and localities are continuously unwilling to discharge their correlative duty by providing the facilities essential for the promotion of water transportation.

The committee have not established any arbitrary or inflexible rule. They are conscious that the public must be induced to realize its obligations in the development of water transportation by the processes of publicity and education. They find it difficult to excuse larger cities where production is large and additional facilities of transportation are so insistent and where neither ignorance nor poverty can be pleaded in extenuation. The committee are further aware that time will be required, even where the civic conscience has been aroused, to provide these facilities and to fully utilize navigable waterways. For the present the committee only insists there shall be no willful disregard of local and public obligations in these respects.

On behalf of the committee I have the honor to suggest that a copy of this communication be transmitted through the department to all district engineers in the United States, with the request that they submit a copy of the same to the governors of the States in which their districts are located, to the mayors of municipalities, to the officers of all commercial and civic organizations in their districts, and that they give publicity to same through the press as far as may be practicable.

Very respectfully,

JNO. H. SMALL, *Chairman.*

THE SECRETARY'S REPLY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, October 6, 1917.

Hon. JOHN H. SMALL,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. SMALL: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 5, 1917, giving the views of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House of Representatives on the general subject of the facilities for water transportation that should be furnished by local interests in order to warrant and make effective the Government improvement of channels, and expressing the opinion of the committee that Government appropriations should not be made for localities that persist in disregarding these obligations. This statement has my hearty approval, and I shall take pleasure in bringing it to the attention of the Chief of Engineers for compliance with your request that it be distributed through the local engineer offices having charge of river and harbor improvements throughout the country. I consider it a most opportune reminder to local interests generally of the essential part they must take in the rational development of water transportation so that it may best serve the commercial and industrial needs of the country.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

The War With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the importance and necessity of standing by the President and giving loyal support to the country in this war with Germany, I desire to submit the following:

Mr. Speaker, we are in no way responsible for war with Germany. We broke no treaty obligation, we violated no principle of international law, we followed to the letter every rule laid down for the conduct of a neutral nation, and we transgressed in no instance a single principle of the law of nations. While the President was doing all in his power to remain at peace with Germany, and while our people in every State in the Union were praying that war might be avoided, Germany, without any fault on our part, denied us the right to remain neutral. She denied us the use of the free seas, she arrogated to herself authority to take away from us the right to sell food, clothing, and shelter to people in other neutral nations. By a brutal and unwarranted Prussian edict she challenged our national sovereignty and trampled upon our rights and liberties. She sunk our ships, destroyed our commerce, shot down our flag, and

murdered our citizens; and, Mr. Speaker, I state correctly the American position when I say that when Congress by solemn act declares a state of war to exist, and when the President by proclamation calls the boys to the colors, it then becomes the duty of every American citizen to give whole-hearted support to the war program adopted by the Government. When the constituted authority of the country decides that certain ways, plans, and policies are wise and necessary, it then becomes the duty of every American citizen not merely to quietly acquiesce in the stand taken by this country but to give active and positive support to those plans and policies. I do not exempt even Members of Congress from the righteous requirements of this just and patriotic rule, and when a Member of Congress, by what he does and says in Congress or out of it, fails to recognize his obligation to submit to and loyally support the measures enacted by the body to which he belongs, he is not doing his duty as a Member of Congress. His conduct becomes suspicious, and he deserves the contempt and the scorn of every loyal American citizen.

When our boys are coming in obedience to the call of duty and the love of country to fight and, if need be, to die for our rights and liberties, I am not willing to remain silent while certain Members occupyiny places here, far removed from danger, are doing and saying things that I know are against the unity of purpose and solidarity of the American people in this war. When our brave boys, in response to their patriotic duty, are going upon our transports across the deep and dangerous sea, where cruel and murderous German submarines lie in wait, I will not permit my desire for personal comfort and safety to cause me to pass unnoticed and uncondemned unpatriotic and disloyal acts even in a Member of Congress and, however hazardous it may be to me personally, I have determined to take up the cross of my country and to follow faithfully the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. All that Christianity and civilization stand for are at stake in this war. I have said, and I here repeat, that the conduct of certain Members of Congress has been suspicious, and three times before Congress adjourned I asked unanimous consent to be permitted to name the Members that I had in mind and to give my reasons for saying that their conduct has been suspicious, but the friends of the men who were afraid of being named before the Congress and the country caused objection to be made. I then requested permission to make that motion before the House, so that it would require a majority of the Members, and not one, as in the case of unanimous-consent request, to prevent a full and free discussion of the matter, but the Speaker would not recognize me for that purpose. I call this to the attention of the country now, because when, on September 24, I had the floor but was denied the privilege of speaking in my own way and replying to Mr. NORTON, who had attacked me in his speech, several Members of the House called on me to name the men that I had in mind. I declined to do so then, because I knew that certain Members would make points of order and prevent me from giving my reasons for naming certain Members. Feeling that it was my duty to name these men and that the House desired me to do so, I determined to make known my willingness to name them, and in obedience to my conviction in the matter I went upon the floor of the House, where some Members had just a few days previous requested me to name them, and asked unanimous consent to be allowed to do so, when lo! the colleague of one of the men that I had in mind arose and objected. I found upon inquiry that the objector had agreed with a Member on the other side of the aisle, a Republican, whose conduct, MOORE'S the pity, I could not fully indorse, that in order to prevent a personal encounter between Mr. NORTON and myself he would object to me speaking and the Pennsylvanian would object to Mr. NORTON speaking. This purely disinterested and unselfish consideration shown for me by these two Members is something that I most respectfully submit to the country. It is passing strange that in order to keep me from naming the few suspicious Members a Member from Pennsylvania was going to object to Mr. NORTON making a speech and Mr. GARNER, of Texas, was going to object and deprive me of that privilege. It was claimed by some Members at first that when I said there were 13 or 14 Members in the two bodies who had acted suspiciously that I had, in failing to particularize, reflected on the great body of loyal Members, and that it was my duty to name them; but when I determined to do so, and asked for the opportunity to name them, I found the matter of granting me that privilege under unanimous consent blocked and tied by an agreement between Mr. GARNER and Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I want the line drawn between the loyal American and the man who is deceiving and trying to injure his country. I do not intend, if I can help it, that any man whose loyalty has a Prussian spot or blemish on it shall escape the full and fair scrutiny of his constituents. The American people are entitled to know who in this mighty crisis are regarded as loyal and trustworthy Members of Congress. Every Member who is a true and loyal American is ready and anxious to have the suspicious ones named, but the personal friends of the few whose doings and sayings were about to be exposed were on the alert and active in their efforts to shield them. This should not be the case. No man who is neutral or lukewarm now in this war with Germany is entitled to have and hold the friendship of any loyal Member.

From every viewpoint and consideration of American welfare and safety the lukewarm or neutral Member deserves to be listed as an enemy to the country. If he elects to give aid and comfort to the enemy, he ought not to expect, and he should not receive, any sympathy or tolerance from loyal Americans. We all must now realize that there are only two classes of people in our country—the loyal and the disloyal. Instead of calling on me or giving me the opportunity to name the Members of Congress whose conduct I had said was suspicious, certain Members sought to dodge the issue by trying to create a sentiment in favor of censuring me. This was discussed quietly, and so eager were certain Members to get away from the real issue that they suggested that if possible some prominent Democrat should be persuaded to introduce the resolution. Some interested Republicans suggested it, but failing in this Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi introduced the resolution, the terms of which denied me the right to summon a single witness or to conduct a real investigation of any kind. On top of this performance of Mr. STEPHENS, he moved the previous question on the passage of the resolution, and would not permit me to make any suggestions as to the inquiry to be made or as to the personnel of the committee to be appointed. How the mighty have fallen in some sections of Mississippi. I then appealed to the Speaker of the House. I wished to know if I could say a word in protest against the appointment of certain Members on that committee and to say something about the investigation to be had, but the Speaker ruled that I could not do so. I would name the suspicious Members in this statement now, but if I should do so my remarks would not be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I will name them soon. The country is entitled to know them—lukewarmness and disloyalty must be made odious and unpopular in this country. He that is not with us is against us. The American Republic is not courting favor with any native or alien enemy within its confines. It merits the love and support of every person worthy of consideration in the country. The time has come to stamp out sedition and disloyalty wherever found. Mr. Lincoln said that "It is better to silence the agitator in high places than to shoot the simple soldier boy who is inspired by the one higher up." After Congress has declared a state of war to exist, the Member of Congress who gives out for publication statements attacking our allies, the Member of Congress who sits in silence at a meeting bristling with sedition and treason, and hears a speaker say that the President should be impeached, and the Member of Congress who is carrying on a propaganda in his district against the law under which we are raising an army, and the Member of Congress who introduces a resolution which criticizes our position in the war, and takes away from the Commander in Chief authority and control over the Army, and the Member of Congress who introduces a bill to exempt boys of German blood from military service in this war with Germany, and the Member of Congress who introduces a bill, the effect of which would be to leave the President without authority and without an army to conduct the war is guilty of suspicious conduct, and by his own act raises the question of his loyalty. It can not be said that any of the acts that I have mentioned in any way help the United States in its conduct of this war, but, on the contrary, it can be truthfully said that they give aid and comfort to the enemy. The German propaganda to encourage our boys to resist the selective-draft law and to repeal that law, and to exempt boys of German blood from service in this war against Germany, and to hold meetings to create sentiment against our position in the war has been aided innocently or otherwise by some Members of Congress. Washington in his Farewell Address warned us against the insidious wiles of foreign influence. He said that "Foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government." The insidious workings of the German autocracy, and its brazen interference in our country's affairs has aroused the righteous indignation of all American patriots, and the time has come when a position of lukewarmness, neutrality, or double-dealing will not be tolerated in any State in the Union. For private citizen and Member of Congress, for all, there must be but one standard of loyalty. America, incarnated spirit of

liberty, is entitled to our love and loyalty. God help us to silence speedily everyone who is trying in any way to hamper and hinder her in the successful conduct of this war.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to print as a part of my remarks the following editorial comments on my position in this matter:

[From the Boston Post, Sept. 28, 1917.]

WHITE HOUSE PUTS SEAL OF APPROVAL ON HEFLIN.

In reply to intimations circulated in certain quarters to the effect that HEFLIN had been rebuked by the President for his statement, Secretary Tumulty to-day gave out the statement saying that Representative HEFLIN was one of the staunchest friends of the President and had given hearty support to all the administration measures for prosecuting the war. This statement caused a sensation. It showed that an investigation would not be unacceptable to the President, and indicated, too, that the State Department would be available to the investigators.

In fact, it is rumored that the President is anxious to have a definite line-up of the friends and enemies of the Nation at war published before the entire country.

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[From the New York World, Sept. 22.]

In commenting upon the matter given out by Secretary Lansing to-day, Vice President Marshall said:

"This ought to end forever any doubt in the mind of any American as to the justice of and the necessity for this war. It proves that the German Government was seeking all along to split us into two factions by corrupt means, if necessary and possible, hoping in time to win the war in Europe and then humiliate and subjugate us. He who is not now wholeheartedly for the war runs a grave risk of being suspected of getting part of that $50,000. This is an honest Congress, and all of its Members will resent this insult to its intelligence and honor."

—

[From the Washington Times, Sept. 29.]

Mr. HEFLIN said: "The Associated Press misrepresented me in its report of what I said yesterday. What I did say was that I wanted the House to elect the members of the committee, and that I wanted patriotic Democrats and Republicans on it."

—

[From the Washington Star, Sept. 3, by Associated Press (Chicago).]

Gov. Frank O. Lowden arrived here to-day to take personal charge of the situation * * *.

W. E. MASON, Representative at Large from Illinois, the next speaker, declared there was more misery in the country to-day than at any time since Bunker Hill.

"But no worse thing ever happened in the history of the United States," he said, "than is happening now, when people like you are branded as criminals and denied the right of free assembly."

He also declared that the only people who welcomed the war were the bankers and editors, and denounced conscription and the sending of troops to France.

—

[From the Daily Times, Sept. 29.]

Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN denies the statement regarding Mr. HEFLIN, of Alabama. The following is his statement:

"In reply to the inquiry from newspapers and correspondents as to whether or not the statement published in the Washington Times this afternoon to the effect that I would take the floor to-day with a demand for a vote of censure on HEFLIN is true, I will say that it is absolutely without foundation, and there is not a word of truth in it. I have never entertained such a thought or intention; in fact, the article in the Times is the first intelligence I had that such a statement had been attributed to me.

"CLAUDE KITCHIN."

—

[From the Washington Times, Sept. 29.]

I have not said that these men received money. I made no such charges. I have not denied saying, and I do not deny saying, that the conduct of some of them does not square with my idea of loyalty. There is now being carried on in this country a German propaganda to tie the President's hands and to leave him without authority and without an army to defend our country in this war. This infamous work was going on in another form before Bernstorff left the country. It is at work now insidiously and sneakingly, and the sooner every vestige of sedition and treason is stamped out the better it will be for our country.

—

[From the Post, Oct. 4.]

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *October 3.*

Congressman ERNEST LUNDEEN, termed "Lesser Microbe" by Col. Roosevelt, was expelled to-day from membership in Hermion Lodge, No. 18, Knights of Pythias, Minneapolis. Charges had been preferred against LUNDEEN accusing him of unpatriotic utterances. It was on these charges that he was expelled.

—

[From the Indianapolis Star, Sept. 28.]

Representative HEFLIN may not have any definite proof, but some others in Congress, who are so indignant at his "generalities," do not seem anxious to prod around any to see what might be uncovered.

—

[From the Syracuse Journal, Sept. 28.]

There should be reasonable harmony in Congress and full support of the administration's war policies. At least there should be a minute scrutiny of any Representative or Senator who strives to deprive this Government of aid and comfort and thereby indirectly gives "aid and comfort to the enemy."

The United States is engaged in war. It must be fought to a satisfactory finish, if it is within the power of this Nation. Those who try to hamper governmental war efficiency and power are becoming detestable in public estimation.

The question is not one of integrity. It is one of constitutional rights of expression. It is solely whether the American people will endure Congressmen who fight the Government from their easy seats in Congress and who draw American money in salaries.

[From the Boston Journal, Sept. 28.]

Out of a congressional investigation such as HEFLIN proposes might come a distinct definition of treason; a separation of the sheep from the goats among the many organizations and individuals devoted to the preaching of peace; the internment of many persons, aliens and others, whose sympathies in this war take an active and harmful bent.

—

[From the Age-Herald, Sept. 26.]

There is no getting around the fact that certain Congressmen have laid themselves open to suspicion by foolish utterances and actions which may have been made in good faith, yet have put this country in a bad light abroad and most certainly convinced the German Government that America was unwilling to go to war.

—

[From the Birmingham Ledger, Oct. 2.]

THOSE DISLOYALTY CHARGES.

There are thousands of honest Americans who hold the view that Congressman HEFLIN'S temperament or political ambitions have nothing to do with the case, but that since open charges were made by a Member of Congress against a number of his colleagues, the question is, Has he or has he not grounds upon which to base those charges?

Thirteen or fourteen Members of Congress, some of them by name, have been charged with disloyalty to their country, and the public has more or less suspicion that German money has been floating around the Capitol in some form or other.

—

[From the Houston Daily Post, Sept. 30, 1917.]

No doubt Mr. HEFLIN regards the conduct of some Members of Congress as suspicious, for heaven knows that in both branches some Members have proven a serious handicap to the war measures of the administration.

Congressmen with large German constituencies have not in all cases been positive supporters of the war measures in Congress.

So, instead of raising a rumpus about HEFLIN'S reckless insinuations, Congress will render better service by proceeding to draw the line on German influence in the country and handling without gloves those who are serving the country's enemies.

—

[White House statement by Mr. Tumulty.]

In the Washington Star of to-day this paragraph appears in an article on the first page:

"It was learned to-day that President Wilson has expressed deep regret at the speech of Representative HEFLIN, characterizing it as a great mistake."

There is not the slightest foundation in fact for this statement. Not at any time has the President made the matter a subject of conversation or expressed an opinion concerning it.

From the outset Mr. HEFLIN has earned the friendship and esteem of the President by reason of his intense Americanism and unfaltering support of every American measure.

In view of this, under no circumstances would the President lend himself to any effort to prejudge or to prejudice a case in process of inquiry.

—

[From the Age-Herald, Sept. 26.]

Money was spent by the German Government, and the American people want to know where that money went and who got it.

—

[From the Birmingham News, Sept. 26.]

There is an old saying to the effect that "the hit bird flutters." * * *

Whether Congressman HEFLIN meant to go gunning for anybody when he stated that 13 or 14 House Members have acted so suspiciously during recent months that a doubt of their loyalty had entered his mind does not alter the fact that his statement caused a lot of fluttering among the Members.

—

[From the Washington Herald.]

Just why are so many persons incensed at TOM HEFLIN? He thinks, as everyone knows, that German propaganda is rife. He repeats certain serious charges and asks an investigation by a joint committee of Democrats and Republicans. Now they want to censure him. If there is "a nigger in the congressional woodpile," why not "smoke" him out?

—

[From the Troy (N. Y.) Ledger, Sept. 26.]

Why is Congress peeved over the insinuations of Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama?

It is not impossible, although not probable, that any of the Congressmen were corrupted with German coin. It is plain, however, that certain Senators and Representatives, whose names have been repeatedly anathematized by press and people, were influenced by the "slush fund" administered indirectly.

—

[From the New York Times, Oct. 5.]

Representative HEFLIN asked if he might be heard. Mr. STEPHENS said he saw no reason for discussing it and moved the previous question.

"May I not speak briefly?" asked Mr. HEFLIN.

"Not one word," replied Speaker CLARK.

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[From the New York Herald, Oct. 5.]

The House ordered the investigation of the Heflin charges with a suddenness that was startling. With less than a quorum present, Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska presented his resolution, announcing that it was one of the highest privileges, and moved the previous question.

"I think there has been enough discussion of this subject," said Mr. STEPHENS, "and that the time has come for action."

In the meantime Mr. HEFLIN was on his feet asking to be heard. The Speaker refused to recognize him.

—

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, Sept. 29.]

There has been out of Congress a strong suspicion that a few Members were supporting with and acting for the German propagandists in this country. The people should recognize the patent truth that 95 per cent

of the Members of Congress have not been suspected of any response to any seditious or disloyal influences of German propaganda.

Of course, there were a few Senators and Representatives who stood out for the course Germany would have this country pursue, because they believed that the German element in their districts would back them up.

—

[From the New York Telegram, Sept. 25.]

Noise is no argument. Jeers and cat-calls don't prove anything. By boohooing it down Members of the House disprove nothing.

Let us hear just what Representative HEFLIN does know. He may possibly have information dovetailing with Secretary Lansing's publication of Count von Bernstorff's request to Berlin for $50,000 with which to influence Congress as before.

—

[From the New York World, Sept. 26.]

Having in mind nothing but the honor of the House of Representatives, most Americans will wonder why Mr. HEFLIN, of Alabama, had no support when he was making a plain case against the Kaiser's apologists in that body.

—

[From the New York World, Sept. 26.]

Members of the House said they intended to press vigorously the resolutions asking Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama, to name the Members of Congress, who, he says, "have acted suspiciously."

—

[From the New York Tribune, Sept. 23.]

The majority in both Houses has realized that certain Senators and Representatives were acting in the interest of Germany, but there are few in Washington who believe that any money was paid to any Member of the present Congress, despite the remarkably pro-German attitudes of some of them.

—

[From the New York Tribune, Sept. 29.]

The Colonel also paid his respects to Representative BAER, of North Dakota, the Nonpartisan Party's representative in Congress, who was among the five Members of Congress named by Representative HEFLIN.

"On June 27 Representative BAER said that this was 'no time to make Americanism an issue,'" said the Colonel. "That statement would be all right in the German Reichstag, but a man who thinks and speaks that way ought not to be admitted to Congress. If this is not the time to make Americanism an issue, there is no time."

Col. Roosevelt turned his attention also to the Nonpartisan League.

—

[From the New York World, Sept. 29.]

When Representative HEFLIN said he suspected that 13 or 14 Members of Congress had been influenced by way of Count von Bernstorff's secret fund he put the case mildly. For more than three years past the RECORD has shown that many more than 13 or 14 have been regularly voting for Germany. Furthermore, Mr. HEFLIN'S suspicion is shared by the great mass of the people.

The strange thing about the fury into which the House lashes itself over this matter is its failure to distinguish between bribery and disloyalty.

—

[From the New York Sun, Sept. 26.]

Some of the men who jeered most loudly and who howled him [HEFLIN] down are numbered among the chief pacifists and obstructionists in the House. Their chance to obscure their records by a noisy denial of any share in actual corruption was ready to hand and they seized it.

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[From the Washington Star, Sept. 21.]

Two facts stand out conspicuously in this now revealed telegram. It was the purpose of the German ambassador to "influence" Congress by means of money, and he had evidently used money "on former occasions." The amount named, $50,000, is very small if it was the German ambassador's design to bribe Members of the American Congress.

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[From the New York Evening Post, Sept. 24.]

Once the House agreed, on motion of Representative LITTLE, of Kansas, to permit Mr. HEFLIN to proceed in his own way for 10 minutes, if he would name the men he suspected, but he declined the offer.

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[From the Cincinnati Times Star, Sept. 28.]

What hands are pulling the strings that make certain men in Congress do that which the German Government would have men do if it had representatives in Congress?

Therefore we are grateful to Mr. HEFLIN, a man who evidently does not care to call a spade "a digging instrument adapted for being pushed into the ground with the foot."

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[From the New York Herald, Sept. 27.]

Mr. HEFLIN issued a statement to-day in response to inquiries as to whether he included in the list of suspicious acts the votes of Members against the war resolution and the selective-draft law.

"Of course not," replied Mr. HEFLIN. "I do not intend that the few whose conduct is under suspicion shall deceive the other Members into believing that I had them in mind."

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[From the New York Herald, Sept. 28.]

Why, they even hired some newspaper reporters to report that the President expressed regret about my having made the speech and very much deplored it. One paper, a German sympathizer, had large headlines, "The President rebukes Mr. HEFLIN." Both of them are false.

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[From the Fredericksburg Free Lance, Oct. 2.]

While we can not bring ourselves to believe that any Representative of the American people has fallen so low as to accept German bribe money (and Congressman HEFLIN didn't charge this), yet we fully agree with him that the action and vote of some of them, including the one Senator and five Congressmen named by him to the Rules Committee, has been very suspicious.

So far from a resolution expelling Congressman HEFLIN being adopted in the House, we believe the chances would be much better of securing the passage of one ridding the House of such undesirables as MASON, BRITTEN, NORTON, BAER and company. Certainly America would suffer from the expulsion of HEFLIN, while just as surely she would profit from the expulsion of those he criticized. This is no time for Members of Congress to be mealy-mouthed or bound by congressional etiquette. Rather it is time for each Representative to speak out, denouncing treason, semitreason, and suspicious acts and conduct even if in doing so he has to incur the enmity of his own colleagues. The people are sick of so-called Representatives whose chief efforts seem to be directed toward paralyzing the war efforts of their own country, and if Mr. HEFLIN'S charges have the effect of pillorying these men he will have deserved the gratitude of the Nation.

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[From the Meriden Morning Record, Oct. 1.]

Mr. HEFLIN knew many things as well as a man can know a thing and not be able to prove it.

HEFLIN has done a good turn to Congress if he has shown the necessity for clearing the atmosphere of its microbes.

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[From the Financial America (New York), Oct. 3.]

It would be interesting to see how such distinguished individuals as the Hon. JEFF: MCLEMORE, of Texas, and the very honorable Mr. LUNDEEN, of Minnesota, would vote on the punishing of the gentleman from Alabama.

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[From the St. Paul Dispatch, Sept. 25.]

The House of Representatives would make a deeper impression of its sincerity if it had been as indignant over the Bernstorff activities as it is now over HEFLIN'S charges that certain Members soiled their garments in Bernstorff's filth.

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[From the Syracuse Journal, Sept. 26.]

The greater the agitation over the recent disclosures the more apparent it becomes that Congress should hit upon some means of putting its Members on record in such a way as will absolutely determine whether they are for America or for some other nation. Make men who are using their alleged hatred of war as a shield for traitorous conduct come out from cover, if any such there be in Congress.

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[From the New York Morning Telegraph, Sept. 28.]

MASON advocates a repeal of the draft resolution, BRITTEN urges the German-Americans be exempted from the draft, NORTON has been consistently voicing copperhead views, and Senator LA FOLLETTE has won the enmity of almost the entire Senate for his opposition to war measures. Representative BAER was sent to Congress by a nonpartisan league, and he has been working faithfully against war.

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[From the New York Herald, Sept. 28.]

Keep your eyes on the ball. It should occur to somebody at Washington that all this indulgence in personalities around Mr. HEFLIN, of Alabama, is diverting the attention of the Capitol from the main question: Who got the money?

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[From the New York Evening World, Sept. 27.]

HEFLIN also said he would not be satisfied to have Speaker CLARK name the members of the proposed committee, but would insist that the House elect them. He accused the Speaker of unfairness toward him at a recent House session.

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[From the New York American, Sept. 28.]

HEFLIN said he could, if given the opportunity, name 13 or 14 others whose acts had been suspicious.

HEFLIN denied statements attributed to him in newspaper interviews. He declared German spies had brought about such publications. He denies he had said Members of Congress had won money at a gambling house frequented by pacifists, where German gold was easily won.

"I never once said any Member has been corrupted with money. I do not know how Members were influenced." HEFLIN took a fling at Speaker CLARK in his closing words, saying that he wanted the investigating committee elected by the House instead of being appointed by the Speaker. "Would not you be satisfied to have the Speaker name them," asked Mr. NORTON. "No; I would not," retorted HEFLIN.

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[From the New York World, Sept. 28.]

He said he wanted to inquire about correspondence of certain Members who had written in one vein to their constituents and acted in another in Congress, and who had written one way to one set of constituents and another way to others. Mr. HEFLIN declared he wanted to ascertain who were preparing to join the organization which sent Representative BAER to Congress—the National Non-Partisan League. He emphasized the desire that in ordering the investigation Congress go into the activities of Members and the sources of money for carrying on a propaganda and distributing over the country literature relating to the antidraft bill of Representative MASON, and the resolution of Representative BRITTEN to exempt German-Americans from military service abroad. He charged German agents had got newspapers to quote him falsely.

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[From Financial American, Sept. 28.]

Representative HEFLIN probably was indiscreet in his statements about Congress and the signs of German money or German influence there. And, yet, it is more than likely that there is 90 per cent of truth in what he said. The methods employed by bribers are designed to prevent any possibility of the money being traced. The methods employed by the bribed to protect themselves are skillful as human ingenuity can devise.

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[From the New York Evening Globe, Sept. 27.]

HEFLIN pleaded with the committee to-day to turn its attention to investigating how the Bernstorff fund was used rather than to his speech, declaring that 13 or 14 Members of the two Houses had "acted suspiciously." Mr. HEFLIN insisted that the committee should develop who supplied money for mailing out Representative MASON'S antidraft bill and Representative BRITTEN'S German-American service resolutions, and about the antiwar activities of Senator LA FOLLETTE.

[From the Indianapolis Star, Sept. 25.]

Congress should turn on the light. That riotous outburst of righteous indignation in the House of Representatives is amusing to those who watched congressional developments since the war was started. Members profess to be grieved and shocked because Representative HEFLIN has said, in connection with the Von Bernstorff disclosures, that he could name 13 or 14 in the House and Senate who have acted suspiciously. He did not accuse anyone of getting any part of that $50,000 "slush fund." Bernstorff himself in his published cablegram asked for the money to be used "as on former occasions" in influencing Congress. Bernstorff apparently was satisfied that he had succeeded in influencing Congress "on former occasions."

Mr. HEFLIN did not say the money was peddled out in bribes, but did say he could name 13 or 14 in Congress who have acted suspiciously. So could everybody who have watched the progress of Congress in the last three years. They acted suspiciously as if being influenced. What is the difference, so far as Von Bernstorff is concerned, whether they acted in response to indirect payment of money handed to them as a bribe or because of organized pressure brought to bear through propaganda? Whatever was done was in the interest of Germany and not of the United States. It would be worth while to let the light in on what went on back of the scenes during the expenditure of that $50,000 and the other sums "on former occasions."

[From the New York Commercial, Sept. 28.]

In an impassioned speech HEFLIN demanded that the Rules Committee ask for a general investigation so that he might learn—

1. Where the money came from that produced literature supporting the antidraft bill of Representative MASON. 2. Where the money came from that produced literature supporting the Britten resolution to exempt German-Americans from military service abroad. 3. What Congressmen are planning to line up with the nonpartisan league that elected BAER, and which was said to oppose the war. 4. Who was in the organization "LA FOLLETTE is championing that will leave the President without an army." 5. Why NORTON insists on turning the proposed slush-fund investigation against him, HEFLIN.

Mr. NORTON was present at the committee meeting while HEFLIN was making his speech. Saying he understood several Congressmen wanted him expelled because he mentioned suspicious Members, HEFLIN turned to NORTON and dared him to vote for his expulsion. "I will have something to say about you before the investigation comes, if it is created," HEFLIN declared, facing NORTON.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 22.]

Following the announcement of the Bernstorff cable message Senators and Representatives to-day expressed opinion indicating they were not greatly surprised by the exposure of the former ambassador's attempts to influence Congress, and plans for an immediate investigation were set on foot. In the House, where Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama, made a speech on the subject, several Members, including Representative FLOOD, of Virginia, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, discussed the advisability of a congressional investigation, going so far in private conversation as to favor even an inspection of bank accounts. Vice President MARSHALL made a clear-cut statement of his views toward German propaganda.

[From the New York Herald, Sept. 24.]

According to the present arrangements, which of necessity are in only general form, all persons who have been identified in any way with the efforts to influence Congress to a pro-German stand will be called as witnesses. There are hundreds of these persons representatives of a half a dozen organizations with headquarters in different sections of the country. They have come to Washington to see the Members themselves, they have sent thousands of letters and telegrams, they have shipped in petitions gathered in the districts of Members whose votes were sought, they have even threatened to wage active campaigns against the reelection of those Senators and Representatives who have refused to do their bidding. All the Members of Congress who have expressed opinions are unanimous in asserting that the investigation is essential to clear their skirts of any suspicion in connection with the von Bernstorff activity. They feel that the statements made on the floor of the House by Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama—that 13 or 14 Members had acted suspiciously—are sufficient to make an investigation necessary.

[From the Kansas City Star, Sept. 28.]

Congress will make a mistake if it diverts investigation from Mr. HEFLIN'S charges to Mr. HEFLIN himself. There may be honest but misguided men who are helping the German cause from the Congress of the United States. There may be. But in view of the revelations of German expenditures in this country such men can not object when there comes a demand that their conduct be investigated. Certainly there are only a few Members of Congress whose conduct comes under suspicion. But no feeling of clannishness on the part of Congressmen ought to prevent a full inquiry. There have been Congressmen who have gone wrong in the past.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sept. 28.]

Mr. HEFLIN has not accused any Member of the House of taking German money or being subsidized by American agents of the German Government. But he has declared, upon his responsibility as a Member of Congress, that he can produce the names of twelve or more Congressmen whose course before the war, and to some extent since the war, leads him to believe that German influences guided their official acts. Mr. HEFLIN is no novice in legislative affairs. Nor is he an irresponsible shouter of names or demagogic waver of flags. He knew he would be immediately challenged to substantiate any charge which reflected upon the integrity or loyalty of a fellow Congressman. So we await with assurance for the names which he is to submit to the investigating committee.

I requested unanimous consent three times for the purpose of naming the suspicious Members, but the request was not granted. I asked to be permitted to make a motion to grant me time to name these Members, but the Speaker would not permit me to do so.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) Ledger, Sept. 28, 1917.]

Now that Congressman HEFLIN, of Alabama, has demanded the appointment of a House committee before whom he can denounce the Members of Congress who he believes have acted disloyally, has openly named a number of Members whose conduct he thinks has been suspicious, and has declared he will name others whom he regards as disloyal to the Government in its conduct of the war, an investigation is in order.

Nobody in Alabama doubts Mr. HEFLIN'S loyalty to the administration. He has been an active supporter of the Government in its conduct of the war. Whether or not his enthusiasm has impaired his judgment in making charges against Members of Congress is no longer a question for consideration. He has openly called names of Members of the body whom he believes to be disloyal to the Government in its efforts for the national defense and the national safety, and declared that he desires an opportunity to investigate the loyalty of others.

That puts a different aspect upon the case, which is now no longer a matter of idle rumor. The loyalty and the character of the Members of Congress have been openly called into question by a fellow Member whose arraignment is very serious. The names of some of those Congressmen have been announced in public as suspicious characters, and Mr. HEFLIN declares he will involve others by name.

That places these men on the defensive. They are attacked by name virtually with charges of having some knowledge of the use of German money against their own country. The charges are sure to create more or less suspicion in the public mind against Congress as a body unless they are shown to be without foundation.

It is to be supposed that the Members of Congress, whose names have been publicly announced by a fellow Member as being under suspicion, will demand a prompt and complete investigation as a matter of justice to themselves. Certainly they have every reason to take such action and it will be expected by the public. Indeed, the men whose names have been mentioned in this connection can not afford to let the matter drop there. Their character and their reputation as public officials chosen to a high trust are involved, and the American people who are behind their Government in this war will not be satisfied with anything but a thorough probe into the whole business.

If these Members of Congress or any others whom Congressman HEFLIN may include in his charges are guilty of disloyalty to their country, as Mr. HEFLIN declares he has reason to believe, they deserve worse punishment than expulsion in disgrace from the public service.

If, on the other hand, they are innocent of wrongdoing, and are merely the victims of groundless rumors, they should insist upon vindication through a searching investigation. In any event, they can not afford to drop the matter where it now stands, and neither can Congress as a body.

[From the Chicago Journal, Sept. 22, 1917.]

"As on former occasions." When the Gore and McLemore resolutions were up in the House and Senate, for example, trying to haul down the American flag and make the seas over to the Kaiser. When the cowardly and traitorous resolutions were introduced to put an embargo on the export of munitions and military supplies. When the clique that trembles at the name of Germany was showing its valor by demanding instant war with Mexico. Kaiser-cuddling in Congress did not end with Bernstorff's departure. The efforts of a little group of willful men to keep the President from arming our merchant ships, the long fight against the food-control bill, the periodical attempts to hamstring the war by putting it in the hands of a congressional debating society, the sniveling protests against "sending our soldiers to bleed in a foreign land"—Bernstorff couldn't have bettered these samples of kaiserism if he had been present with twice $50,000. Surely the faithful disciples of Potsdam need as much "influence" now as they did last January. Who is attending to this matter since Bernstorff went away?

"As on former occasions"—yea, throughout the world. Wherever Prussianism has come, it has been an unmixed curse. It has tried to corrupt and control every country in which it has gained a foothold. It has pinned its faith to bribery, deceit, and terrorism.

[From the Opelika News, Sept. 26, 1917.]

Mr. HEFLIN said: "Mr. Speaker, I did say in my speech that there were some men in Congress whose conduct, according to my judgment, had been suspicious. It has, and you can not take that impression out of my mind; they made that impression by their own conduct, and I am not going to get up here and tell you now that I have no such opinion in this matter, because I have. If the House desires me to name the men who have, according to my judgment, done disloyal acts, I will name them.

"I am going to stand by the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. I am going to be faithful to the boys who are going to fight and die for our rights and liberties, and I do not propose that any Members shall carry on a propaganda here which appears to me to be against my country without denouncing it and branding it as I think it ought to be denounced and branded."

[From the New York Globe, Sept. 5, 1917.]

Col. Roosevelt says, Chatham, N. Y., September 5: "Above all, any man, and especially Senator or Congressman or editor, who seeks to exempt Americans of German descent from service in the Army against Germany is a traitor pure and simple; he should be proceeded against under the law if possible, and if that is not possible the law should be amended so as to make his offense a crime."

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Sept. 28, 1917.]

President Wilson's patriotism does not blow hot and cold. He will not allow himself to be put in the class of those who, through expediency or in fear that anybody's feelings might be wounded, would sidetrack an investigation into the charges made by Congressman THOMAS HEFLIN, of Alabama. An Associated Press report from Washington states that the President was indignant when told that two Washington newspapers had published a statement to the effect that he had expressed regret that Mr. HEFLIN had made the speech in the House. That canard, whether published through studied design to misrepresent the President or through carelessness of some reporter, is answered by the Executive himself:

"From the outset Mr. HEFLIN has earned the friendship and esteem of the President by reason of his intense Americanism and unfaltering support of every American measure."

This statement from the President will be gratifying to the friends of Congressman HEFLIN, whose worst fault, if it may be called a fault, is that he is candid to the point of fearlessness. However unparliamentary, however improper—nay, however groundless—may have been his surmise that 13 or 14 Members of the House had created, in his own mind, a doubt of their loyalty to the United States, Congressman HEFLIN alone has not been assailed by that doubt. All through those months antedating the war, and even after that declaration, there were congressional speeches attacking the methods of the administration; speeches with double meanings, delicate turning and twisting of sentences that might have been attributed to Germanic influences. Through all that melée of strange tongues TOM HEFLIN, of Alabama, was at the forefront of the fighting in defense of clean, outspoken, thoroughgoing Americanism. When the "brain storm" struck Congress HEFLIN thundered some of the wavering ones and the spineless ones into a condition of some exhaustion. He wades into the crowd that would have Congress declare its feebleness and ineptitude to defend American citizens traveling on the high seas. The specter of the Kaiser did not frighten TOM HEFLIN.

If that specter still lingers in the corridors of the Capitol; if there are any lurkers back of curtains trying to influence Members of Congress; if there is any secret propaganda not revealed to the clear light of day, let us, not like Hamlet, run the curtain through with a sword, but let the hideous thing be drawn out from its hiding where the American people may see its visage.

If all our Congressmen were as thoroughgoing and true blue as HEFLIN, there would be no suspicions. There would not have been any delay in perfecting the Army and Navy machines.

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[From the Omaha Nebraskan, Oct. 4, 1917.]

It has been generally believed by observing men that hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent during the past four years by the German lobby operating notoriously at our National Capital. Enormous sums were spent in paying for telegrams addressed to Senators and Representatives in Congress, urging them, in effect, to vote with the Kaiser instead of the President upon determining issues.

When Mr. HEFLIN, of Alabama, said that he could name 13 or 14 Members "who had acted suspiciously," he probably did not mean to charge them with having accepted bribes. Then every Kaiser booster joined in denunciation of HEFLIN. For the reason that the American people are 100 per cent American, they know that Mr. HEFLIN'S heart is right and his purpose firm, and he has their sympathy and their support.

But if by the words "acting suspiciously," Mr. HEFLIN meant that certain Members had shown a disposition to pull the Kaiser's chestnuts out of the fire, then every newspaper reader in every hamlet of America could readily name a number of men who have acted suspiciously.

The lines were clearly drawn on the McLemore resolution. That resolution was intended to surrender for America the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. At the time it was pending American newspapers printed cablegrams from Berlin saying that the German Government was depending upon the American Congress to repudiate the President, who was standing firmly by the freedom-of-the-seas doctrine. At that time the German lobby was operating in Washington. The issue was clearly drawn between the Kaiser and the President, and with this issue drawn these men voted with the Kaiser. There are many reasons for believing that the vote was given in the hope of winning the support of German partisans. In view of these well-understood facts, it required considerable impudence on the part of some of the Members of the House to join in the demonstration against Mr. HEFLIN.

It is significant that nearly every one of the men who took a leading part in the anti-Heflin demonstration has showed on various occasions a disposition to prefer the Kaiser above the President. The man who made the motion that called HEFLIN to account has not displayed any great enthusiasm for America's cause. One of the men who moved across the aisle in threatening attitude was a leader of the Kaiser's forces during the fight for the McLemore resolution. He was then clearly catering to the German vote in Wisconsin. His companion was a man who had made sneering references to Americanism. The man who inquired, when the committee had reported, whether the committee had considered a proposition to expel Mr. HEFLIN, was a Member who fathered a resolution relieving men of German birth and descent from the responsibilities of fighting America's battles. Indeed, every Kaiser booster in the House took occasion to join in the abuse of the 100 per cent American from Alabama.

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[From the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, New York, Oct. 7, 1917.]

HEFLIN is always "regular" in his democracy, and the same can be said of his Americanism. He follows his leader, who is Woodrow Wilson. He voted to declare war, and since then he has quit being a little Navy man and has voted for all the war measures. Whatever anybody may say about HEFLIN, he can not be accused of trying to embarrass the administration in prosecuting the war against Germany. HEFLIN is out to lick Germany just as earnestly as any man in Congress, and much more so than a lot of them.

They tried this week to make HEFLIN an issue instead of the $50,000 Bernstorff slush fund. Everybody in the House knew very well it would have been impossible to keep HEFLIN to the front as the issue once an investigation got under way.

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[From the Buffalo Express, Sept. 29, 1917.]

Not content with this, however, some of them have continued to represent the German interests and oppose the United States at every point since war was declared, and Germany has become officially and in fact the Nation's enemy. They have gone still further and have proposed measures to serve the German interests against the cause of the United States.

Certain organizations frantically opposed conscription and even went to the point of counseling resistance to the law after it was enacted. Promptly a Representative—MASON, of Illinois—introduced a bill to repeal the selective-draft law.

A certain organization, long active in furthering German propaganda work, urged that at least citizens of the German race should be exempted from the draft. Promptly a Representative—BRITTEN, of Illinois—introduced a bill to exempt men of German blood from the draft.

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[From the Chicago Herald, Sept. 29, 1917.]

But if the House does inadvisedly insist on starting such procedure, Messrs. BILLY MASON, BRITTEN, LA FOLLETTE, and the others whose attitude has affronted the patriotism of the Nation needn't think they are going to be able to use the verdict as a general acquittal all along the line.

The principal facts that stand against these gentlemen do not depend on the loosely wagging tongue of anybody. They are the recorded acts of the men themselves. The man who keeps on insisting that the draft law be repealed, the man who wants our soldiers to fight the enemy on American soil, the man who doesn't want our German-American citizens to have to do their duty in war like other citizens, the man who has been fighting the war ever since the war started—these and various known obstructionists are not going to be vindicated, restored to public confidence, improved in prestige and influence by mere failure to prove they took any money.

The irritation of Members is natural, but the vast majority, which has patriotically passed the great war measures, ought to beware lest in its desire to "get" HEFLIN and provide the body as a whole with a superfluous vindication it give men who sorely need vindication of other charges a further chance to try to confuse and mislead.

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[From the Baltimore Evening Sun, Sept. 28, 1917.]

Whether "TOM" HEFLIN will be able to convince his colleagues on Capitol Hill that a lot of them have acted very "suspiciously" is highly doubtful, but at least the American people need no convincing.

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[From the Fitchburg Sentinel, Sept. 15, 1917.]

A man is known by the company he keeps, and if Members of Congress preferred to take their stand with the Germans through all the attacks on American rights and American honor, they can not expect to be above suspicion. As a matter of fact, Congressman HEFLIN was merely the spokesman for a great many people, who have been unable to comprehend the attitude of extreme opposition to the war which has been manifested by a small minority in Congress.

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[From the Scranton Times, Sept. 29, 1917.]

What HEFLIN suspects is suspected by a good many zealous Americans.

On general principles there are a few Congressmen and Senators who ought not be sitting in their places. They have been fighting the Government, decrying its efforts at defending its citizens from Germany, and placing obstacles in the way of the national defense. They have done this in a manner as to increase the burdens of prosecuting the war and protecting American lives and American interests.

HEFLIN'S hotheadedness, because of the attitude of the opponents of the Government, will be forgiven him.

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[From the Chicago Post, Oct. 2, 1917.]

BRITTEN'S resolution to break up the new armies by permitting those of German blood to stay away from France slumbers peacefully in its pigeonhole.

Slumber rests, too, upon MASON'S attempt to repeal the selected-service law. Both these are German-helping Congressmen.

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[From the Portland (Oreg.) Telegram, Sept. 24, 1917.]

There has been plenty of evidence of pro-German sympathy in Congress. It has no place there, no more than it would have in the administrative branch of the Government. To say the least, it has wearied the patience of American patriotism; and public sentiment is entirely ready to approve Mr. HEFLIN'S suggested housecleaning.

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[From the Charleston (S. C.) News, Sept. 29, 1917.]

The country thinks that Congress ought to feel at least as much concern over Senator LA FOLLETTE'S grave transgression against the Nation as it obviously feels over Representative HEFLIN'S minor transgression against the dignity of its Members.

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[From the Schenectady Union Star, Sept. 27, 1917.]

When Mr. HEFLIN stated that there were 10 or 12 Members of Congress "under suspicion" he only stated what has been the current public opinion for two years. Why cavil at it? "By their fruits ye shall know them."

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[From the Chicago Post, Sept. 28, 1917.]

He may have done as BRITTEN charges and voted against our naval program in the peaceful days of the past, but he certainly has not done as BRITTEN and MASON are doing in introducing bills to disrupt the National Army in the present days of actual war.

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[From the Erie (Pa.) Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1917.]

Many Congressmen have indeed, as Mr. HEFLIN indelicately remarked, "acted suspiciously." That is to say, many Members of both Houses have acted repeatedly in the interests of Germany.

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[From the Green Bay (Wis.) Gazette, Sept. 22, 1917.]

There was a veritable fight between straightforward Americanism and this German organization, maintained and financed by the Kaiser, at the time the McLemore and Gore resolutions were voted upon by Congress. The latter raised heaven and earth to buy, bully, or persuade Congress to adopt these resolutions warning Americans off trans-Atlantic ships.

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[From the New York Sun, Oct. 6, 1917.]

A little group of pacifist Representatives have chosen to insist that HEFLIN reflected upon the honor of the House and should be disciplined. Whatever he may have said in the heat of debate, however, reflected less upon the honor of the House than some of the deliberate utterances and legislative demands of those now demanding that he be punished. The House and the Nation suffer less from remarks attributing "suspicious actions" to Members than they do by the serious introduction of bills prohibiting the sending of American troops abroad except upon the consent of the soldiers.

[From the Chicago Herald, Sept. 27, 1917.]

Congressman HEFLIN'S charges might have had a better chance if he hadn't indiscreetly mixed them up with congressional poker playing.

[From the Baltimore American, Sept. 29, 1917.]

Any man who supported the German propaganda in any wise is unworthy to have a seat in Congress. Continuing to do so, he aims a knife at the back of every man who has stepped forward to fight for his country.

[From the York (Pa.) Gazette, Sept. 26, 1917.]

It seems to us that instead of investigating Mr. HEFLIN, who but voiced the sentiments of a large number of American citizens, it might be well to thoroughly investigate the conduct of quite a few Representatives who since the European war began have acted far less patriotically than has Mr. HEFLIN. That there are a number of Senators and Representatives who acted suspiciously is the opinion not only of Mr. HEFLIN but of many thousands of his compatriots. It is their conduct rather than that of Mr. HEFLIN which cast a reflection upon Congress, and did so even after war had been declared.

We agree with Mr. HEFLIN that a number of Senators and Representatives did act suspiciously, so suspiciously, in fact, that most true and loyal Americans had grave doubts as to whether these men were more loyal to Germany than to their own Nation.

On the other hand, Congressman HEFLIN has consistently been a loyal American. He has advocated and voted for all measures necessary to uphold our honor and to increase and perfect our ability to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 26, 1917.]

But their indignation may be taken with certain reservations. It is very well for them to accuse Mr. HEFLIN of loose talk, but some of these very men have hitherto given vent to the wildest kind of charges. They have alleged that Wall Street subsidized the press to promote war; they have accused Government officials with having fostered the break with Germany in order to save American investments in entente securities.

But they can not establish their innocence of unpatriotic conduct. For this reason it is difficult to feel any sympathy for them. They have, as a matter of fact, laid themselves open to suspicion, even though that suspicion is unjustified.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Sept. 29, 1917.]

It is not Representative HEFLIN, of Alabama, who will be under fire if there should be any investigation arising out of the newspaper interview in which he is charged with reflecting upon the loyalty and integrity of some of his fellow Congressmen. The men at the congressional bar and at the bar of public opinion would be the Members of that "little group of willful men" in the House and Senate who have been for months persistently and consistently attempting to impede our Government in its preparations for war, and whose pernicious example and seditious suggestions have stimulated domestic discord and encouraged foreign plots and conspiracies. In the light of the recent revelations of the heavily financed campaign directed from the German Embassy in Washington—a campaign which included in its seductive influence all sorts and conditions of men, which sought to enlist the highest judicial representatives in its propaganda, as well as the agents of outlaw labor organizations, like the Industrial Workers of the World—it is absurd for Members of Congress to affect surprise and indignation at the possibility that the trail of the serpent may lead in their direction also.

Whether Mr. HEFLIN was indiscreet or not, whether he can prove anything or not, he has merely said what the newspapers of the country have been saying for months, and what the vast majority of the American people believe, to wit, that certain Members of Congress have laid themselves open to suspicion.

The important thing about this incident is that it should not be permitted to assume the character of a persecution of Mr. HEFLIN. The point now at issue is much more vital than the question of whether or not he has made an unwarranted charge. It is whether the House of Representatives will give aid and comfort to the men whose course has been giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the country; whether it will put itself even in an apparent position of sympathy with those who have been strangely arrayed on the side of the forces mobilized by the German Embassy, who have been openly working for precisely the same objects for which the German secret service has been working behind the scenes. Mr. HEFLIN is the only man in either branch of Congress who has had the courage to say what the country in general has been thinking. Is he to be rebuked because he has had the manhood to indict the men who have been hindering and harassing their country, who have been practically aiding and abetting the insidious efforts of German spies and conspirators to embarrass the administration and create a reactionary antiwar sentiment?

Such a verdict against Americanism and in favor of the lukewarm and the disaffected would add fresh fuel to the flames of sedition which we have been trying to stamp out in various parts of the United States.

If anybody is to be censured it is surely not Mr. HEFLIN.

Protection of Soldier Land Claimants—What Congress Has Done to Protect Our Fighting Men in Their Rights as Land Claimants.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, our soldiers, sailors, and marines who are land claimants or entrymen can go to the war with the assurance that Congress has protected them in their rights and claims and granted them valuable privileges. No Congress in our history has so fully provided for the soldier land claimants or entrymen as the Congress that is about to adjourn. The soldier who was a settler upon the public lands with a view of making homestead entry, or who had made application for an entry, or who had actually made entry, is relieved of the necessity of residence or cultivation of his homestead during the time of his service, and receives credit for the time of his service as though he actually resided on and cultivated the land. If such a soldier should die in the service, all requirements as to residence and cultivation are waived, and the widow or children or legal representatives are entitled to patent.

The soldier desert-land entryman is relieved of the necessity of the annual expenditure of $1 per acre in improvements during the period of his service and six months thereafter, but he is expected to notify the local land office that he desires to be so relieved.

The soldier mineral claimant is relieved of the necessity of annual assessment work upon his claim during the period of his service and six months thereafter, but he is expected to file in the local land office a statement as a notice of his desire to hold his mining claim under the act in question.

To further protect settlers, applicants, or entrymen under the various land laws, who may for any reason desire to make affidavits pertaining to their claims, it is provided that any affidavit required by law or practice of the Land Office may be made by the soldier before his commanding officer, wherever he may be. This provision is highly important, because entrymen may desire to prosecute or defend cases arising prior to the beginning of their service. Settlers who were occupying lands or filed contests with a view of entry, but had not entered at the time of their enlistment, would naturally desire to make entry in order to secure the benefit of constructive residence. These various provisions are believed to be adequate to quite fully protect all classes of soldier settlers, applicants, or entrymen; but if there should be found any classes not fully provided for, they will undoubtedly be provided for early in the session which meets in December.

There came to the House late Friday afternoon from the Senate a bill, which had just passed that body, entitled "A bill protecting persons in the military or naval service from the forfeiture provisions of the land laws." A request for its immediate enactment without reference to the committee was waived pending an investigation as to whether or not it seriously conflicted with legislation already enacted. A careful examination of the bill by members of the Public Lands Committee of the House developed the fact that the bill as drawn, clearly through inadvertence, only protected entries initiated "during the present war." Of course, if such a bill had passed, it would have immediately raised a doubt as to whether it did not limit the protection and privileges which had already been granted to mining, homestead, and desert entrymen by limiting the stay of the running of the law to entries made since the first part of April. The bill also contained a provision requiring each claimant, applicant, or entryman who desired to secure its benefits to file in the local land office a statement of his muster into service, a description of his claim, and so forth. The probability is, had this provision been adopted, all of the homestead entrymen relieved from the necessity of residence and granted the benefit of credit for constructive residence under the act of July 28, 1917, would have been compelled to furnish the notice thus provided for, which it would be manifestly difficult for them to do in many instances.

Other portions of the bill were believed to be unnecessary or contained provisions which had already been enacted into law; as, for instance, the provision for the making of affidavits before commanding officers. It was believed, however, that the first paragraph of the bill would afford relief in a limited class of cases that may not be fully provided for under the laws above referred to, and it was therefore considered wise to attempt to secure the passage of this paragraph so amended as to make the relief apply to entries made before as well as since the beginning of the war. Objection was made, however, to the calling up of the bill by unanimous consent, and it therefore went over. The probability is, however, that the classes of cases not fully provided for by the statutes I have referred to are very few. Every land claim initiated prior to the beginning of a man's service is either relieved from the necessity of labor, improvement, or residence or protected by the provision under which the settler, claimant, or entryman may make any necessary affidavit before his commanding officer. It would seem, therefore, that Congress had very excellently provided for its soldier settlers and land claimants.

True Patriotism Demands Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. BAER,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1917.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Speaker, this morning as I walked up Pennsylvania Avenue my attention was attracted by a beautiful poster. It was an inspiring picture of Uncle Sam, with a stern expression on his face, his clenched fist raised, fired with a determination to win. He was backed up by hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and in the distance was seen the Statue of Liberty. This poster is an advertisement for the sale of the second issue of liberty bonds. Underneath the picture are the words of Secretary McAdoo:

Shall we be more tender with our dollars than with the lives of our sons?

This is the principal issue that I advocated in my campaign and also since my election to Congress. I have said that if we conscript men we should conscript dollars. It is perhaps for this reason that the big business interests, through a certain few controlled newspapers, have attempted to brand me as disloyal. Big business has always tried to blacken the character of any man who stands for the rights of the people, and at this time, when our country is at war, he naturally resorts to the cries of "disloyalty" and "lack of patriotism."

A great deal of misrepresentation has been used in regard to my campaign by reactionary forces, and by big business through their subsidized newspapers in the Northwest. These misstatements have been quoted by the Eastern press until some people believe that I conducted an antiwar campaign, and that the members of the Nonpartisan League are disloyal.

This impression that I have opposed the war is the result of the maliciously untruthful campaign waged by my opponents. It is due to the fact that the candidates who opposed me made it a false issue. They misquoted and garbled my speeches and then disagreed with the distorted statements wrongfully attributed to me.

I want to quote from the stenographic report of my speech made at Devils Lake, N. Dak., on June 5, 1917. Reports made of later speeches during my campaign contained the same statements and context up to July 10, which was election day. The following quotations contain all the remarks which I made during my campaign in regard to the war. As distinguished a man as Col. Roosevelt has made the statement that I said, "Americanism is not an issue." I want to say once and for all that I never expressed this sentiment or anything similar to it. Perhaps the following words, taken from my campaign speeches, gave rise to this free interpretation. Throughout my campaign I laid great stress on economic conditions, marketing conditions, and the useless middle man.

What I did say regarding Americanism:

Answering the charge that I am not an American, I want to say that my folks bought their land in this country in 1742. My ancestors fought in every war the United States has waged up to the Civil War. My father was wounded twice in the Civil War, and I lost a brother in the Spanish-American war. Consequently I do not believe that it is necessary for me to prove that I am an American.

I further said in my speeches in regard to war:

I can not finish this address without mentioning the most critical problem that the Government has to face; that is, the war. But the war is a fact. War is not an issue. If my father were going to get into a lawsuit and the opposition had an attorney like Divet, I would use every honorable means to keep him out of the suit; but if he were dragged into it, I would then help him in every way I could to win it. So it is with the war. We are in it, and we must stand back of the Nation and back of the President.

Mr. Speaker, I count as my choicest inheritance the spirit of patriotism and loyalty which has been bequeathed to me through a long line of ancestors in America. The fact that I am loyal and patriotic accounts for my unalterable opposition to the accumulation by individuals or corporations of enormous war profits.

No people are more loyal than the people of North Dakota. We are determined that the unselfish patriots who offer their lives in the trenches of Europe shall not return with maimed and broken bodies to pay the money cost of this war. We indorse the "pay-as-you-go" plan, as far as it is possible. We believe in the highest degree of patriotism, but we do not believe in a patriotism spelled with a "P-A-Y." It shall be my earnest endeavor during my term in Congress to see that this "pay" is taken out of patriotism.

True patriotism demands service. We may not say to our young men, "Go! Lay down your lives on the altar of liberty and democracy!" and to our financiers and great corporations and industries, "Keep your gold; pile up your profits; turn the lifeblood of our young men into ill-gotten wealth for your own aggrandizement!"

The expenses of the war for the first year alone—authorized and projected—amount to $20,000,000,000, and are increasing at a terrific rate. If the war continued only two years the interest on the sum expended on war appropriations will amount to nearly twice the total annual expenditures of the Government in times of peace. Unless new and extraordinary means for providing current revenue are contrived and applied, means which will go far beyond the inadequate war-taxation measures planned by the present Congress, the crushing burden of debt will endanger the very foundations of our Government, the credit and honor of the American people will be emperiled. Our toiling masses will be condemned to years—even generations—of heartbreaking struggle to meet the obligations imposed and held by a creditor class. Thus the seeds of discontent will be sown; and what a man—or a nation—soweth, that shall he also reap.

I therefore urge as a means of raising the necessary war revenue that excess war profits and excess wealth be conscripted, so far as it is possible to conscript it without unduly hampering the industrial operations which are necessary to the support of our civilian population and the maintenance of our Army and Navy at the point of highest efficiency.

We know that our Government has met determined and strenuous opposition to any plan that has for its object the equalizing of the burden of war by price fixing or conscription of wealth or excess profits. I have never been one of the long-haired, soap-box, street-corner orators, who rants and raves against wealthy men as a class and attempts to engender a sentiment of class hatred among the poor as opposed to the wealthy. On the contrary, I have an abiding respect for the man whose good judgment, clear vision, and industry has enabled him to amass a comfortable competence to support himself and his family.

Nevertheless, we can not dispute the fact that wealth fights against all taxation and is able to employ the most efficient men and means to conduct the fight.

It is folly to say that the big business of the country will suffer. The person who really suffers is the small business man who lives on practically a fixed income. The United States wants money and wants it now. Instead of taxing the widows and orphans on their small inheritances, instead of placing the chief burden of taxation upon the laboring man and the farmer, let us dip into the moneys at the fountainhead, into which the wealth of the country pours annually, as the needs of the country may require.

It is estimated that two-thirds of the wealth of the United States is owned by only 2 per cent of the people. Consequently 98 per cent of the people own only one-third. By fair and logical reasoning it would seem that the 2 per cent should pay 66 per cent of the money cost of the war, and, proportionately, the 98 per cent would pay only 33 per cent of the cost.

We are advised by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that if the English method of taxing profits were applied in the United States it would be the means of raising an additional sum of nearly $3,000,000,000. True, England did not adopt this method until a considerable time after the country was involved in war, but that fact is no argument against its immediate adoption by the United States, because the corporations in this country now reaping billions of dollars in war profits have enjoyed these profits ever since the war began in Europe.

Those who would profit by the misery and suffering of humanity are traitors and not patriots. President Wilson well exemplified the temper of the American people in his Flag Day speech when he said:

Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born.

Congress has already pledged the lives of the men of this Nation, but still refuses to conscript the private fortunes pledged by our Chief Executive, or an adequate part of the war profits of our corporations. It is my earnest purpose to support the President in the fulfillment of his pledge of American fortunes to defray the cost of war. To conscript men and at the same time allow monopolistic corporations to fatten upon the world's misery is undemocratic and repugnant to American ideals of liberty and justice. It is a monstrous injustice to ask the survivors of bloody battle fields to come home and pay the money cost of war.

Many Congressmen voted with great reluctance for the bill which will allow these corporations to retain an average of 69 per cent of their excess and abnormal profits that they have made during time of war over and above a legitimate profit.

Let me cite to you some of the profits made by leading industrial corporations for the past five years. The July number of the Review of Reviews vouches for the correctness of the following:

Net income of leading industrial corporations for five years.

	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912
29 steel, munition, and machinery concerns	$596,236,644	$219,074,280	$69,365,568	$155,860,222	$121,665,049
1 reporting only 4 years	22,417,927	7,902,793	2,764,020	2,168,991	.....
1 reporting only 3 years	3,165,020	1,078,352	[1]25,068	.....	.....
4 reporting only 2 years	50,823,775	10,053,874	.....	.....	.....
3 reporting only 1 year	7,103,144	.....	.....	.....	.....
15 copper, zinc, etc., mining concerns	225,446,026	96,765,662	31,041,951	59,890,500	65,652,362
1 reporting only 4 years	8,873,445	9,125,947	1,417,128	942,988	.....
1 reporting only 3 years	4,674,467	3,489,965	1,547,276	.....	.....
1 reporting only 2 years	27,661,713	6,587,052	.....	.....	.....
5 petroleum concerns	46,175,027	23,255,102	21,977,798	24,247,091	16,307,684
3 reporting only 4 years	75,053,369	37,141,942	15,267,584	34,634,913	.....
2 reporting only 3 years	9,517,851	2,080,407	589,029	.....	.....
4 automobile and tire companies	63,538,618	50,798,668	23,542,390	19,104,235	16,700,999
1 reporting only 4 years	2,020,550	1,609,980	1,118,380	559,544	.....
1 reporting only 3 years	5,426,636	2,303,314	1,505,467	.....	.....
6 chemical and fertilizer concerns	32,620,539	16,967,313	10,514,112	9,244,874	11,391,571
1 reporting only 3 years	6,760,669	4,859,000	1,680,000	.....	.....
13 sugar, leather, wool, rubber, and meat companies	116,693,484	68,515,673	47,811,898	35,838,506	44,072,894
1 reporting only 4 years	1,467,757	240,322	495,890	710,464	.....
4 shipping concerns	20,177,818	8,939,934	3,208,259	6,858,364	5,869,143
1 reporting only 2 years	6,479,449	5,165,705	.....	.....	.....
4 paper manufacturers	7,645,105	1,092,559	1,029,399	764,615	1,542,935
5 miscellaneous	26,058,900	16,804,782	9,516,495	7,613,628	7,493,480
104 Total	1,366,040,933	593,852,626	244,367,576	358,438,935	290,696,117

[1] Deficit.

Note the great increase in profits for 1916 as compared with 1912. I can see no reason why every cent of these excess profits should not be taken. We are now loaning money to the allies with which they buy our munitions and foodstuffs. Through these loans and purchases our people are indirectly financing the excess profits. If the people have to finance the excess profits indirectly and pay the taxes directly, they are shouldering a double financial burden.

The present war is the most gigantic in all history, as it is the most momentous. In order to bring it to a victorious close, its burdens must be equalized in a manner that will cause all of our citizens to realize that we are to share alike in the adversities of war and the joys of peace—when peace comes. Only by such equal distribution of responsibilities and advantages can the Goliath of concentrated autocracy be slain by the David of universal democracy.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Convention of Producers and Consumers, held at St. Paul, Minn., September 19, 20, and 21, 1917, under the auspices of the National Nonpartisan League:

We, your committee on resolutions, report as follows, and move the adoption of the report by the conference:

We are involved in the most gigantic war of all history—a war for democracy and liberty and against autocracy and slavery.

We join the allies in this struggle and to the end that justice, liberty, equality, and democracy, political and industrial, shall be the heritage of all mankind. We pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to our country and our flag in this our war.

Inspired by patriotic and loyal devotion to the principles of democracy, true to the ideals of our fathers, of upholding and defending human rights and human liberties, and single in our purpose to make the world safe for democracy, political and industrial, we, the members and delegates of farmers' organizations representing 16 States, and the members and delegates of 14 labor organizations representing 11 States, do hereby reaffirm our unalterable loyalty and allegiance to our fellow citizens and our Government in this world struggle and in their every need.

Whereas there exists the fund from which all, or nearly all, of the war expenses can be paid and liquidated while the war is in progress, this fund being the huge surplus created by war profits wrung by extortionate prices from the sweat and suffering of the American people and coined from the blood and the agony of the crucified millions of Europe who are nobly tossing their lives into the cauldron of war in order to preserve human liberties: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Nation take the profits of war and the surplus of production as it comes to the surface in the form of swollen dividends and incomes to pay the expenses of war; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon Congress and the national administration to cause the dollars of America to be enrolled for service just as the youth of this Nation has been compelled and has gladly responded to the call to enroll itself to fight and to die for human liberty, and that when thus enrolled the dollars of America be likewise conscripted, and so much thereof as shall be necessary shall be taken for the uses of war in order that our Government may live and in order that autocracy may die and in order that this may remain in truth and in fact a free, contented, and prosperous land and a Government in very fact and reality of the people, by the people, and for the people; and be it further

Resolved, That as a means of raising war revenue we earnestly urge the conscription of such wealth as it may be found possible to conscript without hampering the operations of industry necessary to the support of the civilian population as well as the maintenance of Army and Navy to the highest efficiency, and as regular war-revenue sources we urge the levy of a 2 per cent tax upon the value of all unused or inadequately used land, whether in city or rural districts, and income taxes levied upon all incomes in excess of $2,000, so that the total net income of any individual shall not exceed $100,000 per annum.

Whereas in response to an earnest appeal for peace by Pope Benedict XV, our Government has made a prompt and courteous reply, which makes clear the purposes of the American people in the war: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That we emphatically indorse as being worthy the support of every good and loyal citizen of our country the reply of our Government to the Pope's peace appeal, and we commend and approve of our Government's efforts to inform the German people that our war is not a war for their injury but for the establishment of that liberty, without which all liberty and democracy is unsafe, and we pledge our support and approval to all further efforts to unite our Government and its allies behind this clear statement of our purposes in order that the war may not continue one day longer than is necessary to attain the noble objects of the American people.

Farmers' Union and Comparative Prices.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. GORE,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, under unanimous consent granted me I insert in the RECORD the following letters:

FARMERS' EDUCATION AND COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Weatherford, Okla., September 24, 1917.

Senator T. P. GORE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The Farmers' Union of this State knows what it is to be maligned, demeaned, and maliciously misrepresented. Because at our State meeting we asked the Government not to fix the price of wheat at less than we were then getting, which was equal to a $3, Chicago, basis, declared for 30-cent cotton, and indorsed your splendid record as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture; because of these things the Daily Oklahoman of this State, in red-ink headlines on the front page, has called us profiteers and traitors.

Their scurrilous editorials, which they thought would act as an anæsthetic, have been a real tonic. Since they appeared I have had more than a hundred letters inquiring about the union, saying they read about us in the Oklahoman, and that they liked our resolutions and wanted to organize in their neighborhood. It seems they place $3 wheat, 30-cent cotton, and Senator GORE on one side and the enemies of Senator GORE on the other side.

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union is, as its name implies, an organization for the protection of the farmer through education and cooperation. Through organization we are enabled to keep ourselves posted on the records of public officials. Unorganized we would believe you as black as the purchased press paint you. Organized we know every vote you have cast in 10 years in the Senate has been in the interest of the laboring man and the producer.

Through organization we learn to cooperate and through cooperation gain recognition that as individuals we would never receive. As an organization we were given a place on the "wheat-pricing committee." Our national president was a member. Two other farmers' organizations were given a place on the committee. Through organization the Farmers' Union of this State was allowed a hearing before Mr. Hoover on pricing of "mixed wheat," and a price secured which restricted to some extent the threatened gouging of the Oklahoma farmer. It is conservative to say that the efforts of the Farmers' Union in wheat pricing made the farmers of Oklahoma alone between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000.

An amendment offered to the war-revenue bill provided a war tax of $2.50 per bale on cotton. Through the efforts of the representatives of

the Farmers' Union sent to Washington and the thousands of petitions and telegrams sent in by union conventions this provision was killed, and I might add that every cotton State recognized you as their spokesman in the Senate, and many have gratefully so expressed themselves.

I wish every intelligent farmer would get into the union that our organization may have the strength necessary to protect the farmer when this war is over and the time for readjustment comes. Organization is preparedness for that day.

I agree with what you state in your recent letter, that all necessary sacrifices "will be borne with patience if apportioned with justice."

The farmers claim no special privileges or exemptions. They only ask that they shall not be subjected to unequal sacrifices and therefore to unjust sacrifices. They are willing to bear their share of the burdens of peace and war, but they think these burdens ought to be equalized among the various classes of the people, and that those who are least able to bear them should not be subjected to the heaviest burdens and impositions. Let me quote you from memory a few prices on farm implements and machinery and you will be confirmed in your statement that if the farmer is to be compelled to sell in a controlled market he should be allowed to buy in a controlled market, or if he is obliged to buy at war prices he should be allowed to sell at war prices, either one or the other. All we ask is justice and equality. A few years ago wagons could be bought for $65. Now they are $125. Wheat drills bought then for $50 are now $150. Binders were $125, now $200; planters $8, now $16; binding twine 11 cents, now 20 cents; overalls $1.25, now $2.25; gang plows $55, now $110; plows $12, now $20, etc. These great increases in the prices of implements and machinery which the farmers must buy justify an increase in the price which he receives for his products. They reinforce the farmer's contention that if the price of wheat and other farm products are reduced by the Government, then the price of implements and other articles which he must purchase must be correspondingly reduced. In this way only can equality of burden and sacrifice be maintained, and it would also avoid any ground for believing that any discrimination was being practiced against the agricultural classes.

Thanking you again for your labors in behalf of the farmers of Oklahoma and of the country generally, I remain,

Truly, your friend,

JOHN A. SIMPSON.

—

WASHINGTON, *October 1, 1917.*

Mr. JOHN A. SIMPSON,
Weatherford, Okla.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of recent date, which has been read with interest. I read with particular interest your discussion of the principles and purposes of the Farmers' Union and the comparative prices now prevailing in respect to farm implements and machinery. I have been under a strong conviction that the cost of living and the cost of machinery on the part of the farmer had greatly advanced. Your statistics confirm this conviction. I am also strongly of the conviction that the best interest not only of the farmer but the best interest of the country at large will be protected and promoted by a policy of equal and exact justice as between the farmers and all other classes of our citizenship. I know the patriotism of the farmer well enough to know that he is willing to bear his full share of the burdens inseparable from this war. But no one can answer his argument that these burdens should not be imposed upon him disproportionate to the burdens of others. The war itself is largely a battle of bread and the farmer must hold this line against all comers. He is entitled to the encouragement and support of the Government and all others who are really devoted to the general welfare and to an early consummation of an acceptable and permanent peace.

It is the law of war that you must oppose force with force. It is a law equally well recognized in the business world that you must meet organization with organization. Farming is a business. The farmer is a business man. He can succeed only upon business principles. Every other class of business men is organized. The merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and all other classes maintain an organization to investigate, study, and promote the best ways and means of promoting their mutual interest and their individual and collective success. It is necessary that the farmers should also organize, not for offensive purposes but for defensive purposes, to protect and promote in all legitimate ways their legitimate interests. I hope that you may succeed in inducing the farmers of Oklahoma to enter into such an organization for such purposes even on a more extended scale than at present. I have no doubt that the prosperity of the State collectively and the prosperity of the farmers both collectively and individually will be greatly stimulated and enhanced by such a well-founded and well-directed organization.

Please pardon the length of this letter, and believe me with best wishes,

Truly, your friend,

T. P. GORE.

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, the present session of Congress has passed more important legislation than any other Congress or any other legislative body in the history of the world. The total amount of money appropriated is $21,390,730,940.46, or over 21 thousand millions of dollars. This large expenditure of money can not be comprehended except by comparison. The total value of farm property in the United States, including land, farm buildings, and personal property, according to the last United States census, was less than twice this amount. The appropriation amounts to over six times the total value of all the property, real and personal, within the State of Wisconsin. This enormous sum of money and the larger amounts of money that will have to be appropriated by succeeding Congresses to meet the expenses of the war must be raised by taxation.

TAXATION.

The question of framing an equitable and fair taxation bill is therefore a very important matter and one on which the future prosperity and happiness of the people depends. A war of the magnitude we are engaged in demands universal sacrifice. The entire resources and wealth of the country and, much greater than that, the lives of the hundred million people of the United States have been pledged to the President to bring the war to a successful termination. It is impossible to enact a perfect tax law. We never have had one yet, and never will be able to enact a perfect and equitable tax law.

JUSTICE IN TAXATION.

Justice in taxation does not mean equality in the amount of money paid. It means equality coupled with an equal ability to pay. In times of war there should be equality of sacrifice. It may be a greater sacrifice for a man of small means to be taxed a few dollars, so that he has to forego all luxuries and many necessities, than for a man of wealth to be taxed 95 per cent of his total income. We must not overlook the fact that quite a large part of almost every tax is shifted so that the ultimate consumer in his actual necessities of life pays a large indirect tax.

THE WAR-REVENUE BILL.

The war-revenue bill is supposed to raise $2,534,870,000. The next revenue bill will undoubtedly be larger. The question that I believe will overshadow every other issue in succeeding Congresses during the war and after its termination will be the question of taxation, whether Congress will pass a revenue law which will allow a shifting of the large proportion of the tax to the ultimate consumer or will raise the bulk of the tax from excess profits and income taxes. Also, whether we shall issue bonds, mortgage the future to pay the greater part of the expenses of the war. Already the large moneyed interests of the country that have made excessive profits from the war have begun a campaign, and every Congressman, Democrat or Republican, who raises his voice in favor of making the wealth of the country and those who are making excessive profits from the war pay a large proportion of the costs of the war can be assured of opposition at the next election.

REVENUE BILL.

The present revenue bill met with strong opposition from the wealth of the country, which delayed its passage many months, yet the highest amount of taxation of excess profits was, "tax on amount in excess of 33 per cent of capital at 60 per cent," while in England they assessed all war profits at 80 per cent. If we had levied a tax for the same amount as England we would have raised $3,200,000,000 on this tax alone. Senator JOHNSON, of California, introduced such an amendment to the revenue bill in the Senate, and made the statement that I have quoted regarding the amount of money such a tax would raise. This amendment was voted down. Take, for example, the Du Pont Powder Co.. In 1913 its net earnings were $4,582,075. In 1916 its net earnings were $82,107,693. Taking $6,000,000 as an average prewar profit and deducting same from the amount made per year during the war, and you have over $76,000,000 net war profits. If this amount had been taxed 80 per cent, it would have given the Government over $60,000,000 in taxes, and still the Du Ponts would have had a balance of over $22,000,000 profits, as against $4,500,000 before the war. Twenty-two million dollars a year profits would certainly keep the wolf from scratching very hard at the Du Pont door.

I could name many other corporations that are making excessive profits out of the war, and I place in the RECORD at the close of my remarks a table, which is accurate, of the earnings of many corporations, that should be taxed much higher than they are. The United States Steel Co. is making over $1,000,000 per day net profits over and above depreciation and all overhead charges. I herewith insert a letter written to me from a company of my own State, which manufactures sanitary barn equipment, showing how the Steel Co. has increased prices, and how it affects our dairy farmers:

FORT ATKINSON, WIS., *July 9, 1917.*

Hon. E. E. BROWNE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * * * *

To give you some idea of the tremendous increases in the cost of our raw materials we might say that tubing, for which we paid $3.80 in 1913, now would cost us $12.94; sheets, at $2.85 in 1913, now $11; malleable, $3.80 then, now $12; bolts, 20⅝ cents then, now 60 cents.

The Steel and Metal Digest for June, 1917, gives the following figures on "composite pig iron" prices:

July 3, 1917	$53.56
June 29, 1917	52.96
June 1, 1917	44.56
June 1, 1916	18.55
June 1, 1915	13.05
June 1, 1914	13.61
June 1, 1913	14.97

The same publication gives "composite steel" prices:

June 29, 1917	$5.70
June 1, 1917	4.58
June 1, 1916	2.83
June 1, 1915	1.53
June 1, 1914	1.47
June 1, 1913	1.77

In connection with these figures, showing the increase in the cost of raw materials, please consider also the published earnings of the United States Steel Corporation:

First quarter, 1917	$113,121,018
(or $452,484,032 for the year.)	
The year 1916	333,625,086
The year 1915	130,396,012
The year 1914	71,663,615
The year 1913	137,181,345
The year 1912	108,174,673

We quote the United States Steel Corporation figures because they are the only ones available. Figures of other companies probably show still larger percentage of profit.

When we read of the enormous profits made by the Steel Corporation and other similar concerns, we can not help but think of the hundreds and perhaps thousands of dairy farmers who have not bought, and who will not buy, dairy-barn equipment because of the high price; of our own loss of profit thereby, and the loss to the country because these farmers can not have the advantage of the mechanical means to increase their milk yield, save labor, and save feed.

These enormous profits seem to us far from right, especially at this time, placing as they do such heavy additional burdens on the public for the sake of creating undue profits for the few.

We are writing the above letter thinking that perhaps it may contain information of suggestions that may be of interest to you at this time.

Yours, truly, JAMES MANUFACTURING CO.,
By E. W. SIMONS.

If we levied the same tax, to wit, 80 per cent, on excess profits that England does, we would receive from the United States Steel Co. over $300,000,000 per year and then leave them nearly $100,000,000 profits per year, a sum very much larger than they ever made, and they have always made exorbitant profits.

MOST OF THE PEOPLE ARE MAKING GREAT SACRIFICES ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

The masses of the people are called upon, and will be more and more, to make great sacrifices during the continuation of the war. That sacrifice should be equitably apportioned. The rank and file of the American people who must do the fighting and produce the vast quantities of supplies, which at this time are as necessary as armies, are not making anything out of the war. They are growing poorer every day on account of the runaway prices of the necessities that the average family has to buy.

COMMISSIONER OF LABOR'S REPORT.

The United States Commissioner of Labor made a survey of the city of Washington, filing his report October, 1917, showing that one-third of the families living in the city of Washington faced a deficit for the fiscal year. Washington is more prosperous than the average American city. The average person in this country can not give up much more money than he is giving at the present time. He is already down to the bone. We can not keep adding to the burdens of the already poor without crushing out their lives.

The cost of living in the United States has gone up nearly 100 per cent and wages have not gone up over 28 per cent. The food committee appointed by the District of Columbia says:

Interesting figures were obtained from the proprietors of some of the smaller stores, whose business is with the poorer people. They show clearly that the poor have been compelled to resort to the strictest economy in order to provide food on account of the high prices. Their purchases are of the cheapest possible articles and in smaller quantities than heretofore. The sale of the ordinary cuts of meats in this class of stores seems to have been discontinued and the meat now purchased consists of hog livers, hog kidneys, neck bones, hog faces.

The man with a salary of $600 or $1,000 per year endeavoring to raise a family can not stand a $10 or $20 tax as well as a man with an income of $1,000,000 per year can stand a tax of $990,000. The one means sacrifice and may be want, the other means no sacrifice.

When Senator KENYON stated on the floor of the Senate that no man in these times should be allowed an annual income of over $100,000 per year he was denounced as an anarchist. I cheerfully take a position beside the able Senator from Iowa and would be willing to vote for an amendment to the revenue bill, as a war measure, much more drastic than making the maximum income allowed an individual $100,000 per year.

CONSCRIPT WEALTH.

We have passed a law conscripting the boys of this country. We go into the homes of all alike. The humblest cottage in the land, if the iron fate of chance decrees that one, two, or three or the stalwart sons shall be offered to their country, is not exempt. Many parents would rather give over home, farm, all their worldly effects than have their boy go, yet they bow to the voice of duty and their country. When we conscript boys we go to the people that have strong, healthy, intelligent boys. When we conscript wealth we must go where we can find wealth, to the wealthy, and we certainly should not be more tender about conscripting wealth than we are of conscripting boys, the flesh and blood of the land.

INCOME TAX.

Approximately 377,000 people of this country paid a national income tax in 1915. They represent not to exceed one million and a half of people out of our entire population of 100,000,000 people. Ninety-eight and one-half million people paid no national income tax because they did not have incomes that reached $3,000 per year. Prof. King, of the University of Wisconsin, a reliable statistician, is authority for the statement that 2 per cent of the people of the United States own 65 per cent of this country's total wealth.

SOCIAL UNREST.

To-day there is social unrest in this country. There is no use of shutting our eyes to the situation, but we should study the causes, for I believe that this country has more to fear from the unrest and dissatisfaction caused by social and economic conditions at home than it does from foreign foes.

ENGLAND.

England appointed a committee of inquiry into industrial unrest, and a very thorough survey was made, the committee reporting as follows:

The unrest is really widespread and in some directions extreme. We are at this moment in sight of a possible social upheaval, or at least extensive and manifold strikes. No tinkering will meet the requirements of the situation. It is necessary to secure to the workingman a fair share of the product of his labor and a just participation in the establishment of the conditions of the industry. The workmen consider they should be dealt with as men.

The main causes for the unrest are set out as follows: (1) Food prices; (2) profiteering; (3) industrial fatigue; (4) inequality of sacrifice; (5) uncertainty as to the future; (6) want of confidence in the Government and resentment at undue interference.

It will be noted that one of the reasons assigned for the unrest was that the Government did not check profiteering. President Wilson announced the doctrine early that excess profits and patriotism can not go together in this war. It rests upon Congress to see that this principle is carried out in future revenue bills.

WAR-REVENUE BILL.

The present revenue bill was a compromise. There were many features of it that I did not like and voted to eliminate. I do not favor trying to raise money through the Post Office Department by increasing postage. I am not in favor of raising money by taxing freight or parcel-post packages, because such a tax is always shifted upon the consumer. I voted for the Keating amendment and other amendments which sought to place a higher tax on excessive profits, especially war profits. I do not believe that the principle of conscription of men can be defended unless it is accompanied by the conscription of incomes. If it is right for the Government to ask some men to fight and give their lives for their country, it is certainly right to ask other men to give a large share of their incomes to the Nation's cause. I herewith attach a carefully prepared table showing the enormous profits that certain corporations are making and how their profits have been augmented since the war. There are many other corporations that could be added, but space forbids. The 33 men whose names are given as officers and directors of these corporations are members of the Council of National Defense. The aggregate net profits of these corporations amounted to $900,301,596 in 1916 and will amount to over one thousand million dollars in 1917. I submit that these enormous and unparalleled profits should be taxed very much more than they are now.

Table showing net profits of 33 members of the Council of National Defense and the net income (amount applicable to dividends on stock) of a few of the companies of which these gentlemen are officers or directors.

[NOTE.—These figures are official, being those published in the companies' own annual reports.]

	1911	1912	1913	Prewar average for for 1911, 1912, 1913.	1914	1915	1916	Excess of 1916 net income over prewar average.
Julius Rosenwald, advisory commission:								
Sears, Roebuck & Co	$6,984,967	$8,322,611	$9,027,669	$8,111,739	$9,081,521	$11,100,333	$16,488,622	$8,376,883
E. J. Berwind, committee on coal production:								
Republic Iron & Steel	1,958,442	2,223,576	3,101,300	2,426,106	1,028,748	3,515,819	14,789,163	12,363,057
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe [1]	21,371,068	19,660,241	22,153,735	21,061,681	20,183,965	24,130,862	32,579,735	11,518,054
J. J. Storrow, committee on coal production:								
General Motors Corporation [2]	3,316,251	3,896,293	7,459,472	4,890,672	7,249,733	14,457,801	28,789,560	23,898,888
United States Smelting, Refining & Mining	2,840,413	4,232,965	3,585,588	3,552,989	2,265,641	6,591,324	8,898,464	5,345,475
S. M. Vauclain, munitions standards board:								
Baldwin Locomotive Works	[3]	3,698,571	4,017,801	[4] 4,405,167	350,230	2,827,816	5,982,517	1,577,350
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. [5]	2,444,093	3,164,032	4,058,809	3,222,311	2,009,744	9,666,789	18,079,830	14,857,573
F. C. Pratt, munitions standards board:								
General Electric Co	10,562,806	12,578,735	13,057,879	12,066,474	11,287,826	11,737,909	18,589,523	6,523,051
Theo. N. Vail, cooperative committee on telegraphs and telephones:								
American Telephone & Telegraph Co	27,733,265	32,062,945	32,920,090	30,905,433	32,334,814	34,618,637	38,013,278	7,107,845
United States Rubber	4,349,825	5,300,989	7,544,217	5,731,677	8,091,538	8,696,089	11,226,208	5,494,531
W. D. Simmons, commercial economy board:								
Assoc. Simmons Hardware	463,413	402,385	496,923	440,907	315,855	1,539,835	2,171,550	1,730,643
N. C. Kingsbury, cooperative committee on telegraphs and telephones:								
American Sugar refining	10,176,220	5,501,198	2,867,506	6,181,641	4,455,490	5,394,415	11,455,107	5,273,466
J. F. McElwain, cooperative committee on shoe and leather industries:								
W. H. McElwain Co. [6]	639,780	769,116	705,550	704,815	648,587	904,019	2,068,475	1,363,660
A. B. Thielens, subcommittee on Army vehicles:								
Studebaker Corporation	1,653,582	2,313,245	1,772,473	1,913,100	4,441,966	9,067,425	8,611,245	6,698,145
Andrew Fletcher, cooperative committee on railroad transportation:								
American Locomotive Co. [1]	1,867,554	6,185,306	2,076,127	3,376,329	[7] 1,491,980	10,769,429	7,201,680	3,825,351
Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co. [8]	208,108	306,676	847,477	454,087	651,635	1,087,704	1,280,800	826,713
W. G. Garritt, cooperative committee on shoe and leather industries:								
Central Leather Co	295,182	5,736,884	4,386,345	3,472,804	4,876,924	6,626,897	15,489,201	12,016,397
Chas. P. Hall, cooperative committee on shoe and leather industries:								
American Hide & Leather Co. [1]	104,255	422,820	475,518	334,198	107,205	959,974	1,643,266	1,309,068
Julius Kessler, cooperative committee on alcohol:								
Distillers Securities Corporation [1]	957,623	527,182	359,567	614,791	701,864	1,430,872	3,327,095	2,712,304
United States Independent Alcohol Co	902,745	1,021,751	652,358	858,951	653,264	2,172,013	4,884,587	4,025,633
Wm. H. Nichols, cooperative committee on chemicals:								
General Chemical Co	2,361,880	2,608,582	2,809,442	2,593,301	2,857,898	5,958,746	12,286,826	9,693,525
Miami Copper Co	489,604	2,094,804	1,305,398	1,296,602	1,231,538	3,408,561	7,759,784	6,463,182
Pittsburgh Steel Co. [1]	1,081,507	1,300,388	1,193,669	1,191,855	416,551	858,160	4,564,068	3,372,213
Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Co. [1]	217,416	[7] 17,183	1,198,770	466,337	439,551	929,164	3,819,295	3,352,953
Horace Bowker, Cooperative Committee on Fertilizers:								
American Agricultural Chemical Co. [1]	2,679,917	2,554,185	2,592,726	2,608,943	3,065,715	3,675,145	5,445,527	2,836,584
William Hamlin Childs, subcommittee on coal tar by-products:								
Barrett Co	1,224,347	1,338,540	1,835,811	1,366,233	1,280,476	2,482,236	4,247,858	2,881,625
John D. Ryan, cooperative committee on copper:								
Anaconda Copper Mining	8,043,720	15,856,335	11,323,499	11,741,185	8,789,588	16,695,807	57,941,834	46,200,649
Greene-Cananea Copper	1,358,387	2,610,829	2,344,592	2,104,603	638,955	1,410,544	7,673,184	5,568,581
James McLean, cooperative committee on copper:								
Phelps, Dodge & Co	5,634,302	8,785,185	7,907,710	7,442,399	6,664,839	9,720,475	21,974,263	14,531,864
American Can Co	2,916,339	6,539,046	3,982,917	4,476,101	4,376,173	5,029,273	7,962,982	3,486,881
Old Dominion Co	485,988	1,180,235	1,489,152	1,051,792	832,435	1,389,397	3,532,126	2,480,334
Chas. M. MacNeill, cooperative committee on copper:								
Utah Copper Co	6,237,928	8,449,272	8,513,105	7,733,435	8,678,491	17,913,481	39,738,675	32,005,240
Ray Consolidated Copper Co	298,640	1,929,262	2,675,193	1,634,365	2,395,623	4,589,143	12,084,166	10,449,801
Chino Copper Co	118,473	2,176,904	3,021,887	1,772,421	2,992,299	6,656,719	12,527,948	10,755,527
Nevada Consolidated Copper	3,702,870	4,342,532	2,896,651	3,647,351	1,470,372	5,558,116	15,002,051	11,354,700
Elbert H. Gary, cooperative committee on steel and steel products:								
U. S. Steel Corporation	55,300,297	54,240,049	81,216,986	63,585,777	23,496,768	75,833,833	271,531,730	207,945,953
E. A. S. Clarke, cooperative committee on steel and steel products:								
Lackawanna Steel Co	82,803	1,008,812	2,755,883	1,282,499	[7] 1,652,444	2,409,108	12,218,234	10,935,735
Ambrose Monell, cooperative committee on nickel:								
International Nickel	3,262,218	5,009,120	4,792,665	4,354,668	5,598,072	11,748,279	13,557,970	9,203,302
Murry Guggenheim, cooperative committee on copper:								
American Smelting & Refining	11,471,713	11,754,244	9,756,540	10,994,166	9,271,565	14,402,732	23,252,248	12,258,082
Thos. F. Manville, cooperative committee on asbestos, magnesia, and roofing:								
H. W. Johns-Manville Co	730,178	915,193	1,103,347	916,239	275,134	662,499	2,629,221	1,712,982
Chas. M. Schwab, cooperative committee on steel and steel products:								
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	2,038,979	2,063,641	5,122,703	3,075,108	5,590,020	17,762,813	43,593,968	40,518,860
Chas. W. Baker, cooperative committee on zinc:								
American Zinc, Lead & Smelting	185,170	296,633	[7] 219,031	87,591	65,693	2,651,500	7,301,968	7,214,377
N. Bruce MacKelvie, cooperative committee on zinc:								
Nova Scotia Steel & Coal	534,800	457,498	635,472	542,590	[7] 308,986	1,576,743	2,104,478	1,561,888
Chas. F. Brooker, cooperative committee on brass:								
American Brass Co	[3]	2,274,738	1,917,605	[4] 2,096,172	1,450,347	6,128,454	10,991,670	8,895,498
R. L. Agassiz, cooperative committee on copper:								
Ahmeek Mining Co	870,273	1,465,397	207,420	847,697	462,644	2,264,882	3,449,710	2,602,013
E. C. Lufkin, cooperative committee on oil:								
Texas Co. [1]	2,702,995	2,203,882	6,663,123	3,856,667	6,185,974	6,393,327	13,898,861	10,042,194
P. A. S. Franklin, committee on shipping:								
International Mercantile Marine Co	481,476	132,333	2,299,687	971,165	[7] 302,528	13,581,661	21,777,162	20,805,997
Moses L. Shuttleworth, cooperative committee on woolen manufactures:								
American Woolen Co	3,225,916	3,218,253	[7] 1,179,791	1,754,793	2,788,602	4,080,685	5,863,819	4,109,026
Total	216,562,728	265,116,231	291,729,535	280,777,927	208,305,935	412,348,503	900,301,596	640,083,669

[1] Years ended June 30.
[2] Years ended July 31.
[3] 1911 figures not available for Baldwin Locomotive Works or American Brass Co.
[4] Average for 2 years.
[5] Years ended Mar. 31, beginning with 1912.
[6] Years ended May 31, beginning with 1912.
[7] Deficit.
[8] Years ended Apr. 30.

The United States Shipping Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following:

THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF ITS WAR-TIME ACTIVITIES.

Legislation having for its purpose the establishment of an agency of the Government to foster and build up the American merchant marine had its genesis shortly after the commencement of the European war, when we found our foreign commerce paralyzed through the withdrawal by England and France of their ships from our service to serve the war needs of themselves and their allies and the destruction or laying up of all the great tonnage of German and Austrian ships. But it was not until after two years had elapsed that the act authorizing the creation of the United States Shipping Board, commonly called the shipping act, was approved September 7, 1916. Briefly stated, the powers conferred upon this new board, which was made independent of any other department of the Government, being similar in this respect to the Interstate Commerce Commission, are of two kinds. First, those intended to enable it to increase American shipping engaged in foreign commerce; and, second, those having to do with the regulation of common carriers by water. Of the first, probably the most important was the power given the board to acquire, through construction, purchase, lease, or charter, ships suitable for over-seas commerce and for use as naval auxiliaries in time of war. For this purpose $50,000,000 was made available as a revolving fund.

The organization of the Shipping Board was at last effected February 1, 1917. Only a brief survey of the general shipping situation of the world was required to convince the board that the best service it could render the Nation would be to increase the production of merchant ships. The destruction of commercial shipping from the commencement of the European war up to January 1, 1917, had, according to the statement made by Lord Beresford before the British Parliament on this subject, reached the great total of more than 4,000,000 tons gross, while the building of merchant ships in England and Germany, the two greatest shipbuilding nations theretofore, had been practically abandoned because of the war. It was left, therefore, to this country to play the largest rôle in making good the rapid depletion of the world's commercial shipping. Plans were immediately laid by the board for the construction of as many vessels as the fund available for that purpose would provide.

The alarming increase of losses by submarines which followed the declaration by Germany of her policy of sinking every vessel, regardless of nationality, which might enter the zones proscribed by her, resulted in the destruction during the period from February 1 to May 1, 1917, of about 2,200,000 tons more of shipping. It immediately became apparent to all those who were studying the situation that the production of merchant ships in this country would have to be increased to the very greatest possible maximum if we were not to witness the triumph of Germany's ruthless disregard of all considerations of right and humanity, with the consequent defeat of ourselves and the nations associated with us in the war.

With this situation before it, the Shipping Board early in May went before the Senate Committee on Appropriations and submitted information and arguments which led to the inclusion in the urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 15, 1917, of the following items:

Purpose.	Authorization.	Appropriation.
For purchasing, requisitioning, or otherwise acquiring ships, materials, plants, and charters on ships	$250,000,000	$150,000,000
For the construction of ships	500,000,000	250,000,000
For the operation of ships	5,000,000	5,000,000
Total	755,000,000	405,000,000

REQUISITIONING OF VESSELS UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

This act gave the President power to commandeer all the shipbuilding facilities of the Nation if in his judgment such action should become expedient, and authorized him to exercise the powers conferred upon him through such agency of the Government as he might choose. Acting under the authority of this legislation, the President on the 11th day of July issued an Executive order delegating to the Emergency Fleet Corporation—the corporation organized by the Shipping Board to carry out its shipbuilding program—the power to requisition vessels in course of construction and the materials necessary therefor. Pursuant to this order, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, on August 3, 1917, requisitioned all vessels of 2,500 tons dead-weight carrying capacity and over which were under construction in the shipyards of the United States on that date. By this act a total of more than 400 vessels in varying stages of completion were taken over, of a total dead-weight tonnage of more than 2,800,000.

One of the principal purposes of this move was to enable the Government to speed up the construction of these ships by using its power to require preference in the furnishing of materials, by the elimination of nonessential refinements of construction and equipment, by the addition of overtime work where necessary, and modifications in construction to make the ships more suitable for effective service during the war. It is estimated that the expenditure necessary to complete these vessels and to reimburse their former owners for the property rights which they were deprived of by the requisition will amount to a total sum of $515,000,000. Two hundred and fifty million dollars was authorized for this purpose by the act of June 15, 1917, and the urgent deficiency appropriation act approved October 6, 1917, authorized the remaining $265,000,000.

NEW SHIP CONSTRUCTION.

The funds at the disposal of the Shipping Board at the present time for the purpose of securing the construction of new ships amounts to a total of $1,284,000,000, made up as follows: Fifty million dollars made available by the shipping act; $250,000,000 authorized and appropriated by the act of June 15, 1917; $250,000,000 authorized but not appropriated by the latter act; $250,000,000 authorized and appropriated by the act of October 6, 1917; and $484,000,000 authorized but not appropriated by the last-named act. Up to September 22, 1917, the Shipping Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation had let contracts for the construction of 636 ships of approximately 3,124,700 tons dead-weight capacity. The following table shows the division of the above total among the different types of construction:

Type of vessels.	Number.	Dead-weight tonnage.
Wood	353	1,253,900
Steel	225	1,663,800
Composite	58	207,000
Total	636	3,124,700

It is estimated that the additional $734,000,000 made available by the deficiency act just approved, October 6, 1917, will make possible the construction of approximately 5,000,000 tons dead-weight in addition to those now under construction and those for which contracts have been let.

The following table is a summary of the complete shipbuilding program of the board:

Program.	Number.	Dead-weight tonnage.
Ships under construction which were requisitioned by order of Aug. 3, 1917	403	2,800,000
Ships for which contracts had been let Sept. 22, 1917, under program for new ship construction	636	3,124,700
Program contemplated under additional authorizations of act of Oct. 6, 1917	600	5,000,000
Total	1,639	10,924,700

All of the vessels represented in the above program will be suitable for over-seas commerce. As a basis for comparison it may be stated that at the commencement of the present world war the United States had less than 1,600,000 tons deadweight of ships registered for foreign trade, and has at the present time about 3,571,000 tons deadweight registered therefor. In order to indicate the unprecedented expansion of our shipbuilding activities it may be stated that according to the report of Commissioner of Navigation for 1916, the total tonnage of vessels built in the United States and documented during the fiscal year 1914 was only 316,250 tons gross; during the year 1915, 225,122; and during the year which ended June 30, 1916, only 325,413 tons gross. By comparing these figures with the approximately 4,000,000 tons gross which is now actually under construction or about to be commenced one can gain some idea of the enormous

increase in merchant shipbuilding which has taken place during the last 18 months in this country.

SEIZURE AND REPAIR OF GERMAN SHIPS.

Its shipbuilding program, though the board's greatest enterprise, is not its only one. The President, by an Executive order dated June 30, 1917, directed the Shipping Board to take over to the United States the possession and title of all the German ships lying in ports under the jurisdiction of the United States, repair them and place them in service. Acting under this authority the board took possession of 88 vessels of approximately 660,000 tons gross measurement. All of them had been lying idle in our ports since soon after Germany's declaration of war against France. When it became apparent that this country would recognize the state of war which Germany had forced upon us the German officers and crews aboard these ships started in to damage them as extensively as possible, so that in the event our Government should seize them they would be in such condition that their immediate use would be impossible. They went so far in one instance as to sink the ship. The inspection of the others by the board's surveyors disclosed the fact that very elaborate and ingenious schemes of destruction had been practiced, aimed not only at temporarily disabling the vessel but also at making their repair as difficult and slow as possible. One of the most commonly practiced forms of destruction was that of smashing one or more of the engine cylinders. These cylinders, especially the low-pressure ones, are castings of immense size, and the German officers knew that the facilities in this country for reproducing or repairing them were necessarily very limited.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties encountered, all of these ships, with the exception of a small number which were at ports in our island possessions and had to be brought to this country before work on them could be begun, have been repaired by the board and put into service. Thirty-two have been turned over to the Navy and are being used as transports. For the sake of accuracy it should be stated that the repair of these transport vessels, though commenced by the Shipping Board, was taken over by the Navy Department when they were transferred to it by the President and completed by it. Eight are now in the service of the Army, 17 have been chartered to allied Governments to serve their war needs, and the remainder are engaged in serving our national interests in a commercial way. The expeditious repair and getting into service of these vessels has been of inestimable value in the carrying of troops, munitions, and supplies to France, Italy, and Russia.

PURCHASE OF AUSTRIAN SHIPS.

Eight of the Austrian ships which had been lying idle in our ports since the beginning of the European war have been purchased by the board, repaired, and put into service, thus adding another 57,500 tons gross to our merchant marine. All of these vessels are being used to serve war needs.

REQUISITION OF COMPLETED VESSELS.

The Shipping Board, through a mutual arrangement with the War Department, is requisitioning all the vessels needed for military purposes. Using its wide and accurate knowledge of the whole shipping situation and the type and character of all American vessels, it is striving to take just the vessels which will best meet the needs of the War Department and at the same time manage the withdrawals so as to cause as little dislocation and disorganization of commercial shipping facilities as possible.

The board has announced that every American merchant vessel of 2,500 tons dead-weight capacity and larger, available for ocean service, will be requisitioned October 15. Most of these ships, with the exception of those required for actual Government service, will be chartered back to their owners to be operated under the direction of the Shipping Board. The principal reasons for this action are, briefly stated: First, to avoid the discrimination and injustice which would necessarily arise from depriving some of the owners of their vessels and leaving the owners whose vessels had not been taken to reap still greater returns by boosting freight rates still higher; second, to enable the Government to direct the use of the ships affected so that they will best serve the interests of the Nation in general; third, to check the constant rise in freight and charter rates, which go higher and higher as more vessels are taken for military purposes. The rates at which these ships will be chartered back to their former owners have been fixed. They are graded up and down from a basic rate of $5.75 per ton dead-weight capacity, according to the size and speed of the vessel and the form of charter party used, whether bare ship or time.

REMOVAL OF GREAT LAKES VESSELS.

A plan is now in process of execution by the Shipping Board which contemplates the removal from the Great Lakes before the close of navigation this fall of all the vessels suitable for ocean service. Those too large to go through the canal locks will be cut in two and put together again when they reach the seaboard. In this way a large tonnage of ships which would otherwise be laid up in idleness throughout the winter months, when navigation on the Lakes is closed, will be made available for use in the coastwise trade, in turn releasing an equivalent tonnage of vessels now engaged in that trade which are suitable for over-seas service.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NAUTICAL SCHOOLS.

As soon as it launched its shipbuilding program, the board realized that if the vessels which would thereby be added to our merchant marine were to become in all respects American that American officers and crews would have to be provided for them. The available supply of ships' officers in this country was practically exhausted. To meet this need nautical schools were established at various points on our coasts, and thousands of American boys and young men are being trained to officer the great fleet in process of construction.

It is interesting to note how the Shipping Board, which was created when our country was at peace and was intended to serve peaceful ends, has been almost completely diverted from the pursuit of the functions for which it was established into the prosecution of projects vitally important to the successful prosecution of the war. It had been organized but a few months previously and had but a very small and newly associated personnel when the huge task of increasing the production of merchant ships so as to replace the enormous tonnage destroyed by submarines and mines devolved upon it. This task completely overshadows its peace-time functions and has converted it into one of the Government's greatest agencies for the prosecution of the war. As an indication of the enormity of the undertaking before it a statement of the funds which Congress has made available for its work may be of value.

The following table is designed to show the amounts of money authorized and the amounts appropriated for the work of the board by different acts of Congress:

Summary of authorizations and appropriations.

Purpose.	Title of act.	Authorization.	Appropriation.
For the construction of ships..	Shipping act [1].....	$50,000,000	$50,000,000
Do.....	Act of June 15, 1917...	500,000,000	250,000,000
Do.....	Act of Oct. 6, 1917.....	734,000,000	250,000,000
Total for construction...	.....	1,284,000,000	550,000,000
For requisitioning and purchasing ships.[2]	Act of June 15, 1917...	250,000,000	150,000,000
Do.....	Act of Oct. 6, 1917.....	265,000,000	200,000,000
Total for requisitioning..	.....	515,000,000	350,000,000
For purchase of ships other than those authorized previously.	Act of Oct. 6, 1917.....	150,000,000	150,000,000
For establishment or acquisition of shipbuilding plants.	.....do.....	35,000,000	35,000,000
For operation of ships.....	Act of Aug. 15, 1917...	5,000,000	5,000,000
Grand total.....	.....	1,989,000,000	1,040,000,000

[1] The $50,000,000 made available by the shipping act was for the purposes of construction, purchase, lease, and charter of ships, and if used for subscribing to stock in a corporation, for the additional purpose of operation of ships. But the present intent is to use this fund for new ship construction.

[2] This fund, totaling $515,000,000, is being used to compensate owners whose ships were requisitioned in course of construction under the order of Aug. 3, 1917, and for completing the ships thus taken over.

The Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, during the last six months greater responsibilities have been devolved upon this House of Representatives than ever before came to any legislative body in the history of the world. The House has met those responsibilities with a unanimity that is not paralleled in the records of the parliaments of the world. Party spirit has been forgotten by

the minority and every effort made to aid the majority. Every bill that has been presented here to secure the sinews of war has practically been passed unanimously. In the last six months this House has accomplished greater legislative results than were ever before brought about by any parliamentary body in any three years in the annals of mankind. All this has been done by men who did their duty without any playing to the grand stand, without any superficial boast of patriotism superior to their fellows, without any vociferous appeal to prejudice or passion. There has been no sounding of brass, no tinkling of cymbals among those who are most responsible for the work that has been completed here.

That having reached such tremendous results in so short a time the House should have occasionally overlooked and sometimes made mistakes is quite natural. The Constitution of the United States gives to this Congress authority to issue the edicts and the mandates of a hundred million people, and this Congress alone will be held responsible in history for what is done by the American people in enacting their laws in the turmoil and confusion of this epoch. We have levied the taxes, appropriated the moneys to carry on the war and to enable those fighting our common enemy to keep their armies in the field with a lavish generosity that the world never dreamed of before. This House has voted to the administrative officers upon whom is placed the duty of executing the will of the American people greater powers than are lodged elsewhere in the world in any body of men. There still remains one task uncompleted. You have placed in the hands of the administration the authority, as you intended, to control the high cost of living, that is the greatest tax that falls upon our people, and the one from which the poor man can make no escape. That result has not yet been attained. The first duty of this House is to the people of America. When you return in December the bitter winds of winter will be the only outdoor music anywhere in the United States. This House intended to make provision for the emergencies that are bound to come, and to do it so definitely that nobody's oversight, that no necessity of carrying other great burdens, should prevent the American citizen from being able to support his family this winter on whatever salary he may receive, on whatever income he may have.

I present a table of figures that may now seem dry and uninteresting, but I think by Christmas everybody in Congress and in the administration will find them amply interesting to hold attention.

These figures are taken from the Topeka State Journal of September 26, 1917. The State Journal says that pork tenderloins have doubled in price in the last six months, that the soup bone has aviated to 5 cents a pound, and baked ham is retailed for 70 cents a pound. The State Journal then gives a comparison of the Topeka retail prices of March 27 last in the first column and of September 26 in the second column, the first being taken from the advertisements in the paper of that date and each figure being the price per pound of the given commodity on March 27 in the first column and on September 26 in the second column:

Commodity.	Price per pound Mar. 27, 1917.	Price per pound Sept. 26, 1917.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
Link Sausage	16	22, 25, 35
Bulk sausage	16, 17	22
Porterhouse steak	22½	35
Sirloin steak	20	35
Round steak	20	30
Chuck steak	17, 18, 20	25
Pork chops steak	25	38
Wienerwursts	.....	28
Bacon	25, 35	35, 45
Pork tenderloin	25	50
Pork roast	23	35
Pork ribs	17	.....
Beef roast	15	25
Soup meats	7, 8	10, 15
Lamb chops	.....	45
Mutton chops	.....	40
Leg of lamb	.....	40
Fish	18, 20	20, $1.25
Baked ham	.....	70

There are 13 of these commodities, of which figures are given of both dates. If you take 1 pound of each of these at the minimum prices at each date, the 13 pounds cost on March 27, $2.49½, and on September 26, $3.82, a gain of 34 per cent. If you buy 1 pound of each commodity at each date at the maximum price, the 13 pounds would cost, in March, $2.66½, and in September, $5.15, an advance of 48 per cent. A careful comparison would indicate that at Topeka, Kans., in the six months since this Congress assembled, the cost of living upon meats has increased 40 per cent. This Congress and this administration have pledged the American people to reduce the high cost of living. We all realize that the future of the world depends upon the ability of the United States to become a deciding factor in the great world conflict. This can not be accomplished unless the American people have enough to eat, and the American people can not have enough to eat unless their incomes will purchase their food. I am no believer in the theory that it would be a wise thing to automatically decrease the demand for food by making the prices so high as to prevent people from buying it. That, in my judgment, is not good philosophy and is not good statecraft. Furthermore, in my opinion, it is not necessary.

The only thing that has been done so far, practically, is to reduce the price of wheat at the farm so that the farmer, who is holding his wheat, as he had a right to, expecting to share in the general rise of prices, has lost money. This has been done without putting cheaper bread on the table of the people, so that neither element is benefited. If the farmer gets less for his wheat, the miller should get less for his flour and the baker should get less for his bread and the people should receive cheaper bread. I have received the following from the Ridges Grange, of Bronson, Kans., to which I invite your attention:

The Ridges Grange, No. 1616, wishes to protest against the fixing of the price of wheat by the Government when they allow the millers to set their own price on flour and the makers of farm implements to place such price on their products.

GEORGE C. CAMPBELL, *Secretary.*

The farmer does not insist on high prices for his wheat. All he asks is that he be treated like everybody else. The baker who sells the bread is the man with whom the consumer deals. What good does it do the American people to cut the price of wheat if they must pay just as much for bread? If the agricultural implements with which he produces this wheat are sold to the farmer at these exceptional and remarkable war-time prices, how can he afford to utilize them in raising these crops unless he shares in this general distribution of increase in price? You permit his income to be assailed by these high prices. Why pick him out for reduction of income? When the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] introduced his amendment to control the price of cotton, I doubted the advisability of it, because I felt that no particular farm product should be singled out from the rest, and yet now I see the friends of cotton, in control of the Government, do not hesitate a moment about their treatment of wheat. In my judgment the farmers have no objection to the application of this rule of reduction of wheat if the things they purchase and the things the consumer uses are accorded the same treatment. Anybody can advise people to quit eating. The duty of a statesman is to place what they must eat within reach of their incomes.

Yesterday turnips sold in the Washington market for 2 cents apiece. If you go into the restaurant downstairs you will pay 12½ cents for an ear of corn. Down at the Willard an ear of corn will cost you 17½ cents.

The year before I entered the State university I taught a country school and boarded with Tom Perry. Corn was 5 cents a bushel, and we burned bushels of it in the kitchen stove. Mr. Perry had a house of one room and a family of five, besides myself and the hired man. Some of us slept in the little lean-to unplastered and unlathed, and sometimes I have stuffed a shirt in a knot hole when the snow beat in, as it did occasionally. But Tom had 300 hogs and we had good meat all winter. His garden had been a prosperous one and he enjoyed the plenty of a peach orchard. He charged me just exactly $2 a week for board and lodging, and I got as good meals as I am receiving now at the George Washington Inn. Where is anybody who can live on $2 a week now? A man has to perch on the moon to get high enough to examine the bill of fare at a first-class hotel. How do you think these people are going to live this winter who have big families and small wages, if you do not regulate the price of what they eat? What is the use of telling these people to cut their meals in two when some of them hardly get enough to eat now? Our fathers crossed the ocean 300 years ago so that their children could enjoy every opportunity that nature affords as a reward for the industry of man. Is the administration of this food-control bill as it has started going to accomplish that result? I am well aware that there must be trial trips of the plans of the department this Congress has created to carry out the terms of this legislation, and I am waiting patiently for their efforts to culminate in a definite and useful application of the legislation Congress has provided. Congress enacted this statute with the anticipation that its terms would be so enforced as to reduce the high cost of living, and we shall expect that effect to result before we return in December. We are well aware that this great world conflict taxes the intellects of the world's

greatest men, but the most useful statesman our country can command has no grander opportunity, no loftier demand upon his talents, than the carrying of the working people of this country through this winter without suffering, a mission upon which we wish our statesmen Godspeed. There is no part of the duties that fall upon the world's leaders now more essential to a final decree in favor of humanity than that the civilization our fathers founded for us here in this great Republic shall maintain itself soundly and safely and beneficially to its people that it may be the bulwark of the world, the beacon light of civilization, the ultimate and final factor in the successful termination of this mighty conflict into which we have entered. We can not help others unless we are able to take care of ourselves, and common sense suggests that assiduous and careful attention be given to the cost of living that our people may see established a straight line from the farmer's field to the consumers' table, a matter of mutual interest to both.

Exemption of Farm Labor and Price of Wheat.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to append certain correspondence recently had with the President of the United States upon the question of the exemption of farm labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., August 25, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It was source of regret to me and to them that you were unable to see the Kansas committee who were here this week, but I fully understood the circumstances which prevented an appointment with them. They had some interesting facts to present concerning the labor situation in Kansas. I hope you may talk over with Mr. Hoover the conditions they outlined to him.

The exemption boards in Kansas, both local and district, seem to feel it is contrary to the instructions of the Provost Marshal General, and hence contrary to their duty under those instructions, to relieve from the operation of the draft men actually engaged in farming and live-stock raising. No doubt the same condition applies in other sections of the country. The result is that in our State, so largely dependent upon agricultural pursuits, the labor situation on the farms is becoming serious in the extreme. Unless there is some relief, production will inevitably suffer.

Our young farmers are patriotic. They are willing to serve their country. Many of them feel it a disgrace to ask for exemption and will not do so. I have no sympathy in the world with the slacker who has sought or who may seek to escape the draft through a sudden attempt to transform himself into a farmer. But I feel very earnestly that the actual, bona fide, skilled farmer, in almost every instance, can render a greater service just now by remaining at hard work on the farm than by going into the Army.

Therefore, I urged upon the committee from Kansas that they suggest to Mr. Hoover the following plan, and I am taking the liberty of submitting it to you: That a proclamation be issued by you personally, or by you through the Provost Marshal General, exempting from the operation of the draft all men now actually engaged in farming who were so engaged on the 1st of March last. The date thus specified was more than a month before the declaration of war, more than two and a half months before the selective draft bill became a law. Those who were engaged in farming then were real farmers. Unless they have subsequently changed their avocations they are still real farmers. Their places in the Army can be taken by others without injury to the Army; their places on the farm can not be filled by unskilled and inexperienced labor without real loss in production at a time when we can ill afford such loss.

The farmers of the country to-day are in competition with the munitions makers, the steel manufacturers, and other large employers for the labor necessary to produce and harvest their crops. Judge TOWNER, of Iowa, told me last night that in his State a wage of $5 per day is being offered for corn cutters, and even at such a cost it is difficult to procure hands. Unless the young men who have been and who are actual farmers shall be allowed to continue to pursue their accustomed avocations, the volume of our farm products must inevitably decrease. And unless exemption is provided by definite proclamation to apply generally, and thus remove the implication of disgrace in claiming exemption, a serious menace to American agriculture can not be averted.

As you know, I believe thoroughly in the selective-draft law. I believe every citizen owes the definite obligation of service to his Government. I would simply urge that provision be made that each may serve where he can be of greatest value, and that such provision be so definite that it shall not depend upon the judgment of a local board or be subject to varied interpretation in different sections of the country. Each State must fill its quota in the National Army. But men should be sent who can best be spared, not those vitally needed at home. May I, therefore, be permitted to impress upon you very earnestly the suggestion contained in this letter?

With genuine esteem and respect, believe me,
Sincerely, yours,
JOUETT SHOUSE.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 27, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SHOUSE: I have your letter of August 25 and realize the very grave importance of the matter you broach. I can not see my way, however, to making so wide and sweeping a class exemption as you suggest. The matter of leaving the farmers on the farms has been given the most careful and sympathetic attention by the War Department, and I have before me a letter from the Secretary of War from which I quote the following:

"Gen. Crowder had foreseen the practical need of enabling men in agricultural work to remain at their tasks until the close of the harvest season, and has ingeniously arranged the details of calling to the colors so that the men on the farms will practically all fall within the last group and will, therefore, not have to report for military service until on or about October 1."

I feel that a class exemption would lead to many difficulties and to many heartburnings, much as I should personally like to see all the genuine farmers left at their indispensable labors.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE,
House of Representatives.

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, August 30, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: After your letter of August 27 I hesitate to again address you on the subject of exemption from the draft of those actually and practically engaged in farming and the production of live stock. I have the greatest respect for your judgment and your conclusions, but I feel it my duty to call your attention to one most important point: You quote from a letter of the Secretary of War, who expresses himself as highly pleased at the arrangements made to enable the harvesting of the fall crop, and who feels that what he designates the "ingenious conception" of Gen. Crowder in postponing until October 1 the calling of farmers to the colors will answer all purposes.

Using Kansas, the foremost of winter-wheat States, as an example, I have seen wheat planted as late as Thanksgiving Day make a good crop. Much—yes; very much—of the Kansas wheat crop is planted in October. And the planting is only the beginning. How is the wheat to be harvested and thrashed if our farm labor is taken from us? How are spring crops to be put out? How is live stock to be carried through the winter?

In all respect, may I be permitted to suggest that if agricultural and live-stock production are in reality as important as the Government insists—and I believe they are—should not the question of exemption of men actually engaged in those pursuits, men who have been engaged in them not merely since the draft law was passed, but for months before—should not this question be viewed from a practical agricultural standpoint rather than merely a military standpoint?

We must raise a big army; true. I am strongly in favor of it. Also, we must increase production of crops and live stock; I am strongly in favor of that. So is every other man who believes in this war and who would help our allies. Don't let us make the fatal mistake of sacrificing all possibilities of increased production by taking into the army those who can best serve on the farm when there are so many hundreds of thousands who would be useful in the army, yet useless on the farm, and who could better serve their country and themselves if called upon for military duty.

If I seem insistent, forgive me. My heart is so intensely in this war and in the cause of humanity which we seek to uphold, that I feel very deeply the conviction which I would try to impress upon you.

With great respect, I am,
Faithfully, yours,
JOUETT SHOUSE.

The appended letter to the Secretary of War, together with his answer to same, will be of interest in the same connection.

WASHINGTON, *August 31, 1917.*

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am inclosing herewith copy of a telegram which I have received this morning from Mr. W. A. Miller, president of the Citizens' National Bank of Anthony, Kans., one of the most prominent and sensible country bankers in our State. You will please note the condition to which Mr. Miller calls attention in reference to the farm labor needed for seeding wheat for next year's crop.

In a recent letter in reply to a communication from me concerning the labor situation in Kansas, the President quoted a paragraph from a letter from you in which you made the following statement:

"Gen. Crowder has foreseen the practical need of enabling men in agricultural work to remain at their tasks until the close of the harvest season and has ingeniously arranged the details of calling to the colors so that the men on the farms will practically all fall within the last group and will therefore not have to report for military service until on or about October 1."

Let me direct attention to one most important fact: For some years past there has been a very considerable loss in Kansas wheat from the Hessian fly. The experts of the Department of Agriculture have urged the farmers not to plant wheat until after the 1st of October, so as to avoid the fly, and this plan has been followed in our State for the past two or three years. It must be followed again this year unless the farmers are willing to run the risk of a big loss through the Hessian fly and unless they go absolutely contrary to the methods which the Department of Agriculture has by diligent effort endeavored to have them employ.

You will therefore see that those who are actually engaged in farm work who are made subject to the draft will not be able to assist in the fall seeding unless some provision shall be made whereby they can go to the training camps after that seeding is completed. Personally during my residence in Kansas the past five and a half years I have seen quite a good deal of wheat planted as late as Thanksgiving Day, which made a first-class crop.

May I therefore be permitted to urge that you consider very seriously the advisability of endeavoring to arrange that the men on the farms whose services are required in the fall seeding be given the opportunity to remain at work until approximately the 1st of November before being called to the cantonments? It seems to me that such

an arrangement will not interfere with the operation of the draft and that it will be of tremendous value from an agricultural standpoint.

With great respect, I have the honor to be,

Sincerely, yours, JOUETT SHOUSE.

—

[Copy of telegram from W. A. Miller.]

ANTHONY, KANS., *August 30, 1917.*

JOUETT SHOUSE,
Washington, D. C.:

Sixty per cent of drafted men in this county go from the farms. Date of call, September 19, is right at start of wheat seeding. If farm boys could be called late in October it would help in seeding this coming crop. Labor very scarce. Impossible to employ men for that kind of work.

W. A. MILLER.

—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 8, 1917.

Hon. JOUETT SHOUSE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. SHOUSE: I have your letter of August 31, calling my attention to the necessity of deferring the military service of certain farmers in Kansas until after the crop of winter wheat is sown.

There is authority in the Regulations for District Boards to discharge farmers on the ground of their relation to agriculture, or to give them temporary discharges on that ground. An exercise of this authority by the district board would accomplish the result you seek. To avoid a great deal of administrative effort, it was pointed out in the ruling of Gen. Crowder, to which you refer, that there could be some deferment of men engaged in gathering crops without the necessity of granting temporary discharges. You will see, therefore, that there is no lack of provision of method to cover the very case you mention.

To execute this authority it is necessary to have an administrative tribunal to determine the fact of necessity in each individual case. We have provided this tribunal by creating a district board in each Federal judicial district. It is the duty of this district board to make a survey of the necessities of industries, including agriculture, within the district, and then to attempt to adjust the military needs of the Nation to the industrial needs of the Nation in such a way as to make the burden bear as lightly as possible on industry, including agriculture, and at the same time to furnish an army. It is self-evident that the draft must to some extent interfere with all industry, since to withdraw from the labor supply of the Nation something over a million men is bound to create some interference. In an agricultural community this interference will be felt by agriculture. The extent to which it will be felt is to be determined by the district board, and upon this determination the decision in individual cases must to some extent rest. The district board in Kansas has no doubt made this survey. Using their just judgment and discretion, they have addressed themselves to individual cases. I have no doubt that in refusing discharges in some cases they have interfered to some extent with agriculture, but I equally have no doubt that this interference was necessary. No one could consistently urge that we should make a blanket exemption of persons engaged in agriculture. To do so would simply double, treble, or quadruple the tax on the labor supply of other industries. We must adjust, but we can not protect absolutely. I venture to say, however, that the tax is not creating a general situation of very great hardship. Figured out in mathematical terms, it results in the taking of perhaps 1 man out of 38 men engaged in agriculture. Often that one man is able to present his case of individual hardship in such a way that the conclusion may be drawn on superficial examination that the same condition exists in general and that agriculture is so affected in general. I can not believe that this conclusion should be drawn.

No authority can sit in Washington and, on ex parte statements, make the kind of informed and deliberative decision that a district board sitting in the very community over which it has jurisdiction can make. My correspondence shows a disposition in some agricultural communities to urge upon me a blanket ruling that everyone engaged in agriculture should be exempted from the first draft. I have given the whole problem long and earnest consideration. I know that this can not be done. As we obtain experience we shall be able to apply the draft with a decreasing minimum of general hardship, but we can never apply it with absolutely noninterference with any particular industry. Neither can we group any great number of industries and say that they shall be preferred above other industries in the matter of labor supply. It is true that the food production must be fostered, encouraged, and inflated, but the very conditions of the problem make it self-evident and beyond question that the labor supply with which this inflation is to be accomplished must necessarily be slightly decreased if we are to enter this war in a military capacity. All of us must make the greatest effort and, with the greatest forbearance, work to accomplish the greatest result. We must remember that we can not avoid sacrifices.

Very truly, yours, NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

When the price of wheat was under consideration by the price-fixing committee appointed by the Food Administrator, under authority from the President, and when it looked as if an agreement on price might not be had and that the matter might be referred to the President for final determination, I addressed to him the following letter:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, August 23, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
The White House.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: For more than a week I have wanted to write to you about a matter of real importance, but I have hesitated to do so, both in the knowledge of the tremendous number of problems which you are called upon daily to face and in the belief that perhaps you may not care to assume any personal connection with the work of the board now convened in an attempt to fix a fair price for the 1917 crop of wheat. What progress that board is making I do not know. I assume, however, that there is a possibility of so wide a divergence of opinion that unanimous agreement can not be reached. In such circumstance it may become necessary for you to deal personally with the situation, and in any event it is proper that you should have a full knowledge of the farmer's point of view.

At the outset let me emphasize that I am in thorough accord with the objects of the food-administration act. Those objects, as I understand them, are two fold: First, to do away with speculation and exorbitant profits by middlemen, thus making the margin between producer and consumer as small as possible; second, to give the Government authority, if need should arise, to take over any product necessary to the success of the war either for Government use or for distribution among the people at a reasonable price. Very distinctly it was not proposed by this legislation to discriminate either for or against any one class, nor was it intended to levy a special tax upon any one class.

The congressional district which I represent is normally the largest wheat-producing district in the United States. In 1914 it harvested approximately 80,000,000 bushels. This year it has no wheat throughout a large portion of its area and little more than enough for seeding anywhere. Individually I planted 800 acres to wheat last fall, but I harvested not a single spear. And what applies to me applies also to 90 per cent of the farmers of the western half of Kansas. Therefore, what I am about to say is not biased by either personal or political consideration.

All of us realize that the 1917 crop of wheat in the United States is far below normal. This, together with inability to transport wheat from Australia and India, which under normal conditions would be available for consumption in Europe, has caused eager demand for the present crop, even at a very high price. Before the food-administration act was passed the farmers who had wheat to sell were receiving $2.75 and $2.80 per bushel. Many of them believed that their wheat was worth more money, and stored it to hold for an advance. They felt, and naturally, that they were entitled to an advance in the value of their merchandise on account of the limited supply and the unusual demand, just as the cotton growers, the steel manufacturers, and men engaged in every other class of industrial pursuit have increased the price of their products very materially as compared with the prices that prevailed before the war. The fact that wheat is a principal food product does not enter into the farmer's calculations. He sees his fellow farmers of the South sell cotton at unheard of figures without governmental interference or regulation, and if a price is fixed on wheat materially reducing it from what it would command on the open market, the wheat farmer inevitably will feel that the Government has discriminated against him and in favor of the cotton farmer. I do not say that his view represents a correct analysis of the situation, but I know it is a natural analysis.

Of course all of us realize that the cost of production throughout the country has increased tremendously during the last few years. The increase along agricultural lines has been commensurate with the increase along industrial lines. As much as $1.50 per bushel was paid for a considerable part of the 1914 wheat crop, about $1.25 per bushel for some of the 1915 crop, from $1.75 to $2 per bushel for the portion of the 1916 crop that was held until the latter part of the winter, while $2.75 and $3 per bushel was freely offered for the 1917 crop before the passage of the food-control bill. According to the figures of the Department of Agriculture approximately 890,000,000 bushels of wheat were raised in this country in 1914, over a billion bushels in 1915, 640,000,000 bushels in 1916, with an estimate of about 650,000,000 bushels for this year. None of the preceeding crops has approached in cost that of 1917, and yet for those crops many farmers received prices far higher than they had ever received before.

As to the cost of the present crop figures differ. Conservative estimates for the Kansas crop, however, run from $2.40 to $2.60 a bushel. Secretary Mohler, of the State Board of Agriculture, after a careful and painstaking survey of the State, has fixed the figure at $2.65 per bushel. In North Dakota, I believe, a much higher claim of cost is being made. It is not unreasonable that the farmers should expect some margin of profit over and above the cost price. The Kansas farmer believes that the value of his wheat, based on supply and demand under unrestricted trading conditions, is about $3 a bushel. He was securing $2.80 a bushel from the thrasher, and experience has shown him that the price at thrashing time is almost invariably the lowest price of the year. If the Government should name a price substantially lower than $3, the farmer will feel that in effect a special tax is being levied on him for the benefit of other interests which have the privilege of an open market. He will immediately contrast his own condition with that of the cotton grower of the South, who is being permitted to sell his product without restriction and without governmental interference as to price. He will charge political favoritism. He will hold that while his own product is necessary to feed the world, the product of the cotton farmer is equally necessary to clothe the world and to enable the manufacture of the munitions of war without which our enemies can not be defeated.

From each of several standpoints the result will be disastrous if a price is fixed which the farmer regards as unfair and in a sense confiscatory. He will refuse to sell; already there has been an alarming tendency to store. A situation might easily be brought about where you would be compelled to requisition wheat from individual farmers in order to furnish the country with bread and to furnish our allies with their requirements. Nothing more unfortunate could arise. The enmity of the farmers would be aroused at a time when we need their cooperation. They would become suspicious of the attitude of the Government toward them. They would harbor the belief that the price of $2 per bushel already promised them for next year's crop might be seriously reduced. At the very time of seeding, when every effort has been made to induce a largely increased acreage, disappointment and discouragement would become so widespread as to seriously curtail production. I believe, Mr. President, that I have a fairly good idea of the farmer and of his processes of thought, and I am certain the statements I make are not overdrawn.

The Government has promised by legislative enactment a minimum price of $2 per bushel for the 1918 wheat crop. The Department of Agriculture here at Washington and the various State councils of defense are urging the largest possible acreage. The statement has been made repeatedly that we must try to produce a minimum of a billion bushels of wheat in 1918. For that billion bushel crop our Government will pay at least $2 per bushel, regardless of world conditions, regardless of whether the war continues, regardless of supply and demand. Is it fair, then, to fix for the present crop of 650,000,000 bushels an arbitrary price at a figure much below the market price under natural trading conditions, with a world shortage such as now exists and with an abnormal cost that has attached itself to the production of this crop? If cheap bread must be provided, will it not be more fair to follow the plan of France and Italy and let the Government, through taxes imposed

on all the people and particularly on the wealth of the land, absorb the difference between the price of wheat and the cost of bread, rather than to compel one limited class of our people to bear the brunt of this sacrifice for the benefit of all?

The success of the food administration depends very largely upon the voluntary cooperation of all classes of our people. It is charged alike with the responsibility of fixing this wheat price and of securing the grain for our allies. If the wheat price should prove such a disappointment to the farmer as to create in him a feeling that he had been dealt with unjustly and a spirit of resentment; if he should withhold his wheat from the market and the Government should be compelled to commandeer that wheat; if he should refuse to plant this fall and next spring the acreage we need to have planted, the success of the food administration would be greatly impaired to say the least, and the opposition to it would become both bitter and widespread.

Please pardon the length of this letter and do not bother to answer it. I have written entirely with a view to giving you what information I can and trying to put before you what I know to be the honest opinions of many farmers.

With great respect, I am,

Sincerely, yours, JOUETT SHOUSE.

The United States at War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. DAVIDSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, this extra session of Congress is about to end. From April 2, when it convened, to the present hour its Members have devoted their best energies to the enactment of legislation necessary for the conduct of the war in which we are engaged.

During the political campaign of last year the people were led to believe that the President's diplomacy had not only "kept us out of war" but would continue so to do.

Following the election, however, it became apparent that the Nation was being drawn nearer and nearer the vortex in which practically all the civilized world had become engulfed.

It was generally understood that when the President convened Congress some action vitally affecting the Nation's interest would be taken. The entire Nation was ready to maintain, by force if necessary, the freedom of the seas and the protection of American citizens wherever they were. In defense of these principles the people were ready to wage war against the Imperial German Government, which had repeatedly violated them. They did not understand that this would require us to intervene in the European war, or that we would sit in and help determine the terms of settlement of European questions.

The President's message, however, plainly indicated his purpose of including the larger idea of engaging in a "war for world-wide democracy," to be carried on by armies chosen upon the principle of "universal service," and sustained by "all the resources of the Nation."

Those who favored and voted for the war resolution knew, or should have known, that it meant the conscription of men for service in European trenches and the conscription of wealth, in the way of bonds and taxes, foods, and all other national resources, for their maintenance and the maintenance of our allies.

A few of us hesitated to place this tremendous burden upon the people. We believed American rights could be protected without making it necessary for us to engage in a war over questions in dispute between European nations.

While we would willingly have supported a resolution for the exertion of such force as might be necessary to protect our rights upon the seas, we could not support a measure so far-reaching in its effects as the one proposed.

A majority of the Congress, however, adopted the resolution declaring that a state of war existed, and from that day to this those Members of the House who voted against the resolution have stood shoulder to shoulder with those who supported it, in favor of every measure desired by the President and necessary for the successful conduct of the war. We have each realized that, no matter how much we may have differed as to the necessity of our country engaging in this kind of a war, there could be no question as to the necessity of our winning it.

FINANCING THE WAR.

Congress at once undertook the work of preparing for war. It first obligated the Government to the extent of seven billions of dollars for war purposes. This bill passed the House April 14, 1917, 388 Members voting for it and not a single one against it. It provided funds not only for domestic expenditures, but three billions to be loaned to foreign Governments.

Later the House, again by a unanimous vote, further obligated the Government in the sum of eleven billions of dollars. This act authorized a further loan of four billions, making in all seven billions of dollars to be loaned to our allies.

These loans are absolutely necessary if those allies are to continue to maintain their armies in the field and their civilians at home.

The first authorization provided for nontaxable liberty bonds carrying an interest rate of 3½ per cent. The second authorization, under which liberty bonds are now being sold, provides an interest rate of 4 per cent, but these bonds are subject to an income tax on amounts above $5,000 owned by a single person. The purchaser of these bonds has a safe investment at a reasonable interest rate, and the further assurance that he is doing "his bit" in aiding his Government in financing the war.

In every war one of the difficult questions to be determined is, How much of its cost shall be borne by the present and how much by future generations; how much in bonds, how much in taxes?

So much depends on circumstances and conditions that any attempt to lay down a hard and fast rule in this respect would be inadvisable.

Those who favor large bond issues contend that as the war is being fought for the benefit of future generations they should bear the greater part of the burden; others contend that while a portion of the present generation is facing the enemies' guns at the front another portion is remaining at home fattening off the opportunity for excess profits that war always gives, and that these should bear, very largely, that portion which can be paid for in money, and that it is unfair to require those who go to the front and are fortunate enough to return to also in later years pay the bonds now issued in place of taxes.

There is no good reason why those who are engaged in present industries and who are not serving at the front should not contribute liberally to whatever amount is necessary for the support and equipment of those at the front.

This is especially true of those enjoying large incomes, and doubly so of those whose incomes are derived from excessive profits obtained through the production of munitions of war. If there ever was a time when a tax should be apportioned according to the ability to pay, that time is now. Care must, however, be taken to avoid "killing the goose that lays the golden egg." Nothing would be more harmful to the successful prosecution of the war than by overtaxation or other means to stifle industry, thereby interrupting business, closing factories, throwing labor out of employment, and otherwise disturbing the prosperity of the country.

The committees having the revenue bill in charge gave careful consideration to all these questions, and the act, concurred in by both branches of Congress unanimously on October 2, 1917, is offered with the hope that it will be received by the country not as a perfect tax measure but one so adjusted as to raise the largest possible amount of revenue with the least possible disturbance to business or distress to individuals.

The amount expected to be raised by it is $2,206,000,000.

Of this amount, $842,000,000 will be obtained from income taxes; $1,110,000,000 from excess profits; $220,000,000 from liquors, wines, and soft drinks; $57,000,000 from tobacco and cigars; $40,000,000 from automobiles; $50,000,000 from admissions to places of amusement; $74,000,000 from increases on postal rates on first and second class matter; and the balance from other lines of industry.

With this law in effect about 36 per cent of our war expenditures will come from taxes and about 64 per cent from bonds.

It is now estimated that at the end of the fiscal year there will be a deficit in the Treasury of about $3,000,000,000. This means that at the coming regular session of Congress additional bonds must be provided for and additional taxes levied. It will then be necessary, probably, to not only impose consumption taxes but make further levies on incomes and excess profits.

APPROPRIATIONS.

The appropriations already made and authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, including the amounts loaned to our allies, and which are reimbursable, amount to $21,390,730,940.46.

Of this amount, over nineteen billions have been placed at the disposal of the administration to enable the country to properly conduct the operations incident to the war, and this was done by practically a unanimous vote of the Congress. The amount is so stupendous that the human mind can not grasp it.

It is interesting to compare it with the amounts expended by our allies for war purposes. Up to August 1 of this year—

Great Britain had expended	$18,500,000,000
France had expended	15,327,400,000
Italy had expended	3,120,000,000
Russia had expended	15,000,000,000

But these cover a period of three years, whereas ours are within the first six months of the first year of the war and before a gun has been fired or a shell exploded.

What the future expenditure will be time alone can tell. Some of the items for this year, such as the building of cantonments, and so forth, will not have to be repeated, but on the other hand it may be necessary to expend much larger sums in other directions. We must therefore face the future with the grim determination to expend whatever amount is necessary to enable our country to win this war at the earliest possible moment.

RAISING AN ARMY.

Next to the declaration of war the act which came closer to the people than any other was the one by which provision was made for raising an army.

Wars can not be fought without men. Previous laws had provided for a small Regular Army of men between the ages of 18 and 30 years, and a National Guard of men between the ages of 18 and 45. These were all volunteers.

Additional legislation was necessary to provide an army of sufficient size to meet this emergency. The War Department proposed a plan which was given careful consideration by the House Military Affairs Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member. A majority of the committee recommended a few changes in the department's plan. These related to the maintenance of State units of the National Guard, the age limit of men called to the service, and the application of the volunteer system in the first instance.

The committee's plan for the maintenance of State units of the National Guard was accepted and is a part of the law.

The general plan to raise the Regular Army and the National Guard to war strength by the voluntary enlistment of men between the ages of 18 and 40 years, with the further provision that if enough volunteers were not obtained conscription would apply to the balance, which would give an army of over 900,000 men, largely of volunteers, was accepted without objection.

The department further proposed to then raise, by conscription, an additional army of 500,000, and if necessary another increment of the same number, of men from 19 to 25 years of age.

After exempting those having dependents, the burden of such an army would largely fall on boys from 19 to 25 years of age.

The committee believed this was unfair to the school boys of the country, and recommended an age limit of from 21 to 40 years. This was adopted after the conference had reduced the maximum to 30 years.

The committee's bill provided all the necessary machinery for conscription, and authorized the President to put it in operation at once.

It was conceded that it would require four or five months to prepare a list of those eligible for service, and a much longer period before those drafted could be trained.

There was an insistent demand that troops be sent to France at the earliest possible moment. It was believed that if volunteers were called for thousands of men, many of whom had had previous military training, would enlist for foreign service.

Certain prominent and popular citizens who had served as volunteers were ready to raise and organize divisions, and the committee believed these could be made ready for transport at a much earlier date than would be possible under conscription. Its plan, therefore, after giving the President the necessary authority for levying conscription, authorized him, in the meantime, to call for volunteers, giving him authority, when the conscription rolls had been completed, to draft the number necessary to complete the quota.

This was simply a recognition of the custom always heretofore observed and now recognized in raising the Regular Army and the National Guard to war strength.

Although the committee's plan was not adopted, it is interesting to note that on the 6th day of September, five months after war was declared and before a single drafted soldier was in training, there were in the Army of the United States 819,881 men and in the Navy 254,267, a total of 1,074,146, every one of whom was a volunteer.

Conscription of men for service is never popular. The present is probably no exception, but when a country is in war it must have power to raise necessary armies for its defense.

The conscription plan has been adopted, and under it nearly 10,000,000 men have been registered and over 600,000 are now in training. It is the law, and prompt and complete compliance with its provisions is the duty of every citizen.

AVIATION.

Another vitally important step in forming this great army was taken when the Military Affairs Committee prepared and submitted to the House a bill for the reorganization of the Signal Corps of the Army by enlarging the Aviation Section thereof and making provision for the construction and operation of airplanes in large numbers. The bill carried an appropriation of $640,000,000. It was prepared by the committee in executive sessions and accepted by both the House and the Senate unanimously and without amendment and without giving publicity to the details of its provisions.

It is sufficient to say that under this act thousands of airplanes of the best-known type are now being constructed, equipped with the new "Liberty" engine and other American-made devices, which will enable them to serve as the eye of the Army and lead it to victory through the air.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' INDEMNITY AND INSURANCE.

When the Government puts a man in its military service it destroys his insurability and, very largely, his earning power. The least it can do in return is to make restitution so far as is possible. This is the only just and humane thing to do.

Congress therefore has enacted a law under which the Government will do certain things as a part of the compensation for the patriotic service the soldier and sailor renders. If he is single, it will pay him 4 per cent interest on so much of his pay as he may leave on deposit; if married, it requires him to allot $15 from his month's pay to his wife and children for their support. To this the Government will add another $15 for the wife, with an increase for each child. If the soldier has neither wife nor child, but has other dependent relatives, it will make an allowance to them, providing the soldier also allots $15 a month out of his pay. If the soldier is killed in battle or dies as a result of wounds or disease incurred in the service, his wife will receive a minmum pension of $30 per month, with an additional allowance for each child. If he returns partially or totally disabled permanently, he will receive a pension ranging from $40 to $200 per month.

The soldier also has the opportunity to buy from the Government insurance of from $1,000 up to $10,000 at $8 per year for each $1,000 of insurance.

The average insurance rate for men 21 years of age is $8 per thousand. If he enters the war, his insurance is either canceled or the rate increased to $58 per year.

Under this law the Government, therefore, gives to each soldier a bonus equivalent to $50 per annum on each $1,000 of insurance for which he is willing to pay $8 per year.

The purpose of this act is to secure the future of American soldiers and sailors by insuring their lives and providing adequate compensation and indemnities for loss of life and total or partial permanent disability, and to protect their families against poverty and want by providing them with sufficient means of support during the absence of the men at the front.

It does not affect existing pension laws, except that after October 6, 1917, widows of officers or enlisted men of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Spain, or the Philippine insurrection will receive $25 per month.

These are but a few of the many constructive laws enacted at this session.

Others, which can only be referred to, include the appropriation of $162,500,000 to provide for the production, conserving the supply, controlling the distribution, and fixing the price of food and fuel; to increase the enlisted strength of the Navy and the Marine Corps; to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy; to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, neutrality, and foreign commerce; priority of shipment and car-service control in interstate commerce; authorizing the President to commandeer ships and shipbuilding supplies. Many of these laws confer very great and almost autocratic power upon the President of the United States; but he is the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy and these are war measures. All of them seemed necessary in order that the administration might have a free hand in carrying on the war operations, and they were enacted promptly and practically unanimously.

Six months ago to-day war was declared. When that act was passed we were utterly unprepared for war. Within these six months those of us who have been here constantly and who have seen the Nation awaken from its dream of peace to its conscious strength as a mighty power for war appreciate the remarkable progress made in that brief period.

The mobilization and concentration of this power commenced when war was declared. Directed by the heads of the various departments and aided by men of the highest skill and experience in various lines of industry who, through a patriotic endeavor to do their shares, have given freely and without compensation of their time and energy, this mobilization went on until this great war machine, so constructed and operated, is now influencing and directing all the industries and resources of this great country in the work of raising, training, equipping, feeding, and transporting the boys who will carry our flag to

victory upon foreign fields and who will sacrifice life itself, if necessary, in the defense of the principles so dear to us and to them.

Mr. Speaker, the action taken by this Congress in the early hours of that fateful April morning brought a feeling of sorrow to American hearts and homes. No one wanted war, and everyone regretted sincerely the necessity which made it necessary for our country to engage therein.

This was especially true of those citizens of foreign birth or ancestry who still cherish in their hearts that tender memory which every decent man has for the place of his birth.

In the district I have the honor to represent reside many of these citizens. They are as law-abiding, liberty loving, generous, and patriotic as can be found in any section of the country. There never has been any question of their loyalty to this country, and they are ready to do, and are doing, their full duty in its behalf. They have contributed generously in aid of the Red Cross, and are now subscribing freely for liberty bonds. They are doing their utmost for food production and conservation, and, as on all previous occasions, when their country needed men for its defense they have been quick to respond to the call.

Wisconsin's governor has stated that over 65 per cent of its quota of soldiers—and it promptly furnished its full quota—are of foreign birth or ancestry.

I am certain that my district exceeds that percentage. These patriotic boys did not wait for conscription, but volunteered, and in such numbers that in some of the local districts the full quota was thus furnished and none has been summoned under the draft.

What better evidence can be offered of their loyalty and devotion to their country?

To the fathers and mothers whose sons have thus pledged their lives my heart goes out in sympathy. I can sympathize with them, for their lot is my lot.

One of my sons is a volunteer in the Navy and the other offered his services and now awaits his call. What their fate is to be I can not know. I can only wait and hope, but "hope's brightest robes will be broidered with the sable fringe of fear."

Our first duty, however, is to our country. We are in war. The honor and integrity—yea, even the very principles for which our country stands—are at stake. In such an hour the thought of every American citizen should be:

> My country, my country, may she ever be right;
> But, right or wrong, my country.

Throughout this important session, so momentous in the life of our country, and during which so much legislation touching the vital interests of its citizens has been enacted, this thought has governed my actions.

Every man owes to his country whatever he has to give. I have given constantly of my time and strength in this work without reference to personal or political considerations.

I have felt that we are engaged in a stupendous undertaking. This great struggle will not be easily won. Each of us must sacrifice and be prepared to make still further and greater sacrifices.

Our boys—your sons and mine—will be at the front united in our defense. They are entitled to and must have the united support of those at home.

Let us, therefore, persevere without faltering until an honorable and lasting peace can be obtained. God grant it may come before our boys actually reach the trenches; but if not, let us have faith that out of it all will come a brighter, better day, when wars shall be no more.

If this can be the result, then the war will have been worth all its cost and we will be consoled with the thought that the precious lives taken, the terrible sacrifices made, the immense treasure expended, were not in vain.

War-Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORDELL HULL,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the American Government is now engaged in prosecuting a great war. To this end men and money are necessary. From the fateful days of July and August, 1914, when the present world-wide conflagration broke and commenced to spread over Europe, it has been utterly impossible for any person to follow in full detail its course or to fathom all the underlying causes and motives or to grasp all the issues and satisfactorily appraise their merits.

Naturally, the President of the United States, having the benefit of innumerable channels of official information through which all available facts, secret and otherwise, have come to him daily since and before its outbreak, has been in the best possible attitude to discover and understand controlling causes, conditions, and motives back of the world war, as thus revealed to him. From those early days of this great conflict when Germany, pretending only to threaten Russia, proceeded instead to mobilize her chief forces on the French border, on the opposite side of the German Empire from Russia, the outstanding fact, now beyond dispute, that the German Government had suddenly embarked upon its hitherto secret plan of world conquest and world dominion, became apparent. Both at the beginning and for a long period thereafter many other nations looked on in horror and hoped that they might be able to remain out of this awful conflict with honor and safety.

Strange as it may seem, one peaceable and peace-loving country after another has been drawn in, under circumstances impossible to avoid without such sacrifices of honor and of God-given rights as no country could make and long endure. Austria, Serbia, Germany, Turkey, Russia, Belgium, France, England, Japan, Italy, Bulgaria, Portugal, Roumania, Montenegro, China, and the United States have drawn the sword either offensively or defensively, while the 11 Central and South American nations of Cuba, Panama, Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, Honduras, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Haiti, and San Domingo have either declared war or broken diplomatic relations with Germany or the central powers. All these 23 nations of the world are thus ranged against the Governments of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria in the necessary protection of their present and future rights, liberties, and civilization. If any citizen doubts the justice or the necessity of the defensive war now being waged against these central powers of Europe by practically the balance of the world, he has only to look to the deliberate and unanimous verdict of these 23 unbiased and unoffending nations for infallible proof to the contrary.

My remarks have to deal with the share of the American Government in financing this war. We must not only raise money to support and maintain the Army and Navy, but we must in substantial measure help to finance our allies. In this connection the statement in the House of Commons on July 24, 1917, of the British chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, defining the principle on which the English Government has acted in making loans to her allies, is pertinent, as follows:

> We have held from the first—and it is true of the three Governments which are responsible for the conduct of the war—that it was not a question of our fighting by ourselves or of our considering solely what should be done for our own forces. We have held that in reality it was one campaign that was being waged, and that what we had to do was to assist by every means in our power the general conduct of that campaign, involving as it did assistance to our allies as freely as money spent upon our own services.

The necessities of their situation has constrained this Government to provide loans to leading allied nations aggregating $7,000,000,000 for the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. We do not, however, expect this to become a burden to the United States. Every nation will strive to meet its honest obligations.

First, I may say that the financial policies thus far adopted by the United States have received world-wide commendation. Our financial and business conditions are sound and present the best possible situation to weather the storms of war. For this, the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Congress are entitled to great credit. Let us now turn to our domestic finances.

Prior to the war our domestic expenditures, including the Postal Service, would not much exceed $1,000,000,000. During 1916, however, the Government felt constrained to enter upon a system of additional preparedness to the extent of making substantial increases in the Army and Navy and coastwise fortifications. To meet these new expenditures Congress enacted the revenue acts of September 8, 1916, and March 3, 1917, estimated to yield some $425,000,000 additional revenue. Since the entry of the United States into the war in April last an entirely new system of war revenues and expenditures, of course, become necessary. Dealing alone with actual appropriations and expenditures for the present fiscal year and omitting the amounts of contracts and authorizations and certain other items of expenses which are reimbursable, such as foreign loans and interest thereon, including the foreign loan of $7,000,000,000, the sinking fund, war-risk insurance, etc., we have total cash appropriations of $11,650,000,000 which must be met from taxes and bonds during the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1918,

This includes our normal domestic expenditures and shows a total daily expenditure of nearly $32,000,000 for 1916–17. Our estimated tax revenues under former laws is $1,333,500,000 and under the newly enacted war-revenue act, $2,534,870,000, and postal receipts $325,000,000, aggregating revenues and receipts of $4,193,370,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

Strict accuracy would require allowance as to the amount of new and additional special taxes which will only be in operation from 7 to 9 months of this fiscal year.

Deducting this sum from the estimated actual expenditures of $11,650,000,000 for the present fiscal year leaves a balance of $7,456,000,000 to be provided for. The recent act of September 24, 1917, authorizes bonds to the extent of $3,539,000,000. This would leave expenditures of $3,916,000,000 to be provided for during the present year either by additional taxation or by bonds. The contract authorizations aggregating $2,511,000,000 also will have to be later taken care of when the expenditures become necessary.

The larger expenditures of the United States, as compared with the expenditures of some other governments at war during its early stages can well be accounted for upon different important grounds. The new program for the increase and development of aviation called for an additional $640,000,000; our great shop-building program demands $750,000,000, aud an authorized program ultimately involving $2,000,000,000. Certain other extraordinary items of expenditure could be mentioned. Furthermore, when the war commenced and for a time thereafter, prices were not nearly as high as during the period when and since the United States entered the war. They also had more or less price regulation in England and other countries, especially as it related to war materials and military supplies. It is true, however, that these same countries paid high and gradually higher prices for war supplies purchased in the United States. The cost of maintaining our Army and Navy is much greater than in other countries. Finally, it may be said that when the United States entered the war it had a thorough grasp of its magnitude, and profiting by the mistakes of other governments at war, it proceeded at once to throw its whole force and power and resources in many respects into the war. This huge undertaking calls for financing on the broadest scale almost from the beginning.

The much-discussed question of what proportion of expenditures during the war should be met by taxes and by bonds arises. I recently stated in the House my views relative to this matter. It may be of interest in this connection, however, to compare the course of different countries at war in meeting expenditures to this time. Under existing tax levies and appropriations, including both peace and war levies and appropriations, the United States during the present fiscal year would defray 36 per cent of expenditures from taxation. Striking out $1,000,000,000 peace receipts and expenditures, the percentage computation of the amount of war expenditures met by taxes would be not exceeding 30 per cent. This is a far better showing than any other country has made.

While England during the war has met 26 per cent of her total expenditures by taxation, she really paid only 19 per cent of her war expenditures by taxation, during the last fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, a computation arrived at by first deducting the peace receipts and expenditures. This latter method of computation also changes the ratio for the entire war. On May 6, 1917, the British chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons, said:

> Our total national expenditures during the war have been $21,590,000,000, of which $5,685,000,000 has been met by revenue, and the remainder of $15,925,000,000 from loans.

The British expenditure for the last fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, was $10,990,500,000, of which $2,867,140,000 was met by taxes, and the remainder of $8,123,360,000 from loans.

The English prewar receipts and expenditures were about $900,000,000. From August 1, 1914, to March 31, 1915, England expended $2,440,000,000. From March 31, 1915, to March 31, 1916, she expended $7,790,000,000, and from March 31, 1916, to March 31, 1917, $10,990,000,000. These various annual expenditures, however, include loans to the allies amounting to $5,855,000,000. England, since March 31 and prior to July 24, 1917, loaned her allies $985,000,000.

England's total votes of credit during the war and up to March 31, 1918, are $26,460,000,000. The total of the English daily national expenditure was just over $10,000,000 per day from the beginning of the war to March 31, 1915. During the following fiscal year ending March 31, 1916, it rose to $21,500,000 per day, while for the next fiscal year ending March 31, 1917, it exceeded $30,000,000 per day.

From February to May, 1917, the expenditures of the German Government were at the rate of $9,000,000,000 a year, or $25,000,000 a day, as compared with the rate of $6,000,000,000 per year, or $17,500,000 per day in the first half of 1916. This excludes normal budget expenditures, which includes advances made to her allies and several other items. While Germany's war expenditures during her last fiscal year were $6,050,000,000, they have increased 50 per cent this year, making $9,075,000,000. Her expenditures have been almost equal to those of England. Germany's total expenditures from August 1, 1914, to February 23, 1917, were $19,750,000,000.

Credits voted for all purposes by the French Chamber for the quarter April to June, 1917, show an average expenditure of $8,220,000,000, or $22,345,000 per day. It is true, however, that her vote of credit for the third quarter of 1917 was at the rate of $6,316,800,000 a year, or $17,546,000 per day. Similar votes for the whole of 1916 were $4,732,500,000, and like votes for the whole of 1915 were $3,152,800,000, according to the most reliable data available. The total French votes of credit from the beginning of the war until June 30, 1917, amounted to $16,060,000,000.

The total war expenditures of Canada, in both Canada and Europe, to July 30, 1917, was $623,000,000. Her estimated expenses of maintenance of troops in France from September 30, 1916, to July 20, 1917, at 6 shillings per man on an average of 117,000 troops, was $234,000,000 of the sum just stated. The war expenditures of Canada from April 1 to July 30 of this year, both at home and abroad, was $92,000,000, or the rate of $840,000 per day. This was her rate of war expenditures on July 20.

I shall now briefly refer to the methods and extent of war taxation as adopted both at home and abroad. The British tax receipts, omitting receipts from postal, telegraph, and telephone service, and miscellaneous, all of which are considered nontax revenue, have been as follows: For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1914, $815,000,000; for the year ending March 31, 1915, $945,000,000; for the year ending March 31, 1916, $1,450,000,000; for the year ending March 31, 1917, $2,570,000,000. During the same period the nontax revenue rose from $175,000,000 in the fiscal year 1914 to $295,000,000 at the end of the fiscal year 1917. The English customs taxes rose from $177,000,000 in the fiscal year 1914 to $350,800,000 in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1917. Her excise taxes rose from $138,000,000 in 1914 to $281,000,000 at the end of March, 1917. These excises related chiefly to liquors, tobacco, sugar, coffee, and tea. The estate taxes rose from $136,000,000 in 1914 to $156,000,000 in the year ending March 31, 1917. The income tax receipts rose from $236,000,000 in 1914 to $1,025,000,000 for the year ending March 31, 1917. The receipts from excess-profits tax, which was originally enacted late in 1915, were $700,000,000 for the year ending March 31, 1917, and are estimated to yield $1,000,000,000 for the year ending March 31, 1918. These comprise the principal increases of tax revenues made from time to time during the war in Great Britain. Her normal income-tax rate, which was nominally 5 per cent, and her supertax rate, which was a flat 2½ per cent, have been gradually raised, until at present the nominal rate of the normal tax is 25 per cent and the effect of the supertax rates reaches as high as 42½ per cent. The full effect of the combined rates applies to incomes of $10,000 and upward. The supertax commences there. By a system of abatements the 25 per cent normal tax rate is reduced in its effect on small incomes, so that it amounts to a fraction over 1 per cent on the smallest income subject to tax. The exemption was lowered to $650, but during the past summer, when the cost of living became so high, it was raised to $750. Persons often confuse direct and indirect taxation in Great Britain. Indirect taxation embraces excises as well as customs, while direct taxation relates mainly to property, income, and estate taxation.

Germany has only raised $425,000,000 from additional taxation during the war, as compared with Great Britain's $2,000,000,000.

Due to the fact that many of her chief industrial Provinces have been invaded and occupied by the enemy, France made but little headway in levying war taxes until recently. The increase of her revenues for 1916 over 1915 was $160,000,000. She now has in operation income, excess profits, and certain minor war-tax levies.

Turning to our own war-tax methods and measures, in discussing the war-revenue bill which passed the House in May last, I stated on the 22d of that month that—

> In view of the fact that we may be entering a somewhat long war, too much careful investigation and consideration of the principles of sound taxation and all phases of each item proposed to be taxed, and the formulation of an equitable and comprehensive initial revenue measure, can not well be given. With a basis of taxation thus established on lines broad and sound, one story after another of taxation could be added, if necessary, as the war progresses and our revenue needs increase without disturbance of business or economic conditions and

without the necessity of constantly readjusting or patching up our tax structure. * * * The first problem confronting the committee in its work of framing this measure was to determine upon what lines or principles of taxation the new levy should be made. The committee wisely, in my judgment, decided that the chief portion of the new taxes should come off of wealth, luxuries, and pleasure. I am in the heartiest accord with these general principles, as I am with the committee in this general course or policy as consistently pursued.

I have no reason now to modify the foregoing views. The expenses of the war should be borne by those who are really able to bear them. During the present period of enormously high prices with respect to articles of prime necessity upon which the poor must subsist, great care should be exercised by Congress to see that the average poor family is able to procure what is commonly termed the "minimum of subsistence" free from any tax burdens. This doctrine is based upon the right of people to live, to exist. And I do not believe it is in the heart of those fortunate enough to have surplus property or earnings to see others less fortunate who wage an honest, constant struggle to secure a livelihood shiver in the cold or go to bed hungry from utter lack of ability to supply themselves with urgent necessities because of tax burdens.

While I strongly favor an equitable distribution of taxes spread out over as many taxpayers as possible, I would not, except as a last resort, by taxation add to the hunger and cold and destitution of this latter class of people, while prices are so high, upon the theory that every single person should be required to contribute something in the form of a tax to the Government.

The new war-revenue measure just enacted is estimated to yield $2,534,870,000; $200,000,000 of the preparedness fund under revenue acts of 1916, and March, 1917, are also properly war taxes. It passed the House in May, and after many months' consideration in the Senate and some two weeks' consideration in conference, has now become a law. It is due those Members of the House and Senate, my colleagues, who had principally in hand the work of drafting and perfecting this measure, that deserved recognition should be given to their long and painstaking labors and their sincere and patriotic efforts to evolve a measure which would both respond to the needs of the Treasury and impose the tax burdens as fairly and equitably as possible and according to the ability of the taxpayers to bear them.

Each of these gentlemen in both the House and the Senate deserve the highest compliments for the zeal, ability, and singleness of purpose which they have uniformly exhibited in their efforts to secure sound, adequate, and equitable revenue legislation to meet the needs of the war. It is always true, however, that comprehensive revenue legislation embracing manifold subjects does not reflect the views of any one person. It must be the result of concession and compromise. Naturally, therefore, each Member participating in the preparation of such legislation must be disappointed with respect to some of the items finally agreed upon. The balance of the membership of the two Houses in turn suffer like disappointments. This is not the time, however, for carping criticism of such legislation on the part of any citizen. Any adverse criticism should be of a friendly character, looking alone to constructive remedies for hurtful defects in the measure.

In passing judgment on our war-revenue legislation, cheerfully accepting its necessity, two inquiries naturally arise in the public mind: Do such war measures embrace equitable, scientific taxation? To what extent does it, in connection with the total tax burdens, affect the ability of the country to pay?

Commenting on the last question first, the unlimited resources, boundless energy, and enormous productive capacity of this country are too familiar to require special showing here. Attention in this connection may be called to the additional fact that of the world's total gold supply of $8,560,000,000, the United States has more than $3,000,000,000. This places our country in the strongest possible economic and credit position. The ratio of gold to our national wealth of $200,000,000,000 is less than 1 to 70, while its ratio to our public debt is still almost nominal. While Europe is flooded with practically fiat paper money to the extent of $13,500,000,000, we have none. It is true that this country does not retain on hand an amount of surplus from annual production and savings in relative proportion to some other countries, such as England, who had some $20,000,000,000 loaned abroad at the outbreak of the war. This is due to the fact that ours is still largely an undeveloped country when compared with the old countries elsewhere, with the result that a substantial portion of our annual profits are applied to extensions and new developments in commerce and industry. When we take England as the most suitable country for comparison, as many do, for the reason that she has heretofore had something like half our wealth and population, it is necessary to bear in mind one important consideration in comparing relative tax burdens in the two countries. The American people are paying an amount near $1,800,000,000 of actual taxes to the States and their subdivisions. This amount added to the entire estimated Federal tax revenues of $3,868,000,000 would aggregate total tax burdens in the United States of $5,668,000,000. On the other hand, while the Federal tax levy of England is now near $3,000,000,000, the amount of actual taxes imposed for her counties and municipalities, not including nontax receipts, is but little more than $500,000,000, and of this amount the General Government collects and turns over between one-fourth and one-third. There are no States, and only 53 counties in England, while the municipalities are comparatively limited in number.

The fact that greater margins of profits are made in the United States than in England would enable the payment of correspondingly larger taxes. I have not doubted, and do not now doubt, the ability of the American people, without material injury or dislocation of business, to pay the amount of taxes now imposed, and also to pay substantially increased amounts if the war should continue for another year. My individual views when the United States entered the war in April were that it would be wise at that time to limit the subjects of taxation to a few large and general tax items, such as incomes, excess profits, estate, liquors, tobacco, and a very few other items of taxation embracing luxuries and pleasure, to the extent of about $1,800,000,000. At that time our estimated expenditures for the present fiscal year were only $3,800,000,000. Then later in the year and during the present fall, when our expenditures had materially increased and the country had gotten well into the war, increases and extensions in taxation should be made which would suitably respond to the increasing Treasury demands and work no serious hardship to the taxpayers. Following this second step, such further increases and extensions of tax levies would be made during the year 1918 as the conditions of the taxpayers and the demands of the war might suggest.

The fact, however, that the revenue bill passed by the House in May last did not become a law until the second stage of the tax program just stated had been reached, the increased amount of taxes carried in the bill as finally agreed to measurably accomplishes the same results. I hope I may be pardoned for reiterating a statement heretofore made, that the matter of paramount concern in imposing taxes relates to comprehensive and equitable laws rather than the rates they carry. The ability of the country to pay necessary war taxes is very great under such a system of sound and equitable taxation. I fear that heretofore too much thought has been given merely to the fixing of rates and entirely too little to the working out of accurate and detailed provisions of laws which would carve through the profits of every taxpayer—corporation, partnership, and individual—with accuracy and relative fairness.

"Fixing rates," which has been so much proclaimed, is easy enough after the far greater work of drafting an equitable tax measure is completed. The drafting of our big internal tax laws should require many months' labor as to their technical and business phases.

The combined income-tax rates are estimated to yield $1,201,000,000 for 1917. The great part this tax plays with respect to our war revenues is a reminder of the expression of Gladstone that "the income tax is an engine of gigantic power in time of war," and of the more recent utterance of Lloyd-George that this tax is "the center and sheet anchor of our financial system."

When it gets into full operation the estate tax will yield $110,000,000 annually. The combined yield of the income and estate taxes would thus be $1,311,000,000. This amount comprises more than one-third of the present total war and peace tax levies of the Government and it comes off of wealth, which is able to bear it and should do so. It is with some pride that I can claim responsibility for working out or selecting the methods and preparing the original drafts of these two measures, which later passed Congress without fundamental changes. It is also gratifying to see Canada during the past few weeks enact an income-tax law patterned almost entirely after our Federal law, rather than adopt the English phraseology and plan. Several States have either adopted, or are considering the adoption of, income-tax laws which comprise features or modified provisions of the Federal law. The new revenue law just enacted contains a number of amendments of a minor character to the income tax act of 1913 as revised by the act of 1916. It is most unfortunate that any needed changes of minor provisions were not made in a manner that would leave the law virtually intact. Instead, entire pages of the act of 1916 have been repealed and reenacted in the new law for the sole

purpose of inserting minor amendments comprising but a few lines—in fact, section 1200 of the act of October 3, 1917, takes practically the entire definition of income out of the original statute and reenacts it without the change of a word.

Many of the other income-tax amendments that follow in title 12 of the new law take entire sections and pages out of the body of the act of 1916 and reenact them for the wholly useless purpose of carrying one amendment through the different appropriate provisions of the act of 1916. The inevitable result of this method of making amendments is to scatter important provisions of the income-tax law of 1916 through different subsequent laws so that neither laymen nor lawyers can easily locate the separate enactments, bring them together, and ascertain just what the law is. Most of these amendments could have been written compactly within the space of a few pages and made to refer to the appropriate provisions of the income-tax act of 1916, without this system of useless repeals and reenactments. We now have in separate laws three so-called normal taxes, two supertaxes, and two exemptions, whereas all could have been combined in one simple provision. The new war-revenue act carries a provision substituting "information at the source" for the chief features of "collection at the source" as contained in the income-tax act of 1916. I shall have serious misgivings as to the wisdom of this change until its superiority over the former method of securing the tax is demonstrated. Either method has its objections. The trouble and expense of each to both the Government and the citizens affected are virtually the same. My judgment is that the largest factor in the success of the English income tax has been collection at the source. It has operated as the surest possible safeguard against evasion by the taxpayer and loss of revenue to the Government. The English system assesses all kinds of income possible at the source and before it reaches the hands of the taxpayer. Under this system each taxpayer is sure that his neighbor is paying his full share and is not escaping, with the result that he more cheerfully pays his tax. Under the system of information at the source one taxpayer is called on to report on his neighbor or his employee, or some other person with whom he may have close business associations. A citizen is more disposed to withhold from another money for taxes due the Government and turn such trust fund over to the Government than he is to report tax liabilities of his neighbors, friends, and associates. I earnestly trust that the information at the source may prove the success its authors predict for it; otherwise the same ground will later have to be retraced with respect to restoring, gradually developing, and making more comprehensive and effective collection at the source. As one Member, I acquiesced in the Treasury's insistence with great reluctance.

In the first draft of the income-tax act of 1913 was contained the provision defining earned and unearned incomes and prescribing reduced rates for the former. The necessity of this provision is far greater now than then, for the reason that the exemptions have been lowered to $1,000 and $2,000. The absolute fairness of a provision which requires persons receiving incomes from invested wealth and without personal labor to pay larger rates than those imposed on the salaries and wages arising from personal exertion the year round is too manifest for argument. The soundness of this tax policy is almost universally accepted.

The recent amendments to the income-tax law embrace provisions allowing certain exemptions for minor children and also for charitable contributions. It is true that the laws of some other countries whose exemptions range low and from $50 to $800 do provide exemptions for a certain number of minor children in cases where the income of the taxpayer does not exceed a certain amount. But I know of no case where such exemptions are prescribed for the benefit of taxpayers whose incomes exceed $2,500. People of large incomes have no claim on this class of exemptions, and it is against income-tax policy generally to allow them.

It is true that many other income-tax laws allow limited exemptions of income contributed to charitable purposes. The fact that most tax laws commence with exemptions of one character or another and end with exemptions has resulted in the accumulation of property in the United States of $15,000,000,000 to $18,000,000,000 exempt from all taxation. During recent years many local and general laws here and elsewhere have either imposed a small flat tax rate on charitable contributions or upon those above a fair amount prescribed as a minimum. With this great amount of property, as just stated, already exempted, added to the principal of our Federal bonds issued and to be issued during the war, which will be exempt as such, it would appear to be wise policy not to allow an amount of wealth and property so enormous to get entirely without the range of any kind of taxation. The Government, the States, counties, and municipalities are more and more assuming these charitable burdens, and the time is approaching when they will care for them to a much greater extent. Under the new exemption provision referred to, a citizen having an income of $10,000,000 may donate $1,500,000 free of tax to some great institution. Under our present income-tax rates, aggregating more than 60 per cent, the effect of this transaction would be that the Government would really donate 60 per cent and the taxpayer only 40 per cent, but the taxpayer would get the entire credit for the donation while the Government would suffer the loss of $900,000 war taxes.

There are some marked differences in the substantive provisions of the English and American laws as they affect income. The English law does not provide any allowance for depletion of mines. It taxes the rental value of real estate and of residences occupied by the owners so as to place landlords and tenants on a parity as to the tax. It allows no deduction for interest on indebtedness. It taxes all governmental salaries and interest on all Government, county, and municipal bonds. It makes the income of husband and wife one, in estimating total income for supertax. It makes the family the unit of income in chief measure for the purpose of the normal tax. While the sentimental, and sometimes the just, side is persuasive, yet if our Federal law treated family income as the English law does, its yield would be $100,000,000 additional. It is always so easy for the husband to distribute his income among members of his family and thereby cut the tax rate in half or less. If our law were as comprehensive in all respects as the English provisions probably $250,000,000 would be added to its revenue yield.

It is difficult to sustain the view that the clause of the Constitution providing that the compensation of Federal judges "shall not be diminished during their continuance in office" was intended by the framers of the Constitution to exempt them from tax rates—or increase of tax rates when once applicable to a judge or judges—imposed uniformly on all salaries of all citizens in the United States. The provision must have contemplated a prohibition against an act of Congress specifically and directly reducing judges' salaries, and thereby affecting the independence of the judiciary. If Congress should classify the salaries of Federal judges and lay a different tax than that imposed on all other salaries of like amount, the constitutional inhibition might apply.

Very considerable increases of revenue to the extent of several hundred millions can be derived from our income tax during next year, if necessary for war purposes, without injustice or hardship to the taxpayers.

During the war when revenue needs have been urgent and earnings in many lines abnormally large, an excess-profits tax has been enacted by many governments. Swollen profits earned under war conditions have been most inviting as a subject of taxation, and justly so. I have strongly favored such tax since the summer of 1916. The great puzzle is and has been as to how to impose this tax most equitably. It is virtually impossible to write an excess-profits tax law which can be administered so as to avoid inequities resulting in serious hardships and injustices in many cases. Speaking of the English excess-profits law, which is the best considered draft and the best revenue-producing law in operation, on May 2, 1917, after it had been tried out for more than a year, the British chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, said:

> It does tell very unfairly, and it is inevitable that it should. * * * It tells unfairly against one trade as against another trade. In many cases it tells against particular methods of carrying on trade as against other methods of carrying on the same trade. I recognize all that.

We can only seek—and we should do this—to effect the minimum of inequalities.

Notwithstanding, some 14 Governments, including our own, have been convinced of the absolute wisdom and necessity of thus dealing with abnormal profits and thereby meeting imperative revenue requirements. As a sound economic proposition profits of many businesses and classes of business which have become swollen under war conditions should be reached by some kind of special tax. It matters little as to the name by which the tax is called. We already have in this country an additional or surtax on the total incomes of individuals in excess of $5,000. The so-called excess-profits tax is but another additional or surtax levied in crude form on the profits or income of corporations, partnerships, and individuals, derived for the most part from invested capital not in excess of $5,000, as in case of the present income surtax on individuals, but in excess of $3,000 in case of corporations and $6,000 in case of individuals and

partnerships, plus an additional amount of profits or income computed mainly on a percentage of capital invested, under certain detailed provisions of the law. This war-tax provision is therefore equivalent to an additional or surtax on corporations and partnerships, and a second surtax on individuals, but computed somewhat differently from the income additional or surtax. Technically it is at least almost a surtax on income of the taxpayer rather than business. It is not a war excess-profits tax, because some taxpayers earning more before the war than now will be subject to the tax. The law really defines all profits in excess of a certain percentage of the capital invested, plus the statutory exemption, as excess profits and applies a system of graduated rates thereto. The occasion and the idea of this tax first arose in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and certain States in Germany early in 1915, when in the search for governmental revenue it was observed that certain businesses and classes of business were deriving abnormal profits from conditions produced by the war. The plan to tax extra profits made as a direct result of the war was advanced. This took form in several early enactments in other countries. A little later the fact that trade and business generally was deriving unusual and extra profits made it impossible to distinguish those due to the war and those due to other conditions, and led to the broadening of the scope of the tax until it now applies generally to all profits in excess of the amount prescribed as the deduction or datum line.

There is but little uniformity in the various laws as to the original period covered, the precise scope of the tax, and the standard above which the excess is measured. Our new Federal provision in its effects practically adopts the so-called "capital percentage" standard. While it is true that a trade or business earning profits not less than 7 per cent nor more than 9 per cent of its capital before the war may compute according to the prewar standard of years, yet in order to administer this as well as the other provisions of the law it will be necessary in every case to compute the percentage of earnings on capital invested. Naturally the great problem has been to devise such a definition of "capital invested" as would enable the Government to administer the law with the minimum of hardships and injustices to certain businesses and classes of business or trade. At the outset the first impression seemed to be that the definition of "capital invested" for the purpose of computing the standard of deduction, or the prescribed normal-profit basis, should be the same definition of capital as understood in the ordinary commercial sense. In some important respects, however, the definition must be different. The net worth of a corporation, or the value of it if it were going into liquidation, is one proposition, while a definition of "capital invested" for the purpose of this excess-profits tax deduction is in certain particulars another proposition. Theoretically, the true inquiry would be, What amount of capital was employed in producing the profits in question less the amount of liabilities incurred in the same connection? The practical impossibility of ascertaining such facts with any accuracy has suggested other definitions.

I do not envy the Treasury its task of ascertaining the "invested capital" for the date prescribed of every trade or business in the country subject to the excess-profits tax. They may be obliged in many or most instances to accept the book accounts of corporations with respect to capital values and capital invested. Accounts having been kept very differently in the past, this condition may not only occasion loss of revenue to the Treasury, but complaint of inequalities among taxpayers. To apply "invested capital" as defined will be most difficult or impossible in many instances.

In computing net profits the income-tax provision allowing deductions of interest on indebtedness seems to govern. This provision only allows for such interest to an amount equal to its capital stock plus one-half of its indebtedness. In all cases where the capital of a business is comparatively small or where it does not exceed one-half of the indebtedness full deductions of interest will not be allowed.

Profits are computed under income-tax law, with certain modifications.

The English law originally allowed 6 per cent on capital to corporations and 7 per cent to individuals, upon the ground that the salaries of directors and officers of corporations and individuals were thereby equalized. During the present year, however, Parliament felt obliged to extend the margin in favor of individuals to 8 per cent. The rate of interest allowed on new capital was made 3 per cent additional, both as to individuals and corporations.

In determining either the capital percentage standard or the prewar average of years standard, there should be as much flexibility allowed as the statute will permit. There are many exceptional cases, both as to individual businesses and a limited number of classes of business or trade wherein the exercise of considerable latitude by the administrative officials is imperative if hardships and inequalities are to be avoided. A different profits standard is sometimes necessary. Special provisions to this and other ends should embrace cases of small capital, where the trade qualifications of those conducting the business are even more important earning factors than the capital itself, new businesses, businesses which had subnormal earnings prior to the war, businesses which have had abnormal losses, temporary businesses for war purposes, and other exceptional cases.

There may be confusion, most serious difficulties, in determining the actual value of certain intangible assets allowed in the law, such as good will, trade-marks, trade brands, and the franchise of the corporation or partnership. Trade-marks or trade names can not be distinguished from good will. They are the identifying or specialized form of good will. Again, the value of good will is measurably determined by the earning capacity of the business concern.

The English law allows deductions for all interest on indebtedness. This in chief measure disposed of the "borrowed-capital" problem. It was agreed during the discussion of their law in the House of Commons that a firm using borrowed capital should either be allowed to deduct the entire interest on it or to consider the amount borrowed as capital. Even this allowance does not place the person with borrowed capital on an equality with the person who owns his entire capital. For the purpose of dealing with this matter fairly the definition of profits should be comparable with the definition of capital, a fact which seemingly has been in a measure overlooked. We should also keep in view the proper relation between the rate of interest allowed for borrowed capital and the capital percentage rate or standard.

The laws of other Governments which impose large income and excess-profits taxes similar to ours expressly provided for the payment of the taxes by installments. The provision in our law allowing the taxpayer to discount his tax at 3 per cent in advance of the date it becomes due will not, I fear, meet the necessities of the situation. In my judgment, a provision allowing the payment by installments of a substantial portion of the estimated $2,200,000,000 of income and excess-profits taxes for this fiscal year after June, the same to bear 6 per cent interest until paid, is very necessary.

The House and Senate conferees undertook to classify businesses having no invested capital or only nominal capital along with individuals engaged in the professions and earning income from personal exertion in excess of $6,000, for the purpose of excess-profits tax, and by section 209 imposed a flat 8 per cent rate. In its very nature this is a somewhat arbitrary tax levy, conceived and adopted as the best method which would approximate the spirit and intent of the general tax provisions of the excess-profits measure. In theory the imposition of an excess-profits tax on largely increased incomes from the professions is correct and justifiable. I think, however, that an entirely different basis would be necessary in the interest of equity and relative fairness. This would best relate to the prewar earnings of the individual. Even then the question of health and other personal factors which are not found in the case of a business or trade arise. Under the present provision serious inequities and rank injustices arise as between earned and certain unearned income. In considering the incidence of the excess-profits tax more or less consideration should also be given to the effect of the income tax in its graduated form.

In explaining why professions were not embraced in the English excess-profits measure, Mr. McKenna, British chancellor of the exchequer, on December 7, 1915, said:

> I have given a great deal of time to this. I did my best to show the distinction between a profession and trade with regard to the datum line, and we know as a fact—we are not speculating now—that in professions the total amount of excess profits, if you could get a fair datum line, is extremely small, and it would not pay us to go into all the necessary complications of securing a datum line.

In making a similar explanation, Mr. Bonar Law, the present chancellor of the exchequer, on May 7, 1917, said:

> My honorable friend, the member for Leith (Mr. Currie), raised a point which I had considered long before I became chancellor of the exchequer, namely, whether or not excess-profits duty ought to apply to professions as well as to businesses. He has given the real explanation why that is not done. I think on the whole it would be fair to do it. I know two members in this house who would be affected. The honorable member who spoke last, and who told us that he was not a financier, perhaps might have found that he would have to pay something if anything of that kind came into effect; and another member who would have been affected is myself. The salary that I now get would have been excess profits, and I should have had to pay duty on it. I think that would have been perfectly fair, but after close inquiry I have come to the same conclusion as my predecessor—that

in order to get revenue from the professional classes you would have to spread your net so wide and make so many assessments from which nothing would come that, as my advisers tell me, we should really not get a revenue in proportion to the expenditure.

Of course, each of these gentlemen had in mind the view of determining a basis other than the imposition of a flat percentage rate above a flat exemption of a specified amount.

Excess-profits laws generally have made no effort to tax salaries and wages. If salaries are to be so taxed, however, those of Government officials would be as properly subject to the tax as the salaries and wages of other individuals.

The great secret of the successful administration of the English excess-profits law consists in allowance of the fullest latitude with respect to all exceptional businesses and classes of business, which is vested in a board of referees. This board consists of 27 of the ablest and most experienced business men representing every important line of business activity. They divide into panels and conduct hearings and investigations in different localities at the same time, and later come together and make all computations and assessments as one body, thereby establishing uniformity. There is no appeal from their action. A board composed of men of this type would have been of great aid in administering and applying our law in the most equitable manner. Businesses and business profits could well be classified simply for the purpose of assessment, and making no distinction or discrimination as to tax rates, which rates would treat all income alike. The distinction would relate only to the manner in which the profits or income is computed and assessed. This would be in precise conformity with the English method under her income-tax law of dividing the income into five schedules, because the same income, or what is equivalent, the same standard of income, could not be computed with respect to different classes of business or sources of income, by one ironclad rule. Some modifications were necessary according to the kind of business profits to be computed and assessed.

No good purpose would now be served by a discussion of the relative merits of the different standards above which profits are measured, as contained in the various laws of other Governments. Congress has already prescribed the so-called "capital-percentage" standard in the main. I preferred a different basis. This action was taken, however, after lengthy deliberation and earnest effort on the part of those members of the Ways and Means and Finance Committees having the bill immediately in charge. I know they exerted their fullest efforts in striving to work out the most desirable standard. While laying aside any diverging views of my own, and acquiescing in their conclusions as final, I have felt justified in directing attention to certain phases of the law, at least some of which, with others not referred to, may be considered worthy of further consideration by a later session of Congress.

Under the operation of the English excess-profits law about $1,350,000,000 of excess profits were reported for taxation for 1916. If our law should sweep as clean as the English law and operate with approximate equity, the present schedule of rates would bring a much greater yield to the Treasury than $1,000,000,000, and with no general complaint of hardship. If the war should continue another year, the income and excess-profits measures should be made to yield around $3,000,000,000 for the calendar year 1918, assuming that business conditions continue to be good, as there is every ground to assume.

Space forbids the discussion of certain other important features of the new revenue measure and the further and fuller comparison of the law as a whole with what are considered the first principles of taxation. War taxation is never as equitable and scientific as normal peace taxation.

The great lesson we all must learn, and the paramount necessity we must recognize, is that this is a period of sacrifice while the war continues, involving in its outcome, as it does, our future rights, liberties, and civilization. Our brave and gallant soldier boys will do their whole duty. Every other citizen is therefore expected to contribute according to his ability with respect both to the purchase of bonds and the payment of taxes. Naturally, an injustice to a taxpayer, and even to small classes of taxpayers, may arise under the operation of temporary war-tax measures. Such condition, however, will not be due to design but will be an incident to the great general scheme for financing the Government, which can not in all cases be made strictly accurate and equitable in its detailed provisions.

Under the leadership of our great President every citizen should, and I believe will, meet the true tests of patriotism by lending his loyal cooperation to the Government in every feasible way and willingly undergoing such reasonable sacrifices as may be necessary to raise the amount of revenue from taxes and bonds that may be necessary to bring the war to an early and favorable conclusion.

Conscription.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. FARR,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following petitions:

SCRANTON, PA., *August 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Niagara Tribe, No. 434, Improved Order of Red Men, held on the 6th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law Senate joint resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

ROBERT TROUP, *Sachem,*
[SEAL.] S. WILLIAMS, Jr., *C. of R.*

MAPLEWOOD, PA., *August 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Macoby Tribe, No. 234, Improved Order of Red Men, held on the 4th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law Senate joint resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

GEORGE BARTLOW, *Sachem.*
[SEAL.] HOWARD R. GROMLICH, *C. of R.*

OLD FORGE, PA., *August 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Modoc Tribe, No. 410, Improved Order of Red Men, held on the 6th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law Senate joint resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

JOHN HOWELL, *Sachem.*
[SEAL.] A. STEWARD, *C. of R.*

CARBONDALE, PA., *August 7, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Lackawaxen Tribe, No. 208, Improved Order of Red Men, held on 7th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law joint Senate resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

[SEAL.] WORRIE L. SWINGLE, *Sachem.*
HENRY MASTERS, *C. of R.*

DUNMORE, PA., *August 8, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Pequest Tribe, No. 337, Improved Order of Red Men, held on 8th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law joint Senate resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

[SEAL.] ROY POWELL, *Sachem.*
GEO. E. RICHARDSON, *C. of R.*

SCRANTON, PA., *August 9, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Pocono Tribe, No. 230, Improved Order of Red Men, held on the 9th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law Senate joint resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

GEO. W. CARLTON, *Sachem.*
[SEAL.] W. L. GRASS, *C. of R.*

SCRANTON, PA., *August 10, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of Horican Tribe, No. 427, Improved Order of Red Men, held on the 9th day of August, 1917, it was unanimously resolved to request you to vote and use your influence to have the Senate and House of Representatives act immediately upon and have enacted into law Senate joint resolution No. 84, as the purpose and intent thereof is just and equitable and in all fairness due to those of our citizens who are liable under the recent conscription act.

GEORGE A. HATHAWAY, *Sachem.*
[SEAL.] WM. PEARSON, *C. of R.*

"Some of the Work of the Extra Session."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, the present extraordinary session of Congress, called in April by the President of the United States, has been marked by a greater volume of legislation and the enactment of measures of more momentous import than have ever been considered in any similar period in the parliamentary history of any country. Any criticism, therefore, that has been leveled at the Senate and House growing out of the impatience to place the country upon a war basis at the earliest possible moment in my judgment is unfair and indicates a lack of appreciation or knowledge of the enormous amount of work which the two Houses have performed.

The session included 188 days, including Sundays and holidays. Responsibilities of momentous character and long duration have been carefully, intelligently, and wisely assumed by the membership of the Congress, and on each measure, large and small, they have, with characteristic thoroughness done those things which are calculated to redound to the interest of the citizens of our country.

The important measures enacted into law at this Congress are as follows:

1. Public resolution No. 1, declaring a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same. On April 2 the German war resolution was introduced in the House, and on April 6, or four days after the assembling of Congress, the President attached his signature to that measure. No delay was involved in the passage of this resolution, perhaps the most important ever offered, either in this or any other Congress.

2. Public act No. 1, appropriating $68,020 for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

3. Public act No. 2, general deficiency appropriation act, appropriating $163,841,400.52, of which $100,000,000 was for the national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected with the war.

4. Public act No. 3, authorizing an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act appropriates $3,007,063,945.46 for establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation and issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes the issue of bonds amounting to $5,063,945,460, of which $3,000,000,000 is for meeting the loans authorized to foreign governments, $2,000,000,000 to meet domestic expenditures, and $63,945,460 to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918, maturing August 1, 1918; and also authorizes $2,000,000,000 of one-year certificates of indebtedness temporarily to provide revenue.

5. Public act No. 7, authorizing one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress.

6. Public act No. 11, appropriating $273,046,322.50 for the support of the Army for the fiscal year 1918.

7. Public act No. 12, authorizing the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States. This act authorized a selective draft of 1,000,000 men and contains other important legislative features pertaining to the Army.

8. Public resolution No. 2, authorizing the President to take over for the United States any vessel owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war.

9. Public resolution No. 3, authorizing the American Red Cross to erect certain temporary buildings in Washington, D. C.

10. Public act No. 17, to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps from 87,000 to 150,000 men, in the first instance, and from 17,400 to 30,000 in the second.

11. Public act No. 18, appropriating $1,344,896.18 for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year 1918, and for other purposes.

12. Public act No. 19, amending an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.

13. Public act No. 20, amending the war-risk insurance act and appropriating $45,150,000 to insure vessels and their cargoes, and expenses connected therewith.

14. Public act No. 21, appropriating $147,363,928.77 for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1918.

15. Public act No. 22, authorizing the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards.

16. Public act No. 23, appropriating $3,281,094,541.60 for the Military and Naval Establishments on account of war expenses. Up to this time this is the largest appropriation act known to this or any other country. Among other things, it appropriates $405,000,000 for an emergency shipping fund with which to begin construction of the greatest merchant fleet the world has ever known.

17. Public act No. 24, to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

18. Public act No. 25, amending the Federal reserve act.

19. Public act No. 26, authorizing condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.

20. Public act No. 29, appropriating $640,000,000 to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships.

21. Public act No. 31, authorizing the United States to take possession of a site for use for permanent aviation stations of the Army and Navy for school purposes.

22. Public act No. 37, appropriating $27,826,150 for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors.

23. Public acts Nos. 38 and 39, enlarging the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission and amending the act to regulate commerce, by authorizing priority shipments by any common carrier, etc.

24. Public act No. 40, appropriating $11,346,400 to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.

25. Public act No. 41, appropriating $162,500,000 to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

26. Public act No. 43, to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act makes an additional appropriation of $4,021,377,890.92 to extend credit in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation of an issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes an additional issue of $4,000,000,000 of bonds to meet loans to foreign governments; authorizes an additional issue of one-year certificates of indebtedness amounting to $2,000,000,000 and an issue of five-year war-saving certificates amounting to $2,000,000,000.

27. Public act No. 45, authorizing the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C., at a total cost not exceeding $1,250,000.

28. Public act appropriating $5,356,666,016.93 to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and authorizes contract obligations to be met by future Congresses amounting to $2,401,458,393.50. This is the largest appropriation act passed by this or any other country. This act makes further appropriations for the emergency shipping fund of $635,000,000 and raises the limit of cost to carry out the purposes of the shipping act to $1,734,000,000.

29. Public act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes, and appropriates $450,000 to enforce the provisions thereof.

30. Public act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes. This measure provides approximately $2,500,000,000 of revenue with which to pay the expenses of the Government.

31. Public act to provide a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families, and makes an appropriation therefor of $176,250,000.

This record of achievement speaks for itself.

PROVING GROUND.

There was one thing which sprung up, causing a great deal of thought and naturally much controversy; that was the location of the proving ground for the War Department. Many persons were of the opinion that this important adjunct of the War Department should be located on what is known as Kent Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, opposite the mouth of the Severn, which river leads to Annapolis.

There were various opinions as to whether or not this location was a proper one for the proving ground. It was shown that the site was located within 6 miles of the city of Annapolis, 20 miles from Baltimore, and in the narrowest part of the Chesapeake Bay, between which island and the western shore of Maryland there was but 4 miles. It was shown that all the shipping to and from Baltimore, which has grown to vast proportions, had to pass within 2 miles of the island, and likewise the shipping through what is known as the inland waterway, which is the trunk-line waterway the Government is gradually establishing from Boston to Key West.

Many persons, and not without very grave reasons, were of the opinion that the explosion of some 6,000 shells from guns of various caliber per day on this island would menace the shipping so near at hand. The War Department officials were quoted as saying that such would not be the case, but nevertheless the very thought of having such explosions within close proximity to shipping and so close to the city of Annapolis was at least a handicap and an element of danger in the opinion of many.

It has been stated that the proving ground at Sandy Hook does not in anywise interfere with the shipping at that point, but it must be borne in mind, of course, that there are to be more explosions and tests in one day at the proving ground to be established here than occurred at Sandy Hook in a year.

I find in the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, which committee was named by the Secretary of War to be the arbitrators as to whether or not Kent Island should be taken, that Gen. Crozier said the Chesapeake Bay, being an inland waterway, has not anything like the traffic that the ocean has in the vicinity of Sandy Hook, and that there is not the danger of interruption nor the same difficulty in seeing to interfere with the testing of guns, ammunition, and so forth. This statement was controverted by those opposing the taking of Kent Island by showing that the ship channel from Baltimore, and naturally from the inland waterway now being established, was less than 2 miles from Kent Island.

I have no doubt, if Gen. Crozier says this and is familiar with the traffic on the Chesapeake Bay, that what he says is correct, but we must bear in mind that this proving ground is not established for a day nor for a year, but it is to become a permanent establishment for a country now at war and one which will no doubt continue to be active and prepared for any emergency which may arise in the years to come. There will perhaps never be a time when so few guns are tested and so little transpiring in the War and Navy Departments as has been in the past.

BALTIMORE'S COMMERCE.

Let us remember that the exports of grain alone from the city of Baltimore to the countries of the world has increased from 41,000,000 bushels in 1896 to 120,000,000 in 1916, more than doubling that shipped from Philadelphia, and within 50,000,000 bushels of that shipped from the great city of New York. We also find that there entered the port of Baltimore from foreign ports in 1916 more than 1,129 steamships, 7 big sailing ships, 48 barks, and 12 schooners, a total of 1,196, showing a total tonnage of 2,584,589 tons, and that there cleared for coastwise trading some 1,800 vessels carrying a total tonnage of 3,000,000 tons. All these vessels, of course, likewise left the port, and it is necessary to double this great number of steamships and vessels of various nature in order to ascertain the number of trips made past Kent Island along the ship channel and within two miles of the site suggested for the proving ground, which aggregate some 6,000 trips per year. Then this number does not take into account the number of excursion boats nor small boats which do merely a local business in the Chesapeake Bay and in the vicinity of Kent Island.

When we realize that there is an immense amount of shipping along this channel, embracing, as it does, not only foreign shipping from Baltimore but the growing transport business along the Inland Waterway from Boston to Key West and the immense coastwise shipping of Baltimore to the harbors of the Atlantic seaboard and to the numerous rivers to and from which the boats from Baltimore ply we can readily see the immense shipping along Kent Island and the necessity for protecting same.

It was stated by Col. Ruggles that the island was an isolated place, but it was also stated that the place outlined for firing the long-range guns runs directly across the mouth of the Patapsco River and directly across the line of boats which make daily trips to and from Baltimore.

"QUESTION OF DEPOPULATION NOT ALONE CONSIDERED."

The taking of Kent Island was opposed by many because it would dispossess some 3,000 people from their homes and that it would remove from the productive field some 17,000 acres of good arable land which is now producing much food. This view, however, did not enter the minds of all those opposed to the taking of the island, because it was realized by these that no matter where the proving ground was located some people and perhaps many people would be dispossessed, and besides it was realized that even giving up an old established home held for generations was not comparable with the giving up by the mothers and fathers of their boys to enter the Army in the defense of liberty and their daughters to enter Red Cross work to take care of those fighting for their flag and country.

COULD BE ESTABLISHED ELSEWHERE.

It was believed that the proving ground could be established at some point along the Chesapeake Bay which would be just as advantageous as the officials had claimed Kent Island would be, and yet would not interfere with the shipping along the channel to Baltimore and the inland waterway, nor be dangerous to the lives and property of those traveling along the Chesapeake Bay.

LARGE SENTIMENT OPPOSED.

That there was a very large sentiment opposed to the taking of Kent Island can readily be seen when we realize that the Committee on Appropriations, which reported the item of $3,000,000 for the purpose of purchasing the proving ground voted only 7 to 5 in favor of the item allowing the taking of Kent Island and that the chairman of that important committee did not vote. Further, that when the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] moved to strike out the item, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee did not in anywise oppose the point of order and took no active part in the discussion.

In addition to this, while we have the highest regard for the Appropriations Committee, it must be remembered that the committee is not infallible in its actions, because if we will recollect this very committee, not more than a year ago, reported the proposition to eliminate the Subtreasury at Baltimore, while it allowed the continuance of those at other cities in the country. It was only after strenuous and hard work on behalf of the citizens of Baltimore in meeting assembled, and the active cooperation of the Members of Congress from Maryland that we were able to defeat the proposition and to retain for Baltimore this very important financial institution.

In addition to this it must also be remembered that countless Members of the House, not on the Appropriations Committee, when asked their views upon the taking of Kent Island, were unalterably opposed to the proposition, and that the Senate of the United States was almost a unit in its opposition. As a culminating and most conclusive proof that it was wrong to do so, the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, to whom I have said the question as to whether or not Kent Island should be taken was submitted by the Secretary of War to act as arbitrators, unanimously decided, after hearing both the Secretary of War and other officials of the department, that it would be wrong to convert that beautiful island into a proving ground.

ANNAPOLIS EXPERIMENTAL STATION.

The statement has also been made upon very strong, expert authority that had Kent Island been selected for the proving ground, the experimental station, which we all hope to procure for Annapolis, could not have been located there in such close proximity to the tremendous concussions going on throughout the entire length of the day at Kent Island.

HARFORD COUNTY SITE.

The question was finally decided by the War Department selecting another site on the Chesapeake Bay in Harford County, taking in Gunpowder Neck and other territory contiguous thereto. Some continue to believe that Kent Island would have been a better location. The location finally selected gives the War Department not only deep water to the proving ground but also two great trunk line railroads, extending from all sections of the South and into all sections of the North, so that shells can be conveyed from the various munition plants without transshipment to boat and can be loaded at that point for all sections of the world.

BALTIMORE'S PROGRESS.

Baltimore is making rapid progress not alone in its local business, but in establishing business relations with world ports. While there is not a Congressman who would for a moment deter the War Department in carrying to a successful determination the great conflict in which we are now engaged, it has

been the aim and object of each and everyone to see that this conflict is carried on with as little hardship to any section of the country as possible. It has been considered by all who are familiar with the situation that the proving ground located as it now will be, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay not infringing upon shipping nor injurious to any person is a very satisfactory outcome of a controversy which waged so long and at the same time affords the Government just as good location.

CHESAPEAKE BAY ACTIVITIES.

I have long been of the opinion that the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries must ere long become the center of the activities of the War and Navy Departments of our Government. With its magnificent harbors, its close proximity to the seat of our Government, its equable climate and freedom from storms of any severity make it especially attractive for the great works of the Government.

I feel that this long-cherished hope is fast becoming a reality from the fact that we will now have located upon same not only the proving ground at the head of the bay, but a great war depot near the city of Baltimore, many shipbuilding plants along our rivers, a branch of the Quartermaster's Department in Baltimore City, the great cantonment at Camp Meade, and other activities which are necessary for the conduct of the war, and which it will be necessary for us to continue in order to be protected and prepared for any emergency which may arise in future years.

BALTIMORE HARBOR.

That Baltimore will be able to take care of this great influx of business, more abundant than ever in the past, is well understood when we consider that Congress, through a bill which I introduced some time ago, has adopted the plans for the widening and deepening of Baltimore Harbor and the expenditure thereon of some $785,000. This, together with the appropriations which have heretofore been obtained for York Spit Channel of $326,000 and the $550,000 which was granted for the construction of the most modern immigration station in the country, shows that while Baltimore, in this stress of time and great war preparations and activities in every direction, has not overlooked the importance and necessity of enlargement. Baltimore seems to have come into its own and prosperity and progress abound on every hand. The prophecy of the Chief Engineer of the War Department, located at Baltimore several years ago, when he said that Baltimore would ere long become the chief seaport of the Atlantic seaboard, second alone to New York, seems near at hand.

I am proud that our city has lived up to its reputation; that our city has complied with its every contract in reference to the great cantonment at Camp Meade; that our people have enlisted in the Army and Navy, making up the entire quota demanded of them, and that they have subscribed to the liberty bonds and performed their every duty to the National Government during these perilous times. I am proud, likewise, of the women of our State, who are doing everything possible to carry us successfully through this great siege and to bring us out with Old Glory still waving on high—the Stars and Stripes, which have never bowed their colors in defeat.

"Tis the Star-Spangled Banner; oh, long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Censored Family News.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. FARR,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, October 6, 1917.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following petitions:

The Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
The Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned appeals to you to have an exchange of personal family news, duly censored, arranged between people living in the United States and our motherland, Hungary.

Many among us have not heard from their closest relatives for nearly three years. Many among us don't know whether their relatives are living or dead. Shall parents or children, wife and husband, brother and sister, be left entirely without news of one another for years?

The exchange could be arranged through a special office to be established in New York City for the censoring and rewriting of family messages, and for forwarding same United States embassy bags to our representatives in Switzerland, Sweden, and Holland for transmission through a neutral embassy to the embassies of Austria-Hungary. Our State Department could easily arrange for this humanitarian work. The expenses connected with it could be covered by imposing double or triple postal charges.

Our Government communicates with the central powers regarding many subjects through the medium of neutral countries. Why should not citizens receive censored family news?

Please cooperate in such ways as you can in this worthy work, and at least urge the State Department to help relieve thousands of anxious hearts.

Respectfully, yours, JOHN SENINK.

The Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
The Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned appeals to you to have an exchange of personal family news, duly censored, arranged between people living in the United States and our motherland, Hungary.

Many among us have not heard from their closest relatives for nearly three years. Many among us don't know whether their relatives are living or dead. Shall parents or children, wife and husband, brother and sister be left entirely without news of one another for years?

The exchange could be arranged through a special office to be established in New York City for the censoring and rewriting of family messages, and for forwarding same United States Embassy bags to our representatives in Switzerland, Sweden, and Holland for transmission through a neutral embassy to the embassies of Austria-Hungary. Our State Department could easily arrange for this humanitarian work. The expenses connected with it could be covered by imposing double or triple postal charges.

Our Government communicates with the central powers regarding many subjects through the medium of neutral countries. Why should not citizens receive censored family news?

Please cooperate in such ways as you can in this worthy work and at least urge the State Department to help relieve thousands of anxious hearts.

Respectfully, yours, MAJKE BIDOCSKA.

The Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
The Congress, Washington, D. C.

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Please cooperate in such ways as you can in this worthy work and at least urge the State Department to help relieve thousands of anxious hearts.

Respectfully, yours, JOHN MAGYAR.

River Development—Water Conservation—Coordinated Rail, River, and Ocean Transportation.

REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
OF NEVADA,
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, August 2, 1917.

The Senate had under consideration the conference report on the river and harbor bill, confirming the following Senate amendment:

SEC. 18. That a commission, to be known as the Waterways Commission, consisting of seven members to be appointed by the President of the United States, at least one of whom shall be chosen from the active or retired list of the Engineers Corps of the Army, at least one of whom shall be an exact hydraulic engineer from civil life, and the remaining five of whom may each be selected either from civil life or the public service, is hereby created and authorized, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, and subject to the approval of the heads of the several executive departments concerned, to bring into coordination and cooperation the engineering, scientific, and constructive services, bureaus, boards, and commissions of the several governmental departments of the United States and commissions created by Congress that relate to study, development, or control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, or to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, with a view to uniting such services in investigating, with respect to all watersheds in the United States, questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, drainage, forestry, arid and swamp land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil erosion and waste, storage and conservation of water for agricultural, industrial, municipal, and domestic uses, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of terminal and transfer facilities, to secure the necessary data, and to formulate and report to Congress, as early as practicable, a comprehensive plan or plans for the development of waterways and the water resources of the United States for the purposes of navigation and for every useful purpose, and recommendations for the modification or discontinuance of any project herein or heretofore adopted. Any member appointed from

the retired list shall receive the same pay and allowances as he would if on the active list, and no member selected from the public service shall receive additional compensation for services on said commission, and members selected from civil life shall receive compensation of $7,500 per annum.

In all matters done, or to be done, under this section relating to any of the subjects, investigations, or questions to be considered hereunder, and in formulating plans, and in the preparation of a report or reports, as herein provided, consideration shall be given to all matters which are to be undertaken, either independently by the United States or by cooperation between the United States and the several States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers, and rights of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as may be undertaken by the United States, and to the States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portions as belong to their respective jurisdictions, rights and interests.

The commission is authorized to employ, or retain, and fix the compensation for the services of such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development and utilization, and constructors of eminence as it may deem necessary to make such investigations and to carry out the purposes of this section. And in order to defray the expenses made necessary by the provisions of this section there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as Congress may hereafter determine, and the sum of $100,000 is hereby appropriated, available until expended, to be paid out upon warrants drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury by the chairman of said commission.

The commission shall have power to make every expenditure requisite for and incident to its authorized work, and to employ in the District of Columbia and in the field such clerical, legal, engineering, artistic, and expert services as it may deem advisable, including the payment of per diem in lieu of subsistence for employees engaged in field work or traveling on official business, rent of offices in the District of Columbia and in the field, and the purchase of books, maps, and office equipment.

Nothing herein contained shall be construed to delay, prevent, or interfere with the completion of any survey, investigation, project, or work herein or heretofore or hereafter adopted or authorized upon or for the improvement of any of the rivers or harbors of the United States or with legislative action upon reports heretofore or hereafter presented.

Approved, August 8, 1917.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I quite agree with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] as to the importance of bringing the rail and water carriers into coordination and cooperation. I wish, however, to call the attention of the Senator from Minnesota to the fact that, desirable as the cooperation and coordination of rail and water carriers is, we must have a perfected instrumentality for rail carriers and must have a perfected instrumentality for water carriers; and a complete and perfect waterway is as essential for water carriage as a complete and perfect railway for rail carriage.

THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE.

We have been singularly lethargic in our movement for the perfection of our waterways. The newspapers announce that, even during the stress of war, Germany and Austria have agreed upon a plan, and are now engaged in its actual execution, of connecting the headwaters of the Rhine, which empties into the North Sea, with the headwaters of the Danube, emptying into the Black Sea. When that is done, we shall find, as the result, that the perfectly coordinated system of waterways of Germany—uniting all her waterways by artificial connection in such a way that you can proceed from one part of Germany to any other part of Germany by waterway—will be united with an equally perfected system of waterways in Austria. When this war ends that great union of coordinated empires will have the most perfect system of rail, river, and ocean transportation in the world.

COORDINATED RAIL AND RIVER TRANSPORTATION.

Mr. President, I wish to add something further to what the Senator from Minnesota has said. He has suggested that, as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, I should apply my energies to bring the rail and waterway carriers into coordination. I wish to say that that matter has received my most earnest attention, and is now before the Joint Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate and the House of Representatives, of which I have the honor to be chairman, and which is considering the whole question of waterway transportation. If the Senator will read the reports of the hearings held by that joint committee, he will find how large a space is devoted to the consideration of a perfected waterway system, with a view of bringing rail carriers, river carriers, and ocean carriers into coordination.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to express my great gratification that the amendment of the Senate providing for a waterways commission has been accepted by the House conferees.

THE RIVER REGULATION BILL.

This amendment embodies the substantial features of a measure known as the river regulation bill, which some of us have been urging for years for the practical coordination of the engineering and scientific services of the country engaged in the study of our water resources in order that those resources may be fully utilized for navigation, irrigation, swamp and arid land reclamation, water-power development, and all other useful purposes for which the surplus waters that are now wasted may be beneficially used, and for the coordination of the Nation with the States in plans and works for the full development from the source to the mouth of all waterways in such a way as to eliminate destructive floods and to utilize flood and stored waters for beneficial and wealth-producing purposes.

Such legislation was approved nearly 10 years ago by the Inland Waterways Commission appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, and has been supported by Mr. Roosevelt and by Mr. Taft, as well as by President Wilson and his Cabinet. Whilst the provision in the river and harbor bill does not carry the large appropriations contemplated in the original bill introduced by me and urged for so many years, it does provide for its entire plan of organization and administrative machinery, and under it plans for construction can be perfected and submitted for the approval of Congress.

I predict that the passage of this measure will open up a new era in transportation and that under it a perfectly coordinated system of rail, river, and ocean transportation will be developed. I predict also that destructive floods will be mitigated and eventually eliminated; that swamp lands will be restored; that arid lands will be reclaimed; that intensive cultivation and forestry will be stimulated by supplies of stored water; that water power will be developed for municipal and power uses; and that under its provisions a remarkable conservation of the natural resources of the country will be established.

No one can picture the beauty and perfection of our waterway system when our river banks can be made stable, when the channels become fixed and the flood plane determined and controlled, and when thriving towns and cities will be established at places which have been for years threatened with constantly rising floods and recurring overflows.

WATER CONSERVATION A WAR MEASURE.

As a war measure nothing surpasses in importance this measure. Our rivers, connected with each other by artificial channels, and with the Great Lakes, and with the gulfs and oceans, will carry the cheap and bulky articles of freight which are now burdening our railroads to the point of congestion.

We must not overlook the fact that the war is enormously stimulating industry along lines that are largely temporary. Peace will bring far-reaching stagnation, unless some great constructive policy for building internal improvements is substituted for the stimulus to industry created by the war, which will be withdrawn when peace returns. The plans for such a great national constructive era for internal improvement and development can now be made before the war closes. The instant peace has been achieved this Nation can turn the same indomitable energy that it is now devoting to winning this war against a foreign foe to winning a greater war against the destroying forces of nature, and to the creation of new wealth, by building waterways, by creating new communities on reclaimed lands, by developing water power, by controlling floods, by planting forests, by preventing forest fires, and by conserving for the best and highest use, for the benefit of all the people, the natural resources of the country.

The greatest waste that takes place in this country to-day is the waste of its surplus waters, which are the Nation's greatest asset, but which now run to waste in the sea, carrying destruction in their path in the form of devastating floods. We must learn to conserve that waste and to transform it into wealth—we must learn to fight that devastation with exactly the same all-conquering energy that we are now devoting to war. In no other way can the period of industrial depression that will otherwise be the aftermath of the war be so effectually averted. If that is to be done the great work of making the working plans for construction must be done before the war ends. It must be begun now and prosecuted with the same diligence that war measures are being prosecuted. This great work of building internal improvements and creating densely settled rural communities on newly reclaimed lands and on old lands protected from overflow or fortified by an abundant water supply, will furnish a way of providing for the industrial employment of the hundreds of thousands of men who will return from the war when it has closed and their terms of enlistment have expired, and for whom occupation must be provided in time of peace.

We can not ever expect to maintain a large army in idleness in this country in time of peace, but we can maintain an industrial army. The pressure of the strenuous economic competition that will prevail in the world after the war will not permit the economic waste of a large army of idlers. If we have an army

it will have to be a working army, engaged in the construction of works of internal improvement, such as are contemplated in this provision for river regulation which is embodied in the river and harbor bill.

In the economic era that lies ahead, that nation which applies the greatest science and skill in the elimination of waste, in the conservation of natural resources, and in the development of opportunity, will fare best in material progress, in the creation of national strength and wealth, and in the progressive development of world influence. This river-regulation provision opens the gate wide for us.

A CONSTRUCTIVE EXECUTIVE.

Mr. President, the agitation which has finally resulted in the adoption of this measure has been going on for more than 10 years; very many have contributed most materially to its advancement; waterways associations and chambers of commerce and boards of trade throughout the country have had their attention directed to this movement and have approved it, and many eminent, energetic, and public-spirited men have contributed to its advancement. I wish to say, however, that my experience in Congress has been that it is very difficult for an individual Member of Congress to initiate and carry through within a reasonable period any great constructive work of legislation. It took 10 years to carry through the reclamation act, and then we had to summon to our support the matchless energy of Theodore Roosevelt, without whose aid the passage of that bill would probably have been much longer delayed. It is absolutely essential that there be a constructive Executive to focus the attention of the country and of Congress upon a particular constructive measure. So it was in reference to the Trade Commission, a measure which had been pending here for years, and which needed the energizing force of President Wilson to carry it into accomplishment. So it is with this measure. Every friend of waterway development is indebted to Mr. Wilson for the painstaking attention which he has given to this subject. He appointed a Cabinet committee to investigate it and to make a report to him; and ever since that time he has been the firm and consistent friend of a great, comprehensive measure for the development of our waterways and the conservation and utilization of our water resources.

THE PROPAGANDA.

I can not in this connection close in reference to those who outside of Congress have been active in this movement without referring to Mr. George H. Maxwell, the executive director of the National Reclamation Association, who is so prominently identified with the national reclamation movement, who conducted the educational propaganda throughout the country for 10 years which finally led to putting the National Reclamation Act upon the statute books; who, ever since then, has been continuously connected with the Nation-wide educational propaganda for the passage of this measure, and who, as the trusted adviser of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh and of the Reclamation Association of Louisiana, gave his ripe experience to the subject of conducting this great propaganda, and the prosecution of the work of those organizations. In connection with that work he lived for nearly three years in Pittsburgh, from 1908 to 1911, studying the flood problems of the Ohio River Valley, and during 1912 and 1913, the two great flood years, he was in New Orleans, studying the flood and waterway problems of the Mississippi River Valley.

Mr. President, I would be glad to mention other names, among them the names of Frederick H. Newell; Gifford Pinchot; the late W. J. McGee; Herbert Knox Smith; Walter Parker, of New Orleans; Robert N. Downman, of New Orleans; Joseph N. Teal, of Oregon; the late Charles B. Boothe, of Los Angeles, for many years president of the National Reclamation Association; William E. Smythe, of San Francisco, the founder of the National Irrigation Congress; Francis Cuttle, of Riverside, chairman of the Tri-Counties Reforestation Committee; J. L. Craig and G. McM. Ross, of Stockton, Cal.; Gov. Hall, of Louisiana; Gov. Capper and J. B. Case, of Kansas; and Herbert Quick, of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs of the United States, through its present chairman of conservation, Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, and her predecessor, Mrs. Emmons Crocker, have been unfaltering in their support of this measure, which is equally true of innumerable State and local women's clubs, under the leadership of such loyal adherents as the late Miss Hattie M. Carstens and Mrs. B. F. Williston, of Detroit; Mrs. Foster Elliot, of Los Angeles; Mrs. Roydan Douglas, of New Orleans; and many others who ought to be mentioned. In fact, there is hardly a State in the Union which has not furnished its quota of zealous advocates of this plan for river regulation which is embodied in the measure now before the Senate. Their name is legion, and the mention of a few involves no lack of appreciation of the faithful work of the many who are entitled to recognition.

In this connection, Mr. President, I ask leave to insert a historical statement of this measure containing extracts from the messages of various Presidents, extracts from reports of committees, and other public matter, both in newspapers and in the public records, as well as letters relating to this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. FRANCIS M. NEWLANDS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I thought you might be interested in the inclosed letter, which I have received from J. B. Case, of Abilene. You probably know Mr. Case. He is one of our finest citizens and a great booster for your bill. I think he is right in his views.

With best regards, I am,
Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER.

FARMERS' LOAN & TRUST CO.,
Kansas City, Mo., April 3, 1917.

Hon. ARTHUR CAPPER,
Topeka, Kans.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I inclose a clipping of the Star of this date, which goes to show how slow and careless the people of the United States perform and also goes to show the great projects that Senator NEWLANDS has figured out in the interest of the West; I say West—in interest of the whole country; but it looks to me as though it were up to the West to push this matter of the Newlands bill harder than we ever have before.

It also goes to show that with Germany's great war and expense that the present indications of war in the United States should be no reason why this Government should not take up the Newlands project with the sum of $600,000,000 in comparison with the $163,000,000 which Germany has already appropriated for a like construction.

I have recently been drafted by this company as its president, but do not think I will change my residence, as I expect to spend part of my time in Abilene, as usual.

Yours, truly,

J. B. CASE, *President.*

[From Kansas City Star, Apr. 5, 1917.]

GERMANY PLANS A NEW SHIP CANAL.

In the midst of war Germany is planning vast industrial developments and internal improvements to be carried out after peace comes. One of the most gigantic of these has in it a lesson for Americans, and especially for those of the Middle West. It is a ship canal 440 miles long, 120 feet wide, and 11 feet deep, capable of floating vessels of 1,200 tons, to connect the Main and the Danube Rivers. It will cost $163,000,000 and will require eight years to build. The Bavarian Government has already made arrangements to raise its share of the cost.

By following the course of this canal on a map of Germany an idea of its importance may be had. The River Main is to be deepened from its confluence with the Rhine at Mainz to Nuremberg. From there the canal will go south to the Danube. When this work is finished boats from the North Sea may enter the Rhine, go up to Mainz and enter the Main and so on to the Danube and down that river to the Black Sea.

Why is Germany going to spend such a vast sum on an internal waterway? The answer contains the lesson from which America may profit. Mainly this work is to be done to relieve railway congestion. Germany's plans for great industrial development can not be carried out if the railways are to become congested with freight and traffic delayed. Experience has shown that in times of great activity the railroads are not adequate to handle the traffic. Germany has had that experience, just as we had it this year, and many times before. Germany, with an already widely developed system of waterways, has learnt how waterborne traffic relieves railway congestion. Between 1895 and 1905 the traffic on German waterways increased 125 per cent, and on railways it increased 71 per cent. The two systems work together, the waterways taking the poorest paying heavy merchandise, such as coal, sand, lumber, hardware, leaving the railways free for passengers and fast freight.

America's waterways are undeveloped. In time they will all be great arteries of transportation and then we shall not have

the whole railway transportation system of this country stalled because of congestion from trains of coal and wheat and lumber and iron ore moving slowly on every line. Those commodities will go by water, as they do in Germany. If the United States is to keep up with Germany in the race for the world's trade we must plan for as great efficiency as Germany has, and one of the things contributing to that efficiency is water-borne transportation.

—

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 18, 1917.

Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
United States Senate, Washington.

MY DEAR SENATOR: You and I have been interested for years in the matter of the development of our inland waterways. You may possibly remember my book, American Inland Waterways, published in 1909 by Putnam.

For some years I have refused to take any interest in the matter of this development because of the conviction which has been borne in upon me that all plans for restoring commerce to our rivers will be futile, save under exceptional conditions, until a national policy is adopted which will require the railroads to correlate their business with the business of the waterways; will prevent them from pursuing policies which are destructive to waterway commerce; will enable shippers to route their shipments by land or water, in whole or in part, according to their needs; which will force joint traffic arrangements between water lines and railway lines; and which will build up our inland harbors with freight-handling appliances and means generally for putting the waterway transportation lines as nearly upon an equality with railway lines in the matter of service as is possible.

I am taking the liberty to address this letter to you at this time because of the fact that the railroads are, in my opinion, absolutely sure to break down completely under the load of freight which they will have to carry during this war.

We are urging the farmers to produce and produce, and to continue to produce, but we are providing no additional transportation of any sort for them. The slow, heavy freight not only ought to go by water where possible, but additional possibilities for its movements ought to be opened up, and the railroads should be, if necessary, coerced into allowing that sort of freight to come by water instead of breaking their backs trying to carry it by rail.

I certainly doubt whether complete development of the interior of a country like this can ever take place except by the development of our waterways.

Under the present conditions of the American railways prosperity can develop only up to a certain point. When this point is reached, prosperity is strangled by lack of transportation. This condition is intolerable, to my mind, and within six months I feel sure that it will be so regarded by all minds.

Whatever is necessary to be done in the way of legislation or constitutional amendments ought now to be done, in order that we may adopt a national waterways policy which will include not only reforestation to prevent the silting up of our waterways, but also headwaters control, a system of reservoirs on the general principles advocated by Mr. Marshall O. Leighton in 1907, and the development of the water powers which will be made available by such a system. At present the constitutional doctrine that nothing can be done in these matters except in the interests of navigation makes all coordinated effort in that direction difficult. May I suggest that now is the time for a "spring drive" in the direction of waterway development. I do not for a moment believe that you are oblivious of the fact that the present crisis is an opportunity, and I am writing this to express my belief that the breakdown of transportation which is now apparent will soon make transportation one of our big issues.

There are no cars for coal. The Packard Co. are delivering their automobiles all over the United States, even as far as the Pacific coast, by having them driven overland on account of lack of cars. I am told that in the city of Flint, Mich., there are from 15,000 to 20,000 automobiles parked in open places of the city for lack of storage room, every one of which has been sold to a customer but can not be delivered for want of cars. What will happen under the pressure of war and war orders and the movement of troops is something which the country and its legislators have not yet realized.

Please pardon this long letter, which I will not make longer unnecessarily.

Yours, sincerely, HERBERT QUICK,
Member Farm Loan Board.

HISTORICAL STATEMENT REGARDING THE WATERWAY MOVEMENT.

THE NEWLANDS RIVER REGULATION AMENDMENT: SECTION 18 OF THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL OF 1917.

[By George H. Maxwell, executive director National Reclamation Association.]

A historical statement of the national campaign that has led up to the final adoption of the great comprehensive plan for river regulation provided for in section 18 of the river and harbor bill for 1917, known as the Newlands River Regulation Amendment, in place of the old and hopelessly inadequate, piecemeal system of river improvement is a most interesting chapter in the legislative history of the United States.

The river-regulation movement harks back to the very beginning of the agitation for national irrigation and water conservation in the West—even farther back than the founding of the National Irrigation Congress by William E. Smythe, more than a quarter of a century ago. Many of the early pioneers in the movement, like Maj. J. W. Powell, did not live to see the realization of their visions, but we are now within reach of that realization.

River regulation—the control of the surplus flow and flood waters on the source streams by systems of reservoirs—was the original idea of this movement when it first took the form of a nation-wide campaign.

The Newlands Reclamation Act, passed in 1902, was a compromise and provided only for the reclamation of specific tracts of land where the cost of the reclamation could be reimbursed from the lands reclaimed. It was not a complete adoption of the comprehensive national policy which had been theretofore urged upon Congress, the policy of regulating the flow of all rivers by reservoirs so as to increase the water resources of the Nation, without reference to any specific use of the water or any particular tract of land any more than has been the policy in other river improvements under the river and harbor bills.

The Newlands Reclamation Act was only a stepping stone to the more comprehensive river-regulation policy, which included in its scope the full conservation and utilization of all the vast unused and now wasted water resources of the United States, not only for navigation but for every beneficial purpose for which the water could be used.

Immediately following the inauguration of the new national policy provided for by the Newlands Reclamation Act the advocates of a nation-wide policy of river regulation returned to their active efforts to secure the inauguration by Congress of the whole broad river-regulation policy, and those efforts have at last culminated in its adoption through the enactment of this Newlands river-regulation amendment.

The most interesting and complete historical statement heretofore published with reference to this movement is found in the report of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, pages 1 to 5, from which the following is quoted:

"HISTORICAL.

"The regulation and control of the flow of navigable rivers in aid of interstate commerce is an important factor relating to the conservation, development, and use of the natural resources of the United States and the enlargement of its internal trade and commerce. When such a national policy has been adopted on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the problem, it will not only promote navigation and water transportation but must also necessarily include the storage of flood waters for flood prevention and for all other beneficial uses and the protection of watersheds from denudation and erosion and from forest fires.

"Much has already been done, in a disconnected and inadequate way, toward the inauguration of such a comprehensive national policy for river regulation, and the work done and measures advocated by the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh are in the direction of an ultimate enlargement of that policy, which will be vastly beneficial to the entire country. The progress thus far made has been accomplished as the result of three organized movements:

"First. The national irrigation movement, culminating in the passage of the national irrigation act, which became a law on June 2, 1902. Under this act about $60,000,000 has been thus far expended in the construction of works for water storage and control in the western half of the United States. Several large reservoirs have been built on the headwaters of the Missouri River and its tributaries.

"Second. The Appalachian Forest Reserve movement, resulting in the passage of the Weeks Appalachian National Forest Act, which became a law on March 1, 1911. The purpose of this act, as expressed in its title, is 'to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams,

and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers.'

"Third. The national storage-reservoir movement, which was first in order of date and was inaugurated by the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh through the National Board of Trade in December, 1898. The resolution then presented by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce to the National Board of Trade urged 'the storage of flood waters on the upper branches of navigable streams, to be held in use for irrigation, for checking damaging floods and liberating water in times of drought that will preserve streams in navigable condition.'

"In behalf of this proposition Mr. George H. Anderson, then secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh, submitted a report, the preamble of which was as follows:

"Your committee, to whom has been referred the subject of the storage of flood waters on the higher tributaries of the navigable streams in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys for improving navigation, providing for irrigation. etc., present the following report:

"After the discussion following the reading of this report, which is published on pages 59 to 76 of the Report of the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in Washington in December, 1898, and in Appendix No. 6 of this volume, a resolution was adopted by the National Board of Trade, embodying substantially the recommendations of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce on this subject, and laying stress upon 'the value of a system of improvement on the navigable waterways of the Mississippi and Ohio Basins for irrigating and making productive vast areas of arid lands, for the continued improvement of these rivers for transportation purposes, and diminishing the destructive power of floods.

"NATIONAL IRRIGATION MOVEMENT.

"The movement thus started by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce was taken up by the National Irrigation Association, organized on June 2, 1899, and brought about the enactment of the national irrigation act previously mentioned. This association has persistently advocated the adoption of a national policy which is stated in the constitution of the association as follows:

"The preservation and development of our national resources by the construction of storage reservoirs by the Federal Government for flood protection and to save for use in aid of navigation and irrigation the flood waters which now run to waste and cause overflow and destruction.

"A national educational propaganda was inaugurated, based upon the action of the National Board of Trade on the resolution of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, and also upon the recommendations of the Chittenden Report, Document No. 141, House of Representatives, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session. This report was made under an appropriation contained in the rivers and harbors act of June 3, 1896, which provided, in section 8, for a number of preliminary examinations, among which was the following:

"For the examination of sites and report upon the practicability and desirability of constructing reservoirs and other hydraulic works necessary for the storage and utilization of water, to prevent floods and overflows, erosion of river banks and breaks of levees, and to reinforce the flow of streams during drought and low-water seasons, at least one site each in the States of Wyoming and Colorado.

"The Chittenden Report, transmitted to Congress on December 6, 1897, now out of print, has attracted wide attention and may be found in part in the report of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army for 1898. An abstract of this report will be found in Appendix No. 6 of the report of the flood commission. After a most exhaustive examination and consideration of the whole question of the effect and value of reservoirs to aid navigation, to prevent floods, and to furnish water for irrigation, the following conclusions were stated:

"First. A comprehensive reservoir system in the arid regions of the United States is absolutely essential to the future welfare of this portion of the public domain.

"Second. It is not possible to secure the best development of such a system except through the agency of the National Government.

"The work of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh has related primarily, of course, to the conditions on the headwaters of the Ohio River. It is worthy of note at this point that in considering the effect of flood-water storage on the Missouri River upon floods in the lower Mississippi Valley, Col. Chittenden said:

"The floods of the Mississippi are formed by the heavy rains in the low regions east of the ninety-eighth meridian and very largely come from east of the Mississippi itself. The great controlling element, in fact in all the lower river floods, is the Ohio River.

"The relation of flood-water storage on the upper Ohio and its tributaries to river regulation and flood prevention in the lower Mississippi Valley is thus clearly set forth, and makes manifest the fact assumed in the resolution of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce to the National Board of Trade in December, 1898, above referred to. Considered from a national point of view, flood-water storage on the Ohio Basin is but one aspect of a great national problem, which is coextensive with the entire drainage basin of the Mississippi River and all its tributaries, covering an area comprising more than one-third of the United States, and stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the crest of the Appalachian range, on the east, to the crown of the continent, on the west. Hence any attempt to localize the problem must fail.

"In presenting the arguments, which make it clear that reservoir construction for river regulation is naturally and necessarily a national function, Col. Chittenden, on pages 55 and 56 of his report, says:

"In the case of reservoirs it not infrequently happens that some of the very best sites are to be found close to State lines, where the waters so stored will flow immediately into neighboring States. In these extreme cases the States where they are located could not, of course, be expected to construct reservoirs, and the States to be benefited would not be likely to go outside their own borders to do so. The function clearly pertains to that sovereignty which covers all the country and embraces the streams from their sources to the sea. It alone can store these waters and be sure that it is reaping the full benefit.

"The policy of the Government in the matter of the preservation of the forests of the country is a case directly in point. There seems to be a well-nigh universal consensus of opinion that the preservation of the forests of the arid regions is distinctly a Government duty. * * * Inasmuch as the commercial value of these forests is practically insignificant, except for furnishing fuel and rough timber, the water question is really the more important one. If it is properly a Government function to preserve the forests in order to conserve the flow of the streams, surely it can not be less a Government function to execute works which will conserve that flow even more positively and directly. Granting all that can be said of forests in this connection, they certainly can never prevent the June rise, and it is precisely this waste flow which reservoirs will help to save. The forests ought unquestionably to be preserved, and the Government is the proper agency to do it, but the principal arguments therefor apply with accentuated force to the construction of reservoirs.

"The precedent for the construction of reservoirs for river regulation and to reenforce the flow during low-water season had already been established by the construction, beginning in 1881, of five reservoirs on the headwaters of the Mississippi River, where dams were built across the outlets of natural lakes. These reservoirs are described in Appendix No. 5 of this report, and are referred to at some length by Mr. Anderson in his paper mentioned above.

"FOREST MOVEMENT.

"The National Government has now, however, by the enactment of the Appalachian National Forest bill, gone to the full extent of recognizing and using its constitutional power to control and regulate the flow of navigable rivers at their sources not only by the building of artificial reservoirs but by preserving the forests and woodland cover on the watershed as natural reservoirs.

"The maintenance and preservation of natural reservoirs by forest preservation, as provided in this act, and the construction of artificial reservoirs, as advocated by the flood commission of Pittsburgh, on the headwaters of the Ohio River in the Appalachian Mountains, involve the exercise of a constitutional power which is precisely the same in both instances. It is the same power which was exercised in the creation of the California Débris Commission, to prevent the silting up of navigable channels by the débris from hydraulic mines. It is also the same as exercised in the construction of levees on the lower Mississippi to aid in maintaining a navigable channel, notwithstanding the conceded fact that one of the greatest moving forces in that case was the necessity for protecting the plantations from overflow.

"So, in the case of reservoir construction on the headwaters of the Ohio River, the constitutional power being so clearly established, the enormous damages by floods in the Ohio Valley, estimated to average at least $50,000,000 a year, and in some years to be as high as $100,000,000, furnishes strong ground for relief from the National Government when it is conceded that such regulation of the flow of the river by reservoirs would, beyond question, immensely aid navigation and would also give relief from these destructive floods. Senator Burton clearly saw this aspect of the question when, in his speech in the Senate on the passage of the Appalachian National Forest bill, he said:

"Another thing that the Federal Government ought to do if this precedent is established, and it ought to do it right away, is to provide means for the prevention of floods. At certain seasons of the year we can hardly take up a newspaper without reading of the loss of life and of the mammoth destruction of property as a result of floods in the Ohio, the Mississippi, and various other streams of the country. Those floods have a direct influence upon navigation. If we are going to inaugurate this policy, why not protect these manifold interests by preventing floods and save the tremendous loss of property and the very pitiful loss of life which so frequently occurs?"

"EXTENSION OF POLICY TO RESERVOIRS.

"The National Government having, by the passage of the Appalachian National Forest Act, inaugurated the policy of maintaining natural reservoirs on the tributaries and source streams of the navigable rivers, for the purpose of regulating their flow, and having extended the policy of national forest reserves for that purpose into the Appalachian region, it is manifest

that even-handed justice between the different sections of this great country requires that the policy of building artificial reservoirs for river regulation should also be extended over that portion of the United States lying east of the Mississippi River. Thus far everything done under that constitutional power, for the control and regulation of the flow of the navigable rivers, has been on the headwaters of the Mississippi River, or in the lower valley of that river, or in the vast territory to the west of it. The entire territory extending from the Mississippi River on the west to the Atlantic seacoast on the east has been excluded from any local participation in the benefits of expenditures under that policy.

"The flood commission of Pittsburgh now urges that the policy already inaugurated in a part of the country be made broadly national and that the East as well as the West shall be made beneficiaries under it. The Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh has at all times, from the very first, been an active and consistent advocate of the reservoir policy in the West, and now, with the same broad vision of national benefits, the flood commission organized by the chamber of commerce urges its extension to the East. All who advocate national irrigation in the West, national drainage in the South, or flood prevention in the East through national river regulation, are practically supporting one and the same national policy, and should unite to accomplish its Nation-wide adoption.

"Pittsburgh took the lead in urging this broad application of the policy as far back as 1898, and has aided other sections to secure the first benefits from its adoption. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that Pittsburgh, after spending over $100,000 to establish the facts and showing the practicability and necessity for the adoption of the same constructive national policy in the Ohio Valley, should take the lead in a national campaign to extend the national policy of flood-water storage over the entire United States, and to all navigable rivers and their tributaries and source streams.

"THE NEWLANDS BILL.

"A bill providing for such a broad national extension of the policy of river regulation was introduced by Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate of the United States on March 1, 1911, the day the Weeks Appalachian National Forest bill became a law by the signature of the President. The purpose of this Newlands river-regulation bill was to so enlarge the forest policy inaugurated by the Weeks bill as to make it cover the entire United States, and to supplement the establishment and maintenance of the natural reservoirs, which the forests and woodland cover create, by an adequate national system of artificial reservoirs for flood-water storage. This bill, which is printed in Appendix No. 6 of this volume, was Senate bill 10900, in the Sixty-first Congress, third session, and Senate bill No. 122, in the Sixty-second Congress, first session.

"The Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh has in the past supported both the national irrigation act, which was known as the Newlands bill in the House of Representatives when it passed that body, and the Weeks Appalachian National Forest Act; and has extended its indorsement and support to the Newlands river-regulation bill by the adoption on April 13, 1911, of the following resolution:

"Whereas a bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senator NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911, entitled:

"A bill to create a board of river regulation and to provide a fund for the regulation and control of the flow of navigable rivers in aid of interstate commerce, and as a means to that end to provide for flood prevention and protection and for the beneficial use of flood waters and for water storage, and for the protection of watersheds from denudation and erosion and from forest fires, and for the cooperation of Government services and bureaus with each other and with States, municipalities, and other local agencies; and

"Whereas the primary purpose of said bill is to bring into conference and cooperation the National Government with the States, municipalities, counties, and local districts, for the construction of the works necessary for the regulation of the flow of rivers and for flood prevention and protection, and it provides a fund of $50,000,000 annually for 10 years for said purpose; and

"Whereas the passage of said bill by Congress would result in the relief not only of Pittsburgh but of all cities and communities on the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers from destructive floods, and increase the flow of the rivers in the low-water season for navigation: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh hereby indorses said Newlands river-regulation bill and requests the Senators and Congressmen from this State to urge its passage by Congress."

The bill referred to in the foregoing resolution has been designated and known throughout the country as the Newlands river-regulation bill. It was printed in full on pages 391 to 396 of the aforesaid report of the flood commission of Pittsburgh, being S. 10900 (61st Cong., 3d sess.), introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911, and reintroduced by him as S. 122 (62d Cong., 1st sess.) in the following session of Congress, on April 6, 1911.

The Newlands river-regulation bill was evolved and developed from a bill known as the Inland Waterways Commission bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator NEWLANDS on December 4, 1907 (S. 500, 60th Cong., 1st sess.) and which had been prepared with a view to securing the legislation necessary to inaugurate the national policy with reference to river regulation and a national system of waterways which was subsequently recommended by the Inland Waterways Commission in its report of February 3, 1908.

The following is a copy of the Inland Waterways Commission bill above referred to (S. 500, 60th Cong., 1st sess.):

THE NEWLANDS BILL INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE DECEMBER 4, 1907.

"A bill (S. 500) providing for the appointment of an inland-waterway commission and for the improvement and development of the inland waterways of the country with a view to the promotion of transportation between the States and with foreign countries.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That a special fund shall be established in the Treasury, to be known as the inland-waterway fund. to be used in the examination and survey for and the development of the inland waterways of the country; and the sum of $50,000,000 is hereby reserved, set aside, and appropriated as such fund.

"SEC. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to cause to be made examinations and surveys for the development of the inland waterways of the country, including the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and its tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Gulf of Mexico and their tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Atlantic coast and their tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Pacific coast and their tributaries, and for the connection of such rivers with each other, wherever practicable and desirable, by connecting canals and by coastal canals, with a view to the promotion of transportation between such rivers by vessels of a standard draft; and to investigate all questions relating to the development and improvement of the inland waterways of the country, with a view to the promotion of transportation; and to consider and coordinate the questions of irrigation, swamp-land reclamation, clarification of streams, utilization of water power, prevention of soil waste, protection of forests, regulation of flow, control of floods, transfer facilities and sites, and the regulation and control thereof, and such other questions regarding waterways as are related to the development of rivers, lakes, and canals for the purposes of commerce.

"SEC. 3. That in order to enable the President to make such examinations, surveys, and investigations and to construct the works provided for by this act, he is authorized to appoint an inland waterways commission, to be composed of ——— members, and to bring in coordination therewith the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service related to waterways, and to appoint such experts and other persons and create such board or boards in connection therewith as the work may require, and to fix the salaries of all commissioners, experts, and other persons employed under this act until the same has been fixed by Congress, the official salary of any official appointed or employed under this act to be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation fixed under the terms of this act.

"SEC. 4. That such commission shall make to the President annually, and at such other periods as may be required either by law or by the order of the President, full and complete reports of all their acts and doings and of all the moneys received and expended in the construction of works and in the performance of their duties in connection therewith, which reports shall be by the President transmitted to Congress; and such commission shall furthermore give to either House of Congress such information as may at any time be required either by act of Congress or by order of either House of Congress.

"The President shall cause to be provided for the use of the commissioners and other employees under this act such offices as may, with the suitable equipment of the same, be necessary and proper in his discretion for the proper discharge of their duties.

"SEC. 5. That if after such examination, survey, and estimate such commission shall determine that any project for the improvement or construction of an inland waterway or coastal waterway is practicable and desirable, it may, with the approval of the President and through the appropriate service, construct or execute, or cause to be let, contracts for the construction or execution of the same, in such portions or sections as it may be practicable to construct and execute as parts of the whole project: *Provided*, That the necessary moneys therefor are available in the inland waterway fund.

"SEC. 6. That such projects may include such collateral works for the irrigation of arid lands, for the reclamation of swamp lands, for the conservation or replacement of forests, for the clarification of streams, and for the utilization of water power as may be deemed advisable in connection with the development of a channel for navigation or as aiding in a compensatory way in the diminution of the cost of such project.

"SEC. 7. That such commission is authorized, with the approval of the President, to enter into cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in such collateral works, and to make arrangements for the proportionate payment of the cost thereof out of the inland waterway fund and by the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals benefited thereby, in such manner as to secure an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits: *Provided*, That the cost of such collateral works shall be paid, if practicable, out of funds provided therefor by Congress, but if sufficient provision therefor is not specially made by Congress, such commission is authorized to pay for the same out of the inland waterway fund; but the total payments made on account of such collateral works from such inland waterway fund shall not exceed 10 per cent thereof, and provision shall be made, as far as practicable, for the reimbursement to such fund of such payments by the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, or individuals benefited thereby: *And provided also*, That the inland waterways developed shall remain free for all the uses of navigation.

"SEC. 8. That such commission shall make, with the approval of the President, rules and regulations governing the cooperation and compensation to the fund, wherever practicable, by the conveyance of reclamation rights, the lease of water power, and such other means as may be beneficial to the United States and the several States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals entering into such cooperation.

"SEC. 9. That in carrying out the provisions of this act regard must be had, as far as practicable, to the equitable apportionment and contemporaneous execution of the projects contemplated under this act among the several waterway systems of the country.

"SEC. 10. That the President is authorized, whenever the inland-waterway fund is reduced below $20,000,000, to make up the deficiency in such fund by the issue and sale of bonds in such amount and for such time as he shall deem advisable, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding — per cent per annum; but the amount of bonds issued shall not at any time exceed the difference between the cash on hand in such fund and $50,000,000."

APPROVED BY WAR DEPARTMENT.

The foregoing bill, known as the inland-waterways bill (S. 500), upon its introduction was referred to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, and by that committee the bill was referred to the War Department for its suggestions and recommendations.

The bill was returned by the War Department to the Committee on Commerce with a communication, bearing date April 17, 1908, from the Secretary of War to the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, approving the bill, with some amendments which were suggested in detail in the communication.

Extracts from this communication from the Secretary of War were embodied in an address by Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on February 18, 1910, at the time of the introduction by him of the first river regulation amendment on that date, from which address the following is quoted:

"Here is what Secretary Taft said upon this subject in his letter of April 17, 1908, addressed to the Senate Committee on Commerce regarding Senate bill 500, which I had introduced in the Sixtieth Congress, and which was similar in its terms to Senate bill 3717, introduced by me in this Congress.

"(c) The bill provides for correlating the existing agencies in the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor through certain powers vested in the President. The need for some such plan is sufficiently shown by the fact that while this country is better endowed with waterways than any other our streams are less used for navigation and other public purposes than those of other countries. Since this provision touches duties placed on the War Department by law, it has received careful consideration. It does not appear that the measure would interfere with the functions of the War Department, or with the continuation and extension of the engineering work now performed there, but it is believed that the provision for administration would tend to promote the general welfare. Accordingly this feature meets the approbation of the War Department.

* * * * * * *

"(e) The bill provides also for the initiation of projects by a board of experts. These provisions affect the work of the War Department and have had careful consideration. Suitable provisions for expert initiation and prompt execution are essential to the proper development of any system of river improvement. The chief defect in the methods hitherto pursued lies in the absence of executive authority for originating comprehensive plans covering the country or natural divisions thereof. The creation of an Inland Waterways Commission for the purpose of initiating plans for the improvement of waterways seems to me a more effective way of a general plan for the improvement of all the waterways in the country than under the present provisions of law. This would not dispense with the admirable machinery furnished by the War Department for the improvement of waterways when the plan has been determined upon and is to be executed. But it supplies what does not exist in the law now—a tribunal other than Congress charged with the duty of originating and developing a satisfactory plan.

"Secretary Taft adds:

"3. In its present form the bill might be construed to curtail indirectly certain functions of the War Department, which is now charged with large discretion in waterway affairs. Possible ambiguity on this point should be removed.

"Mr. Taft goes on and gives the history of the Engineer Corps of the Army and shows how it drifted into the control of our waterways.

"Under the same long-standing arrangement—

"Mr. Taft says—

"it is the policy of the War Department to maintain a trained body of military engineers with a view to the national defense, and to keep these engineers in training in time of peace by detail to civil duty allied to their professional duty in time of war or military preparation; and it was carrying out this policy that the functions of the War Department pertaining to waterways have been more and more largely intrusted to the engineers of the Army during the 110 years since the Army and Navy were separated in distinct departments. This policy has long been sustained by the Congress, although the military engineers have been prohibited from initiating projects or originating plans for meeting the growing needs of commerce. It is desirable to continue the policy of keeping the military engineers in training and at the same time rendering their skilled service available in work on waterways, although it is not necessary to vest them with the power of initiative, which they have not exercised in the past and which is, perhaps, inconsistent with their primary duty in connection with the military establishment of which they form a part. A provision that the Chief of Engineers of the Army shall be a member of the commission proposed to be created, and a further provision specifically covering the detail of military engineers to the service of the commission whenever such detail shall be consistent with their military duties, would remove any possible ambiguity and would be in accord with the custom and policy of the War Department.

* * * * * * *

"THE WATERWAYS COMMISSION APPROVES.

"Here also is the letter of the Inland Waterways Commission, signed by Theodore E. Burton, chairman, which, referring to this bill, states as follows:

"1. Several of the leading provisions of the bill are in accord with the recommendations of the commission in a report submitted on February 3 last and transmitted to the Congress by the President on February 26. Among these are (a) the provision for coordination of navigation with related uses of the waters; (b) the provision for cooperation between the Federal Government, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals; (c) the provision for correlating existing agencies in the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor in such manner as to secure effective administration; and (d) the provisions looking toward the control of running waters in such manner as to protect and promote navigation. In so far as these provisions are concerned, the bill has the unqualified approbation of the commission.

* * * * * * *

"3. The general purpose of the bill is in harmony with the comprehensive plan for improving and developing the waterways of the country framed by the commission and approved by the President in his message of February 26 last.

"It is fair to say that this expression was somewhat modified by Gen. Mackenzie, Chief of the Engineer Corps, whose views, however, as I recall, accord with the modified provisions of the pending amendment.

"I think the honored chairman of that committee, Mr. Burton, will bear witness with me as to the intelligent service rendered by the chiefs of the scientific services of the country who were on that commission. I am sure that ever since my experience with them I have had a higher idea of their efficiency, their capacity, and their high public spirit. I know of no organization in a business way in the country that surpasses the scientific services of the country in integrity and in efficiency."

THE INLAND WATERWAYS COMMISSION.

The Inland Waterways Commission was created by President Roosevelt on March 14, 1907, with the following membership: Hon. Theodore E. Burton, chairman; Senator Francis G. Newlands, vice chairman; Senator William Warner, Hon. John H. Bankhead, Gen. Alexander Mackenzie, Mr. W J McGee, Mr. F. H. Newell, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Hon. Herbert Knox Smith.

The following brief summary of the activities of this commission is quoted from page 17 of its printed report:

"PROCEEDINGS.

"After conference and correspondence between the chairman and other commissioners, a meeting for organization was held in the United States Capitol, beginning April 20 and ending May 3 (1907). A second meeting and inspection trip on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to The Passes took place May 13 to May 23. A third meeting and inspection trip, first on the Great Lakes from Cleveland to Duluth, next on the Mississippi from St. Paul to Memphis, and then on the Missouri from Kansas City to St. Louis, took place September 21 to October 13. A fourth meeting was held in the United States Capitol, beginning on

November 25, 1907, for the purpose of preparing a preliminary report; it ended February 3, 1908."

The report above referred to was adopted and transmitted to President Roosevelt on February 3, 1908, and by him transmitted to Congress on February 26, 1908.

The report was printed as Senate Document No. 325, Sixtieth Congress, first session, entitled "Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterways Commission."

The work of the Inland Waterways Commission ended with this report, on which no action was taken by Congress at that time.

Subsequently the United States National Waterways Commission, composed of 12 Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, was created by act of Congress of March 3, 1909.

The statute creating the National Waterways Commission provided that a preliminary report should be filed not later than January 1, 1910, containing conclusions reached by the commission upon the several subjects investigated. Such a report was made.

This United States National Waterways Commission, "having concluded its investigation of questions relating to water transportation and the improvement of waterways," ended its labors by the submission to Congress of its final report, which was ordered printed on March 25, 1912, and was thereafter printed as Senate Document No. 469, Sixty-second Congress, third session, entitled "Final Report of the National Waterways Commission."

The preliminary report of this commission was printed in full on pages 65 to 95 of that same volume.

No action based on these reports of the United States National Waterways Commission has ever been taken by Congress.

The action now taken by the adoption of the river-regulation policy embodied in section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917 is in accordance with the recommendations not of the National Waterways Commission but of the Inland Waterways Commission, as set forth in the report of the Inland Waterways Commission made on February 3, 1908, the closing paragraph of the final recommendations of that report having been as follows:

"We recommend that the Congress be asked to authorize the coordination and proper development of existing public services connected with waterways, and we suggest that such enactment might provide that the President of the United States be authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint and organize a national waterways commission, to bring into coordination the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service in so far as their work relates to inland waterways, and that he be authorized to make such details and require such duties from these branches of the public service in connection with navigable and source streams as are not inconsistent with law; the said commission to continue the investigation of all questions relating to the development and improvement and utilization of the inland waterways of the country and the conservation of its natural resources related thereto, and to consider and coordinate therewith all matters of irrigation, swamp and overflow land reclamation, clarification and purification of streams, prevention of soil waste, utilization of water power, preservation and extension of forests, regulation of flow and control of floods, transfer facilities and sites and the regulation and control thereof, and the relations between waterways and railways; and that the commission be empowered to frame and recommend plans for developing the waterways and utilizing the waters, and as authorized by Congress to carry out the same through established agencies, when such are available, in cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in such manner as to secure equitable distribution of costs and benefits."

A comparison of the foregoing recommendation of the Inland Waterways Commission with the river-regulation amendment embodied in section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917, exemplifies the fact that after an interval of nine years and seven months, during which the report of the Inland Waterways Commission has lain dormant, and the commission has been out of existence, the tenacity of purpose of the advocates of river regulation has finally prevailed to the extent, at least, of securing the inauguration of so much of the national policy of river regulation as was recommended in the section quoted above from the report of the Inland Waterways Commission of February, 1908.

The complete statement of the conclusions of the Inland Waterways Commission, as embodied in this preliminary report of February 3, 1908, hereinbefore referred to, was as follows:

"The commission is fully aware that its creation was due to a demand of the people, and that there exists an expectation in certain localities that the report here presented will include plans extending in detail to the principal waterways of the country. To prepare and consider such plans would require extended study at large expense by engineers and other experts whose services were not available. Under the instructions from the President, and in the absence of funds and of the men and time required for such study, the commission was necessarily confined in preparing this preliminary report to the more general features of 'A comprehensive plan designed for the benefit of the entire country,' viz, a statement of principles and an outline of policy, coupled with recommendations which, if adopted, will insure the continuation of the work and the practical application of the principles and policy.

"FINDINGS.

"1. The possibilities of inland navigation are indicated by the fact that there are in mainland United States some 25,000 miles of navigated rivers and at least an equal amount which are navigable or might be made so by improvement; there are also some 2,500 miles of navigable canals and over 2,500 miles of sounds, bays, and bayous readily connectible by canals, aggregating less than 1,000 miles in length, to form inner passages paralleling the Atlantic and Gulf coasts—these being additional to some thousands of miles (reckoned between leading ports) of regularly navigated waters in lakes and land-locked bays. These waterways lie in or along the borders of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, i. e., 42 States; while the development of rivers for irrigation, power, and other purposes will also render navigable certain waterways in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. Although it is not probable that any considerable share of this vast mileage of navigable waterways will be improved to a high standard of efficiency, at least at an early date, yet the assured growth of the country and the capacity of these waters, not only for navigation but for other uses, render imperative the necessity for their control and utilization as an asset of almost unlimited value. It is desirable that these waterways, of which portions have been surveyed or improved for purposes of navigation, should be further investigated with a view to the systematic development of interstate commerce in coordination with all other uses of the waters and benefits to be derived from them.

"2. While the railways of mainland United States have been notably efficient in extending and promoting the production and commerce of the country, it is clear that at seasons recurring with increasing frequency they are unable to keep pace with production or to meet the requirements of transportation.

"3. While navigation of the inland waterways declined with the increase in rail transportation during the later decades of the past century, it has become clear that the time is at hand for restoring and developing such inland navigation and water transportation as upon expert examination may appear to confer a benefit commensurate with the cost, to be utilized both independently and as a necessary adjunct to rail transportation.

"4. While the decline of navigation in the inland waterways was largely due to the natural growth and legitimate competition attending railway extension, it is also clear that railway interests have been successfully directed against the normal maintenance and development of water traffic by control of water fronts and terminals, by acquisition or control of competing canals and vessels, by discriminating tariffs, rebates, by adverse placement of tracks and structures, and by other means.

"5. Any complete or practically successful plan for the general improvement of waterways must eventually provide for satisfactory adjustment of the relation of rail lines to such waterways. Since present and prospective railways reach all parts of the country while navigable waterways are confined to certain natural lines, it is clear that railways can so control transportation as to leave the waterways insufficient traffic to support the requisite vessels and terminals. The railways have accordingly, save in certain exceptional cases, substantially absorbed the traffic of the country, and unless the present unrestricted and short-sighted competition between the two systems is intelligently adjusted they will continue to do so. So large a portion of railway traffic is free from water competition that railways can readily afford to so reduce rates on those portions affected by such competition as to destroy the profits of the

water lines without appreciably affecting the profits of the rail systems which recoup these reductions by higher rates elsewhere. This has been the case with most of the great inland waterways, excepting the Great Lakes, where the conditions of water and traffic approach those of open seas. In spite of the great increase of traffic and the continued improvement of waterways, the total river traffic of the country has steadily decreased both proportionately and absolutely, with the result that few rivers are used to anything approaching their full capacity. It will not relieve traffic congestion to improve our waterways unless the improved waterways are used; hence it is obvious that relief from the existing congestion by waterway improvement can be made permanently effective through coordination of rail and water facilities as will insure harmonious cooperation rather than injurious opposition.

"6. Existing data as to the nature and amount of the internal commerce of the country are extremely meager and incomplete. Such information is essential to the intelligent treatment of the inland waterways, and it is desirable that means be employed to obtain it.

"7. Improvements of navigation in inland waterways in the main affect favorably the purity of the waters and the regularity of the supply, and these objects should be carefully kept in mind. The increasing pollution of streams by soil wash and other waste substances connected with a growing population reduces the value of the water for manufacturing purposes, and renders the water supply for communities injurious to and often destructive of human life. The prevention of these evils should be considered in any scheme of inland waterway improvement.

"8. Engineering works designed to improve navigation affect favorably the regimen of the streams, including floods and low waters. The annual floods of the United States occasion loss of property reaching many millions of dollars with considerable loss of life, while the low water of late summer involves large loss in diminished water supply, in reduced power, and in the fouling of streams with consequent disease and death. It has been claimed that in specific cases the cost of works required both to control floods and meet the needs of commerce would be less than the amount of this loss. It is desirable that more detailed information be collected concerning the effects of floods and low waters and their prevention by engineering works and other devices.

"9. The annual soil wash in mainland United States is estimated at about 1,000,000,000 tons, of which the greater part is the most valuable portion of the soil; it is carried into the rivers where it pollutes the waters, necessitates frequent and costly dredging, and reduces the efficiency of works designed to facilitate navigation and afford protection from floods. The direct and indirect losses from this source have not been measured, but are exceedingly large; and it is desirable that definite determinations be made with the view of devising means for reducing the loss to the land and preventing the impairment of the streams for purposes of commerce.

"10. Both the regimen of streams and the purity and clarity of waters are affected by forests and other natural growths and by farming, mining, and other industrial operations over the watersheds in which they gather. Millions of acres in mainland United States have been deforested unnecessarily, and the floods and low waters ascribed to this cause have in some localities occasioned losses commensurate with the value of the timber. Means should be devised and applied for coordinating forestry, farming, mining, and related industries with the uses of streams for commerce and for other purposes.

"11. The effect of wide variations in the level of navigable streams is to render difficult the establishment of necessary terminals for the handling of traffic, and thus to interfere seriously with the utilization of our inland waterways. The prevention or mitigation of such variations would be most helpful to the revival of river traffic, and means to this end should be adopted in plans for waterway improvement.

"12. The storage of flood waters combined with the diversion of streams to arid and semiarid lands for purposes of reclamation by irrigation creates canals and also tends to clarify the waters and increase the seepage or return waters during times of drought. There have already been put under irrigation over 10,000,000 acres of fertile land, adding a quarter of a million homes and several hundred million dollars of taxable wealth, and it is estimated that by fully conserving the waters and by utilizing the water power developed in connection with storage and other works fully three times as much land can be reclaimed in the western half of the United States. It is desirable to continue the collection of data with a view to so adjusting irrigation and power development with navigation and other uses of the streams as to secure the highest value of the water to the greatest number of people.

"13. Locks and certain other works designed to improve navigation commonly produce head and store water in such manner as to develop power available for industrial purposes, while works designed to develop power on navigable and source streams affect the navigation and other uses of river systems; and these uses must necessarily be considered together. Information concerning water power in the several States and sections is incomplete, yet it is known to be a vast and intrinsically permanent asset which should be utilized for the benefit of the people of the country, in whose interests it should be administered with careful regard for present and prospective conditions. The facts ascertained in certain specific cases furnish a basis for the claim that the value of the power would pay the cost of all engineering and other works required in such cases to control the streams for navigation and other uses. In the light of recent progress in electrical application, it is clear that over wide areas the appropriation of water power offers an unequaled opportunity for monopolistic control of industries. Wherever water is now or will hereafter become the chief source of power the monopolization of electricity produced from running streams involves monopoly of power for the transportation of freight and passengers, for manufacturing, and for supplying heat, light, and other domestic, agricultural, and municipal necessities to such an extent that unless regulated it will entail monopolistic control of the daily life of our people in an unprecedented degree. There is here presented an urgent need for prompt and vigorous action by State and Federal Governments.

"14. Any comprehensive system of improvement of inland waterways will necessarily affect the drainage or reclamation of swamp and overflow lands, which are mainly rich alluvial tracts largely along or near waterways. The construction of dikes and levees or bank-protective works and the deepening of channels are often closely connected with means of control both of overflow and of underflow by drainage. It is estimated that there are 77,000,000 acres of such land, now unproductive, but which, with drainage and protection from overflow, will have exceptionally high agricultural value; if divided into 40-acre farms, these lands will furnish homes for 10,000,000 people.

"15. The control of waterways on which successful navigation depends is so intimately connected with the prevention of floods and low waters and works designed for these purposes, with the protection and reclamation of overflow lands and works designed therefor; with the safeguarding of banks and maintenance of channels and works employed therein; with the purification and clarification of water supply and works designed therefor in conjunction with interstate commerce; with control and utilization of power developed in connection with works for the improvement of navigation; with the standardization of methods and facilities and the coordinating of waterway and railway instrumentalities; and throughout the larger areas of the country with reclamation by irrigation and drainage and works designed primarily for these purposes, that local and special questions concerning the control of waterways should be treated as a general question of national extent, while local or special projects should be considered as parts of a comprehensive policy of waterway control in the interests of all the people.

"16. Governmental agencies whose work is related to the use and control of streams are now in existence in the Federal Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor; and it is desirable, in order to prevent duplication of work and function and to avoid unnecessary delays in the development of the inland waterways, that means should be provided for coordinating all such agencies.

"17. While precise figures are not now obtainable, it is safe to say that the current value of our inland transportation facilities (of which railways form all but a small percentage) exceeds one-eighth of our national wealth; yet these facilities are so far inadequate that production is impaired and the growth of the country is retarded. While trustworthy estimates can not be made without further data, it is reasonable to anticipate that congestion of interstate commerce can be obviated in large measure by judicious improvement of waterways adapted to barge and boat traffic at a figure much less than that estimated by competent authorities for so increasing railway facilities as to meet present needs. It is desirable that additional data be obtained by requisite expert investigation.

"18. It is conservative to estimate that judicious improvement of the waterways of the country will confer direct benefits through increased transportation facilities which will exceed the cost, while the collateral benefits will be at least comparable with the gain to commerce. Under a coordinated plan, such collateral benefits as the enhanced value of lands reclaimed by irrigation and drainage, the value of water power

developed, the increased values due to the prevention of floods and low waters, and the great benefits of purified and clarified water will more than balance the cost of the works.

"19. In a comprehensive system of water improvement and control designed to meet present and future needs, the practicability of any project will depend not alone on local and general demands of commerce, but measurably on attendant natural and industrial conditions, including nature of banks and bed, suitability of the ground as a foundation for works, volume of water, and liability to floods and low stages, configuration of the watershed and its susceptibility to control by judicious agriculture and forestry or by reservoirs and other means, local and general demand for pure-water supply, amount and value of available water power incident to the works, proximity and cost of structural material, relations to existing and prospective projects on the same and neighboring waterways, and all other physical and economic factors entering into or tending to counterbalance the cost; and the local surveys or plans for any project should take account of all such natural and industrial conditions and be adapted to the attainment of maximum benefits at the minimum cost.

"20. Existing data concerning the volume, regimen, and other physical features of most streams are meager and imperfect. Since plans for improving and controlling the waterways and utilizing the waters must rest on these facts it is desirable that means be employed to extend and perfect physical data relating to the navigable and source streams of the country.

"21. The benefits of a comprehensive system of waterway improvement will extend to all the people in the several sections and States of the country, and the means employed should be devised, so far as possible, to distribute the cost equitably through cooperation between Federal agencies, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals.

"22. In order to improve the inland waterways for navigation and at the same time coordinate the agencies and means of transportation, develop the collateral benefits of waterway improvement, adapt all natural and industrial conditions related with waterways to the attainment of maximum benefits at the minimum cost, and perfect means for distributing the cost equitably between Federal agencies, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in a prompt and efficient and economical manner, it is desirable to maintain an administrative agency with large powers for the investigation and elaboration of projects under suitable legislative regulation.

"23. The immediate use of natural resources in the rapid development of the country are often allowed to stand in the way of more beneficent and permanent utilization. This is especially true of all resources connected with running waters, the substantial value of which has not been adequately appreciated. It is clearly practicable, without undue expense or interference with current use, to carry out broad plans for the complete development of the resources of the country, and thus assure to the greatest number of people the greatest good for both the present and the future, while if this is not done the temporary or partial development of these resources will prevent their full utilization for the general benefit. Steps should be taken without delay to outline and initiate the more pressing projects of conservation, and to apply practically the principle of conservation before it is too late.

"24. Our unsurpassed natural wealth and the eagerness of our people for immediate results regardless of future needs have led to a policy of extravagant consumption of national resources and to an encouragement of monopoly, whereby an excessive share of such resources has been diverted to the enrichment of the few rather than preserved for the equitable benefit of the many. Monopolistic tendencies have appeared (a) in the extensive control of mineral fuels on public lands, whereby large values essential to the development of the country have passed beyond public regulation; (b) in the acquisition and needless destruction of forests, whose preservation is a public necessity for stream control for timber supply and for other purposes; (c) in the acquisition of controlling sites on waterways and the appropriation of valuable water powers with their segregation from public uses without adequate compensation, whereby indispensable utilities escape public regulation in the interests of the people; (d) in the segregation of lands, especially in the semi-arid regions, whereby development is retarded so that the lands remain without benefit to commerce or advantage to the growth of the country; (e) in the control of products and of transportation to disturb the normal values and natural channels of trade, thereby imposing undue burdens on producers and consumers; and (f) in various interferences with the production and commerce of the country, whereby prosperity is curtailed and progress impeded. While such monopolistic tendencies have been conspicuous in connection with the agencies of transportation, they are now in many cases opposing the best utilization of streams by diverting their control from State and Federal jurisdiction in the public interests to personal and corporate means of excessive and burdensome profit. Since transportation is a primary factor in the existence and development of any people, and is increasingly important with the growth of population, it is essential that its means should be regulated in the public interests; and any plans for relieving congestion of transportation in the United States should be so framed as to employ all proper State, Federal, and municipal agencies in protecting from monopolistic control not only the agencies and avenues but also the materials of interstate commerce.

"RECOMMENDATIONS.

"A. We recommend that hereafter plans for the improvement of navigation in inland waterways, or for any use of these waterways in connection with interstate commerce, shall take account of the purification of the waters, the development of power, the control of floods, the reclamation of lands by irrigation and drainage, and all other uses of the waters or benefits to be derived from their control.

"B. We recommend that hereafter both local and general benefits to the people shall be fully considered in any such plans for the improvement of navigation in inland waterways or for any use of these waterways in connection with interstate commerce; and that wherever practicable Federal agencies shall cooperate with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals with a view to an equitable distribution of costs and benefits.

"C. We recommend that hereafter any plans for the navigation or other use of inland waterways in connection with interstate commerce shall take full account of transfer facilities and sites and of the location of tracks, grades, bridges, dams, depots, and other works on navigable and source streams with a view to equitable cooperation between waterway and railway facilities for the promotion of commerce and the benefit of the people.

"D. We recommend that any plans for improving the inland waterways shall take account of the present and prospective relation of rail lines to such waterways, and shall ascertain so far as may be whether such waterways when improved will be effectively used in the face of railway competition; and that the relations between railways and waterways be further examined with the purpose of devising means of rendering the two systems complementary and harmonious and making such fair division of traffic that rates and management may be coordinated economically and with benefit to the country.

"E. We recommend the adoption of means for ascertaining regularly all facts related to traffic on the inland waterways and for publishing the same in a form suitable for general use.

"F. We recommend the adoption of means for ascertaining and rendering available, at such rate as to meet public necessities, all requisite data related to the physical character and general utility of the navigable and source streams of the country.

"G. We recommend that hereafter any plans for the use of inland waterways in connection with interstate commerce shall regard the streams of the country as an asset to the people, shall take full account of the conservation of all resources connected with running waters, and shall look to the protection of these resources from monopoly and to their administration in the interests of the people.

"H. We recommend that the Congress be asked to make suitable provision for improving the inland waterways of the United States at a rate commensurate with the needs of the people as determined by competent authority; and we suggest that such provision meet these requisites, viz, expert framing of a definite policy; certainty of continuity and coordination of plan and work; expert initiative in the choice of projects and the succession of works; freedom in selection of projects in accordance with terms of cooperation; and the widest opportunity for applying modern business methods.

"I. We recommend that the Congress be asked to authorize the coordination and proper development of existing public services connected with waterways; and we suggest that such enactment might provide that the President of the United States be authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint and organize a National Waterways Commission, to bring into coordination the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service in so far as their work relates to inland waterways, and that he be authorized to make such details and require such duties from these branches of the public service in connection

with navigable and source streams as are not inconsistent with law; the said commission to continue the investigation of all questions relating to the development and improvement and utilization of the inland waterways of the country and the conservation of its natural resources related thereto, and to consider and coordinate therewith all matters of irrigation, swamp, and overflow land reclamation, clarification and purification of streams, prevention of soil waste, utilization of water power, preservation and extension of forests, regulation of flow and control of floods, transfer facilities and sites and the regulation and control thereof, and the relations between waterways and railways; and that the commission be empowered to frame and recommend plans for developing the waterways and utilizing the waters, and as authorized by Congress to carry out the same, through established agencies when such are available, in cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals, in such manner as to secure equitable distrbution of costs and benefits.

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"Respectfully submitted.

"THEODORE E. BURTON, *Chairman.*
"FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.
"WM. WARNER.
"J. H. BANKHEAD.
"W J MCGEE.
"F. H. NEWELL.
"GIFFORD PINCHOT.
"HERBERT KNOX SMITH.

"SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF COMMISSIONER SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

"I concur in the report of the commission, but desire to emphasize my belief that it is of the highest importance that in dealing with subjects relating to the respective powers, rights, and interests of the Nation, States, municipalities, corporations, and individuals large powers and a comparatively free hand should be given to an administrative body of experts in the full development of projects, lest the complexity of the transactions, the time necessary to secure congressional approval, and difference of view as to purpose of method may result in indecision and delay, the worst enemies of effective development.

"An ample fund should be provided, to be reenforced from time to time either by legislative appropriation or by bond issue, and the administrative board or commission should be given the power not only to investigate projects but also, when determined to be feasible, to enter, with the approval of the President, upon their immediate execution; but the power should be limited so as to prevent such administrative body from entering into any contract unless there are sufficient unappropriated moneys in the fund to meet the cost thereof.

"Unless some method of construction and development insuring prompt decision and execution and continuous and consecutive work by a body of experts is adopted, I fear that the best of projects may be wrecked in the shoals and quicksands of legislation.

"FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS."

The statement above set forth of the findings and recommendations of the Inland Waterways Commission will be found on pages 18 to 27 and the supplementary report of Commissioner Senator Francis G. Newlands, on pages 30 and 31 of the Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterways Commission, Senate Document No. 325, Sixtieth Congress, first session.

It also appears, as above republished, in Senate Document No. 550, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, entitled "River Regulation, Flood Control, and Water Conservation and Utilization. Hearing before the subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, on S. 5736, a bill to promote interstate commerce, agriculture, and the general welfare by providing for the development and control of waterways and water resources, for water conservation for flood control, prevention, and protection; for the application of flood waters to beneficial uses; and for cooperation in such work with States and other agencies, and for other purposes," pages 147 to 153.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S RECOMMENDATION.

In the letter of transmittal by the President to Congress of the report of the Inland Waterways Commission on February 26, 1908, President Roosevelt closed the letter with the following urgent recommendation:

"The development of our waterways and the conservation of our forests are the two most pressing physical needs of the country. They are interdependent, and they should be met vigorously, together, and at once. The question of organization, powers, and appropriations are now before Congress. There is urgent need for prompt and decisive action."

EVOLUTION OF NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION BILL.

From that time until the present the effort to secure action from Congress has never ceased. The campaign has been steadfastly and continuously conducted. In nearly every session of Congress measures have been urged by Senator NEWLANDS with a view to securing action that would inaugurate the broad and comprehensive river regulation, waterways, and water resources national policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment which Congress has now adopted. Until this session no such comprehensive legislation has been enacted. Congress has confined its action to such incomplete, inadequate, and piecemeal or local legislation as the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve act, passed in February, 1911, and the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act, passed at the last session.

The following references to bills introduced and to debates and remarks in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and to public addresses and articles in newspapers, periodicals, and magazines by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, from 1894 to 1917, furnishes a historical reference record, extending over a period of 23 years, of the development of the river-regulation movement from the reclamation movement originating in the West, and of the evolution of congressional action relating to that movement, from the earliest measures introduced down to the final inauguration of the comprehensive river regulation and waterways and water resources policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment, section 18, of the river and harbor bill of 1917.

August 11, 1894: Remarks of Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, in the House of Representatives, on reclamation of arid lands. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 26, pt. 8, p. 8427.)

February 17, 1896: Remarks in House on irrigation investigations. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 28, pt. 2, p. 1815.)

March 14, 1898: Introduced H. R. 9080, for construction of reservoirs in the arid region. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 31, pt. 3, p. 2793.)

December 19, 1899: Introduced H. R. 4751, directing Secretary of Interior to make surveys and report cost of erecting reservoirs in arid region, and making appropriations for same. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 33, pt. 1, p. 594.)

December 17, 1900: Introduced H. R. 12844, for the disposition and settlement of arid lands, etc. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 386.)

January 9, 1901: Remarks in House: Storage reservoirs—The arid lands question—Missouri headwaters improvement. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 784.)

January 11 and February 9, 1901: Made statements at hearings before House Committee on Arid Lands.

January 15, 1901: Offered amendment for construction of two reservoirs on the Humboldt River. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1056.)

January 15, 1901: Remarks in House on Missouri headwaters improvement. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1055.)

January 15, 1901: Remarks on Humboldt River improvement (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1056.)

January 26, 1901: Introduced H. R. 13846 for the reclamation of arid lands. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1542.)

January 30, 1901: Remarks in House on Irrigation. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1700.)

February 6, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14088, to construct reservoirs, etc., in the arid region. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2047.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on cost of determining water supply. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2665.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on Nevada and its need of irrigation. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2662.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks in House, Labor's intelligent appreciation of the reclamation projects. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2664.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on Nevada and irrigation. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2665.)

March 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14326, to store water, etc. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3484.)

March 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14338, to store water, etc. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3605.)

March 12, 1901: Remarks on plan for storing water. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3565.)

March 12, 1901: Remarks in House, to double appropriation for irrigation investigations. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3572.)

December 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 51, to authorize and begin the construction of reservoirs, canals, etc., for the irrigation of arid lands in Nevada. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 52.)

December 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 52, to provide for the disposition of arid public lands, to authorize the construction of reservoirs for the storage of waters, etc. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 836.)

January 21, 1902: Remarks in House—Western irrigation measure—Competition of western with eastern farmers (reply to Sibley). (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 836.)

January 21, 1902: Introduced H. R. 9676, appropriating receipts from sales and disposal of public lands in certain States and Territories to construction of irrigation works for reclamation of arid lands (this is the reclamation act now in force). (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 851.)

March 8, 1902: H. R. Report 794 on above bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 2549.)

March 10, 1902: Same; views of minority. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 2549.)

March 20, 1902: Remarks in House on irrigation of arid lands. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 3088.)

April 7, 1902: H. R. Report 1468 on H. R. 9315, same. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 4, p. 3812.)

May 14, 1902: Remarks in House on reclamation of arid lands. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 8, p. 253.)

June 12, 1902: Remarks in House on H. R. 9315, irrigation of arid lands. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 7, p. 6672.)

June 13, 1902: Remarks in House, same. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 35, pt. 7, p. 6631.)

July 6, 1902: Article in Washington Post on irrigation.

October 15, 1903: "Watering the desert"; article in the Youth's Companion.

November 1, 1903: Article in Twentieth Century West on irrigation.

March 25, 1904: Reform of land laws—State cooperation in irrigation—Nevada irrigation statute; remarks in House. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 38, pt. 4, p. 3608.)

December 26, 1904: Walker River storage. Correspondence about Walker River water rights.

January 17, 1905: Walker River storage. Correspondence about Walker River water rights.

March 2, 1905: Resources of the semiarid region; Senate Document No. 191, published at Mr. NEWLANDS's request.

June —, 1905: Remarks at banquet to irrigation party at Red Bluffs, Cal.

June 30, 1905: Remarks at Sheridan, Wyo.

September —, 1906: "Irrigation as a social problem"; article in the Pacific Monthly.

March 14, 1907: Mr. NEWLANDS was appointed by President Roosevelt a member of the Inland Waterways Commission.

April 29, 1907: The commission organized at Washington, D. C., and selected Mr. NEWLANDS as vice chairman.

May 13–23, 1907: The commission made a trip on the Mississippi River, from St. Louis to The Passes. Mr. NEWLANDS spoke at St. Louis.

September 3, 1907: Addressed the National Irrigation Congress, at Sacramento, on waterways.

September 21 to October 13, 1907: Commission made a trip on the Great Lakes, from Cleveland to Duluth; on the Mississippi from St. Paul to Memphis; and on the Missouri from Kansas City to St. Louis. Senator NEWLANDS accompanied it. He spoke at several places on the route, including St. Paul (Sept. 27), Memphis (Oct. 5), Kansas City (Oct. 7), and Jefferson City (Oct. 10).

October 26, 1907: Spoke on waterways before the University Club, at Washington, D. C.

November 19, 1907: Made the opening address at the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Conference, Philadelphia.

November 26, 1907: Spoke at the National Drainage Congress, Baltimore, Md.

December 4, 1907: Introduced S. 500, for the appointment of an inland waterways commission, etc., and spoke briefly in its support. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 1, p. 143.)

December 5, 1907: Address before National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C.

December 17, 1907: Remarks in Senate on waterways. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 1, pp. 389, 400.)

January 1, 1908: Article in the Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science on the "Use and development of American waterways."

January 3, 1908: Addressed the Springfield (Mass.) Board of Trade.

January 22, 1908: Spoke at the banquet of the National Board of Trade, Washington D. C.

January 30, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke before the Traffic Club, at their annual banquet, Chicago.

February 7, 1908: Article on waterways in the Christian Endeavor World, Boston, Mass.

February 7, 1908: Address before chamber of commerce, Atlanta, Ga.

February 26, 1908: Joined with the Inland Waterways Commission in their preliminary report.

March 5, 1908: Article on waterways in Leslie's Weekly.

April 8, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke before the waterways section of the Southern Commercial Congress at Nashville.

April 11, 1908. Mr. NEWLANDS addressed the National Drainage Congress at New Orleans.

April 16, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke on waterways at a banquet given by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce in honor of the Flood Commission.

May 13, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS introduced S. 7112. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6175.)

May 14, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6226.)

May 15, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt 7, p. 6333.)

May 16, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6403–6405.)

May 19, 1908: Reported S. 7112. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6525.)

May 20, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6577.)

May 23, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6808–6811.)

May 26, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6950, 6965, 6972.)

May 28, 1908: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 42, 48, 7124.)

November 25, 1908: Addressed the River Regulation Commission of Stockton, Cal., on waterways.

December 10, 1909: Introduced S. 3717, for the formation of an inland waterways commission, etc. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 1, p. 76.)

February 16, 1910: Amendment to rivers and harbors bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 1963.)

February 17, 1910: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 1998.)

February 18, 1910: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 2067–2072.)

February 22, 1910: Amendment to S. 6168 for Government business methods commission. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 2204.)

March 8, 1910: Debate on Senate resolution 195. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 2893–2894.)

April 11, 1910: Rivers and harbors bill debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 4496.)

April 15, 1910: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 4805–4809.)

April 18, 1910: Debate on rivers and harbors bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 4877, 4885, 4893, 4894, 4895, 4896.

April 19, 1910: Amendment to rivers and harbors bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 4972, 4984.)

June 8, 1910: Debate, rivers and harbors bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 7601–7602.)

June 23, 1910: Amendment to Senate bill 4501, Appalachian and White Mountain Forest Reserve bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol 45, pt. 2, p. 8813.)

January 17, 1911: Amendment to rivers and harbors bill (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 46, pt. 1, p. 983.)

February 3, 1911: Article in the Commoner on "Suggested Legislation," containing river-regulation program.

February 15, 1911: Debate on Appalachian bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 46, pt. 3, pp. 2577–2589, 2590–2595.)

March 1, 1911: Introduced S. 10900. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 46, pt. 4, p. 3752.)

March 15, 1911: Letter to Hon. Champ Clark, waterways as a part of the legislative program.

April 6, 1911: Introduced S. 122. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, p. 103.)

May 11, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 41, legislative program.

May 15, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 1205–1213.)

May 16, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 1225–1229.)

May 24, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 1545–1547.)

June 24, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 2443–2448.)

July 22, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 109, legislative program. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, p. 3176.)

July 24, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 3181–3189.)

August 4, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, p. 3601.)

August 5, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 47, pt. 1, pp. 3642, 3643.)

December 7, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 159.

December 11, 1911: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 1, pp. 136–138.)

January 23, 1912: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 1, pp. 643, 657.)

April 30, 1912: Amendment to H. R. 21447, rivers and harbors bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 6, p. 5576.)

April 13, 1912: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 5, pp. 4705, 4706.)

May 9, 1912: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 6, pp. 6110–6119; Appendix, pp. 216–228.)

April 30, 1912: Waterways. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 6, pp. 5576, 5577.)

July 18, 1912: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 9, p. 9220.)

July 27, 1912: H. R. 21213. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 10, pp. 9755, 9756.)

July 26, 1912: H. R. 21214. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 10, pp. 9707, 9708.)

August 9, 1912: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 48, pt. 11, pp. 10572–10574.)

October 3, 1912: Article in the Independent on "Possibilities of a Democratic administration," including the subject of waterways.

February 19, 1913: Amendment to river and harbor bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pt. 4, p. 3400.)

February 20, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pt. 4, pp. 3478–3498.)

February 22, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pr. 4, p. 3636.)

February 24, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pt. 4, pp. 3786–3791.)

March 1, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pt. 5, pp. 4365–4376.)

April 10, 1913: Article in the Independent: Control of our waterways.

March 13, 1913: Introduced S. Res. No. 4; debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 16–17.)

March 17, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 33–34.)

April 21, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, p. 205.)

May 5, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 210–211.)

May 19, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 265–267.)

May 20, 1913: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 1, p. 1092.)

July 14, 1913: Introduced S. 2739: A bill to create a waterways commission and a board of river regulation. The bill is printed in full on pages 2393 to 2395 of the RECORD of this date. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 50, pt. 3, pp. 2392–2395.)

January 31, 1914: Introduced an amendment in the nature of a substitute for S. 2739, this substitute bearing the same number, and being known as the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill. It is printed in full in the RECORD of this date. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 51, pt. 3, pp. 2635–2638.)

In his remarks on the introduction of this bill, Senator NEWLANDS said:

> I wish to introduce the bill which I send to the desk as a substitute for the bill (S. 2739) known throughout the country as the Newlands river-regulation bill, submitted by me on July 14, 1913. This substitute is intended to remove all doubt as to the purpose of the original bill regarding the Mississippi River. It proposes to make the Mississippi River, with its banks, its levees, its spillways, and its cut-offs, a national highway.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of this same date, following the bill, articles were printed entitled, as follows:

1. Editorial from the Memphis News-Scimitar, January 15, 1914.

2. Editorial from the Mobile Item, January 22, 1914.

3. Resolutions of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, fourteenth annual session, Seattle, Wash., August 18–21, 1903.

4. Flood control—Impounding waters at their sources, by George H. Maxwell. From the Southern Lumberman, Nashville, Tenn., December, 1914. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 51, pt. 3, pp. 2634–2640.)

June 22, 1914: River-regulation amendment to rivers and harbors bill introduced, with explanatory remarks. Amendment printed in RECORD and referred to Senate Committee on Commerce. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 51, pt. 11, pp. 10833–10834.)

July 9, 1914: Debate; discussion of the river-regulation amendment, the Newlands-Broussard bill, and the river and harbor bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 51, pt. 12, pp. 11864–11866.)

December 23, 1914: Reintroduction river-regulation amendment, remarks on river-regulation bill, Democratic platforms, 1908–1912.

In the course of his remarks Senator NEWLANDS said:

"The President, without committing himself to this or any measure, is inclined to favor the general principles of the bill; but he does not think that there is time enough for its consideration at the short session.

"While I am reluctant to lessen the pressure for legislation on this important question, and believe that the force of public sentiment should be continuously exerted, and while I have reason to believe that the measure which I have been advocating has the support of thinking people in every section of the country, I can not take exception to the position of the President, burdened as he is with the advocacy of other measures of great importance. I have therefore concluded not to press the matter in any form at this session unless a decided change in the conditions takes place.

"I wish, however, to impress the friends of river regulation and water development with these facts:

"First. That public opinion is against the present system of river and harbor improvements.

"Second. That the committees of the Senate and House are favorable to the present system and will abandon it with great reluctance.

"Third. That it is necessary for that reason to maintain the pressure of a sound public opinion in order to force the consideration of the measure.

"To this end I think it important that the development of the rivers should be entirely separated from the development of the harbors. The harbors are a part of foreign commerce. The rivers are a part of interstate commerce. The harbors bill should go to the Commerce Committee in the Senate. The river regulation bill should, in my judgment, in the Senate go to the Interstate Commerce Committee, of which I am chairman, and not to the Commerce Committee, as the chairman of the Commerce Committee contends.

"In the Senate this bill now lies on the table awaiting the determination of the Senate itself as to which committee the bill shall go to. If it goes to the Interstate Commerce Committee, we can then formulate all the necessary legislation that will make river development dovetail with the development of railroad transportation. Provisions can be secured in that legislation that will prevent the destruction of river transportation by the unfair competition of the railroads. Interstate commerce is one subject, and it should not be divided between two committees.

"For the reasons above given I have concluded not to press the river regulation bill at this session, but to press it with vigor at the next session of Congress, and I urge all who feel the importance of river regulation to bring the weight of their personal influence to its support. It has been indorsed throughout the entire country by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and waterway associations. It has been hospitably received by the press of the country. It has received the indorsement of several State legislatures. It is the only concrete measure upon which public opinion can be concentrated. It is no new thing.

"Pressure for the bill gives concrete expression to a favorable public sentiment regarding the principles of the bill and does away with the necessity for tedious elaboration in its advocacy. I invite the hearty support of all people who believe that water is a valuable asset; that it should be conserved and regulated as such, and that its highest uses should be developed and maintained with scientific accuracy. As the President so happily expressed it to the irrigation congress at Salt Lake, 'the floods should be turned from a menace into a blessing.'

"Now, Mr. President, I offer, but not with a view to pressing the matter, an amendment to the river and harbor bill similar to the one which I offered at the last session. That amendment refers simply to the organization of the commission, and not to the creation of a fund."

The river-regulation amendment above referred to is printed in the RECORD of this date. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 52, pt. 1, pp. 623–624.)

February 4, 1916: Remarks in protest against inadequate methods of dealing with flood problem. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 3, p. 2105.)

February 19, 1916: The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill proposed as an amendment to the Shields water-power bill (S. 3331). (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 3, p. 2805.)

March 8, 1916: Debate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 3, pp. 3732–3736.)

April 11, 1916: Senator NEWLANDS presented the following documents, which were printed in full in the RECORD:

1. Telegram from Walter Parker, general manager New Orleans Association of Commerce, to Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, dated February 15, 1916, and containing a copy of telegram from Woodrow Wilson to FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, president Irrigation Congress, Salt Lake, Utah, dated Seagirt, N. J., September 20, 1912.

2. Letter from President Woodrow Wilson to Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, United States Senate, dated the White House, April 3, 1916, transmitting report of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee, dated Washington, February 26, 1916, and signed by the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 6, p. 5871.)

April 11, 1916: Remarks by Senator NEWLANDS explaining the difference between the Ransdell-Humphreys flood-control bill and the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, and the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee with relation to both bills. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 6, p. 5872.)

April 17, 1916: Senator NEWLANDS introduced river-regulation amendment to river and harbor bill (H. R. 12193) with the following remarks:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the river and harbor bill, embracing the recommendations of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce to the President of the United States, regarding a full and broad system of river regulation and control. These recommendations were recently transmitted to me by the President of the United States in a letter, which, with the accompanying recommendations, were at my instance recently printed in the RECORD. They were recommendations made by an interdepartmental committee appointed by the President two years ago, consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce. Owing to a vacancy in the War Secretaryship the recommendations were signed only by the three other Secretaries, but I am informed that the recently appointed Secretary of War is in harmony with them. The letter of the President and the recommendations of the Secretaries will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 11, 1916." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 7, p. 6269.)

The river-regulation amendment introduced as aforesaid on April 17, 1916, is printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date, pages 6269–6270.

April 24, 1916: Introduced S. 5736. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 7, p. 6688.)

May 9, 1916: Remarks prompted by discussion of appropriation in rivers and harbors bill as to floods in Kansas; conference at office of governor of Kansas; inadequacy of flood-control bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 8, p. 7656.)

May 18, 1916: Remarks. Flood-control bill; correspondence with Hon. B. G. HUMPHREYS. The Humphreys bill and the Newlands bill printed in parallel columns. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 8, pp. 8232–8235.)

May 18, 1916: Remarks: Coordination of rail and water transportation. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 8, p. 8248.)

May 22, 1916: Remarks in protest against piecemeal character of river and harbor appropriations and urging necessity of comprehensive plan. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8435–8437.)

May 24, 1916: Debate, same subject, and also flood-control bill; protest against organization of National Waterways Commission in March, 1909; investigation should now be followed by the actual work of construction. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8568–8572.)

May 26, 1916: Remarks: Shafroth amendment requiring 20 per cent contribution from States on river and harbor improvements. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8703–8705.)

May 26, 1916: Introduced river-regulation amendment to river and harbor bill, H. R. 12193, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8729.)

May 27, 1916: River-regulation amendment offered, the river and harbor bill being under consideration:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to offer the same amendment that was offered and put into the river and harbor bill some three years ago regarding the creation of a river regulation commission with powers of coordination and cooperation. * * *

"Mr. CLARKE (chairman of the Commerce Committee). I trust that the Senate will permit the amendment to be adopted without comment. * * *"

The amendment was read and appears in full in the RECORD of this date on page 8763. The point of order being made against the amendment that it is general legislation on an appropriation bill, the amendment was temporarily withdrawn. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8763.)

May 29, 1916: River-regulation amendment again offered, with the following remarks:

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I renew the amendment I offered the other day, an amendment which was inserted in the river and harbor bill some two years ago by the Senate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8832.)

The amendment was subsequently stricken out on a reserved point of order. (See p. 8835.)

May 31, 1916: Debate as to reference of flood-control bill, H. R. 14777: An act to provide for the control of floods in the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers; relation of flood control to waterway transportation. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8953–8957.)

August 1, 1916: Remarks prompted by floods in Alabama, North and South Carolina. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 53, pt. 12, p. 11908.)

December 21, 1916: Introduced a bill (S. 7510) providing for the control of waterways and water resources, for water conservation, for flood control, prevention and protection. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 54, pt. 1, p. 635.)

February 10, 1917: Remarks:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to ask of the chairman of the Committee on Commerce whether there is reported in the river and harbor bill a provision for the organization of a waterways commission, composed of departmental chiefs and distinguished engineers who are to make a thorough study of all the questions that relate to the development of our waterways for navigation and other purposes?"

The chairman of the Commerce Committee replied that such provision had been embodied in the bill, and the amendment (the river-regulation amendment) is printed on page 2990 of the RECORD. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 54, pt. 3, pp. 2889–2890.)

February 26, 1917: Debate: Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control bill, on the passage of the bill. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 54, pt. 3, pp. 4282, 4290, 4292, 4294, 4298.)

THE NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION AMENDMENT.

The first Newlands river-regulation amendment was introduced in the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill by Senator NEWLANDS, on February 16, 1910, and on February 18 was reintroduced by him, with a brief amendment, and is printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the latter date.

At that time Senator NEWLANDS addressed the Senate on the subject of this amendment, and from his remarks the following is quoted:

"THE WATERWAY PROPAGANDA.

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, the question of the development of the waterways of the country has been receiving great attention within the past few years. Various organizations have been formed throughout the country relating to the development of our waterways, associations appropriately named for the promotion of such development in the Mississippi Valley, on the various tributaries of the Mississippi, on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf coasts. This movement reached such headway through conventions and river and harbor congresses that Mr. Roosevelt, then President, took the matter in hand and appointed a commission in aid of his power of recommendation to Congress, called "the Inland Waterways Commission," which made a preliminary report to him, which report was subsequently submitted to Congress.

"It was my privilege to serve on that commission, and whilst a member of it I introduced a bill, Senate bill No. 500, in the Sixtieth Congress, first session, for the organization of an inland waterway commission, for the coordination of the various scientific services of the Government that related in any way to the development of our waterways and water resources, and for cooperation between the Nation and the States, municipalities, and private interests in the development of these waterways. That bill, with certain modifications, was approved by the then Secretary of War and by the Inland Waterway Commission, of which Mr. Burton, of Ohio, was the chairman. It was referred to the Commerce Committee and there considered. But it did not come up for passage.

"Since then Congress itself took the matter in hand and appointed a National Waterway Commission, composed entirely of Senators and Representatives, the previous Inland Waterway Commission appointed by the President under his executive power of recommendation being a mixed commission, consisting

of two Senators, two Members of the House of Representatives, and five others—the Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Army, the Chief of the Reclamation Service, the Chief of the Forestry Service, the Chief of the Bureau of Soils, and the Chief of the Bureau of Corporations.

"Both these commissions have agreed substantially upon the lines of their recommendation as to legislation. They have declared for coordination of the scientific and constructive services of the Government in this great work and for the cooperation of the Nation with States, municipalities, corporations, and individuals that have any jurisdiction over or any right or interest in the development of our waterways, the purpose being to unite the information, the experience, of the scientific services of the Government, and to unite the energies of all the various sovereignties and of all the corporations and individuals having jurisdiction over or interest in the water resources of the country in developing our waterways, not only for navigation, but for every other useful purpose.

* * * * * * *

"THE RELATED USES OF WATER.

"Mr. President, I imagine that there will be little difference of opinion that these related questions of forestry, of the reclamation of arid lands, of the drainage of swamp lands, of the development of water power, and the clarification of streams, all have a relation to the development of waterways for the purpose of navigation. The development of a waterway for navigation may be entirely impracticable because of its cost; but if we can unite with the development of that waterway the reclamation of the arid lands above, the drainage of swamp lands below, and the intermediate development of valuable water power, we then add to the natural resources of the country and create values which in themselves will be compensatory of the entire work, whereas the work would not be in any measure self-compensatory if confined to navigation alone.

"We have in this Government various scientific services, services of a very high standard, services of great esprit de corps, services that have won the admiration and respect not only of Congress, but of the entire country. These services are now acting entirely separate and apart from each other, and yet they are all practically acting upon parts of the same subject matter.

"We have the Engineer Corps of the Army operating simply upon the question of navigation. Their efforts thus far have been largely confined simply to the maintenance of a stable channel through the operations of dredging and bank protection. We have the Reclamation Service engaged in the diversion of the flood waters of the upper reaches of streams, carrying those flood waters over the arid lands, and thus aiding in the prevention of the extraordinary floods which impair the efficiency of the channel of the river below. We have in them an agency for flood prevention and for the storage of the flood waters which will aid and promote navigation. Then, we have below vast areas of swamp land, rich with alluvial soil, the deposits of ages, almost useless because of the annual overflow, and the channel of the river itself so scattered and diverse as not to permit navigation anywhere.

"The problem there is to make one navigable channel by bank protection and by bank levees, and by one process thus clear the channel for navigation and at the same time promote the reclamation of vast areas of rich and fertile land. So, also, in the development of our works for navigation we are compelled in places to provide for dams and locks in the rapids of the river where there is a rapid fall, and those dams and locks are useful for the development of water power, which in itself is partly compensatory of the project.

"We have, then, the Reclamation Service; we have the Forestry Service; we have the Weather Service; we have the Soils Service; we have the Coast and Geodetic Survey; and we have the Geological Survey, all of them engaged in the study of questions relating to water, its development, and its regulation and control. Is it not the businesslike thing to provide some method by which those services can be brought together for consultation and joint action?

"The purpose of this amendment is to permit the President of the United States to bring into coordination, through a board or boards, these related services; to bring them into coordination with the Corps of Engineers of the Army, leaving that as the central organization in connection with the development of our waterways, as it has been for so many years, but giving it the benefit of the advice and the accumulated experience and information of these great services which have been making a study of similar subjects.

"WATER AND RAIL COOPERATION.

"Then there is the question of transportation. The National Waterways Commission in its very elaborate and able report presents the question of the development of our waterways in connection with railways, insisting that the decline of waterway transportation thus far has been due to the fact that the railways have discouraged water transportation and have sought by unfair competition to destroy it. So, in connection with this great work, we should be allowed the opportunity of calling upon the great transportation experts of the country, and also the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission themselves, for the purpose of advising this board, or these boards, regarding methods that will bring water and rail into cooperation and make each the friend and ally instead of the enemy of the other.

"TRANSPORTATION A CHARGE ON OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

"The railroad managers have declared that it is essential, in order to meet the transportation requirements of the country in the near future, that at least $5,000,000,000 shall be expended upon the railways of the country. That $5,000,000,000 is a charge upon the natural resources of the country, as is so well stated in the report of the national commission. The interest upon it, amounting to at least $250,000,000 annually, will be paid by the shippers of the country, and is it not a wise thing for us to consider whether we can not reduce in part the necessity for such enormous expenditure by spending within the next 10 years $500,000,000, and even perhaps a billion dollars in the aggregate? It is reasonable to suppose that the expenditure of a billion dollars in waterway transportation at the rate of $100,000,000 a year during the next 10 years will save more than half of the necessary expenditure of $5,000,000,000 upon the railways.

"Why is it that the railways have been unequal to the transportation requirements of the country? Why was it that two or three years ago they broke down just before the panic? It was simply because the railroads were made the agencies of transporting the bulky and cheap products of the country, products which could be better and more cheaply carried by water, and in reference to the transportation of which time was not an essential. Inquire of any railroad man, and you will find that the breaking down of the transportation system of the country was not due to the transportation of the high-priced products, which pay high freight, but to the coarser products, the products of the mine, the products of the field and the farm, such products as in Germany are carried mainly by waterway transportation, and which in this country, if we perfect our waterway transportation, can be carried largely upon the rivers of the country; so that it is important for us to act now and to establish the system under which we are to proceed.

"The amendment which I have offered, whilst not going so far as I would desire to do, as indicated in my appendix to the report of the Inland Waterways Commission, goes as far as the judgment of Congress will at present sanction; but I believe that, so far as providing for coordination of the scientific services of the country, providing for comprehensive plans, and for cooperation between the Nation and the States is concerned, Congress will readily see the propriety of this amendment. Then we will have enlisted not only the information and experience of the Engineer Corps of the Army, but the information and experience of every scientific service of the Government and the services of the best engineers, constructors, and transportation experts of the country in the solution of these important problems; and we can enter upon this great work with comprehensive plans, assigning to each sovereign its duty, to each interest its duty, properly apportioning costs and benefits, instead of entering upon an accidental and disjointed development, which may result, I fear, in the shipwreck of the waterway movement of the country."

* * * * * * *

"THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE.

"If you will read the report of the conference of the governors, unanimously acquiesced in by the governors of the great States, you will find the principles of coordination and of cooperation, such as are outlined in this amendment clearly sustained and vindicated.

"I quote from the declaration of the governors, as follows:

"We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States, and the people in earnest cooperation. These natural resources include the land on which we live and which yields our food; the living waters which fertilize the soil, supply power, and form great avenues of commerce; the forests which yield the materials for our homes, prevent erosion of the soil, and conserve the navigation and other uses of the streams; and

the minerals which form the basis of our industrial life, and supply us with heat, light, and power.

"We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash shall cease; and that there should be reclamation of arid and semiarid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

"We commend the wise forethought of the President in sounding the note of warning as to the waste and exhaustion of the natural resources of the country, and signify our high appreciation of his action in calling this conference to consider the same and to seek remedies therefor through cooperation of the Nation and the States.

"We agree that this cooperation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress within the limits of and coextensive with the national jurisdiction of the subject, and, complementary thereto, by the legislatures of the several States within the limits of and coextensive with their jurisdiction.

"We declare the conviction that in the use of the national resources our independent States are interdependent and bound together by ties of mutual benefits, responsibilities, and duties.

* * * * * * *

"We recognize in our waters a most valuable asset of the people of the United States, and we recommend the enactment of laws looking to the conservation of water resources for irrigation, water supply, power, and navigation, to the end that navigable and source streams may be brought under complete control and fully utilized for every purpose. We especially urge on the Federal Congress the immediate adoption of a wise, active, and thorough waterway policy, providing for the prompt improvement of our streams and the conservation of their watersheds required for the uses of commerce and the protection of the interests of our people."

The Newlands river-regulation amendment was agreed to by the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill on February 23, 1913, but was stricken out in conference, as will be seen by reference to the debates in the Senate on the river and harbor bill on March 1, 1913. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 49, pt. 5, pp. 4365–4376, 4380, 4427–4428.)

On June 22, 1914, Senator NEWLANDS again introduced the river-regulation amendment, and from his remarks in the Senate at that time the following is quoted:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to the river and harbor appropriation bill, and I desire to make a brief statement in connection therewith.

"Ever since 1907 I have been urging the adoption of a river-regulation bill, providing a commission with a fund of $60,000,000 annually for 10 years, for the purpose of promoting the development and control of our rivers in the interest of irrigation, and also with a view to the solution of the related questions of irrigation, forestry, fisheries, swamp-land reclamation, flood control, water-power development, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of transfer facilities and sites. Two years ago I succeeded in placing an amendment upon the river and harbor bill in the Senate providing for the skeleton organization covered by this bill, but the amendment was lost in conference because of the opposition of the House conferees. Since then, as the result of conferences with Senator RANSDELL and Senator-elect BROUSSARD, of Louisiana, the bill has been amended by fully recognizing the Mississippi River as a national problem, and the bill now has the active cooperation of these gentlemen, Mr. BROUSSARD having recently introduced it in the House. The bill is now known as the Newlands-Broussard bill.

"Early in the present administration the President's attention was called to the bill as a substantial compliance with the Democratic platforms of the past two campaigns, calling in the most specific terms for comprehensive plans, an ample fund, the coordination of the scientific services, and the cooperation of the Nation with the States in the full development and control of our rivers for every useful purpose. The President was much interested, and referred the bill to a Cabinet committee consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce for their study and report. This Cabinet committee is very favorably inclined toward the general lines of the bill, but recommends as a step in the ultimate solution of the problem the adoption of an amendment to the river and harbor bill practically on the lines of the amendment offered by me two years ago and adopted in the Senate. The matter has been the subject of discussion at a Cabinet meeting, and the President approves of this action.

"The most important difference between this amendment and the full bill is that it does not carry the large and continuing appropriation for which the advocates of a comprehensive plan of waterway development have been working. It does, however, provide complete machinery for the coordination of the scientific services of the Government, for the study of the problems involved, and for the formulation of plans. The amendment has the approval of the Secretaries of the departments named, as well as of the President, and is acceptable to me as a step in the right direction, although it does not go as far as I had hoped it might be carried. It is my belief that upon such a substantial foundation, with the cordial cooperation of the administration, it will be a question of only a comparatively short time until the problem of how to conserve our water resources will be solved in the best possible way.

"I ask that the amendment be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Commerce."

There being no objection, the amendment was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SEC. —. That a commission, to be known as the river-regulation commission, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, two Members of the Senate to be selected by the President of the Senate, and two Members of the House of Representatives to be selected by the Speaker, is hereby created and authorized to investigate questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, forestry, fisheries, swamp-land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil waste, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of transfer facilities and sites, and to formulate, if practicable, and to report to the Congress comprehensive plans for the development of the waterways and water resources of the country for every useful purpose through cooperation between the United States and the several States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers, and rights of each, respectively, assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control, if any, as can be properly undertaken by the United States by virtue of its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and by reason of its proprietary interest in the public domain, and to States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portion, if any, as properly belongs to their jurisdiction, rights, and interests, with a view to properly apportioning costs and benefits, and with a view to so uniting the plans and works of the United States within its jurisdiction, and of the States and municipalities, respectively, within their jurisdictions, and of corporations, communities, and individuals within their respective powers and rights, as to secure the highest development and utilization of the waterways and water resources of the United States. Such river-regulation commission is authorized, for the purpose of said investigation and report, to bring into coordination and cooperation with the Corps of Engineers of the Army, as a board or boards, the other scientific or constructive services of the United States that relate to the study, development, and control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, and to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, and to consider as a part of its study of a comprehensive plan the continuance of such a board or of such boards with a view to keeping such services in coordination and cooperation; and such river-regulation commission is authorized to appoint as members of such board or boards such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development, constructors, and other employees as it may deem advisable to appoint and employ in connection with the investigation and the formulation of plans herein authorized, and to lease offices. And for the expenses of such investigation, organization, and formulation of plans the sum of $500,000 is hereby appropriated."

The river-regulation amendment finally passed by Congress on August 3, 1917, and which became a law by the signature of the President on August 8, 1917, is section 18 of H. R. 4285, an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," Public, No. 37, Sixty-fifth Congress, is as follows:

"SEC. 18. That a commission, to be known as the Waterways Commission, consisting of seven members to be appointed by the President of the United States, at least one of whom shall be chosen from the active or retired list of the Engineer Corps of the Army, at least one of whom shall be an expert hydraulic engineer from civil life, and the remaining five of whom may each be selected either from civil life or the public service, is hereby created and authorized, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, and subject to the approval of the heads of the several executive departments concerned, to bring into coordination and cooperation the engineering, scientific, and constructive services, bureaus, boards, and commissions of the several governmental departments of the

United States and commissions created by Congress that relate to study, development, or control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, or to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, with a view to uniting such services in investigating, with respect to all watersheds in the United States, questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, drainage, forestry, arid and swamp land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil erosion and waste, storage, and conservation of water for agricultural, industrial, municipal, and domestic uses, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of terminal and transfer facilities, to secure the necessary data, and to formulate and report to Congress as early as practicable a comprehensive plan or plans for the development of waterways and the water resources of the United States for the purposes of navigation and for every useful purpose, and recommendations for the modification or discontinuance of any project herein or heretofore adopted. Any member appointed from the retired list shall receive the same pay and allowances as he would if on the active list, and no member selected from the public service shall receive additional compensation for services on said commission, and members selected from civil life shall receive compensation of $7,500 per annum.

"In all matters done, or to be done, under this section relating to any of the subjects, investigations, or questions to be considered hereunder, and in formulating plans, and in the preparation of a report or reports, as herein provided, consideration shall be given to all matters which are to be undertaken, either independently by the United States or by cooperation between the United States and the several States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers, and rights of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as may be undertaken by the United States, and to the States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portions as belong to their respective jurisdictions, rights, and interests.

"The commission is authorized to employ or retain and fix the compensation for the services of such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development and utilization, and constructors of eminence as it may deem necessary to make such investigations and to carry out the purposes of this section. And in order to defray the expenses made necessary by the provisions of this section there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as Congress may hereafter determine, and the sum of $100,000 is hereby appropriated, available until expended, to be paid out upon warrants drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury by the chairman of said commission.

"The commission shall have power to make every expenditure requisite for and incident to its authorized work, and to employ in the District of Columbia and in the field such clerical, legal, engineering, artistic, and expert services as it may deem advisable, including the payment of per diem in lieu of subsistence for employees engaged in field work or traveling on official business, rent of offices in the District of Columbia and in the field, and the purchase of books, maps, and office equipment.

"Nothing herein contained shall be construed to delay, prevent, or interfere with the completion of any survey, investigation, project, or work herein or heretofore or hereafter adopted or authorized upon or for the improvement of any of the rivers or harbors of the United States or with legislative action upon reports heretofore or hereafter presented."

The following is a copy of S. 5736, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, introduced April 24, 1916, by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS with a view to embodying it in the Newlands river-regulation bill, the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee and the Interdepartmental Committee of Service Chiefs, appointed by President Wilson:

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the sum of $60,000,000, to be apportioned as hereinafter provided, is hereby reserved, set aside, appropriated, and made available until expended, out of any moneys not otherwise appropriated, as a special fund in the Treasury, to be known as the "river-regulation fund," to be used to promote interstate commerce by the development and improvement of the rivers and waterways of the United States and their connections with the Great Lakes and with each other, and by the coordination of and cooperation between rail and water routes and transportation, and the establishment and maintenance of adequate terminal and transfer facilities and systems, and their maintenance, improvement, and protection, and by the making of examinations and surveys and by the construction of engineering and other works and projects for the regulation and control of the flow of rivers and their tributaries and source streams, and the standardization of such flow, and by the maintenance of navigable stages of water at all seasons of the year in the waterways of the United States, and by preventing silt and sedimentary material from being carried into and deposited in waterways, channels, and harbors, and by the conservation, development, and utilization of the water resources of the United States, and by flood prevention and protection, through the establishment, construction, and maintenance of natural and artificial reservoirs and detention basins for water storage and control, and levees, revetments, and other bank-protective works, spillways, wastewiers, wasteways, bypasses, controlled outlets, and flood-control works of every nature and kind, and the protection of watersheds from denudation, erosion, and surface wash, and from forest fires, and the maintenance and extension of woodland and other protective cover thereon, and the reclamation of swamp and overflow lands and arid lands, and the building of drainage and irrigation works in order that the flow of rivers shall be regulated and controlled not only through the use of flood waters for irrigation on the upper tributaries, but also through controlling them in fixed and established channels in the lower valleys and plains, and by doing all things necessary to provide for any and all beneficial uses of water that will contribute to its conservation or storage in the ground or in surface reservoirs as an aid to the regulation or control of the flow of rivers, and by acquiring, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, holding, using, leasing, hiring, and transferring by appropriate deed lands and any other property that may be needed for the aforesaid purposes, or which it may be deemed advisable to dispose of, and by doing such other things as may be specified in this act or necessary to the accomplishment of the purposes thereof, and by securing the cooperation therein of States, municipalities, and other local agencies, as hereinafter set forth, and for the payment of all expenditures provided for in this act.

"The aforesaid sum of $60,000,000, appropriated as hereinbefore provided, shall be apportioned for expenditure under this act as follows:

"(a) Twenty-five million dollars to the Illinois River and its watershed and to the Mississippi River from the mouth of the Illinois to the Head of the Passes, including the Atchafalaya River as one of the mouths of the Mississippi River, to be expended for the improvement of the Illinois River and for continuing the improvement of the Mississippi River from the Head of the Passes to the mouth of the Illinois River, for the control of floods thereon, and the establishment of a waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf; (b) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of the Ohio River and its tributaries, for the control of floods thereon, and the consequent improvement of navigation; (c) $5,000,000 to the watershed of the Mississippi River above the mouth of the Illinois River; (d) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of the Missouri River and all other tributaries of the Mississippi River, except the Ohio, from the mouth of the Illinois River to the Gulf, and all rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi River; (e) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of the rivers draining into Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Atlantic Ocean and rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi River; (f) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of all the rivers draining into the Pacific Ocean in Oregon and Washington, including the Columbia River watershed; (g) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of the rivers draining into the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys and into the Pacific Ocean north of Santa Barbara, in California; (h) $5,000,000 to the watersheds of all other rivers in California and the Great Inland Basin and the Colorado River.

"NATIONAL WATERWAYS COUNCIL.

"SEC. 2. That a national waterways council, hereinafter called the council, is hereby created, consisting of the President of the United States as chairman, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the chairman of the water-control board, to be appointed as hereinafter provided.

"The council shall have authority to direct and control all proceedings and operations and all things done or to be done under this act, and to establish all rules and regulations which may, in their judgment, be necessary to carry into effect such direction and control consistent with the provisions of this act and with existing law and with any provisions which Congress may from time to time enact.

"All plans and estimates prepared by the water-control board, as hereinafter provided, which contemplate or provide for expenditures from the river-regulation fund shall be submitted

to the council for final approval before any of the expenditures therein provided for or contemplated are authorized or made or any construction work undertaken or contracts let under or in pursuance of such plans: *Provided*, That in case of an emergency the chairman of the water-control board shall have full power to act, and shall report in detail his action in every case to the council at its next meeting after his action.

"WATER-CONTROL BOARD.

"SEC. 3. That to assist in carrying out the purposes aforesaid the council may utilize the various agencies of the Government, and there is hereby created a water-control board, hereinafter called the board, which shall consist of a chairman, to be appointed by the council, and four assistant secretaries, to be appointed as hereinafter provided, and such additional members as the council may from time to time appoint. The chairman of the board shall receive a salary of $12,000 per annum, each assistant secretary aforesaid shall receive a salary of $10,000 per annum, and said additional members of the board such salaries as the council may from time to time fix. Subject to the direction and control of the council as to general policy and procedure, it shall be the duty of the board to ascertain in detail the work in progress and obtain plans, recommendations, and estimates of the work contemplated in the general field of water conservation, control, and utilization by the various agencies of the Government, States, counties, municipalities, districts, communities, corporations, associations, and individuals, and on the basis of such information and the results obtained by its own surveys and investigations to prepare for the consideration of the council a general and comprehensive program of water and waterways conservation, regulation, development, and utilization, extending through a number of years, with comprehensive general plans for each watershed, treating the entire watershed of each river as a unit, and with specific projects, plans, estimates, and recommendations, involving independent work by the United States and the combining of resources and energies of the various public and private agencies aforesaid; to coordinate and bring into conference the various agencies of the Government; and to examine, compare, adjust, allot, assign, and supervise their work, to the end that duplication may be avoided and the highest efficiency obtained; by agreement to assign to the various cooperating agencies the work to be done by them within their respective spheres; to accept, on behalf of the United States, from such agencies contributions of money and property of any kind to be used for carrying out the purposes authorized by this act; to make field inspection of all work done or contemplated under this act by the Government and its cooperating agencies; and to employ such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development, constructors, and other employees, and to construct such buildings and works as may be necessary for those purposes. The board is hereby authorized to expend from the sums herein provided such amounts as may be necessary for services of employees in the city of Washington, D. C., and elsewhere; to pay therefrom such sums as may be necessary for office accommodations in the city of Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, and to purchase such law books, books of reference, periodicals, engineering, statistical, and professional publications as may be needed. Contributions received under this section shall be used by the board, under the direction of the council, for carrying out the purposes of this act, and money so received shall be paid into the river-regulation fund herein created. Subject to the approval of the council, the board is authorized to enter into such contracts or carry on by hired labor or otherwise such work as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act, within the limits of appropriations made or authorized by this act or appropriations or contributions which shall be hereafter made or authorized from time to time, or as may be necessary for executing projects under this act within the respective limits of cost thereof approved by the Congress, the funds for which shall have been provided by the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with the authority conferred by this act. Subject to the approval of the council the board may also employ the various agencies of the Government in carrying out such purposes or executing such projects.

"COOPERATION WITH STATES AND OTHER AGENCIES.

"SEC. 4. That the board shall, in all cases where possible and practicable, encourage, promote, and endeavor to secure the cooperation of States, municipalities, public and quasi public corporations, towns, counties, districts, communities, persons, and associations in the carrying out of the purposes and objects of this act, and in making the investigations and doing all coordinative and constructive work provided for herein; and it shall in each case endeavor to secure the financial cooperation of States and of such local authorities, agencies, and organizations to such extent and in such amounts as the council shall determine to be a just and equitable apportionment of work, costs, and benefits under all the circumstances in each case; and it shall negotiate and perfect arrangements and plans for the apportionment of work, cost, and benefits, according to the jurisdiction, powers, rights, and benefits of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as can be properly undertaken by the United States by virtue of its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and promote the general welfare, and by reason of its proprietary interest in the public domain, and to the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portion as properly belongs to their jurisdiction, rights, and interests, and with a view to properly apportioning costs and benefits, and with a view to so uniting the plans and works of the United States within its jurisdiction, and of the States and municipalities, respectively, within their jurisdictions, and of corporations, communities, and individuals within their respective powers and rights, as to secure the highest development and utilization of the waterways and water resources of the United States.

"APPOINTMENT OF WATER-CONTROL BOARD.

"SEC. 5. That each head of a department named in this act is authorized to appoint, with the approval of the council, for service as a member of the board, a highly qualified representative, who shall be an assistant secretary in the department in which he is appointed; shall devote his time primarily to the work authorized by this act; shall have, subject to the direction of the head of the department, such general supervision and control as may be necessary for the purposes of this act of the agencies within the department engaged upon such work; shall serve during good service and behavior; and shall be removable by the head of the department only for good cause.

"RIVER-REGULATION FUND.

"SEC. 6. That no sums shall be paid out of the river-regulation fund except on vouchers signed by the chairman of the board or by an official designated by him in writing, drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury. To provide for carrying out the projects formulated under this act, which involve expenditures in excess of the $60,000,000 herein appropriated to the river-regulation fund, the appropriation hereafter to the credit of said fund of such sums as may be necessary is hereby authorized. At any time that the Secretary of the Treasury shall determine it to be necessary or advisable, in order to provide all or any part of the appropriation made or authorized by this act or which may be hereafter made or authorized or to provide revenues to execute a project under this act, which shall have been approved by the Congress, he may issue and sell, or use as a means of borrowing money, bonds in the necessary amount, in accordance with the provisions of the act of August 5, 1909 (36th Stats. L., pp. 11, 117), the act of February 4, 1910 (36th Stats. L., 192), and the act of March 2, 1911 (36th Stats. L., p. 1013). The sums appropriated or provided by the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to this section shall be paid into the river-regulation fund and shall be available until expended and paid out as provided for in this act. All moneys received in connection with any operations under this act as well as from the sales of materials utilized and any condemned property shall be covered into the 'river-regulation fund' and be available for expenditure therefrom. It is the intent and purpose of this act to authorize and empower the council and the board and their officers, agents, and employees to do all necessary acts and things in addition to those specially authorized in this act to accomplish the purposes and objects hereof."

LEADING MEASURES INTRODUCED AND PASSED.

The following is a reference to the leading measures which have been introduced by Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS at different times, from which the present river-regulation measure, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, has been developed:

The Newlands national irrigation bill, officially designated after its enactment as the United States Reclamation Act: H. R. 9674, introduced January 21, 1902.

The inland waterways commission bills: S. 500, introduced December 6, 1907, and S. 3717, introduced December 10, 1909.

Amendment to S. 4501, the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest bill: Introduced June 23, 1910.

The Newlands river-regulation bill: S. 10900, introduced March 1, 1911; S. 122, introduced April 6, 1911; S. 2739, introduced July 14, 1913.

The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, introduced as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for S. 2739, introduced January 31, 1914.

The Newlands river-regulation bill, providing for a national waterways council and a water-control board, to conform to recommendations of the interdepartmental committee: S. 5736, introduced April 24, 1916.

The Newlands reclamation act, known before its passage as the Newlands national irrigation bill, was passed by Congress on June 13, 1902, and was signed by President Roosevelt and became a law on June 17, 1902.

The river-regulation act, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, known before its passage as the Newlands river-regulation amendment, was passed by Congress on August 2, 1917, and was signed by President Wilson and became a law on August 8, 1917.

The original Newlands river-regulation bill, S. 10900, was printed in full in the report of the flood commission of Pittsburgh, pages 391 to 396, and in a public document containing the remarks of Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on Wednesday, February 15, 1911, on the passage on that day of the Appalachian and White Mountain Forest Reserve bill.

The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, amendment to S. 2739, was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 51, part 3, pages 2635–2638, and also in Senate Document No. 418, Sixty-third Congress, second session.

The last Newlands river-regulation bill, embodying the recommendations of the interdepartmental committee, and providing for a national waterways council and water-control board, as recommended in that report, was printed in full in Senate Document No. 550, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, and has been hereinbefore reprinted in full in this historical statement.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

At every stage of its progress this great national movement for the conservation, development, and complete utilization of the water resources of the United States has been opposed on the ground that it was an unconstitutional and unwarranted enlargement of the functions of the National Government, and the measures which Congress has finally adopted have each settled some one particular phase of this advancement of the sphere of governmental action.

The Newlands reclamation act settled forever the right and obligation of the Government of the United States to construct works for the conservation and utilization of the surplus waters in the western half of the United States.

The White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve act went further, and settled the question as to the range and scope of the activities of the Federal Government on the watersheds of the navigable rivers. It established the principle that the constitutional power and obligation of the National Government extends to the source of every tributary stream feeding a navigable river, and to the doing of any and all things that may be essential to control and regulate the flow of that river and all its source streams, so as to standardize their flow, so far as practicable, throughout the year. The act provides only for forestry methods of accomplishing this object; but if forestry is within its powers and obligations, there is no reason why all practicable methods of accomplishing the same result are not equally within the powers and obligations of the National Government, such as the building of artificial surface reservoirs, as advocated by the flood commission of Pittsburgh, or the conservation by storage in the ground of waters used for agricultural purposes.

The Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act again extended the recognized powers and obligations of the National Government to the protection of lands from overflow and flood devastation by engineering works built for that purpose, without any necessary justification for their construction, on the ground that such construction was warranted by their benefit to navigation, as had previously been contended.

And now the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917, has practically and substantially declared that the powers authorized in the three bills above mentioned shall be extended to and cover the whole field of the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the United States, for every useful and beneficial purpose for which those waters can be used, and upon every watershed in the United States.

The Newlands reclamation act of June 17, 1902, was only a single stepping stone to this *complete* and comprehensive policy; the White Mountain and Appalachian Forest Reserve act was another stepping stone; the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act was another; and now Congress has, after a campaign always having that ultimate object in view, and extending over more than a quarter of a century, unequivocally placed the authority and powers and obligations of the National Government in this broad field upon a Nation-wide, enduring, and comprehensive foundation that will in its eventual working out save from waste "the Nation's greatest asset," the surplus and now unused waters of the United States.

THE EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

The educational campaign that has steadfastly pushed forward this broad and beneficial national policy has been conducted through several different organizations, the oldest being the National Irrigation Congress and the American Forestry Association.

The National Irrigation Congress declared for the national irrigation policy at some of its earliest sessions and squarely put its demands before the people at the seventh national irrigation congress held at Phoenix, Ariz., in 1896, and was unfaltering in its support of that policy until it was adopted by Congress in June, 1902, by the enactment of the reclamation act.

The American Forestry Association championed the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve bill, organized a national campaign in its behalf, and marshaled the forces that fought for that bill through a period of fully 10 years, until it was finally enacted by Congress in February, 1911.

The National Reclamation Association was organized as the National Irrigation Association on June 3, 1899, for the purpose of conducting a Nation-wide campaign for the entire broad national policy advocated in the statement of the objects of the association, as set forth in its constitution, as follows:

[The National Reclamation Association, organized as the Nation's Irrigation Association June 2, 1899.]

"OBJECTS.

"1. The adoption by the Federal Government of a permanent policy for the reclamation and settlement of the public domain under which all the remaining public lands shall be held and administered as a trust for the benefit of the whole people of the United States, and no grants of title to any of the public lands shall ever hereafter be made to any but actual settlers and home builders on the land.

"2. The preservation and development of our national resources by the construction of storage reservoirs by the Federal Government for flood protection, and to save for use in aid of navigation and irrigation the flood waters which now run to waste and cause overflow and destruction.

"3. The construction by the Federal Government of storage reservoirs and irrigation works wherever necessary to furnish water for the reclamation and settlement of the arid public lands.

"4. The preservation of the forests and reforestation of denuded forest areas as sources of water supply, the conservation of existing supplies by approved methods of irrigation and distribution, and the increase of the water resources of the arid region by the investigation and development of underground supplies.

"5. The adoption of a harmonious system of irrigation laws in all the arid and semiarid States and Territories under which the right to the use of water for irrigation shall vest in the user, and become appurtenant to the land irrigated, and beneficial use be the basis and the measure and limit of the right.

"6. The dissemination by public meetings and through the press of information regarding irrigation, and the reclamation and settlement of the arid public domain, and the possibilities of better agriculture through irrigation and intensive farming, and the need for agricultural education and training, and the creation of rural homes as national safeguards, and the encouragement of rural settlement as a remedy for the social and political evils threatened by the congestion of population in large cities."

THE NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION BILL.

The National Reclamation Association of Louisiana was organized in January, 1912, with a view to subsequently merging it with the National Irrigation Association, which was done in January, 1913, and after the great flood of 1913 a statement was issued to the business men of the United States setting forth the reasons why the Newlands river-regulation bill should have the support of the business interests of the country.

That statement was as follows:

"*To the Merchants and Manufacturers of the United States:*

"The National Reclamation Association extends to you its greetings and urges your consideration of the following facts:

"There is not a merchant or manufacturer in the United States whose market is the country at large who did not suffer from loss of trade, delayed collections, or uncollectible accounts, with consequent loss of profits, as the result of the disastrous floods that devastated the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys in 1912 and 1913. These national catastrophies will continue to recur at frequent intervals in different parts of the country unless preventive measures are adopted by the National Government.

Is it not better that this be done without delay by prompt congressional action? Every year's delay means a continuation of this risk of enormous losses, which will be removed whenever the inertia of Congress has been overcome by an insistent demand from the business men of the country.

"You insure against fire loss by the payment of a premium to an insurance company or by cooperation with some plan for mutual insurance. Is it not good business policy for every merchant and manufacturer in the United States to cooperate with others, and by their mutual activity and insistent demand for immediate action by Congress secure the passage of the Newlands river-regulation bill at the next session? That bill provides flood insurance for all parts of the United States by providing for doing the things in this country that have been so successfully done in several European countries to prevent and protect against damage by floods. What other countries have done we can do. Not to do it is to court the eventual destruction that has finally been the fate of the countries of Asia and northern Africa that have neglected these national protective measures against the destructive forces of nature.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill creates a waterways commission and board of river regulation composed of the heads of the departments and bureaus of the National Government that are now at work on the problem of river regulation and control. It coordinates their work, provides for cocperation with States and local districts or municipalities, and then appropriates enough money for the work to actually get it done. The policy that built the Panama Canal and the national irrigation works in the West is applied by the Newlands bill to building works to harness and control the floods in all parts of the United States. The bill appropriates $60,000,000 a year for 10 years to do this work. That total appropriation of $600,000,000, covering 10 years of construction work, is less than the actual direct losses from floods within two years in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys alone.

"The only way to deal with the flood problem is to treat every river from source to mouth, with all its tributaries, as a unit, and so far as possible slow up the run off, harness the floods at their sources by all practicable means, and restore nature's safeguards by providing controlled outlets and excess flood-water channels as well as levees, revetments, and local protective works. Levees alone can never be made an adequate protection against the extraordinary floods of the unusually heavy flood years, and any plan that contemplates 'levees only' as a remedy will in the end prove a delusion and a snare and worse than a waste of money.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill provides not only for levees but also for all other means for flood prevention and protection that are practicable and applicable to the particular section where they should be adopted. It covers the whole problem and it covers the entire country. It recognizes the necessity for flood protection and prevention and the equal right to such relief in all flood-menaced sections of the United States. The solution of this great problem demands that sectional selfishness be laid aside and the question dealt with nationally, under the constitutional power of Congress to aid navigation. The water that now goes to waste in floods must be conserved for beneficial use and turned into the river channels in the low-water season to float water-borne commerce.

"On the Mississippi River, which presents the largest problem, because this great river drains 41 per cent of the entire United States, the annual appropriations in the river and harbor bill should be enlarged from year to year as the value of this great national inland waterway becomes better appreciated and commerce thereon increases. The work done under the river and harbor bill, which is largely channel-improvement work, must be supplemented by source-stream control, bank-protective works, and a system of controlled outlets and excess flood-water channels, so as to regulate the flow of the river, lower the flood stages, and raise the low-water stages, as provided in the Newlands river-regulation bill. The floods that come from the West should be held back and used for irrigation and power development. The floods from the Ohio River should be controlled on the tributaries whence they come, and the water beneficially used, instead of sweeping down the valleys as a mighty agency of devastation and destruction.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill has been before the country for more than two years and is strongly supported by such organizations as the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia Board of Trade, St. Louis Merchants' Exchange, National Irrigation Congress, National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Clearing House, Arizona and California River Regulation Commission, River Regulation Committee of Stockton, Cal., Texas Bankers' Association, Louisiana Bankers' Association, Southern Cypress Manufacturers' Association, National Slack Cooperage Association, Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, and many other similar organizations, and has Nation-wide support from the press.

"The active campaign for the passage of the bill by Congress is being conducted by the National Reclamation Association and the cooperation of every commercial and manufacturing concern and industrial institution in the United States is earnestly desired in order that the relief which this great constructive national legislative measure will bring to the entire business interests of the country and particularly to the flood-menaced sections may be expedited and the danger of a recurrence of past disasters safeguarded against without delay.

"NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION,
"R. H. DOWNMAN,
"Chairman of the Board.
"GEORGE H. MAXWELL,
"Executive Director.
"WALTER PARKER,
"Secretary."

The National Irrigation Association, now known as the National Reclamation Association, from the date of its organization in June, 1899, 18 years ago, up to the enactment of the United States reclamation act, in June, 1902, conducted one of the most far-reaching and vigorous campaigns of education ever conducted in the United States for the policy set forth in its constitution above set forth, and its efforts contributed largely to the success of the movement that brought about the final passage of the reclamation act on June 13, 1902.

The National Irrigation Association, in 1903, turned its attention again to the broader aspects of the national movement to which it was devoted, and the broad and comprehensive national policy embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill was declared and indorsed in the following resolutions drawn by George H. Maxwell, and adopted as an expression of the broad western vision of what should be done to prevent the waste and destruction of our national resources and safeguard against the annually recurring menace of the floods:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL CONGRESS HELD AT SEATTLE, WASH., AUGUST 18–21, 1903.

"We are drawing from nature's treasure vaults the wealth that has been accumulating through the ages. That wealth is in our forests, our mines, and our farms. Their products are the basis of both our internal and our foreign trade and commerce, and the original source of all employment for labor.

"CONSERVE NATURAL RESOURCES.

"The unparalleled era of prosperity through which we are now passing results from the rapid development of the material resources of our country, and we must preserve those resources if we are to maintain that prosperity. We are drawing from Nature's treasure vaults the wealth that has been accumulating through the ages. That wealth is in our forests, our mines, and our farms. Their products are the basis of both our internal and our foreign trade and commerce, and the original source of all employment for labor.

"This mighty resource of natural wealth must not be wasted or destroyed. Not only should the natural resources of the Trans-Mississippi region be systematically preserved but the home markets for its products should be protected.

"We have a higher destiny as a Nation than the mere creation or accumulation of capital. We must preserve and bequeath to future generations the natural resources which will be necessary to their material welfare, and without which in the years to come, the masses of our people will inevitably be reduced to poverty, and suffer privation and distress.

"WHAT MUST BE DONE.

"We may use and enjoy these vast natural resources without destroying them, and by a wise governmental policy they may be enormously developed and enlarged. But if this is to be done:

"1. The appalling ravages from forest fires must be stopped.

"2. The reckless destruction of our timber resources by careless and wasteful methods of lumbering must cease.

"3. The forests must be preserved by right use, not only as a permanent source of supply for wood and timber but as sources of water supply and great natural reservoirs to hold back the flood waters and lessen the destructive volume of floods.

"4. The waters that now run to waste must be stored both for flood protection and for use in irrigation and to create electric power and for the improvement of navigation.

"5. Reservoirs should be built throughout the mountain regions, and wherever practicable in the natural depressions

and basins of the great plains in the valleys of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and their tributaries.

"6. The building of a multitude of small reservoirs and ponds by damming the draws and coulees should be brought about.

"7. The river channels should be, wherever necessary, deepened, straightened, and improved, and the banks protected by revetments.

"8. Levees should be built along the rivers for flood protection and to improve the channels for navigation.

"9. The public lands should be held as a sacred trust for those who will build homes upon them, and their rapid absorption into private ownership by speculators and to create great ranges for live stock should be immediately stopped.

"10. The National Government should build the great irrigation systems necessary for the reclamation and settlement of the arid region by actual settlers and homemakers, and the lands reclaimed should repay to the Government the cost of the construction of the works.

"GREAT ENGINEERING WORKS.

"The great engineering works necessary for the utilization of the waters of such large rivers as the Columbia, the Missouri, the Colorado, the Snake, the Milk, the Salt and Gila, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in California, should proceed as rapidly as the lands reclaimed will be utilized, and will repay to the Government the cost of the works; and in the great interior central valley of California the problem of the control of the floods of the Sacramento River, which would furnish water enough to irrigate 10,000,000 acres of land, if conserved and utilized, should be treated as a single problem involving arid-land reclamation, flood control, navigation, and drainage, and while the improvements of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers should be continued and extended by the National Government to fully develop the navigability of those rivers, the necessity of coping with the problem in its broadest aspects should be recognized and a complete and comprehensive plan for its entire solution should be prepared without delay by the engineers of the Reclamation Service and of the War Department of the United States."

FORMATION OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The urgent needs of different sections of the country for relief along the comprehensive lines embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill and in the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, have found expression in the formation of strong local organizations in widely separated hydrographic basins. These local organizations have strengthened and supplemented the Nation-wide educational campaign which the National Reclamation Association has during the last 18 years conducted in behalf of this national policy for the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the Nation for every beneficial purpose for which these now wasted water resources can be utilized, in every practicable way and by every practicable method which can be adopted.

The Pittsburgh Flood Commission was organized by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce January 30, 1908. It raised a fund of over $125,000, made a complete survey of the watershed of the upper tributaries of the Ohio River above Pittsburgh, and published a report, which covered every phase of the problem of flood control, prevention, and protection with reference to that territory.

This report established indisputably Pittsburgh's need for the broad national river-regulation policy contemplated by the present measure. Out of this need grew the larger and more comprehensive measure designated and known as the Newlands river-regulation bill, which was drawn with the special view of covering the Nation's needs for flood protection as well as waterways. The Newlands river-regulation bill was an extension and enlargement of the original Waterways Commission bills, S. 500 and S. 3717, heretofore referred to in this statement, and was first introduced in the Senate by Senator NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911. It is printed in full on pages 391–396 of the Report of the Pittsburgh Flood Commission, being S. 10900, Sixty-first Congress, third session, and S. 122, Sixty-second Congress, first session.

The Newlands river-regulation bill was indorsed by the National Irrigation Congress at its Chicago session in December, 1911, an indorsement which has been repeatedly reiterated at later sessions of that congress, by the California Inland Waterways Association, by the Legislatures of California, Louisiana, South Dakota, and Wisconsin, and by an almost unanimous public sentiment expressed through the press of practically every State in the Union. A late favorable editorial expression is from the Detroit News, from which is quoted the following excerpt:

"The river and harbor bill contains one provision that may help to solve the 'pork barrel' problem. It provides for a waterways commission of seven members. Congressional rules cut that provision out of the bill in the House, but the Senate restored it. A similar provision was inserted in the bill last year by the Senate, but the bill failed to pass."

After specifying the powers conferred on the commission, this editorial continues:

"These are sweeping powers, but they are needed if system is to be introduced in place of chaos. The country is tired of the annual rivers and harbors bill fight, and will be glad to see the entire control of waterways placed in competent hands. The danger is that Members of Congress eager for appropriations for pet projects ignored by the new board will try to override its reports, as they have sometimes overridden those of the Government's engineers to secure picayune improvements for their districts. But if the country gets behind the commission and insists that its recommendations be adopted, it may be that the annual 'pork barrel' scandal may be avoided hereafter."

NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION.

The most active of the local organizations above referred to was the National Reclamation Association, of Louisiana, organized at New Orleans in January, 1912, and merged with the National Irrigation Association in January, 1913, as the National Reclamation Association. Those associations brought the necessity for source stream control before the Mississippi Valley as a lesson taught by the devastating floods that swept through that valley in 1912 and 1913. The campaign of the National Reclamation Association culminated in resolutions adopted at a great public mass meeting at the Tulane Theater in New Orleans on May 15, 1913. Those resolutions were formally presented to President Wilson by Mr. R. H. Downman, chairman of the National Reclamation Association, acting as the personal representative of Gov. Hall, of Louisiana, on May 18, 1913.

The following is a copy of those resolutions:

FLOOD PROTECTION AND PREVENTION AND RIVER REGULATION.

Resolutions adopted at the second mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans and Louisiana held at the Tulane Theater on May 15, 1913, reaffirming and reiterating and again approving and indorsing the joint resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana adopted June 6, 1912, which was specifically and in extenso approved, adopted and indorsed at the first citizens' mass meeting held at the Progressive Union Assembly Hall in New Orleans on June 20, 1912, and indorsing and urging the immediate enactment by Congress of the Newlands river-regulation bill as amended when reported from the Senate Commerce Committee to the Senate on March 3, 1913, and embodied in full in Senate report No. 1339, Sixty-second Congress, third session, the said bill being S. 122, calendar No. 1187, of said session.

[R. H. Downman (chairman), J. H. Fulton, John J. Gannon, Frank B. Hayne, Chas. Janvier, general committee.]

"Whereas the people of the State of Louisiana, through their representatives in legislature assembled, did on June 6, 1912, by joint resolution, concurred in by the senate and house of representatives, declare as follows:

"'Whereas the great flood of 1912 has demonstrated that the National Government only can obviate a recurrence of such overflow disasters in the future by a national policy under which an adequate levee system will be built and maintained as national fortifications against invasion and destruction by the forces of nature; and

"'Whereas the steadily increasing volume of the floods in the lower Mississippi Valley has been largely caused by the changed condition of the watershed in the States comprising the drainage basin of the Ohio, upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers; and

"'Whereas these causes and conditions are beyond the control of the States bordering the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf, and can only be controlled by the National Government: Now, therefore be it

"'*Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana (the Senate concurring therein)*, That the National Government should immediately extend such temporary relief as may be necessary to repair the broken levees and to maintain them in future, and to control the river in its channel by revetments and bank protective works which will safeguard against the destruction of levees by caving banks and shifting channels.

"'*Resolved further*, That in working out plans for flood prevention and the protection of the lowlands of the Mississippi Valley from overflow, the Mississippi River and all its tributaries and source streams should be treated as a unit, and a comprehensive and adequate levee system, to be permanently maintained by the National Government, should be supplemented

by a system of reservoirs on the headwaters of the Ohio and its tributaries, and also on the upper Mississippi, and by a system of flood-water canals and storage reservoirs in the Missouri River Valley, by means of which the flood plane at Cairo would at all times be so reduced that no combination of high water in the three upper rivers would ever create a great flood in the lower Misisippi Valley, and at the same time prevent overflow and damage by floods in the valleys of the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers.

"'*Resolved further*, That the Nation can not longer afford to permit its resources of soil, of power, of water, and of navigation, to be carried as a wasteful and destructive flood to the sea, and that since the States themselves can not, in the general interest, prevent this waste, the Federal Government should conserve such floods at their sources, and subject the now wasted waters to beneficial use.'

"And whereas subsequently, on June 20, 1912, at a public mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans, held in the Progressive Union Assembly Hall, the foregoing joint resolution was approved and ratified and embodied in its entirety in the resolutions adopted at said meeting; and

"Whereas a flood prevention and river regulation conference, attended by representative citizens from many different sections of the State of Louisiana, was held in New Orleans on January 7, 1913, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted urging that the Newlands river-regulation bill should be so amended as to specifically appropriate and set apart $100,000,000 for work on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Gulf; and

"Whereas the said bill as originally drawn contained the following provision:

"'SEC. 18. That in carrying out the provisions of this act regard must be had, as far as practicable, to the equitable apportionment and contemporaneous execution of the works and projects contemplated under this act among the several waterways systems of the United States'; and

"Whereas when said bill was reported from the Senate Commerce Committee on March 3, 1913, it was amended in accordance with the resolutions of said flood prevention and river regulation conference and the following provision added to said section 18:

"'Not less than $10,000,000 annually shall be apportioned to the Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Gulf, $5,000,000 to the Missouri River, $5,000,000 to the Ohio River, $5,000,000 to the upper Mississippi River above St. Louis, and $5,000,000 to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in California'; and

"Whereas said bill also contains the following specification as to the appropriation and apportionment of the $50,000,000 a year for 10 years appropriated thereby:

"'For the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, for building bank protective works to prevent erosion and cutting of the banks and consequent caving, and to control the river and hold it in a permanently fixed and established channel, and for building and maintaining revetments, dikes, walls, levees, embankments, gates, wasteways, by-passes, flood-water canals, restraining dams, impounding basins, and bank-protective works for river regulation, and as a means to that end the building of works for reclamation, drainage, and flood protection, and for building reservoirs and artificial lakes and basins for the storage of flood waters to prevent and protect against floods and overflows, erosion of river banks, and breaks in levees, and to regulate the flow of source streams and navigable rivers, and reinforce such flow during drought and low-water periods, and for the operation and maintenance of the same, $30,000,000'; and

"Whereas the said Newlands river-regulation bill, when so amended, specifically and by its terms fully and completely provides for New Orleans, La., and the whole Mississippi Valley all the relief and benefits and all the measures for flood protection and prevention, and embodies the entire national policy advocated in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Legislature of Louisiana; and

"Whereas the said bill rejects and condemns no plan, and provides not for 'levees only' or for any one plan to the exclusion of others, but covers and provides for the adoption of all safeguards and all plans and methods for flood protection and prevention that may, after proper survey and examination, be found practicable; and

"Whereas the said bill further provides similar relief and benefits for other sections of the country that are demanding national aid for flood protection, and without whose cooperation and support the Mississippi Valley can not expect to secure such national aid; and

"Whereas the said bill has been before the people of the United States for more than two years, and now has Nation-wide support extending from Pennsylvania to California and from Montana to Texas, and will combine sufficient territorial political strength to insure its passage by Congress;

"Now, therefore, we the citizens of New Orleans and Louisiana, in mass meeting assembled, do most heartily again indorse the wise and patriotic joint resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana on June 6, 1912, and do hereby renew and reiterate the demands embodied in the said joint resolution, and do hereby indorse the Newlands river-regulation bill, and do hereby most earnestly urge the enactment of said bill by Congress at the present session, in order that the development of the Mississippi Valley shall be no longer retarded by the flood menace;

"And we hereby call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to extend their hearty and unqualified support to the principles so positively and unequivocally declared, as aforesaid, by the Legislature of Louisiana, and to the aforesaid bill in which those principles have been embodied for congressional enactment."

EDITORIAL FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM.

After the presentation of the foregoing resolutions to the President at Washington by Mr. Downman on May 18, 1913, the following striking article, setting forth a forecast of what the adoption of the national policy urged in those resolutions would bring to the great territory embraced in the valleys of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, was published editorially in the New Orleans Item of May 23, 1913:

"WHEN THE VALLEY IS REDEEMED AND THE MOSSBACKS ARE ALL FORGOTTEN.

"Let us draw breath a moment in the strife, stop to tighten belts and lean upon our weapons, scan with placid and contented eye the moiling fragments of the scattered, frothing enemy—and then glance beyond the battle lines to the certain victory.

"The space of peace is pardonable. We stand intrenched in truth. The cause is just—God knows none other touches nearer our hearts and homes. The foe is really ignorance, and for the fighters under that banner we can feel pity while we smite them hip and thigh.

"Picture the valley, 10 years hence, with the flood menace long since lifted, with the resource, the purse, and mind and conscience of the great Republic busy completing the task of redeeming and conserving against the waste of future ages the uncounted boundless wealth that fate and nature have given to us here between the Rockies and the Alleghenies.

"In the Appalachians the new forests on the watersheds will have begun to grow anew. On the mountain slopes of upland America the agents of a beneficent Government will have shown the natives how to terrace their hillside farms. In the gorges and valleys of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the Kentucky, the Cumberland, the reservoirs will be finished. On the watersheds of the Ohio to the northward science will have worked out plans to prevent the recurrence of the disaster to come from such floods as 1913. Along the Ohio the locks and dams whose construction has dragged for years will be finished. From out the harbors of Pittsburgh, Louisville, Indianapolis, Cincinnati will be moving vast fleets of barges and modern river craft, bearing to the markets of the South the product of the greatest freight-producing region on this earth—bearing it at the cheapest freight rate the world knows—by the easiest, surest route to the greatest market in the history of mankind.

"Far up the upper Mississippi the canals through to the Great Lakes will be built. Boats will be loading in Minneapolis, in Chicago, in Duluth, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Rock Island, with all the myriad articles their factories and their fields and mines produce that folk to the southward need. Reservoirs above Minneapolis will have lifted danger of flood from a vast area there. From great water-power plants established on the dams, hydroelectric power will keep the busy factories humming through the nights and days—the charge therefor maintaining the works for flood prevention and stream control.

"Away in the far Northwest, on millions of acres of land now lying barren to the suns of summer and the winter winds, the quiet farms will guard their fertile acres—where the water is kept on the 'land that wants it' and off the land that doesn't. From out of the prairies the tide of corn and wheat will move toward the river towns on the Missouri, there by barge to seek the route that nature marked thousands of years ago, down to the southern sea. The Missouri, no longer the sullen, vengeful, reckless stream of disorder and disaster, will carry again the argosies of commerce. On the distant mountain sides the new sapling forests will begin anew to catch and hold the humus and the moisture. Cared for, handled, guarded, controlled, the 'blessed rain,' no longer an agent of destruction

everywhere, will be man's best instrument of plenty and prosperity.

"So to the southward may we picture the change—Memphis no longer a promontory in a springtime inland sea, with busied Army officers sending out relief expeditions into the flooded area, but instead a great 'port of call' on the river route to the markets beyond the Gulf and beyond the canal; with warehouses, wharves, elevators, lining its river front; the new-style river steamers replacing the ancient boats of the 'Lee Line' and the old *Kate Adams;* the harbor busy as that of Hamburg or any city on the Rhine or Elbe; and the whole mind of the people turned away from the dread of disaster to busy thinking of how best to turn to use the tremendous instrument which nature gave and man retained for a Nation's use.

"Imagine the significance of that altered frame of mind on down the valley! Vision the dwellers on the rich lands of the Mississippi Delta, of the Arkansas lowlands, no longer dreading floods! Think of their initiative freed from the numbing weight of the 'flood menace'! Picture the stream flow regulated, levees strong enough to stand the height beyond which the people know the waters can not go and banks assured against all caving! Picture Helena, Arkansas City, Greenville, absolutely safe for themselves and for the region round about them!

"Vision that security in upper Louisiana, in the country facing Vicksburg and Natchez; imagine it in the lowlands along the Red, the Ouachita, the Black! Picture the change in the waste land about the junction of the Red, the Mississippi, and the Atchafalaya, with the swamps reclaimed, with a great controlled sluiceway across Old River, with adequate levees on both sides the Atchafalaya to the Gulf, with locks that will continue navigation while the gated dam controls the stream flow to Red and Mississippi alike!

"In Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge, in Iberville and Ascension the current would have ceased to gnaw, the herald of alarm would no longer call the countryside to battle against the water as against a living, vengeful enemy. The banks would be fixed, the levees would be strong and broad and built for the ages.

"At Bayou Plaquemine, at Manchac, at Lafourche, perhaps at other places, there would be regulated, guarded, absolutely controlled spillways, themselves leveed and guarded out to the lakes, to take off the surplus water, insurance against any greater height than the levees would be built to sustain.

"In all the region men would go about their business absolutely sure!

"No longer would the winds of March bring fear and the April rains disaster.

"And in all the valley the new measure of activity, of commerce, of business, would converge toward the valley's outlet to the southward!

"To the empty acres of Louisiana and Mississippi the flocking land-hungry emigrants from the Middle West would have rushed the moment the 'flood menace' had been made sure of extinction. Already the millions of acres of reclaimed and reclaimable land about the mouth of the Mississippi would have been taken up. The swamps would have been cleared and drained, the great estates cut up into busy farms. Good roads, good schools, quickened life and trade already would have remade the life of all. In the towns and villages a new era would have come, a new point of view been opened, a new hope and a new confidence creating a new activity.

"And sitting at the valley's gate, New Orleans, redeemed and safe and whole, would sit the beneficiary of all the change from far-off watersheds in the mountains of the East and West down to the very Gulf. To her merchants would come the trade of the new dwellers on the safe lands of the South. To her banks would center the surplus capital of the region relieved from danger. To her docks and wharves would come the river craft from the Ohio, the Missouri, the Great Lakes, the upper Mississippi, the Red, the Cumberland, the Kentucky, the Tennessee; and to her harbor would assemble the ships of all the seven seas to barter cargoes with the craft from the inland waters.

"A 'dream'?

"'Too good to be true?' in the poetic language of the facile 'Pic.'

"So men sneered at the suggestion that the Great American Desert would ever be smiling farm land. So elder statesmen as wise and weird as RANSDELL laughed to scorn the suggestion that Oregon and Washington were worth fighting for. So the reclamation act was laughed at, and the Appalachian bill said to be a 'joke.' So men scoffed at Edison when he explained his incandescent lamp. So railroad-owned newspapers and their blind followers prodded old John T. Morgan, when through the harassed years he took the part of modern Cato, and ever thundered that 'The canal must be dug?' So learned engineers told Goethals and Roosevelt that the Panama Canal never could be completed in the exact way, shape, and form in which it is being completed!

"So our own fossils of many years ago told Eads the jetties wouldn't work; so our own Supreme Court wisely asserted that no human power could ever filter enough Mississippi River water for New Orleans to drink and bathe in. Yet the jetties are built and working, and the filtered water is at hand for anyone who will turn the faucet!

"A dream?

"No! A plain picture in the large of the exact changes that have been wrought on smaller scale by these exact means in other regions, a picture of what we can get for the Mississippi Valley!

"It is this which the Newlands bill has in view. Mr. RANSDELL has said that the Newlands bill furnishes 'ample means to build levees on the Mississippi and protect us from floods.' His bill proposes no more than that. Isn't the bare possibility that this 'dream' might be made true in its other particulars enough to make it worth working for?"

CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATIONS.

The needs of the San Joaquin Valley and Central California for waterway, flood prevention, and water conservation legislation of this character have been urgently pressed by the Stockton River Regulation Commission, through its chairman, Mr. J. L. Craig, and vice chairman, Mr. G. McM. Ross, and indorsed by the Water Problems Association of California, the Fresno Chamber of Commerce, the San Joaquin Valley Commercial Association, and numerous other similar organizations on the Pacific coast.

The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce for more than 15 years has been a constant and earnest advocate of this legislation, supported by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce and many other similar organizations in every great hydrographic basin in the United States, most active among whom has been the New Orleans Association of Commerce, working in cooperation with the National Reclamation Association, and as the result of their activity, the special requirements and needs of the great Mississippi Valley drainage basin were more fully and specifically provided for in the bill known as the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill (S. 2739 and H. R. 12754) printed as Senate Document 418, Sixty-third Congress, second session, which in other respects was substantially the same as the original Newlands river-regulation bill.

On February 24, 1913, the Senate adopted an amendment to the river and harbor bill which was known as the Newlands river-regulation amendment, and which was very similar in its provisions to the amendment embodied in the bill by the Senate Commerce Committee at this session and now under consideration. After extended discussion, however, which will be found in Senate Report 1339, Sixty-second Congress, third session, that amendment was lost in conference.

Again, on May 29, 1916, substantially the same river-regulation amendment was accepted by the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill, but it was afterwards stricken out on a reversed point of order.

When the water-power bill was before the Senate on February 21, 1916, an amendment to that bill was moved by Senator NEWLANDS which embodied the provisions of the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill.

The discussion in the Senate at that time on this subject extended over several days, and has been brought together and published as a public document under the title "Water a national asset," copies of which may be had by request addressed to Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, United States Senate, Washington, D. C. That document includes the platforms of the political parties in different campaigns approving the general policy with reference to our rivers which has now taken form in the pending measure. The Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912 were particularly clear and specific in their pledges for legislation such as that which the Congress is now enacting.

SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT WILSON.

The direct appeal to President Wilson through the resolutions of the mass meeting at New Orleans which were presented to the President by Mr. R. H. Downman on May 18, 1913, resulted later in the appointment by the President of the interdepartmental Cabinet committee, composed of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce, who, with the aid of the chiefs of the different Government services and bureaus having to do with waters and waterways, made a most exhaustive investigation of the subject, particularly with relation

to the working out of some plan for the better coordination and cooperation of these Government departments and agencies. As the result of that investigation and study of the subject, the hearty cooperation of the Secretaries named and of President Wilson has been enlisted and exerted in bringing this great public movement to a successful conclusion.

The country is to be congratulated that the support of President Wilson, first expressed in his telegram to Senator NEWLANDS as president of the National Irrigation Congress at its Salt Lake session on September 29, 1912, has resulted in the enactment of the present measure creating the Waterways Commission, which opens up such stupendous possibilities of benefit to the people of the United States.

TELEGRAM FROM WALTER PARKER, OF NEW ORLEANS.

The broad and comprehensive purposes which have actuated the Congress in its enactment, were strongly stated in the report of the Secretaries composing the interdepartmental Cabinet committee to the President on February 26, 1916, set forth in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 11, 1916, from which the following is quoted:

[Remarks of Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Apr. 11, 1916.]

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, some time ago, at the height of the flood at New Orleans, a telegram was addressed by the New Orleans Association of Commerce to the Secretary of Commerce, which I will insert in the RECORD, calling attention to these floods and to the party assurances given regarding flood mitigation and river development, and suggesting immediate legislative action upon the subject. Following the receipt of that telegram the President reconstituted the interdepartmental committee, which some time ago was instructed by him to inquire into the differing phases of river regulation and control presented by various bodies and to report to him. That committee consisted of the Secretaries of War, of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Commerce.

"The office of Secretary of War being vacant, the three other Secretaries met and communicated with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD], the Representative from Mississippi [Mr. HUMPHREYS], and myself. Mr. HUMPHREYS was unable to be present, owing to illness; but after several discussions of the question the interdepartmental cabinet committee drew up a report to the President presenting their views regarding needed legislation. That report has been recently transmitted to me by the President of the United States. I ask to have read the letter of the President and the report of the interdepartmental committee, and I will ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the telegram to which I have referred.

"The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

"The telegram referred to is as follows:

"[Telegram.]

"NEW ORLEANS, *February 15, 1916.*

"Hon. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
"Secretary Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: One of the main-line levees of the Mississippi River in northern Louisiana has just given way in a district which suffered in 1912 and in 1913. A vast area of fertile farm land is being inundated. The people are fleeing from their homes. We are sending them help, as we always do. You are one of the members of the interdepartmental committee appointed many months ago to study the various submitted plans of stream and flood control. Your committee, we have been informed, reached an agreement upon the principle of the measures which were to be supported before Congress by the executive department. This organization, voicing the settled judgment of the business community of New Orleans, is on record as favoring the principle and the form of one great measure submitted to you for your approval, and by you in principle indorsed.

"Through three sessions of Congress we have waited patiently for the action to which the Democratic Party is pledged and to which you gentlemen yourselves have submitted your belief and your approval. We have waited, conscious that each year of delay in approaching the problem of flood and stream control in a broad and comprehensive manner adds another year to the many years of our continual and recurring peril. Still no action has come. We do not presume to sit in judgment upon those of you who occupy posts in close relationship to the processes of legislation and of executon in the Federal Government, but we do know that our peril continues, that we lose in money and in lives in each returning year of flood. We suffer an invasion as real as though it were directed by the head of an alien government. We lose lives as certainly as though they had been lost in Mexico or on the high seas. We suffer the imposition of indemnities which we must meet with taxes and bond issues that are just as much indemnities as though levied by a conquering army, and through the years and in proportion to the wealth of the region afflicted, what we have lost and what we have paid surpasses the indemnities inflicted upon France after the Franco-Prussian War—the greatest indemnity ever paid by any one nation.

"Here in New Orleans we feel that we as individuals and our investments are physically safe because we have massed resources of human power and of material which enable us to keep our levee breastworks so far ahead of the long lines reaching up the two sides of the Mississippi River from here to Cape Girardeau that levees elsewhere give way before the flood level reaches us, and thus we are saved by the misfortune of our fellow citizens of the Mississippi Valley. We appeal to you now in behalf of those unfortunates in Kentucky, southern Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana who have lost their homes, their fortunes, or their lives through the onslaught of the forces of nature operating over the territory of thirty-odd States, and concentrating their evil effect upon those who live in the smaller regions on the lower reaches of the Mississippi Valley.

"It is now too late for Congress to do more for those who are suffering than to give them food, if they need it, to furnish them with Government tents, and to put at their call the officers of the United States Army; but it is not too late for the interdepartmental committee to make known its conclusion and its findings with reference to suggested legislation having to do with the inland rivers of the United States. It is not too late for the executive department of the Government to put its recommendations before Congress, to lend the strength of its influence in support of the measures already drafted and pending therein, which will bring to bear upon the whole vast interrelated problem of stream flow control, flood disaster prevention, and use of the rivers in navigation the coordinated power and capacity of the whole Federal Government. It is not too late for this administration and this Congress to undertake 'after Panama' the task of 'the inland rivers'; carrying out the policy so well phrased and indorsed by President Wilson in his telegraphic message to Senator NEWLANDS, dispatched in the autumn of 1912:

"'SEAGIRT, N. J., *September 29, 1912.*

"'Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
"'President Irrigation Congress, Salt Lake, Utah:

"'Please express to the National Irrigation Congress my hearty approval of the policy it is met to promote, and especially of the policy of supplementing bank and levee protection by storage of flood waters above for irrigation and water power, turning floods from a menace into a blessing and at the same time abundantly feeding navigable waters.

"'WOODROW WILSON.'

"Is it asking too much to request you to read this telegram at the next Cabinet meeting as a respectful and an urgent message from the Association of Commerce, as representing the afflicted and jeopardized people, to the responsible heads of a Government from which we had expected adequate measures of safety?

"WALTER PARKER,
"General Manager New Orleans Association of Commerce."

REPORT OF THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Now I ask that the Secretary read the letter of the President and the report of the interdepartmental committee.

"The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

"The Secretary read as follows:

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
"Washington, April 3, 1916.

"Hon FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
"United States Senate.

"MY DEAR SENATOR: I take the liberty of sending you inclosed a copy of a memorandum concerning flood control which the Secretaries of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Commerce were kind enough to prepare for me. I hope that it will prove of interest to you. I know that you were consulted at the time the memorandum was contemplated.

"Sincerely, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

"THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
"Washington, February 26, 1916.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with your suggestion, we beg to present a résumé of our views as to the practicable way of dealing with the problem of so regulating and handling our rivers that they will be made to be of greater use and of less injury to the Nation.

"We do not feel the necessity for emphasizing the need for such legislation. Each recurring year makes plain the greatness of the work that must be undertaken if we are to keep our rivers within their banks. The floods of each year take their toll in property and lives. Our streams are filling with silt and their channels becoming less certain and reliable as nature's primal highways. Vast bodies of lands of the richest alluvial character are submerged so large a portion of the time as to be of no value to the Nation and of no service to the world. Therefore, to make more navigable our streams, to protect the cities and farms already established and to make a place for others, to save life and increase our crops, to conserve the waters on the higher reaches of the streams where they may be used for needed irrigation, and to convert their fall into electric power—these are the chief ends to be reached by river improvement.

"It is now time, we believe, to urge a comprehensive and constructive plan of river development upon Congress, a plan which recognizes the magnitude of the problem, the impossibility of dealing with it by temporary expedients, and that looks definitely to the time when the flood evils of to-day will be remedied and the waters put to their highest use. This means nothing less than a study under one responsible authority of the problems and possibilities of each river, and after such study a determination upon a definite policy with regard to it and the commitment of the Government to the pursuit of such policy. It has been suggested that an adequate lump-sum and continuing fund for carrying on such national work shall be placed in the hands of a commission composed of the President and four of his Cabinet, which fund shall be expended upon such projects as it sees fit. We do not think this plan in its logical entirety necessary to the end in view.

"We do believe, however, that the Congress should commit itself to a comprehensive policy of river development, involving the expenditure over a long period of a large sum of money, with sufficient appropriations immediately available for continuing the work on the lower Mississippi substantially in accordance with the plans of the Mississippi River Commission, and for taking the necessary preliminary steps for the study of problems and the projection of work on other parts of the Mississippi and of other rivers. It should study each river system, and as projects are developed reports with recommendations for expenditure should be made to Congress, with the understanding that Congress, on the basis of the data furnished, would provide sufficient sums for the continuous prosecution of the work. There are precedents for this course, such as the Panama Canal and the Alaskan railroad projects. In these cases Congress determined that such enterprise should be undertaken, the general lines of development, and in a sense pledged itself to award the money necessary for the completion of the enterprise within a limited time, leaving the details of the plans and their execution to executive bodies.

"We believe that for the execution of such a policy the Congress should authorize a national waterways council, composed of the President and the four heads of departments most concerned—War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce—and a subordinate water-control board, composed of a highly qualified representative from each of the four departments and of such engineers or other officials as the Congress may authorize. The four department representatives of the latter board should have such standing in the departments and such functions as would enable them to secure such data and services in connection with the work from the various bureaus in the departments as may be serviceable and necessary. The national waterways council should be authorized to direct and control the general policy and procedure of the water-control board and other agencies charged with the execution of the work, to establish the necessary rules and regulations, to consider and approve plans, the distribution of funds under authorization from the Congress, to decide questions of conflict, and to report to Congress. The latter board should be authorized to coordinate and invoke the services of the necessary bureaus and agencies of the Government, to make preliminary surveys and detailed plans for work in various areas, to prepare estimates, to study the activities of the States, municipalities, organizations, and individuals in water regulation, to prepare a general program of water and waterways regulation and development involving the combined resources and cooperation of all the agencies, to recommend to the council for approval the assignments for the different bureaus or services of the departments, to complete statements of the work already accomplished, and immediately to supervise the prosecution of the work under the plans approved. It would be understood that in the meantime there should be no interference with the execution of the existing plans of the Mississippi River Commission for the work on the lower Mississippi, and that these plans should proceed as outlined unless it should become clear that improvements could be made.

"The most pressing call for help has come and continues to come from the lower Mississippi. As to this river what may be determined defensive plans have been elaborated by the eminent body of national officials who are now prepared to proceed with their work to its completion. Their embarrassment arose out of the fact that they can not plan for the execution of their work continuously and for a sufficiently long period, owing to the fact that each year the work must wait on the appropriations for that year. There would seem to be every reason for prosecuting these plans vigorously, and later as investigations proceed for supplementing these works with others of a constructive nature higher up the river, and for undertaking as soon as possible projects on other rivers.

"To summarize, we recommend:

"1. That Congress declare its purpose to deal with our river problems in a comprehensive way, involving a large ultimate expenditure of funds and the immediate expenditure of considerable amounts, and the creation of machinery intimately related to the executive branch of the Government.

"2. That the boards and the other parts of the machinery provided for shall be directed to continue the work on the lower Mississippi substantially under existing plans, and to proceed with the investigations and the elaboration of plans on other parts of the Mississippi River and other rivers of the Nation.

"3. That all the available agencies of the Government shall be coordinated in this endeavor to improve and protect our rivers, to control floods, to utilize waters, and to reclaim valuable lands and make the necessary reports to Congress as bases for additional appropriations.

"4. That the expenditures for this work should, in the main, be met by the sale of national bonds, and that the lands benefited should be made to bear a proportion of such expenses, agreements in this regard to be submitted to the Congress as part of the plan for development.

"Cordially, yours,

"FRANKLIN K. LANE.
"D. F. HOUSTON.
"WILLIAM C. REDFIELD.

"The PRESIDENT,
"*The White House.*"

The necessity for such legislation as that embodied in the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917, was explained in brief and its relation to the provisions of the Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912 shown in the remarks of Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on February 21, 1916, on the subject, as set forth in the following quotation from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date:

"RIVER DEVELOPMENT FOR INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

"Mr. KENYON. May I suggest that in the debate on the river and harbor bill it was disclosed that over $140,000,000 had been spent on the Mississippi River.

"Mr. GALLINGER. Yes. Can the Senator give us any good reason, any substantial reason, that would tend to clarify our minds and vision, when we come to the consideration of this subject, as to how it is that after having spent $140,000,000 on the Mississippi River there is not any commerce on that river?

"Mr. NEWLANDS. I tried to explain that in my remarks when the Senator from New Hampshire was not present.

"Mr. GALLINGER. I am sorry I was not present.

"Mr. NEWLANDS. But I shall be glad to give the Senator an epitome of what I said on that subject.

"THE MISSISSIPPI AS A PERFECTED INSTRUMENTALITY OF COMMERCE.

"The Senator's inquiry is as to how, logically, we can consider the expenditure of more money on the Mississippi River when the expenditure of $140,000,000 has done very little toward the promotion of navigation on that river. My answer is that that expenditure has been scattered most ineffectively over a great number of years; that the expenditure did not involve the comprehensive treatment of the entire river with a view to making it an instrumentality of commerce; that the work was done largely in detached places here and there, in the removal of sand bars and other obstructions or in the construction of levees, and so forth; but that there never has been an effort really to artificialize and perfect the Mississippi River as an instrumentality of commerce. That involves the establishment of transfer facilities and sites, the dovetailing of the river with the rails by a system of legislation and administration, the construction of the proper wharves, the erection of the proper stations and warehouses, and so forth. The river has thus far been developed practically as a railroad would be developed across the continent, with spaces, every mile or two, of rails left out, or without stations or sidetracks. The Senator can understand how effective a railroad would be upon which a very considerable amount of money had been expended that was in that condition; and that has been practically the condition of the Mississippi River.

* * * * * * *

"What does the development of our rivers for purposes of commerce mean? It means the construction of wharves, warehouses, and transfer facilities, the acquisition of transfer sites, and a complete coordination with our railways. We have allowed our railways to sandbag our water carriers without protecting our water carriers by the law, and then we have failed to give our water carriers a perfected instrumentality, which means not only a steady channel, a steady flow of water, but wharves, warehouses, and transfer facilities and a coordination of rail and water carriage.

"You might as well say that you could perfect railway transportation by building a railway across the continent, leaving out the rails every 10 miles and leaving out sidetracks, warehouses, and stations, as to contend that you can make a river an instrumentality of commerce under the conditions which have prevailed with reference to their development.

"How have the water carriers been enabled to sustain themselves in this unequal conflict? Sandbagged by the railways during the period of navigability that put down their rates to the point of loss, without terminal facilities, without transfer facilities, without stations or warehouses, unprotected by the law, the individual carrier, the owner of a steamboat, has been compelled to struggle against these tremendous odds, and because he has not succeeded the former Senator from Ohio, after years of investigation, practically declares that the improvement of our rivers for purposes of commerce is a failure.

"Would the Germans have succeeded under such a system? Did they allow the railroads to sandbag the water carriers? Did they say, 'We will perfect railways in every way with single and double tracks and sidetracks and stations and warehouses and the most perfect facilities for transportation, and all we will do on our rivers is to dredge a sand bar here and there, or here and there put up some levees for the protection of some swampland proprietor?' Did they content themselves with that, perfecting the railway system and allowing the river system to take care of itself?

"No; they practically artificialized every river throughout its entire course and the tributaries, and not only that but they connected them by canals entirely artificial in their creation, and to-day waterway transportation is just as important as railway transportation, and it is important because it is the cheapest known method of transportation, for you can carry enormous bulk in barges and steamers. In a single barge itself you can carry as much as can be carried in an entire train. The cheapness of carriage to-day from Pittsburgh down to New Orleans of coal and iron indicates how cheap that transportation is.

"DEMORCATIC PLEDGES.

"Now, Mr. President, the Democratic Party is under a peculiar obligation to do something upon this great subject, for whilst the Republican Party for years has been contenting itself with general phrases the Democratic Party in two conventions has declared in the most specific terms, first, for the coordination of all the scientific services of the Government that relate to water so that their plans shall dovetail with each other; second, for the cooperation of the Nation with the State so that each can cooperate with the other in the formation of plans and the construction of works belonging to their respective jurisdictions; and, third, the creation of an ample fund for continuous work covering every watershed in the country.

"I will ask to insert these various planks of the platform of 1908 and the platform of 1912 in the RECORD.

"The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. VARDAMAN in the chair). If there is no objection, it will be so ordered.

"The matter referred to is as follows:

"DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1908.

"WATERWAYS.

"Water furnishes the cheaper means of transportation, and the National Government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every water

course in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce; and to secure that end we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River and the navigable rivers with each other by artificial canals, with a view of perfecting a system of inland waterways to be navigated by vessels of standard draft.

"We favor the coordination of the various services of the Government connected with waterways in one service for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways, and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

"DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1912.

"WATERWAYS.

"We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below and the diversion, storage, and control of the flood waters above, and the utilization for the beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

"We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its water for the purposes of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the General Government.

"To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year, and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

"We favor the cooperation of the United States and the respective States in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a cooperative plan for channel improvement, with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the Federal Government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for drainage of the same, and to supervise the work of construction.

"We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft."

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

The broad and comprehensive plan for dealing with the problems of river improvement for navigation and the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the United States embodied in the river-regulation amendment has been widely discussed in the press of the country from one end of it to the other, and has received the practically unanimous approval of the best thought of the Nation, as expressed through resolutions of organizations of every character and the leading newspapers.

The following quotations are merely a brief indication of the trend of sentiment shown by and expressed in thousands of similar indorsements:

"Senator NEWLANDS certainly deserves well of his country for pushing his waterways proposition as he has done." (Salt Lake Tribune.)

"Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, has been talking sound sense about the futility of the present method of making appropriations for rivers and harbors." (New York Tribune.)

"The Mississippi Valley's prosperity is essential to the prosperity of the whole country; the only way to secure its prosperity is by flood prevention; the only effective flood prevention is by the passage of the Newlands bill or similar legislation." (Houston (Tex.) Chronicle.)

"In the face of the awful lessons of 1911, 1912, and 1913, those Congressmen who opposed the Newlands bill in the last session assumed a grave responsibility." (Los Angeles Tribune.)

"The appalling flood catastrophe which has just befallen the people of the Ohio River Valley emphasizes with striking and irresistible force the urgent and imperative necessity of the national legislation embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill." (Cincinnati (Ohio) Commercial Tribune.)

"Probably no man in public life is better fitted to discuss questions relating to conservation, particularly as regards dealing with water, than United States Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada." (Troy (N. Y.) Times.)

"Senator NEWLANDS's bill seems to be broadly national, rather than selfishly sectional, and in that is to be found no small part of its wisdom and the promise of its deserved success before Congress." (Los Angeles Examiner.)

"We join heartily with Senator NEWLANDS in his idea that the time has come when the issue should be made between annual expenditure of millions on fighting the Mississippi River and a sensible attempt to control it to the advantage of unirrigated territory. The issue is simply one between loss and gain." (Minneapolis News.)

"Senator NEWLANDS is not only a broad-minded statesman and an able speaker, he is an adroit manager and he combines the suaviter in modo with the fortiter in re. When Congress emerges from the tariff-currency-Mexican web in which all other legislation is now enmeshed it may, and probably will, take up the Newlands reclamation bill. Once it shall be seriously considered its passage will be a foregone conclusion." (Los Angeles Times.)

"The Newlands bill for the regulation of water flow in the Mississippi Valley and for the reclamation of waste lands is in every feature thoroughly practicable." (F. H. Newell, Director of the Reclamation Service, quoted in the New Orleans Item.)

"The remedy for a pork-barrel system lies in a comprehensive national plan for river improvement and flood prevention, which shall treat each stream in the country as a unit, which shall utilize all the departments of the Federal Government in cooperation, and which shall have regard for all the uses of water, instead of regarding only the local interest. Such a plan is before Congress now in the form of the Newlands river-regulation bill. * * * The adoption of this plan for river control and use would result in the absorption and retention of the water on the upper source streams and tributaries, and this would so standardize the flow and lower the ordinary flood levels and raise the low-water levels that navigation would be enormously improved.

"But the occupation of levee boards, contractors, Army engineers, local politicians, and others who profit from the piecemeal, mud-pie system of sinking money in useless river projects would be gone. Therefore the Newlands bill sleeps in committee, while the pork barrel rolls merrily forward." (Gilson Gardner in Harper's Weekly.)

"The measure proposed is not the result of any slight consideration of the big work in hand, but its terms embody the best thought in the Nation on the subject of river regulation and control, and it behooves everybody in the two great valleys of the State to get behind the bill and leave nothing undone to impress Congress with the crying necessity for such a measure." (Stockton (Cal.) Independent.)

"The Newlands bill, now before Congress, proposes a new policy of flood prevention and river regulation, a policy that clearly recognizes the vital necessity of conserving the food supply of the Nation, which supply is absolutely dependent upon water." (St. Paul Pioneer Press.)

"It is with extreme satisfaction that we note the fast-growing popularity and progress of the Newlands river-regulation bill." (Stockton (Cal.) Mail.)

"This is the greatest constructive measure ever inaugurated by the United States Government for the protection of those affected by the wet and dry seasons of our rivers." (Escalon (Cal.) Tribune.)

"According to Judson C. Wall, of New York, a conservation specialist who advocates the Newlands bill, a comprehensive measure for conserving soil fertility, this country is losing under the present river-regulating policy an average of over $100,000,000 a year." (Wall Street (N. Y.) Journal.)

"A comprehensive, practical, and efficient measure is the Newlands bill for the control of floods of this great valley, and it is growing more and more in public favor as it is better understood." (Memphis News-Scimitar.)

"It is interesting to note that the Newlands bill is gaining friends and that there seems to be good grounds for expecting its passage." (Dayton (Ohio) News.)

"All California, without regard for political considerations or affiliations, will get behind Senator NEWLANDS's comprehensive plan for the development of the inland waterways of the State. Senator NEWLANDS proposes to meet in a statesmanlike way, by a single operation, three of the most pressing problems that confront the people of California." (San Francisco News Letter.)

"The Newlands plan offers opportunities for realization of the ambitions which the people of this region have long cherished and deserves the support of all progressive citizens." (Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian.)

"There can be little doubt that one of the greatest physical tasks awaiting the people of the United States is the proper development of the national water supply. Nor can there be any doubt that this development will best be achieved by a nationally directed policy rather than by the haphazard methods of the different States and of irresponsible private enterprise." (San Francisco Bulletin.)

"Senator NEWLANDS will deserve the thanks of the Nation if he can devise a method of removing the taint of 'pork barrel' from the rivers and harbors bills."

EDITORIAL FROM SAN FRANCISCO CALL-POST.

The following is a reproduction of an editorial from the San Francisco Call-Post of August 28, 1917, which points out the great benefits that may result from the inauguration of the policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment, with reference to the industrial conditions that will prevail after the close of the war with Germany:

WORK FOR CALIFORNIA AFTER WAR—TO SAVE WASTED WATER—RESOURCES WORTH $15,000,000,000 WAIT UTILIZATION WHILE VAST AREA OF LAND REMAINS UNPRODUCTIVE.

"After the war, what?

"When the world has been made safe for democracy; when 20,000,000 men have stacked their guns; when the colossal war machine has been brought to a dead halt and the engines and industries of destruction are at last standing still, where shall this inconceivable energy which is now devastating the world be diverted?

"For California this question was raised and answered a few days ago in the United States Senate by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

"No Californian knows better than Senator NEWLANDS what are California's greatest resources and needs.

"On August 2 Congress adopted his amendment to the rivers and harbors bill. It is a measure whereby the United States Government will undertake the solution of the Nation's water problems. Senator NEWLANDS had won a victory for which he has been fighting for 10 years. He said:

"Peace will bring far-reaching stagnation unless some great constructive policy for building internal improvements is substituted for the stimulus to industry created by the war that will be withdrawn when peace returns.

"The instant peace has been achieved this Nation can turn the same indomitable energy that it is now devoted to winning the war against a foreign foe to winning a greater war against the destroying forces of nature.

"The greatest waste that takes place in the country to-day is the waste of its surplus waters, which are the Nation's greatest asset, but which now run to waste in the sea, carrying destruction in their path in the form of devastating floods. We must learn to conserve that waste and fight that devastation with exactly the same vast and all-conquering energy that we are now devoting to war.

"What is that waste in California? What is the value of our undeveloped water resources?

"When HIRAM W. JOHNSON, now with NEWLANDS in the Senate, was governor of California he appointed Dr. George C. Pardee, former governor, head of a conservation commission to study this question and make investigations.

"Pardee devoted several years to the work.

"He computes the value of California's water resources at $15,000,000,000.

"Fifteen billions of dollars!

"Fifteen thousand times one million!

"Such a sum is inconceivable, as Senator JOHNSON said only the other day in Washington. The human mind can not grasp it. Like infinitude, it is incomprehensible.

"Were this wealth in minted money or in some form that we could measure and divide, it would mean, if distributed, $5,000 to every man, woman, and child in California to-day.

"Enough that every family, counting five to a family, could have a $25,000 farm.

"And since this wealth consists entirely of the unused water and the unused land in the State—though Dr. Pardee did not include the value of the land in his estimate—the farm, of course, makes the most appropriate unit of measurement.

"Dr. Pardee estimates that the water of the State for power purposes is worth $10,000,000,000 and for irrigation $5,000,000,000.

"Less than one-tenth of the available water power is now harnessed, and less than one-fifth of the irrigable lands are being watered.

"To make the $15,000,000,000 available for man's enjoyment is the work that Senator NEWLANDS refers to.

"To harness these waste waters, to irrigate another 12,000,000 acres of arid lands, is the work that confronts California.

"To reach this treasure will require the building of great dams, of reservoirs, power plants, and irrigation works.

"There is the fight for California when the war is done."

War Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE M. TOWNER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1917.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, it is worthy of notice that in the consideration of this measure there has been nothing of party politics. In the past, at least for more than half a century, the principal ground of contention between the dominant parties has been how best to raise money necessary to carry on the Government. The tariff has been always under discussion. Party lines have been closely drawn on these issues. Now party lines are obliterated. The lines of division on the various items contained in this greatest of all revenue bills have crossed from side to side without regard to party affiliations.

A general increase of all tariff rates was proposed by a Democratic committee. But Republicans were not urgent in its support. There were doubts as to the wisdom of a horizontal raise on all imports, and a general agreement that it was impossible at this time to satisfactorily revise the tariff. So the proposition was allowed to die without much protest.

If party lines can not be drawn even on the tariff it is evident that there is general agreement that the raising of revenue to support the Government to carry on the war is not and must not be made a party issue.

TAXES AND BONDS.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, we are compelled to raise about $21,000,000,000, a sum so enormous that it is beyond precedent or comprehension. No nation has ever even considered raising such a sum within one year. No other nation could from its own resources raise such an amount. We must take all of it from our own accumulations and resources. It is admitted that there are only two sources from which we can draw, taxes and bonds. The first question which ought to be determined is what policy should we adopt as to the relative proportion between these two means of securing money to carry on the Government.

Every one will admit there is a limit beyond which we ought not to go in current taxation. Manifestly we can not obtain the entire amount required, $21,000,000,000, by taxation. Still it should be evident we ought to obtain all that we can by taxation without crippling industry, discouraging production, or impairing capital. All else required we must obtain by bond issues. Conditions naturally differ among nations, so that each must determine for itself its policy. Nevertheless valuable lessons may be learned from other countries which for years have actually engaged in the war.

Great Britain has increased her tax revenue for the fiscal year 1917 over the prewar year 1914 in the following items and amounts:

Customs	$175,555,000
Excise	83,950,000
Legacies and succession	19,365,000
Income taxes	788,920,000
Excess profits and munitions	699,600,000
Total increases	1,767,390,000

It will be observed that of the total increases made, to wit, $1,767,390,000, $1,488,520,000 were the increases on the two items of income taxes and excess profits and munitions taxes. Eighty-six per cent of all increases were obtained from these two items. The rate of taxation in Great Britain on war profits over normal peace profits during this last year was 80 per cent. We have thus available a good example of what the effect of such increases upon industry and trade is. The reports are unanimous that it has had no damaging effect whatever, that business was never so good, and that it has continued to grow better year by year during the war period, and especially during the later months under the higher rates.

It would appear clear from this experiment in war taxation that increases in the rates of taxation on incomes and a heavy tax on war profits is perfectly safe from an economical point of view. Certainly it is justifiable to make such increases from the standpoint of justice. If normal profits are allowed and only a percentage of war profits are taken there would appear no injustice. The maker would still be allowed a portion of the profits growing out of the war. He ought not to complain if a part be taken to help carry on the war.

If the receiver of vast incomes, much more than is needed or can be used, is required to make relinquishment of a part to help sustain and preserve the Government, he is doing no more than is fair. The Government requires the relinquishment of liberty and even life itself to save the Nation. The payment of large portions of excessive incomes is justifiable both on economical and moral grounds in time of war.

INCREASES ON LARGE INCOMES AND WAR PROFITS TAXES.

In the legislation so far enacted we have appropriated and authorized a total sum of $21,370,000,000.

Our revenues provided will secure by taxation about $4,193,000,000. Our bond issues will total $17,001,000,000.

Our total resources to meet our total expenditures will be $21,194,000,000 if our bond issues are all floated.

But it is agreed that additional appropriations will be required between now and June 30, 1918, variously estimated at from $2,000,000,000 to $4,000,000,000. To meet these no provision has been made. No one claims that a greater amount of

bonds than is now authorized can be floated during that period. Provisions ought to have been made in this bill for a larger amount of taxation, and this additional amount should have been secured by higher rates on large incomes and on excess or war profits. Efforts were made, both in the House and Senate, to increase these rates. It would have been possible to have increased them so as to produce the $2,000,000,000 or even $4,000,000,000 that will be needed without reaching proportionally the rates of increases now prevailing in Great Britain. It should have been done now, for war profits pass with the war, and every month that these excessive profits are allowed to pass into individual ownership decreases the available source of such taxation.

If the bond issues are slow in floating, or if large additional appropriations are required, additional taxation will be required, perhaps under conditions not so favorable as now prevail.

Other reasons exist why these increases should have been made. Many of the items of taxation contained in this bill are consumptive taxes and bear most heavily on the poorer classes of our people. Such taxes might well have been omitted. It is not wise to place burdens on those who are least able to bear them and to exempt those who can most easily carry them. Nothing would so popularize the war as the realization by our people that burdens are as far as possible being equalized, and that every one is doing his share.

NATIONAL RESOURCES.

Tremendous as is the financial burden of the war, there is no doubt but we shall be able to carry it. In wealth and resources we are far richer than any other nation.

The national wealth of Great Britain at the beginning of the war was estimated at $90,000,000,000. Of France, $65,000,000,000. Germany, $80,000,000,000. Our own wealth at that time was estimated at $160,000,000,000. It is now in excess of $200,000,000,000.

The national debt of France at the beginning of the war was $6,346,000,000. Of Germany, $5,048,000,000. Of Great Britain, $3,443,000,000. Our own debt was but $1,103,000,000.

We have within our command every material resource necessary to carry on a war. Best of all, we have a patriotic and capable citizenship. Our man power will be strong because our people are patriotic, are intelligent, and are exceptionally capable. We shall triumph because our cause is just, because our people love their country, because we shall put in the field the best soldiers in the world, and because we have the resources to maintain both our Army and our Navy on a scale of efficiency not possible to any other nation.

SUPPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

There is general support of this bill for the reason that it is necessary that legislation to secure the required revenue to carry on the war be passed. Because Members of the House vote for the bill does not imply that they favor or approve its every provision. I presume there is not a Member who would not change some of the provisions of the bill if he could frame it as he would wish. But all, or practically all, of us desire first of all the fullest measure of support possible to the Administration in carrying on the war. Protest and opposition, even when based on honest conviction, if carried too far result in serious harm. To present determined opposition to the Administration which is charged with the duty of carrying on the war creates the impression on the world of want of support by our people of the war. That is to lend aid and comfort to the enemy. That is to prolong the war. That is to increase the destruction of life and burdens of taxation. Men who really love their country can subordinate individual opinion unless it shall contribute to strengthen the Government. He will best look back with pride on his record during these trying years who can find in it no obstruction, no hindrance, no injury to the great task that is ours of supporting our sons whom we are sending across the seas to fight in a great war in response to their country's call.

INDEX.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

SENATORS

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President, Indianapolis, Ind.
WILLARD SAULSBURY, President pro tempore, Wilmington, Del.

Name.	Home post office.
Ashurst, Henry F	Prescott, Ariz.
Bankhead, John H	Jasper, Ala.
Beckham, J. C. W	Frankfort, Ky.
Borah, William E	Boise, Idaho.
Brady, James H	Pocatello, Idaho.
Brandegee, Frank B	New London, Conn.
Broussard, Robert F	New Iberia, La.
Calder, William M	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chamberlain, George E	Portland, Oreg.
Colt, LeBaron B	Bristol, R. I.
Culberson, Charles A	Dallas, Tex.
Cummins, Albert B	Des Moines, Iowa.
Curtis, Charles	Topeka, Kans.
Dillingham, William P	Montpelier, Vt.
Fall, Albert B	Three Rivers, N. Mex.
Fernald, Bert M	West Poland, Me.
Fletcher, Duncan U	Jacksonville, Fla.
France, Joseph I	Port Deposit, Md.
Frelinghuysen, Joseph S	Raritan, N. J.
Gallinger, Jacob H	Concord, N. H.
Gerry, Peter G	Warwick, R. I.
Goff, Nathan	Clarksburg, W. Va.
Gore, Thomas P	Lawton, Okla.
Gronna, Asle J	Lakota, N. Dak.
Hale, Frederick	Portland, Me.
Harding, Warren G	Marion, Ohio.
Hardwick, Thomas W	Sandersville, Ga.
Hitchcock, Gilbert M	Omaha, Nebr.
Hollis, Henry F	Concord, N. H.
Hughes, William	Paterson, N. J.
Husting, Paul O	Mayville, Wis.
James, Ollie M	Yankton, S. Dak.
Johnson, Edwin S	Marion, Ky.
Johnson, Hiram W	San Francisco, Cal.
Jones, Andrieus A	East Las Vegas, N. Mex.
Jones, Wesley L	North Yakima, Wash.
Kellogg, Frank B	St. Paul, Minn.
Kendrick, John B	Sheridan, Wyo.
Kenyon, William S	Fort Dodge, Iowa.
King, William H	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Kirby, William F	Little Rock, Ark.
Knox, Philander C	Pittsburgh, Pa.
La Follette, Robert M	Madison, Wis.
Lane, Harry [1]	Portland, Oreg.
Lewis, Jas. Hamilton	Chicago, Ill.
Lodge, Henry C	Nahant, Mass.
McCumber, Porter J	Wahpeton, N. Dak.
McKellar, Kenneth	Memphis, Tenn.
McLean, George P	Simsbury, Conn.
McNary, Charles L. [2]	Salem, Oreg.
Martin, Thomas S	Charlottesville, Va.
Myers, Henry L	Hamilton, Mont.
Nelson, Knute	Alexandria, Minn.
New, Harry S	Indianapolis, Ind.
Newlands, Francis G	Reno, Nev.
Norris, George W	McCook, Nebr.
Overman, Lee S	Salisbury, N. C.
Owen, Robert L	Muskogee, Okla.
Page, Carroll S	Hyde Park, Vt.
Penrose, Boies	Philadelphia, Pa.
Phelan, James D	San Francisco, Cal.
Pittman, Key	Tonopah, Nev.
Poindexter, Miles	Spokane, Wash.
Pomerene, Atlee	Canton, Ohio.
Ransdell, Joseph E	Lake Providence, La.
Reed, James A	Kansas City, Mo.
Robinson, Joseph T	Lonoke, Ark.
Saulsbury, Willard	Wilmington, Del.
Shafroth, John F	Denver, Colo.
Sheppard, Morris	Texarkana, Tex.
Sherman, Lawrence Y	Springfield, Ill.
Shields, John K	Knoxville, Tenn.
Simmons, F. M	Newbern, N. C.
Smith, Ellison D	Florence, S. C.
Smith, Hoke	Atlanta, Ga.
Smith, John Walter	Snow Hill, Md.
Smith, Marcus A	Tucson, Ariz.
Smith, William Alden	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Smoot, Reed	Provo, Utah.
Sterling, Thomas	Vermilion, S. Dak.
Stone, William J	Jefferson City, Mo.
Sutherland, Howard	Elkins, W. Va.
Swanson, Claude A	Chatham, Va.
Thomas, Charles S	Denver, Colo.
Thompson, William H	Kansas City, Kans.
Tillman, Benjamin R	Trenton, S. C.
Townsend, Charles E	Jackson, Mich.
Trammell, Park	Lakeland, Fla.
Underwood, Oscar W	Birmingham, Ala.
Vardaman, James K	Jackson, Miss.
Wadsworth, James W., jr	Groveland, N. Y.
Walsh, Thomas J	Helena, Mont.
Warren, Francis E	Cheyenne, Wyo.
Watson, James E	Rushville, Ind.
Weeks, John W	West Newton, Mass.
Williams, John S	Yazoo City (star route), Miss.
Wolcott, Josiah O	Wilmington, Del.

[1] Died May 23, 1917.

[2] Elected in place of Harry Lane, deceased.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

REPRESENTATIVES AND DELEGATES

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

CHAMP CLARK, Speaker, Bowling Green, Mo.

Name.	Home post office.
Adamson, William C.	Carrollton, Ga.
Alexander, Joshua W.	Gallatin, Mo.
Almon, Edward B.	Tuscumbia, Ala.
Anderson, Sydney	Lanesboro, Minn.
Anthony, Daniel R., jr.	Leavenworth, Kans.
Ashbrook, William A.	Johnstown, Ohio.
Aswell, James B.	Natchitoches, La.
Austin, Richard W.	Knoxville, Tenn.
Ayres, William A.	Wichita, Kans.
Bacharach, Isaac	Atlantic City, N. J.
Bacon, Mark R.	Wyandotte, Mich.
Baer, John M.[1]	Fargo, N. Dak.
Bankhead, William B.	Jasper, Ala.
Barkley, Alben W.	Paducah, Ky.
Barnhart, Henry A.	Rochester, Ind.
Bathrick, Ellsworth R.	Akron, Ohio.
Bell, Thomas M.	Gainesville, Ga.
Black, Eugene	Clarksville, Tex.
Blackmon, Frederick L.	Anniston, Ala.
Bland, Oscar E.	Linton, Ind.
Blanton, Thomas L.	Abilene, Tex.
Bleakley, O. D.[2]	Franklin, Pa.
Booher, Charles F.	Savannah, Mo.
Borland, William P.	Kansas City, Mo.
Bowers, George M.	Martinsburg, W. Va.
Brand, Charles H.[3]	Athens, Ga.
Britten, Fred A.	Chicago, Ill.
Brodbeck, Andrew R.	Hanover, Pa.
Browne, Edward E.	Waupaca, Wis.
Browning, William J.	Camden, N. J.
Bruckner, Henry	New York City.
Brumbaugh, Clement	Columbus, Ohio.
Buchanan, James P.	Brenham, Tex.
Burnett, John L.	Gadsden, Ala.
Burroughs, Sherman E.[4]	Manchester, N. H.
Butler, Thomas S.	West Chester, Pa.
Byrnes, James F.	Aiken, S. C.
Byrns, Joseph W.	Nashville, Tenn.
Caldwell, Chas. Pope	Forest Hills, N. Y.
Campbell, Guy E.	Crafton, Pa.
Campbell, Philip P.	Pittsburg, Kans.
Candler, Ezekiel S.	Corinth, Miss.
Cannon, Joseph G.	Danville, Ill.
Canrtill, J. Campbell	Georgetown, Ky.
Capstick, John H.	Montville, N. J.
Caraway, Thaddeus H.	Jonesboro, Ark.
Carew, John F.	New York City.
Carlin, Charles C.	215 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Va.
Carter, Charles D.	Ardmore, Okla.
Carter, William H.	Needham Heights, Mass.
Cary, William J.	Milwaukee, Wis.
Chandler, Thomas A.	Vinita, Okla.
Chandler, Walter M.	New York City.
Church, Denver S.	Fresno, Cal.
Clark, Champ	Bowling Green, Mo.
Clark, Frank	Gainesville, Fla.
Clark, Henry A.	Erie, Pa.
Classon, David G.	Oconto, Wis.
Claypool, Horatio C.	Chillicothe, Ohio.
Coady, Charles P.	Baltimore, Md.
Collier, James W.	Vicksburg, Miss.
Comstock, Daniel W.[5]	Richmond, Ind.
Connally, Tom	Marlin, Tex.
Connelly, John R.	Colby, Kans.
Cooper, Edward	Bramwell, W. Va.
Cooper, Henry Allen	Racine, Wis.
Cooper, John G.	Youngstown, Ohio.
Copley, Ira C.	Aurora, Ill.
Costello, Peter E.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Cox, William E.	Jasper, Ind.
Crago, Thomas S.	Waynesburg, Pa.
Cramton, Louis C.	Lapeer, Mich.
Crisp, Charles R.	Americus, Ga.
Crosser, Robert	Cleveland, Ohio.
Currie, Gilbert A.	Midland, Mich.
Curry, Charles F.	Sacramento, Cal.
Dale, Harry H.	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dale, Porter H.	Island Pond, Vt.
Dallinger, Frederick W.	Cambridge, Mass.
Darrow, George P.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Davidson, James H.	Oshkosh, Wis.
Davis, Charles R.	St. Peter, Minn.
Decker, Perl D.	Joplin, Mo.
Dempsey, S. Wallace	Lockport, N. Y.
Denison, Edward E.	Marion, Ill.
Dent, S. Hubert, jr.	Montgomery, Ala.
Denton, George K.	Evansville, Ind.
Dewalt, Arthur G.	Allentown, Pa.
Dickinson, Clement C.	Clinton, Mo.
Dies, Martin	Beaumont, Tex.
Dill, C. C.	Spokane, Wash.
Dillon, Charles H.	Yankton, S. Dak.
Dixon, Lincoln	North Vernon, Ind.
Dominick, Fred H.	Newberry, S. C.
Dooling, Peter J.	New York City.
Doolittle, Dudley	Strong City, Kans.
Doremus, Frank E.	Detroit, Mich.
Doughton, Robert L.	Laurel Springs, N. C.
Dowell, Cassius C.	Des Moines, Iowa.
Drane, Herbert J.	Lakeland, Fla.
Drukker, Dow H.	Passaic, N. J.

[1] Elected in place of Henry T. Helgesen, deceased.
[2] Resigned April 3, 1917.
[3] Elected in place of Samuel J. Tribble, deceased.
[4] Elected in place of Cyrus A. Sulloway, deceased.
[5] Died May 19, 1917.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
Dunn, Thomas B	Rochester, N. Y.
Dupré, H. Garland	New Orleans, La.
Dyer, Leonidas C	St. Louis, Mo.
Eagan, John J	Weehawken, N. J.
Eagle, Joe H	Houston, Tex.
Edmonds, George W	Philadelphia, Pa.
Elliott, Robert N.[1]	Connersville, Ind.
Ellsworth, Franklin F	Mankato, Minn.
Elston, John A	Berkeley, Cal.
Emerson, Henry I	Cleveland, Ohio.
Esch, John J	La Crosse, Wis.
Estopinal, Albert	St. Bernard, La.
Evans, John M	Missoula, Mont.
Fairchild, Benjamin L	Pelham, N. Y.
Fairchild, George W	Oneonta, N. Y.
Fairfield, Louis W	Angola, Ind.
Farr, John R	Scranton, Pa.
Ferris, Scott	Lawton, Okla.
Fess, S. D	Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Fields, William J	Olive Hill, Ky.
Fisher, Hubert F	Memphis, Tenn.
Fitzgerald, John J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Flood, Henry D	Appomattox, Va.
Flynn, Joseph V	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Focht, Benjamin K	Lewisburg, Pa.
Fordney, Joseph W	Saginaw W. S., Mich.
Foss, George E	Chicago, Ill.
Foster, Martin D	Olney, Ill.
Francis, George B	New York City.
Frear, James A	Hudson, Wis.
Freeman, Richard P	New London, Conn.
French, Burton L	Moscow, Idaho.
Fuller, Alvan T	Malden, Mass.
Fuller, Charles E	Belvidere, Ill.
Gallagher, Thomas	Chicago, Ill.
Gallivan, James A	Boston, Mass.
Gandy, Harry L	Rapid City, S. Dak.
Gard, Warren	Hamilton, Ohio.
Gardner, Augustus P	Hamilton, Mass.
Garland, Mahlon M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Garner, John N	Uvalde, Tex.
Garrett, Daniel E	Houston, Tex.
Garrett, Finis J	Dresden, Tenn.
Gillett, Frederick H	Springfield, Mass.
Glass, Carter	Lynchburg, Va.
Glynn, James P	Winsted, Conn.
Godwin, Hannibal L	Dunn, N. C.
Good, James W	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Goodall, Louis B	Sanford, Me.
Goodwin, William S	Warren, Ark.
Gordon, William	Cleveland, Ohio.
Gould, Norman J	Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Graham, George S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Graham, William J	Aledo, Ill.
Gray, Edward W	Newark, N. J.
Gray, Oscar L	Butler, Ala.
Green, William R	Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Greene, Frank L	St. Albans, Vt.
Greene, William S	Fall River, Mass.
Gregg, Alexander W	Palestine, Tex.
Griest, W. W	Lancaster, Pa.
Griffin, Daniel J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hadley, Lindley H	Bellingham, Wash.
Hamill, James A	Jersey City, N. J.
Hamilton, Charles M	Ripley, N. Y.
Hamilton, Edward L	Niles, Mich.
Hamlin, Courtney W	Springfield, Mo.
Hardy, Rufus	Corsicana, Tex.
Harrison, Pat	Gulfport, Miss.
Harrison, Thomas W	Winchester, Va.
Haskell, Reuben L	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hastings, William W	Tahlequah, Okla.
Haugen, Gilbert N	Northwood, Iowa
Hawley, Willis C	Salem, Oreg.
Hayden, Carl	Phoenix, Ariz.
Hayes, Everis A	San Jose, Cal.
Heaton, Robert D	Ashland, Pa.
Heflin, J. Thomas	Lafayette, Ala.
Heintz, Victor	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Helgesen, Henry T.[2]	Milton, N. Dak.
Helm, Harvey	Stanford, Ky.
Helvering, Guy T	Marysville, Kans.
Hensley, Walter L	Farmington, Mo.
Hersey, Ira G	Houlton, Me.
Hicks, Frederick C	Port Washington, N. Y.
Hill, Ebenezer J.[3]	Norwalk, Conn.
Hilliard, Benjamin C	Denver, Colo.
Holland, Edward E	Suffolk, Va.
Hollingsworth, David A	Cadiz, Ohio.
Hood, George E	Goldsboro, N. C.
Houston, William C	Woodbury, Tenn.
Howard, William S	Kirkwood, Ga.
Huddleston, George	Birmingham, Ala.
Hulbert, Murray	New York City.
Hull, Cordell	Carthage, Tenn.
Hull, Harry E	Williamsburg, Iowa.
Humphreys, Benjamin G	Greenville, Miss.
Husted, James W	Peekskill, N. Y.
Hutchinson, Elijah C	Trenton, N. J.
Igoe, William L	St. Louis, Mo.
Ireland, Clifford	Peoria, Ill.
Jacoway, Henderson M	Dardanelle, Ark.
James, W. Frank	Hancock, Mich.
Johnson, Albert	Hoquiam, Wash.
Johnson, Ben	Bardstown, Ky.
Johnson, Royal C	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Jones, Marvin	Amarillo, Tex.
Jones, William A	Warsaw, Va.
Juul, Niels	Chicago, Ill.
Kahn, Julius	San Francisco, Cal.
Kearns, Charles C	Batavia, Ohio.
Keating, Edward	Pueblo, Colo.
Kehoe, Walter	Pensacola, Fla.
Kelley, Patrick H	Lansing, Mich.
Kelly, M. Clyde	Braddock, Pa.
Kennedy, Ambrose	Woonsocket, R. I.
Kennedy, Charles A	Montrose, Iowa.
Kettner, William	San Diego, Cal.
Key, John A	Marion, Ohio.
Kiess, Edgar R	Williamsport, Pa.
Kincheloe, David H	Madisonville, Ky.
King, Edward J	Galesburg, Ill.
Kinkaid, Moses P	O'Neill, Nebr.
Kitchin, Claude	Scotland Neck, N. C.
Knutson, Harold	St. Cloud, Minn.
Kraus, Milton	Peru, Ind.
Kreider, Aaron S	Annville, Pa.
La Follette, William L	Pullman, Wash.
LaGuardia, Fiorello H	New York City.
Langley, John W	Pikeville, Ky.
Larsen, William W	Dublin, Ga.
Lazaro, Ladislas	Washington, La.
Lea, Clarence F	Santa Rosa, Cal.
Lee, Gordon	Chickamauga, Ga.
Lehlbach, Frederick R	Newark, N. J.
Lenroot, Irvine L	Superior, Wis.
Lesher, John V	Sunbury, Pa.
Lever, Asbury F	Lexington, S. C.
Linthicum, J. Chas	Baltimore, Md.
Little, Edward C	Kansas City, Kans.
Littlepage, Adam B	Charleston, W. Va.
Lobeck, Charles O	Omaha, Nebr.
London, Meyer	New York City.
Lonergan, Augustine	Hartford, Conn.
Longworth, Nicholas	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lundeen, Ernest	Minneapolis, Minn.
Lunn, George R	Schenectady, N. Y.
McAndrews, James	Chicago, Ill.
McArthur, C. N	Portland, Oreg.
McClintic, James V	Snyder, Okla.
McCormick, Medill	Chicago, Ill.
McCulloch, Roscoe C	Canton, Ohio.
McFadden, Louis T	Canton, Pa.
McKenzie, John C	Elizabeth, Ill.

[1] Elected in place of Daniel W. Comstock, deceased.

[2] Died Apr. 10, 1917.

[3] Died Sept. 27, 1917.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
McKeown, Tom D	Ada, Okla.
McKinley, William B	Champaign, Ill.
McLaughlin, James C	Muskegon, Mich.
McLaughlin, Joseph	Philadelphia, Pa.
McLemore, Jeff	Houston, Tex.
Madden, Martin B	Chicago, Ill.
Magee, Walter W	Syracuse, N. Y.
Maher, James P	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mann, James R	Chicago, Ill.
Mansfield, Joseph J	Columbus, Tex.
Mapes, Carl E	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Martin, Charles	Chicago, Ill.
Martin, Whitmell P	Thibodaux, La.
Mason, William E	Chicago, Ill.
Mays, James H	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Meeker, Jacob E	St. Louis, Mo.
Miller, Clarence B	Duluth, Minn.
Miller, John F	Seattle, Wash.
Mondell, Frank W	Newcastle, Wyo.
Montague, Andrew J	Richmond, Va.
Moon, John A	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Moore, J. Hampton	Philadelphia, Pa.
Moores, Merrill	Indianapolis, Ind.
Morgan, Dick T	Woodward, Okla.
Morin, John M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mott, Luther W	Oswego, N. Y.
Mudd, Sydney E	La Plata, Md.
Neely, M. M	Fairmont, W. Va.
Nelson, John M	Madison, Wis.
Nicholls, Samuel J	Spartanburg, S. C.
Nichols, Charles A	Detroit, Mich.
Nolan, John I	San Francisco, Cal.
Norton, Patrick D	Hettinger, N. Dak.
Oldfield, William A	Batesville, Ark.
Oliver, Daniel C	New York City.
Oliver, William B	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Olney, Richard, 2d	Dedham, Mass.
Osborne, Henry Z	Los Angeles, Cal.
O'Shaunessy, George F	Providence, R. I.
Overmyer, Arthur W	Fremont, Ohio.
Overstreet, James W	Sylvania, Ga.
Padgett, Lemuel P	Columbia, Tenn.
Paige, Calvin D	Southbridge, Mass.
Park, Frank	Sylvester, Ga.
Parker, James S	Salem, N. Y.
Parker, Richard Wayne	Newark, N. J.
Peters, John A	Ellsworth, Me.
Phelan, Michael F	Lynn, Mass.
Platt, Edmund	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Polk, Albert F	Georgetown, Del.
Porter, Stephen G	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pou, Edward W	Smithfield, N. C.
Powers, Caleb	Barbourville, Ky.
Pratt, Harry H	Corning, N. Y.
Price, Jesse D	Salisbury, Md.
Purnell, Fred S	Attica, Ind.
Quin, Percy E	McComb City, Miss.
Ragsdale, J. Willard	Florence, S. C.
Rainey, Henry T	Carrollton, Ill.
Raker, John E	Alturas, Cal.
Ramsey, John R	Hackensack, N. J.
Ramseyer, C. William	Bloomfield, Iowa.
Randall, Charles H	Los Angeles, Cal.
Rankin, Jeannette	Missoula, Mont.
Rayburn, Sam	Bonham, Tex.
Reavis, C. Frank	Falls City, Nebr.
Reed, Stuart F	Clarksburg, W. Va.
Riordan, Daniel J	New York City.
Robbins, Edward E	Greensburg, Pa.
Roberts, E. E	Carson City, Nev.
Robinson, Leonidas D	Wadesboro, N. C.
Rodenberg, William A	East St. Louis, Ill.
Rogers, John Jacob	Lowell, Mass.
Romjue, Milton A	Macon, Mo.
Rose, John M	Johnstown, Pa.
Rouse, A. B	Burlington, Ky.
Rowe, Frederick W	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rowland, Charles H	Philipsburg, Pa.
Rubey, Thomas L	Lebanon, Mo.
Rucker, William W	Keytesville, Mo.
Russell, Joseph J	Charleston, Mo.
Sabath, Adolph J	Chicago, Ill.
Sanders, Archie D	Stafford, N. Y.
Sanders, Everett	Terre Haute, Ind.
Sanders, Jared Y	Bogalusa, La.
Sanford, Rollin B	Albany, N. Y.
Saunders, Edward W	Rocky Mount, Va.
Schall, Thomas D	Excelsior, Minn.
Scott, Frank D	Alpena, Mich.
Scott, George C	Sioux City, Iowa.
Scott, John R. K	Philadelphia, Pa.
Scully, Thomas J	South Amboy, N. J.
Sears, William J	Kissimmee, Fla.
Sells, Sam R	Johnson City, Tenn.
Shackleford, Dorsey W	Jefferson City, Mo.
Shallenberger, Ashton C	Alma, Nebr.
Sherley, Swagar	Louisville, Ky.
Sherwood, Isaac R	Toledo, Ohio.
Shouse, Jouett	Kinsley, Kans.
Siegel, Isaac	New York City.
Sims, Thetus W	Linden, Tenn.
Sinnott, Nicholas J	The Dalles, Oreg.
Sisson, Thomas U	Winona, Miss.
Slayden, James L	San Antonio, Tex.
Slemp, C. Bascom	Big Stone Gap, Va.
Sloan, Charles H	Geneva, Nebr.
Small, John H	Washington, N. C.
Smith, Addison T	Twin Falls, Idaho.
Smith, Charles B	Buffalo, N. Y.
Smith, J. M. C	Charlotte, Mich.
Smith, Thomas F.[1]	New York City.
Snell, Bertrand H	Potsdam, N. Y.
Snook, John S	Paulding, Ohio.
Snyder, Homer P	Little Falls, N. Y.
Stafford, William H	Milwaukee, Wis.
Steagall, Henry B	Ozark, Ala.
Stedman, Charles M	Greensboro, N. C.
Steele, Henry J	Easton, Pa.
Steenerson, Halvor	Crookston, Minn.
Stephens, Dan V	Freemont, Nebr.
Stephens, Hubert D	New Albany, Miss.
Sterling, Bruce F	Uniontown, Pa.
Sterling, John A	Bloomington, Ill.
Stevenson, William F.[2]	Cheraw, S. C.
Stiness, Walter R	Warwick, R. I.
Strong, Nathan L	Brookville, Pa.
Sullivan, Christopher D	New York City.
Sumners, Hatton W	Dallas, Tex.
Sweet, Burton E	Waverly, Iowa.
Swift, Oscar Wm	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Switzer, Robert M	Gallipolis, Ohio.
Tague, Peter F	Boston, Mass.
Talbott, J. Fred. C	Lutherville, Md.
Taylor, Edward T	Glenwood Springs, Colo.
Taylor, Samuel M	Pine Bluff, Ark.
Temple, Henry W	Washington, Pa.
Templeton, Thomas W	Plymouth, Pa.
Thomas, Robert Y., jr	Central City, Ky.
Thompson, Joseph B	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Tillman, John N	Fayetteville, Ark.
Tilson, John Q	New Haven, Conn.
Timberlake, Charles B	Sterling, Colo.
Tinkham, George Holden	Boston, Mass.
Towner, Horace M	Corning, Iowa.
Treadway, Allen T	Stockbridge, Mass.
Van Dyke, Carl C	St. Paul, Minn.
Vare, William S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Venable, William W	Meridian, Miss.
Vestal, Albert H	Anderson, Ind.
Vinson, Carl	Milledgeville, Ga.
Voigt, Edward	Sheboygan, Wis.
Volstead, Andrew J	Granite Falls, Minn.

[1] Elected in place of Michael F. Conry, deceased.

[2] Elected in place of David E. Finley, deceased.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Waldow, William F	Buffalo, N. Y.	White, George	Marietta, Ohio.
Walker, J. Randall	Valdosta, Ga.	White, Wallace H., jr	Lewiston, Me.
Walsh, Joseph	New Bedford, Mass.	Williams, Thomas S	Louisville, Ill.
Walton, William B	Silver City, N. Mex.	Wilson, James C	Fort Worth, Tex.
Ward, Charles B	Debruce, N. Y.	Wilson, Riley J	Harrisonburg, La.
Wason, Edward H	Nashua, N. H.	Wilson, William W	Chicago, Ill.
Watkins, John T	Minden, La.	Wingo, Otis	De Queen, Ark.
Watson, Henry W	Langhorne, Pa.	Winslow, Samuel E	Worcester, Mass.
Watson, Walter A	Jennings Ordinary, Va.	Wise, James W	Fayetteville, Ga.
Weaver, Zebulon	Asheville, N. C.	Wood, William R	La Fayette, Ind.
Webb, Edwin Y	Shelby, N. C.	Woods, Frank P	Estherville, Iowa
Welling, Milton H	Fielding, Utah.	Woodyard, Harry C	Spencer, W. Va.
Welty, Benjamin F	Lima, Ohio.	Young, George M	Valley City, N. Dak.
Whaley, Richard S	Charleston, S. C.	Young, James	Kaufman, Tex.
Wheeler, Loren E	Springfield, Ill.	Zihlman, Frederick N	Cumberland, Md.

DELEGATES.

Kalanianaole, J. Kuhio	Waikiki, Hawaii.	Sulzer, Charles A	Sulzer, Alaska.

RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS.

De Veyra, Jaime C	Leyte, P. I.	Yangko, Teodoro R	Zambales, P. I.

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Bills to allow vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels to engage in coastwise trade (see bills S. 2733; H. R. 5609, 6175*).
Editorial entitled "The protection of ships," 6207.
Letter of Secretary of Treasury transmitting estimate of deficiency appropriation for relief and protection of American seamen (H. Doc. 296), 5569.
Remarks in House on bill (H. R. 6175) to permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels to engage in coastwise trade, 7471, 7473, 7482, 7483.
Remarks in Senate and newspaper article relative to protection of merchant ships from submarine attacks, 6105, 6106.
Report of the United States Shipping Board relative to construction of ships in American shipyards (S. Doc. 41), 3210.
Resolution relative to certain restrictions upon American commerce with neutral nations (see H. Res. 73).
Statement of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce relative to decline of the trans-Pacific oriental trade, 3631.
Text of House report 162 on bill (H. R. 6175) to premit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels to engage in coastwise trade, 7476.

COMMERCE COURT, amend act to create (see bills S. 1471; H. R. 5132).

COMMERCIAL BULLETIN, statements relative to prices of wheat appearing in, 5822.

COMMISSION MERCHANTS, charges of unfair dealings made against certain, 3879.

COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS, letter relative to proposed office building in Mall written by chairman of, 7247.
Message of President transmitting annual report of, 3213, 3266.
Resolution to print annual report of (see S. Res. 88*; S. Doc. 48).

COMMISSION FROM JAPANESE DIET, letter of Secretary of State transmitting dispatch reporting sailing of (H. Doc. 378), 7898, 7918.

COMMISSION ON NAVY YARDS AND STATIONS, letter of Secretary of Navy transmitting report of (H. Doc. 339), 6144, 6836.

COMMISSIONER OF LIGHTHOUSES, letter of Secretary of Commerce transmitting part 2 of report of, 6651.

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS, letter recommending transfer of appropriation for wooden shelving in General Land Office Building to Patent Office from (H. Doc. 308), 5635.

COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS, letter relative to ages of men who enlisted in Union Army during the Civil War, 1131.

COMMISSIONERS ON UNIFORM STATE LAWS, resolution adopted at annual convention of, 7708.

COMMISSIONS, amendment in House to create the national waterway commission, 3737.
Bills to create a war-information commission (see bills S. 2500; H. R. 5009, 5073).
Bill to provide for a commission to investigate (see bill S. 744).
Bills to provide commission to codify and suggest amendments to general mining laws (see bills H. R. 239, 1693).
Bills to provide commission to secure site, plans, and design for school to train colored soldiers (see bills H. R. 394, 2311).
Bill to create commission to prepare and recommend legislation for Federal control of food supples (see bill H. R. 5).
Bill to appoint commission to supervise the food supplied to the military forces of United States (see bill H. R. 88).
Bill to provide commission to visit foreign countries (see bill H. R. 1665).
Bill to create commission to adjust differences between United States and belligerent nations (see bill H. R. 356).
Bill to create American Illiteracy Commission (see bill H. R. 1999).
Bill to apoint three commissions to the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (see bill H. R. 352).
Bill to provide commission to fix valuation of property made valuless by prohibition (see bill H. R. 133).
Bill to provide commission on relations between the United States and the Orient (see bill H. R. 124).
Bill to establish national commission of aeronautics (see bill H. R. 2363).

COMMISSIONS—Continued.
Bill to provide commission to standardize screw-thread tolerances (see bill H. R. 2361).
Bill to create a waterways commission (see bill H. R. 3380).
Bill to create the Federal land-settlement and homestead commission (see bill S. 2283).
Joint resolution authorizing appointment of commission to inquire into causes and suggest remedies for child poverty (see H. J. Res. 8).
Joint resolution creating commission to determine advisability of establishing a "summer capital" (see H. J. Res. 36).
Joint resolutions creating commission to report a plan for adoption of a national budget system (see S. J. Res. 46; H. J. Res. 68).
Joint resolution to appoint commission to investigate emergency legislation enacted by the European nations now engaged in war (see H. J. Res. 77).
Joint resolution to appoint commission to visit foreign countries allied with the United States in the present war (see H. J. Res. 110).
Joint resolutions to appoint commission on aerial navigation (see S. J. Res. 82; H. J. Res. 114).
Joint resolution to appoint commission to provide tablet to mark birthplace of Thomas Jefferson (see H. J. Res. 151).
Message of President transmitting report of the Navy Yard Commission, 2965, 3025.
Remarks in House relative to appointment of a waterways commission, 4330.
Remarks in Senate relative to creating commission to prepare plan for a national budget system, 2591, 2592.
Resolution for appointment of committee to investigate certain (see H. Res. 137).
Text of joint resolution (H. J. Res. 114) to appoint commission on aerial navigation (Appendix, 479).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS.
In Senate.
Committee on Finance:
Resolution to print hearings on the war-revenue bill (see S. Res. 74*).

COMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 157, 797.
Mr. Heaton excused, 796.
Mr. Hicks excused, 796.
Reports by
Appointment of janitors for committees located in the Capitol (H. Rept. 28), 1090.
Attendant for ladies' reception room (H. Rept. 24), 1091.
Capitol police (H. Rept. 15), 734.
Clerks and assistant clerks to committees (H. Repts. 56, 57, 76), 2624, 3589.
Collins, Myra (H. Res. 153; H. Rept. 188), 7773.
Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers (H. Rept. 16), 733.
Committee on Enrolled Bills (H. Rept. 25), 1090.
Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 27), 1090.
Funkhouser, Frank (H. Res. 108; H. Rept. 90), 4490, 4502.
Greenwood, Charles S. (H. Rept. 195), 7856.
McCoy, Joseph S. (H. Rept. 79), 3603.
Rost, E. C. (H. Rept. 26), 1090.
Topping, William H. (H. Rept. 29), 1090.
Warfel, Edward F. (H. Rept. 82), 3792.

COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICS (*House*).
Resolution to appoint (see H. Res. 105).

COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICS (*Senate*).
Resolution to appoint (see S. Res. 86).

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Kalanianaole elected, 797.
Authorized to sit during sessions of House, 1641.
Reports by
Facilitating distribution of agricultural products (H. Rept. 44), 1937.
Foodstuffs and fuel (H. Rept. 75), 3544, 3633, 3696.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers; to administer oaths; to employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 31*).
Reports by
Additional Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture (S. Rept. 40), 2164.
Conservation of food and fuel (bill H. R. 4961), 4356, 4750.
Distribution of agricultural products (bill H. R. 4188; S. Rept. 44), 2782, 3046.
Encouragement of production of foodstuffs (S. Rept. 39), 2164.
Eradication of the southern cattle tick (S. Rept. 38), 2164.
Increase of food products (S. J. Res. 31), 894.
Prevention of monopolies of foods, feeds, and fuels (bill S. 2263; S. Rept. 37), 2164.
Prohibiting use of food and feeds in manufacture of intoxicating liquors (S. Rept. 53), 3592.

COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR TRAFFIC (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (*House*).
Elected, 113, 156, 796.
Authorized to sit during sessions and recesses of House (H. Res. 31), 167.
Reports by
Deficiencies—war expenses (bill H. R. 3971; H. Repts. 36, 61, 137), 1590, 2930, 6708.
Mileage of Members and Senators (bill H. R. 122; H. Rept. 2), 496.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 37*).
Reports by
Deficiency appropriation bill (S. Rept. 2), 430.
Deficiencies—war expenses (S. Repts. 41, 134), 2329, 7353.
Drainage in New Mexico and Texas (S. J. Res. 89), 7339.
Sundry civil appropriation bill (S. Rept. 5), 457.

COMMITTEE TO AUDIT AND CONTROL THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE (*Senate*).
Reports by
Canning, Alice (S. Res. 22), 430.
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry (S. Res. 31), 709.
Committee on Appropriations (S. Res. 37), 742.
Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment (see S. Res. 98), 4810.
Committee on Coast and Insular Survey (S. Res. 46), 1669.
Committee on Commerce (S. Res. 54), 1940.
Committee on District of Columbia (S. Res. 50), 1569.
Committee on Finance (S. Res. 59, 117), 2163, 6136.
Committee on Interoceanic Canals (S. Res. 45), 894.
Committee on Interstate Commerce (S. Res. 92), 4263.
Committee to investigate lobbying (S. Res. 91), 5196.
Committee to investigate race riots at East St. Louis, Ill. (S. Con. Res. 10), 5954.
Committee on Judiciary (S. Res. 53), 1795.
Committee on Military Affairs (S. Res. 48), 1569.
Committee on Mines and Mining (S. Res. 83), 3633.
Committee on Naval Affairs (S. Res. 96), 4798.
Committee on Printing (S. Res. 89), 3994.
Committee on Privileges and Elections (S. Res. 146), 7817.
Committee on Public Lands (S. Res. 84), 3700.
Committee on Woman Suffrage (S. Res. 40), 775.
Funeral expenses of Harry Lane (S. Res. 72), 2856.
McCoy, Joseph S. (S. J. Res. 103; S. Res. 140), 7710, 7736.
Messenger for the minority (S. Res. 93), 4469.
Turner, Julia P. (S. Res. 136), 7339.
Washington Railway & Electric Co. (S. Rept. 7), 619.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY (*House*).
Elected, 113, 796.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith, of New York, elected, 798.
Resolution to allow them to sit during sessions of House (see H. Res. 71*).
Reports by
Circulating notes by national banks (H. Rept. 169), 7489.
Federal reserve act (H. Rept. 35), 1433.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY (*Senate*).
Reports by
Circulating notes by national banks (S. 2922), 7497.
Design for quarter dollar (S. Rept. 31), 1568.
Farm-loan board (S. 2921), 7496.
Federal reserve banks (bills S. 1796; H. R. 3673; S. Rept. 11), 742, 1975.
Quarter dollar (bill H. R. 3548), 4469.

COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE AND RETRENCHMENT (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 98*).

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON COAST AND INSULAR SURVEY (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 46*).

COMMITTEE ON COINAGE, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Kalanianaole elected, 797.
Reports by
Modification of designs of the current quarter dollar (H. Rept. 78), 3589.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 54*).
Reports by
Aids to navigation in the Lighthouse Service (S. Rept. 58), 3633.
Appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of steam vessels (S. Rept. 59), 3633.
Bridges: Arkansas River (S. Repts. 88, 107, 118, 149), 5413, 5988, 6935, 7767.
——— Bayou Macon, La. (S. Rept. 89), 5413.
——— Big Sandy River (S. Rept. 133), 7339.
——— Flint River (S. Rept. 150), 7811.
——— Fox River (S. Rept. 120), 6936.
——— Little Kanawha River (S. Rept. 126), 6994.
——— Little River (S. Repts. 91, 143), 5542, 7707.
——— Mahoning River (H. R. 6310), 7701.
——— Mississippi River (S. Repts. 20, 28, 72, 122, 140), 776, 893, 4396, 6936, 7605.
——— Missouri River (S. Rept. 101), 5785.
——— Mobile Bay (S. Rept. 127), 6993.
——— Red River (S. Rept. 128), 6993.
——— Rio Grande River (S. Rept. 151), 7811.
——— Saline River (S. Rept. 137), 7454.
——— Tug River, W. Va. (S. Rept. 121), 6935.
——— Wabash River (S. Repts. 34, 42), 2047, 2427.
——— Waccamaw River (S. Rept. 132), 7267.
Caldera (*steamship*) (S. Rept. 80), 4810.
Coastwise trade (H. R. 6175), 7811.
Dams (see bill S. 1419), 4993.
——— Mermentau River, La. (S. Rept. 112), 6298.
Export trade (S. Rept. 23), 829.
Motor boats (S. Rept. 62), 3633.
Numbering and recording of undocumented vessels (S. Rept. 63), 3633.
Officering and manning of vessels (S. Rept. 60), 3633.
Permitting use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels (S. Rept. 61), 3633.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Retirement of officers and employees of Bureau of Lighthouses and the Lighthouse Service (S. Rept. 56), 3632.
River and Harbor appropriation bill (S. Rept. 81), 4882.
Salaries of keepers of lighthouses (S. Rept. 57), 3632.
Trading with the enemy (S. Repts. 111, 113), 6298, 6469.
Willapa Harbor and River, Wash. (S. Rept. 123), 6932.

COMMITTEE ON CONFERENCE OF MINORITY (*House*), authorized to order printing (H. Res. 28), 158.

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS (*House*), elected, 116.
Members on part of House appointed, 819.
Resolution to allow them to employ clerk and messenger (see H. Res. 33*).

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS (*Senate*), Mr. Brady appointed chairman of, 3837.
Mr. Jones excused as chairman of, 3837.

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS (*Joint*).
Resolution to allow messenger to (see H. Res. 45*).
Reports by
Useless papers of Federal Trade Commission (H. Rept. 55), 2572.

COMMITTEE ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Mr. Drane elected, 797.
Mr. Van Dyke elected, 797.

COMMITTEE ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Resolution continuing authority for certain investigations by (see S. Res. 49).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 50*).
Reports by
Independent Order of Odd Fellows (bill S. 1800), 1024.
Practice of podiatry (S. Rept. 45), 2782.
Thomson, Lillie M. (bill S. 2134), 1805.
Wolfsteiner, Otto L. (bill S. 2134), 1805.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS NO. 1 (*House*).
Elected, 113, 796.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS NO. 2 (*House*).
Elected, 113, 796.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS NO. 3 (*House*).
Elected, 113, 796.
Reports by
Beakes *v.* Bacon (H. Rept. 194), 7842, 7872.

COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 157, 797.
Resolution to appoint clerk to (see H. Res. 63*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES OF COMMISSIONS CREATED BY ACTS OF CONGRESS.
Resolution to create (see H. Res. 145).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).
Resolution authorizing them to call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony, examine contracts for purchase of supplies, and hold sessions during recess (see H. Res. 129).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Mr. Brady excused, 3790.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).
Resolution authorizing them to call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony, examine contracts for purchase of supplies, and hold sessions during recess (see H. Res. 129).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).
Resolution authorizing them to call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony, examine contracts for purchase of supplies, and hold sessions during recess (see H. Res. 129).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).
Resolution authorizing investigations by (see H. Res. 107).
Resolution directing them to make certain examinations (see H. Res. 113).
Resolution authorizing them to call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony, examine contracts for purchase of supplies, and hold sessions during recess (see H. Res. 129).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 45*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution authorizing investigation of expenditure of appropriations for War Department by (see H. Res. 127).
Resolution authorizing them to call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony, examine contracts for purchase of supplies, and hold sessions during recess (see H. Res. 129).

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to administer oaths, employ temporary clerk and a stenographer, and to sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 59*).
Resolution to print hearings on the war-revenue bill held before (see S. Res. 74*).
Resolution authorizing them to employ an additional clerk (see S. Res. 117*).
Reports by
Bureau of War-Risk Insurance (S. Repts. 33, 141), 1795, 7628.
Emergency bond issue (bills H. R. 2762, 5901; S. Rept. 8), 709, 7064.
Entry of distilled spirits (S. J. Res. 99), 6932.
Freer, Charles L. (amendment), 459.
Northgate, N. Dak. (S. Rept. 54), 3632.
War revenue (S. Repts. 75, 103; S. Doc. 74), 4631, 4632, 5827.

COMMITTEE ON FISHERIES (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Mr. Husting appointed chairman, 3790.

COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL (*House*).
Elected, 116, 797.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 157, 796.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith, of New York, elected, 798.
Reports by
Cuba (H. Rept. 64), 3025.
Draft of aliens (H. Rept. 115), 5690.
Niagara River (H. Rept. 87), 4333.
Russia (H. Rept. 12), 661.
War with Germany (H. J. Res. 24; H. Rept. 1), 299.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Collazo, Aurelio (S. J. Res. 86; S. Rept. 92), 5543.
Enlistment of aliens (S. Rept. 93), 5542.
Foreign decorations (S. Rept. 114), 6593.
Niagara River (S. J. Res. 13), 775.
Protection of migratory birds (S. Rept. 27), 870.
War with Germany (S. J. Res. 1; S. Rept. 1), 155.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Reports by
Naturalization laws (S. Rept. 136), 7446.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Reports by
Deportation of aliens (H. Rept. 127), 5814.
Naturalization (H. Rept. 92), 4990.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Joint resolutions authorizing them to continue investigation of the Indian Service (see S. J. Res. 51; H. J. Res. 57).
Reports by
Allotted lands and moneys of Five Civilized Tribes (H. Rept. 196), 7872, 7906.
Balance due Creek Indians (H. Rept. 193), 7872.
Mineral lands of Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations (H. Rept. 192), 7872.
Roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations (H. Rept. 191), 7872.
Stuart, Lewis, Coordon and Rutherford (H. Rept. 200), 7919.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Mr. King appointed, 3790.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.
Reports by
Cluff, Alfred, and others (S. Rept. 168), 7811.
Flanigan, John (S. Rept. 167), 7811.
Investment of Indian funds in Government bonds (S. Rept. 51), 3438.
Mining on Indian reservations (S. Rept. 166), 7810.
Yakima Indian Reservation (S. J. Res. 43), 1569.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND EXPOSITIONS (*House*).
Elected, 116, 797.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.

COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS (*Senate*).
Br. Broussard excused, 460.
Mr. Lewis appointed, 460.
Resolution to allow them to send for books and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 45*).
Reports by
Panama Canal tolls (S. Rept. 6), 521.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Reports by
Aids to navigation (H. Rept. 153), 7317.
Authorizing the President to regulate the export trade in time of war (H. Rept. 32), 1433.
Bridges: Arkansas River (H. Repts. 104, 105, 129, 151, 187), 5144, 5145, 6038, 7317, 7809.
——— Bayou Macon, La. (H. Rept. 102), 5144.
——— Big Sandy River, Ky. and W. Va. (H. Rept. 113), 5569.
——— Flint River (H. Rept. 191), 5141.
——— Fox River (H. Rept. 164), 7445.
——— Little Kanawha River (H. Rept. 150), 7317.
——— Little River (H. Repts. 112, 158), 5534, 7386.
——— Mahoning River (H. Rept. 174), 7604.
——— Mississippi River (H. Repts. 21, 22, 33, 103, 146, 147), 1069, 1433, 5144, 7316.
——— Missouri River (H. Repts. 99, 148), 5144, 7316.
——— Mobile Bay (H. Rept. 152), 7317.
——— Red River (H. Rept. 149), 7317.
——— Rio Grande River (H. Rept. 190), 7809.
——— Saline River (H. Rept. 111), 5534.
——— Tug River, W. Va. (H. Rept. 106), 5145.
——— Wabash River (H. Repts. 34, 98, 100), 1433, 5144.
——— Waccamaw River (H. Rept. 167), 7460.
Bureau of War-Risk Insurance (H. Repts. 48, 62, 130, pts. 1, 2, 3), 2080, 2961, 6467, 6708.
Car service (H. Rept. 18), 989.
Dams: Mermentau River, La. (H. Rept. 135), 6714.
Fixing status of officers of the Public Health Service (H. Rept. 59), 2697.
Interstate commerce (H. Rept. 20), 1069.
Interstate Commerce Commission (H. Rept. 63), 2961.
Panama Canal tolls (H. Rept. 41), 1843.
Preventing obstruction of interstate commerce and the United States mails (H. Repts. 58, 86), 2697, 4333.
Public Health Service Reserve (H. Rept. 131), 6467.
Trading with the enemy (H. Rept. 85), 4054.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 92*).
Reports by
Car-shortage bill (H. Rept. 43), 2631, 2700.
Daylight saving (S. Rept. 46), 2855.
Export trade (S. Repts. 9, 109), 709, 6164.
Interstate commerce (S. Rept. 10), 742.
Preventing interference with interstate commerce or the United States mails (bill S. 2356; S. Rept. 48), 2857.

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE LOBBYING (*Senate*).
Resolution continuing (see S. Res. 91*).

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE RENTAL OF BUILDINGS FOR DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*joint*).
Appointed, 798.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE STRIKE OF EMPLOYEES OF THE WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO. (*Senate*).
Appointed, 722.
Mr. Dillingham excused, 895.
Mr. Gerry excused, 744.
Mr. Harding excused, 895.
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 921.
Mr. Jones of Washington appointed, 921.
Mr. King appointed, 744.
Report by (S. Rept. 176), 7874.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TRESPASSERS UPON INDIAN LANDS (*Senate*).
Mr. Husting excused as chairman, 3790.
Mr. Jones appointed chairman of, 3837.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES MADE BY MR. HEFLIN (*House*).
Report by (H. Rept. 201), 7906.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Reports by
Irrigation districts (H. Rept. 93), 5083.
Patents on reclamation entries (H. Rept. 120), 5773.
Production of food upon reclamation projects (H. Rept. 107), 5145.
Yuma project, Ariz. (H. Rept. 199), 7919.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.
Mr. Warren excused, 3790.
Reports by
Production of food within reclamation projects (S. Rept. 68), 3839.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*House*).
Elected, 113, 157, 796.
Reports by
Civil rights of officers and enlisted men of Army and Navy (H. Rept. 181), 7680.
Claims for longevity pay of Army officers (H. Rept. 4), 610.
Enlistment of persons in United States to serve in foreign armies or navies (H. Rept. 14), 734.
Espionage (H. Rept. 30), 1149.
Export trade (H. Rept. 50), 2161.
Punish destruction or injuring of war material or transportation facilities (H. Rept. 11), 661.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 53*).
Reports by
Additional circuit judge (S. 2777), 6934.
Alcoholic liquor traffic (S. Rept. 52), 3438.
American Academy of Engineers (see bill S. 2360; S. Rept. 86), 4810.
Appointment of district judge in Mississippi (see bill S. 746), 4808.
Columbia River, Oreg. and Wash. (bill S. 1484), 2631.
Destruction of war material and transportation facilities (bill S. 383), 457.
District of Columbia Supreme Court (S. 2489), 5378.
Election of President (S. Rept. 165), 7810.
Enlistments in United States for foreign armies (bill H. R. 2893; S. Rept. 21), 774, 1569.
Espionage (bill S. 2; H. R. 291), 769, 2014.
Extension of workmen's compensation laws (S. Rept. 139), 7605.
Interned German ships (S. J. Res. 42), 1572.
Minnesota boundary line (bill S. 2180), 2964.
Montana (bill S. 70), 2631.
Rhode Island (bill S. 2116), 2964.
Storage of foodstuffs (S. Rept. 47), 2964.
Tennessee (bill S. 1836), 3032.
Wisconsin boundary line (bill S. 2180), 2964.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR (*House*), elected, 114, 796.

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Reports by
American Red Cross (H. Rept. 51), 2375.
Statue of James Buchanan (H. Rept. 38), 1660.
Statue of Sequoyah (H. Rept. 68), 3208.

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY (*Senate*).
Reports by
American Red Cross (S. J. Res. 61), 2381.
Botanic Garden, Washington, D. C. (S. Rept. 67), 3839.

COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES (*Senate*), Mr. Gallinger excused, 3790.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES (*House*).
Elected, 114, 157, 796.
Mr. Van Dyke excused, 499.
Reports by
Caldera (*steamship*) (H. Rept. 119), 5773.
Commandeering of vessels of alien enemies (H. Rept. 37), 1660.
Vessels of foreign registry (H. Rept. 162), 7386.

COMMITTEE ON MILEAGE (*House*), elected, 115, 157, 797.
Resolution to pay for clerical services rendered (see H. Res. 108).

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 157, 796.
Mr. Kalanianaole elected, 797.
Reports by
Aircraft Board (H. Rept. 161), 7386.
Aviation Service (H. Rept. 97), 5083.
Cavalry regiments (H. Rept. 136), 6714.
Chaplains (H. Repts. 134, 170), 6651, 7489.
Condemnation of lands for military purposes (H. Rept. 83), 3991.
Defective ammunition (H. Rept. 133), 6651.
Foreign decorations (H. Rept. 173), 7604.
Foreign officers and enlisted men attached to United States Army (H. Rept. 166), 7445.
Hodgson, Ida Cottrell (H. Rept. 138), 6774.
Increase of the Military Establishment (H. Rept. 17; bill H. R. 3545), 866, 989.
Issue of rifles to home guards (H. Rept. 60), 2847.
Medals of honor and distinguished-service medals (H. Rept. 140), 6774.
Mullins, Nancy E. (H. Rept. 89), 4546.
National Day of Prayer (H. Rept. 160), 7386.
North Island, harbor of San Diego, Cal. (H. Rept. 88), 4333.
Pay allotment (H. Rept. 180), 7604.
Promotion of lieutenants in the Medical Corps (H. Rept. 84), 4054.
Reserve Corps and National Army commissions (H. Rept. 179), 7604.
Restoring to active service certain retired officers who have served in Corps of Engineers (H. Rept. 72), 3270.
Service in foreign armies (H. Rept. 165), 7445.
Signal Corps (H. Rept. 97), 5083.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Authorized to sit during sessions of Senate, 697.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 48*).
Reports by
Air board (S. Rept. 106), 5955.
Allotment of pay (S. Rept. 135), 7388.
Army appropriation bill (S. Rept. 3), 456.
Aviation Service (H. R. 5326), 5197.
Brainard, David L. (S. Rept. 64), 3632.
Campaign badges for Dental Corps (S. 2701), 6164.
Cavalry regiments (S. Rept. 147), 7769.
Chaplains (S. 2917; S. Rept. 90), 5413, 7497.
Condemnation of lands for military purposes (S. Rept. 55), 3632.
Draft of aliens (S. Rept. 94), 5542.
Foreign officers and enlisted men (S. Rept. 117), 6934.
Generals and lieutenant generals (S. 2973), 7769.
Graham, Harry (S. Rept. 78), 4810.
Great Piece Meadows, N. J. (S. Rept. 29), 893.
Issue of rules to Home Guards (bill S. 995), 709.
Lewisburg, Tenn. (S. Rept. 26), 829.
Maus, L. Merwin (S. Rept. 82), 5027.
Medals of honor and distinguished-service medals (S. Rept. 73), 4469.
Military Academy appropriation bill (S. Rept. 4), 456.
Mullins, Nancy E. (S. Rept. 84), 5150.
Murfreesboro, Tenn. (S. Rept. 24), 829.
National day of prayer (S. Con. Res. 12; S. Rept. 124), 6935.
National defense act (bill S. 1786; S. Rept. 12), 742, 3313.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
National defense act amendment (S. Rept. 131), 7267.
North Island, harbor of San Diego, Cal. (S. Rept. 83), 5099.
Paquet, Omer G. (S. Rept. 138), 7497.
Protection of military and naval forces (S. 2932), 7496.
Recommissioning of former officers (S. Rept. 105), 5954.
Regulation of land and naval forces (S. Rept. 125), 6994.
Reserve Corps and National Army commissions (S. Rept. 148), 7769.
Robichon, Hector A. (see bill S. 980), 4809.
Rockaway Point, N. Y. (S. Rept. 50), 3313.
Service in foreign armies (S. 2623), 6935.
Signal Corps (H. R. 5326), 5197.
Tennessee (S. Rept. 25), 829.
Universal liability to military service (S. Rept. 22; bill S. 1871; H. R. 3545), 829, 907, 911, 1501.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Sulzer elected, 798.
Reports by
Assessment work on mining claims (H. Rept. 128), 5903.
Explosives (H. Rept. 39), 1660.
Fuel yard—District of Columbia (H. Rept. 189), 7800.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 83*).
Reports by
Assessment work on mining claims (S. Rept. 74), 4548.
Explosives (S. Rept. 85), 5196.
Owners of mining claims who enlist for the war (S. J. Res. 33), 2085.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 157, 796.
Reports by
Air-station site (H. Rept. 177), 7604.
Commandeering of vessels in time of war (H. Rept. 9), 661.
Efficiency of Navy (H. Rept. 178), 7604.
Fleet Naval Reserve (H. Rept. 6), 661.
Gratuity to dependents of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty (H. Rept. 175), 7604.
Hydrographic Office (H. Rept. 7), 661.
Minority enlistments in the Navy (H. Rept. 8), 661.
Naval Academy (H. Rept. 10), 661.
Naval Reserve enrollments (H. Rept. 40), 1842.
Naval Reserve officers age limit (H. Rept. 5), 661.
Owera—steam yacht (H. Rept. 19), 1069.
Ratings in Navy (H. Rept. 122), 5773.
Relief of officers and enlisted men in Navy (H. Rept. 121), 5773.
Service of officers on naval courts (H. Rept. 176), 7604.
Subsistence of Navy (H. Rept. 123), 5773.
Temporary increase of Navy and Marine Corps (H. Rept. 31), 1292.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 96*).
Reports by
Air-station site for Navy (S. Rept. 99), 5692.
Cobb, Frederick W. (S. Rept. 98), 5692.
Commandeering of vessels (S. Rept. 19), 774.
Defective ammunition (S. Rept. 69), 4337.
Efficiency of Navy (H. R. 6362), 7769.
Extension of minority enlistments in Navy (S. Rept. 13), 774.
Fleet Naval Reserve (S. Rept. 14), 774.
Gratuity to dependent relatives of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty (H. R. 6306), 7769.
Heffley, Armor S. (S. Rept. 71), 4337.
Hydrographic Office (S. Rept. 16), 774.
Lost or destroyed property (H. R. 5647), 7812.
Melvin, John T. (S. Rept. 97), 5692.
Midshipmen at Naval Academy (S. Rept. 15), 774.
Naval courts (H. R. 6363), 7769.
Naval Reserve (S. Repts. 17, 35), 774, 2085.
Navy ration (S. Rept. 70), 4337.
Owera, steam yacht (S. Rept. 18), 774.
Ratings in Navy (H. R. 5648), 7769.
Subsistence of Navy (H. R. 6646), 7769.
Sumner, Allen M. (S. Rept. 95), 5572.
Temporary increase of the Navy and Marine Corps (S. Repts. 30, 36), 893, 2085.

COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC ISLANDS AND PORTO RICO (*Senate*).
Mr. Broussard appointed, 460.
Mr. Lewis excused, 460.
Reports by
Woman suffrage in Hawaii (S. Rept. 108), 5988.

COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC RAILROADS (*Senate*).
Mr. Jones excused, 3790.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.
Reports by
"Garabed" (H. Rept. 94), 5083.
Patent Office (H. Rept. 95), 5083.
Patents (H. Rept. 96), 5083.

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions and recess of Senate (see S. Res. 103).
Reports by
"Garabed" invention (H. J. Res. 116), 7765.
Publications of inventions (S. Rept. 119), 6936.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Kerr, Dennis M. (amendment), 431.

COMMITTEE ON PHILIPPINES (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed, 155.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Sulzer elected, 798.
Reports by
Motor-truck delivery (H. Rept. 159), 7386.
Privileges of the mails (H. Rept. 109), 5407, 6258.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Ethyl alcohol (S. Rept. 110), 6201.
Motor-truck delivery (S. Rept. 104), 5934.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*House*).
Elected, 115, 157.
Reports by
Speech of Frederick C. Hicks (H. Rept. 124), 5773.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*Joint*).
Newspaper account of suit brought by the Champion Coated Paper Co. against, 3179.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons, books, and papers, to administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 89*).
Reports by
Address by Senator Hardwick (S. Res. 132; S. Doc. 106), 7267.
Address by Clark W. Hetherington (S. Res. 57; S. Doc. 22), 1845.
Address by Charles E. Hughes (S. Res. 134; S. Doc. 105), 7267.
Address by Otto H. Kahn (S. Res. 123; S. Doc. 83), 6933.
Address by Walter Lippman (S. Res. 121; S. Doc. 80), 6933.
Addresses at Naval Academy (see S. Res. 99; S. Doc. 58), 4809.
Address by Senator Owen (S. Res. 142; S. Doc. 118), 7811.
Address of Elihu Root entitled "Public service by the bar" (S. Res. 78; S. Doc. 43), 3256.
Book-paper industry (S. Res. 122; S. Doc. 79), 6933.
British Experience Series (S. Res. 126; S. Doc. 114), 6934.
British labor's war message (S. Res. 128; S. Doc. 84), 6934.
Colorado River Report (S. Res. 127; S. Doc. 103), 6933.
Confederate Veterans Reunion (S. Res. 144; S. Doc. 117), 7811.
Conscription act, registration regulations, and proclamation of the President (H. Con. Res. 9), 3498.
Constitutional sources of the laws of war (see S. Res. 100), 4810.
Data Prepared by the Army War College relating to universal military training (S. Res. 41), 775.
Eight-hour law for railway employees (S. Res. 55; S. Doc. 20), 1845.
Exemptions under military service acts of Great Britain (see S. Res. 102; S. Doc. 62), 4993.
Food control and democracy (S. Res. 143; S. Doc. 120), 7811.
Grand Canyon of the Colorado (S. Res. 79; S. Doc. 42), 3256.
Hearings on the war-revenue bill (S. Res. 74), 3314.
Inauguration of President and Vice President (S. Res. 147; S. Doc. 116), 7874.
Military service acts of Great Britain, 1916 (S. Res. 42), 775.
Oregon & California Railroad Co. (S. Res. 69; S. Doc. 35), 2856.
Paper supply (S. Rept. 177), 7874.
Points of historic interest in the National Capital (S. Res. 64; S. Doc. 36), 2856.
Prices of American flags (S. Res. 125; S. Doc. 82), 6933.
Printing of petitions and memorials in the Congressional Record (S. Rept. 49), 3152.
Soldiers' and sailors' insurance (S. Res. 124; S. Doc. 81), 6934.
The birth of American thrift (S. Res. 135; S. Doc. 104), 7267.
Trading with the enemy (S. Res. 133; S. Doc. 107), 7267.
Utah Power & Light Co. (S. Res. 56; S. Doc. 21), 1845.
War-revenue act (S. Res. 141; S. Con. Res. 8), 4647, 7736.
War-risk insurance act (S. Res. 145), 7811.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to employ an additional clerk (see S. Res. 62*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (S. Res. 146*).
Reports by
Communications assailing Senator Stone (S. Rept. 172), 7836.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Reports by
Durant, Okla. (H. Rept. 154), 7317.
Erection of temporary buildings in the Smithsonian Grounds (H. Rept. 66), 3147.
Treasury Department Building (H. Rept. 139), 6774.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Building for Treasury Department (S. Rept. 76), 4808.
Durant, Okla. (H. R. 6094), 7767.
Moultrie, Ga. (S. Rept. 144), 7707.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH AND NATIONAL QUARANTINE (*Senate*).
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.
Mr. Smoot excused, 3790.
Reports by
Public Health Service (S. Repts. 65, 66), 3749, 3750.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Sulzer elected, 798.
Resolution authorizing an investigation of the natural resources of the public domain by certain members of (see H. Res. 75).
Reports by
Granting leave of absence to homestead settlers and entrymen (H. Rept. 80), 3628.
Homestead entrymen who have served in Army or Navy (H. Rept. 81), 3697.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*House*)—Continued.
Reports by
Potassium (H. Rept. 145), 7209.
Protection of owners of mining claims and desert-land entrymen who enter the military service in time of war (H. Rept. 77), 3589.
Public-land affidavits (H. Rept. 144), 7168.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*Senate*).
Mr. Kendrick appointed, 3790.
Mr. McNary appointed, 3790.
Order of Senate increasing membership of, agreed to, 3790.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 84*).
Reports by
Alaskan mineral lands (S. Rept. 161), 7811.
Bozeman, Mont. (S. Rept. 158), 7811.
Coal lands, Alaska (S. Rept. 174), 7874.
Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz. (S. Rept. 155), 7811.
Desert-land entries (S. Rept. 87), 5378.
Flathead Indian Reservation (S. Rept. 156), 7811.
Forest lands (S. Rept. 173), 7874.
Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont. (S. Rept. 162), 7811.
Homesteads S. Rept. 159), 7811.
Homestead residence for military service (S. Rept. 32), 1568.
Kaycee, Wyo. (S. Rept. 171), 7811.
Land offices (S. Rept. 175), 7874.
Land at Port Angeles, Wash. (S. Rept. 77), 4809.
Leaves of absence for homestead entrymen (S. Rept. 96), 5692.
Montana (S. Rept. 157), 7811.
Montana Crow Indian lands (S. Rept. 164), 7811.
Nevada arid lands (S. 27; S. Rept. 170), 7812.
Nevada—school lands (S. Rept. 152), 7811.
Oil and gas lands (S. Rept. 116), 1775.
Oregon and California land grant (S. Rept. 79), 4808.
Phosphate lands (S. Rept. 100), 5692, 5693.
Production of grains and cereals (S. Rept. 129), 7107.
Public-land affidavits (S. Rept. 145), 7736.
Public-land entries (S. Rept. 142), 7710.
Reclamation projects (S. Rept. 154), 7811.
Registers of land offices (S. Rept. 160), 7811.
Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo. (S. Rept. 169), 7811.
Stock-grazing homesteads (S. Rept. 115), 6717.
Stock-raising homesteads (S. Rept. 146), 7736.
Suspension of payments on public lands (S. Rept. 163), 7811.
Timber on public lands (S. Rept. 153), 7811.

COMMITTEE ON RAILWAYS AND CANALS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Brumbaugh elected chairman, 2601.
Mr. Bruckner excused, 1292.

COMMITTEE ON REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF THE LAWS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Reports by
River and harbor appropriation bill (H. Rept. 46), 2041.

COMMITTEE ON ROADS (*House*).
Elected, 116, 797.

COMMITTEE ON RULES (*House*).
Elected, 115, 157.
Resolution to allow an assistant clerk to (see H. Res. 45*, 66*).
Resolution for investigation of charges made by Mr. Heflin by (see H. Res. 166).
Reports by
Committee on Woman Suffrage (H. Res. 12; H. Rept. 163), 7369.
Conditions in Illinois and Missouri (H. Rept. 142), 6961.
Defective ammunition (H. Rept. 141), 6808.
Foodstuffs and fuel (H. Rept. 110), 5437.
Rivers and harbors (H. Rept. 114), 5569, 5628.
Resolution for conference on bill H. R. 5723 (see H. Res. 168; H. Rept. 198), 7846.
Resolution referring war-revenue bill (H. R. 4280) to conference (H. Res. 138; H. Rept. 143), 7032.
Special order for S. J. Res. 78 (H. Res. 147; H. Rept. 157), 7289.
Special order for H. J. Res. 116 (H. Res. 161; H. Rept. 184), 7721.
Special order for H. R. 6361 (H. Res. 160; H. Rept. 185), 7730.

COMMITTEE ON RULES (*Senate*).
Reports by
Committee on conduct of the war (S. Rept. 102), 5785.

COMMITTEE ON THE TERRITORIES (*House*).
Elected, 114, 796.
Mr. Kalanianaole elected, 797.
Mr. Sulzer elected, 798.

COMMITTEE ON WAR CLAIMS (*House*).
Elected, 115, 797.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS (*House*).
Elected, 113, 551.
Reports by
Distilled spirits (H. Rept. 183), 7735.
Issue of bonds to meet war expenditures (H. Repts. 3, 132), 608, 6520.
Northgate, N. Dak., port of entry (H. Rept. 182), 7735.
War-revenue bill (bill H. R. 4280; H. Rept. 45), 2027.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE (*House*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed on, 155.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE (*Senate*).
Mr. Johnson of California appointed on, 155.
Resolution to allow it to employ stenographers (see S. Res. 40*).
Reports by
Woman suffrage amendment (S. Rept. 130), 7169.

COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.
Amendment in Senate to appoint a "joint committee on expenditures in the conduct of the war," 5363.
Bill to create "joint committee on the conduct of the war" (see bill H. R. 2331*).
Concurrent resolution for appointment of joint committee to investigate recent race riots at East St. Louis, Ill. (see S. Con. Res. 10*).
Joint resolution to appoint committee to visit Europe to investigate conditions and progress of the war (see H. J. Res. 153).
Joint resolution to create joint committee to investigate legislative requirements of Alaska (see H. J. Res. 93).
Joint resolution to appoint joint committee on proposed retirement of superannuated employees in civil service (see H. J. Res. 29).
Joint resolutions to appoint joint committee on conduct of the war (see S. J. Res. 25*; H. J. Res. 147).
Remarks in House on amendment to create a joint committee on conduct of the war, 5582, 5740.
Remarks in Senate on amendment to create a committee on the conduct of the war, 5353, 5354, 5839–5846, 5862.
Remarks in Senate on activities of committee on public information, 5414.
Resolution requesting Secretary of Navy to furnish information relating to committee on public information (see S. Res. 161*).

COMMITTEES OF HOUSE, election of (H. Res. 19, 22), 113, 156.
Report of committee investigating charges made by Mr. Heflin (H. Rept. 201), 7006.
Resolution authorizing them to order printing (see H. Res. 27*).
Resolution to prepare and preserve records of meetings of (see H. Res. 29).
Resolution to appoint committee to investigate dairies (see H. Res. 52).
Resolution creating committee on equal suffrage (see H. Res. 35).
Resolution creating committee on rights and welfare of women and children (see H. Res. 32).
Resolution to appoint two janitors for committees located in the Capitol (see H. Res. 40*).
Resolutions authorizing appointment of clerks and assistant clerks to certain (see H. Res. 44*, 45*).
Resolutions to appoint committee on memorials (see H. Res. 65, 81).
Resolutions to appoint committee on salaries of officers and employees of House (see H. Res. 89, 90).
Resolution authorizing clerks to certain (see H. Res. 109).
Resolution appointing committee to investigate conditions in Illinois and Missouri (see H. Res. 128*).
Resolution to pay expenses of committee investigating conditions in Illinois and Missouri (see H. Res. 150*).
Resolution to appoint committee to investigate mob violence in District of Columbia (see H. Res. 130).
Resolutions for appointment of committee to investigate charges made by Mr. Heflin (H. Res. 148, 149, 151, 158, 165).
Resolution for investigation by Expenditures Committees of various departments (see H. Res. 159).
Resolution to appoint committee to investigate certain commissions (see H. Res. 137).
Resolutions for appointment of committee to investigate defective ammunition (see H. Res. 133*, 134*).

COMMITTEES OF SENATE, appoint committee to investigate present strike of employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (see S. Res. 23*).
Resolution to appoint committee to investigate recent accidents on shipboard due to defective ammunition (see S. Res. 71).
Report of committee investigating conditions of street railways in District of Columbia (S. Rept. 176), 7874.

COMMODITY PRICES. *See* PRICES AND WAGES.

COMMON CARRIERS. *See* INTERSTATE COMMERCE; RAILROADS.

COMMUNITY MILLS, SCRANTON, PA., letter from, relative to scarcity of wheat, 5753.

COMPETENCY INSPECTORS, appoint (see bill H. R. 5528).

COMPTON, DAVID, increase pension (see bill H. R. 5946).

COMPTON, SARAH, pension (see bill S. 339).

COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY, estimate of appropriation for additional force in office of (S. Doc. 14; H. Doc. 222), 1725, 4449.
Letter of Secretary of Treasury calling attention to an estimate of appropriation for an increase of force in office of (S. Doc. 38), 3093.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING. *See* MILITARY TRAINING.

COMSTOCK, DANIEL W. (*a Representative from Indiana*).
Attended, 105.
Appointed on committees, 113, 156, 796.
Death announced, 2595, 2624.
Leave of absence granted to, 2423.
Resolutions on death of (H. Res. 83; S. Res. 66), 2595, 2624.
Bills and joint resolutions introduced by
Antrim, Lizzie: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 2396), 504.
Beitzell, Mary E.: to pension (see bill H. R. 4377), 2161.
Gray, Thomas: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 4130), 1781.
Huddleston, Amos: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 4378), 2161.
McQuinney, David: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 2395), 504.
Moreland, David: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 2397), 504.
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EVANS, JAMES R., relief (see bill H. R. 6271).
EVANS, JOHN B., pension (see bill H. R. 3009).
EVANS, JOHN M. (*a Representative from Montana*).
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Abbott, E. F., to be postmaster at Old Forge, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Abbott, Fred A., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Abbot, Frederick V., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Abbott, Oscar B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Abel, Carl H., to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5886.
Abel, Edwin W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5703.
Abele, Clarence A., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Abeles, Emmons L., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Abernethy, Robert S., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Ables, A. H., to be postmaster at Terrell, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Achorn, Erik, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Adamkiewicz, Ladislaus L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Adams, Anthony Oliver, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Adams, Carl R., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Adams, Carl Russell, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Adams, Harry, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5702.
Adams, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Adams, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Adams, John Cooper, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Adams, John Q., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Adams, Kenneth Tress, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3239.
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Adams, Raymond V., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Adams, Richard D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Adams, Richard R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Adams, Roe R., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Adams, Sterling T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Adams, Walter F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Adamson, Austin A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Adamson, Harry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5671.
Adamson, William C., to be general appraiser of merchandise; nominated, 7338; confirmed, 7338.
Addams, Andrew W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Adee, Graham M., to be paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Adkins, William Durward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Adler, Carl J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Adolph, Raymond Daniel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Affleck, Edward G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Agerton, Baylor L., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Agnew, Allen T., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Agnew, Harman Paul, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Agnew, William J. C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Ahern, Leo J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Aigner, Joseph H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ainslie, Charles A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Aitchison, Clyde B., to be member Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7769.
Aitken, William Alexander, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Akerley, Charles H., to be postmaster at Round Lake, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Agerstrom, Sidney M., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Akin, Spencer B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Albaugh, Harold Emerson, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Albert, Fred Craig, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Alberty, Watie M., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Albrecht, Charles H., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Albright, Frank H., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
—— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Albright, Paul M., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Aldrich, Eugene L., to be postmaster at New Milford, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 7711.
Aldrich, George F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Aleshire, Joseph P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Alexander, Charles E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Alexander, Clyde Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5677.
Alexander, Edward J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Alexander, George A., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Alexander, George F., to be United States marshal for the district of Oregon; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Alexander, Leroy, to be paymaster at West Alexander, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Alexander, Ralph C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Alexander, Robert, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 7520; confirmed, 7772.
Alexander, Roger G., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Alexander, Samuel Louis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5678.
Alexander, Thomas Loryea, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Alexander, William D., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Alfonte, Dallas R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Alfonte, James R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Alford, Leon O., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Alford, Thalbert N., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Allaire, William H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Allbright, James Lester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.

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Allen, Archer M. R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Allen, Burrell C., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Allen, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Allen, Charles J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Allen, Chester Dye, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Allen, Chester King, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Allen, Clare B., to be postmaster at Springwater, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Allen, Cornelius, to be postmaster at Dubois, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Allen, Edward A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Allen, Glenn Luman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Allen, Harvey C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Allen, Henry T., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Allen, Hubert A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Allen, James T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Allen, Jay K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Allen, Jesse W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Allen, John H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Allen, J. W., to be postmaster at Mountain Grove, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Allen, Leven C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Allen, Pope, to be postmaster at Valley Mills, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Allen, Roderick R., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Allen, William H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Allen, William M., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Allen, William J., to be postmaster at Wartrace, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5689.
Allen, Woodworth Bowman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Alley, Edward Crawford, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Allison, James B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Allison, James Everett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Allison, James R., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Allworth, Edward Christopher, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Almon, Seldon L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Almond, Edward M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Aloe, Alfred, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Althouse, Adelbert, to be captain, United States Navy; nominated, 5883; confirmed, 5930.
Altman, Clyde R., to be second lieutenant in the Army; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Altstaetter, Frederick W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Alvarez, John W., to be postmaster at Starke, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Alvis, John D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Alvord, Benjamin, to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Ambs, Harry H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Ames, Henry Peck, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Ames, Thales L., to be lieutenant colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Amsden, William F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Anderson, Albert, to be postmaster at Clearbrook, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5686.
Anderson, Albert Charles, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Anderson, Albert K., to be postmaster at Spicer, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Anderson, Arthur C. D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5670.
Anderson, Augustus, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Anderson, Charles H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Anderson, Earl L., to be postmaster at Parnassus, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Anderson, Edward, to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Anderson, Edwin A., to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Anderson, Frank J., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Anderson, George W., to be member of Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7769.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Anderson, Gustav Adolph Mellanchton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Anderson, Gustav A. M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5671.
Anderson, Henry H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Anderson, Herbert W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Anderson, James, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Anderson, James A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Anderson, James William, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Anderson, James William, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Anderson, John B., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Anderson, John B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Anderson, Jonathan W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Anderson, Lawrence K., to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Anderson, Lutie M., to be postmaster at Roseville, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Anderson, Oscar E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Anderson, Richard E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Anderson, Roy M., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Anderson, T. Hart, jr., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6306.
Anderson, Thomas C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Anderson, Walter M., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Anderson, Winfield B., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Andreassen, Einar C., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Andrews, Adolphus, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Andrews, Edmund R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Andrews, Elwood W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Andrews, Joseph, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Andrews, Lincoln C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Andrews, Samuel F., to be postmaster at Homer, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Andrus, Clift, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Andrus, Welner B., to be postmaster at Hazleton, N. Dak.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Angevine, Ferris M., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5673.
Angwin, William A., to be surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Ansell, Samuel T., to be lieutenant colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Ansell, Samuel T., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Apgar, Theodore Besson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Apgar, Theodore B., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Aplington, Horace T., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Appleton, Daniel S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Appleton, Fletcher W., to be register of the land office at Bozeman, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Applewhile, Joseph Thomas, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Ard, Waldo Emerson, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5678.
Ardery, Edward D., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Ardrey, John E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Arey, Reuben, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3962; confirmed, 3240.
Argall, Albert J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Armour, Norman, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Arms, Thomas S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Armstrong, Clare Hibbs, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Armstrong, Clare H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Armstrong, Donald, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Armstrong, Eldred B., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Armstrong, Francis T., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Armstrong, Frank S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Armstrong, John S. jr., to be a consul of class 8 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Armstrong, Marvil Groves, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Armstrong, Roger F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Armstrong, Stowell W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Armstrong, Victor S., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Armstrong, Walter Clark, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Arnemann, George E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Arnett, Roscoe, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Arnold, Archibald V., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Arnold, Calvert Hinton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Arnold, Clarence L., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Arnold, Joseph C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Arnold, Percy W., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Arthur, William H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Asbury, Charles E., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Arnold, Samuel B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Arrowsmith, George D., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Arthur, James Merritt, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Arthur, Joseph D., jr., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Artois, Emil E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5704.
Arvin, George S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Ashbrook, Allan W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Ashburn, Percy M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated 5274; confirmed, 5686.
——— to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Ashburn, Thomas Q., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Ashcom, Ada W., to be postmaster at Ligonier, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Ashford, Bailey K., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Ashford, Mahlon, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Ashley, John M., to be a lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Ashton, Rudolph A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Askren, W. W., to be postmaster at Bothell, Wash.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 725.
Asper, Burt J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Asserson, William C., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Aston, Melville J., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Atherton, Ray, to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Atkins, Arthur K., to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Atkins, Layson E., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Atkinson, Bert M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Atkinson, Charles Edward, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Atkinson, Jackson C., to be postmaster at Midville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Atkinson, John Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Atkinson, Joseph, to be postmaster at Freehold, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Atley, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Atterbury, W. W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Atwood, Frank J., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Atwood, Harry, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Atwood, Henry Elkins, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Atwood, Roy S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Auerbach, Romeo W., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Augur, Wayland Bixby, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Auld, Robert James, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Aull, Ira J., to be postmaster at Kincaid, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Aultman, Dwight E., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Austin, Edwin C., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Austin, Edward T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Austin, Edward W., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5677.
Austin, Fred T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Austin, Frederick Carlisle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Austin, Frederick C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5676.
Austin, Jason McV., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Austin, John D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Austin, Joseph E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Austin, Leonard B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Austin, Raymond B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Austin, Thomas A., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Austin, Thomas C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Autrey, John Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Avencena, Ramon, to be associate justice, Supreme Court Philippine Islands; nominated, 7769; confirmed, 7769, 7840.
Avent, E. H., to be postmaster at East Durham, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Avent, Hugh P., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Averill, Nathan K., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Avery, Harrison, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Avery, Irving C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Aveson, Thomas S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5102.
Aydelotte, John T., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Aydelotte, William E., to be postmaster at Sullivan, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5273.
Ayer, Dan C., to be postmaster at Jordan, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Ayer, Wesley F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Ayotte, John Urban, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Baade, Paul W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Baasen, Frank W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Babbitt, Edwin B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Babbitt, John Hancock, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Babcock, Arthur W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Babcock, Conrad S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Babcock, Franklin, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; 5682.
Babcock, John V., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Babcock, Leslie Edwards, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Babcock, Walter C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Back, Rosclus H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Backus, Jennie R., to be postmaster at Galconda, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Bacon, Charles B., to be postmaster at Marshall, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Bacon, Forsyth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Bacon, Stanley, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Badgett, Stephan W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Baehr, Carl A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Baer, Henry B., to be postmaster at Bowdle, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Baer, Joseph, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Bagby, Carroll A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Bagby, R. J., to be postmaster at Visalia, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Baggaley, William, to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Bailey, Agard W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Bailey, Charles J., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bailey, Cornelius Oliver, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bailey, Earl L., to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 1899.
Bailey, James S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Bailey, John E., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Bailey, Vaughn, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Bailey, Watson O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Bailey, Wesley M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Bailey, William O., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Bain, Jarvis J., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Baird, Harry Howard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Baird, John A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Baird, Raymond C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Baker, B. T., to be postmaster at Woodbury, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Baker, Cadmus James, to be first lieutenant United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Baker, Chauncey B., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Baker, Chauncey B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Baker, Clarence P., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Baker, David, to be lieutenant-colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
——— to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Baker, Frederick R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Baker, Frank C., to be lieutenant-colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Baker, Jewett C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Baker, John Q., to be postmaster at Middletown, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Baker, Lester D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Baker, Maury D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Baker, Robert N. S., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Baker, Wilder Du P., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Bakle, John P., to be postmaster at Antwerp, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Baldinger, Ora M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Baldridge, Harry A., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Baldwin, Geoffrey P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Baldwin, George S., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Baldwin, Norman Lee, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Baldwin, Theodore A., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Baldwin, William O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Ball, George E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Ball, Horace G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Ball, John J., to be postmaster at Orange, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Ball, William H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Ballard, James Lester, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Ballard, Richard Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Ballentine, John J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Balles, Richard R., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Balliette, Ralph Maslin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Balliette, Ralph M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Ballinger, Carl J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Ballinger, John I., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ballou, Charles C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bals, Wilson T., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Balsam, Alfred S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Balsley, Alfred H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Bamford, Frank E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Banan, Horace Frederick, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Bandholtz, Cleveland H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Bane, Thurman H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Banister, Edwin Blair, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Bank, Harry E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Bannerman, Graeme, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Banta, Floyd H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Banta, William P., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Baptist, Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Barber, Alvin B., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Barber, Charles W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Barber, John R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Barclay, Milton Russell, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Barco, Ernest Terrill, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Bard, George Philip, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bandonner, Charles F., to be postmaster at Cicero, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Barew, Alonzo, to be postmaster at Herrin, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Bargesan, Oscar, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Barker Edwin F., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Barker, Frederick A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Barker, George R., to be second lieutenant of Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Barker, Joseph Astor, to be register of the land office at Great Falls, Mont.; nominated, 5882; confirmed, 5945.
Barker, Joseph W., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Barker, Maurice E., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Barker, Ray W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.
Barker, Reuben A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Barker, Stanley Truman, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Barker, William Torrey, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Barksdale, A. Arnold, to be surveyor of customs in customs collection district No. 20; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 4237.
Barnaby, Warren C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Barnes, Archy W., to be assistant paymaster United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Barnes, Edward C., to be postmaster at Evergreen, Ala.; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Barnes, Gladeon M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Barnes, Harry C., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Barnes, John W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Barnes, John W., to be postmaster at Prattville, Ala.; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5402.
Barnes, Joseph F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Barnes, Julian F., to be captain; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Barnes, Russell Daniel, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Barnett, James W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Barnhart, Frank Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Barthart, Frank H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Barthardt, George C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Barnitz, Richard B., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Barnswell, John L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Barnum, Ambrose J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Barnwell, Charles Heyward, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Barott, William Edwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Barott, William E., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Barr, Charles R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Barr, Dugald MacA., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Barr, Harold B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Barr, Robert S., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Barrett, E. R., to be postmaster at West Fort Lee, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Barrett, Lawrence J. I., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated 853; confirmed, 2597.
Barrett, Leonard L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Barrett, Mary A. E., to be postmaster at Fort Terry, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Barrett, Park M., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Barrett, Robert W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Barrette, John D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Barrier, Charles W., jr., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Barringer, Victor C., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Barrios, Ulysses J., to be postmaster at Lockport, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Barroll, Morris Keene, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Barrows, Adelia M., to be postmaster at Hinsdale, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Barrows, Ralph G., to be captain, United States Engineers, nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Barry, James H., to be customs naval officer, district 28; nominated, 7417; confirmed, 7531.
Barry, James R., to be lieutenant, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Barry, Michael W., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Barth, Charles H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bartholdi, John J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Bartholf, John C. P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Bartlett, Charles G., to be postmaster at State Soldiers' Home, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Bartlett, Cosam J., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Bartlett, George T., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bartlett, Harrison Rae, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Bartlett, Samuel J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4489.
Bartlett, W. C., to be postmaster at Elmwood, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Bartlett, William K., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Bartley, Wannie Lee, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Barton, David Walker, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3258.
Barton, Joseph A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Barton, Raymond O., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Bartow, Donald Morris, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Barnum, Edmund M., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5669.
Basey, James D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Baske, Hugo F. A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Bass, Ernest L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Bass, Ivan E., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Bassett, Eber E., to be postmaster at West McHenry, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7417.
Bassett, Edward S., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5669.
Bastian, Arthur R., to be postmaster at Chugwater, Wyo.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 5376.
Bastion, Joseph E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Batchelor, Vance Whiting, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Bateman, Harold H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Bates, Aaron Taylor, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Bates, Charles F., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Bates, Edward Monroe, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Bates, Norman C., to be first lieutenant in Marine Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
——— to be captain in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Bates, Walter T., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Bathurst, Robert Marks, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Batson, Roscoe C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Baute, Henry L., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Bauer, Louis, to be postmaster at Crosby, Minn.; nominated, 513; confirmed, 2457.
Bauer, Louis H., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Baugh, John T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Baum, George M., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Bauskett, William Taylor, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Bautcher, B. Frank, to be postmaster at Abington, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Baxter, Charles R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Baxter, John R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Baxter, Kirk E., to be receiver of public moneys at Bellefourche, S. Dak.; nominated, 5668.
Baxter, Thomas D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Baxter, William T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Bayer, David S., to be postmaster at Romulus, N. Y.; nominated, 5286.
Bayler, Charles A., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Baylies, Alfred Lyons, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Baylis, James E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Baylor, James Bowen, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Beach, William A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Beach, William D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Beacham, Joseph W., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Beadle, Elias R., to be major in Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Bealer, Frank R., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Beall, Edwin Showalter, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Beall, Robert L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5669.
Beams, Charles J., to be postmaster at Oneonta, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bean, George Lawrence, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Bean, William C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Beard, Lornie A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Beard, William K., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Beasley, Rex Webb, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Beattie, William F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3306.
Beatty, J. F., to be postmaster at Atmore, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Beatty, John C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Beatty, William E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Beaty, Carl E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Beaty, Charles, to be postmaster at Moultrie, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Beaven, Colerider L., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Beazley, A. P., to be postmaster at Eldon, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Bechtold, Jacob Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Beck, Reed Emil, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5678.
Becker, Aaron Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Becker, Aaron J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Becker, William C., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Beckner, Frank J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3306.
Bedinger, Samuel Davies, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Bedingfield, W. H., to be postmaster at Unadilla, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Beecher, Charles F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Beeuwkes, Henry, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Beere, Donald M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Beers, Charles L., to be postmaster at Judith Gap, Mont.; nominated, 5284.
Beery, Harry R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Behlow, William W., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Behrens, Henry R., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5670.
Beisler, Lawrence G., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Beitz, William Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Belcher, Burton E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Belcher, William Wilson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Belcher, William W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5676.
Belden, Perry, to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Belknap, Reginald R., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Belknap, Robert W., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Bell, Clarence R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Bell, Edward, to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Bell, Edward E., jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Bell, George, jr., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bell, Gilmer Meriwether, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Bell, James E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Bell, James F., jr., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bell, James H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Bell, Kenneth Corwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5678.
Bell, Marcus Brenneman, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5678.
Bell, Raymond D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Bell, Virgil, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3470; confirmed, 3357.
Bell, William H., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Beller, John E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Bellows, Harry A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated; 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Belt, John W., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Bender, Louis B., to be captain in Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2599.
Bender, Morris S., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Benedict, Charles C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5193; confirmed, 5684.
Benepe, Louis M., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Benham, Claude Gilbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Benham, Claude G., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Benitez, Enrique M., to be first lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Bennehoff, Olton R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Bennet, John B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Bennett, Calvin Forest, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bennett, Carroll F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Bennett, David R., to be postmaster at Panama, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Bennett, Ernest L., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Bennett, Harry L., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Bennett, John T., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed. 855.
Bennett, Leo E., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Bennett, Louis E., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Bennett, Robert H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bennett, Robert H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Bennett, Robert W., to be postmaster at Kenedy, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Bennett, Rowland King, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Bennett, William C., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Bensler, George W., to be postmaster at Delta, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Benson, Arthur F., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Benson, Francis W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Benson, Howard H. J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bentley, David F., jr., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Benton, Fred Gray, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bentson, Carl, to be postmaster at Jewell, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Benzon, Albert F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Berge, Maurice A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Berkheimer, Pearl, to be postmaster at Augusta, Ark.; nominated. 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Berle, Charles Kettig, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Berlin, James M., to be chief machinist in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5680.
Berney, Timothy F., to be postmaster at Tower City, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Bernhardt, Edward J., to be postmaster at Northampton, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Bequette, James C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Berkeley, Hugh D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated. 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Bernard, Richard F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 346; confirmed, 854.
Bernhard, Alva D., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Berry, Albert G., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Berry, Benjamin S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Berry, C. A., to be postmaster at Huttig, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Berry, Coburn Lee, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Berry, Harry Burden, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Berry, Harry B., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Berry, John W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5673.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Berry, Lucien G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Berry, Maurice S., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Berry, Robert L., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 4681.
Berry, Walter V., to be postmaster at Irving, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Berry, William H., to be collector of customs, district No. 11; nominated, 4959.
Bertman, Myron, to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3242.
Bertram, Edward H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Best, William A., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Betcher, Alfred J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Bethea, E. C., to be postmaster at Latta, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5945.
Bethea, Swinton L., to be a paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Bethel, Edwin A., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3242.
Bethel, Walter A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Bethurum, John Jacob, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Bettens, Joseph W., to be chief boatswain, United States Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Bettens, Joseph W., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Betts, Erving Goodwin, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Betz, Frederick W., to be postmaster at Fairmont, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Beukema, Herman, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Beurket, George Sampson, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Bevan, Wendell Lowell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Bevans, James L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Bibb, John E., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy, 5680.
Bickford, George F., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Bicknell, Walter H., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Biddle, John, to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Biddle, John F., to be major general, United States Army; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bierbower, Henry C., to be first lieutenant, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.
Bierce, Percy H., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Bierer, Bion B., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Biesemeier, Harold, to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Bieser, E. F., to be postmaster at Nashville, Ill; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Bigelow, Anson A., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Bigham, Ernest L., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
——— to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Bilbrey, Alvin L., to be postmaster at Cumberland City, Tenn; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5689.
Biles, Alfred F., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Billingslea, Charles C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Bingham, Donald C., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Bingham, Ernest G., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.
Bingham, Sidney V., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Bird, Arthur W., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Birdno, John J., to be receiver of public moneys at Phoenix, Ariz.; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 4967.
Birdsall, John H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Birmingham, Henry P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Birmingham, Richard C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Birnie, Upton, jr., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Bishop, A. C., to be postmaster at Bloomington, Wis.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 6807.
Bishop, Francis G., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Bishop, Harry G., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Bishop, Hutchens C., jr., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bishop, Raymond H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Bishop, Walter Leroy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Bispham, William N., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Bisset, Guy A., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Bittenbender, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Bivins, J. D., to be postmaster at Albemarle, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bixby, Gilbert Edwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Bixby, Lawrence Harold, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Bixby, William Herbert, to be a member of Mississippi River Commission; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Bjornstad, Alfred W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Bjornstad, Arthur, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Black, Hanson B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Black, James D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Black, Percy Gamble, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Black, Roger D., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Black, William M., to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Blackmore, Philip G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Blackmun, George A., to be postmaster at Hancock, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Blakemore, Eugene, to be postmaster at Shelbyville, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 7135.
Blackwell, Edward, to be postmaster at Pearl River, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Blades, Lawrence J. K., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Blair, James Arthur, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Blair, Ned, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Blake, Maxwell, to be agent and consul general of United States; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5335.
Blakelock, David H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5669.
Blakely, Frank D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Blakely, George, to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Blanchard, Edwin Howard, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Blanchard, Henry Nathan, to be chaplain in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Blanchard, Hugh D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Blanchard, Leonce Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Blanchard, RobertM., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Blanchfield, John, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Blanding, Arthur H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Blance, Clarke, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Blank, Henry Millet, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Blankenship, Ernest J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Blankenship, George W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Blanks, Henry P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Blauvelt, Xavier F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Blatchford, Richard M., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Bledsoe, Albert MacQ., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Bledsoe, Alfred, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5104.
Bleecker, Anthony Lispenard, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Bliss, Edward G., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4489.
Bliss, Raymond W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Bliss, Tasker W., Chief of Staff, United States Army, to be general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Bloch, Arthur, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Blocksom, Augustus P., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Blodgett, Harry C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Blodgett, Robert Fuller, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Blodgett, Robert F., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5676.
Bloedel, Gustav F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Blood, Kenneth T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Bloom, Frank, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Bloombergh, Horace D., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5646.
Bloomquist, George Fridjhof, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Blatchford, Richard M., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Bluemel, Clifford, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Blunt, Wilfrid M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Boak, James E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Boardman, Charles R., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Bock, Paul T., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Bockey, Charles C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Bockus, Henry L., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bodie, William G., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Bodine, Robert N., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Bodley, Innes Harwood, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5678.
Boettcher, Arthur, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Bowie, Barnett B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Bogert, Edward S., to be medical director, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Bogg, Homer A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201.
Boggs, Frank C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Bogman, James Henry Beals, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry, nominated, 5677.
Bohl, John J., to be postmaster at Stamford, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Bohn, John J., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Boise, Howard S., to be postmaster at Hurley, N. Mex.; nominated, 2285; confirmed, 5374.
Boiseau, Louis T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Boldt, Otto, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Boles, John K., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Bollenbeck, Joseph W., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5678.
Bolton, C. W., to be postmaster at Pontotoc, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5887.
Bomar, Ernest Cleveland, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Bowfard, George N., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Bond, Arthur H., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Bond, Charles Chester, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Bond, George B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Bond, Thomas G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Bonesteel, Charles W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Bonfils, Frederick W., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Bonham, Carlos Watkins, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Bonham, Carlos W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Bonham, Francis Graves, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Bonham, Francis G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Boniface, John J., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Bonnycastle, Henry C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Bonsteel, Francis Truman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Bonsteel, Francis T., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5674.
Booker, Kate S., to be postmaster at Mason, Tenn; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Boon, John M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5670.
Boon, Stephen, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Boone, Abbott, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Boone, Clinton Rush, to be dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Boone, Horace R., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Boone, William, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Booraem, John V. L., to be postmaster at Milltown, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Booth, Benjamin N., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Booth, Charles James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Booth, Ewing E., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Booth, George Washington, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Booth, Luren A., to be receiver of public moneys at The Dalles, Oreg.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Bootes, James T., to be lieutenant colonel in United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 1027.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Booton, John G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Boots, Norman J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Boquist, Eric T. W., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Borden, Frank Spaulding, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Borden, Howard G., to be first lieutenant in Engineer Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
——— to be captain, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Borden, William A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Borden, William B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Boren, Alonzo, to be postmaster at Herrin, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Boren, Arthur Chifton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Borges, M. J., to be postmaster at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Borland, John, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bosley, John R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Bossi, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Bottoms, Sam F., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Bouanchaud, J. W., to be postmaster at New Roads, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Bouche, Francis Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5676.
Boudinot, Truman Everett, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Boulls, Lottie R., to be postmaster at Jennings, Kans.; nominated, 5281.
Bourke, Thomas Eugene, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Bourland, Curtice Christopher, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bourland, Walter Lee, to be postmaster at Amory, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Bourn, Hiram R., to be postmaster at Grandville, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Boutelle, John Bartlett, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Bouton, Arthur E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Bowden, Carl S., to be postmaster at Martin, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Bowden, John, to be postmaster at Spring Valley, Minn.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Bowen, Albert S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Bowen, Ewell C., to be postmaster at Hiawatha, Utah; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 7135.
Bowen, George C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Bowen, Harold G., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Bowen, J. H., to be postmaster at West Durham, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bowen, Joshua Shelton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Bowen, Thomas S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Bower, Joseph B., to be postmaster at Rockledge, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Bower, Ralph Emerson, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Bower, Raymond J., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bowerfind, Herman G., to be passed assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Bowering, Benjamin, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
——— to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Bowie, James Park, to be postmaster at Rome, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Bowie, William, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Bowles, A. K., jr., to be postmaster at Jenkins, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Bowley, Albert J., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Bowley, Freeman W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Bowlin, Roy Lindsay, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Bowlin, Roy L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Bowman, Mark C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bowman, Thomas D., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Boyan, Richard Charles, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Boyd, Allan S., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Boyd, David F., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Boyd, William T., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Boyd, Leonard R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Boyer, Herbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Boyer, Perry L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Boyett, William C., to be postmaster at College Station, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5875.
Boykin, Maury W., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Boyle, Charles Emerson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Boyle, Charles E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Boyle, James D., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Boynton, Harold W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Brackett, William, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Bradbury, Samuel Hinpston, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Bradford, Carl S., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Bradford, Gerard, to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bradford, James H., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Bradford, Robert R., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Bradford, William Brooke, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Bradley, Alfred E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Bradley, Follette, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Bradley, Ivan N., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Bradley, James L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Bradley, John A., to be postmaster at Birdsboro, Pa.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Bradley, John J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Bradley, John R., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Bradley, Omar N., to be captain, United Sttaes Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Bradley, Phillips, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Bradshaw, Aaron, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Bradshaw, George B., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Bradshaw, Joseph R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Bradshaw, Myrtle E., to be postmaster at Roxton, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Brady, C. W., to be postmaster at Independence, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Brady, Edmund E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Brady, Edward J., to be postmaster at McCook, Neor.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Brady, James F., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Brady, John D., to be postmaster at Buda, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Brady, John W. S., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Brady, Joseph H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Brady, Robert C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Brady, Sidney G., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Brady, Thomas J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Brady, William, to be postmaster at Beresford, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Braemer, G. Andrew, to be postmaster at Blackcreek, Wis.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 6807.
Braff, Max M., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Bragdon, John S., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Bragg, Kendal B., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Braid, Andrew, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Brainard, David L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Brainard, Roland M., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Braine, Lawrence Fulton, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Braisted, Frank A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Brambila, Robert M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Brand, Harrison, jr., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Brand, Norton F., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Brandt, Edmund S. R., to be lieutenant, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Brandt, George E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Brandt, Herman Augustine, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Brannan, Francis M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Brasfield, Robert E. L., to be postmaster at Dresden, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Bratton, Rufus S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4953; confirmed, 5059.
Bratton, Thomas S., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Braugh, Robert K., to be postmaster at Alexandria, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5335.
Braun, Gustav Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Brause, Jacob Lowell, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Brazeau, Frank S., to be postmaster at Port Edwards, Wis.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 6808.
Brazelton, James Terrill, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Brechemin, Louis, jr., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Breed, George C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Breedlove, Wharton H., to be postmaster at Muldrow, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Brees, Herbert J., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Bregar, Jacob M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Brennan, Francis Michael, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Brennan, James, to be postmaster at River Point, R. I.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5860.
Brennan, Mary E., to be postmaster at Lake Preston, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Brennan, Thomas P., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Brennan, William M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Brenneman, F. R., to be United States marshal, District of Alaska; nominated, 7633.
Brent, Howard W., to be postmaster at Kilmarnock, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Brereton, Lewis H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Breslin, William A., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Bresnan, Frank, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Brett, George W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Brett, Lloyd M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Brett, Sereno E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Brewer, Carlos, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Brewer, O. H. P., to be postmaster at Muskogee, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Brewer, Samuel B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Brewer, Thomas L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Brewington, Carl W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Brewster, Alden F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Brewster, Andre W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Breyer, Charles H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Brick, Simon P., to be postmaster at Little Falls, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Bricker, Edwin D., to be lieutenant colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Bridges, Charles L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Bridges, Thomas S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Bridgman, Victor Horace, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Briggs, Lawrence P., to be a consul of class 8 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Briggs, Raymond W., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Briggs, Wilbur G., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Briggs, Zeno E., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Brigham, Wesley Crowell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Brigham, Wesley C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5671.
Bright, Thomas J., to be paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Brinton, Wilmer, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Briscoe, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Briscoe, N. Butler, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Bristol, Arthur L., jr., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Bristol, Ralph B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Bristow, Walter James, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Brittingham, James Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Brittingham, James F., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5675.
Britton, William H., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Broaddus, Carl A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Brobst, Orrell M., to be postmaster at Linden Heights, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Brockmann, Harry L., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Brockson, William, to be postmaster at Middletown, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Brodbent, Charles S., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Bronaugh, R. L., to be postmaster at Edna, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Bronson, Amon, jr., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Broocks, W. A., to be postmaster at Chase City, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Brooke, John R., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Brooke, Roger, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Brooke, William, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Brooks, Edward Hale, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Brooks, H. L., to be postmaster at Pearsall, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Brooks, John F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Brooks, Joseph Lester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Brotherton, William C., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 4681; confirmed, 4967.
Brougher, William E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Browder, Paul McC., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Brown, Albert E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Brown, Argyle L., to be postmaster at Rolling Fork, Miss.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Brown, Arthur E., to be postmaster at Osceola Mills, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Brown, Byron Clark, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5680.
Brown, Carl C., to be postmaster at Haynesville, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Brown, Clarence J., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Brown, Claude E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Brown, Cleo W., to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, Ky.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5373.
Brown, Clifton Martin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Brown, C. W., to be postmaster at Canyon City, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Brown, Daniel F., to be postmaster at Eastport, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Brown, Dudley Southworth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Brown, Earl I., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Brown, Edward A., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Brown, Floyd J., to be postmaster at Bluefield, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Brown, Fred R., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Brown, Frederick M., to be United States judge, district of Alaska; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5027.
Brown, George L., to be postmaster at Elizabethtown, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Brown, George Le R., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Brown, George Rowland, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Brown, Harry M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Brown, Henry E., to be chief pay clerk in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Brown, Henry W., to be postmaster at Findlay, Ohio; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Brown, Homer Caffee, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1574; confirmed, 2596.
Brown, Homer C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Brown, H. T., to be postmaster at Calera, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Brown, Hugh, to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Brown, James David, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Brown, John H., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Brown, John K., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Brown, Joseph D., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Brown, J. R., to be postmaster at Cleveland, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Brown, Kirk C., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5682.
Brown, Lindsay H., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Brown, Lloyd Davidson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Brown, Lytle, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Brown, Marion E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Brown, Milon L., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Brown, M. Vivian, to be postmaster at Minong, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Brown, Orville G., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Brown, Paul Hancock, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Brown, Paul H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Brown, Percy B., to be postmaster at Waltville, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Brown, Robert A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Brown, Robert W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Brown, Stuart S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Brown, Willard C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Brown, William F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Browne, Beverly F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Browne, Charles J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Browne, Davenport, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Browne, Everett B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Browne, Harrison C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Browne, Samuel McPherson, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Brownell, Ernest H., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Brownell, Gilbert S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Browning, Miles R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Browning, William S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Brownlee, Charles Y., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Browns, Albert F., to be register of the land office at Sterling, Colo.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Bruce, Andrew Davis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Bruce, Frank, to be chief boatswain in the Navy; nominated, 3926; confirmed, 4012.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Bruce, George W., to be receiver of public moneys at Montrose, Cal.; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4221.
Brumbaugh, Rolland E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Brummitt, George P., to be postmaster at Gleason, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Brundred, Latham L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Brunson, Robert Cummings, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Brush, Oliver Grant, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Brush, Rapp., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Bruton, Richard A., to be postmaster at Mount Gilead, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bryan, Alanson L., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Bryan, George S., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Bryan, Ray W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Bryan, Stanley F., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Bryan, William E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bryant, Carleton F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bryant, Richmond, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Bryant, Samuel W., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Bryce, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Bryson, James W., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Bubb, Charles Bernard Beeler, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Buchalter, Benjamin, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Buchan, Fred E., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Buchanan, John W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Buchanan, W. S., to be postmaster at Salida, Colo.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1899.
Buche, Gus C., to be postmaster at Miltonville, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Buck, Beaumont B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Buck, Carroll D., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Buck, Fred L., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Buck, H. L., to be postmaster at Winona, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5887.
Buck, Walter A., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Buckly, Walter E., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 598.
Buckner, Simon B., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Budd, Samuel P., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Budge, John, to be postmaster at Hingham, Mont.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Buechner, William R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Bueter, John H., to be postmaster at Bowling Green, Mo.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Bugbee, Edwin P., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Bulger, John William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Bull Harold L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Bull, Leland L., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5680.
Bull, Raymond C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Bulla, A. N., to be postmaster at Randleman, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bullard, Peter C., to be captain United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Bullard, Robert L., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bullock, Charles H., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Bullock, Harley B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Bullock, John H., to be postmaster at Cohoes, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Bumpus, Foster C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Bunce, James Walter, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Bundel, Charles M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Bundy, Charles W., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Bundy, Omar, to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Bunker, Charles M., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Bunker, Clarence G. M., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Bunkley, Joel W., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Bunting Emerson L., to be postmaster at Walkerville, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Burchfiel, Cecil M., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Burdett, Allen M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Burdick, Harold De F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Burdick, Roy Dayton, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Burdick, Roy D., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Burditt, Rollin Asher, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Burge, Vernon Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Burger, John E., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Burgess, Frederick Vaughan, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Burgess, James F., to be register of the land office at Lakeview, Oreg.; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4356.
Burgess, Samuel C., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Burghard, Elvira T., to be postmaster at Crumps Park, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Burgher, B. M., to be postmaster at Dallas, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Burgy, William C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Burke, James E., to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Burke, John Wesley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Burke, Kate G., to be postmaster at Crosbyton, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Burke, Minnie S., to be postmaster at Blossom, Tex.; nominated, 5290.
Burket, John A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Burkhart, John R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Burkhardt, Samuel, jr., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Burkholder, Daniel E., to be receiver of public moneys at Gregory, S. Dak.; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5945.
Burley, F. W., to be postmaster at Winslow, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7840.
Burlingame, Cris M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5682.
Burn, Walter Pierron, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Burnell, Albro L., to be United States consul of class 8; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Burnell, Ray L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5673.
Burnes, John F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Burnet, Eugene, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Burnett, Thomas W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Burnham, Lucian W., to be second lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5293.
Burnham, William P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Burns, William Hugh, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5677.
Burr, Benjamin S., to be postmaster at Medora, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Burr, Edgar W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Burr, Edward, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Burr, John G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Burr, William E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Burres, George H., to be postmaster at Garnerville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Burress, Withers A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Burris, John D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Burriss, Vie Kingsley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Burrough, Edmund W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Burstan, Rupert M., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Burt, Chester A., to be postmaster at Helmetta, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Burt, Ernest H., to be first lieutenant United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Burt, James D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Burt, Wilkie Collins, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5676.
Burt, William H., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Burton, E. E., to be postmaster at Newton, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5680.
Burton, N. A., to be postmaster at McKinney, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Burton, Oscar A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Burton, Vincent Staub, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Burtt, Wilson B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Burwell, Harvey B. S., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Burwell, Robert O. B., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Busbee, Charles M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Busbey, Leroy W., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Busey, Mordena C., to be postmaster at Eureka, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Bush, Cyrus E., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bush, Kenneth Burman, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5679.
Bush, Rufus H., to be a chief machinist in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Bush, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Bussdicker, Russel D., to be assistant surgeon in hte Navy; nominated, 5681.
Bussell, Conrad Turner, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Butler, Eugene Burton, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5678.
Butler, George H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Butler, Harry Upton, to be captain of engineers in Coast Guard of United States; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Butler, Henry M., to be captain; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Butler, Ida J., to be postmaster at Morland, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Butler, Samuel, to be receiver of public moneys at Sacramento, Cal.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2457.
Butler, William Ormond: to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Butner, Henry W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Butz, Gerald R., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Buyers, Archie S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Byars, David O., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Bye, Levi B., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Byers, Fred W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Byington, Homer M., to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Byington, Moses B., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Byrd, Clarence, to be postmaster at Opp, Ala.; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Byrd, William Carl, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Byrd, William C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5676.
Byrne, Albert C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Byrne, Casius L., to be postmaster at Ardmore, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Byrne, Charles L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Byrne, Francis A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Byrne, Louis T., to be tcaptain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Byrnes, William A., to be assistant surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 5681.
Byrom, James F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5059; confirmed, 5059.
Cabell, Lawrence D., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Cable, Philander L., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Cable, William A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Cade, William T., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Caffey, Benjamin T., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominaed, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Caffey, Francis G., to be United States attorney for southern district of New York; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 2799.
Cahalane, David V., to be postmaster at Charlestown, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Cain, David E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Cain, Mary E., to be postmaster at Wetumpka, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5402.
Calder, Robert C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Caldwell, Edmund B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Caldwell, John K., to be a consul of class 5 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Caldwell, Philip, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Calcy, James E., to be postmaster at Mackinaw, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
Calhoun, Allan T., to be postmaster at Middlebury, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Calhoun, Taylor P., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Calhoun, Walter C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Callahan, Malcolm W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Callender, George R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Calvert, John S., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Calvert, John S., to be a consul of class 9 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Calvert, William J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Calladay, Edgar B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201.
Calvin, Harry Leslie, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Cameron, George V., to be postmaster at Louisa, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Cameron, George H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Cammack, A. W., to be postmaster at Portland, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Camp, J. L., to be United States attorney, western district of Texas; nominated, 849; confirmed, 1026.
Camp, Thomas J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Campbell, Alan Lockhart, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Campbell, Alexander Hunkins, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Campbell, Charles W. A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Campbell, Colin, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Campbell, Edward H., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Campbell, Harvey, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Campbell, Henry Bowers, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Campbell, Herbert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Campbell, John W., to be postmaster at Sardinia, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Campbell, Levin H., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Campbell, Patrick F., to be postmaster at Portage, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Campbell, Paxton Sterrett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3358.
Campbell, R. Potter, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Campbell, Tilman, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Canaga, Bruce L., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Canby, James, to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Candee, Robert C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Candlin, George W., to be postmaster at Presidio, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Canham, Alvah B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Canning, Austin J., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Cannon, Fenelon, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Cannon, James A., to be postmaster at Fountain Inn, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5945.
Cannon, Mimucan D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cantrell, H. R., to be postmaster at Mansfield, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Capshaw, J. R., to be postmaster at Chattanooga, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Carberry, Joseph E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Card, Daniel P., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Cardwell, Amber H., to be postmaster at Fortress Monroe, Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 725.
Cardwell, Oliver Byron, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Carey, Charles B. C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Carey, Edward C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Carey, Elijah E., to be postmaster at Millsboro, Del.; nominated 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Carey, Henry R., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5052.
Cargo, Charles W., to be postmaster at Bellevue, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5373.
Carl, Grover R., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Carlan, Wilbur Clynton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Carleton, Guy, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Carlisle, Paul D., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Carlock, Floyd D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Carlson, Oscar F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Carmelia, Francis Albien, to be passed assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5293.
Carmichael, Roderick L., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Carmody, Joseph F., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Carnahan, Earl C., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
Carney, Carl Cladius, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Carney, M. S., to be postmaster at Decatur, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Carney, Thomas F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Caro, Philip A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Caron, Henry Cook, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Carpenter, Afred D., to be postmaster at Oswego, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Carpenter, Frank, to be postmaster at Estherville, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Carpenter, Joseph O., to be postmaster at Spencer, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Carpenter, W. G., to be postmaster at Kerrville, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Carr, C. W., to be postmaster at Newton, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Carr, Earl C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Carr, Ernest J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Carr, Fred B., to be postmaster at Dundee, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Carr, Irving J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Carr, Warner W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Carrigan, Clarence, to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Carriker, John Homer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Carrington, Gordon de L., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Carrithers, Fred B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Carrithers, John C., to be postmaster at Taylorsville, Ky.; nominated, 5181; confirmed, 5373.
Carroll, B. Harvey, jr., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Carroll, Edward F., to be postmaster at Providence, R. I.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Carroll, James W., to be postmaster at Otterbein, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Carruth, John H., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Carswell, Robert L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Carswell, Robert McClean, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Carswell, Stuart R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Carter, Andrew F., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Carter, Frank S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Carter, Henry P., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated 5275.
Carter, James F., to be captain, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Carter, J. H., to be postmaster at Mount Airy, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Carter, Louis A., to be chaplain, Ninth Cavalry, with rank of captain; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2599.
Carter, Richard Whitney, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Carter, William J., jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Cartwright, Joseph E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Carver, Clarence B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Carver, Wilbur J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Cary, Edgar L., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Cary, Robert W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Casey, I. L., to be postmaster at Loma Linda, Cal.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Casey, Thomas B., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Casper, Joseph, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Cassidy, John J., to be postmaster at Woodbury, Conn.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Cassidy, Thomas M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Cassler, L. D., to be postmaster at Canton, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Castle, Charles W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Castle, Guy W. S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Castner, Joseph C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Cathcart, James M., to be internal revenue collector for the district of Florida; nominated, 2595; confirmed, 2596.
Cather, David C., to be surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Cather, Don Russell, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Catlin, G. de Grasse, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Cato, Ernest W., to be postmaster at Gravette, Ark.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1692.
Cato, Otes F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Catron, Thom, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Caudell, P. J., to be postmaster at St. Pauls, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Caulkins, Ralph Marshal, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cauthorn, Francis Samuel Bayard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cavanaugh, William E., to be postmaster at Berlin, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6807.
Cave, Wayne Bea, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Cavenaugh, Harry La T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Cavenaugh, William A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Cecil, James Jay, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Cecil, Thomas J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Chabot, Frederick C., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Chaffee, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Chamberlain, Deane L., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Chamberlain, George E., to be consul of class 5, nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Chamberlain, John L., to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Chamberlain, Weston P., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Chamberland, Joseph D., to be postmaster at Jackman Station, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Chamberlin, Harry D., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Chamberlin, Joseph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Chamberlin, Stephen J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Chambers, John H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4585; confirmed, 4489.
Chambers, Lilburn Bennett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Chambers, William E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Chambers, W. T., to be postmaster at Madison, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Chambliss, Turner M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Champeno, Harry, to be be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Champion, William, to be postmaster at Granite City, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Chance, Harry F., to be postmaster at Redfield, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Chance, Robert Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Chancey, M. A., to be postmaster at Honde, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Chandler, Charles de F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3241.
Chandler, Clark P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Chaney, James E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Chapline, Vance E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Chapman, Carleton G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Chapman, Charles A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Chapman, Elbridge Gerry, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Chapman, Henry Henley, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Chapman, Henry H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Chapman, Lyle Bishop, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Chapman, Oliver J., to be postmaster at Eaton, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Chapman, W. W., to be postmaster at Clifton, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
Chappelear, Louis S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Chappell, Sidney L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Charlton, Charles W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Chase, Arthur W., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Chase, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Chase, Wilson, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Chason, William, to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851, 1577; confirmed, 2599.
Chatten, Samuel H., to be postmaster at Pennington, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Cheadle, Henry B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Cheatham, Thomas Pope, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Cheney, Alice C., to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Cheney, Francis E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Cheney, Franklin W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Cheney, Robert M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Cheney, Sherwood A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Chesbrough, Ralph F., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Chesbrough, Ralph F., to be United States consul of class 9; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Chester, Franklin E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Chew, Beverly G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Child, Frank Moore, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Chiles, Samuel, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Chilton, Frank N., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Clinkscales, W. Clarence, to be postmaster at Belton, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 7711.
Chipman, Albert D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Chipman, Guy W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Chipman, Ulysses G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Chism, J. W., to be postmaster at Medford, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Chorpenning, R. M., to be postmaster at Atco, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Chowning, Lewis E., to be postmaster at Dugger, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Chrisman, Edward R., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Christensen, Albert F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Christensen, Bernard, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Christensen, Martin, to be postmaster at Barnum, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Christian, Kemp C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Christian, Mortimer Heth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Christian, Robert L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Christian, Thomas J. J., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Christiansen, Oliver James, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Christie, Arthur R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Christy, Harley H., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Christy, William C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Church, James R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Church, James R., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Church, John G., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Churchill, Lawrence S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Churchill, Marlborough, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Clanchini, Luis Felipe, to be provisional second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3243.
Cistero, Joseph Anthony, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 3358.
Clapham, Lathrop B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Clapp, Wardlaw A., to be postmaster at Wauwatosa, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Clark, Albert P., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Clark, Alfred B., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Clark, Bert F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Clark, Carl E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Clark, Charles, B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Clark, Charles V., to be postmaster at Louisville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Clark, Cuyler L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Clark, Edwin Howard, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
Clark, Edwin H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Clark, Elmer W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Clark, Emma V., to be postmaster at Black Earth, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6807.
Clark, Francis B., to be postmaster at Suttons Bay, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Clark, Frank H., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Clark, George A., to be postmaster at Hennessey, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Clark, Guy W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Clark, Harlie F., to be postmaster at Harrisonville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Clark, Harvey C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Clark, Homer W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Clark, John A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Clark, Joseph J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Clark, Mark Wayne, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Clark, Mark W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Clark, Oral E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Clark, Robert W., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Clark, Solomon Foote, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Clark, Thomas P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Clark, Virginius E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Clark, Volney O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Clark, Walter L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Clark, William Harold, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
——— to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Clark, W. S., to be postmaster at Milford, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Clarke, Adna G., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4916; confirmed, 5056.
Clarke, George S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Clarke, Harold, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Clarke, Howard, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Clarke, Joseph T., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Clarke, Reuben R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Clarke, Thomas S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Clarke, Vincent A., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Clarke, Walter L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Clarke, William P. O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Clarkson, Herbert S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Clarkson, Percy W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Claude, William S. B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Claunch, W. B., to be postmaster at Hamilton, Tex.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Clausen, Claus K. R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Clausey, John J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Clay, Constantine, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Clay, Frark B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Clay, Wallace L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Claypoole, Jeanette H., to be postmaster at Cedarville, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Clayton, Bertram T., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Clayton, Jere B., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Clayton, W. E., to be postmaster at Johnson City, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Cleary, Alexander W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Cleary, John E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Cleeton, Zina A., to be postmaster at Green Castle, Mo.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Cleland, Gilbert L., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Clement, Charles M., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Clement, Emory F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Clement, George W., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Clement, Joseph T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Clement, Mortimer T., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Clement, W. H., to be postmaster at Palacios, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5373.
Clemmer, Leon, to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4585; confirmed, 4489.
Clerf, Louis H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Clifford, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Clifford, Lloyd E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Clifton, Alfred T., to be major, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Cloke, Harold E., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Cluck, J. A., to be postmaster at Bridgeport, Ala.; nominated, ——; confirmed, 5372.
Clum, Harold D., to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Coacher, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Coates, Charles E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Cobb, Fred W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Cobb, Howell, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Cobb, Smith D. A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Coburn, Henry C., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Cochrane, Edward L., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Cocke, Alexander R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Cocke, Lowery Langford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cockrell, John M., to be postmaster at Lucasville, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Cocroft, Reginald B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Code, James Arthur, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Coe, Douglas W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Coe, Frank W., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Coffey, Ora C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Coffin, Jacob M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Coffin, William, to be a consul general of class 4 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Coffin, William E., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Cohen, Abraham, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cohen, Carl L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Cohen, Marion Y., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Coiner, Beverly H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Coker, Robert, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Colbert, Leo Otis, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Colby, Bainbridge, to be a member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 5429; confirmed, 5930.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Cole, Charles H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Cole, Donald M., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Cole, Frank Lamant, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Cole, James P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Cole, John Tupper, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Cole, Leon R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Cole, William E., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Coleman, Douglas Rubison, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Coleman, Frederick W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Coleman, George David, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Coles, Roy H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Coley, Bonnie A., to be postmaster at Davidson, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Calladay, Edgar B., to be captain, Coast Artillery; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Colley, Archibald T., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Collins, Christopher C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Collins, Cornelius J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Collins, Everett, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; comfirmed, 5684.
Collins, George M., to be postmaster at Due West, S. C.; nominated, 5289; rejected, 7711.
Collins, James L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Collins, James L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Collins, Joseph Lawton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2756.
Collins, Joseph L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Collins, Lathan Hunter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Collins, Ross F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Collins, Tina, to be postmaster at Bastrop, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Collins, Walter, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Colquitt, Sidney B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Colton, Ernest B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Colton, Roger B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Colwell, John Charles, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Coman, Robert G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Coman, Vaughn K., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Combs, Hanon Fields, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Comfort, James H., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Comfort, Roland M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Comfort, Willis E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Compton, Coalter Bates, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1596; confirmed, 2596.
Comstock, Merrill, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Conachy, Peter, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Conant, Everett Cooper, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203.
Conard, Arthur B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Confer, John Wesley, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Conger, Arthur L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Conklin, Arthur S., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Conklin, John F., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Conklin, Raymond Le Roy, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Conlon, Michael J., to be chief boatswain, United States Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Connell, Francis B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Connell, William M., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Connelly, Julia, to be postmaster at Churdan, Iowa; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Connelly, Louis J., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Connett, Leslie Leonard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Connolly, George F., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Connolly, John James, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Connolly, Martin J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Connolly, Maurice, to be postmaster at Dubuque, Iowa; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Connolly, Patrick A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Connolly, Philip B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Connolly, P. L., to be postmaster at Norwood, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Connor, Clarence H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Connor, Fox, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481.
Connor, Ray Bradford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Connor, William D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Conolly, Richard L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Conolly, Whitmon R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Conover, James P., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Conrad, Bryan, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Conrad, Casper H., jr., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Conrad, Charles, to be pay inspector in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Conrad, Cuthbert P., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Conrad, Julius T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Constant, Samuel V., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Constien, Edward T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Conyne, James H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Cook, Andrew B., to be postmaster at Woodbury, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Cook, Arthur B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Cook, Enos P., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Cook, Frederick M., to be postmaster at Jamestown, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Cook, George W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Cook, Gilbert R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Cook, Hale S., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Cook, Harold E., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Cook, Hattie M., to be postmaster at Washington, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Cook, James C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Cook, Lloyd H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Cook, Seabury, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855
Cook, William H., to be postmaster at Henrietta, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Cooke, Elentheros H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Cooke, Sandy P., to be postmaster at Smiths Grove, Ky.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5373.
Cooksey, Richard Wilmer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Cooley, Elias Earle, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Cooley, Thomas R., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Coolidge, Joshua W., to be postmaster at Pen Mar, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Coombs, Ned W., to be postmaster at Castine, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Coontz, Kenneth L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Cooper, Alexander T., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Cooper, Carl F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Cooper, Harry C., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Cooper, Henry G., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Cooper, Lemuel T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Cooper, Wibb E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Cootey, John Lawrence, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Cope, John H., to be postmaster at Hershey, Pa.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Cope, Milton B., to be postmaster at El Reno, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Copeland, John E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Corbally, Thomas, to be receiver of public moneys at Great Falls, Mont.; nominated, 5929; confirmed, 5979.
Corbett, Henry D., to be postmaster at Hilo, Hawaii; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Corbin, Clifford L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Corbin, Herbert R., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Corbin, Leslie R., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Corbin, William O., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Cordill, Stephen H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Cordiner, Douglas C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Corey, Dunleigh, to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Corey, John B. W., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Corlett, Charles H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Corley, Roy M., to be postmaster at Stevensville, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Corn, David D., to be postmaster at Petersburg, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Corn, William A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Corning, Percey R., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Cornish, George R. F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Cornish, Joseph B., to be postmaster at Washington, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Cornish, Lebbeus Morrison, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Corrigan, Edward, to be postmaster at Effingham, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Costa, A. F., to be postmaster at Wailuha, Hawaii; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Costello, James W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Costigan, Edward P., to be member of United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
Coontz, Charles K., to be postmaster at Lineville, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Cota, Norman Daniel, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Cota, Norman D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Cotcher, Edward H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2599.
Cotten, Junius L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Cotter, Clarence E., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Cotter, James J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Cotton, Harold Alonzo, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Cotton, John W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Cotton, Robert C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Cottrell, Joseph F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Cottrell, William H., to be postmaster at Princeton, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Couch, Charles E., to be postmaster at Sheridan, Md.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Coughlan, Joseph D., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Coulter, Carleton, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Coulter, Harold Krebs, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Coulter, John S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Coulter, Richard, jr., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Counell, Howard F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Courtney, Charles E., to be a commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Courtney, Francis J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Covell, Louis C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Covell, Thomas O., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Covell, William E. R., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Cowan, Arthur S., to be major, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3241.
Coward, Jacob M., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Cowgill, Allen P., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Cowgill, William Warwick, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Cowie, George Durno, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Cowing, Nellie S., to be postmaster at Homewood, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7359.
Cowles, Calvin D., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Cowles, David H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Cowley, Archibald D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Cox, Carlisle Barksdale, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Cox, Creed F., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Cox, Frank A., to be postmaster at Sutherland, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Cox, John William, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Cox, K. C., to be postmaster at Granite, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Cox, Richard F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Cox, Robert E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Cox, Walter L., to be postmaster at Osceola, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Cozine, Paul B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Craft, Edgar D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Craft, Ralph P., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Craig, Arthur B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Craig, Charles F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Craig, Daniel F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Craig, John W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Craig, Louis A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Craig, Malin, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Craig, Russell I., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Craig, William, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Crain, Charles F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 7520; confirmed, 7772.
Crain, Max A., to be postmaster at Winburne, Pa.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5887.
Crallé, G. Maury, to be major, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Cramer, Raymond V., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Crane, William C., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Crap, William H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Cravens, Oscar H., to be postmaster at Bloomington, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Cravens, Richard K, to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Cravens, William M., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Crawford, Charles, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Crawford, David McL., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Crawford, James B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Crawford, John C., to be postmaster at Jonesboro, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Crawford, Medorem, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Crawford, Paul Miller, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Crawford, Robert W., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Crawford, William Wallace, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Crea, Harry B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Creamer, Frank D., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Crecca, John D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Creed, John E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Creed, Richard L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Creelman, William J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.*
Creesy, Andrew E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Creighton, John M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Creighton, Samuel S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Crenshaw, Arthur, to be a commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Crenshaw, J. D., to be postmaster at Cambria, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Cress, James B., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Cressman, Louis, to be postmaster at Bloomsbury, N. J.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Creswell, Harry I. T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Crew, W. L., to be postmaster at Good Water, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5402.
Crimmins, Martin L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Crockett, Cary I., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Crockett, Harold M., to be postmaster at North Haven, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Crockett, Wilbert O., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Croft, Edward, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Crofton, George, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Croll, William M., to be naval officer of customs, district No. 11; nominated, 4959.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Crom, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Cronan, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Crone, Christian, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Cronin, Ernest M., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Cronin, Gerald E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Cronin, Marcus D., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Cronk, Frank, to be postmaster at Grand Gorge, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Cronkhite, Adelbert, to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Cronkhite, Alexander P., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Crooks, Charles M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Crosby, Carl R., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Crosby, Hubert C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Crosby, Oscar T., to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; nominated, 605; confirmed, 724.
Crosby, Paul T., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Crosby, Sheldon L., to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Crosley, Walter S., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Crossfield, Jordan Walker, to be postmaster at Lawrencebury, Ky.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5373.
Crossman, Fred E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Crouch, Edward, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Crow, Lloyd, to be postmaster at Mapleton, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Crowder, Enoch H., to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Crowell, Jesse W., to be postmaster at South Yarmouth, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Crowley, Francis C. V., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Crowley, Matthias, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Croxton, Richard C., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Crozier, William, to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Cruice, Leman Dow, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Cruikshank, William M., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Crum, Wayne H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Crump, Edmund Michaux, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Crump, Ira Adam, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Cruse, John R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Crutcher, Chauncey R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Cuddihy, George T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Culbertson, William L., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Culbertson, William S., to be member of United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
Culhane, Thomas A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Culin, Frank L., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Cullen, Gregory, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Cullen, James J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Cullen, John N., to be postmaster at Blue Point, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Cullum, Ernest G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Culp, Clarence M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Culp, Harry R., to be postmaster at Alton, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Culp, Ross L., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Culver, John T., to be postmaster at Forest Glen, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Cumming, Albert Stephens, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Cummings, George C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Cummins, David E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Cummins, Richard E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Cummisky, Bernard W., to be postmaster at Currie, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Cunneen, Frank E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Cunningham, Charles H., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Cunningham, Edwin S., to be consul general of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Cunningham, Roy T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Cunnirgham, Simon, to be postmaster at Pennsgrove, N. J.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Cunningham, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Taylorville, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Curetone, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Curl, Holton C., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Curley, Edward Michael, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Currie, Dennis H., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5052.
Currie, G. H., to be postmaster at Clarkton, N. C.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Curry, John F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Curry, Truman Minor, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Curtis, Donald, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Curtis, Josie, to be postmaster at Englewood, Kans.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1899.
Curtis, Laurence A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Curtis, Thomas J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Cusack, Joseph E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Cusack, Matthew M., to be postmaster at Steelton, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Cushing, Francis C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Cushman, Guy, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Custer, B. E., to be postmaster at Montpelier, Ohio; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5375.
Custer, Garry De M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Cutchin, Cordray W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Cutler, Burwell S., to be First Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in the Department of Commerce; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2271.
Cutler, Burwell S., to be Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; nominated, 7769; confirmed, 7840.
Cutler, Ralph H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Cutler, Sidney James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Cutrer, Emile V., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Cygon, Joseph R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Cyr, Irenee, to be postmaster at Fort Kent, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Czubak, Matthew F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Dabney, Henry H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Dager, Holmes Ely, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Daggett, A. G., to be postmaster at Chama, N. Mex.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Dagley, Harley C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Dailey, Isaiah Morris, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Dailey, John, to be postmaster at Medicine Lake, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Dailey, Michael A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Dale, Frederick A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274.
Dale, Harry L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Daley, Edmund L., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Dalton, Albert C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Dalton, Harry F., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Dalton, Joseph N., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Daly, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Daly, Joseph O., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Daly, Leo M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Damm, Henry J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Damon, Edward J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Dandridge, G. G., to be postmaster at Paris, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 7772.
Daniel, McIver Smith, to be postmaster at Texline, Tex.; nominated, 2271; confirmed 2599.
Daniel Marshall E. to be postmaster at McLeansboro Ill.; nominated 5279; confirmed 6143.
Daniel, W. D., to be postmaster at Hughes, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Danielak, Stanley; to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Daniels, Charles A., to be postmaster at Gilbertsville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Daniels, Frederick C., to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Daniels, John Albert, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Daniels, Lincoln F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Daniels, Lincoln Ferris, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Daniels, Robert W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Danielson, Clarence H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Danielson, Wilmot A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201.
Danner, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Darby, Taylor E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Darcy, Ben H., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Dargue, Herbert A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Dark, Robert F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Darnall, Carl R., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Darnall, Marcy D., to be postmaster at Key West, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Darwin, William C., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Dashiel, William R., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Dashiell, Robert B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Daubin, Freeland A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Daugherity, Richard David, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Daugherty, Lester Amiel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Daugherty, M. W., to be postmaster at Ironton, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Daugherty, William Foster; to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Daughtry, Mina, to be postmaster at Chillicothe, Tex., nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Davenport, Jefferson R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Davenport, Walter P., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
David, Bertram, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Davidson, George D., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Davidson, Lewis C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Davidson, Howard C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Davidson, John, to be postmaster at Lyons, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5375.
Davidson, Wilson T., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Davies, Jasper A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Davis, Addison D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Davis, Arthur O., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Davis, Brython P., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Davis, Calvin C., to be postmaster at Iowa Park, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Davis, C. S., to be postmaster at Ranger, Tex.; nominated 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Davis, Charles C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Davis, Chester A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Davis, Erwin C. W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artilelry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Davis, Harry A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Davis, Harry O., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Davis, Henry C., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Davis, Hugh M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Davis, J. B., to be postmaster at Schell City, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Davis, James P., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Davis, James W., to be postmaster at Alvord, Tex.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Davis, Joel A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Davis, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Davis, John K., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Davis, John O., to be collector of customs, district 28; nominated, 7416; confirmed, 7531.
Davis, Lamont, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Davis, Lee D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Davis, Le Roy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Davis, Louis P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Davis, Michael F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Davis, Noel, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Davis, Ralph O., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Davis, Richmond P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Davis, Robert, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Davis, S. M., to be postmaster at Nocona, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Davis, Thomas D., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Davis, W. Cole, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Davis, Ward P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Davis, Warren D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Davis, William B., to be postmaster at Mount Sterling, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Davis, William C., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Davis, William D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Davis, William D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Davis, William E., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Davison, Donald A., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Davison, Peter W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Dawley, Earnest J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Day, Breckinridge Atwater, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Day, John Briggs, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3245.
Day, Clarence R., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Day, George C., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Day, John P., to be postmaster at Woodlake, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Dayton, Albert B., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Dayton, William H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Deal, Samuel B., jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Dean, Bruce O., to be postmaster at Musselshell, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Dean, Elmer A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Dean, Elmer A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Dean, Frank H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Dean, James T., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Dean, Warren, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Dean, William, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Dean, William Henry, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Dean, William Winter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Deans, Malcolm A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Dear, William R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Dearing, Arthur Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dearmand, Edward H., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
de Bach, Crete Gardner, to be postmaster at Isleton, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
De Carre, Octave, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Decker, Charles L., to be surgeon general of Wyoming; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7840.
Decker, Stiles M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
De Coen, Emile G., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Deem, Joseph M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Deeming, Ross B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5704.
Deems, Clarence, jr., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Dees, Randall E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Defrees, Joseph R., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
De Fries, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
De Funiak, Frederick R., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
De Laffre, Samuel M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Delamater, Benjamin F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Delanee, D. J., to be postmaster at Custer, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
De Laney, Matthew A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
De Langton, Frank C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Delano, Harvey, to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
De Leuw, Charles Edmund, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Delgado, Francisco, to be register of land office at Santa Fe, N. Mex.; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5335.
Deming, Raymond A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Demmer, Charles C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Dempewolf, Hermann C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
DeMott, Max B., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Dempsey, James P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Dempsey, Josephine E., to be postmaster at South Ashburnham, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2271.
De Neale, George C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Denebrink, Francis C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Deneen, Dennis, to be postmaster at Hammond, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Denham, Chester, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Dennis, Conrad L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Dennis, Edward B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Dennis, John B., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Dennison, E. Haldeman, to be a consul of class 4 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Denny, Clifton, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Denson, Eley P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Denson, Hugh Cowan, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Dent, Henry A., to be a pay director in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Denton, James L., to be postmaster at Caliente, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Denton, Laura B., to be postmaster at Luxora, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Denton, William, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Derickson, Richard Barnett, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Derrah, Benjamin V., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Derrick, George Webster, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Derx, Martin R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Desobry, Elmer C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Dessez, John H. S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Deshon, Percy, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
De Vare, Leland S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5059.
Devers, Jacob L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Devine, Augustine D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Devine, John Matthew; to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Deviny, John, to be postmaster at Owatonna, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
De Voe, Ralph G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Devore, Daniel B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Devore, Hartley D., to be postmaster at Vinton, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Dewey, Arthur B., to be postmaster at Tully, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
De Witt, Carroll M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
De Witt, John L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
De Witt, Joseph R., to be postmaster at Brackettville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
De Witt, Wallace; to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Diaz, Vincente N., to be first lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Dick, Hasell H., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Dick, Warren L., to be postmaster at Piercetown, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5375.
Dickenson, Haiden T., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Dickins, Edmund Finlay, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Dickinson, Horace J., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
——— to be a consul of class 9 of United States of America; nominated, 492; confirmed, 854.
Dickinson, Oliver Q., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Dickman, Joseph T., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Dickson, Samuel H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Dietrich, William F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Dietz, Charles H., to be postmaster at Mapleton, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Diggins, David F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Dilg, Lillian M., to be postmaster at Morton Grove, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7359.
Dillard, Alexander W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Dillon, Stephen E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Dillon, Theodore H., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Dillon, Wallace M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Dillow, Leo J., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Dineen, Cornelius F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Dingley, Nelson, 3d, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Dinsmore, Fred W., to be postmaster at Intervale, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Dismukes, Douglas E., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Dismukes, Walton, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Dittmar, Edwin Louis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Ditto, Rollo C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Dixon, Albert E., to be postmaster at Point Loma, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Dixon, Russell H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dixon, Vincent B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Dixon, Virgil J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Dixon, Willis, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Doak, Sloan, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Doane, George P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Dobie, Ernest W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Dockery, Oliver H., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Dockum, Wilbur Granville, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dodd, Edwin H., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Dodd, Heywood Shallus, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Dodd, Homer Hartline, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dodd, Townsend F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Dodge, Earl J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Dodge, Emma, to be postmaster at Danville, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Dodge, Frank R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Dodge, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Milan, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Dodds, Frank L., to be colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Dodson, Clarence M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Dodson, Richard S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Doe, Jens A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Doe, Weldon W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Doerr, Charles E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Doerschlag, Caroline, to be postmaster at Ransom, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Doggett, David Seth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Doherty, Stephen, to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Dollarhide, Erskine S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Domenech, Victor Emanuel, to be provisional second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3243.
Domengeaux, George D., to be postmaster at Breaux Bridge, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5375.
Domer, Wilson D. I., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Donahue, Harry Arthur, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Donald, George K., to be a consul of class 7; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Donaldson, John Riley, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Donaldson, Robert S., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Donegan, Alfred W., to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Donegan, A. Y., to be postmaster at Nacogdoches, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Donely, Stephen, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Doniat, Franz A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Donnelly, Arthur B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Donnelly, Bernard P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Donnelly, Francis F., to be chaplain, United States Army; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5689.
Donnelly, Howard, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Donnelly, William F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Donnelly, William F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Donohue, John F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Donovan, Charles D., jr., to be postmaster at East Chicago, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Doolittle, Julius Tyler Andrews, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dooman, Eugene H., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Doran, Charles Richard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dorsey, Arthur B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Dorsey, W. Roderick, to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Dorst, James A., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Dortch, Isaac F., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Dorwart, Frederic Griffin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Dose, Frederic C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Dosher, Guy Hudson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Doster, Chase, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed 4487.
Dougherty, Andrew J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Dougherty, Francis E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Dougherty, Francis Eugene, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Doughty, Leonard, jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 853.
Douglas, Alexander D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Douglas, Archibald H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Douglass, Stephen A., to be postmaster at Adel, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Douthit, Frederick L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Dow, Edward A., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Dowd, Benjamin Simeon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Dowell, Cassius M., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Dowell, Jonathan S., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Dowling, Daniel, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Dowling, James, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Dowling, Paul J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Downer, Ira Norman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Downes, John, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Downing, C. Dale, to be postmaster at St. Charles, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5373.
Downing, Frederick B., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Downing, George Jackson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Downs, Sylvester D., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Downward, James G., jr., to be postmaster at Coatesville, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Doxey, John L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Doyle, Fred C., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Doyle, James M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Doyle, Stafford H. R., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Doyle, Sydney A., to be postmaster at Maud, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Doyle, Thomas J., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Draemel, Milo F., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Drake, Charles C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Drake, Charles Arthur, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4012; confirmed, 4486.
Drake, Frank, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682
Drake, Nels, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Drake, Raymond L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Drane, Arthur H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Dreifus, Percy W., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Drennan, Leonard H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Dresel, Alger H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Driggers, Carl E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Driver, James M., to be postmaster at Arcadia, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Drollinger, Ziba L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Drum, Hugh A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Dryden, George E., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Du Bois, Bird S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Duckstad, John B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Duckworth, R. F., to be postmaster at Union City, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Duenner, Robert H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Duff, John, jr., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Duffee, George G., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Duffee, George G., to be a consul of class 9 of United States of America; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Duffey, Ada F., to be postmaster at Emory, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Duffy, Amos E., to be postmaster at Matagorda, Tex.; nominated, 5291.
Duffy, Hugh J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5701.
Dugan, Thomas B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Duggan, Frederick F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Dugger, Greene W., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Du Hamel, Notley Y., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Dulles, Allen W., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Dunbar, Lee R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Duncan, Daniel, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Duncan, Donald B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Duncan, George B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Duncan, Jack H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Duncan, Jonathan W., to be postmaster at Malakoff, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Duncan, Louis C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Duncan, Richard Smith, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Dunbeck, Charlie, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Dungan, Paul B., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Dunham, Frank C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Dunham, Jefferson, to be postmaster at Little River, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Dunham, Thomas E., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Dunham, Thomas K., to be postmaster at Darien, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Dunigan, Francis J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Dunlap, Maurice P., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Dunlap, R. A., to be postmaster at Chipley, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Dunlop, Robert H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Dunn, John L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Dunn, Lucius C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Dunn, Sidney Feagin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Dunn, Thomas B., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Dunn, Walter K., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Dunne, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Dunphy, Charles Brenton, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Dunwoody, Kingsland, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Dunwoody, William Brooke, to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Durant, Armand, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Durgin, George Henry, to be aid United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Durham, Thomas A., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Durr, Ernest, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Durrett, Joseph H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Durnin, Alice T., to be postmaster at Colfax, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5375.
Dusenberry, Ralph W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Duson, Curley Pharr, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Dutcher, Basil H., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Duthie, Herbert, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Dutton, Benjamin, jr., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Dutton, Donald Langley, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Duty, Daniel D., to be postmaster at Wellsville, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Duval, Douglas F., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Duval, Edward T., to be postmaster at Skidmore, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Duvall, Isabel G., to be postmaster at Shelter Island Heights, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Duvall, Elmer E., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Duvendeck, Walter Ernest, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Dwight, Thomas, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Dwyer, William Richard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Dye, Elmer A., to be postmaster at Logan, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Dye, Leon L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Dyer, Edward L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Dyer, Francis J., to be a consul of class 8 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Dyer, Robert A., 3d, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Dyke, Leo Cuthbert, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Dysart, Arthur S., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Eaches, Robert M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Eads, Lee Samuel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Eagan, Kieran J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Eagle, Carlton R., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Eagles, William Willis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Eager, Howard, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Eager, John M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Eagles, William W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Earle, Fred M., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Early, Alexander R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Early, Henry W., to be postmaster at Kimball, W. Va.; nominated 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Earnest, O. S., to be postmaster at Plymouth, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Easley, Frederick C., to be postmaster at Dunbar, Nebr; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
East, Whitten J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Easterday, George W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Eastham, Kenna G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Eastman, Nedom A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Eastman, William R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Eastwold, Oscar A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Eaton, Harry A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Eaton, Levi A., to be postmaster at Wanatah, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Eaton, Starr S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Eberhart, Harold G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Eberle, Sidney S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Eberle, William E., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Eberwine, John, to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Eckels, Lauren S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Eddy, Manton S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Edgarton, James H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Edger, Benjamin J., jr., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Edgerly, John P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Edgerton, Frederick V., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Edgerton, Glen E., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Edmunds, Euston Fletcher, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Edwards, Allen R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Edwards, Basil D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Edwards, Carleton U., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Edwards, Clarence R., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Edwards, Clifford C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Edwards, David Irvin, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Edwards, Earl W., to be postmaster at Rolette, N. Dak.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Edwards, George M., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Edwards, Henry I., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Edwards, Lynn S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Egan, Arthur J., to be postmaster at Highland, Wis.; nominated, 608; confirmed, 725.
Egeland, Bartlett M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Egner, Carl Alexander, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Egner, Carl Alexander, to be junior hydrographer and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Ehlert, John F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Ehrnbeck, Arthur R., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Eichelberger, Robert L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Eickelberg, Ernest Werner, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Eickman, Charles L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Eisenhower, Dwight D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Eisenschmidt, Clyde R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Ekwurzel, George M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Ela, Arthur John, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Elder, Charles M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Elder, Miles Maron, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Eldridge, Meade H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Eley, William S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Eley, William Stuart, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Eekhout, Bernard V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Elkins, Herbert F., to be postmaster at The Weirs, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 6143.
Ellerton, George C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Elliot, John L., to be postmaster at Clinton, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Ellingson, Axel, to be postmaster at Scandia, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Elliott, Charles W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Elliott, Crosby N., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Elliott, Dabney O., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Elliott, Edwin E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Elliott, John B., to be collector of customs, district 27; nominated, 7359; confirmed, 7417.
Elliott, Margaret G., to be postmaster at Murfreesboro, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Elliott, Milton A., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Elliott, Richard M., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Elliott, Russell D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Ellis, Arthur M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Ellis, Carroll Leonard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Ellis, Charles Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Ellis, E. Pierce, to be postmaster at Laurel, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Ellis, Gordon W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Ellis, Hayne, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Ellis, Herbert E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Ellis, Olin O., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Ellis, Paul M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Ellsberg, Edward, to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Ellsworth, Harry A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Ellyson, Theodore G., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Elmore, Fannie T., to be postmaster at Oglethorpe, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Elmore, Willett, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Elsey, George C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Elting, Stewart O., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Ely, Hanson E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Ely, Harold F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Ely, Hanson E., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Ely, Lockett C., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Emerson, Clarence W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Emerson, De Witt C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Emerson, Grace E., to be postmaster at East Rochester, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5375.
Emerson, Thomas H., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Emery, Peter, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Emmons, Delos C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Emmons, Grover T., to be postmaster at Pucklin, Kans.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1899.
Emery, John R., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Emrich, Philip L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Endel, Solomon, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Endling, Reinhold August Ferdinand, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Engel, Edmund John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Engeldinger, Karl, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Engert, G. R. Paul, to be postmaster at Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
England, Lloyd, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6302; withdrawn, 6808.
Engle, Francis George, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Engleman, Irving H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
English, George F., to be postmaster at Glenn Rose, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
English, Joseph H., to be postmaster at Walters (late Walter), Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
English, Paul H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Enloe, B. A., jr., to be United States marshal for eastern district of Oklahoma; nominated, 5929; confirmed, 6060.
Ennis, J. M., to be postmaster at Antlers, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Ennis, William P., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Enochs, Berkeley, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Enochs, John M., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Eusey, Merritt V., to be chaplain in Army; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2596.
Epes, Travis E., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Erck, Alfred H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Erickson, Hjalmer, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Erickson, Edward B., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Erlenkotter, Herman, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Erler, Leo J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Erler, Leo James, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Ernest, Henry, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ernst, William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Erskine, William E. G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Erswell, Charles S., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Ervin, Robert G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Erwin, Isaac, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Erwin, James B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Erwin, J. J., to be postmaster at Ballinger, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Erwin, Lewis T., to be United States marshal, district of Alaska; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 5293.
Erwin, Vincent P., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Erwin, William W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Eskridge, Oliver S., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Estes, Howell M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Esteves, Luis R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Etchison, G. W., to be postmaster at Gaithersburg, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Etheredge, George O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Etheredge, William H., to be postmaster at Selma, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Evans, Arthur C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Evans, Benjamin F., to be postmaster at Hopewell, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Evans, Beverly D., to be United States district judge for southern district of Georgia; nominated, 5979; confirmed, 6060.
Evans, Donald R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Evans, Ernest, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Evans, Frank E., to be major on active list of Marine Corps; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Evans, Franck T., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Evans, Frederick D., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
Evans, Frederic D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Evans, Lawson E., to be commissioner of immigration at San Juan, P. R.; nominated, 5429; confirmed, 5886.
Evans, Vernon, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Evans, Waldo, to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Evans, William Doughty, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Everitt, Charles M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Evers, Clarence P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Everson, Kirke B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Ewen, Lloyd Clifford, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Exley, Alice L., to be postmaster at Kensington, Md.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5886.
Eyman, Raymond Pugh, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Faber, Albert S., to be postmaster at Cambridge Springs, Pa.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1692.
Fagg, Lawrence W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5683.
Fahey, Seely B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Fahrion, Frank G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Falling, Rollin Van A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Fairchild, Samuel Gilbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Fairfield, Arthur P., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Fairfield, George W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Fairfield, Walter Browne, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Fairlamb, George R., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Faison, Bertha M., to be postmaster at Ettricks, Va.; nominated, 5292.
Faison, M. M., to be postmaster at Roanoke Rapids, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Faison, Samson L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Faison, William De Vane, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Fales, Clarke K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Fales, Clarke Kent, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
Fales, Eugene W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Falk, David B., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Falk, Walter S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Falls, Moor N., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Faltinson, Kaspar, to be postmaster at Armstrong, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Fanslau, Charles Edward, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Faris, James Edge, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5293.
Faris, Robert Lee, to be hydrograpic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Farley, Joseph Francis, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 4967.
Farley, Michael J. J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Farman, Edbert E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Farmer, Archie A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Farmer, Charles C., jr., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Farmer, Newton S., to be postmaster at Graham, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Farnham, Elmer Frost, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Farnham, Henry Walcott, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Farnsworth, Charles S., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Farr, Otho W. B., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Farrar, H. H., to be postmaster at Blocton, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5886.
Farrar, Henry B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Farrell, John G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Farrell, Thomas F., to be first lieutenant in Engineer Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Farrell, Thomas F., to be captain, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Farrier, Chester E., to be postmaster at Hillman, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5373.
Farwell, Urey G., to be surgeon in the Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Faulks, W. E., to be postmaster at Deming, N. Mex.; nominated, 5285.
Faulkner, William D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Fauntleroy, Powell C., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Fawell, Reed M., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Fay, Rush S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Faymonville, Philip R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Febiger, George L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Fechet, d'Alary, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Fechteler, Frank, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Feeney, Edward Leon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Felch, Miner Frank, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Feldman, Herman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Fellows, Harold C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; Nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Fellows, Rush O., to be postmaster at Bellefourche, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Fennell, Charles B., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Fentress, William S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Ferenbaugh, Thomas L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Ferguson, Charles T., to be postmaster at Burlington Junction, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Ferguson, Harley B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Ferguson, J. O., to be postmaster at Independence, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Ferguson, Leslie F., to be postmaster at Appomattox, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Ferguson, Nolan, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Ferguson, Oscar Wood, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Ferguson, Robert R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Fernau, Patrick, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ferrel, Hattie B., to be postmaster at Newcastle, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Ferrell, Robert W., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Ferrin, Charles S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Ferris, A. J., to be postmaster at Palmer, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Ferris, Benjamin G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Ferris, George Marvin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Ferris, Robert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Ferron, Paul L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Fibich, Michael J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Fickel, William H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Field, Peter C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Fields, D. B., to be postmaster at Olive Hill, Ky.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5373.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Fields, M. C., to be postmaster at Lott, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Fife, James D., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Fife, James, jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Fike, Pierre H., to be postmaster at Spartanburg, S. C.; nominated, 5289.
Finch, Henry A., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Finch, Neil G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Finkbiner, David E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Finley, James R., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; confirmed, 2598; nominated, 850.
Finley, Thomas D., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Finn, William W., to be postmaster at Wesley, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Finnessy, John James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Fischer, Harry Elmer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Fischler, Peter K., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Fish, Gilbert Dudley, to be second lieutenant, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Fish, Herbert E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Fisher Alma E., to be postmaster at Arlington, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Fisher, Dayton, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Fisher, Edwin N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Fisher, Frank C., to be postmaster at Cheltenham, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Fisher, Frederick C., to be associate justice, supreme court, Philippine Islands; nominated, 7711; confirmed, 7840.
Fisher, Harry M., to be postmaster at Nanuet, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Fisher, Henry C., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Fisher, James L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Fisher, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Fisher, Milton R., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Fisher, Royden Kenner, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Fisher, Thomas G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Fisk, E. Howell, to be postmaster at Dalton, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 6143.
Fisk, Francis, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Fiske, Newell Rodney, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3241.
Fiske, Norman E., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Fitch, Alphonzo E., to be postmaster at Cazenovia, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Fitzgerald, Shepler W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Fitzgerald, Thomas M., to be postmaster at Charles City, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Fitzgerald, William E., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Fitz Henry, Edward A., to be surveyor general of Washington; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Fitzhugh, Charles Carroll, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Fitzmaurice, William J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Fitzsimons, Paul, jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Fitts, William C., to be Assistant Attorney General; nominated, 623; confirmed, 854.
Flagg, Allan P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Flagler, Clement A. F., to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Flaster, Joseph, jr., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Flaten, E. L., to be postmaster at Moorhead, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Flatt, Merl John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Flavin, R. T., to be postmaster at West Paris, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Fleischhauer, J. Harold, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Fleming, Adrian S., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Fleming, Albert A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Fleming, Edmond Cecil, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Fleming, Robert W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Fleming, William D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Flenniken, Ida L., to be postmaster at Smithfield, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Fletcher, Charles A., to be postmaster at Mendon, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Fletcher, Frank J., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Fletcher, Harvey H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Fletcher, John P., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Fletcher, Paul W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Fletcher, Robert H., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Fletcher, William B., to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Flint, Harry A., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Flounders, Harry B., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Floyd, Charles S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Floyd-Jones, Kenneth, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Floyd, Oliver, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Flynn, Alphonsus I., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Flynn, John F., to be postmaster at Worthington, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5887.
Flynn, Marion T., to be postmaster at Alburg, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5945.
Flynn, Mary J., to be postmaster at Jackson, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Flynn, Thomas J., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Foby, Dennis, to be postmaster at Merino, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Foertmeyer, William Adolphus, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Fogg, Alden K., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Fogg, Benjamin F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Foley, Frank C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Foley, Frank D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Foley, John J., to be postmaster at Bernardsville, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Foley, Paul, to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Foley, William J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Foltz, Christian Gingrich, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Foltz, Frederick S., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Fooks, Herbert C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Foote, Ernest A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Foote, Percy W., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Foote, Stephen M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Foran, William, to be postmaster at Sorento, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Forbes, Francis H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Forbes, Wilson J., to be postmaster at Deeth, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Forbus, Sample B., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Ford, Arthur, to be postmaster at Crestmont, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Ford, Arthur W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Ford, Clyde S., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Ford, Elbert Louis, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Ford, Harry G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Ford, Joseph H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Ford, Joseph H., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Ford, Louis P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Ford, Stanley H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Forgrave, Jacob S., to be postmaster at Farmington, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Forse, William, to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7772.
Forshew, John H., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Forster, Guido F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Forsyth, Elizabeth, to be postmaster at Westboro, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Forsyth, William D., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Fortier, Malcolm Vaughn, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Foster, Charles H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Foster, Charles L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Foster, D. Jack, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Foster, Edwin D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Foster, Frank S., to be postmaster at Ellsworth, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Foster, Fred H., to be register of the land office at Billings, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Foster, George B., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Foster, George H., to be postmaster at Baker, Oreg.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Foster, Hamilton K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Foster, John G., to be a consul general of class 2 of the United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Foster, Paul H., to be United States consul of class 7; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Foster, W. D., to be postmaster at Miles, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Fostiak, Simon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Foucar, Frederick H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Foulks, W. E., to be postmaster at Deming, N. Mex.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Foulois, Benjamin D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Fowler, George C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Fowler, Joseph W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Fowler, John S., to be postmaster at Cole Camp, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Fowler, Wade H., to be register of the land office at Douglas, Wyo.; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4356.
Fox, David C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Fox, Leon Alexander, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Fox, Paul R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Fox, Tom, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Fox, William B., to be postmaster at South Whitley, Ind.; nominated, 5280.
Foy, Robert C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Fraleigh, Katherine E., to be postmaster at Seagirt, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
France, Albert F., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
France, Gerald D., to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Francis, Joseph Haines, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Francis, Minnie B., to be postmaster at Farwell, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Franciscus, James Lindsay, to be provisonal second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Frank, Walter H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Franke, Gustav H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Frankenberger, Bertram, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Frankenberger, Samuel, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Frankland, Nina M., to be postmaster at Montfort, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 7711.
Franklin, Elkin L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Franklin, Erskine Ashby, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Franklin, George Charles Henry, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Frantz, Thomas E., to be postmaster at Cockeysville, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Franz, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Fraser, John W., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Frawley, James R., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Frazee, J. F., to be postmaster at Lafayette, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Frazee, William D., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Frazey, Jefferson D., to be postmaster at Antonito, Colo.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Frazier, Arthur Hugh, to be secretary of legation, class 1; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Frazier, Lyman S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Fredin, John F., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Fredrickson, Casper T., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Freehoff, William F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Freeman, Bert Clinton, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Freeman, Bert Clinton, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Freeman, Charles M., to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Freeman, Charles S., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 4681; confirmed, 4967.
Freeman, George D., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Freeman, Oswald F., to be postmaster at Edwards, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Freeman, Thomas William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Fremgen, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Fremont, John C., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
French, Avery J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
French, Charles A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
French, Charles G., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
French, Francis H., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
French, Fred G., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; confirmed, 2599; nominated, 851.
French, John W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
French, Marion O., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
French, Paul H., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; confirmed, 2599; nominated, 851.
French, Sanford W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Freudendorf, Gustav, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Freshman, Arthur D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Frick, Austin G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Friedell, Deupree J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Friedell, Wilhelm L., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Frier, James H., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Frier, James Henry, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Frierson William L., to be Assistant Attorney General; nominated, 6302; confirmed, 6379.
Fries, Amos A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Fries, Otto, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5104.
Frink, James L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Frissell, Patrick, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Fritman, Martin, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Fronk, Clarence E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Frost, Arthur C., to be United States consul of class 7; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Frost, A. H., to be postmaster at Pittsfield, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Frost, Henry Bradley, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Frost, Leon C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Frost, Mahlon Gerhard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Frost, Wade H., to be surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Frost, Wesley, to be United States consul of class 6; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Fry, Conrad D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Fry, Edgar A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Fry, Hiram Gilbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Fry, R. M., to be postmaster at Park City, Mont.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Frye, Robert E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Fryer, Philip B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Frysinger, Rolla N., to be postmaster at Rockford, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Fuger, Albert S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Fulcher, J. T., to be postmaster at Thorndale, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Fuller, Byron W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Fuller, Clarence Malcolm, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Fuller, Francis R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Fuller, Horace H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Fuller, Hurley Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Fuller, Leigh A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Fuller, T. M., to be postmaster at Hattiesburg, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Fullinwider, Simon P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Fullmer, D. M., to be postmaster at New Athens, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Funk, Arnold John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Furey, Edward W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Furlong, William R., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Furlow, James W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Furnell, Carl B., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Fye, John Harvey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Gaddis, William P., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Gaffney, Francis B., to be postmaster at Gaffney, S. C.; nominated, 5289.
Gailemore, Roy T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Gaither, Charles D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Galbraith, William W., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Gale, Thomas B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Gallagher, Agnes H., to be postmaster at Summerfield, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Gallagher, Hugh F., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4220.
Gallalee, Joseph F., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Gallogly, James A., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Galloway, Floyd Emerson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Galloway, Richard S., to be lieutenant, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Galos, Benjamin, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Galwey, Geoffrey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Galyen, John P., to be postmaster at Belfield, N. Dak.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Gamble, Harry W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Gambriel, Staley H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Gambrill, William G., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 4012.
Game, Clyfford, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Gamon, John A., to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Gannon, Sinclair, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Ganahl, Alfred L., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Gandy, Charles L., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Gano, Frank Wiltshire, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Gapen, Nelson, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Garcia, Leon C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Garcin, Frederick R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Gardiner, George H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Gardiner, Harold L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Gardiner, W. Gwynn, to be Commissioner of District of Columbia; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7840.
Gardner, Andrew G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Gardner, B. T., to be postmaster at Rogers, Tex.; nominated, 5291.
Gardner, Charles S., to be postmaster at Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Gardner, Frederick A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Gardner, Howard E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Gardner, Julius Stanley Shourds, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Gardner, Sallie M., to be postmaster at Frankston, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Gardner, William R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5703.
Garey, Enoch B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Garlick, Edgar Rutherford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Garner, Clem Leinster, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Garner, Clem Leinster, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Garner, John F., to be postmaster at Mill Creek, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Garrard, Louis F., jr., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Garrell, Edgar S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Garrett, John W., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of United States to the Netherlands and Luxemburg; nominated, 6302; confirmed, 6306.
Garrett, Oliver Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Garrett, William S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Garrison, William H., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Gaskin, J. W., to be postmaster at Jacksboro, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Gaston, Joseph A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Gatcheel, Oscar J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Gatley, George G., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Gatley, George G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Gately, James, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Gathemann, Adolph A.; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Gaulin, Alphonse, to be consul general of class 3; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Gautz, Daniel, to be postmaster at Odon, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Gauthier, E. F., to be postmaster at Corning, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Gawne, Chester L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Gay, Florida E., to be postmaster at Lynn Haven, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Gay, George S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Gay, George William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Gayle, Lester T., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Gearing, Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Gearing, Wallis, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Geary, Harry J., to be postmaster at Lake Charles, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Geary, William D., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Geddings, Edward F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Geem, Henry Van, to be postmaster at Eastland, Tex.; nominated, 5291.
Geer, Joseph W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Gehman, Lester, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Geiger, Harold, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Geiger, Henry Jouette, to be chaplain, United States Army; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Geiselman, Ellis H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Geisenhoff, Neil H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Gent, William Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Geneva, Thomas, to be postmaster at What Cheer, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Gentry, Ernest R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
George, Clarence H., to be postmaster at Bartlett, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
George, Fletcher, C., to be postmaster at Lilly, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
George, Newton R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
George, Russell Thomas, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Gerdine, Linton, to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Gerhardt, Charles, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Gerhardt, Charles Hunter, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Gerhardt, Jacob J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Gerow, Lee S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Gerow, Leonard T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Gesler, Earl E., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Gessner, Francis Emil, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Getty, Robert N., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Getty, Robert Nelson, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Ghormley, Robert L., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Giacomini, Alfred Lewis, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Gibb, Edwin D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Gibbins, Effie, to be postmaster at Fort Sill, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Gibbons, Patrick C., to be postmaster at Edina, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Gibney, Louis Garland, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Gibbs, Ada E., to be postmaster at Fife Lake, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5373.
Gibbs, George S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Gibson, Easton R., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Gibson, Francis L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Gibson, Holbrook, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Gibson, Harold Benton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Gibson, Hugh S., to be secretary of legation, class 1; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Gibson, Paul W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Gibson, Samuel A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Gibson, William Lynch, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Gierke, Alfred Gustav, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Gifford, Benjamin R., to be postmaster at Woods Hole, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Gifford, Richard H., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Gilbert, Clarence L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Gilbert, Frank, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Gilbert, Henry, to be postmaster at Ashley, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
Gilbert, John Jacob, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Gilbert, Lena T., to be postmaster at Metamora, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Gilbreath, Frederick, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Gilbreth, Joseph L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Gilchrist, Harry L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Gilchrist, Hugh C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Gildart, Robert C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Gile, Richard D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Giles, Ellsworth F., to be postmaster at Altoona, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Giles, Peter M., to be postmaster at Le Roy, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Giles, Samuel J., to be postmaster at Carrabelle, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Gilkeson, Adlai H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Gill, Howard F., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Gill, Isaac, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Gill, William H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Gillam, Edwin J., to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Gillett, Wallace Heyser, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Gillem, Alvan C., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; withdrawn, 5335.
Gillem, Alvan C., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Gillespie, James A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Gillespie, J. F., to be postmaster at Carlisle, Ark.; nominated, 5812; confirmed, 5860.
Gillfillan, Jay E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Gillette, Douglas H., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Gilman, Lewis N., to be postmaster at Allerton, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Gilman, Miles, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Gilmer, Ellison L., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Gilmer, Hattie F., to be postmaster at Toccoa, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Gillmor, Horatio G., to be captain, United States Navy; nominated, 5276.
Gilmore, Walter W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Gingles, Orla C., to be postmaster at Schoolcraft, Mich.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Giardano, Anthony A. S., to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5293.
Gladfelter, Oscar Edward, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Glanville, William E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Glasgow, Lawrence B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Glasgow, Lawrence Burdette, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Glasgow, William J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Glass, James, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Glasser, Rolland R., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Glassford, William A., jr., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Glau, Edward F., to be postmaster at Charter Oak, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Glaze, Lee Willard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Gleason, Julia C., to be postmaster at Villanova, Pa.; nominated, 5289.
Gleason, William J., to be postmaster at Ludington, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Gleaves, John Frank, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Glenn, Edwin F., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3352; confirmed, 3560.
Glenn, Edwin F., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Glennon, James B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Glover, Cato D., to be register of the land office at Montgomery, Ala.; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 4356.
Glover, G. Barrett, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Glover, Robert W., to be postmaster at Sheridan, Ark.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Glover, Zenella K., to be postmaster at Millport, Ala.; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Glynn, John J., to be postmaster at Valatie, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Gober, J. S. J., to be postmaster at Sanger, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Goddard, Arthur H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Goessling, Ward Currey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 3357.
Goetz, Robert C. F., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Goff, Orlo S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Gohn, Joseph F., to be major, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Golden, B. L., to be postmaster at Sheridan, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Golden, James Brown, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Golderman, Philip S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Goldman, Alfred Mynderse, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Goldston, William Major, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Goldthwaite, Ralph H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Good, Gilbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Good, Lara P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Goodier, James H., to be United States consul of class 8; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Goodier, Lewis E., to be colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Goodlett, John Garth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Goodman, John F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Goodman, Moses, to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated 851; confirmed, 2599.
Goodman, Thomas C., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Goodrich, Lewis Elmer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Goodyear, George Atalbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3359.
Goold, Herbert S., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6306.
Gordon, Philip, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Gordon, Richard Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Gordon, Roy George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Gordon, Will Hughes, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Gordon, Walter H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Gore, Hattie, to be postmaster at Nowata, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Gorham, George B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Gorham, Martha E., to be postmaster at Crawfordville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Gorman, John C., to be postmaster at Ironton, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Goshorn, Arthur, to be postmaster at Winterset, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Gosman, George H. R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Gosnell, Elmer Parks, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Gosnell, Leonard H., to be postmaster at Woodbine, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Goss, Nelson H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Goss, Orville R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Gossack, Benedict J., to be postmaster at Highwood, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Gough, John E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Gough, William Griswold, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Gough, William N., to be postmaster at York Beach, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Goulet, Henry, to be postmaster at Onamid, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Gouser, Gustav J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Gover, Lewis L., to be second lieutenant in Marine Corps; nominated, 724; confirmed, 856.
Grace, Charles Oliver, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Grady, Daniel A., to be postmaster at Waukegan, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7359.
Graham, Andrew T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Graham, James M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Graham, John S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Graham, Lyman Davis, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Graham, Lyman Davis, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Graham, Rossner Enders, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Graham, Roy C. L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Graham, Walter Raymond, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Granger, Ralph S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Grant, Frank A., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Grant, Gordon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Grant, Grant L., to be postmaster at Riddle, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Grant, John E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Grant, Joseph H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Grant, Vernon F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Grant, William, to be postmaster at Coloma, Mich; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Grantham, Frank Daniel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Grattan, Robert V., to be postmaster at Burden, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Graves, Carroll S., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Graves, Ernest, to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Graves, Everett Marshall, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Graves, Herbert Cornelius, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Graves, John B., to be postmaster at Clifton Forge, Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 725.
Graves, Joseph Napoleon, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Graves, Sidney C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Graves, William S., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Gray, Alexander F., to be postmaster at Charles River, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Gray, Elmore B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Gray, John A., to be captain in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Gray, Hawthorne C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Gray, Lida K., to be postmaster at Taylors Falls, Minn.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Gray, Mason W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Gray, Truman, to be postmaster at Waynesboro, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Gray, William C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Grayson, Andrew J., to be postmaster at Blanchard, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Greacen, Walter S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Greathouse, Charles A., to be a member of Federal Board for Vocational Education; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5203.
Greble, Edwin St. J., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Green, Burton H., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Green, Charles Keith, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Green, Donald A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Green, Fitzhugh, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2457.
Green, Franklin A., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Green, Fred M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Green, Hector McL., to be postmaster at Wilmington, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Green, James O., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Green, James Oscar, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Green, Jesse Plez, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Green, Raleigh T., to be postmaster at Culpeper, Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Green, Richard C., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Green, Vernon L., to be postmaster at Merriman, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Green, Walter J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Greene, Douglass T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Greene, Edward A., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Greene, George R., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Greene, Henry A., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Greene, Joseph N., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Greene, Oscar C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Greenleaf, Henry S., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Greenleaf, Henry S., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.
Greenlee, Halford R., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Greenleaf, Robert G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5103.
Greenwald, Karl C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Greenwell, Clifton, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Gregory, Hugh M., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Gregory, Junius C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Gregory, Joseph W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Gregory, Luther E., to be civil engineer in Navy, with rank of cammander; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Gregory, Luther E., to be captain, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Gregory, Maurice C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Gregory, Robert Claude, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Griffin, Francis W., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Griffin, Gerald A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Griffin, G. L., to be postmaster at Oriental, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Griffin, Martin, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Griffin, S. J., to be postmaster at Cullman, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Griffin, Stuart W., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Griffin, Thomas J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Griffin, Will Charles, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Griffis, Frank C., to be first lieutenant, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.
Griffith, Charles T., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Griffith, George A., sr., to be postmaster at Rankin, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
Griggs, James C. F., to be collector of customs, district 18; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5335.
Grimes, George M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Grimes, John H., to be postmaster at Harrodsburg, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Grimes, William M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Grimm, Charles, to be second lieutenant; United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Grimm, Henry Fred., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Grimm, Owen E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Grimmer, Edwin Wolsey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Grissinger, Jay W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Griswold, Hector C., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Griswold, Oscar W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Griswold, Ralph M., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Griswold, Roger, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Groff, Norman Pyle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Grominger, Homer M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Groot, Julia L., to be postmaster at Elmwood, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Gross, Charles P., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Gross, Felix E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Gross, Robert F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
Grote, William F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Grove, Orville Alexander, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Grove, William R., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Grover, Frank W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Grow, Eugene J., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Grow, Robert W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Grubbs, Robert B., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Gruber, William R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Gruelick, Richard W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Grummann, Herbert Richard, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Guignard, William S., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Guigou, Wilfred, to be postmaster at Donaldsonville, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Guilfoyle, Patrick W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Guilmette, Henry, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Guiney, Patrick W., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Guion, James Louis; to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Guire, Virgil D., to be postmaster at Lenoir, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Guiss, R. L., to be postmaster at Woodburn, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Guiteras, Julian George, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Gullion, Allen W., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Gullion, Walter C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Gunn, Wilbur G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Gunnell, Vaughan C., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Gunner, Matthew J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Gunter, Mattie E., to be postmaster at Social Circle, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Gunther, Ernest L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Gunther, Franklin Mott, to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5054.
Gurney, Augustus Milton: to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Guthrie, Richard Terrell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Guthrie, Sophia J., to be postmaster at Reedpoint, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Guthrie, William G., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Guyer, George D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Guyer, Robert G., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Guyler, Robert P., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Guzman, Juan Eugenio, to be provisional second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3243.
Gwilliam, Mark Richard Muckle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Haan, William G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Haas, Ewart G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Haase, Louis, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Habrylewicz, Louis Le R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Hacker, Theodore R., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.
Hackett, James G., to be postmaster at Northwilkesboro, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Hackney, Myron Winston, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Haeberle, Arminius T., to be consul of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Haeberle, Frederick E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Haese, Otto, to be postmaster at Mojave, Cal.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5373.
Haffey, Thomas J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Hagadorn, Charles B., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Hagan, Harry, to be postmaster at Uniontown, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Hagar, William Valley, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Hagebusch, William F., to be postmaster at Okawville, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Hagen, Edward G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Haig, Chester R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Haile, Maud E., to be postmaster at Duenweg, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Haines, Charles L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Haines, Edgar F., to be first lieutenant, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.
Haines, Gordon W., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Haines, John M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Haines, Preston B., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Haines, Ralph E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Haislip, Wade H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hakansson, Erik G., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Halbert, Charles Thomas, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3357.
Halcomb, William S. T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Hale, Augustus B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Hale, Harry C., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hale, H. Warren K., to be postmaster at Dixville Notch, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Hale, John I., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Hale, Willis H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Hailey, Sam K., to be postmaster at Conroe, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Hailey, W. E., to be postmaster at Keysville, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Haley, James I., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Haley, John J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Hall, Charles L., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Hall, Charles P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Hall, Farragut F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Hall, Herman, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hall, Harrison, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Hall, Henry W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hall, James F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Hall, Ralph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hall, Ruskin P., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Hall, Walcott E., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Hall, W. C., to be postmaster at Black Mountain, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Hall, W. D., to be postmaster at Port Byron, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Hall, William E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Halladay, Harry, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Halland, Charles C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Halland, Herman E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hallberg, Arthur Sidney, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Hallett, Harley J., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Halliwell, Birney O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Hallock, Hanna, to be postmaster at Highland Mills, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Halloran, George M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Halloran, Joseph F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Halloran, Paul S., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Halpine, Kenneth M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Halsey, Milton B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Halsey, Milton Baldridge, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Halstead, Frank, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Halstead, Laurence, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Haltnorth, Otto J. W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Haly, William P. D., to be collector of internal revenue for the seventh district of Kentucky; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3063.
Ham, Samuel V., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Hamblen, Archelaus L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Hamberger, William F., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hamel, Alfred R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Hamilton, Catherine A., to be postmaster at Manhasset, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Hamilton, Eva B., to be postmaster at Stratton, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Hamilton, George E., to be a member of Board of Charities, District of Columbia; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5401.
Hamilton, George F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Hamilton, Henry De Witt, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; withdrawn, 6310.
Hamilton, J. Y., to be postmaster at Fairview, W. Va.; nominated, 608; confirmed, 1027.
Hamilton, John T., to be receiver of public moneys at Miles City, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hamilton, Percy Clayton, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Hamilton, Reginald Nichols, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Hamilton, Stuart A., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hamilton, Viola, to be postmaster at Altamont, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Hamilton, Wallace Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Hamilton, William Tuttle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hamlin, D. M., to be postmaster at Newkirk, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Hammill, George F., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Hammond, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hammond, Iva M., to be postmaster at Rose City, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Hammond, Johnson F., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Hamner, Laura V., to be postmaster at Claude, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Hampshire, S. J., to be postmaster at Overbrook, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Hampton, Frank, to be postmaster at Sea Bright, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Hampton, Kensey J., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Hanafee, Frank J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hancock, George H., to be postmaster at Welch, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Hand, Eoline Richmond, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Hand, Harry Vincent, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Handy, Thomas T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Hanigan, Henry A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hanley, Thomas G., jr., to be captain of Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hanlon, Arthur J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hanna, John W., to be postmaster at Winfield, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Hanna, Matthew E., to be Secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Hanna, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Hannah, Tony L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hannay, John R. R., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Hanner, John W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Hannigan, John J., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hansen, Carl L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hanrahan, David C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Hans, Rudolph F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Hansell, Haywood S., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Hanson, Evan G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hanson, James, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hanson, Thomas G., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hanson, Thomas G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hanson, Thomas Grafton, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Harbord, James G., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Harbord, James G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7035; confirmed, 7772.
Hardaway, Benjamin F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Hardaway, Francis P., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Hardaway, Robert M., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Hardaway, T. B., to be postmaster at Jasper, Mo.; nominated, ——; confirmed, 5471.
Harden, Timothy, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Harden, Cora, to be postmaster at Morley, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Hardie, William C., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hardigg, Carl A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hardigg, Jep C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hardigg, William B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Hardin, George L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Hardin, Joseph S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hardin, Tolbert F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Harding, Chester, to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Harding, Edwin F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Harding, Harry S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Harding, William H., to be postmaster at Roscoe, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Hardison, Robert, to be judge of police court of District of Columbia; nominated, 491; confirmed, 608.
Hardy, Aaron Y., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hardy, Edwin N., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Hardy, Francis Hathaway, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Harer, Leon G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Hargardine, Edward C., to be receiver of public moneys at Glasgow, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Hargrove, N. B., to be postmaster at Dillon, S. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Harker, Thomas R., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Harkins, Edward L., to be postmaster at Shirley, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2271.
Harkrader, W. H., to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Harland, Manford W., to be postmaster at Troy, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Harlow, Abner, to be postmaster at Mattapoisett, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Harmon, Daniel W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Harmon, Ernest Nason, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Harmon, Hubert B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Harmon, Kenneth B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Harmon, Millard F., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Harper, Arthur McKinley, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Harper, John B., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Harper, Neal Anthony, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Harper, Paul Church, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Harper, Richard H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Harries, George H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Harrigan, Arthur Nolan, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Harrigan, Philip Braham, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Harrill, William K., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Harriman, John N., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Harriman, Oliver B., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Harrington, Samuel M., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Harrison, James F., to be postmaster at Leap River, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Harrington, J. A., to be postmaster at Arkville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Harris, Archie J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Harris, Arthur R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Harris, Charles W., to be postmaster at Coin, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Harris, D. Rolla, to be postmaster at Sugar, Idaho; nominated, 606; confirmed, 7711.
Harris, Ellis F., to be postmaster at Crozet, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Harris, Frank E., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Harris, John E., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Harris, John T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Harris, Peter C., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Harris, Thomas F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Harris, Walter A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Harriss, George L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Harrison, Alpheus Evans Willson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Harrison, Edward S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Harrison, George Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Harrison, George R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Harrison, John H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Harrison, Leland, to be secretary of legation, class 1; nominated, 4952; confirmed, 5054.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Harrison, Ralph, to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Harrison, Ralph C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed 5682.
Harrison, Ray, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Harrison, Ray P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Harrison, Roger B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Harrison, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Harrison, William Kelly, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Harry, David W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hart, Arthur John, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Hart, Benjamin T., to be postmaster at Altona, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Hart, Thomas C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Hart, William J., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hart, William H., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Hart, William L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Harter, Charles J., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Harter, Gilbert S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Hartle, Russell P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5059.
Hartley, George Russell, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Hartley, Leroy Poston, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Hartline, Effinger B., to be assistant paymaster in United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Hartman, Charles D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hartman, John Barber, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hartman, John D. L., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hartmann, Carl F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Hartnett, Eugene H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Harts, William W., to be colonel, United States Engineers; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5684.
Hartsock, Frederick M., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Hartt, William H., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hartwell, Cushman, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Harvey, Harry A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Harvey, William E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Hasbrouck, Raymond De L., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Harwood, Thomas E., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Haskell, Ernest E., to be major; United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Haskell, Frank Eugene, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Haskins, Edwin Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hasler, Adolph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Haslet, Charles L., to be postmaster at Chesterton, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hasslock, Louis Whorley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Hastings, Joseph Walter, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Hatch, Everard E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hatch, John E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5684.
Hatch, Rayman S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Hatch, William G. B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Hatcher, James L., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hatcher, Julian S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Hatfield, Floyd, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Hatfield, Leland S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Hathaway, Charles Edward, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Hathaway, Frank D., to be chief pay clerk, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Hathaway, Leander R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Hathaway, Levy M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Hathaway, Newton Dousman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Hathaway, Paul, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hatie, Joseph C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Hause, Francis A., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hauser, John N., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Havercamp, Charles M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054.
Haverkampf, Charles W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5684.
Havlicek, Horace K., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Hawkins, George C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hawkins, Hamilton S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Hawkins, James P., to be postmaster at Shoals, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hawkins, Samuel F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Hawkins, Willis H., to be postmaster at Bellport, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Hawkinson, Howard E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Hawkinson, Nels E., to be postmaster at Grove City, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Hawley, Arthur H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hawley, Donald Coe, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3476.
Hawley, Harry F., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Hawley, Jean Hodgkins, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Hawley, Jean Hopkins, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Hawn, Opal C., to be postmaster at Binger, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Hawoth, Hugh G., to be postmaster at Newmarket, Tenn.; nominated, 5290.
Haxton, Ralph G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hay, Cyrus Alaric, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Hayden, Alfred D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Hayden, Charles L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hayden, Claude Jacques, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hayden, Herbert B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Hayden, James Lord, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Hayden, John L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hayes, Casey H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Hayes, Edward S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hayes, Jack, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hayes, Philip, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Hayes, Riley M., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Hayes, Thomas J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hayes, Wilbur Haile, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Hayler, Robert W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hayne, Paul T., jr., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Haynes, Andrew P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Haynes, John C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Haynes, S. R., to be postmaster at De Leon, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Haynes, Thornwell, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Haynes, Thornwell, to be a consul of class 9 of United States of America; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Haynes, Ira A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hays, Leonard, to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Haywood, John E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Hazard, Stanton L. H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Hazel, Noah J., to be postmaster at Marked Tree, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Hazell, Joseph William, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Hazeltine, Ross, to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Hazlehurst, Robert P., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Headlee, Colin De V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Heavey, William Francis, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Healey, Thomas W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Healy, Augustine, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Heard, Falkner, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Heard, Jack W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Heard, Ralph T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2598.
Heard, William A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Hearin, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Hearn, Clint C., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hearn, Clint C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hearn, Thomas G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Heath, Clement C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Heath, William S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Heavey, William F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Heavey, William F., to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Heck, Nicholas Hunter, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Hecox, Floyd C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hedekin, Charles A., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hedrick, David I., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hedstrom, A. Richard, to be chaplain in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Heen, William H., to be third judge of circuit court of first circuit, Territory of Hawaii; nominated, 491; confirmed, 2271.
Heeter, John S., to be postmaster at West Carrollton, Ohio; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Heffernan, John B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Heffernan, Leo G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Heflebower, Roy C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Heidner, Samuel J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Heidt, Emanuel V., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Heidt, Grayson V., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Height, Charles S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Heil, Joseph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Heileman, Frank A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Heilmann, Ernest, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Heiner, Gordon G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Heins, Franklin, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Heinrich, Arnold to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Heintzelman, Stuart, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Helzer, Oscar S., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Hellmers, Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Hellweg, Julius F., to be a commander in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Helm, Carl Cooper, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Helm, Malcolm B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Helm, Malcolm Boord, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
Helmbold, Philip Armour, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Helmick, Charles G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Helmick, Eli A., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Hemenway, Frederick V., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hemenway, Justin Stanley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hemmy, Albert J., to be postmaster at Hartford, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Hendee, J. Clifford, to be postmaster at Thane, Alaska; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Henderson, David P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Henderson, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Henderson, Wilburn H., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hendley, Thomas B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hendricks, Peter H. S., to be postmaster at New Brunswick, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Henefin, Lisle, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Henkle, Ralph H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Henley, Donald, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Henn, Edwin Adolph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Henneberger, Josiah Baker, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hennessy, Frederick B., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482.
Hennigan, Stephen L., to be postmaster at Old Forge, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 6143.
Henninger, John, to be postmaster at Markesan, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Henry, Cranford I., to be postmaster at Apalachicola, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Henry, Edwin S., to be examiner in chief, United States Patent Office; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7769.
Henry, Guy V., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Henry, P. G., to be postmaster at Texarkana, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 7532.
Henry, Russell A., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Henry, William R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Henritze, Thomas F., to be postmaster at Welch, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Hensley, Alice B., to be postmaster at Moore, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Hensley, Benjamin Harrison, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hepburn, Arthur J., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Hepler, Alexander B., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Heraty, Francis John; to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Heraty, Francis J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Herbert, William D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Herbine, Herbert S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Herbst, William P., jr., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Hering, Earl Lee, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Herkness, Sidney, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Herlihy, John E., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Herlihy, Edward George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hermann, John R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Hero, Andrew, jr., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Heron, Gordon J. T., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Herman, Frederich W., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Herrick, Charles C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Herron, Charles D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Herron, Thomas M. R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Hersey, Mark L., jr., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hersey, Mark L., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hersam, Burdette, to be postmaster at Diagonal, Iowa; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Hervey, Harcourt, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Herwig, Hans R. W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Herwig, Leopold J. H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Herzberg, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Herzer, Charles J., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hesford, Arthur, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Hess, Henry Emil, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Hess, Louis T., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Hess, Oliver A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Hess, Walter W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Hester, John H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hetrick, Harold S., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Hetrick, John, to be postmaster at Laclede, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5491.
Hettinger, John Adams, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3359.
Heuer, William Henry, to be a member California Débris Commission; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Hewitt, Charles, to be postmaster at Wakefield, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Hewitt, Orin R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hewlett, George W., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Heyser, Marvin C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; confirmed, 2598; nominated, 850.
Heysinger, James D., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hibbs, Louis E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Hickam, Horace M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hickey, Andrew S., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Hickey, Bernard F., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Hickman, Della, to be postmaster at Spiro, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Hickman, Edwin A., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Hickey, Charles N., to be postmaster at Gainesville, N. Y.; nominated 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Hickey, Martin, to be postmaster at Grafton, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Hickok, Howard R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hicks, Edward H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Hicks, George L., jr., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Hicks, George R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Hicks, Irving H., to be postmaster at Contoocook, N. H.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Hierdahl, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Higgins, Edward G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Higgins, Louis C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Higgins, Michael, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Higgins, Willfred Rowell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Hildebrand, Harry Brandley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hileman, Joseph L., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hill, Felix R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Hill, Francis Lenoir, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Hill, Frank, to be postmaster at Dumont, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Hill, Henry R., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Hill, Ira B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851, 1577; confirmed, 2599.
Hill, James R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hill, John Downing, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hill, Joseph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hill, Patrick, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hill, Ray C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Hill, Robert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Hill, Roy A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hill, S. A., to be postmaster at Bellville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Hillhouse, Frank B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Hilliard, Josephine, to be postmaster at Union Point, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Hillman, Charles C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Hillman, Frank M., to be postmaster at Milan, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hillman, Leroy T., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Hills, Jedediah H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Hilsman, Roger, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hilt, Mitchell, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Hilton, Roy Carter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hinds, Alfred W., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hinds, Ernest, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hineman, John H., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hines, Charles, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Hines, John F., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hines, John L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Hink, Fred W., to be postmaster at Raymond, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5402.
Hinkley, Wilmer Otis, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Hinman, Dale D., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hinton, Frank E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Hipp, Thomas E., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Hitch, Calvin Milton, to be consul of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Hitt, De Coursey D., to be postmaster at Rockville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hix, A. D., to be postmaster at Zearing, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Hixson, W. L., to be postmaster at Billings, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Hoag, John A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Hoagland, Frank L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hobbs, Charles B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Hobbs, Harvey M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Hobbs, Horace P., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hobbs, Leland S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hobley, Alfred H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hobson, Walker E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Hobson, William H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hocker, Woodson, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hochwalt, Earl B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Hodges, Courtney H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Hodges, Harry F., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hodges, Henry C., jr., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hodges, John N., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Hodgkins, Harry Grant, jr., to be provisonal second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed. 3242.
Hodgkins, William Candler, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Hodgson, Carey Vandervart, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3439.
Hodgson, Paul A., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Hodson, William A., to be postmaster at Cresbard, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290.
Hoeffel, Kenneth M., to be ensign in the Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hoerner, Frank L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Hoey, Granville B., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hoey, William F., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hoffer, Jay E., to be colonel, Ordnance Department; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 5849.
Hofferth, B. F., to be postmaster at Kouts, Ind.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5373.
Hoffman, Arthur J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Hoffman, Edward L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Hoffman, Harlow H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Hoffman, Harry D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hoffman, Leonard G., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Hoffman, Philip, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of United States to Colombia; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5930.
Hoffman, Roy, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Hoffman, W. H., to be postmaster at Dunnellon, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Hofgaard, Christopher B., to be postmaster at Waimea, Hawaii; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Hogan, James, to be postmaster at Marcellus, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Hogan, J. Walter, to be postmaster at Willow Springs, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Hogan, Minnie E., to be postmaster at Collegepark, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Hoge, William M., jr., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hogeburch, William F., to be postmaster at Okawville, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Hoisington, Gregory, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Holben, Arthur F. J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Holbrook, Lucius R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Holbrook, Willard A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Holchak, S. J., jr., to be postmaster at Runge, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Holcomb, Richmond C., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Holcomb, William Ray, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Holcombe, William H., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Holden, Carl F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Holden, George J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Holden, Oliver F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Holder, Arthur E., to be a member of Federal Board for Vocational Education; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5203.
Holdridge, Herbert Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Hole, Robert J., to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Holland, Clarence D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Holland, George D., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Holland, Jerry, to be postmaster at Phelps, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Holland, Philip, to be consul of class 5; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Hollander, Harry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Hollar, Charles L., to be postmaster at Kellogg, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Hollaren, Michael, to be postmaster at Ellsworth, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Holley, J. T., to be postmaster at Stigler, Okla.; nominated, 5288.
Holliday, Ralph C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Hollister, Claude Reavis, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Holloway, Murray S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hollyday, Thomas W., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Hollyer, Winthrop Ansley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Holm, Ion Carl, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Holman, Oliver I., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Holmberg, Carl E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Holmberg, Otto, to be postmaster at Molson, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Holmer, Frederick A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Holmes, Earl F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Holmes, Frederick S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Holmes, Gaston L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Holmes, Henry B., jr., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Holmes, James H., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Holmes, Joel Grant, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Holmes, John M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Holmes, Max Donald, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Holroyd, Charles F., to be postmaster at Thornton, R. I.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5860.
Holt, Benjamin Joseph, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Holtmann, Oscar H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Holton, Charles McK., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Holycross, Forest Lee, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Holzheimer, William A., to be judge of District Court of Alaska; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Homer, John L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Homer, Horace Zenes, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Hones, William, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hood, John Derby, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hood, John H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Hood, Thomas H., to be postmaster at Wortham, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Hoogewerff, John R., to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hook, Frederick R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Hooper, Albert A., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Hooper, Albert A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hooper, David Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hooper, Lionel Elean, to be passed assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5293.
Hooper, Otto A. B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hooper, Stanford C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Hoopes, Harold Clinton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Hoopingarner, John C., to be postmaster at Berrien Springs, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Hoopman, Emma L., to be postmaster at Lucas, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Hooton, Harry A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Hoover, Guy B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hoover, Stewart W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Hoover, Stewart Whiting, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Hopkins, Frank E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Hopkins, George Lawrence, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Hopkins, James F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Hopkins, Jay P., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Hopkins, Seldon G., to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6060.
Hopkins, William H., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hopkins, William T., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Hoppe, Thaddeus A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hopper, George D., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Hopper, John Stanley; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Horan, John Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Horn, Tiemann N., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hornbuckle, Jean, to be postmaster at Venus, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Horne, Roland Drew, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Horner, Harry E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Horton, Robert D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Horton, Robert Donald, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3242.
Horton, Wayne, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Hosmer, Emory F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Hosmer, Emory F., to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Hosung, Charles H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Houck, J. H., to be postmaster at Gibsland, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Houghland, Howard J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Houghton, Charles Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Houghton, William C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Houle, George E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Houlihan, James F., to be chaplain in Second Field Artillery with rank of captain; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2599.
Hoase, Allen Floyd, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Houser, March Hugo, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Houston, James B., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Houston, Samuel H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Houstoun, Patrick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Hovey, George Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Howard, Alton Wright, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Howard, Byron C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Howard, Clinton W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Howard, Deane C., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Howard, Dudley Blanchard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Howard, George T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Howe, George T., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Howard, Harold P., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Howard, James M., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Howard, J. D., to be postmaster at Milledgeville, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 7711.
Howard, John, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Howard, Ralph H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Howe, Alfred G., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Howe, Dan D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Howe, John, to be postmaster at North Brookfield, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Howe, Karl John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United State Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Howe, Theodore F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Howell, Willey, to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Howell, Willey, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Howells, Owen, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Howison, George B., to be postmaster at Waterman, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Howk, Horace J., to be postmaster at Mount McGregor, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Howze, Marion W., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Howze, Robert L., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Hoyt, Henry W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Hoyt, Leon W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Hoyt, Simes Thurston, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Hubbard, George O., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Hubbard, Henry C., to be postmaster at Cordell, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Hubbard, William W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Huber, Charles J., to be postmaster at Rulo, Nebr.; nominated; 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Huber, Edward G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Huckestein, August, to be postmaster at Salem, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Hudnutt, Dean, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Hudson, Jesse J., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Hudson, Lester J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hudson, Michael, to be lieutenant (junior grade), in the Navy; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2457.
Hudson, Paul Revere, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Hudspeth, Andrew W., to be United States marshal, district of New Mexico; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3239.
Huebner, Clarence R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Huebner, Louis W., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Hurnbert, George F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Huff, Curtis T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Huffard, Glenn De Witt, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Huggard, Robert M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hughes, Alfred R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Hughes, E. Earl, to be postmaster at Fresno, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Hughes, Leonard S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Huguet, Adolphe W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Hulen, John A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Hullfish, Wilson S., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Hulse, Frank G., to be postmaster at Delhi, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Humbert, John H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Hume, John Van Derlip, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Humes, Edwin Lowry, to be United States attorney, Western District of Pennsylvania; nominated, 7633; confirmed, 7840.
Humphrey, Charles F., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Humphrey, Evan H., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Humphrey, Gilbert E., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Humphrey, Henry J. C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Humphrey, Marion R., to be captain in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Humphreys, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Hunke, Robert, to be postmaster at Richardton, N. Dak.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Hunt, Claude De B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hunt, E. E., sr., to be postmaster at Mocksville, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Hunt, Frank, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Hunt, Geston P., to be postmaster at Rushville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hunt, Jesse B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hunt, Richard D., to be postmaster at Sharon, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Hunt, Walter D., to be postmaster at Gas City, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hunt, Walter M., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Hunt, William E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Hunter, Blaine, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Hunter, Charles Marion, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Hunter, David McAllister, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Hunter, Edwin G., to be naval officer of customs in customs collection district No. 20, with headquarters at New Orleans, La.; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hunter, Francis R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Hunter, George K., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hunter, Harry, to be postmaster at Ossian, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Hunter, James F., to be postmaster at Lancaster, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5945.
Hunter, John S., to be receiver of public moneys at Montgomery, Ala.; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4356.
Hunter, Mary S., to be postmaster at Pineville, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Hunter, Rosser Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Hunter, Tracy G., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Huntington, Frederick W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Huntington, Philip W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Huntley, Leila J., to be postmaster at Cheraw, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5945.
Huntoon, Jay G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hupp, John B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hurd, Lucius L., to be postmaster at Glendale, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Hurd, Thomas J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Hurdis, Charles Everett, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Hurdle, Owen T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Hurlburt, Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hurlbut, Earl S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; withdrawn, 724.
Hurley, Edward N., to be a member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 5429; confirmed, 5471.
Hurley, Harrison C., to be postmaster at Asbury Park, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Hurley, Patrick J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Hurley, Thomas Dreux, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Hurst, Paul, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hurt, Samuel H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Huschke, Paul W. F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Huse, Reuben A., to be postmaster at Kingfield, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Huss, A. H., to be postmaster at Cherryville, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Husson, William M., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Huston, Hamner, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Huston, James C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Hustvedt, Olaf M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Hutcheson, Grote, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Hutchings, Henry, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Hutchings, Henry, jr., to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Hutchings, Henry, jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Hutchins, Charles T., jr., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Hutchins, Henry, jr., to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5684.
Hutchins, Henry A., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hutchinson, Arthur B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Huthsteiner, George Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Hutson, Albert L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Hutson, James C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Hutson, Louis De Laussure, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Hutton, Paul C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Huxford, Harry N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Hyatt, John W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Hyatt, Robert F., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Hyde, Arthur P. S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Hyde, B. F., to be postmaster at Meridian, Miss.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Hyde, Frederick Weston, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Hyde, Ralph U., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Hyden, Walter Francis Vander, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Hyer, Benjamin B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; withdrawn, 5335.
———to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Hyland, John J., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Ide, Charles E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Ingersoll, George Pratt, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Siam; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5930.
Ingerson, F. P., to be postmaster at Barstow, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Inglee, Harry A., to be postmaster at Amityville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Ingler, Hugh B., to be postmaster at Republic, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Ingles, Harry C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Inglis, Fred B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Inglis, Thomas B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Ingold, John G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Ingram, Charles L., to be postmaster at Franklin, N. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Ingram, H. B., to be postmaster at Conway, Ark.; nominated, 5277.
Ingram, Fred F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ingram, Homer L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ingram, Sherman R., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3356.
Ipock, Byron Tully, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Irby, Franklin S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Irby, John S., to be surveyor of customs, district No. 28; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5849.
Iredell, Edward, to be postmaster at Mullica Hill, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Ireland, Merritte W., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Irons, James A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Irvin, William Ross, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Irvine, Elroy S. J., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Irvine, Willard Wadsworth, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Irving, Frederick A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Irving, Frederick Augustus, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Irwin, Andrew J., to be postmaster at Sandersville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Irwin, Constant L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Irwin, George Le R., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Irwin, Glendon W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Irwin, Gordon C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Irwin, Grattan G., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Irwin, Hiram Z., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Irwin, Noble E., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Irwin, Robert B., to be postmaster at Nichols, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Irwin, Samuel R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominted, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Irwin, Samuel R., to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5684.
Irwin, Samuel Rairigh, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Iverson, Elmer V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Iverson, O. M., to be postmaster at Hudson, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5402.
Iversen, Rasmus, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Jackson, Albert Miller, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Jackson, Arthur, to be postmaster at Littleton, W. Va.; nominated, 608; confirmed, 1027.
Jackson, Charles, to be postmaster at Palmetto, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Jackson, Edward S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Jackson, Harold L., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Jackson, Harold Rufus, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Jackson, Herbert W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Jackson, J. A., to be postmaster at Ronceverte, W. Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 5059.
Jackson, John P., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Jackson, Orton P., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Jackson, Paul Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Jackson, Thomas H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Engineers; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Jackson, William P., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Jacobowitz, Jacob, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Jacobs, Fred P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Jacobs, James D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Jacobs, James R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Jacobs, Simon, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Jacobs, Walter F., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Jacobsen, Conrad L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Jacobson, Charles Wells, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Jacobson, Jacob H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Jacobson, Jannis V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Jadwin, John S., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Jaeckel, Theodore, to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Jaenicke, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Jalbert, Horace H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Jamerson, George H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
James, Alexander L., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
James, Anthony J., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
James, Bartlett, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated. 5200; confirmed, 5685.
James, Harold W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
James, Henry R., to be postmaster at Rochester, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
James, Thomas, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
James, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Janda, Joseph V., to be postmaster at Boyd, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed. 6807.
Janssen, Otto, to be postmaster at Clarkdale, Ariz.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Jansen, Robert, to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Jarchow, Gustav J., to be postmaster at Harris, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Jarvis, A. S., to be postmaster at Troup, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Jayne, John K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Jefferis, Leslie V., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Jeffers, William N., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Jenkins, John M., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Jenkins, Coleman W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Jenkins, John F., to be postmaster at Ashburn, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Jenkins, John H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Jenkins, Ralph H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Jenkins, Thomas G., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Jenks, Charles F., to be postmaster at Egan, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5402.
Jenks, Isaac C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Jennings, Robert W., to be United States district judge, division No. 1, district of Alaska; nominated, 849; confirmed, 3355.
Jernberg, Arthur Reinert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Jervey, Arthur P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Jervey, Henry, to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Joachims, Arthur, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Joanidy, John Demetre, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Jobe, Louie L., to be postmaster at Bloomfield, Mo.; nominated. 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Jobson, Clarence F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Jocelyn, Stephen P., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Johanson, Carl, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
John, Ernest, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Johns, Donald C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated. 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Johns, Dwight F., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Johns, Lindsay P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated. 2794; confirmed, 3242.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated. 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Johnsen, Niles A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Johnson, Alexander L. P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Johnson, Alfred W., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Johnson, Andrew, to be postmaster at Parkers Prairie, Minn.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Johnson, Arthur, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Johnson, Charles F., to be United States circuit judge; nominated, 7556; confirmed, 7556.
Johnson, Charles Radcliffe, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Johnson, Clarence H., to be postmaster at Narrows, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Johnson, Clarence R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Johnson, Clarence W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Johnson, Davenport, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Johnson, Edward C., to be postmaster at East Chatham, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Johnson, Einar R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Johnson, Evan M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Johnson, Felix S. S., to be a consul of class 7 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Johnson, Francis Leavell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Johnson, Frank, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Johnson, Frank E., to be lieutenant, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Johnson, Frank Melvin S., to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Johnson, Frederick C., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Johnson, George W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Johnson, Gladys L., to be postmaster at Olney Springs, Colo.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Johnson, Harry T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Johnson, Hugh S., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Johnson, Isaac C., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Johnson, Jacob C., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7772.
Johnson, James H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Johnson, J. Lee, to be postmaster at Flat River, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Johnson, John B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Johnson, John F., to be postmaster at Watertown, Tenn; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Johnson, Leo E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Johnson, Lee P., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Johnson, Ludwig L., to be postmaster at Brookpark, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Johnson, Neal Creighton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Johnson, Olav, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Johnson, Paul K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Johnson, Robert S., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Johnson, Ronald D., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Johnson, Thomas H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Johnson, Thomas J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Johnson, Thomas L., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Johnson, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Johnson, William A., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Johnson, William Ogden, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Johnston, Edward S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Johnston, Frederick E., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Johnston, James F., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Johnston, John A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Johnston, John S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Johnston, Joseph Jack, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Johnston, Marbury, to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Johnston, T. W., to be postmaster at Wallis, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Johnston, William C., to be postmaster at Williamsburg, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Johnston, William F., to be postmaster at Westgrove, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Johnston, William H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Johnston, William T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Joiner, William H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Joldersma, Rudolph D., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Jones, Alan Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Jones, Albert M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Jones, Alpheus M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Jones, Arno W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Jones, Byron Q., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Jones, Carl H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Jones, Charles Hudson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Jones, Charles M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Jones, Charles Rouse, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Jones, Charles W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Jones, Clarence N., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Jones, De Witt C., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Jones, Edgar, to be postmaster at Frankford, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Jones, Edgar C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Jones, Edward H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Jones, Edward Kirby; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Jones, Edward N., jr., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Jones, George Clay, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Jones, Glenn I., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Jones, Harris, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Jones, Harry Columbus, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Jones, Henry C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Jones, Henry L. C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Jones, Hugh Campbell Hodge, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Jones, Ivens, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Jones, James E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Jones, James L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Jones, Jarrard E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Jones, John H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Jones, J. Harold, to be postmaster at Yorkville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Jones, John M., to be postmaster at Morton, Wash; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Jones, Kenneth S., to be first lieutenant in Engineer Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
——— to be captain, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Jones, Leslie B. C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Jones, Lloyd E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Jones, Paul I., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Jones, Percy L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Jones, Ralph E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Jones, Richard S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Jones, Robert E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Jones, Robert O., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Jones, Roy M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Jones, Stephen, to be postmaster at Canton, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Jones, Thomas H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Jones, Thomas H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Jones, Thomas R., to be register of the land office at Glasgow, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Jones, William F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Jones, William F., to be postmaster at Hogansville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Jones, William H., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Jones, William K., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Jones, Welborn V., to be postmaster at Auburn, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Jones, Woodfin G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Jordan, Frank B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Jordan, William H., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Joy, Stanley A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Joyce, Thomas F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Joyes, John W., to be colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Joyner, Ralph Leslie, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Judge, John P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Judson, Howard C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Judson, William V., to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Juenemann, George F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Juhler, Henrietta L., to be postmaster at Spreckels, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Juillard, Emilie F., to be postmaster at Stryker, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Juneau, R. T., to be postmaster at Valley Junction, Iowa; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Jupp, Stanley D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Justice, James, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Juzek, Harry John, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Kaight, Stanley M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Kalbfus, George R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Kalloch, Parker C., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Kalter, George E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy, nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Kamps, Berend, to be postmaster at Zieland, Mich.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5374.
Kane, John D. H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Kane, Paul V., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Karr, Douglas, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Karow, Gustav Ludwig, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Kasten, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; confirmed, 2598; nominated, 850.
Kauffman, James L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Kautz, Austin, to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Kaye, John P., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Kays, Herbert E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Kayser, Harold P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Keane, Daniel Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Keane, James Louis, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Kearful, Francis J., to be Assistant Attorney General; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Kearney, Harvey C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Kearns, Gilbert Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Kearns, William Henry, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Keating, Robert E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Keblinger, Wilbur, to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Keefe, John H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Keegan, Michael A., to be postmaster at Rockland, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2271.
Keeley, Clarence A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Keeley, Harry J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Keeley, James, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Keen, Hugh B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Keene, Clyde, to be chief gunner in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Keene, Clyde, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Keesling, Lloyd Neff, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Keester, George B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Kefauver, Lloyd A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Kehl, John E., to be consul of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Kehoe, William Harold, to be second lieutenant in the Army; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Kehoe, Charles B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Keiser, Laurence B., to be first liuetenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Keiser, Laurence Bolton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Keith, Eva, to be postmaster at Goldfield, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Kelther, John, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Kellam, Frederick C. A., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Keller, George M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Keller, Henry R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Keller, Ira J., to be postmaster at Yeagertown, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Keller, Karl, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Keller, William L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Kellogg, Edward S., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Kelly, Charles Bernard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Kelly, Harry J., to be register of the land office at Lewistown, Mont.; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 3063.
Kelly, Peter K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Kelly, Monroe, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Kelly, Theodore, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Kelly, William, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5684.
Kelley, Benjamin C., to be postmaster at Harwich Port, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Kelley, Lawrence O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Kelsh, Harry Thomas, jr., to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Kelton, Edwin C., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Kelty, Harold W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Kemble, Franklin; to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Kemper, James B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Kempff, Clarence S., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Kempton, Elvie L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Kendall, Charles Benjamin, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Kendall, Charles S., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5703.
Kendall, Henry S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Kendrick, Oliver P., to be postmaster at West Brookfield, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Kenly, William L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Kennedy, Alfred J., to be postmaster at Flushing, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Kennedy, Belton O'N., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Kennedy, Chase W., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be major general, nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Kennedy, Frank M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Kennedy, James M., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Kennedy, John T., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Kennedy, Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Kennedy, Sherman S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Kennedy, Stanley Young, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Kennedy, William F., to be postmaster at Kenbridge, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Kennedy, Wesley T., to be United States attorney for eastern district of Tennessee; nominated, ——; confirmed, 5471.
Kennett, F. A., to be postmaster at Prosser, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Kennon, Lyman W. V., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Kenny, Lewis L., to be postmaster at Fruitland Park, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Kennuly, William T., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Tennessee; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5203.
Kent, William, to be member of United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
Kephart, Samuel A., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7772.
Kepner, William E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Kernan, Francis J., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Kern, Kenneth E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Kerns, Harry N., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Kerns, William Dominick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Kerr, Charles J., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Kerr, David R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Kerr, Francis R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Kerr, James T., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Kerr, Robert W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Kerrick, Charles S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Kerrick, Harrison S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Kessing, Oliver O., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Ketcham, Daniel W., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Kettels, Axel V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Kettle, Charles E., to be postmaster at Hastings, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Keyes, Raymond S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Kidd, Alexander C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Kidder, Edmund J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Kieffer, Philip J., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Kiland, Ingolf N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Kilbourne, Lincoln F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Kilbreth, John W., jr., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Kilburn, Charles Solomon, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Kiley, Joseph P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Kiley, Timothy E., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Killin, Olive A., to be postmaster at Kiowa, Colo.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Killmaster, Benjamin S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Kilner, Walter G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Kimball, Allen R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Kimball, E. P., to be postmaster at Virden, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Kimball, Gordon N., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Kimball, Harlan Davies, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Kimball, Ralph S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Kimball, Richard H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Kimball, Robert Ecles, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Kimble, Edwin R., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Kimmel, Harry L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Kinard, Kerwin W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Kindervater, Ernest Alvin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
King, Adrian P., to be postmaster at Beechhaven, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
King, Alfred K., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
King, Arthur G., to be postmaster at Easley, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 7711.
King, Campbell, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
King, Charles A., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
King, Charles A. E., to be captain in Marine Corps; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
King, Charles T., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
King, Edward P., jr., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
King, Eldon Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
King, Frank E., to be postmaster at Braman, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
King, Frank R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
King, George Archibald, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
King, John N., to be postmaster at Rochelle, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
King, Paul Roberts, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
King, R. H., to be postmaster at Alvin, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
King, William C., jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
King, William O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Kingman, Allen F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Kingsbury, James, to be postmaster at Pottsville, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Kingston, Arthur, to be first lieutenant in Marine Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
Kinloch, Bohun B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Kinloch, Henry S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Kinney, Clifton C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Kinnison, Henry L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Kinsley, Arthur C., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Kinzly, H. E., to be postmaster at Nevada, Ohio; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5375.
Kipp, Howard H., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Kirchmier, Frederick M., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Kirk, Allen Flood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Kirk, Alan G., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Kirk, James, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Kirk, Milton B., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Kirk, Norman T., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Kirkpatrick, George W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Kirkpatrick, H. Y., to be postmaster at Lebanon, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5373.
Kirkpatrick, Thomas J., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Kirlin, M. J., to be postmaster at Kingsville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Kirst, Anthony J., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Kiser, Sherman L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Kisner, Roy Markley, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Kissell, J. W., to be postmaster at West Unity, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Kite, George Fredrick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Kittrell, Clark, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5684.
Klackle, B. W., to be postmaster at Bridgman, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5371.
Klein, Harold S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Klein, John C., to be postmaster at St. Joseph, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Kleinecke, Belle, to be postmaster at Hitchcock, Tex.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Kline, Emanuel, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Klinger, Albert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Kloepfer, Arthur M., to be postmaster at Winnetka, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Knabenshue, Frederick G., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Knabenshue, Paul, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Knapp, Alexander Payson, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Knauer, Flora S., to be postmaster at Reedley, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Knebel, Joseph H., to be postmaster at Pocahontas, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Knight, George P., to be postmaster at Stephenville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Knight, Harry E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Knight, Harry M., to be postmaster at Camden, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Knight, Houston H., to be postmaster at Avery, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Knight, James C., to be postmaster at Jesup, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Knoll, Dallas Lloyd, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Knott, George, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964, confirmed, 5101.
Knowles, Alden C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Knowles, Herbert B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Knowles, John McN. D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Knowles, Samuel H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Knowles, William M., to be postmaster at Brewster, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Knox, Albert, to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Knudsen, Fredrik L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Kobbé, Ferdinand W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Kobbe, Herman, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Koebbe, Ezra E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Koehler, George R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Koehler, Hugo W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Koenig, Egmont F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Koerper, Conrad E., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Koester, Francis J., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3355.
Kohlmeier, Irvin G., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Kohn, Joseph Philip, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Kolyn, Marion Den Herder, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Konrad, Christian, to be postmaster at Lacona, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Koppang, Helmer H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Kossler, Herman, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Kostbade, William, to be postmaster at Hobart, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Kraft, George L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Krakow, Carl C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Kramer, Floyd, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Kramer, Herman F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Kramer, John A., to be postmaster at Middletown, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Kramer, Otto, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Krapt, George W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Krayenbuhl, Craigie, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Kreger, Edward A., to be lieutenant colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Kreider, William C., to be postmaster at Mauch Chunk, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Kremers, Edward, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Krogstad, Arnold N., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Kromer, Leon B., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Kroner, Hayes A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Krueger, Carl Clifton, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Krueger, Ernest H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Krupp, Oscar, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Kuegle, Albert S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Kuentz, Oscar O., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Kuerr, Hugh J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Kuhn, Joseph E., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Kuhn, Richard P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Kuhrmeyer, Henry, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Kummer, Ferdinand Gustav, jr., von, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Kunz, Robert Newton, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Kupfer, Albin K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Kurtz, Charles R., to be surveyor of customs, district No. 11; nominated, 4959.
Kurtz, Thomas R., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Kuschke, Albert Russell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Kutz, Harry R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Kuykendall, Morgan, to be postmaster at Kevil, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Kyburg, Henry Ely, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Kyle, D. J., to be postmaster at Harrisville, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 6143.
Kyser, William D., to be United States attorney, western district of Tennessee; nominated, 491; confirmed, 7898.
Lacey, Francis E., jr., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Lacy, W. N., to be postmaster at Lenoir City, Tenn.; nominated, 617; confirmed, 724.
Lackland, Frank D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Ladd, Eugene F., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Ladd, Jesse A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
LaGuardia, Giovanni Battista, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Laird, Robert Alexander, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Lake, George B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Lake, Robert H., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Lally, James, to be postmaster at Milford, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Lamb, W. E., to be postmaster at Lepanto, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Lamb, W. J., to be postmaster at Mabank, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Lambdin, William McK., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Lambert, Kent Craig, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lambeth, Carl J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Lambeth, Carl Joshua, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Lambeth, H. D., to be postmaster at Elon College, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Lambie, John S., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Lamborn, Joshua P., to be postmaster at Berwyn, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Lammers, Howard M., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2457.
Lamoreux, Thomas B., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Lamoreux, Thomas L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Lampert, Lester L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Lamson, Theodore, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Lancaster, Joseph L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Landenberger, George B., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Landers, Howard L., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Landis, John F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Landon, Nathan E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Landolt, Herbert Louis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Landreth, Earl, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Landreth, Morton L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Landrum, Eugene M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Lane, Arthur Bliss, to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Lane, Franklin F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Lane, J. B., to be postmaster at Blue Hill, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Lane, John Clarence, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Lane, Meredith B., to be postmaster at Sullivan, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Lane, Paul Vaux, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Lane, Spencer B., to be captain; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Lang, Clarence D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Lange, Otto F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Lange, Robert U., to be postmaster at Belle Vernon, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Langfelt, William C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Langfield, Arthur, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed [illegible]02.
Langford, Frances H., to be postmaster at Rogerson, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Langham, Frank, to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Langhorne, George T., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5683.
Langsford, Rufus B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Langston, George D., to be postmaster at Haines City, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Langwill, William G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Lanham, Charles L., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Lanier, Berwick B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Lannon, James P., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Lanphier, Thomas G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Lanterman, E. Tracy, to be postmaster at East Orange, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Lantz, Frank V., to be postmaster at McArthur, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Lanza, Conrad H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Lapp, Charles W., to be United States Marshal, northern district of Ohio; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5430.
Larabee, Alfred E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Larecy, J. F., to be postmaster at Hugo, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Larimer, Edgar B., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Larkin, John, to be postmaster at Newberg, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Larkin, John Herman; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Larkin, Thomas B., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Larned, William E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Larsen, Abion O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Larsen, Reuben L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Larson, William J., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Lash, Clement V., to be postmaster at Edon, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Lasseigne, Francis Maynard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Lassing, Walter H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Lassitor, William, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Latane, R. H., to be postmaster at Buchanan, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Lathrop, Elbe A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Latham, Ector Brooks, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Latimore, Thomas C., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Latrobe, Osmew, jr., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Lattin, James W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Lattimore, Walter Compere, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Lattin, Jay D. B., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Lau, Walter, to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Lau, Walter, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Laub, Ernest S. V., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Laubach, Howard L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Laubach, James H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Lauck, J. S., to be postmaster at Shenandoah, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Laughter, Albert B., to be postmaster at Norlina, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5374.
Lavelle, J. P., to be postmaster at Columbus, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Law, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Lawes, Herbert J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Lawrence, Charles S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Lawrence, Jacob Herschel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Lawrence, John T., to be postmaster at Seneca, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 7711.
Lawrence, Randolph, to be postmaster at Roff, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Lawrence, Thompson, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Laws, George W., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Lawson, Laurin L., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Lawton, Ezra M., to be a consul of class 7 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Lawton, Frank W., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Lawton, Frederick G., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
——— to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 6060; withdrawn, 6060.
Lawton, Manley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Lawyer, James Van B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Lay, Tracy, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Layer, Gotthilf C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Layton, Thomas B. L., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Lazar, George A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Leach, A. A., to be postmaster at Dadeville, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5402.
Leahy, J. A., to be postmaster at Plainfield, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5375.
Leahy, Richard Fairfax, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Leard, Emil W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Leary, Edmund M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 5056.
Leary, Thomas J., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Leary, Timothy Francis, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Leavenworth, John P., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Leavenworth, William S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Leavitt, Arthur H., to be consul, class 8; nominated, 6302; confirmed, 6958.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Lebensohn, James E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Le Blanc, C. N., to be postmaster at Gueydan, La.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Le Clair, Hugh P., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ledford, Shelby, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Lee, Alva, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Lee, Charles Haines, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Lee, David R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Lee, Eddie James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Lee, E. T., to be postmaster at Dunn, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Lee, Fitzhugh, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Lee, Frederick Montgomery, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Lee, Harry R., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Lee, Henry W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Lee, Herbert L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2598.
Lee, Joel R., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Lee, Raymond E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Lee, Richard E., to be postmaster at Concord, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Lee, Robert H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Lee, William F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Leffler, Charles D., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Le Gette, Ashley Spencer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Le Gette, Francis Clinton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Legge, Barnwell R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Lehmann, George Dawson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Lehner, Charles R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Lehrbach, Henry G., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Lehrfeld, Isidore, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Leigh, Richard H., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Leighton, Frank T., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Leisure, Charles C., to be postmaster at Earl Park, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Leitch, Joseph D., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Leitch, William H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Lenihan, Michael J., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
Lenihan, Michael J., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Lenoir, Basil O., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Lense, Frederick T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Leonard, Edward W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Leonard, Edward William, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Leonard, Ivers W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Leonard, John W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Leonard, Joseph S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Leonard, Walter A., to be a consul of class 6 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Le Pine, Frederick C., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Lester, German W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Lester, James A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Lester, James W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Letcher, Marion, to be a consul general of class 5 of the United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Lettellier, George H., to be postmaster at Mill City, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Leuzner, Delmar S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Leventen, Harry K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Levin, Oscar S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Levis, William R., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Levy, Maurice Eli, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Lewis, Augustus T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Lewis, Burton O., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Lewis, Carl Grady, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Lewis, Cedric W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Lewis, Charles D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Lewis, Charles David, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Lewis, C. M., to be postmaster at Bridgeport, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Lewis, Coney Kitchen, to be postmaster at Grayson, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Lewis, David J., to be member of United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
Lewis, Edson A., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Lewis, Edward C., to be postmaster at Marianna, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Lewis, Edward M., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Lewis, Edward M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Lewis, Frank, to be chief pay clerk, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5373.
Lewis, George F., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Lewis, Harold G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Lewis, Henry B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Lewis, Mays L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Lewis, Orville E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Lewis, Ray Hartwell, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Lewis, Samuel B., to be postmaster at Fayetteville, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Lewis, Walter W., to be postmaster at Pascagoula, Miss.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Lewis, Warfield M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Lewis, Warfield Monroe, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Lewis, William F., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Leypoldt, Harry, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Lichliter, Christian S., to be postmaster at Elk Lick, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Lightfoot, Charles E., to be postmaster at Cloverport, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Lightfoot, Elmer G., to be postmaster at Fairfield, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Lightle, William T., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Likens, John R., to be ensign; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5103.
Lind, Wallace L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Lindall, Albin L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Lindberg, John C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Lindblad, Axel, to be ensign, United States Navy; nominated, 5429; confirmed, 5689.
Linde, Frederick G., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Linder, Samuel J., to be postmaster at Ilo, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Lindh, Fritz P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Lindley, Leo L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Lindsay, Robert M., to be postmaster at Alcoa, Tenn.; nominated, 5290.
Lindsey, Julian R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Lindsley, Elmer, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Lindt, John H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Lineberry, William T., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Lingle, Benjamin R., to be postmaster at Warsaw, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Linsert, Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Lisle, Nicholas Winn, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Listoe, Alexander Eugene, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Littebrant, William T., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3355.
Littell, Isaac W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Littell, William J., to be pay director in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Little, Charles S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Little, Jessie A., to be postmaster at Pepin, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Little, William L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Littlejohn, Robert McG., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Lively, Frank W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Livesay, William G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Livingstone, G. B., to be postmaster at Conneaut Lake, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Ljungquist, Conrad W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ljungstedt, Philip M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Lloyd, Charles R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Lloyd, Claudius Leo, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Lloyd, Edward Bennett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lloyd, Egbert T., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Loba, Jean F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Lobitz, Henry, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Locke, Morris E., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Lockhart, S. S., to be postmaster at Wadesboro, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Lockhart, Wilbur M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Lockwood, Benjamin C., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Lockwood, Henry, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lockwood, James Booth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lockwood, Lawrence, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Logan, Albert J., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Logan, Edgar A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Logan, Frank L., to be postmaster at Petersburg, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Logan, Fred McI., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Logan, George L., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Logan, Leon M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Logan, Thomas J., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Logsdon, Tyrah D., to be postmaster at Endicott, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Lohman, Eugene, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Lohman, John H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Lohmann, Leroy Henry, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Lohr, Edward Carl, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Lohr, Lenox R., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Lohr, Lenox Riley, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
London, John J., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Lonergan, Thomas C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Long, Alfred H., to be postmaster at Festus, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Long, Earl C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Long, Frank S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Long, John D., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481.
Long, Henry C., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Long, Roland R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Longstreet, James, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Longwell, Arunah, to be postmaster at Echo, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Loomis, Donald W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Loop, Carl R., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Lopez, Andres, to be first lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Lorch, Robert B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Lord, Franklyn Thatcher, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Lord, Herbert M., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 4012.
Lord, Herbert M., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.
Lord, Kenneth P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Lord, John A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Loth, Moritz Augustus Rust, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Lothrop, Cummings L., jr., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Lotridge, J. Marvin, to be postmaster at Cincinnatus, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Lott, Monroe L., to be postmaster at Sumrall, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Lough, James C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Lough, Maxon S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Loughborough, William B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Love, Emma M., to be postmaster at Sierra Blanca, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Love, James M., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Lovett, George J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Lovett, Stephan L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Lovette, Leland P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Loving, James J., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Loving, Robert C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Lowe, Frank L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Lowell, Roy D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Lowenberg, Milton A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Lowman, J. F., to be postmaster at Hot Springs, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Lowman, Kenneth E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Lowry, Porter Prescott, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3243.
Lowry, Robert Lowry, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Luby, Thomas M., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Lucas, Chauncey A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Lucas, Clinton Mansfield, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Lucas, John P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Lucas, W. A., to be postmaster at Cucamonga, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Lucas, William E., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2599.
Luce, Gardiner, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Luce, Robert Francis, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Ludlow, William G., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Luhn, William L., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Luke, Ittal Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lukens, Richard Russell, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Luker, Robert P., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Lull, George F., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Lundy, J. B., to be postmaster at Mellette, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Lung, George A., to be medical director, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Lutes, Le Roy, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Luth, William Clark, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Lutken, Harold I., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Lutyen, W. F., to be postmaster at Flanagan, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Lutz, Harold C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Lykes, Frank Warren, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Lyman, Charles B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Lynch, Charles, to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Lynch, John Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Lynch, John J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed 5104.
Lynch, Mary A., to be postmaster at Buchanan, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Lynch, Patrick L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2599.
Lynch, William M., to be postmaster at Tobyhanna, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Lynes, Cedric T., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Lyon, Henry Yost, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Lyon, Leroy H., to be postmaster at Colfax, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Lyon, Le Roy S., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery, nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Lyon, Roy R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Lyons, Perry James, to be register of the land office at North Yakima, Wash.; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Lyster, Theodore C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Lyster, William J. L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Lytle, Robert S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Maaske, Lawrence A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Mabee, James I., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
McAfee, Larry B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
McAleer, Charles Torrance, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
McAlexander, C. E., to be postmaster at Holly Springs, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
McAlexander, Ulysses G., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
McAlpine, Harrison, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
McAndrew, James W., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
McAndrew, Patrick H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
McBrayer, Charles E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
McBride, Harry A., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
McBride, Horace L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
McBride, John, jr., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
McBride, Junius W. U., to be postmaster at Beaver, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
McBride, Robert B., to be major, Goast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5057.
McBride, Robert B., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
McCabe, E. R. Warner, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5053.
McCabe, Frederick, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
McCain, Henry P., to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
McCalib, David Preston, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
McCallan, James Alexander, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
McCammon, Furman E., to be captain in Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2599.
McCandlish, Benjamin V., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
McCann, Allan R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
McCann, John P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McCants, William B., to be postmaster at Winder, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
McCarthy, Arthur L., to be postmaster at Franklin, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
McCarthy, Charles L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
McCarthy, James F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
McCarthy, John Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
McCartin, Edward F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
McCarty, Charles V., to be passed assistant paymaster United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
McCarty, Harold F., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
McCaskey, John P., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
McCaskey, Edward William, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
McCaskey, Garrison, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
McCaskey, Walter B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
McCatty, Kenneth, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; confirmed, 2598; nominated, 850.
McCaughtry, Walter E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McCaulley, Edwin P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McCaulty, Tracy L., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
McChord, William C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
McClanahan, Benjamin V., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
McClean, Edward J., to be receiver of public moneys at Billings, Mont.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
McCleary, Oliver S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
McClelland, Guy W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
McCloskey, Manus, to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
McCloy, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
McCluer, Nathan Eugene; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
McClung, Earle Jefferson, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
McClure, Albert N., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McClure, Clinton I., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
McClure, Harry A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
McClure, Walter R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
McClusky, R. K., to be postmaster at Rule, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
McCoffree, Thomas J., to be postmaster at West Bend, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
McCollister, John J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
McComb, Robert Payne, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Macomber, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Seal Harbor, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
McComas, Donald Richard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
McConkey, Clyde J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
McConnaughey, David W., to be postmaster at Cameron, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
McConnell, Francis J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
McConville, Joseph J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
McCook, Paul H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
McCorkindale, Roy E., to be assistant civil engineer in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
McCormack, James L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
McCormack, Willard H., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
McCormick, Edward G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
McCormick, Lizzie D., to be postmaster at Letts, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
McCormick, Thomas Clyde, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
McCornack, Condon C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
McCown, Henry Y., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
McCoy, Frank R., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
McCoy, James, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McCoy, Ralph, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
McCoy, Ross, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
McCracken, John J., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
McCrary, Arthur B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5373.
McCrary, Frank R., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
McCrary, Ira B., to be postmaster at Dewey, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
McCreight, William Valentine, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
MacCrone, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
MacCrone, William C., to be captain in Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
McCue, Charles, to be postmaster at Lakewood, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
McCulloch, Champe C., jr., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
McCulloch, Ernest C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
McCulloch, Frank D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
McCulloch, William A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
McCullough, Clarence O., to be postmaster at Carneys Point, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
McCullough, Frank E., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
McCullough, George Seymour, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
McCullough, Richard P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
McCunniff, Dennis E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
McCurdy, Vivian, to be postmaster at Stone Mountain, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
McCutcheon, William H., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
McDaniel, Frederick L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
McDermott, E. C., to be postmaster at Spearville, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
McDermott, James C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
McDermott, John A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
McDiarmid, Norman L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
MacDill, Leslie, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
McDale, Oscar Merton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
McDonald, Dale F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
McDonald, Donald C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McDonald, George A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
McDonald, James L., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
McDonald, Lewis H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McDonald, Lloyd C., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
McDonald, Matthew E., to be postmaster at Simsbury, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Macdonald, Michael, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
McDonald, Robert C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
MacDonald, Stuart C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Macdonald, William A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
McDonald, William J., to be United States marshal, northern district of Texas; nominated, 849; confirmed, 1026.
McDonell, William E., to be postmaster at Alexandria Bay, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
McDonnell, Frederick J., jr., to be postmaster at Okolona, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
McDonnell, Paul J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
McDonnell, Richard T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
McDougal, Douglas C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 856.
McDowell, John M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
McDowell, Ralph S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
McDowell, Willis, to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
McElduff, Daniel A., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
McEnery, Douglas W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
McEvoy, Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
McEvoy, J. A., to be postmaster at Parkesburg, Pa., nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
McEwan, John J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
McEwan, John James, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
McFarland, Fletcher O., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
McFarland, Munroe, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
McGarrigle, Charles A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
McGee, Hugh H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
McGee, R. J., to be postmaster at Dunbar, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
McGee, William J., to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States; nominated, 7416; confirmed, 7769.
McGill, Clarence McC., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
McGinley, William A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
McGinn, Frances G., to be postmaster at Gate, Okla.; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 2599.
McGlachlin, Edward F., jr., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
McGlachlin, Fenton Harrison, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
McGovern, Ernest A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3233; confirmed, 3356.
Macgowan, David B., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
McGown, William D., to be postmaster at Hemphill, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
McGrath, James A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
McGrath, John Edward, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
McGrath, Leon W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
McGrath, Thomas, to be postmaster at Washington, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
MacGregor, Stephen H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
McGuigan, Joseph L., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
McHale, Larry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
McHugh, Anthony, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5101.
McHugh, George E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5102.
McIlvain, William M., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
McIntire, Ross T., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
McIntosh, Lawrence W., to be captain of Cavalry; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2599.
McIntyre, Augustine, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
McIntyre, Frank, to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
MacIntyre, James, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
McIntyre, M. E., to be postmaster at Ambia, Ind.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
McIver, George W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McIver, George W., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Mack, Andrew R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Mack, Harry, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
McKain, Charles L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
McKay, Arnold A., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
McKay, Frederick G., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
McKay, George A., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
McKay, Laurence H., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
McKee, Alonzo J., to be postmaster at Lake Providence, La.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
McKee, Andrew I., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
McKee, Edward L., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
McKee, John, to be postmaster at Clay Center, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
McKee, John Lloyd, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
McKeithen, Charles W., to be postmaster at Woodville, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
McKeithen, E. T., to be postmaster at Aberdeen, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
MacKelvie, Jay Ward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
McKenney, John Eliot, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Mackenzie, Allan S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
McKenzie, C. C., to be postmaster at Morrill, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
McKenzie, T. H., to be postmaster at Barnesboro, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
McKenna, W. J., to be postmaster at Melvin, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
McKiernan, Robert L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
McKinley, James F., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
McKinney, Carl F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
McKinney, Garfield L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
McKinnon, John A., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2596.
McKinstry, Charles H., to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Mackle, Frederick, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Macklin, Thomas, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
McKnight, Charles Hugh, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
McKnight, John R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
MacLachlan, Harold D., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
McLain, Ralph E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
McLaughlin, George T., to be postmaster at Sandwich, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
McLaughlin, Lawrence A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
McLaurin, William B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
McLean, Arthur, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
MacLean, Edwin Lockwood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
McLean, Felix, R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
McLean, Henry C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
McLean, Ridley, to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
McLellan, George H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
MacLellan, Harold E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
McLemore, Albert S., to be an assistant adjutant and inspector, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 1027.
McLendon, Idus R., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
McLennan, Carter Roderick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
McLeod, Mason E., to be postmaster at Yerington, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
McMahon, John E., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
McMahon, John E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
McMahon, William Claude, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Mackenzie, Gabriel T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
McMahon, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
McMaken, William V., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McMaster, George H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
McMaster, Richard H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
McMillan, Clemens W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
McMillin, Stewart E., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
McMillan, Wilham M., to be postmaster at Clinton, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5945.
McMillen, Donald R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
McMillen, S. D., to be postmaster at Lockwood, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
McMinn, William E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
MacMorland, Edward E., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
McMorris, J. A., to be postmaster at Condon, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
McMullen, Herbert, to be postmaster at Marlboro, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
MacMullen, James D., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
McMullin, Andrew J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
MacMullin, George Mood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
McMurdo, Hew B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
McMurray, Clarence M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
McMurray, Thomas Leroy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Macnab, Alexander J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
McNair, James P., to be postmaster at Paterson, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
McNair, Laurence N., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
McNair, Philip K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
McNair, William S., to be brigadier General; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
McNally, James C., to be United States consul general of class 5; nominated, 1899; withdrawn, 3936.
McNally, Reginald E., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
McNamee, Michael M., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
McNarney, Joseph T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
McNatt, P. B., to be postmaster at Arlington, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
McNeal, Azel Wingert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
McNeil, Edwin C., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
McNeil, J. I., to be postmaster at Wessington, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5402.
McNeill, Chauncey St. C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
McNeill, Thomas F., to be captain United States Infantry, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
McNeill, William, to be postmaster at Prophetstown, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
McNiff, William T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Macon, Francis A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
MacPeake, Henry Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
McPheren, J. P., to be postmaster at Homer, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6960.
McPherson, James G., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
McPherson, R. V., to be postmaster at Craig, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
McQuillin, Raymon E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
McRae, James H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
McReavey, Clarence J., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
McReynolds, John S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
McReynolds, Robert W., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
McSheehy, Edward L., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
McSweeney, John Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
MacTaggart, John S., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
McVey, John F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Mabou, Robert L., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Macaulay, Walter S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Macklin, William A. S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Macon, Francis Atherton, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Macon, Robert C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Madden, Henry E., to be postmaster at West Midway, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Madden, John F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Maddox, Charles H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Maddux, Henry C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Madigan, James H., to be postmaster at Harvard, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Madison, Zachariah H., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Magee, James C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed., 5687.
Magelssen, William C., to be consul of class 4 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Magruder, George M., to be senior surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6807.
Magruder, John, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Maguire, Daniel F., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Maguire, Hamilton E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Mahan, T. M., to be postmaster at Williamston, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5471.
Maher, Francis X., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Maher, John Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Maher, Thomas James, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Maher, William F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Mahin, Frank C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Mahoney, Emon O., to be United States attorney, western district Arkansas; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7531.
Mahoney, H. E., to be postmaster at Oakland, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Mahoney, John J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Mahoney, John J., to be postmaster at Mittineague, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Major, Duncan K., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Malcolm, George A., to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3560.
Mallan, Daniel Henry, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Mallison, William T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Mallon, Francis B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Malone, Paul B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Malone, William J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Maloney, James D., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Malony, Harry J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Mallory, George W., to be postmaster at Ojai, Cal.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Mallory, John S., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Manahan, Stewart A., to be lieutenant, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Manchester, Frederick J., to be postmaster at Clark Mills, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Mandell, Harold C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Mandry, Walter, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Mangan, Walter D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Manly, Clarence J., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Mann, Francis Ray, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Mann, Maury, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Mann, Samuel D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Mann, Walter R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Mann, William A., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Mann, William T., to be postmaster at Clyde, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Manning, Charles, to be postmaster at Cheneyville, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Manning, George C., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Manning, James Benton, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Manning, James R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Mannix, Daniel P., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Maples, Houston L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Mapes, Paul V., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Marbourg, Edgar F., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
March Peyton C., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
March, Peyton C., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Marek, Arthur Lewis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Margetts, Nelson E., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Marietta, Shelley U., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Marine, Richard E., to be examiner in chief in Patent Office; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 6379.
Mark, Joseph, to be postmaster at South River, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Marker, James H., to be postmaster at West Brownsville, Pa.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2599.
Markham, Edward M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Engineers; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Markoe, Francis A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Markoe, Francis Anthony, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Marley, Albert S. S., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Marmion, Paul C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3242.
——— to be captain United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Moroney, Thomas Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominted, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Marquart, Edward J., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Marquart, Peter E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Marron, Adrian R., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Marrow, Charles E., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Marsh, O. Gaylord, to be United States consul of class 8; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1026.
Marsh, Raymond, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Marshall, Ambrose L., to be postmaster at La Fayette, La.; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 2599.
Marshall, D. D., to be postmaster at Oakville, Iowa; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Marshall, Edward L., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Marshall, Francis C., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5052; withdrawn, 5335.
Marshall, Francis C., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 5849.
Marshall, Richard J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Marshall, Samuel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Marshburn, Herbert E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Marston, John, 3d, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Martin, A. E., to be postmaster at Benton, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6807.
Martin, A. H., to be postmaster at Perry, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Martin, Adolph H., to be postmaster at Newburg, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Martin, Alton E., to be postmaster at Woodlake, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5887.
Martin, Amos H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 7520; confirmed, 7772.
Martin, Bryce Farren, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Martin, Carl A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Martin, Charles H., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Martin, Charles H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Martin, Charles F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Martin, Charles I., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Martin, Douglas D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Martin, Edwin A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Martin, F. Marion, to be postmaster at Noble, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Martin, Harold S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Martin, James A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Martin, John B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Martin, John B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Martin, John E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Martin, John F., jr., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Martin, Louis Le Roy, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Martin, Marlin Clack, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Martin, Thomas L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Martin, William F., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Martin, William L., to be assistant surgeon, United Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Marvell, George, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Marvin, David Patterson, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 4967.
Marx, Edward John Fox, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Marzolf, Bernard A., to be postmaster at North Java, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Mashbir, Sidney F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Mason, Donald Kent, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Mason, Harry M., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Mason, Lloyd Wesley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Mason, N. Eddy, to be postmaster at Hagerstown, Md.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Mason, Roger O., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Massee, Edward K., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Massey, Fred I., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Masterson, William W., to be consul of class 5; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Masterton, George W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Matchett, Henry Jeffrey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Mathews, Albert Kingsbury, to be chaplain in the Army; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2596.
Mathews, James T., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Mathews, Clifford J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Matile, George A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Matteson, W. A., to be postmaster at Abilene, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Matthews, Frederick Stone, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Matthews, Robert B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Mattison, George Carl, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 2062; confirmed, 3239.
Mattox, Bankston E., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Maner, Malcolm McGregor, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Mauldin, Frank G., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Mauldin, Frank G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Maupin, John Warwick Daniel, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Maury, Siprein F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Marvel, Ernest Ray, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Maxey, Robert J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Maxville, H. E., to be postmaster at Paonia, Colo.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Maxwell, C. E., to be postmaster at Strawn, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5375.
Maxwell, Edwin C., to be postmaster at Carleton, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Maxwell, Russell L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Maxwell, William A., to be receiver of public moneys at Denver, Colo.; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 3060.
Maxwell, William S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
May, Forrest L., to be postmaster at Dayton, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Mayer, Brantz, to be paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Mayer, John L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Mayer, Ferdinand L., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Mayers, Hadyn P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Mayfield, Robert Burton, to be postmaster at Blair, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Mayhugh, Cleo D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Maynard, George E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Maynard, Stephen C., to be postmaster at Grand Junction, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Mayo, George, to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Meacham, Laurence Bascum, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Mead, Edwin C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Mead, Stuart P., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Meadows, Pal L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Meagher, Edward J., to be postmaster at Glendale, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Mealey, Andrew, to be postmaster at Greenwich, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Mearns, Robert W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Mecum, Charles H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Meehan, John W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Meeker, Royal, to be commissioner of labor statistics in the Department of Labor; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 5945.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Meginness, Charles D., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Mehling, Frank G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Mehrling, Ira C., to be postmaster at Falls City, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Meisner, Frank Columbus, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Meister, William B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Melasky, Harris M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Melasky, Harris Marcey, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Meiligan, Frank J., to be postmaster at Port Hope, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Melville, Leslie G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Mendenhall, John R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Menoher, Charles T., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Mercader, Leopoldo, to be captain, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2599.
Merchant, Harry Pearl, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Meredith, Owen R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Merget, John W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Merillat, Louis A., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Merkel, Robert F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Merrell, Fred L., to be postmaster at Copenhagen, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Merrell, Spencer A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Merriam, Lewis, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Merrill, Albert G., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Merrill, Dana T., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Merrill, Thomas E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Merry, William T., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Mesherry, Lewis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Messerschmidt, John Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3243.
Messersmith, George S., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Messing, George A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Metcalf, Clyde H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Metcalf, Florence K., to be postmaster at Campobella, S. C.; nominated, 5289; rejected, 5933.
Metcalf, John T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Metcalf, Wilder S., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Metcalfe, Raymond F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Methven, Theron G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Metoskie, J. F., to be postmaster at Hillburn, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Metters, Frederick W., to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Metzerott, Kirk A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Metzger, Earl H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Meyer, Frederick, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Meyer, George R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Meyer, Herman Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Meyer, Lionel Leopold, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Meyer, Vincent, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Meyers, George J., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Michalek, Peter P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed 3242.
Michaux, Leonidas M., to be postmaster at Goldsboro, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Michel, William N., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Michie, Henry C., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Michie, Robert E. L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Micou, Benjamin H., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Middlebrooks, John R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Middleton, Benjamin P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Middleton, George Ralston, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Middleton, Troy H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Milburn, Frank W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Miles, Francis H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Miles, R. H., to be postmaster at Lyndon, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Miley, John D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Millar, Edward A., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Millard, Alfred, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Miller, Adolph B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Miller, Bernard A., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Miller, Charles J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Miller, Chesley Roy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Miller, Christopher C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Miller, Curtis P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Miller, Cyrus R., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Miller, Daniel M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Miller, David H., to be first lieutenant in Marine Corps; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Miller, Donald O., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Miller, Donavin, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Miller, Edgar S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Miller, Edgar W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Miller, Ellis B., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Miller, Ernest F., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Miller, Fauntley M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Miller, Frank A., to be postmaster at Gladstone, Mich.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Miller, Frank J., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Miller, Franklin A., to be postmaster at St. Anthony, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Miller, Hermann C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Miller, John F., to be postmaster at Cardwell, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Miller, John K., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Miller, John T. S., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Miller, John W., to be postmaster at Dilley, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Miller, Lawrence S., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Miller, Lehman W., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Miller, Leland Adrian, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Miller, Louis F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Miller, Martin, to be postmaster at Fort Scott, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Miller, Maurice L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Miller, Maxwell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Miller, Milo K., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Miller, Raymond Vernon, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Miller, Reuben B., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Miller, Robert S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Miller, Samuel W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Miller, Walter M., to be postmaster at Netcong, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Miller, William M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Miller, William S., to be a commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Milligan, Howard P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Milliken, Charles M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Milliken, John, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Milling, C. W., to be postmaster at Darlington, S. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Milling, Thomas De W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Mills, Benjamin W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Mills, Charles E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Mills, Chester P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Mills, Earle W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Mills, Frederick H., to be first lieutenant, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Mills, John W., to be postmaster at Forgan, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Mills, William, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Miltenberger, Val E., to be first lieutenant, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5687.
Mimms, Eugene B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Minard, William R., to be postmaster at Little Rock, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Miner, Harold E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Minger, Mabel, to be postmaster at Buckley, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Minnis, John A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
Minshall, Rachel H., to be postmaster at Abbeville, S. C.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5471.
Mintzer, Leoindas M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Mitcham, Culver Satterlee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Mitchell, Benjamin F., to be postmaster at Gainsville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Mitchell, David W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Mitchell, Edward A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 854.
Mitchell, Edward J., to be postmaster at Graettinger, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Mitchell, Henry D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Mitchell, John H., to be postmaster at Newtown, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Mitchell, Joseph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Mitchell, Lawrence Collaware, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Mitchell, Leopold, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Mitchell, Manton C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Mitchell, Paul D., to be postmaster at Brooten, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Mitchell, Waller Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Mitchell, William, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Mitchell, Willis G., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Minear, Virgil Luther, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Ming, Marcus Aurelius Smith, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Minus, Norman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Mitten, Robert L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Mitts, Fielden H., to be postmaster at Tupelo, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Moeller, Benjamin A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Moen, Arthur T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Molans, John J., to be postmaster at Seymour, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Moloney, John F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Moncrief, William H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Monihan, James G., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Monsarratt, Marcus Roger, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Monroe, Thomas H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Montgomery, Edward, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Montgomery, Frederick T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Montgomery, George, to be colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Montgomery, Henry Arthur, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Montgomery, Joseph W., to be United States attorney for eastern district of Louisiana; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Montgomery, Lon C., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Montgomery, Roark, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Mood, Julius A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Moody, Ralph G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Moon, Charles Leslie, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Moore, Charles B., to be postmaster at Lovelady, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Moore, Charles E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Moore, Charles G., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Moore, Dan T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Moore, George Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Moore, George F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Moore, James D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Moore, James Stanley, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Moore, James Tillinghast, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Moore, James M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Moore, John D., to be postmaster at Oxford, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Moore, John Dudley, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Moore, Joseph, to be United States attorney, western district of Louisiana; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Moore, Orville M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Moore, Robert B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Moore, Samuel G., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Moore, Vincent J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Moore, Walter, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Moore, Walter N., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 5936; confirmed, 4012.
Moore, Will, to be collector of customs, district No. 29, Portland, Oreg; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Moore, William C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Moore, William G., to be ensign; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Moore, William L., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Moore, William W., to be postmaster at Ainsworth, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Morales, Luis Sanchez, to be member of Executive Council of Porto Rico; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 5027.
Moran, Edward H., to be postmaster at Clarksville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Moran, Edward J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Moranville, Clarence Harvey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Morcock, William J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
More, Carleton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Morcell, Ben, to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Morehouse, William E., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Morford, J. B., to be postmaster at Poulsbo, Wash.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Morford, Josiah Purman, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Morgan, Blanche L., to be postmaster at Parish, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Morgan, Edwin D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Morgan, John M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Morgan, Luke F., to be postmaster at East Auburn, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Morgan, Robert, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Morgan, Stokeley W., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Morgan, Maurice, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Morris, Bascom Franklin, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Morris, Charles Van Will, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Morris, Earl W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Morris, Laird M., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Morris, Paul Houston, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3359.
Morris, Robert, to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Morris, Roland S., to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Japan; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5682.
Morris, Samuel J., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Morris, William H. H., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Morrision, Fannie B. S., to be postmaster at Tower Hill, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Morrison, E. M., to be postmaster at Smithfield, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Morrison, Charles H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Morrison, James H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Morrison, John F., to be major general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Morrison, William F., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Morrison, William Louis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Morrissey, Patrick J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Morrissey, L. B., to be postmaster at Audubon, Iowa; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Morrissey, William J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Morrow, Bertrand, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Morrow, Clark E., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Morrow, Joseph C., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Morrow, Norman P., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Morrow, Thomas L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Morrow, William M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Morse, Arthur W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Morse, Benjamin C., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Morse, Charles F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Morse, Fremont, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Morton, Charles E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Mortimer, Charles G., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Mortimer, Robert Perry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Morton, Charles G., to be major general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Morton, De Forest W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Moschner, John August, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Moseley, George V. H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Moses, Andrew, to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Moses, Radford, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Moses, Raymond G., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Mosher, Henry E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Moss, Julius M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Moss, Robert G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Moss, Wentworth H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Mossman, Paul Darwin, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Mothershead, Sam, to be receiver of public moneys at Burns, Oreg.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Mott, Roy A., to be postmaster at Middleton, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Mould, Clarence William, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Mould, Stephen H., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Mount, James R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Mount, Thomas E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Mowbray, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Bradford, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Moye, Lonnie J., to be postmaster at Davisboro, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Moyer, John G., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Moyle, James H., to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; nominated, 7359; confirmed, 7359.
Mudd, Leo C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Mueller, John W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Mueller, Paul J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Mugan, Francis P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Muhlenberg, Henry C. K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Muir, Charles H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Muir, James I., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Mulcahy, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Gardner, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Mulcahy, Timothy, jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Mulherrin, Joseph Aloysius, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Mullan, Daniel, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Mullahy, Eugene L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Mullan, Eugene H., to be surgeon in the Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Mullenix, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2598.
Mullins, Charles L., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Mullins, Charles Love, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Muncaster, John H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Munly, William A., to be United States attorney, district of Alaska; nominated, 7633; confirmed, 7840.
Mumma, Harlan L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Munnikhuysen, Henry D. F., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Munro, George Norman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Munroe, James Phinney, to be a member Federal Board for Vocational Education; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5203.
Munson, Edward L., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Munyan, Samuel, to be postmaster at Gibbstown, N. J.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Murchison, Bryan C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Murdock, Victor, to be Federal Trade Commissioner; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6198.
Murphey, George D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Murphy, Daniel E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Murphy, Daniel N., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Murphy, Edward A., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Murphy, Edmund J. A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Murphy, Edwin, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Murphy, James J., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Murphy, James Patrick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Murphy, John P., to be postmaster at New Castle, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Murphy, John V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Murphy, Joseph A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Murphy, Joseph M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Murphy, Letitia, to be postmaster at Pearce, Ariz.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Murphy, Michael J., to be postmaster at Oakville, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Murphy, Philip J., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Murphy, Roscoe C., to be postmaster at St. Clair, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Murphy, Theodore R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Murphy, Vincent R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Murray, Alexander, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Murray, Christopher, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Murray, George Alexander, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Murray, James D., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Murray, John Trott, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Murray, John J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Murray, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Murray, Max S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Murray, Paul, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Murray, William C., to be postmaster at Doniphan, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Murtagh, John A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Muschlitz, Earle E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Musham, Harry A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Muske, Gertrude A., to be postmaster at Swanville, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Mustard, Harry Stoll, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Mustard, John B., to be postmaster at Milton, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Myer, Edgar A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Myers, Donald John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Myers, Frank S., to be postmaster at Portland, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Myers, Hu B., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Myers, Joseph E., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Nafziger, Albert H., to be postmaster at Danvers, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Nalley, Harry, to be postmaster at Mount Rainier, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Nance, Curtis H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Nanse, Fread A., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Napier, Edward L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Nash, Edgar, jr., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Nash, John R., to be postmaster at Logansport, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Nash, Robert L., to be postmaster at Grand Rapids, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Navas, Manuel B., to be first lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Naylor, William K., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Neal, Cecil Rutherford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Neal, George F., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Neal, Paul R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Neate, Nathan Menzo, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Neblett, Herbert Clarence, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Need, Harry W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Neeley, William J., to be postmaster at Wadsworth, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Neely, Ashton E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Neiley, George F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Neill, Mather H., to be passed assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Neilson, Frederic W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Nelson, Charles N., to be postmaster at Bedford, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Nelson, Daniel W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Nelson, Frank, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Nelson, Gordon W., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Nelson, Hunter B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Nelson, Kent, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Nelson, Robert Lewis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Nelson, William, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Netherwood, Douglas B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Netz, Ralph M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Neuberger, Julius F., to be assistant surgeon, Naval Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Neues, Charles W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Neufeld, Moe, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Neumüller, Donald James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Neville, Robert H., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Nevins, Herbert A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Newbill, Willard D., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Newbold, Henry L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5956.
Newgarden, George J., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Newgarden, Paul W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Newman, David Leonard, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Newman, Harry T., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Newman, Richard D., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Newman, William, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Newton, Byron R., to be collector of customs, district 10; nominated, 7359; confirmed, 7531.
Newton, Cherubusco, jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Newton, Chester Valentine, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Newton James T., to be commissioner of Patents; nominated, 6302; confirmed, 6379.
Newton, John H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Newton, Lula, to be postmaster at Winter Garden, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Newton, Raymond Lovejoy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Newton, Robert D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Newton, Robert Denis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Neyland, Robert R., jr., to be captain United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Niblack, Albert P., to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Nickerson, Lewis A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Nichlas, John G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Nicholas, Richard U., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Nichols, Adam S., to be postmaster at Dandridge, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5689.
Nichols, Charles F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Nichols, Edward H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Nichols, Guy E., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Nichols, Harold F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Nichols, William R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Nicholson, John Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Nicholson, Vivian L., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Nicholson, William J., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Nicklin, Benjamin P., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Niemann, Henry, to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Nightingale, C. E., to be postmaster at International Falls, Minn.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Nisley, Harold Albert, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Niven, Paul K., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4489.
Nix, Robert W., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Nixon, Lonnie H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Noah, W. M., to be postmaster at Kosciusko, Miss.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Noble, Albert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Noble, Robert E., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Noce, Daniel, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Noel, J. L., to be postmaster at Pilot Point, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Noell, J. W., to be postmaster at Roxboro, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Nolan, B. A., to be postmaster at Senoia, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1692.
Norcott, Edward J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Nordstrom, Isidor, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Noreen, Harold A., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Norkiewicz, Anthony A., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Norris, Albert, to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Norris, Leon Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Norris, William, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Northcroft, Percy W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Northington, Eugene G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Norther, Sylvester Emery, to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Norton, Augustus, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Norton, Porter, to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Norton, Robert W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Norton, Stanley C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Norvell, Guy S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Norweb, R. Henry, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6306.
Nourse, Ralph F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Noyes, Edward P., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200.
Noyes, Edward R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Noyes, Leigh, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 4681; confirmed, 4967.
Noyes, Walter Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Nuber, Horace D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Nugent, George A., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Nugent, Lillie W., to be postmaster at Rosedale, Miss.; nominated, 5283.
Nulsen, Charles K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Nunamaker, James M., to be postmaster at Greenup, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Nunn, John A., to be assistant surgeon United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Nygaard, John Richard, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Nyland, Fritz Charles, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Oakes, Carl C., to be captain, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Oakes, John C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Ober, Chester Howard, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Oberly, Robert S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Obley, Frederick E., to be postmaster at West Newton, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
O'Brien, Delbert M., to be postmaster at Fayetteville, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
O'Brien, Francis K., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
O'Brien, James A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
O'Brien, James J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
O'Brien, John E., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
O'Brien, Joseph G., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
O'Brien, Robert E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
O'Brien, William J., to be postmaster at Kingston, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
O'Connell, Augustus Brown, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
O'Connell, Dennis J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
O'Connell, Edward P., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
O'Connell, William E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
O'Connell, William F., to be postmaster at Andover, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
O'Connor, Arthur Maxwell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
O'Connor, Edwin, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
O'Connor, James A., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
O'Connor, Roderick M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
O'Connor, William E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
O'Day, Ray M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Odell, Herbert R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Oden, T. J., to be postmaster at Lindale, Tex.; nominated, 5291. confirmed, 5376.
Odhner, Madefrey Alethes, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Odlin, Lawrence A., to be passed assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
O'Donnell, Thomas, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
O'Donoghue, William Florance, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Offley, Archibald N., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Offutt, Casper Y., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Ogg, Robert R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
O'Hagan, Robert, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
O'Hara, Edwin J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
O'Hara, William G., to be postmaster at Williamstown, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Olivares, José de, to be a consul of class 6 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
O'Hern, Edward P., to be lieutenant colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
O'Keefe, Arthur J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Okie, Howard Cheseborough, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Oldfield, Charles B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
O'Leary, Herbert, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Oliphant, Thomas G. M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Oliver, Clarence R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Oliver, E. T., to be postmaster at Caldwell, Tex.; nominated, 4291; confirmed, 5376.
Oliver, Frederick L., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Oliver, James H., to be governor of Virgin Islands; nominated, 491; confirmed, 854.
Oliver, John A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Oliver, Llewellyn W., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Oliver, Lunsford E., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Olivier, Kenneth Seymour, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Ollif, Gerald, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Olmstead, Merritt E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Olmsted, Burnett Ralph, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Olmsted, Percy N., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Olsen, Harold S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Olsen, Nils B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Olsmith, Vernon G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Olson, Allen G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Olsson, Andrew, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
O'Malley, Thomas Gerald, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
O'Mara, Thomas, to be postmaster at Colony, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
O'Neal, Orland Sylvester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
O'Neil, Joseph P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
O'Neill, Christopher T., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
O'Neill, Morris J., to be postmaster at Woodridge, N. Y.; nominated, 5286.
O'Neill, Owen E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
O'Neill, Raymond Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
O'Neill, William, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
O'Neill, William P. J., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Opheim, Alfred S., to be postmaster at Opheim, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Opie, Evarts Walton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Oraker, Ole P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Ord, James B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Ord, James G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
O'Rear, John T. H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Organ, Andrew T., to be postmaster at Chester, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Ormand, W. L., to be postmaster at Bessemer City, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Ormsby, William N., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
O'Rourke, Donald H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Orr, Allen A., to be postmaster at Lewiston, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Orr, Henry A., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ortigas, Francisco, to be associate justice supreme court, Philippine Islands; nominated, 7711; withdrawn, 7772.
Orton, James E., to be chief gunner in the Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Orton, Julian Rockwood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Orton, William R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Orvis, Ralph T., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Orvis, Robert J., to be postmaster at Manchester, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5945.
O'Ryan, John F., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Osborn, Jefferson Bartow, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Osborn, Neal M., to be postmaster at Burton, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Osborne, Ernest L., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
——— to be captain, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Osborne, Lithgow, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Osborne, Weeden E., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
O'Shea, John, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Ossenkop, Fred H., to be postmaster at Louisville, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Oster, Henry R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Osterhout, George H., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Ostrander, Joe L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Ostrander, John E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Ostrom, Charles D., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Ostrom, Charles D. Y., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Oswald, James L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Oswalt, Henry C., to be postmaster at Fairhope, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Oury, William H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Ousley, Clarence, to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; nominated, 6136; confirmed, 6197.
Ovenshine, Englebert G., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Overstreet, Philip, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Owens, Charles T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Owens, George Raymond, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Owens, J. R., to be postmaster at Lawrenceville, Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 725.
Owens, Kent J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Owens, Lucretia, to be postmaster at Fort Cobb, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Owens, Oscar Lee, to be chaplain in Army; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2596.
Pace, Herbert E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Packer, Gouverneur V., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Padgett, Vernon Lhrean, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Padley, W. H., to be postmaster at Reardon, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Padmore, Curtis J., to be postmaster at Rockham, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Pagan, John M., to be postmaster at Great Falls, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Page, Arthur H., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Page, Benjamin H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Page, Emeroy G., to be postmaster at Hyde Park, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Page, Henry, to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Pagenhart, Edward Hubert, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Paige, Joseph W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Paine, Liston, to be passed assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5293.
Paine, Miriam T., to be postmaster at Mariposa, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Paine, William H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Palew, Matthew A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Palmer, Albert K. C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Palmer, Dana, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Palmer, Francis Lorenz, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Palmer, Francis L., to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Palmer, Frederick R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Palmer, Fred W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Palmer, Guy G., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Palmer, James M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Palmer, James V., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Palmer, John McA., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Palmer, John R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Palmer, Oron A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2598.
Parce, Alexander D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Parduhn, Franz J. M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Paris, Murray K., to be postmaster at Lyndon, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5860.
Parish, Walter W., to be postmaster at Rushford, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Park, Peyton H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Park, Richard, to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Parker, Allen; to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Parker, B. A., to be postmaster at Whigham, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Parker, Charles Henry, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Parker, Charlotte L., to be postmaster at Osterville, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Parker, Edward G., to be medical inspector, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Parker, Edwin P., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Parker, Francis Le J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Parker, Frank, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Parker, Frank R., to be postmaster at Wilsonville, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Parker, George M., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Parker, James, to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Parker, John C., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Parker, John C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Parker, John H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Parker, Paul B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Parker, Robert B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Parker, Roscoe Stewart, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Parker, W. F., to be postmaster at Davis, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Parker, William Edward, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Parkham, Charles E., to be postmaster at Pottsboro, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Parkin, Charles McDonald, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Parkinson, John L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Parkinson, Parley D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5197; confirmed, 5684.
Parks, Lyman Lewis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Parks, Lyman L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Parks, Victor, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Parks, Will Van Sycle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Parquet, F. N., to be postmaster at Inlet, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Parrott, Ralph B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Parsons, George Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3357.
Parsons, James K., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Partello, Joseph K., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Partridge, Clarence E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Paschal, Paul C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5057.
Pascoe, Lillian S., to be postmaster at Sunrise, Wyo.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 5376.
Pashkoski, Walter A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Patch, Alexander M., jr., to be captain; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Patch, Joseph D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Patch, Lota K., to be postmaster at Cambridge, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Patchen, Fred G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Pate, McCall, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Patrick, Edwin D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Patrick, Mason M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Patten, George F., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Patterson, Albert Frank, to be first lieutenant of Engineers in Coast Guard of United States; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Patterson, Charles H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Patterson, Henry Drue, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Patterson, J. Frank, to be postmaster at Mifflintown, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Patterson, Leonard J., to be postmaster at Tawas City, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Patterson, Robert U., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Pattison, Harry H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Patton, Anne, to be postmaster at Althemier, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Patton, Benjamin F., to be postmaster at Harrisville, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Patton, Ernest J., to be postmaster at Cabot, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Patton, Everett K., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Patton, George S., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Patton, Raymond Stanton, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Paul, Willard Stewart, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Pauluo, D. A., to be postmaster at Hallettsville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Payne, Brooke, to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Payne, George A., to be postmaster at Winnfield, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Payne, Harmon P., to be postmaster at Quogue, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Payne, Raymond G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Peabody, Paul E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Peacock, Frederick Lockwood, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Peake, Albert S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Peale, Christopher T., to be postmaster at Eagles Mere, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Peale, James N., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Pearce, Earle D'A., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Pearce, Jacob Myers, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Pearce, Warren F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Pearson, Arthur S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Peaslee, Arthur F., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Pearson, J. S., to be postmaster at Belt, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Pearson, Ralph A. W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Pearson, Raymond A., to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; nominated, 6136; confirmed, 6197.
Pearson, Walter W., to be postmaster at Nevis, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Pease, Harold Warren, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Peck, De Witt, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Peden, James C., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Peed, George P., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Peek, Norman W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Peek, E. R., to be postmaster at Bangor, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6807.
Peek, Percy S., to be postmaster at Mokelumne, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Pegram, Edward Sanford, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Pegram, George C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Peirce, Christopher D., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Peirce, John Miller, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Peirce, Robert P., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Peircey, Ernest R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Pell, Ernest L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Pelletier, Eugene L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Pelton, Fred E., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Pence, Harry L., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Pendarvis, Samuel W., to be postmaster at Magnolia, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Pendergrast, Grady H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Pendleton, Alan, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Pendleton, Andrew L., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Pendleton, Arvid M., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Pendleton, Randolph T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Pendleton, William A., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Penn, Julius A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Penniman, John G., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Pennover, Ralph G., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Pennycook, Russell D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Pennypacker, John Griffen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Pentz, Otto Emil, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Peoples, Bert R., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Pepin, George Lignori, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Pepin, George L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Pepper, E. L., to be postmaster at Conway Springs, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Percifield, Willis M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Percival, Franklin G., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Perdue, Orien J., to be postmaster at Altoona, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Perkins, Carl R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Perkins, Constantine N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Perkins, Edward, to be postmaster at Suffield, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Perkins, Fred M., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Perkins, Frederick, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Perkins, James B., to be United States marshal, northern district of Florida; nominated, 7633; confirmed, 7840.
Perkins, James C., to be postmaster at Yellville, Ark.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Perkins, Jesse L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Perkins, Mahlon Fay, to be consul of class 6; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Perley, Reuben N., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Perrill, Harlan P., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Perrin, Ray S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Perrin, Payson Austin, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Perrine, Henry P., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Perrine, Lewis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
———— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Perry, Basil Harrison; to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Perry, Elijah B., to be postmaster at Littleton, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Perry, Howard R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed. 4486.
Perry, Russell E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Pershing, John J., to be general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Person. John W., to be postmaster at Colorado, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Persons, Elbert E., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Peteril, George, to be postmaster at Berwyn, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Peters, Edward M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Peters, John Henry, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed. 5980.
Peters, William Chapman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Peterson, Adolph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Peterson, Virgil L., to be major, United States Engineer Corps; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5684.
Pethel, W. D., to be postmaster at Spencer, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5373.
Petrie, H. E., to be postmaster at Greencastle, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Pettengill, George T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Petteway, John B., to be postmaster at Jacksonville, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Pettigrew, Robert L., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Pettus, William J., to be senior surgeon in the Public Health Service; nominated, 723; confirmed, 3063.
Peyton, Albert Hovey, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Peyton, Bernard R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed. 5685.
Peyton, Ephriam G., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Peyton, Philip Barboar, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Peyton, James W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Pfeiffer, William Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Pfeil, Henry H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Phalen, James M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Phelan, Cyril A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Phelps, Frederick C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Phelps, Livingston, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Philbrook, Frank Leon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Philips, David P., to be postmaster at Lithonia, Ga.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5886.
Philips, Joseph L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Phillips, Albert J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Phillips, Charles L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Phillips, Ervin L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Phillips, Glen S., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed. 5430.
Phillips, Herbert S., to be United States attorney, southern district of Florida; nominated, 7633; confirmed, 7840.
Phillips, Hiram A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Phillips, Jack S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Phillips, James E., to be postmaster at Meadville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Phillips, J. B., to be postmaster at Howe, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Phillips, Oscar J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Phillips, Robert E., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Phillips, Thomas Raphael, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated. 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Phillips, William K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed. 4489.
Phillips, Wilmer S., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Philoon, Wallace C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed. 5057.
Piccard, Jules E., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Pickard, Arthur E., to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated. 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Pickerell, George H., to be consul of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Pickering, James A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Pickett, Christiancy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Pickett, Harry K., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Pickett, Harry K., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Pickett, Jerome, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Pickles, Nathan Corr, to be dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Pierce, Francis E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed. 3603.
Pierce. Harold C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Pierce, Harry Russell, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Pierce, John Leonard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Pierce, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Pierce, Palmer E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486
Pierce. Maurice C., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Pierce. William A., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Pierson, Emil P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Pierson, Robert H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Pigatt, William T., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Pike, William G., to be postmaster at Martinsburg, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Pillans, Harry T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5686.
Pillsbury, George B., to be major, United States Engineers; nominated, 5944; confirmed. 6199.
Pillsbury, George B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Army Engineer Corps; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7772.
Pinger, Roland W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Pinkerton, Harry A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Pinney, Frank L., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Piotrow, Frederick W., to be postmaster at Hamilton, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Pipes, Henry F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Pitz, Otto G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed. 5058.
Plaisted, George W., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Plassmeyer, Joseph, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Platt, Comfort B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Platt, John C., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Pleadwell, Frank L., to be medical inspector in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Plonk, John O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Plummer, Edward H., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Poffenberger, H., to be postmaster at Freeport, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Pogue, Odes T., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Poindexter, Eugene L., to be postmaster at Dillon, Mont.; nominated, ——; confirmed, 5374.
Poindexter, Gale A., to be ensign in United States Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Poland, Eustis L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Polatty, David P., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4237.
Polhemus, Adrian K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Polhemus, George W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Polk, Harding, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Polk, Newton N., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Pollin, George A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Pollock, Edwin T., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 754; confirmed, 1026.
Pollock, Matthew B., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5103.
Pomeroy, Adda B., to be postmaster at Eastwood, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Pomeroy, H. M., to be postmaster at Maumee, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Pond, John E., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Pool, Herbert M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Poole, Arthur B., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Poole, John M., 3d., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Poole, Robert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Poore, Benjamin A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Poore, Edward W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Pope, Asa P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Pope, Asa Parmele, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
Pope, Harriet, to be postmaster at Delmont, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290.
Pope, Ralph E., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Porras, Thomas, jr., to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Porter, Byron C., to be postmaster at Kinsman, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Porter, Charles C., to be postmaster at Meridian, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Porter, D. P., to be postmaster at De Kalb, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Porter, Ralph S., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Porter, Richard Babcock, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Porter, Rober L., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Porter, William H., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Porter, William N., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Porterfield, Charles, jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Porterfield, Lewis B., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Portser, W. H., to be postmaster at Saltsburg, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Potter, James E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Potter, Leon Archie, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Potter, Harry W., to be postmaster at Glastonbury, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Potts, John, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Poulnot, Joseph M., to be postmaster at Charleston, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Pound, T. L., to be postmaster at Danville, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Poust, Luther R., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Powell, Carroll Arthur, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Powell, John Dalrymple, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Powell, Roger G., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Powell, William A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Powell, William E., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Powell, William Warren, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Powers, Frederick D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Powers, Thomas J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Pratt, Harold B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Pratt, John Francis, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Pratt, John M., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Pratt, Raymond S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Preble, Frank H., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Prescott, Austin F., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Presnell, Byron K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Preston, Charles F., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Preston, Guy H., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Preston, John F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Preston, William C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Prettyman, George William Lyman, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Price, Allen I., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Price, Andrew, to be postmaster at Marlinton, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Price, Clint L., to be postmaster at Indianola, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Price, Edwin H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Price, Frederick A., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Price, Frederick S. L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Price, Hannah, to be postmaster at Bennet, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Price, Harrison J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Price, Harry, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Price, Howard C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Price, J. M., to be postmaster at San Augustine, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Price, John A., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Price, Merton J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Price, Raymond Lester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Price, Reuben B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Price, Terrill A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Price, William G., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Price, Xenophan H., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Prichard, Vernon E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Prickett, Ashum P., to be postmaster at Hazardville, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Prickett, Fay B., United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Priday, F. L., to be postmaster at Euclid, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Pride, Elisha S., to be postmaster at Prides Crossing, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Pringle, Joel R. P., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Prior, Peter J., to be postmaster at Plainville, Conn; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Prior, Wallace, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Pritchard, L. J., to be postmaster at Tennille, Ga.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Pritchett, William H., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Procter, Andre M., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Proctor, Mert, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Prout, James G., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Pryor, John P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Pryor, William L., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Puck, Richard F. S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Pulis, Charles C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Pullman, John, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Pulsifer, George, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Purcell, Lee B., to be major in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Purcell, Otto T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Purdie, Kenneth S., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Purdon, David, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Purdon, Frank L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Purdon, Rupert L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Purdy, Harley W., to be postmaster at Bradford, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Purdy, Kenneth, to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Purdy, William Granville, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Purnell, Harry Selby, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Pursell, Ion, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Purviance, Charles E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Putnam, E. E., to be postmaster at Big Lake, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Putnam, Harry L., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Putnam, Rufus W., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Pye, William S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Pyles, Will L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Quackenbush, J. Warren, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Quade, Omar H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Qualls, Guy L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Queen, Dudley W., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Quenan, Jerome G., to be postmaster at Elk City, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Quesenberry, Joseph, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confiremed, 2597.
Quesenberry, Marshall H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200.
Quickel, Herbert Lee, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Quigley, Thomas, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Quillian, Clifford Gordon, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Quintard, Alexander Shepherd, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Quinn, Hugh, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Raborg, Paul C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Rader, Ira A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Rae, Walter, to be postmaster at Massena, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Rafferty, John W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Rafferty, William A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Rafferty, William C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Ragan, Charles A., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Ragsdale, Earl J. W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Raguet, Edward C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Rajkowski, Amelia M., to be postmaster at Rice, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Ralls, Oscar Blount, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Ralls, Hamilton B., to be postmaster at Piedmont, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Ralph, Edward D., to be assistant dental surgeon in Dental Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Ralston, Byron B., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Ralston, Francis W., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Ramsay, D. U., to be postmaster at Gonzales, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Ramsay, Martin McM., to be pay director in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Ramsey, George D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Rand, Irving W., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Rand, Lewis H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Engineers; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Randall, Carrie H., to be postmaster at Epworth, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Randall, Francis G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Randall, Mark T., to be postmaster at Amboy, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Randolph, Norman, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Randolph, Robert L., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Raney, E. D., to be postmaster at Beaufort, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Ranney, Elliott, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Ransom, Paul L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Ransom, Robert Bundy, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Ransom, Robert B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Ranson, Henry Harrison, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Ransone, Coleman B., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Rappolee, Charles E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Rasor, Winchell I., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Rathbun, Clarence J., to be postmaster at Mountain Lake Park, Md.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5886.
Rathjen, Herman Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Rattigan, Charles F., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y.; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Rauch, John H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Rawlings, Norborne L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Rawls, William A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Ray, Charles, to be postmaster at Barker, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Ray, Herbert J., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ray, John P., to be postmaster at Cassville, Mo.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Ray, Luke M., to be postmaster at Mount Jackson, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Ray, Shaw D., to be postmaster at Winnsboro, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Rayburn, Theodore, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Rayens, Charles Erwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Raymond, William H., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Raynor, Leroy Preston, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Raynor, Sidney N., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Rea, William L., to be postmaster at Refugia, Tex.; nominated, 5376; confirmed, 5376.
Read, Beverly A., to be lieutenant colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3240.
Read, George W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Read, Ralph R., to be register of the land office at Buffalo, Wyo.; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 3601.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Reading, Oliver Scott, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Reagan, Kate, to be postmaster at Weaverville, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Reames, Clarence L., to be United States attorney for district of Oregon; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Reaney, Jo. H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Reardan, John D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Reardon, Jack McCorkle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Reaves, Andrew G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Reay, Joseph, to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Rebentisch, Joseph A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Rechtsteiner, Harrie J., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Reddy, John J., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Rede, George Ross, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Redfield, William F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Redfield, William Francis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Redington, Joseph J., assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Redman, Joseph R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Redner, Wallace James, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Redner, Wallace J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Reed, Eugene C. A., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Reed, Francis M., jr., to be postmaster at Afton, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Reed, James E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Reed, Metcalf, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Reed, Paul L., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Reed, Stalker Elijah, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Reed, William A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Reed, William L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Reeder, Harry L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Reeds, William A., to be postmaster at Oakland, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Reese, Ernest Eugene, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Reeve, Bud, jr., to be postmaster at Buxton, N. Dak.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Reeves, George N., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Reeves, James H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Register, Edward C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Reh, Otto E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Reich, James E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Reichmuth, Ferdinand L., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Reid, James T., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Reid, Lemuel, to be postmaster at Iva, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Reid, Robert M., to be postmaster at Lake City, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Reifel, William McK., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Reily, Charles Stone, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Reinburg, George E. A., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Reinert, F. F., to be postmaster at Fort Morgan, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Reinhardt, Emil F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Reinhart, Stanley E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Reinoehl, Harry L., to be postmaster at Flat Rock, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7840.
Reisenauer, Michael, to be postmaster at Uniontown, Wash.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Rembert, Arthur, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Rembert, Gaillard, to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Remillard, Horace, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
——— to be a consul of class 9 of United States of America; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Remington, Thomas F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Remore, C. W., to be postmaster at Northwood, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Reno, William W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Renshaw, Solon B., to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Rentfro, Percie C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5059.
Reordan, Charles E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Resche, Frederick E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Rethman, Harold H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Reuling, James R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Reyelts, Heinrich, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Reynolds, Charles C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Reynolds, Charles R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Reynolds, Frank M., jr., to be postmaster at Nantasket Beach, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Reynolds, Frederick P., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Reynolds, O. M., to be postmaster at Anniston, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Reynolds, Royal, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Reynolds, William H., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Rhea, James C., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Rhett, John T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Rhinehardt, Claude K., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Rhoades, William S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Rhoads, Owen R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Rhoads, Thomas L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Rhodes, Butler Y., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Rhodes, Charles D., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Rhodes, Gaston H., to be postmaster at Whiteville, Tenn.; nominated, 5290.
Rice, Arthur H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Rice, Estill L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Rice, Fred G., to be postmaster at Roachdale, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Rice, Martin R., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Rice, Paul H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Rich, Edwin W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Rich, Robert L., to be postmaster at Cobden, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Richard, Charles, to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Richard, Russell L., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Richards, George J., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Richards, George Leander, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Richards, Harold R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Richards, Harold R., to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Richards, Harold Roger, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Richards, Harrison H. C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Richards, Henry H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Richards, James N. C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Richards, J. M., to be postmaster at Weatherford, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Richards, Laird Astor, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Richards, Randolph A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7772.
Richards, Randolph W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Richards, Thomas W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Richards, Willard K., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Richards, William P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Richardson, Elliott Verne, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Richardson, Ernest L., to be postmaster at Wagener, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Richardson, Ford, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Richardson, George B., to be postmaster at Knox, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Richardson, Lawrence B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Richardson, Louis C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Richardson, Wilds P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Richardson, William H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Riche, Swift, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Riche, Weir, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Richmond, Henry R., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Richmond, John O'D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Richter, John P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5103.
Rickertts, John C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Riddell, John Leonard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3355.
Riddle, G. H., to be postmaster at Omaha, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Riddle, William K., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Ridgway, Matthew B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Ridgway, Matthew Bunker, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Ridley, Clarence S., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Rieck, Henry, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Riefkohl, Rudolf W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Rieger, Augustine W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Riekers, Henry A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Riggs, Francis E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Riggs, Ralph S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Rigney, T. A., to be postmaster at Laurel, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Riheldaffer, John L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
Riley, Edwards M., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Riley, Frank J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Riley, John A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Rinearson, Abram V., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Ringe, John Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Ringland, Frank G., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Risser, Frank, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Ristad, Olaf, to be postmaster at Lancaster, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Ritchell, Charles S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Ritchie, Scott Brewer; to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Rittenhouse, Charles, to be postmaster at Hackettstown, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Ritter, Homer Peter, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Rivet, James D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Roach, James T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Roach, Leon L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Roach, Margaret, to be postmaster at Outlook, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Robb, Holland L., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4487.
Robbins, Chandler P., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Robbins, Herbert C., to be postmaster at Wallace, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Robbins, S. P., to be postmaster at Lubbock, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Robbins, Warren D., to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6306.
Roben, Douglas B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Robenson, Don A., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Roberts, Chester S., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Roberts, Frank A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Roberts, Frank H., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Roberts, Isaac R., to be postmaster at Erwin, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 7772.
Roberts, John L., jr., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Roberts, Louis T., to be first lieutenant; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Roberts, Lyle J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Roberts, S. A., to be postmaster at Blooming Grove, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Roberts, Summerfield G., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Roberts, William L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Robertson, William T., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Robertson, Daniel Sommer, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Robertson, John, to be postmaster at Willow City, N. Dak.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Robertson, Marion C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Robertson, Richard S., to be passed assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Robertson, Sterling Clifton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Robertson, Walter M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Robertson, William A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Robins, Thomas M., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Robinson, Aaron, to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 856.
Robinson, Charles Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Robinson, Francis M., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Robinson, James L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Robinson, James P., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Robinson, John N., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Robinson, Leigh F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Robinson, T. G., to be postmaster at Marvell, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Robinson, William Cloud, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Robinson, William H., to be postmaster at Milford, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Robinson, William T., to be postmaster at Kenilworth, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7359.
Robinson, William T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Roblyer, John L., to be postmaster at Flora, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Rock, Bertram Neumann, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Rockenbach, Samuel D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Rockwell, Miron James, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Rockwood, Alfred L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Rockwood, Arthur Ranken, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Rodd, Leroy, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Rodenbaugh, Frederick H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Rodes, Charles E., to be postmaster at Manchester, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Rodgers, J. Donald C., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Rodman, Hugh, to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Rodriguez, Modesto E., to be first lieutenant in Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Roe, Edward Jedd, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Roehl, William F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Roffe, Adolphus W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Rogan, Mike A., to be postmaster at Avery, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Rogers, Edward B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Rogers, Elbert C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Rogers, Frederick C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Rogers, Harry C., to be postmaster at Upland, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Rogers, Harry L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Rogers, John E., to be postmaster at Strasburg, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Rogers, John H., to be United States marshal, western district of Texas; nominated, 849; confirmed, 1026.
Rogers, John W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Rogers, Joseph A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Rogers, Mrs. Annie G., to be receiver of public moneys at Leadville, Colo.; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5682.
Rogers, Robert C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Rogers, Rush Hawkins, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Rogers, William C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Rogers, William J., to be assistant dental surgeon in Dental Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Rohan, Frederick J. von, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Rohange, Robert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Rohde, Samuel John, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5050.
Rolfe, Robert H., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Roll, Leonard, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Rolley, Alice L., to be postmaster at Crawfordville, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Rollins, Plato C., to be postmaster at Rutherfordton, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Rollmann, Edwin, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598
Romeyn, Charles A., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Ronan, John, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Rood, James V., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Rooks, Albert H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Rooks, Lowell Warde, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Root, Dan E., to be second lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5293.
Root, Edmund S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated 493; confirmed, 854.
Root, Kenneth C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Roper, Daniel C., to be member of United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
——— to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue; nominated, 7359; confirmed, 7359.
Roque, Enrique Cirilo, to be second lieutenant, United States Army, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 6199.
Rose, Alta A., to be postmaster at Atwood, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Rose, Dabney C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Rose, Edward C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Rose, Solon E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Rose, William C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Rosendahl, Charles E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ross, Charles A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Ross, George E., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Ross, Frank K., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Ross, Glenn Adelbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Ross, Tenney, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Ross, Thomas D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Rossell, Daves, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
——— to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Rossell, John E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Rossy, America, to be postmaster at Ensenada, P. R.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5375.
Roth, Edward, jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominatcd, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Rothrock, John H., to be postmaster at Inman, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Rousseau, Vincent Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Roux, Elmer J., to be postmaster at Fernandina, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5687.
Row, Harry R., to be postmaster at Makanda, Ill.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 6143.
Row, Lathe B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Rowcliff, Gilbert J., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Rowe, Charles A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Rowe, Gordon, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Rowe, Guy I., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Rowe, John W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Rowe, Leo S., to be assistant Secretary of the Treasury; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 3937.
Rowell, Frank W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Rowland, Arthur E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Rowland, Claude, to be postmaster at Protection, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Rowles, Roy R., to be postmaster at Philipsburg, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Rowntree, Kenneth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Royar, Murrey L., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Royce, Donald, to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Royce, Ralph, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Royse, Frank E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Royster, Thomas S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Ruark, Lee A., to be receiver of public moneys at Del Norte, Colo.; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Rubin, J. E., to be postmaster at Payne, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Ruble, Jerry Lewis, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Rucker, Caspar B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5961; confirmed, 5058.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Ruckman, John W., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Rude, Gilbert Thomas, to be hydraulic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Ruddock, John C., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Ruddock, Theodore G., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Rudolph, Jacob H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5047.
Ruffner, Ernest L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Ruge, Oscar G., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Ruggles, Colden L'H., to be colonel, Ordnance Department of Army; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Ruhberg, George N., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Rumbough, David S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5467; confirmed, 5685.
Rumbough, David Sheridan, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Rumbough, William Samuel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Rumsey, Dexter C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Rundquist, Karl, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Runke, Richard B., to be postmaster at Merrill, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Ruoff, Chauncey F., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Ruppel, Arthur Daniel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Rush, Thomas H., to be postmaster at Wibaux, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Rushing, Henry B., to be postmaster at Batson, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Russel, Edgar, to be colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Russell, Charles F., to be postmaster at Herndon, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Russell, Charles H., jr., to be secretary of legation, class 4; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6306.
Russell, Charles Reid, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Russell, Clinton W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Russell, Conrad Turner, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Russell, Daniel Du, to be postmaster at Trenton, Ill.; nominated, 5279.
Russell, Edgar, to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Russell, Frederick A., to be postmaster at Superior, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Russell, Frederick F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274.
Russell, Frederick F., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Russell, George L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Russell, Lloyd B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Russell, Nelson B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Rutan, Wilton Lynn, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Ruth, Eli D., to be postmaster at High Spire, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Rutherford, Henry H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Rutherford, Ray C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Rutherford, Samuel McP., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Rutter, Albert W., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Rutter, James B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Ryan, James A., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Ryan, John F., to be postmaster at Woodbridge, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Ryan, John J., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Ryan, Lewis S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Ryan, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Elizabeth, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Ryder, Charles W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Ryder, Leon A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Ryder, Frederick Harold Leroy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Sabini, Dominic Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Sackett, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Sackett, George Wilbur, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Sackville, William, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Sadtler, Otis K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Saffarrans, George C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Safford, Moses Victor, to be passed assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5293.
Sage, William H., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Sage, William H., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Sager, Eva C., to be postmaster at Frewsburg, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Sager, Floyd Chauncey, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
St. Clair, Charles C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Sallada, Harold B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Salter, L. H., to be postmaster at Stanton, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Saltzman, Charles McK., to be colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Salzman, Otto, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Samanski, George D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Sample, H. H., to be postmaster at Lecompte, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Sample, William R., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Sampson, Harold B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Sampson, Ralph E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Sampson, William H., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Sandeford, Alvan C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Sanders, John O., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Sanders, N. L., to be postmaster at Broken Arrow, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Sanders, Ray C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Sanders, William Webb, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Sandgren, Charles E., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Sandidge, Roy Preston, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Sands, Albert T., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Sandstrom, Charles O., to be assistant dental surgeon in Dental Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Sanford, B. O., to be postmaster at Plain View, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Sanford, George A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Sanford, John B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Sanford, Robert B., jr., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Sanger, Donald B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Sarde, Robert Miles, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Sargent, Frederick H., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Sargent, Laurence P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Sargent, Leonard R., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Sarratt, Edwin O., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Sarratt, James A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 496; confirmed, 5057.
Saul, Leslie T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Saulnier, Stanley Gloninger, to be provisonal second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Saunders, Oswald H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Saunders, Carlton J., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Saunders, Edwin O., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3356.
Sausser, Howard E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Saunders, William Harrison, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Savage, Emmert W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Saville, Mathew E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Sawbridge, Ben Menadue, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Sawkins, Alfred E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Sawyer, Charles N., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Sawtelle, George, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3240.
Saxer, John J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Saxton, Albert E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Saylor, Morgan M., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5104.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Scales, Wallace B., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Scanland, Francis W., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Scanlon, Martin F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Schaeffel, John B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Schantz, John Von Henry, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Scheck, Lloyd G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Scheefe, Christoph, to be postmaster at St. Johns, Ariz.; nominated, 5277.
Scheitlin, Edward R., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Schenck, Frank H., to be postmaster at Landisville, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Schepke, Charles S., to to ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Scherberger, Frederick, jr., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Schetky, Laurence O., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Schilcox, John J., to be postmaster at Keasbey, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Schillerstrom, Merl P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Schilling, Ernest P., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Schimelfenig, Charles A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201.
Schindel, S. J. Bayard, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Schindler, H. H., to be postmaster at Sulphur, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Schively, Hugh Pitcairn, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Schlanser, Adam E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Schlug, Rudolph W., to be postmaster at Strawberry Point, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Schluter, Wilhelm H. F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Schmahe, Dana Caswell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Schmidt, Adolph E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Schmidt, Carl S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Schmidt, Bertram D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Schmidt, Carl Bernhardt, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Schmidt, Flodor Otto, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Schmidt, William R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Schmied, Mell A., to be postmaster at Dakota City, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Schneider, Adolph P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Schneider, Frank V., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Schnell, Albert, to be postmaster at Morrow, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Schnetzler, Stanley S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Schnotola, Thomas M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Schoch, Marion S., to be postmaster at Selinsgrove, Pa.; nominated, 5289.
Schoenfeld, Frederick, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Schoenleber, Alvin W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Schofield, Albert R., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Schofield, Frank H., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Scholl, Hastings Couse, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Schonborg, Charles, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Schonhard, Frederick William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Schoonover, Albert, to be United States attorney, Southern District of California; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5429.
Schoppe, Ray Longfellow, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Schreiner, Edward R., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Schroeder, Augustus George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Schroeder, Henry John, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Schubert, Richard Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Schuck, Henley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Schulze, Walter Herman, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Schultz, Theodore, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Schumacher, Bernhard, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Schumacher, Theodore L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Schutte, Raymond Herman, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Schuyler, Roy Leo, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Schwarz, Henry Alfred, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Schwarzkopf, Herbert Norman, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Schwenk, James C. R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Schwien, Edwin E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Schwinn, Kenneth E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1356, 1421; confirmed, 1356, 1421.
Scobey, William P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Scobey, William Powell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Scofield, Seth W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Scott, David M., to be postmaster at Selma, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5372.
Scott, Edwin M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Scott, Ernest D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Scott, Ernest Winfield, to be passed assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5293.
Scott, George H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Scott, Howard L., to be postmaster at Fox Lake, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 7359.
Scott, M. O., to be postmaster at Neponset, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 6143.
Scott Richard C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Scott, Stanley L., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Scott, T. Cheyney, to be postmaster at Malvern, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Scott, Thomas E., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Scott, William S., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4314.
Scott, William S., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Scott, William S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Scott, Wilmer T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Scotten, Robert M., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Scowden, Frank F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Scribner, Romeyn B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Scroggs, Schiller, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Scruton, Edward R., to be postmaster at Hazen, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Scudder, John H. H., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Scudder, Randolph P., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Seabury, Samuel, 2d, to be postmaster at Tiverton, R. I.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5860.
Seaman, George G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Seach, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Seamon, Evan C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Searcy, Cyrus Higginson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Searles, Paul J., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Searls, Henry H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Sears, Arthur W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Sears, Demos Lindley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Sease, Hugh St. C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Sears, Robert, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Sebastian, Henry Garner, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Sebree, John B., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
——— to be captain in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Secor, Theodore A., to be captain in Marine Corps; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2799.
Sedlacek, Ernst, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Seeckts, Albert, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Seeders, O. Cammie, to be postmaster at Palestine, Ill.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5689.
Seibert, Edward C., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Seifert, George P., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Senior, Jack, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Selby, Harry J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Selby, John E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Selleck, Clyde A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5406; confirmed, 5685.
Sellers, David F., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Senay, Charles T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Senior, Jack, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Seran, Harry A., to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Seran, Harry A., to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Senn, Elliott M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Senn, Thomas J., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Settle, Douglas, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Settle, Edwin Howard, to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 4356.
Settle, Henry T., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Settle, Walker A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Sevier, Granville, to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Seydel, Fred, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Seyford, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Seyford, William, to be chief gunner in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Shack, Thomas J., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Shackford, Chauncey, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Shaffer, Howard M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Shaffer, Mary E., to be postmaster at Fulton, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Shaffer, Pearl M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Shaffner, Claude, to be postmaster at Dallas City, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 6143.
Shaft, Arthur B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Shalowitz, Aaron Louis, to be aid, United States Coast Survey; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Shallenberger, Martin C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Shamleffer, Leonard, to be postmaster at Douglass, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Shamotulski, Charles Arthur, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Shamotulski, Charles A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Shanahan, Patrick, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Shand, James R., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2596.
Shands, E. P., to be postmaster at Mesquite, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Shanks, David C., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Shanks, David C., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Shannon, Charles D., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Shannon, Gerald Arthur, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Shapley, Lloyd S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Sharpe, Herbert H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Sharrer, Robert A., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Shartle, Samuel G., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Shattuck, Gerald M., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Shaw, Charles, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Shaw, Charles H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Shaw, George J., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Shaw, Harry Phillips, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Shaw, Henry A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Shaw, Herbert G., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Shaw, J. W., to be postmaster at San Diego, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Shaw, William E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Shea, George D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Shea, Richard O., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Shea, Thomas Henry, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Shears, Karl R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Sheehan, D. Anthony, to be postmaster at Weston, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2271.
Sheep, William L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Sheffield, L. M., to be postmaster at Spray, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Shekerjiau, Haig, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Shelburne, Edward G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199.
Sheldon, Clifford H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Sheldon, Raymond, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, ——; confirmed, 4487.
Shelton, Claude Wallace, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Shelton, James Madison; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Shelton, Mattie H., to be postmaster at Valentine, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Shely, William Almond, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Shenck, Frank H., to be postmaster at Landisville, Pa.; nominated, 5289.
Shepard, Andrew G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Shepard, John L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Shepherd, J. E., to be postmaster at Seneca, Mo.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Shepley, Belmar H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Sheppard, Francis W., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Sheppard, Edward P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Sheppard, Joseph H., to be postmaster at Braxton, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Sherer, Gottlieb, to be chief gunner in the Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Sherman, Forrest P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Sherman, Myron Wood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Sherman, Outram Willett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Sherrard, Robert G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Sherrell, Benjamin F., to be United States marshal for the eastern district of Texas; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 1899.
Sherrill, Stephen Huntting, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Sherwin, Zenas A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Sherwood, Gorden B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Sherwood, John W., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Shields, William S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Shiel, Robert H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Shipley, Walter M., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Shipley, Walter M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Shipp, Arthur M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Shipp, Earl R., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Shipp, Fobins Busbee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Shipton, James A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Shockley, M. A. W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Shoemaker, Fred A., to be postmaster at Averill Park, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Shoemaker, Guy U., to be postmaster at Laramie, Wyo.; nominated, 608; confirmed, 1027.
Shoemaker, Harry E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Sholes, Walter H., to be consul of class 6; nominated, 5668, 6803; confirmed, 6958.
——— to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 5886.
Shonerd, Henry G., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Shook, Jay Ralph, to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Shook, Lewis Lathrop, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Shoolin, James P., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Short, Edwin T., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Short, Ward P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Short, Orlando W., to be postmaster at Seaford, Del.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 7840.
Short, Walter C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Shortridge, Paul F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Showell, John D., to be postmaster at Ocean City, Md.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Shown, Wilbur V., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Shriner, Atwell J., to be postmaster at Brookville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Shugg, Roland P., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Shull, Edward W., to be postmaster at New Brookland, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Shumaker, Burnice W., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Shumaker, Charles F., to be postmaster at Lovettsville, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Shurtleff, Dwight W., to be captain; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Shurtleff, Harry V., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Shute, Isaac C., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Shuttleworth, Edward A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Sibert, Franklin C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Sibert, Harold W., to be captain, United States Engifieer Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Sibert, Harold W., to be first lieutenant in Engineer Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Sibert, William L., to be major general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Sibila, H. B., to be postmaster at Massillon, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Sibold, Arthur Pleasant, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Sidman, Theodore W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Siegel, Jerold M., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Siems, Frederick Bernhard Theodore, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Sies, Charles R., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Sigerfoos, Edward, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Siler, Joseph F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Silkman, Edwin F., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Silva, A. H., jr., to be postmaster at Kahului, Hawaii; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5373.
Silven, Myer Samuel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Silvester, Lindsay McD., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Simcox, Porter B., to be postmaster at Patoka, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5689.
Simkins, Tattnall, to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Simkins, Tattnall D., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Simmons, Billie W., to be postmaster at Mexia, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Simmons, William G., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Simms, Joseph M., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Simmonds, Nathaniel L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Simonds, George S., to be major; United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Simonds, Manley H., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Simon, Allen E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Simon, Jacob W., to be postmaster at Bloomdale, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Simons, John W., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Simons, William H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Simonsen, Sigurd J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Simonson, Lauritz D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Simpich, Frederick, to be consul of class 5; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Simpson, Bessie Bryan, to be postmaster at Kissimmee, Fla.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5689.
Simpson, Bethel W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Simpson, James E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Simpson, William H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Sinclair, Cephas Hempstone, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Sinclair, Charles G., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Sinclair, Jesse L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5688.
Siner, Joseph L., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Sinquefield, J. B., to be postmaster at Lockhart, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5374.
Singles, Benjamin F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5104.
Sinkler, Thomas S., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Sinkler, Thomas Simons, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Sites, Frank C., to be postmaster at Harrisburg, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Sites, Harold David, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Skelton, Robert, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Skene, Cedric M. S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Skerry, Harry Allen; to be provisional second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3241.
Skiff, Nolan, to be receiver of public moneys at La Grande, Oreg.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Skiff, O. J., to be postmaster at Union, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Skinner, Alvin E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Skinner, Eugene, to be postmaster at Cherokee, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Skinner, Franklin T., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Skinner, Frederick S., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Skinner, George A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Skinner, Onias C., to be register of land office at Montrose, Colo.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2457.
Skinner, Ralph Burgess, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Skylstead, Ralph F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Slack, James E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Slack, James Ellis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Slate, Ralph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Slaughter, Homer H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Slaughter, Willis Richardson, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Slaven, Thomas H., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Slayden, O. B., to be postmaster at Rusk, Tex.; nominated, 5827; confirmed, 5376.
Slattery, John T., to be postmaster at Port Carbon, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Slaughter, Willis R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Slingluff, Frank, jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Slingluff, Robert P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Sloan, Frank A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Sloan, John E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Sloan, Roy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Sloan, Thomas D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Sloan, W. W., to be postmaster at Falfurnas, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Small, Lisle, F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Smalley, Harry Edwin, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Smalley, Henry R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Smart, William M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Smeallie, John M., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Smedberg, William A., jr., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Smersh, Charles J., to be postmaster at Brainard, Nebr.; nominated, 5285.
Smith, Addison L., to be postmaster at Groveland, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Smith, Albion, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5471; confirmed, 5688.
Smith, Albert Cowper, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Smith, Allen, jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199.
Smith, Allen M., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Smith, Alma C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Smith, Arthur, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Smith, Arthur A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Smith, Arthur St. C., to be a commander in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Smith, Carl J., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Smith, Clarence H., to be postmaster at Foss, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 856.
Smith, Clarke S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Smith, Corwin Crittenden, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Smith, Cornelius C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053, 5668; confirmed, 5683, 5849.
Smith, David English, to be first lieutenant, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Smith, Edgar English, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Smith, Emmett W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Smith, Everett G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Smith, Estil V., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Smith, Francis A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 855.
Smith, Frank, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Smith, Frank E., to be postmaster at Kimball, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Smith, Frank M., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Smith, Franklin S., to be postmaster at Derby, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Smith, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Darien, Conn.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5373.
Smith, Frederick W., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Smith, Freeman, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Smith, Gaston, to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
——— to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 5886.
Smith, George C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Smith, George C., to be a chief gunner in the Navy; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Smith, George H., to be postmaster at Excelsior, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Smith, George T., to be medical director, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Smith, G. W., to be postmaster at Sonora, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Smith, Hamilton A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Smith, Harold T., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Smith, Harry A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Smith, Harvey G., to be postmaster at Maiden Rock, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Smith, Hayden H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Smith, Henry J. M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Smith, Howard M., to be postmaster at North White Lake, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Smith, Hugh C., to be postmaster at Lake Forest, Ill.; nominated 5280; confirmed, 7359.
Smith, Jesse H., to be postmaster at Yardley, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Smith, John H., to be passed assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Smith, John N., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Smith, John S., to be postmaster at Eldorado Springs, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Smith, Julia M., to be postmaster at Liberty, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Smith, Leonard A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Smith, Lloyd L., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7771.
Smith, L. W., to be postmaster at Shubuta, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Smith, Matthew C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Smith, Perry B., to be postmaster at Ellington, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Smith, Ralph C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Smith, Reuben, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Smith, Richard K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Smith, Robert S., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 4012.
Smith, Stephen H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Smith, Sydney, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Smith, Truman, to be first lieutenant, Eleventh United States Infantry; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2597.
Smith, Victor L., to be postmaster at East Arlington, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5866.
Smith, Walter, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Smith, Walter D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Smith, Walter H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Smith, Wilbert, to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Smith, William B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Smith, William G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Smith, William H., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Smith, William H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Smith, William R., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3335.
——— to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Smith, William W., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602
Smith, W. R., to be United States district judge for the western district of Texas; nominated, 605; confirmed, 623.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Smith, Wright, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Smylie, John S., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Smyth, Constantine J., to be chief justice Court of Appeals, District of Columbia; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5027.
Smyth, Roy M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Smythe, Bettie, to be postmaster at Marlow, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Snead, George M., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Sneed, Albert L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Snepp, Charles M., to be postmaster at Kewanna, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Snow, Chauncey D., to be Second Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Snow, Corydon G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Snow, Robert T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Snow, William A., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Snow, William J., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Snowden, Robert H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Snowden, Thomas, to be rear admiral in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Snyder, Charles P., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Snyder, Craig R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5945; confirmed, 6199.
Snyder, Frederick S., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Snyder, Henry D., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Snyder, Howard McC., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Snyder, Louis F., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Snyder, Ross., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Soars, Charles A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Sobel, Herbert R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Sobieraiski, Alfred Modesto, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Sobieralski, Alfred Modesto, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Soderberg, Ruth G., to be postmaster at Grand Marais, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Soeman, John, to be postmaster at Lancaster, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Solhang, Samuel B., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Somervell, Brehow B., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Sommermeyer, Edward C., to be postmaster at Marietta, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Sorley, Lewis S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Southall, Sadie A., to be postmaster at Amelia Courthouse, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Southard, Addison E., to be consul, class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Sowerbutts, Samuel Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Spalding, Isaac, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Spalding, Sidney P., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Spanagel, Herman A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Spann, Wilson M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Sparks, Roy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Sparrow, Edward, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Sparrow, Herbert G., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Spatz, Carl, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Spaulding, Basil D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Spaulding, Oliver L., jr., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Speaks, John C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Spears, William O., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Speer, Charles E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Spellman, Francis T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Spellman, P. D., to be postmaster at Plainville, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Spencer, Douglas A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Spencer, Eugene T., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Spencer, Thomas C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2599.
Spencer, Walter J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Spence, William, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Spencer, Willing, to be secretary of legation, class 2; nominated, 6058; confirmed, 6306.
Spencer, Theodore K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Sperle, John, jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Sperry, James Russell, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Sperry, Simon W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Spicer, George, to be postmaster at Hindsboro, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Spiller, Edwin B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Spiller, Oliver L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Spillman, James H., to be postmaster at Milroy, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 6310.
Spinks, Marcellus G., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7772.
Spiva, Marshall, to be postmaster at Ackerman, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Spohr, Edward B., to be postmaster at Jamestown, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Spore, James S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Spragins, Robert L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Sprague, Clifton A. F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Sprague, John W., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Sprague, Thomas L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Spratling, Leckinski W., to be medical director in the Navy; nominated, 6805; confirmed, 6958.
Springsteen, R. E., to be postmaster at Indianapolis, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Sprinkle, Lester A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Sproat, Edith A., to be postmaster at Bradley, S. Dak.; nominated. 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Spruance, Horace E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Spurling, May W., to be postmaster at Higbee, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Spurr, John P., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Squier, George O., to be major general; nominated, 7898; confirmed, 7898.
Squire, William H., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Stacey, Cromwell, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated. 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Stack, Vincent E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Stack, Vincent E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Stackley, Louis, to be postmaster at Kingstree, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Stadden, Edgar A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Stadtman, Claud E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Stafford, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Robstown, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Stailey, Henry D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Stall, Fred, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Stamey, Roderick Alexander, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Stamm, Leander P., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Stanberry, J. H., to be postmaster at Attica, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Stanford, Albert Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Stanford, Homer R., to be civil engineer in Navy, with rank of commander; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Stanhope, Aubrey Charles, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Stanley, David S., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Stanley, Emory D., to be paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Stanley, Henry A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Stanley, Stewart W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Stanton, Charles R., to be lieutenant colonel in Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 3560; confirmed, 4012.
Stanton, Ernest Newman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Stanton, Hubert G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Starbird, Alfred A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Starcher, Edwin M., to be register of land office at Gregory, S. Dak.; nominated, 5668; confirmed, 5945.
Stark, Alexander N., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Stark, Alexander N., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Stark, Harry W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Starkey, Robert C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Starlings, Paul N., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Staud, Benjamin F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
——— to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Staud, George C., to be postmaster at Rochester, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Stayer, Morrison C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Stearns, Austin R., to be postmaster at Conway, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Stearns, Cuthbert P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Stearns, W. H., to be postmaster at Tryon, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Stedman, Arthur W., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Stedman, John W., to be postmaster at Wrangell, Alaska; nominated, 5930; confirmed, 5980.
Steece, Delorimier M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Steele, C. E., to be postmaster at Sayre, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Steele, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Steele, George W., jr., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Steele, Theopilus, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Steere, Thomas I., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Steese, Charles M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Steese, James G., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Steeves, Leland S., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Steidley, Wilmer A., to be postmaster at Kinder, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Stein, Emil J., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Stein, Joseph C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Steinberg, Max, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Steinbrumer, Charles C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Steiner, John J. F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Steiner, John Jefferson Flowers, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Steiner, Robert E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Steketee, Paul L., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Stengel, Simson C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Stephan, William R., to be postmaster at Sawyer, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
Stephens, A. J., to be postmaster at Morrillton, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Stephens, C. W., to be postmaster at Wrens, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Stephens, Charles Meriwether, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Stephens, Ellis A., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Stephens, John E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Stephens, Joseph W. G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Stephenson, Lowry B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Sternberger, Fred E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Stetson, Allyn Fillmore, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Stevens, Harry E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Stevens, Charles N., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2599.
Stevens, James A., to be captain; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Stevens, Leon F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Stevens, Oliver C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated. 851; confirmed, 2599.
Stevens, William H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Stewart, Adelbert B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Stewart, Francis R., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Stewart, Frederick W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Stewart, George E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Stewart, George V., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Stewart, Gustavus Urban, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 4967.
Stewart, Harry M., to be postmaster at Springfield, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Stewart, James B., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Stewart, James Wright, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Stewart, John Allen, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Stewart, John A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Stewart, John Wolcott, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3227; confirmed, 3357.
Stewart, Lee H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Stewart, Leigh M., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Stewart, Lloyd L., to be postmaster at Ingomar, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Stewart, Loren Prescot, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Stewart, Ralph R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Stewart, Robert P., to be United States attorney, district of South Dakota; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5471.
Stewart, Robert W., to be postmaster at Ceylon, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Stewart, Thomas R., to be postmaster at Whitney, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Stewart, Tom Wiley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Stewart, William R., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Stickney, Richard C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Stiles, George K., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Stillman, Harold D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Stillwell, Frederick W., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Stirling, Yates, jr., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Stivers, Charles P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Stoakley, John W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5104.
Stoat, Arthur J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Stockle, George E., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Stockton, George Alva, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Stockton, Max Rievenach, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Stoddard, George K., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Stokely, Carlin C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Stokes, Marcus B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Stone, David L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Stone, Earl E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Stone, Howard W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Stone, John G. M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Stone, Lawrence F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Storck, John, to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5057.
Stork, William B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Story, Delbert M., to be postmaster at Washburn, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Stovall, Harry, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Straat, John N., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Strachan, Joseph J., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Stradling, Allen Wainfield, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Strong, John, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Stratemeyer, George E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Stratton, Henry W., to be chief gunner in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1026.
Stratton, Henry W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Straub, Oscar A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Straub, Paul F., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Strauss, W. H., to be postmaster at Johnstown, Pa.; nominated, 5289.
Street, John A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Street, Thomas A., to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3560.
Strelinger, Gilbert P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Stretton, Frank Peter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Strickland, I. E., to be postmaster at Allen, Okla.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 7711.
Strickland, John Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Strickland, Russell A., to be postmaster at Elm City, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Stroh, Donald Armpriester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Stromeyer, William Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Strong, Alden G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Strong, Francis X., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Strong, George V., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Strong, Frederick S., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Strong, Robert L., to be postmaster at Colliersville, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5471.
Stroop, Lawrence E., to be postmaster at Grand Junction, Tenn.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 7772.
Strope, Frank D., to be postmaster at Orchard, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Strosnider, Clyde McClain, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Strough, Roscoe Perrin, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Struble, Herbert S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Stryker, Annie H., to be postmaster at Woodville, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Stuart, Alexander, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Stuart, David H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Stuart, George W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Stuart, Malcolm D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Stubbs, Michael J., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Sulima, John Sylvester, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Stullken, John Erwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Stump, Felix B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Sturgeon, John Howard, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Sturges, Edward A., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Sturgis, Roger, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Sturgis, Samuel D., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Sturgis, Samuel D., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Stutesman, John H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Stutsman, George, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Styer, Charles W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Styer, Henry D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Styer, Wilhelm D., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Sullivan, Alexander C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Sullivan, Edward W., to be postmaster at Stockbridge, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5203.
Sullivan, John R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Sullivan, Joseph P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Sullivan, Joseph Pescia, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Sullivan, Max W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Sullivan, Philip S., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Sullivan, Raymond B., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Sullivan, Willis E., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Sultan, Daniel I., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Summerall, Charles P., to be colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Summerall, Charles P., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Summers, C. S., to be postmaster at Charleston, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Summers, G. W., to be postmaster at Hartville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Summers, Maddin, to be a consul general of class 4 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Summersett, James A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Sumner, Edwin V., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Sumner, Henry N., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Sunderland, Archibald H., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Surles, Alexander D., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Sutcliffe, Walter Draper, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Sutherland, Albert R., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Sutherland, John William Lee, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Sutherland, Judson C., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Sutherland, Richard K., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Sutley, M. M., to be postmaster at Center, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Sutliff, Lewis S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Sutton, Harris R., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Sutton, Thomas L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Suydam, John H., to be postmaster at Walkerville, Mont.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Swan, Daniel N., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Swank, Edward E., to be postmaster at Richland, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Swann, Bessie C., to be postmaster at Story City, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Swann, Sherlock, to be postmaster at Baltimore, Md.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5886.
Swanson, Emil, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Swanton, Donovan, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Swanton, Donovan, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Sweeney, Hardin C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Sweeney, Olive C., to be postmaster at St. Marys, W. Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Sweetser, E. LeRoy, to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Sweezey, Claude B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Sweeny, A. J., to be postmaster at Gallitzen, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Swift, Alfred E., to be postmaster at Brookings, S. Dak.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Swift Eben, to be major general in the Army; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Swift, John T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Swindell, Margaret W., to be postmaster at Swanquarter, N. C.; nominated, 2271; confirmed, 2599.
Swing, Joseph M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Swink, Roy C., to be second lieutenant in Marine Corps; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Switzer, John S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Switzer, John S., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Symington, Powers, to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6058.
Symington, William Harris, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Swainson, Otis William, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Swartz, Tasso Wadsworth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Szilagyi, Nicholas, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Tabachnik, Abraham, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Taber, William Audley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Tack, Willis J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Tackabury, Robert Valentine, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Taggart, G. Russell, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Takken, Joseph Earle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Talbot, Clarence A., to be postmaster at Edmeston, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Talbot, Ethelbert, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Talbot, Melvin F., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Talbott, Edward M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Talbott, Robert A., to be postmaster at National Military Home, Ind.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2457.
Taliaferro, Lucien H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Talley, W. A., to be postmaster at Milltown, Ga.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Talton, Iva B., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Tanner, Chester O., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Tanner, Earle W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Tanner, Ellis T., to be postmaster at San Jacinto, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Tanner, J. J., to be United States marshal for the first division of Alaska; nominated, 723; withdrawn, 1692.
Tanner, J. M., to be United States marshal for the first division of Alaska; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 3239.
Tappan, John Wilson, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Tarleton, Leeson O., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Tarpley, Hugh Mebane, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Tarpley, Jesse F., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Tasker, Arthur N., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Tasker, George C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Tate, Joseph Scranton, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Tate, William E., to be postmaster at Wasco, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Taulbee, Edgar W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Tauske, Gustav C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Taussig, Frank W., to be member of the United States Tariff Commission; nominated, 491; confirmed, 623.
Taussig, Joseph S., to be a commander in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Tawresey, Alfred P. H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Taylor, Albert B., to be postmaster at Hunter, N. Y.; nominated, 5286.
Taylor, Conant, to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Taylor, Edward G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2599.
Taylor, Gervas Storrs, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Taylor, Harry, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Taylor, Harry R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Taylor, Herbert E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Taylor, Herbert L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Taylor, Hugh K., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Taylor, James D., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Taylor, J. Wiley, to be postmaster at Midland, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Taylor, Perry R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Taylor, Richard T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Taylor, Roy L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Taylor, Sterling P., jr., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Taylor, Stuart Baldwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Taylor, Theodore B., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Taylor, Thomas F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200.
Taylor, Walter L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Taylor, William, to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 3357.
Taylor, William R., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Tayman, Charles E., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Teachout, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Teale, Willis E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
——— to be captain, Engineer Corps; nominated, 5334; confirmed, 5684.
Teale, Willis Edward, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Teas, C. C., to be postmaster at Karnes City, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Teegarden, Harold B., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Teepe, Frederick W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Templeton, Hamilton, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Ten Barge, William J., to be postmaster at Poseyville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Terpening, Jerome, to be postmaster at Jefferson, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Terrell, Henry, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Terry, Carl C., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Terry, R. B., to be postmaster at Hamlet, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Tevis, Paul U., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Tex, Guy E., to be postmaster at Central Point, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Thatcher, George L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Thalheimer, William F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Thaw, Benjamin, jr., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Thayer, Arthur P., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Thearle, William H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Thebaud, Delphin E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Thiele, Claude M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Thode, E. Frederick, to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Thomas, Alfred E., to be postmaster at Buxton, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Thomas, Frank P., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Thomas, Howard S., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Thomas, John R., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Thomas, Kramer, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Thomas, Pearl L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Thomas, Robert E., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Thomas, Robert S., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Thomas, Russell D., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Thomas, S. W., to be postmaster at Aspermont, Tex.; nominated, 5291; confirmed, 5376.
Thomas, W. E., to be United States district judge for southern district of Georgia; nominated, 4960; rejected, 5027.
Thomas, William R., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Thomas, William W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Thomas-Stakle, Charles, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Thomason, Henry D., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Thomasson, E. F., to be postmaster at Livermore, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Thompson, Albert C., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5057.
Thompson, Charles N., to be postmaster at Buck Falls, Pa.; nominated, 5289.
Thompson, D. B., to be postmaster at Hope, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Thompson, Elsie B., to be postmaster at Wynot, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Thompson, Guy Douglas, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3359.
Thompson, George R. C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Thompson, James A., to be postmaster at White Water, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Thompson, James W., to be postmaster at Westport, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Thompson, John M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Thompson, John W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Thompson, John Wesley Bell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Thompson, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Arlington, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5860.
Thompson, Robert Davis, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Thomson, Alfred R., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
——— to be consul of class 9 United States of America; nominated, 492; confirmed, 854.
Thomson, Stanley Allan, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Thomson, Thaddeus A., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Thormahlen, Matthias A., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Thornburgh, Robert M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Thorne, Edward Anvear, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Thorne, George E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Thornell, John G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Thornhill, Henry E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Thornhill, John Bridger, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Thornton, J. L., to be postmaster at Alexander City, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5402.
Thornton, William O., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Thornton, Proctor M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Thrasher, Thomas E., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Threlkeld, Hansford, L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Thurlby, Harold H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Thullbery, Clarence C., to be postmaster at Lake Wales, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Thummel, Claude B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Thurber, Charles F., to be postmaster at Fairlee, Vt.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5860.
Thurber, Philip L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Thurston, Francis E., to be postmaster at Knobnoster, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Thyson, Leo C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Tiffany, George S., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Tilford, James D., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Tillman, Benjamin J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Tilson, John C. F., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Tilton, A. B., to be postmaster at Carlisle, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Timmons, Charles C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Timmons, John W., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Tindall, Richard G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2598.
Tingay, Lynn Harold, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Tinker, Clarence L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Tinsley, D'Arcy David, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Tipton, Frank B., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Tittinger, Anthony John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Titus, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Tobin, Howard C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Tobin, Robert G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Tobin, William H., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Todd, Clement Joseph, to be second lieutenant in Coast Guard; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Todd, Henry D., jr., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Todd, Orrin Derby, to be postmaster at Shelbyville, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Toffey, John J., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Toles, Walter W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Tompkins, Frank, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481.
Tompkins, John T., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Tompkins, William F., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Tomlinson, Daniel W., fourth, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Toohey, Hugh, to be postmaster at Fuld, Minn.; nominated, 5283.
Toone, E. L., to be postmaster at Boydton, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Topp, Emile, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Topping, Frederick Linwood, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Torney, Francis J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Torres, Ramon S., to be first lieutenant in Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3256.
Torrey, Daniel H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Torrey, Henry P., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Torrey Henry P., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 6807; confirmed, 6960.
Toupo, Felicien H., to be postmaster at Lafourche Crossing, La.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Townsend, Charles J., to be postmaster at Idabel, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 7711..
Townsend, Galen B., to be postmaster at Mangum, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 7711.
Townsend, Grosvenor L., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Townsend, Guy D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Townsend, John D., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Townsend, Lawrence, jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Townsend, Lloyd W., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Townsend, Ralph V., to be postmaster at Minnesota Lake, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Townsley, Clarence P., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Tracey, Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Train, Harold C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Traubs, Peter E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Traugh, A. R., to be postmaster at Hollidaysburg, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Travieso, Martin, jr., to be member of Executive Council of Porto Rico; nominated, 491; confirmed, 2271.
Treadwell, Simon Peter, to be postmaster at Ryan, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Treadwell, Thomas C., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 1026.
Treat, Charles G., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Treat, Joseph B., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Trechter, Oliver Edward George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Trench, Martin E., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Trentlein, Peter, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 5966; confirmed, 5103.
Trever, George A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Trevor, David Haldane, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Trexel, Carl A., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Trigg, Otto Blaine, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Trimble, Harry Evans, to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 4356.
Trinder, John H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Triplett, Philip S., to be postmaster at Wells, Nev.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Tripp, W. A., to be postmaster at Millington, N. J.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Trott, Clement A., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Trotter, Alden, to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Trottman, Nelson S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
Troxell, David B., to be postmaster at De Land, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 6960.
Troxell, Jacob W., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Truby, Albert F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Truby, Albert E., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Truby, Willard F., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Truby, Willard F., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Trueblood, Paul McGeorge, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
——— to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Truesdell, Stuart D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Trumbower, William Creveling, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Truscott, T. L., to be postmaster at Olustee, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5402.
Truxes, Arthur H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Tubb, Mary E., to be postmaster at Aberdeen, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Tuck, W. W., to be postmaster at Virgilina, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Tucker, Albert, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Tucker, Albert S. J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Tucker, Edward S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Tucker, Richard W., to be postmaster at Senath, Mo.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1027.
Tuggle, H. I., to be postmaster at Martinsville, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Tullidge, Edward K., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Tullos, Shadrac S., to be postmaster at Grand Prairie, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Tully, James Kivas, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Tuohey, James M., to be postmaster at Medina, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Tuohy, Frank P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Tuomey, John J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Tupper, Myron Weldon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Tupper, Sevier R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Turk, H. A., to be postmaster at Newell, W. Va.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 1899.
Turley, Robert E., jr., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Turnage, Allen H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3242.
Turnbull, Samuel J., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Turner, Arthur H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Turner, Francis Edwin Stafford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3359.
Turner, Frank A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Turner, G. Soulard, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Turner, Howard Winthrop; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Turner, Paul C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Turner, W. F., to be postmaster at Atkins, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Tuthill, Alexander M., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Tuttle, Arnold D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Tuttle, Shelby M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Tuttle, William Benjamin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Twaddle, Harry L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Twigg, Timothy S., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Twohig, William, to be postmaster at Galesburg, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5689.
Tyler, John C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Tyson, Lawrence D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Ubel, Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3355.
Uhl, Frederick E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Uhle, W. F., to be postmaster at Attica, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Uhler, Taylor Milton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Ulrich, Lewis, to be postmaster at Jacksonville, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Underhill, Lewis K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.
Underwood, Arthur R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Underwood, Edgar H., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Unger, Adolph, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Upham, Frank B., to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Upshur, Alfred P., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Usher, Francis M. C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Usher, Francis M. C., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Utinsky, John P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Vaaler, Q. C., to be postmaster at Spring Grove, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Vachon, Joseph P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Vaiden, John L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Vail, Harris H., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Valentine, Rawson J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Valentine, William Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Valle, Pedro A. del, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Van Buskirk, Robert Justin, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Vandegrift, Alexander A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Van Deman, Ralph H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Vanderveer, Harold C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Van Deusen, Edwin R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Van Deusen, George L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5683.
Van Dine, Arthur, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Van Dusen, James W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Van Duyne, Frederick W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Van Fleet, James A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Van Hasseln, Harry W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Van Hook, Clifford E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Van Horn, Edwin T., to be postmaster at Newfoundland, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Van Horn, Frank L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Van Horn, Robert O., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Van Kammen, Isaac John, to be second lieutenant of Engineers in the Coast Guard; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Van Kirk, Harry H., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Van Landingham, T. E., to be postmaster at Lone Oak, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Van Meter, Abram Lee, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Van Metre, Thomas E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Van Natter, Francis M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Van Nostrand, Percy E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Van Patton, Robert, to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Van Poole, Gideon McD., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Van Schaick, John, jr., to be a member Board of Charities, District of Columbia; nominated, 4480; confirmed, 5401.
Van Schaick, Louis J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Van Sciever, Armand L., to be postmaster at Grove City, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Van Valkenburg, Franklin, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Van Vliet, John H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5059.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Van Vliet, Robert C., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Van Vliet, Robert C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Van Winkle, L. R., to be postmaster at Weston, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Vasquez, Antonio Andres, to be provisional second lieutenant, Porto Rico Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed 3243.
Vassie, David B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Vaughan, Robert L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Vaughan, William W., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Vaughn, Cecil C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Vaughn, Eva R., to be postmaster at Century, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Vaughn, Sidney P., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4220; confirmed, 4221.
Vantsmeier, Walter W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Veatch, Allen T., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Vedder, Edward B., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
——— to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Veed, George R., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Velz, Robert, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Vernon, Walter N., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Vestal, Marion P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Vestal, Samuel C., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Vestal, Van Rensselaer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Vickery, Robert J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Victor, Lee Tuchocki, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Victory, Charles E., to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 10; nominated, 723; confirmed, 1692.
Vidmer, George, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Villasenor, Joseph Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3355.
Vincent, Zachary Taylor, to be chaplain in Army; nominated, 493; confirmed, 2596.
Vinson, Thomas N., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Voeth, Robert W., to be captain in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Vogel, Berthold, to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2599.
Volbrath, Edward, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Voege, Roy Wright, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Vollmer, Arthur, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3242.
Von Dusten, Arthur P., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Von Gremp, H. J., to be postmaster at Dixon, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Von Holtzendorff, John D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Von Kessler, Wilson C., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Von Kummer, Ferdinand G., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Von Ohlen, Fred, to be postmaster at Henning, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Von Preissig, Edward R., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Von Schrader, Alleyne, to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Voorhees, Luke, to be receiver of public moneys at Cheyenne, Wyo.; nominated, 3234; confirmed, 3601.
Vosbury, Bronson P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Vose, William E., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Voshall, Edgar F., to be postmaster at Pleasant Hill, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5689.
Vulte, Nelson P., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Vytlacil, Nicholas, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Waddell, James E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Waddington, Harold A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wade, Franklin D., to be postmaster at Addison, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Wade, James A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Wade, Mertin C., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Wade, Noble R., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Wade, William C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmegd, 4488.
Wadelton, Willard S., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Wadley, Charlie P., to be postmaster at Tunica, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Wadsworth, Alexander S., jr., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wadsworth, Herbert A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Wadsworth, Lawrence Hill, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Wadsworth, Leland, jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Wadhams, Sanford H., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Waesche, Russell Randolph, to be first lieutenant in Coast Guard of United States; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Waggoner, Margaret A., to be postmaster at Wood Lake, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Wagner, A. B., to be postmaster at Cloirs, N. Mex.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Wagner, Anthony, to be postmaster at Kinde, Mich.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5374.
Wagner, Henry S., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4487.
Wagner, L. G., to be postmaster at Sylvia, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Wahl, George Douglas; to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
Wahl, Lutz, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Wahlstrom, Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Wainer, Max R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Wainwright, Dallas Bache, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Wainwright, John D., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3061.
Wainwright, Lawrence, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 5270; confirmed, 5372.
Waite, Milford A., to be postmaster at Canton, Me.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5402.
Waite, Sumner, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Walbridge, Edward D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Waldner, Paul J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Waldron, Albert W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Waldron, Ivan Neal, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Waldron, William H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Waldschmidt, Theodore M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Walker, Charles A., jr., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Walker, Charles H., to be postmaster at North Dighton, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5323.
Walker, C. Herbert, to be postmaster at Dalhart, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Walker, Eustace Samuel, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Walker, Fred L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Walker, John C., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Walker, John R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Walker, Madison E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Walker, Theodore F. C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Walker, Kenzie W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 6137; confirmed, 6306.
Walker, Kirby, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Walker, Lewis, to be postmaster at Loogootee, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Walker, Maurice P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Walker, Walton H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Walker, William, jr., to be postmaster at Goodland, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Wall, John F., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Wall, William L., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5102.
Wallace, Charles S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Wallace, Fred C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Wallace, Harry N., to be postmaster at Coleridge, Nebr.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Wallace, Henry G. S., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Wallace, John H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Wallace, John M., to be postmaster at Delaware Water Gap, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Wallace, Melville W. F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Wallace, Otis Alexander, to be second lieutenant in Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2794; confirmed, 3243.
Wallace, Ralph E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Wallace, William, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Wallace, William C., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Wallender, Elmer F., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Waller, John, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Waller, John B. W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wallin, Homer N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Wallis, John W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5682.
Wallach, Robert R., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Walmsley, Stephen M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5055.
Walsh, Arthur Oscar, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Walsh, John D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Walsh, Michael J., to be postmaster at Yonkers, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Walsh, Raycroft, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Walsh, Robert D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Walsh, Roland F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Walson, Charles M., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Walters, W. M., to be postmaster at Fairfax, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5402.
Walton, John N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Walton, Leo A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Waltz, Floyd R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Want, Cullen H., to be assistant naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Ward, Clarence O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Ward, Orlando, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Ward, Philip R., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Ward, Samuel Rufus, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Ward, Thomas H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Wardell, Justus S., to be collector of internal revenue for first district of California; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5101.
Warden, John A., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Ware, James V., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Warfield, Augustus B., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Warfield, Clarence G., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Warfield, Eldred D., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Warfield, John B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2597.
Warfield, Ralph M., to be civil engineer in Navy; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1026.
Warlick, William W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Warmack, William, to be postmaster at Greenville, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Warman, Jonathan H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Warner, Charles L., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Warner, Milo Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Warner, Walter Milton, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Warnke, Charles, to be postmaster at Huron, Ohio; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Warren, Elias D., to be postmaster at Fairport Harbor, Ohio; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Warren, Hill F., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Warren, Philip W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Warren, Williston Lockwood, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Warriner, Benjamin B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Wartman, Samuel L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Warwick, Arthur D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Washburn, Donald F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Wass, Lester S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
Waterhouse, Samuel M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Waterman, George M., to be postmaster at Sidney, Iowa; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5886.
Waterman, John J., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5683.
Waters, Arthur Carroll, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Waters, Cora M., to be postmaster at Bird City, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Waters, Francis Hutchins, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Waters, Jerome Jackson, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Watkins, Herbert Everett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Watkins, John Thomas, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Watkins, Lewis H., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Watrous, Lee R., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Watrous, Livingston, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Watrous, Raymond Jerome, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Watson, Adolphus E., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Watson, David M., to be postmaster at Francis, Okla.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 7711.
Watson, Edward C., to be postmaster at Naples, Me.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 5059.
Watson, Edwin M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Watson, Harry J., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Watson, Leroy H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Watson, M. B., to be postmaster at Ridge Spring, S. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.
Watson, Theodore B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Watts, Laurence, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Waugh, Richey Laughlin, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Way, Julius F., to be postmaster at Holly Hill, S. C.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5945.
Weart, Douglas L., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3240.
Weathers, Ben, to be postmaster at Enterprise, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Weaver, James R. U., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5058.
Weaver, Philip R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Weaver, Walter R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Weaver, William G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Webb, Allen T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Webb, Halbert L., to be postmaster at Glyndon, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
Webb, James R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3561.
Webb, Lanphear W., jr., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Webb, Miles J., to be postmaster at Lamar, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Webb, Richard B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Webb, William Crittenden, jr., to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Webber, Harry Edwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Webber, Henry A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Weber, Frank, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Weber, George K., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Webster, Edward Mount, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 4480.
Webster, Frank D., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Weddington, J. H., to be postmaster at Charlotte, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5373.
Wedgwood, Edgar A., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6199.
Weeks, George McD., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Weeks, Henry J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Weeks, John A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Weeks, John Waring, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Weeks, William S., to be major and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3356.
Weems, George H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Weems, George Hatton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Wegat, Louis M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Weidenbach, Adolph C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2599.
Weidner, Edward T. B., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Weigel, William, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Weigel, William, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Weir, Benjamin G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Weir, Francis S., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Weis, Frederick L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Weishaar, Henry Theophil John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Weishampel, John A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Weishampel, John Addison, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2597.
Weisman, Louis Goldman, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Weiss, Lewis Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Weissheimer, J. Warren, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Weissinger, William Thomas, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Weitzel, Charles W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Weitzel, Harry W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
Welch, Gordon B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851, 1577; confirmed, 2599.
Welch, Henrietta, to be postmaster at Carrollton, Miss.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5374.
Welch, Louis A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Welch, Marhl Hector, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
Welker, Charles D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Welker, Charles D., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Welker, Philip Albert, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Wellage, George F., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Welles, Edward M., jr., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Welles, Sumner, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Wellington, Harold W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Welman, Miles G., to be postmaster at Youngstown, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Wells, Albert W., to be postmaster at Newman, N. Y.; nominated, '286; confirmed, 5374.
Wells, Benjamin O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Wells, Chester, to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Wells, Frank O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5703.
Wells, J. L., to be postmaster at Smithville, Ga.; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5886.
Wells, James Hadden Sloan, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Wells, Rush S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Wells, William B., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Welsh, Robert S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Welty, Maurice D., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Wendel, Dora G., to be postmaster at Tallassee, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5402.
Wenk, Edward, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Wensinger, Harmon, to be postmaster at Fremont, Ohio; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Wentworth, Llewellyn H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Wersebe, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Wescott, Robert H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Wessell, Leonard P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Westbrook, Lewis A., to be postmaster at Creal Springs, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5886.
Westdahl, Ferdinand, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Westervelt, William I., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Westfall, Theo. D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wetherill, Alexander M., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Wetmore, Herbert Van C., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wetsel, George D., to be assistant civil engineer in the Navy; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4012.
Wittenmyer, Edmund, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Weyand, Alexander M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Whaley, Arthur M., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Wheat, Leslie Caryle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Wheeler, Charles B., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Wheeler, Ernest S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Wheeler, Frederick Collins, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Wheeler, James M., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Wheeler, Lester M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Wheeler, Mark, to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Wheeler, Raymond Alonzo, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Wheeler-Nicholson, Malcolm, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Whelan, John N., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Whelan, Joseph H., to be postmaster at South Lancaster, Mass.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 2271.
Whichard, David J., to be postmaster at Greenville, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Whitaker, Ira M., to be postmaster at Morgantown, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Whitcomb, Clement C., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 4274; confirmed, 5686.
Whitcomb, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Whitcomb, John Clement, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
White, Allen H., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
White, Arthur A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
White, Arthur J., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 623; confirmed, 1027.
White, Arthur N., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
White, Clement B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
White, David, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
White, Francis, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
White, Harold McC., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
White, Harold McClave, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1576; confirmed, 2596.
White, Henry E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
White, Henry F., to be passed assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
White, Herbert A., to be lieutenant colonel and judge advocate in Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
White, Herbert H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
White, J. A., to be postmaster at Goliad, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
White, Jay, to be a consul of class 4 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
White, Joel J., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
White, John R., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.
White, Paul H., to be postmaster at La Center, Ky.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
White, Robert A., to be a lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
White, Robert J., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4490.
White, Wesley J., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
White, William Dale, to be a dental surgeon, United States Army; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5055.
White, William R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
White, William R., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
White, William S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
White, Young C., to be postmaster at Hamlin, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Whited, Charles, to be postmaster at Willits, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Whitemarsh, Ross P., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Whitesell, Claire A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3357.
Whitfield, George L., to be postmaster at Franklinton, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Whitfield, James W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Whitford, Caleb, to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Whitham, Jay D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Whiting, George W. C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Whiting, Kenneth, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Whitley, Franklin L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Whitman, Walter M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Whitmore, Eugene R., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Whitmore, William H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Whitney, Henry H., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5682.
Whitney, Henry H., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Whitney, Paul Clinton, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Whitside, Victor M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Whitson, John Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Whitside, Warren W., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Whittaker, George, to be postmaster at Yellowstone Park, Wyo.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Whittaker, Horace L., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Whitten, Robert F., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Whitten, Rudolph G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Whittier, Raymond Wright, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Whitson, Robert K., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Wicker, Rufus E., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Wickham, Frank D., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Wickham, Williams C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wieber, Carlos W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Wiener, Joseph Baxter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Wierzbicki, Stephen, to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Wight, Griffith, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Wightman, Charles J., to be postmaster at Grayslake, Ill.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 7359.
Wightman, Richard Mars, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Wilbourne, Arthur E., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Wilbourne, John D., to be postmaster at Pine Bluff, Ark.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Wilbur, William H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Wilcox, Frank A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Wilcox, George A., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Wilcox, Henry T., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Wilcox, John W., jr., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3601.
Wilcoxon, Sterling P., to be postmaster at Edgewood, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Wilby, Francis B., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Wild, William F., to be postmaster at Lindenhurst, N. Y.; nominated, 5286; confirmed, 5374.
Wilde, Adna G., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Wilder, Cyrus J., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Wilder, Lee Clark, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Wilder, Stuart G., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Wilder, Wilber E., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Wilder, William T., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3356.
Wildman, Leonard D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Signal Corps; nominated, 2798; confirmed, 3241.
Wildrich, Meade, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Wilds, Robert H., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Wiley, John C., to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Wilfe, Orrin R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Wilhelm, Glenn P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Wilkerson, Michael J., to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 724; confirmed, 1027.
Wilkinson, Candler Asbury, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3358.
Wilkinson, Ford L., jr., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Wilkinson, Michael J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Wilkinson, Robert E., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wilkinson, Theodore S., jr., to be lieutenant in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Willard, Maurice A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Willcutts, Morton D., to be assistant surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Wilhelm, Edmund, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Willard, Charles N., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed. 7135.
Willett, Errol W., to be dental surgeon, United States Navy; nominated, 5335; confirmed, 5430.
Willett, Maurice B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Williams, Albert L., to be postmaster at Vineland, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Williams, Alexander W., to be captain, United States Medical Corps; nominated, 4963; confirmed, 5059.
Williams, Allie W., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5687.
Williams, Andrew E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Williams, Charles F., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 495; confirmed, 856.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Williams, Clarence C., to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
Williams, Ernest C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2799; confirmed, 3243.
Williams, Ezekiel J., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Williams, F. M., to be postmaster at Newton, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Williams, Frank E., to be postmaster at Noank, Conn.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 1027.
Williams, Frank O., to be register of the land office at Kalispell, Mont.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Williams, Frederick J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Williams, George, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5056.
Williams, Herbert O., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4009; confirmed, 4486.
Williams, J. A., to be postmaster at Alachua, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Williams, James C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Williams, John H. C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5684.
Williams, J. R., to be postmaster at Brookneal, Va.; nominated, 5292.
Williams, John Richard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Williams, Philip, to be captain in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Williams, Raleigh C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Williams, Ralph Chester, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 492; confirmed, 623.
Williams, Richard D., to be postmaster at Opelika, Ala.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5860.
Williams, Richard O., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Williams, Robert C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4481; confirmed, 5055.
Williams, Robert C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Williams, Robert E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Williams, Robert L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200.
Williams, Robert W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Williams, Roger, to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Williams, Roger, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Williams, Roger D., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Williams, Sumner M., to be captain; nominated, 5053; confirmed, 5683.
Williams, William Carlton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Williams, William T., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Williams-Foote, Baldwin, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 854; confirmed, 2598.
Williamson, Adolph A., to be consul of class 5; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Williamson, Emery; to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Williamson, Garland D., to be postmaster at Ridgeville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Williamson, George McK., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Williamson, Melvin Selmer, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Willis J. N., to be postmaster at Williston, Fla.; nominated, 5278; confirmed, 5689.
Willis, John M., to be major Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Willis, Robert H., jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Willner, Ralph L., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1899; confirmed, 2598.
Willoughby, Rexford E., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 849; confirmed, 2598.
Wills, John H., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Willson, Gilbert R., to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7135.
Willson, Russell, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 4681; confirmed, 4967.
Wilson, Alexander, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Wilson, Brandt W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wilson, Cary R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Wilson, Charles H., to be postmaster at Forest Hill, Md.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5886.
Wilson, Charles N., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Wilson, Durward S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4961; confirmed, 5057.
Wilson, Earl Bodek, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Wilson Francis J., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wilson, Francis M., to be United States attorney, Western District of Missouri; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5401.
Wilson, George B., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wilson, Henry B., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 4680; confirmed, 4967.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Wilson, James A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Wilson, James S., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Wilson, J. J., to be postmaster at Moran, Kans.; nominated, 5281; confirmed, 5402.
Wilson, J. Pendleton, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Wilson, Julian Du B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Wilson, Paul W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 495; confirmed, 855.
Wilson, Ralph W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Wilson, Richard B., to be postmaster at Montrose, Mo.; nominated, 5284; confirmed, 5471.
Wilson, Rogers M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Wilson, William, to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Wilson, William B. B., to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery in the Army; nominated, 3936; confirmed, 4486.
Wilson, William Byron, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Wilson, William H., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Wilson, William R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Wiltenmyer, Edmund, to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3355.
Wiltse, Lloyd J., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Wimberly, J. R., to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ga.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 724.
Winans, Charles S., to be consul of class 4; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Winfield, Richard Marshall, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Winfree, A. G., to be postmaster at Leesville, La.; nominated, 606; confirmed, 856.
Wing, Paul Reuben, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Wingate, Clarence M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Winn, Frank L., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Winn, John S., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3061; confirmed, 3355.
Winsett, James W., to be postmaster at Higgins, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Winship, Blanton, to be lieutenant colonel and judge advocate in the Army; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Winship, North, to be consul of class 5 of United States of America; nominated, 491; confirmed, 724.
Winship, Sylvanus Davis, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Winslow, E. Eveleth, to be brigadier general; nominated, 7635; confirmed, 7772.
——— to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Winslow, John S., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Winslow, L. Lanier, to be secretary of legation, class 3; nominated, 4959; confirmed, 5055.
Winslow, Sydney S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Winston, Clarence Noble, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3356.
Winston, Isaac, to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3239.
Winter, Francis A., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5273; confirmed, 5686.
Winters, Mamie E., to be postmaster at Burns, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Winton, George Peterson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Winton, Roy W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Winton, Walter F., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5688.
Wirtz, Peter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Wise, George M., to be assistant paymaster in the Navy; nominated, 4221; confirmed, 4221.
Wise, Herman, to be postmaster at Astoria, Oreg.; nominated, 5288; confirmed, 5375.
Wise, James B., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Wisener, L. A., to be postmaster at Grangeville, Idaho; nominated, 5279; confirmed, 5860.
Wisker, Frank C., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Witbeck, George W., to be postmaster at Nassau, N. Y.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Witherbee, Max Orville, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Withers, Alexander P., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Withers, Cleemann, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Withers, Thomas, jr., to be lieutenant commander, United States Navy; nominated, 7839; confirmed, 7840.
Witherspoon, Andrew Carothers, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
Witsell, Edward F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4962; confirmed, 5058.
Witsell, J. Mitchell, to be postmaster at Walterboro, S. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 2457.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Witson, Robert K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200.
Witt, Walter Gordon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3243.
Witte, Frederick W., to be assistant naval constructor; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wittman, Lawrence, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Wittman, Roland Winfred, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Wodarsky, Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3237; confirmed, 3358.
Wohlheter, Charles L., to be postmaster at White, S. Dak.; nominated, 5290; confirmed, 5375.
Wohltman, August, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Woldy, Ruth L., to be postmaster at Edmore, N. Dak.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Wolf, Charles S., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4966; confirmed, 5103.
Wolf, Herman Howard, to be captain in Coast Guard of United States; nominated, 492; confirmed, 724.
Wolfe, Edwin P., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Wolfe, Edwin P., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5944; confirmed, 6199.
Wolfe, Rowland Daniel, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Wolfe, Shuey E., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 851; confirmed, 2599.
Wolfensberger, Oscar, to be postmaster at Lemoyne, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Wood, Benjamin Walter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Wood, Charles L., to be postmaster at Albany, Ind.; nominated, 5815; confirmed, 5373.
Wood, Charles M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Wood, Jared Irwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Wood, John Q., to be consul of class 5; nominated, 6802; confirmed, 7134.
Wood, John O., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Wood, John S., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5684.
Wood, Neal N., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5276.
Wood, Norton E., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Wood, Oliver S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5057.
Wood, Philip S., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Wood, Sterling A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Wood, Sterling Alexander, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Wood, William O., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4967; confirmed, 5104.
Wood, William S., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Woodard, George Sawyer, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Woodberry, John H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5055.
Woodbridge, Woodrow Wilson, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Woodbury, Bert, to be postmaster at Fall Brook, Cal.; nominated, 5277; confirmed, 5373.
Woodbury, Frank T., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5274; confirmed, 5686.
Woodcock, H. Frank, to be register of the land office at The Dalles, Oreg.; nominated, 1692; confirmed, 2271.
Wooding, Walter, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4488.
Woodruff, Frank Holmes, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Woodruff, James A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Woodruff, Julian L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Woodruff, Roscoe B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5199; confirmed, 5684.
Woodruff, Victor Roland, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Woods, George A., to be postmaster at Nazareth, N. C.; nominated, 5287; confirmed, 5375.
Woods, James S., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Woods, Joseph E., to be postmaster at Teague, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Woods, Robert F., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4482; confirmed, 5056.
Woods, Robert H., to be pay inspector in the Navy; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
Woodside, George A., to be postmaster at Sugargrove, Pa.; nominated, 5289; confirmed, 5887.
Woodson, Eugene M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Woodson, Thomas D., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275.
Woodson, Walter B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Woodward, Clark H., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 854.
Woodward, G. Carlton, to be consul of class 8; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Woodward, John E., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4010; confirmed, 4486.
Woodward, Thomas P., to be postmaster at Yoakum, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Woodward, William R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Woody, Franklyn Hayes, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Wooley, George F., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Wooley, George Francis, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Wooley, Gordon B., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Wooley, R. M., to be postmaster at Magna, Utah; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 7135.
Wooley, Robert W., to be member Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 7516; confirmed, 7769.
Woolfley, Francis Augustus, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Woolford, Lee Burton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Woolford, Wood Sae, to be first lieutenant, United States Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Woolsey, Lester Hood, to be Solicitor for the Department of State; nominated, 491; confirmed, 4356.
Woolworth, Wendell H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Wooster, Stanton H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Wooten, William P., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3240.
Worden, Frank L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Worsham, Ludson D., to be captain, United States Engineers; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Worster, Josephine E., to be postmaster at Hull, Mass.; nominated, 5282; confirmed, 5373.
Worth, Adam, to be postmaster at Elberon, N. J.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5860.
Worth, Edward G., to be surveyor general of Oregon; nominated, 5198; confirmed, 5293.
Worth, Marie R., to be postmaster at Carter, Mont.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Worthington, Henry H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 853; confirmed, 2597.
Worthington, Joseph A., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Wortley, Raymond, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Wortman, Walter J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4964; confirmed, 5101.
Wotkyns, Steele, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Wren, Roy O., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5688.
Wright, Frederick S., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 5275; confirmed, 5687.
Wright, George B., to be lieutenant commander in the Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Wright, George M., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5470; confirmed, 5687.
Wright, Henry T., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 5276; confirmed, 5372.
Wright, Ira J., to be postmaster at Mission, Tex.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Wright, J. A., to be postmaster at Chester, Mont.; nominated, 5285; confirmed, 5374.
Wright, Jerauld, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4488.
Wright, John W., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Wright, Julius T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4485; confirmed, 4489.
Wright, Lee O., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Wright, Lee W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3603.
Wright, Percy T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wright, Quincy A., to be postmaster at Fortville, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Wright, Vincent Brown, to be assistant veterinarian; nominated, 5203; confirmed, 5688.
Wright, Walter Franklin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Wright, William Benjamin, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2795; confirmed, 3242.
Wrght, William M., to be brigadier general in the Army; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3560.
Wright, William M., to be major general; nominated, 6059; confirmed, 6198.
Wrona, William J., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5685.
Wuest, Richard W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Wunch, Edward W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4484; confirmed, 4489.
Wyatt, Ben H., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Wyche, Ira T., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5400; confirmed, 5685.
Wyeth, John C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Wygant, Benyaurd B., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Wyke, Jacob E., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5056.
Wyllie, Robert E., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 7518; confirmed, 7772.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Wylly, Thomas S., to be assistant paymaster, United States Navy; nominated, 4486; confirmed, 4490.
Wyman, Henry L., to be commander, United States Navy; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Wyman, Ralph, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 855.
Wyman, Robert S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3355; confirmed, 3602.
Wynn, William B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Wynne, Sydney J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 854.
Yancey, Benjamin A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 5200; confirmed, 5685.
Yancey, James P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Yancey, Lucy E., to be postmaster at Forest Depot, Va.; nominated, 5292; confirmed, 5376.
Yarnell, Harry E., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 3353; confirmed, 3601.
Yates, Halsey E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Yates, Oscar Townsend, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Yates, Robert William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3238; confirmed, 3356.
Yeager, Emer, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 850; confirmed, 2598.
Yeater, Charles Emmett, to be vice governor of the Philippine Islands; nominated, 3060; confirmed, 4486.
Yeatman, Philip W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3354; confirmed, 3602.
Yngve, Emanuel, to be postmaster at Cambridge, Minn.; nominated, 5283; confirmed, 5886.
York, Dwight S., to be postmaster at Hazel Green, Wis.; nominated, 5293; confirmed, 6808.
York, Paul W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
York, Paul Winters, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Yon, Everett Marion, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3235; confirmed, 3357.
Youell, Rice M., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 852; confirmed, 2597.
Young, Adlai C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5687.
Young, Archibald, to be first lieutenant in the Marine Corps; nominated, 3239; confirmed, 3560.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 4487.
Young, Charles, to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5052; confirmed, 5683.
Young, Courtney Parker, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3236; confirmed, 3358.
Young, Gordon R., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 1026; confirmed, 2599.
Young, Isaac J., to be postmaster at Henderson, N. C.; nominated, 607; confirmed, 724.
Young, James B., to be consul of class 7; nominated, 6803; confirmed, 7134.
Young, James S., jr., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4011; confirmed, 4487.
Young, Joseph E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2797; confirmed, 3241.
Young, Mason J., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 2778; confirmed, 3240.
Young, Sidney H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Young, Sidney Hooper, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Young, Thomas Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3242.
Young, William C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.
Youngs, Homer Smith, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2796; confirmed, 3241.
Youngs, William H. W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 5054; confirmed, 5684.
Yuill, Charles W., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5685.
Yuill, Charles Walter, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1577; confirmed, 2596.
Yule, Edgar H., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 2599.
Zehner, Daniel C., to be postmaster at Windfall, Ind.; nominated, 5280; confirmed, 5373.
Zeitler, William, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 4965; confirmed, 5102.
Zeman, Leonard Harold, to be aid, Coast and Geodetic Survey; nominated, 3062; confirmed, 3240.
——— to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer; nominated, 5848; confirmed, 5980.
Zerbee, Augustine J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 5469; confirmed, 5683.
Zerbee, F. J., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5202; confirmed, 5683.
Ziegler, Mark Victor, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 4960; confirmed, 5293.
Zimmerman, Charles X., to be brigadier general; nominated, 6060; confirmed, 6198.
Zogbaum, Rufus F., jr., to be commander in the Navy; nominated, 6804; confirmed, 6958.
Zollars, Charles O., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4483; confirmed, 5057.
Zornig, Hermann H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 5201; confirmed, 5682.
Zundel, Edwin A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 5401; confirmed, 5686.

EXEMPTION BOARDS, amending act to increase Military Establishment to provide for appeals to President from action of district (see bill H. R. 6309).
Bill to commission, without compensation, in Reserve Corps persons serving on (see bill H. R. 5828).
EXLINE, ADAM, increase pension (see bill H. R. 1095).
EXODUS, lines from fifth chapter of, 5249.
EX PARTE MILLIGAN, text of syllabus in conspiracy case entitled, 884.
Decision of Supreme Court in, 5951.
Request in Senate to print decision of Supreme Court in, agreed to (S. Doc. 77), 5951.
EXPATRIATION, amend act relative to expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad (see bill H. R. 1671).
Bills to expatriate citizens who leave the United States to evade registration or draft (see bills H. R. 4876, 5079).
EXPERIENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN IN WAR FINANCING, statements relative to, 6205.
EXPERIENCE OF UNITED STATES IN WAR FINANCING, statements relative to, 6204.
EXPLOSIVES, registration and taxation of manufacturers, importers, and dealers in (see bill H. R. 3550).
Bills to regulate manufacture, distribution, storage, sale, use, and possession of explosives in time of war (see bills H. R. 3633, 3932*).
Bill to tax high (see bill H. R. 2931).
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McMinnville, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2881).
Madisonville, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2883).
Mangum, Okla. (see bill H. R. 145).
Mannington, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 118).
Mansfield, La. (see bill H. R. 1757).
Marshall, Mich. (see bill H. R. 3378).
Marysville, Cal. (see bill S. 850).
Merkel, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3659).
Middletown, Pa. (see bill H. R. 3930).
Midland, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3660).
Monte Vista, Colo. (see bill S. 2400).
Monticello, Ark. (see bill S. 775).
Montrose, Colo. (see bills S. 2164; H. R. 1694).
Nephi, Utah (see bill S. 976).
New Brighton, N. Y. (see bill H. R. 1724).
Newcastle, Wyo. (see bill H. R. 28).
Newkirk, Okla. (see bill H. R. 3222).
New Martinsville, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 119).
Newport, Tenn. (see bill S. 835).
Northfield, Minn. (see bill H. R. 3335).
Norwalk, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3779).
Oakland, Cal. (see bill S. 857).
Omaha, Nebr. (see bill H. R. 2872).
Oregon City, Oreg. (see bill H. R. 2596).
Paint Rock, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3653).
Palo Alto, Cal. (see bills S. 855; H. R. 2790).
Palo Pinto, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3655).
Passaic, N. J. (see bill H. R. 132).
Payette, Idaho (see bill S. 268).
Perry, Okla. (see bill H. R. 3229).
Pikeville, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2884).
Pineville, Ky. (see bill H. R. 4490).
Placerville, Cal. (see bills S. 856; H. R. 3562).
Ponca City, Okla. (see bill H. R. 3230).
Prescott, Ariz. (see bill S. 392).
Price, Utah (see bill S. 974).
Princeton, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 2578).
Provincetown, Mass. (see bill H. R. 312).
Quincy, Cal. (see bill H. R. 3558).
Redding, Cal. (see bill H. R. 3560).
Richmond, Cal. (see bill S. 854).
Richmond, Mo. (see bill H. R. 319).
Rockwood, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 383).
St. Joseph, Mo. (see bill H. R. 4029).
St. Marys, Ohio (see bill H. R. 5714).
St. Paul, Minn. (see bill H. R. 4736).
Salem, N. J. (see bill H. R. 196).
Salida, Colo. (see bill S. 2192).
San Bernardino, Cal. (see bill H. R. 2300).
San Jose, Cal. (see bills S. 852; H. R. 2789).
San Mateo, Cal. (see bills S. 851; H. R. 2791).
Sapulpa, Okla. (see bill H. R. 308).
Sedalia, Mo. (see bill H. R. 1656).
Silver City, N. Mex. (see bill H. R. 2007).
South Haven, Mich. (see bill H. R. 4034).
South Manchester, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3354).
South Pittsburg, Tenn. (see bills S. 837; H. R. 2882).
South St. Paul, Minn. (see bill H. R. 3334).
Sparta, Ga. (see bill H. R. 1685).
Sparta, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2880).
Spencer, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 1764).
Staunton, Va. (see bill H. R. 2580).
Sterling, Colo. (see bill H. R. 176).
Susanville, Cal. (see bill H. R. 3556).
Sweetwater, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2885).
Sweetwater, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3646).
Sylvester, Ga. (see bill H. R. 1727).
Syracuse, N. Y. (see bills S. 1853; H. R. 3120).
Talbotton, Ga. (see bill H. R. 5443).
Tennille, Ga. (see bill H. R. 1684).
Thomson, Ga. (see bill H. R. 1683).
Tracy City, Tenn. (see bill H. R. 2879).
Tucson, Ariz. (see bill S. 1835).
Two Harbors, Minn. (see bill H. R. 161).
Vallejo, Cal. (see bill S. 853).
Van Buren, Ark. (see bill H. R. 209).
Warren, R. I. (see bill H. R. 4124).
Waupun, Wis. (see bill S. 1459).
Waurika, Okla. (see bill H. R. 303).
Wellington, Kans. (see bill H. R. 4850).
Wellsville, Ohio (see bill H. R. 4003).
Wheatland, Wyo. (see bill H. R. 27).
Whitewater, Wis. (see bill H. R. 5100).
Williamson, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 2577).
Winsted, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3347).
Winters, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3658).
Woodstock, Ill. (see bill H. R. 4465).
Yreka, Cal. (see bill H. R. 3561).

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Bills to increase appropriations for
Abilene, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3645).
Alexandria, La. (see bill S. 820).
Billings, Mont. (see bill H. R. 4355).
Birmingham, Ala. (see bill S. 1762).
Boston, Mass. (see bill H. R. 80).
Boulder, Colo. (see bill H. R. 172).
Butte, Mont. (see bill H. R. 4348).
Columbia, Mo. (see bill S. 1023).
Durango, Colo. (see bill H. R. 1696).
Eugene, Oreg. (see bill H. R. 4739).
Galveston, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3341).
Globe, Ariz. (see bill H. R. 281).
Great Falls, Mont. (see bill S. 920).
Helena, Mont. (see bills S. 53; H. R. 4353).
Houlton, Me. (see bill H. R. 4401).
Janesville, Wis. (see bills S. 1458; H. R. 5102).
Jersey City, N. J. (see bill H. R. 349).
Kenosha, Wis. (see bill H. R. 5099).
Missoula, Mont. (see bills S. 918, 2867; H. R. 4349).
Moultrie, Ga. (see bills S. 2852*; H. R. 6189).
Muskogee, Okla. (see bill H. R. 358).
Park City, Utah (see bill S. 975).
Pottsville, Pa. (see bill H. R. 112).
Providence, R. I. (see bill H. R. 4123).
Red Wing, Minn. (see bill H. R. 3333).
St. Cloud, Minn. (see bill H. R. 5665).
San Jose, Cal. (see bill H. R. 2783).
Shenandoah, Iowa (see bill H. R. 2004).
Steubenville, Ohio (see bills S. 624; H. R. 3217).
Utica, N. Y. (see bill H. R. 2903).
Wichita, Kans. (see bill H. R. 4851).
Williamsport, Pa. (see bill H. R. 189).
Youngstown, Ohio (see bill S. 627).
Bills to purchase sites for
Bamberg, S. C. (see bill H. R. 2349).
Bay St. Louis, Miss. (see bill H. R. 5996).
Bisbee, Ariz. (see bill H. R. 276).
Borough of Queens, N. Y. (see bill H. R. 5537).
Bucyrus, Ohio (see bill S. 625).
Chester, W. Va. (see bill H. R. 114).
Columbia, Miss. (see bill H. R. 5995).
Eaton Rapids, Mich. (see bill H. R. 3377).
Enfield, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3355).
Flagstaff, Ariz. (see bill H. R. 277).
Fredericktown, Mo. (see bills S. 1022; H. R. 4536).
Galveston, Tex. (see bill H. R. 3342).
Hartford, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3353).
Harvard, Ill. (see bill H. R. 4464).
Kingman, Ariz. (see bill H. R. 278).
Nogales, Ariz. (see bills S. 391; H. R. 282).
Pascagoula, Miss. (see bill H. R. 5997).
Redlands, Cal. (see bill H. R. 2301).
Southington, Conn. (see bill H. R. 3356).
Stamford, Conn. (see bill S. 2884; H. R. 6328).
Starke, Fla. (see bill H. R. 6027).
Tamaqua, Pa. (see bill H. R. 113).
Troy, Ohio (see bill S. 626).
Yuma, Ariz. see bill H. R. 279).

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, increase area of the Botanic Garden (see bill S. 346*).
Bills to construct building for use of the Treasury Department (see bills S. 2477*; H. R. 4912).
Bill to erect building for Supervising Architect of the Treasury (see bill H. R. 369).
Bill to erect building for the Navy Department (see bill H. R. 3833).
Estimate of appropriation for employees in connection with (H. Doc. 170), 3270.

PUBLIC CONTRACTS, prohibit public officers from aiding, for compensation, the procurement of (see bill H. R. 5149).
Bill to amend law relative to contracts for furnishing supplies to Government (see bill H. R. 5874).
Letter of Secretary of War transmitting information relative to contracts for Army cantonments, 5910.
Message of President transmitting draft of joint resolution authorizing advance of public moneys under Navy contracts (S. Doc. 55), 4418.
Remarks in House and newspaper article relative to contracts for ships let by G. W. Goethals, 5142.
Remarks in Senate relative to contracts for construction of Army cantonments, 5909.
Remarks in Senate, correspondence, and statements relative to letting of, 5175–5188, 5215–5220, 5223, 5224, 5225, 5231, 5232.
Resolution of inquiry relative to contracts let by Shipping Board (see S. Res. 106*).
Text of resolution (S. Res. 85) to investigate contracts for construction of, 5909.
Text of contract for construction of Army cantonments, 5911.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.
Bill to amend act providing for printing, binding, and distribution of (see bill H. R. 2312).
Bill to discontinue use of the Fahrenheit thermometer scale in Government publications (see bill H. R. 180).
Orders to print
Adamson eight-hour law: resolution to print decision of Supreme Court in (see H. Res. 4).
Address by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon: request in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 78), 6040.
Address by William S. Culbertson: request in Senate to print, referred, 4996.
Address by Senator Hardwick: request in Senate to print, referred, 6836.
——— resolution to print (S. Res. 132*; S. Doc. 106).
Address by Clark W. Hetherington: request in Senate to print, referred, 744.
——— resolution to print (see S. Res. 57*; S. Doc. 22).
Address by Charles E. Hughes: request in Senate to print, referred, 6937.
——— resolution in Senate to print (S. Res. 134*; S. Doc. 105).

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Orders to print
Address by Otto H. Kahn: resolution to print (S. Res. 123*; S. Doc. 83).
Address by Walter Lippmann: request in Senate to print address by, referred, 5542.
——— resolution to print (S. Res. 121*; S. Doc. 80).
Address by Senator Owen: resolution to print (see S. Res. 142*; S. Doc. 118).
Address by Senator Pomerene: request in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 66), 5330.
Address by Elihu Root: resolution to print address entitled "Public service by the bar," delivered by (see S. Res. 78*; S. Doc. 43).
Address by George Sutherland: request in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 119), 7876.
Address by John Skelton Williams: request in Senate to print certain, referred, 930.
Address by the President on subject of war with Germany: order of House to print additional copies, agreed to, 502.
Address of President of United States: resolution to print in foreign languages the address of April 2, 1917 (see S. Res. 33*).
——— resolution to print additional copies of address of Apr. 2, 1917 (see H. Res. 50).
——— resolutions to print proclamation of Apr. 16, 1917, of (see H. Res. 56, 64).
Address of Vice President: order in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 109), 7324.
Address of Secretary McAdoo at bankers' convention, Atlantic City: request in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 112), 7491.
——— order of Senate to print certain, agreed to (S. Docs. 34, 40), 2659, 3099.
Address by Secretary of Navy: request in Senate to print certain, referred, 4547.
Addresses of Secretary Daniels and Viscount Ishii: request in Senate to print, agreed to (S. Doc. 85), 6937.
Addresses at Naval Academy: resolution to print (see S. Res. 99*; S. Doc. 58), 4809.
Addresses by Superintendent of Naval Academy: request in Senate to print, referred, 4547.
Alaskan Engineering Commission: concurrent resolutions to print report of (see H. Con. Res. 18, 22).
Americans of German origin and the war: request in Senate to print article by Otto H. Kahn on, referred, 6262.
Beakes v. Bacon: request in House to print report of hearings in contested-election case of, agreed to (H. Doc. 354), 6464.
Bill S. 2: order of Senate to reprint, agreed to, 891.
Bill H. R. 4125: order of House to reprint, agreed to, 1936.
Bill H. R. 4289: order of Senate to reprint, agreed to, 6802.
——— resolution to print (see S. Res. 110*).
——— order of House to print additional copies, agreed to, 2079.
——— concurrent resolution to print additional copies of (see S. Con. Res. 8*).
——— resolutions to print additional copies of parts 1 and 2 of S. Rept. 103 on (see S. Res. 111*, 112*).
Bill H. R. 4960: report in House to print with amendments, agreed to, 7103.
——— request in House to print substitute for, agreed to, 4879.
Biloxi area, Miss.: resolution to print additional copies of soil survey of (see H. Res. 136).
Book-paper industry: resolution to print report of Federal Trade Commission on (S. Res. 122*; S. Doc. 79).
"British Experience Series": resolution to print manuscript entitled (S. Res. 126*).
"British Labor's War Message to American Labor": resolution to print manuscript entitled (S. Res. 128*; S. Doc. 84).
——— resolution to print additional copies of S. Doc. 84, entitled (S. Res. 139*).
British war laws: request in Senate to print compilation of laws affecting employers of workmen and output, referred, 4471.
Cause of high prices: order of House to print letter of George E. Adams on subject of, agreed to (H. Doc. 167), 3265.
Census of military draft: order to print estimates of population for (H. Doc. 64), 5245.
Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad Co.: resolution to print report on financial history of (see H. Res. 70).
——— order of House to print report on financial history of, agreed to (H. Doc. 137), 2042.
Circulating notes by national banks: resolution to print House Report 169, relative to (see H. Res. 170*).
Coal: order of Senate to print report of the Federal Trade Commission on the anthracite and bituminous coal situation, agreed to (S. Doc. 50; H. Doc. 193), 3905, 3991.
Colorado River: request in Senate to print report on, referred, 3152.
——— resolution to print report on (S. Res. 127*; S. Doc. 103).
Columbia River: request in Senate to print report on, agreed to (S. Doc. 57), 4584.
Commission of Fine Arts: resolution to print annual report of (see S. Res. 88*; S. Doc. 48).
Confederate veterans' reunion: resolution to print proceedings of (see S. Res. 144*; S. Doc. 117).
Conference reports: order of Senate to print compilation of precedents relative to disposition of, agreed to (S. Doc. 33), 2457.
Congressional Record: resolution relative to printing petitions and memorials in (see S. Res. 77).
Conscription: request in Senate to print article appearing in the Encyclopedia Britannica on subject of, referred, 1668.
Constitutional sources of the laws of war: request in Senate to print article by Horace L. B. Atkisson, entitled, referred, 3390.
——— resolution to print manuscript entitled (see S. Res. 100*).
Correspondence between President and Secretary McAdoo: request in Senate to print correspondence relative to bill for relief of officers and enlisted men of Army and Navy, agreed to (S. Doc. 75), 5935.
Council of National Defense: request in Senate to print addresses and discussions made at meeting of committee on labor of, referred, 4549.

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Orders to print
Democracies against autocracies: request in Senate to print paper by David Lubin on subject of, referred, 4994.
"Directory of Service": request in Senate to print paper by John G. Coos entitled, referred, 1502.
Eight-hour law for railway employees: resolution to print decision of Supreme Court of United States on (see S. Res. 55*; S. Doc. 20).
Espionage: order of Senate to print bill (S. 2) to punish, agreed to, 891.
Ex Parte Mulligan: request in Senate to print decision of Supreme Court in case entitled, agreed to (S. Doc. 77), 5951.
Federal antitrust decisions: concurrent resolution to print (see S. Con. Res. 1).
Federal reserve banks: resolution to print act of June 21, 1917, amending act establishing (see H. Res. 112).
Field Service Regulations: concurrent resolution to print (see H. Con. Res. 5).
Five Civilized Tribes: resolution to print report of superintendent of (see H. Res. 30).
Flags of maritime nations: joint resolution to print (see H. J. Res. 15).
Flag of United States: resolution to print address of Representative Hicks, of New York, on subject of (see H. Con. Res. 13).
"Food Control and Democracy": resolution to print article by David Lubin entitled (see S. Res. 143*; S. Doc. 120).
Foodstuffs: order of Senate to print compilation on food control in Canada, Newfoundland, and Great Britain, agreed to (S. Doc. 47), 3779.
Germany: order of House to print diplomatic correspondence between United States and Government of, agreed to, 624, 625.
——— order of House to print diplomatic correspondence between United States and Government of, agreed to (H. Doc. 2111, 64th Cong., 2d sess.), 866.
——— resolution to print address of the President delivered before a joint assembly of Senate and House on subject of war with (see S. Res. 25*).
Grand Canyon of the Colorado: request in Senate to print article on subject of, referred, 2852.
——— resolution to print paper by Thomas F. Dawson on subject of (see S. Res. 79*; S. Doc. 42).
Great Britain: request in Senate to print the military service acts of 1916 of, referred, 566.
——— request in Senate to print compilation on tribunals and certificates of exemption under the military-service acts of, referred. 2500.
——— resolution to print tribunals and certificates of exemption under military service acts of (see S. Res. 102*; S. Doc. 62).
"Group Classification and Varietal Description of American Potatoes": concurrent resolution to print bulletin entitled (see S. Con. Res. 9), 4613.
Handbook of American Indians: concurrent resolution to print (see H. Con. Res. 3).
"How the War Came to America": concurrent resolution to print pamphlet entitled (see S. Con. Res. 6).
Imperial Valley, Cal.: resolution to print report on Colorado River in its relation to (see S. Res. 127; S. Doc. 103).
Inauguration of President and Vice President: resolution to print manuscript on (see S. Res. 147*; S. Doc. 116).
Infantry Drill Regulations: concurrent resolution to print (see H. Con. Res. 5).
Interstate-marketing system: request in Senate to print paper relative to, referred, 6103.
Messages and papers of the Presidents, 1857 to 1917: concurrent resolution to print (H. Con. Res. 21).
Military regulations: resolution to print certain (see H. Con. Res. 6).
Military Service Acts of Great Britain, 1916: resolution to print pamphlet entitled (see S. Res. 42*; S. Doc. 9).
Military training: joint resolution to print additional copies of hearings on universal (see S. J. Res. 18).
——— resolution to print pamphlet prepared by the Army War College relative to universal (see S. Res. 41*; S. Doc. 10).
National Guard: order of House to print order of War Department of May 5, 1917, relative to recruiting of, agreed to (H. Doc. 136), 2079.
Oregon & California Railroad Co.: request in Senate to print certain documents relating to, referred, 2699.
——— resolution to print certain papers relating to (see S. Res. 69*; S. Doc. 35).
Paper: resolution to print report of Federal Trade Commission on the news-print paper industry (see S. Res. 87*; S. Doc. 49).
Pere Marquette Railroad Co.: resolution to print report on financial history of (see H. Res. 70).
——— order of House to print report on financial history of, agreed to (H. Doc. 137), 2042.
"Plan of Military Instruction": resolution to print pamphlet entitled (see H. Res. 79).
"Points of Historic Interest in the National Capital": resolution to print pamphlet entitled (see S. Res. 64*; S. Doc. 36).
Potatoes: resolution to print bulletin entitled "Group Classification and Varietal Description of American Potatoes" (see S. Con. Res. 9), 4613.
Prices of American Flags: resolution to print report of Federal Trade Commission on (see Res. 125*; S. Doc. 82).
Prohibition: order to print paper by James T. Lloyd on subject of, agreed to (S. Doc. 67), 5542.
Receptions to foreign missions: resolution to print proceedings of Senate and House on occasions of (S. Res. 130*; S. Doc. 87).
Remarks of Senator Broussard: resolutions to translate into Spanish and to print (see H. Res. 141, 152).
"Revenue to Defray War Expenses": resolutions to print additional copies of document entitled (S. Doc. 74; S. Res. 113*, 118).

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Orders to print
Selective draft: resolution to print schedule, rules, and regulations of (see S. Res. 107).
Socialization of the law: request in Senate to print article by James Harrington Boyd on subject of, referred, 2633.
Soil surveys: resolution to print soil survey of Decatur County, Ga. (see H. Res. 37).
——— resolution to print soil survey of the Yuma area, Ariz. (see H. Res. 54).
——— resolution to print soil survey of Tift County, Ga. (see H. Res. 38).
——— resolution to print soil survey of Jackson County, Mo. (see H. Res. 11).
Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance: resolution to print pamphlet by W. G. McAdoo on subject of (S. Res. 124*; S. Doc. 81).
Statue of Sequoyah: concurrent resolution to print proceedings in connection with unveiling and acceptance of (see H. Con. Res. 14).
Supreme Court of United States: request in Senate to print decisions relative to the eight-hour law and the Utah Power & Light Co., referred, 523.
Tariff and revenue laws: concurrent resolution to print (see H. Con. Res. 20).
Tax laws: joint resolution to print (see S. J. Res. 95).
Tennessee River: resolution to print additional copies of House Document 1262, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, relating to (see S. Res. 63).
"The Birth of American Thrift": request in Senate to print pamphlet by John Muir entitled, referred, 7244.
——— resolution in Senate to print pamphlet by John Muir entitled (S. Res. 135; S. Doc. 104).
"The Duty of a Just Government": request in Senate to print pamphlet by William G. McAdoo entitled, referred, 6310.
"The Flag of the United States": concurrent resolution to print speech by Frederick C. Hicks on (see H. Con. Res. 13*).
"The mobilizing of America": request in Senate to print article entitled, referred, 7964.
Trading with the enemy: request in House to print bill H. R. 4960 with amendments, agreed to, 7103.
——— request in Senate to print article by Theodore H. Thiesing on subject of, referred, 6937.
——— resolution to print article by Theodore H. Thiesing entitled (S. Res. 133*; S. Doc. 107).
Utah Power & Light Co.: resolution to print opinion of Supreme Court of United States in the case of (see S. Res. 56*; S. Doc. 21).
"War Message and Facts Behind It": resolution to print pamphlet entitled (see S. Res. 81).
War and preparation for war: concurrent resolution to print the conscription act, the registration regulations, and the President's proclamation (see H. Con. Res. 9*).
War-revenue act: request in House to print bill H. R. 4280, agreed to, 7734.
——— resolutions to print H. R. 4280 (see S. Res. 110*, 141*).
——— order of Senate to reprint bill H. R. 4280, agreed to, 6802.
——— resolutions to print additional copies of parts 1 and 2 of Senate Report 103 on (see S. Res. 111*, 112*, 113*, 118; S. Doc. 74).
——— concurrent resolution to print acts of Sept. 8, 1916, Mar. 3, 1917, and Oct. 3, 1917, as one document (see H. Con. Res. 26*).
War-revenue bill: resolution to print hearings on (see S. Res. 74*).
War-risk insurance act: resolution to print additional copies of bill H. R. 5723 (see S. Res. 145*).
——— request in House to print bill H. R. 5723, agreed to, 7734, 7806.
"War Taxation": request in Senate to print pamphlet by Otto H. Kahn entitled, referred, 5988.
World liberation: request in Senate to print data prepared by George H. Shibley on subject of, referred, 7107.

PUBLIC DOMAIN. *See* PUBLIC LANDS.
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, promote efficiency of (see bill S. 1595).
Bills to fix status of officers who serve with the Coast Guard, the Army, and the Navy (see bill H. R. 4503*; S. J. Res. 67).
Bills to establish a sanitary reserve corps for (see bills S. 2530; H. R. 4430).
Bills providing for a division of tuberculosis in (see bills S. 1597; H. R. 3566).
Bill to increase pay of officers of (see bill H. R. 5349).
Bill making appropriation for rural sanitation and prevention and suppression of malaria and typhoid fever by (see bill S. 1596).
Bills to provide for divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in (see bills S. 1598; H. R. 5347).
Bills creating division of rural sanitation in (see bills S. 2907; H. R. 3549*).
Bills to extend to American seamen the benefits of care and treatment by (see bills S. 994; H. R. 2299, 5338).
Estimate of appropriation required by (H. Doc. 276), 5243.
Joint resolution to establish a reserve of (see S. J. Res. 63*).
Joint resolution to fix status and rights of officers when serving with the Coast Guard, the Army, or the Navy (see S. J. Res. 67*).
Letter of Secretary of Treasury transmitting draft of legislation to purchase motor vehicles for (H. Doc. 317), 5814.
PUBLIC HOLIDAYS. *See* HOLIDAYS.
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, admit to the mails as second-class matter publications issued by certain (see bill S. 2007).
PUBLIC LANDS, encourage production of food products on (see bill S. 1886).
Bill for classification of (see bill S. 2010).
Bill for suspension of payments by entrymen in military and naval service (see bill S. 2865*).
Bill for restoration under certain conditions of lands withdrawn for power sites (see bill H. R. 54).
Bill for sale and development of certain lands for construction of public roads (see bill H. R. 1721).

PUBLIC LANDS—Continued.
Bill granting lands to soldiers and sailors (see bill H. R. 2010).
Bills authorizing exchange of public lands for privately owned lands in certain cases (see bills S. 93, 101).
Bill granting lands to certain States for construction of public roads (see bill S. 1560).
Bill to amend act authorizing entry by cities and towns for cemetery and park purposes (see bill H. R. 1718).
Bill providing for disposition of lands restored to the public domain which have been segregated under the act of August 18, 1894 (see bill H. R. 4847).
Bill to create the Federal land-settlement and homestead commission (see bill S. 2283).
Bill authorizing lease of lands for development of water power (see bill S. 2974).
Bills providing that forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply to persons in military or naval service (see bills S. 2918*; H. R. 6179).
Bill to amend act providing for withdrawal from public entry lands needed for town sites in connection with irrigation projects (see bill H. R. 6448).
Bill authorizing men in military or naval service to make affidavits required by land laws before their commanding officers (see bill H. R. 6334).
Correspondence relative to land laws and military service, 7864.
Joint resolution authorizing and validating exchanges of land between the United States and the several States (see H. J. Res. 5).
Remarks in House relative to protection of soldier land claimants (Appendix, 695).
Resolution to investigate relative to natural resources of the public domain (see H. Res. 75).
Resolution for report on feasibility of cultivation of uncultivated lands to increase production of grains and cereals (see S. Res. 129*).
Agricultural lands: bill to limit area which may be acquired by any person (see bill H. R. 166).
Alabama: bill authorizing sale of certain lands in Alabama to heirs of Thomas Tumlin (see bill H. R. 1672).
Arid lands: bill providing for reclamation of (see bill H. R. 2772).
Boise, Idaho: bill granting lands for street purpose to (see bill S. 2550).
Bozeman, Mont.: bill to convey certain land to city of (see bill S. 936*).
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Mr. Owen; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 188.

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S. 9—To indemnify depositors in "member banks," as defined by the Federal reserve act, against loss in the event of the failure or suspension of business of such bank.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 188.

S. 12—Providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 188.

S. 13—To pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 188.

S. 14—To provide for carrying into effect of the agreement between the United States and the Muskogee (Creek) Nation of Indians ratified by act of Congress approved Mar. 1, 1901, and supplemental agreement of June 30, 1902, and other laws and treaties with said tribe of Indians.
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S. 16—To prohibit concerted control of fire insurance rates in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 188.

S. 17—For the protection of officers of the United States in the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, authorizing the search for and seizure of liquors introduced into the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, and making the possession of such liquors prima facie evidence of an unlawful introduction, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Education and Labor, 188.

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Mr. Owen; Committee on Fisheries, 188.

S. 20—Granting a pension to Edward Shaw.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 188.

S. 21—To amend an act entitled "An act extending the homestead laws and providing for right of way for railroads in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes."
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Territories, 188.

S. 22—To establish a commission form of government in the administration of national affairs in Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Territories, 188.

S. 23—Granting to the State of Nevada 7,000,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the public schools of Nevada and the State university of the State of Nevada.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 188.—Reported back (S. Rept. 152), 7811.

S. 24—To add certain lands to the Toiyabe National Forest, Nev., and for other purposes.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

S. 25—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States," approved Mar. 3, 1877.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

S. 26—Authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 188.—Reported back (S. Rept. 153), 7811.

S. 27—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 188.—Reported back (S. Rept. 170), 7812.—Debated and passed Senate, 7812, 7813.

S. 28—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey title to certain lands in the State of Nevada.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Indian Affairs, 188.

S. 29—To reimburse W. B. Graham, late postmaster at Ely, Nev., for money expended for clerical assistance.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 188.

S. 30—To provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 188.

S. 31—To regulate the interstate use of automobiles and all self-propelled vehicles which use the public highways in interstate commerce.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 188.

S. 32—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David D. Sharp.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Military Affairs, 188.

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Mr. Pittman; Committee on Pensions, 188.

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Mr. Pittman; Committee on Pensions, 188.

S. 38—To reimburse the county of Lewis and Clark, State of Montana, for expenses incurred by it for the construction of a public highway through the Helena National Forest.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 188.

S. 39—To interdict commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign country which shall unlawfully interfere with the foreign trade thereof.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Foreign Relations, 188.

S. 40—To preserve the rights of homestead entrymen who are members of the National Guard or volunteer forces of the United States while in actual service.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

S. 41—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands. 188.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 188.—Reported back (S. Rept. 154), 7811.

S. 45—To encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 188.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

S. 48—Modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

S. 49—Providing for the equalization of the cost of the irrigation systems on the Blackfeet, Flathead, and Fort Peck Indian Reservations, in the State of Montana, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

S. 50—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain Indian lands necessary for reservoir purposes in connection with the Blackfeet Indian reclamation project.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

S. 51—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prorate tribal funds of Indians.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 189.

S. 52—To provide for the erection of a public building at Glasgow, Mont.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

S. 62—For the relief of Patrick Rafferty.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

S. 63—To reimburse Hill County, State of Montana, for money expended for the support of the Rocky Boy Band of Chippewa Indians.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 189.

S. 64—For the relief of Thomas W. Williams.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 65—For the relief of Edward T. Moran.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 66—For the relief of Levi B. Rouse.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 67—To enlarge the jurisdiction of the municipal court of the District of Columbia, and to regulate appeals from the judgments of said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.

S. 68—To amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of Mar. 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.

S. 69—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 3 of the act of Congress of May 1, 1888, and extend the provisions of section 2301 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to certain lands in the State of Montana embraced within the provisions of said act, and for other purposes."
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.

S. 70—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.—Reported back, 2631.—Passed Senate, 6940.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7105.

S. 71—Amending section 140 of the act approved Mar. 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States."
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.

S. 72—Concerning actions on account of death or personal injury within places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 189.

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Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 189.

S. 78—Granting a pension to Kathryn C. Sterling.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 189.

S. 79—Relating to the naturalization of married women.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Immigration, 189.

S. 80—To establish a Department of Aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 81—To supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Foreign Relations, 189.

S. 82—To transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Naval Affairs, 189.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 98), 5692.—Amended and passed Senate, 7069.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 7181.

S. 83—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Claims, 189.—Committee on Claims discharged and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 619.

S. 84—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a military aviation academy within the State of Utah, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 85—Providing for the erection of a Government munition factory within the State of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 86—To authorize the Secretary of War to permit the use of a right of way over and across the Fort Douglas Military Reservation for the construction and operation of a standard-gauge railway spur connecting with local or transcontinental railroads.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 87—Granting to the State of Utah the Fort Duchesne Reservation for its use as a branch agricultural college.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 88—Authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to grant a revocable permit to the University of Utah to lay pipe lines, construct a storage reservoir on the Fort Douglas (Utah) Military Reservation, and to use the surplus water of the reservation.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 89—For the relief of Henry N. Bird.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 90—For the relief of John H. Kidd.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 91—For the relief of Almond S. Root.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 189.

S. 92—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to E. D. Partridge.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 93—To consolidate national forest lands.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public lands, 189.—Reported back (S. Rept. 173), 7874.

S. 94—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1133).
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 95—To provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.—Reported back (S. Rept. 174), 7874.

S. 96—Granting to the State of Utah 1,000,000 acres of land to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 97—Authorizing the exchange of certain lands in the State of Utah for the protection of the water supply of Salt Lake City.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 98—Giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchase of Uintah Indian Reservation lands.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 99—Providing for the acquisition by a State, under certain conditions, of any lands therein which are or may become chiefly valuable for the development of water power.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 100—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to Cyrena E. Young.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.

S. 101—To authorize the consolidation of Government land and of privately owned lands, and for other purposes.
By Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public lands, 189.

S. 102—Relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register and receiver of district land offices.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 189.—Reported back (S. Rept. 175), 7874.

S. 103—To apply a portion of the proceeds of the sales of public lands to the endowment of schools or departments of mines and mining, and to regulate the expenditure thereof.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Mines and Mining, 189.

S. 104—To provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Mines and Mining, 189.

S. 105—To reimburse George Heiner, postmaster at Morgan, Utah, for loss of postage stamps.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 189.

S. 106—For the relief of Nathan A. Stone.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 189.

S. 107—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 189.

S. 108—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to use at his discretion surplus moneys in the Treasury in the purchase or redemption of the outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 189.

S. 109—To provide for the refunding of certain moneys illegally assessed and collected in the district of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 189.

S. 110—For the relief of the Eldredge Bros. Live Stock Co., a corporation.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Finance, 189.

S. 111—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain department publications and to provide for crediting the department's printing allotment with the proceeds.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Printing, 189.

S. 112—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Bingham Canyon, in the State of Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 189.

S. 113—Providing for acquiring a site and erecting a national memorial to irrigation at Salt Lake City, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 190.

S. 114—To provide for an increased annual appropriation for agricultural experiment stations, to be used in researches and experiments in home economics, and regulating the expenditure thereof.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 190.

S. 115—For the relief of Hannah Nelson Lundegren.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 190.

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Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 119—Granting a pension to Richard A. Norris.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 120—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Liddle.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 121—To prevent the desecration of the flag of the United States, and to provide punishment therefor.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 122—For the relief of the heirs of James N. Ward, deceased.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 123—Granting an increase of pension to Alada Thurston Paddock Mills.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 124—To provide for the naturalization of certain aliens.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Immigration, 197.—Debated, 197, 439.

S. 125—To appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Naval Affairs, 190.

S. 126—To provide for the investigation of controversies affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 190.

S. 127—For the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870, authorizing the Postmaster General to continue in use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand stamp patents, or otherwise.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 128—For the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 129—For the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 130—To create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 131—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint certain officers to the Medical Corps of the Army.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 132—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Wallace O. Glazier.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 133—To correct the military record of Clark G. Russell.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 134—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Isaac Terwilliger.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 135—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to muster Dr. John A. Bobb, deceased, a brigade surgeon with rank of major from assistant surgeon.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 136—Granting a pension to Melvina Coquillard.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

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Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 138—Granting a pension to Fidelia E. Betts.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

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Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 140—For the relief of Emma M. Gordon.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 141—Granting a pension to Lorenzo J. McEvoy.
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Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 143—Granting a pension to Ellen Fyanes.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 144—Granting an increase of pension to Bert E. Gray.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 145—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Brooks.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 146—Granting a pension to Lucy A. Palmer.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 147—For the relief of Melissa Gurin.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 148—Granting an increase of pension to David A. Kooker.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 149—Granting a pension to Mary E. Weeks.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

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Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 152—Granting an increase of pension to D. J. Hammond.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 153—Granting a pension to Ambrose A. Link.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 154—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McKimmy.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 155—Granting a pension to Henry F. Baldwin.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 156—To grant Saturday afternoon as a holiday to all Government employees.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Appropriations, 190.

S. 157—To provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 190.

S. 158—To determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain of 1819 to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Foreign Relations, 190.

S. 159—To provide for the acquisition of additional land adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 190.

S. 160—To permit the redistillation of whisky in bond on distillery premises.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Finance, 190.

S. 161—To define the true intent and meaning of section 48 of the act of August 28, 1894, and for other purposes.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Finance, 190.

S. 162—To provide a suitable memorial to the memory of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Pa.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on the Library, 190.

S. 163—To provide for the erection of a pedestal and base for a monument to William Procter, jr., in the Smithsonian grounds, at Washington, D. C.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on the Library, 190.

S. 164—For the relief of Adolph F. Hitchler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 165—Granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 166—For the relief of William Mattson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 167—For the relief of the survivors of McLean's Pennsylvania Regiment and their widows and children.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 168—To grant an honorable discharge to John W. Jester.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 169—To grant an honorable discharge to Samuel Fogle.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 170—To correct the military record of John Brown.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 171—For the relief of Thomas W. Miller.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 190.

S. 172—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 173—Providing for the trial of charges against employees in the classified civil-service list.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 174—Providing for extended leave of absence to superannuated employees in the Postal Service.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 175—To reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 176—To reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 190.

S. 177—For the relief of retired commissioned warrant officers detailed on active duty.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 190.

S. 178—To provide that commissioned chiefs of the United States Navy now on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall, as an equitable reward for said service, receive the rank and pay of lieutenant of the United States Navy, retired.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 190.

S. 179—To correct the naval record of Fred C. Konrad.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 190.

S. 180—Granting an honorable discharge to Owen S. Willey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 190.

S. 181—Granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent foster parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as result of an accident at Philadelphia Navy Yard.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 182—For the relief of Morris Busch.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 183—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Kate Reaney Zeiss, administratrix of William B. Reaney, survivor of Thomas Reaney and Samuel Archbold, against the United States.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 184—For the relief of Alice M. Lissak.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 185—For the relief of Sylvester Bonnaffon, jr.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 186—For the relief of Cecilia Barr.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 190.

S. 187—To pension widows and minor children of officers or enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 190.

S. 188—To increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Mexico or the Civil War.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 189—Granting pensions to soldiers confined in so-called Confederate prisons.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 190—To pension certain soldiers and nonenlisted men who served in the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 191—Extending the benefits of the general pension laws to the members of the Eighth, Twentieth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, and Thirty-third Regiments, the several batteries of Artillery, the several troops of Cavalry, and the several independent companies which comprised the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, otherwise known as the "emergency men," who were called into service by the President of the United States of America, officered by United States officers, and sworn into the service of the United States for an indefinite period, the same as if they had been in the service of the United States for a period of 90 days or more.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 192—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Adams.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 193—Granting an increase of pension to Maria W. Antes.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 194—Granting a pension to Mary A. Adams.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 195—Granting a pension to Erastus J. Blerbower.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 196—Granting a pension to Charlotte Bloom.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 197—Granting a pension to Samuel Breitigan.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 198—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Brown.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 199—Granting a pension to John Cary.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 200—Granting a pension to William Carrell.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 201—Granting a pension to Charles F. Cavanaugh.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 202—Granting a pension to John B. Chandler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 203—Granting a pension to Kate L. Clear.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 204—Granting an increase of pension to William Colpetzer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 205—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline W. Congdon.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 206—Granting an increase of pension to David Craft.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 207—Granting a pension to Ella E. Crouch.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 208—Granting an increase of pension to Martin S. Crull.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 209—Granting a pension to Caroline Decker.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 210—Granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Dixson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 211—Granting a pension to Clarissa F. Dye.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 212—Granting a pension to William Eckert.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 213—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah H. H. Feather.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 214—Granting a pension to Michael P. Foley.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 215—Granting a pension to Harry H. Gaither.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 216—Granting a pension to Oscar L. Geer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 217—Granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Hill.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 218—Granting a pension to Christian Graf.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 219—Granting a pension to Gottlieb Long.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 220—Granting an increase of pension to John S. McGinness.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 221—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel C. McGregor.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 222—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. McPherran.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 223—Granting a pension to Elmer Harry Martin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 224—Granting a pension to Charles G. Meyer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 225—Granting a pension to N. E. Millender.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 226—Granting a pension to Jesse Murphy.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 227—Granting a pension to Harry Hines, alias Harry Hinton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 228—Granting a pension to Jennie T. Hamilton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 229—Granting an increase of pension to U. P. Getz.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 230—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Parker.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 231—To increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 232—For the better payment of pensioners.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 233—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reese.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 234—Granting an increase of pension to William Sheads.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 235—Granting a pension to Charles L. C. Sherwin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 236—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca M. Smith.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 237—Granting a pension to J. K. Gleeson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 238—Granting a pension to Kathryn B. Steiner.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 239—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Stewart.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 240—Granting a pension to Ed Sweeney.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 241—Granting a pension to Leonardo S. Twesten.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 242—Granting a pension to Mary A. Walker.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 243—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Wenzel.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 244—Granting an increase of pension to Marion L. Wilson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 245—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Wilson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 246—Granting a pension to Josiah Huber.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 247—Granting a pension to Caroline Kelly.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 248—Granting a pension to Daniel Kennelley.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 249—Granting a pension to Patrick Kinny.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 250—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Kinkead.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 251—Granting an increase of pension to Christian W. Klare.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 252—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Elizabeth Lambert.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 253—Granting an increase of pension to George Leadbeater.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 254—Granting a pension to Milton M. Lile.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 255—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Lodge.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 256—Granting a pension to Agnes A. Gray.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 257—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Pierson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 258—Granting a pension to Lemuel W. Dobbins.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 259—Granting a pension to Horatio P. Connell.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 260—Granting a pension to Philip B. Depp.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 261—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Taylor.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 262—Granting a pension to Alonzo G. Williamson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 263—Granting a pension to John S. Whittaker.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 264—Granting a pension to Almira E. Sheldrake.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 265—Granting a pension to Bernard Closkey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 266—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Brooks.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 267—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Blackfoot, Idaho.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 191.

S. 268—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Payette, Idaho.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 191.

S. 269—For the relief of Aaron Kibler.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Military Affairs, 191.

S. 270—For the relief of John J. Muehleisen.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Military Affairs, 191.

S. 271—For the relief of Washington Kellogg.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Military Affairs, 191.

S. 272—For the relief of Elizabeth Overholtz.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Claims, 191.

S. 273—Granting a pension to George W. Bass.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 274—Granting a pension to Philip Hutchinson.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 275—Granting a pension to Daniel A. Williams.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 276—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard E. Griffith.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 191.

S. 277—For the relief of Thomas E. Philips.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Military Affairs, 191.

S. 278—To amend section 1 of an act approved Mar. 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., p. 751), entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions on alienation of lands of allottees of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., and the sale of all tribal lands, school, agency, or other lands on any of the reservations within the jurisdiction of such agency, and for other purposes."
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Indian Affairs, 191.

S. 279—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in certain cases to missionary or religious organizations.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Indian Affairs, 191.

S. 280—For the relief of Alfred Sjostrom.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 191.

S. 281—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 191.

S. 282—Providing for the purchase or condemnation of a site for a target range at or near Great Piece Meadows, in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 191.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 29), 893.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2857.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2961.

S. 283—Making appropriation for the support of the families and dependents of members of the National Guard drafted into service of the United States.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 284—To provide for an increase in the pay of enlisted men in the time of war.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 285—For the relief of David E. Gray.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 192.

S. 286—To prohibit interstate shipments or transportation of certain food products; to define and to prohibit transportation and sale of adulterated or misbranded food products; to regulate traffic therein; to define and regulate cold storage; to regulate dealing in cold-storage food products; and to fix penalties for violation, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 192.

S. 287—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to navigation of vessels, bills of lading, and to certain obligations, duties, and rights in connection with the carriage of property," approved Feb. 13, 1893.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 192.

S. 288—Regulating shipments of freight to foreign ports and prohibiting discrimination in the receipt and shipment of such freight.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 192.

S. 289—Regulating trials by jury.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on the Judiciary, 192.

S. 290—To establish a new judicial circuit of the United States with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the tenth circuit.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on the Judiciary, 192.

S. 291—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.—Reported back (S. Rept. 24), 829.—Passed Senate, 6938.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.

S. 292—To establish and maintain military training colleges in the several States of the Union, in Alaska, and in the District of Columbia.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 293—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 192.

S. 294—To reduce the tax on oleomargarine.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Finance, 192.

S. 295—To raise revenue by taxing certain articles of food held in cold storage.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Finance, 192.

S. 296—For the relief of W. K. Ellis.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 297—Granting a pension to Walter L. Jewell.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 298—Authorizing the appropriation of $50,000 to reimburse the city of Renton, in the State of Washington, for damages done in the destruction of the outlet of the sewerage of that city.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Appropriations, 192.

S. 299—Amending Archives Building act.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 192.

S. 300—Providing free passage through the Panama Canal for American ships.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 192.

S. 301—To provide for the organization of the unemployed into an industrial army of the United States and the maintenance of same.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Education and Labor, 192.

S. 302—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make donation of condemned naval guns and cannon balls to the John Wannebo Camp, No. 9, United Spanish War Veterans, Everett, Wash., to be placed in public parks.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 192.

S. 303—Providing for the election of a Delegate to the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the District of Columbia, 192.

S. 304—For the relief of Peter McKay.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 305—For the relief of C. P. Zent.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 306—For the relief of L. H. Phipps.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 307—For the relief of Gertrude M. Woodson.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 308—For the relief of Albert J. Weber.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 192.

S. 309—Authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 192.—Reported back (S. Rept. 77); debated and passed Senate, 4809.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 4907.—Committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 7671.—Examined and signed, 7721, 7764.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 56], 7897.

S. 310—Providing for second homestead and desert-land entries.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 192.

S. 311—For the relief of Napoleon Le Clerc.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 192.

S. 312—To establish the Mount Baker National Park in the State of Washington.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 192.

S. 313—To amend section 4 of the act to regulate commerce passed Feb. 4, 1887, and subsequent amendments thereof.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 192.

S. 314—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 192.

S. 315—To punish the storing of foodstuffs for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the Judiciary, 192.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 47), 2964, 3118.—Debated, 2879, 3117, 3118.—Indefinitely postponed, 6937.

S. 316—Authorizing the President to appoint J. Benjamin Hayes a first lieutenant in the Regular Army.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 317—For the relief of John Morrow.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 318—Authorizing the President to appoint John K. Hume a first lieutenant of Cavalry, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 319—For the relief of Wellington F. Larabee.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 320—For the relief of James Gloster.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 321—Authorizing the President to appoint Charles F. Smith a first lieutenant of the Regular Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 322—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 323—Authorizing the Secretary of War, upon the request of the governor of a State, to designate one or more commissioned officers of the United States Army to cooperate with the school authorities of the State in the establishment and proper conduct, in any of the public schools of the State, of the so-called Wyoming plan of military and physical training according to the system prepared by Lieut. E. Z. Steever, United States Army, and recommended by the War College Division of the General Staff Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 324—Authorizing the President to appoint Frank B. Lawson a first lieutenant in the Regular Army.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 192.

S. 325—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Wilcox.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 326—Granting an increase of pension to John Barker.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 327—Granting a pension to Amme A. Wilson.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 328—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Phelps.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 329—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Mullen.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 330—Granting a pension to Jack Sommer.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 331—Granting a pension to Arthur Rose.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 332—Granting a pension to John Leonard.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 333—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 334—Granting an increase of pension to Anthony W. Presley.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 335—Granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Boon.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 336—Granting a pension to Charles A. Bushey.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 337—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget McDaniels.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 338—Granting a pension to Rolla King.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 339—Granting a pension to Sarah Compton.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 340—Granting a pension to Mahalath Leonard.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 341—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Higby.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 342—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon L. Coen.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 343—Granting a pension to Mary A. Cummings.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 344—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh L. Eyler.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 345—Granting an increase of pension to Chase Cummins.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 192.

S. 346—To increase the area of the United States Botanic Garden in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on the Library, 192.—Reported back (S. Rept. 67) and passed Senate, 3839.—Referred to House Committee on the Library, 3937.

S. 347—To provide for recognizing the value of the services of such citizens of the United States not officers of the Army, Navy, or Public Health Service who were employed by the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co. and who served as such officials or employees of the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co. for a period of three years or more during the construction of said canal, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 192.

S. 348—To amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914, as amended by an act approved May 15, 1916.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Judiciary, 192.

S. 349—For the restoration of Alonzo Burke, chief carpenter, United States Navy (retired), to the active list of the Navy.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 193.

S. 350—Providing for the promotion of Chief Boatswain Patrick Deery, United States Navy.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 193.

S. 351—To reimburse the estate of Gen. George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio, lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Private Land Claims, 193.

S. 352—Granting pensions to certain members of the former Life-Saving Service.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Commerce, 193.

S. 353—To amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Commerce, 193.

S. 354—Providing for the improvement of the roadway from the railroad depot at Fredericksburg, Va., to the national cemetery near Fredericksburg.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Military Affairs, 193.

S. 355—To establish the Fredericksburg and Adjacent National Battlefields Memorial Park, in the State of Virginia.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Military Affairs, 193.

S. 356—To aid in the erection of a monument to Pocahontas at Jamestown, Va.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Library, 193.

S. 357—Providing for the construction of an iron picket fence around the monument at Jamestown, Va.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Library, 193.

S. 358—For the erection of a statue to John Marshall.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Library, 193.

S. 359—For the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. William Campbell.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Library, 193.

S. 360—To provide for the adjudication of claims of trust companies and other claimants for refund of taxes illegally collected.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 361—To execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the heirs of William Pollock, deceased.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 362—For the relief of E. Scott Arrington.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 363—For the relief of Ida Banks.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 364—To provide for the payment of certain moneys advanced by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States Government to be applied toward erecting public buildings for the Federal Government in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 365—For the relief of W. T. Brogdon.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 366—For the relief of William Allman and others.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 367—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Edward I. Gallagher, administrator of Charles Gallagher, deceased.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 368—Granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Walker.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 369—Granting a pension to Pyrrhus Williams.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 370—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Rebecca (Taylor) Jones.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 371—Granting a pension to James W. Ruffin.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 372—Granting a pension to James Mickian.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 373—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver J. Johnson.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 374—Granting a pension to Joseph H. Mayo.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 375—Granting a pension to R. H. Catlett.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 376—Granting a pension to Elmer E. Dickey.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 377—Granting a pension to Roland B. Horsley.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 378—Granting a pension to George E. Harrison.
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S. 379—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Turner.
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S. 380—Granting an increase of pension to Susan Riley.
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S. 381—Granting an increase of pension to Grace Boggs.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 382—For providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 193.

S. 383—To punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 193.—Reported back and passed Senate, 457.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 551.—Reported back (H. Rept. 11), 661.—Debated, 819–822, 2018.

S. 384—Granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Greene.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 385—To authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.—Reported back (S. Rept. 166), 7810.

S. 386—To authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 387—For the relief of John Flanigan.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.—Reported back (S. Rept. 167), 7811.

S. 388—For the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 168), 7811.

S. 389—To extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 193.—Reported back (S. Rept. 155), 7811.

S. 390—To establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 193.

S. 391—Amending section 4 of the public building act approved Mar. 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a building for post office and customhouse at Nogales, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 193.

S. 392—To provide for the erection of a public building at Prescott, in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 193.

S. 393—Granting a pension Martin T. Knapp.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 394—Granting an increase of pension to John Burns.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 395—To provide old-age pensions.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 193.

S. 396—To protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 193.

S. 397—To regulate control over all navigable waters and estuaries thereof.
Mr. Lane; Committee on the Judiciary, 193.

S. 398—Authorizing issuance of land patent to Lewis Montgomery.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Public Lands, 193.

S. 399—To amend paragraph 207 of the act approved Oct. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes."
Mr. Lane; Committee on Finance, 193.

S. 400—To encourage private enterprise and capital in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Commerce, 193.

S. 401—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Corvallis, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 193.

S. 402—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Hood River, Oreg.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 193.

S. 403—For the relief of Joe Davis.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 404—For the relief of Emmett W. Entriken.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 405—Making an appropriation to construct a national home for aged and infirm colored people and colored working girls, and to establish industrial farms to aid in the maintenance of the same.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 406—Making an appropriation for the payment of certain claims growing out of the Civil War.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 407—For the relief of James D. Watts.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 193.

S. 408—To authorize the establishment of fish-cultural stations on the Columbia River or its tributaries in the State of Oregon, or the State of Washington.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 193.

S. 409—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 193.

S. 410—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 193.

S. 411—For the relief of the Crow Indians in Montana.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 412—For the relief of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 413—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from the Treasury a certain sum of the permanent fund of the Chippewas of Minnesota, now on deposit therein to their credit.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 414—To prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians; to provide penalties therefor; to amend chapter 109 of volume 29, United States Statutes at Large, the same being an act of Congress approved Jan. 30, 1897.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 415—For the abolishment of the Indian Bureau, the closing out of Indian tribal organizations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 193.

S. 416—Authorizing any nation, tribe, or band of Indians to submit claims against the United States to the Court of Claims with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 194.

S. 417—To reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and for property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 194.

S. 418—For the relief of the estate of Francis Mayerhoff.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 419—For the relief of heirs or estate of Benjamin Garrett, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 420—For the relief of the estate of J. M. Fortenberry, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 421—For the relief of Mrs. P. A. Eskridge.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 422—For the relief of Clarissa Duncan and Charles E. Duncan.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 423—For the relief of the estate of Mary Dean, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 424—For the relief of the estate of Enos Davis, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 425—For the relief of heirs or estate of E. C. Cornelius, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 426—For the relief of the heirs of J. B. Clark.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 427—For the relief of the heirs of Louis Cato, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 428—For the relief of heirs of Winston Morris, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 429—For the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 430—For the relief of the estate of R. C. Bumpass, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 431—To authorize the Postmaster General to settle the accounts of Capt. J. H. Estes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 432—For the relief of the heirs of J. L. W. Bullock, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 433—For the relief of the heirs of U. H. Buck, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 434—For the relief of the estate of Capt. John Belino, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 435—For the relief of Louis T. Barnes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 436—For the relief of heirs of James Porter, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 437—For the relief of the estate of William Richards, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 438—For the relief of the estate of Joseph S. Rogers, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 439—For the relief of James K. Hamblen.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 440—For the relief of Mrs. E. A. Lanier and estate of N. B. Lanier, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 441—For the relief of the heirs of Jacob Kuykendall.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 442—For the relief of the estate of Phereby R. Sheppard.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 443—For the relief of heirs or estate of Eunice Hurdle, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 444—For the relief of Harry P. Lee, John M. Lee, and the heirs of Nathaniel W. Lee, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 445—For the relief of heirs or estate of Jesse Mabry, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 446—For the relief of the heirs, devisees, and legatees of Willis Lowe, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 447—For the relief of Thomas H. Jett.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 448—For the relief of M. T. Sigrest.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 449—For the relief of heirs or estate of John Mills, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 450—For the relief of Alice Petrie Watkins, Charles Petrie, and the heirs of Eva Petrie Hamilton, or their personal representatives.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 451—For the relief of the trustees of Evergreen Lodge, No. 77, Free and Accepted Masons, of Decatur, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 452—For the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Decatur, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 453—For the relief of the trustees of the Sageville Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 454—For the relief of the estate of Gladney, Gardner & Co.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 455—For the relief of the estate of Julia A. Reece, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 456—For the relief of the estate of William Roberts, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 457—For the relief of the heirs of Franklin Perin, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 458—For the relief of the estate of Minerva Newman.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 459—For the relief of the legal representatives of James M. Brabston and Roche H. Brabston.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 460—For the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 461—For the relief of the legal representatives of Gustavus Colhoun, late of Adams County, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 462—For the relief of the estate of Franklin S. Whitney, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 463—For the relief of the heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 464—For the relief of William H. C. Whiting and others.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 465—For the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 466—For the relief of the estate of Nevin Phares.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 467—For the relief of W. W. Warren, administrator of the estate of Jackson Warren, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 468—For the relief of heirs or estate of Louis Summers, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 469—For the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 470—For the relief of the estate of William Penn, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 471—For the relief of heirs or estate of W. R. Smith, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 472—For the relief of Sargeant Prentiss Knut, administrator of the estate of Haller Nutt, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 473—For the relief of the heirs of Charles F. McLean.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 474—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to readjudicate the cases of Mattie W. Jackson, widow, and others against The United States and Mattie E. Hughes against The United States.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 194.

S. 475—For the relief of Brooke Gwathmey Bird.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Military Affairs, 194.

S. 476—For the relief of Edward L. Keyes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Military Affairs, 194.

S. 477—Granting a pension to Lucy K. Kellogg.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 478—Granting a pension to Fannie E. Hilton.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 479—Granting a pension to Robert Webb Banks.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 480—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen G. Taylor.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 481—Granting a pension to Edward M. Riley.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 482—Granting a pension to John E. Hall.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 483—Granting an increase of pension to Elie Jones Quinby.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 484—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Brooks.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 485—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Herriman.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 486—Granting a pension to Elvis R. Street.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 487—Granting a pension to Eva A. Trager.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 488—Granting a pension to Susan A. Strickler.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 489—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McElroy.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 490—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. Payne.
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S. 491—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Morris.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 492—Granting an increase of pension to Edward P. Morgan.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 493—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick J. Moran.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 494—Granting an increase of pension to Rosanna Miller.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 495—Granting an increase of pension to Delia J. McKeon.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 496—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Liddell.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 497—Granting an increase of pension to Laura H. Lathrop.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 498—Granting a pension to Mary D. Lauder.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 499—Granting an increase of pension to Ralph Kent, jr.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 500—Granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Judd.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 501—Granting a pension to Olive Hazard.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 502—Granting an increase of pension to Don Pedro Griswold.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 503—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Garthwaite.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 504—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Eddy.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 194.

S. 505—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine M. Downes.
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S. 506—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Dickinson.
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S. 507—Granting an increase of pension to Sherman E. Deming.
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S. 508—Granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Dayton.
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S. 509—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Chappell.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 510—Granting an increase of pension to David Burns.
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S. 511—Granting an increase of pension to William Brant.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 512—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Blake.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 513—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore C. Bates.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 514—Granting a pension to Louise R. Baglin.
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S. 515—Granting an increase of pension to George I. Babcock.
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S. 516—Granting an increase of pension to Eva D. Peck.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 517—Granting a pension to Joseph Povencher, jr.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 518—Granting an increase of pension to Curtis B. Ralph.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 519—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen J. Raymond.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 520—Granting a pension to Mary L. Tucket Spittle.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 521—Granting a pension to Frances M. Swift.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 522—Granting an increase of pension to William Thomas.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 523—Granting a pension to Laura Tisdale.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 524—Granting a pension to Harriet L. Whiton.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 525—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Winter.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 526—For the relief of Mrs. Jarvis M. Williams.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 527—For the relief of the estate of Philip Halsey Remington.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 528—For the relief of the heirs of Paul Noyes.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 529—For the relief of Alice H. Morse.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 530—For the relief of James Gilfillan.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 531—For the relief of Charles J. Fuller.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 532—For the relief of Joshua A. Fessenden and others.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 533—Authorizing the payment to the widow of Dorence Atwater of compensation for services rendered the United States of America.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 534—For the relief of the heirs of Adam and Noah Brown.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 535—To amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Commerce, 195.

S. 536—For the improvement of navigation of the Connecticut River and authorizing the Connecticut River Co. to relocate and construct a dam in said river above the village of Windsor Locks, in the State of Connecticut.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Commerce, 195.

S. 537—For the relief of Joseph Wygant.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 538—For the relief of Henry E. Williams.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 539—For the relief of John M. Squire.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 540—For the relief of Edward Shannon.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 541—For the relief of Lester A. Rockwell.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 542—To grant medals to survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 543—To correct the military record of Walter H. Hutchinson.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 544—To correct the military record of Charles K. Bond, alias Kimball W. Rollins.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 545—Authorizing the Secretary of War to erect a monument at Valparaiso, Chile.
Mr. McLean; Committee on the Library, 195.

S. 546—Regulating the use of names by fraternal orders.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 195.

S. 547—To authorize the erection of a monument at Fort Seybert, W. Va., to commemorate the capture and massacre of Capt. Seybert and a number of men and women at that point and in the South Fork and South Branch valleys of the Potomac by the noted Indian chief Kill Buck and his band of Indian warriors in the year 1758.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on the Library, 195.

S. 548—To reimburse S. S. Buzzerd, postmaster at Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 195.

S. 549—To reimburse Isaiah Stephens, postmaster of McMechen, Marshall County, W. Va., for money and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 195.

S. 550.—For the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Adkins, deceased.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 551—For the relief of Jasper Newton Gibson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 552—For the relief of Thomas J. Lloyd.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 553—For the relief of R. A. McCutcheon.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 554—For the relief of Mrs. Sarah L. Nuzum, widow of Joel D. Nuzum, deceased.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 555—For the relief of the estates of Aaron Van Camp and Virginius P. Chapin.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 195.

S. 556—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Solomon M. Bennett.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 557—For the relief of John W. Berry.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 558—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John B. Connolly.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 559—For the relief of John W. May.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 560—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Murphy.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 561—For the relief of Theophilus Nuzum.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 562—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Thomas Simmons.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 563—For the relief of George B. Todd.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 195.

S. 564—Granting an increase of pension to Gen. Taylor Garrison.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 565—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar N. Greer.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 566—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Bartlett.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 567—Granting an increase of pension to Ann Bates.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 568—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Beorn.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 569—Granting an increase of pension to Luke P. Brooks.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 570—Granting a pension to Charles B. Cundiff.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 571—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Cokeley.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 572—Granting a pension to Anderson Crum.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 573—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Clark.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 574—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Cale.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 575—Granting an increase of pension to George B. Douglass.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 576—Granting a pension to Ida M. Goodwin.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 577—For the relief of West Virginia State troops.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 578—Granting a pension to Edwin T. Jones.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 579—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Lee.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 580—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Liston.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 581—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McAtee.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 582—Granting a pension to W. H. Mallow.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 583—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Marks.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 584—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 585—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Ogden.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 586—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Reed.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 587—Granting an increase of pension to Enoch Roberts.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 588—Granting a pension to William P. Robinson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 589—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Satterfield.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 590—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Smith.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 591—Granting a pension to Solomon P. Stalnaker.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 592—Granting a pension to Joseph Stevens.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 593—Granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the West Virginia State troops in the late Civil War.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 594—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Civil War.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 595—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Taylor.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 596—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Toothman.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 597—Granting a pension to Edgar Travis.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 598—Granting a pension to Cale Trippett.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 599—Granting a pension to Henry Washington.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 600—Granting an increase of pension to Ellsworth E. Welch.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 601—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Welsh.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 195.

S. 602—Granting a pension to Lula C. Winans.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 603—Granting an increase of pension to Gordon H. Williams.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 604—Granting an increase of pension to David D. Arnold.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 605—Granting a pension to Asa W. Coplin.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 606—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Arthur.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 607—Granting an increase of pension to America Postelwait.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 608—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Raines.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 609—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Jordan.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 610—Granting an increase of pension to Jethrow Davis.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 611—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Harman.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 612—Granting an increase of pension to C. C. Stemple.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 613—Granting an increase of pension to Leander N. Thornberry, now known as Frank H. Reynolds.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 614—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Boyce.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 615—Granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Hamrick.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 616—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie I. Cooper.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 617—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Swiger.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 618—Granting an increase of pension to Littleton T. Morgan.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 619—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Grimm.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 620—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Ebert.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 621—To provide for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, and to appropriate money therefor.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Immigration, 196.

S. 622—To amend section 985 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the Judiciary, 196.

S. 623—To provide for the erection of a monument to Gen. William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the Library, 196.

S. 624—Providing an additional appropriation for the Federal building at Steubenville, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 196.

S. 625—For the purchase of a post-office site at Bucyrus, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 196.

S. 626—Providing for the purchase of a site for the purpose of erecting a Federal building thereon in the city of Troy, county of Miami, State of Ohio, and appropriating the money therefor.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 196.

S. 627—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, and improvement of the present Federal building in Youngstown, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 196.

S. 628—To increase the efficiency of the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school in the Middle West.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 629—To authorize the President to reinstate Guy H. B. Smith, formerly captain, Fourth United States Infantry, in the Army.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 630—To amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 631—To authorize the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint George L. Morrison captain of Cavalry, to take rank as such next after Capt. James A. Mars.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 632—For the relief of Col. Selden Allen Day.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 633—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 196.

S. 634—To promote export trade, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pemerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 196.—Reported back (S. Rept. 9), 709.—Debated, 2709, 2782, 2783, 2784–2791, 6937, 6938.

S. 635—To amend section 21 of "An act relating to bills of lading in interstate and foreign commerce," approved Aug. 29, 1916.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 196.

S. 636—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect to car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 196.

S. 637—Regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 196.

S. 638—Authorizing the Post Office Department to acquire and extend the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; and to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be postally conducted.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 196.

S. 639—Regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 196.

S. 640—For the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 196.

S. 641—For the relief of Mary C. Mayers.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 196.

S. 642—For the relief of Edward N. McCarty.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 196.

S. 643—For the relief of Clark W. Cottrell.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 644—For the relief of Luther Cline.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 645—For the relief of Caleb T. Holland.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 646—For the relief of James Orange.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 196.

S. 647—Granting a pension to Amanda B. Birch.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 648—Granting a pension to Margaret Boudreaux.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 649—Granting a pension to Mary E. Bradshaw.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 650—Granting a pension to John August Bohman.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 651—Granting a pension to Monroe Cole.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 652—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Creed.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 653—Granting a pension to Cora Conzet.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 654—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Chapman.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 655—Granting a pension to Ellen Hammond Clark.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 656—Granting a pension to Rebecca F. Cullison.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 657—Granting an increase of pension to Celia J. Crawford.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 658—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Denny.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 659—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Dalzell.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 660—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron N. Elliott.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 661—Granting a pension to Hector C. Fairfowl.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 662—Granting a pension to John A. Foster.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 663—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Fletcher.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 664—Granting an increase of pension to Zeba D. French.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 665—Granting a pension to John W. Ferris.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 666—Granting an increase of pension to Edward L. Frabe.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 667—Granting an increase of pension to Emma S. Gere.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 668—Granting a pension to Frank M. Gilmore.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 669—Granting a pension to Jane Goodman.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 670—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Goodyear.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 671—Granting a pension to Thomas S. Gher.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 672—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Grigg.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 673—Granting an increase of pension to William Hix.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 674—Granting a pension to Jacob Hefler.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 675—Granting a pension to William D. Harrington.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 676—Granting a pension to Eliza Hiser.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 677—Granting an increase of pension to Frances L. Hay.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 678—Granting a pension to George W. Irvin.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 679—Granting a pension to Mary W. James
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 680—Granting a pension to James T. Johnson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 681—Granting a pension to William E. Johnson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 682—Granting a pension to Margaret Jeffrey.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 683—Granting an increase of pension to William L. V. Kite.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 684—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Lemora.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 685—Granting a pension to Sarah Morton.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 686—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Murray.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 687—Granting a pension to Fannie H. Maffitt.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 688—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Mills.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 689—Granting a pension to Fred Muff.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 196.

S. 690—Granting an increase of pension to William O'Callaghan.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 691—Granting an increase of pension to Chester C. Overturf.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 692—Granting a pension to Henry A. Rowley.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 693—Granting an increase of pension to Madison O. Rose.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 694—Granting an increase of pension to Warren B. Rich.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 695—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Rigg.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 696—Granting a pension to Clarinda Stoner.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 697—Granting an increase of pension to Iva O. Shepardson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 698—Granting a pension to Elizabeth F. Skeen.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 699—Granting a pension to Mary E. Sargent.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 700—Granting a pension to Gustav J. Tichy.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 701—Granting an increase of pension to Felix M. Wheat.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 702—Granting a pension to Frank H. Wright.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 703—Granting an increase of pension to John Wones.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 704—Granting a pension to John Zilkie.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 705—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Conner.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 197.

S. 706—For the relief of George Wingate.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Military Affairs, 197.

S. 707—For the relief of Daniel Delhagen.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Military Affairs, 197.

S. 708—To provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 197.

S. 709—To regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 197.

S. 710—To reinstate Elwin Carlton Taylor as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 197.

S. 711—To place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 197.

S. 712—For the relief of Bayard T. Garrabrant.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Claims, 197.

S. 713—For the relief of Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Claims, 197.

S. 714—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on the Judiciary, 197.

S. 715—To establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Fisheries, 197.

S. 716—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 197.

S. 717—Authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of construction or operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 197.

S. 718—Making an appropriation for the construction of roads within the Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Appropriations, 197.

S. 719—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 197.

S. 720—Authorizing a report upon the feasibility of constructing the Colorado River Indian irrigation project.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 197.

S. 721—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 197.

S. 722—To authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Curry County at or near Port Orford, Oreg.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Commerce, 431.

S. 723—Authorizing the establishment of a naval base on the Columbia River, near Astoria, Oreg., and making appropriation for the beginning of construction.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Naval Affairs, 431.

S. 724—To provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 431.

S. 725—To make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 431.

S. 726—To amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated."
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.

S. 727—Granting to the State of Wyoming title to certain lands in said State for use in connection with the Big Horn Hot Springs State Reserve.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.

S. 728—To permit the State of Wyoming to relinquish to the United States lands heretofore selected and to select other lands from the public domain in lieu thereof.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.

S. 729—Granting to the State of Wyoming 1,000,000 acres of public land to aid in the maintenance of a system of public roads.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.

S. 730—Granting certain coal lands to the town of Kaycee, Wyo.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.—Reported back (S. Rept. 171), 7811.—Debated and passed Senate, 7814.

S. 731—To patent certain lands to the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 431.

S. 732—To promote the settlement and agricultural development of the United States reclamation projects.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 431.

S. 733—Providing for the construction of bridges and culverts or roads under reclamation projects.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 431.

S. 734—To establish a mining experiment station in the State of Wyoming, to aid in the proper development of the mineral resources of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Mines and Mining, 431.

S. 735—To create two additional associate justices of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia and two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Warren; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.

S. 736—For the relief of Thomas Drury and others.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 737—For the relief of Edward B. Fox, administrator of the last surviving partner of the firm of Child, Pratt & Fox.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 738—For the relief of the owners of lighter No. 128.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 739—Granting an increase of pension to Daisy S. Phillips.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 740—To erect a monument to Ferdinand de Lesseps.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 431.

S. 741—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept the bonds of certain cities as security for crop-moving deposits.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Banking and Currency, 431.

S. 742—To found and maintain a mutual insurance fund for depositors in national banks, to be kept available in the United States Treasury and to be administered by a bureau in the Treasury Department organized and regulated for that purpose.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Banking and Currency, 431.

S. 743—To reimburse T. C. Barrier, postmaster, Philadelphia, Miss., for registered money stolen in transit.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 431.

S. 744—To provide for a commission to investigate commissions and to make recommendations concerning the same.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Appropriations, 431.

S. 745—To authorize certain late physicians and surgeons of the United States Volunteer Army in the War with Spain to practice their respective professions in any Territory, District, dependency, or possession of the United States under the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress upon the presentation and proof of certain facts.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 431.

S. 746—To provide for the appointment of a district judge in the northern and southern judicial districts in the State of Mississippi, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.—Reported back, 4808.—Passed Senate, 6941, 6942.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7105.

S. 747—To revive the right of action under the captured and abandoned property acts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.

S. 748—To conform and ratify the sale of the Federal building site at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 431.

S. 749—Waiving the age limit for admission in the United States Marine Corps in the case of Bartley Bull.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Naval Affairs, 431.

S. 750—To place Lieut. Col. Junius L. Powell on the retired list of the Army with the rank of brigadier general.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Military Affairs, 431.

S. 751—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and adjudicate claims for the destruction of private property and damage thereto as the result of the construction of levees along, and other improvements of, the Mississippi River.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 752—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and adjudicate claims for the destruction of private property and damage thereto as the result of the construction of levees along, and other improvements of, the Mississippi River.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 753—To establish a drainage fund and to provide for the reclamation of swamp and overflowed lands in certain States.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Commerce, 431.

S. 754—For the relief of Edward H. Dennison.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 755—For the relief of Robert S. Emerson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 431.

S. 756—To authorize the appointment of Charles Gilbert Thayer, jr., as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 431.

S. 757—Authorizing the reinstatement of J. A. B. Sinclair as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Naval Affairs, 431.

S. 758—To increase the productive agricultural area of the United States by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 431.

S. 759—For the relief of W. R. Wells.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 760—For the relief of George R. Campbell, Milton B. Germond, and Walter D. Long.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 761—For the relief of Capt. Thomas R. Clark.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 431.

S. 762—To establish game sanctuaries in national forests, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, 431.

S. 763—Granting a pension to Michael Smyth.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 764—Granting a pension to Richard Trombley.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 765—Granting a pension to Minnie H. Wolf.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 766—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick J. Young.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 767—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick S. Webber.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 768—Granting an increase of pension to Emmett L. Warren.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 769—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. I. Barnett.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 431.

S. 770—To provide for the punishment of officers of United States courts wrongfully converting moneys coming into their possession, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.

S. 771—To authorize the employment of persons in the District of Columbia and in the field and other necessary expenses in the administration of the national parks and the Hot Springs Reservation.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Appropriations, 431.

S. 772—To establish a bureau for the study of the criminal, pauper, and defective classes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.

S. 773—Forbidding judges to charge juries with regard to matters of fact, but requiring judges to declare the law, and in jury trials to reduce their charge or instructions to writing on the request of either party.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on the Judiciary, 431.

S. 774—To authorize and provide for the investigation and survey of swamp, wet, and overflowed lands in the Mississippi Valley susceptible of drainage, and to devise plans and systems therefor.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 432.

S. 775—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Monticello, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 776—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Forrest City, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 777—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant permission for utilization of water power at locks and dams constructed by the Government on navigable rivers of the United States.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 432.

S. 778—To prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 432.

S. 779—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 432.

S. 780—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved Apr. 22, 1908, and amended Apr. 5, 1910.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 432.

S. 781—Granting lands to Wade Pemberton and others, of Hot Springs Lodge, No. 62, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of Hot Springs, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 782—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to certain lands of James Payne, his heirs and assigns.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 783—Releasing the claim of the United States Government to the block or square of land in the city of Fort Smith, in the State of Arkansas, upon which is situated the old Federal jail, to the State of Arkansas for a site for an armory and training camp of the Arkansas National Guard.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 784—Granting lands to Hot Springs Lodge, No. 62, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of Hot Springs, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 785—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause to be made certain improvements on the Government reservation at Hot Springs, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 786—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct a new bathhouse on the Hot Springs Reservation, Ark., for the accommodation of indigents.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 787—To relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 788—For the relief of William Ramsey and others.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 789—For the relief of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 790—For the relief of John W. Fein.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 791—For the relief of the heirs of the late Hugh Rowen.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 792—For the relief of the heirs or estate of Wesley W. Wallace, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 793—For the relief of the heirs or estate of Samuel N. Pryor, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 794—For the relief of the heirs of the late Jennie Hunter.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 795—For the relief of heirs of James Thompson, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 796—For the relief of heirs or estate of Thomas Daly, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 797—For the relief of Lizzie E. McCord, administratrix of Moses S. McCord, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 798—For the relief of the heirs of William H. Harvey, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 799—For the relief of the heirs of J. S. Morton, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 800—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 24409.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 801—For the relief of the heirs of John Kirk.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 802—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of W. W. Busby, administrator of the estate of Evelina V. Busby, deceased, against the United States.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 803—Granting a pension to A. G. Hamilton, alias Garland Hammond.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 804—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Spence.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 805—Granting a pension to William H. Tucker.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 806—Granting a pension to Ada Jernigen.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 807—Granting a pension to Stephen Konicka.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 808—Granting an increase of pension to B. E. Benton.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 809—Granting a pension to Samuel M. McKinney.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 810—Granting a pension to John A. Pryor.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 811—Granting a pension to James E. Dickerson.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 812—Granting a pension to Philip S. Herron.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 813—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Plumlee.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 814—Granting a pension to J. A. Swaim.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 815—Granting a pension to John S. Hope.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 816—Granting an increase of pension to Zora W. Elder.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 817—Granting a pension to Thomas S. Garen.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 818—Granting a pension to Minnie Bryant.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 819—To relinquish, release, and quitclaim to the trustees of the Hatchie Coon Hunting and Fishing Club title to certain lands in Poinsett County, Ark.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 820—To amend the act of Congress approved Mar. 4, 1913 (37 Stat., p. 869), to increase the limit of cost for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, rebuilding, and reconstruction of the post office and courthouse at Alexandria, La.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 821—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to certify to the Secretary of the Interior, for restoration to the public domain, lands in the State of Louisiana not needed for naval purposes.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Public Lands, 432.

S. 822—For the relief of the heirs of Joseph Piernas, deceased.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 823—For the relief of the heirs of Myra Clark Gaines, deceased.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 824—For the relief of the heirs of Henry Ware.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 825—For the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 432.

S. 826—Granting an increase of pension to Jules Toffier.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 827—Granting a pension to Marcelle M. Muller, Anthony N. Muller, jr., and Maud Muller.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Pensions, 432.

S. 828—To give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds, the ratifications whereof were exchanged on the 7th day of December, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 432.

S. 829—To authorize the employment of Federal prisoners on public roads within the States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 432.

S. 830—To provide for the purchase of ground and the erection of a Weather Bureau observatory building at Jackson, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 432.

S. 831—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 432.—Reported back (S. Rept. 6), 521.—Recommitted to Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 745.

S. 832—To amend an act approved Mar. 4, 1915, abolishing the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims in certain cases involving claims against the United States for property destroyed or appropriated by the Federal Army during the Civil War.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 432.

S. 833—To establish an additional fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Fisheries, 432.

S. 834—To provide for the erection of a public building at Kingsport, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 835—To provide for the erection of a public building at Newport, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 836—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Erwin, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 837—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at South Pittsburg, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 838—To provide for the erection of a public building at Dayton, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 432.

S. 839—To retire Dr. Charles Lee Baker on pay.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 432.

S. 840—For the relief of Patrick McNamee.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 432.

S. 841—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a naval and aviation academy on the Pacific coast of the United States and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 432.

S. 842—To provide for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Education and Labor, 433.

S. 843—To cancel allotments made to three members of the Wintu Tribe of Indians on the public domain, California.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Indian Affairs, 433.

S. 844—Granting consent to the county of Madera, Cal., and its successors and assigns, the right to construct a dam across the San Joaquin, Fresno, and Chowchilla Rivers.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Commerce, 433.

S. 845—For the relief of Francis Nicholson.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 846—For the relief of Edward F. McDermott, alias James Williams.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 847—For the relief of Arthur R. Aldworth.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 848—Authorizing the construction and equipment of an ammunition manufacturing plant at the United States arsenal at Benicia, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 849—Providing for the construction and equipment of a storehouse at Benicia Arsenal, State of California.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 850—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Marysville, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 851—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of San Mateo, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 852—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present Federal building and site at San Jose, Cal., and to acquire a new site and to provide for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the said city of San Jose, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 853—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Vallejo, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 854—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Richmond, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 855—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Palo Alto, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 856—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Placerville, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 857—Providing for the erection and completion of a building for post office and other purposes at Oakland, Cal., and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 858—To provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 859—For the relief of J. G. Swinney.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 860—For the relief of Katie Norvall.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 861—For the relief of Augusta Reiter.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 862—For the relief of Mary Jordan, widow of Dennis Jordan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 863—For the relief of the Western Grain & Sugar Products Co. of California.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 864—For the relief of Albert Edgerton Buckman and others.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 865—For the relief of John Brodie.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 866—For the relief of Elizabeth J. Bishop.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 867—For the relief of the Gilroy Winery & Distillery Co., Gilroy, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 868—For the relief of John Horgan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 869—Granting a pension to William C. Slaper.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 870—Granting a pension to George Casseboom.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 871—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda A. Sullivan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 872—Granting a pension to John McMunn, alias Frank Shields.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 873—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan W. Fitz-Gerald.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 874—Granting a pension to Arthur Kavanagh.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 875—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Jones.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 876—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Jones.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 877—Granting a pension to Mary E. Dollard.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 878—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Harrison.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 879—Granting a pension to Julius Wolbrecht.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 880—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome McWethy.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 881—Granting a pension to Hugh Mackay.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 882—Granting a pension to Willis S. Harris, alias Charles E. Sanders.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 883—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Cockings.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 884—Granting a pension to Martin Forrest.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 885—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Jenkins.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 886—Granting a pension to George D. Doble.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 887—Granting a pension to Jennie E. Kidd.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 888—Granting a pension to John J. Callanan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 889—Granting a pension to John F. Crowley.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 890—Granting a pension to Moetia Atwater.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 891—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Johnson.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 892—Granting a pension to William Lynch.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 893—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Cruess.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 894—Granting a pension to Raymon M. Smith.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 895—Granting a pension to H. F. E. Schroer.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 896—Granting a pension to James A. Gibson.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 897—Granting a pension to Hiram A. Williams.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 898—Granting a pension to John E. Markley.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 899—Granting a pension to Katherine S. Neeland.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 900—Granting a pension to Justine M. Thrift.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 901—Granting an increase of pension to D. A. Gray.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 902—Granting a pension to Frederick Ditmars Skinner.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 903—Granting a pension to George B. Haight.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 904—Granting a pension to Margaret F. La Blanc.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 905—Granting a pension to Emma A. Smith.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 906—Granting a pension to George F. Stedman.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 907—Granting a pension to John Heikkila.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 908—Granting a pension to Susan E. Cline.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 909—Granting a pension to Rose Butcher.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 910—Granting an increase of pension to Viola E. Webster.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 911—Granting a pension to Harriet F. Kidd.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 912—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Dikes.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 913—Granting an increase of pension to J. H. Farnsworth.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 433.

S. 914—To amend the acts to regulate commerce so as to provide that publishers of newspapers and periodicals may enter into advertising contracts with common carriers and receive payment for such advertisements in transportation.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 433.

S. 915—Regulating sale of timber on forest reserves in Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 433.

S. 916—To close the allotment roll of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Indian Affairs, 433.

S. 917—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Anaconda, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 918—Providing for the enlargement of the Federal Building at Missoula, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 919—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Havre, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 920—To increase the limit of cost of public building at Great Falls, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 433.

S. 921—For the relief of James Duffy.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 922—For the relief of Orion Mathews.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 923—For the relief of Henry J. Davis.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Military Affairs, 433.

S. 924—For the relief of Delilah Siebenaler.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 925—For the relief of Benjamine O. Kerlee.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 926—For the relief of F. A. Carnal and Ada Lewis.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 927—For the relief of George A. Robertson.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 928—For the relief of G. W. Kates.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 929—For the relief of the Jefferson Lime Co.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 930—For the relief of Joseph E. Lamb.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 931—For the relief of Joseph C. Cosley.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 433.

S. 932—To provide for stock-watering privileges on certain unallotted lands on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 433.—Reported back (S. Rept. 156), 7811.

S. 933—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 433.

S. 934—Authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation in said State.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 433.—Reported back (S. Rept. 157), 7811.

S. 935—For the relief of settlers on certain railroad lands in Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 433.

S. 936—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 158), 7811.

S. 937—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend sections 2291 and 2297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to homesteads."
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 159), 7811.

S. 938—For the relief of A. J. Lowary.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 939—Relating to the duties of registers of United States land offices and the publication in newspapers of official land-office notices.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 160), 7811.

S. 940—To provide for the payment for certain lands within the former Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 941—Granting to the city of Billings, Mont., certain lands for public park purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 942—For the relief of Edward Vanderhoof.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 943—For the relief of William W. Rust.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 944—For the relief of Frederick Tessman.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 945—For the relief of William F. Carter.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 946—To validate the homestead entries of Anna W. Thrailkill.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 947—Validating certain homestead entries.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 948—Providing for additional homestead entries in certain cases.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 949—Giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchase of Indian lands.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 950—To provide for the nonmineral entry of lands withdrawn, classified, or reported as containing coal, phosphate, nitrate, potash, oil, gas, or asphaltic minerals in Alaska.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 161), 7811.

S. 951—To provide for the sinking of artesian wells, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 952—Providing for enlarged homesteads in forest reserves and for additional homesteads.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 953—To amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the States of Montana and Wyoming.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 954—To amend an act approved June 22, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands."
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 955—Providing for noncontiguous homestead entries within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., of land of the character described in the enlarged homestead act of Feb. 19, 1909.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 162), 7811.

S. 956—Granting a pension to Emma B. Williams.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 957—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Ives.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 958—Granting a pension to Charles B. Wemple.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 959—Granting an increase of pension to Hettie Fletcher.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 960—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Love.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 961—Granting a pension to Augusta Costello.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 962—Granting a pension to Kizziah Morris.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 963—Granting a pension to Frank Benoit.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 964—Granting an increase of pension to Roswell B. Van Wagenen.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 965—Granting a pension to George Walters.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 966—Granting a pension to Sophie Lizotte.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 967—Granting a pension to Willis McAfee.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 968—Granting a pension to Mary A. Walter.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 969—Granting a pension to John Fitzgerald.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 970—Granting a pension to John R. Rodgers.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 971—Granting a pension to George W. Bowley.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 972—To authorize an exchange of lands with Henry Blackburn.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 973—Providing for the leasing of arid lands which are irrigable, belonging to Indian allottees, and fixing the maximum time for which such leases may run.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Indian Affairs, 434.

S. 974—To provide for the erection of a public building at Price, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

S. 975—To increase the limit of cost of public building at Park City, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

S. 976—To provide for the erection of a public building at Nephi, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

S. 977—To provide for the erection of a public building at Cedar City, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 434.

S. 978—For the relief of Watson B. Dickerman, administrator of the estate of Charles Backman, deceased.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 434.

S. 979—For the promotion and retirement of Col. David L. Brainard, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 434.—Reported back (S. Rept. 64), 3622.—Passed Senate, 4997.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5060.

S. 980—For the relief of Hevtor A. Robichon.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 434.—Reported with amendment, amended, and passed Senate, 4809, 4810.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 4907.

S. 981—Granting a pension to James W. McKay.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 982—To amend an act entitled "An act for the erection of United States prisons and for the imprisonment of United States prisoners, and for other purposes," to fix the terms of office of the superintendent of prisons and the wardens, to provide for their appointment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 434.

S. 983—To establish engineering experiment stations in the States and Territories in connection with State universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education and Labor, 434.

S. 984—Authorizing the conveyance of certain land to the city of Miles City, State of Montana, for park purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 985—Granting to the county of Custer, State of Montana, certain land in said county for use as a fairground.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 986—To amend an act approved Feb. 22, 1889, entitled "An act to provide for the division of Dakota into two States and to enable the people of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington to form constitutions and State governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to make donations of public lands to such States."
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 987—For the relief of Grace Brewster-Arnold, administratrix of the estate of George W. Brewster, deceased.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 434.

S. 988—Providing for the payment of certain interest on items 1 and 4 of the judgment of the Court of Claims of May 18, 1905, in favor of the Cherokee Nation.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 434.

S. 989—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine F. Edsall.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 990—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Evans.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 991—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Cook.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 992—To enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Maiambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of Nov. 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Claims, 434.

S. 993—To authorize aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 434.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 58), 3633.

S. 994—Extending the benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 434.

S. 995—To authorize the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Military Affairs, 434.—Reported with amendment, 709.—Amended and passed Senate, 892, 893.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 952.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 60), 2847.—Debated, 3275, 3276.—Amended and passed House, 3276.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3389.—Examined and signed, 3437, 3483.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 22], 3839.

S. 996—Granting an increase of pension to Adam S. Bridgefarmer.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 434.

S. 997—To increase the quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville, Ind., and to make an appropriation for the erection thereof.
Mr. New; Committee on Military Affairs, 434.

S. 998—To grant unsurveyed islands to the State of Minnesota for forestry purposes.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Public Lands, 434.

S. 999—For the relief of Stephen Reed.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 434.

S. 1000—To amend section 3928 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 434.

S. 1001—For the relief of A. M. & R. A. Darling.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1002—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Fisheries, 435.

S. 1003—To reimburse the First National Bank of Owatonna, Minn., for revenue stamps stolen or lost in transit.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Finance, 435.

S. 1004—To provide for the retirement of officers and employees of the Bureau of Lighthouses and the Lighthouse Service.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 435.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 56), 3632.

S. 1005—To regulate the salaries of keepers of lighthouses.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 435.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 57), 3632.

S. 1006—Authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 435.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 28); amended and passed Senate, 893, 894.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 952.—Reported back (H. Rept. 21), 1069.—Debated and passed House, 1899, 1900, 2029.—Examined and signed, 2161, 2163.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 13), 287.

S. 1007—Authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 435.—Reported back (S. Rept. 20); passed Senate, 776.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 856.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 33), 1433.—Amended and passed House, 1900, 2029.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2052.—Examined and signed, 2161, 2163.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 14], 2837.

S. 1008—Granting a pension to Caroline Fust.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1009—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Davis.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1010—Granting a pension to Annie Ackerman.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1011—Granting an increase of pension to David Liddell.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1012—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. King.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1014—Granting a pension to Levi A. Cooley.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1014—Granting a pension to Martha Hellen Sture.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1015—Granting a pension to Mary Johnson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1016—Granting a pension to Almira D. Pettingill.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1017—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Fort.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1018—Granting an increase of pension to Delia A. Rogers.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1019—Granting an increase of pension to Mattie L. Longfellow.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1020—To provide an additional judge for the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Missouri.
Mr. Reed; Committee on the Judiciary, 435.

S. 1021—Providing for the purchase of the portrait of Samuel Blodget, jr.
Mr. Reed; Committee on the Library, 435.

S. 1022—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Fredericktown, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 435.

S. 1023—To acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, additional land for the post office at Columbia, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 435.

S. 1024—To provide for the filling of vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

S. 1025—Removing the disabilities of Thomas B. Cassel.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

S. 1026—For the relief of Charles W. Howard.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

S. 1027—To correct the military record of J. W. Metler.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 435.

S. 1028—For the relief of John H. Rheinlander.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1029—Making appropriation for the improvement of Marine Avenue, in the city of St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1030—For the relief of Katherine J. Parker.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1031—For the relief of the heirs of Patrick McIntyre, deceased.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1032—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of city of Glasgow, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1033—For the relief of John W. Moore.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1034—Vesting jurisdiction in the Court of Claims to entertain the claim of Charles A. Morrison, as administrator de bonis non of the estate of William Morrison, deceased, against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1035—For the relief of Mrs. George C. Maynard, widow of George C. Maynard.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1036—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the claim of Mary Clerkin.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1037—Granting a pension to Mrs. Amelia Perry.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1038—Granting a pension to C. A. Sheets.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1039—Granting a pension to James Grogan.
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S. 1040—Granting a pension to Judith Robinson.
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S. 1041—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher Darien.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1042—Granting a pension to H. H. Hedges.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1043—Granting a pension to Augustus Thompson.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1044—Granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Adams.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1045—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Stillwell.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1046—Granting a pension to Daniel Donohoe.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1047—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Morgan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1048—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa E. McMillen.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1049—Granting a pension to Louise Brown.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1050—Granting a pension to Emma Runyan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1051—Granting a pension to Maria Gille.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1052—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Tanner.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1053—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan J. Ragner.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1054—Granting an increase of pension to Annie A. Weegar.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1055—Granting an increase of pension to Julius Cohn.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1056—Granting a pension to Daniel Wootan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1057—Granting a pension to Tressie Bratton.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1058—Granting a pension to Mable V. Rake.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1059—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Reid.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1060—Granting a pension to William N. Griffing.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1061—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Woodworth.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1062—Granting a pension to Byron Sherry.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1063—Granting an increase of pension to Anthony C. Crane.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1064—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Coleman.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1065—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Carlysle.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1066—Granting a pension to Ethel M. Kurfiss.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1067—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Householder.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1068—Granting a pension to Mary E. Likes.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1069—Granting a pension to Julia M. Anderson.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1070—Granting a pension to Eliza E. Miller.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1071—Granting a pension to Hugh Kesterson.
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S. 1072—Granting a pension to James Enloe.
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S. 1073—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Smith.
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S. 1074—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Quinby.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1075—Granting an increase of pension to Tulula V. M. Bortsfield.
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S. 1076—Granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Moore.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1077—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Barber.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 435.

S. 1078—To amend section 1 of the act approved July 1, 1916, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Immigration, 439.—Debated, 439.

S. 1079—To establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Education and Labor, 435.

S. 1080—Retiring Thomas Harrison, a clerk in the Naval Observatory, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Naval Affairs, 435.

S. 1081—Awarding a medal of honor to George Murphy, late private, United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Naval Affairs, 435.

S. 1082—For the relief of Henry States.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 435.

S. 1083—Authorizing the issuance of patent to the heirs of James Longmire.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 435.

S. 1084—For the relief of J. G. Seupelt.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 435.

S. 1085—For the relief of George L. Neff.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 435.

S. 1086—For the relief of the heirds of Ko-mo-dal-kiah, Moses agreement allottee No. 33.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 435.

S. 1087—Granting permission to Capt. Dorr F. Tozier to accept a gift from the King of Great Britain.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Foreign Relations, 435.

S. 1088—For the relief of Fanny A. Crocker.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Depredations, 435.

S. 1089—For the relief of the heirs of Ari Cantrell.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Depredations, 435.

S. 1090—For the relief of the Alaska Steamship Co.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1091—For the relief of the estate of Frederick Heisinger.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1092—For the relief of C. G. Wilford.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1093—For the relief of the heirs of L. A. Davis.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1094—For the relief of Matilda Elizabeth West.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1095—For the relief of the Pacific Creosoting Co.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1096—For the relief of Ira M. Krutz.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1097—For the relief of the M. A. Phelps Lumber Co.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1098—For the relief of William H. Hare.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1099—For the relief of Nellie Harrington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1100—For the relief of Caroline M. Killough.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1101—For the relief of the heirs of Joshua Curtis, deceased.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 435.

S. 1102—For the relief of Simon M. Preston.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 436.

S. 1103—For the relief of Willson Douglass.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1104—For the relief of Edward Stewart.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1105—For the relief of John Dalton.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1106—For the relief of Adam Culp.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1107—For the relief of Thomas Huggins.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1108—For the relief of James S. Huntington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 436.

S. 1109—Granting an increase of pension to John Patty.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1110—Granting an increase of pension to Ira S. Bier.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1111—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Boring.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1112—Granting an increase of pension to Martin H. Conger.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1113—Granting a pension to William J. Cook.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1114—Granting a pension to James B. Gillick.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1115—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Mygatt.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1116—Granting an increase of pension to Asa M. Van Cleave.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1117—Granting an increase of pension to Mitchell Larock.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1118—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis T. Holstin.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1119—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Mowrey.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1120—Granting a pension to John S. Gilliland.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

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Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1122—Granting an increase of pension to Horatio N. Merritt.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1123—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Simpson.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1124—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Taylor.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1125—Granting a pension to Alfred E. Scott.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1126—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Hopkins.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1127—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Felton.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1128—Granting a pension to Penelopie S. Miller.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1129—Granting a pension to Michael Maloney.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1130—Granting a pension to Fred T. Macomber.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1131—Granting a pension to Ella S. Kyes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1132—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas McGooden.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1133—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

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Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1135—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Welch.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1136—Granting an increase of pension to Rodney Wampole.
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S. 1137—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Alway.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1138—Granting a pension to Everett L. Stokes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1139—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Jacks.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1140—Granting an increase of pension to William D. M. Davis.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1141—Granting a pension to Catherine E. Ranney.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1142—Granting an increase of pension to Lydia A. Belknap.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1143—Granting a pension to Lora W. Hughes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1144—Granting a pension to James Turner.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1145—Granting an increase of pension to Roxey Pierce.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1146—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy C. Smith.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1147—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Colby.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1148—Granting an increase of pension to Commodore P. White.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1149—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine Cooley.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1150—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Carroll.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1151—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Thompson.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1152—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Higgins.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1153—Granting a pension to Edward Madden.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1154—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Hireen.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1155—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Fisher.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1156—Granting an increase of pension to Green B. Riggs.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1157—Granting a pension to Alice Gunn.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1158—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Brooks.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1159—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Johnson.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1160—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Dorman.
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S. 1161—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Vennum.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1162—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Perrine.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1163—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Kenoyer.
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S. 1164—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Williams.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1165—Granting an increase of pension to Orin Tucker.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

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Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1167—Granting an increase of pension to Jonas H. Evans.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1168—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Muzy.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1169—Granting a pension to Rachel J. Burnham.
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S. 1170—Granting a pension to Patrick Kneasey.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1171—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Morrison.
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S. 1172—Granting an increase of pension to John Zellers.
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S. 1173—Granting a pension to Samuel P. Johns, jr.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1174—Granting a pension to Charles H. Ferris.
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S. 1175—Granting a pension to Ole Field.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1176—Granting a pension to Ann L. Elliott.
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S. 1177—Granting an increase of pension to Van Ogle.
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S. 1178—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. O'Heron.
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S. 1180—Granting a pension to Augustus S. Hall.
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S. 1181—Granting an increase of pension to Alfa V. Freeman.
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S. 1182—Granting a pension to Charles B. Syphert.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1183—Granting a pension to Marie L. Graves.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1184—Granting a pension to Helen A. Burrill.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1185—Granting an increase of pension to Jens C. Jensen.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1186—Granting a pension to Delia E. Wall.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

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S. 1188—Granting a pension to George A. Torchio.
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S. 1189—Granting a pension to Mary Standifer.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1190—Granting a pension to George W. Smith, alias George Smith.
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S. 1191—Granting a pension to Dollie E. A. Smith.
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S. 1192—Granting an increase of pension to Joanna Dean.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1193—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick J. Conway.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1194—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Randall.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1195—Granting an increase of pension to Anstress L. Hendricks.
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S. 1196—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Gardner.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1197—Granting a pension to Leander Alexander.
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S. 1198—Granting a pension to Charles A. Barthrop.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1199—Granting a pension to William W. Batterton.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1200—Granting a pension to Thomas Baxter.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1201—Granting an increase of pension to Canrisa R. H. Richey.
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S. 1202—Granting a pension to Preston S. Atchison.
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S. 1204—Granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Schreiber.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1205—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Titus.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 1206—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Turner.
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S. 1207—Granting an increase of pension to Hulda L. Winter.
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S. 1208—Granting a pension to Rudolph Kals.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1209—Granting a pension to Lucina C. Hatch.
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S. 1210—Granting a pension to Elizabeth E. Harris.
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S. 1211—Granting a pension to Charles H. Eyerman.
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S. 1212—Granting a pension to Willie J. Etheridge.
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S. 1214—Granting a pension to Effie M. Crail.
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S. 1216—Granting a pension to Lottie Short.
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S. 1217—Granting an increase of pension to Susan J. Cantrell.
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S. 1218—Granting an increase of pension to Mahala Clemons.
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S. 1219—Granting an increase of pension to Pedro B. de G. Fernandez.
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S. 1220—Granting an increase of pension to Ida J. Morey.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1221—Granting an increase of pension to Anna L. Phillips.
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S. 1222—Granting an increase of pension to Emiles Pomeroy.
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S. 1223—Granting an increase of pension to Louis W. Pryor.
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S. 1226—Granting a pension to Albert F. Pray.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1227—Granting a pension to Elisha Painter.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1228—Granting a pension to Frances M. Burroughs.
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S. 1229—Granting an increase of pension to Clara Stout.
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S. 1230—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna S. C. Saling.
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S. 1236—Granting an increase of pension to Philip J. Wickard.
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S. 1237—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Wyckoff.
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S. 1238—For the relief of the legal representatives of Henry G. Geddings.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Claims, 437.

S. 1239—To pension widows, minor children, and dependent relatives of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1240—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Sept. 8, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1241—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Wandel.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1242—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben Waller.
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S. 1243—Granting a pension to Daniel B. Waggoner.
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S. 1244—Granting an increase of pension to Davis B. Wilcoxen.
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S. 1245—Granting an increase of pension to Minard Van Patten.
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S. 1246—Granting a pension to George E. Vale.
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S. 1247—Granting an increase of pension to John F. M. Todd.
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S. 1248—Granting a pension to Lyman E. Tibbits.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1249—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Thorp.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1250—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Thompson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1251—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper Taylor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1252—Granting a pension to Henry Taylor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1253—Granting an increase of pension to Luther M. Summers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1254—Granting a pension to Francis Sullivan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1255—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Strohm.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1256—Granting a pension to Henry Weese.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1257—Granting a pension to Joseph Warner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1258—Granting a pension to John T. Peet.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1259—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Pierce.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1260—Granting an increase of pension to Martin Parker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1261—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim Otto.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1262—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Norman.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1263—Granting a pension to George A. Noblet.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1264—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Newby.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1265—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander F. Neely.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1266—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Nauerth.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1267—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McCoy.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1268—Granting a pension to Jesse McAllister.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1269—Granting an increase of pension to Lorenzo D. McClain.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1270—Granting an increase of pension to William L. McClellan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1271—Granting an increase of pension to Amos N. McReynolds.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1272—Granting an increase of pension to Albert G. McQuiddy.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1273—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Mott.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1274—Granting an increase of pension to Ludwell J. Mosher.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1275—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Moran.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1276—Granting a pension to John F. Smith.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1277—Granting an increase of pension to Robert F. Shinn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1278—Granting an increase of pension to James N. Seip.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1279—Granting a pension to Henry Scott.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1280—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh S. Ryan.
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S. 1281—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Rutherford.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1282—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Rowland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1283—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley Rowland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1284—Granting an increase of pension to John Rogers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1285—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Rogers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1286—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Riggs.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1287—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Rhodes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1288—Granting an increase of pension to H. C. Rowley.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1289—Granting a pension to William E. Puett.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1290—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua Puckett.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1291—Granting a pension to John A. Pryor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1292—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur M. Phillips.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1293—Granting a pension to William W. Peyton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1294—Granting a pension to Niels Pedersen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1295—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Patterson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1296—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Patterson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1297—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Carpenter Moore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1298—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Parks.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1299—Granting a pension to David Mitchell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1300—Granting an increase of pension to Elcazar L. Miner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1301—Granting an increase of pension to Willis Mills.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1302—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen A. Miller.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 437.

S. 1303—Granting a pension to John R. Martin.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1304—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Marsh.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1305—Granting a pension to John Mahafa.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1306—Granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Macomber.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1307—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Mackey.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1308—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew F. Maxwell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1309—Granting an increase of pension to Payton S. Lynn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1310—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Lowery.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1311—Granting a pension to Robert E. Longbothom.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1312—Granting a pension to Fred M. Livingston.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1313—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Linn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1314—Granting an increase of pension to Peter L. Leuszler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1315—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Lesh.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1316—Granting an increase of pension to Albert P. Leavitt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1317—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lathrop.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1318—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Lane.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1319—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Stanfield.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1320—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Snyder.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1321—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Adkins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1322—Granting a pension to John M. Abney.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1323—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Abeles.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1324—Granting a pension to Lemuel Abbott.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1325—Granting a pension to Perry Abbott.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1326—Granting an increase of pension to James N. Yates.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1327—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Wright.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1328—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Wright.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1329—Granting a pension to Joseph J. Wood.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1330—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wilson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1331—Granting a pension to George W. Williams.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1332—Granting an increase of pension to Dennis Willard.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1333—Granting a pension to William A. Wilburn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1334—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison White.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1335—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Clyde Whitcomb.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1336—Granting an increase of pension to John Gates.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1337—Granting an increase of pension to Robert P. Gailer.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1338—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Friels.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1339—Granting an increase of pension to Ambrose Forkner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1340—Granting an increase of pension to John Fitch.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1341—Granting a pension to David Feighny.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1342—Granting an increase of pension to T. Ewing W. Elliott.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1343—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Edens.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1344—Granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Ela.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1345—Granting a pension to Daniel Dye.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1346—Granting an increase of pension to R. W. Duncan, alias "Pack" Duncan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1347—Granting an increase of pension to James Devine.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1348—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Dougherty.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1349—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison A. Donals.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1350—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Dixon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1351—Granting an increase of pension to John Dodgion.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1352—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Lampman.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1353—Granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Kunkel.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1354—Granting an increase of pension to Edgar A. Kesler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1355—Granting a pension to George J. Jones.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1356—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey Johnson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1357—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Jackson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1358—Granting a pension to Henry Johns.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1359—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Thompson Hurst.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1360—Granting an increase of pension to David Hood.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1361—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Holt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1362—Granting a pension to John W. Hill.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1363—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Hildebrand.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1364—Granting a pension to William M. Hiett.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1365—Granting an increase of pension to William Henthorn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1366—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob L. Hatton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1367—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Harris.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1368—Granting a pension to James F. Hargett.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1369—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson Hurst.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1370—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Gunion.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1371—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred H. Guest.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1372—Granting a pension to Charles Grunert.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1373—Granting an increase of pension to J. C. Griffith.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1374—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Gray.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1375—Granting an increase of pension to Myron Gillmore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1376—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Gilbert.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1377—Granting an increase of pension to John Gibson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1378—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Caton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1379—Granting an increase of pension to Arba Capron.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1380—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Carroll.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1381—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben H. Chapel.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1382—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Choat.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1383—Granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Cook.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1384—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Cowan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1385—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Cramer.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1386—Granting an increase of pension to Smith Culler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1387—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Cunningham.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1388—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Culter.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1389—Granting a pension to John Cropper.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1390—Granting a pension to John N. Baker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1391—Granting an increase of pension to Marion A. Babcock.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1392—Granting an increase of pension to S. S. Baird.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1393—Granting an increase of pension to Wiley J. Baldwin, jr.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1394—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Ball.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1395—Granting a pension to Alexander R. Banks.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1396—Granting a pension to Stephen J. Batchelder.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1397—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Baughman.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1398—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Bell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 438.

S. 1399—Granting a pension to Frederick Besancon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1400—Granting an increase of pension to Fermon L. Botkin.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1401—Granting an increase of pension to Johiel Bowers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1402—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Brady.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1403—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel N. Bridgman.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1404—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Brock.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1405—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Brookins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1406—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1407—Granting an increase of pension to David Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1408—Granting a pension to Joshua Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1409—Granting a pension to William Bruce.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1410—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley Burford.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1411—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Atkinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1412—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Andrew.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1413—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Anderson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1414—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Ames.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1415—Granting an increase of pension to Justin W. Allen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1416—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Alexander.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 439.

S. 1417—For the relief of W. H. Presleigh.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1418—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint Harry Graham captain of Infantry.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 457.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 78); amended and passed Senate, 4810.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 4907.

S. 1419—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 457.—Committee on Interstate Commerce discharged and referred to the Committee on Commerce, 2856.—Reported back, 4993.

S. 1420—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of Tennessee two brass cannon with carriage.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 457.—Reported back (S. Rept. 25), 829.—Passed Senate, 6938.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.

S. 1421—To provide for the preparation and report to Congress by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, under the direction and through the Secretary of War, of a preliminary plan for a system of improved national highways, and to provide for the payment of the expenses of said report.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 457.

S. 1422—For the relief of the trustees of Hobson Methodist Church, of Davidson County, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1423—For the relief of Alice Evelyn Mabry Hazen, Lawrence C. Mabry, Herbert S. Mabry, Churchwell Mabry, and William Deaderick.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1424—For the relief of Nathaniel F. Cheairs.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1425—For the relief of the city of Knoxville, Knox County, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1426—For the relief of the Tennessee Deaf and Dumb School, of Knoxville, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Claims, 457.

S. 1427—Granting a pension to Edward B. Earl.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1428—Granting a pension to Vian Bennett.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1429—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Brewer.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1430—Granting a pension to Alfred C. Williams.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1431—Granting a pension to Otto Greenlee.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1432—Granting a pension to Minta Jones.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1433—Granting a pension to William D. Davis.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1434—Granting a pension to Thomas Smith.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1435—Granting a pension to G. F. Hudson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1436—Granting a pension to Tide Owens.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1437—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Gray.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1438—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth S. Gleaves.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1439—Granting an increase of pension to Loreta Blevins.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1440—Granting an increase of pension to Grover Cleveland McMahon.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1441—Granting an increase of pension to Barnard J. Irwin.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1442—Granting a pension to William R. Phillips.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1443—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Woods.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1444—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Wright.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1445—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Miller.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1446—Granting a pension to Louisa Brown.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1447—Granting a pension to Joseph H. Hopper.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1448—Granting a pension to Edward B. Earl.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1449—Granting a pension to W. D. Davis.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1450—Granting a pension to D. J. Owens.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1451—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene E. Scherrer.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1452—Granting a pension to Israel W. Bennett.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1453—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse S. Baldwin.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1454—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander B. Tadlock.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1455—Granting a pension to William Manley.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1456—Making appropriation for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Foreign Relations, 457.

S. 1457—To amend section 4747 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1458—To provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Janesville, county of Rock, and State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 457.

S. 1459—For the erection of a public building at Waupun, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 457.

S. 1460—For the enlargement of a public building in the city of Kenosha, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 457.

S. 1461—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Fort Atkinson, in Jefferson County, Wis., for the construction of a bridge across the Rock River.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 457.

S. 1462—To establish a fog signal at the Port Washington Pierhead Light Station, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 457.

S. 1463—To establish aids to navigation at Fond du Lac Harbor, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 457.

S. 1464—For the relief of Rufus Meyers.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Military Affairs, 457.

S. 1465—Granting an increase of pension to Rowena Barnhart.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1466—Granting a pension to Peter E. Luttrell.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1467—Granting a pension to Hannah McAdams.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1468—Granting a pension to Julius Jensen.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1469—Granting an increase of pension to Emily E. Fowler.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1470—Granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Fetter.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 457.

S. 1471—To amend section 8 of the act entitled "An act to create a commerce court, and to amend the act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1910.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 457.

S. 1472—To promote the safety of employees and passengers on railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 458.

S. 1473—To pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1474—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Foreign Relations, 458.

S. 1475—For the relief of sundry building and loan associations of the State of Ohio.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1476—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. Spencer Cosby, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to accept and wear cross of officer of the Legion of Honor conferred on him by the Government of the French Republic.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Foreign Relations, 458.

S. 1477—For the relief of Jacob Nice.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 458.

S. 1478—For the relief of John F. Kelly.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 458.

S. 1479—To grant an honorable discharge to James H. Gillen.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 458.

S. 1480—To amend the act of Congress approved June 27, 1890, entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," and including the amendments thereto.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1481—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Criswell.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1482—Granting a pension to William R. Miller.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1483—Granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Normoyle.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1484—Ratifying the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on the Judiciary, 458.—Reported back, 2631.—Indefinitely postponed, 6938.

S. 1485—To prevent the naturalization of aliens who seek or are permitted to retain their citizenship under the State or sovereignty of which they are citizens or subjects, and to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, and establishing the Bureau of Naturalization," approved June 29, 1906, as amended.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Immigration, 458.

S. 1486—For the relief of Henry P. Grant, of Phillips County, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee of Claims, 458.

S. 1487—For the refund of excess duties on steel blooms.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Finance, 458.

S. 1488—Granting a pension to John W. Hoyt.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1489—For the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1490—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Freed.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1491—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Donaldson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1492—To compensate the Delaware Indians for services rendered by them to the United States in various wars.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Lands, 458.

S. 1493—For the relief of the Ottawa Indian Tribe of Blanchard Fork and Roche de Bœuf.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1494—Removing restrictions from lands in Oklahoma inherited by adult Indian heirs and subjecting same to taxation.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 458.

S. 1495—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 458.

S. 1496—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the Osage civilization-fund claim of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 458.

S. 1497—To adjust and settle the claims of the loyal Shawnee, Cherokee-Shawnees, and loyal Absentee Shawnee and Delaware Tribes of Indians.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 458.

S. 1498—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph N. Foster.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1499—Granting an increase of pension to James Heavrin.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1500—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Clark.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1501—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Flannery.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1502—Granting a pension to Mary Coleman.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1503—Granting a pension to George W. Moore.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1504—Granting an increase of pension to Delphia A. Thompson.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1505—For the relief of Thomas Smith.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 458.

S. 1506—For the relief of Alfred B. Andrews.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1507—Granting an increase of pension to Albert G. Dodds.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1508—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Patterson.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1509—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lindsay.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1510—Granting an increase of pension to Orlando S. Hartman.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1511—Granting an increase of pension to Benton P. Woods.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1512—Granting an increase of pension to Abbie C. Moore.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1513—For the relief of Joseph Stoich.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1514—For the relief of the Portland Iron Works.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Claims, 458.

S. 1515—For the relief of Willis B. Morse.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Public Lands, 458.

S. 1516—For the relief of the widow of Thomas Harrison Beatty.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Military Affairs, 458.

S. 1517—Granting a pension to Gertrude M. Farrar.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1518—Granting an increase of pension to Clifford A. Lewis.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1519—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gray.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1520—Granting a pension to Ethel Borden.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1521—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Hansen.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1522—Granting a pension to Dimple Jones.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1523—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Cone.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1524—Granting an increase of pension to John Stone.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1525—Granting a pension to Charles E. Wilber.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1526—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Spencer.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1527—Granting a pension to George Hillis.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1528—Granting an increase of pension to Alice L. Rix.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1529—Granting an increase of pension to Larkin Russell.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1530—Granting a pension to Louis Southworth.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1531—Granting an increase of pension to Phebe Schonhoff.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1532—Granting a pension to William E. White.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1533—Granting a pension to John W. Richardson.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 458.

S. 1534—To provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 458.—Reported back (S. Rept. 13), 774.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 2008), 892.

S. 1535—To provide for the commissioning of midshipmen as ensigns upon graduation from the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 459.

S. 1536—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 14), 774.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 1771), 892.

S. 1537—To increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 459.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 17), 774.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 2340), 892.

S. 1538—To authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 459.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 17), 774.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 2338), 891, 892.

S. 1539—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to enrollment in the Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 459.

S. 1540—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Fisheries, 459.

S. 1541—To establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama; California; Louisiana; Florida; Georgia, South Carolina, or North Carolina; Maryland or Virginia; Oregon or Washington; Texas; Oklahoma; Illinois; Washington; Arizona; New Mexico; Michigan; Idaho; Missouri; Pennsylvania, Delaware, or New Jersey; and Minnesota.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Fisheries, 459.

S. 1542—To protect and conserve the halibut fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, to establish closed seasons in halibut fishing in certain waters thereof, and to restrict the landing of halibut in the United States of America and Territory of Alaska during the closed seasons established.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Fisheries, 459.

S. 1543—To ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 459.

S. 1544—To provide for appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of steam vessels, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 59), 3633.—Passed Senate, 6939.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7105.

S. 1545—To amend the act of Mar. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to regulate the officering and manning of vessels subject to the inspection laws of the United States."
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 60), 3633.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6939, 6940.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7105.

S. 1546—To permit the use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels carrying passengers.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 61), 3633.—Passed Senate, 6940.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7105.

S. 1547—To amend section 5 of the motor-boat law approved June 9, 1910.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 62), 3633.—Passed Senate, 6941.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7105.

S. 1548—To provide for the appointment of certain assistant inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, at ports where they are actually performing duty, but to which they are at present detailed.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.

S. 1549—To require numbering and recording of undocumented vessels.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.—Reported back (S. Rept. 63), 3633.—Passed Senate, 6941.—Referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7105.

S. 1550—To provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.

S. 1551—To amend section 13 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion; and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 459.

S. 1552—To amend chapter 2582 of the Statutes of the United States, the same being entitled "An act to appoint Joseph Y. Porter a lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general, and place him on the retired list of the Army," approved Mar. 2, 1907.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Military Affairs, 522.

S. 1553—To give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds concluded at Washington Aug. 16, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Foreign Relations, 522.—Reported back (S. Rept. 27), 870.—Debated, 4345, 4399–4403, 4811, 4812–4820, 5379, 5380, 5412, 5440, 5441, 5543–5548.—Amended and passed Senate, 5548.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5723.

S. 1554—Creating a board for the management of Indian Affairs, to provide for the classification of Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Affairs, 522.

S. 1555—To repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park, in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved Jan. 26, 1915.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 522.—Reported back (S. Rept. 169), 7811.

S. 1556—For the relief of the heirs of Harry Davenport, deceased.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 522.

S. 1557—For the relief of Arthur Nelson.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 522.

S. 1558—For the relief of F. C. X. Boucher.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 522.

S. 1559—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Coffen.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 522.

S. 1560—Granting to certain States public lands for the construction, repair, and maintenance of public roads.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 522.

S. 1561—Limiting the creation or extension of forest reserves in New Mexico.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 522.

S. 1562—For the relief of every officer or private soldier who was honorably discharged after 90 days' service in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 522.

S. 1563—Granting an annuity equivalent to $50 per month to officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who have attained the age of 65 years and have been, or may hereafter be, awarded medals of honor for gallantry and heroism involving great personal peril, and authorizing the President of the United States to make rules and regulations for carrying the act into effect.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 522.

S. 1564—Granting an annuity of $100 to officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who have been awarded medals of honor for gallantry in action and other soldierlike qualities under acts of Congress, and authorizing the President of the United States to make rules and regulations for carrying the act into effect.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 522.

S. 1565—For the relief of certain officers of the Army and Navy in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 522.

S. 1566—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on the Judiciary, 522.

S. 1567—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Martin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 522.

S. 1568—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda C. Hellman.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 522.

S. 1569—Granting a pension to Katharine E. Bocaskey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 522.

S. 1570—To authorize the appointment in the Army and the immediate retirement, with the rank of captain, of Robert Armour, who was a captain in the Civil War, an employee of the War Department for 50 years, and 75 years of age.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 522.

S. 1571—To dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 523.

S. 1572—Granting a pension to Eliza J. M. Clemens.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1573—Granting a pension to Conrad Hockenberger.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1574—Granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Knight.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1575—Granting an increase of pension to Mark P. Morton.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1576—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Wellman.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1577—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Townsend.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1578—Granting an increase of pension to Morey Milliken.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1579—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Howard.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1580—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Holmes.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1581—Granting a pension to Mary E. Finson.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1582—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe W. Chase.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1583—Granting an increase of pension to Ida E. Cook.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1584—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Cook.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1585—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Bradford.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 523.

S. 1586—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Finance, 523.

S. 1587—To increase the number of midshipmen in the Naval Academy.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 566.—Reported back (S. Rept. 15), 774.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 2339), 892.

S. 1588—To foster commerce between the United States and foreign countries by facilitating the reexportation in bond from ports of the United States of goods imported into the United States duly entered for warehousing and stored in bonded warehouses.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Finance, 566.

S. 1589—Making appropriation for the construction of a roadway and walks leading to and around the Chalmette Monument, Chalmette, La.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Military Affairs, 566.

S. 1590—Providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshals and for the United States district attorneys for the western and eastern districts of Louisiana.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on the Judiciary, 566.

S. 1591—To permit the purchase of certain public lands in Louisiana at private sale.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Lands, 567.

S. 1592—For the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Lands, 567.

S. 1593—To promote the safety of employees and travelers on railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their cars with automatic adjustable fire extinguishers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 567.

S. 1594—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 567.

S. 1595—To promote the efficiency of the Public Health Service.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 567.

S. 1596—Appropriating $500,000 for the use of the United States Public Health Service in encouraging rural sanitation, with special reference to the prevention and suppression of malaria and typhoid fever.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 567.

S. 1597—To provide a division of tuberculosis in, and an advisory council for, the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 567.

S. 1598—To provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 567.

S. 1599—For the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1600—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to readjudicate the case of Albert H. Gillespie *v.* The United States, No.30,777, on the docket of said court.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1601—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Alphonse Desmare, deceased, and others.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1602—For the relief of the estate of Thomas F. Swafford, deceased.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1603—For the relief of the legal representatives of Lapene & Ferre.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1604—For the relief of the legal representative of George E. Payne, deceased.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1605—For the relief of the legal representatives of Patrick Wood and Margaret Wood Delany, deceased.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1606—For the relief of James M. Morgan.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1607—For the relief of the heirs of Isabella Ann Fluker.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1608—For the relief of the New Orleans-Belize Royal Mail & Central American Steamship Co., of New Orleans, La.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1609—To provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 567.

S. 1610—To provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 567.

S. 1611—For the erection of a public building at the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating moneys therefor.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 567.

S. 1612—Granting a pension to William F. Rogers.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1613—Making appropriation for publishing the name, service, and post-office address of persons who were granted pensions on account of service in the Revolutionary War.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Printing, 567.

S. 1614—Granting an increase of pension to Georgianna Thomas.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1615—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Gafford.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1616—Granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Shell.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1617—Granting to the State of Iowa all the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to the land within the meander lines, as originally surveyed, of the lakes within said State.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on the Judiciary, 567.

S. 1618—To reimburse J. Mandelbaum & Sons, of Des Moines, Iowa, for certain duties paid in excess.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Finance, 567.

S. 1619—To correct the military record of Jerome Chilson.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1620—Donating a bronze or brass condemned cannon to Crocker Post, Grand Army of the Republic, at Des Moines, Iowa, for cemetery purposes.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1621—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William M. Carroll.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1622—To correct the military record of T. J. Shropshire.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1623—To amend the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and to further regulate commerce among the States and with foreign countries.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 567.

S. 1624—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved Feb. 17, 1911.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 567.

S. 1625—Concerning baggage and excess baggage carried by common carriers in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and common carriers while engaged in commerce between the States and between the States and foreign nations, and prescribing the duties of such common carriers in reference thereto while so engaged, defining certain offenses and fixing the punishment therefor, and repealing all conflicting laws.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 567.

S. 1626—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to amend the laws for preventing collision of vessels, and to regulate the equipment of certain motor boats on the navigable waters of the United States," approved June 9, 1910.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Commerce, 567.

S. 1627—To amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War, and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1628—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Mosher, widow of Albert A. Mosher.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1629—Granting pensions to soldiers, sailors, or marines confined in Confederate prisons.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1630—To extend the provisions of the act of June 27, 1902, entitled "An act to extend the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled 'An act granting pensions to the survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk War, Cherokee disturbance, and the Seminole War,' approved July 27, 1892."
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 567.

S. 1631—Increasing the pay of certain enlisted men in the military and naval service of the United States during the continuance of the war with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1632—To suppress the sale of pistols, revolvers, and other firearms of like form, size, and description, commonly used in the commission of felonious homicides and assaults, and to provide punishment for violation of the provisions of the same.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 567.

S. 1633—To amend section 162 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 567.

S. 1634—To amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary, approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 567.

S. 1635—To appropriate $500,000 to aid the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association in the erection of a monument at Nashville, Tenn., to commemorate the life, character, and services of Andrew Jackson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Library, 567.

S. 1636—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 567.

S. 1637—To reinstate Frederick J. Birkett as third lieutenant in the United States Revenue-Cutter Service.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Commerce, 567.

S. 1638—For the relief of James L. Wallace, his heirs or assigns.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Indian Depredations, 567.

S. 1639—For the relief of Matthew McDonald.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Naval Affairs, 567.

S. 1640—To correct the naval record of Reuben E. Lawrence.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Naval Affairs, 567.

S. 1641—For the relief of the heirs of Daniel W. Boutwell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1642—For the relief of W. E. Thomas.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1643—For the relief of V. E. Schermerhorn, E. C. Caley, G. W. Campbell, and Philip Hudspeth.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1644—For the relief of the estate of John McQuiddy, deceased.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1645—For the relief of William H. Manning.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1646—For the relief of Lou Jahn.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1647—For the relief of David H. Fay.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1648—For the relief of James Ferrell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 567.

S. 1649—For the relief of Peter Carroll and others, lately laborers employed by the United States military authorities in and about Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 568.

S. 1650—For the relief of R. W. Branson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 568.

S. 1651—For the relief of Mary E. Woodward.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 568.

S. 1652—For the relief of Henry Wagner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1653—For the relief of Ira Strickland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1654—For the relief of Charles Rayfield.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1655—For the relief of Abner W. Loomis.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1656—For the relief of David Porter Haseltine.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1657—To correct the military record of Thomas Jackson Hanson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1658—For the relief of John C. Hall.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1659—For the relief of Charles Dade.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1660—For the relief of John A. Clark.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1661—For the relief of Albert H. Campbell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1662—For the relief of Franklin Bannon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.

S. 1663—Providing a pension rate of $30 per month for certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, a rate of $50 per month for total incapacity for labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1664—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Brlles.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1665—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1666—Granting a pension to Lucy A. Cole.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1667—Granting a pension to Mrs. M. A. Campbell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1668—Granting an increase of pension to Nannie L. Davenport.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1669—Granting a pension to Mary J. Davis.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1670—Granting an increase of pension to Dora A. Dressler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1671—Granting a pension to Victoria Duby.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1672—Granting a pension to Sarah Elmore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1673—Granting a pension to Jennie L. Luppie.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1674—Granting a pension to Elvisa Fightner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1675—Granting a pension to Mary A. Hanks.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1676—Granting a pension to Sadie Jane Hodges.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1677—Granting a pension to Hattie W. Hurst.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1678—Granting an increase of pension to Samantha O. Andrews.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1679—Granting a pension to Marcia R. Ainsworth.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1680—Granting an increase of pension to Ada J. Bevelle.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1681—Granting a pension to Nancy E. Baskins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1682—Granting a pension to Mary Ann Leahey.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1683—Granting a pension to Eliza Jane Mayabb.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1684—Granting a pension to Emma Ervin.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1685—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Gee.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1686—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Hamilton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1687—Granting a pension to Amanda M. Haner.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1688—Granting a pension to Mary F. Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1689—Granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Bratton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1690—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Baker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1691—Granting a pension to Mary M. Billings.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1692—Granting a pension to Jennie Y. Brandon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1693—Granting a pension to Hannah Vandenburg.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1694—Granting a pension to Mary C. Thompson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1695—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Stover.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1696—Granting a pension to Catherine Stapleton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1697—Granting a pension to Nancy K. Sadler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1698—Granting a pension to Mary Ellen Saunders.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1699—Granting a pension to Susan J. St. John.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1700—Granting a pension to Julia Rumbley.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1701—Granting a pension to Mary F. Robinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1702—Granting a pension to Isadora Richardson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1703—Granting a pension to Josephine Mater Roberds.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1704—Granting a pension to Mary Jane Thomas.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1705—Granting a pension to Hannah F. Taylor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1706—Granting an increase of pension to Alice M. Pike.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1707—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. A. J. Park.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1708—Granting a pension to Julia McMains.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1709—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvia McDevitt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1710—Granting an increase of pension to Lottie L. Matthews.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1711—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Hutchinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1712—Granting a pension to Malinda Kiniston.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1713—Granting an increase of pension to Elvina Kelly.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1714—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Walker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1715—Granting a pension to Clara C. Watson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1716—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Wilson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1717—Granting a pension to Mary E. Williams.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1718—Granting a pension to Mary Alcinda Wingert.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1719—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda Wintermote.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1720—To provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 568.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 73), 4469.—Amended and passed Senate, 4996, 4997.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 5060.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 140), 6774.

S. 1721—To restore certain persons to American citizenship.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Immigration, 568.

S. 1722—For the relief of the Alaska Steamship Co.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Claims, 568.

S. 1723—For the relief of Lieut. Commander Jerome E. Morse, United States Navy, retired.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Naval Affairs, 568.

S. 1724—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Bailey.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 568.

S. 1725—To stimulate the production of food upon private and public lands within reclamation projects, and for other purposes.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 604.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 68), 3839.—Debated, 604.

S. 1726—To prohibit the sale, gift, or furnishing of intoxicating liquors to soldiers or men enlisted in the Army or Navy of the United States.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on the Judiciary, 568.

S. 1727—Providing for the distribution of seeds, shrubs, etc., by the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 568.

S. 1728—Granting a pension to Nancy Ellen Guthrie.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1729—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Sharp Neal.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1730—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Ginther.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1731—Granting a pension to Thomas Kent.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1732—Granting a pension to Laura Workman.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1733—To regulate radio communication.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 621.

S. 1734—For the relief of William G. Welles.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 621.

S. 1735—To create an additional judge in the southern district of Florida.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 621.

S. 1736—To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the diseases and insects affecting cigar leaf tobacco.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 621.

S. 1737—For releasing and quitclaiming of all claims of the United States to arpent lot No. 28 in the old city of Pensacola, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Lands, 621.

S. 1738—For the relief of the Southern States Lumber Co.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Lands, 621.

S. 1739—Granting a pension to Isabel Romero Rockwell.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1740—Granting a pension to Rebecca A. Beery.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1741—Granting an increase of pension to Mollie Thompson.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1742—Granting a pension to Fleming R. Moodie.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 621.

S. 1743—To provide for the protection and preservation of the United States bird preservation on Passage Key at the entrance of Tampa Bay, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, 621.

S. 1744—For the relief of W. H. Overocker, 621.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 621.

S. 1745—Providing for a site and building at Arcadia, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 621.

S. 1746—For the relief of the heirs of Paul Norton.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1747—For the relief of the legal or equitable owners or claimants of the United States steamship Nueces.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1748—For the relief of Mrs. Nellie E. Stockton.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1749—For the relief of Edward J. Fisher.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1750—For the relief of Frank A. Kopp.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1751—To appropriate $95,000 for the relief of Henry W. Cook, Arthur G. Cummer, and Waldo E. Cummer, trading as Cook-Cummer Steamship Co., copartnership, for the loss of schooner barges South West and North West.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1752—For the relief of Mary E. Boyd.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1753—For the relief of Luanna Ross.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1754—Authorizing the submission to the Court of Claims of the claims of sundry citizens of Idaho for damages sustained by reason of the overflow of their lands in connection with the construction of the reservoir to irrigate lands belonging to the Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Claims, 621.

S. 1755—Granting to the State of Idaho 2,000,000 acres of land to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Idaho.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 621.

S. 1756—For the relief of Elizabeth Davis.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 621.

S. 1757—To grant certain lands to the city of Pocatello, State of Idaho, for a municipal park and for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 621.

S. 1758—Authorizing the settlement of certain outstanding liabilities of the Government by the issue of new drafts upon the return of drafts heretofore issued, and providing for settlement of the lost drafts representing said liabilities.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Finance, 621.

S. 1759—To give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix the hours of labor and determine wages for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 622.

S. 1760—To authorize the sale and disposal of an island in the Coosa River, in the State of Alabama.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Lands, 622.

S. 1761—To authorize sale of certain land in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Lands, 622.

S. 1762—To increase the limit of cost for the Federal building and site therefor at Birmingham, Ala.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 622.

S. 1763—For the relief of Lieuts. E. E. Bennett, W. N. Porter, and W. W. Hicks.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1764—Granting a pension to George Beals.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 622.

S. 1765—To reimburse certain fire insurance companies the amounts paid by them for property destroyed by fire in suppressing the bubonic plague in the Territory of Hawaii in the years 1899 and 1900.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1766—To authorize the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.
Mr. James; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.—Reported back (S. Rept. 82), 5027.—Passed Senate, 7814.

S. 1767—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.—Reported back (S. Rept. 26), 829.—Passed Senate, 6938.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.

S. 1768—For the relief of Barneybass Eastridge.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.

S. 1769—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Chambers.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 622.

S. 1770—Authorizing an investigation to determine the true north and west boundaries of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 622.

S. 1771—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Swain.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 622.

S. 1772—To provide that noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the United States Army on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall receive the rank or rating and the pay of the next higher noncommissioned grade.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.

S. 1773—To repeal a portion of the act of Apr. 30, 1908, making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.

S. 1774—To reserve certain lands and incorporate the same and make them a part of the Coeur d'Alene National Forest Reserve.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 622.

S. 1775—For the relief of John Green and others, of the State of Idaho.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1776—For the relief of Albert E. Magoffin.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1777—For the relief of Clarence Hazelbaker.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1778—For the relief of William Fitzgerald.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1779—For the relief of Albert Ostner.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1780—For the relief of Michael C. Mizar.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Claims, 622.

S. 1781—Granting a pension to Mrs. George Rowland.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 622.

S. 1782—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick G. Conley.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 622.

S. 1783—To make the gold certificates, silver certificates, and Federal reserve notes issued by the United States full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Banking and Currency, 622.

S. 1784—To provide for a Government munitions plant and supply depot at or near Pueblo, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 622.

S. 1785—Prescribing the rates of postage on certain mail matter.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 622.

S. 1786—To amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 709.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 12), 742.—Recommitted to the Committee on Military Affairs, 3313.—Reported with amendments, 3313.—Debated, 5330.

S. 1787—For the relief of Thomas Mulvey.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 709.

S. 1788—To protect railways engaged in interstate commerce from injury by trespassers.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 709.

S. 1789—To commission as officers in the Regular Army of the United States National Guard officers attending service schools.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 709.

S. 1790—To amend the act of Congress approved Feb. 6, 1907, entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico."
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 709.

S. 1791—Granting a pension to L. H. Fowler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 709.

S. 1792—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Hangliter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 709.

S. 1793—For the appointment of an inspector of national parks and cemeteries.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 709.

S. 1794—To repeal section 178 of the Criminal Code of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 709.

S. 1795—To relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 709.

S. 1796—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914; Aug. 15, 1914; Mar. 3, 1915; and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 709.—Reported back (S. Rept. 11), 742, 1980.—Debated (see bill H. R. 3673), 1154, 1941, 1975.

S. 1797—To authorize the President, in time of war or of national emergency, to requisition or take over ships, boats, and other water craft for the use of the Government.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 709.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 19), 774.—Indefinitely postponed, 6938, 6941.

S. 1798—To provide, in case of national emergency, for the transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, of vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 710.

S. 1799—To amend section 4433 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to working steam pressure allowable on boilers in steam vessels, and section 4418 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to hydrostatic test of steam boilers.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Fisheries, 710.

S. 1800—To amend an act approved June 29, 1906, and entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate."
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 710.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 1024.—Debated and passed House, 1180, 1181.—Examined and signed, 1435.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 9], 1640.

S. 1801—For the relief of the heirs of John H. Richardson, deceased.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 710.

S. 1802—To amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 710.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 21); amended and passed Senate, 774.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 856.

S. 1803—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Georgetown, in the State of Delaware.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 710.

S. 1804—For the relief of George T. Hamilton.
Mr. Saulsbury—Committee on Claims, 710.

S. 1805—For the relief of the Delaware Transportation Co., of Wilmington, Del.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Claims, 710.

S. 1806—For the relief of Clyde E. White.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Claims, 710.

S. 1807—To provide for increasing the Regular Army.
Mr. Kirby; Committee on Military Affairs, 710.

S. 1808—To close part of the alley in square 377 in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 710.

S. 1809—Providing for judicial practice in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 710.

S. 1810—Providing for qualifications of special examiner in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 710.

S. 1811—For the relief of homestead entrymen or settlers who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 710.—Reported back (S. Rept. 32), 1568.—Passed Senate, 2324, 2325.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4420–4426.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 4631.—House insists on its amendments and agree to a conference, 5060.—Conference appointed, 4631, 5060.—Conference report (No. 108) made and agreed to in House, 5403, 5404.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5409, 5410.—Examined and signed, 5475, 5533.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 32], 5543.

S. 1812—To create a National Rural Credit Society for the purpose of promoting agricultural credit, of devising forms of obligations eligible for rediscount at Federal reserve banks, and acceptable as security for Federal deposits, of acting as fiscal agent for the United States Government, and of establishing a suitable form of investment for postal savings bank funds, trust funds in possession of United States courts or departments, and time deposits in national banks.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 710.

S. 1813.—To provide for the establishment of national cooperative banking associations.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 710.

S. 1814—To provide for the establishment of national cooperative rural banking associations.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 710.

S. 1815—To establish the National Chamber of Agriculture for the purpose of promoting the equitable distribution of farm products.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 710.

S. 1816—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 710.—Reported back (S. Rept. 10), 742.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2659, 2701–2706.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2908.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 63), 2961.—Debated, 3450, 3585–3589, 4363–4387 [Appendix, 523].—Amended and passed House, 4385–4387.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 4396.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 4433.—Conference appointed, 4396, 4433.—Conference report (No. 125) made in House, 5773, 5808.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 5808–5810.—Conference report (S. Doc. 72) made in Senate, 5787.—Conference report agreed to in Senate, 5846, 5847.—Examined and signed, 5882, 5887.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 38], 5935.

S. 1817—To provide for an increased production of foodstuffs by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 710.

S. 1818—For preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterarted, mislabeled, or misbranded linseed oil, turpentine, or paint.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Manufactures, 710.

S. 1819—To amend the internal-revenue law of the United States.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Finance, 710.

S. 1820—To amend the internal-revenue law of the United States.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Finance, 710.

S. 1821—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Newton Primm.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1822—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Green.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1823—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Blitz.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1824—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Anderson.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1825—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis G. Turner.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1826—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Wise.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1827—To promote the efficiency of the United States Army and Navy.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 710.

S. 1828—To promote the efficiency of the United States Army.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 710.

S. 1829—To promote the efficiency of the United States Navy.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Naval Affairs, 710.

S. 1830—Prohibiting the abridgment of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for presidential electors and Members of Congress on account of sex.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 710.

S. 1831—Granting a pension to Rosa Flake.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1832—Authorizing Federal land banks to make loans on lands within irrigation projects and giving priority of lien for loans so made.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 710.

S. 1833—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Holmes.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 710.

S. 1834—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Rogers.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1835—For the erection of a public building in the city of Tucson, Ariz.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 711.

S. 1836—To provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle judicial district of the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 711.—Reported back, 3032.—Passed Senate, 6939.—Vote reconsidered; amended and passed Senate, 6996.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7105.

S. 1837—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Reed.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1838—For the relief of Lloyd C. Stark.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Naval Affairs, 711.

S. 1839—Granting an increase of pension to Annie H. Quill.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1840—Granting an increase of pension to George Lansil.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1841—Granting a pension to Leonora V. Lunt.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1842—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Curtis.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1843—Granting an increase of pension to Jotham B. Jacobs.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1844—Granting a pension to Hollis Tibbetts.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 711.

S. 1845—To authorize Peter Goelet Gerry to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht Owera.
Mr. Gerry; Committee on Naval Affairs, 742.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 18), 774.—Amended and passed Senate, 892.—Refered to House Commitee on Naval Affairs, 952.—Reported back (H. Rept. 19), 1069.—Debated and passed House, 1900, 1936, 1937, 1970.—Examined and signed, 2041, 2045.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 1], 2241.

S. 1846—Granting a pension to Susan E. Nash.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1847—To authorize the addition of certain lands to the Wyoming National Forest.
Mr. Kendrick; Committee on Public Lands, 742.

S. 1848—For the relief of contributors of the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Claims, 742.—Reference changed to Committee on Foreign Relations, 776.

S. 1849—Permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry of the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands.

S. 1850—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in cases of Myron C. Bond, Guy M. Claflin, and Edwin A. Wells.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 742.

S. 1851—Granting a pension to Augustus A. Clawson.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1852—Authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer to the city of New York the title of the United States to certain lands in Kings County, State of New York.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 742.—Reported back (S. Rept. 50) and passed Senate, 3313.—Referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 3425.

S. 1853—To amend an act providing for the erection of a public building at Syracuse, N. Y., and for other purposes.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 742.

S. 1854—To save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 742.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 46), 2855.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4346, 4349–4353, 4355.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4764.

S. 1855—Granting an increase of pension to Philander Wright.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1856—Granting a pension to George F. Thomas.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1857—For the relief of Patrick McMahon.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 742.

S. 1858—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley B. Reed.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1859—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McFarland.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1860—Granting an increase of pension to Homer E. Benton.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1861—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel A. Layman.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1862—To amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 742.

S. 1863—For the relief of the heirs of Gordon H. Meek, deceased.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 742.

S. 1864—For the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, of Keyser, W. Va.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 742.

S. 1865—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Flesher.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1866—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Laird.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1867—To authorize the President in time of war to give direction to exports from the United States, so as to insure their wise, economical, and profitable distribution to other countries.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Commerce, 742.—Reported back (S. Rept. 23), 829.—Debated, 829.—Indefinitely postponed, 7447.

S. 1868—Authorizing the Secretary of War to cancel contract between the War Department and Vulcan Asbestos Manufacturing Co.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Military Affairs, 742.

S. 1869—For the relief of William W. Danenhower.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Claims, 742.

S. 1870—Granting a pension to John Barrett.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 742.

S. 1871—To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 742.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 22), 829, 907, 911.—Debated, 829, 871, 902, 907–921, 928, 930–951, 994–1024, 1071–1087, 1150–1180, 1295–1367, 1437–1501.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to in Senate, 1071, 1072, 1150–1153.—Amended and passed Senate, 1500, 1501.—Vote reconsidered in Senate; indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 3545), 1629.

S. 1872—For providing additional defense for the industrial centers of the Atlantic seaboard and for increasing commerce and reducing transportation cost on the Atlantic seaboard.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Coast and Insular Survey, 742.

S. 1873—To temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 776.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 30), 893.—Debated, 776.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 3380), 2709.

S. 1874—For the relief of Samuel Wilson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 776.

S. 1875—Granting a pension to Cornelius Branning.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 776.

S. 1876—For the relief of the States of Massachusetts and Maine.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Claims, 776.

S. 1877—Prohibiting the issuance of special-tax stamps authorizing the sale of distilled spirits or other intoxicating liquors unless public notice by advertisement has been given, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Finance, 776.

S. 1878—To prohibit the dealing in futures on foodstuffs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 776.

S. 1879—For the relief of John C. Hesse.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 776.

S. 1880—For the relief of Jennie Bell Cox, Robert Isaac Clegg, and Thomas Neel Clegg, children and only heirs of Thomas Watts Clegg, deceased.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 776.

S. 1881—Granting a pension to Maude Lingenfelter.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 776.

S. 1882—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Rundlett.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 776.

S. 1883—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan H. Ellis.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 776.

S. 1884—To promote the welfare and efficiency of the soldiers of the United States.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 776.

S. 1885—Relating to the reclamation of arid, semiarid, swamp, and overflow lands through district organizations, and authorizing Government aid therefor.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 776.

S. 1886—To encourage the production of food products on the public lands during the war.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 776.—Debated, 776.

S. 1887—To increase the production of agricultural products on lands under reclamation projects during the war.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 776.—Debated, 776.

S. 1888—To conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 776.

S. 1889—Revoking authority to lease Sibley Island, in the Missouri River, to the city of Bismarck, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 829.

S. 1890—To correct the military record of John M. Rock.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1891—For the relief of Louis Blanchette, alias Lewis Blanchard, alias Louis White.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1892—For the relief of Wiley W. Houston.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1893—For the relief of Rodger Caplette.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1894—For the relief of Bonnar Borzie and his minor children, Helen, Joseph, Rosalie, and Mary.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Indian Affairs, 830.

S. 1895—Granting a pension to Emil Moellendorf.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1896—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Harrison.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1897—For the relief of William Wooster.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1898—For the relief of J. L. Campbell and others.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1899—Granting a pension to Walter E. Ellis.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1900—For the relief of George H. Grace.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1901—To extend the franking privilege to the American National Red Cross.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 830.

S. 1902—For the relief of sundry railroad companies.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1903—For the relief of the estate of Jacob C. Campbell, deceased.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1904—Providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1905—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus Reynolds.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1906—Granting a pension to Fred Lajoie.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1907—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Kilton.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1908—For the relief of Samuel Charles Hampton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Naval Affairs, 830.

S. 1909—For the relief of Samuel J. Morgan.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 830.

S. 1910—For the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1911—For the relief of John P. Blackwell.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1912—To pay Edward Booth $200 back bounty.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1913—For the relief of Lewis B. Brasher.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1914—For the relief of Sarah T. Chamberlain.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1915—For the relief of Ella S. Denison, executrix of the estate of Charles Denison, deceased.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1916—To authorize the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims against the United States of the heirs of Andrew D. Huff, deceased.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1917—To carry into effect the findings of the military board of officers in the case of George Ivers, administrator.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1918—For the relief of the heirs of Mary A. Ragsdale, deceased.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1919—For the relief of Richard A. Schwab.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1920—For the relief of Dennis Sexton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1921—For the relief of Ellen Sexton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1922—For the relief of Warren H. Twining.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 830.

S. 1923—For the relief of John Doyle, alias John Geary.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1924—To correct the military record of Orcelas Evans.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1925—For the relief of Anna Falls.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1926—For the relief of Sylvester Howe.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1927—To place Maj. Deane Monahan on the retired list of the Army with the rank of brigadier general.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1928—To place Julius Schmidt on the retired list with the rank of captain.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1929—For the relief of William Slater.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1930—For the relief of Elizabeth T. Wells.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1931—To authorize the President to appoint A. C. G. Williams-Foote, late first lieutenant in the Philippine Scouts, to the grade of first lieutenant in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 830.

S. 1932—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick D. Bailey.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1933—Granting a pension to Emma Baird and two minor children.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1934—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Baker.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1935—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Banks.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1936—Granting a pension to Catherine M. Belisle.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1937—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Bense.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1938—Granting a pension to Henry Blake.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1939—Granting a pension to Mary J. Boen.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1940—Granting a pension to Frank Boren.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1941—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Brelsford.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1942—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Brown.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1943—Granting an increase of pension to Dovey E. Campbell.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1944—Granting a pension to Mary C. Christensen.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1945—Granting a pension to Caroline M. Clancy.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1946—Granting a pension to Mary Coakley.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1947—Granting an increase of pension to Juliaette Defield.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1948—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Devine.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1949—Granting an increase of pension to John Doughty.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1950—Granting an increase of pension to George Engleman.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1951—Granting a pension to Mary A. Frank.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1952—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Freel.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1953—Granting a pension to Almira Graham.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1954—Granting a pension to Alexander Haffner.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1955—Granting an increase of pension to Albert M. Harrington.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1956—Granting a pension to Lydia A. Henley.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1957—Granting an increase of pension to James Inman.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1958—Granting a pension to Palmyra Johnson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1959—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson C. Jones.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1960—Granting a pension to Nellie Kavanagh.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1961—Granting an increase of pension to John Kemmer.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1962—Granting a pension to Emma C. Lake.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1963—Granting an increase of pension to Saidee S. Larkin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1964—Granting a pension to Lucy J. Lindsey.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1965—Granting a pension to Grace L. Messler.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1966—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy J. Muchmore.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1967—Granting an increase of pension to Clara E. Munroe.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1968—Granting a pension to Ella Nickerson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1969—Granting a pension to Mary Nolan.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1970—Granting an increase of pension to Inez E. Perrine.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1971—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Nye Phelps.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1972—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard L. Redfield.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1973—Granting a pension to Ferdinand Reinhardt.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1974—Granting a pension to Serilda J. Shire.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1975—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Shute.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1976—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Smith.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1977—Granting a pension to Alice B. Stowe.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1978—Granting a pension to Carrie Sweet.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1979—Granting a pension to Mary A. Tracht.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1980—Granting a pension to Martha J. Tumbleson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1981—Granting a pension to Maggie Turner.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1982—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Van Note.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1983—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison S. Vaughn.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1984—Granting an increase of pension to John Wade.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1985—Granting a pension to Joseph Walser.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 830.

S. 1986—Granting a pension to George Washington.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1987—Granting an increase of pension to Asa D. Whitmore.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1988—For the relief of the estate of David B. Landis, deceased, and the estate of Jacob F. Sheaffer, deceased.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 831.

S. 1989—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas S. Millikin.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1990—Granting an increase of pension to Inez A. Hatchett.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1991—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Auge.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1992—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas V. Malone.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 831.

S. 1993—Authorizing the Osage Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma to employ a tribal attorney for said tribe and appropriating therefor Osage funds.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 870.

S. 1994—Authorizing the licensing and control of corporations engaged in the storing of food products for interstate shipment.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 870.

S. 1995—For the relief of dependent families of employees of the Government killed or injured in the service.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 870.

S. 1996—For the allowance of certain claims reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Claims, 871.

S. 1997—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Commerce, 894.

S. 1998—Relating to the disposal of coal and mineral deposits in Indian lands.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Indian Affairs, 894.

S. 1999—To amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on the Judiciary, 894.

S. 2000—To limit campaign contributions and expenditures and to provide for publicity thereof.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 894.

S. 2001—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 894.

S. 2002—For the prevention of cruelty to animals transported in interstate commerce.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 894.

S. 2003—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Crosby, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 894.

S. 2004—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of North Dakota.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Fisheries, 894.

S. 2005—To prohibit selling of intoxicating beverages in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, 894.

S. 2006—For the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 895.

S. 2007—Providing for the admission to the mails as second-class matter of publications issued by certain public institutions and boards.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 895.

S. 2008—To increase the compensation of rural mail carriers.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 895.

S. 2009—Granting to the State of North Dakota 50,000 acres of land to aid in the maintenance of a normal school at Dickinson, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2010—To provide for the classification of the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2011—Relating to additional entries on lands subject to entry under the enlarged homestead act.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2012—To authorize the disposal of phosphate, oil, asphaltum, or natural gas.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2013—To provide for the disposal of coal and coal lands.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2014—Relating to the use and occupation of lands of the United States for the development of water power, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2015—Granting a pension to Mary B. Graham.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 895.

S. 2016—To amend the act of Aug. 30, 1890.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 895.

S. 2017—To regulate the quantity of coal lands which may be entered or controlled by associations or corporations.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2018—Waiving the age limit for admission to the Medical Corps of the United States Navy in the case of John B. Bostick.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Naval Affairs, 895.

S. 2019—For the relief of Oscar C. Guessaz.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 895.

S. 2020—For the relief of the estate of J. E. Bruce, deceased.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 895.

S. 2021—To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. 2022—To conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 895.

S. 2023—Granting a pension to Lizzie Shade.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 895.

S. 2024—For the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 895.

S. 2025—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Flagg.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 895.

S. 2026—Granting an increase of pension to James M. King.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 895.

S. 2027—For the relief of The Sanford & Brooks Co. (Inc.).
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Claims, 929.

S. 2028—To amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the business of loaning money on security of any kind by persons, firms, and corporations other than national banks, licensed bankers, trust companies, savings banks, building and loan associations, and real estate brokers in the District of Columbia," approved Feb. 4, 1913.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 929.

S. 2029—For the relief of the widow of Joseph Culley.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Claims, 929.

S. 2030—Granting a pension to Edward Keegin.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2031—Granting a pension to Lillie B. Le Compte.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2032—To prevent unfair discriminations in the sale of print paper by persons engaged in commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the Judiciary, 929.

S. 2033—For the relief of John Ogden.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 929.

S. 2034—To correct the military record of James H. Painter.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 929.

S. 2035—To remove the charge of desertion against James B. Smock.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 929.

S. 2036—Granting an increase of pension to Ephriam Briggs.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2037—Granting an increase of pension to Zed Culver.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2038—Granting a pension to Thomas Jefferson Rothgeb.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2039—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas White.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2040—Granting a pension to William C. Campbell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2041—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Walters.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2042—Granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Wood.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2043—Granting an increase of pension to Fanny Harris Howe.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2044—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Huey.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2045—Granting a pension Eliza Coe.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2046—To amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes," approved Feb. 9, 1909, as amended by an act approved Jan. 17, 1914.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Finance, 929.

S. 2047—Providing for the free transmission of mail of enlisted men below rank of captain.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 929.

S. 2048—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas McCarty.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2049—Granting an increase of pension to Minnie Lord Henderson.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2050—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Edge.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2051—For the relief of Edward S. Farrow.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Military Affairs, 929.

S. 2052—Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 929.

S. 2053—Granting to the State of Colorado sections 2 and 32 in every township of said State for educational purposes.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Public Lands, 929.

S. 2054—Granting a pension to Mamie Bridgewater.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2055—To authorize the President to appoint Francis P. Fremont, formerly a major in the United States Army, on the active list of the Army.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Military Affairs, 929.

S. 2056—For the relief of Frank Pinkley.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Claims, 929.

S. 2057—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Hill.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2058—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus Fike.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2059—Granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Elliott.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2060—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Bristow.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2061—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Mitchell.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2062—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew West.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2063—Granting an increase of pension to Gilliam L. Craven.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2064—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin M. Owens.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2065—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Bodine.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2066—Granting a pension to Rebecca J. Thompson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2067—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Abrahams.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2068—Granting an increase of pension to Richard M. Clark.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2069—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Davis.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2070—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Schopf.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2071—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Knight.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2072—Granting an increase of pension to Jehu F. Stiffler.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2073—Granting an increase of pension to Jabez Smith.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2074—Granting an increase of pension to Uriah G. Williams.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2075—Granting an increase of pension to James Alfred Mason.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 929.

S. 2076—For the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 930.

S. 2077—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Emery.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 930.

S. 2078—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Tripp.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 930.

S. 2079—Granting an increase of pension to Susie M. Gilbert.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1025.

S. 2080—Granting an increase of pension to John Reiman.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2081—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph S. Alger.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2082—To increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2083—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Newhall.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2084—Granting a pension to William F. Rogers.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2085—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Penland.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2086—For the relief of Alvin Harder.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Military Affairs, 1026.

S. 2087—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Johnson.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 1026.

S. 2088—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah, and to add certain lands thereto.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 1026.

S. 2089—For the relief of Amos Dahuff.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 1089.

S. 2090—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Smith.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 1089.

S. 2091—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to Estella McReynolds.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 1089.

S. 2092—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Gray.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 1089.

S. 2093—For the relief of James Johnson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 1089.

S. 2094—For the relief of the heirs of Dennis C. Snook.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Claims, 1089.

S. 2095—Granting a pension to Kate G. Morris.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1089.

S. 2096—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Wharton.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1089.

S. 2097—For the relief of Charles S. Fries.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Claims, 1169.

S. 2098—Granting a pension to James W. Wilson.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 1169.

S. 2099—Providing for the modification of the designs of the current quarter dollar.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1169.—Reported back (S. Rept. 31), 1568.—Debated and passed Senate, 1568, 1569.—Motion to reconsider vote in Senate; House requested to return bill, 4469.—House returns bill (see bill H. R. 3548), 4542.

S. 2100—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 10, 1910, as amended by an act approved January 23, 1913.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 1169.

S. 2101—Granting a pension to Lucy Romary.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 1169.

S. 2102—Granting an increase of pension to Increase E. Watson.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1367.

S. 2103—Granting an increase of pension to Albert B. Watrous.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 1367.

S. 2104—To amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Commerce, 1501.

S. 2105—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Riley.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 1501.

S. 2106—To authorize the county of Cass, in the State of Indiana, to construct a bridge across the Wabash River east of the city of Logansport, at a point known as Cedar or Rock Island, in said Wabash River.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Commerce, 1501.—Reported back (S. Rept. 34) and passed Senate, 2047, 2048.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2161.—Reported back (H. Rept. 100), 5144.—Amended and passed House, 5472, 5473.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 5440.—Examined and signed, 5475, 5533.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 33], 5543.

S. 2107—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremy Walker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1501.

S. 2108—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Markley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1501.

S. 2109—Granting an increase of pension to Archibald O. Moulder.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1501.

S. 2110—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McG. Lunsford.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1502.

S. 2111—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus A. Whitson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1502.

S. 2112—Granting a pension to Mary E. Pickerell.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1502.

S. 2113—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Schuler.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1502.

S. 2114—Granting an increase of pension to Walter Emerson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1502.

S. 2115—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education and Labor, 1569.

S. 2116—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Rhode Island.
Mr. Gerry; Committee on the Judiciary, 1569.—Reported with amendment, 2964.

S. 2117—To appoint Allen M. Sumner a captain on the active list of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Gerry; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1569.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 95), 5572.—Amended and passed Senate, 5979.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 6038.

S. 2118—For the relief of S. R. Jacobs.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 1569.

S. 2119—Authorizing the construction of a public building in the city of Durango, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1569.

S. 2120—For the relief of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1569.

S. 2121—Granting a pension to Myra Woodard.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 1570.

S. 2122—For the relief of J. B. Waterman.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Claims, 1570.

S. 2123—To regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1670.—Reported back (S. Rept. 45), 2782.—Passed Senate, 6938, 6939.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 7105.

S. 2124—To fix the salary of the United States district attorney for the eastern district of New York.
Mr. Calder; Committee on the Judiciary, 1670.

S. 2125—Directing the reexamination of the accounts of the late Peter G. S. Ten Broeck.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1670.

S. 2126—To punish speculation in food products and prevent dealing in futures.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1670.

S. 2127—Granting an increase of pension to Mark Whitney.
By Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1670.

S. 2128—To correct the military record of Francis M. Benson.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Military Affairs, 1670.

S. 2129—For the relief of Edwin S. Metcalf.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 1670.

S. 2130—To increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1670.

S. 2131—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Delaware.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on the Judiciary, 1670.

S. 2132—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Criswell.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1670.

S. 2133—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914, and for other purposes.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Finance, 1670.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 33), 1795.—Debated, 2659, 2706.—2709.—Amended and passed Senate, 2709.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2908.—Reported back (H. Rept. 62), 2961.—Debated, 3146, 3189–3207, 3245–3252.—Amended and passed House, 3252.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3323.—Examined and signed, 3425, 3437.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 20], 3558.

S. 2134—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a deed to the persons hereinafter named for part of a lot in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1726.—Reported back, 1805.—Passed Senate, 6938.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 7105.

S. 2135—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Stokes.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

S. 2136—Granting an increase of pension to Robert J. Foster.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

S. 2137—To regulate the interstate transportation of cattle under 1 year old.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1726.

S. 2138—Granting a pension to William J. La Rock.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

S. 2139—Making available until expended, and for other purposes, appropriations contained in the Indian appropriation acts for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1917, and June 30, 1918, for providing water rights for the Salt River Indian allotments.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1726.

S. 2140—Making available appropriations in the Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, for the Ganado irrigation project, Arizona, for repair of flood damages, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1726.

S. 2141—For the relief of Lewis Myshrall.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Military Affairs, 1805.

S. 2142—Granting an increase of pension to Almon G. Warren.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2143—Granting an increase of pension to Melville N. Freeman.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2144—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to conduct operations to increase the production and utilization of fishes and other aquatic food animals, and to take, catch, prepare, cure, pack, transport, and market such fishes and other aquatic food animals and to do any and all things necessary and convenient to successfully carry out the purposes of this act.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 1805.

S. 2145—To relieve enlisted men of requirements of residence, cultivation, improvement, development, or otherwise on homestead, mineral, or other entry or claim under the land laws of the United States during the period of their service and for six months thereafter.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 1805.

S. 2146—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned cannon and cannon balls to the Chehalis, Wash., public schools.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 1805.

S. 2147—Granting a pension to Catherin Arminty Holmes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2148—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Bonney.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2149—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah C. Stokely.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2150—Granting an increase of pension to A. S. Leach.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2151—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Walker.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2152—Granting a pension to Sarah Ann Mitchell.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2153—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Findley.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1805.

S. 2154—To amend an act entitled "An act, approved July 17, 1916, to provide for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes."
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1845.

S. 2155—To amend an act entitled "An act to repeal section 3480 of the Revised Statutes of the United States."
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on the Judiciary, 1845.

S. 2156—To authorize exploration for and disposition of potassium.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 1845.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 100), 5692, 5693.—Debated, 2630, 5692, 5693, 5786–5794, 5935–5943.—Amended and passed Senate, 5943.—Motion to reconsider vote debated and rejected, 5956, 5988–5995.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 6406.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 145), 7209.—Debated, 7299–7311 [Appendix, 644].—Amended and passed House, 7311.—House insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 7311.—Conference appointed, 7311.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 7339, 7340.—Examined and signed, 7459, 7491.—Approved by the President, [Public, No. 49], 7606.

S. 2157—Granting a pension to Nellie Evans.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1845.

S. 2158—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Shutts.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1845.

S. 2159—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Wheeler.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1845.

S. 2160—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan Van Metre.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1845.

S. 2161—To increase the utility of the postal savings bank, to encourage savings among the people, and to secure the largest returns for such savings consistent with adequate security.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1896.

S. 2162—For the relief of Charles Yarrington.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Military Affairs, 1896.

S. 2163—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Jones.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1896.

S. 2164—To provide for the erection of a public building at Montrose, Colo., upon a site heretofore acquired by the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1940.

S. 2165—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Alamosa, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1940.

S. 2166—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease certain property.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Commerce, 1940.

S. 2167—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a suitable site and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building for the use and accommodation of the post office and other governmental offices, Canton, Ohio, at a cost not to exceed $350,000, and to sell the present building and site.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1940.

S. 2168—For the relief of the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Claims, 1940.

S. 2169—For the relief of Stephen A. Randolph.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1940.

S. 2170—For the relief of Dora Gaines Delano, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 1940.

S. 2171—To abolish the United States land office at Springfield, Mo.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 1940.

S. 2172—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Russell.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 2173—For the relief of Frederick W. Seidell.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Lands, 1940.

S. 2174—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Boice.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 2175—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Atkinson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 2176—For the relief of George B. Hughes.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Claims, 1974.

S. 2177—For the relief of Charles G. Griffa.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 1974.

S. 2178—Suspending during the present emergency all rights arising out of any patent granted by the United States upon any compound or medicine of which salvarsan is a constituent part.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Patents, 1974.

S. 2179—In relation to volunteers rejected by examining officers.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1974.

S. 2180—To approve mutual cessions of territory by the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota and the consequent changes in the boundary line between said States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 1974.—Reported back, 2964.

S. 2181—To provide for the erection of a public buidling at Lenoir City, Loudon County, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1974.

S. 2182—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Mayhew.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 1974.

S. 2183—Granting a pension to George Garland.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 1974.

S. 2184—Granting a pension to Sibae S. Andrews.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 1974.

S. 2185—To suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the time the United States may be engaged in war, and fixing a penalty.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1974.

S. 2186—To conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1975.

S. 2187—Granting an increase of pension to John Curless.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2188—Authorizing the reinstatement of Harry Albert Giltner as an additional number in the grade of passed assistant surgeon of the United States Navy.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2048.

S. 2189—Granting a pension to Myrtle M. Bush.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2190—Granting a pension to John F. Simonson.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2191—Granting an increase of pension to William Boyes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2192—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Salida, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2048.

S. 2193—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar M. Dreibelbiss.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2194—Granting a pension to Patrick H. Guhin.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2195—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew E. Waterman.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2196—Granting a pension to Martin H. Rickman.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2197—Granting an increase of pension to Corydon M. Turnbull.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2198—Granting an increase of pension to George Wells.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2199—Granting an increase of pension to Derrick Huck.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2200—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Fisheries, 2048.

S. 2201—For the relief of Ethel M. Young.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Public Lands, 2048.

S. 2202—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Henry H. Sibley, deceased.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Claims, 2048.

S. 2203—For the establishment of Northgate, in the State of North Dakota, as a port of entry for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Finance, 2048.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 54); amended and passed Senate, 3632.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 3745.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 182), 7735.—Amended and passed House, 7806.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7826.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 65], 7897.

S. 2204—To correct the military record of A. M. Weller.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2048.

S. 2205—For the relief of Isaac J. Reese.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2048.

S. 2206—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Richland County, N. Dak., three brass cannon, with carriages.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2048.

S. 2207—To establish an Indian boarding school at or near the city of Rolla, in the State of North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2048.

S. 2208—For the relief of the estate of Israel Folsom.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2048.

S. 2209—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Howe.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2210—Granting a pension to S. W. Callahan.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2211—Granting an increase of pension to Betsy Ash.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2212—Granting a pension to Vesta M. Daniels.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2213—Granting a pension to John R. Beebe.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2214—Granting an increase of pension to Martina Morrow.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2215—Granting an increase of pension to David Keith.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2216—Granting an increase of pension to Marie L. Van Solen.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2217—Granting an increase of pension to John Leary.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2218—Granting a pension to Margaret D. Hardman.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2219—Granting a pension to Anna Irwin.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2220—Granting a pension to Mayme Chilson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2221—Granting a pension to James Kenyon.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2222.—Granting an increase of pension to James A. McConkey.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2223—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Lincoln.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2224—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham F. Carey.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2225—Granting an increase of pension to Halvor Anderson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2226—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Makee.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2227—Granting an increase of pension to Seth Bailey.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2228—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Lovell.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2229—Granting an increase of pension to D. F. Siegfried.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2230—Granting an increase of pension to Morris Dumas.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2231—Granting a pension to Abbie L. Lockwood.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2232—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Flack.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2233—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Dolan.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2234—Granting an increase of pension to Ole Olson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2235—Granting an increase of pension to H. J. Rowe.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2236—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Thomas.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2237—Granting an increase of pension to E. G. Thompson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2238—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Jones.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2239—Granting an increase of pension to Delia Stuart.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2240—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Pettit.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2241—Granting a pension to William Shoemaker.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2242—Granting a pension to Joseph Grunenwald.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2243—Granting an increase of pension to Orlinda A. Edick.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2244—Granting an increase of pension to Irwin M. Hill.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2245—Granting a pension to Mattie Jackson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2246—Granting an increase of pension to Robert B. Stafford.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2247—Granting a pension to James C. Latimer.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2248—Granting an increase of pension to John W. McMillen.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2249—Granting an increase of pension to Bradford G. Ostrander.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2250—Granting an increase of pension to Almont Barnes.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2048.

S. 2251—Granting a pension to Henry L. Henrysen.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2252—For the relief of the city of Pueblo, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 2085.

S. 2253—To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to study the application of machinery to the various processes of the farm.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2085.

S. 2254—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make further survey of the Pecos River and Valley in Texas and New Mexico to determine the feasibility and cost of an irrigation project thereon.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2085.

S. 2255—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah Hagan.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2256—Granting an increase of pension to Nannie Johnson Veale.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2257—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Merideth.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2258—Granting a pension to John Preston Fairchild.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2259—For the relief of Jacob Samuel Weaver.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 2085.

S. 2260—To protect the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, from desecration and to secure its observance as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2085.

S. 2261—For the relief of Henry von Hess.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 2085.

S. 2262—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint William Lee Karnes a captain of Cavalry.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 2085.

S. 2263—To provide further for the national security and defense, to conserve foods, feeds, and fuels, and to prevent monopolies, conspiracies, and other evil practices respecting the same, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2085.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 37), 2164.—Debated, 2324, 2325, 2501, 2633–2659.—Recommitted to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2659.

S. 2264—Granting a pension to Nancy Walker.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 2085.

S. 2265—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay interest and expenses incurred to and by the owners of lots, pieces, or parcels of land acquired by the United States for the enlargement of the Capitol Grounds.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Claims, 2085.

S. 2266—Authorizing the President to recommission in the Regular Army as additional numbers certain former officers.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 2085.

S. 2267—To declare print paper a public utility and to empower the Federal Trade Commission to fix a reasonable maximum price therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2239.—Debated, 2239.

S. 2268—To amend section 15 of the act to regulate commerce, as amended June 18, 1910.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2240.—Debated, 2240.

S. 2269—For the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 2239.

S. 2270—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Elliott.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 2239.

S. 2271—Granting an increase of pension to Francelia King.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2239.

S. 2272—Granting a pension to Harry K. Hallock.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 2239.

S. 2273—To extend the criminal jurisdiction of the District Court of the Canal Zone, Panama.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 2239.

S. 2274—To regulate the storage, transportation, sale, and disposition of all animal products used as food, and all grain, fruits, and vegetables used as food.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2239.

S. 2275—To prohibit the shipment and transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of calves and cows under certain ages and conditions.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2239.

S. 2276—Granting an increase of pension to Anton Lawrence.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2239.

S. 2277—To enable the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the Cape Cod Canal, and for other purposes.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Commerce, 2329.

S. 2278—To organize 10 or more regiments of Indian cavalary as part of the military forces of the United States, to be known as the North American Indian Cavalry.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 2381.

S. 2279—To grant an allowance to rural mail carriers for maintenance of necessary equipment.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2381.

S. 2280—To reinstate Henry Read Leonard, jr., as an ensign in United States Navy.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2381.

S. 2281—Granting a pension to Emma J. Corey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2282—Granting an increase of pension to Lyman F. Deming.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2283—For a Federal land settlement and homestead commission.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Lands, 2381.

S. 2284—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Reeves.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2285—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Enneker.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2286—Granting an increase of pension to William Booth.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2287—Granting an increase of pension to William N. Webb.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2288—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Gay.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2289—Granting certain lands to the village of Hot Springs, N. Mex., and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 2381.

S. 2290—For the relief of Alma Harris.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 2381.

S. 2291—Creating the National Park of the Cliff Cities.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 2381.

S. 2292—Granting an increase of pension to George Campbell.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 2293—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2381.

S. 2294—Authorizing the appointment of William Henry Armstrong a captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Military Affairs, 2428.

S. 2295—Authorizing the appointment of Jewish chaplains for the Army.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 2428.

S. 2296—Admitting civilian employees of the United States Government stricken with tuberculosis to Army and Navy hospitals.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2428.

S. 2297—For the relief of W. M. G. Mackechney.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 2428.

S. 2298—To detach Pecos County, in the State of Texas, from the Del Rio division of the western judicial district of Texas and attach same to the San Angelo division of the northern judicial district of said State.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 2428.

S. 2299—For the relief of Harold Holst.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2428.

S. 2300—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Lamar, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2428.

S. 2301—Designating certain lands for entry under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved Dec. 29, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Public Lands, 2428.

S. 2302—To amend section 6 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Immigration, 2428.

S. 2303—For the relief of John P. Wagner.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 2428.

S. 2304—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Daniels.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2305—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen L. Billings.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2306—Granting an increase of pension to William Behre.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2307—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Runyan.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2308—To correct the military record of Second Lieut. Van Buren S. Reber.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Military Affairs, 2428.

S. 2309—For the relief of Seeman & Co.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Finance, 2428.

S. 2310—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 2428.

S. 2311—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Helser.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2312—Granting a pension to Samuel T. Holden.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2428.

S. 2313—For the relief of sundry building and loan associations.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Claims, 2428.

S. 2314—To increase the efficiency of the United States Coast Guard.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2428.

S. 2315—To extend the time within which final proof is required to be submitted upon any lawful pending desert-land entry made prior to July 1, 1915, such extension not to exceed three years from the date of allowance thereof.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 2530.

S. 2316—Authorizing clerks of State and Territorial courts and courts of the District of Columbia to use franked penalty envelopes in carrying on correspondence relating to naturalization of aliens.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2530.

S. 2317—Authorizing the issuance of trust patents for allotments made within the timbered area on the Klamath Reservation, Oreg.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2530.

S. 2318—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Grant.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2530.

S. 2319—Granting a pension to James Hewitt.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 2530.

S. 2320—For the relief of Henry N. Penfield.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 2530.

S. 2321—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy R. Hall.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2530.

S 2322—For the relief of Daniel H. Scofield, alias Cofield.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Military Affairs, 2577.

S. 2323—Authorizing Anton Hiersche to select other land in lieu of land now owned by him, required for reclamation purposes.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Lands, 2577.

S. 2324—For the relief of Charles L. Roe.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 2577.

S. 2325—For the relief of certain officers in the United States Army.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 2577.

S. 2326—To increase the production of agricultural products on lands under reclamation projects during the war.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2577.

S. 2327—Further to provide for the support of the Army by the prevention of the waste of the food products of the United States during the period of war and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases, to provide for the distillation of liquors in bond or heretofore manufactured, and for other purposes.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2632.—Debated, 4722.

S. 2328—To provide for the settlement, registration, transfer, and assurance of titles to land, and to designate a court of land registration, with jurisdiction for said purposes in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2632.

S. 2329—To establish a landschaft system of rural credit in the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2632.

S. 2330—Granting an increase of pension to George Bessor.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2331—Granting a pension to Jeanette Jenkins.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2332—For the naturalization of Francois Wilhelm Hiddinga.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Immigration, 2632.

S. 2333—Authorizing the Postmaster General to increase prices for certain supplies to conform to abnormal market conditions.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2632.

S. 2334—To authorize absence by homestead settlers and entrymen, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 2632.—Reported back (S. Rept. 96), 5692.—Passed Senate, 7069.—Referred to House Committee on the Public Lands, 7181.

S. 2335—To promote on the retired list of the United States Army Brig. Gen. David S. Gordon, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2632.

S. 2336—Granting a pension to James Chaffin.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2337—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Denny.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2338—Granting a pension to John Aldrich.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2339—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Stanhope.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2340—Granting a pension to Flora Hopkins Devereux.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2341—Granting a pension to Melinda A. Smiley.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2342—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Somers.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 2632.

S. 2343—Authorizing the President to recommission in the Regular Army as an additional number Brice P. Disque.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 2632.

S. 2344—To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2657.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 44), 2782.—Debated, 2657, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2791–2793, 2858–2880, 2914–2930, 2970–2990, 3039–3060, 3100.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 4188), 6937.

S. 2345—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua A. Epperson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2699.

S. 2346—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Hicks.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2699.

S. 2347—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Wilson.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2699.

S. 2348—Granting a pension to Mark M. Coffman.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 2699.

S. 2349—For the relief of Jacob M. Middlekauff.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Claims, 2699.

S. 2350—To amend section 2237 of the Revised Statutes fixing the salaries of registers and receivers of United States land offices.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Lands, 2782.

S. 2351—In reference to a national military park on the Plains of Chalmette, below the city of New Orleans.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Military Affairs, 2782.

S. 2352—To provide for the abandonment of parts of Thirty-eighth Street and Bellevue Terrace NW., and the public alley between said streets, in block 1812, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2782.

S. 2353—To reinstate Fred H. Gallup to the rank of captain of Field Artillery in the United States Army.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 2782.

S. 2354—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2782.

S. 2355—For the relief of the Milwaukee Bridge Co.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Claims, 2782.

S. 2356—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2856.—Reported without amendment (S. Rept. 48), 2857.—Debated, 3151, 3152, 3229–3231, 3258, 3323, 3329–3353, 3390–3403, 3439, 3440–3449, 3499–3513, 3546, 3550–3560, 3593–3601, 3638–3656, 3707–3714.—Amended and passed Senate, 3714.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3792.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 86), 4333.—Debated, 4433–4448, 4499–4502.—Amended and passed House, 4502.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 4794.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 5060, 5061.—Conference appointed, 4794, 5061.—Conference report (No. 126) made in House, 5773, 5807.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 5807, 5808.—Conference report (S. Doc. 71) made in Senate, 5798.—Conference report agreed to in Senate, 5847.—Examined and signed, 5882, 5887.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 39], 5935.

S. 2357—Amending the act approved December 29, 1916, known as the 640-acre homestead act.
Mr. Fall; Committee on Public Lands, 2856.

S. 2358—To create an agricultural army.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2856.

S. 2359—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 2856.

S. 2360—To incorporate the American Academy of Engineers.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on the Judiciary, 2856.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 86), 4810.—Amended and passed Senate, 5794, 5795.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 6748.

S. 2361—Readjusting the rates of postage on publications entered as second-class matter, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2856.

S. 2362—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 2856.

S. 2363—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy to manufacture for the use of the Army, Navy, or the people of the United States any drug, medicine, or other remedy or device which is protected by a patent or patents, trade-mark or trade-marks, and which can not be procured at a reasonable price within the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; ordered to lie on the table, 2913.—Referred to the Committee on Patents, 2967.—Debated, 2965–2967.

S. 2364—To declare unlawful the purchase of supplies, articles, materials, munitions, or products for the Government from any person, firm, association, or corporation acting as the purchasing agent of the Government or from any person who is a member of any board, commission, council, committee, or subcommittee acting directly or in an advisory capacity relative to such purchases or from any firm, association, or corporation in which he is financially interested, and to make unlawful contracts with such persons, firms, associations, or corporations for the construction of buildings, ships, or other classes of buildings and construction work, and for other purposes.
Mr. Trammell; Committee on the Judiciary, 2913.

S. 2365—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Sage.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2912.

S. 2366—Granting an increase of pension to Marietta Silvernail.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2913.

S. 2367—Granting a pension to Estella H. Roberts.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 2913.

S. 2368—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Leonard.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 2965.

S. 2369—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Jones.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 2965.

S. 2370—To promote interstate commerce, agriculture, and the general welfare by providing for the development and control of waterways and water resources; for water conservation; for flood control, prevention, and protection; for the application of flood waters to beneficial uses; for the coordination of the national services engaged in the investigation, use, and control of water and water resources; and for cooperation in such work with States and other agencies; and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Commerce, 2965.

S. 2371—Empowering the Supreme Court of the United States to promulgate uniform rules for preparing and printing the records for all appellate courts and to fix fees and charges in connection therewith.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 3032.

S. 2372—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and as amended thereafter.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 3032.

S. 2373—To authorize the President, on recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, to accept lands donated to the United States as refuges for wild game animals and wild birds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3033.

S. 2374—To relieve the estate of Thomas H. Hall, deceased, late postmaster at Panacea, Fla., and the bondsmen of said Thomas H. Hall, of the payment of money alleged to have been misappropriated by a clerk in said office.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3033.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 3438.

S. 2375—For the relief of Reuben R. Hunter.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Claims, 3033.

S. 2376—Granting a pension to James A. Coyne.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 3033.

S. 2377—Authorizing the Secretary of War to negotiate an exchange of lands between the United States Government and the owner of land in the city and county of San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Lands, 3098.

S. 2378—Granting a pension to Catherine I. Dunn McGrath.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 3098.

S. 2379—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Daley.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 3098.

S. 2380—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii additional powers relative to elections and qualification of electors.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, 3152.—Reported back (S. Rept. 108), 5988.—Passed Senate, 7070.—Referred to House Committee on the Territories, 7181.

S. 2381—For the relief of sundry building and loan associations.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Claims, 3152.

S. 2382—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Patterson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3152.

S. 2383—To place Gustaf Dahlman on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of chief boatswain.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3212.

S. 2384—Granting an increase of pension to Alice F. Brutton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2385—Granting an increase of pension to James Cummins.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2386—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas G. Higgins.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2387—Granting a pension to Frances M. Hilton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2388—Granting an increase of pension to Elisha L. Hyatt.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2389—Granting a pension to Martha C. Jackson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2390—Granting a pension to Josephine M. Buck.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2391—Granting a pension to Emmett Fitzsimmons.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2392—Granting an increase of pension to George G. Laughead.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2393—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Schofield.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2394—Granting a pension to Ella F. Stewart.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2395—Granting an increase of pension to Dolphus Tyler.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2396—Granting an increase of pension to Alice A. Wormley.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3212.

S. 2397—Granting an increase of pension to Abner A. Ellis.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 3256.

S. 2398—Granting a pension to Dora Broom.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 3256.

S. 2399—To provide for development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 3258.

S. 2400—To provide for the erection of a public building at Monte Vista, Colo., upon a site heretofore acquired by the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3258.

S. 2401—For the relief of retired commissioned warrant officers detailed on active duty.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3314.

S. 2402—Authorizing and directing the President to commandeer distilled spirits now in bond for the manufacture of munitions and military and hospital supplies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3314.

S. 2403—To promote the improvement of rural education.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 3314.

S. 2404—To conserve food products for the Army, Navy, and people of the United States during the war with Germany by preventing the use thereof in the manufacture of intoxicating liquor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3314.

S. 2405—For the relief of Grant County, Luna County, and the town of Silver City, N. Mex.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 3314.

S. 2406—For the relief of Odin M. Hansen.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Claims, 3314.

S. 2407—To provide compensation for employees of the United States separated from the service on account of injuries received while in the performance of duty, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Education and Labor, 3314.

S. 2408—Granting an increase of pension to Pascal F. Rainwater.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 3314.

S. 2409—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Lavanway.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 3314.

S. 2410—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Foster.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 3314.

S. 2411—Granting an increase of pension to Ernest Kiene.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 3314.

S. 2412—Authorizing Brig. Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, United States Army, retired, to accept the decoration of the Legion of Honor of France.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3314.

S. 2413—To prevent and punish the desecration, mutilation, or improper use of the flag of the United States of America.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 3314.

S. 2414—For the restoration of J. Shelley Saurman, assistant surgeon, United States Navy (retired), to the active list of the Navy.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3314.

S. 2415—Granting an honorable discharge to Douglas Spracklen.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3314.

S. 2416—For the relief of the legal representatives of W. H. Mills, deceased.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 3314.

S. 2417—For the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen in time of war.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Lands, 3314.

S. 2418—For the relief of James Russell.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 3314.

S. 2419—Granting an increase of pension to Scott Thompson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3314.

S. 2420—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Johnson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2421—Authorizing the President to reinstate Charles L. Poor as a lieutenant in the United States Navy.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3438.

S. 2422—For the relief of Charles Edward Lutz.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3438.

S. 2423—To amend section 9 of the act entitled "An act to alter and amend an act entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Central Pacific Railroad, in California, to Portland, in Oregon,' approved July 25, 1866, as amended by the acts of 1868 and 1869, and to alter and amend an act entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Portland to Astoria and McMinnville, in the State of Oregon,' approved May 4, 1870, and for other purposes," approved June 9, 1916.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Lands, 3438.—Reported back (S. Rept. 79), 4808.—Debated and passed Senate, 4808, 4809.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 4907.

S. 2424—Granting a pension to Charles E. Matthews.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2425—Granting a pension to M. Augusta Snow.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2426—Granting an increase of pension to David E. Seekins.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2427—Granting an increase of pension to Albert W. Hassan.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2428—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel C. Howe.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2429—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Patterson.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2430—Granting an increase of pension to Allen C. Goodwin.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 3438.

S. 2431—For the construction and equipment of a anval base for fleet operation and for works of defense on the island of Guam.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3438.

S. 2432—Appropriating $24,000 for the providing and installing in the harbor of Seattle, Wash., four mooring buoys for the use of the Government.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Commerce, 3438.

S. 2433—Granting an increase of pension to Eva F. Holdridge.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 3439.

S. 2434—Authorizing the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 3439.—Reported back (S. Rept. 72); passed Senate, 4396.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4542.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 103), 5144.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7648.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7707.—Examined and signed, 7765, 7773.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 57], 7897.

S. 2435—Authorizing the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 3487.—Reported back (S. Rept. 122); passed Senate, 6936.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7105.—Reported back (H. Rept. 147), 7316.—Passed House, 7655.—Examined and signed, 7722, 7765.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 58], 7897.

S. 2436—Granting to the States in which national forests are situate public lands to aid in the construction of public roads in such national forests.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 3487.

S. 2437—To provide for the acquisition of an air station site for the United States Navy.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3487.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 99), 5692.—Amended and passed Senate, 6222, 6223.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 6339.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 177), 7604.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7658–7662.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 7769.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 62], 7897.

S. 2438—For the relief of sundry railroad companies.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 3487.

S. 2439—Granting an increase of pension to Edward A. Dubey.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 2440—Granting a pension to David E. Austen.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 2441—Granting an increase of pension to Frank D. Brown.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 2442—To increase pensions of certain Union soldiers and sailors of the Civil War of 1861 to 1865.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 2443—To create a bureau for the deaf and dumb in the Department of Labor, and prescribing the duties thereof.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 3487.

S. 2444—For the relief of Jonathan D. Long.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 3487.

S. 2445—To define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 3487.

S. 2446—Granting an increase of pension to David I. Hain.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 3487.

S. 2447—To prohibit the use of foods and feeds in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and authorizing and directing the President to commandeer existing stocks of distilled spirits for the manufacture of munitions and for other military and hospital supplies, if the public interest requires it, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry (S. Rept. 53), 3592.—Indefinitely postponed, 6939.

S. 2448—Granting an increase of pension to Luther C. Wright.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3592.

S. 2449—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Lasher.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3592.

S. 2450—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph T. Lewis.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 3592.

S. 2451—Granting a pension to Lena Howe.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 3592.

S. 2452—To regulate the height of buildings on Sixteenth Street and on Massachusetts Avenue and on such other streets and avenues as may be hereafter designated by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3592.

S. 2453—To authorize condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3592.—Reported back (S. Rept. 55), 3632.—Debated and passed Senate, 3632, 3633.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 3991.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 83), 3991.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4130, 4131.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4263.—Examined and signed, 4332, 4468.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 26], 4711.

S. 2454—Granting an increase of pension to John K. Madden.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 3592.

S. 2455—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperatin with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure."
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education and Labor, 3633.

S. 2456—Authorizing Brig. Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, United States Army, retired, to accept the decoration of the Legion of Honor of France.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3633.

S. 2457—Fixing the compensation of United States customs inspectors.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Commerce, 3633.

S. 2458—Granting a pension to Robert Byrnes.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 3633.

S. 2459—Amending the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes."
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Military Affairs, 3633.

S. 2460—Authorizing the issuance of patent to the Milk River Valley Gun Club.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 3633.

S. 2461—Appropriating the sum of $500 for the erection of a suitable monument over the grave of the Indian "Spokane Garry."
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3633.

S. 3462—Appropriating the sum of $200,000 to be paid to the individuals of the Clallam tribe of Indians residing in the State of Washington.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3633.

S. 2463—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3633.—Reported without amendment, 3699.—Debated, 3633, 3699, 3771–3791, 3843–3847, 3905, 3907–3935, 3994–4008, 4061–4072, 4123, 4124–4130, 4192–4220, 4265–4281, 4353–4355, 4409, 4412.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 4961), 6937, 6941.

S. 2464—For the relief of the Merchants Transfer & Storage Co., of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Warren; Commitee on Claims, 3633.

S. 2465—Providing for the purchase of the "Dean tract," so called, in the District of Columbia, for a public park.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3700.

S. 2466—Granting a pension to Lafayette Fasnaugh.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Pensions, 3700.

S. 2467—Fixing the status as naturalized citizens of enlisted men, commissioned officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3700.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on Immigration, 3994.

S. 2468—Granting privilege of the floor and right to participate in debate to heads of executive departments and other officers.
Mr. McLean; Committee on the Judiciary, 3755.—Debated, 3755, 3756.

S. 2469—To authorize the change of name of the steamship Caldera to A. T. Kinney.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Commerce, 3750.—Reported back (S. Rept. 80); passed Senate, 4810.—Referred to House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 6809.

S. 2470—To provide for the planning, improvement, relocation, construction, and maintenance of a system of improved national highways and State highways designed to facilitate the movement of troops, equipment, munitions, and supplies, in time of peace and in time of war, and to promote the general welfare of the people of the United States.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 3750.

S. 2471—Granting a pension to Marguerite Daugherty.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3750.

S. 2472—Granting an increase of pension to Martha R. Sutton.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 3750.

S. 2473—Extending the franking privilege for the purpose of transmitting to the Department of Labor papers relating to naturalization cases.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3750.

S. 2474—For the relief of the widow of Rudolph H. von Ezdorf, deceased.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Claims, 3750.

S. 2475—Granting an increase of pension to Malinda K. McGowen.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 3750.

S. 2476—Granting a pension to Laura L. Junkin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3750.

S. 2477—To authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3750.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 76), 4808.—Debated, 5667, 5705–5709, 5712–5720, 5794, 5962, 5978, 6041–6045.—Amended and passed Senate, 5719, 5720, 6045.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6223.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 139), 6774.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7294–7299.—House insists on its amendment and asks for a conference, 7299.—Conference appointed, 7299.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7353.—Examined and signed, 7387, 7417.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 45], 7501.

S. 2478—To repeal the restriction on appointments and promotions in the Pension Bureau.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Appropriations, 3750.

S. 2479—For the protection of the owners of mining claims in time of war.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Mines and Mining, 3839.

S. 2480—To amend section 11 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act of Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3839.

S. 2481—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.
Mr. Sterling; ordered to lie on the table, 3847.—Indefinitely postponed, 6937.

S. 2482—To reinstate Armor S. Heffley as a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3906.—Reported back (S. Rept. 71), 4337.—Passed Senate, 4418.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 4542.

S. 2483—For the relief of William Fulton Hedges.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 3906.

S. 2484—Granting to American women married to foreigners the right to retain their citizenship.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Immigration, 3994.

S. 2485—For the maintenance and protection of useful farm bird reservations belonging to the Government of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3994.

S. 2486—Requiring all public-building bills to be submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury for investigation and report as to whether proposed buildings and sites are needed and the expenditure justified and as to the lowest cost at which buildings found necessary may be erected with economy and efficiency.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3994.

S. 2487—Permitting Frances Mack Mann to purchase certain public lands.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 3994.

S. 2488—To relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 3994.

S. 2489—To create two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 3994.—Reported back, 5378.—Passed Senate, 7069.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7181.

S. 2490—To commission as officers in the Regular Army of the United States National Guard officers attending service schools.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 3994.

S. 2491—Providing for the transfer of Lieut. Max H. Carter from the Philippine Scouts to the Regular Army.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 3994.

S. 2492—Granting an increase of pension to Hildur M. Phillips.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 3994.

S. 2493—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved Dec. 29, 1916.
Mr. Kendrick; Committee on Public Lands, 4058.—Reported back (S. Rept. 146), 7736.—Debated and passed Senate, 7816, 7817.

S. 2494—To provide for the exchange with the State of Oregon of certain school lands and indemnity rights within the national forests of that State for an equal area of national forest land.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 4058.

S. 2495—To amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4058.—Reported back (S. Rept. 70), 4337.—Passed Senate, 6941.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 7105.

S. 2496—For the refund of duties paid on materials destroyed by fire.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Finance, 4058.

S. 2497—For the relief of James W. Cross.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Claims, 4058.

S. 2498—Granting an increase of pension to John V. Reed.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 4058.

S. 2499—Granting an increase of pension to Sanford Smith.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 4058.

S. 2500—To establish direct contact between the people and the National Government by the creation of the War Information Commission.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Education and Labor, 4058.

S. 2501—Granting an increase of pension to Olive J. Thompson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 4124.

S. 2502—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Shuey.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 4124.

S. 2503—Providing a method for citizens of the United States who have lost their citizenship by reason of taking the oath of allegiance to some other country allied with the United States to regain said citizenship in order to enter the services of the United States.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Military Affairs, 4196.

S. 2504—For the relief of George W. Richardson.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Military Affairs, 4196.

S. 2505—Granting an increase of pension to Harry M. Sherman.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 4196.

S. 2506—To reimburse the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for expenses incurred in protecting bridges on main railroad lines and under direction of the commanding general, Eastern Department, United States Army, and the commandant, navy yard, Charlestown, Mass.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 4196.

S. 2507—To reinstate Alonzo E. Wheat to his former rank and grade in the Philippine Scouts, United States Army.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 4196.

S. 2508—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Thomas.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 4196.

S. 2509—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Bracey.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 4196.

S. 2510—Granting an increaseof pension to Addie St. Clair Hubbell.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 4196.

S. 2511—To amend section 704 of the act of Congress approved Sept. 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Finance, 4263.

S. 2512—For the relief of Jacob Osterhus.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 4263.

S. 2513—Authorizing issuance of patent for certain lands to Clarence E. Broadbrooks.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 4263.

S. 2514—Authorizing the leasing for grazing purposes of public lands withdrawn for power sites.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 4263.

S. 2515—For the relief of Theodore Mays.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 4337.

S. 2516—For the relief of C. B. Oliphant.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 4337.

S. 2517—For the relief of Jessie White.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 4337.

S. 2518—To provide for civic mobilization in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4337.

S. 2519—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Seals.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 4337.

S. 2520—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander D. Smalley.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 4337.

S. 2521—For the relief of the Ralph Ackley Land Co. (Inc.), and others.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 4337.

S. 2522—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Rote.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 4337.

S. 2523—To prevent the use of the mails for the purpose of securing false witnesses, suborning perjury, and procuring false testimony in civil or criminal cases.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on the Judiciary, 4337.

S. 2524—For the relief of Isaac C. Johnson, jr.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Military Affairs, 4396.

S. 2525—Granting a pension to Daniel Stahler.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 4396.

S. 2526—To prohibit interstate commerce in beverage liquors containing alcohol.
Mr. King; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4396.

S. 2527—Authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 4396.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 90), 5413.—Amended and passed Senate, 7069.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7181.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 170), 7489.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7543, 7544, 7807, 7808.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7826.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 79], 7897.

S. 2528—To amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 4470.

S. 2529—Defining duties of the Medical Department of the United States Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Military Affairs, 4470.

S. 2530—To establish a sanitary reserve corps for the Public Health Service.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 4470.

S. 2531—To prevent the publications of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Patents, 4470.—Reported back (S. Rept. 119) and passed Senate, 6936.—Referred to House Committee on Patents, 7105.—Committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 7907, 7908.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7900.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 80], 7897.

S. 2532—Providing for the inspection, grading, and weighing of interstate shipments of grain and hay, authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to appoint inspectors for such purposes, and to fix grades for grain and hay, and to make rules and regulations for putting same into effect; making the violations of this act a crime and fixing the punishment.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 4548.

S. 2533—Granting an increase of pension to Zadok M. McCleary.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4548.

S. 2534—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Barger.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4548.

S. 2535—Granting an increase of pension to George Shaney.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4548.

S. 2536—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds for drainage purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 4548.

S. 2537—Transferring Hardeman County, Tex., to Wichita Falls division, northern judicial district of Texas, and Montague County, Tex., to Sherman division, eastern judicial district of Texas.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 4548.

S. 2538—For the relief of Wyona Ambrose Dixon.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2539—For the relief of the estate of Lemuel Thomas, deceased.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2540—For the relief of Mary E. Ayres.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2541—For the relief of the heirs of Thomas J. Powell, deceased.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2542—For the relief of Roberdeau Buchanan, administrator de bonis non of McKean Buchanan, deceased.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2543—For the relief of the heirs of Dr. James Gower, deceased.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2544—For the relief of A. H. Rebentish.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Claims, 4548.

S. 2545—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved Apr. 22, 1908.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4584.

S. 2546—Amending an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, and for other purposes," by reducing mileage from 20 cents to 5 cents per mile.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Appropriations, 4584.

S. 2547—Authorizing the payment of damages to persons for injuries inflicted by Mexican federal or insurgent troops within the United States during the insurrection in Mexico in 1911, and making appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4584.

S. 2548—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from the Treasury a certain sum of the permanent fund of the Chippewas of Minnesota, now on deposit therein to their credit.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4613.

S. 2549—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Janzen.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 4613.

S. 2550—To grant a certain area of land to the city of Boise, State of Idaho, for street purposes.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 4684.

S. 2551—To correct the military record of John L. O'Mara and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 4684.

S. 2552—To provide for leave of absence for homestead entrymen in one or two periods, and for longer times.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 4712.

S. 2553—For the relief of Fred W. McConky, jr.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Claims, 4712.

S. 2554—To refund to John B. Keating customs tax erroneously and illegally collected.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Claims, 4712.

S. 2555—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah T. Cram.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2556—Granting a pension to Charles E. Haskell.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2557—Granting a pension to John B. Wallace.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2558—Granting an increase of pension to Hosea Butterfield.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2559—Granting an increase of pension to Nettie A. Bacheldor.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2560—Granting an increase of pension to Emery O. Pendleton.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2561—Granting an increase of pension to Esburn Nutt.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2562—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Bragdon.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2563—Granting an increase of pension to Freeman D. Myrick.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2564—Granting an increase of pension to Bennett B. Fuller.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2565—Granting an increase of pension to Moses F. Hurd.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2566—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Eustis.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2567—Granting a pension to Lucinda M. Ballard.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2568—Granting a pension to George R. Hamilton.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2569—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Hayden.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2570—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Kelsay.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2571—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Leming.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2572—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Love.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2573—Granting an increase of pension to Millard C. Loveless.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2574—Granting a pension to Herman Martin.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2575—Granting a pension to John Magowan.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2576—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy Jane Minugee.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2577—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McClure.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2578—Granting an increase of pension to Henry McClure.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2579—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza E. McElroy.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2580—Granting an increase of pension to Albert P. Ramsey.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2581—Granting an increase of pension to Regina Roller.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2582—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine E. Richards.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2583—Granting an increase of pension to Sallie Rigney.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2584—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Spurlock.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2585—Granting an increase of pension to Michael O. Sullivan.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2586—Granting a pension to Leander Thomas.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2587—Granting a pension to George Troutman.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2588—Granting an increase of pension to Susan I. Vantine.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2589—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Vick.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2590—Granting a pension to Maude Woods.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2591—Granting a pension to Jesse Abbott.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2592—Granting a pension to Isaac F. Allen.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2593—Granting a pension to William S. Arnold.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2594—Granting a pension to Ulysses S. Baird.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2595—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine Bird.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2596—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth C. Bowman.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2597—Granting a pension to Green Brock.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2598—Granting an increase of pension to Alice J. Buck.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2599—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Bullock.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2600—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Cannon.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2601—Granting a pension to Squire O. Baker.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2602—Granting an increase of pension to David Bethurum.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2603—Granting a pension to William W. Cook.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2604—Granting a pension to George T. Cooney.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2605—Granting an increase of pension to Annie B. Dear.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2606—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Robinson Dobyns.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2607—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Dunam.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2608—Granting a pension to Henry Ford.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2609—Granting a pension to William M. Graham.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2610—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Jones.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2611—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Borin.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2612—Granting an increase of pension to Robert L. McFarland.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2613—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick Walton.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2614—Granting a pension to Mary E. Howard.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2615—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Wolfe.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2616—Granting a pension to Phoebe Morgan.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

S. 2617—Authorizing the restoration of John T. Melvin, a lieutenant (junior grade), to the active list of the Navy.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4799.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 97), 5692.—Amended and passed Senate, 6934, 6937.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 7105.

S. 2618—To aid our Government in war against Germany by producing foodstuffs and to aid farmers and give employment to the unemployed and encourage agriculture.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 4799.

S. 2619—To reimburse the State of Connecticut for expenses incurred in protecting bridges over waterways on main railroad lines under direction of the commanding general Eastern Department.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Claims, 4799.

S. 2620—Granting a pension to Arthur Johnson.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 4799.

S. 2621—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Mathews.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 4799.

S. 2622—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Galbraith.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 4799.

S. 2623—Defining the status of citizens of the United States who have entered the military of naval services of certain countries during the existing war in Europe.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Military Affairs, 4799.—Reported back and passed Senate, 6935.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 165), 7445.—Debated, 7662–7667.—Amended and passed House, 7667.—House insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 7668.—Conference appointed, 7668.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7707.—Examined and signed, 7765, 7773.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 55], 7897.

S. 2624—For the relief of occupants of certain premises within the naval station at Pensacola, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4799.

S. 2625—For the relief of Mary J. Higgs.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4799.

S. 2626—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Cooper.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 4811.

S. 2627—Granting a pension to Sarah Ann Ross.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 4811.

S. 2628—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac B. Childs.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4882.

S. 2629—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Dwelley.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4882.

S. 2630—Granting an increase of pension to Amariah K. Wheeler.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 4882.

S. 2631—Granting a pension to Eva Maurer.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 4882.

S. 2632—For the relief of Charles Leon.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 4993.

S. 2633—To reinstate John K. Thompson as a gunner in the United States Navy.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4993.

S. 2634—To construct a bridge across the Arkansas River at or near the United States Naval Hospital in Bent County, Colo., so as to facilitate the transportation of supplies to said hospital.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4993.

S. 2635—Granting a pension to Nelson E. Bucknam.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 4993.

S. 2636—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Hargrave.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 4993.

S. 2637—Granting a pension to John D. Harkless.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 4993.

S. 2638—Granting a pension to William G. Neeley.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 4993.

S. 2639—To amend the act approved June 12, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918," and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Appropriations, 4993.

S. 2640—For the relief of Sara H. Mitchell.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Military Affairs, 4993.

S. 2641—Granting to the State of New Mexico 300,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the military institutions of New Mexico.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Military Affairs, 4993.

S. 2642—For the relief of Nicolas Gallegos.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Claims, 4993.

S. 2643—Authorizing the appointment of Morten R. Brock as a captain in the United States Army and providing for his retirement.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Military Affairs, 4993.

S. 2644—Granting a pension to W. H. Johnston.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 4993.

S. 2645—Providing for the issuance of a special Red Cros stamp and fixing a rate for the transmission of first-class mail matter by the American Red Cross, its chapters, and the auxiliaries thereof.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 4993.

S. 2646—For the relief of Edward W. Whitaker.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Military Affairs, 4993.

S. 2647—Granting an increase of pension to George O. Pearl.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 5085.

S. 2648—For the relief of Barneybass Eastridge.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 5085.

S. 2649—Granting an increase of pension to Louis M. Starring.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 5085.

S. 2650—To authorize the county of Okanogan, in the State of Washington, to construct bridges within that county across the Okanogan River.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Commerce, 5085.

S. 2651—To place Henry La Motte upon the active list as surgeon in the Medical Corps of the Navy.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5085.

S. 2652—To provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Claims, 5197.

S. 2653—To revive with amendments an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Medical Society of the District of Columbia."
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5197.

S. 2654—Providing for the appointment of two additional district judges in the State of Illinois.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on the Judiciary, 5241.

S. 2655—To extend the penal laws of the States prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to any lands within such States under jurisdiction of United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 5241.

S. 2656—To establish a Staff War Corps of the United States Navy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5245.

S. 2657—Authorizing the President to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Henry S. Kiersted, late a captain in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, a major in the Medical Corps on the retired list, and increasing the retired list by one for the purpose of this act.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 5379.

S. 2658—For the relief of settlers and town-site occupants of certain lands in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 5379.

S. 2659—To provide for the selection of osteopathic physicians in the Medical Service of the Army and Navy of the United States, and to provide for their official status, rank, and pay, and for other purposes.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Military Affairs, 5379.

S. 2660—Amending the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918."
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 5379.—Reported back (S. Rept. 110), 6201.—Indefinitely postponed, 7070.

S. 2661—Modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5379.

S. 2662—Granting examination privileges to certain enlisted men of the Regular Army and officers of Philippine Scouts.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 5379.

S. 2663—Granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Tug River.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 5379.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 121), 6935.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6935, 6936.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7208.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 7277.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 7542.—Conference appointed, 7277, 7542.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 7817.—Conference report made and agreed to in House, 7854.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7901.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 81], 7897.

S. 2664—Granting a pension to Ina L. Murdock.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 5379.

S. 2665—For the relief of William Crawford.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5379.

S. 2666—Granting the consent of Congress to the Sebastian bridge district to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, at the foot of Garrison Avenue, at Fort Smith, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 5379.—Reported back (S. Rept. 88) and passed Senate, 5413.—Passed House, 5472.—Examined and signed, 5475, 5533.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 30], 5543.

S. 2667—Granting the consent of Congress to the Pritchard-Wheeler Lumber Co., of Wisner, La., to construct a bridge across Bayou Macon, in Louisiana, at a point east of the town of Wisner, La.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Commerce, 5379.—Reported back (S. Rept. 89) and passed Senate, 5413.—Passed House, 5472.—Examined and signed, 5475, 5533.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 34], 5543.

S. 2668—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Witmer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2669—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Houswerth.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2670—Relating to commutation proof in homestead entries.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 5413.

S. 2671—To establish the Grand Coulee National Park in the State of Washington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 5413.

S. 2672—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Adair.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2673—For the relief of William H. Dooley.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 5413.

S. 2674—Granting an increase of pension to Harry D. Cessna.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2675—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet R. Hoagland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2676—Granting a pension to Anna D. Blackford.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2677—Granting a pension to Christian R. Barnett.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2678—Granting a pension to Samuel B. McMillan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2679—Granting a pension to Emma G. Randall.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2680—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Shawhan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2681—Granting an increase of pension to John Squires.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2682—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Ridenour.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2683—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Briggs.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2684—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Laws.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2685—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Shields.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2686—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Shields.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2687—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Phillips.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. 2688—To extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City, Mo., authorized by an act approved June 17, 1914.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Commerce, 5413.—Reported back (S. Rept. 101); passed Senate, 5785.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6748.—Reported back (H. Rept. 148), 7316.

S. 2689—Granting an increase of pension to Henry T. Snyder.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 5438.

S. 2690—Granting a pension to Emil K. Schroeder.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 5438.

S. 2691—Granting a pension to Eva Durham.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Pensions, 5438.

S. 2692—To render possible the return of the bodies of our soldier dead to their home burial grounds in a sanitary and recognizable condition.
Mr. Wolcott; Committee on Military Affairs, 5475.

S. 2693—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Lane.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 5475.

S. 2694—For the relief of Jacob Swartz.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Military Affairs, 5475.

S. 2695—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, at or near the foot of the gar hole about one-half mile south of the Jonesboro, Lake City & Eastern Railway bridge across Little River, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 5475.—Reported back (S. Rept. 91); passed Senate, 5542.—Passed House, 5634.—Examined and signed, 5667, 5689.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 35], 5882.

S. 2696—Creating a board of administration to develop a practical standard for rural colonies and to establish the same for dependent families of soldiers of the United States, and to make a national colonization survey.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5475.

S. 2697—Placing Henry F. Rhoades, assistant engineer, United States Navy, on the retired list with advance of one grade.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5475.

S. 2698—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Richter.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 5542.

S. 2699—Granting a pension to Sarah Van Doozer.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 5542.

S. 2700—For the relief of the Philippine Scouts.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 5542.

S. 2701—To provide for the awarding of campaign badges to the members of the Dental Corps, United States Army, and fixing the regulations for awarding same.
Mr. New; Committee on Military Affairs, 5542.—Reported back, 6164.—Passed Senate, 7070.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7181.

S. 2702—To reimburse Susan Sanders for expenditures and expenses incurred in prosecuting the intermarried white cases on behalf of the Cherokee Indians.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5542.

S. 2703—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make and furnish to the households and families of soldiers, sailors, and marines flags emblematic of said service.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 5542.

S. 2704—For the acquisition of additional land at the Leon Springs Military Reservation, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 5572.

S. 2705—To create the Aircraft Board and provide for its maintenance.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 5572.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 106), 5955.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6996–6998.—Reported to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7278.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 161), 7386.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7433–7439.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7447.—Examined and signed, 7459, 7491.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 48], 7546.

S. 2706—For the acquisition of land for mobilization, aviation, maneuver, training, and supply purposes in El Paso County, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 5572.

S. 2707—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Fogg.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5572.

S. 2708—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Ward.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5572.

S. 2709—To amend section 11 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act of Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5668.

S. 2710—Granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore, in the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Commerce, 5668.—Reported back (S. Rept. 107); passed Senate, 5988.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6038.—Reported back (H. Rept. 151), 7317.—Passed House, 7653.—Examined and signed, 7722, 7765.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 59], 7897.

S. 2711—Granting a pension to Adeline Fitch Austen.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 5668.

S. 2712—Granting a pension to Cornelia A. Green.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 5668.

S. 2713—Reappointing Edgar C. Campbell as pay clerk in Quartermaster Corps, United States Army, with rank of second lieutenant.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 5668.

S. 2714—Authorizing the removal of stumps from cut-over Oregon and California lands.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 5668.

S. 2715—To authorize an exchange of lands with the State of Montana in connection with Muddy Creek Reservoir site, Sun River project, and Nelson Reservoir site, Milk River project, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 5693.

S. 2716—Making appropriation for improvements of San Antonio Arsenal, San Antonio, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Appropriations, 5693.

S. 2717—Prescribing rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces during the period of the existing war with Germany.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Military Affairs, 5693.—Reported adversely (S. Rept. 125), 6994.

S. 2718—To authorize experiments in motor-truck delivery.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 5693.—Reported back (S. Rept. 104), 5934.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5957–5962.—Referred to House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6038.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 159), 7370, 7386.

S. 2719—To permit the reenlistment of Omer G. Paquet in the United States Army.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 5693.—Reported back (S. Rept. 139); passed Senate, 7497.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 7680.

S. 2720—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Lee Anderson.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2721—Granting a pension to Paul Stanley Adams.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2722—For the relief of Louis F. Meissner.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 5693.

S. 2723—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Openchain.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2724—Granting a pension to Mary A. Shaffer.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2725—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore W. Davis.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2726—Granting an increase of pension to Emily D. Brace.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2727—To reimburse the State of Rhode Island for expenses incurred in protecting bridges over waterways on main railroad lines under direction of the commanding general Eastern Department.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Claims, 5693.

S. 2728—Granting an increase of pension to Bryon A. Hart.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2729—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Bennett.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2730—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Thomas.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2731—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Anderson.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2732—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Ross.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 5693.

S. 2733—To authorize the President to permit, by proclamation, foreign-built vessels registered under the laws of the United States and vessels of foreign registry to engage in the coastwise trade of the United States.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 5785.

S. 2734—To amend an act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5785.

S. 2735—Providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 5785.

S. 2736—To establish a Bureau of Publicity in the Department of Commerce to have charge of all the advertising of the Federal Government; to secure greater publicity for information intended for the general public and coming from the various departments of the Government; to advise and counsel with all private interests regarding foreign advertising; and to cooperate with organized advertising interests of the Nation in promoting and in securing legislation to compel adherence to honesty and reliability in the advertising of all firms and individuals throughout the Nation.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Commerce, 5785.

S. 2737—To enable the Government of the United States to secure means to protect American shipping from the attacks of submarine torpedoes.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5785.

S. 2738—To establish a fish hatchery on Strawberry Lake in North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Fisheries, 5785.

S. 2739—To establish a fish-culture station on the upper Des Lacs Lake in North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Fisheries, 5785.

S. 2740—Granting an increase of pension to Seward Newton.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 5785.

S. 2741—To provide for the erection of a public building at Dover, Me.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5785.

S. 2742—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Schooley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 5785.

S. 2743—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah P. Watts.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 5785.

S. 2744—Granting a pension to J. Monroe Fitch.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 5785.

S. 2745—To provide for the free transportation through the United States mails of reading matter for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 5828.

S. 2746—To authorize the recommissioning of former officers of the Regular Army.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 5828.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 105), 5954.—Amended and passed Senate, 7069.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7181.

S. 2747—To guard the military and naval forces from the physical and moral injuries of commercialized prostitution.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Military Affairs, 5828.

S. 2748—For the relief of Elijah L. Gum.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 5828.

S. 2749—For the relief of George W. Samson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 5828.

S. 2750—Granting a pension to Algennie Stevens.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 5828.

S. 2751—Granting a pension to James F. Clark, alias James F. Rozzel.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 5882.

S. 2752—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Sams.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 5928.

S. 2753—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Mastin.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 5928.

S. 2754—For the erection of a hospital camp for babies in the District of Columbia.
Mr. King; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5928.

S. 2755—Granting a pension to Ingeborg Moeller.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Pensions, 5928.

S. 2756—To provide further for the national security and defense by regulating the production, sale, and distribution of iron ore, iron, steel, and their products.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5928.

S. 2757—Granting a pension to James S. Burns.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 5928.

S. 2758—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved Sept. 2, 1914, and for other purposes.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Finance, 5934.

S. 2759—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange for lands in private ownership lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 5934.

S. 2760—To validate the patent for certain lands heretofore issued to George E. Windecker.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 5934.

S. 2761—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Camron.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2762—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine Perkins.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2763—Granting an increase of pension to John Ferris.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2764—For the relief of William H. Dooley.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 5934.

S. 2765—For the relief of Alfred Rebsamen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 5934.

S. 2766—To correct the military record of Daniel Elshire.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 5934.

S. 2767—For the relief of Thomas J. Temple.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 5934.

S. 2768—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Edwards.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2769—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Lanhan.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2770—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Shuey.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2771—Granting an increase of pension to Fernando C. Cash.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2772—Granting a pension to James Wright.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 5934.

S. 2773—For the organization and maintenance of reclamation camps, and to provide funds to defray the expenses thereof.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 5934.

S. 2774—Granting the consent of Congress to the Gilmer-Pittsburgh Coal Co. to construct a bridge across the Little Kanawha River.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Commerce, 5934.—Reported back (S. Rept. 126); passed Senate, 6994.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7167.—Reported back (H. Rept. 150), 7317.—Debated and passed House, 7774.—Examined and signed, 7773, 7829.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 63], 7897.

S. 2775—Fixing eight hours as the standard day's work for all lumber mills, logging camps, or other woodworking establishments whose products enter interstate commerce.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Education and Labor, 5956.

S. 2776—Providing for the classification of lands under the stock-grazing homestead act in certain States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Public Lands, 5956.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 115), 6717.—Debated, 7457, 7458, 7546–7555.—Amended and passed Senate, 7554, 7555.

S. 2777—Providing for the appointment of an additional circuit judge in the first and in the fourth judicial circuits, respectively.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on the Judiciary, 5956.—Reported with amendments; amended and passed Senate, 6934.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7105.

S. 2778—Granting an increase of pension to Laura V. Brooke.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5988.

S. 2779—Granting a pension to Elise Seabel.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5988.

S. 2780—Granting an increase of pension to Seymour A. Stearns.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5988.

S. 2781—To prohibit publications of comments respecting the policy of the Government in German or other foreign language.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 5988.

S. 2782—To provide for the cancellation of papers of naturalization procured by fraud and for the deportation of aliens whose papers have been canceled in pursuance of this act.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 5988.

S. 2783—Providing for temporary relief to defendants in civil suits and proceedings who are actively engaged in the military service of the United States.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 5988.

S. 2784—To authorize the purchase by the city of McMinnville, Oreg., of certain lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and revested in the United States by the act approved June 9, 1916.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Public Lands, 6012.

S. 2785—To authorize and empower the Southwest Louisiana Waterways Association, of the State of Louisiana, to construct a lock and dam in Mermentau River, in the State of Louisiana.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Commerce, 6039.—Reported back (S. Rept. 112) and passed Senate, 6298.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6339.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 135), 6714.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 6748, 6749.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 6931.—Examined and signed, 7063, 7106.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 42], 7277.

S. 2786—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint Andrew W. Jackman first lieutenant of Coast Artillery.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Military Affairs, 6039.

S. 2787—For the relief of First Lieut. Sydney Smith, retired.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Military Affairs, 6039.

S. 2788—For the relief of Edward W. Terry.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 6039.

S. 2789—For the better safety and welfare of the United States and the Government thereof in time of war.
Mr. Myers; Committee on the Judiciary, 6039.

S. 2790—Granting an increase of pension to Lillian V. Mange.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 6039.

S. 2791—For the relief of John M. Francis.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 6039.

S. 2792—To declare Nonconnah Creek, Shelby County, Tenn., navigable.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Commerce, 6039.

S. 2793—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Nichols.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 6039.

S. 2794—Granting a pension to Matilda J. Wilson.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 6039.

S. 2795—Granting a pension to Mrs. Thomas Kelly.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 6039.

S. 2796—To permit American citizens to wear medals or decorations received from certain foreign countries on entering the military or naval service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Military Affairs, 6039.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 6549.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 114), 6593.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6998.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7167.—Reported back (H. Rept. 173), 7604.

S. 2797—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Downing.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6103.

S. 2798—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton Collier.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6103.

S. 2799—Granting an increase of pension to William A. De Long.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6103.

S. 2800—To punish seditious opposition to the laws and seditious attempts to procure the breach of contracts with the United States or relating to the production of commodities for the use of the United States.
Mr. King; Committee on the Judiciary, 6103.

S. 2801—To authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to require carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce to purchase, construct, or otherwise provide and furnish cars, equipment, and facilities of shipment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6103.

S. 2802—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6103.

S. 2803—To establish an interstate marketing system, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6103.

S. 2804—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, and to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to require interstate carriers to provide and furnish particular types of cars to shippers.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 6103.

S. 2805—For the relief of Ralph Parsons.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 6136.

S. 2806—Granting a pension to Kate E. Le Velley.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 6136.

S. 2807—Granting an increase of pension to Fanny S. Conline.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 6136.

S. 2808—To appropriate money for supplying seed wheat to indigent homesteaders and farmers for sowing in the fall of 1917.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Appropriations, 6136.

S. 2809—To encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 6145.

S. 2810—For the better protection and enforcement of peace and order and the public welfare in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Myers; Committee on the Judiciary, 6145.—Debated, 6145.

S. 2811—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Wood.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 6145.

S. 2812—To encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 6164.—Reported back (S. Rept. 116), 6775.

S. 2813—To authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakely Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Commerce, 6201.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 127), amended, and passed Senate, 6993, 6994.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7167.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 152), 7317.—Debated and passed House, 7461, 7462, 7542.—Examined and signed, 7557, 7706.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 51], 7826.

S. 2814—To provide for the erection of an armory in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6262.

S. 2815—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Goodwin Davison.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 6298.

S. 2816—Granting the consent of Congress to the Gainesville Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across Red River.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Commerce, 6298.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 128), amended, and passed Senate, 6993.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7168.—Reported back (H. Rept. 149), 7317.—Debated and passed House, 7462, 7463.—Examined and signed, 7557, 7606.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 52], 7826.

S. 2817—Making it unlawful for any common carrier, or the manager, agent, or employee of any common carrier, or the proprietor, lessee, manager, agent, or employee of any inn, hotel, restaurant, theater, or public place of entertainment or amusement to forbid or refuse transportation, admission, accommodation, or service, or make any discrimination against any officer or enlisted man who is in the military or naval service of the United States Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 6338.

S. 2818—For the relief of Charles W. Franklin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 6338.

S. 2819—Granting a pension to Anna F. Baugh.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6338.

S. 2820—Granting an increase of pension to Alfonzo Shafer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6338.

S. 2821—Making an appropriation for the purchase, training, and maintenance of dogs for military purposes.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Military Affairs, 6381.

S. 2822—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Harvey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6381.

S. 2823—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Elgin, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Fox River at Elgin.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Commerce, 6381.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 120); amended and passed Senate, 6936.—Passed House, 7479.—Examined and signed, 7557, 7606.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 53], 7826.

S. 2824—For the relief of Joel J. Booth.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 6409.

S. 2825—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse L. Pelton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6409.

S. 2826—Granting a pension to Catherine Walker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6409.

S. 2827—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Porter.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6409.

S. 2828—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Hackleman.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 6409.

S. 2829—To authorize the granting of furloughs to medical students in the Army.
Mr. Kirby; Committee on Military Affairs, 6409.

S. 2830—Extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 6409.—Reported back (S. Rept. 118); passed Senate, 6935.—Passed House, 7208.—Examined and signed, 7278, 7320.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 44], 7501.

S. 2831—To prohibit any citizen of the United States of America from accepting, without the consent of the Congress of the United States, any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign State or Government.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Foreign Relations, 6437.

S. 2832—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Rushton.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 6437.

S. 2833—Granting a pension to Enoch E. Willard.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 6469.

S. 2834—Granting an increase of pension to Esli A. Bowen.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 6469.

S. 2835—Granting an increase of pension to Clara A. Perry Estes.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 6469.

S. 2836—For the relief of Clara Elizabeth Huntington Hatzfeldt.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Immigration, 6469.

S. 2837—For the relief of William E. Johnson.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 6492.

S. 2838—For the relief of Lee M. Clark.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 6492.

S. 2839—Granting a pension to Ed. M. Deemer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6492.

S. 2840—Granting a pension to William D. Woodworth.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

S. 2841—Granting a pension to George White.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

S. 2842—Granting a pension to Charles W. Wormell.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

S. 2843—Granting a pension to Mary Maloney.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 6652.

S. 2844—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Mathewson.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 6652.

S. 2845—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to permit the leasing of certain coal lands in Wyoming.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 6717.

S. 2846—To amend section 11 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act of Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6717.

S. 2847—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvanus Smith.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 6718.

S. 2848—Granting a pension to Linda H. Lount.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 6718.

S. 2849—Granting a pension to Annie V. Stockton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6718.

S. 2850—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Dellinger.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6718.

S. 2851—To restore to certain Civil War officers on the retired list rank of which deprived by inequalities in past system of promotions.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Military Affairs, 6718.

S. 2852—To increase the limit of cost of the Federal building and site therefor at Moultrie, Ga.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6775.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 144), 7707.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7707, 7708.—Debated in House, 7844, 7856.

S. 2853—Granting a pension to Thompson M. Hollobaugh.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6775.

S. 2854—To amend the naturalization laws.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Immigration, 6775.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 136), 7446.—Debated, 7555, 7556, 7681, 7829.

S. 2855—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Hall.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 6836.

S. 2856—Granting a pension to Sarah Smith.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6836.

S. 2857—Granting a pension to Carrie L. Rouse.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 6836.

S. 2858—To defray expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 6836.—Reported back (S. Rept. 117); passed Senate, 6934.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.—Reported back (H. Rept. 166), 7445.—Debated and passed House, 7843, 7854.—Proceedings in passing bill vacated in House, 7846.

S. 2859—To extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on the Judiciary, 6936.

S. 2860—Transferring Hardeman County to the Wichita Falls division of the northern judicial district of Texas.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 6936.

S. 2861—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen F. Baker.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6936.

S. 2862—Granting an increase of pension to James Muzzy.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6936.

S. 2863—Providing pensions for officers and enlisted men incurring disabilities in the war with Germany, and certain dependent relatives.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 6936.

S. 2864—Granting a pension to Charles M. Kuhn.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 6936.

S. 2865—For the suspension of payments on public lands by entrymen in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 6936.—Reported back (S. Rept. 163), 7811.

S. 2866—To reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and for property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 6936.

S. 2867—Providing for the enlargement of the Federal building at Missoula, Mont.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6936.

S. 2868—Providing for the appointment of officers in the military forces of the United States.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Military Affairs, 6994.

S. 2869—To grant citizenship to certain persons discharged from the military service of the United States.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Military Affairs, 6994.

S. 2870—To prohibit the selling, manufacturing, and importing of intoxicating liquors in the Territory of Hawaii unless the qualified electors thereof repeal the provisions hereof.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, 6994.

S. 2871—To provide for a Division of Municipal Research and Reference in the Bureau of the Census, Department of the Interior.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Census, 6994.

S. 2872—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Oney.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 6994.

S. 2873—To establish a fish hatchery on Spiritwood Lake in North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Fisheries, 6994.

S. 2874—Granting a pension to William H. Turner.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 6994.

S. 2875—To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Cal.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Public Lands, 6994.

S. 2876—Granting an increase of pension to Melvin C. Wolf.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 6994.

S. 2877—Authorizing the appointment of Augustus C. Hart as a first lieutenant of Cavalry in the United States Army.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Military Affairs, 6994.

S. 2878—Granting the consent of Congress to the Whiteville Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Waccamaw River.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Commerce, 7065.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 132); amended and passed Senate, 7267.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7417.—Reported back (H. Rept. 167), 7460.—Passed House, 7672.—Examined and signed, 7722, 7765.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 60], 7897.

S. 2879—For the relief of the Boyle Co., of Wichita, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 7065.

S. 2880—Granting a pension to Esther U. McKelvey.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7065.

S. 2881—Granting an increase of pension to William Barklow.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 7065.

S. 2882—To grant citizenship to certain persons discharged from the military service of the United States.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Military Affairs, 7107.

S. 2883—Making further provision for the allotment of pay of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, and for other purposes.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Military Affairs, 7107.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 135); amended and passed Senate, 7388.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7461.—Reported back (H. Rept. 180), 7604.—Debated and passed House, 7773, 7774.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 66], 7897.

S. 2884—To provide for the purchase of additional land for the enlargement of the site of the public building at Stamford, Conn.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7107.

S. 2885—For the relief of the estate of Moses M. Bane.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Claims, 7107.

S. 2886—For the relief of Albert O. Brown.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 7107.

S. 2887—Granting a pension to Mary K. Plowman.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 7169.

S. 2888—Granting a pension to Arch Linthicum.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7244.

S. 2889—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Cheuvront.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7244.

S. 2890—To provide quarters or commutation therefor to commissioned officers of the Army who have dependents to support.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 7244.

S. 2891—Granting a pension to Mary Jedowin.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 7244.

S. 2892—Granting a pension to Mary Snow.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 7244.

S. 2893—For the relief of George W. Mellinger.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 7267.

S. 2894—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Dusenberry.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 7267.

S. 2895—For the relief of Ellen B. Walker.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Claims, 7267.

S. 2896—For the relief of Elizabeth Marsh Watkins.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 7267.

S. 2897—For a survey of Neches River above Beaumont, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Commerce, 7267.

S. 2898—To provide for the erection of a public building at Knoxville, Knox County, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7267.

S. 2899—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Woodall.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7267.

S. 2900—Granting a pension to Maurice T. Comstock.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 7267.

S. 2901—Concerning the Judge Advocate General of the Army.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Military Affairs, 7322.

S. 2902—For the relief of the owner of the steamer Mayflower and for the relief of passengers on board said steamer.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Claims, 7322.

S. 2903—Granting an increase of pension to Anthony Wilkinson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7322.

S. 2904—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Gilbert.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 7323.

S. 2905—To establish a branch Federal land bank in West Texas.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7323.

S. 2906—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Mount Vernon, Tex., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7323.

S. 2907—For rural sanitation under supervision of Public Health Service.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 7323.

S. 2908—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7323.

S. 2909—Granting an increase of pension to McHenry Smith.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 7323.

S. 2910—Providing for an additional judge for the northern district of California.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on the Judiciary, 7323.

S. 2911—To repair damage by floods to the bridge constructed by the Reclamation Service across Snake River, in Jackson Hole, Wyo.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 7323.

S. 2912—To cede unreserved public lands to the several States.
Mr. King; Committee on Public Lands, 7323.

S. 2913—To prevent interstate commerce in timber products upon which labor has been permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 7339.

S. 2914—Granting an increase of pension to Wilder Rice.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 7339.

S. 2915—Granting a pension to John Acton.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 7339.

S. 2916—To amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State.
Mr. Johnson of California; Committee on the Judiciary, 7388.—Reported back (S. Rept. 139), 7605.—Debated and passed Senate, 7605, 7606.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 7722.—Committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 7843.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 82], 7897.

S. 2917—To amend section 15 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," as amended by the act approved May 12, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 7388.—Reported back and passed Senate, 7497.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7722.—Debated, 7671.

S. 2918—Providing that the forfeiture provisions of the land laws shall not apply in case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.
Mr. King; Committee on Public Lands, 7388.—Reported back (S. Rept. 142), 7710.—Debated and passed Senate, 7813, 7814.—Debated in House, 7863–7865, 7901.

S. 2919—Granting a pension to Olive R. Grow.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 7388.

S. 2920—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of North Carolina two brass cannon with carriage.
Mr. Overman; considered by unanimous consent, read the third time, and passed Senate, 7446.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7461.—Passed House, 7853.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7901.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 83], 7897.

S. 2921—To amend the act approved July 17, 1916, entitled "An act to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes."
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7446.—Reported back, 7496.—Recommitted to the Committee on Banking and Currency, 7813.

S. 2922—To amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7446.—Reported back; passed Senate, 7497.—Passed House, 7670.—Examined and signed, 7765, 7901.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 61], 7897.

S. 2923—For the relief of Charles M. Gourley.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 7454.

S. 2924—Granting a pension to Margaret Howell Butler.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2925—Granting a pension to Susan A. Hickman.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2926—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda J. Hunt.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2927—Granting an increase of pension to Adrian J. Hayward.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2928—Granting an increase of pension to Ransom D. Ridge.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2929—Granting a pension to Lawrence Fox.
Mr. New; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2930—Granting a pension to Emma A. Hoskins.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 7454.

S. 2931—For the relief of Thomas Sevy.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 7454.

S. 2932—To guard the military and naval forces from the physical and moral injuries of commercialized prostitution.
Mr. Weeks, from Committee on Military Affairs; passed Senate, 7496, 7497.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7722.

S. 2933—For the relief of the Philippine Scouts.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Military Affairs, 7497.

S. 2934—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Herman.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 7497.

S. 2935—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan C. Kelly.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7497.

S. 2936—Granting an increase of pension to Wade H. Pyle.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 7497.

S. 2937—Granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 7545.—Reported back (S. Rept. 149); passed Senate, 7767.—Debated and passed House, 7845.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 84], 7897.

S. 2938—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 7545.—Reported back (S. Rept. 143); passed Senate, 7707.—Passed House, 7806.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 67], 7897.

S. 2939—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel B. McBride.
Mr. Knox; Committee on Pensions, 7545.

S. 2940—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Thompson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 7545.

S. 2941—Granting an increase of pension to Phineas L. Packard.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 7545.

S. 2942—Granting an increase of pension to Milton N. Campbell.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 7545.

S. 2943—For the relief of John Crady.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 7606.

S. 2944—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Stotts.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 7606.

S. 2945—For the relief of the heirs of the Eastern Cherokee Indians.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Claims, 7606.

S. 2946—Granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Curtis.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 7606.

S. 2947—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Commerce, 7606.—Reported back (S. Rept. 151); passed Senate, 7811.—Debated and passed House, 7856.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7901.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 85], 7897.

S. 2948—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley Dye.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 7710.

S. 2949—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Woodward.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 7710.

S. 2950—Amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7710.

S. 2951—For the relief of Clara Elizabeth Huntington Hatzfeldt.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Immigration, 7710.

S. 2952—Granting an increase of pension to Richard B. Daniels.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2953—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Day.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2954—Granting a pension to Emily A. Netson.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2955—Granting a pension to Esther Shields.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2956—Granting an increase of pension to Ella J. Slate.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2957—Granting an increase of pension to Nettie P. Slate.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2958—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah P. Southworth.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2959—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Stillman.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2960—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Wells.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2961—Granting an increase of pension to Jared Wheeler.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2962—For the relief of Stephen A. Winchell.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Military Affairs, 7769.

S. 2963—Granting an increase of pension to George B. Gilbert.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2964—Granting an increase of pension to George Blake.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2965—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie B. Crandlemire.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2966—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Annas.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2967—Granting a pension to Thomas E. Eagan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2968—Granting a pension to Margaret Casey.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2969—Granting a pension to Charlotte A. Thomas.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2970—Granting a pension to B. F. Shields.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2971—Granting a pension to Martha A. Tucker.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2972—Granting a pension to Daniel J. Begley.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 7769.

S. 2973—Authorizing the temporary appointment of generals and lieutenant generals in the Army of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Military Affairs, 7769.—Reported back, 7769.

S. 2974—To provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 7813.

S. 2975—For the relief of Katherine Macdonald.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 7813.

S. 2976—Granting an increase of pension to Delos Neer.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 7813.

S. 2977—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Mullin.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 7813.

S. 2978—Granting an increase of pension to William I. Jones.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 7813.

S. 2979—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Hacker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 7813.

S. 2980—To permanently renew patent No. 24917.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Patents, 7874.

S. 2981—Granting a pension to Elizabeth K. Cottman.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 2982—Granting an increase of pension to Ebenezer B. Sims.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 2983—Granting a pension to Edward G. Davis.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

S. 2984—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Cooper.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 7874.

1–22 SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

S. J. Res. 1—Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Foreign Relations, 104.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1), 155.—Debated, 155, 200–261.—[Appendix, 104.]—Amended and passed Senate, 261.—Debated in House, 306–413.—[Appendix, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 47, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 73, 74, 79, 84, 86, 92, 100.]—Passed House, 412, 413.—Examined and signed, 413, 420.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 1], 570.

S. J. Res. 2—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.—Motion to discharge committee (S. Res. 109), 5667, 5693–5701, 7277.—Reported back (S. Rept. 130), 7169.—Debated, 197.

S. J. Res. 3—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for national prohibition.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on the Judiciary, 197.

S. J. Res. 4—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.

S. J. Res. 5—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.

S. J. Res. 6—Relating to the transmission through the mails of publicity pamphlets.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 197.

S. J. Res. 7—Relating to the constitutionality of acts of Congress.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 197.

S. J. Res. 8—Proposing a method of amending the Constitution of the United States by establishing constitutional majority rule.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 197.

S. J. Res. 9—Looking toward an international peace conference at The Hague immediately after the close of the present war in Europe.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Foreign Relations, 197.

S. J. Res. 10—Creating offices of congressional examiners.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 197.

S. J. Res. 11—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.

S. J. Res. 12—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 197.—Reported back adversely (S. Rept. 165), 7810.

S. J. Res. 13—Extending the time within which the "Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 197.—Reported back and passed Senate, 775, 776.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 856.—Committee discharged; debated, amended, and passed House, 4503, 4504.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 4471.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 4540–4544.—Conference appointed, 4471, 4542.—Conference report (91) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 4568–4573.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4549.—Examined and signed, 4549, 4581.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 8], 4711.

S. J. Res. 14—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.

S. J. Res. 15—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Woman Suffrage, 197.

S. J. Res. 16—Providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the "golden wedding" of the first transcontinental lines of railway in the United States.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Industrial Expositions, 197.

S. J. Res. 17. Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 197, 198.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 52), 3438.—Debated, 4811, 4997, 5379, 5442, 5522–5524, 5548–5560, 5585–5627, 5636–5666.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to, 5522–5524.—Amended and passed Senate, 5666.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 5723.

S. J. Res. 18—Authorizing the printing of additional copies of the hearing on universal military training.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Printing, 439.

S. J. Res. 19—To authorize and provide for a joint assembly and meeting of representatives of the parliaments and national legislative bodies of the nations of the world in the United States, and to extend an invitation to said parliaments and legislative bodies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Foreign Relations, 439.

S. J. Res. 20—Appropriating money for the payment of certain claims on account of labor, supplies, materials, and cash furnished in the construction of the Corbett Tunnel.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Claims, 439.

S. J. Res. 21—Granting permission for the erection of a monument in the Arlington National Cemetery, Va., to the memory and in honor of the members of the various orders of sisters who gave their services as nurses on battle fields, in hospitals, and on floating hospitals during the Civil War.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on the Library, 439.

S. J. Res. 22—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, manufacture, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquor, except for mechanical, scientific, sacramental, and medicinal purposes, under proper regulation by Congress.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 439.

S. J. Res. 23—Appropriating money for the payment of certain claims on account of labor, supplies, materials, and cash furnished in the construction of the Corbett Tunnel.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 439.

S. J. Res. 24—To permit of the disposition of certain lands in Montana ceded by the Crow Indians.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 439.—Reported back (S. Rept. 164), 7811.

S. J. Res. 25—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee to be known as the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Rules, 459.—Reported back adversely (S. Rept. 102), 5785.—Debated, 459, 460.

S. J. Res. 26—To appropriate $25,000,000 for the relief of men, women, and children of Belgium who have been made dependent and are suffering as a result of the European war.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Foreign Relations, 459.

S. J. Res. 27—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept assignment of patent for improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, and for other purposes.
Mr. James; Committee on Patents, 459.

S. J. Res. 28—Authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.
Mr. Overman; read twice, considered by unanimous consent, read the third time, and passed, 491.—Motion to reconsider vote in Senate; House requested to return joint resolution, 521.—House returns joint resolution, 609.—Vote reconsidered in Senate; indefinitely postponed (see S. J. Res. 30), 623.

S. J. Res. 29—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on the Judiciary, 523.

S. J. Res. 30—Authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.
Mr. Overman; passed Senate, 523.—Referred to House Committee on Accounts, 608.—Reported back (H. Rept. 15), 734.

S. J. Res. 31—To increase food crops in the United States.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 622.—Reported with amendments, 894.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 894, 1631–1640.—Referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 1945.

S. J. Res. 32—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire by purchase the estate known as Monticello, in the State of Virginia, including the former home of Thomas Jefferson and lands surrounding the same, being about 700 acres, said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 622.

S. J. Res. 33—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the military or naval service of the United States as officers or enlisted men from performing assessment work during the term of such service.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Mines and Mining, 622.—Reported back, amended, and passed Senate, 2085.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4419, 4420, 4426, 4427.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4711.—Examined and signed, 4879, 4932.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 10], 5241.

S. J. Res. 34—Proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States to authorize uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce, and to provide penalties for enforcement.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on the Judiciary, 622.

S. J. Res. 35—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 711.

S. J. Res. 36—For the relief of Fred White.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 742.

S. J. Res. 37—For appointment of special war commissioners to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Foreign Relations, 745.

S. J. Res. 38—Authorizing cooperation with the Ozark Trails Association in the inspection and selection of the route from St. Louis to New Mexico.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 871.

S. J. Res. 39—To appropriate $3,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to prosecute the work of eradicating the southern cattle tick.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 871.—Reported back (S. Rept. 38), 2164.

S. J. Res. 40—To appropriate $500,000 for the encouragement of the production of foodstuffs.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 871.—Reported back (S. Rept. 39), 2164.—Indefinitely postponed, 6937.

S. J. Res. 41—For the relief of James L. Cardwell.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 895.

S. J. Res. 42—Authorizing the President to take over for the United States the possession and title of any vessel within its jurisdiction which at the time of coming therein was owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war, or was under register of any such nation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 930.—Reported with amendments, 1572.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1572–1576.—Debated, 1889, 1900–1936.—Passed House, 1936.—Examined and signed, 2041, 2045.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 2], 2241.

S. J. Res. 43—Making available the $200,000 appropriation for irrigation purposes on the Yakima Indian Reservation, State of Washington, carried in the Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1502.—Reported with amendment, 1569.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1629.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 6809.

S. J. Res. 44—To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1570.

S. J. Res. 45—For the relief of N. B. Pettibone.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1570.

S. J. Res. 46—Creating a commission to report a plan for the adoption of a national budget system.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Appropriations, 1570.—Debated, 1668.

S. J. Res. 47—Requesting the President of the United States to requisition vessels of alien enemies.
Mr. Knox; ordered to lie on the table, 1570.—Debated, 1570–1572.—Indefinitely postponed, 6936.

S. J. Res. 48—Directing a survey for a military road along the Pacific coast.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 1670.

S. J. Res. 49—Authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the Library, 1670.

S. J. Res. 50—Authorizing and empowering the President of the United States to make offer to the governments of England and France to take over and care for German prisoners detained in those countries.
Mr. Hale; Committee on Foreign Relations, 1725.

S. J. Res. 51—To authorize the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives to continue the investigation of the Indian Service.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1726.

S. J. Res. 52—To prohibit and punish conspiracies in respect of transportation, handling, or dealing in food supplies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 53—Authorizing the President to appoint two additional Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 40), 2164.

S. J. Res. 54—Empowering the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate dealings in agricultural products on boards of trade, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 55—Authorizing the President to restrict or prohibit the use of food and feed materials in the manufacture of alcoholic and other beverages, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 56—Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to make a survey of the food situation and to ascertain basic facts in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 57—Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish grades for certain agricultural food products, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 58—Vesting the President with certain powers in respect to movements of common carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1940.

S. J. Res. 59—Authorizing the President to enroll, according to age, status, and occupation, all male citizens, or male persons not alien enemies, between the ages of 18 and 45, inclusive.
Mr. France; Committee on Military Affairs, 2048.—Debated, 2048–2052.

S. J. Res. 60—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of marriage and divorce.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Census, 2085.

S. J. Res. 61—To grant authority for the erection of temporary buildings at the headquarters of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 2241.—Reported back and passed Senate, 2381.—Passed House, 2397, 2398.—Examined and signed, 2382, 2409.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 3], 2857.

S. J. Res. 62—Empowering the President to appoint a controller general of supplies.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2239.

S. J. Res. 63—To establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2329.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 65); amended and passed Senate, 3750.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4332.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 131), 6467.

S. J. Res. 64—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving to Congress the power to extend the right of suffrage to residents of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2329.

S. J. Res. 65—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that no person shall be eligible to be elected President who has served for a longer time than one term as President or Vice President.
Mr. Gore; Committee on the Judiciary, 2428.

S. J. Res. 66—Making immediately available moneys appropriated for the investigation of the pneumatic mail-tube service in the act approved March 3, 1917.
Mr. Bankhead; debated and passed Senate, 2632.—Referred to House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, 2777.—Committee discharged; passed House, 2931.—Examined and signed, 2961, 2964.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 4], 3213.

S. J. Res. 67—To fix the status and rights of officers of the Public Health Service when serving with the Coast Guard, the Army, or the Navy.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2632.—Reported back (S. Rept. 66); passed Senate, 3749, 3750.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4429–4432.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4471.—Examined and signed, 4549, 4581.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 9], 4811, 4812.

S. J. Res. 68—Authorizing a survey of the canal between Port Townsend Bay and Oak Bay, in Jefferson County, Wash.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 2699.

S. J. Res. 69—Authorizing the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to permit the Secretary of War to erect temporary buildings in the Smithsonian Grounds.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2782.

S. J. Res. 70—Relating to the service of certain retired officers of the Army.
Mr. Ransdell; debated and passed Senate, 3033.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 3208.—Reported back (H. Rept. 72), 3270.—Debated and passed House, 3146, 3297.—Examined and signed, 3425, 3437.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 6], 3839.

S. J. Res. 71—To suspend, during the present war with Germany, the requirement that not less than $100 worth of labor shall be performed or improvements made during each year on each mining claim for all owners who, in lieu of such assessment work, expend the sum of $100 in money or in labor in the raising or manufacturing of products necessary for the maintenance of the Army, Navy, or people of the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Mines and Mining, 3033.

S. J. Res. 72—To convey the thanks of Congress to officials and men of the police and fire departments of the city of Jersey City, N. J., for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them at the time of the explosion and fire at Black Tom Pier, Jersey City, N. J., July 30, 1916.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on the Library, 3098.

S. J. Res. 73—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to invest Indian funds in Government bonds.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3152.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 51); amended and passed Senate, 3438.—Referred to House Committee on Indian Affairs, 5472.

S. J. Res. 74—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, gift, manufacture, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquor, except for mechanical, scientific, sacramental, and medicinal purposes, under proper regulation by Congress.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 3258.

S. J. Res. 75—Authorizing a survey and examination of the Rio Grande border of the United States to determine the advisability of constructing a highway either along the entire border or certain sections thereof.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 3314.

S. J. Res. 76—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving Congress the power to purchase, hold, improve, subdivide, and sell land and to make loans for the purpose of promoting farm-home ownership.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 3517.—Debated, 3513–3517.

S. J. Res. 77—To provide further for the national security and defense by regulating the production, sale, and distribution of coal.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3558.—Debated, 4684–4695.

S. J. Res. 78—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the years 1917 and 1918.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Mines and Mining, 3592.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 74), 4548.—Amended and passed Senate, 4810.—Referred to House Committee on Mines and Mining, 4907.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 128), 5903.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7289–7293.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 7340.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 7385.—Conference appointed, 7340, 7385.—Conference report (No. 171) made in House, 7489, 7540.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 7540–7542.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 7545.—Examined and signed, 7722, 7765.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 12], 7897.

S. J. Res. 79—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 3633.

S. J. Res. 80—To provide further for the national security and defense by insuring the supply and equitable distribution of print paper.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Manufactures, 3750.

S. J. Res. 81—To provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the Government of the United States an adequate supply of paper at a fair price and by insuring a supply and equitable distribution at fair prices to the industries of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Printing, 3906.

S. J. Res. 82—Providing for the creation of a Commission on Aerial Navigation.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 4396.

S. J. Res. 83—Looking to the enlistment of certain alien residents in the Army of the United States.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Foreign Relations, 5178.—S. Res. 108 (S. Rept. 93) reported as a substitute, 5542.

S. J. Res. 84—To draft certain aliens into the military service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 5241.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 94), 5542.—Debated, 5573, 6998–7007.—Amended and passed Senate, 7007.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.

S. J. Res. 85—Providing that pensions shall not be paid to pensioners of the United States residing in a foreign country with which the United States is at war.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 5413.

S. J. Res. 86—Authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the United States Military Academy at West Point, Aurelio Collazo, a citizen of Cuba.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Foreign Relations, 5413.—Reported back (S. Rept. 92); debated and passed Senate, 5543.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5723.

S. J. Res. 87—To grant citizenship to Dr. William A. Evans.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Immigration, 5668.

S. J. Res. 88—Amending Article V of the Constitution of the United States by providing that, to be effective, amendments to the Constitution shall be ratified within six years.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on the Judiciary, 5693.

S. J. Res. 89—To authorize the Secretary of Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee on Appropriations, 5882.—Reported back, 7339.—Passed Senate, 7416.—Referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 7461.—Committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 7868, 7869.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7901.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 14], 7897.

S. J. Res. 90—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on the Judiciary, 5928.

S. J. Res. 91—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Appropriations, 5988.

S. J. Res. 92—To defer first payments upon homestead entries for lands in the Colville Indian Reservation, Wash.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Public Lands, 6145.

S. J. Res. 93—For improving Willapa Harbor and River, Wash.
Mr. Jones of Washington; Committee on Commerce, 6145.—Reported back (S. Rept. 123); passed Senate, 6932.—Debated and passed House, 7137.—Examined and signed, 7169, 7181.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 11], 7277.

S. J. Res. 94—Proposing as a war measure an international convention for the purpose of terminating international anarchy, establishing infernational government in lieu thereof, and coercing the Teutonic military conspiracy by the organized commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Foreign Relations, 6164.—Debated, 6252, 6288–6298.

S. J. Res. 95—Authorizing the printing of tax laws as a public document.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Printing, 6201.

S. J. Res. 96—To grant American citizenship to William Francis Griffitt Blackler.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 6298.

S. J. Res. 97—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States requiring a popular vote before a declaration of war, except in certain instances, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on the Judiciary, 6469.

S. J. Res. 98—Providing a special canceling die to be used in advertising the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 6652.

S. J. Res. 99—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the entry of distilled spirits into bonded warehouses under bond, conditioned for the export of such distilled spirits to some foreign country within one year from the date of entry into the United States.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Finance, 6775.—Reported with amendments, 6932.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 6932, 6933.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 7105.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 183), 7735.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7842.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 7873.—Examined and signed, 7873, 7900.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 15], 7897.

S. J. Res. 100—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Saulsbury; ordered to lie on the table, 6994.

S. J. Res. 101—To provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the Government of the United States an adequate supply of paper at a fair price and by insuring a supply and equitable distribution at fair prices to the industries of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Printing, 7323.—Reported back (S. Rept. 177), 7874.

S. J. Res. 102—Authorizing the payment of October salaries to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives on the day of adjournment of the present session.
Mr. Martin; read twice, considered by unanimous consent, read the third time, and passed Senate, 7706, 7707.—Debated and pased House, 7785.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 13], 7897.

S. J. Res. 103—To pay Joseph S. McCoy for extra services rendered the Senate Committee on Finance.
Mr. Smoot; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 7708.—Reported without amendment, considered by unanimous consent, read the third time, and passed, 7710.—Reconsidered and indefinitely postponed (see S. Res. 140), 7736.

S. J. Res. 104—Authorizing the assistant to the Secretary of the Interior to sign official papers and documents.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 7769.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS.

S. Con. Res. 1—Authorizing the printing and binding of 3,000 copies of the Federal antitrust decisions, 1911 to 1917.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Printing, 198.

S. Con. Res. 2—Congratulating the Russian people upon their assumption of self-government.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Foreign Relations, 261.

S. Con. Res. 3—Authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to call for enlistments for military service in the Army of the United States to the aggregate number of 1,000,000 men.
Mr. Sherman; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 568.

S. Con. Res. 4—Accepting the statue of Sequoyah, presented by the State of Oklahoma, to be placed in Statuary Hall.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Library, 3315.

S. Con. Res. 5—Authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the Illinois 2-cent fare controversy.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3906, 3907.

S. Con. Res. 6—To print as a Senate document the pamphlet entitled "How the War Came to America."
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Printing, 4196.

S. Con. Res. 7—Expressing the satisfaction of the Congress in the assurance of the Special Ambassador Bakhmetieff of the devotion of the Russian people to their new-found liberty.
Mr. Gore; considered and agreed to, 4265.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4967.

S. Con. Res. 8—To authorize the printing of 50,000 copies of the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, and Senate Report No. 75 thereon.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Printing, 4632.—Reported back and agreed to, 4647.—Referred to House Committee on Printing, 4839.

S. Con. Res. 9—To authorize printing 50,000 copies of Bulletin No. 176 of the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Printing, 4613.

S. Con. Res. 10—Authorizing the appointment of a joint committee to investigate the causes of the recent riots in East St. Louis, Ill., and to report thereon.
Mr. Sherman; ordered to lie over under the rule, 5085.—Referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5153.—Reported with amendments, 5954.—Debated, 5150–5153, 5954, 5955.

S. Con. Res. 11—To definitely determine and declare the objects and purposes for which the United States shall continue to participate in the European war.
Mr. La Follette; ordered to lie on the table, 5956.

S. Con. Res. 12—Providing for the setting aside of a day of prayer for the success of the American armies in the pending war.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Military Affairs, 5957.—Reported back (S. Rept. 124) and agreed to, 6935.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.—Reported back (H. Rept. 160), 7386.—Agreed to in House, 7807.

S. Con. Res. 13—Authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a correction in H. R. 3932.
Mr. Pittman, and agreed to, 7497.—Agreed to in House, 7542.

S. Con. Res. 14—Authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a correction in the enrollment of H. R. 3932.
Mr. Walsh; considered and agreed to, 7606.—Debated in House, 7785, 7786, 7854–7856.

S. Con. Res. 15—Authorizing the Clerk to strike out certain words in the enrollment of H. R. 5723.
Mr. Williams; considered and agreed to, 7873.—Agreed to in House, 7901.

SENATE RESOLUTIONS. 1–29

S. Res. 1—To fix the daily hour of meeting of the Senate.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 3.

S. Res. 2—To appoint a committee to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the Senate is assembled and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 3, 4, 5.

S. Res. 3—To print the inaugural address of the President, delivered March 5, 1917, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 2), 2, 7.

S. Res. 4—To print the inaugural address of the Vice President, delivered March 5, 1917, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 1), 1, 7.

S. Res. 5—Providing for a rule to close debate in the Senate.
Mr. Martin, 19.—Debated, 19–45.—Agreed to, 45.

S. Res. 6—On power of President to protect foreign commerce.
Mr. Lewis; ordered to lie on the table, 45.

S. Res. 7—To print the report of the Federal Trade Commission relative to the news-print paper industry as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 3), 49.

S. Res. 8—Expressing the sense of the Senate that Congress should be called in extraordinary session at a date not later than the 26th day of March, 1917.
Mr. McLean; ordered to lie on the table, 48, 49.

S. Res. 9—Instructing the Committee on Rules to investigate as to the efficiency of the present committee and legislative system and as to superfluous committees of the Senate and report its recommendations thereon.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Rules, 51.—Debated, 51.

S. Res. 10—On the death of the Hon. Cyrus Adams Sulloway, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Hollis; considered and agreed to, 55.

S. Res. 11—To print an edition of the Congressional Directory for the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 72.—Reported back and agreed to, 85.

S. Res. 12—To authorize the Committee on Privileges and Elections to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 72.—Reported with amendment, considered, amended, and agreed to, 90.

S. Res. 13—Changing the rules of the Senate.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Rules, 72.

S. Res. 14—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to furnish the Senate a list of all seagoing vessels for which application has been made for registry under the laws of the United States, together with certain other information in relation thereto.
Mr. Stone; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 4), 77, 87.

S. Res. 15—Further extending the time for the Senate lobby investigation to be concluded and report made to the Senate thereon.
Mr. Overman; considered and agreed to, 90.

S. Res. 16—To authorize and direct the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to place on the Senate rolls one additional messenger at the rate of $1,200 per annum.
Mr. Nelson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 88.—Reported with amendments, considered, amended, and agreed to, 88–90.

S. Res. 17—To appoint a committee to investigate the cause which occasioned the existing strike by the employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and report the result of such investigation to the Senate.
Mr. Hughes; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 90.

S. Res. 18—To appoint a committee to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the Senate has completed its business and is ready to adjourn unless he has further communication to make to it.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 87.

S. Res. 19—To inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and ready to proceed with business.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 102.

S. Res. 20—To appoint a committee of two Senators to join with such committee as the House of Representatives may appoint and inform the President of the United States that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 102.

S. Res. 21—Fixing the hour of daily meeting of the Senate.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 102.

S. Res. 22—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay Alice Canning, widow of Thomas A. Canning, late an employee of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving at the date of his death.
Mr. Hughes; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 198.—Reported back and agreed to, 430.

S. Res. 23—To appoint a committee to investigate the cause which occasioned the existing strike by the employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and report the result of such investigation to the Senate.
Mr. Hughes; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 198.—Reported back (S. Rept. 7), 619.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 619–621, 713, 714.—(See S. Rept. 176), 7874.

S. Res. 24—Amending the standing rules for conducting the business of the Senate.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Rules, 198.

S. Res. 25—To print the address of the President of the United States delivered Apr. 2, 1917, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 5), 440.

S. Res. 26—Requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to prepare and submit a plan to increase food production.
Mr. Reed; debated, 441.—Amended and agreed to, 441.

S. Res. 27.—Expressing the sense of the Senate and reaffirming its faith and confidence in the policies commonly known as the Monroe doctrine.
Mr. Borah; ordered to lie on the table, 440.

S. Res. 28—Requesting the Council of National Defense to consider a plan for the mobilization of farm labor and other measures to insure a maximum production of crops, and to recommend legislation to accomplish this end.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 568.—Debated, 568, 569.

S. Res. 29—Relative to the death of the Hon. Henry T. Helgesen, late a Representative from the State of North Dakota, and the appointment of a committee to attend the funeral of the deceased.
Mr. McCumber; considered and agreed to, 605.

S. Res. 30—Requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to inform the Senate what part of the land within the Crow Indian Reservation, State of Montana, is susceptible of cultivation in cereal crops without irrigation, together with other information relative thereto.
Mr. Walsh; considered and agreed to, 622.

S. Res. 31—Authorizing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to employ a stenographer to report hearings before the committee, etc.
Mr. Gore; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 622.—Reported back and agreed to, 709.

S. Res. 32—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to furnish the United States Senate a statement of the exports from the United States to certain neutral countries since the opening of the European war in August, 1914; also for two years prior to Aug. 1, 1914, together with any other available data relating to the exports to such neutral countries.
Mr. King; ordered to lie over under the rule, 622.—Considered, amended, and agreed to, 622, 623, 723.

S. Res. 33—To reprint the address of the President of Apr. 2, 1917, in foreign languages.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to, 711.

S. Res. 34—Indorsing the appeal to the American people made by the proclamation of the President of the United States, and urging every citizen of the United States to do his or her utmost to serve the country with the highest patriotic spirit.
Mr. Owen; considered and agreed to, 711.

S. Res. 35—To direct the Federal Trade Commission to make an immediate investigation to ascertain the cause for the recent increase in the price of American flags and report to the Senate.
Mr. Pomerene; considered and agreed to, 713.

S. Res. 36—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to transmit to the Senate information as to the number of leases of lands of the Osage Indians in the State of Oklahoma authorized since Jan. 1, 1916, and the area embraced therein.
Mr. Walsh; considered and agreed to, 713.

S. Res. 37—Authorizing the Committee on Appropriations to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page.
Mr. Overman; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 713.—Reported back and agreed to, 742.

S. Res. 38—To authorize and empower the Secretary of State, under the direction of the President, to conclude a convention with the allied powers binding each and all of them not to make a separate peace with the German Government.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Foreign Relations, 743.

S. Res. 39—To limit and regulate debate in the Senate.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Rules, 198, 745.

S. Res. 40—Authorizing the Committee on Woman Suffrage to employ a stenographer at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 743.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 775.

S. Res. 41—To print the manuscript entitled "Data prepared by Army War College relating to universal military training" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 10), 775.

S. Res. 42—To print the manuscript entitled "Military Service Acts of Great Britain, 1916," as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 9), 775.

S. Res. 43—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to inform the Senate what steps are being taken by the department to induce larger production of foodstuffs throughout the United States.
Mr. Kenyon; considered, modified, and agreed to, 871.

S. Res. 44—Requesting the Interstate Commerce Committee to investigate the application of the railroad companies of the United States for an increase on all freight charges and report the facts with their recommendations to the Senate.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; ordered to lie over under the rule, 871.—Considered, amended, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, 895–902.—Debated, 895–902, 1180.

S. Res. 45—Authorizing the Committee on Interoceanic Canals to hold hearings.
Mr. Shields; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 871.—Reported back and agreed to, 894.

S. Res. 46—Authorizing the Committee on Coast and Insular Survey to employ a stenographer and hold hearings.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 895.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 1669, 1670.

S. Res. 47—Requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission to suspend the increase of freight rates, for which the railroad companies have filed schedules and made application, until such time as the Congress may investigate the same.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; ordered to lie over under the rule, 930.

S. Res. 48—To authorize hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs and to employ a stenographer to report such hearings.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 930.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 1569.

S. Res. 49—To continue during the Sixty-fifth Congress the authority vested by resolution of February 20, 1909, in the Committee on the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 930.

S. Res. 50—Authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to employ a stenographer to report hearings, etc.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 930.—Reported with amendments; considered, amended, and agreed to, 1569.

S. Res. 51—Requesting the Federal Trade Commission to report to the Senate certain information relative to the anthracite coal industry in the United States.
Mr. Calder; considered, modified, and agreed to, 1630.

S. Res. 52—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to furnish the Senate a statement of the gross and net revenue of the railroad companies for certain periods; the bonded and other liabilities of the railroads; together with other information.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1630.—Considered, amended, and placed on the calendar, 1670–1677.—Debated, 1630, 1670–1677.—Indefinitely postponed, 6938.

S. Res. 53—Authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to employ a stenographer and to hold hearings.
Mr. Culberson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1670.—Reported without amendment, 1795.—Agreed to, 1940.

S. Res. 54—Authorizing the Committee on Commerce to employ a stenographer, etc.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1670.—Reported with amendment; amended and agreed to, 1940.

S. Res. 55—To print the pamphlet entitled "Opinion of the United States Supreme Court on the Eight-hour-day Law for Railway Employees" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 20), 1845.

S. Res. 56—To print the pamphlet entitled "Opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the Case of the Utah Power & Light Co. v. The United States" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 21), 1845.

S. Res. 57—To print the manuscript entitled "Shall Military Training be Given Our Youth?" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 22), 1845.

S. Res. 58—Requesting the United States Shipping Board to furnish the Senate with information as to the number of ships now in process of construction in American shipyards, together with further information in relation thereto.
Mr. Knox; considered and agreed to, 1848, 1849.

S. Res. 59—Authorizing the Committee on Finance to employ a temporary clerk; to hold hearings and employ a stenographer to report the same.
Mr. Simmons; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2052.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 2163.

S. Res. 60—Authorizing the Committee on Manufactures to investigate the advisability of establishing a bureau of manufacture.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Manufactures, 2086.

S. Res. 61—Authorizing and requesting the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to hear and consider testimony relative to the garden city and garden suburb movement.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2086.

S. Res. 62—Providing an additional clerk to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2087.—Reported back and agreed to, 2427.

S. Res. 63—To print 350 additional copies of House Document No. 1262 (64th Cong., 1st sess.), entitled "Tennessee River between Browns Island and Florence, Ala.," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Printing, 2087.

S. Res. 64—To print the pamphlet entitled "Points of Historic Interest in the National Capital" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Printing, 2241.—Reported without amendment; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 36), 2856.

S. Res. 65—Authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate matters connected with Boston & Maine Railroad.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2377.

S. Res. 66—Relating to the death of Hon. Daniel W. Comstock, of Indiana.
Mr. New; agreed to, 2595.

S. Res. 67—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish certain information relative to the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Jones of Washington; considered and agreed to, 2782.—Submitted, 3028.

S. Res. 68—Announcing the death of the Hon. Harry Lane, late a Senator from the State of Oregon, and providing for the adjournment of the Senate as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.
Mr. Chamberlain; considered and agreed to, 2821, 2822.

S. Res. 69—To print as a Senate document the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon & California Railroad Co. case, and public act 86, Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 35), 2856.

S. Res. 70—Insisting on independence for Bohemians and Slovaks and upon the reconstruction of a Bohemian-Slovak State, etc., at the end of the war.
Mr. Kenyon; ordered to lie on the table, 2856.

S. Res. 71—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cases of recent accidents on shipboard, alleged to be due to defective ammunition.
Mr. Frelinghuysen; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2856.—considered, amended, and agreed to, 2967–2970.—S. Rept. No. 69 made, 4337.

S. Res. 72—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay necessary expenses incurred by the committee to attend the funeral of the late Senator Lane, of Oregon.
Mr. Jones of New Mexico; considered and agreed to, 2856.

S. Res. 73—Requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Senate the effect of increase of freight rates on production and cost to consumers of food commodities.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2913.

S. Res. 74—Authorizing the Committee on Finance to have printed 1,550 copies of the hearings on the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Printing, 2913.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 3314.

S. Res. 75—Authorizing an additional clerk for each Senator during the remainder of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Calder; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3033.

S. Res. 76—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to report to the Senate what devices have been constructed to shield merchant vessels from torpedoes; why, if any, they have not been utilized; and what facilities for testing them have been accorded by the Navy Department.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3098.

S. Res. 77—Providing for the printing of petitions and memorials in the Congressional Record.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing (S. Rept. 49), 3152.—Agreed to, 7817.

S. Res. 78—To print the manuscript entitled "Public Service by the Bar," by Hon. Elihu Root, as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 43), 3256.

S. Res. 79—To print the manuscript entitled "First Through the Grand Canyon," by Thomas F. Dawson, as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 42), 3256.

S. Res. 80—Authorizing the Committee on Patents to make full inquiry into the subject of denying Samuel M. Herber a patent for a process in the production of gasoline.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Patents, 3315.

S. Res. 81—To print the pamphlet entitled "War Message and Facts Behind It" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Printing, 3315.

S. Res. 82—Requesting the Secretary of War to transmit certain information to the Senate.
Mr. Smoot; considered and ordered to lie over under the rule, 3490.—Debated and agreed to, 3490–3492, 3638.—See S. Doc. No. 56, 4468.

S. Res. 83—Authorizing the Committee on Mines and Mining to employ a stenographer to report hearings of said committee.
Mr. Walsh; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3558.—Reported back and agreed to, 3633.

S. Res. 84—Authorizing the Committee on Public Lands, or any subcommittee thereof, to send for persons and papers in connection with the hearings of the committee.
Mr. Myers; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3592.—Reported back and agreed to, 3700.

S. Res. 85—Directing the Committee on Military Affairs to make investigation of the buildings constructed or to be constructed at the cantonments for the mobilization of troops.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Military Affairs, 3634.

S. Res. 86—To amend Rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate by creating a Committee on Aeronautics.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Rules, 3592, 3634.

S. Res. 87—To print the report on the news print paper industry by the Federal Trade Commission as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 49), 3905.

S. Res. 88—To print the report of the Commission of Fine Arts for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 48), 3905.

S. Res. 89—Authorizing the Committee on Printing to hold hearings and employ a stenographer.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3907.—Reported back and agreed to, 3994.

S. Res. 90—Requesting the Secretary of War to furnish to the Senate a statement, by States, of the number of men in the United States between the ages of 21 and 31 years who are citizens of foreign nations now engaged in war with the Imperial German Government.
Mr. Calder, and agreed to, 3994.—Statement made, 4260.

S. Res. 91—Extending the authority of and provision for the committee appointed under S. Res. 92, Sixty-third Congress, first session, to investigate the charges of alleged attempts to influence legislation.
Mr. Gore; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4058.—Reported with amendment, 5196.—Debated, 5196, 5197.

S. Res. 92—Authorizing the Committee on Interstate Commerce, or any subcommittee thereof, to hold hearings on any pending matter, employ a stenographer, and sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate during the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Newlands; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4058.—Reported without amendment, considered, and agreed to, 4263.

S. Res. 93—To authorize and direct the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to place on the Senate rolls one additional messenger at the rate of $1,200 per annum.
Mr. Nelson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4263.—Reported with amendment, amended, and agreed to, 4469.

S. Res. 94—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the Senate the reports of the board of officers and of the commanding general of the Central Department, United States Army, relative to the selection of the site of the cantonment of the ninth division.
Mr. New; read twice and ordered to lie over under the rule, 4263.—Debated and agreed to, 4346–4349.—Report made, 5022.

S. Res. 95—Directing the Federal Trade Commission to inform the Senate why appropriate orders have not been issued against the combination of print-paper manufacturers and proceedings had in the courts.
Mr. Reed; ordered to lie over under the rule, 4341.—Debated and agreed to, 4341–4345, 4396–4399.

S. Res. 96—Authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs during the Sixty-fifth Congress to hold hearings, employ a stenographer, and sit during the session and recess of the Senate.
Mr. Swanson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4713.—Reported back and agreed to, 4798.

S. Res. 97—Requesting the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate advisability of taking over the Center Market by Commissioners of the District.
Mr. King; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4799.

S. Res. 98—Authorizing the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment during the Sixty-fifth Congress to hold hearings, employ a stenographer, and sit during the sessions and recesses of the Senate.
Mr. McKellar; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4799.—Reported back and agreed to, 4810, 4811.

S. Res. 99—To print the manuscript entitled "Addresses Delivered at Graduating Exercises of United States Naval Academy Mar. 29 and June 28, 1917," as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 58), 4809.

S. Res. 100—To print the manuscript entitled "Constitutional Sources of the Laws of war" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; ordered to be placed on the calendar, 4810.—Agreed to (S. Doc. No. 86), 6941.

S. Res. 101—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish copies of the official dispatches upon which was based the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Public Information in regard to the encounter of the American fleet with submarines, together with other information about said Committee on Public Information.
Mr. Penrose; ordered to lie over under the rule, 4811.—Debated, 4811, 5414–5424.

S. Res. 102—To print the manuscript entitled "Tribunals and Certificates of Exemption Under the Military Service Acts of Great Britain" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 62), 4993.

S. Res. 103—Authorizing the Committee on Patents to employ a stenographer to report hearings during the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. James; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, considered, and agreed to, 4993.

S. Res. 104—Felicitating the Republic of France on the one hundred and twenty-eighth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.
Mr. New; considered and agreed to, 5100.

S. Res. 105—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to inform the Senate of the system used in estimating population for military draft purposes.
Mr. Brandegee; considered and agreed to (see S. Doc. No. 64), 5154, 5155, 5156.

S. Res. 106—Requesting the President to transmit to the Senate information as to contracts made by the Shipping Board for the construction of ships.
Mr. Smoot; ordered to lie over under the rule, 5207, 5208.—Considered and agreed to, 5245.

S. Res. 107—To print the regulations and schedules prescribed by the President for local and district boards of the selective service.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Printing, 5475.

S. Res. 108—Looking to the enlistment of certain alien residents in the Army of the United States.
Mr. McCumber, from Committee on Foreign Relations (S. Rept. 93), 5542.—Debated, 5572–5585, 5667.—Amended and agreed to, 5667.

S. Res. 109—To discharge the Committee on Woman Suffrage from the consideration of the resolution (S. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage.
Mr. Cummins; ordered to lie over under the rule, 5667.—Considered and placed on the calendar, 5701.—Debated, 5693–5701.—Indefinitely postponed, 7277.

S. Res. 110—To print as a public document, and 15,000 additional copies, the bill (H. R. 4280) to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes, as reported to the Senate on Aug. 6, 1917.
Mr. Simmons; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 74), 5827.

S. Res. 111—To print 65,000 additional copies of Senate report No. 103, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "Report on the War-Revenue Bill."
Mr. Simmons; considered and agreed to, 5827.

S. Res. 112—To print 65,000 additional copies of part 2 of Senate Report No. 103, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "Views of Minority Members of the Committee on Finance on the War-Revenue Bill (H. R. 4280)."
Mr. La Follette; considered and agreed to, 5827.

S. Res. 113—To print 15,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 74, entitled "Revenue to Defray War Expenses."
Mr. Simmons; considered and agreed to, 5928, 5929.

S. Res. 114—Declaring that the Government of the United States will not make peace until the German Government shall seek the terms upon which it may be admitted to the community of enlightened States.
Mr. King; ordered to lie on the table, 5957.

S. Res. 115—Specifying certain purposes as the policy of the United States to be attained by the European war.
Mr. Sherman; ordered to lie over under the rule, 6039.

S. Res. 116—For committing all peace propositions to the President of the United States.
Mr. Lewis; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 6040.

S. Res. 117—Providing an additional clerk to the Committee on Finance.
Mr. Simmons; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 6094.—Reported back and agreed to, 6136.

S. Res. 118—To print 20,000 additional copies of Senate Report No. 103, part 2, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.
Mr. La Follette; considered and agreed to, 6094.

S. Res. 119—Requesting the Postmaster General to furnish certain information relative to the exclusion from the mails of newspapers, magazines, and other publications.
Mr. Hardwick; ordered to lie over under the rule, 6109.—Debated, 6257.

S. Res. 120—Relative to the death of the late Senator John W. Kern.
Mr. New; considered and agreed to, 6162.

S. Res. 121—To print the pamphlet entitled "The World Conflict in Its Relation to American Democracy" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 80), 6933.

S. Res. 122—To print the report on the book-paper industry by the Federal Trade Commission as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 79), 6933.

S. Res. 123—To print the pamphlet entitled "Americans of German Origin and the War" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 83), 6933.

S. Res. 124—To print the pamphlet entitled "Family Allowance, Indemnity, and Insurance for Our Soldiers and Sailors—The Duty of a Just Government" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 81), 6934.

S. Res. 125—To print the report entitled "Prices of American Flags," submitted by the Federal Trade Commission, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 82), 6933, 6934.

S. Res. 126—To print the manuscript entitled "British Experience Series" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 6934.

S. Res. 127—To print the manuscript entitled "Colorado River in Its Relation to the Imperial Valley, California," as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; ordered to be placed on the calendar, 6933.—Considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 103), 7267.

S. Res. 128—To print the manuscript entitled "British Labor's War Message to American Labor" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 84), 6934.

S. Res. 129—Directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an inquiry relative to the use of public land for the production of grains and cereals during the war.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Public Lands, 6937.—Reported back (S. Rept. 129), 7107.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 7814.

S. Res. 130—To print the proceedings of the Senate and House of Representatives on the occasions of the receptions to the war missions of France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Belgium, and Japan as a Senate document.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 87), 6994.

S. Res. 131—Relative to the death of the Hon. Harry Lane, late a Senator from the State of Oregon.
Mr. Chamberlain; considered and agreed to, 7210–7218.

S. Res. 132—To print the address entitled "The Regulation of Commerce between the States under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution of the United States" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 106), 7267.

S. Res. 133—To print the article entitled "Trading with the Enemy" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 107), 7267.

S. Res. 134—To print the address entitled "The Fighting Powers of the United States under the Constitution" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 105), 7267.

S. Res. 135—To print the pamphlet entitled "The Birth of American Thrift" as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 104), 7267.

S. Res. 136—To pay to Julia P. Turner, widow of George M. Turner, a sum equal to six months' salary.
Mr. Colt; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 7323.—Reported back and agreed to, 7339.

S. Res. 137—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish the Senate certain information concerning ammonia, nitrogen, and nitrogenous materials.
Mr. Shields; considered and agreed to, 7454.

S. Res. 138—Regarding the death of Hon. Ebenezer J. Hill.
Mr. Brandegee; considered and agreed to, 7458.

S. Res. 139—To print 5,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 84 for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to, 7497, 7498.

S. Res. 140—To pay Joseph S. McCoy $1,600 for extra services.
Mr. Smoot; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 7736.—Reported back and agreed to, 7736.

S. Res. 141—To print 41,000 additional copies of public act, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "An act to provide revenue for war expenses, and for other purposes," for the use of the Senate folding room.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 7736.

S. Res. 142—To print the manuscript entitled "The Mobilizing of America," an address by Hon. Robert L. Owen, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 7811. (S. Doc. No. 118.)

S. Res. 143—To print the article entitled "Food Control and Democracy," by David Lubin, as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 7811. (S. Doc. No. 120.)

S. Res. 144—To print the manuscript entitled "Proceedings of Confederate Reunion in Washington, D. C., June 4 to 7, 1917," as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 7811. (S. Doc. No. 117.)

S. Res. 145—To print 100,000 additional copies of public act, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, entitled "War-Risk Insurance," for the use of the Senate folding room.
Mr. Smith of Arizona, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to, 7811.

S. Res. 146—Authorizing the Committee on Privileges and Elections during the Sixty-fifth Congress to hold hearings, employ a stenographer, and sit during the sessions and recesses of the Senate.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control Contingent Expenses of the Senate; reported back, considered, and agreed to, 7817.

S. Res. 147—To print the manuscript entitled "Official Report of the Inauguration of the President and Vice President, March 5, 1917," as a Senate document, with illustrations.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Printing, 7817.—Reported without amendment, considered, and agreed to, 7874. (S. Doc. No. 116.)

S. Res. 148—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to advise the President of the United States that the signature of the Vice President was inadvertently affixed to the bill (H. R. 3932) to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; considered and agreed to, 7877.

S. Res. 149—For the appointment of a committee to notify the President that the Congress is ready to adjourn.
Mr. Martin; considered and agreed to, 7877.

S. Res. 150—Extending the thanks of the Senate to Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, President of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.
Mr. Warren; considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to, 7897.

S. Res. 151—Extending the thanks of the Senate to Hon. Willard Saulsbury, President pro tempore of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.
Mr. Penrose; considered and agreed to, 7897.

1–7 HOUSE BILLS.

H. R. 1—For the relief of the people of France.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Ways and Means, 121.

H. R. 2—For the relief of the people of France.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Ways and Means, 121.

H. R. 3—To establish a department of aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 121.—Debated [Appendix, 43, 344].

H. R. 4—To appropriate $500,000 for the improvement of East River N. Y., with a view to securing a 35-foot channel from the Upper Bay through Hell Gate to Long Island Sound, thus giving two means of ingress to and egress from the navy yard, and enabling the largest ships of the Navy and commerce to enter and leave at all stages of the tide, and with a view to securing suitable approaches to the docks and piers.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 121.

H. R. 5—To create a commission to prepare and recommend legislation for the taking over by the Federal Government of the control of food supplies.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Banking and Currency, 121.

H. R. 6—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1916, (sess. 1, ch. 245, p. 360, 64th Cong.).
Mr. Raker; Committee on Banking and Currency, 121.

H. R. 7—To establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Labor, 121.

H. R. 8—To amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes," approved Feb. 9, 1909, as amended by an act approved Jan. 17, 1914.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Ways and Means, 121.

H. R. 9—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 24, 1912 (37 Stat., pp. 539–560, ch. 389), relating to publications admitted to the second class of mail matter.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 121.

H. R. 10—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 122.

H. R. 11—Making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Appropriations, 122.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 265–285.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 442.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 5), 457.—Debated, 579–604.—Amended and passed Senate, 604.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 667.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 713.—Conference appointed, 667, 713.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 3231–3234.—Conference report (No. 71) made in House, 3267, 3297.—Conference report agreed to in House, 3297–3301.—Examined and signed, 3311, 3386.—Presented to the President, 3425.—Approved [Public, No. 21], 3567.

H. R. 12—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Appropriations, 122.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 158–167.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 261.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 2), 430.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 442–447.—Senate amendments debated; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 496–499.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 460.—Conference appointed, 460, 499, 623.—Conference report (No. 13) made in House, 726.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 726–733.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 708, 709.—Examined and signed, 734, 737.—Presented to the President, 795.—Approved [Public, No. 2], 795.

H. R. 13—Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 122.—Debated and passed House, 285–293.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 442.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 3), 456.—Debated, 460, 467–490, 523–550, 571–579.—Amended and passed Senate, 579.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 624.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 713.—Conference appointed, 624, 713.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 15) made in Senate, 1805.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 1860, 1861.—Conference report (No. 42) made in House, 1889, 1945.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 1945–1951.—Making correction in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 7), 1944, 1955.—Examined and signed, 2041, 2045.—Presented to the President, 2123.—Approved [Public, No. 11], 2884.

H. R. 14—Making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 122.—Debated and passed House, 293–299.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 442.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 4), 456.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 579.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 691.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 713.—Conference appointed, 691, 713.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 16) made in Senate, 1807.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 1859, 1860.—Conference report (No. 43) made in House, 1889, 1951.—Conference report debated and rejected; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 1951–1955.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 1944.—Conference appointed, 1944, 1955.—Second conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 1944.—Second conference report (No. 47) made and agreed to in House, 2041, 2042, 2836.—Examined and signed, 2908, 2912.—Presented to the President, 2961.—Approved [Public, No. 18], 3251.

H. R. 15—Authorizing and directing the Public Printer to provide a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Printing, 122.

H. R. 16—To provide for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 122.

H. R. 17—To include certain lands in the counties of Modoc and Siskiyou, Cal., in the Modoc National Forest, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 18—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 19—To provide for the military and naval training and service of citizens of the United States.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 122.

H. R. 20—To provide that commissioned chiefs of the United States Navy now on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall, as an equitable reward for said service, receive the rank and pay of lieutenant of the United States Navy, retired.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Naval Affairs, 122.

H. R. 21—To increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Pensions, 122.

H. R. 22—To provide for the reorganization of the General Land Office.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 23—To amend the regulations relative to safety appliances under the so-called seamen's act so as to include life-preserver suits among the safety appliances provided for.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 122.

H. R. 24—For the inclusion of certain lands in the Wyoming National Forest, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 25—For an equestrian statue of William Frederick Cody, "Buffalo Bill."
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Library, 122.

H. R. 26—Authorizing the Northern Arapahoe Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Indian Affairs, 122.

H. R. 27—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Wheatland, in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 28—To provide for the erection of a public building at Newcastle, in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 29—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Green River, in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 30—For granting certain lands to Converse County, Wyo., for a public park.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 31—For the construction of a system of trails and bridle paths in the Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Appropriations, 122.

H. R. 32—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Falmouth, Ky.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 33—For the purpose of expending the unexpended balances and surplus postal revenues on rural post roads.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 122.

H. R. 34—For the relief of the Kentucky drafted men.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on War Claims, 122.

H. R. 35—To provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 122.

H. R. 36—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 37—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Far Rockaway, Long Island, N. Y.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 122.

H. R. 38—To provide that the heads of the executive departments may occupy seats on the floor of the Senate and the House of Representatives.
Mr. Montague; Committee on the Judiciary, 122.

H. R. 39—Relating to the maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters.
Mr. Montague; Committee on the Judiciary, 122.

H. R. 40—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 122.

H. R. 41—To amend section 51, chapter 4 of Thirty-sixth Statutes at Large, relating to venue in civil suits.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on the Judiciary, 122.

H. R. 42—To increase the efficiency of the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies, and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school near Fort Crook or Bellevue, Nebr.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 122.

H. R. 43—To provide for paving with a proper material the Fort Crook Military Boulevard from Fort Crook Military Reservation to the south city limits of Omaha, Nebr., so as to perfect a continuous paved highway from Fort Crook Military Reservation to the Fort Omaha Military Reservation.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 122.

H. R. 44—To protect the public against false pretenses in merchandising, under trade-mark or special brand, of articles of standard quality.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 122.

H. R. 45—To provide for the use of public-school buildings in the District of Columbia as community forums, and for other purposes.
Mr. Towner; Committee on the District of Columbia, 122.

H. R. 46—To provide an exclusive remedy and compensation for accidental injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers by railroad, and of express companies engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, or in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on the Judiciary, 122.

H. R. 47—For beginning of construction of an irrigation system for the irrigation of the ceded and allotted Indian lands of the Shoshone or Wind River Reservation, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 122.

H. R. 48—Providing for selections in lieu of certain lands granted for educational purposes.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 49—Providing for an investigation of the power possibilities and opportunities for the manufacture of nitrogen products on the Shoshone River in the vicinity of the Shoshone Dam of the Shoshone reclamation project and on the Platte River in the vicinity of the Pathfinder Dam of the North Platte reclamation project, in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 122.

H. R. 50—Authorizing the State of Wyoming to select lands in lieu of lands heretofore selected by said State under various grants by the United States.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 51—Prohibiting the importation of foreign meats which have not been inspected and passed in conformity with the provisions of the meat-inspection acts.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Agriculture, 122.

H. R. 52—To establish a mining experiment station at Lander, in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Mines and Mining, 122.

H. R. 53—To provide for appeals from decisions of the Secretary of the Interior to the district courts of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 122.

H. R. 54—For the restoration, under certain conditions, of lands included in power-site withdrawals.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 55—Providing for the sale of grazing lands.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 56—Granting locations and rights of way for purposes of irrigation and other beneficial use of water through the public lands and reservations of the United States.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 57—Giving a new right of homestead entry to former homesteaders.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 58—Dedicating 25 per cent of the proceeds of public lands to the construction and improvement of public roads.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 59—Providing for an appropriation for the preservation of the grasses on the public domain by the extermination of prairie dogs.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Agriculture, 123.

H. R. 60—To provide for the building of roads on the Devils Tower National Monument, Wyo., and for other purposes.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Appropriations, 123.

H. R. 61—Granting indefinite leaves of absence to superannuated employees of the Postal Service.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 62—Providing for the payment to Fremont County, Wyo., in lieu of taxes, of certain sums received on coal leases.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Claims, 123.

H. R. 63—Providing for the payment to the State of Wyoming of one-half of the royalties collected from the Owl Creek Coal Co.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 64—For marking the site of old Fort Phil Kearny and the Wagon Box Fight.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Library, 123.

H. R. 65—Authorizing a survey of Bay Ridge Channel, New York Harbor.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 66—To establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Labor, 123.

H. R. 67—To amend section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Steele; Committee on the Judiciary, 123.

H. R. 68—To make October 12 of each and every year a legal public holiday in the District of Columbia, to be known as Columbus Day.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the District of Columbia, 123.

H. R. 69—To authorize the payment of indemnities to the Governments of Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Turkey for injuries inflicted on their nationals during riots occurring in South Omaha, Nebr., Feb. 21, 1909.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 123.

H. R. 70—To provide for appeals from decisions of the Secretary of the Interior to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 71—To provide for the erection of a public building at Canon City, Colo.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 72—Providing for the payment of pensions monthly.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 123.

H. R. 73—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Grand Army Post of Columbia, Pa., two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Military Affairs, 123.

H. R. 74—For the establishment of a fish-cultural station in the State of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 123.

H. R. 75—Providing an appropriation of $200,000 for the intensive study of infantile paralysis.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Appropriations, 123.

H. R. 76—To restrict the franking privilege.
Mr. Griest; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 77—To establish an agricultural experiment station in Lancaster County, Pa.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Agriculture, 123.

H. R. 78—To validate certain public-land entries.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 79—For the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain in Minnesota.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 80—To provide for the enlargement, extension, and remodeling of the Federal building at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 81—Providing for a site and public building for Federal purposes at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 82—For erecting a suitable memorial to John Patrick Holland.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on the Library, 123.

H. R. 83—To purchase an oil painting entitled "Our Glory—the Battleship Oregon."
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on the Library, 123.

H. R. 84—To provide care and treatment for citizens of the United States afflicted with tuberculosis.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Appropriations, 123.

H. R. 85—To repeal the literacy test.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 123.

H. R. 86—To reimburse the city of New York for expenses incurred in the maintenance and support of a marine school, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Naval Affairs, 123.

H. R. 87—Granting two weeks' sick leave to letter carriers in the City Free Delivery Service and to post-office clerks in first and second class post offices.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 88—For the appointment of a commission to supervise the food supplied to the military forces of the United States.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 123.

H. R. 89—To prevent and punish the desecration of the United States flag.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Judiciary, 123.

H. R. 90—To create two additional judges in the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Judiciary, 123.

H. R. 91—To make the "Star-Spangled Banner" the national anthem of the United States of America.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Judiciary, 123.

H. R. 92—For providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 123.

H. R. 93—To extend the pneumatic mail tube service and improve the efficiency of the postal system in New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 94—To reduce the unnecessary amount of overtime required of letter carriers in the City Delivery Service and post-office clerks in first and second class post offices.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 95—Granting indefinite leave of absence to superannuated employees of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 123.

H. R. 96—To improve the efficiency of the postal system in New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 123.

H. R. 97—For the purchase of certain lands in the District of Columbia for a public park.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 98—For the improvement of East Potomac Park as a public recreation ground.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Appropriations, 123.

H. R. 99—To provide for the construction of an intracoastal waterway.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Railways and Canals, 123.

H. R. 100—Prohibiting construction of bridges and construction of additional tracks upon existing bridges over any navigable stream in the city of New York, unless the elevation of said bridge at mean high water shall be sufficient to permit the free movement of such vessels as are ordinarily operated upon such navigable stream.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 123.

H. R. 101—To appropriate $510,000 for the improvement of Newton Creek, N. Y., including Dutch Kills, Maspeth Creek, and English Kills.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 102—Authorizing a survey of Harlem River, New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 103—To appropriate $250,000 for the further improvement of Harlem River, N. Y., with a view to continuing improvement thereof.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 104—For the improvement of the Harlem River, N. Y., with a view of straightening the channel at the curve near the Johnson Iron Works, authorized by the river and harbor act of Mar. 3, 1909.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 105—To appropriate $300,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to securing additional width in Bay Ridge and Red Hook Channels.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 123.

H. R. 106—To appropriate $250,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, New York Upper Bay, with a view to improving channel opposite anchorage grounds.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 124.

H. R. 107—To appropriate $30,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to the removal of Craven Shoal.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 124.

H. R. 108—To appropriate $700,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to securing a suitable depth of channel to the navy yard.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 124.

H. R. 109—To appropriate $600,000 for the improvement of the North or Hudson River, N. Y., with a view to securing an increase in depth to 40 feet and suitable widths in the North or Hudson River Channel from deep water in the Upper Bay as far north as Spuyten Duyvil.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 124.—Motion to discharge committee, 3386.

H. R. 110—For the improvement of the harbor of New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 124.

H. R. 111—To provide universal military training for students.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 124.

H. R. 112—For the remodeling of the United States Federal building at Pottsville, Pa.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 113—To amend the public-building act approved Mar. 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a suitable site for a public building at Tamaqua, Pa.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 114—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Chester, Hancock County, W. Va.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 115—Granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers who served in the Civil War.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 116—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the Civil War.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 117—To extend aid to the several States in the building of public highways by authorizing the working of certain Federal convicts thereon or in the preparation of road materials.
Mr. Neely; Committee on the Judiciary, 124.

H. R. 118—To provide for the erection of a public building at Mannington, W. Va.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 119—To provide for the erection of a public building at New Martinsville, W. Va.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 120—Giving the consent of the United States for the bringing of certain suits in the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Neely; Committee on the Judiciary, 124.

H. R. 121—Providing for the appointment and recommission as officers on the active list of the United States Army persons who were formerly officers.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 124.

H. R. 122—Making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Appropriations, 124.—Reported back (H. Rept. 2), 496.—Debated, 551–556.—Amended and passed House, 556.—Debated and passed Senate, 550.—Examined and signed, 561, 610.—Presented to the President, 661.—Approved [Public, No. 1], 795.

H. R. 123—To prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Labor, 124.—Debated [Appendix, 36].

H. R. 124—To provide for a commission on relations between the United States and the Orient.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 124.

H. R. 125—Authorizing the construction and equipment of munitions factories, the selection of sites, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Appropriations, 124.

H. R. 126—To grant the right of appeal to employee in the Federal classified civil service.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 124.

H. R. 127—To establish a fish-cultural station near Rye, Colo.
Mr. Keating; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 124.

H. R. 128—To provide for the closing of barber shops in the District of Columbia on Sunday.
Mr. Keating; Committee on the District of Columbia, 124.

H. R. 129—To provide for the establishment, operation, and management of a bureau to be known as the Farm Woman's Bureau in the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Agriculture, 124.

H. R. 130—Prescribing certain duties for carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on the Judiciary, 124.

H. R. 131—Granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Military Affairs, 124.

H. R. 132—To erect a post-office building in the city of Passaic, N. J.
Mr. Drukker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 133—To provide a commission to determine and fix the valuation of property confiscated, destroyed, and made valueless by reason of prohibition, and to report the result to Congress.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Appropriations, 124.

H. R. 134—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at the city of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, near the Plaza, at the east end of the Williamsburg Bridge.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 135—To regulate the payment of salaries of clerks in the sea post service.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 124.

H. R. 136—To pension widows and minor and helpless children of officers and enlisted men who served during the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection or in China between April 21, 1898, and July 4, 1902.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Pensions, 124.

H. R. 137—Granting pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, and officers who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 138—To establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Oklahoma, Texas, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and Washington.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 124.

H. R. 139—Granting to the State of Oklahoma 210,000 acres of unappropriated nonmineral land for the benefit of its agricultural and mechanical colleges according to the provisions of the acts of July 2, 1862, and July 23, 1862, and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the Secretary of the Interior certifying the number of acres available and that there are not sufficient lands in the State of Oklahoma to comply with the provisions of this act, to pay the State of Oklahoma in lieu thereof the sum of $1.25 per acre for the number of acres due said State.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on the Public Lands, 124.

H. R. 140—Appropriating $10,000 to aid in the erection of a monument in memory of the late President James A. Garfield at Long Branch, N. J.
Mr. Scully; Committee on the Library, 124.

H. R. 141—Making provision for the construction of a canal across the State of New Jersey to connect the Delaware River with New York Harbor.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Railways and Canals, 124.

H. R. 142—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and balls.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Military Affairs, 124.

H. R. 143—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Elk City, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 144—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Clinton, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 145—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Mangum, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 146—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Frederick, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 147—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Hobart, Okla.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 124.

H. R. 148—To amend an act approved Feb. 4, 1887, known as the interstate commerce act.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 124.

H. R. 149—To provide revenue for the Government by increasing the duty on granite, freestone, etc., imported into the United States.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Ways and Means, 124.

H. R. 150—To exclude intoxicating liquors from national parks.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Public Lands, 124.

H. R. 151—Divesting intoxicating liquors of their interstate character
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Judiciary, 124.

H. R. 152—To fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Labor, 124.

H. R. 153—To provide for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Labor, 125.

H. R. 154—To establish postal savings banks, to enable the Government to borrow money directly from the people, and to market its bonds directly to the people in small and varying denominations through the medium of the post office, and for other purposes.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 125.

H. R. 155—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Alabama.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 125.

H. R. 156—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant leases or licenses for the use of surplus water at the United States Government dams at Lakes Winnibigoshish and Pokegama, in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on the Public Lands, 125.—Committee on the Public Lands discharged, and referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 795.—Motion to change reference to Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce debated, 3715.

H. R. 157—To regulate interstate and foreign commerce in cold-storage food products.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 125.

H. R. 158—Providing for the payment of assessments on Indian allotments benefited by the construction of State rural highways in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 125.

H. R. 159—To create a Bureau for the Deaf and Dumb in the Department of Labor, and prescribing the duties thereof.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Education, 125.

H. R. 160—Providing for taxation of and fixing the rate of taxation on inheritances, devises, bequests, legacies, and gifts in the District of Columbia, and providing for the manner of payment as well as the manner of enforcing payment thereof.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on the District of Columbia, 125.

H. R. 161—To provide for the purchase of a site and erection thereon of a public building at Two Harbors, Minn.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 162—To amend paragraph A of section 4 of the act approved June 25, 1910.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 163—To create a United States Naval Reserve.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Naval Affairs, 125.

H. R. 164—Authorizing the selection, under certain circumstances, of commissioned officers of the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary to fill vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 165—For the relief of the Pillager Bands of Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, and for other purposes.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 125.

H. R. 166—To limit the area of land which may be acquired by any person under all the agricultural public-land laws.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 125.

H. R. 167—Providing that all persons employed by the United States Government or by the District of Columbia shall be citizens of the United States.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 125.

H. R. 168—To declare Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 169—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the board of county commissioners, Logan County, Colo., four condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages and a suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 170—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the city of Longmont, Colo., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages, and a suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 171—To repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rock Mountain National Park, in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved Jan. 26, 1915.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 125.

H. R. 172—To provide for the purchase of additional land for the erection thereon of an addition to the post-office building at Boulder, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 173—To provide revenue for the Government and to promote the production of tungsten ores and manufactures thereof in the United States.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Ways and Means, 125.

H. R. 174—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Sept. 8, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 125.

H. R. 175—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 125.

H. R. 176—To provide for an authorization of money to be used in the construction of a public building at Sterling, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 177—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building thereon at Lees Summit, Mo.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 178—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 179—Making the 12th day of October in each year a legal holiday.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 180—To discontinue the use of the Fahrenheit thermometer scale in Government publications.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 125.

H. R. 181—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Washington.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 125.

H. R. 182—To punish espionage.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 183—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 184—Making a crime the disclosure of grand jury proceedings by a grand juror.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 185—Making a crime the disclosure of the finding of an indictment previous to the accused person being taken into custody.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 186—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to audit and adjust certain claims of the city of New York.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Claims, 125.

H. R. 187—Making a crime the disclosure of grand jury minutes by a stenographer or any other person.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 188—To amend an act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes, approved June 25, 1910, as amended in section 1 by the act of Congress approved Jan. 23, 1913.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on the Judiciary, 125.

H. R. 189—To enlarge and extend the post-office building at Williamsport, Pa.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 190—Permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry of the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 125.

H. R. 191—Providing for the abandonment of the Vashon Island Military Reservation, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 192—Authorizing the Secretary of War to sell the timber on the Three Tree Point Military Reservation in Wahklakum County, in the State of Washington.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 125.

H. R. 193—Authorizing the construction of a wagon bridge across the Moclips River in Grays Harbor County, State of Washington, and appropriating $8,000 therefor.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 125.

H. R. 194—To authorize certain changes in homestead allotments of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 125.

H. R. 195—Providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 125.—Reported back (H. Rept. 192), 7872.

H. R. 196—To provide for the erection of a public building at Salem, N. J.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 125.

H. R. 197—Amending section 1 of the act of May 11, 1912, relating to pension of Civil War soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 125.

H. R. 198—Appropriating $39,770 for the improvement of Raccoon Creek, N. J.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 126.

H. R. 199—Providing for the improvement of the Delaware River at Camden, N. J.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 126.

H. R. 200—To regulate promotions in the Army of the United States.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Military Affairs, 126.

H. R. 201—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Bolivar, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Military Affairs, 126.

H. R. 202—Making the 12th day of October in each year a legal holiday.
Mr. Sullivan; Committee on the Judiciary, 126.

H. R. 203—Providing for the construction and equipment of an ammunition manufacturing plant at Benicia Arsenal, State of California.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 204—To provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 126.

H. R. 205—Providing for the construction and equipment of a storehouse at Benicia Arsenal, State of California.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 206—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Texarkana, Ark., two cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 126.

H. R. 207—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 126.

H. R. 208—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 126.

H. R. 209—To provide for the erection of a public building at Van Buren, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 126.

H. R. 210—To fix Christmas Day a legal holiday for rural letter carriers of the United States.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 126.

H. R. 211—To improve and maintain certain public roads and parts thereof included within the limits of the national park at Gettysburg, as defined by the act of Congress entitled "An act to establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pa.," approved Feb. 11, 1895, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 126.

H. R. 212—To protect the public against dishonest advertising and false pretenses in merchandising.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 126.

H. R. 213—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 126.

H. R. 214—To authorize and direct the Secretary of War to acquire, by purchase, certain lands embraced within the battle field of Gettysburg, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 126.

H. R. 215—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on the Public Lands, 126.

H. R. 216—Legalizing certain conveyances herctofore made by the Central Pacific Railroad Co. and others within the State of Nevada.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on the Public Lands, 126.

H. R. 217—To authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Elko, Nev.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 126.

H. R. 218—To provide for increasing the rates of pension of totally disabled, needy, and helpless soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil and Mexican Wars.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 126.

H. R. 219—To pension the survivors of the War with Spain and Philippine insurrection.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 126.

H. R. 220—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War,' approved Apr. 19, 1908, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 8, 1916.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 126.

H. R. 221—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Ways and Means, 126.

H. R. 222—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 126.

H. R. 223—To provide for the construction of sanitary dwellings for wage earners in the District of Columbia, and for their rental and sale, and for other purposes.
Mr. Borland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 126.

H. R. 224—Authorizing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians residing in the State of Washington to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 126.

H. R. 225—To provide for the revenue of the Government and to protect and maintain the cedar-shingle industry of the United States.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Ways and Means, 126.

H. R. 226—To restore to the public domain certain lands heretofore reserved for a bird reservation in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, Cal., and Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 126.

H. R. 227—To equip the United States penitentiaries at Atlanta, Ga.; Leavenworth, Kans.; and at McNeil Island, Wash., for the manufacture of supplies for the use of the Government, for the compensation of the prisoners for their labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 126.

H. R. 228—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 126.

H. R. 229—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended by an act approved Jan. 23, 1913.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 126.

H. R. 230—Making an appropriation for the investigation of underground currents and artesian wells in California.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 231—To amend section 260 of the Judicial Code.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 126.

H. R. 232—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make final and detailed survey of the Lower Pit River and adjacent irrigable territory in Shasta County, Cal., to determine the feasibility and completed estimates of cost of the irrigation project thereon known as the "Lower Pit River Project," and to make appropriation for such surveys and estimates.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 233—Making appropriation to carry out the provisions of an act entitled "An act to create the California Débris Commission and regulate hydraulic mining in the State of California," approved Mar. 1, 1893.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 234—Making an appropriation to enforce the provisions of an act to regulate the sale of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, and to regulate interstate traffic in said articles, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 235—Making an appropriation directing and empowering the purchase, preparation, and disposition free of cost antirabic virus, to be used in the treatment of persons exposed to rabies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 236—For the protection and improvement of the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 126.

H. R. 237—Making an appropriation for a series of thorough and elaborate investigations and experiments for the purpose of devising and perfecting a system of frost prevention in the citrus and deciduous fruit regions, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 126.

H. R. 238—To make accessible to all the people the valuable scientific and other research work conducted by the United States through establishment of a national school of correspondence.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Education, 126.

H. R. 239—To provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Mines and Mining, 126.

H. R. 240—To establish a standard box for apples, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 127.

H. R. 241—To amend an Act entitled "An act to establish postal savings depositories for depositing savings at interest with security of the Government for the repayment thereof, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 127.

H. R. 242—To protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 127.

H. R. 243—To prohibit the coming of Asiatic laborers into the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Immigration, 127.

H. R. 244—To create a Bureau for the Deaf and Dumb in the Department of Labor, and prescribing the duties thereof.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Education, 127.

H. R. 245—Providing for the labeling, marking, and tagging of all fabrics and leather goods hereinafter designated, and providing for the fumigation of the same.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 127.

H. R. 246—Making an appropriation to purchase land for homeless Indians in California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.

H R. 247—To make April 13 of each and every year a public holiday in the District of Columbia, to be known as Jefferson Day.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the District of Columbia, 127.

H. R. 248—For improvement of Sacramento River between Chico Landing and Red Bluff, Cal.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 127.

H. R. 249—To authorize the Secretary having jurisdiction of the same to set aside certain public lands to be used as national sanitariums by fraternal or benevolent organizations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 127.

H. R. 250—To authorize entry of the public lands by school districts for schoolhouse site and ground.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 127.

H. R. 251—To provide for summer residence homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 127.

H. R. 252—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and settle certain accounts under the reclamation acts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 127.

H. R. 253—To authorize the construction of the Southern Lassen Reservoir in Nevada and California for impounding the waters of the Little Truckee River and Long Valley Creek, and their tributaries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 127.

H. R. 254—To provide for the inspection of any parcel sent by mail which contains fruit, plants, trees, shrubs, nursery stock, grafts, scions, peach, plum, almond, or the pits of other fruits, cotton seed, or vegetables, at point of delivery in any post office of the United States that requests such inspection and where the requisite inspectors are provided by the States to perform such service.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 255—To establish, equip, and maintain an agricultural experiment station near the town of Dorris, Siskiyou County, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 256—Making an appropriation for the destruction of animals affected with rabies or other animal diseases dangerous to the health of human beings as well as domestic animals, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 257—Making an appropriation for use in destroying coyotes, squirrels, and other animals injurious to agriculture and animal industry, for use in the destruction of ground squirrels in national forests and the public domain in California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 268—Making an appropriation for the investigation, study, and testing of sagebrush and greasewood which may be used for producing rubber, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 259—To create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 127.

H. R. 260—To acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake, past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River on water grades to connect with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 127.

H. R. 261—Transferring the control and jurisdiction of Alcatraz Island and buildings, machinery, and improvements thereon from the Department of War to the Department of Labor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 127.

H. R. 262—To amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Ways and Means, 127.

H. R. 263—To amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Ways and Means, 127.

H. R. 264—Restoring the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims in certain claims in certain cases.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 127.

H. R. 265—To establish the National Chamber of Agriculture for the purpose of promoting the equitable distribution of farm products.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Agriculture, 127.

H. R. 266—To create two additional associate justices of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia and two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the District of Columbia, 127.

H. R. 267—Authorizing a report upon the feasibility of constructing the Colorado River Indian irrigation project.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.

H. R. 268—To authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.

H. R. 269—To authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 191), 7872.

H. R. 270—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.

H. R. 271—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 127.

H. R. 272—Authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of construction or operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 127.

H. R. 273—To extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forest, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 127.

H. R. 274—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the service of the United States as officers or enlisted men of the Organized Militia or National Guard from performing assessment work during the term of such service.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 127.

H. R. 275—Making an appropriation for the construction of roads within the Petrified Forest National Monument, Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Appropriations, 127.

H. R. 276—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Bisbee, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 127.

H. R. 277—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Flagstaff, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 127.

H. R. 278—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Kingman, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 127.

H. R. 279—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Yuma, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 127.

H. R. 280—To provide for the erection of a public building at Grand Canyon, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 281—To increase the cost of the public building at Globe, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 282—Amending the public-buildings act approved Mar. 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 283—To establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 128.

H. R. 284—To prohibit the issuance of licenses, permits, revenue stamps, or receipts for special taxes authorizing, licensing, or permitting the sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors in certain cases.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Ways and Means, 128.

H. R. 285—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 128.

H. R. 286—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 128.

H. R. 287—To prohibit the shipment of intoxicating liquors in interstate commerce.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 128.

H. R. 288—Making appropriation for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 128.

H. R. 289—To provide for the acquisition, ownership, and operation by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of all the street railroads located in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on the District of Columbia, 128.

H. R. 290—For the survey and construction of a public highway through the Superior National Forest, Minn.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Agriculture, 128.

H. R. 291—To punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 128.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 30), 1149.—Debated, 1590–1608, 1694–1722, 1750–1780, 1807–1842 [Appendix, 146, 151, 152, 243, 257, 269, 284, 289].—Amended and passed House, 1816, 1819, 1840, 1841.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1861.—Reported with amendment, 2014.—Debated, 2012–2017, 2055–2074, 2087–2122, 2164–2196, 2241–2271.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, made and withdrawn, 2013–2017, 2055.—Amended and passed Senate, 2270, 2271.—Senate asks for a conference, 2271.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to a conference, 2375.—Conference appointed, 2271, 2375.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 37) made in Senate, 3033.—Conference report (No. 65) made in House, 3063, 3124.—Conference report debated and recommitted to the committee of conference with instructions, 3124–3145 [Appendix, 608].—Conference report withdrawn in Senate, 3149.—Second conference report (S. Doc. No. 44) made in Senate, 3259.—Second conference report (No. 69) made and agreed to in House, 3266, 3301–3307.—Second conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 3439, 3440, 3492–3498.—Examined and signed, 3567, 3591.—Presented to the President, 3628.—Approved [Public, No. 24], 3870.

H. R. 292—To provide for the uniform selection and purchase of fuel to be used in the United States.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Mines and Mining, 128.

H. R. 293—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to collect and publish statistics on the production, manufacture, and marketing of crude petroleum.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Mines and Mining, 128.

H. R. 294—To provide for the appointment of an additional judge of the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Missouri.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on the Judiciary, 128.

H. R. 295—To amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the several States.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 128.

H. R. 296—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make investigations of lignite coals to determine the practicability of their utilization in producing benzol and other commercial products.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Appropriations, 128.

H. R. 297—Giving the right to make homestead entry to persons who have made and perfected homestead entries.
Mr. Norton; Committee on the Public Lands, 128.

H. R. 298—Granting 200,000 acres of land to the State of North Dakota for the use of the State normal school located at Dickinson, N. Dak., and for the use of the State normal school located at Minot, N. Dak.
Mr. Norton; Committee on the Public Lands, 128.

H. R. 299—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon in the city of Crosby, State of North Dakota.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 300—Providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Ada, Okla.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 301—Providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Coalgate, Okla.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 302—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Duncan, Okla.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 303—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Waurika, Okla.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 304—To amend an act to incorporate the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association, approved Mar. 4, 1911.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on the Judiciary, 128.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 305—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Anadarko, State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 306—Authorizing second homestead entries in certain cases.
Mr. Dill; Committee on the Public Lands, 128.

H. R. 307—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 128.

H. R. 308—Providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Sapulpa, Okla.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 128.

H. R. 309—To enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of Nov. 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 167.—Change of reference objected to, 795.

H. R. 310—To pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 167.

H. R. 311—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Lewisburg, in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 167.

H. R. 312—Authorizing the erection of a Federal building at Provincetown, Mass.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 167.

H. R. 313—For reduction of postage on first-class matter.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 167.

H. R. 314—Authorizing the erection of a building for the housing and accommodation of Government-owned automobiles on the Federal building site at Plymouth, Mass.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 167.

H. R. 315—To further amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 167.

H. R. 316—To extend the provisions of the pension acts of June 27, 1890, and Feb. 6, 1907, to the Enrolled Missouri Militia and other militia organizations of the State of Missouri that cooperated with the military or naval forces of the United States in suppressing the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 167.

H. R. 317—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make an examination of certain claims of the State of Missouri.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on War Claims, 167.

H. R. 318—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at the city of Cameron, in the State of Missouri.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 167.

H. R. 319—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at the city of Richmond, in the State of Missouri.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 167.

H. R. 320—To establish an agricultural plant, shrub, fruit and ornamental tree, berry, and vegetable experimental station at or near the city of Manston, Juneau County, in the State of Wisconsin, on reclaimed swamp land.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Agriculture, 167.

H. R. 321—To establish a fish hatchery in the seventh congressional district in the State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Esch; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 167.

H. R. 322—To amend an act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, approved June 29, 1906, as amended in section 4 by the act approved June 25, 1910.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 167.

H. R. 323—To promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by requiring the use of the block system and automatic train-control devices by common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 167.

H. R. 324—To promote the safety of employees and passengers on railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 167.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 325—To provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle and eastern judicial districts in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on the Judiciary, 168.

H. R. 326—Providing for the organization of an arm of Infantry service to be known and designated as the United States Volunteer Sharpshooters.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Military Affairs, 168.

H. R. 327—To provide for a tax upon all persons, firms, and corporations engaged in interstate mail-order business, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Ways and Means, 168.

H. R. 328—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 168.—Reported back (H. Rept. 18), 989.—Debated, 2018–2029.—Amended and passed House, 2029.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2052.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 43), 2631.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2631, 2632, 2699, 2700.—Senate asks for a conference, 2701.—Conference appointed in Senate, 2701.—House concurs in Senate amendment with an amendment, 2823, 2824.—Senate concurs in House amendment to Senate amendment, 2857.—Senate conferees discharged, 2857.—Examined and signed, 2961, 2964.—Presented to the President, 3025.—Approved [Public, No. 19], 3251.

H. R. 329—Referring certain claims against the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Indian Affairs, 168.

H. R. 330—For the construction of a breakwater at Nawiliwili Harbor, island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 168.

H. R. 331—Providing for a public-building board.
Mr. Frear; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 168.

H. R. 332—Creating a national waterway board.
Mr. Frear; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 168.

H. R. 333—To increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings; to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings; to authorize the erection and completion of certain public buildings; to authorize the purchase of sites for certain public buildings; to abolish the Office of Supervising Architect of the Treasury and to create and organize in the Treasury Department a bureau of public buildings and define its duties, powers, and jurisdiction; to create and establish the office of commissioner of public buildings; to fix the salary and prescribe the duties and powers of the said commissioner of public buildings; to create a board of estimates and prescribe its duties and powers; to provide for the standardization of certain classes of public buildings, and for other purposes.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 168.

H. R. 334—To authorize the payment of 50 per cent of the proceeds arising from the sale of timber from the national-forest reserves in the State of Arkansas to the promotion of agriculture, domestic economy, animal husbandry, and dairying within the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the Public Lands, 168.

H. R. 335—Authorizing the establishment of rural routes in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 168.

H. R. 336—To amend the practice and procedure in Federal courts.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the Judiciary, 168.

H. R. 337—To aid in the protection of the banks of White River at three points in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 168.

H. R. 338—To amend section 3279, Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Ways and Means, 168.

H. R. 339—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for cooperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture."
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Agriculture, 168.

H. R. 340—To make eligible for appointment ex-soldiers of the Union and Confederate Armies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 168.

H. R. 341—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Blytheville, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 168.

H. R. 342—To provide for appointment to places under the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the District of Columbia, 168.

H. R. 343—To amend the provision regarding newspapers in clause (b) of section 25 of an act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyrights," approved Mar. 4, 1909, as amended by an act approved Aug. 24, 1912, and also to amend section 40 of said act.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Patents, 168.

H. R. 344—For the regulation of salaries in the custodian service of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, 168.

H. R. 345—Making the fraudulent sale of war materials a felony punishable by imprisonment in time of peace and by death in time of war.
Mr. LaGuardia; Committee on the Judiciary, 168.

H. R. 346—To prevent the pollution of navigable rivers or other bodies of water under the control of the United States.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 168.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 347—Making an appropriation for the improvement of the Pawtucket River, R. I.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 168.

H. R. 348—Providing for a survey of Pawtucket River in the State of Rhode Island.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 168.

H. R. 349—To provide an extension to the post office at Jersey City, N. J.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 168.

H. R. 350—To provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 168.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 351—Providing a limitation upon the time for presentation and payment of claims against the Cherokee Nation authorized to be paid under existing law.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 168.

H. R. 352—Providing for the appointment of three commissions to the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma to examine and report the names of those adult restricted Indians from whom restrictions should be removed.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 168.

H. R. 353—Providing for an additional judge for the eastern district of Oklahoma.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on the Judiciary, 168.

H. R. 354—To amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions from part of the lands of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes," approved May 27, 1908, conferring jurisdiction upon district courts to partition lands belonging to full-blood heirs of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 168.

H. R. 355—To extend the franking privilege to the officers of the National Guard and Naval Militia.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 168.

H. R. 356—Authorizing the President to create a commission to adjust the differences between this Government and the belligerent nations.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 168.

H. R. 357—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 168.

H. R. 358—For completion of Federal building at Muskogee, Okla.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 168.

H. R. 359—To establish a fish-cultural station at some point in the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 168.

H. R. 360—Providing for a survey of Arkansas River, in the State of Oklahoma, with the view to making same navigable.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 168.

H. R. 361—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. John P. Finley to accept and wear a decoration presented by the Sultan of Turkey.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 168.

H. R. 362—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Mott; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 168.

H. R. 363—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equilize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 5, 1909.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Ways and Means, 168.

H. R. 364—To protect owners of trade-marks, labels, and similar property.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Patents, 168.

H. R. 365—To amend the copyright law passed Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Patents, 168.

H. R. 366—To regulate the sale of stocks, bonds, and other securities in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Mott; Committee on the District of Columbia, 168.

H. R. 367—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended by an act approved Feb. 5, 1903, and as further amended by an act approved June 15, 1906, and an act approved June 25, 1910.
Mr. Mott; Committee on the Judiciary, 168.

H. R. 368—To pension the National Guards of East Tennessee.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 168.

H. R. 369—To provide for the erection of a building for the Supervising Architect of the Treasury.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 169.

H. R. 370—For the establishment of a fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 169.

H. R. 371—To provide for the collection, transcription, and publication of material relating to the history of the United States.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Library, 169.

H. R. 372—To protect honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines employed under the civil service who are rated as "good" from discharge or reduction from said service.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 169.

H. R. 373—To establish a fresh-water mussel hatchery on the banks of the Clinch River, in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 169.

H. R. 374—Providing for the marking and protection of the battle field known as Fort Sanders, in Knox County, Tenn., and for the erection of a monument thereon.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 375—To provide for the erection of a statue or monument to the memory of Gen. John Sevier.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Library, 169.

H. R. 376—For erecting a suitable memorial to Admiral David Glasgow Farragut.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Library, 169.

H. R. 377—To create a board to correct military records.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 378—To pension widows and minor children of officers or enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 169.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 379—To provide for the construction, maintenance, and improvement of post roads and rural delivery routes through the cooperation and joint action of the National Government and the several States in which such post roads or rural delivery routes may be established.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Appropriations, 169.

H. R. 380—To amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes, to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 381—To authorize the Postmaster General to establish a station, substation, or branch post office in certain communities.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 169.

H. R. 382—To establish a fish hatchery and biological station on the Little River, in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 169.

H. R. 383—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Rockwood, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 169.

H. R. 384—To prohibit interstate carriers from transporting products of any factory or mine in which convicts are worked.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 169.

H. R. 385—To incorporate the Colored Association of Railway Employees.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Judiciary, 169.

H. R. 386—Extending the benefits of the acts of June 27, 1890; May 9, 1900; and Feb. 6, 1907, to the officers and enlisted men of Capt. David Beaty's company of independent scouts, Civil War, and to their widows and minor children.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 169.

H. R. 387—For reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 169.

H. R. 388—Authorizing the establishment of a plant at or near Knoxville, Tenn., for the manufacture of munitions and implements of war.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 389—To levy a tax upon the issuance of coupons, prize tickets, and other devices, and on the redemption, payment, purchase, or exchange of coupons, prize tickets, tags, bands, or other articles, things, or parts of articles or things that shall have been attached to or packed in or with or formed a part of or encircling or given with any manufactured goods, merchandise, or wares.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Ways and Means, 169.

H. R. 390—Authorizing the Tennessee Hydro Electric Co., its successors and assigns, to build, maintain, and operate dams across Clinch and Powell Rivers, in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 169.

H. R. 391—To reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 169.

H. R. 392—Making an appropriation for the erection of a statue to Robert Love Taylor.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Library, 169.

H. R. 393—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay interest and expenses incurred to and by the owners of lots, pieces, or parcels of land acquired by the United States for the enlargement of the Capitol Grounds.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 169.

H. R. 394—To provide a commission to secure site, plans, and design for a school to train negro soldiers.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 395—To provide for the erection of an Army and Navy hospital at Knoxville, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 396—Requiring the flag of the United States to be displayed at educational institutions to which officers of Army or Navy are assigned, at agricultural colleges or experiment stations receiving Government aid, and at ambassadors', ministers', consuls', and consular agents' offices.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 397—To create in the War and Navy Departments, respectively, a roll to be known as the "Civil War officers' annuity honor roll," to authorize placing thereon with pay certain surviving officers who served in the Volunteer or Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War and who are not now on the retired list of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, and for other purposes.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 398—For the relief of the survivors of the shipwreck of the steamboat Sultana.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 169.

H. R. 399—To do justice to the Home Guards of Scott County, Tenn., and to grant honorable discharges and pensions under existing pension laws.
Mr. Austin; Committee on War Claims, 169.

H. R. 400—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make monthly settlements to certain persons borne on the pension rolls.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 169.

H. R. 401—To apply a portion of the proceeds of the sales of public lands to the endowment of schools or departments of mines and mining, and to regulate the expenditure thereof.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Mines and Mining, 169.

H. R. 402—Making an appropriation for the payment of certain claims growing out of the Civil War.
Mr. Austin; Committee on War Claims, 169.

H. R. 403—For increasing the salaries and for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 169.

H. R. 404—Making an appropriation to construct a national home for aged and infirm colored people and working girls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Austin; Committee on War Claims, 169.

H. R. 405—For increasing the salaries and for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 169.

H. R. 406—To supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 169.

H. R. 407—Granting a pension to Charles A. Wilkerson.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 170.

H. R. 408—Granting a pension to Lorens Stoser.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 170.

H. R. 409—Granting a pension to Frank Smith.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 170.

H. R. 410—Granting a pension to James Rupe.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 170.

H. R. 411—Granting a pension to Mary E. Bacon.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 412—Granting a pension to Bertrand Cook.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 413—Granting a pension to James Boyer.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 170.

H. R. 414—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Moore.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 415—Granting a pension to Arminda J. Osborn.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 416—Granting a pension to Barton Ellison.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 417—Granting a pension to Bradford H. Bennett.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 418—Granting a pension to Richard Truex.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 419—Granting a pension to Rachel O. Noah.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 420—Granting a pension to Eri Bentin Mullin.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 421—Granting a pension to Henry C. Poe.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 422—Granting a pension to George Baxter.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 423—Granting a pension to Jonas Cook.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 424—Granting a pension to Catharine J. Thomas.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 425—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Morrison.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 426—Granting a pension to Rebecca Schofield.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 427—Granting a pension to Thomas T. Pratt.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 428—Granting a pension to Jeremiah R. Whitsell.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 429—Granting a pension to Ambrose Giseburt.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 430—Granting a pension to Wilburn Munkers.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 431—Granting a pension to Phillip Gentry.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 432—Granting a pension to Martha J. Jackson.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 433—Granting a pension to Sabina Pierce.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 434—Granting a pension to Archibald Groom.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 435—Granting a pension to George W. Drake.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 436—Granting a pension to Fannie Wells.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 437—Granting a pension to John Crump.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 438—Granting a pension to Nathan G. Dillen.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

H. R. 439—Granting a pension to Susan Smith.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 170.

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H. R. 1124—To correct the military record of John Cole.
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H. R. 1125—To correct the military record of Lewis Corfman.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Military Affairs, 179.

H. R. 1126—To correct the military record of John Bassler.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Military Affairs, 179.

H. R. 1127—To remove the charge of desertion and grant an honorable discharge to Samuel Bordner.
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H. R. 1128—To remove the charge of desertion and grant an honorable discharge to Isaac Messick or Merrick.
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H. R. 1129—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William Earl.
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H. R. 1130—To revoke the order dismissing Lieut. Lanson Zane, Tenth Independent Battery Ohio Light Artillery, from the service and grant him an honorable discharge.
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Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 179.

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Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 179.

H. R. 1154—Granting an increase of pension to John Wilson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 179.

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Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 179.

H. R. 1156—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Mead.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 179.

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H. R. 1159—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Campbell.
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H. R. 1355—Granting an increase of pension to Seymour Norman.
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H. R. 1356—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Brier.
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H. R. 1357—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Shreve.
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H. R. 1358—Granting an increase of pension to Pheba J. Hawkins.
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H. R. 1359—Granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Patterson.
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H. R. 1360—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore M. Reynolds.
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H. R. 1363—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Heiskell.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

H. R. 1364—Granting an increase of pension to Malinda Tuttle.
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H. R. 1365—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Fulkineer.
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H. R. 1366—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ryan.
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H. R. 1370—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

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Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

H. R. 1372—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Atherton.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

H. R. 1373—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Alley.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

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H. R. 1375—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Bumgardner.
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H. R. 1376—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob W. Burge.
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H. R. 1377—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Briggs.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

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H. R. 1379—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda A. Perine.
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H. R. 1388—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Moore.
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H. R. 1398—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Roseberry.
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H. R. 1399—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Roe.
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Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 182.

H. R. 1401—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ryan.
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H. R. 1408—To amend and correct the military record of Henry H. Willis.
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Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 182.

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H. R. 1413—For the relief of Henry Borman.
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Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 182.

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H. R. 1418—To reimburse L. W. Dragoo, formerly postmaster at Smithfield, Wetzel County, W. Va., for money, money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
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H. R. 1422—For the relief of William B. Fowler.
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H. R. 1443—For the relief of James Diamond for horse lost while hired by the United States Forest Service.
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H. R. 1581—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac R. Raines.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1582—Granting a pension to Jay W. Perkins.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1583—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Rupert.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1584—Granting an increase of pension to Silas G. Thomas.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1585—Granting an increase of pension to Dabner D. Wright.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1586—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel H. Guthery.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1587—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Fagin.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1588—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Eaton.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1589—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Clark.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1590—Granting an increase of pension to William Henry Jenkins.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1591—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton L. Karr.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1592—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin B. Cravens.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1593—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Ambrosier.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1594—Granting a pension to William Poland.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1595—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Duffington.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1596—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Chaney.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1597—Granting a pension to Josephine G. Linn.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1598—Granting a pension to Leroy E. Cuckow.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1599—Granting a pension to Chester E. Green.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1600—Granting an increase of pension to Ray W. Burkdoll.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1601—Granting an increase of pension to Mary R. Bacon.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1602—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Curtis.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1603—Granting an increase of pension to Virginia O. Riley.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1604—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Scott.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1605—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Vitteto.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1606—Granting an increase of pension to Albert B. Clark.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1607—For the relief of David E. Gray.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 185.

H. R. 1608—For the relief of Elmer Howe.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Claims, 185.

H. R. 1609—For the relief of Michael Curran.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1610—For the relief of Frank Ferrin.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1611—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to John Zimmerman for certain lands in the Colorado National Forest upon the surrender of other lands of an equal acreage also located in the Colorado National Forest, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Lands, 185.

H. R. 1612—Granting a pension to Margaret I. Barrett.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1613—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Harris.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1614—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Olewiler.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1615—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Wagner.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1616—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Snyder.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1617—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta C. Ilgenfritz.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1618—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Boll.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1619—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Bose.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1620—Granting an increase of pension to Emma R. Arnold.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1621—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Yoh.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1622—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rively.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1623—Granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as a result of an accident at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Naval Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1624—For the relief of Richard Sheehan.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Claims, 185.

H. R. 1625—For the relief of Henry Borrowes.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1626—To correct the lineal and relative rank of First Lieut. Thomas J. Leary, Medical Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1627—Granting a pension to Charles H. Williams.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1628—Granting a pension to Sylvester O. Phinney.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1629—Granting a pension to Albert Krick.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1630—Granting a pension to Carrie C. Washburn.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1631—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Peterson.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1632—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Damon.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1633—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Sadler.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1634—For the relief of E. W. Rohmeling.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 185.

H. R. 1635—For the relief of William Befuhs, alias Charles Cameron, Company B, Twenty-eighth Masachusetts Volunteer Infantry.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1636—Granting an increase of pension to Adaline B. Hopkins.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1637—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Foster.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1638—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Nutter.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1639—For the relief of the legal representatives of George W. Soule.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Claims, 185.

H. R. 1640—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin M. Curtis.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1641—Granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Hart.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1642—Granting an increase of pension to George D. King.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1643—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Stine.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1644—Granting an increase of pension to Richard H. Hughes.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1645—Granting a pension to Robert G. Medlin.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1646—Granting a pension to George W. Oblisk.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1647—Granting a pension to John Sawicki.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1648—Granting a pension to Mose Attaway.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1649—Granting a pension to William McCann.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 185.

H. R. 1650—For the relief of W. T. Dingler.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Claims, 185.

H. R. 1651—To correct the military record of Thomas Lee.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 185.

H. R. 1652—To grant certain lands to the town of La Junta, Colo.
Mr. Keating; Committee on the Public Lands, 299.

H. R. 1653—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county commissioners of Wayne County, Ind., two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Military Affairs, 299.

H. R. 1654—To regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 299.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 1655—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 299.—Reported back (H. Rept. 41), 1843.

H. R. 1656—To provide for the erection of a public building at Sedalia, Mo.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1657—To provide for the prohibition of the importation of intoxicating liquors into the Territory of Hawaii and to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors therein under certain conditions.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on the Territories, 299.

H. R. 1658—Establishing the Wilson Creek National Military Park.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Military Affairs, 299.

H. R. 1659—Vesting jurisdiction in the Court of Claims to entertain the claim of Charles A. Morrison, as administrator de bonis non of the estate of William Morrison, deceased, against the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on War Claims, 299.

H. R. 1660—Creating an additional judge in the western district of Missouri
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 299.

H. R. 1661—Providing for the erection and completion of a public building at the city of Forrest City, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1662—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved Feb. 17, 1911.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 299.

H. R. 1663—To amend an act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes, approved Mar. 3, 1915.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 299.

H. R. 1664—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lafollette, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1665—To provide for a commission to visit foreign countries.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Labor, 299.

H. R. 1666—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lenoir City, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1667—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lafollette, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1368—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Clinton, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1669—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Jefferson City, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1670—To provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Jefferson City, Tenn.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1671—To amend an act entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved Mar. 2, 1907.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 299.

H. R. 1672—To authorize sale of certain land in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on the Public Lands, 299.

H. R. 1673—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Albertville, Ala.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1674—To provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Attalla, Ala.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1675—To further regulate the entrance of Chinese aliens into the United States.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 299.

H. R. 1676—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to offer and pay rewards to any person giving a successful plan for preventing or exterminating boll weevils.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Agriculture, 299.

H. R. 1677—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Bloomington, Ill.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1678—To permit the United States to be made a party defendant in certain cases.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on the Judiciary, 299.

H. R. 1679—Granting the consent of Congress to the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 299.—Reported back (H. Rept. 22), 1069.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 1006), 2029.

H. R. 1680—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to offer a prize for a device or plan to protect vessels against submarine attack.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Appropriations, 299.

H. R. 1681—To confer upon the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma the authority now conferred by law upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior respecting lands allotted to the enrolled members of the Five Civilized Tribes and their individual moneys.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 299.—Reported back (H. Rept. 196), 7872.—Report withdrawn, 7906.

H. R. 1682—To effect certain reforms in the civil service by segregating clerks and employees of the white race from those of African blood and descent.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 299.

H. R. 1683—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Thomson, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1684—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Tennille, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1685—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Sparta, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 299.

H. R. 1686—Providing for the termination of pensions to persons residing outside of the United States and its Territories.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Pensions, 299.

H. R. 1687—Providing for a military highway between Fort Oglethorpe, via Fort McPherson, and the Government arsenal at Augusta, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 299.

H. R. 1688—To prohibit in the District of Columbia the intermarriage of whites with Ethiopians, Malays, or Mongolians.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on the District of Columbia, 299.

H. R. 1689—To require all transportation companies, firms, and persons within the District of Columbia to provide separate accommodations for the white and negro races and to prescribe punishments and penalties for violating its provisions.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on the District of Columbia, 299.

H. R. 1690—For the reduction of postage rates on first-class matter.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 300.

H. R. 1691—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.—Reported back (H. Rept. 4), 610.

H. R. 1692—To provide a board of administrative control under the direction of the President of the United States.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Ways and Means, 300.

H. R. 1693—To provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Mines and Mining, 300.

H. R. 1694—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Montrose, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1695—To establish an agricultural experiment station on the western slope of Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Agriculture, 300.

H. R. 1696—To increase the limit of cost of the United States public building at Durango, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1697—To authorize the use of the revenues in the Mesa Verde National Park in the management of the same, and the construction, repair, and improvement of roads, trails, and bridges in the park.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1698—Divesting goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured by convicts or by convict labor of their interstate character in certain cases.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 300.

H. R. 1699—To establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in Garfield County, State of Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 300.

H. R. 1700—Granting certain coal lands to the city of Grand Junction, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1701—To establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in La Plata County, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 300.

H. R. 1702—Providing for the establishment of a Weather Bureau station at Delta, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Agriculture, 300.

H. R. 1703—For the construction of a national road from Grand Junction, Colo., to and through the Colorado National Monument.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Appropriations, 300.

H. R. 1704—To require common carriers engaged in interstate commerce by railroad to equip all locomotive engines used in interstate traffic in transportation of trains with headlights of not less than 1,500 candlepower, and to provide a penalty for the violation of the same, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 300.

H. R. 1705—To prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to minors within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, 300.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 1706—To prevent the employment of females in mills, factories, or manufacturing establishments for a longer period than eight hours
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Labor, 300.

H. R. 1707—Prohibiting Senators, Representatives, or Delegates from receiving compensation or acting as counsel in certain matters where the United States is interested, or for parties or corporations engaged in interstate commerce.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.

H. R. 1708—To appropriate money for the erection of an ordnance and munition plant in the fourth congressional district of Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 300.

H. R. 1709—To prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors in any ship, naval station, or building used, controlled, or owned by the United States Government.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, 300.

H. R. 1710—To amend the acts to regulate commerce so as to provide that publishers of newspapers and periodicals may enter into advertising contracts with common carriers and receive payment for such advertisements in transportation.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 300.

H. R. 1711—Making an appropriation for a series of investigations and experiments for the purpose of devising a system of frost prevention in the fruit-growing sections of the Rocky Mountain region of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Agriculture, 300.

H. R. 1712—Concerning the mineral springs of Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Appropriations, 300.

H. R. 1713—Conveying Trappers Lake to the State of Colorado.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1714—To make "The Star-Spangled Banner" the national anthem of the United States of America.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.

H. R. 1715—To prevent the desecration of the flag of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.

H. R. 1716—To provide for a homestead entry on water-power sites.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1717—Permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry or other entry of the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1718—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize entry of the public lands by incorporated cities and towns for cemetery and park purposes," approved Sept. 30, 1890, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1719—To authorize the establishment of game preserves and sanctuaries in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1720—Granting 50,000 acres of land to the State of Colorado for the use of the State normal school at Gunnison, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1721—To provide for the sale and development of certain public lands and for the construction and maintenance of public roads.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 300.

H. R. 1722—To provide for the publication of an official journal.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Printing, 300.

H. R. 1723—To provide for the construction of the San Juan Railway, in Colorado and New Mexico, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Railways and Canals, 300.

H. R. 1724—Providing for purchase of site and for public building at New Brighton, N. Y.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1725—For the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Camilla, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1726—To establish an agricultural plant, shrub, fruit and ornamental tree, berry, and vegetable experimental station at or near the city of Colquitt, Miller County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Agriculture, 300.

H. R. 1727—For the acquisition of the site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Sylvester, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1728—To repeal an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, approved July 1, 1898, and all amendments thereto.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.

H. R. 1729—To promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 300.

H. R. 1730—To refund amount paid illegally for cotton tax, to be used in pensioning Confederate soldiers and widows of Confederate soldiers.
Mr. Park; Committee on War Claims, 300.

H. R. 1731—To authorize the President of the United States to advance officers on the retired list who were wounded in battle in the service of the United States.
Mr. Park; Committee on Military Affairs, 300.

H. R. 1732—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 300.

H. R. 1733—To provide for a survey and estimate of cost of a canal connecting the waters of the Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Railways and Canals, 300.

H. R. 1734—To increase the salaries of the United States district attorney and United States marshal for the southern district of Georgia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 300.

H. R. 1735—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Corning, in the State of Iowa.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 300.

H. R. 1736—To pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 300.

H. R. 1737—To amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 300.

H. R. 1738—Amending the act of May 11, 1912.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 301.

H. R. 1739—Granting pensions to certain members of the so-called Treasury Guards, who served in the Civil War, and to their widows.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 301.

H. R. 1740—To provide for the labeling and tagging of furniture and of all articles of design, ornamentation, and decoration intended to be used or offered for sale as furniture or as interior decoration, such as would be used in place of or instead of wood-carving ornamentation, wherein such wood-carving decoration is composed, shaped, pressed, cast, or fashioned, in whole or in part, of any substance or composition and affixed or attached thereto in any way, which is other or different from the material of which such furniture or interior decoration purports, appears, or is represented to be made, and to prohibit the simulation or representation of hand wood-carving decoration and ornament by articles composed of any material and formed or fashioned by any device to represent wood hand carving and affixed to furniture or used as interior decoration, intended for sale or offered for sale, which enter into interstate commerce, and to provide penalties for misrepresentation.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 301.

H. R. 1741—To amend an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 301.

H. R. 1742—To provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1743—To establish a fish-cultural station at some point in the third congressional district of Missouri.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1744—To amend section 4433 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to working steam pressure allowable on boilers in steam vessels, and section 4418 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to hydrostatic test of steam boilers.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1745—To provide for a change in the designation of the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1746—Amending the eighth paragraph of section 4414 of the Revised Statutes, so as to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to appoint assistant inspectors in districts or ports where the exigencies of the service require.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1747—To permit the use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels carrying passengers.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1748—To protect and conserve the halibut fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, to establish closed seasons in halibut fishing in certain waters thereof, and to restrict the landing of halibut in the United States of America and the Territory of Alaska during the closed seasons established.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1749—To provide for appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of vessels, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1750—To amend an act to regulate navigation on the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters by allowing certain fog signals to be used by vessels at anchor.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1751—To amend an act to adopt regulations for preventing collision upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, by allowing certain fog signals to be used by vessels at anchor.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1752—To punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 301.

H. R. 1753—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 301.

H. R. 1754—To appropriate $100,000 for the improvement of navigation on Red River in Louisiana and Arkansas.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 301.

H. R. 1755—To appropriate $30,000 to remove logs from Sabine River and condemn and expropriate them.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 301.

H. R. 1756—Providing for the survey of Dorcheat Bayou, in Webster, Bienville, and Bossier Parishes, La.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 301.

H. R. 1757—To provide for a site and public building at Mansfield, La.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 301.

H. R. 1758—To change the age limits for enlistments.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Military Affairs, 301.

H. R. 1759—To appropriate $300,000 for the improvement of Baltimore Harbor, Md., and the approaches thereto.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 301.

H. R. 1760—For the improvement of Honolulu Harbor, Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 301.

H. R. 1761—To establish a new judicial circuit of the United States with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the tenth circuit.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on the Judiciary, 301.

H. R. 1762—To amend and reenact an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 301.

H. R. 1763—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Sept. 8, 1916.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 301.

H. R. 1764—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Spencer, W. Va.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 301.

H. R. 1765—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of West New York, county of Hudson, State of New Jersey, four condemned bronze or brass cannon, with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 301.

H. R. 1766—To provide for the payment of assessments for benefits for the opening of streets, avenues, roads, and alleys in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the District of Columbia, 301.

H. R. 1767—To regulate appointments and promotions in the municipal government of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the District of Columbia, 301.

H. R. 1768—To establish a school and home for feeble-minded persons of the District of Columbia, to be known as the Columbia Training School, and providing for the legal commitment of feeble-minded persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the District of Columbia, 301.

H. R. 1769—To provide for the commissioning of midshipmen as ensigns upon graduation from the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 301.

H. R. 1770—To authorize the President in time of war or of national emergency to requisition or take over ships, boats, and other water craft for the use of the Government.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 301.—Reported back (H. Rept. 9), 661.

H. R. 1771—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 301.—Reported back (H. Rept. 6), 661.—Amended and passed House, 860.—Passed Senate, 891, 892.—Examined and signed, 921, 952.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 4], —.

H. R. 1772—Granting a pension to William Hopkins.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1773—Granting a pension to Herman Platz.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1774—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Sailor.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1775—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra L. Eckis.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1776—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe A. Jones.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1777—Granting a pension to Burton Erwin.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1778—Granting a pension to Wilburn Doyle.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1779—Granting a pension to Charles E. Herrin.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1780—Granting a pension to Lee Frazier.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1781—Granting a pension to Henry C. Betz.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1782—Granting a pension to Rufus S. Tucker.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1783—Granting a pension to Luella Kirtland.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1784—Granting a pension to D. A. Hollind.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1785—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Gilbert.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1786—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Gwin.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1787—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar H. Cox.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1788—Granting an increase of pension to Ernst H. Neubauer.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1789—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Rattray.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1790—For the relief of the heirs of Orville J. Davenport.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on War Claims, 302.

H. R. 1791—For the relief of the heirs of Joseph E. Davenport.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on War Claims, 302.

H. R. 1792—For the relief of the heirs of Bennett Robertson.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on War Claims, 302.

H. R. 1793—For the relief of W. H. Cleere.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1794—For the relief of the heirs of George W. Bush.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on War Claims, 302.

H. R. 1795—For the relief of the heirs of Elijah Glass.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on War Claims, 302.

H. R. 1796—To reimburse D. H. Carpenter, postmaster at Seddon, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Seddon, Ala., and repaid by him to the Post Office Department.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1797—For the relief of Joseph A. Choate.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Military Affairs, 302.

H. R. 1798—To appoint Henry F. Grimm, jr., an ensign on the active list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 302.

H. R. 1799—Granting an increase of pension to John Spears.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1800—Granting a pension to Margaret Dunham.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1801—For the relief of William S. Colvin.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1802—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel W. Jewell.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1803—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline J. McBratney.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1804—Granting a pension to Elijah J. J. Newby.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1805—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Dippel.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1806—For the relief of Edward J. Brophy.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 302.

H. R. 1807—Granting a pension to Frank H. McCoy.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1808—Granting a pension to Thomas F. Moore.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1809—Granting a pension to Simon Whitney.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1810—Granting a pension to Eliza K. Leman.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1811—For the relief of Bridget M. Edwards.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1812—For the relief of Jennie H. Brown.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1813—For the relief of Joseph Manning.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Claims, 302.

H. R. 1814—Granting a pension to George B. Bolender.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1815—Granting a pension to Charles N. Benson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1816—Granting a pension to George Rice.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1817—Granting a pension to George Tuffendsam.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1818—Granting a pension to Theodore J. Kountz.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1819—Granting a pension to James E. Martin.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1820—Granting a pension to James Heyburn.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1821—Granting a pension to John Flanagan.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1822—Granting a pension to Charles H. Jennings.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 302.

H. R. 1823—Granting a pension to John Devon.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1824—Granting a pension to James Cassidy.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1825—Granting a pension to Sarah Ellen Canton.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1826—Granting an increase of pension to Hart Thompson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1827—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Grecley.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1828—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Mullen.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1829—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph N. Abbott.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1830—Granting an increase of pension to William Myers.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1831—For the relief of Kate Chatean.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Military Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1832—For the relief of the United States Commerce Co.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1833—For the relief of Lamont-Corliss & Co.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1834—For the relief of Anthony J. Coccaro.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1835—For the relief of Hausen & Dieckmann.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1836—For the relief of P. E. Anderson & Co.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1837—For the relief of the Henningsen Produce Co.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1838—For the relief of the estate of Isabella H. Silvey.
Mr. Mott; Committee on War Claims, 303.

H. R. 1839—Providing for the refund to Thomas & Pierson, of New York City, of certain duties upon abandoned goods under paragraph 10 of section 3 of the tariff act of Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1840—Granting a pension to John F. Herold.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1841—Granting a pension to Cyrus G. Jackson.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1842—Granting a pension to Israel Wolf.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1843—Granting a pension to Martin W. Morganson.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1844—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew G. Kramer.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1845—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Newell.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1846—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Porter.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1847—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome Shamp.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1848—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Sheeler.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1849—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Smith.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1850—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Zimmerman.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1851—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Sanders.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1852—Granting an increase of pension to Otis S. Mason.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1853—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Mangon.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1854—Granting an increase of pension to Robert McMillen.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1855—Granting an increase of pension to Henry G. Bullitt.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1856—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Brannan.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1857—Granting an increase of pension to Fred A. Angelo.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1858—Granting an increase of pension to Norman B. Yarwood.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1859—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Curtin.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1860—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Houlihan.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1861—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Van Name.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1862—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Melsen.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1863—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. H. V. Holdsworth.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1864—Granting an increase of pension to Matthew J. McKeen.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1865—Granting a pension to Michael Grace.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1866—Granting a pension to John Delaney.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1867—Granting a pension to Joseph F. Flynn.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1868—Granting a pension to Bridget McCarthy.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1869—Granting a pension to Herman E. Jansen.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1870—Granting a pension to Katharine Wilkins.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1871—Granting a pension to Henry Padoult.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1872—For the relief of Edmund F. Jenkins.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1873—For the relief of Thomas Campbell.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1874—For the relief of William E. Farrell.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1875—For the relief of Maurice Spillane, alias Maurice Splan.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1876—For the relief of Maurice Edgar Rose, late assistant surgeon, United States Navy.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1877—For the relief of William H. Sullivan.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1878—For the relief of Clarence F. Birkett.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1879—For the relief of Bridgett McGrane.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1880—For the relief of Thomas Crowley.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 303.

H. R. 1881—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Delaney.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1882—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Washington E. Hall, alias John Duffy.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 303.

H. R. 1883—Granting a pension to Mollie N. Cope.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1884—Granting a pension to Sallie Blevins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1885—Granting a pension to Melvina A. Argenbright.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1886—Granting a pension to John K. Miller.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1887—Granting a pension to Jesse Kivette.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1888—Granting a pension to Addie Holt.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1889—Granting a pension to William Estes.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1890—Granting a pension to Callaway Williams.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1891—Granting a pension to James C. Presley.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1892—Granting a pension to Frederick E. Ogle.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1893—Granting a pension to W. B. Reynolds.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1894—Granting a pension to Charles H. Ricker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1895—Granting a pension to William C. Scott.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1896—Granting a pension to Emma E. Lithco.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1897—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Pleasant.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1898—Granting an increase of pension to David W. White.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1899—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Wilcox.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1900—Granting an increase of pension to Eveline Jenkins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1901—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Chambers.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1902—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Miller.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1903—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Reece.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1904—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel F. Stanley.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 303.

H. R. 1905—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Stout.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1906—Granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Woodby.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1907—Granting an increase of pension to Romain M. Hawkins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1908—Granting an increase of pension to Rial Jennings.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1909—Granting an increase of pension to Harris Bell.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1910—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Brewer.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1911—Granting an increase of pension to Noah Collins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1912—Granting a pension to William Brown, alias Daniel Mulligan.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1913—Granting a pension to Jenkin Williams.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1914—Granting a pension to John Bresett.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1915—Granting a pension to Lavinia M. Goe.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1916—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Rivers.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1917—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Hitchcock.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1918—Granting a pension to G. T. Crowder.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1919—Granting a pension to Harry N. Gates.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1920—Granting an increase of pension to Frank P. Lawrence.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1921—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Mayes.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1922—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene B. Justice.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1923—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Kinne.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1924—Granting an increase of pension to Ralph E. Evans.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1925—Granting a pension to Pauline A. Randt.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1926—Granting a pension to Milo M. Miller.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1927—Granting a pension to Charles C. Sterling.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1928—Granting a pension to Mary L. Steere.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1929—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Bess.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1930—Granting a pension to Benjamin Coward, invalid son of John Coward.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1931—Granting a pension to Annie S. Blanchard.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1932—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Looby.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1933—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Prisk.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1934—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Moore.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1935—Granting an increase of pension to William McDonald.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1936—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Shwimmer.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1937—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Doolittle.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1938—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Seneff.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1939—Granting an increase of pension to Susan A. Blaisdell.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1940—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin H. Miner.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1941—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Thompson.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1942—For the relief of the Peoples Bank, of Bloomington, McLean County, Ill.
Mr. Sterling of Illinois; Committee on Claims, 304.

H. R. 1943—For the relief of Humphrey D. Jones.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1944—For the relief of Louis S. Barrett.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Claims, 304.

H. R. 1945—For the relief of Alexander T. Graham.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1946—For the relief of Walter Parks.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1947—For the relief of Frank Bowers.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Claims, 304.

H. R. 1948—For the relief of Harriet F. Hibben.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Claims, 304.

H. R. 1949—Granting a pension to Albert V. Lawson.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1950—Granting a pension to Augusta A. Richard.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1951—Granting a pension to Hannah M. Allen.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1952—Granting a pension to Samuel Breitigan.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1953—Granting a pension to Johanna Edmonds.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1954—For the relief of Charles Lynch.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1955—Granting a pension to Edward F. Connors.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1956—Granting a pension to James F. Connell.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1957—Granting a pension to John H. Cunningham, alias John H. Curley.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1958—Granting a pension to Michael S. Kane.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1959—Granting a pension to William A. Martin.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1960—Granting a pension to Mary A. Bowen.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1961—Granting a pension to Edgar Norton.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1962—Granting a pension to Richard R. Hill.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1963—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Maxfield.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1964—For the relief of William J. Kerrigan.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1965—For the relief of Maxwell Carpenter.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1966—For the relief of Jeremiah McCraith.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1967—For the relief of Andrew Browning Atwell, alias Andrew Browning.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1968—For the relief of Patrick H. Murphy, alias Henry Watson.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1969—To correct the military record of Thomas Duffy.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1970—For the relief of Dennis J. Neagle.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Naval Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1971—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Clarence C. Taft.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Naval Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1972—Granting a pension to Thomas O. Wiley.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1973—Granting a pension to Edward Shaw.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1974—Granting a pension to James R. Medlock.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1975—Granting a pension to James Law, alias John Armstrong.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1976—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Clinton.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1977—For the relief of Thomas W. Killion.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Claims, 304.

H. R. 1978—To remove the charge of desertion against William H. Carter.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1979—To remove the charge of desertion against Carlos R. Thompkins.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Military Affairs, 304.

H. R. 1980—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Gay.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1981—Granting a pension to William C. Leonard.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1982—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Baker.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 304.

H. R. 1983—Granting an increase of pension to John Mallett.
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H. R. 1986—Granting an increase of pension to George J. Wilson.
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H. R. 1987—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Starr.
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H. R. 1989—Granting an increase of pension to Warren Burch.
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H. R. 1990—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Pratt.
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H. R. 1991—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Ayers.
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H. R. 1992—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin A. Jefferies.
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H. R. 1993—For the relief of James A. Showen.
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H. R. 1994—For the relief of Bessie Meek, wife of Gordon H. Meek, deceased.
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H. R. 1995—To correct the military record of Stephen A. West.
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H. R. 1996—To correct the military record of J. H. McGrew.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 305.

H. R. 1997—To correct the military record of Charles R. Pennybacker.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Naval Affairs, 305.

H. R. 1998—For the purpose of limiting the activities of certain officers and employees of the Government.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 414.

H. R. 1999—To create a commission on illiteracy to be known as the American Illiteracy Commission.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Appropriations, 414.

H. R. 2000—Providing for the purchase of certain inventions and designs of aircraft parts of Edwin Fairfax Naulty.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Appropriations, 414.

H. R. 2001—To increase the quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville, Ind., making appropriations for the erection thereon of a building.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Appropriations, 414.

H. R. 2002—Providing for a memorial to Clara Barton in the building occupied by the American National Red Cross.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Library, 414.

H. R. 2003—For the improvement of the East River, N. Y., including Hell Gate, Diamond Reef, and Buttermilk Channels, that will best provide adequate facilities for operations of the fleet for defense of New York Harbor.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 414.—Motion to discharge committee, 3386.

H. R. 2004—To enlarge, extend, and make additions to, fireproof, and further improve the post-office building at Shenandoah, Iowa.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 414.

H. R. 2005—To create two divisions in the western judicial district of South Carolina.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on the Judiciary, 414.

H. R. 2006—For the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on the Public Lands, 414.

H. R. 2007—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Silver City, N. Mex.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 414.

H. R. 2008—To provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 414.—Reported back (H. Rept. 8), 661.—Debated and passed House, 858–860.—Passed Senate, 891, 892.—Examined and signed, 921, 952.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 5].

H. R. 2009—For continuing work on the Indian highway extending from the Mesa Verde National Park, Colo., to Gallup, N. Mex., on the Navajo Indian Reservation.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Indian Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2010—Granting public lands to certain soldiers and sailors and their widows and minor children.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 414.

H. R. 2011—Granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth Presnell.
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H. R. 2012.—For the relief of Mrs. W. E. Crawford.
Mr. Almon; Committee on Claims, 414.

H. R. 2013—To reimburse J. B. Patterson, postmaster of Lacon, Morgan County, Ala., for certain postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Almon; Committee on Claims, 414.

H. R. 2014—Granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Butts.
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H. R. 2015—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Evans.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2016—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Thurston.
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H. R. 2017—To remove the charge of desertion from John Lyons.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Military Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2018—Granting an increase of pension to Pary McNair.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2019—Granting a pension to Isaac D. Caldwell.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2020—Granting a pension to M. M. Sayers.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2021—Granting a pension to William C. Shaffer.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2022—Granting a pension to A. J. Cline.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 414.

H. R. 2023—To reinstate Elwin Carlton Taylor as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2024—For the relief of the estate of Antonia Sousa, deceased.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Claims, 414.

H. R. 2025—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Alice E. Davis, heir at law of John C. Davis, deceased.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on War Claims, 414.

H. R. 2026—To appoint Allen M. Sumner a captain on the active list of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2027—To execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the heirs of William Pollock, deceased.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on War Claims, 414.

H. R. 2028—Granting a pension to George F. Kratz.
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Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Military Affairs, 418.

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Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 418.

H. R. 2295—To pay letter carriers the amounts deducted from their salaries through an order of the Post Office Department.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 414.

H. R. 2296—To authorize the appointment in the Army and the immediate retirement with the rank of captain, of Robert Armour, who was a captain in the Civil War, an employee of the War Department for 50 years, and 75 years of age.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Military Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2297—Providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years and who are incapable of manual labor and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Labor, 414.

H. R. 2298—To authorize aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 414.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 153), 7317.

H. R. 2299—Extending the benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 414.

H. R. 2300—Providing a building for post office and other purposes at San Bernardino, Cal.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 414.

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Mr. Kettner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 414.

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Mr. Shouse; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 414.

H. R. 2303—For the relief of legal representatives of James H. Holladay, deceased.
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Mr. Shouse; Committee on Military Affairs, 418.

H. R. 2306—For the relief of Frank Andress.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Military Affairs, 418.

H. R. 2307—For the relief of P. C. Trump.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Claims, 418.

H. R. 2308—To prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor within 20 miles of any camp, barracks, fort, post, navy yard, school, or station of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States of America.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2309—To regulate promotion in the Regular Army of the United States.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Military Affairs, 414.

H. R. 2310—To provide for the purchase or condemnation of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Railways and Canals, 502.

H. R. 2311—To provide a commission to secure site, plans, and design for a school to train negro soldiers.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Appropriations, 502.

H. R. 2312—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents."
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Printing, 502.

H. R. 2313—For the relief of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Classon; Committee on Indian Affairs, 502.

H. R. 2314—To compensate the Delaware Indians for services rendered by them to the United States in various wars.
Mr. Chandler of Oklahoma; Committee on the Public Lands, 502.

H. R. 2315—Exempting all homesteads and desert-land entries from liability for debt contracted prior to issuance of patent.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 502.

H. R. 2316—To promote export trade, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 502.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 50), 2161.—Debated, 3563–3585 [Appendix, 330].—Amended and passed House, 3584, 3585.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3593.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 109), 6164.—Debated, 6937, 6938, 7324–7328, 7353, 7416, 7515, 7876.

H. R. 2317—To amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 502.

H. R. 2318—Authorizing the payment of prize money for the destruction of the first enemy undersea craft.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Naval Affairs, 502.

H. R. 2319—To provide an elective remedy and compensation for accidental injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers by railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 502.

H. R. 2320—To amend section 4747 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 503.

H. R. 2321—To require numbering and recording of undocumented vessels.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2322—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver one mounted bronze cannon on carriage to the city of Lawrenceville, Ill.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 503.

H. R. 2323—To provide for the erection of a public building at Effingham, Ill.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 503.

H. R. 2324—To provide for the reduction of mileage to actual transportation expenses of Representatives and Senators.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Mileage, 503.

H. R. 2325—To amend section 162 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on the Judiciary, 503.

H. R. 2326—To establish a fish hatchery and biological station in the sixth congressional district of the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2327—To appropriate $500,000 to aid the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association in the erection of a monument at Nashville, Tenn., to commemorate the life, character, and services of Andrew Jackson.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on the Library, 503.

H. R. 2328—To locate, map, and mark field of battle fought near Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15 and 16, 1864; to construct driveways, etc., and make an appropriation for same.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 503.

H. R. 2329—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 503.

H. R. 2330—Authorizing the Secretary of War to acquire lands for Government use near Lock 17 on the Black Warrior River, in Jefferson County, Ala.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 503.

H. R. 2331—Authorizing the appointment of a joint committee on the conduct of the war.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Rules, 503.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 2332—For the reduction of postage on first-class matter.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 503.

H. A. 2333—To encourage private enterprise in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2334—To designate the dates upon which the Congress shall meet in regular session.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Judiciary, 503.

H. R. 2335—To donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Ironton, Ohio.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Military Affairs, 503.

H. R. 2336—To donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Gallipolis, Ohio.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Military Affairs, 503.

H. R. 2337—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to enrollments in the Naval Reserve Force.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 503.—Reported back (H. Rept. 40), 1842.—Passed House, 1970.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 1975.—Reported back (S. Rept. 35), 2085.—Passed Senate, 2324.—Examined and signed, 2423, 2498.—Presented to the President, 2572.—Approved [Public, No. 15], 2884.

H. R. 2338—To authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 503.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 7), 661.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 857, 858.—Passed Senate, 891, 892.—Examined and signed, 921, 952.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 6].

H. R. 2339—To increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until Sept. 1, 1918.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 503.—Reported back (H. Rept. 10), 661.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 860–865.—Debated and passed Senate, 891, 892.—Examined and signed, 921, 952.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 7].

H. R. 2340—To increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 503.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 5), 661.—Amended and passed House, 857.—Passed Senate, 891, 892.—Examined and signed, 921, 952.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 8].

H. R. 2341—Authorizing the President to issue proclamation calling for voluntary contribution of money to finance the war with Germany and to fix rates of war income tax on incomes of $50,000 and over.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Ways and Means, 503.

H. R. 2342—Providing for the raising of the Government dike opposite Clarksville, Mo.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 503.

H. R. 2343—Granting consent to Ernest B. Denison, A. J. Barchfield, and Ethan I. Dodds to construct a bridge across the Wabash River within or near the city limits of the city of Vincennes, Ind.
Mr. Bland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 503.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 34), 1433.—Amended and passed House, 2029.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2052.—Reported back (S. Rept. 42); passed Senate, 2427.—Examined and signed, 2501, 2542.—Presented to the President, 2572.—Approved [Public, No. 16], 2884.

H. R. 2344—To pension certain widows and former widows of deceased soldiers and sailors of the Civil War.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 503.

H. R. 2345—To prohibit gambling in foodstuffs.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 503.

H. R. 2346—To amend section 13 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2347—To amend section 5 of the motor-boat law approved June 9, 1910.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2348—To revive the right of action under the act of Mar. 12, 1863 (12 Stat. L., p. 820).
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on the Judiciary, 503.

H. R. 2349—Authorizing the purchase of a site for a public building at Bamberg, S. C.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 503.

H. R. 2350—To provide for the construction of a public building at Aiken, S. C.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 503.

H. R. 2351—To relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on the Judiciary, 503.

H. R. 2352—To regulate commerce in adulterated and misbranded seed and to prevent the sale and transportation thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Agriculture, 503.

H. R. 2353—To repeal that provision of an act approved June 7, 1906, entitled "An act to amend section 7 of an act entitled 'An act to provide for a permanent Census Office,' approved Mar. 6, 1902," which authorizes the Director of the Census to collect decennially statistics relating to express business.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2354—Providing for the registry of officers, clerks, and employees in the Federal service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 503.

H. R. 2355—To establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama; California; Louisiana; Florida; Georgia, South Carolina, or North Carolina; Maryland or Virginia; Oregon or Washington; Texas; Oklahoma; Illinois; Washington; Arizona; New Mexico; Michigan; Idaho; Missouri; Pennsylvania, Delaware, or New Jersey; and Minnesota.
Mr. Saunders of Virginia; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 503.

H. R. 2356—Authorizing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics relating to the quantities and values of manufactured products.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2357—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of forest products.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2358—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of State finance.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2359—Authorizing the Director of the Census to employ temporary clerks, etc.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2360—Authorizing the Director of the Census to furnish certified copies of population and agricultural returns.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 503.

H. R. 2361—To provide for the appointment of a commission to standardize screw-thread tolerances.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 503.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 2362—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1917.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the District of Columbia, 503.

H. R. 2363—To establish a National Commission of Aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Appropriations, 503.

H. R. 2364—Granting a pension to Bernard Tallon.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2365—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Fry.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2366—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Webster.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2367—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2368—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Griner.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2369—Granting an increase of pension to Asa T. Grant.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2370—Granting an increase of pension to David Richards.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2371—Granting an increase of pension to David A. Banks.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2372—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Hogue.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2373—To correct the military record of Sanford F. Timmons.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 504.

H. R. 2374—For the relief of the heirs of George W. Croft.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on War Claims, 504.

H. R. 2375—Granting a pension to Robert M. Smith.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2376—Granting a pension to Harry Wynn.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2377—Granting a pension to James Moore.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2378—Granting a pension to Elsa Thompson.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2379—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sidney E. Collins.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2380—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Wulff.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2381—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Haywood Gregory.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2382—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Jane Lush.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2383—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wayman.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2384—For the relief of Paul E. Huettner.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 504.

H. R. 2385—For the relief of Kinney, McLaughlin & Co.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 504.

H. R. 2386—For the relief of William W. Danenhower.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 504.

H. R. 2387—To compensate the Nashville Trust Co., of Nashville, Tenn., trustee under the will of E. W. Cole, deceased, for damages to a building situated on the corner of Union Street and Fourth Avenue north, in Nashville, Tenn., and known as the Cole Building, as a result of a blast in improving the channel of the Cumberland River by a United States Government boat, on Monday, August 13, 1912.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 504.

H. R. 2388—Granting an increase of pension to Edward F. Harter.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 504.

H. R. 2389—For the relief of James M. Connally.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Naval Affairs, 504.

H. R. 2390—For the relief of George Killeen.
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H. R. 2601—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Agriculture, 557.

H. R. 2602—Increasing the pay of certain enlisted men in the military and naval service of the United States during the continuance of the war with Germany, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good; Committee on Military Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2603—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Indian Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2604—To adjust and settle the claims of the loyal Shawnee, loyal Cherokee Shawnee, and loyal Absentee Shawnee, and Delaware Tribes of Indians.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Indian Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2605—To require and authorize payment of Government employees same salary now received by them for a period of one year who are bona fide members of the National Guard, provided that such members of the National Guard do service as now required by law.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Military Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2606—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 557.

H. R. 2607—To make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Military Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2608—To repeal an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy and all amendments thereto.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Judiciary, 557.

H. R. 2609—To save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 557.—Debated, 4444 [Appendix, 234].

H. R. 2610—To regulate the sale of bonds.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Ways and Means, 557.

H. R. 2611—To establish engineering experiment stations in the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia in connection with State-supported universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Education, 557.

H. R. 2612—To give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds concluded at Washington Aug. 16, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2613—For the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. George Rogers Clark.
Mr. Flood; Committee on the Library, 557.

H. R. 2614—To amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 557.

H. R. 2615—To dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Labor, 557.

H. R. 2616—To amend the act of Mar. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to regulate the officering and manning of vessels subject to the inspection laws of the United States."
Mr. Hardy; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 558.

H. R. 2617—To ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on the Judiciary, 558.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 2618—To provide for the giving of notice of suits and proceedings in courts of the United States affecting the title to real property.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on the Judiciary, 558.

H. R. 2619—Granting a pension to Charles W. Sasser.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2620—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Burns.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2621—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra J. Potter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2622—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Young.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2623—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Oldham.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2624—Granting an increase of pension to William W. O'Bannon.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2625—Granting an increase of pension to Della Amspaugh.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2626—Granting an increase of pension to George W. M. Culb.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2627—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Shocker.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2628—Granting a pension to Ellen Evans.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2629—Granting a pension to Deborah Harrison.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2630—Granting a pension to Flora A. Powers.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2631—Granting a pension to James Harrison.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2632—To authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Public Lands, 558.

H. R. 2633—For the relief of John T. Melvin.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Naval Affairs, 558.

H. R. 2634—To authorize the reinstatement of entry and issuance of patent to certain land in Alabama to William J. Whitworth.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Public Lands, 558.

H. R. 2635—To authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Public Lands, 558.

H. R. 2636—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Force.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2637—Granting an increase of pension to Charlotte Letts.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2638—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Stephens.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2639—Granting an increase of pension to Austin P. Jones.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2640—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Brown.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2641—Granting an increase of pension to John Devine.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2642—Granting a pension to Lucina Grigwire.
Mr. Dale of Vermont; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2643—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda E. Wells.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2644—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Wilkins.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2645—Granting a pension to George A. Dold.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2646—Granting a pension to Luther M. Southall.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2647—Granting a pension to Myers Fertig.
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H. R. 2648—Granting a pension to Tucker McG. Simmons.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2649—Granting a pension to Walter English.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2650—Granting a pension to Mrs. Emma K. Brockman, widow of John Brockman.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2651—Granting a pension to Mary W. Taylor.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2652—Granting a pension to Columbus W. Bryan.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2653—Granting an increase of pension to Braden E. Fox.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2654—For the relief of Sarah E. Edmondson.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2655—For the relief of Virgil A. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2656—For the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas, Winn & Holman.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2657—For the relief of the heirs at law of James I. A. Trotter, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Claims, 558.

H. R. 2658—For the relief of the heirs at law of James I. A. Trotter, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Claims, 558.

H. R. 2659—For the relief of Mrs. Mie Uratake.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 558.

H. R. 2660—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. William E. Horton, United States Army, to accept and wear a decoration tendered him by the President of the French Republic.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 558.

H. R. 2661—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William H. Harlow, alias John Deen.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Military Affairs, 558.

H. R. 2662—For the relief of N. B. Woods.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2663—For the relief of J. Terry Dillard.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2664—For the relief of Columbus W. Bryan.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2665—For the relief of Moses Gwin, sr.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2666—For the relief of the estate of John Anderson, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2667—For the relief of the estate of Robert J. Hope, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2668—For the relief of the estate of Peter Sheets, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2669—For the relief of the heirs of John H. Caldwell, deceased.
Mr. Flood; Committee on War Claims, 558.

H. R. 2670—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Tucker.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2671—Granting an increase of pension to Divinna Rucker.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2672—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph L. Killgore.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2673—Granting a pension to W. W. Batterton.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2674—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Thomas.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2675—For the relief of Emma Pierce.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Claims, 558.

H. R. 2676—Granting a pension to Mary F. Robinson.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2677—Granting a pension to William Bell.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 558.

H. R. 2678—Granting a pension to Albert O. Dunning.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2679—Granting a pension to Jennie C. Rogers.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2680—Granting a pension to K. Shannon Taylor.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2681—Granting a pension to Mary E. Hazelrigg.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2682—Granting a pension to James O. Singleton.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2683—Granting an increase of pension to George Van Nortwick.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2684—Granting an increase of pension to Morris Lincoln.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2685—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Lee.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2686—Granting an increase of pension to M. L. Moore.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2687—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Dority.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2688—Granting an increase of pension to Charity Isabelle Beeson.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2689—Granting an increase of pension to De Witt C. Helpman.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2690—To reimburse Mary E. Myers, widow of Joseph Myers, deceased, for loss of personal property sustained in depredations of Indians on the Snake River, Idaho.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2691—For the relief of the legal representatives of Sydney W. Moss.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2692—For the relief of the legal representatives of Joseph R. Payne.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2693—For the relief of William A. Frater.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2694—For the relief of Orville T. Perkins.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2695—For the relief of George W. Peters.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on War Claims, 559.

H. R. 2696—For the relief of Jonathan J. Totten.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on War Claims, 559.

H. R. 2697—For the relief of Henry N. Penfield.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2698—For the relief of the estate of Andrew Rader, deceased.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2699—For the relief of Louis Southworth.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2700—For the relief of Amos Dahuff.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2701—To reimburse Simon Caro.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2702—For the relief of W. R. Wells, administrator of the estate of James S. Wells, deceased.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2703—For the relief of Willis Alden.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2704—Granting a pension to James J. Huff.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2705—Granting a pension to Charles F. Russell.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2706—Granting a pension to Dick Parker.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2707—Granting a pension to Anderson M. Beck.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2708—Granting an increase of pension to Kittie D. Crissey.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2709—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Weston.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2710—Granting an increase of pension to Richard M. Johnson.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2711—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Peirce.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2712—Granting an increase of pension to Leopold Schillinger.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2713—Granting an increase of pension to Jewel H. Walker.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2714—For the relief of David T. Howard.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2715—For the relief of Morgan Felton Slate.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2716—For the relief of R. M. Blount.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2717—For the relief of Don R. Wynne.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2718—For the relief of Mrs. Lizzie McGinnis.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2719—For the relief of the legal representatives of Henry D. Geddings.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2720—Granting a pension to James E. Norman.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2721—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Allison.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2722—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Taylor.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2723—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Banker.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2724—Granting an increase of pension to Emma F. Raymond.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2725—Granting an increase of pension to William Vincent.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2726—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh S. Stanley.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2727—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel L. Brown.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2728—Granting an increase of pension to Henry King.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2729—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. A. Reynolds.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2730—For the promotion and retirement of Col. David L. Brainard, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2731—Granting a pension to John E. Crum.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2732—Granting a pension to Gilbert R. Gardner.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2733—Granting a pension to William Butler.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions. 559.

H. R. 2734—For the relief of John I. Brown & Son.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Claims, 559.

H. R. 2735—Granting a pension to George W. Turner.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2736—Granting a pension to Anna Sorrels.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2737—Granting a pension to Zachariah Kizer.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2738—Granting a pension to Mary L. Darby and minor children.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2739—Granting a penson to Mrs. A. M. Hughes.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2740—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Short.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2741—Granting an increase of pension to Robert C. Abel.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2742—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Hunter.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2743—For the relief of Benjamin F. Reams.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2744—For the relief of Wesley Maynor.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2745—For the relief of John Davis.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2746—For the relief of Silas Shepherd.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2747—For the relief of James M. Smith.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Military Affairs, 559.

H. R. 2748—For the relief of James M. Wright.
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H. R. 2749—Granting a pension to Josephine Bennett.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2750—Granting a pension to Victor Allen.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2751—Granting a pension to William M. Largent.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2752—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Robertson.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2753—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel E. Fairchild.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2754—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Parshall.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2755—Granting an increase of pension to Snowden B. Gookins.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2756—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Swick.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2757—Granting a pension to Ida D. Campbell.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2758—Granting a pension to Harvey M. Wilson.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2759—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Jones.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 559.

H. R. 2760—Granting an increase of pension to John Price Hickel.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Pensions, 560.

H. R. 2761—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Conkle.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 560.

H. R. 2762—To authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kitchin, from the Committee on Ways and Means (H. Rept. No. 3), 608, 610.—Debated, 626–660, 667–690 [Appendix, 59, 81, 95, 99, 173].—Amended and passed House, 690.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 708.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 8), 709.—Debated, 709, 744–769.—Amended and passed Senate, 768, 769.—Senate asks for a conference, 769.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 798.—Conference appointed, 769, 798.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 932.—Conference report (No. 23) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 952–959.—Examined and signed, 952, 980.—Presented to the President, 989.—Approved [Public, No. 3].

H. R. 2763—To punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gard; Committee on the Judiciary, 610.

H. R. 2764—To provide for registration of alien enemies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 611.

H. R. 2765—Limiting the creation or extension of forest reserves in New Mexico.
Mr. Walton; Committee on the Public Lands, 611.

H. R. 2766—To provide for creating corporations in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on the District of Columbia, 611.

H. R. 2767—Fixing the pay of commissioned officers of the National Guard while engaged in the service of the United States.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. R. 2768—Fixing the pay of enlisted men in the United States Army.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. R. 2769—Providing for the basic pay and increase of basic pay of privates and noncommissioned officers of the Army of the United States during the continuance of the war between the United States and Germany, for the payment of certain amounts for the support of dependents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. R. 2770—To amend an act approved Sept. 26, 1914, known as the Federal Trade Commission act.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2771—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a farm-produce exchange, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sumners; Committee on Agriculture, 611.

H. R. 2772—To provide for an increased production of foodstuffs by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 611.

H. R. 2773—Making appropriation for the construction and improvement of certain waterways in Louisiana.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 611.

H. R. 2774—To pension the permanently helpless orphans of Civil War soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 2775—Authorizing the employment of Grand Army veterans for recruiting purposes.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 611.

H. R. 2776—To amend an act entitled "An act to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 14, 1900, and the amendment thereof, approved Mar. 4, 1907.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Banking and Currency, 611.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 2777—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease certain property.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on the Public Lands, 611.

H. R. 2778—Providing for the licensing of weighers of farm products at commercial centers and the licensing of inspectors of scales and other weighing devices, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2779—To provide for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 611.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 2780—Making an appropriation to purchase and distribute seeds to farmers.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Appropriations, 611.

H. R. 2781—To change the name of Point Superior, on Black Lake near Holland, Mich., to Marigold Point.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2782—To provide for the purchasing of desert land by entrymen who can not make final proof.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on the Public Lands, 611.

H. R. 2783—For the enlargement of the Federal building at San Jose, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 2784—Making an appropriation for improving the harbor at Santa Cruz, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 611.

H. R. 2785—To amend the act to regulate commerce.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2786—Granting certain lands to the State of California to form a part of California Redwood Park in said State.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on the Public Lands, 611.

H. R. 2787—To provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a naval and aviation academy on the Pacific coast of the United States within 150 miles of San Francisco, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 611.

H. R. 2788—Providing for the payment of certain claims of the State of California growing out of the Indian wars.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Claims, 611.

H. R. 2789—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present Federal building and site at San Jose, Cal., and to acquire a new site, and to provide for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the said city of San Jose, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 2790—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Palo Alto, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 2791—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of San Mateo, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 611.

H. R. 2792—For the erection and maintenance of a steam fog whistle on Point Pinos, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2793—To provide for the establishment of a life-saving station at Half Moon Bay, south of Point Montara and near Montara Reef, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2794—To provide for the erection of a monument at the summit of Fremonts Peak, Cal., to commemorate the unfurling of the flag of the United States upon that spot by Gen. Fremont at the outbreak of the War with Mexico.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on the Library, 611.

H. R. 2795—To prohibit the killing and interstate shipment of beef cattle under a certain age.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 2796—To establish a lighthouse of the first order on Point Pinos, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2797—To provide for the erection of a lighthouse on Pilar Point, at the entrance to Half Moon Bay, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 611.

H. R. 2798—To amend the act of July 25, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," relating to the improvement of the harbor at Monterey, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 611.

H. R. 2799—Granting a pension to Mary A. Ames.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 2800—Granting a pension to Henry Puder.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 611.

H. R. 2801—Granting an increase of pension to Silas M. Lanning.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 2802—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Rowland.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 611.

H. R. 2803—Granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Wolfe.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2804—Granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Lime.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2805—Granting an increase of pension to Eva Ross.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2806—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Oliver Rice.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2807—Granting a pension to George A. Loughery.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2808—Granting a pension to Stocton Sponseller.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2809—Granting a pension to George L. Bomberger, M. D.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2810—Granting a pension to Samuel Miller.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2811—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Landers.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2812—Granting an increase of pension to Pary McNair.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2813—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Jackson.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2814—For the relief of Jacob Kesner.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2815—For the relief of William Tucker.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Naval Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2816—To determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain of 1819 to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2817—Granting a pension to Oscar Weil.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2818—For the relief of Anna J. AtLee.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2819—For the relief of Edward W. Terry.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2820—For the relief of James M. Benefield, 612.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2821—Granting a pension to Mary E. Simmons.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2822—Granting a pension to Ferdinand T. Bray.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2823—Granting a pension to Sarah V. Cary Lee.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2824—Granting an increase of pension to Francis O. Nash.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2825—Granting an increase of pension to Houston Halstead.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2826—Granting an increase of pension to Callie Hitchcock.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2827—Granting an increase of pension to A. E. Holloway.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2828—Granting an increase of pension to Peleg B. Washburn.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2829—For the relief of Owen Barnes.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2830—For the relief of Francenia H. Dale.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2831—For the relief of Joel Henry Mansfield.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2832—For the relief of James R. Parmenter.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2833—For the relief of William Richard Hogg.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2834—For the relief of Isabel E. Rockwell.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2835—For the relief of Andrew J. Lawrence.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2836—For the relief of Pedro Chaboya.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on War Claims, 612.

H. R. 2837—Granting an increase of pension to Valentine F. Gardner.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2838—To authorize the President to award a medal of honor to Dr. John T. Nagle, for conspicuous bravery at the Battle of Kernstown, Va., on July 24, 1864, while serving as an acting assistant surgeon of the United States Army.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2839—For the relief of Cornelia M. A. Tower.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2840—For the relief of the legal representatives of W. H. Mills, deceased.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2841—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Evans.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2842—Granting a pension to Anna M. Benson.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2843—Granting a pension to Mary Van Roy.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2844—Granting a pension to Anna Mary Damson.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2845—For the relief of Chauncey Boyce.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2846—For the relief of John J. Waters.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2847—For the relief of Gerhard Heyboer.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2848—For the relief of John Shields.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2849—For the relief of William H. Estabrook.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 612.

H. R. 2850—For the relief of the heirs of Jeard Wilder.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2851—Granting a pension to Louis Becker.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2852—Granting a pension to Joseph Lingenbrink.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2853—Granting a pension to Walter R. Taylor.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2854—Granting a pension to Lewis Zacher.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2855—Granting a pension to George C. Emmert.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2856—Granting a pension to James M. Pyne.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2857—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Goodrich.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2858—Granting an increase of pension to William Wells.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2859—For the relief of Lena Schmieder.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2860—For the relief of Gertrude Becherer.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2861—For the relief of Philip Osburg.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2862—For the relief of the legal heirs of Edmonia R. Robards, deceased.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on War Claims, 612.

H. R. 2863—Granting a pension to John Ferriter.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2864—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Hales.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2865—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Steffy.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2866—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on War Claims, 612.

H. R. 2867—Authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to pay Catharine C. Schilling $599.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Claims, 612.

H. R. 2868—Granting a pension to deputy United States marshals of the United States court, western district of Arkansas, for the Indian Territory, prior to Mar. 1, 1895.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 612.

H. R. 2869—Providing 1-cent postage in certain cases.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 611.

H. R. 2870—Increasing the limit of expenditures for repairs and changes on the U. S. S. Saratoga.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 661.

H. R. 2871—To provide that in the construction and application of the pension laws a soldier or sailor shall be considered of good health at the time of his enlistment.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 661.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 2872—To provide for a site and United States post office at Omaha, Nebr.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 661.

H. R. 2873—Providing for the classification of salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Agriculture, 661.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 2874—To exclude from the Arkansas National Forest all lands within the fourth congressional district and restore same to the public domain.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on the Public Lands, 661.

H. R. 2875—To fix the mileage of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Mileage, 661.

H. R. 2876—To amend the national banking laws.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Banking and Currency, 661.

H. R. 2877—To prevent the use of the mails and of the telegraph and telephone in furtherance of fraudulent and harmful transactions on stock exchanges.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 661.

H. R. 2878—To regulate and control the manufacture, sale, and use of weights and measures and of weighing and measuring devices.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 661.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 2879—To provide for the erection of a public building at Tracy City, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 661.

H. R. 2880—To provide for the erection of a public building at Sparta, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 661.

H. R. 2881—To provide for the erection of a public building at McMinnville, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2882—To provide for the erection of a public building at South Pittsburg, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2883—To provide for the erection of a public building at Madisonville, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2884—To provide for the erection of a public building at Pikeville, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2885—To provide for the erection of a public building at Sweetwater, Tenn.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2886—Excepting certain classes of manufacturers and dealers from the operation of the provisions of section 5 of H. R. 19410, "Making appropriation for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 662.

H. R. 2887—Authorizing the Postmaster General to increase prices for certain supplies to conform to abnormal market conditions.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 662.

H. R. 2888—Authorizing the removal of cannon and shells from Shiloh Park, Tenn., to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and other places.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2889—Authorizing juries to fix punishment of defendants convicted in United States courts in certain cases.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2890—Authorizing the Secretary of War to convey a certain strip of land to the Tennessee Coffin & Casket Co.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2891—Recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, or other provisional troops during the Civil War.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 662.

H. R. 2892—To determine powers of United States judges as to instructions to juries.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2893—To amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.—Reported back (H. Rept. 14), 734.—Debated, 691–694, 726, 798–819 (Appendix, 77).—Amended and passed House, 819.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 869.—Reported back, 1569.—Debated and passed Senate, 1569, 1629.—Examined and signed, 1750, 1804.—Presented to the President, 1873.—Approved [Public, No. 10], 2884.

H. R. 2894—Regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 662.

H. R. 2895—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Dale of Vermont; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 662.

H. R. 2896—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Snook; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 662.

H. R. 2897—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914; Aug. 15, 1914; Mar. 3, 1915; and Sept. 7, 1916; and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Banking and Currency, 662.

H. R. 2898—To increase the number of commissioned line officers in the junior grades of the Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2899—Granting the free mailing privilege to the American National Red Cross.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 662.

H. R. 2900—To amend section 14 of the act of Congress approved July 1, 1898, and entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," by making certain additions thereto.
Mr. Coady; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2901—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 662.

H. R. 2902—Making an appropriation to establish a national park at the Oriskany (N. Y.) battle field.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2903—To amend an act with reference to the improvement of the public building at Utica, N. Y.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2904—To provide for a public building at Ilion, N. Y.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2905—To provide for a public building at Herkimer, N. Y.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2906—Providing for the continuance of pay of employees in the service of the United States Government or departments thereof who render military or naval services at a time when the United States is at war with any foreign nation.
Mr. LaGuardia; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2907—To extend the provisions of the bond and warehouse statement to merchandise free of duty.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Ways and Means, 662.

H. R. 2908—To increase the cost of the immigration station at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 662.

H. R. 2909—Providing for the continuance of the Osage Indian School, Oklahoma, for a period of 10 years from Jan. 1, 1918.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2910—To grant official recognition to the organizations of employees in the Postal Service.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 662.

H. R. 2911—Regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbit, 662.

H. R. 2912—To amend an act approved June 29, 1906, and entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the District of Columbia, 662.

H. R. 2913—To stimulate the production of food upon private and public lands within reclamation projects, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 662.

H. R. 2914—Providing for an increase in salary of the United States marshal for the western district of Louisiana.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2915—To establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Louisiana.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 662.

H. R. 2916—Regulating the method of keeping mortality statistics by the Census Bureau and providing for tabulating and rating separately white and colored people, and that the mortality rates of cities to be based upon deaths of those residing in the city, and nonresident deaths or deaths of transients be tabulated separately.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on the Census, 662.

H. R. 2917—To commission as officers in the Regular Army of the United States, National Guard officers attending service schools.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2918—Providing for the disbursement by the Secretary of the Interior of individual Indian moneys in his hands belonging to members of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Indian Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2919—To provide for the establishment of aids to navigation to mark the channel of Shelter Island Sound, off Sag Harbor, N. Y.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 662.

H. R. 2920—Providing for the survey of an inland water route along the southern shore of Long Island, N. Y., from Jamaica Bay to Peconic Bay.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 662.

H. R. 2921—Providing for a survey of Sterling Basin, at Greenport, in the State of New York.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 662.

H. R. 2922—Providing for a survey at Gardiners Island, in the State of New York.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 662.

H. R. 2923—To appropriate $22,500 for the improvement of Sterling Basin, at Greenport, State of New York, and an approach thereto.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 662.

H. R. 2924—To amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary, approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2925—To provide adequate subsistence for the warrant officers and enlisted men of the Coast Guard.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 662.

H. R. 2926—To increase the pay of soldiers and seamen who serve in the Army and Navy as privates.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2927—To preserve the purity of our flag.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on the Judiciary, 662.

H. R. 2928—To authorize the appropriation of $10,000,000 for the benefit of the wives, children, and dependent mothers of persons serving in the Army of the United States during the present war.
Mr. Garrett of Texas; Committee on Military Affairs, 662.

H. R. 2929—For the relief of West Virginia State troops.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2930—Granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the West Virginia State troops in the late Civil War.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2931—To provide for a tax on high explosives, and for other purposes.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Ways and Means, 663.

H. R. 2932—Providing that an imprint shall be placed on all articles manufactured in the United States and becoming the subject of interstate commerce, and providing that no manufactured articles or goods shall be admitted to the United States unless bearing an imprint.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 663.

H. R. 2933—Granting an extension of patent to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Patents, 663.

H. R. 2934—Appropriating $50,000 for the erection of a monument to the memory of Robert Morris.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Appropriations, 663.

H. R. 2935—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and balls.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2936—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and balls.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2937—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Civil War.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2938—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia," and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the District of Columbia, 663.

H. R. 2939—Granting an increase of pension to George L. Wells.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2940—Granting an increase of pension to Norman Gregory.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2941—Granting an increase of pension to William T. O'Bannon.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2942—Granting a pension to Daniel V. Long.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2943—Granting a pension to Zachary T. Pentz.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2944—Granting a pension to Elbert B. Marshall.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2945—Granting a pension to Samuel Walker.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2946—Granting a pension to Mark Curtsinger.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2947—For the relief of the estate of James W. Perry, deceased.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Claims, 663.

H. R. 2948—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Merrill.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2949—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred D. Cosby.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2950—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of Ellery P. Roberts.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2951—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of Lee Thompson.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2952—For the relief of the estate of James E. Morgan, deceased.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on War Claims, 663.

H. R. 2953—For the relief of the estate of William J. Sailing, deceased.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on War Claims, 663.

H. R. 2954—For the relief of the estate of John R. Martin.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on War Claims, 663.

H. R. 2955—For the relief of the estate of John Boyer, deceased.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on War Claims, 663.

H. R. 2956—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Oliver Rice.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2957—Granting an increase of pension to Edward G. Sanchez.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2958—For the relief of Faxon, Horton & Gallagher; Long Bros. Grocery Co.; A. Rieger; Rothenberg & Schloss; Ryley, Wilson & Co.; and Van Noy News Co.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Claims, 663.

H. R. 2959—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Leithiser.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2960—Granting an increase of pension to James Hennessy.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2961—For the relief of the officers and enlisted men of McLane's Pennsylvania regiment and their widows and children.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2962—For the relief of the heirs of Benjamin Mordecai, deceased.
Mr. Coady; Committee on War Claims, 663.

H. R. 2963—For the relief of Ann E. H. Boyle, administratrix of James Hooper, deceased.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 663.

H. R. 2964—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius J. Richardson.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2965—Granting a pension to Belle S. Mager.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2966—Granting a pension to Admire M. Wood.
Mr. Cooper of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2967—Granting a pension to Chester A. Morang.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2968—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Miller.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2969—For the relief of Matthew McDonald.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Naval Affairs, 663.

H. R. 2970—Granting an increase of pension to John L. B. Breighner.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2971—Granting a pension to John Richstein.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 663.

H. R. 2972—Granting pensions to emergency men of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2973—For the relief of Uriel D. Belles.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2974—For the relief of Martin Norton.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2975—Granting a pension to Charles D. Skirdin.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2976—Granting a pension to Kate E. Gilbert.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2977—Granting a pension to Charles P. Cook.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2978—Granting a pension to R. L. Rhodes.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2979—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Terry.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2980—Granting an increase of pension to John Hutchinson.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2981—For the relief of R. L. Rhodes.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2982—For the relief of David Andrew Hopkins.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2983—For the relief of Coles Abrams, alias Charles H. Smith.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2984—For the relief of the owners of the steam barge Genessee and the barge J. Mooney.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 664.

H. R. 2985—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Roselle.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2986—Granting an increase of pension to David E. Godfrey.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2987—Granting an increase of pension to Otto Schellhorn.
Mr. Juul; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2988—Granting a pension to John Streit.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2989—Granting an increase of pension to Louis Rinart.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2990—Granting a pension to George H. Poust.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2991—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Kells.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2992—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Perrine.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2993—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Preston.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2994—Granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Kappes.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2995—For the relief of Thomas Smith.
Mr. Mays; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 2996—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Walsh.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2997—Granting an increase of pension to James Layne.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2998—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Swafford.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 2999—Granting a pension to Joseph Clyde Shadden.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3000—Granting a pension to Dautry C. Baine.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3001—Granting a pension to Mary Emma Axmacher.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3002—Granting a pension to Jacob B. Mulkey.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3003—Granting a pension to Sam Privit.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3004—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Hollaway.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3005—Granting a pension to Martha M. Buchanan.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3006—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Ferguson.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3007—Granting a pension to James Besheres.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3008—Granting a pension to Lou Stewart.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3009—Granting a pension to John B. Evans.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3010—Granting a pension to Frank V. Griffith.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3011—Granting a pension to Hayes Brummitt.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3012—Granting a pension to Benjamin H. Norman.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3013—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Williams.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3014—Granting a pension to James B. King.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3015—Granting a pension to Mary E. Pearce.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3016—Granting a pension to J. L. McDowell, alias Leander Dickey.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3017—For the relief of the estate of George P. Carmichael, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3018—For the relief of G. R. West.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3019—For the relief of A. Shelton, administrator of the estate of Elizabeth W. Carper.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3020—For the relief of Mrs. David Gillespie.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3021—For the relief of Fannie Hoyl Blevins.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3022—For the relief of Albert E. Archer and of William Archer.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Public Lands, 664.

H. R. 3023—For the relief of Mary E. Coppinger.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3024—For the relief of C. C. Acklin.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Claims, 664.

H. R. 3025—For the relief of John M. Heard.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3026—For the relief of the estate of Pleasant M. Craigmiles, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3027—For the relief of Jesse Walling.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3028—For the relief of Samuel McJunkin.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3029—For the relief of Coleman C. McReynolds, administrator of the estate of John McReynolds.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3030—For the relief of the legal representatives of John F. Anderson.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3031—For the relief of the estate of J. K. Johnson.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3032—For the relief of James Moore.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3033—For the relief of W. W. Rutledge, sole heir and legatee of J. M. Rutledge, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3034—For the relief of the estate of P. W. Key.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3035—For the relief of the heirs at law of Robert Worthington.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3036—For the relief of the widow of the late Capt. Daniel C. Trewhitt.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3037—For the relief of John G. Brazelton, administrator of the estate of Green Brazelton, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3038—For the relief of the estate of Daniel C. Yarnell, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3039—For the relief of the estate of Louisa M. Kirklin, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 664.

H. R. 3040—To correct the military record of Harvey Hendrix.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3041—To correct the military record of R. B. Hendrickson.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3042—To remove the charge of desertion against Martin Van Buren, alias Martin Van Buren McReynolds.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3043—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of John W. Bates.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3044—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of William H. Travis.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Military Affairs, 664.

H. R. 3045—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Smith.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3046—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Jeffries.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3047—Granting an increase of pension to Robert B. Armstrong.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3048—Granting a pension to Maggie B. Wagner.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 664.

H. R. 3049—Granting a pension to Ida Gilhooly.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3050—Granting a pension to Joseph D. Beaubien.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3051—Granting a pension to Cecilia Gordon.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3052—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Meadows.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3053—Granting an increase of pension to William Schwicardi.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3054—For the relief of the legal representative of Nathaniel F. Cheairs, deceased.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on War Claims, 665.

H. R. 3055—Granting a pension to Charles E. Cortright.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3056—Granting a pension to Louis J. Prime.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3057—Granting a pension to Byron Pierce.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3058—Granting a pension to Esther M. Beebe.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3059—Granting a pension to Rolin L. Stone.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3060—Granting a pension to Helen A. Benjamin.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3061—Granting a pension to Elmer Bennett.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3062—Granting a pension to Rudolph Allmers.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3063—Granting a pension to Sate L. Brundage.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3064—Granting an increase of pension to A. H. Shears.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3065—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Durnin.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3066—Granting an increase of pension to George R. White.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3067—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Porter.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3068—Granting an increase of pension to George L. Clapp.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3069—Granting an increase of pension to Emmet Ellis.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3070—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Farrar.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3071—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Frisbie.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3072—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Jenkins.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3073—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Cuddeback.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3074—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Sayre.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3075—For the relief of John E. Osborne.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3076—To correct the muster of William Ramsey.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3077—For the relief of J. B. Smith, son of S. M. Smith.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on War Claims, 665.

H. R. 3078—For the relief of Susan C. Bott, widow of George Bott.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3079—Granting an increase of pension to Henry O. Bender.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3080—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Andrews.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3081—Granting an increase of pension to Josephus Brown.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3082—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah Copelin.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3083—Granting an increase of pension to George Ulrich.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3084—Granting an increase of pension to John Stouffer.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3085—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Sinzig.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3086—Granting an increase of pension to William Rimert.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3087—Granting an increase of pension to Henry L. McMullen.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3088—Granting an increase of pension to Simon Kephart.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3089—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Hudson.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3090—For the relief of Clement H. Cole.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3091—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Haynes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3092—Granting an increase of pension to David Whittington.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3093—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus S. Lyon.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3094—Granting an increase of pension to Abner A. Hurt.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3095—For the relief of R. H. Keene.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3096—Fo rthe relief of Ethel Fredrickson and daughter Ethel.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3097—For the relief of Lena Garagnon.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3098—For the relief of the Longini Mexican Hat Co., of San Antonio, Tex.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3099—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Haslett.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3100—For the relief of Samuel Snyder.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3101—To reinstate Paul D. Kern as a cadet at United States Military Academy.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3102—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in case of the Presbyterian Church at Batesville, Panola County, Miss.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on War Claims, 665.

H. R. 3103—For the enrollment of A. O. Mallory and others as citizens by blood of the Choctaw Nation.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Indian Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3104—Granting a pension to Rosa Carter.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3105—Granting a pension to Deborah Sebring.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3106—Granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Keefe.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3107—For the relief of J. L. Campbell and others.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3108—Providing for the appointment and retirement of Gordon A. Dennis as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3109—Granting an increase of pension to Alden F. Wooster.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3110—Granting an increase of pension to Milton W. Burnham.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3111—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Cooper.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3112—Granting a pension to Edward L. Eaton.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3113—To award a medal of honor to Henry H. Maxim, private, Company G, Twelfth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3114—Granting an increase of pension to Monroe J. Potts.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3115—Granting an increase of pension to Ora Jones.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3116—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Brown.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3117—For the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas H. Rogers, deceased.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Claims, 665.

H. R. 3118—Granting an increase of pension to Victoria Coffman.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 665.

H. R. 3119—Granting an honorable discharge to Isaiah R. Lockhart.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 665.

H. R. 3120—To amend an act providing for the erection of a public building at Syracuse, N. Y., and for other purposes.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 694.

H. R. 3121—For the allowance of certain soldiers' claims growing out of service in the Army reported by the Court of Claims, known as travel-pay claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 694.

H. R. 3122—To relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government.
Mr. Langley; Committee on the Judiciary, 694.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 3123—For the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Navy, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 694.

H. R. 3124—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Ashland, in the county of Clark and State of Kansas, two bronze or brass cannons or fieldpieces, with their carriages.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Military Affairs, 694.

H. R. 3125—Authorizing the Secretary of War to enlist or transfer from enlistment an army of 200,000 men for farm, commercial, and manufacturing work in the United States.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 694.

H. R. 3126—To purchase land adjoining the naval training station at Great Lakes, Ill.
Mr. Foss; Committee on Naval Affairs, 694.

H. R. 3127—To regulate the interstate transportation of fish or products or compounds thereof when intended to be used for fertilizer or oil or in the manufacture of fertilizer or oil.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 694.

H. R. 3128—To protect fish not remaining the entire year within the waters of any State or Territory, and authorizing the Department of Commerce to define the seasons and regulate the manner and conditions under which they may be taken or destroyed.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 694.

H. R. 3129—To provide for the erection of a pedestal and base for a monument to William Proctor, jr., in the Smithsonian Grounds, at Washington, D. C.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on the Library, 694.

H. R. 3130—To purchase or condemn the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Railways and Canals, 694.

H. R. 3131—To provide for the correction of clerical errors in invoicing and entering merchandise and to define the scope of the review before the Board of United States General Appraisers in customs litigation.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Ways and Means, 694.

H. R. 3132—To amend section 2171 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to naturalization.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 694.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 92), 4990.—Debated, 5813, 7646.

H. R. 3133—To prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors in time of war.
Mr. Hayden; Commitee on the Judiciary, 694.

H. R. 3134—To regulate the interstate transportation of immature calves.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 694.

H. R. 3135—To amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona."
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 694.—Reported back (H. Rept. 199), 7919.

H. R. 3136—To provide, in case of national emergency, for the transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, of vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 694.

H. R. 3137—To prohibit exportation of rum and other intoxicants to Africa, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, 695.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 3138—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish two condemned cannon to the village of Port Henry, N. Y., for use at old Fort St. Frederick.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Military Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3139—Granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. the right to maintain a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 695.

H. R. 3140—To amend paragraph 220, schedule G, of the tariff of October 3, 1913.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Ways and Means, 695.

H. R. 3141—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3142—Granting pensions to soldiers confined in so-called Confederate prisons.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3143—To provide for the monthly payment of pensions.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3144—Granting sick leave to postal employees.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 695.

H. R. 3145—To minimize overtime service in post offices.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 695.

H. R. 3146—Providing for pro rata credit of annual vacation to employees of first and second class post offices.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 695.

H. R. 3147—To provide for reinstatement of civil-service employees who enlist in the armed forces of the United States in time of war.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 695.

H. R. 3148—To provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Ways and Means, 695.

H. R. 3149—To encourage and recognize the patriotic spirit of volunteering and to provide for dependents of volunteers.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Military Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3150—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Harris.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3151—Granting a pension to Jonathan M. Smith.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3152—Granting a pension to Albert Slusser.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3153—Granting a pension to John W. Warman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3154—To correct the military record of Israel Fogle.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3155—Granting an increase of pension to Melissa J. Smith.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3156—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Williams.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3157—For the relief of Lloyd C. Stark.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Naval Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3158—Granting an increase of pension to William N. Oliver.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3159—Granting an increase of pension to Columbus Massey.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3160—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen A. McDonald.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3161—Granting an increase of pension to Philip H. Keller.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3162—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Ice.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3163—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas L. Harris.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3164—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Eckols.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3165—Granting an increase of pension to William Eaton.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3166—Granting an increase of pension to James Derning.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3167—Granting an increase of pension to Stith M. Carter.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3168—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Crisler.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3169—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel B. Baker.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3170—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Cason.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3171—Granting an increase of pension to David Richardson.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3172—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Taggart.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3173—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Reid.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3174—Granting a pension to Matilda J. Glass.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3175—Granting a pension to Jennietta Cox.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3176—Granting a pension to Mary S. Davis.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3177—Granting a pension to Joseph Brookshear.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3178—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Wagoner.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3179—Granting a pension to Grant Barnett.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3180—Granting a pension to Synthia M. Hale.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3181—For the relief of Joshua Cavins.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3182—For the relief of Logan Collins.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3183—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Fiero.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3184—Granting an increase of pension to John W. La Rue.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3185—Granting an increase of pension to Charles V. D. Blackmar.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 695.

H. R. 3186—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. Spencer Cosby, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to accept the Cross of Officer of the Legion of Honor conferred upon him by the Government of the French Republic.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 695.

H. R. 3187—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Flowers.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3188—Granting an increase of pension to Eddy B. Stevens.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3189—Granting a pension to Fred Siegel.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3190—For the relief of Lily Danforth Bothwell.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3191—Waiving the age limit for admission to the Medical Corps of the United States Navy in the case of John B. Bostick.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Naval Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3192—For the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Army during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 696.

H. R. 3193—For the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Schiffer, deceased.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 696.

H. R. 3194—Granting a pension to Arthur Murphy.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3195—For the relief of Edgar W. Preble.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3196—For the relief of George W. Clifford.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3197—To remove the charge of desertion from the service record of Edward Stanton and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3198—For the relief of Albion Dyer.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3199—For the relief of Charles P. Morse.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3200—To correct the military record of Simon W. Tucker.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Military Affairs, 696.

H. R. 3201—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson W. Jameson.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3202—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret O'Connor.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3203—For the relief of Davis & Lawrence Co.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Claims, 696.

H. R. 3204—Granting to an increase of pension to Rasmus I. P. Jensen.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3205—Granting an increase of pension to Edward N. Whitney.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3206—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar E. Harper.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 696.

H. R. 3207—Granting a pension to Thomas B. Struble.
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H. R. 3213—To secure information relative to food products stored in cold-storage warehouses.
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H. R. 3215—Creating the National Park of the Cliff Cities.
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H. R. 3216—To make unlawful the export of any article from the United States whenever in time of war the President shall find that the public safety and welfare shall so require, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 734.

H. R. 3217—Providing for an increase of authorization for the Federal building at Steubenville, in the State of Ohio.
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H. R. 3219—To permit the manufacture of denatured alcohol by mixing domestic and wood alcohol while in process of distillation.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Ways and Means, 734.

H. R. 3220—To increase the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Military Affairs, 734.

H. R. 3221—To provide funds for the payment of the bonds, indebtedness, costs, and expenses of the United States created or incurred on account of the existing European war.
Mr. Shackleford; Committee on Ways and Means, 734.

H. R. 3222—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Newkirk, Okla.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 734.

H. R. 3223—To authorize the payment to the State of Oklahoma of an amount of money equal to 5 per cent of the proceeds of the sales of public lands lying within what was formerly Oklahoma Territory, on sales made between Apr. 22, 1889, and Nov. 16, 1907, inclusive, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Appropriations, 734.

H. R. 3224—To equalize the grant of lands to the State of Oklahoma for common schools with grants made to other States for such schools, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Appropriations, 734.

H. R. 3225—To compensate the State of Oklahoma for loss of revenue from nontaxable Indian lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Indian Affairs, 734.

H. R. 3226—To create the United States chamber of agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Agriculture, 734.

H. R. 3227—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Cherokee, Okla.
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H. R. 3228—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Fairview, Okla.
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H. R. 3230—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Ponca City, Okla.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 735.

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H. R. 3233—Making further provision for national defense by providing for an increased supply of food.
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H. R. 3234—To be known as the Daughters of the American Revolution old trails act, to provide a national ocean-to-ocean highway over the pioneer trails of the Nation.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Roads, 735.

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H. R. 3240—Granting a pension to Frank L. Schaarman, alias Frank L. Sherman.
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Mr. Gandy; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 735.

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Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Naval Affairs, 735.

H. R. 3264—For the relief of the estate of Alexander Gardner.
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Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 735.

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H. R. 3269—Granting a pension to Clarence P. Hoffhaus.
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Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.

H. R. 3271—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Fletcher.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.

H. R. 3272—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Burke.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.

H. R. 3273—Granting a pension to David R. Miles.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Pensions, 735.

H. R. 3274—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Brookover, jr.
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Mr. Sloan; Committee on Pensions, 736.

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H. R. 3328—To correct the military record of William Martin.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 736.

H. R. 3329—To correct the military record of John R. Smith, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 736.

H. R. 3330—To temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 822.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 31), 1292.—Debated, 1956–1970.—Amended and passed House, 1970.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 1975.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 36), 2085.—Debated, 2271, 2306–2324.—Amended and passed Senate, 2324.—Senate asks for a conference, 2324.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 2461.—Conference appointed, 2324, 2461.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 2531, 2575.—Conference report (No. 54) made in House, 2572, 2600.—Conference report agreed to in House, 2600, 2601.—Examined and signed, 2620, 2626.—Presented to the President, 2696.—Approved [Public, No. 17], 2884.

H. R. 3331—For the protection of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 822.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 77), 3589.—Debated, 2398, 4427, 4494–4499 (Appendix 213).—Amended and passed House, 4499.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 4549.—Reported back (S. Rept. 87) and passed Senate (title amended), 5378, 5379.—House concurs in Senate amendment to title, 5525, 5526.—Examined and signed, 5571, 5627.—Presented to the President, 5689.—Approved [Public, No. 36], 7532.

H. R. 3332—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell and convey certain land to the city of Faribault, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 822.

H. R. 3333—For the construction of new lookouts in the post office at Red Wing, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 822.

H. R. 3334—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at South St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 822.

H. R. 3335—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Northfield, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 822.

H. R. 3336—For the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Fort Bidwell Indian School, Cal.; for repairs and improvements, erecting barn and silo, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 822.

H. R. 3337—To provide for the naturalization of certain aliens.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 823.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 3338—To authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Military Affairs, 823.

H. R. 3339—To regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 823.

H. R. 3340—To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to certify to the Secretary of the Interior, for restoration to the public domain, lands in the State of Louisiana not needed for naval purposes.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.

H. R. 3341—Providing for addition and repairs to the postoffice building at Galveston, Tex.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3342—To provide for the purchase of a site for customhouse at Galveston, Tex.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3343—To provde for the purchase of ground and the erection of a public building thereon for a marine hospital, to be used also in connection with the Immigration Service, in the city of Galveston, Tex.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3344—To establish a marine fish-cultural station in the State of Texas in the vicinity of Galveston.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 823.

H. R. 3345—To amend the Revised Statutes of the United States by adding thereto secton 4547a, to provide for a more efficient remedy for the collection of seamen's wages and to provide fees for officers issuing and serving process.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 823.

H. R. 3346—Authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Crockett, Tex.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3347—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon in the village of Winsted, in the town of Winchester, in the State of Connecticut.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3348—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Derby, in the State of Connecticut.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3349—To authorize the President in time of war to give direction to exports from the United States so as to insure their wise, economical, and profitable distribution to other countries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 823.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 32), 1433.—Laid on the table, 4433.

H. R. 3350—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 823.

H. R. 3351—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Flood Control, 823.

H. R. 3352—To provide an agricultural army under military control to supply the deficiency in farm labor and better secure sufficient food for the people.
Mr. Bathrick; Committee on Agriculture, 823.

H. R. 3353—To acquire a site for a public building at Hartford, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3354—For the erection of a public building at South Manchester, in the town of Manchester, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3355—For the purchase of a post-office site at Enfield, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3356—For the purchase of a post-office site at Southington, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3357—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Labor, 823.

H. R. 3358—Authorizing the compensation of rural mail carriers or their heirs for injuries received while on duty.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 823.

H. R. 3359—To promote the safety of travelers and employees upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to adopt uniform rules for the operation of railroad trains and to use a uniform system of signals for authorizing the movement of railroad trains.
Mr. French; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 823.

H. R. 3360—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, and transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1906, as amended by the act approved Aug. 23, 1912.
Mr. French; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 823.

H. R. 3361—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 2291 and section 2297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to homesteads."
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.

H. R. 3362—To amend an act to provide for an enlarged homestead, approved June 17, 1910.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.

H. R. 3363—To amend section 237 of an act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary.
Mr. French; Committee on the Judiciary, 823.

H. R. 3364—To provide for the erection of a schoolhouse for the detached Indians living in the Kootenai Valley, Idaho.
Mr. French; Committee on Indian Affairs, 823.

H. R. 3365—Authorizing the sale of land within the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation to the University of Idaho.
Mr. French; Committee on Indian Affairs, 823.

H. R. 3366—For the protection of foodstuffs in the District of Columbia.
Mr. French; Committee on the District of Columbia, 823.

H. R. 3367—To provide for an investigation and report relative to the adoption of a system of old-age insurance or pensions.
Mr. French; Committee on Labor, 823.

H. R. 3368—To amend section — of an act defining matter that may be admitted to second-class mail privileges.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 823.

H. R. 3369—To extend the franking privilege to the American National Red Cross.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 823.

H. R. 3370—To define liability for military training and service in the permanent land forces.
Mr. French; Committee on Military Affairs, 823.

H. R. 3371—To protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives.
Mr. French; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 823.

H. R. 3372—Granting leave of absence to homestead entrymen.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.

H. R. 3373—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a new public building at Lowell, Mass.; and also for the sale of the present post-office building and its site.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3374—Punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on the Judiciary, 823.

H. R. 3375—To provide a preliminary survey of the Sipsey River, Ala., with a view of the control of its floods.
Mr. Oliver of Alabama; Committee on Flood Control, 823.

H. R. 3376—To provide a preliminary survey of the Cahaba River, Ala., with a view of the control of its floods.
Mr. Oliver of Alabama; Committee on Flood Control, 823.

H. R. 3377—For the purchase of a site for the erection thereon of a public building at Eaton Rapids, Mich.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3378—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Marshall, Mich.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 823.

H. R. 3379—To provide for leave of absence for Government employees called upon to perform service as members of military or naval organizations.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 823.

H. R. 3380—Creating a commission for the development and control of the waterways and water resources of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 823.

H. R. 3381—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Flood Control, 823.

H. R. 3382—Granting a pension to Sylvester H. Beadle.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3383—Granting a pension to Abraham A. Randles.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3384—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Boyer.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3385—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur D. Smith.
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H. R. 3386—Granting an increase of pension to Cicero H. Boden.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3387—Granting a pension to Charles F. Rich.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3388—Granting a pension to Wheeler Smith.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3389—Granting a pension to John W. Smith.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3390—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Johns.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3391—Granting an increase of pension to George T. Harwood.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3392—Granting an increase of pension to Hutcheons B. Durham.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3393—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon F. Hallett.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3394—Granting an increase of pension to Myron Corwin.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3395—For the relief of C. L. Walker.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 3396—For the relief of Thomas Curneen, alias Thomas Curtis.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 3397—For the relief of John Geiger.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 3398—Granting a pension to Hattie Kinkade.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3399—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Smolen.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3400—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Fovargue.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3401—Granting a pension to Capt. John H. Dorsey, Glencoe, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3402—Granting a pension to Herman W. Thurnau, Faribault, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3403—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan H. Robbins.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3404—For the relief of Edward J. Klossner.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 3405—For the relief of Fred Klossner.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 3406—For the relief of J. P. J. Johnston.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 3407—For the relief of Anton H. Burg.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 3408—For the relief of William E. Jones, Faribault, Minn.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 3409—For the relief of Stephen A. Randolph.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 3410—Granting an increase of pension to Tena Allard.
Mr. Dempsey; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3411—Granting an increase of pension to Spencer H. Hodges.
Mr. Dempsey; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3412—Granting an increase of pension to Theadore Tooley.
Mr. Eagle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3413—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Dominick.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3414—For the relief of S. S. Markley.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 824.

H. R. 3415—Granting a pension to Mary L. Christy.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3416—Granting a pension to Abby K. Murray.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3417—Granting a pension to Anton E. Sauter.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3418—Granting a pension to Mary E. Breen, of New London, Conn.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3419—Granting a pension to James F. Lynch.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3420—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Ann Wilson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3421—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. White, New London, Conn.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3422—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Quinn.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3423—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Shippee.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3424—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Shannon.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3425—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Smith.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3426—Granting an increase of pension to John O'Brien.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3427—Granting an increase of pension to Etta J. Knowlton.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3428—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth E. Frink.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3429—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Crumley.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3430—Granting an increase of pension to Augusta Anderson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3431—For the relief of Edward W. Whitaker.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 3432—Granting a pension to Taylor Johnson.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3433—Granting a pension to Joseph L. Heugl.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3434—Granting a pension to Leo Tucker.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3435—Granting a pension to Horace G. Pope.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3436—Granting a pension to Joseph N. Foster.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3437—Granting a pension to John Miller.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3438—Granting a pension to Sue M. Burch.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3439—Granting a pension to Susan C. Davidson.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3440—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Pearl D. Briggs.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3441—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Harris.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 3442—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Link.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3443—Granting an increase of pension to Floyd L. Campbell.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3444—Granting a pension to Mrs. Mary F. Sheerer.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3445—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Hart.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3446—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Cummings.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3447—For the relief of Oliver P. Pring.
Mr. French; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3448—For the relief of Thomas P. Darr.
Mr. French; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3449—For the relief of O. W. Lindsley.
Mr. French; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3450—For the relief of Hattie Moody.
Mr. French; Committee on Indian Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3451—For the relief of Clarence Hazelbaker.
Mr. French; Committee on Indian Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3452—For the relief of Oliver P. Pring.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 825.

H. R. 3453—For the relief of William F. Fogarty.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Military Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3454—Granting an increase of pension to Noah W. Gerrish.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3455—Granting a pension to Frank Hall.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3456—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Ann Jones.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3457—For the relief of Charles Funk.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3458—For the relief of certain employees of the Bureau of Lighthouses.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3459—Granting an increase of pension to A. G. Gipson.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3460—Granting an increase of pension to Israel L. Hahn.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3461—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Herter.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3462—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza E. Sutherland.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3463—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Gorman.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3464—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Hearing.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3465—For the relief of the estate of Henry A. V. Post.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3466—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Cadman.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3467—For the relief of Carrie A. Notley.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3468—Reinstating Roy F. Waring to his former rank and grade in the United States Army.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3469—Granting a pension to J. E. Hawes.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3470—Granting a pension to Bernia B. Lucas.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3471—Granting a pension to William E. Crookshanks.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3472—Granting a pension to James Henry.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3473—Granting a pension to Walter A. Stanley.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3474—Granting a pension to John L. Legg.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3475—Granting a pension to Benjamin L. Rutherford.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3476—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Whittington.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3477—Granting a pension to John J. Lacy.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3478—Granting a pension to Calvin J. Newman.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3479—Granting a pension to William R. Botkin.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3480—Granting a pension to Chesley Rhoden.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3481—Granting a pension to John H. Caldwell.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3482—Granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Howard.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3483—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Arbogast.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3484—Granting an increase of pension to Martha L. Lloyd, widow of A. J. Lloyd.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3485—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis L. Mullins.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3486—Granting an increase of pension to Norval Jones.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3487—Granting an increase of pension to Creed F. White.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3488—Granting an increase of pension to Townsend Roberts.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3489—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert Scarbrough.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3490—Granting an increase of pension to John Walton.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3491—Granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Slack, widow of John W. Slack.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3492—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Conley.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3493—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Thomas.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3494—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Withrow.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3495—Granting an increase of pension to Rosa Matheny, widow of James A. Matheny.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3496—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. B. Holstine.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3497—Granting an increase of pension to Pauline Williams, widow of Wesley Williams.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3498—Granting an increase of pension to B. F. Harless.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3499—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Jopling.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3500—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Quick, widow of Thomhs F. Quick.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3501—Granting an increase of pension to Meredith Landers.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3502—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Comer.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3503—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Swinburn.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3504—Granting an increase of pension to Clara Wildman.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3505—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Holden.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3506—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Alice Brightwell.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3507—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Pierce.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3508—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Keeney.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3509—Granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Greenlee.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3510—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Cottrill.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3511—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Lanham.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3512—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Booker.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3513—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Samples.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3514—To place George Johnstone Stoney on the retired list of the Army with the rank of captain.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3515—For the relief of Mary Ann Gordon.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3516—For the relief of W. L. Clifford, formerly a letter carrier, now a clerk in the service of the Post Office Department of the United States.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Claims, 825.

H. R. 3517—Granting a pension to Joseph Vanderpool.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3518—For the relief of J. W. Dellinger.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Indian Affairs, 825.

H. R. 3519—Granting a pension to Marcelle M. Muller, Anthony N. Muller, jr., and Maud Muller.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 3520—For the relief of I. C. Johnson, jr.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Naval Affairs, 826.

H. R. 3521—For the relief of Capt. Thomas R. Clark.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3522—For the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3523—For the relief of the heirs of Joseph Piernas, deceased.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3524—Granting an increase of pension to William Wells.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3525—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3526—Granting an increase of pension to Wiley Lambkin.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3527—Granting an increase of pension to Mathew Whitford.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3528—Granting an increase of pension to Henry G. Hixon.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3529—Granting a pension to James Smalley.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3530—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Bennett.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3531—Granting an increase of pension to William Newell.
Mr. Sterling of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3532—For the relief of Peter Michel.
Mr. Sterling of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 826.

H. R. 3533—Granting a medal of honor to John Sampson.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Military Affairs, 826.

H. R. 3534—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Keiper.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3535—For the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3536—For the relief of Jose Ramon Cordova.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3537—For the relief of Jacob Holman.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3538—For the relief of Henry C. Hickman.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3539—For the reimbursement of James E. Murphy for the loss of a horse while hired by the United States Reclamation Service.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3540—For the reimbursement of James Caviness for the loss of his residence while occupied as camp headquarters by United States Geological Survey.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 826.

H. R. 3541—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Wright.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3542—For the appointment of John P. Markoe as second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Military Affairs, 826.

H. R. 3543—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Joy.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3544—Granting a pension to Ivory W. Emerson.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 826.

H. R. 3545—To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 867.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 17), 866.—Debated, 866, 959–989, 1027–1068, 1091–1148, 1181–1292, 1368–1432, 1502–1557 [Appendix, 101, 109, 112, 113, 114, 117, 119, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 137, 140, 142, 147, 155, 158, 159, 162, 163, 165, 166, 174, 176, 181, 202, 248, 586, 678, 679].—Amended and passed House, 1555–1557.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 1501.—Reported with amendment, 1501.—Debated, 1610–1629 (see also debate in Senate on bill S. 1871).—Amended and passed Senate, 1629.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to a conference, 1659.—Senate insists on its amendment and asks for a conference, 1629.—Conference appointed, 1629, 1659.—Conference report made in Senate, 2052.—Conference report (No. 49) made in House, 2123, 2197.—Conference report debated in House; motion to recommit conference report to the committee on conference with instructions debated, 2196–2216 [Appendix, 181, 186, 187, 189, 193, 197, 199, 207, 208, 212, 214, 215, 233, 236].—Motion to recommit conference report agreed to in House, 2215, 2216.—Conference report withdrawn in Senate, 2163.—Second conference report made and withdrawn in Senate, 2329, 2382.—Second conference report (No. 52) made, debated, and recommitted to the committee of conference with instructions, 2375, 2387–2397.—Third conference report (No. 53) made and agreed to in House, 2420–2423, 2458.—Third conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 2428–2457, 2500.—Making correction in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 8), 2498, 2532.—Examined and signed, 2501, 2542.—Presented to the President, 2572.—Approved [Public, No. 12], 2884.

H. R. 3546—To prohibit the dealing in futures on foodstuffs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Agriculture, 867.

H. R. 3547—To extend the provisions of the pension act of May 11, 1912, to the officers and enlisted men of all State militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Union cause during the Civil War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 867.

H. R. 3548—Providing for the modification of the designs of the current quarter dollar.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 867.—Reported back (H. Rept. 78), 3589.—Debated and passed House, 4223, 4224.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 4263.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 4469.—Examined and signed, 4548, 4568.—Presented to the President, 4765.—Approved [Public, No. 27], 4879.

H. R. 3549—Creating a division of rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Sisson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 867.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 3550—To provide for the registration of, with collectors of internal revenue, and to impose a special tax upon, all persons who produce, import, manufacture, compound, deal in, dispense, sell, distribute, or give away any dynamite, giant powder, nitroglycerin, guncotton, or any compound thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Ways and Means, 867.

H. R. 3551—For the improvement of the harbor at Ogdensburg, N. Y.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 867.

H. R. 3552—To prohibit the manufacture, sale, importation, or exportation of all alcoholic, spirituous, malt, and vinous liquors for the duration of the war with Germany or any other country that may become involved.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Judiciary, 867.

H. R. 3553—Providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 867.

H. R. 3554—To provide for the examination and survey of Providence Harbor, Providence, R. I.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 867.

H. R. 3555—For the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Greenville Indian School, California; for repairs and improvements; for new school building, erecting building and furnishing the same; for purchase of land to connect Government property with public highway; and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 867.

H. R. 3556—For the erection of a public building at the city of Susanville, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3557—For the erection of a public building at the city of Alturas, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3558—For the erection of a public building at the city of Quincy, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3559—For the erection of a public building in the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3560—For the erection of a public building at the city of Redding, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3561—For the erection of a public building at the city of Yreka, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3562—For the erection of a public building at the city of Placerville, State of California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 867.

H. R. 3563—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Rhode Island.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on the Judiciary, 867.

H. R. 3564—Authorizing the sale of more than one copy of any public document to the same person.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Printing, 867.

H. R. 3565—To suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the time the United States may be engaged in war and fixing a penalty.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on the Judiciary, 867.

H. R. 3566—To provide a division of tuberculosis in, and an advisory council for, the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 867.

H. R. 3567—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the Osage civilization-fund claim of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Chandler of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 867.

H. R. 3568—To pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903.
Mr. Chandler of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 867.—Reported back (H. Rept. 193), 7872.

H. R. 3569—Authorizing the Osage Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma to employ a tribal attorney for said tribe and appropriating therefore Osage tribal funds.
Mr. Chandler of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 867.

H. R. 3570—Authorizing bonding companies to execute Government bonds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Judiciary, 867.

H. R. 3571—To prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to any soldier, sailor, or marine of the United States Army or Navy while on duty or in uniform.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith; Committee on the Judiciary, 867.

H. R. 3572—Granting an increase of pension to Robert S. Doan.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3573—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Nichols.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3574—Granting an increase of pension to Josephus Gatten.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3575—Granting a pension to Louis D. Beaumont.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3576—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Keech.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3577—Granting a pension to David Pack.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3578—Granting a pension to George Rice.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3579—Granting a pension to Earl W. Maitland.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3580—Granting a pension to David H. Earl.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3581—Granting a pension to Nellie M. Hupp.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3582—Granting a pension to Ella Spence.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3583—Granting a pension to Frank F. Randolph.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3584—Granting an increase of pension to John Burns.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3585—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Jane Jones.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3586—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Hale.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3587—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Castle.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3588—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Byrd.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3589—Granting an increase of pension to Henry P. Bradbury.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3590—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Zimmermann.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3591—Granting an increase of pension to Mathew Stamets.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3592—Granting an increase of pension to Philip H. Lind.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3593—Granting a pension to Mary J. Langdon.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3594—Granting an increase of pension to William Locust.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3595—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson Gaskill.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3596—Granting an increase of pension to George Fawn.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3597—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Ellis.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3598—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Epley.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3599—Granting an increase of pension to Catharine Elliott.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3600—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Dalle.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3601—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin T. Doan.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3602—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Clark.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3603—To correct the military record of Frederick Colburn.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 868.

H. R. 3604—To correct the military record of Oscar J. Paul.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 868.

H. R. 3605—For the relief of John W. Kellough.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 868.

H. R. 3606—For the relief of Samuel B. Dump.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Naval Affairs, 868.

H. R. 3607—For the relief of Henry Harris.
Mr. Fess; Committee on War Claims, 868.

H. R. 3608—To pay Charles L. Gallaher the sum of $215.
Mr. Fess; Committee on War Claims, 868.

H. R. 3609—To confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to try and determine the validity of any claims George C. Jenkins, late second lieutenant, First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Cavalry, may have against the Government for services rendered in the military service of the United States during the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Fess; Committee on War Claims, 868.

H. R. 3610—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Ridout.
Mr. French; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3611—Granting a pension to Harriet Fellows.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3612—Granting a pension to Cornelius Whitby.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3613—Granting a pension to Catherine A. Burke.
Mr. Juul; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3614—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth H. Brayton.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3615—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie Duer.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3616—Granting a pension to Emma J. De Yoe Bassett.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3617—Granting a pension to John Murphy.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3618—Granting a pension to Rachel F. Burdg.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3619—Granting an increase of pension to Bennett W. Langley.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3620—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac C. Pierce.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3621—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur Chappell.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3622—For the relief of Spencer Roberts, a member of the Metropolitan police force of the District of Columbia.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on the District of Columbia, 868.

H. R. 3623—Granting a pension to Georgia Acuff.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3624—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Barnes.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3625—Granting a pension to Joseph Sullivan.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3626—Granting a pension to Peter L. Butler.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3627—Granting a pension to Fred O. Hamilton.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3628—Granting a pension to Thomas V. McDermott.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3629—For the relief of Arthur H. Loomis.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3630—Granting a pension to Eva Griggs.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3631—Granting an increase of pension to Ida B. Fuller.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 868.

H. R. 3632—To correct the military record of William B. Young.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 868.

H. R. 3633—To regulate the manufacture, distribution, storage, sale, use, and possession of explosives in time of war or during national emergency, and for other purposes.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Mines and Mining, 867.

H. R. 3634—Appropriating money for the improvement of the Connecticut River between Long Island Sound and Hartford, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 990.

H. R. 3635—Fixing the rate of pay of compositors and bookbinders in the Government Printing Office.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Printing, 990.

H. R. 3636—To authorize the President of the United States to draft into the agricultural service of the Nation persons not liable to military service
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 990.

H. R. 3637—To establish a standard of weights for various commodities, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dillon: Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 990.—Motion to discharge committee, 2375.

H. R. 3638—To secure cooperation between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the State railway boards and commissions of the several States in correlating, changing, and establishing of intrastate rates, charges, and fares which indirectly affect interstate commerce in the transportation of passengers and property by public carriers, and providing for procedure relative thereto.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 990.

H. R. 3639—To return to the South certain of the "cotton tax" collected from 1863 to 1868 by paying to each living Confederate soldier and each living widow of a Confederate soldier, as proper representatives of the South, the sum of $500, and a further sum of $25 per month during the remainder of their lives, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Appropriations, 990.

H. R. 3640—For the erection of a public building in the city of Ballinger, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3641—To authorize the county of Cass, in the State of Indiana, to construct a bridge across the Wabash River east of the city of Logansport, at a point known as Cedar or Rock Island, in said Wabash River.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 990.—Reported back (H. Rept. 98), 5144.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2106), 5472, 5473.

H. R. 3642—For the erection of a public building in the city of Cisco, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3643—Authorizing and providing for the construction of a military highway paralleling the Rio Grande border of that portion of the United States between Texas and Mexico, and along the entire border, or certain sections thereof, of that portion of the United States between Mexico and the States of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Military Affairs, 990.

H. R. 3644—For the erection of a public building in the city of Anson, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3645—For the erection of an addition to and completion of the public building in the city of Abilene, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3646—For the erection of a public building in the city of Sweetwater, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3647—Permitting the repatriation of certain former American citizens who have hitherto served or who shall hereafter serve in the armed forces of any foreign state engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 990.

H. R. 3648—For the erection of a public building in the city of Haskell, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3649—To regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 990.

H. R. 3650—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 990.—Reported back (H. Rept. 20), 1069.—Debated, 2880, 2881.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2356), 4568.

H. R. 3651—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building thereon and authority to sell the present Federal building in the city of Lima, Ohio.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3652—For the erection of a public building in the city of Eastland, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3653—For the erection of a public building in the city of Paint Rock, the county seat of Concho County, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3654—For the erection of a public building in the lity of Breckinridge, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3655—For the erection of a public building in the city of Palo Pinto, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3656—For the erection of a public building in the city of Baird, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3657—For the erection of a public building in the city of Albany, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3658—For the erection of a public building in the city of Winters, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3659—For the erection of a public building in the city of Merkel, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3660—For the erection of a public building in the city of Midland, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3661—For the erection of a public building in the city of Colorado, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3662—To establish the metric system as the standard for weights and measures, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 990.

H. R. 3663—Providing for the counting of service in the Army or Navy of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the soldier's death in such service providing for the issuance of patent for such land to his widow or minor children.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 990.

H. R. 3664—For the erection of a public building in the city of Big Springs, Howard County, in the State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 990.

H. R. 3665—To regulate and control prices of food, wearing apparel, and fuel in the United States during the war with Germany, and for one year thereafter, and for other purposes.
Mr. Good; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 990.

H. R. 3666—To prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation in interstate comerce of misbranded articles, to regulate the traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Comerce, 990.

H. R. 3667—For the purpose of limiting the activities of certain officers and employees of the Government.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 990.

H. R. 3668—For the improvement of the Narows of Lake Champlain, N. Y. and Vt.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 990.

H. R. 3669—Fixing the rate of pay of compositors, bookbinders, and folding and gathering machine operators in the Government Printing Office.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Printing, 990.

H. R. 3670—To acquire and preserve the battle ground of the battle variously known as the Battle of Apache Canyon, Pigeons Ranch, and Glorieta, in the State of New Mexico.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Military Affairs, 990.

H. R. 3671—To authorize the Supreme Court to prescribe forms and rules and generally to regulate pleading, procedure, and practice on the common-law side of the Federal courts.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 990.

H. R. 3672—For the relief of homestead entrymen, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Public Lands, 991.

H. R. 3673—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 991.—Reported back (H. Rept. 35), 1433.—Debated, 1577–1590, 1842, 1874–1888.—Amended and passed House, 1888.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 1941.—Reported with amendment, 1975.—Debated, 1941, 1975–1998.—Amended and passed Senate, 1998.—Senate asks for a conference, 1998.—Senate amendment debated in House; House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to a conference; conferees instructed, 2074–2079.—Conference appointed, 1998, 2079.—Motion to reconsider vote in Senate; House requested to return bill; debated, 2102–2109.—Conference report (No. 73) made in House, 3415, 3416, 3517.—Conference report debated in House, 3517, 3522–3535, 3541–3543, 3603–3621 [Appendix, 347, 352].—Conference report agreed to in House, 3620, 3621.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 46) made in Senate, 3634.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 3757–3771.—Examined and signed, 3905, 3936.—Presented to the President, 3974.—Approved [Public, No. 25], 4542, 4879.

H. R. 3674—To punish the deliberate fabrication of false reports, rumors, or stories concerning affairs that might affect the international affairs of the United States.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 991.

H. R. 3675—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Shisler.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3676—Granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Bryant.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3677—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Helms.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3678—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Rouse.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3679—Granting an increase of pension to Noah Lehman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3680—Granting a pension to John H. Wyatt.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3681—To amend the military record of Harrison P. Wiltze.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 991.

H. R. 3682—For the relief of Asbury Scrivener.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Military Affairs, 991.

H. R. 3683—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Santee.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3684—Granting an increase of pension to James Knighton.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3685—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Loucks.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3686—Granting a pension to J. P. Boland.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3687—Granting a pension to Frederick E. Bogart.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3688—Granting a pension to John G. Miller.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3689—Granting a pension to C. W. Lakin.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3690—Granting a pension to W. A. Davis.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3691—Granting a pension to Arthur Rose.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3692—Granting a pension to W. R. Price.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3693—Granting an increase of pension to Howard A. Littlejohn.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3694—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Hester Jane Padgett.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3695—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sarah M. Gibbins.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3696—Granting an increase of pension to George Bannar.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3697—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Wilson.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3698—Granting an increase of pension to L. H. Prather.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3699—Granting an increase of pension to James Hampton.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3700—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Anna M. Coder, wife of the late Curtis L. Coder.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3701—For the relief of John G. Clark.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Claims, 991.

H. R. 3702—For the relief of Andrew J. Maxwell.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 991.

H. R. 3703—Authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Rev. H. A. Luckenbach, Spokane, Wash., to the position of chaplain in the Army.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 991.

H. R. 3704—Granting an increase of pension to Irene Gillespie.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pension, 991.

H. R. 3705—Granting a pension to Theresa De Villeneuve.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3706—Granting a pension to Julius Ohswaldt.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3707—Granting a pension to David Brass.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3708—Granting an increase of pension to George Oberg.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3709—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Gouldrick.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3710—Granting a pension to Mrs. Helen A. Lamont.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3711—Granting a pension to Mrs. William Teal.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3712—Granting a pension to Charles V. Stevens.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3713—Granting a pension to Harriet P. Shuman.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3714—Granting a pension to Mr. William H. Kipp.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3715—Granting a pension to Albert C. Schuman.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3716—Granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Counsell.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3717—Granting an increase of pension to George Proudfit.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3718—Granting an increase of pension to James West.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3719—Granting an increase of pension to Edward P. Johnson.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3720—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Harrington.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 991.

H. R. 3721—Granting an increase of pension to George Gunnell.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3722—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Gridley.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3723—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Whitbeck.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3724—Granting an increase of pension to Alpheus Demond.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3725—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Knox.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3726—Granting an increase of pension to Gottfried Czerny.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3727—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrenus F. Horton.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3728—Granting an increase of pension to Hadley S. Horth.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3729—Granting an increase of pension to Eaton Kinney.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3730—Granting an increase of pension to James Little.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3731—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McNeight.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3732—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin Wilcox.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3733—Granting an increase of pension to Chauncy A. Cronk.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3734—Granting an increase of pension to Stillman P. Daily.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3735—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Covell.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3736—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Eells.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3737—For the relief of Mrs. H. O'Neill.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3738—For the relief of Catherine Burns, widow of Patrick Burns.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3739—For the relief of William H. Egan.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3740—Granting a pension to Melissa A. Hawley.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3741—Granting an increase of pension to Noah W. Tryon.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3742—For the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3743—Granting a pension to Joseph B. De Langevin, alias Joseph Louis Lansberry.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3744—For the relief of Nelson D. Dillon, executor of Harriet A. Dillon, deceased, widow of Robert Dillon.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on War Claims, 992.

H. R. 3745—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Powers.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3746—Granting a pension to Thomas E. Read.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3747—Granting an increase of pension to De Forest Rutman.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3748—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3749—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Sinzig.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3750—Granting a pension to Mary A. Danccy.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3751—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Swanson.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3752—Granting an increase of pension to William A. McClarren.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3753—For the relief of the estate of J. P. Dieter.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 992.

H. R. 3754—Granting a pension to Josephine Timerson.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3755—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson J. Parker.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3756—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Fritz.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3757—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Bennett.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3758—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred T. Hawk.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3759—Granting an increase of pension to Caleb Snyder.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3760—Granting a pension to Minnie M. Polk.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3761—Granting an increase of pension to Alice E. Holland.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3762—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Thomas.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3763—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Franklin S. Trufant, alias Frank Trufant.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 992.

H. R. 3764—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Frank Cooper.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 992.

H. R. 3765—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis J. McHaney.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3766—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Osborn.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 992.

H. R. 3767—To correct the military record of Solomon Beck.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 992.

H. R. 3768—To suspend the rights granted under reissue No. 13,848 of patent No. 1,053,300.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Patents, 991.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. R. 3769—To suspend the rights granted under certain trade-marks.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Patents, 991.

H. R. 3770—To suspend the rights granted under patent No. 1,053,300.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Patents, 991.

H. R. 3771—To suspend the rights granted under patent No. 986,148.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Patents, 991.

H. R. 3772—Prohibiting the use of false weights and measures and prescribing penalties therefor.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 1069.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 3773—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Flandreau Band of Santee Sioux Indians against the United States.
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H. R. 3774—Fixing the rate of postage on letters and mail matter sent to soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1069.

H. R. 3775—For the abolishment of the Office of Indian Affairs, the closing out of Indian tribal organizations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1069.

H. R. 3776—For the abolishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1069.

H. R. 3777—To change the name of oleomargarine to butterine, and to change the rate of tax on butterine; to protect the consumers, dealers, and manufacturers of all kinds of butterine against fraud; and to afford the Bureau of Internal Revenue more efficient means for the detection of fraud and the collection of the revenue.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Agriculture, 1069.

H. R. 3778—Authorizing a preliminary examination of the St. Lawrence River.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1069.

H. R. 3779—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Norwalk, in the State of Connecticut.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1069.

H. R. 3780—To permit the manufacture of denatured alcohol by mixing domestic and wood alcohol while in process of distillation.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Ways and Means, 1069.

H. R. 3781—To provide for the selection and acquisition of a suitable site on the Houston ship channel, in the State of Texas, at some point between Morgan Point and the turning basin near the city of Houston, and to erect thereon a navy yard, dry docks, a naval training station, an arsenal, and an ordnance factory.
Mr. Eagle; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1069.

H. R. 3782—To provide a preliminary survey of the Savannah River at Augusta, Ga., with the view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Flood Control, 1069.

H. R. 3783—To permit the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey to enter into certain contracts without complying with the provisions of section 3709, Revised Statutes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1069.

H. R. 3784—To amend section 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1069.

H. R. 3785—To establish a branch Federal land bank in west Texas.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1069.

H. R. 3786—For the relief of C. R. Shaw, Allen Shaw, and Robert Shaw.
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H. R. 3787—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. Moore.
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H. R. 3788—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Chappelear.
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H. R. 3789—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Jacob Miller.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 1069.

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H. R. 3791—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Wallace.
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H. R. 3792—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Wilson.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Pensions, 1069.

H. R. 3793—Granting a pension to Fred Silvey.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Pensions, 1069.

H. R. 3794—Granting a pension to Betherel J. Goff.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1069.

H. R. 3795—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Jubal Grant and to grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 1069.

H. R. 3796—Granting a pension to Martha A. Cary.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1069.

H. R. 3797—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Bradish.
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H. R. 3798—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Rickart.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1069.

H. R. 3799—Granting a pension to Amanda Ball Johnston.
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H. R. 3800—For the relief of the heirs of Felix Scott Chambers.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on War Claims, 1069.

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H. R. 3802—Granting a pension to Victor A. Patterson, alias Victor Allen.
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H. R. 3803—For the relief of Mrs. Charles Petzel, widow of Charles Petzel, formerly a letter carrier in the service of the United States.
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H. R. 3804—For the relief of Louis A. Yorke.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1069.

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Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1069.

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Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1149.

H. R. 3807—To increase the pay of all officers and men in the military forces of the United States.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1149.

H. R. 3808—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant permission for the relocation and rebuilding of dams across navigable rivers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1149.

H. R. 3809—To indemnify the city of New York for expenses incurred in defense of the United States.
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H. R. 3810—To repeal the literacy test.
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H. R. 3813—Granting a pension to William D. Cole.
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H. R. 3820—For the relief of Charles A. Carey.
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H. R. 3821—Granting a pension to Thomas E. Rector.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 1149.

H. R. 3822—Granting an increase of pension to Mary F. Kessinger.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1149.

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H. R. 3824—To reinstate Frederick J. Birkett as third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard.
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H. R. 3826—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Vandervort.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1149.

H. R. 3827—To enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of November 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 1292.

H. R. 3828—To amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."
Mr. Gard; Committee on the Judiciary, 1292.

H. R. 3829—Authorizing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to transfer fractional block 6, of Naylor's addition, Forest Grove, Oreg., to the United States of America, for the use of the Bureau of Entomology, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1292.

H. R. 3830—To amend the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911.
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H. R. 3831—To provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1293.

H. R. 3832—To establish game sanctuaries in national forests, and for other purposes.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Agriculture, 1293.—Motion to discharge committee, 2423.

H. R. 3833—Authorizing the erection of a building for the Navy Department in the city of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1293.

H. R. 3834—Granting an increase of pension to Homer Schrock.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3835—Authorizing the Secretary of War to confer upon Frank C. King, the congressional medal of honor.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3836—Authorizing the Secretary of War to confer upon David Davis the congressional medal of honor.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3837—Granting a pension to the widow of David Sherman, a Pennsylvania conscript, 1864.
Mr. Bell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3838—Granting a pension to Edwin M. Stupfell.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3839—To place the name of Thomas W. Purcell upon the Army and Navy medal of honor roll.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3840—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Snyder.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3841—Granting an increase of pension to Emily A. De Forest.
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H. R. 3842—For the relief of Preston B. C. Lucas.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Claims, 1293.

H. R. 3843—For the relief of John W. Baggott.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3844—For the relief of Elizabeth T. Wells.
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H. R. 3845—For the relief of John Doyle, alias John Geary.
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H. R. 3846—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Crow.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3847—For the relief of the heir at law of A. Beemer.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 1293.

H. R. 3848—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Hineline.
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H. R. 3849—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Postlethwait.
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H. R. 3850—Granting an increase of pension to Absalom Shaffer.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3851—Granting a pension to Charles Bell.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3852—To punish the speculation by any person or body of persons for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes, and providing a penalty therefor.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on the Judiciary, 1293.

H. R. 3853—For the relief of Benjamin C. Martin, Ezekiel Martin, Henry C. Fuller, Ezekiel Fuller, Eliza L. Crow, and Elizabeth Martin.
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H. R. 3854—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Strange.
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Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3856—Granting an increase of pension to Orange Scott Cummins.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3857—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Blakeley.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3858—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Butler.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3859—Granting an increase of pension to Belle Stewart.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3860—Granting an increase of pension to Jehu M. Higgins.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3861—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Gee.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3862—Granting an increase of pension to John Herrick.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3863—Granting an increase of pension to Robert P. Williams.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3864—Granting an increase of pension to Charles C. Twyford.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3865—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Hughes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3866—Granting an increase of pension to John Pope.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1293.

H. R. 3867—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas W. George.
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H. R. 3868—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. Reed.
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H. R. 3880—To correct the military record of William Alexander and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3881—To correct the military record of William H. Wyatt and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3882—To correct the military record of James McManniman and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1293.

H. R. 3883—Designating October 27 of each year a legal holiday to be known as National Fraternal Day, to conserve the home, fraternalism, and happiness.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 1433.

H. R. 3884—To authorize a special edition of 1,000,000 copies of the Congressional Record daily.
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H. R. 3885—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 1433.

H. R. 3886—Prohibiting the manipulation of the prices of necessaries of life.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Judiciary, 1433.

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H. R. 3888—Granting a pension to Charles H. Howell.
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H. R. 3890—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Taylor.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

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H. R. 3892—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John F. Kelly.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 1433.

H. R. 3893—For the relief of Sarah Haverstick.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Claims, 1433.

H. R. 3894—For the relief of Charles L. Schroeder.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 1433.

H. R. 3895—Granting an increase of pension to Eli W. Myers.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

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H. R. 3897—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley Dern.
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H. R. 3900—Granting an increase of pension to William Crawford.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

H. R. 3901—Granting an increase of pension to James Orr.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

H. R. 3902—Granting a pension to Anna C. Livingston.
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H. R. 3903—Granting a pension to Jane Snider.
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H. R. 3904—Granting an increase of pension to John N. Dansdill.
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Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

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H. R. 3909—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Culbertson.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

H. R. 3910—Granting an increase of pension to William J. McCormick.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

H. R. 3911—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel R. Easter.
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H. R. 3912—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Williams.
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H. R. 3913—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Palmatier.
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H. R. 3914—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Bass.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1433.

H. R. 3915—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Hobbs.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1434.

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H. R. 3917—Granting an increase of pension to James Smith.
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H. R. 3921—Granting an increase of pension to Marvin Waldorph.
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H. R. 3922—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Jennings.
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Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1434.

H. R. 3924—Granting a pension to William Peacock.
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H. R. 3925—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Rosenberger.
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H. R. 3926—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Means.
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H. R. 3927—Prohibiting fraud upon the public by making or disseminating false statements or assertions concerning any merchandise, commodities, securities, or service, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on the Judiciary, 1433.

H. R. 3928—For the relief of certain officers of the Army and Navy in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Military Affairs, 1433.

H. R. 3929—Authorizing payment for damage to township roads by United States troops while encamped at Camp Meade during the War with Spain.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on War Claims, 1433.

H. R. 3930—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Middletown, Pa.
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H. R. 3931—To amend the act approved Mar. 1, 1911, entitled "An act to protect the dignity and honor of the uniform of the United States."
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H. R. 3940—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Bryant.
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H. R. 3946—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sallie M. Cohen, widow of Henry Cohen.
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Mr. Paige; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1558.

H. R. 3967—Granting age and service pensions to soldiers and sailors who answered the first call for volunteers in the Civil War.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1608.

H. R. 3968—To increase the pensions of widows of officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who were the lawful wives of such officers and enlisted men during their service in the Civil War and have not been separated or divorced from such officers and enlisted men.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1608.

H. R. 3969—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell to the State of Oklahoma for a game preserve certain lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1608.

H. R. 3970—To organize 10 or more regiments of Indian cavalry as part of the military forces of the United States, to be known as the North American Indian Cavalry.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 1608.

H. R. 3971—Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the Military and Naval Establishments on account of war expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 36), 1590, 1608.—Debated, 1641–1659, 1693, 1694 [Appendix, 136].—Amended and passed House, 1659, 1693, 1694.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 1670.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 41), 2329.—Debated, 2377, 2382–2386, 2501–2532, 2577–2595.—Amended and passed Senate, 2595.—Senate asks for a conference, 2595.—Bill with Senate amendments referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 2660.—Reported back (H. Rept. 61), 2930.—Senate amendments debated in House; House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 2930, 2931, 3013–3025.—Conference appointed, 2595, 3025.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 39) made in Senate, 3099.—Conference report (No. 67) made in House, 3122, 3181.—Conference report agreed to in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 3180–3189.—Conference report agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 3152, 3153.—Second conference appointed, 3153, 3189.—Second conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3212, 3213.—Second conference report (No. 70) made in House, 3267, 3276.—Second conference report debated and rejected in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 3276–3297.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 3427–3437.—Third conference appointed, 3297, 3437.—Third conference report (No. 74) made in House, 3477, 3535.—Conference report agreed to in House; House concurs in Senate amendment No. 68 with an amendment, 3532, 3535–3540.—Third conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate; Senate concurs in House amendment to Senate amendment 68, 3546–3550.—Examined and signed, 3591, 3603.—Presented to the President, 3628.—Approved [Public, No. 23], 3870.

H. R. 3972—To regulate the wages of mechanics and laborers employed in or under any and all departments of the Government.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Labor, 1608.

H. R. 3973—To provide for an increase in salaries of the United States customs employees.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Ways and Means, 1608.

H. R. 3974—To regulate the wages of certain employees employed in or under the Navy and War Departments of the Government.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1608.

H. R. 3975—Authorizing the issuance of trust patents for allotments made within the timbered area on the Klamath Reservation, Oreg.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1608.

H. R. 3976—Amending the reclamation law to authorize Federal farm loans on lands within United States reclamation projects.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1608.

H. R. 3977—Making an appropriation to the dependents of enlisted or drafted men of the Organized Militia or National Guard and enlisted or drafted men in the Regular Army.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Appropriations, 1609.

H. R. 3978—To regulate the prices of the necessaries of life.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Appropriations, 1609.

H. R. 3979—For the relief of Roscoe V. Wickes.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1609.

H. R. 3980—Granting a pension to Henrich Jensen.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3981—For the relief of Michael Mullett.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1609.

H. R. 3982—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Brown.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3983—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Margaret Pressler.
Mr. Fairfield; Committeye on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3984—Granting an increase of pension to Isom S. Reeder.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3985—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Gilbert.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3986—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Albright.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3987—Granting a pension to Henry Franz.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3988—Granting a pension to Mary Julian Conway.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3989—Granting a pension to Elizabeth McGuiness.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3990—Granting an increase of pension to Eleanor C. Doyle.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3991—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Murphy.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3992—Granting an increase of pension to John Flood.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3993—Granting an increase of pension to Nellie McDonald Grimshaw.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3994—Granting an increase of pension to James McCullough.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3995—For the relief of John Hartnett.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Claims, 1609.

H. R. 3996—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie H. Marshall.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3997—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Rundle.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3998—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Bronson.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 3999—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Mathews.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1609.

H. R. 4000—For the relief of Henry W. Sanford.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on War Claims, 1609.

H. R. 4001—Further extending the time for the repayment of certain Spanish War revenue taxes erroneously collected.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Claims, 1660.

H. R. 4002—Providing for the purchase or condemnation of a site for a target range at or near Great Piece Meadows, in the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Lehlbach; Committee on Military Affairs, 1660.

H. R. 4003—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Wellsville, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1660.

H. R. 4004—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at East Palestine, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1660.

H. R. 4005—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the citizens of Talihina, Okla., a bronze or brass cannon.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 1660.

H. R. 4006—To provide for the erection of a statue to Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer at his birthplace in New Rumley, Ohio.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on the Library, 1660.

H. R. 4007—For the relief of Peabody & Stearns.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Claims, 1660.

H. R. 4008—Granting a pension to Lemuel S. Darr.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4009—Granting a pension to Solomon Morris.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4010—To reimburse D. Dale Condit, of the United States Geological Survey, of Washington, D. C., for moneys expended in the payment of a damage claim.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Claims, 1660.

H. R. 4011—Granting a pension to Charles H. Howell.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4012—Granting a pension to John Demcy.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4013—For the relief of Wickliff Fry for horse lost while hired by the United States Geological Survey.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Claims, 1660.

H. R. 4014—For the relief of Jerry V. Crane.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 1660.

H. R. 4015—For the relief of the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 1660.

H. R. 4016—Granting a pension to Wilber S. Chapman.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4017—Granting an increase of pension to Marcellus Teeters.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4018—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Shoup.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1660.

H. R. 4019—To punish the speculation by any person or body of persons for the purpose of cornering the market, and providing a penalty therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dill; Committee on the Judiciary, 1722.

H. R. 4020—Appropriating money for the improvement of the Shrewsbury River, N. J., up to Red Bank, on the North Branch, and to Branchport, on the South Branch.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1722.

H. R. 4021—To approve mutual cessions of territory by the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota and the consequent changes in the boundary line between said States.
Mr. Esch; Committee on the Judiciary, 1723.

H. R. 4022—To increase the revenue.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Ways and Means, 1723.

H. R. 4023—Authorizing the President to requisition and operate railroads or steamboat lines whenever he deems it necessary for the national security and defense.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.

H. R. 4024—To provide increased revenue by a direct tax on the value of land in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Ways and Means, 1723.—Debated [Appendix, 473].

H. R. 4025—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.

H. R. 4026—Providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Benton Harbor, Mich.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1723.

H. R. 4027—Granting a pension to persons who are deaf or partially deaf from causes arising while in the military service of the United States.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4028—Providing for the erection of a monument at St. Joseph, Mich., commemorating the establishment of Fort Miami on the site of said city.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on the Library, 1723.

H. R. 4029—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of St. Joseph, Mich.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1723.

H. R. 4030—To amend section 6, as amended, of the act to regulate commerce, approved Feb. 4, 1887.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.

H. R. 4031—To increase the pensions of those who have lost one eye or have become totally blind in one eye from causes occurring in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4032—To provide campaign badges for officers, enlisted men, sailors, or marines who served honorably in the Spanish, Philippine, or China campaigns, and who were not in the United States service on January 11, 1905.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1723.

H. R. 4033—Amending section 2 of an act entitled "An act to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved April 19, 1908.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4034—Providing for the erection of a public building at the city of South Haven, Mich.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1723.

H. R. 4035—To authorize the establishment of a life-saving station at or near Saugatuck, Mich.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.

H. R. 4036—To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 1723.

H. R. 4037—To grant rights of way over Government lands for reservoir purposes for the conservation and storage of water to be used by the city of San Diego, Cal., and adjacent communities.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on the Public Lands, 1723.

H. R. 4038—For making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1723.

H. R. 4039—To provide for old-age pensions.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4040—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the lading or unlading of vessels at night, the preliminiary entry of vessels, and for other purposes," approved Feb. 13, 1911.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Ways and Means, 1723.

H. R. 4041—To amend section 8 of the act approved June 26, 1906, entitled "An act for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska."
Mr. Nolan; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1723.

H. R. 4042—To prohibit the employment of any person who is not a citizen of the United States as radio operator or telegrapher on any vessel of the United States engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, and to establish the age of radio operators.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1723.

H. R. 4043—To provide for the establishment of a division of civic training in the Bureau of Education.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Education, 1723.

H. R. 4044—To further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting interstate transportation of the products of convict labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Labor, 1723.

H. R. 4045—To provide for the admission into soldiers' and sailors' homes of persons who have served in the Army or the Navy of the United States.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1723.

H. R. 4046—For the erection of new buildings for the Golden Gate Life-Saving Station at San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.

H. R. 4047—To establish a workers' home board for the purpose of making loans to workers with which to build or buy their homes.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1723.

H. R. 4048—Authorizing Federal land banks to make loans on lands within irrigation projects and giving priority of lien for loans so made.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1723.

H. R. 4049—Granting to American women married to foreigners the right to retain their citizenship.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1723.

H. R. 4050—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved Sept. 2, 1914, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1723.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 48), 2080.—Debated, 2880, 2881, 3189.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2133), 3403.

H. R. 4051—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Helms.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4052—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph G. Kitchen.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4053—Granting an increase of pension to George Dettmer.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4054—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to try and adjudicate the claims of Joe Ellis and other individual Shawnee and Delaware Indians on account of depredations committed by soldiers and white citizens of the United States.
Mr. Chandler of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1723.

H. R. 4055—Granting a pension to Laura A. Rosenbury.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4056—Granting a pension to Menzo W. Johnston.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4057—For the relief of Edward Johnson.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Military Affairs, 1723.

H. R. 4058—Granting a pension to Rose E. Wicoff.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4059—Granting a pension to Wesley H. Crockett.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4060—Granting a pension to Mary J. Welch.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4061—Granting a pension to Amanda J. Kemberling.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4062—Granting a pension to Frank Mead.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4063—Granting a pension to Albert C. Sheldon.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4064—Granting a pension to Emma L. Pugh.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4065—Granting a pension to Sallie E. Doolittle.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4066—Granting a pension to Emilia Granger.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4067—Granting a pension to Jenette Babcock.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4068—Granting a pension to Rebecca McCullough.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4069—Granting a pension to Henry F. Baldwin.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1723.

H. R. 4070—Granting an increase of pension to Aniiza Griffin.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4071—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin P. Arnold.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4072—Granting an increase of pension to J. K. P. McClary.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4073—Granting an increase of pension to William Burns.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4074—Granting an increase of pension to William Ray.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4075—For the relief of James W. Houser.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4076—For the relief of Timothy Ellsworth.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4077—For the relief of Park B. Chase.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4078—For the relief of Amanda Honert.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 1724.

H. R. 4079—For the relief of Myron Powers.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on War Claims, 1724.

H. R. 4080—To correct the military records of the United States so as to muster Stewart C. Burt in and out of the service of the United States Army.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4081—Granting a pension to Bernhard Bolen.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4082—Granting a pension to Katie Noblitt.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4083—Granting a pension to Maxwell Gray.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4084—Granting a pension to John H. Simmons.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4085—Granting a pension to Robert F. Tietz.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4086—Granting a pension to Charles A. Lyon.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4087—Granting a pension to James P. Kennedy.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4088—Granting a pension to Mary Curtin.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4089—Granting a pension to Frank W. Allen.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4090—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome McWethy.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4091—Granting an increase of pension to John McMahon.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4092—For the relief of Jasper J. Henry.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4093—For the relief of David Walker.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4094—For the relief of James Ross.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4095—For the relief of George F. Stedman.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4096—For the relief of Patrick Savage.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4097—For the relief of Patrick McNamee.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4098—For the relief of Thomas Ford.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4099—For the relief of Mary Curtin, widow of Michael Curtin.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4100—For the relief of Horatio S. Turrell, alias Horatio Seaward.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4101—For the relief of the Western Grain and Sugar Products Co., of California.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Claims, 1724.

H. R. 4102—For the relief of the minor nephews of Owen F. Solomon, First lieutenant, Fourth Regiment United States Artillery.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on War Claims, 1724.

H. R. 4103—Granting a pension to Alice C. Glover.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4104—Granting a pension to Rebecca B. Tooley.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4105—Granting a pension to W. M. Balch.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4106—Granting a pension to Thomas M. Hoover.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4107—Granting a pension to George Archbold.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4108—Granting a pension to James F. Morrisey.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4109—Granting a pension to Jacob Hicks.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4110—Granting a pension to Guss Hughes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4111—Granting a pension to Bacchus Ledford.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4112—Granting a pension to Serilda Harter.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4113—Granting an increase of pension to John Q. Alter.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1724.

H. R. 4114—To correct the military record of John W. Siple.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 1724.

H. R. 4115—To amend section 2 of an act entitled "An act to regulate the officering and manning of vessels subject to the inspection laws of the United States," approved Mar. 3, 1913.
Mr. Hardy; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1780.

H. R. 4116—To create a decentralized Bank of Commerce to facilitate and regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, Territories, and insular possessions of the United States, to create Government depositaries and fiscal agents for the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Saunders of Virginia; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1780.

H. R. 4117—To detach Pecos County, in the State of Texas, from the Del Rio division of the western judicial district of Texas and attach same to the San Angelo division of the northern judicial district of said State.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on the Judiciary, 1780.

H. R. 4118—For the construction of a seagoing dredge for use in improving the harbors on the coast of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Appropriations, 1780.

H. R. 4119—Granting increased pensions to surviving widows of soldiers of the various Indian wars.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 1780.

H. R. 4120—To pay to Confederate soldiers and to the widows of Confederate soldiers $500 and $30 per month during the remainder of their lives.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on War Claims, 1780.

H. R. 4121—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to establish and maintain a training station for the use of the United States Naval Coast Defense Reserve at Buffalo, N. Y.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1780.

H. R. 4122—To amend the provision in the act approved August 29, 1916, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to grant furloughs without pay to enlisted men of the Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1780.

H. R. 4123—To repair, remodel, and modernize the public building at Providence, R. I., known as the old post-office building.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1780.

H. R. 4124—For the erection of a Federal building for the United States post office at Warren, R. I.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1780.

H. R. 4125—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging agriculture and regulating the marketing and distribution of foods and other necessaries of life.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 1780.—Reprint of bill ordered, 1936.—Debated, 1955.

H. R. 4126—To provide for the payment of the claim of J. W. Johnson against the United States.
Mr. Almon; Committee on War Claims, 1781.

H. R. 4127—Granting an increase of pension to John Stone.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4128—For the relief of U. S. Davis.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Claims, 1781.

H. R. 4129—Granting an increase of pension to John Waterhouse.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4130—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Gray.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4131—Granting an increase of pension to August Isermann.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4132—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Thacker.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4133—Authorizing the President of the United States to restore to the active list Daniel Moriarty, chief boatswain, United States Navy, retired.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1781.

H. R. 4134—Granting a pension to Marie F. Manns.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4135—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Mykins.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4136—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine A. Sproat.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4137—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Main.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4138—Granting an increase of pension to James Buchanan.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4139—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget M. Fauls.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4140—Granting an increase of pension to Priscilla V. Hiebler.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4141—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hunt.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4142—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna Smith.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4143—For the relief of Iver Boreson.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Claims, 1781.

H. R. 4144—Granting a pension to Christopher C. Jones.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4145—Granting a pension to John Huff.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4146—Granting a pension to Ewell V. Osborn.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4147—Granting a pension to Samuel Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4148—Granting a pension to Elijah Spurlock.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4149—Granting a pension to Gilbert Taylor.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4150—Granting a pension to Sarah Scott.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4151—Granting a pension to Blain Pedago.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4152—Granting a pension to James E. Jones.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4153—Granting a pension to Taylor Hubbard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4154—Granting a pension to Mary Starnes Elliott.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4155—Granting a pension to John Ferman.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4156—Granting a pension to Isom W. Foley.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4157—Granting a pension to John Sullivan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4158—Granting a pension to Eli Bowling.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4159—Granting a pension to James H. Hornsby.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4160—Granting a pension to William Pace.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4161—Granting a pension to George Brewer.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4162—Granting a pension to Buster Davis.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4163—Granting a pension to Elijah Lundy.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4164—Granting a pension to Gilson D. Moore.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4165—Granting a pension to Nathaniel Blanton.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4166—Granting a pension to Ewel King.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4167—Granting a pension to Edward Lay.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4168—Granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Archibald.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4169—Granting a pension to Bev Baker.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4170—Granting a pension to Walter G. Abner.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4171—Granting a pension to Curt Morgan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4172—Granting a pension to Rebecca Martin.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4173—Granting a pension to Isaac Townsend.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4174—Granting a pension to Jacob C. Wright.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4175—Granting a pension to James M. Howard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4176—Granting a pension to Stephen House.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4177—Granting a pension to Raleigh J. Stanberry.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4178—Granting an increase of pension to George Poff.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4179—Granting an increase of pension to Bascumb Hornsby.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4180—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Cook.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4181—Granting an increase of pension to Dillon Collett.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4182—Granting an increase of pension to Dudley R. Sloan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4183—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Roach.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4184—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Kelly.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4185—Granting an increase of pension to Leander Young.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4186—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel C. Long.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1781.

H. R. 4187—Authorizing Anton Hiersche to select other land in lieu of land now owned by him, required for reclamation purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1781.

H. R. 4188—To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 1843.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 44), 1937.—Debated, 1955, 1956, 2029–2041, 2836–2846, 2881–2908, 2932–2961, 2991–3013, 3065.—Amended and passed House, 3012, 3013, 3065.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 3046.—Reported with amendments, 3046.—Debated, 3100–3122, 3153–3179, 3213–3229, 3747, 3754, 3755.—Amended and passed Senate, 3229.—Senate asks for a conference, 3229.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 3521, 3522, 4493.—Conference appointed, 3229, 4493.—Conference report (No. 118) made in House, 5721, 5768.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 5768–5773 [Appendix, 658].—Conference report (S. Doc. 73) made in Senate, 5785, 5786.—Conference report agreed to in Senate, 5927, 5928.—Examined and signed, 5933, 5945.—Presented to the President, 6038.—Approved [Public, No. 40], 7532.

H. R. 4189—Authorizing the use of radio stations under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department for commercial purposes between the United States and Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1843.

H. R. 4190—To abrogate the patent upon the article known as salvarsan.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Patents, 1843.

H. R. 4191—Exempting enlarged homesteads from liability for debt contracted prior to issuance of patent.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 1843.

H. R. 4192—To authorize the refund of duties collected on field kitchens imported during the year 1916.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4193—To provide for the publication and sale of patriotic stamps for voluntary use on mail matter.
Mr. Heintz; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1843.

H. R. 4194—For the relief of Katherine Simon.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4195—Granting a pension to Pierce O'Connell.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4196—Granting a pension to Michael E. O'Donnell.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4197—For the relief of the heirs of Oscar Chrysler.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4198—Granting a pension to Robert Patchell.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4199—To restore homestead rights to settlers on the Cœur d'Alene Indian Reservation.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 1843.

H. R. 4200—Granting a pension to Simon R. Thornton.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4201—Granting an increase of pension to Louis H. Blake.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4202—Directing the reexamination of the accounts of the late Peter G. S. Ten Broeck.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4203—For the relief of Harry C. Bradley.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4204—Granting a pension to Henry Braunagel.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4205—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph K. Kelly.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4206—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Trulock.
Mr. Scott of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4207—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Lindsay.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4208—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Barger.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4209—Granting a pension to Mary Jane Frazee.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

H. R. 4210—Appropriating $500,000 for use of the Council of National Defense.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Appropriations, 1843.

H. R. 4211—For the relief of Kate Canniff.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Claims, 1843.

H. R. 4212—To authorize agricultural colleges and experiment stations to investigate and to teach the science and art of manufacturing and using oleomargarine, and to exempt such colleges and stations from the imposition of special taxes and the payment of taxes.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Education, 1889.

H. R. 4213—To repeal section 11 of the act of Aug. 24, 1912.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1889.

H. R. 4214—Amending the reclamation law to authorize Federal farm loans on lands within United States reclamation projects.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1889.

H. R. 4215—For erecting a suitable memorial to Nathan Hale.
Mr. Lonergan: Committee on the Library, 1889.—Debated [Appendix, 303].

H. R. 4216—Granting allowances to the beneficiaries of enlisted men in the service of the United States.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith; Committee on Military Affairs, 1889.

H. R. 4217—Granting an increase of pay to enlisted men in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Naval Reserve.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1889.

H. R. 4218—To grant a pension to Hannah R. Cave.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1889.

H. R. 4219—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Robb.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1889.

H. R. 4220—Granting a pension to Otto M. Payton.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Pensions, 1889.

H. R. 4221—Granting a pension to Charles H. Jackson.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4222—Granting a pension to Magdalena Baer.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4223—Granting a pension to George Baldwin.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4224—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney E. Timerman.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4225—For the relief of Wilson B. George.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1890.

H. R. 4226—Granting a pension to Marie Johnson.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4227—Conveying certain lands to the T. R. Foley Co.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on the Public Lands, 1890.

H. R. 4228—Granting an increase of pension to John Rinkle.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1890.

H. R. 4229—To prohibit the use of stop watch or timing devices or systems in the Postal Service.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1937.

H. R. 4230—For the relief of officers of the National Guard.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1937.

H. R. 4231—Providing that the pay of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard, while in the United States service, shall be the same as officers and men in the Regular Army.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1937.

H. R. 4232—Extending the time for the construction of a bridge across Flint River, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1937.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 101), 5144.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7647.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7707.—Reported back (S. Rept. 150); passed Senate, 7811.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 69], 7918.

H. R. 4233—To further national security and defense by increasing food production.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Appropriations, 1937.

H. R. 4234—Granting a pension to George S. Frankenfield.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Pensions, 1937.

H. R. 4235—Granting a pension to Henry Myers.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1937.

H. R. 4236—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in case of Wiley S. Holland.
Mr. Russell; Committee on War Claims, 1937.

H. R. 4237—For the relief of Alexander W. Hoffman.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Claims, 1937.

H. R. 4238—For the relief of A. E. Kuester.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 1937.

H. R. 4239—For the relief of Dora Gaines Delano, and other purposes.
Mr. Walton; Committee on the Public Lands, 1937.

H. R. 4240—For the relief of Alma Harris.
Mr. Walton; Committee on the Public Lands, 1937.

H. R. 4241—Transferring the vessels of the Bureau of Fisheries, Department of Commerce, to the jurisdiction of the Navy Department in time of war.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1971.

H. R. 4242—In reference to a national military park on the Plains of Chalmette, below the city of New Orleans.
Mr. Estopinal; Committee on Military Affairs, 1971.

H. R. 4243—Suspending during the present emergency all rights arising out of any patent granted by the United States upon any compound or medicine of which salvarsan is a constituent part.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Patents, 1971.

H. R. 4244—To regulate the construction and operation of elevators in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1971.

H. R. 4245—Authorizing the Secretary of War to establish and maintain an aviation training station at Buffalo, N. Y.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Military Affairs, 1971.

H. R. 4246—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Connecticut.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice, 1971.

H. R. 4247—To increase the revenue, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Ways and Means, 1971.

H. R. 4248—To suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the time the United States may be engaged in war, and fixing a penalty.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on the Judiciary, 1971.

H. R. 4249—Granting an increase of pension to Casper Paul.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4250—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Simmons.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4251—Granting a pension to Ernest Blaseg.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4252—Granting an increase of pension to Melvin Seward.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4253—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew R. Jones.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4254—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Coon.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4255—Granting a pension to John Kircher.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4256—Granting a pension to Angelica Culver.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4257—For the relief of Charles Edward Lutz.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1971.

H. R. 4258—Granting an increase of pension to Hymelius Mendenhall.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4259—Granting an increase of pension to Edward C. Jeffries.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4260—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Mattix.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4261—Granting a pension to Stanley M. Riggs.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4262—Granting a pension to Robert F. Tietz.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4263—For the relief of the Citizens' National Bank, of Los Angeles, Cal.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Claims, 1971.

H. R. 4264—Granting an increase of pension to Littleton T. Morgan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4265—Granting a pension to Alpheus W. Clark.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4266—Granting a pension to William R. Baum.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4267—Granting a pension to Margaret E. McNutt.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4268—To place the name of Jedediah C. Paine upon the unlimited retired list of the Army.
Mr. Templeton; Committee on Military Affairs, 1971.

H. H. 4269—For the relief of Henry I. Stockstill.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Claims, 1971.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 7386.

H. R. 4270—Granting a pension to Albert Haines.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4271—Granting a pension to Mary M. Heath-Bowers.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4272—Granting a pension to Levi Falkner.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4273—Granting an increase of pension to Loveman Place.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4274—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Pillars.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4275—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Neargarder.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4276—Granting an increase of pension to George Hedrick.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4277—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Guy.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4278—Granting an increase of pension to Uriah J. Favorite.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4279—Granting a pension to Della Smith.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Pensions, 1971.

H. R. 4280—To provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kitchin, from Committee on Ways and Means (H. Rept. 45), 2027, 2042.—Debated, 2079, 2080, 2123–2161, 2216–2236, 2272–2305, 2334–2374, 2398–2420, 2462–2494, 2532–2572, 2601–2624, 2660–2696, 2712–2777, 2799–2819 [Appendix, 188, 190, 194, 202, 205, 209, 216, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 230, 231, 234, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 252, 254, 255, 296, 457, 473, 479, 483–505, 524, 529, 533].—Amended and passed House, 2813–2819.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 2857.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 75), 4631, 4632.—Recommitted to the Committee on Finance, 4792, 4793.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 103), 5827.—Debated, 2927–2930, 4631, 4632, 4792, 4793, 5827, 5929, 5943, 5944, 5963–5978, 5998–6009, 6013–6036, 6045–6058, 6067–6103, 6104–6136, 6146–6162, 6165–6197, 6201–6220, 6225–6252, 6266–6288, 6310–6338, 6340–6342, 6346–6379, 6381–6406, 6409–6436, 6437–6464, 6469–6491, 6492–6519, 6523–6549, 6550–6570, 6593–6624, 6652–6679, 6718–6746, 6775–6802, 6840–6886.—Motion for cloture made and withdrawn, 6436, 6464.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to, 6461–6464.—Amended and passed Senate, 6885, 6886.—Senate asks for a conference, 6886.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference (H. Res. 138), 7026–7029, 7032–7034.—Conference appointed, 6886, 7034.—Conference report (No. 172) made in House, 7532, 7557.—Conference report debated in House, 7557–7603 [Appendix, 617, 619, 620, 622, 637, 649, 698, 708, 742].—Conference report agreed to in House, 7603.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 115) made in Senate, 7606.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 7606, 7615–7633.—Examined and signed, 7706, 7721.—Presented to the President, ——.—Approved [Public, No. 50], 7773.

H. R. 4281—To supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2042.

H. R. 4282—Authorizing the licensing and control of corporations engaged in the storing of food products for interstate shipment.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2042.

H. R. 4283—Authorizing the donation of the land and building at Kennebunkport, Me., known as "the old customhouse," to the town of Kennebunkport, Me.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2042.

H. R. 4284—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Georgetown, in the State of Delaware.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2042.

H. R. 4285—Making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Small, from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors (H. Rept. 46), 2041, 2042.—Debated, 2881, 3146, 3307, 3359–3386, 3406–3425, 3451–3483, 3562, 3563, 3566, 3657–3696, 3716–3745, 4226–4257, 4281–4332, 4356–4358 [Appendix, 280, 303, 306, 316, 319, 329, 338, 344, 346, 378, 439, 444, 452, 454, 467, 472, 475, 520, 594].—Amended and passed House, 4332, 4356–4358.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 4337.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 81), 4882.—Debated, 5372, 5379, 5380, 5382, 5383, 5391–5400, 5424–5429, 5442–5469, 5476–5522, 5981, 5982.—Amended and passed Senate, 5521, 5522.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 5561, 5628–5634 [Appendix, 520].—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5572.—Conference appointed, 5572, 5634.—Conference report made in Senate, 5666, 5701.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 5666, 5667, 5693, 5701–5705 [Appendix, 716].—Conference report (No. 116) made in House, 5720, 5723.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 5723–5733.—To make correction in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 19), 5733, 5785.—Examined and signed, 5797, 5806.—Presented to the President, 5887.—Approved [Public, No. 37], 7532.

H. R. 4286—To amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2042.

H. R. 4287—For the relief of the legal representatives and heirs of George H. Riley, deceased, of Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Claims, 2043.

H. R. 4288—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Lawrence.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4289—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Weisel.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4290—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Westfall.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4291—Granting a pension to Fred Yoemans.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4292—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Bachman.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4293—Granting a pension to Lewis Mulkey.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4294—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Robb.
Mr. Heintz; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4295—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Prather.
Mr. Heintz; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4296—Granting a pension to Oscar F. Lutz.
Mr. Heintz; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4297—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Guest.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4298—Granting an increase of pension to Ebenezer Riley.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4299—Granting a pension to Edwina B. Kemp.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4300—Granting a pension to Elsie Hoffman.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4301—Granting a pension to Henry Lang.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4302—Granting a pension to Leonard Ripple.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4303—Granting a pension to Thomas Heffernan.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4304—Granting a pension to Jane Hammond, widow of Henry Hammond.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4305—Granting a pension to James H. Buckner.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4306—Granting a pension to Henderson Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4307—Granting a pension to Lucretia E. James.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4308—Granting a pension to Mary Burkhart.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4309—Granting a pension to Stephen Standafer.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4310—Granting a pension to N. Ellen Peters and George N. Peters.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4311—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Rice.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4312—Granting an increase of pension to Tivis C. Simmons.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4313—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Alcorn.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4314—Granting an increase of pension to Columbus C. Logan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4315—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Nan E. Le Force.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4316—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Davison.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4317—Granting an increase of pension to George McDaniel.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4318—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4319—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew York.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4320—Granting an increase of pension to Fred Leick.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4321—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Waddle.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4322—Granting an increase of pension to Gideon P. Myers.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4323—Granting an increase of pension to Zacharah Holland.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4324—Granting an increase of pension to Clay Jackson.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4325—Granting an increase of pension to Washington M. Brown.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4326—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Girdler.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4327—Granting an increase of pension to Pollie W. Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4328—Granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Cook.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4329—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Sexton.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4330—Granting an increase of pension to Green Williams.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4331—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Turner.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4332—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph D. Thach.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4333—Granting an increase of pension to Turner Bartley.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4334—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Clutts.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4335—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Davis.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4336—Granting an increase of pension to John Doss.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4337—Granting an increase of pension to Jonas F. Fortney.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4338—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Herrin.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4339—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Hubbard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4340—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas G. Mitchell.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4341—Granting an increase of pension to Gideon P. Myers.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4342—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Peters.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4343—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Oliver.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4344—Granting an increase of pension to John Bowen.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 2043.

H. R. 4345—For the relief of the Sandford & Brooks Co., Inc.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Claims, 2043.

H. R. 4346—For the relief of Allen Greenlief.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Military Affairs, 2043.

H. R. 4347—To further regulate the leasing of land in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Territories, 2080.

H. R. 4348—For the enlargement of the Federal building at Butte, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2080.

H. R. 4349—Providing for the enlargement of the Federal building at Missoula, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2080.

H. R. 4350—Giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchase of Indian lands.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 2080.

H. R. 4351—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Judiciary, 2080.

H. R. 4352—Relating to the duties of registers of United States land offices and the publication in newspapers of official land-office notices.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 2080.

H. R. 4353—To enlarge, extend, remodel, etc., public building at Helena, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2080.

H. R. 4354—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Anaconda, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2080.

H. R. 4355—To increase the limit of cost for the Federal building and site therefor at Billings, Mont., and to authorize the provisions of quarters for United States courts in said building.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2080.

H. R. 4356—To conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases, and for other purposes.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Judiciary, 2080.

H. R. 4357—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Clark.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2080.

H. R. 4358—Granting an increase of pension to James Miller.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2080.

H. R. 4359—Granting an increase of pension to John Kinney.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2080.

H. R. 4360—Granting an increase of pension to Sanford Smith.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2080.

H. R. 4361—For the relief of A. J. Lowary.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 2080.

H. R. 4362—Granting a pension to Thomas Lee.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4363—Granting a pension to Mary M. Fessler.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4364—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Spangler.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4365—To increase the pension now being paid Henry Langley.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4366—To increase the pension now being paid to Mrs. Hessie M. McCarley.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4367—To grant a pension to Lawrence Hubschman.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4368—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Barnett.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 4369—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2161.

H. R. 4370—For the purchase of a site and erection thereon of a public building at Lewistown, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2161.

H. R. 4371—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate General William S. Truex Post, No. 57, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of New Jersey, South Amboy, N. J., two condemned cannon, with a suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Military Affairs, 2161.

H. R. 4372—To amend the act providing for the organization of the Militia in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2161.

H. R. 4373—To authorize the President to suspend operation of section 4347, and other laws in whole or in part during an emergency, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hardy; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2161.

H. R. 4374—To regulate the killing and sale of certain game animals in northern Alaska during the existing state of war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sulzer; Committee on the Territories, 2161.

H. R. 4375—To amend section 22 of the Federal farm-loan act, approved July 17, 1916.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2161.—Debated [Appendix, 182].

H. R. 4376—To pay W. M. G. Mackechney the sum of $150.82, being the amount of post-office funds lost by him in a robbery of his safe on April 16, 1915, and which as postmaster he was forced to pay to the Government.
Mr. Blanton; Comittee on Claims, 2161.

H. R. 4377—Granting a pension to Mary E. Beitzell.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4378—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Huddleston.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4379—For the relief of William H. Gunsul.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Claims, 2161.

H. R. 4380—For the relief of Fred N. Dunham.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Claims, 2161.

H. R. 4381—Granting a pension to Joseph Glass.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4382—Granting a pension to Francis H. Johnson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4383—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Gleason.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4384—To correct the military record of Charles H. Brown.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Military Affairs, 2161.

H. R. 4385—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Watson.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4386—Granting a pension to Samuel M. Deets.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4387—Granting an increase of pension to Miers B. Betts.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4388—Granting a pension to Thomas M. McDonald.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4389—Granting a pension to John Storms.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4390—Granting a pension to Wiley T. Cook.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4391—Granting a pension to Susan Murphy.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4392—Granting a pension to Robert Strong.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4393—Granting a pension to William N. Frost.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4394—Granting a pension to James Hubbard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4395—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel D. Ballou.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4396—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Snook.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4397—Granting an increase of pension to Mark T. Campbell.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4398—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Reinhart.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4399—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Plummer.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2161.

H. R. 4400—To establish rates of postage on second-class matter.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2236.

H. R. 4401—To provide for enlarging the United States building at Houlton, Me.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2236.

H. R. 4402—For the establishment of a national park and acquiring national forests in the Mount Katahdin region of the State of Maine.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Agriculture, 2236.

H. R. 4403—Amending sections 476, 477, and 440 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Patents, 2236.

H. R. 4404—For the relief of James W. Mastin.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 2236.

H. R. 4405—Granting a pension to Edward Sweeney.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4406—Granting an increase of pension to Marshall Preston.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4407—Granting a pension to Floyd L. Green.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4408—Granting a pension to Albert E. Clark.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4409—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus H. Allen.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4410—Granting an increase of pension to Osborn Allen.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4411—Granting an increase of pension to Washington Foss.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4412—Granting an increase of pension to Frank S. Trickey.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2236.

H. R. 4413—Granting a pension to Orla M. Allen.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4414—Granting a pension to Mary Irvin.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4415—Granting an increase of pension to Richard A. Chamness.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4416—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Shields.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4417—Granting an increase of pension to Tennessee Hill.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4418—To correct the military record of Alfred Rebsamen.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 2237.

H. R. 4419—Granting a pension to John Hammons.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4420—Granting an increase of pension to Felix Karl.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4421—Granting a pension to James E. Kennedy.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4422—Granting a pension to Catharine Gaskill.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4423—To grant a pension to Lawrence Hubschman.
Mr. Stevenson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4424—Granting an increase of pension to Paul Schools.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2237.

H. R. 4425—To amend an act approved Sept. 26, 1914, known as the Federal Trade Commission act.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2305.

H. R. 4426—To increase pensions of certain Union soldiers and sailors of the Civil War of 1861 to 1865.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4427—Granting the consent of Congress to Webbers Falls Railroad Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the towns of Webbers Falls and Gore in the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. 2305.—Reported back (H. Rept. 104), 5144.—Debated, 7648, 7653.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2710), 7653.

H. R. 4428—To suspend the provisions of the act of June 30, 1882, requiring that officers of the Regular Army of the United States be retired from active service on reaching the age of 64 years.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Military Affairs, 2305.

H. R. 4429—To fix the compensation of penitentiary guards and watchmen employed in or under any and all departments of the Government.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Labor, 2305.

H. R. 4430—To establish a Sanitary Reserve Corps of the Public Health Service of the United States, and to coordinate therewith and utilize the State, county, and municipal health organizations.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2305.

H. R. 4431—To provide for the common defense and general welfare by increasing the production of food upon public and private lands within United States reclamation projects, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 2305.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 107), 5145.—Debated, 7648.

H. R. 4432—To amend section 13 of the act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2305.

H. R. 4433—To regulate postage rates on second-class mail matter.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2305.

H. R. 4434—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Noftsinger.
Mr. Comstock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4435—Granting an increase of pension to Columbus Jeffries.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4436—Granting a pension to Philip F. M. Lutz.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4437—Granting an increase in pension to Mary Jane Talbott.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4438—For the relief of Wellington Haight.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Military Affairs, 2305.

H. R. 4439—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Marianne Bernard.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4440—For the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on War Claims, 2305.

H. R. 4441—Granting a pension to Percy A. Jones.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4442—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Haddock.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4443—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Ruby.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4444—To authorize the commission of Fred Bielaski as second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Military Affairs, 2305.

H. R. 4445—Granting a pension to Albert J. Phillips.
Mr. Paige; Committee on Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4446—Granting an increase of pension to Nicoll F. Jones.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4447—Granting an increase of pension to Martha D. Strout.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2305.

H. R. 4448—For the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. George Rogers Clark at Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Mann; Committee on the Library, 2375.

H. R. 4449—To amend section 29 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the thirteenth and subsequent decennial censuses," approved July 2, 1909.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 2375.

H. R. 4450—To authorize the President to appoint Francis P. Fremont, formerly a major in the United States Army, on the active list of the Army.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 2375.

H. R. 4451—To prohibit speculation in food products.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2375.

H. R. 4452—To facilitate the shipment and transportation of coal, and to prohibit storing the same upon freight cars at intermediate stations.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2375.

H. R. 4453—To increase the pension of veteran Civil War widows.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2375.

H. R. 4454—Granting an increase of pension to S. B. Johnson.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2376.

H. R. 4455—For the relief of the heirs of Nathaniel Boyden and Oliver H. Dockery.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 2376.

H. R. 4456—Granting a pension to Webb W. Belknap.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2376.

H. R. 4457—Granting a pension to Mrs. Lavina Spiker.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2376.

H. R. 4458—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith, a part of whose real property was taken and is now occupied by the United States for the foundation of the west wall of the Government Printing Office, in the city of Washington, and the remainder not taken damaged by reason of the construction and operation of said printing office.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Claims, 2376.

H. R. 4459—To prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes within the duration of the war in which the United States is now engaged, and providing a penalty.
Mr. Sells; Committee on the Judiciary, 2424.

H. R. 4460—For the relief of homesteaders who enter the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 2424.

H. R. 4461—To repeal sections 35 to 49, inclusive, of the act of June 13, 1898, concerning mixed flour, as amended by the act of Mar. 2, 1901, and as further amended by the act of Apr. 12, 1902, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Ways and Means, 2424.

H. R. 4462—To prohibit speculation in grain and food products.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on the Judiciary, 2424.

H. R. 4463—To increase the efficiency of the United States Coast Guard.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2424.

H. R. 4464—To acquire a site for a public building at Harvard, Ill.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2424.

H. R. 4465—For the erection of a public building at Woodstock, Ill.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2424.

H. R. 4466—To purchase or condemn land adjoining the naval training station at Great Lakes, Ill.
Mr. Foss; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2424.

H. R. 4467—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2424.—Reported back (H. Rept. 58), 2697.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 1816), 4568.

H. R. 4468—Granting a pension to Fred Robinson.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4469—Granting an increase of pension to John Todd.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4470—Granting an increase of pension to George Williams.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4471—Granting an increase of pension to Greenbury Vickery.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4472—Granting a pension to George W. Peters.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4473—Granting a pension to Samuel M. Green.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4474—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Hughes Burch.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4475—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Dougherty.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4476—Granting an increase of pension to Henderson Morgan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4477—Granting a pension to Robert Smith.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4478—Granting a pension to George T. Hubbs.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4479—Granting a pension to Reuben Barnard.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4480—Granting a pension to Joel H. Haden.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4481—To correct the muster of Cassius C. Roberts.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Military Affairs, 2424.

H. R. 4482—Granting an increase of pension to George L. Clark.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4483—Granting an increase of pension to Helen McAffee.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4484—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Keiderling.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2424.

H. R. 4485—Regulating the compensation and assignment of employees in the Internal-Revenue Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, 2495.

H. R. 4486—To amend the act of Congress approved June 27, 1890, entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," and including the amendments thereto.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4487—To prevent the desecration of the flag of the United States.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on the Judiciary, 2495.

H. R. 4488—Providing for the marking and protection of the battle field known as Dades Massacre, in Sumter County, Fla., and for the erection of a monument thereon.
Mr. Drane; Committee on the Library, 2495.

H. R. 4489—To provide for the erection of a public building at Corbin, in the State of Kentucky.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2495.

H. R. 4490—To provide for the erection of a public building at Pineville, in the State of Kentucky.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2495.

H. R. 4491—To increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4492—To increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Mexico or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4493—To provide for the erection of a public building at Barbourville, in the State of Kentucky.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2495.

H. R. 4494—To provide for the erection of a public building at Harlan, in the State of Kentucky.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2495.

H. R. 4495—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4496—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Mexican War or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4497—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the Mexican War or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4498—Recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, teamsters, or other provisional troops or field employees during the Mexican War, the Civil War, or the Spanish-American War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4499—Recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, teamsters, or other provisional troops or field employees during the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4500—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4501—To extend the provisions of the pensions act of May 11, 1912, and the act of Apr. 19, 1908, as amended by act of Sept. 8, 1916, to the officers and enlisted men of all State militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Government during the Spanish-American War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2495.

H. R. 4502—To adopt the project and plan of improving the Cumberland River above Nashville in Kentucky and Tennessee as recommended by the Department of Engineers, United States Army, in report made on Feb. 4, 1914, and to authorize the Secretary of War to commence, continue, and complete the locking and damming of said river from Lock No. 21 to Lock No. 7 in accordance with said plan recommended by the Department of Engineers.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2495.

H. R. 4503—To fix the status and rights of officers of the Public Health Service when serving with the Coast Guard, the Army, or the Navy.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2495.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 59), 2697.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 67), 4429–4432.

H. R. 4504—To amend an act entitled "An act making an appropriation for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Small; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2495.—Committee on Rivers and Harbors discharged, and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3403, 3404.—Debated, 3477.

H. R. 4505—Granting an increase of pension to George Chapman.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4506—Granting a pension to Eliza Mead.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4507—Granting a pension to Elmer Green.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4508—For the further relief of Hans Peter Guttormsen.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4509—Granting a pension to Moses R. Smith.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4510—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda Wade.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4511—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Walk.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4512—Granting a pension to Elias Hartman.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4513—For the relief of Arthur R. Pinkerton.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4514—For the relief of William R. Bozeman.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4515—For the relief of George Olsen.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4516—For the relief of W. H. Overocker.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4517—For the relief of Charles H. Wilson.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4518—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Brinkerhoff.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4519—Providing for the sale of an abandoned homestead entry.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 2496.

H. R. 4520—To correct the military record of John A. Swartzwelder.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Military Affairs, 2496.

H. R. 4521—Granting a pension to Jane Gilson.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4522—Granting a pension to Georgianna McNatt Mills.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4523—Granting a pension to Mitchell Hyden.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4524—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Amos Bennett.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2496.

H. R. 4525—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James M. Cook.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2496.

H. R. 4526—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of J. W. Hardwick.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2496.

H. R. 4527—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Porter Hill.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2496.

H. R. 4528—For the relief of Emily J. Mullins.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4529—For the relief of the heirs of Morgan Davidson.
Mr. Powers; Committee on War Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4530—For the allowance of certain claims for back pay growing out of service in the Army, during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Powers; Committee on War Claims, 2496.

H. R. 4531—Granting a pension to William D. Kelton.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4532—Granting an increase of pension to Susan W. King.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4533—Granting an increase of pension to George N. Thurlow.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2496.

H. R. 4534—To regulate and license pawnbrokers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2572.

H. R. 4535—Making an appropriation for the improvement of Dry Strait, Alaska.
Mr. Sulzer; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2572.

H. R. 4536—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Fredericktown, Mo.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2572.

H. R. 4537—To amend the first part of the second paragraph of section 24 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 2572.

H. R. 4538—To prohibit the shipment and transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of calves and cows under certain ages and conditions.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2572.

H. R. 4539—To amend section 6 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2572.

H. R. 4540—Further to provide for the support of the Army by the prevention of the waste of the food products of the United States during the period of war and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases, to provide for the distillation of liquors in bond or heretofore manufactured, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2572.

H. R. 4541—Granting an increase of pension to J. P. Oakes.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4542—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Sweet.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4543—Granting an increase of pension to John Sanns.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4544—Granting a pension to Sylvester P. Martin.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4545—For the relief of Conrad Skladal.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Military Affairs, 2573.

H. R. 4546—For the relief of Austin G. Greer, jr., for horse killed while employed at the Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4547—For the relief of the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4548—Granting a pension to Hattie Sylvia.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4549—Granting a pension to David S. Williams.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4550—Granting a pension to Carrie S. Wright.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4551—Granting a pension to Gabriel S. Henderson.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4552—Granting a pension to James L. Stidham.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4553—Granting a pension to Alexander Herndon.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4554—Granting a pension to James Hiles.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4555—Granting a pension to Wilburn Hall.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4556—Granting a pension to James H. Gilley.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4557—Granting a pension to Richard Martin.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4558—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Conley.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4559—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Williams.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4560—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Kelly.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4561—Granting an increase of pension to R. T. Parsons.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4562—Granting an increase of pension to William K. White.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4563—Granting an increase of pension to James H. O'Brien.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4564—Granting an increase of pension to Wilder Branum.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4565—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Ridinger.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4566—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Alexander.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4567—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Herndon.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4568—Granting an increase of pension to Spencer Cooper.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4569—Granting an increase of pension to Presley Sexton.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4570—Granting an increase of pension to John Day.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4571—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Williams.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4572—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Cross.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4573—Granting a pension to Otto Henkle.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4574—For the relief of Thomas Bayton and Bertha M. Hartt.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4575—Granting an increase of pension to George Smith.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4576—Authorizing the reinstatement of J. A. B. Sinclair as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2573.

H. R. 4577—Granting a pension to Toliver Roberts.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4578—Granting an increase of pension to William Rowe.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4579—Granting an increase of pension to Roman L. Whipple.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4580—Granting a pension to Christine Boeschee.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4581—To correct the military record of Louis Smith Kelly.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Military Affairs, 2573.

H. R. 4582—To correct the military record of Charles Engle.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4583—Granting a pension to John Lippincott.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4584—To correct the military record of John H. Holbrook.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Military Affairs, 2573.

H. R. 4585—Granting a pension to Catherine Steele.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4586—For the relief of Ivan Yermakof, Alexiej Kutyaj, Nikolaj Karpunin, Ivan Primak, Nick Wlad, Gavrylo Shumof, Efim Davidof, Pavel Baraniuk, Pavel Balonin, Fred Wolon, Sam March, Ivan Melnyk, Emilian Krakowiacki, Mrs. Michael Wituk, widow, and two minor children, heirs of Michael Wituk, deceased.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4587—For the relief of A. M. & R. A. Darling.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4588—For the relief of Michael Flaherty, guardian of John Flaherty, claimant.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4589—For the relief of John A. O'Keefe, administrator of estate of William M. O'Keefe.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2573.

H. R. 4590—Granting a pension to John J. Camac.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4591—Granting a pension to Guy W. Atherton.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4592—Granting a pension to Gertrude H. Bird.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4593—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Weidle.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4594—Granting a pension to John W. Sweger.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4595—Granting a pension to Thomas H. Shelley.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2573.

H. R. 4596—Granting a pension to John Gabriel.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2574.

H. R. 4597—Granting a pension to Frank S. Bishop.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2574.

H. R. 4598—For the relief of Riegel & Roe.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2574.

H. R. 4599—For the relief of Guy Frankenfield, C. F. Thieme, Frederick Johnson, Charles Johnson, and Gorman Dahly.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2574.

H. R. 4600—Granting a pension to W. H. Johnston.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2574.

H. R. 4601—For the relief of Vincent M. McKinnon.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2574.

H. R. 4602—For the relief of George W. Thompson.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Military Affairs, 2574.

H. R. 4603—Granting a pension to Nicholas Krey.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2574.

H. R. 4604—Providing for the waiver of pay and compensation by person entering the military service of the United States.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2624.

H. R. 4605—Providing for handling as official business mail matter relating to naturalization.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2624.

H. R. 4606—To obtain a national anthem by means of competition of composers and subsequent vote of the people.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on the Library, 2624.

H. R. 4607—Authorizing the President to commission as second lieutenants in the Regular Army and in the Officers' Reserve Corps qualified persons who have attained the age of 20 years.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 2624.

H. R. 4608—To amend the second paragraph of section 2 of an act to reorganize and to increase the efficiency of the Artillery of the United States Army, approved Jan. 25, 1907.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 2624.

H. R. 4609—Granting a pension to Mrs. Minnie Baker.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Pensions, 2625.

H. R. 4610—To compensate Thomas G. Allen for injuries received while employed in the General Land Office of the United States, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Claims, 2625.

H. R. 4611—To reinstate Henry Read Leonard, jr., as an ensign in United States Navy.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2625.

H. R. 4612—Granting a pension to John J. Collins.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 2625.

H. R. 4613—To promote on the retired list of the United States Army Brig. Gen. David S. Gordon, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Military Affairs, 2625.

H. R. 4614—Providing a graduated rate for payment of second-class postage on newspapers and periodicals according to rate of subscription price and number of copies circulated through the mails.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2697.

H. R. 4615—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to acquire possession of a piece of land in Hudson River, State of New York, county of Rockland, known as Round Island.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2697.

H. R. 4616—To ratify, approve, and confirm an act duly enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii creating a commission to increase, conserve, regulate, and control the food supplies of the Territory of Hawaii, and defining its powers and duties, and making an appropriation for the purposes thereof.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 2697.

H. R. 4617—To authorize absence by homestead settlers and entrymen, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 2697.—Reported back (H. Rept. 80), 3628.

H. R. 4618—To increase the salaries of the United States district attorney and United States marshal for the southern district of New York, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Judiciary, 2697.

H. R. 4619—Granting a pension to Mrs. Lucinda Hollabaugh.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2697.

H. R. 4620—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Craig.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2697.

H. R. 4621—Granting an increase of pension to Ambrose Wells.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2697.

H. R. 4622—For the relief of Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 2697.

H. R. 4623—Granting a pension to Claude Johnson.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Pensions, 2697.

H. R. 4624—For the relief of Charles M. Way.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on Claims, 2697.

H. R. 4625—To incorporate the American Academy of Engineers.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on the Judiciary, 2697.

H. R. 4626—Authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of the Columbia River between Carrolls, Wash., and Stella, Wash., and the Cowlitz River below Ostrander, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2777.

H. R. 4627—To promite the efficiency of the United States Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2777.

H. R. 4628—To conserve the man power and resources of the Nation; to increase the efficiency and safety of the Army, the Navy, and the people of the United States; to conserve the agricultural food products; and for other purposes.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on the Judiciary, 2777.

H. R. 4629—Defining section 2 of the act approved Mar. 2, 1907 (34 Stats. L., 1228).
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2777.

H. R. 4630—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging agriculture and regulating the marketing and distribution of foods and other necessaries of life.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 2777.

H. R. 4631—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Harris.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4632—Authorizing the President to recommission in the Regular Army as an additional number Brice P. Disque.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Military Affairs, 2778.

H. R. 4633—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Kivlon.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4634—Granting an increase of pension to Lawrence W. Shultz.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4635—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson Abbott.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4636—For the relief of the United Breweries Co., of Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Claims, 2778.

H. R. 4637—Granting an increase of pension to William B. B. Knight.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4638—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Smith.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4639—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Waddell.
Mr. Scott of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4640—For the relief of John T. Walsh.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on War Claims, 2778.

H. R. 4641—Granting an increase of pension to Anne M. Luman.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2778.

H. R. 4642—To punish the speculation by any person or body of persons for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes, and providing a penalty therefor.
Mr. French; Committee on Agriculture, 2819.

H. R. 4643—Providing for the canalization of the Ohio River.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2819.

H. R. 4644—To promote the earlier use of daylight in certain months yearly; to provide additional hours daily in which business men and others may devote themselves to military and other pursuits calculated to benefit the Nation in time of war; to establish a standard time in the United States, and for other purposes relating thereto.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2819.

H. R. 4645—To correct the military record of John D. Richter.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 4646—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Callahan.
Mr. Dempsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4647—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Gindlesparager.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4648—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Gardner.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4649—Granting an increase of pension to George R. Watt.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4650—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Limbird.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4651—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Foster.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4652—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Summers.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4653—To correct the military record of Levi Mott.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 4654—To correct the military record of Riley Phillips.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 4655—Granting a pension to Edward F. O'Toole.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4656—Granting a pension to Earl W. Newlon.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4657—Granting a pension to John W. Strauser.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4658—Granting a pension to Lydia J. Striker.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4659—Placing Henry E. Rhoades, assistant engineer, United States Navy, on the retired list with advance of one grade.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2819.

H. R. 4660—Granting an increase of pension to Johnston B. Geisinger.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2819.

H. R. 4661—Making an appropriation for a public building at Fairbanks, Alaska.
Mr. Sulzer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2847.

H. R. 4662—To prohibit dealing in margins and prescribing penalties therefor.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Agriculture, 2847.

H. R. 4663—To regulate the pay of substitute letter carriers in the City Delivery Service and substitute clerks in first and second class post offices.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2847.

H. R. 4664—To provide for the election of the governor and secretary of the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 2847.

H. R. 4665—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii additional powers relative to elections and qualification of electors.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 2847.

H. R. 4666—Providing for the investigation of the waters of Niagara River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2847.

H. R. 4667—Granting a pension to Myrtle Webster.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4668—Granting a pension to Lewis S. Duckworth.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4669—Granting a pension to Clarence L. Wimer.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4670—Granting a pension to Eddie E. Sterrett.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4671—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Craig.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4672—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Davidson.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4673—Granting a pension to Luman W. Storer.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4674—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Lewis.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4675—Granting an increase of pension to Morton A. Pratt.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4676—Granting an increase of pension to James T. McMillan.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4677—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Kinney.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4678—Granting an increase of pension to Myrenus Loomis.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4679—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Simisen.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4680—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Richardson.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4681—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Johnston.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4682—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Rockey.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4683—Granting an increase of pension to Lamberton Seaton.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4684—Granting an increase of pension to Erastus S. Bussell.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4685—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Budd.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4686—Granting an increase of pension to George Berry.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4687—Granting an increase of pension to Randall De Witt Bordeaux.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4688—Granting an increase of pension to William Greer.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2847.

H. R. 4689—To muster in and muster out LeRoy P. Taylor, late of the Volunteer Army, Civil War.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4690—To authorize the placing on a roll in the War Department designated as "the Civil War volunteer officers' retired list" the name of Morton A. Pratt, first lieutenant in Company A, Third Illinois Cavalry, of the United States in the Civil War.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4691—Granting an increase of pension to John Cashman.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2848.

H. R. 4692—Authorizing the appointment of William Henry Armstrong a captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4693—For the relief of Conrad Skladal.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4694—Granting an increase of pension to William Griffith.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2848.

H. R. 4695—Granting an increase of pension to Lavinia R. Moore.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2848.

H. R. 4696—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James Porter Hill.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4697—For the relief of Amos Bennett.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 2848.

H. R. 4698—Granting a pension to Henrietta M. Christison.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2848.

H. R. 4699—Providing for the payment of certain interest on items 1 and 4 of the judgment of the Court of Claims of May 18, 1905, in favor of the Cherokee Nation.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2909.

H. R. 4700—To promote the production of domestic industrial alcohol, increase the productive value of the land, and maintain its fertile qualities through the establishment of small and scattered distilleries.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Ways and Means, 2909.

H. R. 4701—To designate the Lincoln Highway as a post road.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2909.

H. R. 4702—To amend section 60 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 2909.

H. R. 4703—Authorizing the donation of condemned cannon to the town of Ovid, N. Y.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 2909.

H. R. 4704—To define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2909.

H. R. 4705—To amend section 114 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary, approved Mar. 3, 1911, and creating the northern judicial district of Wisconsin.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on the Judiciary, 2909.

H. R. 4706—Granting an increase of pension to Barton N. Daily.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4707—Granting an increase of pension to Lawson H. Lemons.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4708—Granting a pension to Mrs. Phoebe J. Lincoln.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4709—Granting a pension to Mrs. Mary A. Comings.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4710—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Dutch.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4711—For the relief of the St. Croix Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2909.

H. R. 4712—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Decanter.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4713—Granting an increase of pension to George Langley.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4714—Granting a pension to Retta H. Lore.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4715—Granting a pension to Rosella Wilson.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4716—For the relief of the estate of Samuel S. Vaughn, deceased.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 2909.

H. R. 4717—For the relief of Philip S. Everest.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 2909.

H. R. 4718—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus B. Parrigin.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4719—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse E. Ballinger.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4720—To correct the military record of Harrison H. Hollowell.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Military Affairs, 2909.

H. R. 4721—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Wade.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 2909.

H. R. 4722—To amend section 73 of an act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved Apr. 30, 1900, as amended on Apr. 2, 1908, and on May 27, 1910.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 2961.

H. R. 4723—To provide an emergency shipping fund.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Appropriations, 2961.

H. R. 4724—To permit suspension of annual assessment work on mining claims entered by persons who made entry on mining claims previous to the beginning of the pending war.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Mines and Mining, 2961.

H. R. 4725—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur J. Fry.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2962.

H. R. 4726—To correct the military record of James Hennessy.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 2962.

H. R. 4727—To correct the military record of Andrew K. Hite.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 2962.

H. R. 4728—To correct the military record of the late Warren W. Wilkinson.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 2962.

H. R. 4729—Granting a pension to N. Ellen Peters and George W. Peters.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2962.

H. R. 4730—To compensate the J. Fischer Co., of Keyport, N. J., for damages sustained due to the dredging operations in Matawan Creek, N. J., by the United States dredge named Sucker.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Claims, 2962.

H. R. 4731—Granting a pension to Samantha Crews.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Pensions, 2962.

H. R. 4732—Granting a pension to Jemima Hall.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2962.

H. R. 4733—To provide a commission to secure plans and designs for a monument or memorial to the memory of the negro soldiers and sailors who fought in the wars of our country.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Library, 3025.

H. R. 4734—To abolish the United States land office at Springfield, Mo.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public lands, 3025.

H. R. 4735—Making an appropriation for the construction and equipment of a sanitary fireproof hospital on the grounds of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Pacific Branch, in the county of Los Angeles, State of California.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3026.

H. R. 4736—For the purchase of site and erection of building for the use and accommodation of the post office at St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3026.

H. R. 4737—To regulate rates of postage.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3026.

H. R. 4738—To declare unlawful the purchase of supplies, articles, materials, munitions, or products for the Government from any person, firm, association, or corporation acting as the purchasing agent of the Government, or from any person who is a member of any board, commission, council, committee, or subcommittee acting directly or in an advisory capacity relative to such purchases, or from any firm, association, or corporation in which he is financially interested, and to make unlawful contracts with such persons, firms, associations, or corporations for the construction of buildings, ships, or other classes of building and construction work, and for other purposes.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on the Judiciary, 3026.

H. R. 4739—Providing for the addition to the Federal building in Eugene, Oreg.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3026.

H. R. 4740—To provide for the construction of a dredge for use in improving the harbors on the Oregon coast.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 3026.

H. R. 4741—Making an appropriation for the improvement of the navigation of Red River in the State of Louisiana, by protecting, where needed, the banks of that stream through the application of the Sewall system of bank protection.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 3026.

H. R. 4742—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to establish a Marine Corps post at Drum Point, Chesapeake Bay, Md.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3026.

H. R. 4743—Granting a pension to Marinda Maynard.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4744—Granting a pension to Martha A. Wright.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4745—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Johnson.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4746—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Beetem.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4747—Granting a pension to Franklin R. Albert.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4748—Granting a pension to John Dowdy.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4749—Granting a pension to Abbie M. Kelley.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4750—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Ream.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4751—Granting an increase of pension to William Schmook.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4752—Granting an increase of pension to Walter P. Norris.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4753—Granting an increase of pension to George Hargis.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4754—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Asa S. Hugill.
Mr. Reed; Committee on War Claims, 3026.

H. R. 4755—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Dunn.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4756—Granting a pension to Anna Margaret Venus.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4757—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac R. Raines.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4758—Granting a pension to Catherine J. Dagg.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3026.

H. R. 4759—To amend section 20 of the act to regulate commerce, approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3090.

H. R. 4760—To amend section 60 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 3090.

H. R. 4761—To punish fraudulent dealers in foodstuffs and fuel, to make the acts herein set forth criminal, and for other purposes.
Mr. Brand; Committee on the Judiciary, 3090.

H. R. 4762—To divorce transportation in interstate and foreign commerce from manufacture, mining, production, and dealing, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3090.

H. R. 4763—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Barker.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3090.

H. R. 4764—Granting a pension to Jere M. Fitger.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3090.

H. R. 4765—Granting an increase of pension to Percival Brumage.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3090.

H. R. 4766—For the relief of Herman Holpp.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 3090.

H. R. 4767—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Bennett.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4768—Granting an increase of pension to Allen T. Brandenburgh.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4769—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie J. Brown.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4770—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda W. Clancy.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4771—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Creighton.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4772—Granting an increase of pension to Emanuel Custar.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4773—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Davidson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4774—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan M. Davis.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4775—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Dock.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4776—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Glaspy.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4777—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Grubb.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4778—Granting an increase of pension to William Henderson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4779—Granting an increase of pension to Dixon M. Hepburn.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4780—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo M. Hobbs.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4781—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Hoffman.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4782—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred T. Johnson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4783—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Johnston.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4784—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret B. Kerr.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4785—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Ketchum.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4786—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Mealey.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4787—Granting an increase of pension to Storer Packer.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4788—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob D. Peterson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4789—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Pitner.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4790—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Pyle.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4791—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Randels.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4792—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Rogers.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4793—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Speer.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4794—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Vanfossen.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4795—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Vanfossen.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4796—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Watson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4797—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac O. Weaver.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4798—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Wetzel.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4799—Granting an increase of pension to Simon Z. Whitelather.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4800—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Wilkinson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4801—Granting a pension to William H. H. Bennett.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4802—Granting a pension to Louisa Jane Colvin.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4803—Granting a pension to Martha E. Gibbons.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4804—Granting a pension to Mary Hildebrand.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4805—Granting a pension to Mary A. Horning.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4806—Granting a pension to Jonathan Milburn.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4807—Granting a pension to Frank Bailey.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4808—Granting a pension to Winfield H. Handley.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4809—Granting a pension to Jacob Kopp.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4810—Granting a pension to Douglas D. Powell.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4811—Granting a pension to William Reed.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4812—For the relief of William H. H. Bennett.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4813—For the relief of Mary A. Horning, widow of Frederick Horning.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4814—For the relief of Jonathan Milburn.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4815—For the relief of Anna Bell O'Neal, widow of George E. O'Neal, deceased.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4816—For the relief of Henry E. Thomas.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4817—Granting an honorable discharge to James H. Davis.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4818—Requiring the Secretary of War to issue an honorable discharge to Benjamin R. Buffington.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3091.

H. R. 4819—Granting restoration of pension to Harriett S. Upright.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3091.

H. R. 4820—To restore to citizenship certain persons who entered the military or naval service of a foreign country.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3090.

H. R. 4821—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Glasgow, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3147.

H. R. 4822—Fixing the compensation of rural free delivery carriers.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3147.

H. R. 4823—To forbid the use of food materials in any way in the production of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the war and to prohibit the transportation interstate of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the period of the war.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 3147.

H. R. 4824—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Kivlon.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4825—Granting a pension to Harriet Botham.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4826—To increase the pension of Samuel M. Lanham.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4827—Granting a pension to Myra Scranton.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4828—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Jefferson.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4829—Granting an increase of pension to Richard R. Jacobs.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4830—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Hardisty.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3147.

H. R. 4831—Granting compensatory time for holiday service to terminal railway mail clerks.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3208.

H. R. 4832—Granting a pension to Eddie V. Miller.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4833—Granting an increase of pension to James Barton.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4834—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Markle.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4835—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Crist.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4836—Granting an increase of pension to Emanuel Mayberry.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4837—Granting an increase of pension to Paul Beyer.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4838—Granting a pension to Joseph E. Sulkoski.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4839—Granting an increase of pension to Harry Olds.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4840—Granting an increase of pension to James O. Grant.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4841—Granting an increase of pension to William Row.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3208.

H. R. 4842—Granting an increase of pension to W. L. Groves.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3209.

H. R. 4843—Granting an extension of patent to Walter D. Johnston.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Patents, 3252.

H. R. 4844—To regulate the time for opening and closing for courts of the United States.
Mr. Borland; Committee on the Judiciary, 3252.

H. R. 4845—Authorizing clerks of State or Federal courts to transmit free through the mail letters or packages addressed to the Department of Labor, Bureau of Naturalization, or to any official thereof, in connection with naturalization matters.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3253.

H. R. 4846—To amend section 6 of the act of June 17, 1910, providing for enlarged homestead entries in the State of Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 3253.

H. R. 4847—Providing for the disposition of lands restored to the public domain which have been segregated under the provisions of the act approved Aug. 18, 1894 (28 Stat. L., pp. 372-422), and acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 3253.

H. R. 4848—To amend section 914, chapter 18, of the Revised Statutes of the United States of 1878, relating to the judiciary.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on the Judiciary, 3253.

H. R. 4849—Providing for service of subpœnas for witnesses in the district courts of the United States in addition to the methods now provided by law.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on the Judiciary, 3253.

H. R. 4850—To provide for a site and building for the entomological station at Wellington, Kans.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3253.

H. R. 4851—To acquire additional site, enlarge, extend, remodel, and modernize the post office and Federal building at Wichita, Kans.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3253.

H. R. 4852—To repeal the ninth proviso of section 3 of the immigration act of Feb. 5, 1917.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3253.

H. R. 4853—To prevent the use of the mails for the purpose of securing false witnesses, suborning perjury, and procuring false testimony in civil or criminal cases.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3253.

H. R. 4854—To provide for the construction of a military road at the United States cemetery at Fort Gibson, Okla.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Military Affairs, 3253.

H. R. 4855—Granting an increase of pension to Albert J. Weaver.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4856—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Gregory.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4857—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew M. Murray.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4858—Granting a pension to Keziah Zink.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4859—Granting a pension to Sanna Anderson.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4860—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Eddy.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4861—Granting a pension to Harriet J. Brown.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4862—For the relief of Lewis K. Marshall.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Military Affairs, 3253.

H. R. 4863—For the relief of the estate of John McQuiddy, deceased.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on War Claims, 3253.

H. R. 4864—For the relief of Stewart Logan.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Military Affairs, 3253.

H. R. 4865—Granting a pension to James R. Milbee.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4866—Granting a pension to Julia M. Anderson and minor child, Wilbert T. Anderson.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4867—Granting a pension to Melissa A. Coulson.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4868—Granting a pension to Esther C. Vernell.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4869—Granting a pension to Mrs. Theresa Dietz.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4870—Granting an increase of pension to John R. See.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4871—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Anderson.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3253.

H. R. 4872—For the relief of Henry Hirschberg.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Claims, 3253.

H. R. 4873—For the relief of Edward Flanagan.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Military Affairs, 3253.

H. R. 4874—To expedite and simplify designations under the stock-raising homestead law.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 3270.

H. R. 4875—As to medals of honor.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 3270.

H. R. 4876—To expatriate citizens who leave the United States to evade registration or selective draft.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3270.

H. R. 4877—To prohibit the return of citizens who leave the United States to evade registration or selective draft.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3270.

H. R. 4878—Providing for appeals from decisions of the Secretary of the Interior.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 3270.

H. R. 4879—Granting a pension to Lindsey Clark, incompetent.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4880—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Rosborough.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4881—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Harris.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4882—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Bennett.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4883—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher D. Winters.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4884—Granting a pension to Ella Drake.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4885—Granting a pension to Catherine Gardner.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4886—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Smith.
Mr. Rose; Committee on Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4887—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Pack.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4888—Granting a pension to E. Fay Lowry.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4889—Granting a pension to Mrs. Harriet Alexander.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4890—Granting a pension to Anna M. Barrett.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4891—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Apr. 19, 1908, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3270.

H. R. 4892—Authorizing the President to take possession, on behalf of the United States, for use as sites for permanent aviation stations for the Army and Navy and for aviation-school purposes, of the whole of North Island, in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 3308.—Reported back (H. Rept. 88), 4333.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3421, 4427, 4428, 4432, 4433.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 4471.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 83), amended, and passed Senate, 5099, 5100.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5434, 5435.—Examined and signed, 5438, 5472.—Presented to the President, ——.—Approved [Public, No. 31], 5560.

H. R. 4893—Amendatory of the act of May 11, 1912, granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4894—Amendatory of the act of May 11, 1912, granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4895—To create a department of munitions.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Military Affairs, 3308.

H. R. 4896—Disfranchising slackers.
Mr. Park; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 3308.

H. R. 4897—To provide for the promotion of first lieutenants in the Regular Army and National Guard to the grade of captain, and respecting the Dental Corps of the Army and medical and dental students, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 3308.—Reported back (H. Rept. 84), 4054.—Debated and passed House, 4131, 4225, 4491.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 4263.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 131), 7267.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7708, 7829–7831.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 7902–7905.—Examined and signed, 7895, 7909.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public, No. 86], 7918.

H. R. 4898—Granting a pension to Robert A. Herbst.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4899—Granting a pension to Frank Watzek.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4900—Granting a pension to Mary Gehris, widow of Jacob Diehl, late captain of Company H, Twenty-fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4901—Granting an increase of pension to Chauncey B. Knowlton.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4902—Granting an increase of pension to Austin Wright.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4903—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Peabody.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4904—Granting a pension to Elizabeth H. Du Hamel.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4905—Granting an increase of pension to Cullen Bradley.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4906—Granting a pension to Albert G. Norman.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4907—Granting an increase of pension to William Burnett.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4908—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Tipple.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3308.

H. R. 4909—For the relief of Henry Eckford Rhoades.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3308.

H. R. 4910—To authorize the establishment of town sites on the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3386.

H. R. 4911—To prevent the concealing, secreting, destroying, or negligently allowing to spoil food or foodstuffs in the United States during time of war.
Mr. Thomas F. Smith; Committee on Agriculture, 3386.

H. R. 4912—To authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 3386.

H. R. 4913—To provide for stock-watering privileges on certain unallotted lands on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 3386.

H. R. 4914—Providing for the counting of service in the Army or Navy of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the soldier's death in such service providing for the issuance of patent for such land to his widow or minor children.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 3386.

H. R. 4915—For the relief of Grant County, Luna County, and the town of Silver City, N. Mex.
Mr. Walton; Committee on the Public Lands, 3386.

H. R. 4916—For the relief of the Indians on Fort Peck Reservation in Montana.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3386.

H. R. 4917—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Brown.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4918—Granting an increase of pension to George Cole.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4919—Granting a pension to Peter G. Hobbs.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4920—Granting an increase of pension to John Luke.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4921—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Maloy.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4922—For the relief of the widow of Edward Kelly.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Military Affairs, 3386.

H. R. 4923—To relieve the estate of Thomas H. Hall, deceased, late postmaster at Panacea, Fla., and the bondsmen of said Thomas H. Hall of the payment of money alleged to have been misappriated by a clerk in said office.
Mr. Kehoe; Committee on Claims, 3386.

H. R. 4924—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin J. Sparks.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4925—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Jones.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4926—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Bean.
Mr. Martin of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4927—For the relief of Thomas W. Wade.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 3386.

H. R. 4928—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret R. Kinney.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4929—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Henthorn.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4930—Granting a pension to Mary F. Church.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3386.

H. R. 4931—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Garvey.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3387.

H. R. 4932—Granting a pension to Rosella MaGee.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3387.

H. R. 4933—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Hogan.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Pensions, 3387.

H. R. 4934—Granting a pension to William E. Martin.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3387.

H. R. 4935—For the relief of Tennis W. Wade.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3387.

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Mr. Sanford; Committee on Claims, 3387.

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Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3387.

H. R. 4938—For the relief of Charles H. Palmer.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3387.

H. R. 4939—For the relief of Martin W. Joralemon, alias Martin Whitbeck.
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Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3387.

H. R. 4941—For the relief of Michael H. Feeley.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Claims, 3387.

H. R. 4942—For the relief of James Birney, alias James Brady.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3387.

H. R. 4943—Granting an increase of pension to Ananias Wonders.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3387.

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Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Claims, 3387.

H. R. 4945—To extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City, Mo., authorized by an act approved June 17, 1914.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3425.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 99), 5144.—Debated, 7646, 7647.

H. R. 4946—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Carroll.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3425.

H. R. 4947—Granting an increase of pension to David Carter.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3425.

H. R. 4948—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene P. Willard.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3425.

H. R. 4949—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Johnson.
Mr. McLaughlin of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3425.

H. R. 4950—To punish fraudulent dealers in foodstuffs and fuel, to make the acts herein set forth criminal, and for other purposes.
Mr. Brand; Committee on the Judiciary, 3484.

H. R. 4951—Providing for a tax on sales, or contracts for sale, of grain, provisions, and other food products for future delivery.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Agriculture, 3484.

H. R. 4952—To amend section 80 of the act of June 3, 1916, for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4953—Authorizing certain papers to be executed outside the Visalia, Independence, and Imperial (Cal.) land districts.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on the Public Lands, 3484.

H. R. 4954—To provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 3484.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 93), 5083.—Debated, 7646.

H. R. 4955—To remove during the war certain restrictions as to residence and area of lands upon reclamation projects, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 3484.

H. R. 4956—Fixing the compensation of rural free delivery carriers.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3484.

H. R. 4957—Providing for military highways between Foley and Fort Morgan, in Baldwin County, Ala.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4958—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 9, 1912.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 3484.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 120), 5773.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7648, 7649.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 7707.

H. R. 4959—To compel the registration of aliens.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4960—To define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3484.—Reported back (H. Rept. 85), 4054.—Made special order for July 9, 4491, 4492, 4494.—Debated, 4840–4879, 4907–4930, 4968–4989.—Amended and passed House, 4989.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5027.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 111), 6298.—Recommitted to the Committee on Commerce, 6437.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 113), 6469.—Debated, 6949–6958, 7007–7025.—Amended and passed Senate, 7025.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 7135, 7136.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 7107.—Conference appointed, 7107, 7136.—Conference report (No. 155) made in House, 7278, 7418.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 110) made in Senate, 7320.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 7340–7353.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 7417–7428.—Making corrections in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 23, 24), 7416, 7429, 7430, 7454, 7459, 7460.—Examined and signed, 7461, 7491.—Presented to the President, 7557.—Approved [Public, No. 91], 7918.

H. R. 4961—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.
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H. R. 4962—Granting an increase of pension to Laura P. Walter.
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H. R. 4963—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Barnett.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4964—Granting a pension to Mrs. Nannie A. Smith.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4965—For the relief of William B. Stanford.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4966—Granting an increase of pension to William Flint.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4967—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon C. Shields.
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H. R. 4968—Granting a pension to Lester Longmire.
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H. R. 4969—Granting an increase of pension to Concetta Chieffo.
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Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4971—Granting a pension to Hattie M. Dunsmore.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4972—Granting a pension to Hannah E. Browning.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4973—Granting a pension to William Barrett.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4974—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick J. Cressey.
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H. R. 4975—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Gavin.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4976—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Haran.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4977—Granting an increase of pension to Laura Kohlhase.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4978—Granting an increase of pension to Charles D. Monroe.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4979—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Smith.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4980—For the relief of Robert Abernethy.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4981—For the relief of David Love.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4982—For the relief of M. H. Meranda.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4983—For the relief of Peter Neubuhr.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4984—To correct the military record of Joseph P. Widney.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4985—Granting an increase of pension to Washington M. Brown.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4986—Authorizing the promotion of an officer on the retired list of the Army who served in the Civil War.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 3484.

H. R. 4987—Granting a pension to Owen H. O'Neil.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Pensions, 3484.

H. R. 4988—To authorize the changing of the name of the steamship Caldera.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3544.—Reported back (H. Rept. 119), 5773.

H. R. 4989—To provide a preliminary survey of the Grand River and its several forks and tributaries in Missouri with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Flood Control, 3544.

H. R. 4990—To expedite the classification of public lands for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 3544.

H. R. 4991—Providing for the counting of service in the Army or Navy of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the soldier's death in such service providing for the issuance of patent for such land to his widow or minor children.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 3544.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 81), 3697.—Debated, 4420.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 1811), 4568.

H. R. 4992—To provide for the acquisition of an air station site for the United States Navy.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 4993—For the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on the Public Lands, 3544.

H. R. 4994—To fix the terms of court for the Wichita Falls, Fort Worth, and Dallas divisions of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, and to transfer Hardeman County from the Fort Worth division to the Wichita Falls division.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 3544.

H. R. 4995—To provide for an increased production of foodstuffs by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 3544.

H. R. 4996—To authorize the payment of certain amounts for damages sustained by prairie fire on the Rosebud Indian Reservation, in South Dakota.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 4997—To authorize the appointment of Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scout officers to the grades of captain and first and second lieutenant in the Army.
Mr. Park; Committee on Military Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 4998—Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 4999—To prohibit the traffic in peyote, including its sale to Indians, introduction into the Indian country, importation and transportation, and providing penalties therefor.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3544.

H. R. 5000—Granting a pension to Abraham M. Reams.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 3544.

H. R. 5001—Granting a pension to Nancy O. Putnam.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 5002—Granting a pension to Gertrude Hunter.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 5003—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Morton.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 5004—Granting a pension to Eliza H. Cooley.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 5005—For the relief of Brig. Gen. Asher C. Taylor, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Military Affairs, 3545.

H. R. 5006—Granting a pension to Lucy Phelps Walk.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 5007—To reimburse Isaac A. Gibbs for damages arising from the destruction of a ford across the Hocking River in Athens County, Ohio, due to backwater created by the construction of Lock and Dam No. 20 on the Ohio River.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Claims, 3545.

H. R. 5008—To amend the act entitled "An act establishing post routes, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 3, 1877.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3589.

H. R. 5009—For the creation of the United States War Information Commission.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Education, 3589.

H. R. 5010—To amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3589.

H. R. 5011—To establish a United States court of patent appeals, and for other purposes.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on the Judiciary, 3589.

H. R. 5012—Granting a pension to Charles O. Beum.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3589.

H. R. 5013—Granting a pension to Harl K. Harris.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 3589.

H. R. 5014—Granting a pension to Christian Broemer.
Mr. James; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3589.

H. R. 5015—For the relief of Thomas H. Casey.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Claims, 3589.

H. R. 5016—Granting a pension to William P. Johnson.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3589.

H. R. 5017—To correct the military record of William H. Minnick.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 3589.

H. R. 5018—To correct the military record of John W. Terry.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 3589.

H. R. 5019—For the relief of John McNeil.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 3590.

H. R. 5020—Granting a pension to Frederick Rattke.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Pensions, 3590.

H. R. 5021—For the relief of Augustus C. Smith.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Claims, 3590.

H. R. 5022—To amend section 2 of the act of Apr. 28, 1904 (chap. 1759, 33 Stat., p. 440), as amended by section 13 of the act of May 18, 1916 (chap. 126, 58th Cong., 2d sess.), relating to postal rates.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3629.

H. R. 5023—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to Washington Camp, No. 48, Patriotic Order Sons of America, one condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 3629.

H. R. 5024—Granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Itasca and Cass, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said counties.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3629.

H. R. 5025—Granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Cass and Itasca, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River between said counties.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3629.

H. R. 5026—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Lewey.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5027—Granting an increase of pension to Charles C. Newman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5028—For the relief of Anson Martin Hartson.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5029—Granting a pension to Bridget E. Reid.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5030—Granting a pension to Floyd H. Wilkins.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5031—Granting a pension to Mary E. Williams, widow of Moses Williams, late of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Pensions, 3629.

H. R. 5032—Extending the arm of the United States Civil Service Commission.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3697.

H. R. 5033—Extending the franking privilege through the mails to officers and enlisted men in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States.
Mr. Francis; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3697.

H. R. 5034—To authorize condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 3697.

H. R. 5035—To amend a paragraph of section 1 of an act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Appropriations, 3697.—Committee on Appropriations discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, 4223.

H. R. 5036—Granting a pension to Florence A. Warrington.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5037—For the relief of Frank Hardesty.
Mr. Bland; Committee on Claims, 3697.

H. R. 5038—Granting a pension to Edward L. Burnett.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5039—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Johnston.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5040—Granting a pension to Edward D. Boothby.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5041—Granting a pension to Rufus Adamson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5042—Granting a pension to Winfred W. Rockwell.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5043—Granting a pension to Lulu Hendrixson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5044—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Jones.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5045—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Cullum.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5046—Granting an increase of pension to Maria P. Evans.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5047—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Rinehart.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5048—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Young.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5049—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Pitts.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5050—Granting an increase of pension to Melvina Brunk.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5051—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca J. Bridge.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5052—Granting an increase of pension to Amos McKinley.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5053—Granting an increase of pension to Silas H. Shepherd.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5054—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Anderson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5055—Granting an increase of pension to Lorain Marsh.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5056—Granting an increase of pension to James Leming.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5057—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Lattimer.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5058—Granting an increase of pension to Doctor E. Davis.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5059—Granting an increase of pension to Leander J. Day.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5060—Granting an increase of pension to Leonidas W. Day.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5061—Granting an increase of pension to John Jones.
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H. R. 5062—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Nichols.
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H. R. 5063—Granting an increase of pension to Cread Milstead.
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H. R. 5064—Granting a pension to Adaline Young Swearingen.
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H. R. 5065—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Whittaker.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

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H. R. 5067—For the relief of Austin G. Tainter.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Claims, 3697.

H. R. 5068—Granting a pension to Mary C. Halloway.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5069—Granting a pension to Peter Dell.
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H. R. 5070—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra Stevens.
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H. R. 5071—Granting a pension to Edward Brockway.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 3697.

H. R. 5072—To authorize condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 3745.

H. R. 5073—To establish direct contact between the people and the National Government by the creation of the War Information Commission.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Education, 3745.

H. R. 5074—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Covey.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3746.

H. R. 5075—For the relief of Vince P. Brown.
Mr. Dill; Committee on the Public Lands, 3746.

H. R. 5076—Authorizing the President to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Henry S. Kiersted, late a captain in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, a major in the Medical Corps on the retired list, and increasing the retired list by one for the purpose of this act.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 3746.

H. R. 5077—To provide for the retirement of superannuated employees in the classified civil service of the United States of America.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3835.

H. R. 5078—Providing an indestructible medal of identification for each soldier in the United States Army who may be designated for foreign service.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 3835.

H. R. 5079—To expatriate citizens who leave the United States to evade registration or selective draft.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3835.

H. R. 5080—To provide for the abandonment of parts of Thirty-eighth Street and Bellevue Terrace NW. and the public alley between said streets, in block 1812, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3835.

H. R. 5081—To suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the year 1917.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Mines and Mining, 3835.

H. R. 5082—Providing for an amendment to section 2293 of the Revised Statutes, allowing homestead and other public-land affidavits to be taken before the military commander of any person engaged in military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 3835.—Reported back (H. Rept. 144), 7168.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7653–7655.—Refered to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 7707.—Reported back (S. Rept. 145); passed Senate, 7736, 7737.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 711], 7918.

H. R. 5083—Granting a pension to Dudley G. Allen.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5084—Granting a pension to Bessie Hanson.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5085—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Pride.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5086—Granting an increase of pension to Mathew Kerwin.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5087—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Sabin.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5088—Granting an increase of pension to Bertha Fenz.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5089—Granting a pension to Samuel A. Damerest.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5090—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron L. Stevens.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5091—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Dirlam.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5092—Granting a pension to John G. Williams.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5093—Granting a pension to William F. O'Neill.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5094—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis R. Montague.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5095—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Goldthorp.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5096—Granting an increase of pension to George Young.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5097—Granting a pension to Angeline Brand.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Pensions, 3835.

H. R. 5098—To provide for the suspending of statutes of limitations as to all crimes and offenses against the United States during the war with Germany.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 3903.

H. R. 5099—To provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Kenosha, county of Kenosha, and State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3903.

H. R. 5100—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Whitewater, Walworth County, Wis.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3903.

H. R. 5101—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Lake Geneva, Walworth County, Wis.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3903.

H. R. 5102—To provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Janesville, county of Rock and State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3903.

H. R. 5103—Granting an increase of pensions to Leannah Bullis.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3903.

H. R. 5104—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. F. B. Ward.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3903.

H. R. 5105—Granting an increase of pension to Levi L. Beers.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3903.

H. R. 5106—For the relief of the city of Racine.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Claims, 3903.

H. R. 5107—For the relief of Charles Akerlund.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Claims, 3903.

H. R. 5108—For the relief of William A. Persons.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 3903.

H. R. 5109—For the relief of Jacob Osterhus.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 3903.

H. R. 5110—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Sutor.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 3903.

H. R. 5111—To draft into the military service all citizens who leave the United States to evade registration or selective draft.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3903.

H. R. 5112—To relieve homestead and desert entries of alien entrymen until termination of existing war and for a reasonable time thereafter, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 3903.

H. R. 5113—To provide further for the national security and defense by conserving the supply of foods, food products, and feeds.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Agriculture, 3903.

H. R. 5114—Reinstating any officer to his former rank and grade in the United States Army.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 3991.

H. R. 5115—To authorize the governor of the Territory of Hawaii to ratify the agreements of certain persons made with the commissioner of public lands of the Territory of Hawaii, and to issue land patents to those eligible under the terms of said agreements.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 3991.

H. R. 5116—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Marion County, W. Va., two bronze or brass cannon or field pieces.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 3991.

H. R. 5117—To amend the Army appropriation bill.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Military Affairs, 3991.

H. R. 5118—To provide for the selection of osteopathic physicians in the medical service of the Army and Navy of the United States, and to provide for their official status, rank, and pay, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Military Affairs, 3991.

H. R. 5119—Granting a pension to Patrick F. Flannery.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5120—Granting a pension to Mina Sieber.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5121—Granting an increase of pension to William T. De Vaughn.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5122—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Hottenstein.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5123—Granting a pension to Virginia F. Huddleston.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5124—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Hopkins.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5125—Granting an increase of pension to Wilber D. West.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5126—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison Smith.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5127—Granting a pension to Almeda King.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5128—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Henry.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5129—Granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Adams.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5130—Granting an increase of pension to Eli C. Long.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3991.

H. R. 5131—Amending the act providing for the sundry civil expenses of the Government, approved June 12, 1917.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Appropriations, 4054.

H. R. 5132—To amend paragraph 2 of section 12 of the act approved June 18, 1910, entitled "An act to create a commerce court, and to amend the act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes."
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4054.

H. R. 5133—For the protection of lands and property in the Palo Verde Valley, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Appropriations, 4054.

H. R. 5134—Establishing standard grades of naval stores, preventing deception in transactions in naval stores, regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Agriculture, 4054.

H. R. 5135—Providing for the depositing of tribal or trust funds of Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4055.

H. R. 5136—Providing that premedical and medical students in attendance at National Reserve Officers' training camps shall, upon expressing a preference, be placed in medical schools to complete their medical studies, and thereafter serve in the rank for which they shall have qualified.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 4055.

H. R. 5137—To prohibit alien cittizens who have evaded military service from entering the ports of the United States or becoming citizens thereof.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4055.

H. R. 5138—Granting a pension to Adelia Hamilton.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5139—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Finley Conover.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5140—Granting a pension to Wellsley Crane.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5141—For the relief of Edwin S. Metcalf.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on War Claims, 4055.

H. R. 5142—To correct the military record of Lewis Ludwig.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Military Affairs, 4055.

H. R. 5143—Granting a pension to Joseph Gager.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5144—Granting a pension to George M. Woodard.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5145—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Sargent.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4055.

H. R. 5146—To repeal the restriction on appointments and promotions in the Pension Bureau.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Appropriations, 4122.

H. R. 5147—Granting the consent of Congress to the Sebastian bridge district to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, at the foot of Garrison Avenue, at Fort Smith, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4122.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 105), 5144.—Debated, 5405, 5406.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2666), 5472.

H. R. 5148—To authorize the establishment of a bureau of farm risk insurance in the Treasury Department.
Mr. King; Committee on Agriculture, 4122.

H. R. 5149—To prohibit Federal officials and all other persons from aiding directly or indirectly in the procurement of contracts with the Government for compensation.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Judiciary, 4122.

H. R. 5150—Granting a pension to A. M. Graham.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5151—Granting a pension to William W. Kinne.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5152—Granting an increase of pension to Cassius M. Rose.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5153—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Crawford.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5154—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth E. Roberts.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5155—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Patton.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5156—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa F. Echols.
Mr. Lee of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5157—Granting a pension to Ella S. Anderson.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 4122.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4449.

H. R. 5158—Providing for refund to the Haberle-Crystal Spring Brewing Co. of a sum paid in excess of a certain special excise tax.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Claims, 4122.

H. R. 5159—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Richter.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5160—Granting an increase of pension to Ruel Rounds.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5161—Granting an increase of pension to E. G. Burnet.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5162—Granting a pension to Grant H. Hill.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5163—Granting a pension to Helen Walker.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5164—Granting a pension to William D. Nugent.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 4122.

H. R. 5165—To provide for the planning, improvement, relocation, construction, and maintenance of a system of improved national highways and State highways designed to facilitate the movement of troops, equipment, munitions, and supplies in time of peace and in time of war and to promote the general welfare of the people of the United States.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 4191.

H. R. 5166—To amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 4191.

H. R. 5167—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved Aug. 27, 1888, as amended Mar. 2, 1889.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Military Affairs, 4191.

H. R. 5168—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and balls.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 4191.

H. R. 5169—Granting a pension to Jacob Kuhn.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5170—For the relief of Elizabeth Marsh Watkins.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Claims, 4191.

H. R. 5171—For the relief of Soren Jensen, of Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Juul; Committee on Claims, 4191.

H. R. 5172—Granting a pension to Henry H. Snow.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5173—Granting a pension to Delos M. Porter.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5174—Granting a pension to Harry Hirschensohn.
Mr. Park; Committee on Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5175—Granting an increase of pension to James Ralph.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5176—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Large.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5177—For the relief of Lula McCarty.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 4191.

H. R. 5178—Granting a pension to Harry Owen.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5179—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Shuey.
Mr. Connelly of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4191.

H. R. 5180—To authorize the establishment in the War Department of a board on military engines.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 4257.

H. R. 5181—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Mason; Committee on Military Affairs, 4257.

H. R. 5182—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Mason; Committee on Military Affairs, 4257.

H. R. 5183—Accepting the establishment of the route of the National or Cumberland Road through the city of Wheeling, in the State of West Virginia, as declared by the Legislature of the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Roads, 4257.

H. R. 5184—To authorize the President to exempt from foreign military service, upon their request, such citizens of German or Austrian birth or descent whose blood ties in the enemy country might discourage the supreme effort that is necessary for the victory of our troops on foreign soil.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 4257.

H. R. 5185—To appropriate $500,000 and authorizing the expenditure thereof to provide instruction in French to the soldiers of the United States Army.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Appropriations, 4257.—Change of reference objected to, 4358.

H. R. 5186—Granting a pension to Mary E. Phillips.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5187—For the relief of James P. Wayland.
Mr. Harrison of Virginia; Committee on Military affairs, 4258.

H. R. 5188—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Godfrey.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5189—To correct the military title of Fred R. Nugent.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Military Affairs, 4258.

H. R. 5190—Granting an increase of pension to Francis J. Uhler.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5191—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Reichard.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5192—Granting a pension to Frank Arnett.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5193—Granting a pension to Cottington Bond.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5194—Granting a pension to George W. Blanton.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H.R. 5195—Granting a pension to Ross D. Caudill.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5196—Granting a pension to Leslie Higgins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5197—Granting a pension to W. O. B. Tibbs.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5198—Granting a pension to T. H. Williams.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5199—Granting a pension to Henry Stratton.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5200—Granting a pension to Henderson Scott.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5201—Granting a pension to William F. Roberson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5202—Granting a pension to Benjamin H. Kimbler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5203—Granting a pension to Solomon Adams.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5204—Granting a pension to G. W. H. Kimbler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5205—Granting a pension to John Preston.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5206—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Horn.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5207—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Halcomb.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5208—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Montgomery.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5209—Granting an increase of pension to Sherwood Osborn.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5210—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus O'Brian.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5211—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson Peters.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5212—Granting an increase of pension to W. R. Pinson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5213—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Williams.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5214—Granting a pension to S. B. Miller.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5215—Granting an increase of pension to William Pemington.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5216—Granting an increase of pension to William Freeman.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5217—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Daniel.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5218—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah W. Prater.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5219—Granting an increase of pension to Harmon Hall.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5220—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Neikirk.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5221—Granting an increase of pension to John McKinney.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5222—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred A. Gambill.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5223—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5224—Granting an increase of pension to Henderson Craft.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5225—Granting an increase of pension to Elihu Cammel.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5226—Granting an increase of pension to Delaney Bowling.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5227—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Blackburn.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5228—Granting an increase of pension to Maj. S. Bowman.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5229—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Adkins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5230—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah Blair.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5231—To reinstate Alonzo E. Wheat to his former rank and grade in the Philippine Scouts, United States Army.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 4258.

H. R. 5232—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Gibbons.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5233—Granting an increase of pension to Johnson Harris.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5234—Granting a pension to A. P. V. A. McCoy.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4258.

H. R. 5235—Authorizing the appointment of Morten R. Brock as a captain in the United States Army and providing for his retirement.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Military Affairs, 4258.

H. R. 5236—Providing for the construction of a recreation building at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4333.

H. R. 5237—To reimburse the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for expenses incurred in protecting bridges on main railroad lines and under direction of the commanding general, Eastern Department, United States Army, and the commandant, navy yard, Charlestown, Mass.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Military Affairs, 4333.

H. R. 5238—To reimburse the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for expenses incurred in protecting bridges on main railroad lines and under direction of the commanding general, Eastern Department, United States Army, and the commandant, navy yard; Charlestown, Mass.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 4333.

H. R. 5239—To establish a life insurance bureau for the purpose of insuring the lives of persons engaged in extrahazardous occupations in the employ of the United States of America.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4333.

H. R. 5240—To provide further for the national security and defense by declaring print paper, mechanical and chemical pulp a public utility, and regulating and controlling the manufacture, importation, sale, and distribution thereof.
Mr. Snook; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4333.

H. R. 5241—To provide for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of iron, steel, copper, lumber, cotton, wool, hemp, leather, and petroleum.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4333.

H. R. 5242—Granting an increase of pension to Duffy Duquette.
Mr. Bacon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4333.

H. R. 5243—Granting a pension to Frank Sommers.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 4333.

H. R. 5244—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Hicks.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4333.

H. R. 5245—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Ferster.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4333.

H. R. 5246—Granting a pension to Harriet Gray.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Pensions, 4333.

H. R. 5247—Granting the consent of Congress to the Sebastian bridge district to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River, at the foot of Garrison Avenue, at Fort Smith, Ark.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4388.

H. R. 5248—To provide a preliminary survey of the Missouri River and its tributaries with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Flood Control, 4388.

H. R. 5249—To amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code in order to permit the conscription for military purposes of citizens or subjects of countries engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 4388.

H. R. 5250—Granting the consent of Congress to the Pritchard-Wheeler Lumber Co., of Wisner, La., to construct a bridge across Bayou Macon, in Louisiana, at a point east of the town of Wisner, La.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4388.—Reported back (H. Rept. 102), 5144.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2667), 5472.

H. R. 5251—Providing for the enactment of a credit union law in the District of Columbia by which the officers of such credit union shall be empowered to receive deposits from and make loans to the stockholders thereof.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4388.

H. R. 5252—To provide for a site and public building at Clearwater, Fla.
Mr. Drane; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4388.

H. R. 5253—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Tague; Committee on Military Affairs, 4388.

H. R. 5254—Authorizing permits to be issued for grazing purposes of public lands withdrawn for power sites.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 4388.

H. R. 5255—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Wires.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5256—Granting a pension to Corline O. Beum.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5257—Granting a pension to Sarah Blackburn.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5258—Granting a pension to Jane Jameson.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5259—Granting an increase of pension to Milton H. Smith.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5260—Granting a pension to Mrs. E. B. Crandall.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5261—For the relief of George W. Woodall.
Mr. Sanders of Indiana; Committee on Claims, 4388.

H. R. 5262—Granting a pension to Charles P. Jenkins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5263—Granting a pension to James G. Garland.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4388.

H. R. 5264—Fixing the status as naturalized citizens of enlisted men, commissioned officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4449.

H. R. 5265—Granting cumulative leave to certain employees of the Government who can not be granted leave on account of war conditions.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4449.

H. R. 5266—To extend the franking privilege to soldiers and sailors serving in the Army and Navy during the present war with Germany.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4449.

H. R. 5267—Granting the consent of Congress to the Wolf Creek Lumber Co. to construct a bridge across Tug River.
Mr. Cooper of West Virginia; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4449.—Reported back (H. Rept. 106), 5145.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2663), 7208.

H. R. 5268—To make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 4449.

H. R. 5269—To prevent the publication of inventions by the grant of patents that might be detrimental to the public safety or convey useful information to the enemy, to stimulate invention, and provide adequate protection to owners of patents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Patents, 4449.—Reported back (H. Rept. 96), 5083.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2531), 7907, 7908.

H. R. 5270—To provide for civic mobilization in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4449.

H. R. 5271—Authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Military Affairs, 4449.—Reported back (H. Rept. 134), 6651.—Debated, 6747, 6961–6963.—Amended and passed House, 6963.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 6996.—Senate requested to return bill (see H. Res. 167), 7807.—Senate returns bill, 7826.

H. R. 5272—To provide for chapels and recreation buildings at the several navy yards of the United States.
Mr. McLaughlin of Pennsylvania; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4449.

H. R. 5273—Granting an increase of pension to Phillip Young.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5274—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Upham.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5275—Granting a pension to Margaret A. Guilliams.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5276—Granting a pension to Ellen Pierce.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5277—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Boll.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5278—Granting an increase of pension to Adam G. Fitzkee.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5279—Granting a pension to Cottington Bond.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5280—Granting a pension to Henry Stratton.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5281—Granting a pension to T. H. Williams.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5282—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus O'Brian.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5283—Granting a pension to John Preston.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5284—Granting an increase of pension to William Pemington.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5285—Granting a pension to Clarence A. Kuhn.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5286—Granting a pension to Ella S. Anderson.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4450.

H. R. 5287—Providing for additional force in the United States Patent Office.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Patents, 4546.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 95), 5083.

H. R. 5288—Providing for the construction of a recreation building at the Boston Navy Yard.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5289—To amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.—Debated, 5062, 5067.

H. R. 5290—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution and price of ores, metals, and other necessaries.
Mr. Heintz; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4546.

H. R. 5291—Providing for the construction of a recreation building at the New York Navy Yard.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5292—To reimburse the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for expenses incurred in protecting bridges on main railroad lines and under direction of the commanding general, Eastern Department, United States Army, and the commandant, navy yard, Charlestown, Mass.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5293—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Harris.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5294—For the relief of James K. P. Lafferty.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5295—For the relief of William Schenck.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5296—For the relief of Hays B. Falkenburg.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5297—Granting an increase of pension to Peter T. Nile, alias Patrick Nilan.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5298—Granting an increase of pension to William McCloud.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5299—Granting an increase of pension to Mary V. Price.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5300—For the relief of Orville F. Davis.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5301—Granting an increase of pension to Martha H. Fisher.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5302—Granting a pension to John Ashton.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5303—Granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Piatt.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5304—Granting a pension to Martha Ellen Sellers.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5305—Granting a pension to Charles Peters.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5306—Granting a pension to Eliza Gilman.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5307—For the relief of Rufus L. Cole.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Military Affairs, 4546.

H. R. 5308—For the relief of James A. Henderson.
Mr. Sulzer; Committee on Claims, 4546.

H. R. 5309—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan R. Thomas.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5310—Granting a pension to Leonard E. Griffith.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 4546.

H. R. 5311—For the relief of Morris S. Baker.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on War Claims, 4546.

H. R. 5312—To reinstate George H. McConnon in the Navy as a surgeon.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4581.

H. R. 5313—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Mann.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4581.

H. R. 5314—Granting an increase of pension to William White.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4581.

H. R. 5315—Granting an increase of pension to George Stillman.
Mr. Weaver; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4581.

H. R. 5316—Granting an increase of pension to John Akerman.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4581.

H. R. 5317—Providing that the United States flag shall be displayed in all United States courts while in session; that the attention of foreign-born applicants for naturalization shall be directed to the national flag, and that they shall be instructed as to its meaning and their duties in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on the Judiciary, 4682.

H. R. 5318—To commission acting assistant or contract surgeons of the United States Army who have served in the Army for a period of at least three months to be first lieutenants in the United States Medical Reserve Corps, and to add to the Medical Corps of the Army in case of necessity.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 4682.

H. R. 5319—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie W. Smith.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4682.

H. R. 5320—Granting an increase of pension to Leslie C. Holmes.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4683.

H. R. 5321—Granting an increase of pension to Betsey Hodgett.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4683.

H. R. 5322—Granting an increase of pension to Luke Arnold.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4683.

H. R. 5323—Granting a pension to Augusta E. Robinson.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4683.

H. R. 5324—Giving applicants under the stock-raising homestead law, whose applications may be rejected, a preference right to enter lands under other provisions of the homestead law.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 4683.

H. R. 5325—In relation to trading with the enemy.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4765.

H. R. 5326—To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships, and to make appropriations therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 4765.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 97), 5083.—Debated, 5105–5143.—Amended and passed House, 5143.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 5147.—Reported back, 5197.—Debated, 5208–5213, 5367–5372.—Passed Senate, 5372.—Examined and signed, 5383, 5403.—Presented to the President, 5430.—Approved [Public, No. 29], 5560.

H. R. 5327—Granting an increase of pension to Robert J. Clark.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 4765.

H. R. 5328—Granting a pension to Mary J. Allen.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4765.

H. R. 5329—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Rock.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4765.

H. R. 5330—Granting an increase of pension to William Criswell.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4765.

H. R. 5331—Granting an extension of patent to Rosella Rebecca Reilly.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Patents, 4765.

H. R. 5332—Authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation in said State.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 4879.

H. R. 5333—To supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4879.

H. R. 5334—Providing for the issuance of a special Red Cross stamp and fixing a rate for the transmission of first-class mail matter by the American Red Cross, its chapters, and the auxiliaries thereof.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4879.

H. R. 5335—To extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy River near Warfield, Ky., and Kermit, W. Va., authorized by an act approved Jan. 28, 1916.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 113), 5569.—Amended and passed House, 7311.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7324.—Reported back (S. Rept. 133); passed Senate, 7339.—Examined and signed, 7387, 7417.—Presented to the President, 7459.—Approved [Public, No. 46], 7532.

H. R. 5336—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, at or near the foot of the gar hole about one-half mile south of the Jonesboro, Lake City & Eastern Railway bridge across Little River, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 112), 5534.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2695), 5634.

H. R. 5337—To prevent cheating and swindling in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5338—Extending the benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5339—To prohibit the slaughter, sale, purchase, shipment, and transportation through interstate commerce of calves and cows under certain ages and conditions.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5340—To regulate the importation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, to regulate interstate traffic in said articles, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5341—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5342—To authorize common carriers in interstate commerce to contract with newspapers for publication of schedules and other information, and issue receipts good for payment of transportation.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5343—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent cruelty to animals while in transit by railroad or other means of transportation from one State or Territory or the District of Columbia into or through another State or Territory or the District of Columbia, and repealing sections 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, and 4390 of the United States Revised Statutes," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5344—To provide Federal aid for public roads.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5345—To regulate the personnel of the Coast Guard.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5346—To amend the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5347—To provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5348—To regulate the interstate use of automobiles and all self-propelled vehicles which use the public highways in interstate commerce.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5349—To amend an act entitled "An act to change the name of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service to the Public Health Service, to increase the pay of officers of said service, and for other purposes," approved August 14, 1912.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4879.

H. R. 5350—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds for drainage purposes.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 4879.

H. R. 5351—Providing for the disposal of certain lands in block 32, in the city of Port Angeles, State of Washington.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on the Public Lands, 4879.

H. R. 5352—Granting a pension to Theresa Emma Bright.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5353—Granting an increase of pension to Mason Malott.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5354—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine D. Houver.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5355—Granting an increase of pension to David E. Rench.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5356—Granting an increase of pension to Richard M. J. Monroe.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5357—Granting an increase of pension to John Hatch.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5358—For the relief of James Strachan.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 4880.

H. R. 5359—Granting a pension to Miriam R. McCauley.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5360—Granting a pension to Anna M. Moore.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5361—Granting a certificate of merit or distinguished service medal to John Faraday James.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 4880.

H. R. 5362—Granting an increase of pension to Robert M. Rice.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5363—Granting a pension to Sabra J. Swisher.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5364—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. McKee.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5365—Granting a pension to Lizzie Broyles.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5366—Granting a pension to Ellen J. Barnard.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4880.

H. R. 5367—For the relief of Fred Larsen.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Claims, 4880.

H. R. 5368—Providing for an advisory referendum by the people of the District of Columbia on certain questions relating to municipal self-government and representation in Congress.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4931.

H. R. 5369—To provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 4931.

H. R. 5370—Authorizing and providing for the support of the dependent wives, mothers, minor brothers and sisters, and minor children of enlisted men in the Regular Army, of enlisted men in the Organized Militia or National Guard called or drafted into the service of the United States, and of the enlisted men of the forces raised by the act of May 18, 1917.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Military Affairs, 4931.

H. R. 5371—Granting a pension to Mary Muehleder.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4931.

H. R. 5372—Granting a pension to Mary Botsford.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4931.

H. R. 5373—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Adams.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4931.

H. R. 5374—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Green.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4931.

H. R. 5375—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick Kelleher.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4931.

H. R. 5376—To provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Military Affairs, 4990.

H. R. 5377—Providing for an advisory referendum by the people of the District of Columbia on certain questions relating to municipal self-government and representation in Congress.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4990.

H. R. 5378—To authorize the reuse of containers of tobacco or snuff.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.

H. R. 5379—To authorize the reuse of containers of tobacco or snuff.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Ways and Means, 4990.

H. R. 5380—To forbid the payment of pensions to anyone who is or may hereafter become disloyal to the United States Government.
Mr. Russell; Committee on the Judiciary, 4990.

H. R. 5381—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Smith.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5382—Granting a pension to Ellen M. Smith.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5383—Conferring authority upon the Secretary of the Treasury to consider application for bounty and back pay on account of the military services of John Wallace.
Mr. French; Committee on War Claims, 4990.

H. R. 5384—Granting an increase of pension to Asa Gatton.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5385—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Winters.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5386—Granting an increase of pension to John O. Harmon.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5387—Granting a pension to Katherine E. Brewer.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5388—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Elchlepp.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5389—Granting a pension to Loren Bishop.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5390—Granting a pension to John W. Hamilton.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5391—Granting an increase of pension to Katie Carr.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5392—Granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Doss.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5393—Granting an increase of pension to Jeannie Elliott.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5394—Granting an increase of pension to Pauline Joseph.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5395—Granting an increase of pension to Thompson N. Lupton.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5396—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Papineau.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5397—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus A. Prugh.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5398—Granting an increase of pension to Maggie Radabaugh.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5399—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac B. Robinson.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5400—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Schmidt.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5401—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Sollenberger.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5402—Granting an increase of pension to James N. Russell.
Mr. Polk; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5403—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Wirsing.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5404—Granting a pension to Sarah F. Henry.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Pensions, 4990.

H. R. 5405—Making appropriations for certain session employees of the Senate and House of Representatives.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from the Committee on Appropriations, 5083.—Debated and passed House, 5061.—Passed Senate, 5049.—Examined and signed, 5104, 5146.—Presented to the President, 5403.—Approved [Public, No. 28], 5242.

H. R. 5406—To admit osteopathic physicians to examinations for commissions in the medical branch of the Navy of the United States, and to provide for their official status, rank, and pay, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5083.

H. R. 5407—To admit osteopathic physicians to examinations for commissions in the medical branch of the Army of the United States, and to provide for their official status, rank, and pay, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Military Affairs, 5083.

H. R. 5408—To amend the act approved Apr. 8, 1904, entitled "An act to amend section 76 of an act entitled 'An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii.'"
Mr. Crosser; Committee on the Territories, 5083.

H. R. 5409—To authorize the Neches Canal Co. and Beaumont Irrigation Co. to construct a dam across the Neches River about 10 miles above the city of Beaumont, Tex.
Mr. Dies; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5083.

H. R. 5410—To render possible the return of the bodies of our soldier dead to their home burial grounds in a sanitary and recognizable condition.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 5083.

H. R. 5411—Revising the Statutes of the United States to provide tobacco for the enlisted men of the Army.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 5084.

H. R. 5412—Revising the Statutes of the United States to provide tobacco for the enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5084.

H. R. 5413—To authorize the refund of duties collected on field kitchens imported during the year 1917.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Ways and Means, 5084.

H. R. 5414—Granting a pension to Mary R. Neal.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5415—Providing for the payment of additional per diems to certain witnesses in the case of The United States *v.* A. L. Wisner & Co.
Mr. Church; Committee on the Judiciary, 5084.

H. R. 5416—Granting a pension to Ryan V. Eichelberger.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5417—Granting a pension to William H. Troxell.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5418—Granting a pension to George A. Beam.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5419—To reinstate John K. Thompson as a gunner in the United States Navy.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5084.

H. R. 5420—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob C. Maddix.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5421—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Stewart.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5422—Granting an increase of pension to Jerry Daniel.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5423—Granting a pension to Emma L. Grady.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5424—Granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Cross.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5084.

H. R. 5425—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year 1906, and for prior years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Appropriations, 5145.

H. R. 5426—To create a Board of Military Inventions in the War Department.
Mr. Lunn; Committee on Military Affairs, 5145.

H. R. 5427—For acquiring a site and erecting a public building thereon in Hartford, Conn., for the use and accommodation of the post office as an annex thereto.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5145.

H. R. 5428—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been entered into the Red Cross work with the military or naval forces of the United States as nurse or assistant in the Red Cross work from performing assessment work during the term of such service in the said Red Cross work.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Mines and Mining, 5145.

H. R. 5429—For the protection of desert-land entrywomen who enter the services of the Red Cross with the military or naval forces of the United States in the time of war.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 5145.

H. R. 5430—Providing for the counting of service in the Red Cross with the military and naval forces of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the Red Cross person's death in such Red Cross service providing for the issuance of patent for such land to her husband or minor children.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 5145.

H. R. 5431—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across the Saline River, at or near Suttons Ferry, Ark.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5145.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 111), 5534.—Amended and passed House, 7417.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7447.—Reported back (S. Rept. 137) and passed Senate, 7454.—Examined and signed, 7461, 7491.—Presented to the President, 7557.—Approved [Public No. 47], 7773.

H. R. 5432—Granting a pension to Taswell E. Collett.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5433.—Granting an increase of pension to William Horrigan.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5434—Granting a pension to Olivia Pattison.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5435—Granting a pension to Isabella Bootman.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5436—Granting a pension to Francis M. Kittrell.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5437—To reinstate John K. Thompson as a gunner in the United States Navy.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5145.

H. R. 5438—To correct the military record of A. G. Vincent.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 5145.

H. R. 5439—Granting a pension to Lucinda Weaver.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5440—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Cruikshank.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5145.

H. R. 5441—To povide for the erection of a public building in the city of Greenville, Ga.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5243.

H. R. 5442—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Buena Vista, Ga.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5243.

H. R. 5443—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Talbotton, Ga.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5243.

H. R. 5444—To fix the salaries of post-office clerks and carriers and to grant the right of appeal to such postal employees.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5243.

H. R. 5445—Granting an increase of pension to Sophia De Rusha.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5446—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Brown.
Mr. Davidson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5447—For the relief of Thomas W. Williams.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Military Affairs, 5243.

H. R. 5448—For the correction of the military record of Thomas T. Lewis.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Military Affairs, 5243.

H. R. 5449—Granting an increase of pension to Sargent Clark.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5450—For the relief of Vincent Natalish.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5243.

H. R. 5451—Granting a pension to Henry P. Nicholas.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5452—Granting a pension to Orley E. Laird.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5453—Granting a pension to John T. Garrett.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5454—Granting an increase of pension to Joel A. Pugh.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5455—Granting a pension to John J. Swan.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 5243.

H. R. 5456—To reinstate John K. Thompson as a gunner in the United States Navy.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5243.

H. R. 5457—To compel aliens either to enlist in the Army, make application for citizenship, enlist in the army of their own country, or be deported, at the option of the President.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5377.

H. R. 5458—For the improvement of the Chattahoochee River.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 5377.

H. R. 5459—For the relief of Francis A. Grennen.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Claims, 5377.

H. R. 5460—Granting a pension to William B. Smith.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5461—Granting a pension to Patrick Burke.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5462—Granting an increase of pension to Sophia Koch.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5463—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Harrison.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5464—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Lanham.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5465—Granting a pension to Ivey W. Watkins.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5466—Granting an increase of pension to Martin L. Kee.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5467—Granting a pension to Daisy M. McNeely.
Mr. Sterling of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 5377.

H. R. 5468—To reimburse the State of Connecticut for expenses incurred in protecting bridges over waterways on the main railroad lines under direction of the commanding general Eastern Department.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Claims, 5407.

H. R. 5469—To suspend the operation of the statutes of limitation in criminal cases for at least three years after peace shall have been declared in the present war with Germany and her allies.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 5407.

H. R. 5470—To develop the Rice gun for naval purposes.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Appropriations, 5407.

H. R. 5471—Authorizing the restoration of John T. Melvin, a lieutenant (junior grade), to the active list of the Navy.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5407.

H. R. 5472—Granting a pension to Jessie G. Frier.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5473—Granting a pension to Charles McHugh.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5474—Granting a pension to John A. White.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5475—Granting a pension to Isaac H. Griffith.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5476—Granting a pension to Nason B. Cunningham.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5477—For the relief of Dana Dudley.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Claims, 5407.

H. R. 5478—For the relief of Maude H. Mosher.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Claims, 5407.

H. R. 5479—Granting an increase of pension to Paul Heineman.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5480—Granting an increase of pension to Moritz C. Young.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5481—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie M. Ratfield.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5482—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Routh.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5483—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Splawn.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5484—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Port.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5407.

H. R. 5485—Providing for the improvement of inland waterway from the Mississippi River to Bayou Teche, La.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 5437.

H. R. 5486—Relating to procedure in United States courts.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on the Judiciary, 5437.

H. R. 5487—To construct and equip a light vessel for the Passes at the entrance to the Mississippi River, La.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5437.

H. R. 5488—To secure to the United States a monopoly of electrical communication for hire, to provide for the acquisition by the Post Office Department of the telephone and telegraph network, and to license certain telephone lines, radio and telegraph agencies.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5437.

H. R. 5489—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange for lands in private ownership lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 5437.

H. R. 5490—For the relief of Vermilion, Perry, Alexander, White, and Shelby Counties, Ill., by payment of fees due for the custody of Federal prisoners in the jails of said counties.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5491—Granting a pension to John R. Walder.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5492—For the relief of legal representatives of George E. Payne, deceased.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on War Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5493—For the relief of George M. Leahy, receiver of the New Orleans Mechanics' Society of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on War Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5494—For the relief of the legal representatives of Lapene and Ferré.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on War Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5495—For the relief of Joseph A. Prat.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5496—For the relief of the heirs of Isabella Ann Fluker.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on War Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5497—For the relief of Emma J. Spear.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5498—For the relief of I. C. Johnson, jr.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5437.

H. R. 5499—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Goodman.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5500—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander B. Grosh.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5501—Granting an increase of pension to William Francis.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5502—Granting an increase of pension to David I. Black.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5503—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Mattern.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5504—Granting an increase of pension to Elias C. Minium.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5505—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Parks.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5506—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus Potter.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5507—Granting a pension to Mary E. Roland.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5508—Granting a pension to Mary H. Staley.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5509—Granting a pension to Ralph A. Finicle.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5510—For the relief of William J. Blake.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5511—For the relief of Leonidas H. Sawyer.
Mr. Goodall; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5512—Granting an increase of pension to Robert F. Hart.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5513—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Parrish.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5514—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Davidson.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5515—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Brothers.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5516—For the relief of Julia H. Castle.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on War Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5517—Granting an increase of pension to Bettie D. Post.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5518—Granting an increase of pension to John Wooster.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5519—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Thimmig.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5520—Granting a pension to Mary D. Jenness.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5521—Granting a pension to Mary J. Phinney.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5522—Granting a pension to Mary Lahey Murphy.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5523—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison C. Shattuck.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5437.

H. R. 5524—To appropriate the sum of $4,000, to be paid to Alfred Roberts for personal injuries received at the United States customhouse in Boston, Mass.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Claims, 5437.

H. R. 5525—For the relief of Edward D. Black.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5437.

H. R. 5526—Conferring citizenship upon Indians and providing for making tribal rolls, the division of tribal funds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5474.

H. R. 5527—To amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Military Affairs, 5474.

H. R. 5528—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to appoint competency inspectors, and making an appropriation for their salaries and expenses.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5474.

H. R. 5529—Relating to copyrights.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Patents, 5474.

H. R. 5530—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to inquire into whether or not the immigrant Cherokees by blood are entitled to be reimbursed for lands allotted to negro freedmen Cherokees from lands granted to immigrant Cherokees by blood under treaty of 1835, and inquire into and determine the validity of the treaty of 1866.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Claims, 5474.

H. R. 5531—To increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army, to provide a Pharmaceutical Corps in that department, and to improve the status and efficiency of the pharmacists in the Army.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Military Affairs, 5474.

H. R. 5532—To refund certain duties paid by William Filene's Sons Co.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Claims, 5474.

H. R. 5533—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Harmon.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5474.

H. R. 5534—Establishing standard grades of naval stores, preventing deception in transactions in naval stores, regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Agriculture, 5534.

H. R. 5535—To add certain lands to Minidoka National Forest.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Public Lands, 5534.

H. R. 5536—Reserving a right of way across lands within national forests for ditches, canals, roads, trails, and telephone lines.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 5534.

H. R. 5537—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the section of the Borough of Queens, City of New York, N. Y., known and designated as Richmond Hill.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5534.

H. R. 5538—To provide for the granting of commissions in the reserve of the Army, in the various staff corps and departments in which they are employed, to certain honorably discharged soldiers of the United States Army who have had active service in time of war and who are now filling positions in the various administrative offices under the War Department.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 5534.

H. R. 5539—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Bradford.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5540—Granting a pension to Jane S. Elwell.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5541—For the relief of heirs of Ellen Kehoe.
Mr. Juul; Committee on War Claims, 5534.

H. R. 5542—To promote on the retired list of the United States Army Brig. Gen. Horatio Gates Gibson, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Military Affairs, 5534.

H. R. 5543—Granting a pension to Kate A. Lozier.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5544—Granting a pension to Sylvester Lane.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5545—Granting a pension to Simeon D. Morrison.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5546—Granting a pension to William J. Jackson.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5547—Granting a pension to Harry L. Wilson.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5548—Granting a pension to Samuel Burket.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5549—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Alms.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5550—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Miller.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5551—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Walters.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5534.

H. R. 5552—For the relief of First Lieut. Sydney Smith, retired.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Military Affairs, 5534.

H. R. 5553—To provide for the erection of a public building at Dover, Me.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5570.

H. R. 5554—To commission acting assistant or contract surgeons of the United States Army who have served in the Army for a period of at least three months to be first lieutenants in the United States Medical Reserve Corps, and to add to the Medical Corps of the Army in case of necessity.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5555—To conserve the seniority rights, service-pension rights, interest in pension and insurance funds that employees of certain employers may have at the time they enter the armed forces of the United States.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5556—To provide that duly certified letters of soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States during the present war be forwarded without payment of any postage whatever.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5570.—Debated [Appendix, 587].

H. R. 5557—To amend section 11 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act of Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5570.

H. R. 5558—To amend section 101 of the Judicial Code.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5570.

H. R. 5559—To authorize a preference right of entry by certain Carey Act entrymen, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 5570.

H. R. 5560—To extend the benefits of the act of June 27, 1890 (as amended by the act of May 9, 1900), granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who served in the military or naval forces of the United States, their widows, minor children, or dependent parents, and the act of Feb. 6, 1907, granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5561—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Horton, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5562—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Nortonville, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5563—To place the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers under the administration of the War Department.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5564—Providing for military highways between Forts Leavenworth and Riley, Kans., and between Fort McPherson and the Government rifle range near Waco, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5565—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Wathena, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5566—To remove the restrictions on advance payments imposed by section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, or by any other act, as they apply to the expenditure of appropriations contained in the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army, and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships, and to make appropriations therefor, and for other purposes," approved July 24, 1917.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5567—Granting a pension to John Groth.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5568—Granting a pension to Carl S. Jones.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5569—Granting a pension to William Sommers.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5570—Granting a pension to Alexander R. Banks.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5571—Granting a pension to Thomas Maginnis.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5572—Granting a pension to Edward J. Meacum.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5573—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Meredith.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5574—Granting an increase of pension to Lilly Ann Newberry.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5575—For the relief of Maude Craig Smyser.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Claims, 5570.

H. R. 5576—For the relief of Hugh Cameron.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Claims, 5570.

H. R. 5577—Granting a pension to Mamie E. Carruthers.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5578—For the relief of Preston D. Alden.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5579—Granting a pension to Lulu Mahler.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5580—Granting an increase of pension to David Chapman.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5581—Granting a pension to Thomas Phillips.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5582—Granting a pension to Ernst A. Selander.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5583—Granting a pension to Fidelia A. Baker-Boyd.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5584—Granting a pension to Charles C. Dougherty.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5585—Granting a pension to Frank Crane.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5586—Granting a pension to Sheldon S. S. Campbell.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5587—Granting a pension to John F. McCarthy.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5588—Granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Nicholson.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5589.—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Rosenthal.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5590—Granting an increase of pension to Fairfield Dresser.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5591—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Daniels.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5592—Granting an increase of pension to James Dagnan.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5593—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Atwood.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5594—Granting an increase of pension to Betsey La Joy.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5595—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Liddell.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5596—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Martin.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5597—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Robinson.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5598—Granting an increase of pension to Horace F. Walker.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5599—Granting an increase of pension to Kate I. Hill.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5600—Granting a pension to Mary Kostenbader.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5601—For the relief of William Dixon.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Military Affairs, 5570.

H. R. 5602—Granting an increase of pension to George Newschafer.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5603—Granting an increase of pension to Seth W. Gray.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5604—Granting an increase of pension to W. C. Roberts.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5605—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca M. Bearden.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 5570.

H. R. 5606—For the erection of a public building at Holton, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5570.

H. R. 5607—To amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 5635.

H. R. 5608—To grant the consent of Congress for the county of Pulaski, State of Arkansas, to construct a bridge across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, Ark.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5635.

H. R. 5609—Giving the President power to permit vessels of foreign registry to engage in the coastwise trade of the United States during the present war or emergency.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 5635.

H. R. 5610—To amend section 37 of an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 5635.

H. R. 5611—To amend section 101 of the Judicial Code.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on the Judiciary, 5635.

H. R. 5612—Modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5635.

H. R. 5613—To regulate profits on foodstuffs between producer and consumer in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Cox; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5635.

H. R. 5614—Providing for the selection of members of the President's Cabinet from the membership of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Campbell of Kansas; Committee on the Judiciary, 5635.

H. R. 5615—To create an air board and provide for its maintenance.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 5635.

H. R. 5616—To provide for the operation of the railroads in trust for the owners by a commission and to provide for their ownership by the United States.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5635.

H. R. 5617—Authorizing the drafting of aliens, except alien enemies, into the military service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Military Affairs, 5635.

H. R. 5618—Granting an increase of pension to David Mitzel.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5619—Granting a pension to George J. Schmidt.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5620—For the payment of certain claims growing out of service in the Army as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 5635.

H. R. 5621—For the payment of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Navy, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 5635.

H. R. 5622—Granting a pension to Lovina Bliss.
Mr. Overmeyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5623—Granting a pension to Harry Patterson.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5624—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Knapp.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5625—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Bliss.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5626—Granting an increase of pension to Mark Hebblethwaite.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5627—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Bailey.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5628—Granting an increase of pension to Frank M. Daniels.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5629—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Suter.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5630—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. West.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5631—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore H. Robbins.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5632—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Crank.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5633—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Bird.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5635.

H. R. 5634—To provide a preliminary survey of Eel River, Cal., with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. Lea of California; Committee on Flood Control, 5690.

H. R. 5635—To authorize the appointment of Philippine constabulary and Philippine Scout officers to the grades of captain and first and second lieutenants in the Army.
Mr. Byrnes of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 5690.

H. R. 5636—To amend section 27 of chapter 3592 of the laws of 1906, entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States."
Mr. Francis; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5690.

H. R. 5637—Providing for the per diem compensation of post-office inspectors in the field.
Mr. Francis; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5690.

H. R. 5638—To amend an act approved Sept. 1, 1916, entitled "An act to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes."
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Labor, 5690.

H. R. 5639—To make citizens of all aliens who enlist in the United States Army during this war and are honorably discharged.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5690.

H. R. 5640—A bill to authorize experiments in motor-truck delivery and to increase the postal revenues, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5690.

H. R. 5641—Granting a pension to Major M. Bennett.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 5690.

H. R. 5642—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shaw.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5690.

H. R. 5643—To authorize an exchange of lands with the State of Montana in connection with Muddy Creek Reservoir site, Sun River project, and Nelson Reservoir site, Milk River project, and for other purposes.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 5721.

H. R. 5644—To revive the right of action under the act of Mar. 12, 1863 (12 Stat. L., 820).
Mr. Langley; Committee on the Judiciary, 5721.

H. R. 5645—Authorizing removal of stumps from cut-over Oregon and California lands.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 5722.

H. R. 5646—To amend section 1585 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5722.—Reported back (H. Rept. 123), 5773.—Debated and passed House, 7316, 7430, 7431.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 7447.—Reported back, 7769.—Passed Senate, 7816.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public, No. 87], 7918.

H. R. 5647—To provide for the reimbursement of officers, enlisted men, and others in the naval service of the United States for property lost or destroyed in such service.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5722.—Reported back (H. Rept. 121), 5773.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7433, 7649–7653.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 7707.—Reported back and passed Senate, 7812.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 70], 7918.

H. R. 5648—To establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5722.—Reported back (H. Rept. 122), 5773.—Debated and passed House, 7431–7433.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 7447.—Reported back, 7769.—Debated and passed Senate, 7816.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public, No. 88], 7918.

H. R. 5649—Extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta, Ark.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5722.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 129), 6038.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2830), 7208.

H. R. 5650—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Alphonse Desmare, deceased, and others.
Mr. Estopinal; Committee on War Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5651—For the relief of the legal representatives of John Boyle, deceased.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5652—For the relief of the legal representatives of William B. Dodd, deceased.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5653—For the relief of James Clark Smith.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5654—Granting three months' pay proper to Henry C. Pearson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5655—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the claim of Smithmeyer & Pelz.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 5722.

H. R. 5656—Granting a pension to Samuel R. Smith.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5657—Granting a pension to Edward F. O'Toole.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5658—Granting a pension to Martin W. Westbay.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5659—Granting a pension to Will D. Buchanan.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5660—Granting a pension to James A. Kelley.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5661—Granting a pension to John V. Durling.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5662—Granting a pension to Seaborn A. Frost.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5663—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick N. Dickey.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5664—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick Donoghue.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5722.

H. R. 5665—To enlarge and extend the post-office building at St. Cloud, Minn.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5722.

H. R. 5666—To provide for the free transmission of duly certified letters of soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States, and to authorize the Postmaster General to negotiate and conclude postal treaties with foreign countries for the free transmission of such letters therefrom to the United States during the war.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5773.

H. R. 5667—To provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5773.—Reported back (H. Rept. 127), 5814.—Debated, 7029, 7030. [Appendix, 578, 668.]

H. R. 5668—To authorize the Secretary of Labor to cooperate with other departments of the Government in fostering, promoting, and developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, by creating new opportunities for permanent and profitable employment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Labor, 5773.

H. R. 5669—Authorizing the drafting of resident aliens, except alien enemies, into the military service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Military Affairs, 5773.

H. R. 5670—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make per capita payment, not to exceed $200, to the enrolled members of the Seminole Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Indian Affairs, 5773.

H. R. 5671—Providing for the payment of allowances to dependent members of the families of certain soldiers and sailors in the service of the United States.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 5774.

H. R. 5672—For the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870 (16 Stat. L., p. 670), authorizing the Postmaster General to continue to use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand-stamp patents, and directing him to "determine upon a fair, just, and equitable compensation for the use of said inventions"; or arising otherwise.
Mr. Lunn; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5774.

H. R. 5673—To extend payment to the homesteaders on the south half of the Colville Reservation.
Mr. Dill; Committee on the Public Lands, 5774.

H. R. 5674—Granting leave of absence with pay to the employees of the Post Office Department or Postal Service who have entered the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 5774.

H. R. 5675—To provide for the free transportation through the United States mails of reading matter for United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.
Mr. Gould; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5774.

H. R. 5676—To refund the cotton tax collected.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Appropriations, 5774.

H. R. 5677—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Butt.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5678—Granting a pension to Mary J. Sullivan.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5679—Granting a pension to John Cantwell.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5680—Granting a pension to Samuel W. Norton, alias Samuel W. Legg.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5681—Granting a pension to Fred Reidy.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5682—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred York.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5683—Granting an increase of pension to Llewellyn A. Cole.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5684—Granting a pension to Frances A. Sapp.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5685—For the relief of Sarah Shelton.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Claims, 5774.

H. R. 5686—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Belt.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5687—Granting an increase of pension to John Henson.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5688—For the relief of William J. Arthur.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Claims, 5774.

H. R. 5689—Granting a pension to Arthur J. Jerome.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5690—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Nack.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5691—Granting a pension to Odessa Beall.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 5774.

H. R. 5692—To arrange during the existing emergency for the granting of naturalization papers to aliens who, being entitled to make application for and become a citizen of the United States, shall be duly enlisted in and serving as a member of the military or naval forces of the United States, and unable to apply in person as required by existing law.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5814.

H. R. 5693—To amend an act entitled "An act to alter and amend an act entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Central Pacific Railroad, in California, to Portland, in Oregon,' approved July 25, 1866, as amended by the acts of 1868 and 1869, and to alter and amend an act entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Portland to Astoria and McMinnville, in the State of Oregon,' approved May 4, 1870, and for other purposes."
Mr. Hawley; Committee on the Public Lands, 5814.

H. R. 5694—To amend the act of May 18, 1917, and secure a more equitable distribution of draft quotas in States, Territories, the District of Columbia, and subdivisions thereof.
Mr. Bathrick; Committee on Military Affairs, 5814.

H. R. 5695—To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 5814.

H. R. 5696—Granting the franking privilege to the Oregon Defense Council of the State of Oregon.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5814.

H. R. 5697—To reappoint Edgar C. Campbell a pay clerk in the Quartermaster's Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Military Affairs, 5814.

H. R. 5698—Granting an increase of pension to William Gordon.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5699—Granting an increase of pension to Rev. W. S. Trader.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5700—For the relief of Michael Sweeney.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 5814.

H. R. 5701—Granting a pension to Alvah H. Mitchell.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5702—Granting a pension to Ora May Larkin.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5703—Granting a pension to Israel W. Bennett.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5704—Granting a pension to Callie Mabry.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5705—Granting an increase of pension to Roy R. Hart.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5706—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Williams.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 5814.

H. R. 5707—To satisfy certain claims against the Government arising under the War Department.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 5814.

H. R. 5708—For the relief of certain enlisted men of the United States Navy.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 5814.

H. R. 5709—To satisfy certain claims against the Government arising under the War Department.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 5814.

H. R. 5710—To amend section 11 of the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the act of September 7, 1916.
Mr. Black; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5903.

H. R. 5711—To provide for the erection of a public building at Dover, Me.
Mr. Hersey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5903.

H. R. 5712—To make unlawful depositing in the mails of the United States advertisements of alleged exposures of the secret work of fraternal orders.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5903.

H. R. 5713—To provide for the erection of a baby hospital camp in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on the District of Columbia, 5903.

H. R. 5714—To provide for the erection of a public building in the city of St. Marys, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5903.

H. R. 5715—To prohibit soldiers in the Army of the United States, and seamen and marines in the Navy or Marine Corps of the United States from being sued, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on the Judiciary, 5903.

H. R. 5716—To extend the franking privilege to the officers of State and county councils of defense.
Mr. Esch; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5903.

H. R. 5717—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of George W. Smith.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 5903.

H. R. 5718—To correct the military record of Joshua Main.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 5903.

H. R. 5719—Granting a pension to Margery Fuller.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5903.

H. R. 5720—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet K. Bailie.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 5903.

H. R. 5721—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson McCleary.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 5903.

H. R. 5722—For the relief of Ellen B. Walker.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Claims, 5903.

H. R. 5723—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved Sept. 2, 1914, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5945.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 130), 6467, 6651, 6708.—Debated, 6749–6773, 6809–6835, 6886–6929, 6963–6988, 7030–7032, 7034–7062, 7070–7104. [Appendix, 559, 560, 561, 567, 580, 594, 620, 661, 669, 674.]—Amended and passed House, 7103, 7104.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 7106.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 141), 7628.—Debated, 7681–7706, 7736, 7737–7764.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to, 7705.—Amended and passed Senate, 7764.—Senate asks for a conference, 7764.—House agrees to Senate amendments Nos. 80 and 100, disagrees to other Senate amendments, and agrees to a conference, 7840, 7841, 7846–7853.—Conference appointed, 7764, 7853.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 7836, 7837.—Conference report (No. 197) made and agreed to in House, 7869–7872.—Making correction in the enrollment of bill (see S. Con. Res. 15), 7873, 7901.—Examined and signed, 7895, 7909.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public, No. 90], 7919.

H. R. 5724—To incorporate the American Academy of Engineers.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on the Judiciary, 5946.

H. R. 5725—Authorizing the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to transfer to the control of the Secretary of War for the period of the existing war the buildings and property, together with such equipment and supplies as can be spared, of the Southern Branch of the National Home, at Hampton, Va.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 5946.

H. R. 5726—Granting a pension to Winnie Turner.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5727—Granting a pension to Martha J. Gallivan.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5728—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Rogers.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5729—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Freund.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5730—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hertz.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5731—Granting relief to William Nichols.
Mr. French; Committee on Claims, 5946.

H. R. 5732—Granting a pension to Frank W. Godsey.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5733—Granting an increase of pension to Robert M. Dickson.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5734—Granting a pension to Charlotte West.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5735—Granting a pension to George M. Laquey.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5736—Granting a pension to Ellis B. McNeeley.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5737—Granting a pension to John T. Wilson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5738—Granting a pension to Rufus C. Williams.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5739—Granting a pension to David Hartman.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5740—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Hewitt.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5741—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Gregory.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5742—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. Lamb.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5743—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Davis.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5744—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson H. Atkinson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5745—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Boatman.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5746—Granting an increase of pension to Bentley Briant.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5747—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Caldwell.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5748—Granting an increase of pension to William V. Farris.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5749—Granting an increase of pension to John Coats.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5750—Granting an increase of pension to Jabez Goodman.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5751—Granting an increase of pension to William N. Green.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5752—Granting an increase of pension to John L. W. Hicks.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5753—Granting an increase of pension to Winthrop Johnson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5754—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Kilgore.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5755—Granting an increase of pension to William R. McAllister.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5756—Granting an increase of pension to Richard B. V. Nipper.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5757—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Orders.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5758—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Prewett.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5759—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Roads.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5760—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Rust.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5761—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah W. Sorber.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5762—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta C. Stanton.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5763—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Stephens.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5764—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Vervalen.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5765—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Walters.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5766—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Wilkerson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5767—Granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Murry.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5768—Granting an increase of pension to H. A. Rood.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5769—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Gibson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5770—Granting an increase of pension to Landon C. Campbell.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5771—For the relief of James K. P. Welch.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Military Affairs, 5946.

H. R. 5772—For the relief of Reuben Sewell.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Military Affairs, 5946.

H. R. 5773—Granting a pension to Thomas Hamilton.
Mr. Templeton; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5774—Granting an increase of pension to Abiather F. Crane.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5946.

H. R. 5775—Fixing the compensation of United States customs inspectors.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Ways and Means, 6038.

H. R. 5776—For the organization and maintenance of reclamation camps, and to provide funds to defray expenses thereof.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 6038.

H. R. 5777—To refund to the corporate authorities of Frederick City, Md., the sum of $200,000, exacted of them by the Confederate Army under Gen. Jubal Early, July 9, 1864, under penalty of burning said city.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on War Claims, 6038.

H. R. 5778—Granting a pension to George J. Beam.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5779—Granting an increase of pension to John L. B. Breighner.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5780—Granting an increase of pension to Fred Babcock.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5781—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Shields.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5782—Granting a pension to Sarah V. Sweet.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5783—Granting an increase of pension to Roston C. Welch.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5784—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob H. Olmsted.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5785—Granting a pension to John E. Root.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Pensions, 6038.

H. R. 5786—To incorporate the Medical Society of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Foster; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6144.

H. R. 5787—Making it unlawful for any Senator or Representative in Congress, or for the head of any department of the Government, to purchase or own any bond or bonds issued under any act of Congress approved subsequently to Apr. 6, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Morgan; Committee on Ways and Means, 6144.

H. R. 5788—To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of coal, oil, copper, iron, and other metalliferous minerals, timber, and water power.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6144.

H. R. 5789—To increase the pay of all enlisted men of the Army of the United States in active service during present emergency.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 6144.

H. R. 5790—To provide funds for indigent farmers to purchase wheat for fall planting.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Appropriations, 6144.

H. R. 5791—To authorize the coinage of 6-cent pieces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 6144.

H. R. 5792—Providing for temporary relief to defendants in civil suits and proceedings who are actively engaged in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Judiciary, 6144.

H. R. 5793—Authorizing appointment of chaplains at large for the United States Army.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Military Affairs, 6144.

H. R. 5794—For the protection of desert-land entrywomen who enter the services of the Red Cross with the military or naval forces of the United States in the time of war.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 6144.

H. R. 5795—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been entered into the Red Cross work with the military or naval forces of the United States as nurse or assistant in the Red Cross work from performing assessment work during the term of such service in the said Red Cross work.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Mines and Mining, 6144.

H. R. 5796—For the relief of homestead entrywomen or settlers who enter the service in the Red Cross with the military and naval forces of the United States in time of war.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 6144.

H. R. 5797—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Walters.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5798—Granting a pension to Jennette Hamilton.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5799—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Tryon.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5800—Granting an increase of pension to Ella C. Tremble.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5801—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Weaver.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5802—Granting an increase of pension to G. W. Bunyan.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5803—Granting an increase of pension to A. G. Daniels.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5804—Granting an increase of pension to Melissa A. Danley.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5805—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Shanks.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5806—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Thomas.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6144.

H. R. 5807—For the relief of Henry C. Kurtz.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6144.

H. R. 5808—For the relief of Francis M. Watrous.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6144.

H. R. 5809—For the relief of Jamison Cox.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6144.

H. R. 5810—To correct the military record of Robert Zink.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6145.

H. R. 5811—To correct the military record of William H. Gill.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6145.

H. R. 5812—To correct the military record of Clark W. Cottrell.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6145.

H. R. 5813—To correct the military record of Richard Gulliford.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 6145.

H. R. 5814—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Frothingham.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 6145.

H. R. 5815—For the relief of James M. Byrne.
Mr. Sanders of New York; Committee on Military Affairs, 6145.

H. R. 5816—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Smith.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6145.

H. R. 5817—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Linville.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6145.

H. R. 5818—For the relief of Cuyahoga and Hamilton Counties, Ohio, by payment of fees due said counties for the custody of Federal prisoners in the county jail.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Claims, 6223.

H. R. 5819—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Elgin, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Fox River at Elgin.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6223.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 164), 7445.

H. R. 5820—To provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 6223.

H. R. 5821—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Kimball.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6223.

H. R. 5822—Granting a pension to Edward V. Andrews.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Pensions, 6223.

H. R. 5823—For the relief of George H. Finnegan.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on the Public Lands, 6223.

H. R. 5824—To prevent the use interstate by railroad employees in summer time of uniforms intended for winter use.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6339.

H. R. 5825—Regulating the issuance of copyrights, etc., to authors, writers, correspondents, and others who have gained certain information while in the employment of and under pay from the Government.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Patents, 6339.

H. R. 5826—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 6339.

H. R. 5827—Requiring the filing of certain information by associations, societies, leagues, gatherings, or individuals who seek to influence legislation or public opinion by means of propaganda or written communication from their officers, members, or friends.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on the Judiciary, 6339.

H. R. 5828—To give to those now serving on the exemption boards throughout the United States a commission in the United States Reserve Corps without compensation.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Military Affairs, 6339.

H. R. 5829—Forbidding the use of the United States mails to newspapers, magazines, and periodicals published in the language of any country with which the United States is now or may hereafter be at war, or any ally of such country, unless the publisher of the same shall also print parallel columns containing correct English translations.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6339.

H. R. 5830—To extend the franking privilege to soldiers and sailors serving in the Army and Navy during the present war with Germany.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6339.

H. R. 5831—To amend section 5197, Revised Statutes of the United States, regulating the rate of interest which may be charged by national banking associations and providing a penalty for violations.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Banking and Currency, 6339.

H. R. 5832—To prevent opposition to organized government and the unlawful destruction of property, and to provide punishment therefor.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Judiciary, 6340.

H. R. 5833—Granting six months' pay to Ida Cottrell Hodgson, widow of Frederick Grady Hodgson, deceased, colonel, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Military Affairs, 6340.—Reported back (H. Rept. 138), 6774.—Debated and passed House, 7853, 7854, 7902.—Passed Senate, 7896.—Examined and signed, 7909.

H. R. 5834—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Elliott.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6340.

H. R. 5835—Making an appropriation to compensate Samuel Grant for pay, bounty, and clothing pay while in the service of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on War Claims, 6340.

H. R. 5836—Granting an increase of pension to Robert M. Dickson.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6340.

H. R. 5837—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Cooper.
Mr. Templeton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6340.

H. R. 5838—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson D. Madden.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6340.

H. R. 5839—Extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, in Aitkin County, Logan Township, State of Minnesota.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6406.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 146), 7316.—Amended and passed House, 7470, 7471.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7502.—Reported back (S. Rept. 140) and passed Senate, 7605.—Examined and signed, 7706, 7721.—Presented to the President, .—Approved [Public, No. 54], 7918.

H. R. 5840—Granting a pension to Nora V. McDaniel.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6406.

H. R. 5841—Granting a pension to David Pruitt.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6406.

H. R. 5842—For the relief of the estate of Israel Folsom.
Mr. French; Committee on Indian Affairs, 6406.

H. R. 5843—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin L. Wilber.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6406.

H. R. 5844—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo W. Covert.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6406.

H. R. 5845—Granting a pension to Maria Martin Ballou.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 6406.

H. R. 5846—Granting a pension to Margaret Steele.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5847—Granting a pension to Mary F. Barnum.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5848—Granting a pension to Annie M. Easland.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5849—Granting a pension to Melissa C. Lewis.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5850—Granting a pension to Mrs. William Bader.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5851—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison W. Fox.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5852—Granting an increase of pension to Julius O. Deming.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5853—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Conley.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5854—Granting an increase of pension to Domitile Brennison.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5855—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Coakley.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5856—Granting a pension to Elizabeth McGuiness.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5857—Granting a pension to Joseph P. Hamblen.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5858—For the relief of Passed Asst. Paymaster P. M. Lathrop, United States Navy.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Claims, 6407.

H. R. 5859—Granting a pension to Joseph F. Flynn.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5860—Granting a pension to Pearley P. Beal.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5861—Granting a pension to John W. McDonald.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5862—Granting an increase of pension to Lona Boutwell.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6407.

H. R. 5863—To amend act of Aug. 24, 1912, in reference to burial of Confederate veterans in Arlington Cemetery.
Mr. Stedman; Committee on Military Affairs, 6467.

H. R. 5864—To amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, so as to authorize the President to exclude or discharge from the selective draft certain medical students.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Military Affairs, 6467.

H. R. 5865—To amend an act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, approved May 18, 1917.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Military Affairs, 6467.

H. R. 5866—To regulate the sale of dynamite.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 6467.

H. R. 5867—For the purchase of the launch California for the use of the Coast Guard Service at San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Appropriations, 6467.

H. R. 5868—To amend section 5 of the Panama Canal act by authorizing the President, by proclamation, to make and from time to time amend rules for the measurement of the gross and net tonnage of vessels as a basis for tolls which will correspond to and follow similar rules for measurement prevailing at the Suez Canal.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6467.

H. R. 5869—To amend section 1 of an act approved Sept. 18, 1913, entitled "An act providing for the free importation of articles intended for foreign buildings and exhibits at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and for the protection of foreign exhibitors."
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Ways and Means, 6467.

H. R. 5870—To amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes relating to the appointment and salaries of the Supervising Inspector General, supervising inspectors, inspectors of hulls, inspectors of boilers, assistant inspectors of hulls, assistant inspectors of boilers, and clerks in the Steamboat-Inspection Service.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 6467.

H. R. 5871—For the relief of former occupants of the present military reservation of Point San Jose, in the city of San Francisco, and to repeal an act entitled "An act to refer the claim of Jessie Benton Fremont to certain lands and improvements thereon in San Francisco, Cal., to the Court of Claims," approved Feb. 10, 1893.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Public Lands, 6467.

H. R. 5872—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be erected a suitable building or buildings for marine hospital purposes on the present marine hospital site at San Francisco, Cal., and to remove all or any of the present structures on said site.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6467.

H. R. 5873—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6467.

H. R. 5874—To amend section 3716 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Judiciary, 6467.

H. R. 5875—For the erection and equipment of a general hospital on or near the shores of Bristol Bay, Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Territories, 6467.

H. R. 5876—To confer jurisdiction on the district court of the Canal Zone for the naturalization of certain aliens, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 6467.

H. R. 5877—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Coughanour.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5878—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Baird.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5879—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Beavers.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5880—Granting an increase of pension to Louis Glaspel.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5881—Granting a pension to Mary E. Smith.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5882—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie M. Worster.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5883—Granting a pension to Hattie G. Parnell.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5884—Granting a pension to David Mann.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5885—For the relief of Luke Ratigan.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6467.

H. R. 5886—For the relief of Pearl S. O'Neill.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5887—For the relief of H. Liebes & Co.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5888—For the relief of Jacob Meyers.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5889—For the relief of W. P. Fuller & Co.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5890—For the relief of Albert Edgerton Buckman and others
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5891—For the relief of the American Biscuit Co.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5892—For the relief of John Rothchild & Co.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5893—For the relief of Mrs. Francesca G. Montell.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5894—For the relief of Annie Behlendorff.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5895—For the relief of Joseph A. McCarthy.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5896—For the relief of the legal representatives of Owen Thorne, deceased.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5897—For the relief of the Wilmerding-Loewe Co., of San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5898—Granting an increase of pension to Greene B. Caywood.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 6467.

H. R. 5899—For the relief of Sophia Moran.
Mr. McKeown; Committee on Claims, 6467.

H. R. 5900—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet J. Tuttle.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6468.

H. R. 5901—To authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kitchin, from Committee on Ways and Means (H. Rept. 132), 6520, 6521.—Debated, 6570–6592, 6626–6651, 6679–6708 [Appendix, 563].—Amended and passed House, 6707, 6708.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 6718.—Reported back, 7064.—Debated, 7064, 7118–7134, 7169–7181.—Amended and passed Senate, 7181.—Senate asks for a conference, 7181.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 7262, 7263.—Conference appointed, 7181, 7263.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 7271, 7272.—Conference report (No. 156) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 7286–7289.—Examined and signed, 7338, 7360.—Presented to the President, 7360.—Approved [Public, No. 43], 7532.

H. R. 5902—To provide for the registration and drafting into the military service of certain aliens resident or found in the United States, and for the deportation of a portion thereof.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Military Affairs, 6521.

H. R. 5903—To extend to certain aliens the provisions of an act approved May 18, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Porter; Committee on Military Affairs, 6521.

H. R. 5904—Granting an increase of pension to Levi S. Flinchbaugh.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5905—Granting an increase of pension to Esasis Loukluff.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5906—Granting a pension to Martha J. Miller.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5907—Granting an increase of pension to Millard I. Nettleton.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5908—Granting a pension to Otto Henkel.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5909—Granting a pension to Almeda Gillett.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5910—For the relief of Lena R. McCauley.
Mr. Mann; Committee on War Claims, 6521.

H. R. 5911—Granting a pension to Mary E. Martin.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5912—For the relief of Clara Elizabeth Huntington Hatzfeldt.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 6521.

H. R. 5913—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to the McCloud River Club for 40 acres of land in the Sacramento land district, California.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Patents, 6521.—Reference changed to Committee on Public Lands, 6628.

H. R. 5914—Granting a pension to Laura E. Cass.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5915—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Conley.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6521.

H. R. 5916—To exempt certain persons from military service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Military Affairs, 6592.

H. R. 5917—To authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakely Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.
Mr. Kehoe; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6592.

H. R. 5918—To authorize the President to organize provisionally as Field Artillery or Infantry, and to use as Field Artillery or Infantry during the existing emergency, such regiments of Cavalry as he may designate.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 6592.—Reported back (H. Rept. 136), 6714.—Passed House, 7136.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7169.—Reported back (S. Rept. 147), 7769.—Passed Senate, 7816.—Examined and signed, 7869, 7873.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public, No. 89], 7918.

H. R. 5919—Authorizing the President to acquire or construct freight cars for the transportation of coal and other products and commodities, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Bland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6592.

H. R. 5920—Granting a pension to Mary Edna Pierce.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6592.

H. R. 5921—Granting a pension to Martin Guthrie.
Mr. Currie of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6592.

H. R. 5922—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Emery.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6592.

H. R. 5923—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Hornby.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6592.

H. R. 5924—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Sweeney, jr.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 6592.

H. R. 5925—For the relief of H. W. Reddick.
Mr. Kehoe; Committee on War Claims, 6593.

H. R. 5926—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Hadley.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5927—Granting a pension to Eugene F. Boyer.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5928—For the relief of Chester D. Barnes.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on War Claims, 6593.

H. R. 5929—Granting a pension to Bessie Kerr.
Mr. Strong; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5930—Granting an increase of pension to William Stoker.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5931—Granting a pension to Harry Fisher.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5932—Granting an increase of pension to William Briney.
Mr. Welty; Committee on Pensions, 6593.

H. R. 5933—To divide the northern district of the State of California into two judicial districts.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on the Judiciary, 6651.

H. R. 5934—To permit members of the National Soldiers' Home to purchase food supplies from the commissary department of such home for wives and other members of their families dependent on them for support at prices not to exceed 10 per cent above actual cost of such food supplies.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 6651.

H. R. 5935—To prevent the teaching or advocacy of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism under certain conditions, and providing penalty therefor.
Mr. French; Committee on the Judiciary, 6651.

H. R. 5936—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Reed.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6651.

H. R. 5937—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Openshaw.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6651.

H. R. 5938—Granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth Graham.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 6651.

H. R. 5939—Granting an increase of pension to Agnes C. Cissel.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5940—Granting a pension to Matilda J. Haines.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5941—Granting a pension to Benjamin Brown.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5942—Granting a pension to Nellie Collier.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5943—Granting a pension to Catherine B. McDonnell.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5944—Restoring to the pension roll the name of Catherine B. Casey, now Catherine B. McDonnell.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5945—Granting a pension to George W. Beck.
Mr. Robbins; Committee on Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5946—Granting an increase of pension to David Compton.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6652.

H. R. 5947—To prevent discrimination by the Secretary of War or other military authority of the United States against the organization, establishment, and existence of church, fraternal, or secret-order organizations, at and on the grounds of forts, garrisons, and military camps of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Larsen; Committee on Military Affairs, 6714.

H. R. 5948—To provide for the erection of an armory in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6714.

H. R. 5949—Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 137), 6708, 6714.—Debated, 7137–7167, 7181–7207, 7218–7242, 7244–7262.—Amended and passed House, 7262.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 7277.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 134), 7353.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7389–7416.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 7461.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 7501, 7502.—Conference appointed, 7461, 7502.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 7708–7710.—Conference report (No. 186) made in House, 7733, 7775.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 7774–7785.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 64], 7918.

H. R. 5950—Granting an increase of pension to Willis Elben.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5951—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Combs.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5952—Granting a pension to Anna M. Edwards.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5953—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie A. Purnell.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5954—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Foster.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5955—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Luch.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5956—To permit the reenlistment of O. G. Paquet and D. F. Reed in the United States Army.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 6714.

H. R. 5957—Granting a pension to Julius A. Fuhrman.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5958—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Stott.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5959—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel O. C. Marine.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714

H. R. 5960—Granting an increase of pension to Robert A. Love.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714

H. R. 5961—Granting an increase of pension to Mansfield Felton.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5962—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Endsley.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5963—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse O'Banion.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5964—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis C. Lillard.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5965—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua Priest.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5966—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver N. Mowrer.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5967—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel U. Powell.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5968—Granting an increase of pension to Peter F. O'Brien.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5969—Granting an increase of pension to John Murphy.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5970—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Tiffany.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5971—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Ballard.
Mr. Little; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5972—To correct the military record of Daniel R. Ritchie.
Mr. Little; Committee on Military Affairs, 6714.

H. R. 5973—For the relief of former Collector of Internal Revenue John Z. Lowe, jr.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 6714.

H. R. 5974—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Messing.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6714.

H. R. 5975—To provide for the promotion of physical culture, to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of physical culture, and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Education, 6774.

H. R. 5976—To regulate solicitation of funds for war aid and war charity.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Education, 6774.

H. R. 5977—Granting an increase of pension to Richard H. Stinemates.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5978—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Waters.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5979—Granting a pension to Ray H. Schumaker.
Mr. Foss; Committee on Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5980—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine Brown.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5981—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Rawley.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5982—Granting an increase of pension to Johnson Schenck.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5983—Granting a pension to Mary Boyd.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5984—For the relief of James Hayden.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Claims, 6774.

H. R. 5985—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth Evelyn Martin Thomas.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5986—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Woods.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5987—Granting a pension to Florence Louisa Fair.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 6774.

H. R. 5988—Giving rank, pay, and allowance to district superintendents of the United States Coast Guard.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Military Affairs, 6836.

H. R. 5989—To grant certain lands to the town of Olathe, Colo., for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 6836.

H. R. 5990—Granting an increase of pension to Addison Blaine.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6836.

H. R. 5991—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Hart.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6836.

H. R. 5992—Granting a pension to Elbert M. Lewis.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 6836.

H. R. 5993—To establish a fish-hatching and fish-culture station at a point in or near the city of Biloxi, in the State of Mississippi.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 6930.

H. R. 5994—To require street railways carrying passengers in their cars within the District of Columbia to provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races, and to prescribe punishments and penalties for violating its provisions.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6930.

H. R. 5995—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Columbia, Marion County, Miss.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6930.

H. R. 5996—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Bay St. Louis, Hancock County, Miss.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6930.

H. R. 5997—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Pascagoula, Jackson County, Miss.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6930.

H. R. 5998—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Jackson County, Miss., one bronze cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 6930.

H. R. 5999—For the establishment of Gulfport, Miss., as a port of entry and delivery for immediate transportation without appraisement of dutiable merchandise.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Ways and Means, 6930.

H. R. 6000—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Gulf Coast Military Academy two bronze cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 6930.

H. R. 6001—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Mississippi Woman's College at Hattiesburg, Miss., two bronze cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 6930.

H. R. 6002—To amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes, being "An act to provide for the preference of persons disabled in the military or naval service in civil-service appointments."
Mr. Francis; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 6930.

H. R. 6003—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River about one-half mile north of the town of Marked Tree, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6930.

H. R. 6004—Granting an increase of pension to Pearl P. Ingalls.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6005—To provide posthumous promotion to First Lieut. William T. Fitzimmons.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Military Affairs, 6930.

H. R. 6006—Granting a pension to Rufus R. Ford.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6007—Granting a pension to Georgia Gentry.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6008—To reimburse Gaston R. Poitevin for property lost by him while assistant lightkeeper at East Pascagoula River (Miss.) Light Station, as recommended by the Lighthouse Board.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 6930.

H. R. 6009—For the relief of J. L. Bonner.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on the Public Lands, 6930.

H. R. 6010—For the relief of the heirs or legal representative of Charls Johnsson and Kate Johnsson.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 6930.

H. R. 6011—For the relief of the heirs or legal representatives of Charls Johnsson and Kate Johnsson.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 6930.

H. R. 6012—For the relief of N. Ferro.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 6930.

H. R. 6013—Granting a pension to Mary A. Clark.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6014—Granting a pension to William J. Shannon.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6015—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Cooper.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6016—Granting an increase of pension to Jerel Carver.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6017—For the relief of William Guy.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Claims, 6930.

H. R. 6018—Granting an increase of pension to George Coppins.
Mr. Voigt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6930.

H. R. 6019—To credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the acts of Congress approved, respectively, July 1, 1862; Mar. 7, 1864; July 13, 1866; and Mar. 2, 1867.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on War Claims, 6989.

H. R. 6020—Conferring police powers on all conductors and motormen on all electric and other railways in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6989.

H. R. 6021—To revive and amend an act to provide for the collection of abandoned property and the prevention of frauds in insurrectionary districts within the United States and acts amendatory thereof.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 6989.

H. R. 6022—To prohibit the payment of any compensation by way of salary, expense account, or otherwise to any person who has volunteered, or may volunteer, to donate his or her services in any civil capacity to the Government of the United States, and to punish violations thereof.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 6989.

H. R. 6023—To prevent heads of departments of the United States Government, and all other Federal officials, issuing any order or promulgating any rule which tends in any way to prohibit Government employees petitioning the Congress with relation to any matter relating to the public service, and prescribing penalties for its violation.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 6989.

H. R. 6024—To authorize the Secretary of War to employ such portion of the appropriations made for the transportation of the Army and its supplies as in his judgment may be necessary to defray the expenses incurred by officers and enlisted men of foreign armies attached to the Army of the United States.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 6989.

H. R. 6025—To extend the franking privilege to literature published by boards of health of States and Territories in the United States.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6989.

H. R. 6026—To prevent the employment of aliens and naturalized citizens in certain cases and to prescribe punishment for its violation.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 6989.

H. R. 6027—To provide for the purchase of a site upon which to erect a post-office building in the city of Starke, Fla.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6989.

H. R. 6028—To extend to the veterans of the several Seminole Indian wars and to the widows of veterans of the several Seminole Indian wars the benefits of the act of Congress of Feb. 6, 1907, and acts amendatory thereof.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6029—Granting pensions to the soldiers of the different Seminole Indian wars and their widows.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6030—For the relief of the State of Florida.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on War Claims, 6989.

H. R. 6031—To prohibit the intermarriage of persons of the white and negro races within the District of Columbia; to declare such contracts of marriage null and void; to prescribe punishments for violations and attempts to violate its provisions.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6989.

H. R. 6032—To provide for the erection of a public building at Lake City, in the State of Florida.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6989.

H. R. 6033—To provide for universal transfers on all street railway companies, herdic companies, and all other passenger transportation lines within the District of Columbia, and to prescribe penalties and punishments for violating its provisions.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6989.

H. R. 6034—Granting a pension to William H. Williams.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6035—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ann Stapleton.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6036—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Winfield.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6037—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Bowen.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6038—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Columbia, Marion County, Miss.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6989.

H. R. 6039—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Brown.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6040—Granting an increase of pension to Hubert W. Wilson.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6041—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Simpson.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6042—Granting an increase of pension to David F. Pierce.
Mr. White of Maine; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6043—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Martin.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6989.

H. R. 6044—To authorize the appointment of registered pharmacists first and second lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Army and the Medical Officers' Reserve Corps.
Mr. Harrison of Virginia; Committee on Military Affairs, 7063.

H. R. 6045—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across Little River, in Poinsett County, Ark., at or near the section line between sections 35 and 36, township 11 north, range 6 east.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7063.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 158), 7386.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2938), 7806.

H. R. 6046—To amend section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Steele; Committee on the Judiciary, 7063.

H. R. 6047—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Carpenter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7063.

H. R. 6048—Granting an increase of pension to Dennis W. Riordan.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7063.

H. R. 6049—Granting an increase of pension to Susan T. Lisk.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6050—Granting a pension to C. F. Dugas.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6051—Granting an increase of pension to David Hunter, jr.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6052—For the relief of I. N. Ellis.
Mr. Quin; Committee on the Public Lands, 7064.

H. R. 6053—Granting a pension to Elizabeth S. Foster.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6054—Granting a pension to Louis A. Holonbek.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6055—Granting an increase of pension to John Hodges.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 7064.

H. R. 6056—To pay to Bernice L. Blair the sum of $12,470, with interest.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on War Claims, 7064.

H. R. 6057—To provide for the exemption of certain persons from compulsory military service.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Military Affairs, 7105.

H. R. 6058—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Beer.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6059—Granting a pension to Noah P. Janes.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6060—To correct and complete the military record of Anderson G. Pittman.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Military Affairs, 7106.

H. R. 6061—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Markley.
Mr. Elliott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6062—Granting a pension to Bertha Smith.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6063—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Harrell.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6064—Granting a pension to Reuben I. Seibert.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7106.

H. R. 6065—For the relief of Passed Assistant Paymaster P. T. M. Lathrop, United States Navy.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Claims, 7106.

H. R. 6066—To establish the Mount Baker National Park in the State of Washington.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on the Public Lands, 7168.

H. R. 6067—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Smith.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6068—To remove the charge of desertion standing against the record of Stephen McKenzie.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Military Affairs, 7168.

H. R. 6069—To correct the military record of Lauritz S. Rasmusson.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Military Affairs, 7168.

H. R. 6070—For the relief of William J. Rosselot.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Claims, 7168.

H. R. 6071—For the relief of Bruce J. Syarse.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Claims, 7168.

H. R. 6072—Granting a pension to Jacob Herpin.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6073—Granting a pension to John H. Wagner.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6074—Granting a pension to Sarah L. Truck.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6075—Granting a pension to Marie M. Meyer.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6076—Granting a pension to Kate Orba Larrabee.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6077—Granting a pension to Susan C. Johnson.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6078—Granting a pension to Edward Dzengolewski.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6079—Granting a pension to Ezekial P. Clayton.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6080—Granting a pension to Violet Dauphin.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6081—Granting an increase of pension to Byron Truesdell.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6082—Granting an increase of pension to La Fayette Barnes.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6083—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Burrows.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6084—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Coleman.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6085—Granting an increase of pension to Clark K. Denny.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6086—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Ferguson.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6087—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Grove.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6088—Granting an increase of pension to Lytle McCracken.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6089—Granting an increase of pension to William Neely.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6090—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Rogers.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6091—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta N. Rose.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6092—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Sugg.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7168.

H. R. 6093—For the relief of Jacob W. Moyer.
Mr. Steele; Committee on Military Affairs, 7168.

H. R. 6094—Amending the act to increase the limit of the cost of certain public buildings, etc.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7209.—Reported back (H. Rept. 154), 7317.—Debated and passed House, 7533, 7534, 7655, 7656.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7707.—Reported back and passed Senate, 7767.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 72], 7918.

H. R. 6095—Granting a pension to Esther A. Weeks.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6096—Granting a pension to Sanford T. Chapman.
Mr. Fairfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6097—Granting an increase of pension to Elbridge H. Benham.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7209.

H. R 6098—For the relief of John Marks.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7209.

H. R. 6099—Granting a pension to Ellen A. Cardenas.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6100—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Lloyd.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6101—To correct the military record of the late Allen M. Stratton.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Military Affairs, 7209.

H. R. 6102—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Wood.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6103—Granting a pension to Joseph C. Betancue.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6104—Granting a pension to George E. Lawrence.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6105—Granting a pension to Charles W. Anderson.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Pensions, 7209.

H. R. 6106—Establishing a marketing system for the purpose of facilitating the distribution of farm products and the promoting of the economic distribution and sale of the same.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on Agriculture, 7243.

H. R. 6107—To regulate the interstate use of automobiles and all self-propelled vehicles which use the public highways in interstate commerce.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7243.

H. R. 6108—To increase the amount of the clothing allowance in the case of enlisted men of the Navy on first enlistment.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7243.

H. R. 6109—Providing certain regulations in respect to the circulation through the United States mails and otherwise of newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and other printed matter published in the language of any country with which the United States is now or may hereafter be at war, or any ally of such country.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7243.

H. R. 6110—To extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 7264.

H. R. 6111—To appropriate $1,380,000 to pay for advertising liberty-loan bonds.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Ways and Means, 7264.

H. R. 6112—For the relief of St. Ludgers Catholic Church at Germantown, Henry County, Mo.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on War Claims, 7264.

H. R. 6113—Granting a pension to Myrtle M. Dunham.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6114—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Dunkley.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6115—Granting a pension to George Hayman.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6116—Granting a pension to William H. Heller.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6117—Granting a pension to Harriet A. Porter.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6118—Granting a pension to William A. Keating.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6119—Granting a pension to Milton L. Stover.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6120—Granting a pension to William S. Head.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6121—Granting a pension to Laura Wachtel.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6122—Granting a pension to Joseph B. Ohr.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6123—Granting a pension to William Shafer.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6124—Granting a pension to James Skelton.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6125—Granting a pension to Wesley Cox Adkins.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6126—Granting a pension to Cevilla Wise.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6127—Granting a pension to Lucy Wells.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6128—Granting a pension to Charles W. Van Scoyk.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6129—Granting a pension to William S. Smith.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6130—Granting a pension to Fred C. Sawin.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6131—Granting a pension to Robert B. Smith.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6132—Granting a pension to Frank Robertson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6133—Granting a pension to Jessie Parsons.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6134—Granting a pension to Patrick H. Madigan.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6135—Granting a pension to John Lambertson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6136—Granting a pension to James F. Kelley.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6137—Granting a pension to Paul Kroll.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6138—Granting a pension to Peter J. Huber.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6139—Granting a pension to Ida M. Hammon.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6140—Granting a pension to Fred Hoppe.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6141—Granting a pension to George W. Johnson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6142—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Light.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6143—Granting an increase of pension to Richard W. Webb.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6144—Granting an increase of pension to Edward E. Curran.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6145—Granting an increase of pension to Marion S. Day.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6146—Granting an increase of pension to James Mossey.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6147—Granting an increase of pension to Chauncey W. Young.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6148—Granting an increase of pension to John Golden.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6149—Granting an increase of pension to Obadiah Stines.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6150—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Ross.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6151—Granting an increase of pension to Walter E. Hantch.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6152—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Hanley.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6153—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Mullin.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6154—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Webster.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6155—Granting a pension to Albert T. Staight.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6156—Granting a pension to Isaac H. Richey.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6157—Granting a pension to Annie O'Neil.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6158—Granting an increase of pension to Lionelle Gottschall.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 7264.

H. R. 6159—For the relief of Samuel B. Faulkner.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6160—For the relief of Jacob Ehla, alias Jacob Eby, alias John Ihle.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6161—For the relief of William Martin.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6162—For the relief of James H. Tucker.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6163—For the relief of Garrett M. Martin.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6164—For the relief of Allen Moore.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6165—For the relief of John M. V. Dutton.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6166—For the relief of Herman Wagner, alias Henry Burnett.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6167—For the relief of William L. Spivey.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6168—For the relief of Michael Ryan.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6169—For the relief of Dock Leach.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6170—For the relief of James Kane.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 7265.

H. R. 6171—For the relief of Edward C. McGonigal.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Claims, 7265.

H. R. 6172—For the relief of Perry E. Borchers because of losses suffered, due to destruction of property and termination of contract for services because of smallpox, while in the employ of the Navy Department in Cuba.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Claims, 7265.

H. R. 6173—Granting a pension to Mary E. Mincer.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7265.

H. R. 6174—Granting a pension to Stephen Hill.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 7265.

H. R. 6175—Giving the United States Shipping Board power to suspend present provisions of law and permit vessels of foreign registry and foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under act of Aug. 18, 1914, to engage in the coastwise trade during the present war and for a period of 120 days thereafter, except the coastwise trade with Alaska.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7317.—Reported back (H. Rept. 162), 7386.—Debated, 7428, 7429, 7458, 7471–7489.—Passed House, 7489.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7502.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 7811, 7812.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 73], 7918.

H. R. 6176—To authorize the city of Fairmont to construct and operate a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near the city of Fairmont, in the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7317.

H. R. 6177—To amend certain sections of an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Vestal; Committee on Military Affairs, 7317.

H. R. 6178—To regulate the sale of unstemmed leaf tobacco in the hand.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Ways and Means, 7317.

H. R. 6179—Providing that forfeiture provisions of land laws shall not apply in the case of persons in the military or naval service during the present war.
Mr. Mays; Committee on the Public Lands, 7317.

H. R. 6180—To amend the laws relating to the denominations of circulating notes by national banks, and to permit the issuance of notes of small denominations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7317.—Reported back (H. Rept., 169), 7489.—Debated, 7669, 7670.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2922), 7670.

H. R. 6181—For the retirement of employees in the classified service of the United States Government.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 7317.

H. R. 6182—To suspend the operation of the civil-service law during the existence of the war between the United States and Germany.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 7317.

H. R. 6183—To repeal the age limit in civil-service examinations.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 7317.

H. R. 6184—For the benefit of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 7317.

H. R. 6185—To erect a statue of Jefferson Davis in the Jefferson Davis Home Park, at Fairview, Ky.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on the Library, 7317.

H. R. 6186—To fix and establish a legal or standard crate and a legal or standard basket for tomatoes.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7317.

H. R. 6187—To authorize the drafting of aliens domiciled or resident in this country by foreign nations or the United States.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 7317.

H. R. 6188—Making an appropriation for the control and eradication of tuberculosis in live stock.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Agriculture, 7317.

H. R. 6189—To increase the limit of cost for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Moultrie, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7317.

H. R. 6190—Relating to the limitation of hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed in lumber and woodworking industries whose products enter into interstate commerce.
Mr. French; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7317.

H. R. 6191—Granting an increase of pension to John McComas.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6192—Granting a pension to Mrs. Thomas H. Loyd.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6193—Granting an increase of pension to Seymour Stiles.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6194—Granting an increase of pension to Burton Parker.
Mr. Bacon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6195—Granting an increase of pension to Earle F. Chase.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6196—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis W. Carlisle.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6197—Granting a pension to Daniel O'Brien.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6198—Granting a pension to Charles Bruder.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6199—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Donaghy.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6200—Granting an increase of pension to John William Cox.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6201—Granting six months' pay to Fanny L. Appleby, mother of Robert Appleby, deceased, who served in the Eighth Regiment Ohio Infantry, National Guard, border defense.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 7317.

H. R. 6202—Granting a pension to Daniel Stewart.
Mr. Roberts; Committee on Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6203—For the relief of J. N. Lummus and C. L. Huddleston.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Claims, 7317.

H. R. 6204—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Mardis.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7317.

H. R. 6205—Granting an increase of pension to George Saunders.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6206—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Dir.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6207—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Winans.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6208—Granting a pension to Cleveland Shive.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6209—Granting a pension to Samuel R. Smith.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6210—Granting a pension to Carrie A. Stillions.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6211—Granting a pension to Americus Watt.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6212—Granting a pension to Rosco Wilkins.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6213—Granting a pension to Filen Whalin.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6214—Granting a pension to Smith Webb.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6215—Granting a pension to George M. Cooper.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6216—Granting a pension to Frederick Ballor.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6217—Granting a pension to Oliver Freeman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6218—Granting a pension to Ulysus G. Hunt.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6219—Granting a pension to John M. Judd.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6220—Granting a pension to Decatur D. Kinser.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6221—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Lewis.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6222—Granting a pension to Trigg Lewis.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6223—Granting a pension to Daniel B. Norris.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6224—Granting a pension to William Raymer.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6225—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Tally.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6226—Granting a pension to William W. Cravens.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6227—Granting a pension to Margaret Ann Carr.
Mr. Thmaos; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6228—Granting a pension to Samuel Burgess.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6229—Granting a pension to Ward Houchin.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6230—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Hiser.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6231—Granting a pension to Edith A. Hill.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6232—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Hazel.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6233—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Hampton.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6234—Granting a pension to Angeline E. Nourse.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6235—Granting a pension to Henry C. Neal.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6236—Granting a pension to John H. Perry.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6237—Granting a pension to Amanda Riley, formerly Amanda Carter.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6238—Granting an increase of pension to Percy H. Allen.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6239—Granting an increase of pension to A. G. Long.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6240—Granting an increase of pension to Frank R. Porter.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6241—Granting an increase of pension to James Vaughn.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6242—Granting an increase of pension to Robert B. Woods.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6243—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Weaver.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6244—Granting an increase of pension to Johnathan C. Huffman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6245—Granting an increase of pension to King A. Bowman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6246—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Bell.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6247—Granting an increase of pension to C. M. Brown.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6248—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Austin.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6249—Granting an increase of pension to J. W. Grubb.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6250—Granting an increase of pension to John W. B. Huntsman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6251—Granting an increase of pension to William Jessee.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6252—Granting an increase of pension to Abner J. Johnson.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6253—Granting an increase of pension to Richard H. Kirby.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6254—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac T. Lee.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6255—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Mahan.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6256—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Morgan.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6257—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Murray.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6258—Granting an increase of pension to P. T. Martin.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6259—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Phelps.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6260—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Spillman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7318.

H. R. 6261—For the relief of Kate Oakes Smith.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6262—For the relief of George M. Smith.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6263—For the relief of Joseph Woosley.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6264—For the relief of P. W. Whitlow.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6265—For the relief of W. S. Dickinson.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6266—For the relief of Fielding M. Chelf.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6267—For the relief of J. D. Campfield.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6268—For the relief of R. P. Breeding.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6269—For the relief of Sallie J. Broady.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6270—For the relief of Francis M. Decker.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6271—For the relief of James R. Evans.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6272—For the relief of Samuel A. Jones.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6273—For the relief of E. F. Miles.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6274—For the relief of Josiah Morris.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6275—For the relief of J. M. Phelps.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6276—For the relief of Benjamin F. Proctor.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6277—For the relief of Morton B. W. Camp.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6278—For the relief of Mrs. Repsay Rowan.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6279—For the relief of David Speakman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6280—For the relief of W. H. Denham.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7318.

H. R. 6281—For the relief of the heirs of John C. Browder.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7318.

H. R. 6282—For the relief of the Tolle Tobacco Co.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6283—For the relief of the heirs of Wilson Ryan.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6284—For the relief of the heirs of Zachariah Thomas.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6285—For the relief of the heirs of Phlegmon W. Willis.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6286—For the relief of the heirs of George Wright.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6287—For the relief of the heirs of Edmund P. Lee.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6288—For the relief of the estate of Mrs. O. F. Moore, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7318.

H. R. 6289—For the relief of the estate of Rev. James Breeding, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7319.

H. R. 6290—For the relief of the estate of Tabitha Dickey, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7319.

H. R. 6291—Appropriating $300 to the heirs of Howard Newman, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7319.

H. R. 6292—Appropriating $4,500 to the heirs of Campbell Glover, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7319.

H. R. 6293—For the relief of the county court of Allen County, Ky.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 7319.

H. R. 6294—To correct the military record of James Mesker.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6295—To correct the military record of J. A. London.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6296—To correct the military record and provide for the granting of pensions to survivors of certain battalions of Kentucky Militia.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7319.

H. R. 6297—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of G. W. Lovell.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6298—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John H. Winkfield.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6299—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Robert N. Stewart, and to grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6300—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James Westbrook, sr.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6301—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of T. J. Caskey.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6302—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of J. C. Dukes.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6303—Granting an increase of pension to Perley M. Cummings.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7319.

H. R. 6304—For the relief of Ellen McNamara.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7319.

H. R. 6305—For the further relief of soldiers of the Civil War pensioned for wounds or injuries received in line of duty.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6306—To provide for the payment of six months' gratuity to the widow, children, or other previously designated dependent relative of retired officers or enlisted men on active duty.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7386.—Reported back (H. Rept. 175), 7604.—Debated and passed House, 7656, 7657.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7707.—Reference changed to Committee on Naval Affairs, 7769.—Reported back, 7769.—Debated and passed Senate, 7815.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 74], 7918.

H. R. 6307—To authorize the drafting of aliens domiciled or resident in the United States by the countries of which they may be citizens or subjects or by the United States.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 7386.

H. R. 6308—To prevent interstate commerce in timber products upon which labor has been permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7386.

H. R. 6309—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Mansfield; Committee on Military Affairs, 7386.

H. R. 6310—Granting the consent of Congress to the Trumbull Steel Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce 7386.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 174), 7604.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7668, 7669.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 7707.—Reported back; passed Senate, 7701.—Examined and signed, 7829, 7841.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 75], 7918.

H. R. 6311—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Beasley.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6312—Granting a pension to Lebbeus H. Brockway.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6313—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Harris.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6314—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Cramer.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6315—Granting a pension to William Washburn.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6316—Granting a pension to Wayne L. Dickey.
Mr. Kraus; Committee on Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6317—Granting a pension to Joseph C. Whittington.
Mr. Osborne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7386.

H. R. 6318—For the relief of Antranik Aprahamian.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 7386.

H. R. 6319—To provide for the construction of a road across Point Grenville on the Quiniault Reservation, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7445.

H. R. 6320—Authorizing appointment of chaplains for the United States Army.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Military Affairs, 7445.

H. R. 6321—Granting the consent of Congress to the Gainesville Red River Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across Red River.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7445.

H. R. 6322—Granting a pension to Anna B. Evans.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7445.

H. R. 6323—Granting a pension to Frances Watches.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7445.

H. R. 6324—Granting a pension to Rev. George W. Craig.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Pensions, 7445.

H. R. 6325—Granting a pension to Nicholas Hammersmith.
Mr. Snyder; Committee on Pensions, 7445.

H. R. 6326—Granting a pension to Anna Kennedy.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 7445.

H. R. 6327—For the relief of Anna Kennedy.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7445.

H. H. 6328—To provide for the purchase of additional land for the enlargement of the site of the public building at Stamford, Conn.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7445.

H. R. 6329—To amend sections 24 and 256 of the Judicial Code, relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any State.
Mr. Gard; Committee on the Judiciary, 7460.

H. R. 6330—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Banking and Currency, 7460.

H. R. 6331—To amend section 3 of the act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved Dec. 29, 1916.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 7460.

H. R. 6332—To direct the Secretary of the Treasury to call upon such States as received money from the Federal Government under the terms of the act of June 23, 1836, for the repayment of the same as provided in said act.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Judiciary, 7460.

H. R. 6333—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved Dec. 29, 1916.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 7460.

H. R. 6334—Authorizing men in the military and naval service of the United States to make certain affidavits required by the land laws before their commanding officers.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 7460.

H. R. 6335—Granting a pension to Huldah Bone.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6336—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Marshall.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6337—Granting an increase of pension to Robert B. Whinery.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6338—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Sabine.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6339—Granting an increase of pension to George Williams.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6340—Granting a pension to Leo A. Kelly.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6341—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Smith.
Mr. Fuller of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6342—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enroll Isabell Richter, née Bell Cook, and her son, Charles H. Richter, as Cherokee Indians.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7460.

H. R. 6343—Authorizing the President to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint John B. H. Waring, late a captain in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, a major in the Medical Corps on the retired list, and increasing the retired list by one for the purposes of this act.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Military Affairs, 7460.

H. R. 6344—Granting an increase of pension to Beverly M. Stanton.
Mr. Waldow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7460.

H. R. 6345—To authorize certain military officers to take affidavits, testimony, and acknowledgments of the execution of deeds, and other instruments of writing, of persons in the military service of the United States.
Mr. Strong; Committee on the Judiciary, 7489.

H. R. 6346—To aid our Government by producing foodstuffs and to aid farmers and give employment to the unemployed and encourage agriculture.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Agriculture; 7489.

H. R. 6347—To amend the naturalization laws.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 7489.

H. R. 6348—To provide a preliminiary survey of the Kootenai River, in Idaho, and its several forks and tributaries, together with drainage area, with a view to the control of its floods.
Mr. French; Committee on Flood Control, 7489.

H. R. 6349—To provide a preliminary survey of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers and Coeur d'Alene Lake and their several forks and tributaries in Idaho with a view to flood control.
Mr. French; Committee on Flood Control, 7489.

H. R. 6350—To authorize the issuance of Reserve Corps and National Army commissions in the lower grades of staff corps, and to remove the fixed age limits requiring the discharge of Reserve Corps officers.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 7490.—Reported back (H. Rept. 179), 7604.—Debated and passed House, 7669.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 7707.—Reported back (S. Rept. 148), 7769.—Passed Senate, 7816.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 76], 7918.

H. R. 6351—For the relief of the owner of the steamer Mayflower and for the relief of passengers on board said steamer.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on the Judiciary, 7490.

H. R. 6352—Granting an increase of pension to Martha F. James.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6353—For the relief of James Strachan.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 7490.

H. R. 6354—For the relief of Noah Cox.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Military Affairs, 7490.

H. R. 6355—Granting a pension to Lillie I. Davis.
Mr. Hood; Committee on Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6356—Granting a pension to Robert Leigh Morris.
Mr. Foss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6357—Granting a pension to Frances A. Griffith.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6358—Granting a pension to J. F. P. Gentil.
Mr. Curry of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6359—Granting an increase of pension to Jordan Johnson.
Mr. Brodbeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7409.

H. R. 6360—Granting a pension to Mary Lee Jeter.
Mr. Almon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7490.

H. R. 6361—To extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 7544.—Reported back (H. Rept. 181), 7680.—Debated, 7730–7733, 7787–7806.—Amended and passed House, 7806.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 7826.

H. R. 6362—To promote the efficiency of the United States Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7544.—Reported back (H. Rept. 178), 7604.—Debated and passed House, 7657, 7658.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 7707.—Reported back, 7769.—Debated and passed Senate, 7815.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 77], 7918.

H. R. 6363—To provide for the service of officers of auxiliary naval forces on naval courts.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 7544.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 176), 7604.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 7657.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 7707.—Reported back, 7769.—Passed Senate, 7815, 7816.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.—Approved [Public, No. 78], 7918.

H. R. 6364—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Agriculture, 7544.

H. R. 6365—Granting an increase of pension to Charles J. Edington.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6366—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Bell.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6367—Granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Weddel.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6368—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Jackson.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6369—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Buchanan.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6370—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Fredenburg.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6371—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Hedrick.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6372—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Hall.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6373—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Ward.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6374—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Willman.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6375—Granting an increase of pension to Henry B. Tonnemacker.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6376—Granting an increase of pension to William Seal.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6377—Granting an increase of pension to Laura McWilliams.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6378—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. McPherson.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7544.

H. R. 6379—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Amos.
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H. R. 6385—For the relief of Kenneth S. Cook, storekeeper, second class, United States Navy.
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H. R. 6386—Granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across the Arkansas River between the cities of Little Rock and Argenta.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7544.—Reported back (H. Rept. 187), 7809.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2937), 7845.

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Mr. Sears; Committee on Education, 7604.

H. R. 6388—To fix the status and rank of officers on the retired list of the Army who, under the provision of the next to the last proviso of section 24 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, have been placed on active military duty by direction of the President of the United States.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Military Affairs, 7604.

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H. R. 6410—To provide for the entrance into the civil service of veterans of the war with Germany.
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H. R. 6412—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of El Paso, Tex., to construct a bridge across the Rio Grande River, within or near the city limits of El Paso, Tex., such construction to be made with the consent and cooperation of the Republic of Mexico.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7680.—Reported back (H. Rept. 190), 7809.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2947), 7856.

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Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7735.

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Mr. Riordan; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 7735.

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Mr. Bland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7735.

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Mr. Bland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7735.

H. R. 6425—Granting a pension to William Alligee.
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H. R. 6426—Granting a pension to Virgil O. Adams.
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H. R. 6441—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Whipple.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7735.

H. R. 6442—Granting a pension to Martha A. Curtis.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Pensions, 7735.

H. R. 6443—For the relief of John Bray.
Mr. Templeton; Committee on Military Affairs, 7735.

H. R. 6444—To provide for the purchase of Monticello, former home of Thomas Jefferson, in Albemarle County, in the State of Virginia, and the lands surrounding the same; to provide the purchase price therefor; to authorize the Secretary of War to establish upon the same a convalescent hospital for the soldiers and sailors of the existing war; and to further provide that the same shall be utilized as a national park, to be known as Monticello, after the termination of the existing emergency; and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 7809.

H. R. 6445—To establish a National Conservatory of Music and Art for the education of advanced pupils in music in all its branches, vocal and instrumental, as well as painting, drawing, and etching.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Education, 7809.

H. R. 6446—To authorize and empower Old River irrigation district, of Chambers County, of the State of Texas, to construct a lock and dam in Old River, in the State of Texas, and make improvements enabling the passage of fresh water from a portion of Trinity River above the mouth of Old River into Old River above such lock and dam.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7809.

H. R. 6447—To provide and award honor medals and other tokens for valor and for distinguished services to the United States.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 7809.

H. R. 6448—To amend an act providing for the withdrawal from public entry of lands needed for town sites in connection with irrigation projects.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 7809.

H. R. 6449—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Anderson.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

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Mr. Bacharach; Committee on War Claims, 7809.

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H. R. 6463—Granting a pension to Rebecca Roszell.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

H. R. 6464—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Eppelsheimer.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Pensions, 7809.

H. R. 6465—Granting an increase of pension to James Harris.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

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Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

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H. R. 6468—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Apel.
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Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

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Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7809.

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Mr. Weaver; Committee on Pensions, 7809.

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Mr. Cordova-Davila; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 7872.

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Mr. Mason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7872.

H. R. 6483—To provide additional terminal facilities in square east of 710 and squares 712 and 713 for freight traffic.
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H. J. Res. 24—Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 129.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1), 299.—Debated, 263–265, 306.—S. J. Res. No. 1 substituted, 306–413.

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H. J. Res. 28—Providing for the purchase of the home of Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, Va.
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Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 302.

H. J. Res. 37—To prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Ways and Means, 302.

H. J. Res. 38—To present suitable medals to officials of the fire department of the greater city of New York, and through them to the officers and crews of fire boats of said department, for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them in rescuing lives and salvaging property at the explosion and fire at Black Tom Pier, Jersey City, N. J., July 30, 1916.
Mr. Swift; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 302.

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H. J. Res. 42—To permit the naturalization of aliens of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian birth whose applications for final papers of citizenship were approved by the Bureau of Naturalization, Department of Labor, and were filed with the clerks of the courts having jurisdiction in matters of the naturalization of aliens prior to the 6th day of April, 1917.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 504.

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Mr. Doolittle; Committee on the Judiciary, 611.

M. J. Res. 50—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
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Mr. Cary; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.—Debated [Appendix, 137, 138.]

H. J. Res. 52—Directing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to procure and use proper means of refrigeration or other methods of preserving perishable food supplies.
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H. J. Res. 53—Repealing in part the act approved Mar. 3, 1917, making appropriation for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 695.

H. J. Res. 54—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept assignment of patent for improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Patents, 695.

H. J. Res. 55—Proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States to authorize uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce and to provide penalties for enforcement.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Judiciary, 735.

H. J. Res. 56—To authorize and direct the engineer of highways of the District of Columbia to take over and perform all the authority and duties of the Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the Judiciary, 735.

H. J. Res. 57—To authorize the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives to continue the investigation of the Indian Service.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Rules, 824.

H. J. Res. 58—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire by purchase the estate known as Monticello, in the State of Virginia, including the former home of Thomas Jefferson and lands surrounding the same, being about 700 acres, said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Davis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 824.

H. J. Res. 59—Making the 19th of April an annual national holiday.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on the Judiciary, 824.

H. J. Res. 60—To permit suspension of annual assessment work on mining claims entered by persons who subsequently thereto enlist in the service of the Army or the Navy during the pending war.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 824.

H. J. Res. 61—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. French; Committee on the Judiciary, 824.

H. J. Res. 62—Authorizing the President to take over for the United States the possession and title of vessels of any subject or citizen of any nation with which the United States may be at war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 991.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 37), 1660.—Debated, 1694, 1750, 1889, 1900–1936.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 42), 1936.

H. J. Res. 63—Relative to an international trade-agreement congress.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 991.

H. J. Res. 64—To permit the naturalization of aliens of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian birth resident within the United States on the 6th day of April, 1917, who had before that day made a declaration, according to law, of their intention to become citizens of the United States.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 991.

H. J. Res. 65—Providing for expenses of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, and for other purposes.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Appropriations, 991.

H. J. Res. 66—To authorize and provide for a joint assembly and meeting of representatives of the parliaments and national legislative bodies of the nations of the world in the United States, and to extend an invitation to said parliaments and legislative bodies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 991.

H. J. Res. 67—Authorizing the transfer of the building recently erected for the Interior Department on square No. 143 in the city of Washington to the War Department, and for other purposes.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1069.

H. J. Res. 68—Creating a commission to report a plan for the adoption of a national budget system.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Appropriations, 1149.

H. J. Res. 69—Authorizing the President to adopt measures for the examination of vessels, cargoes, passengers, and mails of neutral nations entering ports of the United States.
Mr. Juul; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1293.

H. J. Res. 70—Authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on the Library, 1558.—Reported back (H. Rept. 38), 1660.—Debated, 3267–3269, 7646.

H. J. Res. 71—Advocating the freedom of Ireland.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1558.—Motion to discharge committee, 2424.

H. J. Res. 72—Advocating the freedom of the Boer Republics.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1558.

H. J. Res. 73—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving to Congress the power to extend the right of suffrage to residents of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Judiciary, 1558.

H. J. Res. 74—Making available the $200,000 appropriation for irrigation purposes on the Yakima Indian Reservation, State of Washington, carried in the Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Appropriations, 1558.

H. J. Res. 75—To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 1609.

H. J. Res. 76—Ordering the suspension of certain schedules of rates filed by carriers and providing for investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the condition of certain carriers and requiring a report to Congress thereon.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1609.

H. J. Res. 77—Providing for a commission to make investigation and report to the Congress emergency legislation enacted by the several European countries now engaged in war.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Appropriations, 1660.

H. J. Res. 78—Advocating the freedom of Finland.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1723.

H. J. Res. 79—Investigating trade conditions in the United States.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Appropriations, 1781.

H. J. Res. 80—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to enter and record the name of Roe Reisinger, alias J. Monroe Reisinger, late corporal, Company H, One hundred and fiftieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, on "the Army and Navy medal of honor roll," provided by the act of Congress approved Apr. 27, 1916, and to furnish him with a certificate of service and of the act of heroism, gallantry, bravery, or intrepidity for which the medal of honor was awarded, and of enrollment under said act, and of his right to be entitled to and receive the special pension therein granted; also to deliver to the Commissioner of Pensions a certified copy of said certificate.
Mr. Clark of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 1843.

H. J. Res. 81—For Bohemian independence.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1889.

H. J. Res. 82—To state the rights of nations and to lay the foundations for the establishment of a court of nations, a congress of nations, an international army and navy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1937.

H. J. Res. 83—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make an exhibit illustrative of the investigations, products, and processes relating to farming at the International Soil-Products Exposition, Peoria, Ill.
Mr. Ireland; Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, 1971.

H. J. Res. 84—Relative to suspension of provision of section 355 of the Revised Statutes requiring cession of jurisdiction by a State over lands acquired therein by the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2161.

H. J. Res. 85—Directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the alleged corner of the wheat market.
Mr. Cox; Committee on the Judiciary, 2236.

H. J. Res. 86—To grant authority for the erection of temporary buildings at the headquarters of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on the Library, 2305.—Reported back (H. Rept. 51), 2375.—Debated, 2397, 2398.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 61), 2398.

H. J. Res. 87—Authorizing the President to purchase, store, and subsequently distribute food products, or to fix prices in any national emergency, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on Appropriations, 2305.

H. J. Res. 88—To declare the liberation of Ireland one of the purposes of the present war.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2305.

H. J. Res. 89—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the military or naval service of the United States as officers or enlisted men from performing assessment work during the term of such service.
Mr. Timbelake; Committee on Mines and Mining, 2375.

H. J. Res. 90—Conferring certain powers on the President during the war.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2375.

H. J. Res. 91—Calling upon the Secretary of State for information as to the ships of the American Transatlantic Co.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2424.

H. J. Res. 92—To promote the efficiency and utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, to lessen the expenses of the present war, and rehabilitate the destructive effects of war.
Mr. Church; Committee on Patents, 2495.

H. J. Res. 93—To create a joint committee from the Senate and House of Representatives to investigate Alaskan legislative requirements and report thereon.
Mr. Sulzer; Committee on Rules, 2777.

H. J. Res. 94—Authorizing the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to permit the Secretary of War to erect temporary buildings in the Smithsonian Grounds.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Library, 2819.—Committee on the Library discharged and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2990, 2991.—Reported back (H. Rept 66), 3147.—Debated and passed House, 3243, 3244.—Passed Senate, 3256.—Examined and signed, 3307, 3311.—Presented to the President, 3386.—Approved [Public resolution No. 5], 3567.

H. J. Res. 95—To have the President of the United States call together medical experts to discover, if possible, a cure for consumption, or the white plague.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2819.

H. J. Res. 96—For the relief of Richard Poillon.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Claims, 2848.

H. J. Res. 97—Providing for the termination of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain signed Jan. 11, 1909, and for other purposes.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2847.

H. J. Res. 98—To establish in the War Department a clearing house of ideas.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3026.

H. J. Res. 99—Authorizing the restoration and completion of the historical frieze in the Rotunda of the Capitol.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on the Library, 3090.

H. J. Res. 100—To make immediately available the appropriations provided for under an act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, approved May 12, 1917.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 3090.—Debated, 3405, 3450, 3451, 3517.

H. J. Res. 101—For the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war.
Mr. Church; Committee on Patents, 3208.

H. J. Res. 102—To prevent speculation in bituminous coal.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3697.

H. J. Res. 103—Extending provisions of section 2296 of the Revised Statutes to all homestead entries.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 3746.

H. J. Res. 104—Designating the army raised under the act of May 18, 1917, as the "National Army of the United States."
Mr. Borland; Committee on Military Affairs, 3746.

H. J. Res. 105—To correct an error in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918.
Mr. Fitzgerald; passed House, 3792.—Passed Senate, 3836, 3837.—Examined and signed, 3905, 3936.—Presented to the President, 3974.—Approved [Public resolution No. 7], 4542, 4879.

H. J. Res. 106—To terminate the reciprocity treaty with the Republic of Cuba.
Mr. George W. Fairchild; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3991.

H. J. Res. 107—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the power to regulate and control production, conservation, and distribution of food.
Mr. LaGuardia; Committee on the Judiciary, 4055.

H. J. Res. 108—Thanking the patriotic workers who are making the Red Cross campaign for a $100,000,000 fund a success.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4055.

H. J. Res. 109—Authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for diversions of water from the Niagara River.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4257.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 87), 4333.—Debated, 4434, 4448, 4503, 4504.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 13), 4504.

H. J. Res. 110—To appoint a commission to visit countries cooperating with the United States in the present war.
Mr. Charles B. Smith; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4257.

H. J. Res. 111—To provide further for the national security and defense by regulating the production, sale, distribution, and transportation of coal and coke, and for the coordination of the railroads of the United States for the efficient transportation and distribution thereof.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4333.—Debated, 4500.

H. J. Res. 112—To provide further for the national security and defense by regulating the production, sale, and distribution of coal.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4388.

H. J. Res. 113—For the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy.
Mr. Church; Committee on Patents, 4388.

H. J. Res. 114—Providing for the creation of a Commission on Aerial Navigation.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Military Affairs, 4450.—Debated [Appendix, 479].

H. J. Res. 115—Requesting the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with certain governments with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action by the United States permitting the inclusion in the armed forces of the United States of such citizens of the countries of such Governments as are within the United States.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4450.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 115), 5690.—Debated, 5813, 7671, 7672, 7910–7917.

H. J. Res. 116—For the purpose of promoting efficiency, for the utilization of the resources and industries of the United States, for lessening the expenses of the war, and restoring the loss caused by the war by providing for the employment of a discovery or invention called the "Garabed," claiming to make possible the utilization of free energy.
Mr. Church; Committee on Patents, 4450.—Reported back (H. Rept. 94), 5083.—Debated, 5634, 7721–7729.—Passed House, 7729.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 7765.—Reported with amendment, 7765.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 7765–7767.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 7856.—Examined and signed, 7836, 7869.—Presented to the President, 7901.

H. J. Res. 117—Forbidding the acceptance of any present or title by any person engaged in the service of the United States during this war from any king.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4581.

H. J. Res. 118—Granting a joint committee from the membership of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and the House Committee on the Judiciary to investigate the causes that led to the murdering, the lynching, the burning, and the drowning of innocent citizens of the United States at East St. Louis, Ill., on July 2, 1917; whether the Constitution and laws of the United States were violated; and what legislation, if any, is needed to prevent like outrages in the State of Illinois and other States and Territories of the United States.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Rules, 4879.

H. J. Res. 119—To provide for an official county war record of all men in the service of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Military Affairs, 4880.—Debated, 5104, 5105.

H. J. Res. 120—Amending the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Steele; Committee on the Judiciary, 4990.

H. J. Res. 121—Amending in part the act aproved Mar. 3, 1917, making appropriation for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5084.

H. J. Res. 122—To establish a service flag.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 5084.

H. J. Res. 123—To grant citizenship to James H. Hare.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5084.

H. J. Res. 124—For the appointment of a joint special committee of the Senate and House of Representatives to investigate the murder of citizens of the United States and the destruction of their property at East St. Louis, in the State of Illinois, on the 2d day of July, 1917, and to recommend to the Congress such legislation as will prevent similar outrages in the future and insure to all American citizens the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Rules, 5145.

H. J. Res. 125—Providing that only mechanics and artisans necessary in upbuilding the Army and Navy be exempted from draft into the National Army.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Military Affairs, 5145.

H. J. Res. 126—Repealing the limitations upon appointments and promotions in the Pension Bureau.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Appropriations, 5243.

H. J. Res. 127—Directing the President and the Secretary of State to make such representations to Great Britain as shall result in the establishment of a government for Ireland similar to that in Canada.
Mr. McLaughlin of Pennsylvania; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5474.—Debated, 5561.

H. J. Res. 128—Authorizing and empowering the President of the United States to make such treaties with foreign countries as will define the military status of their subjects residing in the United States.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5474.

H. J. Res. 129—Relating to the granting of home rule for Ireland.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5534.

H. J. Res. 130—To provide further for the national security and defense by insuring the supply and equitable distribution of print paper.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5534.

H. J. Res. 131—To grant citizenship to Charles E. Beck, jr.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 5571.

H. J. Res. 132—To encourage foreign trade and to create uniformity in weights and measures.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 5570.

H. J. Res. 133—Authorizing the drafting of certain aliens, except alien enemies, into the military service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 5635.

H. J. Res. 134—To make the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," as written by Francis S. Key, and the music as arranged by Francis P. Kilfoyle the national anthem.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Library, 5690.

H. J. Res. 135—Authorizing the President of the United States to suggest a world's congress for the purpose of considering terms of peace, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5814.

H. J. Res. 136—For an interparliamentary conference to discuss basic terms of a lasting peace.
Mr. London; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5814.

H. J. Res. 137—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on the Judiciary, 5814.

H. J. Res. 138—Authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to suggest a world peace conference.
Mr. Jones of Texas; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5903.

H. J. Res. 139—To provide that pensions shall not be paid to pensioners residing in a foreign country with which the United States is at war.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Pensions, 5946.

H. J. Res. 140—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.
Mr. Walton; Committee on Appropriations, 5946.

H. J. Res. 141—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainag epurposes.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Appropriations, 5946.

H. J. Res. 142—To authorize the President to take over and operate metalliferous mines in certain cases.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Mines and Mining, 5896, 6038.—Debated, 5896, 5897.

H. J. Res. 143—Directing the President to seize sufficient coal supplies for home consumption.
Mr. Lundeen; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6223.

H. J. Res. 144—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to expend funds in New Mexico and Texas for drainage purposes.
Mr. Blanton; Committee on Appropriations, 6340.

H. J. Res. 145—To repeal an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," commonly known as the "conscription act."
Mr. Lundeen; Committee on Military Affairs, 6406.

H. J. Res. 146—Authorizing the Secretary of War to proceed with the improvement of Willapa Harbor and River, Wash., in accordance with previous authorization of Congress.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6406.

H. J. Res. 147—Authorizing the appointment of a joint committee to cooperate with the President in promoting efficiency and preventing waste and extravagance in the conduct of the war with the Imperial Government of Germany.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 6592.

H. J. Res. 148—Prescribing conditions of promotion of officers of the Regular Army below the rank of colonel.
Mr. McLaughlin of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 6774.

H. J. Res. 149—To have the food administrator investigate the prices charged at markets.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 6930.

H. J. Res. 150—Relating to printing speeches in the Congressional Record.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Rules, 6989.

H. J. Res. 151—To appoint a commission to provide a tablet to mark the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on the Library, 6989.

H. J. Res. 152—Prohibiting the loaning of money to the existing Government in Mexico, and the governmental indorsement of financial engagements between citizens of the United States and citizens of Mexico.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 7063.

H. J. Res. 153—To authorize the appointment of a committee of Members of the House of Representatives and Senate to visit Europe for the purpose of investigating and examining into the conditions and progress of the war being waged by Germany and her allies against France and her allies.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Rules, 7168.

H. J. Res. 154—Authorizing the erection of a memorial in Washington to the memory and in honor of the members of the various orders of sisters who gave their services as nurses on battlefield, in hospitals, and on floating hospitals during the Civil War.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on the Library, 7243.

H. J. Res. 155—To provide further for the national security and defense by insuring increased production of agricultural products.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on the Public Lands, 7264.

H. J. Res. 156—To draft certain aliens into the military service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Military Affairs, 7317.

H. J. Res. 157—Authorizing and directing the food administrator to fix the price of farm machinery.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 7317.

H. J. Res. 158—Directing the President to place an embargo upon such food supplies as are found necessary for home consumption and for the supply of our soldiers at home and abroad; and further directing the President, when necessary to the public welfare, to seize food supplies and apportion them among the people.
Mr. Lundeen; Committee on Agriculture, 7604.

H. J. Res. 159—To pay to W. L. Baker the sum of $1,000 in lieu of rent.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Appropriations, 7386.

H. J. Res. 160—Authorizing and directing the food administrator to fix prices on farm machinery and fertilizers.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Agriculture, 7386.

H. J. Res. 161—To provide for a service flag.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 7385, 7386.

H. J. Res. 162—Authorizing the expenditure of money upon lands purchased for use of the Ordnance Department of the Army without reference to section 355 of the Revised Statutes.
Mr. Sherley, debated and passed House, 7905.—Passed Senate, 7877.—Examined and signed, 7895, 7909.—Presented to the President, 7909.—Approved [Public resolution No. 16], 7918.

H. J. Res. 163—Amending section 201 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1917.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Ways and Means, 7919.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS 1–26

H. Con. Res. 1—Congratulating the people of Russia on the establishment of a popular government.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 129.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 12), 661.

H. Con. Res. 2—Providing for a joint assembly of the two Houses of Congress in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 2d day of April, 1917, at 8.30 p. m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States may be pleased to make to them.
Mr. Kitchen, and agreed to, 118.—Agreed to in Senate, 102.

H. Con. Res. 3—Authorizing the printing of 5,000 copies of Handbook of American Indians.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Printing, 129.

H. Con. Res. 4—Calling upon the President to initiate peace negotiations.
Mr. London; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 129.

H. Con. Res. 5—Authorizing the printing of 46,000 copies each of the Infantry Drill Regulations and Field Service Regulations.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Printing, 170.

H. Con. Res. 6—Authorizing the printing of certain military regulations.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Printing, 414.

H. Con. Res. 7—Authorizing the Clerk to make correction in the bill entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Dent, and agreed to, 1955.—Agreed to in Senate, 1944.

H. Con. Res. 8—Authorizing the Clerk to make certain corrections in the enrollment of the bill H. R. 3545, "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."
Mr. Dent, and agreed to, 2532.—Agreed to in Senate, 2498.

H. Con. Res. 9—Authorizing the printing in one document the act to increase temporarily the Military Establishment, the registration regulations, and the proclamation of the President fixing June 5, 1917, as date of registration.
Mr. Barnhart, and agreed to, 2620, 2624, 2880.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 2633.—Reported with amendments, 3498.—Debated, 3498, 3499.

H. Con. Res. 10—Relating to claims for exemption from military service.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Military Affairs, 2962.

H. Con. Res. 11—Accepting the statue of Sequoyah, presented by the State of Oklahoma, to be placed in Statuary Hall.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on the Library, 3147.—Reported back (H. Rept. 68), 3208.—Debated and agreed to, 3244.—Agreed to in Senate, 3256.

H. Con. Res. 12—Congratulating the people of Russia on the establishment of a popular government.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3425.

H. Con. Res. 13—To provide for the printing of the address of Hon. Frederick C. Hicks, of New York, on "The Flag of the United States."
Mr. Humphreys; Committee on Printing, 3697.—Reported back (H. Rept. 124) and agreed to, 5773.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 5785.—Motion to discharge committee made, debated, and withdrawn, 7498–7500.

H. Con. Res. 14—Authorizing the printing and binding of the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of Sequoyah, presented by the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Printing, 3746.

H. Con. Res. 15—Making rules for the government and regulation of the land forces.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Military Affairs, 4450.

H. Con. Res. 16—To provide for the opening of certain lands in the Territory of Hawaii to homestead entry.
Mr. Martin of Louisiana; Committee on Insular Affairs, 5407.—Committee on Insular Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Territories, 6651, 6749.

H. Con. Res. 17—Requesting the President to express to the Government of Great Britain the hope and desire of the American people that the future government of Ireland be sumbitted to a vote of the people of Ireland.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5474.

H. Con. Res. 18—Authorizing the printing of the report of the Alaskan Engineering Commission for the year ended Dec. 31, 1916.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Printing, 5570.

H. Con. Res. 19—Authorizing the Clerk to renumber the sections of H. R. 4285.
Mr. Small, and agreed to, 5733.—Agreed to in Senate, 5785.

H. Con. Res. 20—Authorizing the printing and binding of 50,000 copies of the tariff and revenue laws, including the tariff act of 1913 and all such laws passed during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Printing, 6651.

H. Con. Res. 21—Providing for the printing and binding of the messages and papers of the Presidents for the period of 1897 to 1917.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Printing, 7209.

H. Con. Res. 22—Authorizing the printing of the report of the Alaskan Engineering Commission for the year ended December 31, 1916.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Printing, 7243.

H. Con. Res. 23—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to make a correction in H. R. 4960.
Mr. Montague, and agreed to, 7429, 7430.—Agreed to in Senate, 7416.

H. Con. Res. 24—Relative to the enrollment of H. R. 4960.
Mr. Montague, and agreed to, 7459, 7460.—Agreed to in Senate, 7454.

H. Con. Res. 25—Providing for the adjournment of the Congress on Saturday, the 6th day of October, 1917, at 3 o'clock p. m.
Mr. Kitchen, and agreed to, 7798.—Agreed to in Senate, 7886.

H. Con. Res. 26—To print as one document the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes"; the act entitled "An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes"; and the act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes."
Mr. Browning; considered and agreed to, 7909, 7910.—Agreed to in Senate (H. Doc. No. 379), 7895, 7896.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

H. Res. 1—Relative to the election of officers of the House of Representatives for the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Saunders of Virginia; debated and agreed to, 108–111.

H. Res. 2—To amend Rule X of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Rules, 128.

H. Res. 3—Providing that the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress be adopted as the rules of the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Pou; debated and agreed to, 111–113.

H. Res. 4—Authorizing the printing as a House document decision of Supreme Court on the Adamson eight-hour law.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Printing, 128.

H. Res. 5—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress as to the advisability of establishing transshipment ports, etc.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Appropriations, 128.

H. Res. 6—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress as to the advisability of establishing free ports, etc.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Ways and Means, 128.

H. Res. 7—Providing for the notification of the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives is assembled, has elected certain officers, and is ready for business.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Rules, 128.

H. Res. 8—Expressing the sense of the American Congress that there can be no permanent peace except upon the principle that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 128.

H. Res. 9—Expressing the hope that the Austro-Hungarian Government will delay the execution of 16 Serbs.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 128.

H. Res. 10—For the establishment of a Bureau of Information in the main corridor of the House wing of the Capitol.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Accounts, 128.

H. Res. 11—Directing that there shall be printed as a House document 1,600 copies of the soil survey of Jackson County, Mo.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Printing, 128.

H. Res. 12—Amending the Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Rules, 128.—Reported back (H. Rept. 163), 7369.—Debated, 7369–7384 [Appendix, 607].—Agreed to, 7384, 7385.

H. Res. 13—To create a Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Rules, 128.

H. Res. 14—Authorizing the codification of the laws relating to Indian affairs.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 128.

H. Res. 15—Informing the Senate of the organization of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Flood, and agreed to, 117.

H. Res. 16—Instructing the Clerk to inform the President of the United States of the organization of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Fitzgerald; agreed to, 117.

H. Res. 17—Providing for the appointment of a committee of three on the part of the House of Representatives to join a like committee from the Senate to wait on the President of the United States.
Mr. Kitchin; agreed to, 117.

H. Res. 18—Designating the hour of meeting of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Garrett of Tennessee; agreed to, 118.

H. Res. 19—Providing for the election of certain named gentlemen as members of the standing and joint standing committees of the House.
Mr. Kitchin; debated and agreed to, 113–117.

H. Res. 20—Providing for the suspension of the rules and the passing of certain bills.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated and agreed to, 120, 121.

H. Res. 21—Announcing the death of Hon. Cyrus Adams Sulloway, late a Representative from the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Wason; agreed to, 121.

H. Res. 22—Electing certain Members to committees.
Mr. Mann; debated and agreed to, 156, 157.

H. Res. 23—Authorizing the Postmaster of the House of Representatives to appoint 18 messengers.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Accounts, 169.

H. Res. 24—Amending Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 169.

H. Res. 25—Amending Rule XXIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 169.

H. Res. 26—Amending Rule XXVII of the Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 169.

H. Res. 27—Authorizing standing committees of the House of Representatives to have necessary printing and binding done.
Mr. Barnhart; debated and agreed to, 157, 158.

H. Res. 28—Authorizing printing and binding for the chairman of the Committee on Conference of Minority.
Mr. Barnhart; agreed to, 158.

H. Res. 29—Making it the duty of standing and subcommittees of the House to prepare and preserve records of all meetings of such committees or subcommittees, and said records or minutes shall be open to public inspection.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Rules, 169.

H. Res. 30—Authorizing the printing as a House document the report of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Printing, 169.

H. Res. 31—Granting Committee on Appropriations leave to hold hearings during Sixty-fifth Congress, etc.
Mr. Fitzgerald; agreed to, 167.

H. Res. 32—Creating a Committee of the House of Representatives on Rights and Welfare of Women and Children.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Rules, 169.

H. Res. 33—Allowing a clerk and a messenger to the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Accounts, 169.—Reported back (H. Rept. 16) and agreed to, 733.

H. Res. 34—Authorizing the committees on expenditures in the executive departments to investigate the number and compensation of employees in said departments and to report legislation readjusting, reclassifying, and increasing the compensation of such employees.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Rules, 301.

H. Res. 35—Creating a committee of the House of Representatives to be known as the Committee on Equal Suffrage.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Rules, 301.

H. Res. 36—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay one month's salary to William H. Topping, clerk to late Congressman Sulloway, of New Hampshire.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Accounts, 301.—Reported back (H. Rept. 29) and agreed to, 1090.

H. Res. 37—To print 1,250 copies of the Soil Survey of Decatur County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Printing, 302.

H. Res. 38—To print 2,000 copies of the Soil Survey of Tift County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Printing, 302.

H. Res. 39—Authorizing the Doorkeeper to appoint an attendant for the ladies' reception room during the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 302.

H. Res. 40—Authorizing the Doorkeeper to appoint two janitors for committees located in the Capitol during the Sixty-fifth Congress.
Mr. Park; Committee an Accounts, 302.—Reported back (H. Rept. 28) and agreed to, 1090.

H. Res. 41—To send greetings to certain legislative bodies.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 504.

H. Res. 42—Naming the minority members of the Committee on Ways and Means.
Mr. Mann; agreed to, 551.

H. Res. 43—Authorizing the appointment of an attendant for the ladies' reception room of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 558.—Reported back (H. Rept. 24) and agreed to, 1090, 1091.

H. Res. 44—Authorizing clerks to certain committees of the House.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 558.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 57), 2624.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 76), 3589.

H. Res. 45—Authorizing clerks and assistant clerks to certain committees of the House.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 558.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 56), 2624.—Debated, 2824–2834.—Rejected, 2835.

H. Res. 46—Appointing a committee to attend the funeral of Hon. Henry T. Helgesen, deceased.
Mr. Norton; agreed to, 610.

H. Res. 47—To authorize ex-President Roosevelt to organize an army of 100,000 men.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 663.

H. Res. 48—Calling upon the people of the country to put forth every endeavor to increase the food supply.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Agriculture, 663.

H. Res. 49—Favoring free government for Ireland and Poland.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 663.

H. Res. 50—To print 100,000 copies each of House Report No. 1 and the President's address of Apr. 2, 1917.
Mr. McCormick; Committee on Printing, 695.

H. Res. 51—Requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of data on which a certain portion of the annual report of the Department of Agriculture for 1912 was based and correspondence relative thereto.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Agriculture, 695.

H. Res. 52—Providing for a committee to investigate the sanitary conditions of dairies.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Rules, 695.

H. Res. 53—Directing the United States Tariff Commission to make certain investigations in the insular possessions and report upon the same.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Ways and Means, 695.

H. Res. 54—Directing that there shall be printed as a House document 1,600 copies of the Soil Survey of the Yuma Area, Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Printing, 695.

H. Res. 55—To pay E. C. Rost.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 635.—Reported back (H. Rept. 26) and agreed to, 1090.

H. Res. 56—Authorizing the printing as a House document the proclamation of the President, issued Apr. 16, 1917.
Mr. Fisher; Committee on Printing, 735.

H. Res. 57—Applying to certain exemptions to military service.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 735.

H. Res. 58—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of all regulations and orders pertaining to the inspection of food supplies for the Navy in time of war.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 735.

H. Res. 59—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of all regulations and orders pertaining to the inspection of food supplies for the Army in time of war.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Military Affairs, 735.

H. Res. 60—Authorizing the installation of an electrical voting machine in the House of Representatives.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Accounts, 735.

H. Res. 61—Electing Members of the House of Representatives to the several committees, etc.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 797.

H. Res. 62—To amend the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Ragsdale; Committee on Rules, 823.

H. Res. 63—To allow a session clerk to the Committee on Enrolled Bills.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Accounts, 824.—Reported back (H. Rept. 25), amended, and agreed to, 1090.

H. Res. 64—To print as a public document the President's proclamation of April 16, 1917.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Printing, 824.

H. Res. 65—Fixing an annual memorial day for the House of Representatives and providing for the appointment of a committee on memorials.
Mr. French; Committee on Rules, 824.

H. Res. 66—To allow an assistant clerk to the Committee on Rules.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Accounts, 867.—Reported back (H. Rept. 27) and agreed to, 1090.

H. Res. 67—Authorizing the Committee on Military Affairs to make inquiry relative to certain inducements offered by the Canadian Government to American emigrants.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Rules, 991.

H. Res. 68—To appropriate $50,000,000 to buy seeds.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 991.

H. Res. 69—Requesting the Secretary of War to give to Congress and the people the facts relative to the proposal of Col. Theodore Roosevelt to enlist and command an army for service in France in the present war.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Military Affairs, 991.

H. Res. 70—Authorizing the printing of 4,500 copies of the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission on their investigation of the financial history and operation of the Pere Marquette Railroad Co. and the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad Co.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Printing, 1069.—Debated, 1970, 2042.—(See H. Doc. No. 137).

H. Res. 71—Granting permission to the Committee on Banking and Currency to sit during the sessions of the House.
Mr. Glass, and agreed to, 1068.

H. Res. 72—Authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to sit during the sessions of the House.
Mr. Lever, and agreed to, 1641.

H. Res. 73—Relating to certain restrictions upon American commerce with neutral countries.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1843.

H. Res. 74—Making inquiry as to whether or not the manufacturers of cement are violating the antitrust laws or laws in restraint of trade.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Judiciary, 1843.—Debated [Appendix, 346].

H. Res. 75—Authorizing certain members of the Committee on the Public Lands of the House of Representatives to make investigation relative to natural resources of the public domain.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 1971.

H. Res. 76—Requesting information from the Secretary of War.
Mr. Mason; Committee on Military Affairs, 1971.

H. Res. 77—To direct the Federal Trade Commission to make an immediate investigation to ascertain the cause for the recent increase in the price of American flags and report to the House.
Mr. Frear; Committee on the Judiciary, 2043.

H. Res. 78—Authorizing and directing the Attorney General to investigate the coal and coke industry.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Judiciary, 2043.—Debated, 3885.

H. Res. 79—Authorizing the printing as a House document the pamphlet entitled "Plan of Military Instruction."
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Printing, 2043.

H. Res. 80—Sending greetings to the people of the Republic of Cuba.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2375.—Reported back (H. Rept. 64), 3025.—Debated and agreed to, 7841, 7842.

H. Res. 81—Amending the rules of the House of Representatives and providing for the appointment of a Committee on Memorials and defining the duties of such committee.
Mr. French; Committee on Rules, 2424.

H. Res. 82—Sending message of greetings and good wishes from the representatives of the free people of the United States of America to the representatives of the free people of Russia.
Mr. La Guardia; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2424.

H. Res. 83—Adjourning the House of Representatives as a mark of respect to the late Hon. Daniel W. Comstock, a Representative from the State of Indiana, etc.
Mr. Dixon; agreed to, 2624.

H. Res. 84—To investigate the cause of the high price of coal.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Rules, 2697.

H. Res. 85—Repealing paragraph 3 of section 21 of the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Rules, 2697.

H. Res. 86—To make the song The Star-Spangled Banner the national anthem.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2777.

H. Res. 87—Requesting the Postmaster General to furnish information.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2847.

H. Res. 88—Relative to the death of the Hon. Harry Lane, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Oregon.
Mr. Sinnott; agreed to, 2847.

H. Res. 89—Amending the rules of the House by the creation of a Committee on Salaries of Officers and Employees.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Rules, 2909.

H. Res. 90—Amending the rules of the House by the creation of a Committee on Salaries of Officers and Employees.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Rules, 2961.

H. Res. 91—Providing that the United States Government shall insist upon the independence of Bohemia at the close of the war.
Mr. Mansfield; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2961.

H. Res. 92—Amending the bill H. R. 4188, when engrossed, by adding a new paragraph.
Mr. McKenzie, and agreed to, 3065.

H. Res. 93—To promote the growing of food products in the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3090.

H. Res. 94—Authorizing the giving of a prize to the person or persons who discover a device for the destruction of submarines.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3147.

H. Res. 95—To ascertain if the administration contemplates changing the present form of government in the Territory of Hawaii to that of military government.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 3208.

H. Res. 96—Asking the President for certain information if not incompatible with the public interest.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the Judiciary, 3386.—Debated [Appendix, 290].

H. Res. 97—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Joseph S. McCoy the sum of $125 for services rendered the Ways and Means Committee.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Accounts, 3386.—Reported back (H. Rept. 79) and agreed to, 3603.

H. Res. 98—Relative to the aims, purposes, and policies in the conduct of the war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Germany.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3386.

H. Res. 99—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 100.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Rules, 3484.

H. Res. 100—Directing the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department to make certain examinations.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 3544.

H. Res. 101—To have the Department of Justice investigate combinations in the District of Columbia that fix the prices of food, and also what increases have been made in rents since the outbreak of the war with Germany.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3589.

H. Res. 102—To pay Edward F. Warfel, clerk of Daniel W. Comstock, deceased, $125.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Accounts, 3697.—Reported back (H. Rept. 82) and agreed to, 3792.

H. Res. 103—To designate a day on which the people of this country may express their sympathy by contributing toward the relief of the Russians in the war zones.
Mr. LaGuardia; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3697.

H. Res. 104—Making exercises appropriate to acceptance of statue of Sequoyah the special order of business on June 23.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Rules, 3745.

H. Res. 105—As to creation of Committee on Aeronautics.
Mr. Hurlbert; Committee on Rules, 3746.

H. Res. 106—Instructing the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to interview the Secretary of State with a view to opening negotiations with the Italian mission relative to naturalization.
Mr. James; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3746.

H. Res. 107—Directing the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department to make certain examinations.
Mr. Loebeck; Committee on Rules, 4055.

H. Res. 108—Providing payment for clerical service rendered the Mileage Committee.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Accounts, 4257.—Reported back (H. Rept. 90), debated, and agreed to, 4490, 4491, 4502.

H. Res. 109—Authorizing clerks to certain committees of the House.
Mr. Park; Committee on Accounts, 4333.

H. Res. 110—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the House of Representatives the reports of the board appointed to select a site for the cantonment for the thirteenth district.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 4388.

H. Res. 111—Authorizing and directing an investigation of the Oriental Esoteric Library League of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on the Judiciary, 4449.

H. Res. 112—Providing for the printing of additional copies of the act approved June 21, 1917, amending the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Glass; agreed to, 4432.

H. Res. 113—Directing the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department to make certain examinations.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, 4546.

H. Res. 114—To reward women and girls for certain agricultural services during the war.
Mr. Brand; Committee on Agriculture, 4931.

H. Res. 115—Calling upon the Postmaster General to furnish to the House certain information.
Mr. London; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4931.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 109), 5407.—Debated, 5569, 5634.

H. Res. 116—Directing the Secretary of War, if not incompatible with public interests, to request the governor of the State of New York to transmit to him, for the information of the House of Representatives, all records, correspondence, and papers filed with the governor in support of and in connection with the selection and appointment of the medical members of the exemption boards for the county of The Bronx, in the State of New York.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Military Affairs, 5084.

H. Res. 117—Defining the basis on which increased compensations of civil employees of the Government shall be made.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Appropriations, 5084.

H. Res. 118—Calling upon the Secretary of War for information concerning pay days of enlisted men of the Regular Army and of the Officers' Reserve Corps.
Mr. Zihlman; Committee on Military Affairs, 5145.

H. Res. 119—To exempt cotton from the provisions of the food-control bill.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on Agriculture, 5145.

H. Res. 120—Requesting certain information regarding apportioning quotas to States under the provisions of the selective conscription law.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Military Affairs, 5243.

H. Res. 121—To present the United States flag over the Speaker's chair to the New York World to be taken to our ambassador at Petrograd by its representative and donated, in the name of the House of Representatives, as a battle flag to the Russian Army.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5377.

H. Res. 122—Providing for a commission to determine type of electrical voting apparatus for the House of Representatives.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Accounts, 5377.

H. Res. 123—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 4961 as amended by the Senate.
Mr. Garrett of Tennessee; Committee on Rules, 5437.—Reported back (H. Rept. 110), 5437.—Agreed to, 5473.

H. Res. 124—Providing for the military training of boys under 21.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 5437.

H. Res. 125—Permitting Congressman LaGuardia to serve as aviator in the United States Army without forfeiting his seat in the House of Representatives.
Mr. McLemore; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 5534.

H. Res. 126—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 4285 as amended by the Senate.
Mr. Small; Committee on Rules, 5570.—Reported back (H. Rept. 114), 5569.—Debated and agreed to, 5628–5634.

H. Res. 127—Authorizing, empowering, and directing the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department to make full inquiry into any expenditures upon the part of the Government under, and pursuant to, any appropriation heretofore made by this Congress for the account of the War Department.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, 5570.

H. Res. 128—Appointing a committee to investigate conditions in Illinois and Missouri interfering with interstate commerce between said States.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Rules, 5774.—Reported back (H. Rept. 142) and agreed to, 6961.

H. Res. 129—To authorize certain committees of the House of Representatives to hold sessions during the coming recess of Congress.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Rules, 5946.

H. Res. 130—To investigate mob violence in Washington, D. C.
Mr. Baer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 6144.

H. Res. 131—Requesting the Secretary of War to return for criminal trial the soldiers participating in the recent riots at Houston, Tex., and protesting against the sending of negro soldiers to the South.
Mr. McLemore; Committee on Military Affairs, 6467.

H. Res. 132—Requesting the Secretary of War to furnish information regarding defective ammunition.
Mr. McLemore, and agreed to, 6570.

H. Res. 133—Providing for an investigation of the Ordnance Department of the War Department.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 6592.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 133), 6651.—Debated, 6747, 6748.

H. Res. 134—Providing for an investigation of the Ordnance Department of the War Department.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Rules, 6774.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 141), amended, and agreed to, 6808.

H. Res. 135—Authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to call on certain departments of the Government for the names of male employees between the ages of 21 and 31 who have accepted service at a salary of $1 per year.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Military Affairs, 6836.

H. Res. 136—To print 1,000 additional copies of the Soil Survey of the Biloxi Area, Miss., for use in the House document room.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Committee on Printing, 6930.

H. Res. 137—For appointment of special committee to investigate certain commissions, boards, etc.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Rules, 6989.

H. Res. 138—For the consideration of H. R. 4280.
Mr. Pou; from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 143) and agreed to, 7032, 7034.

H. Res. 139—Making certain inquiries of the Secretary of the Treasury.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, 7063.

H. Res. 140—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 5667.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Rules, 7063.

H. Res. 141—To translate into Spanish and print as a public document for circulation in Porto Rico the speech of Senator Broussard on the war-revenue bill.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Printing, 7106.

H. Res. 142—Proposing that each State train its own negro soldiers and in separate camps from the white soldiers.
Mr. McLemore; Committee on Military Affairs, 7243.

H. Res. 143—Providing that no public building shall be erected except as a war emergency and upon the approval of the Fine Arts Commission.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7243.

H. Res. 144—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish to the House of Representatives certain information relative to administration of the law governing the control of food and food products.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Agriculture, 7264.—Motion to discharge committee debated, 7467–7470.

H. Res. 145—To amend standing rules of the House.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Rules, 7317.

H. Res. 146—Providing for immediate consideration of S. 2477.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Rules, 7317.

H. Res. 147—For the consideration of S. J. Res. 78, as amended by the Committee on Mines and Mining.
Mr. Foster; from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 157) and agreed to, 7289, 7290.

H. Res. 148—Providing for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into certain charges made in the statement of Hon. J. Thomas Heflin on the floor of the House and inserted in the Congressional Record of September 21, 1917.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Rules, 7367, 7386.—Debated, 7360, 7366–7369.

H. Res. 149—Providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate whether Members of Congress profited financially by reason of funds furnished by the German Government or any official thereof.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Rules, 7317.

H. Res. 150—To pay out of the contingent fund of the House all expenses that may be incurred by the special committee appointed under H. Res. 128.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; agreed to, 7386.

H. Res. 151—Providing for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into certain charges made in the statement of Hon. J. Thomas Heflin on the floor of the House and inserted in the Congressional Record of Sept. 21, 1917, and into certain charges made by Hon. J. Thomas Heflin and Hon. William Schley Howard in newspaper reports contained in the Washington Post and other papers on Saturday, Sept. 22, 1917.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Rules, 7445.—Debated, 7360–7362.

H. Res. 152—To translate into Spanish and print as a public document for circulation in Porto Rico the speech of Senator Broussard on the war-revenue bill.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Printing, 7445.

H. Res. 153—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Myra Collins, daughter of Lewis Lepreux, late a Capitol policeman, a sum equal to six months' compensation.
Mr. Gallagher; Committee on Accounts, 7460.—Reported back (H. Rept. 188) and agreed to, 7773.

H. Res. 154—Providing for the immediate consideration of H. J. Res. 116.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Rules, 7460.

H. Res. 155—Relative to the death of Hon. Ebenezer J. Hill, a Representative from the State of Connecticut.
Mr. Glynn, and agreed to, 7460.

H. Res. 156—Asking the President to set aside a day of prayer for the success of American arms.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 7490.

H. Res. 157—To confer jurisdiction over appropriations and estimates upon a single committee.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Rules, 7544.

H. Res. 158—To pay Charles S. Greenwood, clerk of the late Ebenezer J. Hill, a Representative in Congress, $166.66.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Accounts, 7680.—Reported back (H. Rept. 195) and agreed to, 7856.

H. Res. 159—Providing for investigation by expenditure committees of the various departments.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Rules, 7680.

H. Res. 160—For the consideration of H. R. 6361.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Rules, 7680.—Reported back (H. Rept. 185) and agreed to, 7730.

H. Res. 161—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 116.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Rules, 7680.—Reported back (H. Rept. 184), 7721.—Debated and agreed to, 7721–7727.

H. Res. 162—Directing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to deliver certain documents relating to contracts for curbing.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 7735.

H. Res. 163—To pay W. Ray Loomis $1,200 for extra services.
Mr. Denton; Committee on Accounts, 7809.

H. Res. 164—Authorizing the development of the aquatic resources and fisheries by the Food Commission of Porto Rico.
Mr. Davila; Committee on Insular Affairs, 7809.

H. Res. 165—Authorizing the Speaker of the House of Representatives to appoint a select committee of five Members of the House who shall make inquiry into the charges made by J. Thomas Heflin.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; debated and agreed to, 7786, 7787.—See H. Rept. 201, 7906.

H. Res. 166—Directing the Rules Committee to investigate charges made by Hon. J. Thomas Heflin.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Rules, 7809.

H. Res. 167—Requesting the Senate to return to the House of Representatives H. R. 5271.
Mr. Siegel, and agreed to, 7807.

H. Res. 168—To take from the Speaker's table H. R. 5723 and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.
Mr. Garrett of Tennessee, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 198), 7846.—Debated and agreed to, 7846–7850, 7851–7853.

H. Res. 169—Relating to the consideration of H. Res. 166.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Rules, 7872.

H. Res. 170—To print 10,000 copies of House Report No. 169 and 10,000 copies of the act authorizing national banks to issue notes of $1 and $2.
Mr. Glass, and agreed to, 7865.

H. Res. 171—To authorize an investigation of the District of Columbia Workhouse.
Miss Rankin; Committee on Rules, 7872.

H. Res. 172—To appoint a committee to notify the President that the Congress is ready to adjourn.
Mr. Kitchin; considered and agreed to, 7901.

H. Res. 173—Requesting the President of the United States to use his good offices to prevent the shipment of the George Grey Barnard statue of Abraham Lincoln to London, England.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on the Library, 7865, 7919.—Debated, 7865.